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**Εἰς μνήμην Σπύρου Ἀσωνίτη**

**In memoriam of Spyros Asonitis**







## In memoriam of Spyros N. Asonitis

Σήμερον κείσαι, ὡς εὐφορος  
πολύκλωνος ἐλαία  
(Α. Κάλβος)

*Today thou liest, like a fruitful  
many-branched olive tree  
(A. Calvos)*

Last March the scholarly community and especially that of the Ionian University bid farewell to the historian Spyros N. Asonitis. His passing on 8 March 2012 deprived the discipline of a systematic researcher into the history of the medieval world of the central Mediterranean and an academic with a wide-ranging oeuvre as researcher, author and teacher. Born in 1947 in Corfu, where he attended primary and secondary school, Asonitis studied History and Archaeology in the Faculty of Letters of the University of Athens. After completing obligatory military service, he was appointed a schoolmaster in the State educational system. In the following years, alongside working diligently as a teacher, he took steps to improve his skills and qualifications. On the recommendation of Professor Ioannis Karagiannopoulos, Asonitis embarked on preparing a doctoral thesis entitled the *Contribution to the History of Aitolokarnania and the South Ionian Islands (1325-1429)*, which he submitted to the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, receiving his PhD in 1987. Thenceforth he was involved in systematic archival research, the fruit of which was a series of important studies on issues of medieval history in the Ionian region. His birthplace, a virtual and actual bridge between East and West from antiquity to modern times, a meeting place of peoples and a hub of syncretism of cultural currents, traditions and ideas, only naturally influenced his thinking and his scholarly inquiries. His research interests spanned the political, social, economic and ecclesiastical history of Corfu, the south Ionian Sea and the western mainland of Greece during the late Middle Ages “in the framework of the dialectic between Byzantium and the Western world”, to use his own words. He was particularly interested in the diplomatic publication and critique of archival sources, a difficult and demanding task. Concurrently, he was engaged in studying historical topography, prosopography and the genealogy of historical persons. Through his work he sought to enhance the significance of local history, the methodology of which he studied and analyzed. His systematic researches and in-depth study of archival sources culminated in his seminal monographs: a. *Angevin Corfu (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century)*, Corfu 1999; b. *The South Ionian Sea during the Late Middle Ages*, Athens 2005 and c. *Corfu and the Epirot Coast at the End of the Middle Ages (1386-1462)*, Thessaloniki 2009, as well as a considerable number (over fifty) of special studies and conference papers, which he published in Greek, English or Italian. Moreover, in collaboration with Professor Th. Pappas, Asonitis co-authored the *Manual of Local History. The educator's book*, published by the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Paedagogical Institute, Athens 2006. His activity as a researcher and author by no means diminished his zeal in transmitting historical knowledge by participating as a speaker in many educational seminars organized by scientific

agencies in Corfu as well as in other towns in western Greece and southern Italy.

Having served initially as an adjunct lecturer (under Law N. 407) since March 1999 and subsequently as an elected professor in the Department of Archives and Library Science of the Ionian University, in May 2010 he was promoted to full professor and became Head of the Department. He taught not only Medieval History but also Greek and Latin Paleography and Diplomatics, which he considered basic and essential tools for the historian's research work. Indeed, to serve this purpose he compiled special handbooks as annotations of university lectures: a. *History of Greek and European Space during the Middle Ages*, b. *History of Latin Scripture*, c. *Introduction to Latin Paleography*, d. *Introduction to Latin Diplomatics*, e. *Introduction to Byzantine Diplomatics. The imperial documents*. Important too was his contribution to the *Pilot Presentation of Renewable Digital Material for Students' Practice in Latin Paleography*, by posting on the Internet excerpts from Latin documents from the Historical Archive of Corfu, with accompanying transcription, as part of a wider initiative of the Department for training in Paleography. One year ago his *Introduction to Latin Diplomatics* (Thessaloniki 2011) became available again, in a newly processed form, filling a void in specialized Greek bibliography. The originality of this work lies in the fact that it focuses its attention on documents of the secretariats of the southern Italian principalities, which during the High Middle Ages had developed contacts with the Greek world in general and the Ionian region in particular, and exerted influence on the local secretariats. To all these should be added his last book, published recently, *Ο Ελλαδικός χώρος στο Μεσαιωνικό περιγυρο* (Thessaloniki 2012). Alongside teaching at the Ionian University, Spyros Asonitis was involved with distance-teaching, collaborating constructively as a professor in the School of Humanities of the Hellenic Open University, continuing to offer his services even in extenuating circumstances.

In recognition of the personality and valuable abilities of Spyros Asonitis, the Municipality of Corfu appointed him president of the Civic Art Gallery of Corfu, where he contributed decisively to the smooth running and publicizing of the foundation. He was a member of the Greek Historical Society, the Centre for Ionian Studies, the Society for Research into Relations between Medieval and Modern Hellenism with the West, and other scientific societies, and was an active participant in local and international conferences in Greece and abroad.

Spyros Asonitis was a historian with a penetrating and conscious knowledge of the historical space and period he studied, with remarkable proficiency in those disciplines that are essential aids for the research historian. With local history as a starting point, he expanded into the wider area of the central Mediterranean ascertaining the communality of historical problems, the correlation and the interaction of peoples living in the region and the formation of a common history. Within this framework he placed his research into the history of the geographical space surrounding the Ionian and the south Adriatic Sea. The profundity of his studies and monographs bears witness to his toil as a researcher as well as to his perspicacity in the critical processing of the historical sources he drew forth from the Historical Archive of Corfu and from the Italian Medieval archives. Throughout his academic career he kept close ties with the universities and other scientific foundations of Italy, as well as of other countries, developing relations in joint research projects. Open-minded and receptive to new ideas, he set up collaborative

## In memoriam of Spyros Asonitis

frameworks, broadening the fields of research and promoting the production of knowledge, which was disseminated not only to specialists but also to the general public. His many years of didactic experience made him an excellent teacher beloved by his students for his moral principles and sense of justice. His important, extensive and above all systematic oeuvre as a researcher and author made him stand out as an internationally distinguished scholar. His intention of transcending local boundaries through a new visionary approach is evident in the conception of a new scholarly journal devoted to research on the history and culture of the Mediterranean. The first volume of the *Mediterranean Chronicle*, which appeared in 2011 with Spyros Asonitis as Editor in Chief and Vaios Vaiopoulos as Editor, and an international Editorial Board, included articles by scholars specialized in the history of the Mediterranean region and was received with interest and expectation by the scholarly community.

Spyros Asonitis was a kind, lenient, fair and honest man. He handled situations with the aim of achieving the best; he inspired and opened new roads in knowledge; he widened the horizons of learning, proposed models and directed young scholars. Endowed with the virtues of the effective researcher and persuasive teacher, he respected the work of others and honoured his friends. Certainly, his loss creates a great gap in the Ionian University; nonetheless, he leaves behind a role model of which the Ionian University can be justly proud. And as long as the memory of his personality is etched indelibly on those left behind and the generations to come, his presence will remain vital. His work will not allow oblivion to prevail.

**N.G. Moschonas**  
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## Βιοεργογραφία Σπύρου Ασωνίτη



Ο Σπύρος Ασωνίτης γεννήθηκε στην Κέρκυρα το 1947, σπούδασε Ιστορία και Αρχαιολογία στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών ως υπότροφος του ΙΚΥ και έλαβε διδακτορικό τίτλο από το ΑΠΘ το 1987 με βαθμό «Άριστα», επίσης ως υπότροφος του ΙΚΥ (επόπτης ο καθηγητής Ιωάννης Καραγιαννόπουλος). Υπηρέτησε στη Β/βάθμια εκπαίδευση ως φιλόλογος από το 1972 ως το 2000, έχοντας διατελέσει διευθυντής και προϊστάμενος σε διάφορες διοικητικές θέσεις. Τον Μάιο του 2000 εκλέχτηκε Επίκουρος Καθηγητής του Τμήματος Αρχαιονομίας και Βιβλιοθηκονομίας του Ιονίου Πανεπιστημίου με γνωστικό αντικείμενο «Ιστορία του Δυτικού ελλαδικού χώρου κατά τους Μέσους Χρόνους». Τον Νοέμβριο του 2005 εκλέχτηκε στη βαθμίδα του Αναπληρωτή Καθηγητή και το 2009 σε αυτήν του Καθηγητή. Το 2007 εκλέχτηκε Αναπληρωτής Πρόεδρος του TAB (επανεξελέγη το 2009), και το 2011 Πρόεδρος του ίδιου Τμήματος. Διατέλεσε επίσης τακτικό μέλος της Συγκλήτου του Ιονίου Πανεπιστημίου το ακαδ. έτος 2006-2007 και αναπληρωματικό μέλος κατά τα ακαδ. έτη 2004-2005, 2007-2008, 2008-2009. Το Ιόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο υπηρέτησε από πολλές θέσεις είτε ως πρόεδρος είτε ως μέλος επιτροπών. Δίδαξε επίσης στο Ελληνικό Ανοικτό Πανεπιστήμιο και στη Σχολή Ξεναγών Κέρκυρας. Υπήρξε μέλος της Ελληνικής Ιστορικής Εταιρείας, του Κέντρου Μελετών Ιονίου, της Γενεαλογικής και Εραλδικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδας, του συνδέσμου των Mediterranean Maritime Historians, και associated scholar στο Mediterranean Seminar. Από το 2007 ως τον θάνατό του ήταν Πρόεδρος της Πινακοθήκης Δήμου Κερκυραίων. Παλαιότερα είχε διατελέσει Πρόεδρος της Πολιτιστικής Επιτροπής του Δήμου Κερκυραίων και μέλος της Εφορευτικής Επιτροπής της Δημόσιας Κεντρικής Βιβλιοθήκης

Κερκύρας (1999-2003). Υπήρξε συνιδρυτής και γενικός διευθυντής του επιστημονικού περιοδικού *Mediterranean Chronicle* μέχρι τον θάνατό του.

Όπως φαίνεται και από την αναλυτική παράθεση της εργογραφίας του παρακάτω, έχει δημοσιεύσει μονογραφίες και άρθρα για τη μεσαιωνική ιστορία του δυτικού ελλαδικού χώρου και την τοπική ιστορία. Έχει εκδώσει αρχειακές πηγές και δημοσιεύσει άρθρα πολιτικής, διοικητικής, οικονομικής, εκκλησιαστικής, κοινωνικής ιστορίας, ιστορίας των θεσμών, προσωπογραφίας και γενεαλογίας. Τα επιστημονικά του ενδιαφέροντα κινήθηκαν στη μεσαιωνική ιστορία του δυτικού ελλαδικού χώρου στο πλαίσιο της διαλεκτικής Βυζαντινού και Δυτικού κόσμου, ιδιαίτερα κατά τον όψιμο μεσαίωνα. Περιλάμβαναν, επίσης, διπλωματική έκδοση και κριτική πηγών, προσεγγίσεις της πολιτικής, διοικητικής, οικονομικής, κοινωνικής, εκκλησιαστικής ιστορίας, της ιστορίας των θεσμών, με ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στους γαιοκτητικούς και το συναφές δίκαιο· επίσης, της τοπογραφίας, της προσωπογραφίας και της γενεαλογίας· τέλος, μεθοδολογία της τοπικής ιστορίας. Απεβίωσε στις 8.3.2012.

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**Euripides versus Aristophanes, *Ion* versus *Birds*: A possibility of “paracomic”  
referentiality\***

Of the extant plays by Euripides, *Ion* is certainly –and on many levels– one of the most controversial, which is probably why it is one of the least preferred when it comes to staging the ancient tragic theatrical discourse according to the conventions prevailing in each era<sup>1</sup>. The play has been described at times as a “fairy tale”, a play “with a very light atmosphere” and a “romantic aspect”, with “a serious intent, although lacking the tragic tone of most tragedies”, “certainly not a tragedy”, a “strange enchanting play”, “containing comic grotesque scenes bordering on the farcical”, a “poetic game”, a “melodrama”, a “pure comedy”, “the earliest modern comedy”, a “tragic-comedy”, a “romance”, a “comedy of intrigue”, a “kind of *drame bourgeois*”, “hardly a tragedy in the current sense of the term”, an “ironic drama”, a “light play”, a “potential tragedy” or “tragedy avoided”, and at other times as a “genuine tragedy”, a “Sophoclean work”, “the *par excellence* Athenian tragic drama”, “Euripides’ most rigorously structured play with the possible exceptions of *Hippolytus* and the *Bacchae*”, etc<sup>2</sup>.

*Ion*’s exceptional flexibility with regard to genre in all its qualitative (κατὰ ποιῶν) parts is concurrent with the equally extensive multiplicity of interpretations – on both the theatrical and the academic stage– that this particular drama of Euripides has received. Confronted with this open and semantically complex horizon<sup>3</sup> of *Ion*’s “nature of poetry which in essence tends to embrace meaning and hold it in suspension, rather than to indicate a conclusion or prescribe a course”, as Whitman

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<sup>1</sup> Regarding the different posterior conceptions of the “tragic” in relation to its primordial function in ancient Greek tragedy see recently Pierre Judet de La Combe, *Les tragédies grecques sont-elles tragiques?*, Montrouge 2010, passim. As far as it concerns especially Euripides’ reception from the Renaissance to the twentieth century, see also Donald J. Mastronarde, *The Art of Euripides: Dramatic Technique and Social Context*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 9-15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. only by way of example (with further bibliography) H.D.F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy: A Literary Study*, London 1939, p. 311; A.P. Burnett, *Catastrophe Survived: Euripides’ Plays of Mixed Reversal*, Oxford 1971, p. 107; Cedric H. Whitman, *Euripides and the Full Circle of Myth*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1974, pp. 69-70; Bernard M.W. Knox, “Euripidean Comedy”, in idem, *Word and Action. Essays on the Ancient Theatre*, Baltimore 1979, pp. 250-274 [reprinted from A. Cheuse, R. Koffler (eds.), *The Rarer Action. Essays in Honor of Francis Fergusson*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1970, pp. 68-96]; Froma Zeitlin, “Mysteries of Identity and Designs of the Self in Euripides’ *Ion*”, *PCPhA* 35 (1989) 144-197, 145; Rush Rehm, *Greek Tragic Theatre*, London & New York 1992, p. 131; Nicole Loraux, *The Children of Athena: Athenian Ideas about Citizenship and the Division between the Sexes* (translated by Caroline Levine), Princeton 1994, pp. 184-186; Kevin H. Lee, *Euripides Ion* (with Introduction, Translation and Commentary by K.H. Lee), England 1997, p. 37; Laura Swift, *Euripides: Ion*, Liverpool 2008, pp. 94-100; J. Michael Walton, *Euripides. Our Contemporary*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2009, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> For a summary of the most fundamental semantic approaches to *Ion* see Lee, *Euripides Ion*, pp. 30-36; also Peter Burian, “Introduction”, in W.S. di Piero & P. Burian, *Euripides’ Ion* (translated by W.S. di Piero, commented by P. Burian), Oxford 1996, pp. 3-18.

suggests<sup>4</sup>, the only point where most modern readings of the play seem to converge is its more or less overtly pro-Athenian orientation, which aims to secure the genealogical exclusiveness of Athens in the formation of “Greek ethnic identity”<sup>5</sup>. An attempt which takes place at a period when the city of Athens experienced a mortal threat rather than an undisputed heyday, that is, at the bleak period of the Peloponnesian War<sup>6</sup>. The first performance of *Ion* is thus dated sometime in the midst of the Peloponnesian War, even though all the extensive analyses of the text, based on both external and internal criteria, have not yet resulted in a unanimously accepted date. The various dating attempts based on historical indications start in the aftermath of 419, when Alcibiades tried to build a fort at Rhion (Thuc. 5.52) which is referred to in passing in the text of *Ion* (v. 1592)<sup>7</sup>, and end in 412 or 411 at the latest, when the defection of the Ionian allies possibly signaled the end of Athens’ optimistic ambitions for obtaining –even if by extortion– hegemony over Greece, on the ground of genealogical constructs. These attempts either converge with or diverge from the dating attempts based primarily on metrics, which tend to set the date of the play after 415, considering the impressive sequence of the constantly increasing proportion of iambic trimeters characterizing the plays of that period<sup>8</sup>. These metric observations, in conjunction with others relating to structure, allow us to date the play in the middle of Euripides’ extant theatrical production and, more specifically, some time close to the year when the *Trojan Women* was staged, in other words in the middle if not the second half of the decade 420-410, most probably in the context of the competition of the City Dionysia<sup>9</sup>.

With this fluid material at my disposal, I will focus on one particular sequence of scenes in *Ion*, on the base of which I will advance the hypothesis of a certain intertextual correlation between this particular drama and Aristophanes’ *Birds*. This hypothesis will in turn reinforce certain assessments of the work of Euripides with regard to genre, interpretation and dating.

My focus is on the second part of *Ion*’s prologue, where the extensive monologic preamble of the god Hermes<sup>10</sup> is followed by an equally extensive

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<sup>4</sup> Whitman, *Euripides*, p. 71

<sup>5</sup> Swift, *Euripides: Ion*, p. 17. Cf. Guido Avezú, *Il mito sulla scena. La tragedia ad Atene*, Venezia 2003, pp. 53-55; Haijo Jan Westra, “The Irreducibility of Autochthony: Euripides’ *Ion* and Levi-Strauss’ Interpretation of the Oedipus Myth”, in J. Davidson, G. Muecke, P. Wilson (eds.), *Greek Drama III. Essays in Honour of Kevin Lee* (BICS Suppl. 87), London 2006, pp. 273-279.

<sup>6</sup> See Albin Lesky, *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*, Göttingen 1972, p. 435.

<sup>7</sup> We follow the edition *Euripides. Trojan Women, Iphigenia among the Taurians, Ion* (edited and translated by David Kovacs), Cambridge, Massachusetts – London, England 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Thomas B.L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides*, London 1967, pp. 1-9; M. Cropp – G. Fick, *Resolutions and Chronology in Euripides. The Fragmentary Tragedies* (BICS Suppl. 43), London 1985; Rainer Klimek-Winter, “Euripides in den dramatischen Agonen Athens: zur Datierung des *Ion*”, *Gymnasium* 103 (1996) 289-297.

<sup>9</sup> For an overview of the question of *Ion*’s dating (and the relevant literature), see A.S. Owen, *Euripides. Ion* edited with an Introduction and Commentary, Oxford 1939, pp. xxxvi-xli; Lesky, *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*, pp. 425-426; Loraux, *The Children of Athena*, p. 206, n. 91; M. Pellegrino (ed.), *Euripide: Ione. Introduzione, Traduzione, Commento*, Bari 2004, pp. 28 f., and more recently Swift, *Euripides: Ion*, pp. 28-30, 104, nn. 13 and 16.

<sup>10</sup> On the wide scope of Hermes’ monologue, see Kevin Lee, “Mood and Time in Euripidean *Ion*”, in M.S. Silk (ed.), *Tragedy and the Tragic. Greek Theatre and Beyond*, Oxford 1996, pp. 85-109, especially pp. 85-86.

monologic scene with the young Ion himself, the protagonist, appearing for the first time. From this monologic sequence of scenes structured in three parts (vv. 82-183) which, when it ends, gives way to the Parodos of the Chorus, we will concentrate on the third and last part: The sequence begins with Ion's entry through the central door of the Delphic temple –possibly accompanied by some silent attendants who are soon seen off by himself towards the Castalian spring (vv. 94-101)<sup>11</sup>– and the introductory recited anapaests, where the image of the peaceful Delphic morning is reflected on the boy who uncomplainingly serves his god (vv. 82-111) and already declares decisively that *πτηνῶν τ' ἀγέλας, αἱ βλάπτουσιν σέμν' ἀναθήματα, τόξοισιν ἐμοῖς φυγάδας θήσομεν*: “The flocks of birds, which harm the sacred offerings, I shall put to flight with my bow” (vv. 106-108). What follows is an interposed strophic pair with mesodic parts (vv. 112-143) and a subsequent astrophic part (vv. 144-153), where Ion, absorbed in his daily task of sweeping the stairs of the temple and sprinkling them with clean water, emphatically expresses the joy he feels in his sacred task<sup>12</sup>. The third part reverts to the –now lyric or melic– anapaests expressing, through a strongly realistic, mimetic-pantomimic movement, the zeal of the young “guardian of the gold” in his effort to drive away from the temple some birds –obviously invisible to the audience<sup>13</sup>– that threaten its purity. As the birds start to gather, Ion threatens first an eagle, “a herald of Zeus”, whose “beak routs the strength of other birds” (vv. 158-160), then a “red-footed” swan that he sends away to the lake at Delos, Apollo's birthplace, with whom this particular bird is directly associated (vv. 161-169), and finally he drives out an –unnamed and unidentified– mother-bird (its only quality mentioned; actually implied through *τέκνοις*: “his young”, at vv. 171-172), sending it away to the “eddies of the Alpheios” (vv. 174-175) or “the groves of the Isthmus” (v. 176)<sup>14</sup>.

We are dealing with an intense scene both verbally and in terms of movement<sup>15</sup>, “half-comic”<sup>16</sup>, given that a series of trivial domestic tasks are accompanied by a song with elevated style and content: an “inconsistency” with an

<sup>11</sup> Siegfried Melchinger, *Die Welt als Tragödie. Band 2: Euripides*, München 1980, p. 78 refers to “ringing boyish voices” and to “three youths” who “run on the stage” (“Drei Jungen laufen auf den Stufen des Peristyls um die Ecke nach vorne in den hell beschiedenen Teil der Szene”) whereas Laura Swift (*Euripides: Ion*, p. 10) refers to a “group of temple attendants”, without excluding at all the possibility that Ion appears “alone” and that the “Delphic attendants of Phoebus” remain exclusively restricted to the narrative level.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action*, p. 96: “In the aria proper a strophic pair with the cult refrain of the paeon covers the sweeping (112-143) and the ensuing astrophic part divides between the scattering of water (144-53) and the threatening of the various birds (154-83)”.

<sup>13</sup> See *infra*, n. 36.

<sup>14</sup> Regarding these “paradoxical” threats of Ion to the “birds of augury”, “since he tells them to fly to other famous sanctuaries cf. Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action*, pp. 136-137; Katerina Zacharia, *Converging Truths. Euripides' Ion and the Athenian Quest for Self-Definition*, Leiden–Boston 2003, p. 9; E. Hoffer, “Violence, Culture and the Workings of Ideology in Euripides' *Ion*”, *CA* 15/2 (October 1996) 289-318, 298.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action*, pp. 95-96: “Virtuoso arias sung by actors are a favourite showpiece in Euripides' later plays. Often these monodies are accompanied by novel and picturesque choreography, and in the best examples this lyric action is closely tied in with the development of the play. [...] But the lyric does much more than accompany the picturesque choreography, it puts these tasks in the context of Ion's sacred servitude”.

<sup>16</sup> Zacharia, *Converging Truths*, p. 9.

“amusing effect”<sup>17</sup>; a scene that is “light” in tone and style, since the danger posed by the birds is hardly serious –they build their nests on the pediments defiling the temple with their droppings– whereas Ion’s “threatening intent – to *slay the red-footed swans* (162-163) and *drown their beautiful song in blood* (168-169)– is meant seriously”<sup>18</sup>; a strange scene, which “is at one and the same time a work-song and a hymn”, a scene “often scorned for triviality by the bookish”, even though it is “one of the most memorable parts of the play in performance”<sup>19</sup>; a scene that is “difficult to interpret”, realistic but also zoologically inaccurate (there are no swans with glowing red feet) and possibly rich in “symbolic depth”<sup>20</sup>; a scene featuring a “daily” task extensively and meticulously represented on stage, “unique” at least in the extant tragic literature<sup>21</sup>; finally, a scene which is intratextually associated at the narrative level with other birds, such as those threatening the baby-Ion after his birth and exposure (vv. 504-505, 902-904, 917; 1494-1496 or 348, 933, 951)<sup>22</sup> or the “riotous band of doves” that will later invade Ion’s banquet and contribute to the disclosure of Creusa’s attempt to murder him (vv. 1196-1208) thanks to the poisoning of a dove – expressly?– marked as “red-legged” (v. 1207)<sup>23</sup>.

Do we possibly have here a carefully constructed combination of “purity and violence” reflected in the distinction between Apollo’s lyre and his bows, two items “in close juxtaposition [...] opposites quite in themselves, symbols of harmony and destruction”, to both of which “Ion is living up” and with both of which he is summoned to comply<sup>24</sup>? Or is it a scene that is structured and justified in primarily dramatic terms, the violent expulsion of the various birds (the powerful eagle, the peaceful swan, the female bird-mother) foreshadowing Ion’s imminent –and equally “brutal”– confrontation with Creusa and Xuthus, when he meets each of them individually for the first time and orders both of them –for different reasons– to go

<sup>17</sup> Lee, “Mood and Time in Euripidean *Ion*”, pp. 88-89. Regarding the “amusing aspects” of Ion’s monody cf. Knox, *Word and Action*, p. 259.

<sup>18</sup> Rehm, *Greek Tragic Theatre*, p. 133.

<sup>19</sup> Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action*, p. 96.

<sup>20</sup> Γιάνγκος Ανδρεάδης (Yanos Andreadis), *Από τον Αισχύλο στον Μπρεχτ. Ολος ο κόσμος μια σκηνή* (*From Aeschylus to Brecht. All the world’s a stage*), Athens 2009, pp. 168-169.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the similarities and differences between this scene and the Euripidean Electra’s entry, carrying a water jug (*El.* 54 f.), as well as Silenos and his iron rake (*Cycl.* 32 f.); Knox, *Word and Action*, p. 259. Regarding the scenes of manual domestic tasks in the extant and the fragmentary plays of ancient Greek tragedy I owe much to the still unpublished study of Yannis Lignades, “The domestic in the opening scene in *Ion*”.

<sup>22</sup> See M.H. Giraud, “Les Oiseaux dans l’*Ion* d’ Euripide”, *RPh* LXI (1987) 83-94, 84: “Puis l’oiseau revient régulièrement dans les discours des personnages, toujours à propos d’Ion. C’est en effet ‘près de la roche au rossignol’ que Creuse se rappelled d’avoir conçu son fils (v. 1482). En ce même lieu, pense-t-elle, l’enfant a du être dévoré par des oiseaux: pure hypothèse, certes, mais hypothèse qui revient au moins quatre fois au cours de la pièce [*Ion* 504-505; 902-904; 917; 1494-1496; aux vers 348, 933 et 951 *θηρ* peut designer des oiseaux]”.

<sup>23</sup> See Whitman, *Euripides*, p. 76: “His whole lyrical monologue is a carefully designed combination of purity and violence, and can exist only for that reason. For quite apart from the irrationalism of expecting a single man with a bow to prevent birds from defiling the temple, we learn in a later scene, doubtless designed to comment indirectly on this one, that doves were allowed the freedom of the precinct (1198 f.). Indeed, it is one of these doves that, by drinking the poisoned libation, warns Ion of the plot against his life; and there is probably some deliberate irony in the fact that it is described as having red legs, as did the swan whom he threatened to shoot (163; 1207)”.

<sup>24</sup> See Whitman, *Euripides*, pp. 75-76.



away, just as he ordered the birds to leave the temple<sup>25</sup>? More broadly, from a dramatic and symbolic point of view, is it possible to posit here a concise foreshadowing of the whole subsequent course of the play, that is, the “movement from innocence to experience”<sup>26</sup>? In other words, a scene-model of “initial innocence and unwordliness” introducing us to the “obscure innocence of his Delphic daily round for pan-hellenic fame (1576)”, that Ion will abandon at the end of the play, exiting as a man and “the legitimate heir of the ancient line” in order to go to Athens and build his reputation throughout Greece<sup>27</sup>? Is not Ion’s constant confrontation throughout the eponymous tragedy with at times threatening and at times salutary birds nothing else than a metaphorical reflection of the birds onto himself, a comment on Ion’s identity and fate by means of an animal symbol taken from the natural (and divine) kingdom<sup>28</sup>? The birds do not function (in this particular scene and also throughout the tragedy) function as a living symbol of Delphi and of the dramatic transitional function that Delphi –as a religious, non-political and non-economic site– signifies in this particular tragedy in contradistinction to the *par excellence* geographic, political and moral site of reference that is Ion’s final destination, namely Athens? In the words of M.H. Giraud: “For the home to be revived through him, a new Erichthonian, and the race of the snake to be perpetuated in accordance with human rules, Ion had to separate from his homeland which threatened to claim him back, as with any native, so that he may rediscover it again later without being punished: he had to pass through Apollo, Delphi, the birds”<sup>29</sup>.

In contrast to *Ion*, whose date, ranking and the other competing tragedies are all uncertain, extant sources are much more illuminating in the case of the *Birds*: they were performed in the socially, politically and militarily tense atmosphere of the Dionysia of 414, they were directed by Kallistratos and won the second prize above the *Komastai* of Ameipsias and below the *Monotropos* of Phrynichus<sup>30</sup>. In contrast to Ion who exits the Delphic temple –his so far undisputed quasi-familial home– in an idyllic pastoral atmosphere, in order to engage in his daily tasks, the comic couple of

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<sup>25</sup> See Stanley E. Hoffer, “Violence, Culture and the Workings of Ideology in Euripides’ *Ion*”, *CIAnt* 15/2 (October 1996) 289-318, 298.

<sup>26</sup> See Rehm, *Greek Tragic Theatre*, pp. 133 and 141. Cf. also Charles Segal, “Euripides’ *Ion*: Generational Passage and Civic Myth”, in M.W. Padilla (ed.), *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society*, London – Toronto 1999, pp. 67-108.

<sup>27</sup> See Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action*, pp. 53-54, 96. Regarding the narrative and anthropological model, on which *Ion* is based and according to which an innocent and abandoned, but “chosen”, baby becomes at the end, and after a series of malchances and dangers, the founder of a famous civilization see G. Guidorizzi (ed.), *Euripide Ione*, Milano 2001, p. XI f.

<sup>28</sup> Giraud, “Les Oiseaux dans l’*Ion* d’Euripide”, p. 91.

<sup>29</sup> Giraud, “Les Oiseaux dans l’*Ion* d’Euripide”, p. 94: “Or pour que ce foyer revive, en la personne d’Ion, nouvel Érichthonios, pour que se perpétue enfin la race du serpent selon les normes humaines, il a fallu qu’Ion soit arraché à la terre natale, qui, comme tout autochtone, menaçait de le reprendre, afin de la retrouver ensuite impunément: il a fallu qu’il passe par Apollon, par Delphes, par l’oiseau”. Regarding the symbolic antithetic function of “birds” and “snakes” in Euripides’ *Ion* cf. more recently Kathryn A. Thomas, “Snakes and Birds in Euripides’ *Ion*”, p. 1 (Available from: <http://www.camws.org/meeting/2005/abstrats2005/thomas.html> - Accessed [8/4/2010]).

<sup>30</sup> We follow the edition Nigel Guy Wilson (ed.), *Aristophanis fabulae*, Tom. I, Oxford 2007; *Aristophanes. Birds – Lysistrata – Women at the Thesmophoria*, edited and translated by Jeffrey Henderson, Cambridge, Massachusetts – London, England 2000.

the *Birds* have left their own home in a state of disappointment in order to seek a new land that will accommodate their past frustrations and their expectations about the future. In a structurally equivalent position to Ion's monologic scene, the comic couple of Peisetaerus and Euelpides, after a quite extensive peripatetic and conversational prologue accompanied or rather guided by two birds (κολοιοῦς-crow, κορώνη-jackdaw, vv. 5-7 until v. 90)<sup>31</sup>, end up in a city composed also of birds - ὄρνεα (the word is first mentioned in v. 13), where they are welcomed at first by the repellent Trochilus, Slave of the Hoopoe Tereus (vv. 60-85), and then by the even more repellent Tereus himself (vv. 93-106), the legendary barbarian Thracian king who was once metamorphosed by the gods into a hoopoe after the abominable conclusion of his marriage with the Athenian princess Procne<sup>32</sup>.

Peisetaerus's bold idea that the birds should rule over humans and force the gods into submission by depriving them of all nourishment is immediately embraced by Tereus, who agrees to summon all the birds to listen to Peisetaerus expounding his idea, and also invites the Nightingale to accompany him –vocally or with a flute– in his singing (vv. 201-266)<sup>33</sup>. The lyrical atmosphere and auditory ecstasy engendered by this monodic invitation in lyric anapaests, mimicking the song of the birds (vv. 226 et seq.)<sup>34</sup>, is abruptly interrupted –just as Ion's pantomimic monody, also in lyrical anapaests, is interrupted– by the unconventional Parodos of the

<sup>31</sup> On the semantic background and the dramatic function of these two bird-guides, see Angus M. Bowie, *Aristophanes. Myth, ritual and comedy*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 154-156.

<sup>32</sup> As regards Tereus' mythic background and its various versions cf. by way of example Φάνης Ι. Κακριδής (Fanis I. Kakridis), *Αριστοφάνους Ορνιθες. Ερμηνευτική Έκδοση (Aristophanes' Birds. Commented edition)*, Athens–Yannina 1987, pp. 57-58, schol. ad vv. 209-222; Bowie, *Aristophanes*, pp. 167-168; David Fitzpatrick, "Sophocles' Tereus", *CQ* 51 (2001) 90-101; idem, "Reconstructing a Fragmentary Tragedy 2: Sophocles' Tereus", *Practitioners Voices in Classical Reception Studies (PVCRS)* Issue 1 (November 2007) 39-45; Gregory W. Dobrov, *Figures of Play. Greek Drama and Metafictional Poetics*, Oxford 2001, pp. 105-132. On the double "nature" (*physis*) and "prudence" (*phronesis*) of Tereus who "attests to and incarnates the internal relationship between comedy and tragedy and, ultimately, through his metatheatrical auto-constitution, emerges as a point of convergence between the dramatic and the extra-theatrical reality", see Αντώνης Τσακμάκης (Antonis Tsakmakis), "Κατασκευάζοντας τον θεατή των *Ορνιθων*" ("Constructing the spectator of the *Birds*"), in Αντώνης Τσακμάκης, Μενέλαος Χριστόπουλος (Antonis Tsakmakis, Menelaos Christopoulos) (eds.), *Ορνιθες. Οψεις και αναγνώσεις μιας αριστοφανικής κωμωδίας (Birds. Aspects and Readings of an Aristophanean Comedy)*, Athens 1997, pp. 33-52, 39-40. Cf. also the interesting "parallel" between Euripides' *Ion* and Sophocles' *Tereus* and the suggestion that both plays may have explored the concept of kinship through colonization, forwarded by Katerina Zacharia, "The Rock of the Nightingale: Kinship Diplomacy and Sophocles' *Tereus*", in Felix Budelmann, Pantelis Michelakis (eds.), *Homer, Tragedy and Beyond: Essays in Greek Literature in Honor of P.E. Easterling*, London 2001, pp. 91-102.

<sup>33</sup> With regard to the various "stage problems" raised by this scene with the preparation and execution of the song of invitation (Who is singing? Who is playing the flute? Where is each actor standing?), cf. indicatively Carlo Ferdinando Russo, *Aristophanes. An Author for the Stage* (revised and expanded English edition, translated by Kevin Wren), London & New York 1994, p. 159; Christopher William Dearden, *The Stage of Aristophanes*, London 1976, pp. 72 ff.; Pascal Thiery, *Aristophane, Fiction et Dramaturgie*, Paris 1986, pp. 76-85; Horst Dieter Blume, "Music in Aristophanes' *Birds*", in Τσακμάκης, Χριστόπουλος (Tsakmakis, Christopoulos) (eds.), *Ορνιθες. Οψεις και αναγνώσεις (Birds. Aspects and Readings)*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>34</sup> Regarding Aristophanes' "high lyric poetry" in his whole extant work and, more specifically in *Birds* see analytically Michael Silk, "Aristophanes as a Lyric Poet", in *Aristophanes: Essays in Interpretation*, Cambridge 1980, pp. 99-151; Θεόδωρος Γ. Παππάς (Theodoros G. Pappas), *Ο φιλόγελως Αριστοφάνης (Laughter-Loving Aristophanes)*, Athens 1996, pp. 89-133, 155-177.

Chorus sparked off by the consecutive arrival of four birds, a “flamboyantly crimson” Flamingo, (vv. 268-273), a Mede “garbed in eccentric colour” (vv. 274-278), a second Hoopoe (vv. 279-286) and another “brightly tinted bird”, the Gobber (vv. 287-290)<sup>35</sup>. The sense of surprise and wonder, but also the escalating threat and impending physical violence, culminate in the orderly procession of twenty four more birds (vv. 294-304), all named without exception, including *inter alios* a “turtledove”, a “rock dove”, a “ring dove”, a “redshank”, a “red-head shrike”, a “porphyryon” (vv. 302-304). In contrast to *Ion*, who is forced to address them unilaterally and to employ direct force vis-à-vis the voiceless birds –most probably invisible to the audience and recalled only through *Ion*’s discourse and gestures<sup>36</sup>–, the comedy, thanks to its imaginative freedom, allows for the dialogic interaction between humans and birds and, by implication, for the employment of persuasion on the part of the comic hero: first as a means to ward off the birds’ physical attacks (vv. 338, 344-353, 364-365) and then as a way of swinging them round and converting them to his plan for founding his u-topia<sup>37</sup>.

If we accept an earlier date for *Ion*, for example around 419, “one of the most calm and optimistic years of the war”, as Edouard Delebecque describes it, should we also assume along with the above-mentioned scholar that this “humorous” scene with the birds “must have made the Athenians smile and must have impressed

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<sup>35</sup> For different views regarding the potential semantic background, dramatic function, stage presentation and spatial position of these four birds, cf. indicatively L.B. Lawler, “Four dancers in the *Birds* of Aristophanes”, *TAPhA* (1942) 58-63; Russo, *Aristophanes*, pp. 159-161; A.S. Henry, “Aristophanes’ *Birds* 268-293”, *CPh* LXXII (1977) 52-53; Κακριδής (Kakridis), *Αριστοφάνους Ορνιθες* (*Aristophanes’ Birds*), p. 67, schol. ad 268-293; Blume, “Music in Aristophanes’ *Birds*”, pp. 28-29.

<sup>36</sup> Although the deployment of real horses cannot be precluded in the ancient tragic theatrical practice, especially in those cases where the presence of a “chariot” is textually denoted and dramatically justified [cf. P.D. Arnott, “Animals in the Greek Theatre”, *G&R* (second series) 6 (1959) 177-179], in the case of *Ion*, where the birds are supposedly involved in the action, the presence of real birds on the stage should be ruled out not only for generic reasons, related to the high conventionality and non-naturalism of the tragic code, but also for obvious practical/technical reasons (cf. Oliver Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus. The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy*, Oxford 1977, pp. 33-34; Lee, *Euripides Ion*, p. 174, schol. ad 154-81). Accordingly, the pantomimic representation of the birds by supporting (dressed up?) actors should also be rather ruled out, since there is no other documented zoomorphic presence on stage in the tragic corpus, this being a possibility that seems to have been reserved exclusively for comedy and satyr play. Nonetheless, Carl Ruck’s assumption that there are “burlesque elements” in *Ion*’s monody, that “the birds in that song were described as rather grotesquely large” and –last but not least– that “the language suggests that the scene was staged with an extra chorus of bird dancers (τίς ὄδ’ [...] 170 ff.), one of whom apparently enters with a bundle of faggots, intending to build its nest on the temple” [Carl A.P. Ruck, “On the Sacred Names of Iamos and Ion: Ethnobotanical Referents in the Hero’s Parentage”, *CJ* 71, N. 3 (Feb.-March 1976) 235-252, 259] would reinforce my hypothesis on the paracomical function of that tragic scene, as this hypothesis will be developed afterwards.

<sup>37</sup> As regards the different versions and functions of Aristophanic heroes’ utopian project see Bernhard Zimmemann, “Utopisches und Utopie in den Komödien des Aristophanes”, *WJA* 9 (1983) 57-77; Alan H. Sommerstein, “Νεφελοκοκκυγία και Γυναικόπολη: Οι ονειρικές πόλεις του Αριστοφάνη” (“Nephelococcygia and Gynaikopolis: the oneiric cities of Aristophanes”, translated in Greek by Κωνσταντίνος Πουλής – Konstantinos Poulis), in Θεόδωρος Γ. Παππάς, Ανδρέας Γερ. Μαρκαντωνάτος (Theodoros G. Pappas, Andreas Ger. Markantonatos) (eds.), *Αττική κωμωδία. Πρόσωπα και Προσεγγίσεις* (*Attic Comedy: Persons and Approaches*), Athens 2011, pp. 538-571.

Aristophanes, who used it for the purpose of imitation, not parody, in his *Birds*<sup>38</sup>, where various other indirect references to the supposed tragic sub-text could also be identified<sup>39</sup>? Or should we advance the reverse hypothesis –possible not least due to the fluid chronological parameters of *Ion*'s production– that it is not the *Birds* that transform and assimilate the “humorous” scene from the earlier tragedy, but it is *Ion* that refers to the preceding *Birds* and incorporates them into its intertextual substratum? In which case, we may posit a range of references, starting from the spectacular and unconventional Parodos of the comedy's zoomorphic Chorus and extending it to other parts as well, if not to the whole dramatic structure and ideological orientation of Aristophanes' comedy.

In this paper I support the latter hypothesis on the grounds that it is far more plausible to envisage this particular sequence of scenes in *Ion* citing the *Birds* with no explicit reference to its sub-textual source, rather than a typical ancient comedy of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, such as the *Birds*, citing more or less parodically a recently performed tragedy with no direct or indirect indication interfering in its textual field<sup>40</sup>. By contrast, intertextual markers are present in the case of the –according to Sophocles– Tereus' myth which is explicitly and extensively parodied in the *Birds* (see for instance vv. 100-101: *Τοιαῦτα μέντοι Σοφοκλέης λυμαίνεται/ ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίασιν ἐμέ, τὸν Τηρέα*: “That's how shabbily Sophocles treats me –Tereus!– in his tragedies”)<sup>41</sup>; the same is true of the –most probably Aeschylean– *Prometheus Bound* on whom the homonymous dramatic character in the *Birds* is based<sup>42</sup>, or of the overt –for the meticulous literary scholar– paratragic references to Sophocles' *Tyro* or to Aeschylus' *Edonoi* in the description of the second of the four birds preparing the Parodos of the Chorus in the *Birds*<sup>43</sup>; finally, leaving aside the *Birds*, this is what repeatedly happens in the case of all those Euripidean dramas that are alluded to – often explicitly and very extensively– in plays ranging from the *Acharnians* of 425 to the *Frogs* of 405<sup>44</sup>. “It may at first be surprising to suggest that a tragedy alludes to a

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<sup>38</sup> Édouard Delebecque, *Euripide et la Guerre du Péloponnèse*, Paris 1951, p. 226: “Ce passage dut faire sourire les Athéniens, et frapper sans doute Aristophane qui s'en servit adroitement pour une imitation, et non une parodie, dans ses *Oiseaux* [...]”.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. Regarding the non-credibility of the “imagined references in passages of Aristophanes, e.g. to 164 ff. in *Birds* 769 ff. and to 1132 ff. in *Birds* 999 ff.” see Lee, *Euripides Ion*, p. 40.

<sup>40</sup> About the specific techniques (“Internal Undermining and Undermining through the Context”) and subtechniques (“Substitution”, “Change of position”, “Addition”, “Detraction”, “Excess”) of the Aristophanic parody see, through the light of modern literary theory, Stavros Tsitsiridis, “On Aristophanic Parody: The Parodic Techniques”, in idem (ed.), *Παραχορήγημα. Μελετήματα για το αρχαίο θέατρο προς τιμήν του καθηγητή Γρηγόρη Μ. Σηφάκη (Parachoregema. Essays on Ancient Theatre in Honor of Grigoris Sifakis)*, Heraklion 2009, pp. 359-382.

<sup>41</sup> See Dobrov, *Figures of Play*, p. 124. Regarding the ambiguous precursor role of Tereus in the founding and the inception of the new world of the *Birds* see also Bowie, *Aristophanes*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>42</sup> See Τσακμάκης (Tsakmakis), “Κατασκευάζοντας τον θεατή των *Ορνίθων*” (“Constructing the Spectator of the *Birds*”), pp. 36-37 (with relevant bibliography).

<sup>43</sup> See Niall W. Slater, *Spectator Politics, Metatheatre and Performance in Aristophanes*, Philadelphia 2002, pp. 137 and 287 (n. 17). Cf. Κακριδής (Kakridis), *Aristophanes' Birds (Αριστοφάνους Ὀρνίθεις)*, pp. 69-70, schol. ad 275-276.

<sup>44</sup> See Ralph R. Rosen, “Aristophanes, Old Comedy and Greek Tragedy”, in Rebecca Bushnell (ed.), *A Companion to Tragedy*, Massachusetts 2005, pp. 251-268, and more recently Ιωάννα Καραμάνου (Ioanna Karamanou), “Ευριπιδαριστοφανίζων: Η πρόσληψη του Ευριπίδη στην Αρχαία Κωμωδία” (“Euripidaristophanizon: Euripides' Reception in Ancient Comedy”), in Παππάς, Μαρκαντωνάτος

scene of comedy, rather than the other way round. Yet we need to distinguish allusion from parody. Comedy regularly quotes and ridicules specific lines from particular tragedies. Tragedy, by contrast, occasionally alludes to comic scenes and episodes. [...] When comedy alludes to tragedy, the effect is usually parodic. Comedy invokes the serious tragic plot and the cultural values it embodies in order to deflate and domesticate them. Tragic allusion to comedy is both less common and less straightforward”: This note by John Kirkpatrick and Francis Dunn<sup>45</sup> corroborate our hypothesis that it is more likely that *Ion* refers –indirectly and implicitly, as expected– to the *Birds*, instead of the *Birds* referring –with no (sub)(con)notation at all, as not expected– to *Ion* (that is, unless we preclude any genuine association between them and, thus, assign any intertextual associations exclusively to the interpretive freedom and inventiveness of the reader/receiver).

It seems that tragedy –especially Euripidean tragedy– offered rather fertile ground not only for “comic elements”, in the sense of appropriating instances of the laughable in its various manifestations and nuances, but also for “elements of comedy”, in the sense of incorporating certain structural forms, characters, dramatic situations, motifs, themes and story patterns of the Ancient Comedy<sup>46</sup>, aiming perhaps not at the comic *per se* (in the same way that comedy often uses paratragedy as an end in itself) but mainly with the purpose of intensifying tragic ambiguity, of heightening tragic passion and generating dramatic effect through constant tension, continuous shifts in sympathy and changes of perspective, consecutive emotional charge and discharge (on the part of both the dramatic characters and the spectators)<sup>47</sup>.

Thus, while Aeschylus seems to be –at least relying on the extant corpus– Euripides’ main tragic target –an inimical attitude that will be magnified, in return, within the fictional context of Aristophanes’ *Frogs*–, it may also be the case that Aristophanes, who was a systematic adversary of Euripides already since the

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(Pappas, Markontonatos) (eds.), *Αττική Κωμωδία (Attic Comedy)*, pp. 675-737 (with broad relevant bibliography).

<sup>45</sup> John Kirkpatrick, Francis Dunn, “Heracles, Cercopes and Paracomedy”, *TAPhA* 132 (2002) 29-61, 37-38.

<sup>46</sup> See Bernd Seidensticker, “Comic Elements in Euripides’ *Bacchae*”, *AJPh* 99 (1978) 303-320, an article that contributed decisively in the ever since “hotly debated” issues of the presence and function of the comic in tragedy and the relationship between tragedy and meta-theatre (cf. much earlier Anna Rearden, *A Study of Humor in Greek Tragedy*, California 1913; Walter Jens, *Euripides: Büchner*, Pfullingen 1964 [= *Opuscula aus Wissenschaft und Dichtung* 21]). For a succinct overview and application of Seidensticker’s distinction between “elements of comedy” and “comic elements” in the case of *Ion* see Katerina Zacharia, “The Marriage of Tragedy and Comedy in Euripides’ *Ion*”, in S. Jäkel, A. Timonen (eds.), *Laughter Down the Centuries*, vol. II, *Annales Universitatis Turkuensis*, ser. B, tom. 213, Turku 1995, pp. 45-63, esp. 46-47. The basic scholarly disputes on the above-mentioned issues in the field of classical studies were recently summarized by Γιάννης Λιγνάδης (Yannis Lignades), “Η πρόσληψη του κωμικού στην τραγωδία από τους σύγχρονους Έλληνες σκηνοθέτες” (“The Reception of the Comic in Tragedy as reflected in Modern Approaches by Greek Directors”), Paper read in the 4<sup>th</sup> Panhellenic Theatre Studies Conference, Department of Theatre Studies, of the University of Patras (Patras, May 26-29, 2011), on “Ancient theatre and its reception”. Under publication in the Conference Proceedings.

<sup>47</sup> Regarding the discussion on the function of “genre” and the potential generic mixtures and multifarious forms and tones in ancient Greek literature, ancient Greek drama and Euripidean drama, in particular, see analytically Donald J. Mastronarde, *The Art of Euripides. Dramatic Technique and Social Context*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 44-62.

*Acharnians* of 425, became occasionally –as in this instance– Euripides’ main target from the field of Ancient Comedy, especially in this rather hybrid tragedy that challenges the generic boundaries and the established expectations, at a “turning point in the history of ancient Greek drama”, ushering in its “ultimate stage of development before its decline after the death of Euripides”<sup>48</sup>. “We are certainly touching here on a novel area of theatrical exploration: the poet does not simply exploit the expressive means inherent in the genre in order to achieve the maximum dramatic effect but, having exhausted the limits of their function, he also applies them in a scenic game that challenges the experiences and receptiveness of the audience, while integrating his contribution into a history whose previous stages are now clearly demarcated”, notes Nikos H. Chourmouziadis with regard to Euripides’ intertextual experimentations within the tragic field, which may have as well surpassed its limits and extended likewise to the domain of ancient comedy<sup>49</sup>.

The possibility of *Ion*’s paracomical reference to *Birds* may not have been an isolated case not only in the special field of Euripidean dramaturgy but also in the wider context of 5<sup>th</sup> century tragic production. Intertextual, obvious or latent, traces of ancient comedy have already been identified –or presumed at least– in the tragic (sub)surface within the broader framework of ancient tragedy’s meta-theatrical function, a framework which, though forcefully disputed, remains –as the case in question may be– still conceivable<sup>50</sup>. As J. Michael Walton characteristically suggests: “The reason for such comic moments and, indeed, whole scenes may be in part parodic, in part-self-referential. More, I think, they are an acknowledgement that tragedy has no rules, whatever Aristotle might later have been alleged to claim, beyond the requirement to function within a structure of dramatic rhythm and contrasting mood. I would anyway be wrong to assume that moments of light relief in Greek tragedy are a Euripidean invention. They can be found in any surviving play of Aeschylus or Sophocles [...]”<sup>51</sup>.

If we accept the hypothesis of paracomical referentiality in the case of *Ion*, then there are several implications: First of all, and very obviously, we must exclude the possibility that *Ion* dates before 414 BC, a year that is reaffirmed as *terminus ante quem*, and we must place it around 413 or 412 (that is, most probably before the final conclusion of the Sicilian Expedition and the oligarchic movement of the Four Hundred) in a stylistically and metrically affiliated group which includes *Helen*,

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<sup>48</sup> J. Michael Walton, *Greek Theatre Practice*, Westport, Conn. 1983, p. 211.

<sup>49</sup> Νίκος Χ. Χουρμουζιάδης (Nikos Ch. Chourmouziades), *Όροι και μετασχηματισμοί στην αρχαία ελληνική τραγωδία* (*Conditions and Transformations in ancient Greek Tragedy*), Athens 1984, p. 175.

<sup>50</sup> For different examples and different considerations about the quantitative and qualitative function of the “comic” in the tragic –mainly Euripidean– field cf. Knox, “Euripidean Comedy”, pp. 250-274; Kenneth J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1972, pp. 148-149; John Herrington, “The Influence of Old Comedy on Aeschylus’ Later Trilogies”, *TAPhA* 93 (1973) 113-125; Justina Gregory, “Comic Elements in Euripides”, in M. Cropp, K. Lee and D. Sansone (eds.), *Euripides and Tragic Theatre in the Late Fifth Century* (= *ICS* 24-25), Champaign 2000, pp. 59-74; Alan H. Sommerstein, “Comic Elements in Tragic Language: the case of Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*”, in A. Willi (ed.), *The Language of Greek Comedy*, Oxford 2002, pp. 151-168; Bernd Seidensticker, “Dithyramb, Comedy and Satyr-Play”, in Justina Gregory (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Tragedy*, Oxford 2005, pp. 38-54, 51; Kirkpatrick & Dunn, “Heracles, Cercopes and Paracomedy”, pp. 29-61; Erich Segal, “The Comic Catastrophe: An Essay on Euripidean Comedy”, *BICS* 40, Supplement 66 (1995) 46-55. See also nn. 45 and 46.

<sup>51</sup> J.M. Walton, *Euripides. Our Contemporary*, London, 2009, p. 75.

*Iphigenia in Tauris* and possibly the lost *Andromeda*<sup>52</sup>. In that case, the intertextual relation between *Birds* 209-222 (the Hoopoe invoking Procne, the Nightingale) and Euripides' *Helen* 1107-1113 (the Chorus invoking the "nightingale of tears" to share their lamentation)<sup>53</sup>, should also be reconsidered as regards its paracomical and metatheatrical potential function.

Secondly, this hypothesis adds –or rather confirms– one more comic trace among the many that have been so far sought and identified in *Ion*'s textual surface<sup>54</sup>, and it reinforces the view that upholds the polyphonic and carnivalesque nature of this particular drama and of Euripides' late –at least– production more generally<sup>55</sup>: a production which decisively influenced the New Comedy of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>56</sup>, where the comic and the serious or tragic are conceived not in isolation but as components of the same theatrical experience<sup>57</sup>, forming a generically unstable amalgam of contrasting dramaturgical and experiential manifestations of the heroic and the everyday, of popular grotesque and utopian frivolity<sup>58</sup>.

Thirdly, it reinforces the reasonable assumption of "mutual" artistic influence and, at the same time, rivalry between Euripides and Aristophanes, who followed parallel paths for a long time in the last decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, often both defending the same targets with different means<sup>59</sup>. By choosing to include this particular ornithological scene in *Ion*, did Euripides come up with a scenic channel for expressing all the bitterness and the sense of violence that he experienced on the part of his threatening comic colleague, who never ceased to parody him, at least

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<sup>52</sup> Cf. Zacharia, *Converging Truths*, pp. 4-5 and 187-188; Swift, *Euripides: Ion*, pp. 29 and 40; Donald J. Mastrorarde, "Iconography and Imagery in Euripides' *Ion*", in Judith Mossman (ed.), *Euripides. Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*, Oxford 2003, pp. 295-308, 295, n. 2: "[...] See Dale 1967 [i.e. Euripides *Helen*. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by A.M. Dale, Oxford 1967] xxiv-xxviii for the metrical statistics, which are the best evidence and clearly indicate the grouping of these three plays within a few years c. 412. The precise order of composition and the dates of first production of *IT* and of *Ion* are uncertain and do not matter to the interpretation of the plays".

<sup>53</sup> For different explanations of this obvious (linguistic and metrical) relation between the two passages cf. Peter Rau, *Paratragodia. Untersuchungen einer komischen Form des Aristophanes*, München 1967, p. 195; Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy*, pp. 148-9; Silk, "Aristophanes as a Lyric Poet" (with further bibliography), pp. 100-105; Παππάς (Pappas), *Ο φιλόγελως Αριστοφάνης (Laughter-Loving Aristophanes)*, p. 100.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Karl Matthiessen, "Der *Ion* – eine Komödie des Euripides?", in M. Geerard, J. Desmer and R. Vander Plaetse (eds.), *Opes Atticae. Miscellanea Philologica et Historica Raymondo Bogaert et Hermanno Van Looy oblate (= SEJG 31)*, 1990, pp. 271-291; Zacharia, "The Marriage of Tragedy and Comedy in Euripides' *Ion*", pp. 45-63; eadem, *Converging Truths*, pp. 150-151; Lee, *Euripides Ion*, p. 37; J.M. Walton, *Euripides. Our Contemporary*, London 2009, pp. 66-68. See also the long list of signs which are examined through the "comic" light and are summarized in the English Abstract of the article Kiso Akiko, "From Tragedy to Comedy. The Dramaturgy of Euripides' *Ion*", CS 14 (1996) 1-26 [in Japanese]. Available from: <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/Detail/detail.do?LOCALID=ART0007423407&lang=en> [Accessed 9 April 2010].

<sup>55</sup> About the "polyphonic", "carnavalesque" character of *Ion* and of later Euripidean dramaturgy in general, on the base of the premises posed by the radical literary terminology and conception of Mikhail Bakhtin see Zacharia, *Converging Truths*, pp. 166-176.

<sup>56</sup> With regard to the thematic, structural and semantic analogies between *Ion* and New Comedy see, for instance, Edith Hall, *Greek Tragedy. Suffering under the sun*, Oxford 2010, p. 278.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Zacharia, *Converging Truths*, p. 153; Mastrorarde, "Iconography and Imagery in Euripides' *Ion*", p. 307.

<sup>58</sup> On the generic uncertainty and "polychromy" of *Ion* and, more broadly, of Euripides' *oeuvre* and on the challenging effect that it may have had on its recipients, including the authors of Ancient Comedy, see Lee, *Euripides Ion*, pp. 35-38. Cf. Mastrorarde, *The Art of Euripides*, pp. 44 ff.

<sup>59</sup> See R.E. Wycherley, "Aristophanes and Euripides", *G&R* 15, no. 45 (Oct. 1946) 98-107.

since the extant *Acharnians* of 425<sup>60</sup>? Or was it a parodic allusion which –far from occasionally expressing all of Euripides’ bitterness in the form of a meta-theatrical comic parenthesis – focused on specific semantic orientations of the *Birds*? In other words, is it not conceivable that, through this memorable comic scene, Euripides intended to target the deepest strata of the dramatic structure and ideological make-up of the Aristophanic comedy, wishing perhaps to challenge it through the symbolic image of the expulsion of the birds by Ion? In this case, Ion would serve here as a fictional mouthpiece for the real Euripides in his effort to protect his Athenian “home” from the menacing fissures and the bleak prospects reserved for it by the earlier comic play<sup>61</sup>.

If this is the case, then Euripides reacts dynamically –in the difficult moments experienced by Athens just before the final tragic outcome of the Sicilian Expedition– by counter-posing against the comic *Birds* a clearly Athenocentric and patriotic if not propagandistic message of optimism, through a series of persistent intertextual divergences of his own tragic drama from the comic drama of the recent theatrical past. Indicatively: instead of the motif of the flight from Athens, employed by Aristophanes, and the transition to the remote, non-topian city of birds<sup>62</sup>, where the behaviors of Athenian tyranny and the distressing daily reality of Athens are rather reproduced<sup>63</sup>, Euripides opposes Ion’s return –after his long stay at Delphi, the center of Greece– to Athens, his appropriation of the Athenian identity being a “straightforward good and a compensation for the earlier loneliness”<sup>64</sup> of a hero who had until then remained marginal (“not only illegitimate but completely without identity [...] a slave lacking parents, a city and a name”)<sup>65</sup>. Moreover, instead of the gloomy impasse and melancholic repetition envisaged by Aristophanes with the establishment of the entirely ambiguous, fantastic Cloud-Cuckoo-Land, Euripides advances or rather calls up the luminous prospect of an Athens that is the birthplace of Greek civilization and leader of all the other Greek cities; also, instead of the cosmic genealogy and cosmogonic succession invoked by Peisetaerus and the Chorus, with the former supporting and the latter confirming the superiority of the birds vis-à-vis humans in general (of whom the two Athenian fugitives are merely a metonymic specimen)<sup>66</sup>, Euripides proposes and invents a secularized and pan-

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<sup>60</sup> *Supra*, n. 43.

<sup>61</sup> In contrast to the hypothesis of such a “mutual” literary exchange between comedy and tragedy, Ralph Rosen (“Aristophanes, Old Comedy and Greek Tragedy”, in Bushnell (ed.), *A Companion to Tragedy*, pp. 264-265) argues in favor of a “strangely unidirectional genuine literary rivalry”, where “comedy did provide an invaluable service for the audience in its ability to compensate for tragedy’s own lack of self-reflexivity”.

<sup>62</sup> Regarding the ample “landscape” of Aristophanes’ dramatic world, see Αντώνιος Μαστραπάς (Antonios Mastrapas), “Η τοπιογραφία της Αθήνας στο έργο του Αριστοφάνη” (The Landscape of Athens in Aristophanes’ Work”, in Παππάς, Μαρκαντωνάτος (Pappas, Markantonatos) (eds.), *Αττική Κωμωδία (Attic Comedy)*, pp. 592-628.

<sup>63</sup> See Τσακμάκης (Tsakmakis), “Κατασκευάζοντας το θεατή των *Ορνίθων*” (“Constructing the Spectator of the *Birds*”), p. 50, with bibliography relevant to Peisthetairus “tyrannic features”. Cf. David Konstan, “A City in the Air: Aristophanes’ *Birds*”, *Arethusa* 23 (1990) 183-207, 200-203; Bowie, *Aristophanes*, pp. 166-177.

<sup>64</sup> Swift, *Euripides Ion*, p. 83.

<sup>65</sup> Mary Ebbott, “Marginal characters”, in Gregory (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Tragedy*, pp. 366-376, 370.

<sup>66</sup> On the “cosmogonic –parodic or not– facts presented by Aristophanes in the Anapaests (especially in verses 693-703)” of the Parabasis, see Μ. Χριστόπουλος (M. Christopoulos), “*Ωλογονία* (Αριστοφάνους



hellenic genealogy in order to justify the special genealogical supremacy of Athenians with regard to the rest of Greeks, a supremacy that is notably based on the principle of autochthony and its *par excellence* animal symbol, the snake<sup>67</sup>. Finally, instead of the unfair Zeus, who is substituted in the end by Peisetaerus marrying his housemaid Basileia, Euripides posits a seemingly unreliable Apollo who nonetheless eventually redeems in fairness –through his representative, Athena– his faithful and friends<sup>68</sup>, even after many years of waiting for the fulfillment of the god's caprice and only after confronting the necessities of the time lost<sup>69</sup>. More generally, in contrast to the relentless criticism waged systematically by the Ancient Comedy, and particularly in this case by Aristophanes' *Birds*, against Athens and its institutional, social, political, economic and moral deficiencies and dysfunctions, tragedy –*Ion* in that particular case– tends more often to portray Athens and its most prominent representatives under a primarily positive –though in no way one-dimensional or monochromatic– light<sup>70</sup> as a place where heroes can find refuge and salvation from other mythical cycles or lands<sup>71</sup>.

Last but not least, such a possibility of paracommic referentiality presupposes a further expansion of the limits of the receptive openness and the readily available decoding abilities of the ancient audience, who were invited to identify and distinguish between the different inter-textual and inter-performative references employed and foregrounded –at the level of discourse and spectacle– not only by the

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Ορνιθες 693-703)" ["Oogonia (Aristophanes' *Birds* 693-703"], in Τσακμάκης, Χριστόπουλος (Tsakmakis, Christopoulos) (eds.), *Ορνιθες (Birds)*, pp. 53-68.

<sup>67</sup> With regard to the autochthony in Euripides' *Ion* and the snake as principle and symbol *par excellence* of the royal lineage of the Athenians cf. C. Wolff, "The Design and Myth in Euripides' *Ion*", *HSPH* 69 (1965) 169-194; Giraud, "Les Oiseaux dans l'*Ion* d'Euripide", pp. 83-84; Mastronarde, "Iconography and Imagery in Euripides' *Ion*", pp. 163-176; V.J. Rosivach, "Earthborns and Olympians: The Parodos of the *Ion*", *CQ* 27 (1977) 284-294; A Saxonhouse, "Myths and the Origins of Cities: Reflections on the Autochthony Theme in Euripides' *Ion*", in J.P. Euben (ed.), *Greek Tragedy and Political Theory*, Berkeley, Calif. 1986, pp. 252-73; Loraux, "Autochthonous Kreousa: Euripides' *Ion*", in *The Children of Athena*, pp. 184-236.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Gary S. Meltzer, *Euripides and the Poetics of Nostalgia*, Cambridge 2006, p. 148: "Both plays (*Helen*, *Ion*) take refuge in a certain nostalgia for a divine voice that is ultimately just, even if it is not truthful".

<sup>69</sup> For different conceptualizations of the dramaturgical and ideological treatment of the divine element, as represented here in an exemplary way by Apollo, cf. A.P. Burnett, "Human Resistance and Divine Persuasion in Euripides' *Ion*", *CPh* 57 (1962) 89-103; G. Gellie, "Apollo in the *Ion*", *Ramus* 13 (1985) 93-101; V. Giannopoulou, "Divine Agency and Tyche in Euripides' *Ion*: Ambiguity and Shifting Perspectives", *ICS* 24-25 (1999-2000) 257-271; K. Hartigan, *Ambiguity and Self-Deception: The Apollo and Artemis Plays of Euripides*, Frankfurt/M., Bern, New York, Paris 1991; Michael Lloyd, "Divine and Human Action in Euripides' *Ion*", *A&A* 32 (1986) 33-45; J.E. Thornburn, "Apollo's Comedy and the Ending of Euripides' *Ion*", *AC* 44 (2001) 221-236; Ν.Π. Μπεζαντάκος (N.P. Bezantakos), *Το αφηγηματικό μοντέλο του Greimas και οι τραγωδίες του Ευριπίδη. Αλκηστις, Μήδεια, Ιππόλυτος, Ανδρομάχη, Ίων, Ιφιγένεια η εν Ταύροις (Greimas' Actantial Model and Euripides' Tragedies: Alcestis, Medea, Hippolytus, Andromacha, Ion, Iphigenia at Tauris)*, Athens 2004, pp. 109-125.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Lee, *Euripides Ion*, p. 34: "Such a patriotic theme might have been comforting at a time when Athens faced both internal disturbance and rebellion from without. On the other hand, it may have challenged the Athenians to see that the present war was a fratricidal conflict among those with common roots. It is, in any case, impossible to view the patriotic elements simply as incidental 'political superstructure', unrelated to the effect of the play as a whole".

<sup>71</sup> "When Athenian rulers do behave less than perfectly, they do so when they are temporarily away from Athens, thus distancing them from the city (for example, Aegeus in *Medea* is passing through Corinth; Theseus in *Hippolytus* is at Troezen)", notes Swift, *Ion*, p. 83.

more blatant, articulate and denotative ancient comic performance but also by the more discrete, allusive and connotative tragic performance in all the various semiotic sub-systems of theatrical practice<sup>72</sup>. “I suspect that a single gesture or a single syllable was often sufficient to indicate paratragedy. The many common features of the two genres make it easy to indicate parody by means of their differences, and this helps to account for the pervasiveness of paratragedy in Old Comedy”, observes Oliver Taplin with regard to the terms of reception of the Aristophanic inter-text by the ancient audience at both the auditory and the visual level<sup>73</sup>, an observation which could apply just as well to the case of the tragic paracomedy.

On the other hand, this hypothesis regarding a certain type of referentiality confirms in its turn the considerable quantitative and qualitative, semiotic and semantic loss affecting any modern performance of ancient tragedy in terms of both production and reception, since the relevant references (linguistic, paralinguistic, gestural, mimetic, musical, scenographic or costume-related), which may have been dramatically significant and ideologically loaded at the time, remain more or less inactive for the intellect and the senses of the contemporary audience. Compared to its ancient counterpart, the contemporary audience is remarkably heterogeneous in both its general knowledge and its specialized background with regard to the theatrical performances they have attended and/or the theatrical texts they have read. Thus, if the more or less overt visual and verbal references of *Ion* to the earlier *Birds* (or the reverse...) could be decoded by the ancient spectators, most of whom had attended –at a short interval– both individual performances, a similar attempt at establishing an internal association between two modern performances of *Ion* and the *Birds* would falter at the heterogeneous, scattered and fragmentary knowledge of the contemporary audience, which has a diverse composition in terms of age, gender and race.

In the *Thesmophoriazusae* of 411 Aristophanes will again pick up the baton, this time parodying Euripides’ recently staged tragedies *Andromeda*, *Helen* and *Palamedes*, while in *Lysistrata* of the same year (411), *Ion*’s Athenocentric orientation will be comically transmuted into the pan-hellenic peace plan of *Lysistrata*, who becomes the leader (not on genealogical grounds but purely thanks to her political activity) of all Greek women –in a comedy that treats war from a feminine perspective, a dramaturgical and ideological tactic much favored by Euripides<sup>74</sup>. And a few years after the performance of *Birds*, where two Athenians dared to fly –like birds– away from Athens in order to found a new city, Euripides himself, for reasons that remain obscure, will also “fly” away from Athens to the Macedonian court of

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<sup>72</sup> With regard to the potential semiotic means of the theatrical intertextuality both on acoustic and on visual level see M. Issacharoff, *Le spectacle du discours*, Paris 1985, pp. 57-65, mainly pp. 62-65.

<sup>73</sup> O. Taplin, “Fifth-Century Tragedy and Comedy: a *Synkrisis*”, *JHS* 106 (1986) 163-74, 170 [repr. in E. Segal (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Aristophanes*, Oxford 1996, pp. 9-28]. Cf. more recently Tsitsiridis, “On Aristophanic Parody”, p. 379: “It is obvious from this definition that, apart from texts, the potential objects of parody may be mimic and gestures, paralinguistic phenomena (accent and intonation habits, manner of recitation etc.), the products of the visual arts, musical works, as well as all phenomena and behaviours of a semiotic character and social function (e.g. rituals, the ceremonies, festivals, professional codes). [...] Things get even more complicated when we take into account that in some cases parody must have included music and dance”.

<sup>74</sup> For a global overview of this “fruitful topic of research” (with relevant bibliography) see recently Matronarde, “Women”, in *The Art of Euripides*, pp. 246-279.

Archelaus<sup>75</sup>. The magical journey of continuous artistic and ideological cross-fertilization would soon come to its end.

### Abstract

#### **Euripides versus Aristophanes, *Ion* versus *Birds*: A possibility of “paracommic” referentiality**

On the base of the third part of *Ion*'s monologic prologue (vv. 154-183), where the homonymous young guardian of the Delphic temple, through a strongly realistic, mimetic-pantomimic movement, tries and manages to drive away from the temple some “birds” that threaten its purity, I shall advance the hypothesis that this particular passage (if not *Ion* in its entirety) recalls intertextually –on verbal and visual level– and alludes critically to the Parodos of Aristophanes' *Birds* (if not to *Birds* in their entirety). The hypothesis of paracommic referentiality in the case of *Ion* has several implications: First of all, and very obviously, it forces us to exclude the possibility that *Ion* dates before 414 BC. Secondly, this hypothesis adds –or rather confirms– one more “comic” trace among the many that have been so far sought and identified in *Ion*'s textual surface. Thirdly, it reinforces the reasonable assumption of “mutual” artistic influence between Euripides and Aristophanes, who followed parallel paths for a long time in the last decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Last but not least, such a possibility of paracommic referentiality presupposes a further expansion of the limits of the receptive openness and the readily available decoding abilities of the ancient audience, who were invited to identify and distinguish between the different inter-textual and inter-performative references employed not only by the more blatant, articulate and denotative ancient comic performance but also by the more discrete, allusive and connotative tragic performance.

### Keywords

Aristophanes, Euripides, *Ion*, *Birds*, paratragedy, meta-theatre.

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<sup>75</sup> “Was he contemplating his own metamorphosis from *autochthonous* to *eleutheros* when he wrote *Ion*? Were the snakes and the birds holding combat in Euripides' soul?”, wonders Kathryn Thomas., “Snakes and Birds in Euripides' *Ion*”, p. 2.



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**Love and War at the Ends of the Earth (Catullus 11)\***

**Catullus' Poem 11<sup>1</sup>**

Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli,  
sive in extremos penetrabit Indos,  
litus ut longe resonante Eoa  
tunditur unda,

sive in Hyrcanos Arabasve molles, 5  
seu Sagas sagittiferosve Parthos,  
sive quae septemgeminus colorat  
aequora Nilus,

sive trans altas gradietur Alpes,  
Caesaris visens monimenta magni, 10  
Gallicum Rhenum, horrible aequor ulti-  
mosque Britannos,<sup>2</sup>

omnia haec, quaecumque feret voluntas  
caelitem, temptare simul parati,  
pauca nuntiate meae puellae 15  
non bona dicta:

cum suis vivat valeatque moechis,  
quos simul complexa tenet trecentos,  
nullum amans vere, sed identidem omnium,  
ilia rumpens; 20

nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,  
qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati  
ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam  
tactus aratro est.

**English Translation**

Furius and Aurelius, fellow soldiers of fortune,  
whether Catullus will make his way to the farthest Indians,  
where the shore is pounded by the far-resounding  
Eastern wave,

or reach the Hyrcanians or soft Arabians,  
or even the Scythians and arrow-bearing Parthians,  
or the plains that are colored by the

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<sup>1</sup> All citations from Catullus are from R.A.B. Mynors (ed.), *C. Valerii Catulli Carmina*, Oxford 1958. All translations are my own.

<sup>2</sup> The text of line 11 is corrupt; Mynors, *Catulli Carmina*, follows the most widely accepted emendation. See C.J. Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary*, Oxford 1961, pp. 127-128; D.F.S. Thomson, *Catullus*, Toronto 1997, p. 106; and Daniel H. Garrison, *The Student's Catullus*, Norman, OK 2004, p. 101.

seven-mouthed Nile

or whether he will scale the lofty Alps,  
viewing the monuments of mighty Caesar,  
the Gallic Rhine (that horrible river) and the  
farthest Britons,

all of these places, wherever the will of the gods may lead,  
you, who are ready to brave them together,  
just take a brief message to my girl,  
no good words.

Tell her to live and grow strong with her lovers,  
those three hundred she holds locked in a single embrace,  
loving none truly, but again and again  
bursting open their loins;

tell her not to rely on my love, as before,  
my love cut down by her fault, like a flower  
in the farthest field, after it's been touched  
by a passing plough.

### I. Introduction

Poem 11 is one of Catullus' most frequently discussed poems, perhaps because of the passionate intensity with which Catullus dismisses the woman who was the love of his life<sup>3</sup>. Despite the fact that scholars frequently discuss it, however, poem 11 presents several puzzles to the reader that have never been satisfactorily resolved. Three of the most important unresolved questions are: How should we connect Catullus' harsh rejection of Lesbia in lines 17-24 with the "romantic

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<sup>3</sup> Lesbia is not named in the poem, but she is clearly the one who is meant. This poem is often seen as Catullus' final rejection of Lesbia, and as forming a natural pair with poem 51, also in sapphics, which seems to mark the beginning of the affair. See, for example, K. Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, New York 1973, pp. 125-126; David F. Bright, "Non bona dicta: Catullus' Poetry of Separation", *QUCC* 21 (1976) 105-119; Roland Mayer, "Catullus' Divorce", *CQ* n.s. 33 (1983) 297-298; Hans Peter Syndikus, *Catull: Eine Interpretation, Erster Teil: Einleitung, Die kleinen Gedichte (1-60)*, Darmstadt 1984, p. 121; Thomson, *Catullus*, p. 235; Marilyn B. Skinner, *Catullus in Verona: A Reading of the elegiac Libellus, Poems 65-116*, Columbus, OH 2003, p. 133; and Garrison, *The Student's Catullus*, p. 100. While this interpretation is not necessary to my argument, I am sympathetic to a reading of the poem that sees it as a message of final separation from Lesbia. Of the many discussions of poem 11, the following have been most helpful to me: L. Richardson, Jr., "Furi et Aureli, Comites Catulli", *CP* 58 (1963) 93-106; T.E. Kinsey, "Catullus 11", *Latomus* 24 (1965) 537-544; Charles P. Segal, "The Order of Catullus, Poems 2-11", *Latomus* 27 (1968) 305-321; Michael C.J. Putnam, "Catullus 11: The Ironies of Integrity", *Ramus* 3 (1974) 70-86; Bright, "Non bona dicta: Catullus' Poetry of Separation"; J.C. Yardley, "Catullus 11: The End of a Friendship", *SO* 56 (1981) 63-69; D.R. Sweet, "Catullus 11: a Study in Perspective", *Latomus* 46 (1987) 510-526; Phyllis Young Forsyth, "The Thematic Unity of Catullus 11", *CW* 84 (1991) 457-464; Marilyn B. Skinner, "The Dynamics of Catullus Obscenity: cc. 37, 58, and 11", *Syllecta Classica* 3 (1991) 1-11; Ellen Greene, "Journey to the Remotest Meadow: A Reading of Catullus 11", *Intertexts* 1 (1997) 147-155; Ellen Greene, *The Erotics of Domination: Male Desire and the Mistress in Latin Love Poetry*, Baltimore 1998, pp. 26-36; David Konstan, "Self, Sex and Empire in Catullus: The Construction of a Decentered Identity", in Bécaries et al. (eds.), *Intertextualidad en las Literaturas Griega y Latina*, Madrid 2000, pp. 213-231; and David Konstan, "The Contemporary Political Context", in Marilyn B. Skinner (ed.), *A Companion to Catullus*, Malden, MA 2007, pp. 72-91.

travelogue” that makes up the first part of the poem<sup>4</sup>? Second, why does Catullus address Furius and Aurelius as his companions in line 1 (*comites Catulli*), while in other poems he addresses them in hostile and threatening terms? Their role as Catullus’ friends seems doubtful even in the second half of this poem, when Catullus asks them to convey a hateful message to Lesbia (*non bona dicta*, line 16). What sort of friends could they be, if Catullus gives them the unsavory task of dismissing his former girlfriend<sup>5</sup>? And finally, when Catullus refers to Caesar’s conquests in Gaul and his forays into Germany and Britain (lines 9-12), is he complimenting or criticizing the general<sup>6</sup>? In this paper I will argue that the two, seemingly disparate parts of the poem are connected by references to war and conquest, and that such references also help to clarify Catullus’ view of Caesar and to explain the uneasy relationship between Catullus and his frenemies, Furius and Aurelius<sup>7</sup>.

## II. Furius and Aurelius

Furius and Aurelius are famously addressed in poem 16, where they are portrayed as being unable to appreciate the subtleties of Catullus’ poetics; in return, Catullus threatens to sexually assault them in more than one way. And in fact,

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<sup>4</sup>The phrase, “romantic travelogue”, belongs to Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, p. 125, but the first half of the poem is discussed in these terms by most of the scholars who discuss this poem. See, for example, Richardson, “*Furi et Aureli, Comites Catulli*”, p. 105; Steele Commager, “Notes on Some Poems of Catullus”, *HSPH* 70 (1965) 100-101; G.S. Duclos, “Catullus 11: *Atque in Perpetuum, Lesbia, Ave Atque Vale*”, *Arethusa* 9 (1976) 84; Putnam, “Catullus 11: The Ironies of Integrity”; David Mulroy, “An Interpretation of Catullus 11”, *CW* 71 (1977-78) 241; A.J. Woodman, “Catullus 11 and 51”, *LCM* 3 (1978) 77-79; Yardley, “Catullus 11: The End of a Friendship”, p. 63; E.D. Blodgett and Rosemary M. Nielsen, “Mask and Figure in Catullus, Carmen 11”, *RBPh* 64 (1986) 26, Greene, *The Erotics of Domination*, p. 31; and Garrison, *The Student’s Catullus*, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup>This point was first made by Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos*, Berlin 1924, vol. 2, p. 307, and has been reiterated by Francis Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*, Edinburgh 1972, p. 217 and Sweet, “Catullus 11: A Study in Perspective”, p. 516, among others. Those scholars who believe that Catullus considers Furius and Aurelius to be his friends in this poem include: Robinson Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus*, Oxford 1889, p. 41; Chester Louis Neudling, *A Prosopography to Catullus*, Oxford 1955, p. 20; Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary*, pp. 124-125; Commager, “Notes on Some Poems of Catullus”, p. 100; Kinsey, “Catullus 11”, p. 537; Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, p. 126; Woodman, “Catullus 11 and 51”, p. 77; Yardley, “Catullus 11: The End of a Friendship”, p. 63; Colin Macleod, “Parody and Personalities in Catullus”, in Macleod, *Collected Essays*, Oxford 1983, p. 301; Ernst A. Fredricksmeyer, “Method and Interpretation: Catullus 11”, *Helios* 20 (1993) 90; Thomson, *Catullus*, p. 235; and Christopher Krebs, “*Magni Viri*: Caesar, Alexander, and Pompey in Cat. 11”, *Philologus* 11 (2008) 223, n. 3. Scholars who believe that Catullus is hostile to Furius and Aurelius in this poem include: Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung*, vol. 2, p. 307; Richardson, “*Furi et Aureli, Comites Catulli*”, p. 94; Cairns, *Generic Composition*, pp. 216-217; Putnam, “Catullus 11: The Ironies of Integrity”, p. 71; A.S. Fotiou, “Catullus 11: A New Approach”, *Grazer Beiträge* 3 (1975) 154; Bright, “*Non bona dicta*: Catullus’ Poetry of Separation”, p. 109; Syndikus, *Catull: Eine Interpretation*, p. 125; Sweet, “Catullus 11: a Study in Perspective”, p. 525; Forsyth, “The Thematic Unity of Catullus 11”, p. 460; Greene, “Journey to the Remotest Meadow”; John Godwin, *Catullus: The Shorter Poems*, Warminster, England 1999, p. 728; Greene, *The Erotics of Domination*, p. 30; Konstan, “Self, Sex, and Empire in Catullus”, p. 227; Garrison, *The Student’s Catullus*, p. 101; and Konstan, “The Contemporary Political Context”, p. 187, n. 16.

<sup>6</sup>See note 35 below.

<sup>7</sup>The word, “frenemy”, is a combination of the words “friend” and “enemy”. It refers to an enemy who is disguised as a friend or someone who is both a friend and a rival. The word appeared in print as early as 1953. (*Wikipedia*, s.v. “frenemy”, accessed 8/9/2012: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frenemy>)

whenever these men appear in Catullus' poems (aside from the ambiguous first line of poem 11) they are openly ridiculed and reviled. All appearances of Furius and Aurelius in Catullus' poems are outlined in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Furius and Aurelius in the Poems of Catullus

Poem	Aurelius addressed alone	Furius addressed alone	Furius & Aurelius addressed together
11			line 1 - <i>comites Catulli</i> lines 14-16 - asked to carry a hate message to Catullus' former girlfriend
15	self-control questioned & sexual assault threatened		
16			intelligence questioned & sexual assault threatened
21	self-control questioned & sexual assault threatened		
23		poverty & pretentiousness ridiculed	
24		poverty & pretentiousness ridiculed <sup>8</sup>	
26		poverty & pretentiousness ridiculed	

As is clear from the chart, Aurelius is insulted in poems 15 and 21, both of which conclude with the threat of sexual assault. And Furius is ridiculed for his poverty and pretentiousness in poems 23, 24 and 26. Since Furius and Aurelius are insulted in all of the other poems in which they appear (including poem 16), and since they are asked to carry a message of hatred to Catullus' former girlfriend in the second half of poem 11, why does Catullus refer to them as his *comites* (comrades) in the first line of the poem?

The answer lies in our understanding of the Latin word, *comites* (singular: *comes*). Derived from the verb *eo* ("to go"), and the prefix *con-* (= *cum*, meaning "with"), the original meaning of the word is "one who goes with or accompanies another" (*OLD s.v. comes*, 1). Two different uses of the term developed from the original meaning: "a companion, friend, or comrade" (*OLD s.v. comes*, 2), and "a person in the service or under the leadership of another", especially in a religious sense, i.e. "a worshipper, devotee (of a deity, etc.)" (*OLD s.v. comes*, 3 and 3a) or in a military sense (usually in the plural), referring specifically to the staff members of a Roman general or provincial governor (*cohors praetoria*; *OLD s.v. comes*, 4)<sup>9</sup>. I would

<sup>8</sup> Furius is not addressed in poem 24, but he is clearly being referred to, since 24.5 is the same as 23.1.

<sup>9</sup> The *cohors praetoria* was the staff of a Roman general or provincial governor. Elizabeth Deniaux explains: "The state authorities authorized the Roman magistrate who commanded an army or who governed a province to choose his staff; he was free to recruit his subordinates, from the legates to the prefects ...". Deniaux, "Patronage", in Rosenstein and Morstien-Marx, *A Companion to the Roman*



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argue that, whenever Catullus uses the word *comites* (he always uses it in the plural), he uses it either in the military sense of “staff members of a Roman general” (11.1, 28.1, 46.9), or in the religious sense of devotees or attendants “in the service or under the leadership of another” (63.11, 63.15, and 63.27), and never in the sense of “a companion, friend, or comrade” as it is usually translated in poem 11<sup>10</sup>. Catullus’ uses of *comites* are outlined in Table 2 below.

Table 2 – Catullus’ Use of *comites*

Poem and lines	Latin Text	English Translation
Poem 11 line 1	Furi et Aureli, <b>comites</b> Catulli ...	Furius and Aurelius, Catullus’ <b>fellow members of a cohors</b> ...
Poem 28 line 1	Pisonis <b>comites</b> , <b>cohors</b> inanis,...	<b>Attendants</b> of Piso, that useless <b>cohors</b> ...
Poem 46 line 9	o dulces <b>comitum</b> valete coetus ...	Sweet groups of <b>fellow members of a cohors</b> , farewell ...
Poem 63 line 11	canere haec suis adorta est tremebunda <b>comitibus</b> :	[Attis], trembling, began to sing these words to his <b>fellow devotees</b> :
Poem 63 line 15	sectam meam exsecutae duce me mihi <b>comites</b> ...	“ <b>Fellow attendants</b> , who followed my path with me as leader ...”
Poem 63 lines 19-27	simul ite, sequimini Phrygiam ad domum Cybebes, Phrygia ad nemora deae ... ubi suevit illa <b>divae</b> volitare vaga <b>cohors</b> .... simul haec <b>comitibus</b> Attis cecinit ...	“Go together, follow [me] to the Phrygian home of Cybele, to the Phrygian groves of the goddess ... where that wandering <b>cohors of the goddess</b> is accustomed to move about ...” As soon as Attis sang these words to his <b>fellow devotees</b> ...

The three uses of *comites* in poem 63 clearly refer to the devotees or attendants of the goddess Cybele. It is noteworthy that in poem 63 line 25, Attis addresses his fellow devotees as the *divae cohors* (*cohors* or company of the goddess), showing that the military and religious meanings of the term are very closely allied. In poem 28.1 Catullus is clearly using the term in a military sense, as the accompanying term *cohors* demonstrates. I would argue that the word has a similar meaning at 46.9 as well, since in line 5 Catullus specifically mentions that he is leaving Nicaea (the capital of Bithynia), where he had served on the *cohors praetoria* of C. Memmius in 57-56 BC<sup>11</sup>. As Fordyce notes on this passage: “*comitum* ... *coetus* [refers to] his fellow members of the propraeor’s *cohors* ... Catullus is addressing them as his own *comites*, but they were sometimes spoken of in non-technical language as the governor’s

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*Republic*, Malden, MA 2006, p. 414. Service on a *cohors praetoria* was often a young man’s initiation into the patron/client relationships that dominated Roman society in the late Republic.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus*, p. 41; Kinsey, “Catullus 11”, p. 538; Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary*, p. 125; Richardson, “*Furi et Aureli, Comites Catulli*”, p. 93; Yardley, “Catullus 11: The End of a Friendship”; Blodgett and Nielsen, “Mask and Figure in Catullus, Carmen, 11”, p. 25; Garrison, *The Student’s Catullus*, p. 101; and Peter Green, trans., *The Poems of Catullus*, Berkeley 2005, p. 57.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, p. xiv and Julia Haig Gaisser, *Catullus*, Chichester, UK 2009, pp. 4-5.

*comites* (28.1) ..."<sup>12</sup>. Since on every other occasion Catullus uses the word *comites* either in a military sense, to refer to the members of a provincial governor's staff, or in a religious sense, to refer to the devotees or attendants of a goddess (which is clearly analogous to the military meaning), I would argue that Catullus is also using the word in its military sense in poem 11 as well, i.e, that he is addressing Furius and Aurelius as "fellow members of a military *cohors*", rather than simply as comrades or companions<sup>13</sup>. It is worth noting that Catullus never refers to his close personal friends –such as Cinna, Veranius and Fabullus– as his *comites*, but always as his *sodales* (friends)<sup>14</sup>.

If *comites* in poem 11 does refer to Catullus' fellow members of a Roman general's staff, rather than to his personal friends, what are the implications of this translation? The first point to note is that this translation would help to clarify Catullus' ambivalent relationship to Furius and Aurelius. Catullus does not address them as his friends or companions, as has often been assumed, but rather he addresses them as (prospective) fellow members of a general's staff. And in fact, the so-called "travelogue" in lines 1-12 of the poem has sometimes been understood as an invitation to participate in foreign military adventures, although the implications of this reading have never been fully explored<sup>15</sup>. Catullus may have met these men on a previous military assignment; familiar but abusive relationships among the members of a military *cohors* can hardly have been uncommon. And since Furius and Aurelius are known in the Catullan corpus for their licentiousness (see Table 1), they are appropriate bearers of Catullus' message to the sexually insatiable Lesbia<sup>16</sup>. Finally, if the phrase, *comites Catulli*, is understood in its military meaning, it would function programmatically to establish a military context for the poem.

### III. Rome's Expanding Mediterranean Empire

If the poem is seen in a military context, then the strategic importance of the three areas named as possible destinations becomes clear: Parthia and the East are mentioned in lines 2-6; Egypt in lines 7-8; and Gaul, Germany, and Britain in lines 9-12. These were all areas of intensive Roman military activity in the late Republic. Scholars agree that poem 11 can be dated to 55 BC or later, because of the references to Caesar's crossing of the Rhine into Germany and his foray into Britain (lines 9-12),

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<sup>12</sup> Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary*, p. 210.

<sup>13</sup> Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, p. 127; Forsyth, "The Thematic Unity of Catullus 11", p. 458; Thomson, *Catullus*, p. 235; and Julia Dyson, "The Lesbia Poems", in Skinner, *A Companion to Catullus*, p. 260 also interpret *comites* as referring to fellow staff members of a *cohors praetoria* in this poem.

<sup>14</sup> Cinna at 10.29 and 95.9; Veranius and Fabullus at 12.13 and 47.6; Caecilius at 35.1; Alfenus at 30.1. Of course Catullus does address Veranius and Fabullus as *comites Pisonis* in poem 28 line 1, but here the word means "members of Piso's staff" and not "Catullus' companions".

<sup>15</sup> Kinsey, "Catullus 11", pp. 540-542; Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, p. 127; T.P. Wiseman, *Catullus and His World: A Reappraisal*, Cambridge 1985, pp. 144-145; Sweet, "Catullus 11: A Study in Perspective", pp. 514-515; Skinner, "The Dynamics of Catullan Obscenity", pp. 8-9; Thomson, *Catullus*, p. 235; Godwin, *Catullus: The Shorter Poems*, p. 728; Green, *The Poems of Catullus*, p. 217; and Krebs, "*Magni Viri*", interpret lines 1-12 as possibly being an invitation to some kind of military adventure.

<sup>16</sup> I am grateful for this insight to the anonymous reader for the journal.

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both of which occurred in that year<sup>17</sup>. But there were two other major military expeditions during that year as well. In the spring of 55 Aulus Gabinius (with Pompey's support) restored the unpopular king, Ptolemy Auletes, to the Egyptian throne<sup>18</sup>. Thus, the references to Egypt can be seen as references to Rome's projected expansion into Egypt (presumably under Pompey's auspices)<sup>19</sup>. And in November of that year, Crassus set out on his ill-fated expedition to Parthia and the East<sup>20</sup>. Of course, Crassus' attempted conquest of Syria ended in disaster in 53 BC, but no one could have predicted this two years earlier. The Romans surely expected that Crassus' invasion of Syria would be a brilliant success, just as Crassus himself did<sup>21</sup>.

Although Caesar's ongoing conquest of Gaul and his recent expeditions to Britain and Germany are the only campaigns that are discussed in specifically military terms in this poem (lines 9-12), the other areas of the Mediterranean world that are mentioned in the poem were also prime targets for Roman expansion, and it is unlikely that any Roman in 55 BC would have missed the reference. The military expression, *comites Catulli*, placed in the very first line, alerts the reader that the destinations listed in lines 2-12 are, in fact, military targets<sup>22</sup>. Thus, I would argue that the first half of this poem should not be considered a travelogue – as it has usually been characterized – but rather as a survey of the most important targets for Roman military expansion: Parthia in the East; Gaul and Britain in the West; and Egypt to the south<sup>23</sup>.

Let us now consider how Catullus characterizes these foreign peoples and places that are about to come under Roman sway. The Indians are said to dwell on the extreme eastern shore (*extremos Indos*, line 2), while the Britons inhabit the extreme west (*ultimos Britannos*, lines 11-12). These two peoples correspond to one another, representing the eastern and western edges of the world, respectively. Together, they represent the extreme boundaries of the known world<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Kinsey, "Catullus 11", p. 540; Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, p. 125; Garrison, *The Student's Catullus*, p. 101; and Green, *The Poems of Catullus*, p. 217.

<sup>18</sup> T.P. Wiseman, "Caesar, Pompey, and Rome, 59-50 B.C.", in Cook, Lintott and Rawson (eds.), *The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146-43 B.C., The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. IX, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1994, pp. 397-400.

<sup>19</sup> Krebs, "Magni Viri", p. 227.

<sup>20</sup> Plutarch suggests that Crassus had set his sights as far east as Bactria and India; Plu., *Crass.* 16.2. For the military expeditions of the year 55 BC see Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary*, p. 128 and Wiseman, "Caesar, Pompey, and Rome", pp. 397-401.

<sup>21</sup> Most scholars believe that Catullus died before Crassus' ignominious defeat in 53 BC because he probably would have mentioned it if he had known about it; see Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary*, p. ix and Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, p. xv.

<sup>22</sup> Other scholars have noted the military nature of the destinations in lines 1-12 (see the citations in note 15 and Wiseman, "Caesar, Pompey, and Rome", p. 399, n. 112), but the significance of this insight for interpreting the poem has not been fully realized.

<sup>23</sup> Krebs' argument, in "Magni Viri", p. 224, that the second stanza of the poem alludes, not to Crassus' ongoing expedition, but to Pompey's eastern conquests during the Third Mithridatic War ("though almost a decade past by the time Catullus wrote"), is not persuasive.

<sup>24</sup> This point has been noted by Kinsey, "Catullus 11", p. 541; Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, pp. 127-128, Fotiou, "Catullus 11: A New Approach", pp. 153-154; Syndikus, *Catull: Eine Interpretation*, p. 23;

The Rhine river is referred to as the “Gallic Rhine” because it formed the border between Gaul, the province that Caesar was in the process of conquering, and the wild German tribesmen to the west<sup>25</sup>. Thanks to the ingenuity of his chief military engineer, C. Mamurra, Caesar had recently erected a bridge over this broad, swift, and dangerous river, and had crossed his army over it into Germany, becoming the first person ever to do so (Caes., *Gal.* 4.17-20 and *Plu., Caes.* 22.6)<sup>26</sup>. As Christopher Krebs notes, Caesar’s dual exploits of 55 BC, bridging the Rhine and crossing the Atlantic to “the island of the *ultimi Britanni*, a mythical place, about which next to nothing was known”, were guaranteed to bring him “lasting fame”<sup>27</sup>.

The Nile River, located at the southernmost border of the Mediterranean, is characterized as exotic and strange, as well as unusually fertile (lines 7-8)<sup>28</sup>. And, in fact, all of the peoples who inhabit these far-off places are portrayed as both exotic and uncivilized: the soft Arabians (line 5) represent one extreme and the dangerous, arrow-bearing Parthians (line 6) represent the other, as Crassus would soon learn. Both extremes are implicitly contrasted with the centrally located, civilized Romans<sup>29</sup>. Throughout the first three stanzas, then, Catullus emphasizes how wild, how foreign, and strange these peoples and places are, especially those that are located at the edges of the inhabited world. Furthermore, these strange and foreign peoples are endowed with rich, natural resources (the Nile) and striking natural landmarks (the Alps, the Rhine). But what was Catullus’ attitude toward these wild and foreign peoples and the remote places that they inhabited? Did Catullus see them as exotic peoples in lush, natural landscapes, who were ripe for Roman conquest and exploitation? Or did he see their remoteness and uncivilized nature as signs that they were too far removed to be appropriate targets for Roman expansion?

#### IV. Roman Attitudes to Mediterranean Expansion

The idea of extending Roman conquests beyond the boundaries of the Mediterranean world was clearly a topic of discussion in the late Republic, and views

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Thomson, *Catullus*, p. 235; and Michael C.J. Putnam, *Poetic Interplay: Catullus and Horace*, Princeton 2006, p. 36.

<sup>25</sup> Krebs, “*Magni Viri*”, pp. 224-225.

<sup>26</sup> Although Caesar does not specifically name him, C. Mamurra was most likely in charge of this engineering feat; see F. Zimmerhaeckel, *C. Julius Caesars Rheinbrücke: Comm. de Bell. Gall. IV.17*, Leipzig 1899, pp. 482 and 485-486; Richard Shelton Kirby et al., *Engineering in History*, New York 1956, p. 70; and Stuart Small, *Catullus: A Reader’s Guide to the Poems*, Lanham, MD 1983, p. 59.

<sup>27</sup> Krebs, “*Magni Viri*”, p. 225.

<sup>28</sup> The translation of lines 7-8 is disputed. Some scholars believe these lines refer to the Nile’s annual alluvial deposit, which was much discussed by both Greeks and Romans; see Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary*, p. 126 and Thomson, *Catullus*, p. 237. This is the way I have chosen to translate these lines. Others believe the lines refer to the silting of the Nile that discolors the Mediterranean Sea; see Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, p. 127 and Garrison, *The Student’s Catullus*, p. 101. In either case, the lines emphasize the strangeness of the Nile as well as its abundant fertility.

<sup>29</sup> For the ancient notion that people living at the edges of the Mediterranean world were exotic and uncivilized, while those living in the center were civilized and moderate (representing the mean between the extremes), see James S. Romm, *Herodotus*, New Haven 1998, pp. 77-78. Cicero’s *Somnium Scipionis* (*Rep.* 6.9-29) provides a Roman example; see especially *Rep.* 6.19-20.

both supporting and criticizing the notion were voiced by Catullus' contemporaries. When the news of Caesar's expedition to Britain was announced in Rome, the Senate voted him a *supplicatio* (public thanksgiving) for an unprecedented 20 days (Caes., *Gal.* 4.38.5; cf. *Gal.* 2.35), and no doubt most Romans agreed with this sentiment<sup>30</sup>. But Plutarch (*Caes.* 23.2) reports that, in the eyes of "very many writers" (*παμπόλλοις συγγραφεῦσι*), Caesar, in attempting to cross the Atlantic and occupy Britain, had "pushed the Roman empire outside the limits of the inhabited world" (*προήγαγεν ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν*)<sup>31</sup>. This phrase is reminiscent of the expressions that Herodotus used to describe Xerxes' crossing of the Hellespont (the recognized boundary between Europe and Asia) in his failed attempt to conquer the free Greek city-states in 480 BC, and suggests that there is hubris involved in Caesar's attempt to extend the Roman empire beyond its natural limits, i.e. the continental boundary<sup>32</sup>. Velleius Paterculus similarly reports (2.46.1) that Caesar, "not content with a very great number of most glorious victories and countless enemy soldiers slaughtered and taken captive, even crossed his army into Britain, as if seeking another world for our empire, and his own"<sup>33</sup>. Here, the criticism of Caesar's desire for excessive conquest ("not content with a very great number of most glorious victories", etc.) is joined to the fear that this "other world" could become a personal power base for Caesar himself.

It is clear from these passages that the Romans of the late Republic were divided in their opinions about Caesar and his apparent desire to extend the limits of Rome's empire beyond the boundaries of the known world. While most Romans probably supported Caesar's forays into Germany and Britain, enough had misgivings for their criticisms to be recorded<sup>34</sup>. But what was Catullus' attitude to Caesar and his conquests? In lines 9-12 of poem 11, Catullus mentions the "Gallic Rhine", and the "farthest Britons" as being "monuments of mighty Caesar". Does Catullus mean to criticize Caesar or to praise him for his military exploits<sup>35</sup>?

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<sup>30</sup> Wiseman, "Caesar, Pompey, and Rome", pp. 390-391.

<sup>31</sup> All references to the "Roman Empire" in this paper refer to Rome's foreign possessions, i.e., the overseas provinces that had been conquered by the Roman Republic.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, Herodotus 7.8γ.2, 7.54.2, 7.56.2. See also Plutarch's comment at *Caes.* 58.4 that, in planning to attack the Parthians, Caesar hoped to "join together this circle of empire so that it would be bounded on all sides by the Ocean", i.e., by the limits of the earth. For the implicit comparison with Alexander the Great, see Pelling, *Plutarch and History*, Swansea 2002, pp. 257 and 264, n. 32. I would argue, however, that both Caesar and Alexander are being compared with Xerxes in these passages. See also Cato's comment (*Plu., Caes.* 22.3) that Caesar should be handed over to the Germans in order to expiate the pollution that Caesar had brought upon Rome by violating the terms of a treaty. In this case Caesar had crossed a figurative, rather than a literal, boundary.

<sup>33</sup> Velleius Paterculus 2.46.1: *nec contentus plurimis ac felicissimis victoriis innumerabilibusque caesis et captis hostium milibus etiam in Britanniam traiecisset exercitum, alterum paene imperio nostro ac suo quaerens orbem.*

<sup>34</sup> See also James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, Princeton 1992, pp. 121-123 for Roman ambivalence toward pushing the boundaries of the Roman empire beyond the limits of the *oikoumene* (the inhabited world).

<sup>35</sup> The following scholars believe that Catullus' expression, "the monuments of mighty Caesar" (11.10) is meant to compliment Caesar: Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus*, p. 42; Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary*, p. 125; Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, p. 128; Woodman, "Catullus 11 and 51", p. 78; Fredricksmeyer, "Catullus 11", p. 95; Garrison, *The Student's Catullus*, p. 101; W. Jeffrey Tatum, "Social Commentary and

### V. Catullus' Attitude to Caesar

Caesar is mentioned or addressed in five of Catullus' poems; these passages are summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3 - Caesar in the Poems of Catullus

Poem	Caesar - How Identified	What is Said About Him	Other Politicians Mentioned
11	Mentioned by name.	"the monuments of mighty Caesar" -Sincere praise or ironic reference?	No others mentioned by name.
29	Addressed as the "unique general" who traveled to "the farthest island of the west."	Attacked for wasting the natural resources of Gaul and Britain; for not controlling the insatiable appetites of his subordinate, Mamurra; and for the fact that he "ruined everything".	Pompey is attacked on the same grounds as Caesar; Mamurra is attacked for gluttony, profligacy and sexual excess.
54	Addressed as the "unique general."	Attacked for not being disgusted by various politicians, presumably his henchmen.	Otho, Libo, and Sufficius are attacked as being disgusting; all are unknown.
57	Mentioned by name.	Attacked for sodomy, literary pretensions, and sexual excess; insulted for lowering himself to the level of his subordinate, Mamurra.	Mamurra is attacked on the same grounds as Caesar.
93	Addressed by name.	Insulted for his ambition; Catullus states that he does not have the slightest desire to please Caesar.	No one else mentioned.

As we can see from Table 3, Caesar is mentioned or addressed by name in three poems: 11, 57, and 93. In two other poems (29 and 54), Caesar is addressed by the epithet, "unique general" (*imperator unicus*). The identification of this epithet with Caesar in poem 54 is made clear in poem 29, lines 11-12, where Caesar is addressed as "the unique general (*imperator unice*)", who traveled to "the farthest island of the west (*ultima occidentis insula*)", i.e. Britain. This expression emphasizes the fact that Caesar's signal achievement –the thing that makes him unique– is his travel to (and attempted conquest of) the farthest edges of the known world. The reference to Caesar in poem 11 fits closely with this theme: the Gallic Rhine (which Caesar was the first to bridge) and the farthest Britons (*ultimos Britannos*) have become the "monuments of mighty Caesar", i.e. monuments to his greatness. Thus it is clear that the references to Caesar in poems 11, 29 and 54 are thematically linked, and should be interpreted together. But the references to Caesar in poems 29 and 54 are vicious attacks against him for wasting the natural resources of Gaul and Britain (29), for associating himself with sleazy subordinates (29, 54), and for not controlling his

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Political Invective", in Skinner, *A Companion to Catullus*, p. 341; and Krebs, "Magni Viri", p. 225, n. 21. The following scholars believe that Catullus' words are ironic: Kinsey, "Catullus 11", p. 541; Putnam, "Catullus 11: The Ironies of Integrity", p. 72; Bright, "Non bona dicta: Catullus' Poetry of Separation", p. 114; Blodgett and Nielson, "Mask and Figure in Catullus, Carmen 11", p. 27; Sweet, "Catullus 11: A Study in Perspective", p. 517; Forsyth, "The Thematic Unity of Catullus 11", p. 461; Thomson, *Catullus*, p. 237; Godwin, *Catullus: The Shorter Poems*, p. 729; and Konstan, "The Contemporary Political Scene", pp. 78-82.

subordinates' insatiable appetites (29)<sup>36</sup>. When seen in the context of poems 29 and 54, then, the reference to Caesar in poem 11 is clearly ironic. The Gallic Rhine, the remote Britons, and, by extension, the mighty Alps, have become nothing more than monuments to Caesar's outsized ambition.

Poems 57 and 93 are also closely related to poems 11, 29 and 54. In poem 57 Caesar is attacked for his patronage of Mamurra, just as he is in poem 29<sup>37</sup>. Thus, in poems 29, 54 and 57, Caesar is attacked for pandering to his subordinates and for giving their appetites free rein. And in poem 93 Catullus insults Caesar's colossal ego by stating publicly that he couldn't care less about him. The message in this poem is strongly reminiscent of the sarcastic epithet, *unicus imperator*.

Thus, in all five poems in which Caesar is mentioned or addressed, Catullus is highly critical of Caesar's oversized ambition, his willingness to associate with despicable subordinates and to pander to their excessive appetites, and his travel to the edges of the earth in order to make a name for himself. However we are to interpret the second half of poem 11, the poem must be understood in terms of this critical view of Caesar. It is also worth noting that no politician or general is mentioned favorably in any of Catullus' poems<sup>38</sup>.

## VI. Catullus' Attitude to Rome's Mediterranean Empire

Not only did Catullus have a negative view of Caesar and his conquests, he also had a critical view of the limitless expansion of Roman power to the edges of the known (i.e., Mediterranean) world. This attitude is difficult to discern from poem 11 alone, but a comparison with poem 29 proves instructive.

Poem 29 was written at about the same time as poem 11, since it refers to Caesar's military expedition to Britain in 55 BC (*ultima Britannia* in line 4 and *ultima occidentis insula* in line 11) just as poem 11 does. Poem 29 is addressed to both Caesar and Pompey and is harshly critical of Roman imperial expansion, as well as Caesar and Pompey's role in it<sup>39</sup>. Although a full discussion of this complex poem would be beyond the scope of this article, it is noteworthy that the peoples and places mentioned as being subject to Roman conquest are described in terms quite similar to those in poem 11. For example, Transalpine Gaul is called *Comata Gallia* or "long-

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<sup>36</sup> While Catullus' attacks against Caesar and his subordinates for their insatiable physical appetites were no doubt meant to be taken literally, they were also metaphors for excessive territorial expansion; see Konstan, "The Contemporary Political Scene".

<sup>37</sup> Marilyn B. Skinner, "Parasites and Strange Bedfellows: A Study in Catullus' Political Imagery", *Ramus* 8 (1979) 143-144 argues persuasively that the charge against Caesar in poem 57 is that he has lowered himself to the level of Mamurra, who should be his subordinate.

<sup>38</sup> The only possible exception would be poem 49, in which Catullus thanks Cicero in fawning and effusive terms. Although scholars have, in the past, been divided on the question of whether Catullus' gratitude is ironic or sincere in this poem, W. Jeffry Tatum, "Catullus' Criticism of Cicero in Poem 49", *TAPhA* 118 (1988) 179-84, has settled the question in favor of an ironic interpretation.

<sup>39</sup> Of the many discussion of poem 29, the most helpful to me have been Neudling, *A Prosopography to Catullus*, s.v. Cn. Pompeius Magnus; William C. Scott, "Catullus and Caesar (c. 29)", *CP* 66 (1971) 17-25; Skinner, "Parasites and Strange Bedfellows"; David Wray, *Catullus and the Poetics of Roman Manhood*, Cambridge, 2001; Konstan, "The Contemporary Political Context"; and Tatum, "Social Commentary and Political Invective".

haired Gaul", in line 3; this term refers to the fact that the 'uncivilized' natives wore their hair long, as opposed to the Romanized (and presumably more well-groomed) inhabitants of *Gallia Togata* ("toga wearing" or Cisalpine Gaul). The emphasis on the wild and uncivilized nature of the inhabitants of Transalpine Gaul is similar to the characterization of the Gallic Rhine in poem 11 as wild and difficult to tame. In line 19 of poem 29, Spain is identified with its rich and exotic river ("the gold-bearing Tagus river") just as Egypt is described in poem 11 as "the plains that are colored by the seven-mouthed Nile". Thus, the peoples targeted for Roman conquest in this poem are described as wild and uncivilized, and as possessing exotic and abundant natural resources, just as they are in poem 11. The most striking similarity to poem 11, however, is that Britain is located at the farthest edge of the western world: *ultima Britannia* ("farthest Britain", line 4) and *ultima occidentis insula* ("the farthest island of the west", line 12). The wording is so close to the *ultimos Britannos* of poem 11, as to invite a broader comparison between the two poems<sup>40</sup>.

Thus, poem 29, which is highly critical of Pompey and Caesar, and their role in Roman imperial expansion, portrays Rome's recent and prospective conquests in terms quite similar to those of poem 11. In particular, the phrases *ultima Britannia* and *ultima occidentis insula* are extremely close to the *ultimos Britannos* of poem 11. Since we know that some of Catullus' contemporaries were highly critical of Caesar's expeditions to Britain on the grounds that Caesar was pushing the Roman empire "outside the limits of the inhabited world", it seems reasonable to suppose that a similar criticism is implied in Catullus' phrases as well. According to this criticism, by leaving the Mediterranean world and venturing to sail on the Atlantic, Caesar was attempting to expand the Roman empire beyond its proper and natural limits. Thus, the criticisms that Catullus makes openly in poem 29 (that Caesar has pushed the boundaries of the Roman empire 'a bridge too far', and that both Caesar and Pompey have squandered the resources of conquered peoples on the excessive personal spending of their cronies) are present, in a more subtle way, in poem 11.

I am not suggesting that Catullus or his contemporaries objected to the Roman empire *per se*. Catullus himself had served on the staff of C. Memmius in Bithynia in 57-56 BC, and his friends, Veranius and Fabullus, had served under Piso in Spain<sup>41</sup>. And Catullus complains in several poems (10, 28, 47) that he and his friends did not receive the expected monetary rewards for their service. Although some scholars have charged Catullus with hypocrisy (i.e., his objection to the squandering of provincial resources in poem 29 does not sit well with his complaints in poems 10, 28 and 47 that he did not benefit from such squandering), as David

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<sup>40</sup> The characterization of the Britons as the *ultimi Britanni* must have struck a chord with Catullus' peers, since it was frequently echoed by later writers: Hor., *Carm.* 1.35.29 (*ultimos orbis Britannos*), 3.4.32 (*Britannos hospitibus feros*), 4.14.47 (*remotis Britannis*); and Verg., *Ecl.* 1.66 (*toto divisos orbe Britannos*); see Putnam, *Poetic Interplay: Catullus and Horace*, pp. 35-37 and 148-49, nn. 38-40. And as Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, notes on p. 129: "a century and a half later, Britain was still a strange land at the end of the world – cf. Tacitus' description at *Agricola* 10-12".

<sup>41</sup> For Catullus' service in Bithynia and Veranius and Fabullus' service in Spain, see Gaisser, *Catullus*, pp. 4-5, among many others.



Konstan has noted, there was a significant difference in scale<sup>42</sup>. It was one thing to receive a modest compensation for one's service on a provincial governor's staff, but it was quite another to drain entire provinces of their wealth and natural resources in order to satisfy the personal desires of a few, or to extend the empire's borders beyond its natural, Mediterranean boundaries just to satisfy the ambition of Rome's most extraordinary general. The criticisms of Catullus and his contemporaries were aimed at the misuse of Roman power, not what they saw as its legitimate use<sup>43</sup>.

### VII. Lesbia as a Roman Conqueror

The premise that Catullus is critical of what he sees as a limitlessly expanding Roman empire can help us understand how the two parts of poem 11 fit together. In lines 17-20, Catullus claims that Lesbia copulates with three hundred adulterers at the same time and that she turns what should be an act of love (*nullum amans vere*) into an act of mass rape, conquest and violent destruction. I believe that Catullus uses this violent and disturbing imagery in order to juxtapose the idea of Roman military conquest and its destruction of the natural landscape with that of Lesbia's sexual conquests and the destruction that she causes. Thus in poem 11, Lesbia becomes the symbol of the limitless Roman greed and lust that Catullus derides in poem 29<sup>44</sup>.

In the last stanza of poem 11 Catullus makes this comparison explicit. The verbal correspondence between Catullus' description of his former love for Lesbia as a "flower in the farthest field", (*prati ultimi flos*, lines 22-23) and his description of the Britons as "the farthest Britons", (*ultimos Britannos*, lines 11-12) has been noted by

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<sup>42</sup> Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary*, complains of Catullus' hypocrisy on p. 160. David Braund, "The Politics of Catullus 10: Memmius, Caesar and the Bithynians", *Hermathena* 160 (1996) 45-57, argues similarly that Catullus had no right to expect compensation for his service in Bithynia. For the contrary view (that a certain compensation for service abroad was normal and expected), see Francis Cairns, "Catullus in and about Bithynia: Poems 68, 10, 28 and 47", in Braund and Gill, *Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome: Studies in Honor of T. P. Wiseman*, Exeter 2003, pp. 178-79. For the argument that "the difference between Catullus' expectations of profit and Mamurra's extravagance ... [was] a matter of degree", see Konstan, "The Contemporary Political Context", p. 81.

<sup>43</sup> How far did the Romans of the late Republic believe their Mediterranean empire "ought" to extend? What did they think was the "proper" amount of provincial taxation and what were its "appropriate" uses? Such questions, while fascinating, are beyond the scope of this paper. But, as Peter A. Brunt argues in *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays*, Oxford 1988, p. 63, in Cicero's time "everyone acknowledged that Rome had a duty to defend her allies and subjects and give them just government"; see also Peter A. Brunt, "Laus Imperii", in Garnsey and Whittaker, *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1978, pp. 159-191. The Romans certainly believed that their empire had been acquired justly, that there was a proper amount of provincial taxation, and that the bulk of that revenue belonged to the Roman state. But, while it is clear that there was a generally acknowledged difference between the use and abuse of power, the precise distinctions involved in such judgments were no doubt highly contested.

<sup>44</sup> The notion that Catullus frequently criticizes the Roman aristocracy (and Lesbia as a member of the aristocracy) has been established by Marilyn B. Skinner. See, for example, Skinner, "Parasites and Strange Bedfellows"; Skinner, "Pretty Lesbius", *TAPhA* 112 (1982) 197-208; Skinner, "The Dynamics of Catullan Obscenity"; and Skinner, "Ego Mulier: The Construction of Male Sexuality in Catullus", in Hallet and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, Princeton 1997, p. 144.

other scholars, but the significance of this verbal echo has not been fully explored<sup>45</sup>. In the first part of the poem, the Britons are portrayed as a wild and uncivilized people, living at the edges of the earth (*ultimos Britannos*), similar to other exotic peoples who live in far-away lands noted for their distinctive natural landmarks ("the far-resounding Eastern waves", lines 3-4; "the seven-mouthed Nile", lines 7-8; the lofty Alps and the horrible Gallic Rhine, lines 9-11). These are just the kinds of natural landmarks that have now been reduced to monuments of Roman greatness, through Rome's seemingly unlimited military expansion. In the same way, Catullus' love, once genuine, innocent and rare, has now been mowed down by Lesbia's seemingly unlimited desire for sexual conquest. As Michael Putnam has noted, Catullus now sees Lesbia as being "more like Caesar than Sappho"<sup>46</sup>.

Thus, by associating Catullus' formerly unspoiled love with the once pristine and unconquered British Isles, the verbal correspondence between *ultimos Britannos* (lines 11-12) and *prati ultimi flos* (lines 22-23) serves to join the two parts of the poem together. In the same way, the repetition of *simul* (lines 14 and 18), associating Furius and Aurelius with Lesbia, also unifies the poem<sup>47</sup>. Just as Furius and Aurelius are eager to conquer all of these far-flung places (*omnia haec*, line 13; a physical impossibility), so the exaggerated number of Lesbia's lovers emphasizes the fact that her greed and lust know no limit<sup>48</sup>. In the last two stanzas of the poem, Lesbia is compared to a general for whom no country is so remote as to be safe from senseless destruction in the service of Roman greed.

Ellen Greene has argued that in poem 11, "Catullus casts the conquests of both Caesar and Lesbia in a similar light of moral degradation as against his poetic rendering of the lover as a delicate, fragile flower that is victimized by the brutality of the world"<sup>49</sup>. While I agree with much of Greene's argument, I would point out that in lines 21-24 Catullus does not compare *himself* to a flower, but rather his former love for Lesbia. In other words, Catullus is not simply taking on a female sexual role in this passage, as has sometimes been supposed<sup>50</sup>. Although the notion of switching

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<sup>45</sup> The correspondence has been noted by Putnam, "Catullus 11: The Ironies of Integrity", p. 78; Sweet, "Catullus 11: a Study in Perspective", p. 518; Forsyth, "The Thematic Unity of Catullus 11", p. 463; and Skinner, "The Dynamics of Catullan Obscenity", p. 9, among others.

<sup>46</sup> Putnam, "Catullus 11: The Ironies of Integrity", p. 75.

<sup>47</sup> Putnam, "Catullus 11: The Ironies of Integrity", p. 75.

<sup>48</sup> On Catullus' use of exaggerated numbers as a form of satire, see Susan O. Shapiro, "The Mirror of Catullus: Poems 12, 22, 39, 41, 42, and 84", *Syllecta Classica* 22 (2011) 21-22 and J.K. Newman, *Roman Catullus and the Modification of Alexandrian Sensibility*, Hildesheim 1990, pp. 76-78. Similarly, the repetition of *identidem* (line 19) from poem 51.3 emphasizes Lesbia's crudeness and the infinite number of her sexual conquests.

<sup>49</sup> Greene, *The Erotics of Domination*, p. 35.

<sup>50</sup> For example, Skinner, "Ego Mulier: The Construction of Male Sexuality in Catullus", p. 131; Greene, "Journey to the Remotest Meadow", pp. 144-145; and Dyson, "The Lesbia Poems", p. 261. I would also argue that the frequently cited sexual implications of *penetrabit* in line 2 (e.g., Forsythe, "The Thematic Unity of Catullus 11", p. 460; Skinner, "The Dynamics of Catullan Obscenity", p. 9; Micaele Janan, "When the Lamp is Shattered": *Desire and Narrative in Catullus*, Carbondale 1994, pp. 64-65 and Greene, "Journey to the Remotest Meadow", p. 150) have been overstated, since the Romans do not seem to have used *penetrare* in a sexual sense (*OLD* s.v. *penetrare*).

gender roles is certainly present in this passage (cf. poem 62 lines 39-47), the emphasis here is on the brutal crushing of an ideal love that once seemed off limits, by a machine so insatiable that it does not even stop to notice what it has destroyed (*praetereunte . . . aratro*, lines 23-24). I would argue that the focus is on Lesbia as a representative of Roman imperial excess, rather than on the reversal of gender roles *per se*. I would also suggest that this poem does not paint a generalized picture of “the brutality of the world”. Rather, the poem makes a specific comparison between Lesbia’s destruction of Catullus’ love (*meum ... amorem qui illius culpa cecidit*, lines 21-22) and the brutality of Roman conquest, so vividly portrayed in the first half of the poem. Thus I see the poem, not as an escape from war to love<sup>51</sup>, but rather as showing the transformation of love into a kind of war, a process in which Catullus’ love takes on the role of a conquered province.

David Konstan has noted that, in this poem, “Catullus has subtly connected Roman imperialism with sexual excess and depravity”<sup>52</sup>. I agree with this analysis, but I would add that the poem’s military context provides a further connection. By identifying his own, formerly unspoiled love for Lesbia with the Britons’ formerly unspoiled island, Catullus equates the two aggressors by assimilating their victims. Lesbia is cast as the feminine counterpart to the generals who recognize no limit to Roman expansion. Thus, Lesbia’s sexual excess is identified with the Roman generals’ military excess.

Although Catullus belongs to a prominent provincial family (*domi nobiles*)<sup>53</sup>, and may be offered a minor role in the Roman military organization, he now feels more in common with the far-off peoples and places being conquered than with the aristocrats (such as Pompey, Caesar, Crassus, and Lesbia) who reap enormous benefits from foreign conquest, or with the Romans of his own class (such as Furius and Aurelius) who are eager to help them carry it out.

### VIII. Conclusions

I have argued in this paper that Poem 11 has a military context; it is not a romantic travelogue. The expression, *comites Catulli*, in line 1, meaning “Catullus’ fellow members of a Roman general’s staff”, indicates that in the first half of the poem, Furius and Aurelius are inviting Catullus to join them on the staff of one of Rome’s great generals, such as Caesar, Pompey or Crassus, whose recent and prospective conquests are adumbrated in lines 1-12.

I have also argued that Catullus has a critical attitude toward Rome’s infinitely expanding empire. There is no reason to suppose that Catullus was critical of the Roman empire *per se*. But in poems 11 and 29 Catullus expresses the opinion that the expansion of the empire to the ends of the earth (*extremos Indos* at 11.2,

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<sup>51</sup> Greene, “Journey to the Remotest Meadow”.

<sup>52</sup> Konstan, “The Contemporary Political Context”, p. 78; see also Konstan, “Self, Sex, and Empire in Catullus”, pp. 227-228.

<sup>53</sup> See Wiseman, *Catullus and His World*, pp. 92-115; Wiseman, “The Masters of Sirmio”, in Wiseman, *Roman Studies: Literary and Historical*, Liverpool 1987, pp. 307-370; and Wiseman, “The Valerii Catulli of Verona”, in Skinner, *A Companion to Catullus*, pp. 57-76.

*ultimos Britannos* at 11.11-12 and *ultima Britannia* at 29.4) was not benefiting the Roman state and was devastating to the native peoples themselves. In poem 29, Catullus criticizes such unlimited expansion as draining the wealth and natural resources of native peoples while leading to excessive power for Caesar and the wasteful personal spending of his cronies. Similar criticisms are implied in poem 11 (which was written at the same time as poem 29) by expressions that emphasize the remote locations of these native peoples, their wild and uncivilized nature, their abundant natural resources and the striking quality of their natural landmarks, some of which have already been reduced to “monuments of mighty Caesar”. Similar views were expressed by Catullus’ contemporaries. When these insights are applied to the second half of poem 11, I argue that Lesbia is being compared to a Roman general who plunders and pillages without restraint. Catullus compares his former love for Lesbia to a ravished province.

I am not arguing that Catullus was an anti-imperialist in the modern sense of the term. Catullus voices no objection to a Roman empire that is limited to the lands surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, an area of enormous expanse. Such an empire would naturally involve the oppression of native peoples, and we know that Catullus himself participated in this activity. But by comparing Rome’s limitless empire to Lesbia’s limitless libido, and his former love for Lesbia to the ravaged natural resources of a conquered province, Catullus was protesting against the excesses of Rome’s ever expanding empire, and the extravagant personal desires that went with it.

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## Love and War at the Ends of the Earth (Catullus 11)

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### Abstract

#### Love and War at the Ends of the Earth (Catullus 11)

Three problems raised by poem 11 have never been satisfactorily resolved: How does Catullus' harsh rejection of Lesbia in the second part of the poem relate to the "romantic travelogue" in the first three stanzas? Why does Catullus address Furius and Aurelius as his companions (*comites*, line 1), while in other poems he addresses them in hostile terms? And are Catullus' references to Caesar's conquests in Gaul and his expeditions into Germany and Britain (lines 9-12), meant to compliment or criticize the general? I argue that the two, seemingly disparate parts of the poem are connected by references to war and conquest, and that such references also clarify Catullus' view of Caesar and his relationship to Furius and Aurelius.

Catullus uses the word *comites* here, not to mean "companions", but "members of a general's staff"; this meaning establishes a military context for the poem. Thus, the 'travelogue' of the first three stanzas is actually a list of places targeted for Roman expansion in 55 B.C. (when the poem was written). Finally, Catullus' harsh rejection of Lesbia in the second half of the poem is also expressed in

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military terms; Lesbia is compared to a greedy Roman general who plunders without restraint.

**Keywords**

Catullus, Roman Republic, Roman imperialism.

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**The Gladiatorial *Exemplum* in the Peroration of Cicero's *Pro Milone***

At the beginning of the *peroratio* of his *Pro Milone* Cicero takes it upon himself to beg the judges to show Milo *miserordia*<sup>1</sup>, despite the fact that his client, who has been charged with the murder of his political adversary Clodius, remains unwavering and defiant and refuses to comply with the customary practices of the defendants in order to ensure the mercy of the judges<sup>2</sup>. It is clear that this choice of Milo's is consistent with his image so far in the speech<sup>3</sup>; the orator, however, perceives that such an attitude could be taken as arrogance towards the court and could thus obstruct the desirable outcome of the trial<sup>4</sup>. For this reason, Cicero does what his client refuses to do and attempts to convince the judges that even Milo's attitude deserves their mercy by employing the example of gladiators, according to which the spectators show more mercy to those who do not ask for it than to those who beg for it (92):

*Etenim si in gladiatoris pugnis et <in> infimi generis hominum condicione atque fortuna timidos et supplices et ut vivere liceat obsecrantis etiam odisse solemus, fortis et animosos et se acriter ipsos morti offerentis servari cupimus, eorumque nos magis miseret qui nostram misericordiam non requirunt quam qui illam efflagitant, quanto hoc magis in fortissimis civibus facere debemus!*

Cicero's audience in the particular trial was heterogeneous. The jury (51 men) consisted of senators, *equites* and *tribuni aerarii*<sup>5</sup>. Thus, in order to appeal to all of

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<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Mil.* 92: *Quid restat nisi ut orem obtesterque vos, iudices, ut eam misericordiam tribuatis fortissimo viro quam ipse non implorat, ego etiam repugnante hoc et imploro et exposco? Nolite, si in nostro omnium fletu nullam lacrimam aspexistis Milonis, si voltum semper eundem, si vocem, si orationem stabilem ac non mutatam videtis, hoc minus ei parcere: haud scio an multo etiam sit adiuvandus magis.* For all passages from the *Pro Milone* I have cited the text of Albertus C. Clark, *M. Tulli Ciceronis orationes: Pro Milone, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro, Philippicae I-XIV*, Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis, Oxford 1918<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> On the established practices of the defendants in the Roman courts, cf. Quint., *Inst.* 6.1.30 and see Michael Winterbottom, "Perorations", in J. Powell and J. Paterson (eds), *Cicero the Advocate*, Oxford 2004, pp. 220-223; A.R. Dyck, "Narrative Obfuscation, Philosophical *Topoi*, and Tragic Patterning in Cicero's *Pro Milone*", *HSPH* 98 (1998) 229. This stance of Milo's could be connected with those of Socrates and Publius Rutilius Rufus as described in Cic., *de Orat.* 1.227-233; cf. Wilfried Stroh, *Taxis und Taktik: Die advokatische Dispositionskunst in Ciceros Gerichtsreden*, Stuttgart 1975, p. 76, n. 77. For the weeping Cicero in the *peroratio*, who adds the missing tears of Milo's, see recently Alfredo Casamento, "'Parlare e lagrimar vedrai insieme'. Le lacrime dell'oratore", in Gianna Petrone (ed.), *Le passioni della retorica*, Palermo 2004, pp. 41-62, esp. pp. 55-58; Marcus Heckenkamp, "Cicero's Tears", in Lucia Calboli Montefusco (ed.), *Papers on Rhetoric X*, Rome 2010, pp. 173-182.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. James M. May, *Trials of Character: The Eloquence of Ciceronian Ethos*, Chapel Hill – London 1988, p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch directly states that this behaviour contributed to Milo's conviction; cf. Plu., *Cic.* 35.5: *αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μίλωνος εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀδεῶς παρισταμένου τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ κόμην θρέψαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐσθῆτα φαίαν ἀπαξιῶσαντος· ὅπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα δοκεῖ συναίτιον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς καταδίκης* and see F.H. Colson, *Cicero, Pro Milone. Edited with Introduction and Notes with Asconius' Commentary Appended*, repr. Bristol 1991 [orig. publ. London 1893], pp. xxviii and 111; D.H. Berry, *Cicero: Defence Speeches. Translated with Introduction and Notes*, Oxford 2000, pp. 270-271.

<sup>5</sup> For the different orders that constituted the jury, cf. e.g. Cic., *Mil.* 5: *in iudicio vero et in eo consilio in quo ex coniunctis ordinibus amplissimi viri iudicarent numquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros Milonis inimicos ad eius non modo salutem extinguendam sed etiam gloriam per talis viros infringendam*; Asc.,

them, the orator uses different arguments with the expectation that each of them could be effective to a specific group. As we shall see, the choice of the gladiatorial example in the first paragraph of the peroration allows the orator to employ multiple implications on various levels that could facilitate his intentions. Moreover, let us not forget that the typical structure of a peroration in a forensic speech includes a recapitulation and an emotional appeal<sup>6</sup>. The peroration of the *Pro Milone* lacks a recapitulation. Thus, by recalling Cicero's main argumentation and the imagery previously used, the particular example partly compensates for this absence.

At a first glance, by the gladiatorial example Cicero attempts to exploit the argument that, if *miser cordia* could be aroused even for steadfast gladiators, who, as a rule, belong to a low social status (*infimi generis*), it should indisputably be aroused for Milo, who maintains a similar attitude and belongs to the *fortissimi cives*. However, apart from the functional purpose of the above analogy, it is also evident that Cicero intended to embellish his speech<sup>7</sup> with references to a spectacle popular with the Roman public which allow Milo to use the Roman enthusiasm for the gladiatorial ethos to his advantage<sup>8</sup>. In his analysis of the *exordium* of the speech in the light of a gladiatorial metaphor Jerzy Axer notes<sup>9</sup> that Cicero exploits his listeners' experience as spectators at gladiatorial combats to arouse sympathy for Milo and remarks: "on a stage designed in this way, Milo was cast in Cicero's 'production' as the heroic gladiator, the tamer of a beast, whose assault threatened the citizens. As gladiator in the arena, Milo awaited either exculpation or death sentence without fear and without a word of complaint". The gladiatorial example in 92 seems to move in a similar direction.

As is known, the arena was of interest not only to the lower orders but to any Roman regardless of his social standing, even to the *nobiles*, although the latter's reactions were confused and mixed<sup>10</sup>. While the word *gladiator* is a frequent term of abuse in Cicero's political invective<sup>11</sup>, he does not hesitate to praise traits of the

*Mil.* 53 C: *Peracta utrimque causa singuli quinos accusator et reus senatores, totidem equites et tribunos aenarios reiecerunt, ita ut unus et L sententias tulerint. Senatores condemnauerunt XII, absoluerunt VI; equites condemnauerunt XIII, absoluerunt III; tribuni aenarii condemnauerunt XIII, absoluerunt III.*

<sup>6</sup> On the structure of a peroration, see especially Winterbottom, art. cit., pp. 215-230. For Cicero's rhetorical strategies in the rest of the *peroratio*, see Spyridon Tzounakas, "The Peroration in Cicero's *Pro Milone*", *CW* 102 (2009) 129-141.

<sup>7</sup> It is worth noticing that gladiatorial imagery is frequently found in Cicero's orations; cf. e.g. August A. Imholtz, Jr., "Gladiatorial Metaphors in Cicero's *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino*", *CW* 65 (1971/1972) 228-230.

<sup>8</sup> For this tactic in the *exordium* of the speech, see Jerzy Axer, "Śmierć gladiatora. O pewnych aspektach techniki retorycznej w mowie Cyserona *Pro Milone* (The Death of a Gladiator. On Certain Aspects of Cicero's Rhetorical Technique in the *Pro Milone*)", *Eos* 77 (1989) 31-43 and idem, "Tribunal-Stage-Arena: Modelling of the Communication Situation in M. Tullius Cicero's Judicial Speeches", *Rhetorica* 7 (1989) 299-311, esp. 308-309; cf. also Alfredo Casamento, "La *pro Milone* dopo la *pro Milone*", in Lucia Calboli Montefusco (ed.), *Papers on Rhetoric X*, Rome 2010, p. 51. A similar tactic in the *exordium* is analyzed by Spyridon Tzounakas, "Transforming the Trial into a Battle: Military Language in the *Exordium* of Cicero's *Pro Milone*", *Eos* 94 (2007) 65-80.

<sup>9</sup> Axer, "Tribunal-Stage-Arena ...", pp. 308-309.

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. Erik Gunderson, "The Ideology of the Arena", *ClAnt* 15 (1996) 113-151, esp. 114, 136-142; cf. also, among others, Paul Plass, *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and Political Suicide*, Madison 1995, esp. pp. 19, 62-77, 213-224; Donald G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*, London - New York 1998, esp. pp. 3-4, 9-10, 80-85.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. e.g. Georges Ville, *La gladiature en occident des origines à la mort de Domitien*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 245, Rome 1981, pp. 342-343; Gunderson, art. cit., pp. 136-137; John T.

gladiators in many cases. In *Tusc.* 2.41<sup>12</sup> he calls the gladiators *aut perditii homines aut barbari*, but after that he praises their training, steadfastness, dignity and dedication to their task<sup>13</sup>. In *Tusc.* 4.48<sup>14</sup> he refers to their *constantia* and notes that there are gladiators who could be regarded as *placati* rather than as *irati*. In *Sest.* 80<sup>15</sup> Cicero likens the behaviour of his client Sestius to that of a proper gladiator and “invokes the gladiator’s code of calmly facing death as a choiceworthy model”, while a similar thought is also evident in *Phil.* 3.35<sup>16</sup>, where the way the noble gladiators face death is presented as a model of *honestas* and *dignitas*<sup>17</sup>.

Since the word *gladiator* frequently carries a number of disparaging overtones, Cicero refrains from explicitly calling his client with this appellation. Implicitly, however, he attributes to Milo those traits of the gladiators that he regards that could reinforce his defence, while at the same time attempting to disassociate him from those which could raise more difficulties (e.g. the traditional low social status of the gladiators and their baseness). Moreover, it should not be forgotten that Milo was not a real name but a nickname that points to wrestlers<sup>18</sup> or gladiators<sup>19</sup>.

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Ramsey, *Cicero, Philippics I-II*, Cambridge 2003, p. 171 (on *Cic., Phil.* 2.7); Robert A. Kaster, *Marcus Tullius Cicero, Speech on Behalf of Publius Sestius. Translated with Introduction and Commentary*, Oxford 2006, pp. 243-244, 376.

<sup>12</sup> *Cic., Tusc.* 2.41: *gladiatores, aut perditii homines aut barbari, quas plagas perferunt! quo modo illi, qui bene instituti sunt, accipere plagam malunt quam turpiter vitare! quam saepe apparet nihil eos malle quam vel domino satis facere vel populo! mittunt etiam vulneribus confecti ad dominos, qui quaerant quid velint: si satis is factum sit, se velle decumbere. quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit, quis vultum mutavit umquam? quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decubuit turpiter? quis, cum decubisset, ferrum recipere iussus collum contraxit? tantum exercitatio meditatio consuetudo valet. ergo hoc poterit 'Sammis, spurcus homo, vita illa dignus locoque'; vir natus ad gloriam ullam partem animi tam mollem habebit, quam non meditatione et ratione conroboret? crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum non nullis videri solet, et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit; cum vero sontes ferro depugnabant, auribus fortasse multae, oculis quidem nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina.*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Gunderson, art. cit., p. 137.

<sup>14</sup> *Cic., Tusc.* 4.48: *gladiatorium id quidem. quamquam in eis ipsis videmus saepe constantiam: 'conlocuntur, congregiuntur, quaerunt aliquid, postulant,' ut magis placati quam irati esse videantur, sed in illo genere sit sane Pacideianus aliquis hoc animo, ut narrat Lucilius.*

<sup>15</sup> *Cic., Sest.* 80: *Ipsium vero quid accusas? Num defuit gladiis? num repugnavit? num, ut gladiatoribus imperari solet, ferrum non recepit?*

<sup>16</sup> *Cic., Phil.* 3.35: *Quod si iam—quod di omen avertant!—fatum extremum rei publicae venit, quod gladiatores nobiles faciunt ut honeste decumbant, faciamus nos, principes orbis terrarum gentiumque omnium, ut cum dignitate potius cadamus quam cum ignominia serviamus.*

<sup>17</sup> See Kaster, op. cit., p. 295.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Cic., Att.* 6.4.3: *Illud praeterea μυστικώτερον ad te scribam, tu sagacius odorabere. τῆς δάμαρτός μου ὁ ἀπελεύθερος (οἷσθα ὃν λέγω) ἔδοξέ μοι πρῶην, ἐξ ὧν ἀλογεύομενος παρεφθέγγετο, πεφυρακέναι τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῆς ἀνῆς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων <τῶν> τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου τυραννοκτόνου. δέδοικα δὴ μὴ τινοήσεις δήπου. τοῦτο δὴ περισκεψάμενος τὰ λοιπὰ ἐξασφάλισαι and 6.5.1: τῆς ξυναόρου τῆς ἐμῆς οὐξελεύθερος ἔδοξέ μοι θαμὰ βατταρίζων <καὶ> ἀλύων ἐν τοῖς ξυλλόγοις καὶ ταῖς λέσχαις ὑπὸ τι πεφυρακέναι τὰς ψήφους ἐν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν τοῖς τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου, where Milo is mentioned by Κροτωνιάτης, which points to the famous Greek wrestler Milo of Croton.*

<sup>19</sup> Cf. e.g. John Smyth Purton, *M. T. Ciceronis oratio Pro Tito Annio Milone, with a Translation of Asconius' Introduction, Marginal Analysis and English Notes*, Cambridge 1891, p. vii, n. 2: “Milo was a name common among gladiators in the south of Italy, and therefore, probably, a nickname given to him on account of his notoriety as captain of some of the paid assassins which infested Rome and its environs at this time. His real name was Titus Annius Papianus”.

Thus, through the gladiatorial imagery Cicero cleverly exploits the associations of his client's nickname, a practice which is not alien to his writings<sup>20</sup>.

By underlining the similarity between Milo's attitude and that of a gladiator who exemplifies courage and deserves mercy<sup>21</sup>, Cicero induces his audience to transform the tribunal into an arena and judge the case according to criteria more appropriate to the spectacles presented in the amphitheatre<sup>22</sup>. Once such associations between Milo and a heroic gladiator have been evoked, this conscious or subconscious transformation, in turn, could lead to an implicit likening of the opposition of the two political adversaries to a gladiatorial combat, in which Clodius could be cast as another gladiator or a beast. This transformation provides Milo with further advantages, since, examined in the light of the rules of a *ludus gladiatorius*, his crime appears justifiable. In such confrontations the adversary's murder is interpreted within the context of the gladiator's legitimate right to self-defence; therefore, such a murder not only fails to lead to a conviction, but often ensures the approval and praise of the audience. This implication, which stands a good chance of response especially among the members of the lower orders, enables the advocate to reinforce his major line of defence, based on the plea that his client acted in self-defence (*constitutio legitima* or *definitiva*)<sup>23</sup>. In addition, it brings to mind Cicero's previous references to the unwritten and natural law that justifies homicide when someone has to encounter the violence and weapons of the enemies<sup>24</sup>. Furthermore, Cicero's attempt to interpret Milo's action according to criteria befitting to gladiatorial ethos could be regarded as an adroit rhetorical strategy that allows the orator to underline his client's braveness and thus to suggest that Milo is less likely to have cunningly planned the ambush against his adversary<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. e.g. Victor J. Matthews, "Some Puns on Roman *Cognomina*", *G&R* n.s. 20 (1973) 20-24.

<sup>21</sup> This similarity is further reinforced by the phrase *fortis et animosos et se acriter ipsos morti offerentis*, since the particular words are frequently associated with Milo. *Fortis* and *animosos* recall Cicero's emphasis on Milo's *fortitudo* (cf. e.g. *fortissimis civibus* in the same passage as well as n. 37) and his *magnitudo animi* (cf. e.g. 1, 61, 69, 81). Cf. also Cic., *Mil.* 29: *Cum autem hic de raeda reiecta paenula desiluisset seque acri animo defenderet* and 95: *Mihine ea soli qui pro te totiens morti me obtuli nihil potest optulari?*

<sup>22</sup> This attempt was initiated from the *exordium* of the speech; cf. Axer, "Śmierć gladiator...", pp. 31-43 and idem, "Tribunal-Stage-Arena ...", esp. pp. 308-309.

<sup>23</sup> On Cicero's emphasis on the stasis of legality or definition (*constitutio legitima* or *definitiva*), see especially James M. May, "The *Ethica Digressio* and Cicero's *Pro Milone*: A Progression of Intensity from *Logos* to *Ethos* to *Pathos*", *CJ* 74 (1978/1979) 241 and idem, *Trials of Character...*, p. 131.

<sup>24</sup> Cic., *Mil.* 10: *est igitur haec, iudices, non scripta, sed nata lex, quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa adripiimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti sed facti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus, ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim et in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendae salutis*; cf. also Cic., *Mil.* 11: *silent enim leges inter arma nec se exspectari iubent, cum ei qui exspectare velit ante iniusta poena luenda sit quam iusta repetenda. etsi persapienter et quodam modo tacite dat ipsa lex potestatem defendendi, quae non hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa vetat, ut, cum causa, non telum quaeretur, qui sui defendendi causa telo esset usus, non hominis occidendi causa habuisse telum iudicaretur. quapropter hoc maneat in causa, iudices; non enim dubito quin probaturus sim vobis defensionem meam, si id memineritis quod oblivisci non potestis insidiatorem interfici iure posse.*

<sup>25</sup> The same purpose is also served by Cicero's frequent characterization of Milo as *fortissimus vir*. For the advantages of this characterization, see Michael von Albrecht, *Cicero's Style: A Synopsis, Followed by Selected Analytic Studies*, Mnemosyne, suppl. 245, Leiden – Boston 2003, p. 186, who notes: "by choosing Milo's courage (and not, say, his cleverness) as a crucial theme, he prepares his line of defence from the very beginning: a brave man is more readily believed to have acted spontaneously in self-defence than to have cunningly plotted a murder".

The advantages of the particular *exemplum* become even more numerous if we imagine Milo as a gladiator not in combat against another gladiator, but a wild beast. In this case, Clodius is implicitly compared with a *belua*, as he has been depicted previously in a more explicit way<sup>26</sup>. In their article Clark and Ruebel<sup>27</sup> have sufficiently proved that the bestial imagery in Cic., *Mil.* 40-41 is connected with the orator's purpose to present Clodius as *tyrannus* and that Cicero's discussion of tyrannicide has a characteristically Stoic basis. They note that, according to his theory of tyrannicide, "[t]he tyrant is something less than human: he does not belong to civilized society, so that his murder involves no greater ethical conflict than the killing of any other beast"<sup>28</sup>. Consequently the gladiatorial *exemplum* in 92 allows the audience to bring to mind the previous depiction of Clodius as *belua* and reinforces Cicero's attempt to justify Milo's homicide by equating it with the killing of a beast in the arena, as well as, by implication, with tyrannicide<sup>29</sup>.

However, the Stoic implications of the gladiatorial imagery here could be taken further than the equation *tyrannus* = *belua*. It is a known fact that in his effort to defend his client the orator depicts him as a Stoic hero<sup>30</sup>, aiming to present the possibility that it was Milo who plotted against Clodius as highly unlikely. The *exemplum* of the gladiators could be placed within this context, as it is common practice in Stoic thought to equate *vita* with *ludus gladiatorius*<sup>31</sup>, while the *sapiens* is

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<sup>26</sup> Cic., *Mil.* 32: *Satis est in illa quidem tam audaci, tam nefaria belua docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem in Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitates fuisse*; 40-41: *Nuper vero cum M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus attulisset gravissimamque adulescens nobilissimus rei publicae partem fortissime suscepisset, atque illam beluam, iudici laqueos declinantem, iam inretitam teneret, qui locus, quod tempus illud, di immortales, fuit! Cum se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebras abdidisset, magnum Miloni fuit conficere illam pestem nulla sua invidia, M. vero Antoni maxima gloria? Quid? comitiis in campo quotiens potestas fuit! cum ille in saepta inrupisset, gladios destringendos, lapides iaciendos curasset, dein subito voltu Milonis perterritus fugeret ad Tiberim, vos et omnes boni vota faceretis ut Miloni uti virtute sua liberet*; 85: *Regiones me hercule ipsae quae illam beluam cadere viderunt, commosse se videntur et ius in illo suum retinuisse*. For Cicero's tendency to characterize his adversaries by identifying them with beasts or monsters, see James M. May, "Cicero and the Beasts", *SyllClass* 7 (1996) 143-153, with rich bibliography.

<sup>27</sup> Mark Edward Clark and James S. Ruebel, "Philosophy and Rhetoric in Cicero's *Pro Milone*", *RhM* 128 (1985) 57-72.

<sup>28</sup> Clark and Ruebel, art. cit., p. 62; cf. also their remarks: "Clodius, as *belua*, does not fit into the civilized (court) system of Rome, and the two bestial images (*fugiens in scalarum tenebras*; *in saepta inrupisset*) stress his wildness and animal-like behavior in sharp contrast to civilized men" (63) and "Clodius has disrupted the normal *societas* of Rome by his wanton recourse to *vis*, and has intimidated good and decent citizens, robbing them of their natural and civil rights" (64).

<sup>29</sup> For Cicero's attempt to interpret Milo's murder of Clodius as tyrannicide, cf. esp. Cic., *Mil.* 35: *Quo tandem animo hoc tyrannum illum tulisse creditis?* and 80: *Graeci homines deorum honores tribuunt eis viris qui tyrannos necaverunt—quae ego vidi Athenis, quae in aliis urbibus Graeciae! quas res divinas talibus institutas viris, quos cantus, quae carmina! prope ad immortalitatis et religionem et memoriam consecrantur—vos tanti conservatorem populi, tanti sceleris ultorem non modo honoribus nullis adficietis sed etiam ad supplicium rapi patiimini?* For Clodius as *tyrannus* in the *Pro Milone*, see also Spyridon Tzounakas, "Clodius' Projected Manumission of Slaves in Cicero's *Pro Milone*", *Arctos* 40 (2006) 167-174, with relevant bibliography.

<sup>30</sup> Apart from Clark and Ruebel, art. cit., see also Dyck, art. cit., pp. 219-241, esp. pp. 228-229, 232-234, 240; von Albrecht, op. cit., p. 186 with n. 39; Spyridon Tzounakas, "Stoic Implications in the *Exordium* of Cicero's *Pro Milone*", *Sileno* 34 (2008) 179-190; Ingo Gildenhard, *Creative Eloquence: The Construction of Reality in Cicero's Speeches*, Oxford 2011, pp. 117-118.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. e.g. Sen., *Dial.* 4.8.2: *Non alia quam in ludo gladiatorio vita est cum isdem viventium pugnantiumque*.

portrayed as *fortis vir*<sup>32</sup> and is metaphorically depicted as a gladiator who is stricken by *Fortuna* and is fighting his moral battle in the *amphitheatrum mundi* offering an *exemplum virtutis* for the admiration of the gods<sup>33</sup>. Although the particular gladiatorial imagery is especially frequent in Seneca and Lucan, it is not restricted to the writers of the Imperial Age. As we have seen above, even Cicero often uses the example of the gladiators in his philosophical writings in order to praise their ability to tolerate pain and retain their dignity (cf. Cic., *Tusc.* 2.41), and, observing the *constantia* they exhibit, he disagrees that anger is a necessary prerequisite for courage (cf. Cic., *Tusc.* 4.48)<sup>34</sup>. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the particular Ciceronian example is so appropriate to Stoic thought that it is exploited by Seneca in elucidating his Stoic philosophical teaching<sup>35</sup>. Thus, it is no coincidence that in the *exemplum* in question Milo is referred to as *fortissimus civis*, a central term to Stoic thought<sup>36</sup>, while from the very beginning of the speech he is continuously presented as *fortissimus* or *fortis vir*<sup>37</sup>. Consequently, in this suggestive way Cicero lends his client characteristics befitting a Stoic hero and praises his ethos<sup>38</sup>. Thus he implies that Milo's action constitutes an *exemplum virtutis*<sup>39</sup> and by extension should not be interpreted as a crime, but as an action which aims at the satisfaction of the gods. Moreover, Cicero has previously already ensured (83-89) that Milo is presented as an instrument of the gods executing their wish to save Rome from the threat of Clodius

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. e.g. Sen., *Dial.* 1.2.9: *ecce spectaculum dignum ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo deus, ecce par deo dignum, vir fortis cum fortuna mala compositus, utique si et provocavit.*

<sup>33</sup> For the frequency of this analogy in Stoic thought, see e.g. Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, *Senecan Drama and Stoic Cosmology*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1989, pp. 56-57; Matthew Leigh, *Lucan: Spectacle and Engagement*, Oxford 1997, pp. 234 ff.; Spyridon Tzounakas, *The Metaphor in Lucan's Pharsalia*, Diss., Univ. of Athens 2000, pp. 184-187; Pierre Cagniard, "The Philosopher and the Gladiator", *CW* 93 (1999/2000) 607-618, esp. 613-618, with relevant bibliography.

<sup>34</sup> See Leigh, op. cit., p. 240, n. 17 and cf. above, notes 12 and 14. For the athletes and the gladiators as examples of *mortis dolorisque contemptio* in Roman philosophical writings already from the age of Cicero, see recently Thomas Kroppen, *Mortis dolorisque contemptio: Athleten und Gladiatoren in Senecas philosophischem Konzept*, Nikephoros Beihefte 15, Hildesheim 2008, esp. pp. 87-111.

<sup>35</sup> Sen., *Dial.* 9.11.4-6: *Gladiatores, ut ait Cicero, invisos habemus, si omni modo vitam inpetrare cupiunt; favemus, si contemptum eius prae se ferunt. Idem evenire nobis scias; saepe enim causa moriendi est timide mori. Fortuna illa, quae ludos sibi facit, 'quo' inquit 'te reservem, malum et trepidum animal? Eo magis convulneraberis et confodieris, quia nescis praebere iugulum; at tu et vives diutius et morieris expeditius qui ferrum non subducta cervice nec manibus oppositis sed animose recipis.' Qui mortem timebit nihil unquam pro homine vivo faciet; at qui sciet hoc sibi cum conciperetur statim condictum, vivet ad formulam et simul illud quoque eodem animi robore praestabit, ne quid ex iis quae eveniunt subitum sit. Quidquid enim [si] fieri potest quasi futurum sit prospiciendo malorum omnium impetus molliet, qui ad praeparatos expectantesque nihil adferunt novi, securis et beata tantum sperantibus graves veniunt.*

<sup>36</sup> For *fortis* in Stoic terminology, see e.g. Damianos Tsekourakis, *Studies in the Terminology of Early Stoic Ethics*, Hermes Einzelschriften 32, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 126.

<sup>37</sup> Cic., *Mil.* 1: *Etsi vereor, iudices, ne turpe sit pro fortissimo viro dicere incipientem timere*; cf. also Cic., *Mil.* 25, 63, 64, 69, 81, 84, 89, 92, 104.

<sup>38</sup> On the central role of ethos in Cicero's *Pro Milone*, see May, "The *Ethica Digressio...*", p. 241; idem, *Trials of Character...*, pp. 129-140; and idem, "Cicero's *Pro Milone*: An Ideal Speech for an Ideal Orator", in C.W. Wooten (ed.), *The Orator in Action and Theory in Greece and Rome. Essays in Honor of George A. Kennedy*, Mnemosyne, suppl. 225, Leiden – Boston – Cologne 2001, pp. 123-134.

<sup>39</sup> It is worth noting that *virtus Milonis* is often mentioned or implied in the speech; cf. e.g. Cic., *Mil.* 3, 6, 30, 34, 41, 81, 95, 99, 101.

and seek revenge for the insults they suffered because of him<sup>40</sup>. Consequently, by showing Milo to be carrying out an action desired by the gods, Cicero intimates that his client has divine favour on his side and is therefore the chosen one through whom their plans come to fruition. This thought, apart from undoubtedly contributing to the drawing of an attractive image of Milo<sup>41</sup>, makes him appear less guilty, since it removes the responsibility for Clodius' murder from his person by making it seem to lie at the door of the gods. It stands to reason that the Stoic implications of the particular argument could be effective to some members of the jury such as Cato<sup>42</sup>.

Admittedly, the defence of Milo was not an easy one. The orator attempts to exploit every possible argument and implication that could work to his client's advantage. The gladiatorial *exemplum* in 92 serves this purpose efficiently and with its various implications it could appeal to the different groups that constitute the jury providing them with a wide range of arguments to select the more appropriate to them. Thus, it allows the orator not only to give a plausible justification of Milo's deviation from the established practices of the defendants that could protect him from the risk of appearing arrogant towards the court, but also to reinforce the lines of defence. At the same time, it reinforces all three types of rhetorical means of persuasion, according to Aristotle's famous categorization, i.e. *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos*. In this way Cicero implies that Milo's action should be interpreted as a legitimate self-defence (*logos*), aims at the denigration of Clodius' image and at the praise of Milo, suggests that the latter is a Stoic hero who has divine favour on his side (*ethos*), and finally attempts to arouse *miser cordia* for his client (*pathos*). Despite Cicero's legal defeat, such rhetorical tactics indicate that the surviving published version of the speech<sup>43</sup> is a real masterpiece that is rightly characterized by Quintilian as *oratio pulcherrima*<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> For the religious argument of theodicy, see Meinolf Vielberg, "Opium für die Optimaten?: Religiöses Argumentieren in Ciceros *Miloniana*", *Eranos* 93 (1995) 49-64; Dyck, art. cit., pp. 233-239; Gildenhard, op. cit., pp. 343-347.

<sup>41</sup> Cicero juxtaposes the image of the pious Milo with that of the irreverent Clodius, for which cf. e.g. Cic., *Mil.* 85-86.

<sup>42</sup> For Cato as a member of the jury and his stance, see Colson, op. cit., p. xix.

<sup>43</sup> For possible reasons for the publication of the speech, see recently Aislinn Melchior, "Twinned Fortunes and the Publication of Cicero's *Pro Milone*", *CPh* 103 (2008) 282-297.

<sup>44</sup> Quint., *Inst.* 4.2.25: *Sed hoc quoque interim mutat condicio causarum, nisi forte M. Tullius in oratione pulcherrima quam pro Milone scriptam reliquit male distulisse narrationem videtur tribus praepositis quaestionibus.*

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### **Abstract**

#### **The Gladiatorial *Exemplum* in the Peroration of Cicero's *Pro Milone***

In this article I argue that the gladiatorial example in the peroration of Cicero's *Pro Milone* (92) serves multiple rhetorical purposes. More specifically, I argue that, apart from justifying Milo's proud stance in the court and evoking sympathy for him, the particular gladiatorial example reminds the audience of previously employed arguments and thus compensates for the absence of a typical recapitulation. Furthermore, it implicitly enables the advocate to interpret the murder of Clodius within the context of the gladiator's legitimate right to self-defence. Moreover, it reinforces the depiction of Clodius as a beast, facilitates Cicero's intention to equate him with a tyrant, and allows the orator to present Milo as a Stoic hero who carries out an action desired by the gods.

### **Keywords**

Milo, gladiatorial imagery, rhetorical strategies, Stoic implications.

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**Marble as Building Material in Rabbinic Literature**

Marble (CaCO<sub>3</sub>), a metamorphic stone that can take on a high polish<sup>1</sup>, was one of the most favored and fashionable type of building and sculpturing stones since antiquity. The use of marble as building material was developed during the Greek and Hellenistic periods. Roman historical documents date its first use as a building material to the mid-second century BCE<sup>2</sup>, reaching its peak during the Imperial period in Rome and in the Byzantine period. It was during this time when, besides the development of a wide inventory of extravagant architectural elements made of marble, the decorative use of marble panels on walls to give the impression that they were built of marble blocks, became a common feature of public monumental architecture<sup>3</sup>. The popular practice of marble paneling, when worked with an awareness of the special qualities of the stone, can result in magnificent decorative effects. By cutting the stone and arranging the slabs with special emphasis on the wavy effect of the veins, a 'rippling water' effect was produced<sup>4</sup>.

These architectural trends spread throughout the Roman world and are also well reflected in Roman monuments in the Land of Israel<sup>5</sup>. However, since there were no natural marble resources in the Land of Israel, the marble required for any purpose had to be imported<sup>6</sup>. In spite of the frequent use of marble as wall paneling and its other uses as building or sculptural material, the exploitation of marble slabs as paving material was less common, and was usually limited to lavish private dwellings or public interiors<sup>7</sup>.

The fashionable trends of marble paneling or floor paving so cherished by the Romans, continued to be much desired and widely in used in the following decades

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<sup>1</sup> Norman Herz and Marc Waelkens (eds.), *Classical Marble: Geo-chemistry, Technology, Trade*, Dordrecht – Boston – London 1988, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Velleius Paterculus I,II,5 (After Jerome Jordan Pollitt, *The Art of Rome, c.753 B.C. – A.D. 337 Sources and Documents*, Cambridge 1983, p. 45).

<sup>3</sup> Moshe L. Fischer, *Marble Studies, Roman Palestine and the Marble Trade*, (Xania, h. 40), Konstanz 1998, pp. 40-43; Moshe L. Fischer, "... on Parian Pillars' (The Book of Esther 1:6): Bible, Midrash and Real Marble in the Ancient Near East", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 50 (1999) 235-236; Moshe L. Fischer and Tziona Grossmark, "Marble Import and *Marmorarii* in Eretz Israel", in *Classical Studies in Honor of David Sohlberg*, ed. Ranon Katzoff, Ramat-Gan 1996, pp. 319-320; Yoram Tsafrir, *Eretz Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest, Archaeology and Art*, Jerusalem 1984, pp. 190-193, 303-304, 394-395 (Hebrew); Lesley Adkins and Roy A. Adkins, *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1998, p. 154; Marcus Milwright, "Waves of the Sea: Responses to Marble in Written Sources (Ninth-Fifteenth Centuries)", in *The Iconography of Islamic Art and Architecture: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, ed. Bernard O'Kane, Edinburgh 2005, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Miriam Rosen-Aylon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of Al-Haram Al-Sharif, An Iconographic Study (Qedem 28)*, Jerusalem 1989, p. 55. See also: Paulus Silentarius, *Descr. Ambonis*, 76 (After Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453*, Toronto 1986, p. 92).

<sup>5</sup> Tsafrir, op. cit., pp. 190-193, 303-304, 394-395; Fischer and Grossmark, op. cit., pp. 319-352.

<sup>6</sup> Asher Shadmon, *Stone in Israel*, Jerusalem 1972.

<sup>7</sup> Tsafrir, op. cit., pp. 303-304.

in the Eastern parts of the Mediterranean, during the Byzantine and Early Islamic periods.

In the following paper we intend to examine several rabbinic texts wherein marble paneling or paving is mentioned. Such a study may add to our understanding of attitudes and responses within Jewish spheres to the spread of the use of marble as a building material. Both halakhic and aggadic categories contribute to the study of everyday life in the Talmudic period. While halakhic debate delves into the minute nuances of the *sugya* and therefore may provide the scholar with information regarding the practicalities of religious life, it also provides us with invaluable data about the shape, materials and usage of the objects discussed in the *sugya*. The halakhic sources that will be attended in our paper can be dated to the Roman and Late Roman periods.

The aggadic narrative, usually a fiction woven into a realistic framework, sheds light on many aspects of everyday life and the customs and beliefs of the Jews of that time. Moreover the relationship between the aggadic matter in rabbinic literature and the liturgical activity in the synagogues of the days of the Mishnah and the Talmud has already been studied in past scholarship<sup>8</sup>. Since the liturgical ceremonies were directed at the common people, whenever the rabbis addressed such an audience they used rhetorical devices such as parables, fables, allegories and the like, that derived their efficacy from a selection of familiar topics<sup>9</sup>. These materials formed a key core of elements in rabbinic aggadic compilations constructed in later generations and are therefore relevant in any study of Jewish daily life in those times<sup>10</sup>.

The literary data referred to in this paper covers a period of some 800-900 years of Jewish literary writings that was created within four distinct cultures – Roman, Byzantine, Sassanian Persia and Early Islamic. Whilst there were major differences between these cultures, scholars have shown that the use of marble for decorating walls or as paving material functioned in a very similar ways<sup>11</sup>. The relatively conservative techniques in marble-working in the aforementioned cultures, between Roman and medieval times, enables us to study a collection of texts within such a wide span of time.

Research of the literary data concerning marble as a building material pinpointed the frequent association between marble and water especially in marble floors. Fabio Berry maintained in his brilliant paper 'Walking on Water: Cosmic

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<sup>8</sup> Since the pioneering study of Leopold (Yom Tov Lipmann) Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen vorträge der Juden historisch entwickelt (ha-Derashot be-Yisrael ve-hishtalshelutam ha-historit)*, trans. From the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1892), Jerusalem 1974; Herman Leberecht Strack in Günter Stemberger edition, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, Minneapolis 1996, pp. 233-246, including a comprehensive bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> S. Liberman, *Yevanit v'Yevanut b'Eretz Yisrael*, Jerusalem 1984, pp. 86; 154 (Hebrew); Avigdor Shinan, *The Embroidered Targum*, Jerusalem 1993, p. 14 (Hebrew); David Stern, *Parables in Midrash, Narrative and Exegesis in Rabbinic Literature*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 1, 6; 11-12; 17-18; 20; 47; David Stern & Mark Jay Mirsky, *Rabbinic Fantasies, Imaginative Narratives from Classical Hebrew Literature*, Philadelphia and New York 1990, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> See Catherine Hezser's introductory comments on the use of both archaeological and literary rabbinic evidence for the study of daily life: Catherine Hezser, "Correlating Literary, Epigraphic, and Archaeological Sources", in *Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine*, ed. C. Hezser, Oxford 2010, pp. 9-27.

<sup>11</sup> Fabio Barry, "Walking on Water: Cosmic Floors in Antiquity and the Middle Ages", *Art Bulletin* 79 (2007) 627-656; Milwright, op. cit.; Rosen-Aylon, op. cit.

Floors in Antiquity and the Middle-Ages', that the use of marble floors evoking the image of water which is found in Christian, Jewish and Islamic scriptures, has an internal religious meaning. He argued that: 'It reveals the enduring propriety of the extraterrestrial image that the faithful could read into the shifting matter below their feet [...] Instrumental in disclosing this concept was the perceived substance of marble, especially the type called Proconnesian'<sup>12</sup>. Barry's paper along with Rosen-Aylon's study of the iconography scheme of the Al-Haram Al-Sharif and Milwright's study of Islamic written sources on marble<sup>13</sup>, as well as those of a few other scholars, established the relations between archaeological and literary contexts, demonstrating that the very choice of marble flooring was intended to create an aura pregnant with meaning, a kind of iconographical scheme, influenced by religious perceptions, worked out by the effects resulting from the setting of the stones. Hence the marble-water motif in rabbinic sources will be re-examined trying to inquire not only as to the meaning of the texts but also to the sources of influence that shaped these texts.

### A Few Comments on the Use of Marble - The Halakhic Context

Halakhic rules that refer to marble are quite rare and can be divided into two categories – one is the issue of ritual impurity<sup>14</sup>, and the other is related to the observance of the Sabbath day.

The texts that belong to the first category – ritual purity regarding certain uses of marble – deal mainly with the impurity spread by a corpse, which is considered the most severe degree of impurity<sup>15</sup>, while other texts mention the impurity of house leprosy<sup>16</sup>. Corpse impurity can rise upwards vertically to an unlimited extent, unless the corpse was laid in a 'tent', which on one hand imparts impurity to all persons or vessels under the same roof, but on the other hand limits the spread of corpse impurity upwards<sup>17</sup>.

It was ruled in the Mishnah that a pile of marble slabs is not a barrier to the spreading of corpse impurity either upwards or downwards:

טפח ואם טבליות של עץ זו על גב זו אינן מביאות את הטומאה עד שתהא העליונה גבוהה מן הארץ פותח  
היו של שיש טומאה בוקעת ועולה בוקעת ויורדת (משנה אהלות טו:א)

Tables of wood [placed] one above the other do not form a passage for the uncleanness unless the uppermost is one handbreadth high off the ground; But if they were of marble the uncleanness cleaves upwards and downwards<sup>18</sup>.

According to the Mishnah a pile of wood slabs forms a 'tent of impurity' when it fits the stated measure, *i.e.* if the upper slab is at least one handbreadth high above the ground so as to leave a sufficient amount of space beneath it<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Barry, *op. cit.*, pp. 627-656.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*; Rosen-Aylon, *op. cit.*; Milwright, *op. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> On ritual purity see: "Purity and Impurity, Ritual", *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 13, pp. 1405-1414; Hyam Maccoby, *Ritual Morality: The Ritual Purity System and its Place in Judaism*, New-York 1999. See also: Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London 1966.

<sup>15</sup> Hyam Maccoby maintained that 'corpse-impurity is an awesome force in Judaism', Maccoby, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Leviticus* 14, 33-37.

<sup>17</sup> Maccoby, *op. cit.*, pp. 3; 15-30.

<sup>18</sup> *Mishna 'Ohalot* 15, 1; *Tosefta*, 'Ohalot 15, 1.

In that case the 'tent' contains the corpse impurity and functions as a barrier to the spread of corpse impurity upwards. But in the case of marble slabs, even if the top slab is raised more than a handbreadth from the ground, since the space beneath it is filled with other slabs, it is not considered 'volume' and thus does not create a 'tent'. In this situation anything that hovered or stood on top of the pile was contaminated by corpse impurity. A pile of marble slabs that was prepared for building construction under which a dead animal was found contaminates with ritual impurity anything placed on top of the pile or that was in touch with the pile. The aforementioned halakha that presented the ruling in case of a pile of marble slabs enables us to have a glimpse into daily situations, and included marble slabs within the stock of building materials.

In the Tosefta *'Ohalot* there is a text that deals with ritual impurity caused by a corpse in gentile dwellings:

כיצד בודקין מדור העמים ישראל נכנס ואחר כך כהן ואם נכנס כהן תחלה אף על פי מצאו רצוף בשייף  
או בפשיפש טמא (תוס' אהלות י:)

How do they examine a dwelling of gentile? An Israelite enters first and afterwards a priest. If a priest enters first, even though he found it paved in *sheyf* (marble) or with a mosaic, he is unclean<sup>20</sup>.

Gentile dwellings, like all other houses, form a 'tent of impurity' in case a dead body is found inside or underneath the house. Nevertheless the author specified that even if the house was paved with marble or mosaic floors it can still be contaminated by corpse-impurity. Although there was a great variation in flooring methods during the Roman and Byzantine periods, beaten earth was commonly used for flooring in private dwellings in the Land of Israel<sup>21</sup>. Beaten earth floors could easily have been dug in order to bury anything like a dead fetus or animal underneath the floor, while marble and mosaic floors were not. It was therefore necessary to specify these types of floors (marble and mosaic) lest one may be mistaken in thinking that a corpse could not possibly have been buried under the floor. Another stimulating point however is the association of marble and mosaic floors with gentile dwellings. The question is whether the Sages who decreed this warning concerning marble and mosaic floors specified these floors because of some earlier idea that marble and mosaic are typical of gentile dwellings, or simply because such floors were very common and it was necessary to warn about them as an extra precaution. Since, as will be shown later, marble was associated with gentile and gentile houses in aggadic contexts, and since marble floors were not very common in private dwellings in the Land of Israel, we think that the association of marble floors with gentile dwellings resulted from a general perception. Despite this association, there is a single reference to marble floors in a Jewish context. A *sugya* in

<sup>19</sup> The foundational principle is found in *Mishna*, *'Ohalot* 3, 7.

<sup>20</sup> *Tosefta*, *'Ohalot* 18, 10, ed. Zuckerman, p. 616. Lieberman renders here: '*Sheyf* (polished stone?) and mosaic are materials one uses to floor houses. *Sheyf* – tile'. Saul Lieberman, *Tosefet Rishonim*, *'Ohalot* 18, 10, p. 156. Cf. Samuel Krauss, *Antiquities of the Talmud*, vol. 1/2, Berlin – Vienna 1924, p. 343, note 4 (Hebrew).

<sup>21</sup> Krauss, op. cit., pp. 340-345; Tsafir, op. cit., pp. 142, 303; Yizhar Hirschfeld, *Dwelling Houses in Roman and Byzantine Palestine*, Jerusalem 1987, pp. 173-176 (Hebrew); Adkins and Adkins, op. cit., pp. 157-158.

tractate *Terumot* of the Jerusalem Talmud enumerated certain things that may contaminate the *teruma* (the tithe given to the priests). Amongst the cases that were discussed, the *sugya* also mentioned two prominent Tannaim of Rabbi Judah the Patriarch's generation who were sitting in a house where the marble floor had disappeared<sup>22</sup>.

The other halakhic issue concerning marble as a building material is related to 'house-leprosy'. The laws of house-leprosy were enumerated in Leviticus 14:34-57, wherein three kinds of wall material are mentioned: stone, timber and mortar<sup>23</sup>. Hence it was taught in the Mishnah that a house with one of its walls overlaid with marble or bricks cannot be contaminated by house-leprosy:

בית שאחד מצדדיו מחופה בשיש אחד בסלע אחד בלבנים ואחד בעפר טהור בית שלא היו בו אבנים [...] אין הבית מיטמא בנגעים עד שיהא בו [ועצים ועפר ונראה בו נגע ואח"כ הביאו בו אבנים ועצים ועפר טהור אבנים ועצים ועפר (משנה, נגעים יב:ב)]

If a house has one of its sides overlaid with marble, or one with rock, or one with bricks or one with earth [...] it is not susceptible to uncleanness<sup>24</sup>.

Listing marble, an imported substance, in a halakhic context alongside other common building materials such as stones, bricks and earth, may indicate the prevalence of marble and the technique of paneling walls with marble slabs during the days when this Mishnah was composed and edited. This is also well supported by archaeological findings of the early Roman period<sup>25</sup>.

A second category of halakhot that reflect the use of marble slabs for floors is included within the laws of Sabbath day observance. In tractate *Shabbat* of the Babylonian Talmud there is a *sugya* in which a certain sage, Abin of Sepphoris, is said to have dragged a bench on a Sabbath day in the presence of another sage, R. Isaac b. Eleazar:

אבין ציפוראה גרר ספסלא בעיליתא דשישא לעילא מרבי יצחק בן אלעזר, אמר ליה: אי שתוקי לך [...] מתיב רב כדשתיקו ליה חבריא לרבי יהודה נפיק מיניה חורבא: גזירה עליתא דשישא אטו עליתא דעלמא יוסף, רבי שמעון אומר: גורר אדם מטה כסא וספסל ובלבד שלא יתכוין לעשות חריץ... (שבת כט ע"ב)

Abin of Sepphoris dragged a bench in a stone-paved upper chamber in the presence of R. Isaac b. Eleazar, Said he to him, If I let this pass in silence, as his companions kept silent before R. Judah, harm will ensue: a stone-paved chamber is forbidden on account of an ordinary chamber [...] R. R. Joseph objected: R. Simeon said, A man may drag a couch, chair, or bench, providing that he does not intend making a rut...<sup>26</sup>.

The halakha prohibited dragging heavy furniture on the Sabbath lest they rut the floor. Rutting was associated with plowing, which was one of the thirty-nine

<sup>22</sup> *Talmud Yerushalmi, Terumot* 8, 5 45d.

<sup>23</sup> *Leviticus* 14, 45.

<sup>24</sup> *Mishna, Nega'im* 12, 2. Already in the Tosefta a doubt was raised whether a house contaminated by house leprosy ever did exist (*Tosefta, Sanhedrin* 6, 1, Zukermandel Edn. Cf. *Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin* 71a).

<sup>25</sup> Fischer, *Marble Studies*, pp. 35-37; 47-79; Fischer and Grossmark, op. cit., pp. 327-328.

<sup>26</sup> *Babylonian Talmud, Šabbat* 29b.

categories of work that were prohibited on the Sabbath<sup>27</sup>. Thus when Abin of Sepphoris dragged a bench on a Saturday R. Isaac b. Eleazer warned him in order to prevent him from wrong-doing as happened in the past on another occasion. It is not very likely that dragging heavy furniture will groove a floor that is paved with hard stone like marble, nevertheless the Sages included it in the prohibition on account of ordinary chambers that are usually paved with beaten earth floors גזירה עליהא דשישא אטו עליהא דעלמא (a stone paved chamber is forbidden on account of an ordinary chamber).

Since marble was referred to as a building material in several halakhic texts, the earliest dating to the days of the Mishnah<sup>28</sup>, one can assume a certain prevalence of this expensive building stone amongst the Jewish population in the Land of Israel during the Roman period<sup>29</sup>. But the fairly small number of these halakhot and their dispersion over long periods of time and geographical distances may also attest to the fact that, although marble was known, it was not widely used amongst Jews, especially not for private dwellings. The halakhic texts do not allow any deep insights into the ways marble was imported, worked and functioned in building projects whether private or public. In order to try and get a wider view it is necessary to look into the aggadic matter.

### Herod's Temple in Babylonian Traditions

A famous *sugya* in tractate *Sukkah* of the Babylonian Talmud deals with the splendor of Jerusalem and the splendor of the Temple:

תנו רבנן: מי שלא ראה שמחת בית השואבה לא ראה שמחה מימיו. מי שלא ראה ירושלים בתפארתה לא ראה כרך נחמד מעולם. מי שלא ראה בית המקדש בבנינו לא ראה בנין מפואר מעולם... (בבלי, סוכה נא ע"ב)

Our Rabbis taught, He who has not witnessed the rejoicing at the place of the Water-Drawing has never seen rejoicing in his life<sup>30</sup>. He who has not seen Jerusalem in her splendor, has never seen a desirable city in his life. He who has not seen the Temple in its full construction has never seen a glorious building in his life<sup>31</sup>.

The text begins with a *baraita* exclaiming the glorious splendor of Jerusalem and of the Temple and its ceremonies, using a repetitive linguistic pattern 'מי שלא ראה... לא ראה...'<sup>32</sup>.

The *baraita* is then followed by a cluster of Babylonian traditions concerning the grandeur and beauty of Herod's Temple:

מי שלא ראה בית המקדש בבנינו לא ראה בנין מפואר מעולם, מאי היא? - אמר אביי ואיתמא רב חסדא: זה בנין הורדוס. - במאי בניה? - אמר (רבא) [רבה]: באבני שישא ומרמרא. איכא דאמרי: באבני שישא כוחלא

<sup>27</sup> *Talmud Yerushalmi, Šabbat* 3, 6a; and see: Y. Gilat, "Le-histalshelutan shel ha-melakhot ha-asurot be-Shabat", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 49 (1982) 9-21.

<sup>28</sup> Late Roman period.

<sup>29</sup> Tsafir, op. cit., p. 142; Hirschfeld, op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>30</sup> *Mishna, Sukkah* 5:1.

<sup>31</sup> *Babylonian Talmud, Sukkah* 51b.

<sup>32</sup> Another *baraita* that repeats the same pattern: 'It has been taught, R. Judah stated, He who has not seen the double colonnade of Alexandria in Egypt has never seen the glory of Israel' (*Babylonian Talmud, Sukkah* 51b), is included later on in the same *sugya*.



ומרמרא. אפיק שפה ועייל שפה, כי היכי דלקבל סידא. סבר למשעיין בדהבא, אמרו ליה רבנן: שבקיה, דהכי שפיר טפי, דמיתחזי כאדותא דימא. (בבלי סוכה נא ע"ב; בבלי, ב"ב ד ע"א)

He who has not seen the Temple in its full construction has never seen a glorious building in his life. Which Temple? — Abaye, or it might be said, R. Hisda, replied, 'the reference is to the building of Herod.' 'Of what did he build it?' — Rabbah replied, 'of *shayisha u'marmara*'. Some there are who say, 'with *shayisha kahla u'marmara*'. The building rose in tiers in order to provide a hold for the plaster. He intended at first to overlay it with gold, but the Rabbis told him, 'leave it alone for it is more beautiful as it is, since it has the appearance of the waves of the sea'<sup>33</sup>.

This literary cluster is composed of the following traditions:

1. A reply, assigned either to Abaye or to Rab Hisda (both are Babylonian Sages of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> generations), to the question as to which temple is mentioned in the *baraita*. The temple in question was Herod's Temple.

2. A tradition attributed to the 4th generation Amora Rabba, answering the question 'of what did Herod build his Temple?' Rabba maintained that Herod's Temple was built 'of *shayisha u'marmara*'.

3. An anonymous tradition giving another answer to the same question: 'with *shayisha kahla u'marmara*'.

4. A description of the masonry work of the walls שפה ועייל שפה 'the building rose in tiers in order to provide a hold for the plaster'.

5. The mention of plaster is the associative link to the last tradition in the cluster which is Herod's desire to plate the wall with gold, and the proposal of the Sages to leave the wall as it is 'since it has the appearance of the waves of the sea'.

Since none of these traditions is known from Tannaitic or Palestinian Amoraic sources, and as some of them are attributed to third-fourth generation Babylonian Amoraim, it is assumed that the whole cluster was created during the fourth century CE within Babylonian circles.

A parallel cluster of traditions is found in tractate *Baba Batra* of the Babylonian Talmud, although in a different literary context<sup>34</sup>. The first chapter in tractate *Baba Batra, ha-Shutafin* (The Partners) deals with the problem of raising a wall in a jointly owned courtyard. The *sugya* further developed this subject in several directions including a bulk of aggadic traditions telling of the encounter between King Herod and a certain sage called Baba b. Buta<sup>35</sup>. The latter was a disciple of Shammai who allegedly, according to our legend, survived Herod's persecution of the Sages. Baba b. Buta was the one who advised Herod to rebuild the Temple<sup>36</sup>. In this textual context the reference to Herod's Temple was the trigger and the linkage to the cluster of traditions about the Temple.

<sup>33</sup> *Babylonian Talmud, Sukkah 51b; Babylonian Talmud, Baba Batra 4a.*

<sup>34</sup> *Babylonian Talmud, Baba Batra 4a.*

<sup>35</sup> Israel Ronen, "Formation of Jewish Nationalism among the Idumaeans" (Appendix), in Arie Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans and Ancient Arabs: Relation of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Nations of the Frontier and the Desert during the Hellenistic and Roman Era (332BC – 70 CE)*, Tübingen 1988, p. 220; Israel Ben-Shalom, *The School of Shammai and the Zealots' Struggle against Rome*, Jerusalem 1993, pp. 104-106 (Hebrew).

<sup>36</sup> Baba ben Buta is mentioned several times in the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and the Jerusalem Talmud. However the aggada of his encounter with King Herod is found only in the Babylonian Talmud. About the problematic of rabbinic biography see: Strack in Stemmerger's edition, *Introduction*, pp. 59-62.

While the Babylonian tradition depicted the Temple walls as made of two or three different types of marble stone, a simple reading of the text does not imply that the description of the Temple walls as having ‘the appearance of the waves of the sea’, is related to or describes the marble revetments of the Temple. The picturesque description is part of a short narrative that in itself does not refer to the materials of the Temple walls. The traditions in the cluster depicted the temple walls as paneled with either marble (nos. 2-3) or plaster (no. 4). Neither Josephus Flavius, who left two long and detailed accounts of Herod’s Temple probably based on his eye-witnessed firsthand knowledge<sup>37</sup>, nor early Tannaitic sources or Palestinian Amoraic sources, correspond with the Babylonian description of the walls made of marble.

Early Mishnaic sources refer to certain marble artifacts in the Temple, yet none of these Tannaitic references actually mention that the walls of the Temple were made of marble<sup>38</sup>. Josephus in his *Bellum Judaicum* described the exterior of Herod’s Temple as partly covered with massive plates of gold, and he further wrote: *καὶ γὰρ καθὰ μὴ κεχρύσωτο λευκότατος ἦν*<sup>39</sup>. And similarly in his *Antiquities* he mentioned: *ᾠκοδομήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν τε καὶ κραταιῶν [...]*<sup>40</sup>. Neither the literary sources, nor the archaeological findings, give evidence of any extensive use of marble in Herod’s days<sup>41</sup>. The study of richly embellished Herodian monuments may indicate the use of stucco paneling imitating marble slabs was the technique used also on the walls of the temple that were not overlaid with gold<sup>42</sup>.

The Amoraic description of the exterior walls of the Temple as being made of marble derived from traditions that lack any real acquaintance with the Herodian Temple<sup>43</sup>.

Three different types of stone were enumerated in the Talmudic text as building materials: באבני שישא כוהלא ומרמרא – *shayisha, kahla and marmara*. Rashi, in his commentary to both *Sukkah* 51a and *Baba Batra* 4b explained that these terms referred to three types of marble stone that differed in color. The ‘*shayisha*’ was of a certain green or beige marble, the ‘*marmara*’ was a white marble, and the ‘*kahla*’ was a blue marble. Rashi’s interpretation of the three stone-names was adopted by later scholars such as Samuel Krauss and Nathan Shalem<sup>44</sup>. But the study of these three stone-

<sup>37</sup> Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 15, 391-420; Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 5, 184-227.

<sup>38</sup> Fischer and Grossmark, op. cit., pp. 336-344; Tziona Grossmark, “Shayish (marble) in Rabbinic Literature”, in Fischer, *Marble Studies*, pp. 275-278.

<sup>39</sup> Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 5, 223 [=For all that was not overlaid with gold was of purest white].

<sup>40</sup> Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 15, 392 [=The temple was built of hard, white stone...]. Whenever Josephus intended to speak of marble he explicitly mentioned μαρμάρου – *Bellum Judaicum* 1,420; *Bellum Judaicum* 4, 532; Moshe L. Fischer and Alla Kushnir-Stein, “Josephus on the Use of Marble in Building Projects of Herod the Great”, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 45 (1994) 79-85.

<sup>41</sup> Fischer and Kushnir-Stein, op. cit., pp. 79-85; Fischer, *Marble Studies*, pp. 36-37 (especially notes 41-43).

<sup>42</sup> On the technique see: Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 7.5.1; Roger Ling, *Roman Painting*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 12-22; Martin Henig, *A Handbook of Roman Art*, Oxford 1983, pp. 98-99. And see the wonderful stucco-covered pedestal of the north face of the early shrine recently excavated in Omrit in the northeast corner of the Hula Valley, Israel. The site was excavated by a joint expedition of students from Macalester and Carthage colleges directed by Professor Overman (J. Andrew Overman, “Omrit, Horvat”, *New Encyclopedia of Excavations in the Holyland*, vol. 5, Jerusalem 2008, pp. 1984-1985.

<sup>43</sup> Krauss, op. cit., pp. 251-252.

<sup>44</sup> Krauss, op. cit., p. 252. Krauss was first of the opinion that ‘*shayish*’ was identical with ‘*marmar*’ as he wrote in his pioneering book *Talmudische Archäologie*, Leipzig 1910, vol. 1, p. 14; however, later on he

names leads to further conclusions that may challenge that opinion. The Hebrew word '*shayish*' originated in the Bible<sup>45</sup>. Since marble stone deposits do not exist in the Land of Israel<sup>46</sup>, the identification of the biblical stone 'שׂשׁ/שׂשׁ' with marble is doubtful. The word '*shayish*' in the Bible refers then to a very highly esteemed type of stone that is not true marble and its nomenclature remains unidentified.

The word '*marmara*' is of Graeco-Latin origin<sup>47</sup>. When marble was imported into the Land of Israel and became a known and expensive building material, this new material called '*marmar*' was probably associated with the biblical word '*shayish*'<sup>48</sup>. Hence it is possible that both '*marmar*' and '*shayish*', the two stones mentioned by Rabbah, are synonyms that refer to the same stone. The second opinion in our *sugya* ('Some there are who say...') also refers, besides '*marmar*' and '*shayish*', also to '*kahla*' which may be etymologically identified as a type of dark-colored or possibly blue marble<sup>49</sup>.

If indeed three different types of marble are mentioned in the text, this distinction between various marbles presents a knowledge possessed by Babylonian Sages but with no trace in Palestinian literary sources. The use of colored marble slabs for the paneling of lavish public buildings was a common trait during the late Roman to Byzantine and Early Islamic periods that was used in Sassanian Persia as well<sup>50</sup>.

The last section in the cluster deals with the appearance of the Temple's exterior. The claim made by the anonymous author who attributed to the Sages the role of Herod's advisers concerning the Temple's walls has no historical authenticity, and at best this episode may reflect the desire of Sages of late generations to participate in the glorification of Herod's Temple<sup>51</sup>. Furthermore likening the appearance of the walls of the Temple to the waves of the sea: 'דמיתחזי כאדמתא דימא' is a well-known literary motif especially when marble revetments were used<sup>52</sup>. Marble floors were quite often assimilated with water, however before studying this motif in aggadic context we will review several texts that associated marble with gentile houses or gentiles in general.

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changed his opinion and in the Hebrew translation of *Talmudische Archäologie* (1924, vol. 1:2, p. 252, note 3) he maintained that three different types of stone were mentioned; Nathan Shalem, "Quarried Stones and Marble", *Collection of Studies*, Jerusalem 1974 (Hebrew).

<sup>45</sup> *Canticles* 5, 15; *1 Chronicles* 29, 2; *Esther* 1,6.

<sup>46</sup> Shadmon, op. cit.

<sup>47</sup> The Greek *μάρμαρος* was applied to any stone of crystalline structure that sparkles (in Greek *μαρμύρει*) Liddell and Scott s.v. '*μάρμαρος*'. The Latin '*marmor*' is derived from the Greek word (Chambers Murray, *Latin English Dictionary*, s.v. '*marmor*').

<sup>48</sup> On the changes of the nomenclature of precious and semi-precious stones between biblical and rabbinic literature see: Tziona Grossmark, "Precious Stones in Rabbinic Literature" (forthcoming).

<sup>49</sup> A type of stone called '*kahla*' is also mentioned in *Babylonian Talmud*, *Qiddušin* 12a.

<sup>50</sup> Joseph M. Upton, "The Expedition to Ctesiphon 1931-1932", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27 (1932) 192. Although there is evidence of marble paneling in Ctesiphon, the favored technique for wall paneling there was stucco.

<sup>51</sup> The tradition of Baba ben Buta advising Herod to rebuild the Temple, which is known only in Babylonian sources, may indicate the same.

<sup>52</sup> Barry, op. cit., pp. 627-656.

### Marble Associated with Gentiles in Aggadic Texts

Aggadic sources quite rarely allude to marble, with only a few references to its use as building or flooring material<sup>53</sup>. Late midrashic sources and various targums of the Bible attributed the use of this expensive building stone, as well as knowledge of the secret sites of marble quarries, to Rome. Thus in the midrash of *Leviticus Rabba*, marble columns were assigned to Rome: 'When R. Joshua b. Hanania went to Rome he saw there marble columns...'<sup>54</sup>. In another late midrash of *Esther Rabba* it says:

ועמודי שש, א"ר לוי המחצב הזה לא נגלה לבריה אלא למלכות הרשעה הזאת (אסתר רבה ב, ז)

'And pillars of marble'. R. Levi said: The quarry from which this came is not known to any human being save to this wicked kingdom<sup>55</sup>.

A third late midrash assigned marble floors to non-Jewish houses belonging to the nobility. While discussing the second of the ten plagues of Egypt, the plague of the frogs, the midrash attributes to Rabbi Yohanan the assertion that every drop of water falling upon the earth was turned into a frog. Hezekiah b. Rabbi challenged his opinion by arguing that if this was so, then the houses of nobles which were paved with marble slabs and mosaics<sup>56</sup> prevented the water drops from reaching the soil and therefore were not inflicted by this plague:

חזקיה בר' אמר: אם כשיטה זו, לא לקו בתיהם של גדולים, שהיו עשויים בשיש ובסיפס. אלא מלמד שהיה הצפרדע עולה מן התהום ואומ' לשיש: עשה לי מקום שאעלה ואעשה שליחותי כראוי, והיה נבקע השיש ועולה (שמות רבה י: ג)

Hezekiah b. Rabbi said: Even according to this view, were not the houses of the nobles which were built with marble or blocks also smitten. This been (*sic*) teaches that the frogs went up from the deep and said to the marble: Make room for me to go up and perform the will of my Maker...<sup>57</sup>.

Another example of the attribution of marble floors to non-Jews is found in several Greek translations of the following passage from the Book of Esther that describes the palace of Ahasuerus in Shushan: 'The couches were of gold and silver, upon pavement of green and white and shell and onyx marble'<sup>58</sup>. There is a divergence between the various terms used in the Greek translations to the above passage. While in the earlier translations the Hebrew 'שש' (*shesh*) was rendered as 'marmarin', in later translations, as demonstrated by Moshe Fischer, the translators

<sup>53</sup> Fischer and Grossmark, op. cit., pp. 336-352.

<sup>54</sup> *Leviticus Rabbah* 22, 27, *emor*, Margalioth edn., pp. 617-618; cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 33, 8, Theodore-Albeck edn., pp. 300-301. In the *Genesis Rabba* version the tale was told about R. Joshua b. Levi instead of R. Joshua b. Hanania, and the tale refers to pillars in general and not to marble pillars.

<sup>55</sup> *Esther Rabbah* 2, 7. The text probably echoes a slight knowledge of the monopoly of the Roman Emperors on marble quarries. Fischer, *Marble Studies*, p. 41.

<sup>56</sup> The Hebrew text refers to 'בתיהם של גדולים שהיו עשויים בשיש ובסיפס' the Hebrew 'sypês' is probably a distortion of the Greek word 'ψήφος'.

<sup>57</sup> *Exodus Rabbah* 10, 3 (Shinan edn.), cf. *Midrash Tehilim, Shocheh Tov* 78.

<sup>58</sup> *Esther* 1, 6.

used names of well-known marble quarries (Paros or Proconnesus) as the translation for the biblical 'שׁוֹן'<sup>59</sup>.

Since we already mentioned that marble (especially marble floors) were associated with gentile dwellings in halakhic context, we would like to propose the possibility that both the halakhic and aggadic traditions reflects a common notion that prevailed among Jews for generations.

### Marble Floors Associated with Water in Aggadic Sources

The association of marble and water was a literary response to the practice of paving building interiors with marble slabs as well as the use of marble in the decorative paneling of walls that became widespread throughout the Mediterranean<sup>60</sup>. When the association of marble and water was established it acquired a new significance and became pregnant with meaning. The motif is found in rabbinic literature wherein it acquired two distinctive literary courses. The earlier was associated with divine revelation probably drawn upon biblical divine revelations scenes where a pavement of some expensive stones was mentioned. The later was of a folkloristic nature (the trial of the Queen of Sheba) and was probably influenced by non-Jewish folkloristic traditions.

One of the most well-known and much discussed amongst rabbinic aggadic texts is a *baraita* from tractate *Hagigah* of the Babylonian Talmud that tells of the entrance of four prominent Tannaim into a mystical garden (the four who entered the *pardes*)<sup>61</sup>:

תנו רבנן: ארבעה נכנסו בפרדס, ואלו הן: בן עזאי, ובן זומא, אהר, ורבי עקיבא. אמר להם רבי עקיבא: כשאתם מגיעין אצל אבני שיש טהור אל תאמרו מים מים! משום שנאמר (תהלים קא:ז) דובר שקרים לא יכון לנגד עיני. בן עזאי הציץ ומת, עליו הכתוב אומר (תהלים קטז:טו) יקר בעיני ה' המותה לחסידי. בן זומא הציץ ונפגע, ועליו הכתוב אומר (משלי כה:טז) 'דבש מצאת אכל דרך פן תשבענו והקאתו'. אהר קיצץ בנטיעות. רבי עקיבא יצא בשלום. (בבלי, חגיגה יד ע"ב)

Our Rabbis taught: Four men entered the 'Garden', namely, Ben 'Azzai and Ben Zoma, Aher, and R. Akiba. R. Akiba said to them: When ye arrive at the stones of pure marble, say not, water, water! For it is said (Ps. 101:7): *He that speaketh falsehood shall not be established before mine eyes*. Ben 'Azzai cast a look and died. Of him Scripture says (Ps. 116:15): *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints*. Ben Zoma looked and became demented. Of him Scripture says (Prov. 25:16): *Hast thou found honey? Eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith, and vomit it*. Aher mutilated the shoots. R. Akiba departed unhurt<sup>62</sup>.

The *baraita*, known in several versions in rabbinic literature<sup>63</sup>, is part of the rabbinic collection of traditions and sayings identified as a 'mystical collection' by

<sup>59</sup> Fischer, "Parian Pillars...", pp. 238-241.

<sup>60</sup> Rosen-Aylon, op. cit., p. 55; Milwright, op. cit., pp. 211-221; Barry, op. cit.

<sup>61</sup> Peter Schäfer, *The Origin of Jewish Mysticism*, Tübingen 2009, pp. 196-203 with a comprehensive bibliography. For a summary of previous scholarship see: David J. Halperin, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature*, New Haven, Conn. 1980, pp. 87-88.

<sup>62</sup> *Babylonian Talmud, Hagigah* 14b.

<sup>63</sup> *Tosefta Hagigah* 2, 2-4; *Talmud Yerushalmi, Hagigah* 2, 77b; *Babylonian Talmud, Hagigah* 14b-16a; *Canticles Rabbah* 1, 28; Halperin, op. cit., pp. 11-18; 65 ff.; *Hekhalot Zutarti* 42-51; 296-315 (Rachel Elior, *Hekhalot Zutarti, Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought, Supplement* 1 (1982) 23, 30-31). And see Schäfer's discussion

David J. Halperin in his comprehensive study *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature* (1980)<sup>64</sup>. The rabbinic mystical collection is associated with the restrictions on the mystical praxis (*maase merkaba*) in the Mishnah:

אין דורשין בעריות בשלשה ולא במעשה בראשית בשנים ולא במרכבה ביחיד אלא אם כן היה חכם ומבין מדעתו כל (משנה, חגיגה ב:א)

The laws of incest may not be expounded to three persons, nor the Story of Creation before two persons, nor the subject of the Chariot before one person alone unless he be a sage and comprehends of his own knowledge<sup>65</sup>.

The legendary 'entrance of the four Sages into the *pardes*' was a subject of numerous studies that usually explained it, following Gershom Scholem, as a mystical journey or as a kind of intellectual journey<sup>66</sup>. As an integral part of any study of early Jewish mysticism, the textual and inter-textual relations between the different recensions of the *baraita* were thoroughly studied in past scholarship and are beyond the scope of our study. However Akiba's reference to 'stones of pure marble' needs further attention.

Akiba's cryptic warning (Schäfer named it the 'water episode')<sup>67</sup>: 'When ye arrive at the stones of pure marble, say not, water, water! For it is said (Ps. 101:7): *He that speaketh falsehood shall not be established before mine eyes*' as found in the Babylonian *baraita* has no parallel in any other version of the 'entrance into the *pardes* episode'<sup>68</sup>. It was doubted in past scholarship whether his enigmatic saying, which seems to be completely outside the narrative context, was in fact an original part of the *baraita*<sup>69</sup>. The warning raises several questions as to the meaning of the whole episode. The Talmudic passage says nothing about the meaning and significance of 'stones of pure marble', where they were located, why these stones can be mistaken for water, and above all, why such a mistake is so dangerous.

Scholars that have identified the *pardes* episode with early mystical praxis argued that the intention and purpose of Akiba's warning was to keep the wider

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on the textual relations between the various versions (op. cit., pp. 196-203) with a special focus on the version of the Babylonian Talmud (ibid., pp. 201-203) and its relation to the *Hekhalot* literature.

<sup>64</sup> Halperin maintained that the mystical collection in tractate *Hagigah* of the Tosefta, the Babylonian Talmud and the Palestinian Talmud, drew upon a pre-existing source and was 'a redactional unity'. (Halperin, op. cit., pp. 83, 104), he further argued for a third – fourth century date of the compilation of the mystical collection (p. 105).

<sup>65</sup> *Mishna, Hagigah* 2, 1; Schäfer, op. cit., pp. 180-181.

<sup>66</sup> Halperin, op. cit., pp. 88-89; Yehuda Libes, *Heta'oh shel Elisha, Arba'a she-Nikhmasu le-Pardes ve-Tiv'ah shel ha-Mistika ha-Talmudit*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev., Jerusalem 1990, pp. 2-10. For the reading of the text as a mystical journey see: Gershom Gerhard Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkaba Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, New-York 1960, pp. 14-19; Ithamar Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, Leiden 1980, pp. 73-97. As an intellectual journey see: Ephraim Elimelech Urbach, "Hameserot al Torat haSod biTequfat haTannaim", *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem*, Jerusalem 1967, pp. 1-28; Peter Schäfer, "New Testament and Hekhalot Literature, The Journey to Heaven in Paul and in Merkavah Mysticism", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 35 (1984) 19-35.

<sup>67</sup> Schäfer, op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>68</sup> Schäfer, op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>69</sup> N. Be'eri, *Went Forth into Evil Courses, Elisha Ben Abuya - A'her*, Tel-Aviv 2007, pp. 107-109 (Hebrew); Halperin, op. cit., p. 82; Schäfer, op. cit., p. 202.

circles of the public away from such practices<sup>70</sup>. But even more important was the establishment of possible textual-relations between Akiba's warning in the Talmudic *baraita* and a text found in one of the earliest Jewish mystical books, *Hekhalot Zutarti*<sup>71</sup>. A connection already identified and referred to by R. Hai Gaon (tenth - eleventh century CE)<sup>72</sup>. The *Hekhalot* text relates the story of the ascent of Rabbi Akiba and his companions to the upper spheres. While ascending from sphere to sphere they went through a series of tests. An event that occurred while they were at the entrance of the sixth sphere was related by Rabbi Akiba:

א"ר עקיבא: בן עזאי זכה ועמד בפתח היכל השישי וראה זיו  
אב"י אויר אבני שיש טהור ופתח פיו שתי פעמים ואמר מים מים...

R. Akiba said: Ben Azzai succeeded and stood at the entrance to the sixth palace and saw the splendor of the air of pure marble stones and he opened his mouth two times and said 'Water, water...'<sup>73</sup>.

The account of the event that occurred on the threshold of the sixth *hekhal* given by R. Akiba was preceded by a detailed and vivid description of the entrance of the sixth palace followed by warning not to mistake the marble stones for water:

The sixth *Hekhal* looks as though hundreds of thousands and myriads of waves of the sea are poured over him [the adept], although there is not a single drop of water in it, but (this impression is given) by the (flicker of) the air (caused by) the radiance of the marble stones with which the *hekhal* is paved and the radiance (of which) is more terrible than water. And do not the servants [angels] stand before him [the adept]? If he (now) says: 'Those waters, what is the meaning of them?', they immediately run after him to stone him, and they say to him: '(You) fool, now you shall not see with your eyes! Are you of the seed of those who kissed the (golden) calf? You are unworthy to see the king in his beauty'<sup>74</sup>!

Hence the similarities between the incident that occurred at the entrance to the sixth palace (*hekhal*), which resulted in the death of Ben Azzai, and between

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<sup>70</sup> Joseph Dan, *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism*, Tel Aviv 1989, p. 71 (Hebrew); Libes, op. cit., p. 125; Urbach, op. cit., pp. 14-17.

<sup>71</sup> On the antiquity of the *Hekhalot* literature in general and the antiquity of *Hekhalot Zutarti* see: Dan, op. cit., pp. 8-14. Dan followed G. Scholem who dated the *hekhalot* literature to the Talmudic period. Dan pointed to the fact that while 'the words of the Talmud seem cut off from all context and purpose, as they are here [in *Hekhalot Zutarti* – T.G.], they are woven into a tractate which although strange seems to be an organic part of the "yeridat merkaba"'. This could have been a result of either 'deep analysis and successful editing, or it could be that the true source of the Talmudic passage is a description such as that in *Hekhalot Zutarti*' (Dan, op. cit., p. 75). P. Schäfer, regarded *Hekhalot Zutarti* as eclectic literature 'a textual fiction whose redactional unity probably never existed'. He further argued that the addition of Akiba's warning in the version of the *baraita* of the Babylonian Talmud is 'infiltration into the rabbinic literature – and into the later stages of the rabbinic literature at that – of material that is part and parcel of Merkavah mysticism'. And he goes on: 'I find it most likely that the Bavli editor imported the water episode from its original context within the *Hekhalot* literature [...] the *Hekhalot* version of the water episode attempting to interpret the Bavli version'. Schäfer, op. cit., p. 203; Strack in Stemberger edition, *Introduction*, p. 346.

<sup>72</sup> Hai Gaon, in Benjamin M. Lewin, *Oṣar haGe'onim to Hagigah*, Jerusalem 1931, p. 14; Elijor, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> *Hekhalot Zutarti*, Elijor's edition, p. 31.

<sup>74</sup> The text is according to Schäfer, op. cit., p. 202.

Rabbi Akiba's warning in the Talmudic *baraita*, may indicate a common source. These similarities are:

1. Stones of pure marble which can be mistaken for water.
2. A warning not to be deceived by this sight.
3. Ben Azzai's tragic death – Although in the *Hekhalot* text the connection

between Ben Azzai's mistaking the radiant marble stones for water and his death was clearly denoted, it is not that clear in the Talmudic passage.

If indeed the earlier source was Tannaitic or of Palestinian Amoraic origin, this may indicate an early prevalence of the concept of the assimilation between marble and water in rabbinic circles in the Land of Israel.

Although the word '*shayish*' (שׂשׁ) or '*shesh*' (שׁשׁ) is mentioned several times in the Bible<sup>75</sup>, the collocation 'stones of pure marble' 'אבני שיש טהור' found in both the Talmudic *baraita* and in the *Hekhalot Zutarti* is not a biblical one.

Previous studies that have dealt with the nomenclature of biblical building stones maintained that when '*shayish/shesh*' was mentioned in a biblical context it denotes some other high quality building stone rather than marble since real marble (a crystalline form of calcium carbonate CaCO<sub>3</sub>) does not exist in the Land of Israel and its importation into the country probably did not precede the Hellenistic period<sup>76</sup>.

However we would like to propose that the collocation 'stones of pure marble' in any esoteric vision could still have been influenced by biblical descriptions of the divine epiphany which included references to precious stones<sup>77</sup>. The revelation at Mount Sinai, wherein the pavement under God's feet is likened to 'a paved work of sapphire' is a good example:

וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַתַּחַת רַגְלָיו כְּמַעֲשֵׂה לַבֵּנֵת הַסַּפִּיר וּכְעֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם לְטָהָר (שמות כד:)

And they saw the God of Israel; and there was under His feet the like of a paved work of sapphire stone, and the like of the very heaven for clearness<sup>78</sup>.

Another example is the verse from Ezekiel's vision in which the firmaments above the heads of the cherubim were compared to sapphire stone<sup>79</sup>. A third biblical passage that may support our opinion is the lyrical vision of the 'Jerusalem to come' where the Prophet Isaiah described the city's foundations as laid with sapphire stones<sup>80</sup>. The nomenclature of the biblical sapphire stone is not clear, and the possibility that biblical references to the stone actually applied to several types of stones should not be ruled out. At least some of these references indicate that the stone in question was some high quality building stone<sup>81</sup>.

The motif of marble floors mistaken for water echoes again in late midrashic context, wherein a glass floor replaced the marble floor. An aggada found in a

<sup>75</sup> 1 Chronicles 29, 2; Canticles 5, 15; Esther 1, 6.

<sup>76</sup> Shalem, op. cit., pp. 437-438; Fischer, 'Parian Pillars', pp. 236-242.

<sup>77</sup> The biblical passages describing the divine spheres as paved with radiant stones could also have affected some apocryphal traditions like the descriptions of the 'first house' built of אבני בדולח in 1 Enoch 14, 9-10; 71, 5.

<sup>78</sup> Exodus 24, 10.

<sup>79</sup> Ezekiel 1, 26.

<sup>80</sup> Isaiah 54, 11.

<sup>81</sup> Grossmark, "Precious Stones" (forthcoming).



medieval midrash tells of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon's palace. This legend, unknown in earlier Jewish sources, relates of a test that King Solomon made the Queen of Sheba go through in order to prove that she was not a demon. The king was advised by his counsellors that demons are identified by the appearance of their legs. He therefore made the Queen of Sheba enter into the throne hall in the palace where the floor was made of glass. The queen, on entering the hall and mistaking the floor for water, raised-up her dress and revealed her legs, which proved that she was not a demon. The earliest Jewish source that relates this legend is the second Aramaic translation to the book of Esther (*Targum Scheni*) dated to the seventh - eighth century:

וכד שמע מלכא דאתת לותיה קם ואזל ויטיב בבית זוגיתא וכד חזת מלכת שבא דמלכא בבית זוגיתא יטיב  
מחשבא בלבה ואמרה דמלכא במיא יטיב וחליזת חילוזה דתעבר... (מהד' מונק עמ' 10)

And when the king heard that she came he went and sat in a glass house, and when the Queen of Sheba saw the king sitting in the glass house she thought to herself and said that the king is sitting in the water and she took off her shoes...<sup>82</sup>.

Unfortunately the *Targum Scheni* version of the tale lacks many details which exist in other versions and thus seems to be somehow cut off from any meaning, a kind of incomplete derivation<sup>83</sup>. A later version of the tale (which lacks the glass floor episode) is found in the tenth century compilation called *Alfa Beita de-Ben Sira*<sup>84</sup>.

The Jewish medieval aggada of *Targum Scheni* was very likely influenced by early Islamic traditions that predated the appearance of the motif of the Queen of Sheba trial episode in midrashic contexts. The tale is already found in the Quran:

She was asked to enter the lofty Palace: but when she saw it, she thought it was a lake of water, and she (tucked up her skirts), uncovering her legs. He said: 'This is but a palace paved smooth with slabs of glass.' She said: 'O my Lord! I have indeed wronged my soul: I do (now) submit (in Islam), with Solomon, to the Lord of the Worlds'<sup>85</sup>.

A similar motif of marble floor that looks like water in an Islamic literary context is included in the eighth century 'City of Brass' narrative which is part of the eclectic collection of stories known as the 'Arabian Nights' or 'A Thousand and One Nights'<sup>86</sup>. The tale of the 'City of Brass', which tells of an expedition to the shore of a sea named el-Karkar in order to fetch for the Caliph some of the brass bottles in which King Solomon imprisoned demons, was a very late addition to the *Arabian Nights*<sup>87</sup>. Some of the figures that are mentioned in the 'City of Brass', were actual historical figures that lived at the end of the Umayyad period (seventh - eighth century)<sup>88</sup>. Medieval Arab chroniclers and geographers mention the failure of Musa's

<sup>82</sup> Leo Munk (ed.), *Targum Scheni zum Buche Esther*, Berlin 1876, p. 10.

<sup>83</sup> Eli Yassif, *The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle Ages*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 52 (Hebrew); Eli Yassif, *The Hebrew Folktale, History, Genre, Meaning*, Jerusalem 1999, p. 309 (Hebrew).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 309-310. Yassif mentioned some later aggadic similarities of this motif.

<sup>85</sup> Sura 27, 44 *Al-Naml*.

<sup>86</sup> Mia Irene Gerhardt, *The Art of Story-Telling, A Literary Study of the Thousand and One Nights*, Leiden 1963; David Pinault, *Story-Telling Techniques in the Arabian Nights*, Leiden 1992.

<sup>87</sup> Pinault, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>88</sup> Gerhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 198; Pinault, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

campaign against the 'City of Brass'<sup>89</sup>. It seems then that the 'City of Brass' existed probably as an oral tradition in the medieval period.

According to the tale when the missionaries of the Caliph entered the inner hall of the palace, where the body of the queen lay, they saw that 'it was made of smooth gleaming marble inlaid with precious stones, so that the spectator got the impression the floor was streaming water...(IV, 248)'<sup>90</sup>.

None of the late targum or midrashic traditions of the Queen of Sheba's trial has any contextual or textual relations with the 'entrance into the *pardes*' episode. On the other hand, the story of the trial as well as the motif of marble-water were already known in Islamic literature, hence an Islamic influence on the medieval midrashic texts is reasonable<sup>91</sup>.

Although the medievalist narrator of the queen of Sheba's visit to the palace of Solomon, described the floor as made of glass, taking into consideration the widespread marble-water motif in the Middle-Ages within Islamic culture as shown by Milwright<sup>92</sup>, his description may have resulted from the marble-water motif.

A hall whose floor looks like water easily calls to mind certain associations such as the primeval sea, the celestial sea. A throne or an ambo in the middle of the tempestuous water is an island of stability and hope<sup>93</sup>. Barry argued that there were several perceptions which could have resulted in the association between marble floors and water:

a. The perception that marble might be liquid was already known in classical Greek literature and was still well known in medieval world.

b. The 'particular kinship between marble and the sea'. This aspect was widely promulgated by Greek and Roman poets<sup>94</sup>.

None of these perceptions can be traced in rabbinic sources that refer to marble. The rare use of the marble-water motif in either of its two distinctive literary courses did not derive from any of these ideas. Nevertheless in each of these literary courses marble or glass floors mistaken for water acquired special meaning as they were assigned in the aggadic context either to divine or royal spheres.

### Conclusion

Rabbinic evidence (halakhic and aggadic) for the use of marble as building material is very scanty. The halakhic texts, the earliest of which date to the Tannaitic period, predate the aggadic texts. The few halakhot concerning marble hardly contain any details of its use as paving or paneling material and its prevalence within Jewish communities in private or public buildings. However, the very existence of references in halakhic context to marble may indicate that it was known and used

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<sup>89</sup> Gerhardt, op. cit., pp. 211-228; Pinault, op. cit., p. 150.

<sup>90</sup> The translation is according to Gerhardt, op. cit., p. 205.

<sup>91</sup> The question of mutuality and cultural influences between Arabic and early medieval Jewish literary traditions, mainly when the topics are biblical personalities, is a very complicated one. See: Dina Stein, *Maxis Magic Myth, A Folkloristic Perspective of Pirkei deRabbi Eliezer*, Jerusalem 2004, pp. 4-5, notes 19-20 (Hebrew); Rina Drory, *The Emergence of Jewish-Arabic Literary Contacts at the Beginning of the Tenth Century*, Tel-Aviv 1988, pp. 13-15 (Hebrew).

<sup>92</sup> Milwright, op. cit.

<sup>93</sup> Paulus Silentarius, *Descr. Ambonis* 224, 240 (Mango, op. cit., p. 95).

<sup>94</sup> Barry, op. cit.

within Jewish circles otherwise there would have been no need for halakhic instructions concerning this material.

It is also interesting to note the association of marble with gentile dwellings which is found in halakhic as well as aggadic contexts.

Aggadic data concerning marble as building material does not provide a clear view of its use amongst Jews in either Tannaitic or Amoraic periods. The earlier aggadic sources dealing with marble are several texts found in the Babylonian Talmud including the description of the walls of Herod's Temple as being decorated with marble, and the *baraita* of the 'four that entered into the *pardes*' which presumably is of earlier Palestinian origin. The legend of the entrance into the *pardes* uses the motif of marble mistaken as water, a well-known literary motif pregnant with meaning that prevailed throughout the Mediterranean over a long period of time.

We assume that the association between marble and water in the 'entrance into the *pardes*' episode derived from biblical descriptions of divine epiphanies that refer to certain precious stones. While the nomenclature of biblical stones cannot be exactly determined, when the earlier version of the *pardes* episode was first told, marble paving acquired its status as a lavishly expensive type of flooring. Hence its use in the text, already at this early date, indicates that its association with water had acquired a special meaning.

Aggadic sources that refer to the marble-water association were all of a late and probably Babylonian provenance. The description of the sixth *hekhhal* in *Hekhalot Zutarti* may be an exception if it can indeed be dated to the talmudic era. However, the dating and origin of this fragmentary text is much debated. Halperin even suggested a late Babylonian origin for the *hekhlot* literature<sup>95</sup>. But it is not only the question of dating the text from *Hekhalot Zutarti* but also its textual relations with the Babylonian *baraita* which is still debated.

The marble-water motif appears again in medieval midrashic literature, but these late traditions were probably influenced by Islamic literature in which this motif was used.

The study of both categories of rabbinic sources – the halakhic and the aggadic – results in very slight evidence for the use of marble. While its use certainly accords with the scarce archaeological evidence of marble floors in the Land of Israel during the late Roman, Byzantine and early Islamic periods, this does not apply to the more common use of marble revetments for walls. However the gap between the archaeological evidence and the literary evidence can be explained by the fact that the technique of marble wall paneling was used mainly in palatial public buildings or in very richly constructed dwellings and not in the common ordinary houses. As long as marble was not within reach of most Jews for the construction of their private dwellings, the need for halakhic guidance as to how this material should be used was limited, which may explain the meagre halakhic data concerning marble. On the other hand its divine and royal associations in aggadic contexts confirm its use in sumptuous public architecture.

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<sup>95</sup> Halperin, op. cit., p. 184.

### **Glossary**

*Aggada* – Aramaic: tale, lore; refers to the homiletic and non-legalistic texts in classical rabbinic literature. Particularly as recorded in the Talmud and Midrash.

*Amora* (*pl. amoraim*) is a sage of the Talmudic period (c. 220-500).

*Ammoraic (Talmudic Literature* (c. 220 – *fift-sixth century*) – Babylonian Talmud, Talmud Yerushalmi, Aggadic (legendary) Midrashim.

*Baraita* usually refers to Tannaitic teachings that were not included in the Mishna.

*Halakha (Halacha)* – Hebrew: ‘The way to go’; It is the collective corpus of Jewish law, custom and tradition regulating all aspects of behavior, developed through discussion and debate in the classical rabbinic literature, especially the Mishna and the Talmud.

*Mishna* is the collection of oral law its redaction is attributed to R. Yehudah ha-Nasi (c. 220 C.E.).

*Sugya* – A passage of the Talmud.

*Talmud* designate the traditional teaching derived from interpretation of the Mishna.

*Tanna* (*pl. Tannaim*) is a sage of the Mishnaic period.

*Tannaite Period* (c. 70-220 C.E.)

*Tannaite Literature* (c. 70-220 C.E.) – Mishna, Tosefta, Halakhic Midrashim.

### **Abstract**

#### **Marble as Building Material in Rabbinic Literature**

In the following paper we intend to examine several rabbinic texts wherein marble paneling or paving is mentioned. Such a study may add to our understanding of attitudes and responses within Jewish spheres to the spread of the use of marble as a building material. The literary data referred to in this paper covers a period of some 800-900 years of Jewish literary writings that was created within four distinct cultures – Roman, Byzantine, Sassanian Persia and Early Islamic. Whilst there were major differences between these cultures, scholars have shown that the use of marble for decorating walls or as paving material functioned in a very similar ways. The relatively conservative techniques in marble-working between Roman and medieval times, enables us to study a collection of texts within such a wide span of time.

### **Keywords**

Marble, building materials, rabbinic literature.

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**St. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, (668-690 AD).**  
**A Greek from Tarsus of Cilicia in England: Some Aspects of his Life**

**Theodore from Tarsus: Biography outline**

**Early years**

The only extant information about Theodore's life can be found, in the monumental work of the father of English Historiography, Bede the Venerable (673-735 AD)<sup>1</sup>, the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*)<sup>2</sup>.

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Abbreviations: ACO 2/I = *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicarum* (Lateranensis). Series secunda, v. I, R. Riendinger (ed.), Berlin–New York 1994 – ACO 2/II, 1, 2= *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicarum*. Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium. Series secunda, v. I, II/1–2, R. Riendinger (ed.), Berlin–New York 1990-1992 – CPG= M. Geerard (ed.), *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I-V, (Corpus Christianorum), Turhout 1974-1983 – CPL= E. Dekkers (ed.), *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, (Corpus Christianorum), Turhout<sup>3</sup> 1995 – *Liber Pontificalis*= *Liber Pontificalis*, L. Duchesne (ed.), I, Paris<sup>2</sup> 1955; Davis= R. Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, Engl. transl., Liverpool 1992 – PL= *Patrologiae cursus completus, seria latina*, J.-P. Migne (ed.) – PG= *Patrologiae cursus completus, seria graeca*, J.-P. Migne (ed.) – HE= B. Colgrave, R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford 1969 – Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries* =B. Bischoff, M. Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, Cambridge 1994, reprint 2006 – *Archbishop Theodore* = M. Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence*, Cambridge 1995, reprint 2006; ΕΕΘΣΑΠΘ=Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Θεολογικής Σχολής Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης.

<sup>1</sup> Bede (672/673-735) was a Benedictine monk at the monastery of Saint Peter at Monkwearmouth, and of its companion monastery, Saint Paul's, in Jarrow, both in the medieval Kingdom of Northumbria. He is well known as an author and scholar, and his most famous work is, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (*The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*), which was completed in about 731 AD, for the editions see below. Bede's History beginning with Caesar's invasion in 55 BC and finishing in his days. Everything that is known of Bede's life is contained in the last chapter of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*. A minor source of information is the letter by his disciple Cuthbert that relates Bede's death. Cuthbert is probably the same person as the later abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow; see *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pp. 566-577, and epistola pp. 579-587. For the latter epistola, see W.F. Bolton, "Epistola Cuthberti de Obitu Bedae: A Caveat", *Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 1 (1970) 127-139. For a full revision of Bede's life, see R. Fletcher, "Bede", *Who's Who in Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England*, Mechanicsburg, PA 2002, pp. 68-80; D.H. Farmer, "Bede", *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, Oxford 2004<sup>5</sup>, pp. 45-46; E.J. Campbell, "Bede (673/4-735)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, v. 4, Oxford 2004, revised ed. 2008, pp. 758-765; R. Ray, "Bede", *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, M. Lapidge (ed.), Oxford 2001, pp. 57-59. Also see, W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800). Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon*, Notre Dame, Indiana 2005, chap. IV, pp. 235-328; P. Hunter Blair, preface M. Lapidge, *The World of Bede*, Cambridge 1979, reprint with corrections 2008; M. Lapidge (ed.), *Bede and His World. The Jarrow Lectures, 1958-1993*, v. I-II, Aldershot 1994; N.J. Higham, *Re-reading Bede*, London – N. York 2006; P. Wormald, *The Times of Bede. Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian*, Oxford 2006. Very useful remains the volume of L.A.J.R. Houwen, A.A. MacDonald (eds.), *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk & Northumbrian*, Groningen 1996, especially the article of A.T. Thacker, "Bede and the Irish", pp. 31-59. For the Greek studies of Bede, see W. Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages. From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, Washington, DC 1988 (=Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter: Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues, Bern–München 1980), pp. 88-89, 101; A. Dionisotti, "On Bede, Grammars and Greek", *RB* 92 (1982) 111-141; K. Lynch, "The Venerable Bede's knowledge of Greek", *Traditio* 39 (1988) 432-439.

<sup>2</sup> I use the basic edition of B. Colgrave, R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford 1969, hereafter HE. In this latter edition established the recent translation in English with notes of J. McClure, R. Collins, *Bede. The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford 1991, reprint 2008.

Theodore was a Greek monk from Tarsus of Cilicia, ordained in Rome (668) as Archbishop of Canterbury (originally Cantuar or Cantabria), England, who pontificated his province until his death (690). Our knowledge of Theodore's life before he came to England is also owed to Bede, who mentions that Theodore was born in Tarsus of Cilicia. Since he was 88 years old when he died on 19 September 690, he must have been born around the year 602 AD<sup>3</sup>. Bede also attests Theodore's presence in Rome on the occasion of his election by Pope Vitalian (657-672) through the recommendation of Hadrian, a distinguished monk of one monastery of Naples at the time Italy, but subsequently to become Theodore's companion during his appointment in England. Theodore's consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury took part in Rome on 26 March, 668<sup>4</sup>, and he travelled to England on 27 May of the following year. Bede does not fail to underline constantly the great and vast education of Theodore, sacred and secular, in both Greek and Latin<sup>5</sup>.

### Theodore's studies

#### a. Tarsus, Antioch, Edessa

Several scholars such as Michael Lapidge tried to fill in the gaps in Theodore's biography and interpret many of his initiatives throughout various references shown all over the archbishop's rich written work<sup>6</sup>.

Theodore's birth and raising in Tarsus of Cilicia, at the dawn of the 7th century, as well as the rich knowledge and interpretative tradition we find in his work, let us guess the kind and level of studies he pursued, both in his home town and in other urban centers of the area, such as Antioch and Beirut with their famous schools and their intense theological conflicts. It has been demonstrated that Theodore's interpretation of the Holy Scriptures follows the Antiochean interpretative school<sup>7</sup>. In fact, it is highly influenced by the long tradition of Syrian Fathers of the church, as Theodore apparently was fluent in the Syriac language<sup>8</sup>.

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From the five books of Bede's *History*, the last two books relate to Theodore, IV and V until ch. 8th. I consult also the edition of J.E. King, *Bede Historical Works*, v. I, II, (Loeb Classical Library), Harvard University Press first ed. 1930, Cambridge, Ma – London 1999.

<sup>3</sup> HE, V. 8.

<sup>4</sup> HE, V. 8.

<sup>5</sup> HE, IV. 1. See the chapter just below.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Lapidge and Bernard Bischoff have reconstructed his earlier life based on a study of texts produced by his Canterbury School. See, B. Bischoff, M. Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, Cambridge 1994, reprint 2006; Introduction by Lapidge, pp. 5-295; M. Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence*, Cambridge 1995, reprint 2006. See also, M. Lapidge, "Theodore of Tarsus", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, v. 54, Oxford 2004, review reprint 2008, pp. 226-230; P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, *The archbishops of Canterbury*, Stroud 2006, pp. 40-44; K.-P. Todt, "Theodor von Canterbury (602-690)", *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, v. XI, Traugott Bautz (ed.), Nordhausen 1996, col. 869-874 at [www.bautz.de/bbk](http://www.bautz.de/bbk).

<sup>7</sup> See Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 243-249. There is further evidence supporting the belief that Theodore studied at Antioch, because a lot of Eastern Saints who were celebrated in that area were introduced in the Early Anglo-Saxon Calendar by Theodore, such as Saint Symeon the Stylite, Martyr Babylas, Saint Anastasius the Persian; see Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 26-27; S. Brock, "The Syriac background", in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 40-43; J. Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 56-73.

<sup>8</sup> See Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 233-240; Brock, "The Syriac background", pp. 30-53, especially pp. 48-49; idem, "St Theodore of Canterbury, the Canterbury School and the Christian East", *The Heythrop Journal* 36 (1995) 431-438.

Consequently, it can be concluded that Theodore's education was developed not only at his birthplace, but at least in Antioch, which was the center of Greek culture in the East<sup>9</sup>, and in Edessa of Mesopotamia, the big center of Syria Christianity<sup>10</sup>.

However, the Persians took Antioch in 613 and soon afterwards Tarsus. This event was the beginning of their stay in the area, which lasted over a decade, until Heraclius turned them away<sup>11</sup>. All these facts seem to have brought the young Theodore in contact with the Persian culture, something that can be seen in some of his observations on Greek and Persian terminology<sup>12</sup>. After the Byzantine forces were defeated in the river Yarmouk on 636, the Arab expansion overturned the situation irrevocably<sup>13</sup>. A great number of refugees were forced to look for shelter in different

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<sup>9</sup> See Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 14-27. Despite the references by name of great theologians of Antiochean interpretative school in his works Theodore seems to know first hand the editions of the great historiographical works which flourished in Antioch in the late sixth and early seventh centuries: John Malalas' (d. 578) *Chronographia*, composed in the 570s; Evagrius Scholasticus' (d. 594) *Historia Ecclesiastica* there in 590s; see Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 206-228. Additionally, in the early decades of the seventh century John of Antioch composed a *World Chronicle*, based partly on John Mamalas' work, until 610; see Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 25. All of them therefore bring forth the reasonable hypothesis that he received some part of his early education in this Metropolis. For John Malalas' *Chronographia*, see the edition of J. Thurn, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, (CFHB 35), Berlin – New York 2000, and English transl. by E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, R. Scott, *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation*, (*Byzantina Australiensia* 4), Melbourne 1986. Also see, M. Whitby, "The Biblical Past in John Malalas and the *Paschal Chronicle*", *From Rome to Constantinople. Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, H. Amirav, B. ter Haar Romney (eds.), Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA 2007, pp. 279-302; A. Καρπόζηλος, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι*, Α', Αθήνα 1997, pp. 538-558. Upon John Malalas' *Chronographia* Theodore later in Canterbury composed a new work known as *Laterculus Malalianus*, see Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore*, op. cit.; J. Siemens, "A survey of the Christology of Theodore of Tarsus in the *Laterculus Malalianus*", *Scottish Journal of Theology* 60 (2007) 213-225; idem, "Christ Restoration of Mankind in the *Laterculus Malalianus*, 14", *The Heythrop Journal* 48 (2007) 18-28; idem, *The Christology of Theodore of Tarsus. The Laterculus Malalianus and the Person and Work of Christ*, Turnhout 2010. For the works of Evagrius Scholasticus' *Historia Ecclesiastica* and John of Antioch's *World Chronicle*, see Καρπόζηλος, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι*, op. cit., pp. 232-237, 574-578. For the great educational centre of this area, see G. Cavallo, "Theodore of Tarsus and the Greek culture of his time", in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 54-67.

<sup>10</sup> The Canterbury Commentaries give us a clue as to Theodore's possible movements at this early stage of his life. They suggest that as well as studying in Antioch he also at least visited Edessa. Theodore in the *Commentary on the Pentateuch* includes a specific mention that it is surely an eye witness account: *cucumbers and melons are the same thing, but cucumbers are called pepones when they grow large, and often one pepon will weigh thirty pounds. In the city of Edessa they grow so large that a camel can scarcely carry two of them*, Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 374-375, with discussion at p. 35.

<sup>11</sup> For the Heraclius' campaigns, see A. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, v. I, Amsterdam 1968; J. Howard-Johnston, "Heraclius' Persian Campaigns and the Revival of the East Roman Empire, 622-630", *War in History* 6 (1999) 1-44; G.J. Reinink, B.H. Stolte (eds.), *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641). Crisis and Confrontation*, Leuven 2002; W. Kaegi, *Heraclius. Emperor of Byzantium*, Oxford 2003, pp. 122-155. However, for a broader view of the period and its political aspects, see Reinink, Stolte, op. cit.

<sup>12</sup> See Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>13</sup> See D.J. Costantelos, "The Muslim Conquests of the Near East as Revealed in the Greek Sources of the Seventh and the Eighth Centuries", *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 325-57; F. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton 1981; W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge 1995; A.I. Akram, *The Sword of Allah: Khalid bin al-Waleed – His Life and Campaigns*, Oxford 2004; E. Grypeou, M. Swanson, D. Thomas (ed.), *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam*, Leiden–Boston 2006, where the article D.J. Sahas, "The Face to Face Encounter between Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem and the Caliph U'mar Ibn al-Khattāb: Friends or Foes?", pp. 33-44; H.N. Kennedy, *The Byzantine And Early Islamic Near East*, Aldershot 2006; idem, *The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live In*, London 2007; D. Nicolle, *The Great Islamic Conquests AD 632-750*, London 2009. See also, Γ.-Π.

parts of the empire. Many of these refugees moved to Constantinople and Italy<sup>14</sup>. It remains unknown whether Theodore, possibly along with his family, was among those who abandoned the area during this period, or whether they had left earlier.

Although not explicitly mentioned, it is true that during these years he must have visited Constantinople, because, as the extant information demonstrates, he had personal experience of the city and its monuments<sup>15</sup>. He claimed to have seen the “Twelve Baskets” (Dodekathronon)<sup>16</sup> associated with the miraculous feeding of the “Five Thousand” in New Testament kept underneath the porphyrite column of Constantine<sup>17</sup>, at the base of which there was a related monument. This column originally stood in the centre of the Forum of Constantine<sup>18</sup>. According to tradition the “Twelve Baskets” were found near the Sea of Galilee, at Tiberias, by Saint Helen, Constantine’s mother, and subsequently brought to Constantinople<sup>19</sup>.

Another interesting testimony saved in *Quaestiones octo*<sup>20</sup> which is attributed to Bede, largely contributed to answer this question. In the above-mentioned work, Bede, analyzing the point: “I have been a night and a day in the deep” (2 Corinthians 11:25) writes: “he had heard some people remember how Theodore used to interpret

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Τσορμπατζόγλου, *Εικονομαχία και κοινωνία στα χρόνια του Λέοντος Γ' Ισαύρου. Συμβολή στην διερεύνηση των αιτιών*, Κατερίνη 2002, pp. 178-192.

<sup>14</sup> See below n. 35.

<sup>15</sup> About the time of Theodore’s probable arrival, Constantinople had as teachers some of the greatest scholars in the Greek-speaking world, notably Stephen of Alexandria, Theophylact Simocatta, George of Pisida, Sophronius, later Patriarch of Jerusalem, and his companion John Moschus, writer of the famous work *The Spiritual Meadow*. It is even possible for him to have attended the lectures of the above great teachers or that he had personal contacts with them and the other scholars who were then in Constantinople. The range of interests and the knowledge expressed in the Canterbury Biblical Commentaries strongly suggests that he studied there. Theodore’s school at Canterbury taught Roman civil law, as St Aldhelm tells us, and Theodore’s own *Iudicia* and the commentaries show a good knowledge of Roman law, particularly as contained in Justinian’s *Corpus juris civilis*. Now Constantinople was the chief centre of study for this subject. Again the Commentaries show knowledge of rhetoric, and Bede tells us that astronomy and ecclesiastical calendar computations were taught at the Canterbury school. The Commentaries also deal in some detail with various medical subjects, and these often parallel Greek medical texts, such as Stephen of Alexandria’s *scholia* on the *Prognostica* of Hippocrates. The Commentary also shows knowledge of Greek philosophy, such as when the Latin word *firmamentum* in Genesis is rendered by the Greek word *aplanes* common among the philosophers and not by *stereoma*, as the Septuagint and Church Fathers render it. See Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 47-64; M. Lapidge, “The career of Archbishop Theodore”, in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 16-19.

<sup>16</sup> See Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 549. In this miracle, Jesus Christ fed five thousand men, without women and children, using five loaves of bread and two fish. They all ate and were satisfied, the disciples picked up twelve basketfuls of broken pieces that were left over. For the miracle, see Mat. 14.17-21; Mark 6.41-44; Luk. 9.15-17; John 6.8-13. The above mention is the earliest in history, see Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 552.

<sup>17</sup> For Constantine’s Column, see C. Mango, “Constantine’s Column”, *Studies on Constantinople*; idem, “Constantine’s Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St. Constantine”, Aldershot 1993; G. Fowden, “Constantine’s Porphyry Column: the earliest literary allusion”, *Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991) 119-131; S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, Cambridge 2004, pp. 50-78, 188-208.

<sup>18</sup> See Sarah Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, Cambridge 2004, pp. 50-78, 188-208.

<sup>19</sup> For the evolution of the legend of the ‘Twelve Baskets’ and the shrine at its base, see Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 549 and 550-552; Baset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, pp. 192-204.

<sup>20</sup> (CPL 1364), PL 93, 455-478, English translation by W.T. Foley, A.G. Holder, *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany*, Liverpool 1999.



the point [...] as follows: there was an extremely deep hole in Cyzikus, in which criminals were tortured. This hole was called “the depth of the sea”, similar in filth and darkness as the one Paul met for the sake of Jesus”<sup>21</sup>. According to scholars, Theodore's memories of Cyzikus indicate the knowledge, and so, his physical presence, if not in Constantinople, at least in the wider area<sup>22</sup>, and adds to his biography, linking him to the theological activities of that period and the great personalities who dominated the Queen of Cities at that time. I am referring to Maximus the Confessor<sup>23</sup>, who was a monk until 624/5 in Chrysoupolis, on the eastern coast of Bosphorus and later was forced to move to Cyzikus, in the monastery of Saint George<sup>24</sup>, because of the Persian advance. Judging by Theodore's following activities, i.e. his participation in the anti-monothelite Lateran Council (649) and his wider theological knowledge, it can be safely assumed that he stayed in the monastery in Cyzikus, and came in contact with Maximus. Later he joined Maximus' team, which played a leading part in the battle against the *Ecthesis* (638)<sup>25</sup>, at the time

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<sup>21</sup> PL 93, 456-457 § 3.

<sup>22</sup> Cyzicus (near nowadays Erdek), on the south coast of the Sea of Marmara, is very close, 9-10 km, to an important port of Panormus (now Panderna). This port is located in direct line from Constantinople just 100 km. See W.M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, reprint 2005, pp. 20, 218, 312; T. Λουγγής, “Θέμα Οψίκιον”, *Η Μικρά Ασία των Θεμάτων*, Αθήνα 1998, p. 179.

<sup>23</sup> From the enormous bibliography about Maximus the Confessor and his works, see H. Urs von Balthasar, *Cosmic Liturgy: The Universe According to Maximus the Confessor*, San Francisco 2003, English trans.; B.E. Daley, *Kosmische Liturgie. Das Weltbild Maximus' des Bekenner*, first ed. 1941, 3rd Einsiedeln 1988; P. Sherwood, *An annotated Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor*, Rome 1952 [*Studia Anselmiana* 30]; F. Heinzer, C. Schonborn (eds.), *Maximus Confessor. Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur Fribourg, 2-5 Septembre 1980*, Fribourg 1982; N. Aidan, *Byzantine Gospel: Maximus the Confessor in Modern Scholarship*, Edinburgh 1993; C. Larchet, “Ancestral Guilt According to Saint Maximus the Confessor: A Bridge between Eastern and Western Conceptions”, *Sobornost* 20 (1998) 26-48; idem, *The Theology of Illness. Trans. John and Michael Breck*, Crestwood, NY 2002; A. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, London 1996; idem, “Recent Research on St. Maximus the Confessor: A Survey”, *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 42 (1998) 67-84; idem, “St. Maximus the Confessor between East and West”, *Studia Patristica* 32 (1997) 332-345; B. Neil, “The Lives of Pope Martin I and Maximus the Confessor: some Reconsiderations of Dating and Provenance”, *Byzantion* 68 (1998) 91-109; idem, “The Greek Life of Maximus the Confessor and Its Three Recensions”, *Studia Patristica* 36 (2001) 46-53; P. Allen, B. Neil, *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions: Documents from Exile*, Oxford 2002, introduction pp. 1-59; D. Bathrellos, *The Byzantine Christ: Person, Nature, and Will in the Christology of St. Maximus the Confessor*, Oxford 2005; A.G. Cooper, *The Body in St. Maximus the Confessor: Holy Flesh, Wholly Deified*, Oxford 2005; T.T. Tollefsen, *The Christocentric Cosmology of Maximus the Confessor*, Oxford 2008; Π. Χρήστου, *Ελληνική Πατρολογία*, Ε' Θεσσαλονίκη 1992, pp. 266-284; Π.Γ. Τσορμπατζόγλου, *Η Σύνοδος του Λατερανού (649). Σύγκληση μετά την σύγκρουση. Θεολογία και πολιτική τον 7ο αι.*, Κατερίνη 2007<sup>2</sup>, pp. 41-49, 96-114; idem, “Εκκλησιαστικό δόγμα και αυτοκρατορική πολιτική. Οι θεολογικές αντιπαραθέσεις του 7ου αι. ως αιτία αλλαγών της εκκλησιαστικής πολιτικής”, *ΕΕΘΣΑΠΘ/ Τμήμα Ποιμαντικής και Κοινωνικής Θεολογίας* 12 (2007) 190-197.

<sup>24</sup> Maximus, later (628/630) established in North Africa at the monastery of Eucratas, but kept his connection with the previous monastery and the bishop John, see P. Sherwood, “Notes on the life and doctrine of Maximus the Confessor”, *Benedictine Review* 1 (1950) 347-356; idem, *An annotated date-list of the works of Maximus the Confessor*, pp. 6-7. The *Syriac Vita Maximi*, allows the assumption that Maximus had two periods in N. Africa, one before 633 and another one around the end of that year, see S. Brock, “An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor”, *Analecta Bollandiana* 91 (1973) 324-325; Allen, Neil, *Maximus the Confessor*, p. 12, n. 43.

<sup>25</sup> *Ecthesis*, (CPG 7607), ACO 2/I, p. 160.10-19. See more, A. Alexakis, “Before the Lateran Council of 649: The last Days of Herakleios and the Emperor and the Monothelitism. Based on a new fragment from his letter to Pope John IV (CPG 9382)”, *AHC* 27/28 (1995-1996) 93-101; Allen, Neil, *Maximus the Confessor*, p.

of Heraclius and the *Typos* (648)<sup>26</sup>, at the time of Constans II. What is more, it is highly likely that Theodore met Sophronius, who afterwards became the Patriarch of Jerusalem, when the latter went to Constantinople to dissuade the Patriarch Sergius from the imminent *Pact of Union* agreement between the Orthodox and the Monophysites; this agreement had a monothelite tone and was signed in Alexandria in June 633<sup>27</sup>. So, it is reasonable to suppose that Theodore stayed in Maximus' monastery, in Cyzikus.

Another element, very strong in my opinion, confirming Theodore's presence in Constantinople and possibly determining his departure time, is the fact that he was related and connected to the development of the cult of the martyr Anastasius the Persian<sup>28</sup>. This cult spread quickly in Constantinople after the final

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14; S. Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom: Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century*, Leiden 2008, pp. 73-76; Τσορμπατζόγλου, *Η Σύνοδος του Λατερανού*, pp. 31-37.

<sup>26</sup> The *Typos* (CPG 7621) did not preserved, it is known only from the proceedings of the Lateran Synod, ACO 2/I, pp. 208.1-210.15. See Louth, op. cit., pp. 15-16; Allen, Neil, *Maximus the Confessor*, pp. 18-19; Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom: Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>27</sup> *Pact of Union* (CPG 7613). This is preserved in the proceedings of the Lateran Synod, ACO 2/I, pp. 134.4-29, and a full version of it in the proceedings of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, ACO 2,II/2. pp. 594.14-601.20. See Allen, Neil, *Maximus the Confessor*, pp. 11-14; Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom: Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century* pp. 67-72. For more, see Τσορμπατζόγλου, "Εκκλησιαστικό δόγμα και αυτοκρατορική πολιτική", pp. 175-177. After the proclamation of the *Pact of Union*, in Alexandria, Sergius issued the *Psephos* (CPG 7606) at 633 forbidding any mention of one or two activities of Christ, and excluding the possibility of two contrary wills. But, soon after his consecration as Patriarch of Jerusalem in 634 Sophronius declared his support for the Chalcedonian position in his *Synodical letter* (CPG 7635), which technically observes the *Psephos* by not counting the activities, but rejects monenergism on the grounds that it entails monophysitism, AGO 2,II/1. 410.13-494. 9; Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom: Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century*, p. 71, n. 90. More for the *Synodical letter*, see R. Riedinger, "Die *Epistula Synodica* des Sophronios von Jerusalem im Codex Parisinus BN graecus 1115", *Βυζαντιακά* 2 (1982) 145-154; idem, "Die Nachkommen der *Epistula Synodica* des Sophronios von Jerusalem (a.634; CPG 7635)", *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 26 (1984) 91-106; P. Allen (ed. & transl.), *Sophronius of Jerusalem and Seventh-Century Heresy: The Synodical Letter and Other Documents*, Oxford 2009.

<sup>28</sup> Saint Anastasius of Persia (born with the name Magundat), once a magician, became a convert of the Holy Cross and was martyred in 628. Anastasius was a soldier in the army of Chosroes when that monarch carried the True Cross from Jerusalem to Persia. The occasion prompted him to ask for information; then he left the army, became a Christian, and afterwards a monk in Jerusalem. His Persian name, Magundat, he changed to Anastasius. After seven years of the monastic observance, he was moved, as he thought, by the Holy Ghost to go in quest of martyrdom and went to Caesarea, then subject to the Persians.

Reproaching his countrymen for their magic and fireworship, both of which he had once practised, he was taken prisoner, cruelly tortured to make him abjure, and finally carried down near the Euphrates, to a place called Barsaloe (in modern Kirkuk, Iraq) where his tortures were renewed while at the same time the highest honours in the service of King Chosroes were promised him if he would renounce Christianity. Finally, with seventy others, he was strangled to death and decapitated, on January 22, 628. The Greek (BHG 84) *Passio S. Anastasii* was composed by a member of the Saint's community in Jerusalem, who was an eyewitness as well of his judgment and tortures. His body, which was thrown to the dogs, but was left untouched by them, was carried from there to Palestine, afterwards to Constantinople, and finally only the head to Rome, as written in his *Transportation* (BHG 88), probably by the same author of his *Passio*. It has been suggested that the relics of Saint Anastasius were brought to Constantinople by the refugee monks after the capture of Jerusalem by Arabs, 632. Some of them then established in Rome, maybe during the pontificate of Pope Theodore (642-649), a Greek from Jerusalem and brought with them the head of Saint Anastasius, because it was possible in later days to see the body in Constantinople, see C.V. Franklin, "Theodore and the *Passio* of S. Anastasii", in *Archbishop*

victory against the Persians (630) and a eulogy by George Pisida written during these years (631-638)<sup>29</sup>. He must have become familiar to the cult of Anastasius of Persia in Constantinople during the last years of his stay there, most possibly because he must have felt that he was from the same place and therefore somehow close to the martyr. This last element must have largely determined his settling in Rome and more specifically in the monastery of the Cilicians, of Saint Saba, also known as "ad Aqua Salvias"<sup>30</sup>, where the head of Anastasius was kept. This association continued even after Theodore went to England: when he was there he translated his *Passion* from Greek to Latin<sup>31</sup> and introduced the cult of Saint Anastasius in the Church of England<sup>32</sup>.

### b. Rome

It remains unknown when Theodore settled in Rome<sup>33</sup>. It is possible that he also followed the great number of monks who migrated from Constantinople to North Africa and later to Rome, either because of their opposition to the official Monothelite policy, or because of the Arab advance<sup>34</sup>. Some of these monks were followers of Maximus and according to the available evidence about the stay of Maximus and his disciples in Rome, it can be concluded that probably he chose in one of the Greek, or τῶν Βυζαντιῶν μοναστηρίων, monasteries which were existed in

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Theodore, pp. 176-181. For the *Passio* see B. Flusin (ed.–transl.–com.), *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VIIe siècle*, v. I, & II, Paris 1992. Also see below n. 37.

<sup>29</sup> (BHG 86). The *Laudatio* is based on the above *Passio* and the existence of some relics in Constantinople.

<sup>30</sup> For the history of the monastery, see below n. 37.

<sup>31</sup> See C.V. Franklin, *The Latin dossier of Anastasius the Persian: Hagiographic Translations and Transformations*, Toronto 2004; cf. Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 184.

<sup>32</sup> See Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 182-184; Franklin, "Theodore and the *Passio* of S. Anastasii", pp. 177-179. Bede lists among his own writings a 'corrected' version of the *Passio S. Anastasii* which, according to him, had originally been badly translated from the Greek; and convincing arguments have recently been advanced for identifying Bede's corrected version with one of the several surviving anonymous Latin *Passiones* of that saint, *HE*, V 24. See C.V. Franklin, P. Meyvaert, "Has Bede's Version of the *Passio S. Anastasii* come down to us in *BHL 408*?", *AB* 100 (1982) 373-400; Berschin, op. cit., p. 88.

<sup>33</sup> For Rome at 7th cen., see Th. F.X. Noble, "Rome in the seventh century", in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 68-87; A. Economou, *Byzantine Rome and Greek Popes. Eastern Influence on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, AD 590-752*, N. York 2007, pp. 42-78.

<sup>34</sup> See Brock, "St Theodore of Canterbury, the Canterbury School and the Christian East", p. 432; S. Borsari, "Le migrazioni dall'Oriente in Italia nel VII secolo", *La parola del passato* 6 (1951) 133-138; L. Bréhier, "Les colonies d'orientaux en Occident au commencement du moyen âge, Ve-VIIIe siècle", *BZ* 12 (1903) 1-39; F. Burgarella, "Presenze greche a Roma", *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*, (Atti della XLIX settimana di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 2001), Spoleto 2002, pp. 943-988; W. Liebeschuetz, "The refugees and evacuees in the age of migrations", in *Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages. Texts, Resources and Artefacts*, R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger, H. Reimitz (eds.), Leiden 2003, pp. 65-81. Cf. K. Lake, "The Greek monasteries of South Italy", *Journal of Theological Studies* 4 (1902-1903) 345-368, 517-542, 5 (1903-1904) 22-41, 189-202; L. White, "The Byzantinization of Sicily", *American Historical Review* 42 (1936) 1-21; P. Charanis, "On the question of the hellenization of Sicily and Southern Italy during the Middle Ages", *American Historical Review* 52 (1946) 74-86; S. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne*, Napoli (Istituto Italiano per gli studi storici 14) 1963; idem, "Il monachesimo bizantino nell'Italia meridionale e insulare", *Settimane* 34 (1988) 675-695. See above n. 15.

Rome that time<sup>35</sup>. As for Theodore, it is most likely that he settled down with his compatriots in the so-called Monastery of the Cilicians, or Aqua Salvia<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> The earliest written source for the existence of Greek (*Γραικῶν*) monasteries in Rome is the *acta* of the Lateran Council of 649, (further see below n. 38). The *acta* were witnessed by the abbots of three such monasteries; first mentioned generally: *ἡγούμενοι καὶ μονάζοντες τῶν τε πάλαι παροικούντων καὶ τῶν ἐνδεδημηκότων ἀρτίως ἐνθάδε Γραικῶν, τουτέστιν Ἰωάννης, Θεόδωρος, Θαλάσσιος, Γεώργιος καὶ τῶν σὺν τούτοις ἕτεροι θεοφιλεῖς ἄνδρες*, ACO 2/I, pp. 48, 26-28. On the above text there is a distinction between *τῶν πάλαι παροικούντων*, the old inhabitant monks before the refugees came, and *τῶν ἐνδεδημηκότων ἀρτίως*, the recently established refugee monks from the East. And a little further, the text, relates the monasteries with their abbots: *Ἰωάννης πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς εὐαγοῦς λαύρας τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Σάββα τῆς διακειμένης ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀγίαν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλιν καὶ Θεόδωρος πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς εὐαγοῦς λαύρας τῆς διακειμένης κατὰ τῶν Ἀφρων φιλόχριστον χώραν, καὶ Θαλάσσιος πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς εὐαγοῦς μονῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων τῆς ἐνθάδε παροικούσης εἰς τὴν ἐπιλεγομένην μονὴν Ῥενάτου, καὶ Γεώργιος πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς εὐαγοῦς μονῆς τῶν Κιλικίων τῆς ἐνθάδε παροικούσης εἰς τὴν ἐπιλεγομένην Ἀκουασαλβίας*, ACO 2/I, p. 50.1-9. Thalassius was the abbot of the monastery of Armenian monks called *Renatus* (location unknown); and George, abbot of the monastery of monks from Cilicia, located *ad aquas Salvias* (see below).

To these three monasteries a fourth may be added, not mentioned in the *acta*, namely a monastery of (Syriac-speaking) Nestorian monks, called *Boetia* (location unknown); according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Pope Donus (676-8) dispersed these Nestorian monks and replaced them with Roman monks. In theory Theodore, future archbishop of Canterbury, could have belonged to any of these four communities, though it is less likely that he belonged to either the Nestorian or the Armenian communities.

The abbots, George of the Armenian monastery (*Renatus*), and Leontius of the monastery of Saint Sabas (Cella Nova) took part latter in the VI Ecumenical Council at Constantinople (680-681), ACO 2/II, 1, p. 6 and ACO 2/II,1, p. 764. According to the Syriac Life of Maximus (Brock, "An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor", pp. 318-319, 328), Pope Martin I (649-53; d. 655) had granted land for a monastery to Maximus; and probably this monastery was none other than Saint Saba, because of his relation with the refugee=Palestinian monks in Rome and the patron of them, Patriarch Sophronius, see more P. Riché, "De Grégoire le Grand à Pepin le Bref (VII<sup>e</sup>-milieu du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)", in *Histoire du Christianisme*, J.-M. Mayeur, Ch. & L. Pietri, A. Vauchez, M. Venard (eds.), IV, Paris 1993, p. 643; G. Ferrari, *Early Roman monasteries*, Città del Vaticano 1957, p. 290; A. Calandro, "I monasteri orientali più antichi di Roma", *Lazio, ieri e oggi* 15 (1979) 237; Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 67-68; Economou, *Byzantine Rome and Greek Popes*, p. 204, nn. 46-49; Y. de Andia, "Le monastère de Saint-Sabas à Rome: relations théologiques entre l'Orient et l'Occident aux VII<sup>e</sup> et VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles", *Proche-Orient chrétien* 50 (2000) 279-296, and see above nn. 24, 25, 38, 39. For the Greek Monasteries at Rome, see F. Antonelli, "I primi monasteri di monaci orientali in Roma", *Rivista di Archeologica Christiana* 5 (1928) 105-121; A. Michel, "Die griechischen Klostersiedlungen zu Rom bis zur mitte des ii. Jahrhunderts", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 1 (1952) 32-45; Ferrari, *Early Roman monasteries*, pp. 276-280, 281-290; E. Patlagean, "Les Moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIII<sup>e</sup> -IX<sup>e</sup> siècles)", *Studi Medievali* 5 (1964) 579-602; J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne, (milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s.-fin dy IX<sup>e</sup> s.)*, I texte, II bibliographie, notes, Bruxelles 1983, reprint 1993, pp. 12-7, 23-25, 37-38; G. Jenal, "Monaci e vescovi al tempo di Martino I (649-653)", in *Martino I papa (649-653) e il suo tempo. Atti del XXVIII Convegno Storico Internazionale, Todi 13-16 ottobre 1991*, Spoleto 1992, pp. 165-186. Cf. E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins*, Paris 1993.

<sup>36</sup> The monastery was situated south of Rome on land *ad aquas Salvias* (at the Salvian springs, now known as the Tre Fontane) formerly granted by Gregory the Great to the church of St Paul *extra muros*, and the catacumbas at via Appia; presumably the modern church of Saint Vicent and Anastasius near to Tre Fontane. The monastery of St Anastasius *ad aquas Salvias* is first recorded in the *Acta* of the Lateran Council of 649 (see above n. 35), where it is described as a community of Cilician monks under the direction of Abbot George, its evidence implies that the monastery of St Anastasius had been in existence for some years, perhaps some decades before; see Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 33-48; U. Broccoli, *L'abbazia delle Tre Fontane. Fasi paleocristiane e altomedievali del complesso 'ad Aquas Salvias' in Roma*, Roma 1980; D. Stiernon, A. Calandro, "Ss Vincenzo e Anastasio alle Tre Fontane", in *Monasticon Italiae, I. Roma e Lazio*, F. Caraffa (ed.), Cesena 1981, pp. 81-85; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à*

Theodore's past and relations, as well as his future development, suggest that his personality was probably active rather than hermetic. So, his involvement in the theological speculations of the time, and more importantly in the problem of Monothelitism<sup>37</sup>, should be considered as something natural for his exuberant personality. Consequently, when the name of the monk Theodore is mentioned among the participants in the Lateran Council (649)<sup>38</sup>, it can be effortlessly concluded

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Rome, I, p. 149, II, pp. 177-178. In any event, it was fairly clearly a foundation for Cilician monks who were refugees from the Persian or Arab invasion in the place where they believed that Saint Paul, patron saint of Tarsus, had been beheaded ("Acta Petri et Pauli", *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, v. I, R.A. Lipsius (ed.), Leipzig 1891, reprint Darmstadt 1959, p. 214), see Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse*, II, p. 372; Franklin, "Theodore and the Passio of S. Anastasii", pp. 177-179, n. 8. Obviously, the monastery named after the location as *Aquas Salvias* and then after the establishment of Cilician monks as *ton Kilikon* (τῶν Κιλικῶν) or *Saint Anastasius* because this monastery possessed, as a treasured relic, the head of the martyr. See, Broccoli, *L'abbazia delle Tre Fontane*, pp. 21-22; Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 68; Lapidge, "The carrer of Archbishop Theodore", in *Archbishop Theodore*, p. 20; Economou, *Byzantine Rome and Greek Popes*, pp. 163, 203-211. Also see above nn. 32, 33.

<sup>37</sup> A major problem, with political and theological impacts in that era was the Monothelitism-Monenergism. Since 616 or 617, Heraclius and the Patriarch Sergius saw Monenergism as a way to restore ecclesiastical unity throughout what was left of the empire: the assertion of a unique activity in Christ should appeal to the non-Chalcedonians, while the preservation of the affirmation of two natures would appease the Chalcedonians; see D. Olster, "Chalcedonian and Monophysite: the Union of 616", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 27 (1985) 93-108. But, despite the endorsement of all the Patriarchs to this policy, first monk Sophronius, then Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Maximus the Confessor rejected the monenergist version on the grounds that it was impossible; see above nn. 25, 27. There is a vast bibliography on monothelism. See M. Jugie, "Monothélisme", *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, v. 10.2, Paris 1929, pp. 2307-2323; V. Grumel, "Recherches sur l'histoire du monothélisme", *Echos d'Orient* 27 (1928) 6-16; 257-277, 28 (1929) 19-34; 272-282, 29 (1930) 16-28; P. Verghese, "The Monothelite Controversy. A Historical Survey", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 13 (1968) 196-211; F. Winkelmann, *Der monenergetisch monothelistische Streit*, Frankfurt am Main 2001 (= "Die Quellen zur Erforschung des monenergetisch-monothelistischen Streites", *Klio* 69 (1987) 515-559); idem, "Monenergetisch-monothelischer", *Theologische Realenzyklopadie (TRE)*, v. 23, Berlin – New York 1994, pp. 205-209; M. Simonetti, "Le controversie cristologiche nel VI e VII secolo", *Martino I papa (649-653) e il suo tempo. Atti del XXVIII Convegno Storico Internazionale, Todi 13-16 ottobre 1991*, Spoleto 1992, pp. 85-102; Allen, Neil, *Maximus the Confessor*, pp. 2-18. Also see below nn. 70-80.

<sup>38</sup> All the efforts of Emperor Heraclius with *Ecthesis* (ACO 2/I, pp. 156-162) and the Emperor Constans with *Typos* (ACO 2/I, pp. 208-210) at last had faced a big failure. Despite all good intentions of the imperial policy to bridge the gap between the two parties, it only served to galvanise the opposition. After the death of Pope Honorius (640) the see of Rome proclaimed herself as the defender of the Orthodox faith and the Pope John IV (640-642) convened a local synod to condemn the *Ecthesis*. The Palestinian Pope Theodore (642-649), under the influence of Patriarch Sophronius, undertook the leadership of this struggle, and seized the opportunity to expand the supremacy of the See of Rome. Theodore appointed Stephen of Dora (who previously had been sent to Rome by Sophronius as personal envoy) as his *vicarius* of Palestine, and Anastasius (a disciple of Maximus) as papal *apocrisiarius* at Constantinople and tried to persuade the bishops of the East to disobey to the imperial orders. The presence in Rome of Maximus, the most articulate opponent of monothelism, and a vast community of eastern monks, was decisive to pass the idea to the Pope that only an Ecumenical Council would confront formally the monothelite doctrine. But before the synod Pope Theodore died and his successor would finish this task. Just three months after his election Pope Martin, before the recognition of his election by the Emperor, working in collaboration with Maximus, convened a synod at Lateran, in the Basilica of Saviour, in October 649; it was attended by 105 bishops, mostly from Italy, Sicily and Africa, and by many Greek monks as well as those from Italy (mostly from suburbicarian Rome), Africa, and Libya. The Synod issued his one Doctrine of Christ's two wills and condemned the imperial Edicts of *Ecthesis* and *Typos*. The proceedings of the synod published by R. Riendinger, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicarum (Lateranensis)*, Series secunda, v. I, Berlin 1994 (=ACO 2/II,1). For the Lateran Synod, see E. Caspar, "Die Lateransynode von 649", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 51 (1932) 75-137; R. Riedinger,

that it is our Theodore<sup>39</sup>. However, Theodore used the Acts of the Lateran Council later after he had become the Archbishop of Canterbury, during the Synod at

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“Aus den Akten de Lateran Synode von 649”, *BZ* 69 (1976) 21-23; idem, “Lateinische Übersetzungen griechischer Häretikertexte des siebenten Jahrhunderts”, *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen (Ö) Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien. Philosophische-historische Klasse* 352 (1979) 9-6; idem, “Zwei Briefe aus den Akten der Lateransynode von 649”, *JÖB* 29 (1980) 37-59; idem, “Die Lateran-synode von 649 und Maximus der Bekenner”, in *Maximus Confessor. Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur, Fribourg, 2-5 Septembre 1980*, F. Heinzer, Chr. Schönborn (eds.), Fribourg 1982, pp. 111-121; idem, “Papst Martin I. und Papst Leo I. in dem Akten der Lateran-Synode von 649”, *JÖB* 33(1983) 87-88; P. Conte, *Il Sinodo Lateranense dell'ottobre 649*, Città del Vaticano 1989; A. Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Arcetype*, Washington D.C. 1996, pp. 16-21; Π.-Γ. Τσορπατζόγλου, *Η Σύνοδος του Λατερανού*. The convocation of a synod in Rome and their condemnation of the *Typos* constituted a breach of imperial law, and could not go unpunished. The council was to spark an angry reaction from Constantinople, which culminated in the arrest and exile of Martin, Maximus, and his disciples. Very soon Pope Martin was arrested (653) and taken to Constantinople to face a trial. Martin was falsely accused of conspiracy with the Arabs, convicted, publicly defrocked and humiliated, and exiled to Cherson, Crimea. He died soon afterwards, either on 16 September 655 or 13 April 656; see *Narrationes de exilio sancti papae Martini*, *PL* 129, 585-604; P. Peeters (ed.), “Une Vie grecque de S. Martin Ier”, *AB* 51 (1933) 225-262; P.A.B. Llewellyn, “Constans II and the Roman Church: a possible instance of Imperial pressure”, *Byzantion* 46 (1976) 120-126; W. Brandes, “‘Juristische’ Krisenbewältigung im 7. Jahrhundert? Die prozesse gegen Papst Martin I. und Maximus Homologetes”, *Fontes Minores X. Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 22, Frankfurt am Main 1998, pp. 142-212; A.M. Piazzoni, “Arresto, condanna, esilio e morte di Martino I”, in *Martino I papa (649-653) e il suo tempo, Martino I papa (649-653) e il suo tempo. Atti del XXVIII Convegno Storico Internazionale, Todi 13-16 ottobre 1991*, Spoleto 1992, pp. 187-210 and G. Cremascoli, “Le lettere di Martino”, pp. 243-258; Allen, Neil, *Maximus the Confessor*, pp. 19-26. Soon after Pope Martin’s trial, Maximus was arrested in Rome and transferred to Constantinople to appear in the imperial court in 655. Maximus was charged with having betrayed Africa to the Saracens, and at the conclusion of this trial, Maximus was sentenced to exile in Thracian Bizya, after in Rhegium near Constantinople, and then in Selymbria. The second trial of Maximus was convened in 662 by imperial court and sentenced to exile in Lazica and died at Schemaris on 13 August in this year. See R. Devreese (ed.), “La Vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ses recensions”, *AB* 46 (1928) 7-49; idem, “Le texte grec de l’Hypomnesticum de Théodore Spoydeé. Le supplice, l’exil et la mort des victimes illustres du monothélisme”, *AB* 53 (1935) 66-80; P. Sherwood, *St. Maximus the Confessor. The Ascetic Life the four Centuries on Charity*, London 1955, pp. 26-28; J.-M. Garrigues, “Le martyre de saint Maxime le Confesseur”, *Revue Thomiste* 36 (1976) 410-452; R. Bracke, *Ad Sancti Maximi Vitam. Studie van biografische documenten en de levensbeschrijvingen betreffende de Maximus Confessor (ca. 580-662)*, [Diss. Katholieke Universiteit], Louvain 1980. See as well, C. Tsirpanlis, “Acta S. Maximi”, *Θεολογία* 43 (1972) 106-124; W. Brandes, op. cit., pp. 142-212; Allen, Neil, *Maximus the Confessor*, pp. 19-26. Also see C. Cubitt, “The Lateran Council of 649 as an Ecumenical Council”, in *Chalcedon in Context. Church Councils 400-700*, Liverpool 2009, pp. 133-147. It is remarkable that Pope Martin promulgated the *acta* of the Lateran Council to all dioceses under Rome’s auspices; in Thessalonica the Pope Vicarius received one as affirmed the *Liber Pontificalis*, I, p. 357 =Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, p. 71. Sometimes saved the responses of the local synods when they received the above dees, see Riché, “De Grégoire le Grand à Pepin le Bref (VII<sup>e</sup>-milieu du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)”, p. 643; Cubitt, “The Lateran Council”, pp. 142-143.

<sup>39</sup> At the end of this session, in the libellus, the names of the participants who had taken part are listed, beginning with the abbots John of the monastery of St Saba, Theodore of an African *laura*, Thalassius of the monastery of Armenians, and George of the monastery of Cilicians (= St Anastasius) *ad aquas Saluias*. Then a list of thirty-one priests, deacons and monks follows, see *ACO* 2/I, p. 57. Among these in 34th position is the name *Maximus monachus*, almost certainly that of Maximus the Confessor. The implication is that Maximus played a central role in assembling the patristic materials for the *acta*, and may have been involved in drafting the *acta* as well. Furthermore, it has recently been demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that the text of the *acta* was composed in the first instance in Greek, and only translated (or presented) in Latin at the final session of the council, see Riedinger, “Die Lateransynode von 649 und Maximus Confessor”, in *Maximus Confessor*, pp. 111-121. See, Economou, *Byzantine Rome and Greek Popes*, pp. 163-164; Τσορπατζόγλου, *Η Σύνοδος του Λατερανού*, pp. 48-49.

Hatfield in September 679. These Acts were the discussion basis in that Council, but they do not prove clearly that Theodore had participated in the Council of Rome 30 years earlier, because the text signed by the participants of the Hatfield Synod had been composed by the Pope's legate, the Archicantator John. The latter indeed anticipated their certification, and subsequently returned to Rome with the signed copy<sup>40</sup>.

### **Theodore as Archbishop of Canterbury**

#### **a. Election**

After the Lateran Council (649), the details of Theodore's life remain unknown. But judging from Bede's<sup>41</sup> evidence that before his election as Archbishop of Canterbury on May 26th, 668, he lived as a monk and the Pope had to wait for four months until his hair was long enough for his tonsure according to the Latin ritual, with a circle at the top of the head, because his tonsure was according to the Byzantine ritual "shorn to the skin"<sup>42</sup> it can be effortlessly concluded that during this whole time he remained in the monastery of the Cilicians<sup>43</sup>. The following milestone in Theodore's life was of course his election and consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury.

So, Theodore from Tarsus of Cilicia ended up pontificating the Church of England. The only available information about this comes from Bede.

#### **b. Organization of the Church of England until Theodore's time.**

The foundation and organization of the Christian Church of England is connected to the missionary activity of Augustine's, the first Archbishop of Canterbury. Since the beginning (597)<sup>44</sup>, the whole effort was connected to the political situation of every region<sup>45</sup>.

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There is strong evidence that also Theodore played an important advisory role. Two things point to this conclusion. Firstly among the names of advisors listed in the Council's Acts is one *Theodorus monachus*. Is this our Theodore? The entry is set directly after the list of abbots and priests, but, although he is a non-ordained monk, this "Theodore the monk" is set before the deacons. This suggests that he was an important advisor. Our Theodore we know was extremely learned and certainly would fit such a role.

<sup>40</sup> See below nn. 62-68.

<sup>41</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 1. See above n. 4.

<sup>42</sup> The origin of the tonsure remains unclear but it certainly was not widely known in antiquity. There were three forms of tonsure known in the era: 1. in the manner of St Paul', as worn by Greek monks, entailed the head being totally shaved, 2. The Roman: this consisted of shaving only the top of the head, so as to allow the hair to grow in the form of a crown. This is claimed to have originated with St. Peter, and 3. The Celtic, which consisted of shaving the whole front of the head from ear to ear, the hair being allowed to hang down behind. The followers of Celtic Christianity claimed the authority of St John for this, as for their Easter celebration. It is entirely plausible that the Celts were merely observing an older practice, possibly from Asia Minor or Antioch, which had abandoned elsewhere. See, H. Leclercq, "Tonsure", *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, v. 15, Paris 1948, pp. 2430-2443. "Tonsure", *Oxford History of Byzantium*, v. III, pp. 2093-2094. See also, R. Mills, "The Signification of the Tonsure", in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, P.H. Cullu, K.J. Lewis (eds.), Cardiff 2004, pp. 109-126. One of the main differences between the Celtic and the Roman tradition, and hence a source of controversy later, was the type of tonsure and the other was the proper calculation of Easter. Both of them were tackled at the Synod of Whitby (664), for more see below n. 46.

<sup>43</sup> See, Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 65-69; and above nn. 31, 37.

<sup>44</sup> Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 29. For the time, see R.A. Markus, "The Chronology of the Gregorian Mission to England: Bede's Narrative and Gregory's Correspondence", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 14

From this time on, the most interesting fact of lasting consequence even beyond the Ecclesiastical history of the British Islands was the Synod of Whitby (664), in which the tradition of the Celtic Christianity was set aside in favor of the Latin one, as expressed by Rome. The final decision, expressed by Oswiu, king of Northumbria and president of the Synod, is quite revealing. It was decided that he would follow the tradition of Saint Peter, as he is the rock of the church and possesses the keys to the Kingdom, which means that he has the support of the Pope of Rome<sup>46</sup>. What is more, Pope Vitalian's remark to Hadrian in view of his departure

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(1963) 16-30. For the purpose and the aims of the Augustinian mission, see the volume, R. Gameson (ed.), *St. Augustine and the Conversion of England*, Stroud 1999 and the articles within: R. Gameson, "Augustine of Canterbury: Context and Achievement", pp. 1-40, C. Stancliffe, "The British Church and the Mission of Augustine", pp. 107-151, R.A. Markus, "Augustine and Gregory the Great", pp. 41-49. As well see, P.F. Jones, "The Gregorian Mission and English Education", *Speculum* 3 (1928) 335-348; P. Meyvaert, "Bede and Gregory the Great", Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1964 (Jarrow Lecture 1964), pp. 8-13; R.A. Markus, "The Chronology of the Gregorian Mission to England: Bede's Narrative and Gregory's Correspondence", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 14 (1963) 16-30; idem, "Gregory the Great, and a missionary strategy", in *The Mission of the Church and the Preparation of the Faith*, J. Cuming (ed.), Cambridge (*Studies in Church History* 6) 1970, pp. 29-38 (= "Gregory the Great, and the origins of a papal missionary strategy", *From Augustine to Gregory the Great*, XI, London 1983); idem, *Gregory the Great and his World*, Cambridge 1997, pp. 177-189; A. Smith, "St Augustine of Canterbury in History and Tradition", *Folklore* 89 (1978) 23-28; N. Wood, "Some Historical Re-identifications and the Christianization of Kent", in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, G. Armstrong, I.N. Wood (eds.), Turnhout 2000, pp. 27-35; R. & F. Gameson, "From Augustine to Parker: The Changing Face of the First Archbishop of Canterbury", in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, A.P. Smyth, S. Keynes (eds.), Dublin 2006, pp. 13-38; R. Collins, J. McClure, "Rome, Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow: Three Viewpoints on Augustine's Mission", in *Cross, Crescent and Conversion. Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher*, S. Barton, P. Linehan (eds.), Leiden – Boston 2008, pp. 17-42; M. Dunn, *The Christianization of Anglo-Saxons, c. 597-700. Discourses of Life, Death and Afterlife*, London 2009, pp. 43-134.

<sup>45</sup> For a general view, see N.J. Higham, *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious affiliation in Early Anglo-Saxon England*, Manchester 1997; N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*, London 1984, pp. 63-67; Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain*, chs. 3, 4, pp. 149-268; Dunn, *The Christianization of Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 101-135; Wormald, *The Times of Bede*, pp. 135-166. Also, see C. Stancliffe, "Oswald, Most Holy and Victorious King of the Northumbrians", in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, C. Stancliffe, E. Cambridge (eds.), Stamford 1995.

<sup>46</sup> The earliest place-name was Streonshalh (Streanæshalch), and it was the place where Oswy, the Christian king of Northumbria, founded the first abbey, under the abbess Hilda, see, Bede, *EH*, III, 24. In 867 the town was destroyed by Viking raiders, and was re-founded in 1078. It was in this period that the town gained its current name, *Whitby*, (from "white settlement" in Old Norse). The Synod of Whitby was held there in 664, see Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 25. Also see, B. Lehane, *Early Celtic Christianity*, N. York 1968, pp. 189-209; D.J.V. Fisher, *The Anglo-Saxon Age*, Harlow 1973, reprint 2002, pp. 82-85; R. Abels, "The Council of Whitby: A Study in Early Anglo-Saxon Politics", *Journal of British Studies* 23 (1984) 1-25; P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity*, Oxford 2003<sup>2</sup>, pp. 360-361; Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, Pennsylvania State University Press 1991, pp. 103-113; N.J. Higham, *The Kingdom of Northumbria, AD 350-1100*, Stroud 1993, pp. 132-139; C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650-850*, London 1995, p. 289; Wormald, *The Times of Bede*, pp. 210-211; Snyder, *The Britons*, pp. 134-137; V.E. Woods, *Whitby, Wilfrid, and Church-State Antagonism in Early Medieval Britain*, (unpublish. Thesis), Texas 2009, pp. 62-73; F.P. Miller, A.F. Vandome, J. McBrewster (eds.), *Wilfrid: Heptarchy, Vita Sancti Wilfrithi, Synod of Whitby, Oswald of Northumbria, Archbishop of Canterbury, Liturgy, Diocese, Pope Agatho, Monasticism, Celtic Christianity, Rule of Saint Benedict*, Muritius 2009. Also see, P. Hunter Blair, "Whitby as a Centre of Learning in the Seventh Century", in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies presented to Peter Clemoes*, M. Lapidge, H. Gneuss (eds.), Cambridge 1985, pp. 3-32; Χρ. Κουτλουμουσιανός, Ο Θεός των μυστηρίων. Η θεολογία των Κελτών στο φως της Ελληνικής Ανατολής, Άγιον Όρος 2008, pp. 283-284.



for Britain so as to “prevent Theodore from introducing Greek customs –contrary to the real faith– to the church at the head of which he would be”, in my opinion has nothing to do with the suspicion that, as a Greek, Theodore would be likely to teach monothelism, because as accepted by all scholars without exception<sup>47</sup>, his participation in the Lateran Council and his overall activity at the side of Maximus elevated him beyond every suspicion. However it has to do with the possibility to

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Christianity in Britain during the seventh century existed in two forms distinguished by differing liturgical traditions, labelled the “Ionan” and “Roman” traditions. Practically the main differences between the two traditions, and hence a source of controversy, was the proper calculation of Easter, and secondly the monastic tonsure (see above n. 42). The Irish and British churches shared a computus, or method of dating Easter, that was distinct from the system used on the Continent. This is an example of the conservatism, even archaism of Celtic Christianity, like the tonsure. Calculating the proper date of Easter was a complicated process involving a lunisolar calendar. Before the First Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325) there was not a common day of celebration. Many local churches in Asia held their Easter festival on the Sunday after the Jewish Pascha or some others on the fourteenth (Latin *quarta decima*) day of Nisan like Jews. But, the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325) solved the problem and granted that the great Easter festival was always to be held on the first Sunday after the full moon (the Paschal Full Moon) following the vernal equinox. Various tables were produced in antiquity that attempted to calculate Easter for a series of years. Insular Christianity used a calculation table that was similar to one approved by Saint Jerome, like the ancient churches in Asia Minor and Syria. However, by the sixth and seventh centuries it had become obsolete and had been replaced by those of Victorius of Aquitaine and, more accurately, those of Dionysius Exiguus. See, W.M. Stevens, “Easter controversy”, *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 155-157; K. Gerlach, *The Antinicean Pascha. A Rhetorical History*, Leuven 1998; Roger T. Beckwith, *Calendar and chronology, Jewish and Christian: biblical, intertestamental and patristic studies*, Boston – Leiden 2001, pp. 51-70; T. Morrison, “Computus digitorum for the calculation of Easter”, *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 1 (2005) 85-98; O.M. Cullen, *A question of time or a question of theology: A study of the Easter controversy in the Insular Church*, (unpublish. Diss.), Maynooth 2007; B. Ward, *A True Easter: The Synod of Whitby 664 AD*, Oxford 2007; A.A. Mosshammer, *The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era*, Oxford 2008, pp. 59-71, 339-356; Woods, *Whitby, Wilfrid, and Church-State Antagonism in Early Medieval Britain*, pp. 49-61; G. Declercq, “Dionysius Exiguus and the Introduction of the Christian Era”, *Sacris Erudiri* 41 (2002) 165-246. The early material referring to the Celtic tonsure emphasizes its distinctiveness from the Roman alternative and invariably connects its use to the Celtic dating of Easter. Those preferring the Roman tonsure considered the Celtic custom extremely unorthodox, and associated it with the form of tonsure worn by the heresiarch Simon Magus. See, E. James, “Bede and the Tonsure Question”, *Peritia* 3 (1984) 85-98; N. Venclova, “The Venerable Bede, druidic tonsure and archaeology”, *Antiquity* 76 (2002) 458-471; D. McCarthy, “On the Shape of the Insular Tonsure”, *Celtica* 24 (2003) 140-167; J.R. Wright, *A Companion to Bede: A Reader’s Commentary on the Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Cambridge 2008, pp. 85, 89-90, n. 33; also see and above n. 42. Once the decision of the Synod of Whitby had been handed down from the king Oswy, Bishop Colman and all those sympathetic to the Celtic cause departed solemnly. After returning home to Lindisfarne to speak with the Irish monks there, Colman and all his fellow monks departed back home to Ireland where they would be free to practice their religion as they desired for the time being. The English episcopate, which had been held by the Irish for 30 years, had been transferred to the Romans as a result of the Synod and King Oswy’s decision. See, M. Grimmer, “Columban Christian influence in Northumbria, before and after Whitby”, *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 4 (2008) 99-123. For the Bede position towards to indigenous Britons, see T.M. Charles-Edwards, “Bede, the Irish and the Britons”, *Celtica* 15 (1983) 42-52; Cl. Stancliffe, *Bede and the Britons*, Whithorn 2007; J.E. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795*, Edinburgh 2009, pp. 187-193; W.T. Foley, N.J. Higham, “Bede on the Britons”, *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009) 154-185.

<sup>47</sup> See, Lapidge, “The career of Archbishop Theodore”, in *Archbishop Theodore*, p. 25, and above n. 70. For the Orthodox Christology of Theodore, see J. Siemens, *The Christology of Theodore of Tarsus. The Laterculus Malalianus and the Person and Work of Christ*, Turnhout 2010.

appreciate and adopt the spirit of the Celtic Christianity, as he was so close to the spirituality of the East, which he brought with him<sup>48</sup>.

The situation in the Church of England when Theodore arrived, on May 669, was this: The Canterbury see had remained vacant for five years and consequently because of the prolonged lack of an archbishop the Church had been generally disorganized and many abnormal situations had come up. In addition, there was also plague, which caused the death of the Archbishop of Deysdedit. All these facts influenced many other bishops<sup>49</sup>. The kingdoms of Mercia, Wessex, East Anglia and Kent did not have bishops. Only York had one, the un-canonical Chad, and London the simoniac Wine<sup>50</sup>.

### **Theodore's actions in England: Key events.**

#### **a. The Synod at Hertford (672 or 673 AD)**

Theodore, along with Abbot Hadrian<sup>51</sup>, after the latter arrived the following year, took a great tour in order to get to know closely the problems and needs of the new country. The first impressions were disappointing because there were no priests or abbots in the monasteries and parishes, not even in schools. Another big problem was also the extensive and largely vague jurisdictions of the dioceses. After the first settlements, Theodore was able to convene the first Synod of the Church of Britain, which took place in Hertford, on the river Lee, at the borders between Essex and Mercia on September 672 or 673<sup>52</sup>. The bishops Eleuthere of Winchester, Bifus (or Bisi) of Dunwich, Putta of Rochester and Winfrith of Lichfield participated in the synod. Admittedly Bede does say that also present were "many other teachers of the

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<sup>48</sup> See, Θ. Παπαθανασίου, Ε. Ταμαρέση-Παπαθανασίου, *Δρόμοι Κελτών. Δρόμοι Σαξόνων*, Αθήνα 2002; Χ. Κουτλουμουσιανός, *Ο Θεός των μυστηρίων. Η Θεολογία των Κελτών στο φως της Ελληνικής Ανατολής*, Αγίου Όρους 2008; idem, *Οι εραστές της βασιλείας. Συνάντηση Κελτικού και Βυζαντινού μοναχισμού*, Αγίου Όρους 2009.

<sup>49</sup> See, J.R. Maddicot, "Plague in seventh-century England", *Past and Present* 156 (1997) 7-54.

<sup>50</sup> See, Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford – New York 2001, pp. 132-142; Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 68-69; Dunn, *The Christianization of Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 109-127.

<sup>51</sup> Hadrian suggested Theodore's name to Pope Vitalian as a possible candidate for the vacant see of Canterbury, and he was the companion of Archbishop Theodore's journey to England, and of his archiepiscopacy at Canterbury. Later Hadrian became abbot of the monastery of SS Peter and Paul (later St Augustine's) in Canterbury on his arrival in (probably) 670, and held that appointment until his death, probably in 709. See, A.S. Cook, "Hadrian of Africa, Italy, and England", *Philological Quarterly* 2 (1923) 241-258; Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 82-132. See nn. 4, 52, 67.

<sup>52</sup> Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 5. The ambiguity in the dating turns on our interpretation of Bede's understanding of dating by *annus Domini*, indiction and the 3rd regnal year of King Ecgfrith of Northumbria. See, S. Wood, "Bede's Northumbrian Dates Again", *English Historical Review* 98 (1983) 284; Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 134, n. 4. On the Council of Hertford, see, C. Heath, *The First Unity. The Story of the Synod of Hertford, A.D. 673*, Hertford 1971; Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, pp. 249-250. Bishop Wilfrid represented by proxy; he was undoubtedly opposed to the archbishop's scheme for an increase of the episcopate. Wilfrid administered his diocese diligently and with magnificence, receiving the sons of nobles as his pupils and, though ascetic in his personal habits, keeping great state and spending much, especially on buildings, for gifts were showered upon him. His diocese extended over all Bernicia and Deira, and in 678 also over Lindsey. See, Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 72-75; Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 130-139; H. Pettiau, "Wilfrid, Willibrord et les conceptions d'autorité ecclésiastique de part et d'autre de la Mer du Nord (fin VIIe-début VIIIe siècle)", in *De la mer du Nord à la mer Baltique. Boulogne-Sur-Mer, 15-17 Octobre 2009*, forthcoming in print,

[<http://wwwuser.gwdg.de/~aklammt/Pettiau%20Wilfrid%202.pdf>]

Church who both understood and loved the canonical statutes of the Fathers". The decisions of the Synod at Hertford, ten in number, aimed at consolidating the Roman ritual and organizing the administration of the Church of Britain<sup>53</sup>. During the first part, the time and way Easter would be celebrated according to the Roman order was confirmed, indicating at the same time that the Celtic customs would be rejected, which had already happened at the Synod of Whitby (664)<sup>54</sup>, but now, in a theoretical level it was imposed all over England<sup>55</sup>. What is more, canons were issued regarding the life and good order of the Church and its members, such as independence of dioceses and prohibition of intruding other bishops in foreign dioceses, which was very common in the past; prohibition of usurping and appropriating monastery assets by the bishops<sup>56</sup>; prohibition of monks' wandering around uncontrolled,

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<sup>53</sup> See, K. Hughes, "Evidence for contacts between the churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age", in *England before the Conquest. Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, Cambridge 1971, pp. 49-68; Wright, *A Companion to Bede*, pp. 93-95. The Acts of the Synod is not survive as a corpus, so W. Levison tried to reconstruct them through various available sources, "Die Akten der römischen Synode von 679", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 23 (1937) 249-282; 50 (1938) 672-674. From the canons promulgated at that synod, it should in theory be possible to identify the *liber canonum* which Theodore was using. We are able to show that the ten canons promulgated by Theodore had their closest parallels in canons from the councils of Nicaea, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Chalcedon, Sardica and Africa (Carthage), as well as the so-called 'Apostolic Canons', but the wording of them cannot be matched precisely in any earlier collections. The sources identified, therefore, are sources of inspiration rather than of verbatim borrowing, see M. Brett, "Theodore and the Latin Canon Law", in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 120-140. What is more certain, however, is Theodore's knowledge of canon law, that is, the ecclesiastical law embodied in the canons or proclamations of oecumenical or local church councils. The survived biblical commentaries of Canterbury contain definitions of legal terms which have close parallels in the Justinianic *Digest*, which, as we have seen, implies that Theodore had spent some time in Constantinople studying civil law. Such an implication appears to be borne out by the traces of Justinian's *Corpus juris civilis* which have been detected in Theodore's *iudicia* and other early Anglo-Saxon texts, and the collection of Dionysius Exiguus, see, Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 147-155. Also, see Th. Charles-Edwards, "The Penitential of Theodore and the *Judicia Theodori*", in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 141-174, and above n. 37. I think that the main core of Theodore's ecclesiastical legislation on the canons of the Synod of Hertford, inspired by the New Testament (Mat. 5.31-32) and the *Letters* of Saint Basil, see Brett, "Theodore and the Latin Canon Law", p. 127, n. 27.

<sup>54</sup> See above n. 47.

<sup>55</sup> The common Easter cululation in British Isles took much time after the Synod of Whitby (664) to be accepted by all local churches. It was not until 716 that the monks of Iona converted their practice. May be, it was unified not before 760 when Brittons of Wales accepted the common festival of Easter, see M. Grimmer, "Bede and the Augustine's Oak conferences: implications for Anglo-British ecclesiastical interaction in early Anglo-Saxon England", *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 2 (2006) 103-119. The others, the remote Scots and Irish much more later, see K. Harrison, "Easter cycles and the equinox in the British Isles", *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978) 1-80; H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Bede and the 'English people'", *Journal of Religious History* 11 (1980-1981) 501-523; J. Grigg, "Paschal dating in Pictland: Abbot Ceolfrid's letter to King Nechtan", *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 2 (2006) 85-101; K. Harrison, "Episodes in the history of Easter cycles in Ireland", in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe*, D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick, D. Dumville (eds.), Cambridge 1982, pp. 307-319; Ó. Cróinín, "Irish provenance of Bede's computus", *Peritia* 2 (1983) 229-247; Stevens, "Easter controversy", pp. 155-157; Th. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 391-410. Also see above n. 47.

<sup>56</sup> Brett, "Theodore and the Latin Canon Law", comments that there is no text in the current collections we can find this principle. But the idea of the inalienable of the church and monastic properties could certainly be found in the canons, 15th of the Council of Ancyra in 314, 26th and 33d of the Council of Carthage in 419, 24th canon of IV Ecumenical Council in 451 which it was reaffirmed by the 120th Novella of Justinian, see I. Κονιδάκης, *Το δίκαιον της μοναστηριακής περιουσίας*, Αθήναι 1979, p. 254;

without permission or letters dimissory from their own abbot; and that they keep the promise of obedience which they made at the time of their profession<sup>57</sup>; both, bishops and clergy, when traveling should be content with the provided hospitality and always take permission by the local bishop for whatever ceremony they might perform<sup>58</sup>. Three canons are directly connected to the administrative organization of the Church: the seventh one scheduled a Council of all bishops twice a year, but as this would be difficult, at least once a year, on August 1st, at Clofeshosh (or Clovesho), in an unknown location, but also relatively convenient for bishops from the south of England, Kent and Northumbria<sup>59</sup>; the eighth one arranged the order of bishops according to their years of service; the ninth one scheduled the increase of number of bishops according to the increase the number of Christians. The last canon expressed more Theodore's intention rather than the Council's will. So, no decision was taken, because there were many difficulties regarding its realization by the

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idem, *Νομική θεώρηση των μοναστηριακών τυπικών*, Αθήνα 1984, pp. 215-219. I think that this canon echoed the prohibition which was established by the *Typicon* of the Holy Lavra of Saint Sabbas the Sanctified near Jerusalem Saint Sabbas in Palestine. Later became the standard of the monastic life and influenced all the related texts in East and West. The prototype does not exist (6 c.) and survived only by a later copy (11 c.), see E. Kurtz, "Τύπος και παράδοσις και νόμος τῆς σεβασμίας λαύρας τοῦ [ἀγίου] Σάββα", *BZ* 3 (1894) 168-170. See, Lapidge's comments on the east-byzantine inspirations of *Judicia, Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 149-155. For the church property and the evolution of legal status in West, see S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, Oxford 2008, pp. 9-32, 152-160.

<sup>57</sup> This gives rise to speculation as to whether this last directive was targeted at Columban/ Irish and Columban/Irish-trained *peregrini*, who reject to have a *stabilitas loci* (stability), like the Roman monks, and wandered around the world. This clause was one of the principles of the militantly coenobitic obligations. For the condemnation of unauthorized departures, see Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 14, PG 31, 949-952, along with the references to canonical legislation on this subject in E. Herman, "La 'Stabilitas loci' nel monachesimo bizantino", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 21 (1955) 115-142; D. Nicol, "Instabilitas Loci: The Wanderlust of Late Byzantine Monks", *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985) 193-202. See more, G. Muschiol, "Zur Spiritualität des Pilgers im frühen Mittelalter", in *Spiritualität des Pilgers: Kontinuität und Wandel*, K. Herbers, R. Plötz (eds.), Tübingen 1993, pp. 25-38; G. Constable, "Monachisme et Pèlerinage au Moyen Âge", *Revue Historique* 258 (1977) 3-27; idem, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages", in *Religious Life and Thought (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, G. Constable (ed.), London 1979, pp. 125-146; idem, *Preface, Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, v. I, Washington, D.C. 2000, pp. xvii-xviii; K. Hughes, "On an Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints", in *Church and Society in Ireland, A.D. 400-1200*, D. Dumville (ed.), London 1987, pp. 302-331; M. Dietz, *Wandering monks, virgins, and pilgrims: ascetic travel in the Mediterranean world, A.D. 300-800*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA 2005, pp. 69-73. In addition, Theodore required that all clergy who ordained by Columban or indigenous British bishops be reordained by a Catholic bishop, see Hughes, "Evidence for contacts between the churches of the Irish and English", p. 52; D.P. Kirby, "Bede and the Pictish Church", *Innes Review* 24 (1973) 6-25; Stancliffe, "The British Church and the Mission of Augustine", p. 110. Similarly, churches consecrated by Columban/Irish clergy had to be reconsecrated, see Bede, *HE*, III, 25; Grimmer, "Bede and the Augustine's Oak Conferences", p. 117; idem, "Columban Christian influence in Northumbria, before and after Whitby".

<sup>58</sup> The sources of those canons discussed extensively by Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 147-155; Brett, "Theodore and the Latin Canon Law", pp. 120-140; Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, pp. 249-250; idem, "The clergy in early Anglo-Saxon England", *Historical Research* 78 (2005) 273-287.

<sup>59</sup> This ruling represents the inauguration of the first parliamentary system known to have operated in Britain. The councils held at Clovesho, and those generally of the Anglo-Saxon period, were mixed assemblies at which not only the bishops and abbots, but the kings of Mercia and the chief men of the kingdom were present, see S. Keynes, *The Councils of Clofesho*, Leicester 1994; D. Parsons, "St. Boniface – 'Clofesho' – Brixworth", in *Baukunst des Mittelalters in Europa: Hans Erich Kubach zum 75. Geburtstag*, F.J. Much (ed.), Stuttgart 1988, pp. 371-384; M. Gretsch, *Aelfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge 2005, p. 41.

bishops, who were opposed for many reasons e.g. political ones –one bishop in every kingdom– and financial ones-income reduction<sup>60</sup>. At the end, Theodore, exploiting various political changes managed to increase the number of bishops and to divide the geographically vague dioceses; so before the decade ended he had succeeded in reducing the number of bishops to twelve in total<sup>61</sup>. The tenth canon was about the

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<sup>60</sup> In that era many bishops lived in the monasteries, and subjected themselves to the abbot. Many of them were before nobles so they had endowed the monasteries with numbers of households supported by estates. Also, the local Kings offered lands and money to the monasteries occasionally; after the victory over Penda in the battle at the Winwaed, Osuiu king of Northumbria gave twelve estates of ten households for the endowment of monasteries. So, we can understand why Bede thought that it might be difficult for Egbert of York to find land for the endowment of another bishopric in Northumbria where monasteries were so numerous; Ch. Plummer (ed.), *Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, Historiam Abbatum, Epistolam ad Ecgbertum, una cum Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo*, v. I, Oxford 1896, reprint 1946, pp. 410, 411-412; King, *Bede Historical Works*, II, pp. 465-466. See more, Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 138-139; P. Hunter Blair, S. Keyne, *An introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge reprint 2003, pp. 148-150; S. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 87-96.

<sup>61</sup> The strategic aim of Theodore was to fulfil the plan of Pope Gregory, who intended Augustine, during the first mission, to be the metropolitan archbishop of the southern part of the British Isles, and gave him authority over the British clergy. In 601 Mellitus, Justus and others brought the pallium for Augustine and a present of sacred vessels, vestments, relics, books, and the like. The pallium was the symbol of metropolitan status, and signified that Augustine was in union with the Roman papacy. Gregory directed the new archbishop to ordain as soon as possible twelve suffragan bishops and to send a bishop to York, who should also have twelve suffragans. Augustine did not carry out this papal plan, because in a series of meetings with the local bishops refused to acknowledge this, nor did he establish the primatial see at London as Gregory intended, as the Londoners remained heathen. Augustine only did consecrate Mellitus as bishop of London and Justus as bishop of Rochester, see above n. 45. That reorganisation by the archbishop Theodore, among others, aimed to cut off the bonds with the other side of the Channel Frankish churches. The Frankish Church was very well established and it was habitual in its use of nepotism in appointments to high ecclesiastical office. This nepotism was not accomplished without rancour, and the bishops behaved like barons. This behaviour throughout Gaul did not endear the Frankish church to the Popes of Rome. So, Theodore believed that by having a good number of bishops in England, the local church should be able to consecrate bishops locally without the help of the bishops of the Continent and so bypass completely the taint of corruption from the intervening Gallic church, see, Bede, *HE*, IV, 5; Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 138-139; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 134-135; Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 134-139. There is later proof that the above plan of new organisation of the Church of England was customised with the Pope's order. When Wilfrid quarrelled with Ecgfrith, the Northumbrian king, Theodore took the opportunity to implement his reforms despite Wilfrid's objections. In place of the single Northumbrian diocese, three new dioceses were created: Deira (with its see at York), Bernicia (with its see either at Lindisfarne or Hexham) and Lindsey. After Ecgfrith expelled him from York, Wilfrid travelled to Rome to appeal to the papacy. His case was heard by Pope Agatho and a synod of Italian bishops in October 679 was approved (an important synod which decided that the See of Rome take part in the VIth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople, (see below nn. 73-76), which reached a compromise whereby Wilfrid was to be restored to the see of York but that the Northumbrian diocese was to remain divided. See, Bede, *HE*, XIX, 5 and the comments from Wright, *A Companion to Bede*, pp. 121-122; Stephen of Ripon, *Vita sancti Wilfridi*, chs. 24-32 (B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, Cambridge 1927, reprint 1985, pp. 48-66). When the same problem arose after the Norman invention of the supremacy of the See of York over Canterbury, there appeared a forged copy of the *acta* of the above synod, which supported the rights of York, see M. Gibbs, "The Decrees of Agatho and the Gregorian Plan for York", *Speculum* 48 (1973) 213-246; C. Cubitt, "Finding the forger: an alleged decree of the 679 Council of Hatfield", *English Historical Review* 114 (1999) 1217-1248; Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 140, n. 24.

indissoluble of the marriage except for adultery and the need to make efforts for reconciliation<sup>62</sup>.

### **b. The Synod at Hatfield (679)**

The other important fact in this direction, which took place soon after the Synod at Hertford, was the Synod at Hatfield<sup>63</sup>. As Bede tells us, Pope Agatho sent John the Archicantator (precentor) of St. Peter and abbot of the monastery of St. Martin from Rome<sup>64</sup> to England to ascertain the state of the orthodox faith of the local church<sup>65</sup>. For this cause, John brought a copy of the Latin text of the Acts of the Lateran Council (649) so that the Church of England would sign it. The abbot Benedict Biscop accompanied John during his way back to England, so that ecclesiastic music would be taught to the monasteries the latter had founded in Jarrow and Wearmouth<sup>66</sup>.

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<sup>62</sup> Besides the other Canonical collections, which may have been brought by Theodore in England, some obvious sources are the New Testament (Mat. 5.31-32) and the works of St Basil of Caesarea; see Brett, "Theodore and the Latin Canon Law", p. 127, n. 27.

<sup>63</sup> The standard view locates the site of the synod at Hatfield in Hertfordshire north of London, but N. Higham, *The Kingdom of Northumbria, AD 350 -1100*, Stroud 1993, pp. 87-89, pointed that it is located in a region of the former small kingdom of Hatfield, bordered by Deira, Elmet, Mercia and Lindsey and centred on Hatfield Chase, where in 616 there took part the battle of the river Idle and the king Rædwald of East Anglia killed Ethelfrith of Northumbria, and conquered the kingdom of Elmet. This was a region accessible from East Anglia, Northumbria and Mercia. This opinion followed by McClure, Collins, *Bede. The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, p. 405.

<sup>64</sup> John was the abbot of St. Martin's abbey one of those adjacent to St Peter's church and responsible for the maintenance there of the round of daily services. John upon his return to Rome, soon after crossing the sea, fell sick and died; and his body, for the sake of St. Martin, in whose monastery he presided, was carried to Tours by his friends and honorably buried. The *Acts of the Synod Hatfield* transported to Rome by his fellows; see Bede, *HE*, IV, 18 [16]. For John and his office, see W. Apel, "The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 9 (1956) 118-127; Ch.M. Atkinson, "The Earliest Agnus Dei Melody and its Tropes", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (1977) 1-19; M. Fassler, "The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation", *Early Music History* 5 (1985) 29-51.

<sup>65</sup> *HE*, IV, 17 [15].

<sup>66</sup> Benedict Biscop (628-690) was to become the founder of St Peter in Wearmouth (674) and St. Paul in Jarrow (682), where Bede lived as a monk and wrote the history of the abbots of above two monasteries, "The Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth & Jarrow", see King, *Bede Historical Works*, II, pp. 392-445; D.H. Farmer (introduction), J.F. Webb (translation), *The Age of Bede. Bede: Life of Cuthbert. Eddius Stephanus, Life of Wilfrid. Bede: Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow. The Anonymous History of Abbot Ceolfrith with the Voyage of St Brendan*, revised ed. London 1998. Bede, salutary to recall, that he accompanied Theodore from Rome to Canterbury, acting as his interpreter (in England as well as on the Continent, presumably). On their arrival he became abbot of the monastery of SS Peter and Paul in Canterbury, a post which he subsequently relinquished to Hadrian two years later and went to Rome for a third time, for the purpose of bringing home the literary treasures which he had already collected (see above nn. 4, 52). He returned in about 672, bringing with him a large collection of valuable books and resided to Northumbria, where King Eegfrith gave him land near the mouth of the Wear, on which he founded the famous Monastery of Wearmouth. Workmen were brought from France to build and glaze the church and monastery, this being one of the earliest instances of the use of glass for windows in England. He also introduced from Gaul and Rome (which he visited again in 687) church utensils and vestments, relics, pictures, images, and again a vast number of books. He also brought with him John, archicantator (arch-chanter) of St Peter's, who introduced the Roman choral service. On his return from this visit to Rome, King Eegfrith presented him with more land on the other side of the Wear, at a place called Barrow, on which he built a second monastery, dependent on Wearmouth. Benedict made his fifth and last journey to Rome in 687, and, as on former occasions, came home laden with books and pictures,

St. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, (668-690 AD)

Indeed, Archbishop Theodore summoned the Council of Hatfield on September 17, 679<sup>67</sup>, where Benedict Biscop<sup>68</sup> and Wilfrid<sup>69</sup> were among the participants. During this Council, on one hand the unity of the Church of England around the archbishop Theodore, and on the other hand its doctrinal place against all heresies that had appeared by that time were confirmed. In this last one, all the great heretics were excommunicated and the faith to the decisions of the five Ecumenical Synods and the last great Lateran Council, which had been summoned by Pope Martin in Rome (649), was confessed<sup>70</sup>.

The fact that the Church of England sent and signed the Acts of the Lateran Council has nothing to do with the doctrinal position of the local church in question, as Bede implies and many scholars repeat later<sup>71</sup>. According to them, this suspicion is due to Theodore's Byzantine origin, combined to Pope Vitalian's observation that when Theodore was sent to England, abbot Hadrian was sent with him to take care and be alert so as to avoid the intrusion of Greek habits into the Church of England<sup>72</sup>. As evidence demonstrates, these assumptions lack in basis and ground.

The Acts of the Lateran Council were used as a working text, which on one hand put the framework of the theological discussions and on the other hand dictated the character of the Council decision, which could only be anti-monothelite, similar to the decision of the Council 30 years earlier than the one of Lateran, as it

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bringing with him also, according to Bede, two silk palls "of incomparable workmanship". Shortly after his return from Rome he was seized with palsy. He died on the 12th of January, 690. See, E. Fletcher, *Benedict Biscop*, (Jarrow Lecture), Parish of Jarrow 1981; Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede*, pp. 155-183; Wormald, *The Times of Bede*, pp. 3-29. Cf. Collins, McClure, "Rome, Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow: Three Viewpoints on Augustine's Mission".

<sup>67</sup> On the date, see R. Poole, "The Chronology of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Ecclesiastica* and the Councils of 679-80", *Journal of Theological Studies* 20 (1919) 24-40, esp. pp. 29-30, 33-35; K. Harrison, *The Framework of Anglo-Saxon History to A.D. 900*, Cambridge 1976, p. 83; E. Fryde, D. Greenway, S. Porter, I. Roy (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, Cambridge reprint 2003, p. 587.

<sup>68</sup> Bede, *HE*, IV, 18 [16]. See the comments of Wright, *A Companion to Bede*, pp. 101-103.

<sup>69</sup> Historians have been divided over Wilfrid. His followers commissioned Stephen of Ripon to write a *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* (*Vita sancti Wilfridi*) shortly after his death, and the medieval historian Bede also wrote extensively about him; see *HE*, V. Wilfrid lived ostentatiously, and travelled with a large retinue. He ruled a large number of monasteries, and claimed to be the first Englishman to introduce the *Rule of Saint Benedict* into English monasteries. Some modern historians see him mainly as a champion of Roman customs against the customs of the British and Irish churches, others as an advocate for monasticism. See, J. Nankivell, *Saint Wilfrid*, London 2002; F. Miller, A. Vandome, J. McBrewster (eds.), *Wilfrid: Heptarchy, Vita Sancti Wilfrithi, Synod of Whitby, Oswald of Northumbria, Archbishop of Canterbury, Liturgy, Diocese, Pope Agatho, Monasticism, Celtic Christianity, Rule of Saint Benedict*, Muritius 2009. Also see, Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 75-76; Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 140-146; Wright, *A Companion to Bede*, pp. 121-122, and above n. 61.

<sup>70</sup> Bede, *HE*, IV, 17.

<sup>71</sup> Bede noted that Theodore had at that time learned that the Eastern Church had been much perturbed by the heresy of Eutyches, *HE* IV, 17 [15]. Bede's allegation is preposterous: Eutyches and his monophysitism had been condemned two hundred years earlier, at the IVth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451. But Bede, as it was spotted, was neither informed nor interested in Eastern theology. See G. Bonner, "Bede and Medieval Civilization", *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1973) 71-90; Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 141, n. 25; H. Chadwick, "Theodore of Tarsus and monothelitism", in *Logos. Festschrift für Luise Abramowski*, H.C. Brennecke, E.L. Grasmuck, C. Marksches (eds.), Berlin - N. York 1993, pp. 534-544; idem, "Theodore, the English church and the monothelite controversy", in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 88-95.

<sup>72</sup> See above nn. 48, 52.

had a clear prospect, the following Ecumenical Synod. In this way, the Synod at Hatfield submitted its decision to the great Council of Rome, summoned by Pope Agatho after the Easter of 680, as a culmination of the preparatory works of the throne of Rome for the following VIth Ecumenical Synod at Constantinople, summoned by the Emperor Constantine IV Pogonatus (the Bearded) (668-685), during the autumn of the same year in Constantinople in order to solve the perennial problem of the monothelism<sup>73</sup>.

Even though testimony is not available, it is valid to assume that the churches of the Roman order acted in a similar way. Other local churches of the west must have sent the Acts of the Lateran Council, too, in order to create later council decisions with the orthodox anti-monothelite faith confession, as Pope Agatho insinuates in his answering letter to the Emperor<sup>74</sup>. This is clear from the time that the imperial *Sacra* for the convocation of the Ecumenical Synod arrived in Rome, in the mid-678, and Pope Agatho's response (678-681) after the Easter of 680, when he was able to summon the Council in Rome so that the position of the Latin Church is stated collectively and then answer the Emperor<sup>75</sup>. Within this letter he explains that the delay of his answer is not due to negligence but to practical reasons<sup>76</sup>, which is the impossibility to summon local councils at short notice, as the great spread of the Latin Church and the great number of state formations in the West, among which local churches survived, made the delay inevitable, or as it is vividly described in the above-mentioned letter; *in the first place, a great number of us are spread over a vast*

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<sup>73</sup> Emperor Constantine IV sent a letter, a *holy sacra*, (12th August 678), to Pope Donus, proposing a general synod to resolve the Monothelite controversy, see ACO 2/II, 1, pp. 2-10; cf. T. Λουγγής, "Διπλώματα και διπλωματική. Το παράδειγμα της *jussio*", *Σύμμεικτα* 3 (1979) 77, n. 41. The Pope died before receiving the letter, (11 April 678), and his successor, Pope St Agatho, did not reply immediately, see PL 87, 1145-1146. For the Popes of this period see, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, pp. 348-350 = Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, pp. 73-77; H. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes, in the early middle ages*, 1, II, London 1925, p. 20; Economou, *Byzantine Rome and Greek Popes*, pp. 199-244; A. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, v. IV, Amsterdam 1978, pp. 57-59 – M. Λεοντσίνη, *Κωνσταντίνος Στ' (668–685). Ο τελευταίος πρωτοβυζαντινός αυτοκράτορας*, Αθήνα 2006, pp. 161-164. Emperor Constantine, among the others, asked from the Pope to include in the delegation to Constantinople and the abbots of four Greek, Byzantine, monasteries of Rome, *τέσσερις ἀββάδες τῶν τεσσάρων Βυζαντιῶν μοναστηρίων*. Probably the abbots who attend the Council of Lateran (649), see above n. 36. For the VI Ecumenical, or III Synod of Constantinople (680-681), see *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicarum*, (ACO). *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium*, R. Riendinger (ed.), Series secunda, I, II,1-2, Berlin 1990-1992, Greek text and Latin translation. Also see, J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom*, London 1989, pp. 277-280; I. Καρμίρης, *Τα Δογματικά και Συμβολικά μνημεία της Ορθόδοξου Καθολικής Εκκλησίας*, v. I, Αθήνα 1960, pp. 201-224; Π.-Γ. Τσορπατζόγλου, "Κοινωνία και μονοθελητισμός την εποχή της Στ' Οικουμενικής Συνόδου (680-681)", *ΕΕΘΣΑΠΘ/ Τμήμα Ποιμαντικής και Κοινωνικής Θεολογίας* 7 (2001) 237-257; idem, "Εκκλησιαστικό δόγμα και αυτοκρατορική πολιτική. Οι θεολογικές αντιπαραθέσεις του 7ου αι. ως αιτία αλλαγών της εκκλησιαστικής πολιτικής", *ΕΕΘΣΑΠΘ/ Τμήμα Ποιμαντικής και Κοινωνικής Θεολογίας* 12 (2007) 200-210.

<sup>74</sup> See, McClure, Collins, *Bede. The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, pp. 404-405.

<sup>75</sup> See, Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 79-81; Economou, *Byzantine Rome and Greek Popes*, p. 203.

<sup>76</sup> The result of these councils was a lengthy letter from the Pope to the Emperor expounding the orthodox faith, and a detailed confession of faith signed by 125 Latin rite bishops. The Pope sent these documents with his representatives to the conference on Monothelism proposed by Constantine. Both letters read in the fourth session of the Synod, see ACO 2/II, 1, pp. 52, 15-121 and 122-160, 4. The papal delegation consisted of three Latin bishops, three papal legates, and four Greek monks from Sicily and Rome. They reached Constantinople in September 680.



*extent of country even to the sea coast, and the length of their journey necessarily took much time*<sup>77</sup>. He also mentions the anticipation of the council decision of the other churches of the Roman climate, which implies that a council decision similar to the Church of England was taken by the other local Churches; *and to add to these divers bishops of this council who have their sees in different parts, that our humble suggestion [i.e., the doctrinal definition contained in the letters] might proceed from a council of wide-spread influence, lest if only a part were cognizant of what was being done, it might escape the notice of a part; and especially because among the Gentiles, as the Longobards, and the Sclavi, as also the Franks, the French, the Goths, and the Britains, there are known to be very many of our fellow-servants who do not cease curiously to enquire on the subject, that they may know what is being done in the cause of the Apostolic faith*<sup>78</sup>. Although not mentioned in the letter, the work text of all the local councils was apparently the same as the one of the Church of England, meaning the Acts of the Lateran Council. As all churches had the same goal, it can be reasonably assumed that the speculation basis would be the same.

In Pope's letter there is an argument, very strong in my opinion, which contributes to identifying monk Theodore's signature at the Lateran Council with our Theodore<sup>79</sup>. Pope Agatho, among other things he dealt with, mentions specially and by name the fact that archbishop Theodore of Britain could not be present himself at the Synod of Rome, and according to the Pope that was the second reason the response of Rome was late, *moreover we were in hopes of being able to join to our humility our fellow-servant and brother bishop, Theodore, the archbishop and philosopher of the island of Great Britain, with others who have been kept there even till to-day*<sup>80</sup>. In my opinion, this fact has a special value, as Theodore was the last surviving witness of the Lateran Council and the magnificent work fulfilled there. In other words he had become the symbol of an era and of a fight now vindicated by Constantinople, too. What is more, this special mention is considered to conceal the fact that Theodore was known in Constantinople, maybe to the Emperor himself, at least by hearing as one of the survivors following Maximus to the fights for Orthodoxy<sup>81</sup>. The presence

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<sup>77</sup> "πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὅτι ἀναριθμητον πλῆθος τῶν ἡμετέρων μέχρι τῶν κλιμάτων τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐπεκτείνεται, ἥστινος ὁδοῦ τὸ μήκος ἐν πολλῇ καιροῦ παραδρομῇ, διατείνει", ACO 2/II, 1, p. 132, 21-134, 3. Or τὰς ἐσπερίας συνόδους, the western synods, according to the *Synodicon Vetus*; see, J. Duffy, J. Parker (eds.), *The Synodicon Vetus*, Washington, DC 1979, ch. 141, p. 118. After the fall of Rome, the papacy served as a source of authority and continuity in Western Europe; the spiritual jurisdiction of the See of Rome was expanded throughout all the Western Europe and it was recognised by many different kinds of barbarian tribes, realms and kingdoms. See, P. Delogu, "The Papacy, Rome and the wider world in the seventh and eighth century", in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, J.M. Smith (ed.), Leiden 2000, pp. 197-220.

<sup>78</sup> "μετὰ ἄλλων ἐκεῖσε διαγόντων καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐνωθῆναι μετριότητι καὶ διαφοροῦς ταύτης τῆς συνόδου ἐπισκόπους ἐν διαφοροῖς κλίμασι τυγχάνοντας, ἵνα ἐξ ὅλης τῆς κοινότητος τῆς δουλικῆς ἡμῶν συνόδου ἢ ἡμετέρα ἀναφορὰ γενήσεται, μήπως, ἐὰν μονομερῶς πραττόμενον γνωσθῆσεται, τὸ μέρος λάθῃ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν τε Λαγγιβαρδῶν καὶ Σκλάβων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Φράγγων, Γάλλων καὶ Γότθων καὶ Βρετανῶν πλείστοι ἐκ τῶν συνδούλων ἡμῶν εἶναι γνωρίζονται, οἵτινες καὶ περὶ τούτου περιεργάζεσθαι οὐκ ἀφίστανται, ἵνα γνῶσονται τί εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως πράττεται", ACO 2/II, 1, p. 132, 16-21.

<sup>79</sup> See above nn. 39, 40.

<sup>80</sup> "εἴτα ἠλπίζομεν ἀπὸ Βρετανίας Θεόδωρον τὸν σύνδουλον ἡμῶν καὶ συνεπίσκοπον τῆς μεγάλης νήσου Βρετανίας ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ φιλόσοπον μετὰ ἄλλων ἐκεῖσε διαγόντων καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐνωθῆναι μετριότητι", ACO 2/II, 1, p. 132, 21-23.

<sup>81</sup> Βλ. Lapidge, "The career of Archbishop Theodore", in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 22-23.

of the same people who participated in similar ecclesiastic facts was sought, where naturally possible, because they acted as living rings of a spiritual chain and bearers of tradition, as obvious as the examples of the seventh century<sup>82</sup>.

### ***Filioque* in the Synod at Hatfield**

From all the council decisions, more attention has been given to its last part, according to which, among others, the double procession of the Holy Spirit was confessed, “and the Son”, the well-known “*filioque*” clause<sup>83</sup>. So, many scholars express the question how a Byzantine like Theodore could accept such an obvious element of contradiction between the East and the West. This question is not justified if it is stated by historians and not by dogmatists. It could be reasonable if the above-mentioned fact was referring to a later era, when the question of “*filioque*” had become the focal point in the relations between the East and the West but not in the seventh century<sup>84</sup>.

So, how did Theodore interpret *filioque*, and why did he have it included? Paradoxical as it seems, Theodore probably came to accept *filioque* through contact with an acclaimed orthodox Father of the Church, Saint Maximus the Confessor (c. 580-662)<sup>85</sup>. We know that he accepted the validity of the word but attributing to it a

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<sup>82</sup> As we saw (above nn. 36, 37) Emperor Constantine asked from the Pope to present at the Synod all the abbots of four Greek (Βυζαντιών) monasteries of Rome.

<sup>83</sup> [...] *glorificantes Deum Patrem sine initio, et Filium eius unigenitum ex Patre generatum ante saecula et Spiritum Sanctum procedentem ex patre et filio inenarrabiliter*, (= glorifying God the Father, who is without beginning, and his only begotten Son generated from eternity, and the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son in an ineffable manner), Bede, *HE*, IV, 17.

<sup>84</sup> *Filioque* =from the Father through the Son. For the history of the interpolation, see E.S. Foulkes, *An historical account of the addition of the words "Filioque" to the creed of the West*, (Occasional paper of the Eastern Church association), London 1867; H.B. Swete, *On the History of the Doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit: From the Apostolic Age to the Death of Charlemagne*, Oxford 1876, reprint Eugene, OR 2004; J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, London 1972<sup>3</sup>, pp. 271-279; J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. 2, The spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)*, Chicago – London 1977, pp. 183-192. Augustine's writings on the Trinity became the foundation of Latin Trinitarian theology and serve as the foundation for the doctrine of the *filioque*. There is an explanation of this, for the edification of his people and in his struggle against the Donatists, Augustine developed and defined more precisely the part played by the Spirit in the Church. The influence of Augustine made *filioque* popular throughout the West. However, it was not adopted in Rome, but the *filioque* became a part of the Latin rite liturgy and was adopted in Emperor Charlemagne's court in 798 and spread through his empire. Although it was in use in parts of Italy by the eighth century, it was not accepted officially in Rome until 1014. More, see J.-C. Larchet, “Introduction”, in *S. Maxime le Confesseur. Opuscules théologiques et polémiques*, Paris 1998, pp. 78-80; idem, *Maxime le confesseur mediateur entre l'orient et l'occident*, Paris 1998, pp. 11-75; idem, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur*, Paris 2003, pp. 129-131; H. Chadwick, *East and West. The Making of a Rift in the Church: From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence*, Oxford 2003, ch. “Augustine: *Filioque*?”, pp. 27-33; J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, London 1977<sup>5</sup>, pp. 358-367; Στ. Παπαδόπουλος, “Αυγουστίνος Ιππώνος (†430). Ο μέγιστος εκκλησιαστικός Πατέρας της Δύσεως”, *Θεολογία* 79 (2008) 468-480; Ν. Ματσούκας, *Δογματική και συμβολική Θεολογία*, II, Θεσσαλονίκη 1985, pp. 129-133; Γ. Μαρτζέλος, “Οι απαρχές και οι προϋποθέσεις του *Filioque* στη Δυτική θεολογική παράδοση”, *Πρακτικά Θεολογικού Συνεδρίου με θέμα «Το Άγιον Πνεύμα»*. Θεσσαλονίκη 11-14 Νοεμβρίου 1991, Θεσσαλονίκη 1992, pp. 381-406 =*Ορθόδοξο δόγμα και θεολογικός προβληματισμός*, Α', Θεσσαλονίκη 2009, pp. 101-131. See also, Tia Kolbaba, *Inventing Latin Heretics: Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century*, Kalamazoo 2008.

<sup>85</sup> See, Bischoff, Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 143-146. See also, J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. 3, The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)*, Chicago – London 1978, pp. 21-22. For the bibliography about Maximus the Confessor, see above nn. 23, 24. For the Orthodox Christology of Theodore, see J.

different interpretation. Maximus, in his letter to Marinus claimed that when the Romans, use *filioque* “do not make the Son the cause of the Spirit, for they know that the Father is the one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the one by begetting and the other by procession, but they show the progression through him and thus the unity of the essence”<sup>86</sup>. Another question rising is whether or not Theodore and Maximus understood *filioque* to mean that the Spirit proceeds eternally from the Son or that He was sent in time through the Son<sup>87</sup>. Certainly the inclusion in Hatfield’s Acts of the phrase “One God subsisting in three consubstantial Persons of equal glory and honour” affirms that *filioque* was not intended to relegate the Holy Spirit to a lower position than the Father and the Son. Which is exactly what the Orthodox say *filioque* does when understood as eternal procession. At last, there is no indication/data available that the words ‘and the Son’, ‘*filioque*,’ were actually added into the text of the Nicene Creed in England.

Theodore from Tarsus of Cilicia pontificated the Archdiocese of Canterbury for 22 years in a row. In the year 690, September 19<sup>th</sup>, Theodore died, aged 88, and he was buried, in the Monastery which St Augustine had founded in Canterbury ninety years earlier and of which his great friend and colleague St Hadrian was still an Abbot<sup>88</sup>. The years of his pontificate were considered by Bede as the happiest ones

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Siemens, *The Christology of Theodore of Tarsus. The Laterculus Malalianus and the Person and Work of Christ*, Turnhout 2010.

<sup>86</sup> PG 91, 135 AB. St. Maximus the Confessor (CPG 7697.10), *Ad Dominum Marinum Cypri presbyterum*, (=Ἰστον ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τὸν κύριον Μαρίνον τὸν πρεσβύτερον=Letter to the priest Marinus of Cyprus), PG 91, 134D-138C. According to Sherwood, *An annotated Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor*, pp. 53-54, this letter dates from 645-646 and written while Maximus was in Carthage. He points out in that letter the problem of the difficulties and differences of the language to understand correctly the real theological meaning, “the Romans have therefore been accused of things of which it is wrong to accuse them [...] One should [...] keep in mind that they cannot express their meaning in a language and idiom that are foreign to them as precisely as they can in their own mother-tongue, any more than we can do», 135 A. See, A. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, London – N. York 1996, pp. 179-190; A. Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype*, pp. 71-85; idem, “The Greek Patristic Testimonia Presented at the Council of Florence (1439) in Support of the Filioque Reconsidered”, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 58 (2000) 149-165; idem, “The epistula ad Marinum Cypri presbyterum”, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 94 (2001) 545-554; I.A. McFarland, “‘Naturally and by grace’: Maximus the Confessor on the operation of the will”, *Scottish Journal of Theology* 58 (2005) 410-433; A.E. Siecienski, “The Authenticity of Maximus the Confessor’s Letter to Marinus: The Argument from Theological Consistency”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 61 (2007) 189-227; idem, *The Filioque History of a Doctrinal Controversy*, Oxford 2010, pp. 73-89.

<sup>87</sup> See, G.C. Berthold, “Maximus the Confessor and the Filioque”, *Studia Patristica* 18.1 (1985) 113-117; Larchet, *Maxime le confesseur mediateur entre l’orient et l’occident*, pp. 11-75; A. E. Siecienski, *The Use of Maximus the Confessor’s Writing on the Filioque at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439)*, [Unpub. Ph. Dis.], Fordham University, N. York 2005, pp. 11-57.

<sup>88</sup> The see of Canterbury was vacant for two years after the death of Theodore before Berhtwald or Brihtwald was elected to the office on 1 July 692. The long vacancy resulted from the disturbed conditions in the kingdom of Kent at the time, as various kings fought for control. The succession to the kingdom was disputed between rival claimants Oswine and Wihtred, and various outside kings, including Caedwalla and Swaefheard raided and plundered Kent. Eventually, Wihtred secured the throne, around 691 or early 692, as Bede names Wihtred as King of Kent, along with Swaefheard, at the time of Berhtwald’s election. Swaefheard, however, is not named as king of Kent after this date. The vacancy may also have occurred because Wilfrid, who was at that point having problems in Northumbria, desired to become Archbishop of Canterbury. A contemporary biographer of Wilfrid, Stephen of Ripon, says that Theodore had wished for Wilfrid to succeed Theodore at Canterbury. Æthelred of Mercia may have supported Wilfrid’s translation to Canterbury also, but despite these desires, the translation did not happen. Berhtwald was consecrated on 29 June 693, having travelled to

since the Anglo-Saxons settled on the island: “for to say all in few words, the English churches received more advantage during the time of his pontificate than ever they had done before”<sup>89</sup>.

Theodore is venerated as a saint on September 19 in all Eastern Orthodox Churches, the Church of England and Roman Catholic Church.

### Résumé

#### **Théodore archevêque de Canterbury (668 -690). Un grec de Tarsus de Cilicie en Angleterre. Remarques et observations sur sa vie**

Théodore qui vécut de 602 à 690, combinait en sa personne un remarquable arc en ciel de cultures et de pays. C’était un Grec de Tarsus de Cilicie qui très certainement fit ses études à Antioche et Constantinople. Plus tard il vécut à Rome en tant que moine et prit part au Concile du Latran aux côtés de Maxime Le Confesseur. Il devint un des plus importants archevêques de Canterbury en Angleterre, assisté par Adrien, un Grec d’Afrique qui vivait à Naples. Il œuvra au sein des peuples Anglais et Celtes pendant vingt et une années et mourut à l’âge de quatre-vingt-huit ans. La plupart de ce que nous savons de Théodore provient directement de Bède Le Vénérable (673-735) dans son *Histoire Ecclésiastique du peuple Anglais*. Naturellement, Bède s’est essentiellement concentré sur la vie de Théodore en Angleterre mais nous parle tout de même un peu de sa vie à Rome. Heureusement des écrits de Théodore lui-même et d’autres ont fourni à des spécialistes quelques informations avant et durant son séjour à Rome. Un peu avant 660 Théodore arrive à Rome et rejoint la communauté monacale d’Orient –très certainement au monastère Saint Anastase, *ad Aqua Salvias*. Pendant son séjour à Rome, il enrichit son héritage culturel grec déjà considérable de connaissances ecclésiastiques et profanes puisées dans la littérature latine. En 667 le siège épiscopal de Canterbury devient vacant et Vitalian choisit Théodore sur les recommandations d’Adrien. Théodore avait 66 ans quand il fut sacré à Rome archevêque de Canterbury le 26 Mars 668 et partit pour l’Angleterre accompagné d’Adrien.

Ils arrivèrent à Canterbury le 27 Mai 669. Bien que frisant les 70 ans, Théodore, plein d’énergie, voyagea dans toute l’Angleterre, inspectant l’Église Anglicane et sacrant des évêques dans des sièges depuis longtemps vacants. Il convoqua le premier concile en Septembre 672/673 à Hertford. Les évêques furent d’accord sur un grand nombre de canons qui prescrivaient leur voie d’action. La plupart de ses propositions, fondées sur de précédents Conciles de l’Église –comme

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France for his consecration as archbishop of Canterbury by Godwin, Archbishop of Lyon. Berhtwald went to the continent for consecration probably because he feared that his election was not supported by all of the kings and bishops. After his consecration, Berhtwald travelled to Rome to obtain the support of Pope Sergius I, who wrote to a number of Anglo-Saxon kings and bishops in support of the archbishop. Two of these letters survive, and their authenticity has been doubted, mainly because they are only preserved as part of the post-Norman Conquest Canterbury-York dispute. Historians have since come to regard the two letters as genuine. Sergius also gave Berhtwald a pallium, the symbol of an archbishop’s authority. See more, *HE*, V.8; Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 76-80; E. Carpenter, *Cantuar: The Archbishops in their Office*, London 1997<sup>3</sup>, p. 22; W.R.W. Stephens, “Berhtwald (c. 650-731)”, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, v. 1, Oxford 2004, revised ed. 2008, p. 343; W.F. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, v. 6, London 1860-76, pp. 178-195.

<sup>89</sup> *HE*, V.8.

la date de Pâques par exemple, l'autonomie des monastères, le séjour de moines chez eux et du clergé dans son diocèse, la non interférence d'évêques dans d'autres diocèses, la question de divorce et autres furent acceptées à l'unanimité. Quelque différend pointa temporairement au début de la division des diocèses mais il fut décidé de convoquer le Concile une fois par an au lieu de deux.

Un autre grand Concile se tint à Hatfield (probablement près de Hatfield Chase) le 17 Septembre 679. Celui-ci apparaît avoir été une rencontre sur la doctrine. L'assemblée s'était réunie initialement pour la venue de l'Abbé Jean de Rome. Il était l'archicantor de Saint Paul à Rome et avait été envoyé par le Pape Agathe pour voir si l'Angleterre "était épurée de toute contamination hérétique", en particulier des monothélites. La visite de l'Abbé Jean faisait partie des préparations du Saint Siège de Rome et de sa participation à la 6<sup>ème</sup> Synode œcuménique imminente. L'Abbé Jean présenta au Concile une copie des Actes du Concile du Latran (649) comme un guide de la foi Orthodoxe. Les membres du Concile affirmèrent leur foi en le Credo, les enseignements des cinq conciles œcuméniques et les doctes accrédités de l'Église. Une mention spéciale du concile du Latran tenu par le Pape Martin qui avait soutenu les enseignements orthodoxes dithélites, en acceptant et en soussignant les actes mentionnés plus haut.

Mention doit être faite à l'inclusion au Concile de Hatfield de la clause du *Filioque* dans le Symbole de Nicée; en l'occurrence que le Saint Esprit s'opère par le Père *et le fils*. Comment Théodore interpréta-t-il le *Filioque* et pourquoi le fit-il inclure? Aussi paradoxal que cela puisse paraître, Théodore en vint à accepter le *Filioque* par le biais de son contact avec Saint Maxime le Confesseur (580-662) orthodoxe très applaudi et Père de l'Église. Nous savons qu'il a accepté la validité du mot mais tout en lui attribuant une interprétation toute différente. Dans une de ses lettres à Marinus (PG 91, 136), Maxime déclare que, lorsque les Romains utilisent *Filioque* "ils ne font pas du Fils l'origine de l'Esprit car ils savent que le Père est l'origine du Fils et de l'Esprit, l'un par l'engence et l'autre par procession, mais ils montrent la progression à travers lui et par conséquent l'unité de l'essence". Une autre question qui se pose est de savoir si Théodore et Maxime ont compris que *filioque* signifie que l'Esprit provient éternellement du Fils ou qu'Il a été envoyé à un moment au travers du Fils. Certainement que l'inclusion dans les actes de Hatfield de la phrase "Un Dieu subsistant en trois Personnes consubstantielles *de mêmes gloire et honneur*" confirme que *filioque* n'était pas voué à reléguer le Saint Esprit à une position inférieure au Père et au Fils. Ce que justement disent les Orthodoxes font faire à *filioque* quand il est interprété comme une éternelle procession. Enfin il n'existe aucune indication concernant les mots 'et le fils', 'filioque' ayant été rajoutés au texte du Symbole de Nicée en Angleterre.

Le 19 Septembre de l'an 690; Théodore mourut à l'âge de 88 ans. Il fut enterré dans le monastère que Saint Augustin avait fondé quatre-vingt-dix ans plus tôt et dont son ami cher et collègue, Adrien, était encore l'Abbé. Le dernier jugement de Bède sur l'office de Théodore fut: "pour tout dire en quelques mots, les églises Anglaises ont tiré beaucoup plus d'avantage durant son pontificat que ce qu'elles ne l'avaient fait jusqu'alors". Théodore est vénéré comme un saint, le 19 Septembre, par toutes les églises orthodoxes d'Orient, l'Église d'Angleterre et l'Église Catholique Romaine.

**Keywords**

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, Celtic Christianity, British Christianity, Maximus the Confessor, Lateran Synod, Synod of Hatfield, Synod of Hertford, *Filioque*.

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**Geoffrey Malaterra as a military historian for the Norman expansion in Italy and Sicily – strengths and weaknesses in his narrative**

One of the most prominent chroniclers of the Norman infiltration in southern Italy and Sicily was Geoffrey Malaterra, who was recruited by Roger Hauteville to write his “Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his brother Duke Robert Guiscard”. This paper will examine Malaterra as a “military historian” of the Norman expansion in southern Italy and Sicily, from the 1040s to the Illyrian invasion of 1081, and compare his work with other contemporaries like William of Apulia, Amatus of Montecassino and Anna Comnena.

A series of questions that will be addressed are: to what extent are the figures he provides for army size, reliable, both in absolute numbers and in the ratios given between cavalry and infantry? What is our chronicler’s knowledge of the local geography where the military operations took place, and to what extent – if at all – was he familiar with the terrain of the battles or sieges, or the campaign routes of armies which he describes? How accurate or detailed is his description of castles and fortifications? To what extent does Malaterra date major military events, and how far does his narratives permit the accurate reconstruction of the sequence of events?

But before I go into the analysis of the aforementioned questions, I will focus on the issue of Malaterra’s impartiality as a historian, thus referring to some very basic points in his social and educational background, the date and place of the compilation of his work, his own sources and the way he collected his information from them, his bias and sympathies. Although we know very little of Malaterra’s life, he himself noted in the preface of his work that he had come from a region “beyond the mountains”, that is the Alps, and that he had recently become an Apulian and, indeed, a Sicilian<sup>1</sup>. We presume that he was most likely born in Normandy, although that cannot be established with certainty<sup>2</sup>. We know, however, that he was a monk before coming to Sicily at the request of Count Roger, who wished to re-establish the power of the Latin Church in the island right after its complete conquest from the Muslims in 1091, and he was asked to assist in the administration of the new Episcopal see of Catania. Thus, he began writing his work probably in the late 1090s and certainly before July 1099, to immortalize Roger Hauteville’s achievements, entertain the Count and his courtiers and strengthen the claims of his sons, Simon and Roger, against those of their cousin, the son of Robert Guiscard, Roger Borsa, to the island of Sicily. Malaterra was not an eyewitness himself, and his sources were primarily oral, gathered from people who had witnessed the events. But like William

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<sup>1</sup> Goffredus Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis Fratris Eius Auctore Gaufrido Malaterra*, RIS, vol. 6, p. 4; Geoffrey Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his Brother Duke Robert Guiscard*, ed. and tr. Kenneth B. Wolf, Ann Arbor 2005, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Although recent studies have cast doubt on Pontieri’s conviction that Malaterra was indeed a Norman simply because the chronicler refers to the Norman knights as *nostri*: Ernesto Pontieri, *De Rebus Gestis*, p. iv. Compare with the commentary by Wolf in: *The Deeds of Count Roger*, pp. 6, 7, especially n. 6; and Taviani-Carozzi, who argues that Malaterra was almost certainly born in Normandy: Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, *La terreur du monde, Robert Guiscard et la conquete Normande en Italie*, Paris 1996, p. 18.

of Apulia, he does not identify any of his sources and we do not know whether they were knights, foot soldiers, other followers of the Norman army, or the count himself. The edition that I used for this paper is by Kenneth Baxter Wolf, published in 2005. And although the translation itself is very accurate, if somewhat literal, and thus not always easy to read, the most significant flaw is the author's use of Ernesto Pontieri's 1927 edition which has been criticised, not least since it was not based on all the surviving manuscripts, and because he chose an inferior manuscript for the basis of his text<sup>3</sup>.

The question of numbers can be a tough one indeed; for contemporary chroniclers who reported the size of an army or opposing armies in a battlefield are rarely reliable in the figures they give. Their estimates would have been affected by the inherent tendency of such narratives to exaggerate; by bias towards friends or foes; and, unless the chronicler had taken part in an expedition, the reliance on oral testimony from eye-witnesses which always bears the great risk of miscalculation or inflation. Other reasons may include the time when a chronicler might be writing his account, while there is always the case when a number of knights might have dismounted or lost their horses for several reasons (battle casualties, fatigue, disease), thus counted as infantry by inexperienced chroniclers in military affairs<sup>4</sup>.

Unfortunately for modern historians, Malaterra's numbers are few and, in many cases, over inflated. The first significant point that I want to make is the difference in the frequency of the troop estimates that appear in the first three books of the *De Rebus*, which most likely reflects the author's focus on a specific operational theatre, that of Sicily. Malaterra provides us with seven troop estimates in the first book of his work that covers the period up to the siege of Reggio in 1059, while in his third book which examines the Norman expansion after the conquest of Palermo up to Roger Borsa's coronation in 1085 his numbers are just four in total. However, our author gives us nearly three times as many estimates in his second book, covering the Sicilian invasion from the capitulation of Reggio in 1059 to the fall of Palermo in 1072. Thus, for the pitched battles against the Byzantine troops in 1041, Malaterra only provides information about the size of the Norman cavalry force at Olivento which numbered some 500 knights – a reasonable number considering nearly a quarter of a century's fighting – while the Byzantine *strategos* is said to have had under his command some 60,000 troops – surely an impossible number<sup>5</sup>. For the two other battles of that year, Ofanto and Montepeloso, along with the battle against the papal army at Civitate twelve years later, very little is known regarding the numbers of the opposing armies or the composition of their units and we have to rely on vague comments made by other contemporary chroniclers like Amatus of Montecassino, William of Apulia and Skylitzes. For example, Amatus tells us that at

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<sup>3</sup> A new edition of the Latin text is currently in preparation, by Marie-Agnès Avenal of the University of Caen. I would like to thank Professor Graham A. Loud for sending me his book review of K.B. Wolf's edition, published in: *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 50 (2007) 222-224.

<sup>4</sup> For all of these difficulties in reporting the figures of armies in the Middle Ages see: J.F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages, From the Eighth Century to 1340*, trans. by S. Willard, R.W. Southern, Woodbridge 1997, pp. 5-9; John France, *Victory in the East, A Military History of the First Crusade*, London 1999, pp. 122-142; John F. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565-1204*, London, 1999, pp. 99-106.

<sup>5</sup> Malaterra 1.19.



Montepeloso the Byzantine Catepan had brought with him a force of Varangian heavy infantry from the capital which could not have been bigger than 2,000-3,000 troops<sup>6</sup>, while William talks about reinforcements called from Sicily – perhaps once again no more than 3,000 strong although he does fail to provide us with numbers<sup>7</sup>, But apart from these unreliable estimates, the only other number that Malaterra notes in his first book is the number 60 for both Robert Guiscard's Slav unit of household troops and his brother's household contingent, numbers which seem relatively reasonable<sup>8</sup>.

Since Malaterra's focus is Roger Hauteville's military career in Sicily, we have 17 estimates of the size of armies in the second book of the *De Rebus*. He repeats the same number for Roger's household – 60 knights, and he also mentions the number 160 for the cavalry force that Roger took with him in his reconnaissance mission to Sicily some weeks before the main invasion. We also know the number of troops that landed in the area of Messina in May, some 150 in the first wave and 300 in the second, quite reasonable numbers if we compare them to Amatus' very accurate account of 270 and 166 knights respectively<sup>9</sup>. No numbers are given for the Norman landing crafts, however, or the Muslim fleet that was sent to guard the Straits of Messina; again, it is only Amatus who writes that the Norman landing ships were 13, which means that twenty men with their horses were transported in each ship<sup>10</sup>. This significant information confirms the fact that these ships were not designed primarily for transportation, compared to the Byzantine *chelania* which had a loading capacity of about 105-110 men and around 12-20 horses<sup>11</sup>.

Regarding the three land battles against the Kalbite and Zirid Muslims of Sicily in the 1060s, Malaterra gives us the number 700 for the knights that fought the Muslim garrison at Castrogiovanni in 1061. By contrast, the Emir Ibn-al-Hawas had some 15,000 "soldiers" – undoubtedly an inflated number<sup>12</sup>. Malaterra also confirms that Roger's household had grown significantly from 60 to 300 *iuvenes* at this early

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<sup>6</sup> *L'ystoire de li Normant et la Chronique de Robert Viscart par Aimé, moine du Mont-Cassin*, ed. by M. Champollion-Figeac, Paris 1835, II. 24. A modern translation in English: Amatus of Montecassino, *The History of the Normans*, trans. by Prescott Dunbar and revised with notes by Graham Loud, Woodbridge 2004; *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, MGH, SS, vol. 34, II. 66, pp. 298-301.

<sup>7</sup> Guillaume De Pouille, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. and trans. by Marguerite Mathieu, Palermo 1961, I, 328-30, p. 116.

<sup>8</sup> Malaterra 1.16, 1.19, 1.25. Ferdinand Lot was the first to note the frequent use of the number 60 (and its multiples like 600, 6000, 60000) by medieval chroniclers. See: F. Lot, *L'art militaire et les armées au moyen age en Europe et dans le Proche Orient*, (2 vols.), Paris 1946, vol. 1, p. 285, n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Malaterra 2.10; Amatus V.15.

<sup>10</sup> An interesting exception, though, is the number given for the Muslim ships (*golafri*) that arrived to relieve the city of Taormina which was being besieged by Roger in 1079: Malaterra 3.17; another is the fifteen ships that Bohemond took to Illyria in the preliminary conquests before his father's main invasion in June 1081: *Ibid.*, 3.24.

<sup>11</sup> John H. Pryor, Elizabeth Jeffreys, *The Age of the Δρόμων, The Byzantine Navy Ca 500-1204*, Leiden 2006, pp. 123-134, 254-255, 307, 325-330; Donald P. Waley, "Combined Operations in Sicily, A.D. 1060-78", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 22 (1954) 121.

<sup>12</sup> Malaterra 2.17; this number is also confirmed by Ibn-al-Athir (d. 1233): Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 3 vols., Catania 1935, vol. III, n. 1, p. 75; Amatus gives the numbers of 1,000 for cavalry and infantry, but Guiscard had undoubtedly left some of his men to garrison Messina as Malaterra tells us, and so the number 700 must be closer to reality: Amatus V.23.

stage of the Sicilian invasion<sup>13</sup>. For the Norman victory at Cerami two years later, Malaterra reports some 3,000 Muslim horsemen – surely an exaggerated number that follows the 500 Muslim reinforcements from Tunisia – to have been defeated by 136 Norman knights. The number for the dead and prisoners was 15,000 and 20,000 respectively, which are grossly exaggerated. It would certainly seem that the Norman knights were outnumbered by their enemies, but by what ratio it is impossible to tell with any accuracy<sup>14</sup>. This, indeed, calls to mind the epic slaughter of Muslims by Roland and the Franks in the Song of Roland, but I will return to this point about the influence of the *chansons de geste* on our chroniclers in my concluding section. What is disappointing, however, is that none of our contemporary sources gives any estimate for the troops and ships from both sides that were involved in the major sieges of Bari and Palermo.

Even though Malaterra was writing his work many decades after the events he describes took place<sup>15</sup>, the *De Rebus* generally follows a good chronological order. It is very useful in terms of dating the major events of the period, especially if we compare it to other contemporary chroniclers like Amatus, whose structure is mainly thematic rather than chronological, or William of Apulia, whose narrative lacks dating almost completely. But again we find the same focus on the Sicilian operational theatre! Thus, although no dates – or at least indication of seasons – are given in the first half of his first book regarding the Norman expansion in Apulia and Calabria, Malaterra's narrative becomes significantly more detailed after the twenty-seventh chapter. We are informed that the great famine in Calabria took place in 1058 and lasted for the three months of spring (March, April and May)<sup>16</sup>, while next year he reports a local Calabrian uprising against Norman authority and the capitulation of Reggio in the "harvest season"<sup>17</sup>.

The major events that followed the fall of the last Byzantine stronghold in Calabria – Squillace – in 1059<sup>18</sup> are, indeed, very well dated and for the most part of the following two decades he is our primary source. The Norman invasion of Sicily began in the month of May 1061, right after a reconnaissance mission with a few hundred knights the "week before Lent"<sup>19</sup>. One of the most significant military events of that year was their morale-boosting victory over the Muslims of Ibn-al-Hawas at Castrogiovanni, a battle that Malaterra places in 1061 although we can presume from his narrative that this would have taken place sometime in the summer<sup>20</sup>. The second victory over the Muslim garrison of Castrogiovanni is dated by Malaterra in the year 1063, with the summer season also being clearly mentioned while our chronicler further notes the three days of standstill that preceded the battle<sup>21</sup>. Finally, the dating of the battle at Misilmeri is the most significant

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<sup>13</sup> Malaterra 2.17; a number of knights that followed him in plundering raid at Agrigento the following winter: 2.18.

<sup>14</sup> Malaterra 2.32, 2.33.

<sup>15</sup> Something which he himself highlights in the preface of his work – a letter to Bishop Angerius of Catania: Malaterra, p. 3; *The Deeds of Count Roger*, p. 41.

<sup>16</sup> Malaterra 1.27.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 1.32, 1.34.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 1.36.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 2.4, 2.8.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 2.17.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 2.32, 2.33.

information we get from the *De Rebus* – the course of it being practically unknown, which took place in 1068, although not during the siege of Bari as Malaterra's narrative implies<sup>22</sup>.

Malaterra and William of Apulia are our main primary sources for the two great siege operations conducted by Guiscard's army between the years 1068-72. The siege of the Apulian capital – Bari – began in 1068 and it lasted for three years, although no more details are given concerning the chronology of the events that Malaterra describes to have taken place during the siege. We learn only from Lupus Protospatharius that the siege began in the month of August or September of 1068 while the first attempt to bring money and supplies to the people of Bari is reported by the Anonymous of Bari in the year 1069<sup>23</sup>. Also, Guiscard's diversionary expedition with his fleet at Brindisi, in 1070, where he faced a Byzantine naval squadron under Leo Mavrikas is only reported by Protospatharius, Skylitzes and Cecaumenos<sup>24</sup>. Crossing the Straits of Messina, Robert Guiscard took his army from Otranto to Palermo sometime soon after July 1071 and the siege of the city lasted, according to Malaterra, for five months. But again we have no more details regarding any sharp engagements between the Normans and the city's garrison. Regarding other events of the period, four sieges of major Sicilian towns are reported by our chronicler, namely that of Mileto in 1062 where Guiscard besieged his brother, the first siege of Palermo by the Norman forces in the three summer months of 1064 and the siege and surrender of Trapani and Taormina in 1077 and 1079 respectively. Finally, Malaterra provides very useful dates regarding the castle-building activities of the Normans in the 1060s-70s in places like Messina (1061)<sup>25</sup>, St-Marco di Alunsio (1061)<sup>26</sup>, Troina (1062)<sup>27</sup>, Petralia (1066)<sup>28</sup>, Palermo (1071)<sup>29</sup>, Mazara and Paterno (1072)<sup>30</sup>, Mt. Calascibetta (1074)<sup>31</sup>, Trapani and Castronuovo (1077)<sup>32</sup>.

Another crucial point is the geographical knowledge of our chronicler and his degree of familiarity with the area where the events he describes take place. Is his presentation of the battlefields and campsites detailed and accurate enough to track the route of each army? If we begin our analyses with the first book of the *De Rebus*, we can point out Malaterra's lack of detailed knowledge of the local geography of mainland Apulia and Calabria – with the exception of Bari as I will show later on – and his reliance mainly on eyewitness accounts when it comes to place-names, rivers, plains, battlefields and the surrounding regions of major towns and cities. His accounts of the major battles of the period like Olivento, Ofanto, Montepeloso and

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 2.41.

<sup>23</sup> Lupus Protospatharius, *Annales*, MGH, SS, vol. 60, s.a. 1068; Anonymous Barenses, *Chronicon*, RIS, vol. 5, s.a. 1069.

<sup>24</sup> Lupus Protospatharius, s.a. 1071; Ioannes Skylitzes, Georgius Cedrenus, *Synopsis Historiarum*, CSHB, vols. 34, 35, Bonn 1838-39, vol. II, pp. 722-723; Cecaumenos, *Strategicon*, ed. B.Wassiliewsky, V.Jernstedt, Amsterdam 1965, pp. 66-67. Brindisi fell to the Normans shortly before Bari's capitulation.

<sup>25</sup> Malaterra 2.13.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 2.17.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 2.20.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 2.38.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 2.45; *Gesta* III.337-339, p. 182.

<sup>30</sup> Malaterra 3.1.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 3.7.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 3.11, 3.12.

Civitate do not contain any significant geographical information apart from the location itself, and the river that dominated each of the battlefields. In regard to the siege operations against Reggio, he gives no description of the fortifications of the city or its surrounding area, and we must therefore rely on William of Apulia's narrative which in itself lacks important topographical details<sup>33</sup>. Thus, what we suspect is that Malaterra may have not visited these specific places and was drawing information from his sources.

Some Calabrian cities are named by Malaterra when he narrates Guiscard's conquests between the years 1057-59, like Cosenza, Martirano, Nicastro, Maida, Canalea and the river Lamita<sup>34</sup>. In addition, his vague comments like: "He [Roger] traversed the highest peaks and the deepest valleys of Calabria"<sup>35</sup>, or "within a short period of time he [Roger] had secured the allegiance of eleven very strong fortresses"<sup>36</sup> referring to the period following the fall of Reggio, and his mentioning of several unidentified locations – Narencio, Mt-Nichifolo, Guillimaco and Carbonaria<sup>37</sup>, once again makes us believe that he was most likely relying on eyewitness accounts and oral tradition instead of personal experience drawn from any visits in these regions.

The aforementioned argument becomes even stronger if we carry on with our analyses on the second book of the *De Rebus*. For the period up to the battle at Castrogiovanni we can observe the same lack of any geographical information regarding the regions that were taken over by the Normans in the Val Demone (NE of the island), whilst the narrative is full of unidentified places and it even provides us with an anecdote as to how Messina got its name<sup>38</sup>. This does not necessarily imply that Malaterra simply misreported these locations in garbled form; or perhaps his local Sicilian knowledge was so good that he knew tiny places that no longer exist. Rather, I believe, he was trying to piece together information and accounts he got from eye-witnesses and local people. Thus, Roger landed at Clibanus for his second reconnaissance mission in Sicily – a place where "tiles were made"<sup>39</sup>, a rare detail which was probably provided by a local; other camps were struck "at the three lakes near Faro, which are called Praoli" and at the island of St-Jacinto, with both locations being unknown<sup>40</sup>. After Messina was conquered by Guiscard, the Norman army proceeded north and west following the northern coastal route, and marched through the towns of Rometta, Tripi, Frazzano and the "plain of Maniaces" – with the last location being unknown, to the town of Centuripe just south of Troina in the Val Demone<sup>41</sup>. From there the Normans marched south-west to Castrogiovanni through Paterno and St-Felice – another unidentified location where the inhabitants of the town had taken refuge in subterranean caves<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> Malaterra 1.9, 1.10, 1.14, 1.34.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 1.18.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 1.21.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 1.36.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 1.25, 1.26, 1.29, 1.33.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. 2.1.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 2.4.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 2.5, 2.6.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 2.14.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 2.16.

For the major battles of the period, Malaterra's description of the battlefields is surprisingly poor considering that Roger's triumphs over the Muslims are the focus of his work. Neither Malaterra nor Amatus give a detailed description of the surrounding region at Castrogiovanni, apart from the mentioning of the River Dittaino which Malaterra identifies as the *Wadi-el-tin*, although he seems better informed regarding Guiscard's camps after the battle – Naurcio, just south of Castrogiovanni, Calascibetta and Fontium<sup>43</sup>. Perhaps our chronicler got his information from a camp follower of Guiscard's army, which might explain why he has more information about the camp rather than the battle itself. Regarding the battles at Cerami and Misilmeri, Malaterra's narrative is even more disappointing and we can barely identify the place of the battle let alone expecting any details of the terrain where they took place<sup>44</sup>. And this is also the case for the narrative examining the siege operations against the cities of Reggio and Palermo.

There is no description of the fortifications of the Calabrian and the Sicilian capitals and their surrounding regions and not even a hint if these were strong enough or whether they had been recently rebuilt or reinforced due to the danger posed by the Norman raids in the past decades. Only in the case of Palermo, Malaterra does imply that there was an inner fortified town-quarter where some of the citizens took refuge after the Normans had scaled the outer walls, a fact which is also confirmed by William of Apulia, but none of them is more specific regarding the size and location of this part of the city<sup>45</sup>. However, Malaterra seems to be much better informed about the location where Bari was built, implying that our chronicler may have visited the city. Yet no details are provided for the fortifications of Bari or the topography of the region outside the city's walls where some engagements may have taken place. This is, indeed, quite unfortunate if we compare the information we get from Anna Comnena about the location of the town of Kastoria –taken back from the Normans by Alexius Comnenus in 1082<sup>46</sup>– or the fortifications of the city of Dyrrachium: "its wall is interrupted by towers which all round the city rise to a height of eleven feet above it (the wall). A spiral staircase leads to the top of the towers and they are strengthened by battlements. The walls are of considerable thickness, so wide indeed that more than four horsemen can ride abreast in safety"<sup>47</sup>. Anna, however, has taken her information from her uncle – George Palaiologos, a former governor of the city – thus raising a question on the sources which I do not wish to analyse here.

Malaterra's description of battles is not considered to be the best part of his work, especially when we examine his first book and the period prior to the Sicilian invasion. Thus, for the three battles against the Byzantines in Apulia and the battle of Civitate twelve years later, our chronicler only gives us the most basic outline of each battle and we have to rely on other contemporary sources like Amatus and William

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<sup>43</sup> Malaterra 2.17; Amatus V.23.

<sup>44</sup> Malaterra 2.33, 2.41.

<sup>45</sup> Malaterra 2.45; *Gesta* III.255-325, pp. 180-182.

<sup>46</sup> *Annae Comnenae Alexiadis libri XV*, annotationes addidit Ludovicus Schopenus, 2 vols., Bonn 1839-1878, VI. i, p. 269; Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter, London 2003, p. 181.

<sup>47</sup> *Alexiad*, XIII. iii, vol. II, p. 190; Sewter, p. 403; compare with: *The Anonymous Byzantine Treatise On Strategy*, in: *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, ed. and trans. by George T. Dennis, Washington D.C. 2008, 12. 1-56, pp. 34-6.

of Apulia to reconstruct the battle-tactics that were applied by each side. Malaterra does give us the basic protagonists in each battle, like William the Iron-Arm, Drogo and Doukeianos for the battle at Montepeloso or Humphrey as the leader of the Normans at Civitate<sup>48</sup>. But it is William of Apulia who writes about the Normans being placed in the centre of the rebel formation as the most elite and well-equipped unit, and the attack on echelons applied by the Byzantines at Olivento – probably drawing his information from eye-witnesses and oral tradition, being a layman at Roger Borsa's court<sup>49</sup>. For the battle of Civitate, Malaterra's account is the most basic we could have imagined with only a few verses dedicated to the formation of the battle-lines and the battle itself. Once again, it is Amatus, William of Apulia and Leo Marsicanus that give adequate details to reconstruct the basic outline of the battle – the three "battle" formation of the opposite armies with the Swabian infantry forming the centre of the Papal army, the attack of the Norman heavy cavalry and the surrounding and annihilation of the Swabians<sup>50</sup>.

Malaterra's narrative is equally disappointing regarding the three main battles of the Sicilian invasion, considering that he is by far our most detailed source. We have no specific details as to how the events unfolded in 1061 or 1068, apart from the fact that it was the Muslims who attacked the Norman army at Castrogiovanni while Roger's troops engaged the Muslims who had laid an ambush at Misilmeri<sup>51</sup>. If we put aside the anecdotal speech that our chronicler puts in the mouth of Roger before they engage the Muslims at Misilmeri, the course of the battle is practically unknown to us. And even though we are told of the battle-lines drawn at Castrogiovanni – two Norman echelons of 350 knights each commanded by Guiscard and his brother respectively against three Muslim "battles", Malaterra's narrative of the actual engagement is presented in just four verses. As for the battle at Cerami in 1063, Malaterra seems to be drawing more information from oral tradition – judging by the long speeches put in the mouths of Roger and Roussel of Bailleuil just before the battle<sup>52</sup>. Thus, the Normans prevailed in a battle where Serlo's unit forced an enemy force of about 3,000 cavalry men and many infantry to retreat before Roger's force of a hundred knights engaged the enemy by forming two battles (vanguard and rearguard). But the re-grouped Muslim army managed to repel the first Norman attack and move against the rearguard which was commanded by Roger, with the divine intervention of St-George along with Roussel of Bailleuil's exhortations saving the day for the Normans who counter-attacked and forced their enemies to retreat.

### Conclusions

In this paper I have examined Geoffrey Malaterra's *De Rebus Gestis* strictly from a military perspective, reaching significant conclusions about its value for eleventh century historiography of warfare. Every medieval chronicler who reported a campaign had the tendency of inflating the numbers of soldiers reported for various reasons at a time, which becomes even greater when he was not an eye-witness of the events he describes, thus drawing his information from oral tradition,

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<sup>48</sup> Malaterra 1.9, 1.14.

<sup>49</sup> *Gesta* I.260-62, p. 112; that tactic is also attested by: Amatus II.21.

<sup>50</sup> *Gesta* II.183-191, pp. 142, 211-256, 142-146; Amatus III.40; *Chronic. Casin.* II.84, pp. 331-333.

<sup>51</sup> Malaterra 2.17, 2.41.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 2.33.

or when he was writing many years or even decades after the events had taken place. Malaterra is guilty of all these practices. Even though his narrative is focused on a specific operational theatre – Sicily – and thus provides us with many more troop estimates about the Norman expansion in the island than any other contemporary source, we have to be very cautious when examining his numbers as they tend to be inflated. This is especially true when our chronicler is referring to the enemies of the Normans, in an obvious attempt to magnify their victories in the eyes of his readers.

Another major drawback in Malaterra's work is his knowledge of the geography and topography of the regions where the events he describes take place. He is relatively unfamiliar with the local geography of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, largely drawing his information from oral tradition judging by his frequent mentioning of many unidentified places and some sporadic anecdotal details regarding these places, while his description of the battlefields of the period and the towns' fortifications are vague and inadequate. However, Malaterra's dating can be regarded as a strongpoint, focusing largely on Sicily and the period between the years 1061-72, it generally follows a good chronological order and all the major events he examines are dated with accuracy.

Despite the criticism, Malaterra's work is an invaluable source for the Norman expansion in the South. More generally, Malaterra can be useful to the historian in a broader sense, in that for example he gives details of the ways in which Muslim towns were surrendered by negotiation or agreement (before and after 1072), of local allies that helped the Normans expand their dominions, of the Norman religious toleration, of Norman commanders like Roger and his officers, of for example the naval engagement at Syracuse in May 1086. But the length of this paper does not allow me to go into more detail on that<sup>53</sup>.

But we have to ask how does the *De Rebus* value as a historical source compares to other chronicles of the eleventh and twelfth century which documented the Norman achievements in the Italian world? The lack of dating or even the indication of seasons is a major drawback that affects the "histories" of this period – works that have a rather thematic than chronological structure, which includes William of Apulia, Amatus of Montecassino, Orderic Vitalis and the Byzantine historians Skylitzes and Attaleiates – their material being organised according to Imperial reigns; and we have to rely more on the *Annales* – works that are structured around the events of calendar years, like Lupus Protospatharius and the Anonymous of Bari. In addition, we should not expect our sources to provide accurate and detailed geographical and topographical information about battlefields or cities and their surrounding region. It all comes down to the chronicler's eye-witness accounts and the places he had visited himself, with detailed geographical knowledge being quite unusual. Finally, Amatus and William of Apulia also seem much better informed regarding troop and ship estimates; indeed, William being a layman at Roger Borsa's court and interested in the art of war, he seems to scrutinize his sources more than Amatus and especially Malaterra. But the major problem of miscalculation or inflation still remains a major problem for modern historians who

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<sup>53</sup> Graham A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest*, London 2000, pp. 146-185.

have to rely on the cross-examination of the information provided by the primary sources to reach a valid conclusion.

Regarding the description of the major battles and sieges of the period, Malaterra provides only the most basic outline along with the name of the major protagonists, thus again having to rely on other contemporary chroniclers to understand the battle tactics that would have been applied by the opposing armies. It is Amatus, William of Apulia, Skylitzes and the Anonymous of Bari who provides us with the most detailed accounts on the pitched battles up to Civitate in 1053, and it is once again the former two whose examination of the two major sieges of the period – Bari and Palermo – is by far the best we have. It is undoubtedly an oversimplification to say that Malaterra was ignorant of military affairs; Orderic Vitalis, for example, is one of the foremost sources for Anglo-Norman military history, and much of his information came from contact with people who had seen active service. But in many cases several of the clerical sources give a narrative of battles, sieges or entire campaigns which is incomplete, “in order not to bore the reader” simply because reporting these events in a form of today’s war-correspondent was not their objective<sup>54</sup>. Thus, chroniclers like Malaterra, Amatus and Orderic Vitalis rather composed heroic speeches, made on the eve of battle – like Roger’s speeches at Cerami (1063) and Misilmeri (1068) written by Malaterra, or on the death-bed of a hero to glorify his achievements and those of his race – like Robert Guiscard’s brief recollection of the Norman victories in Italy as given by Orderic Vitalis<sup>55</sup>. And that intention was a result of the chroniclers’ desire to present to their audience the Norman *avidas dominationis* – their “inborn trait” for domination and enhance the “Norman Myth” in the minds of contemporaries. But one wonders if the Norman Count and his men had, indeed, access to other panegyric stories of Norman martial prowess, thus making it unnecessary for our chroniclers to provide the amount of details a modern historian would wish for. Readers of Orderic Vitalis cannot fail to be struck by the numbers of episodes which allude of an epic origin; it has been suggested that Orderic’s Baligant episode could have been based on Robert Guiscard’s Illyrian campaign of 1081-84<sup>56</sup>. Indeed, secular Norman society in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries was a seeding ground of vernacular and epic romance where the early *chansons de geste* were taking shape<sup>57</sup>. But these stories, although full of glory and romance and pleasant to hear, they were certainly contaminated by the minds of the eye-witnesses who passed them on to other people, thus making them relatively unreliable as historical sources.

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<sup>54</sup> Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare*, pp. 10-18.

<sup>55</sup> *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. by M. Chibnall, (6 vols.), Oxford 1969-80, vol. 4, book VII, pp. 32-34.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* vol. IV, p. xxv.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* vol. IV, pp. xxiv-xxv; Emily Albu, *The Normans in their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion*, Woodbridge 2001, pp. 39-40, 210-211; for the literary background, see: John H. Fisher, *The Medieval Literature of Western Europe*, London 1965, pp. 130-140; I. Siciliano, *Les Origines des Chansons de Geste*, Paris 1951; R. Louis, “Les Ducs de Normandie dans les Chansons de Geste”, *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 391-419.



### **Abstract**

#### **Geoffrey Malaterra as a military historian for the Norman expansion in Italy and Sicily – strengths and weaknesses in his narrative**

This paper examines the work of one of the most prominent chroniclers of the Norman expansion in southern Italy and Sicily in the eleventh century, Geoffrey Malaterra's *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis Fratris Eius Auctore Gaufredo Malaterra*, strictly from a military perspective, reaching significant conclusions about its value for eleventh century historiography of warfare. By examining his work in detail and comparing it with other contemporary or later chronicles, my aim is to point out the relative weaknesses in Malaterra's narrative compared to the number of strong points that make him an invaluable source for the history of eleventh century Mediterranean. Thus, great caution should be taken when taking into account Malaterra's numbers and troops estimates due to his (and many others of his contemporaries) tendency to exaggerate. His geographical and topographical knowledge of the terrain where the events he describes take place, especially of the main battlefields of the period and the towns' fortifications, is hazy and, sometimes, confused – although his narrative contains numerous place-names and some sporadic anecdotal details that cannot be found in any other chronicle of the period, while his description of battles is too short and lacks important details like names and units, along with the analysis of battle tactics employed by the opposing armies. However, Malaterra's dating can be regarded as a strongpoint, it generally follows a good chronological order and all the major events he examines are dated with accuracy. More generally, Malaterra is useful to a (military) historian in a broader sense, in that for example he gives details of the tactics used by the Normans to subdue the local communities of Italy and Sicily and the way this affected their relations with the locals; the political, social and religious background of the different urban societies in southern Italy and Sicily and the aspect of religious enthusiasm in the Norman conquests especially in Muslim Sicily.

### **Keywords**

Normans, Italy, Sicily, Malaterra, chronicle, Muslims, numbers, battle-tactics, chronology, Comnena.

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**La práctica de la medicina en una frontera.**  
**El establecimiento de un sistema asistencial en Alcoi y Cocentaina (Reino de**  
**Valencia) durante los siglos xiii y xiv\***

**Introducción**

Después de la conquista de Valencia del rey Jaime I, iniciada en la década de 1230 pero culminada en 1245, a pesar de las diversas revueltas posteriores de los sarracenos, se inició un largo proceso de colonización, que si bien ya se podía dar por finalizado los primeros años del siglo XIV, con el sometimiento definitivo de la población musulmana, no supuso en absoluto el cese de un movimiento migratorio constante que duró décadas<sup>1</sup>. Este proceso supuso una transformación radical de la realidad social y de las estructuras de población y de la propiedad, así como del aprovechamiento económico de las tierras. En definitiva, se trataba de la expansión de un sistema feudal impuesto sobre aquellas tierras musulmanas recién conquistadas<sup>2</sup>.

En 1276, el rey Jaime I había visto como su empresa colonizadora estaba en grave peligro, ya que a la escasez de efectivos cristianos se sumaba una revuelta sarracena en el sur del reino<sup>3</sup>. Después de someter la rebelión, hacia finales de junio, el rey llegaba gravemente enfermo a la villa de Alzira, una pequeña ciudad construida sobre una isla artificial en el río Xúquer, y un enclave estratégico fundamental en el paso hacia Valencia. Allí fue seguramente atendido por su cirujano Joan Jacme, a quien había establecido hacia 1271 en Alzira dándole casas y

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<sup>1</sup> Un resumen sobre la conquista y la colonización en Antoni Furió, *Història del País Valencià*, Valencia 1995, pp. 19-102. Una mayor profundidad sobre este proceso, visto desde la zona sur del reino, en Josep Torró, *El naixement d’una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1238-1276)*, Valencia 1999. Los estudios biográficos y la bibliografía en general sobre la figura y el reinado de Jaime I han proliferado en los últimos años. De gran utilidad para entender la interpretación que a lo largo de la historia se ha dado a la figura de este rey, así como las últimas tendencias historiográficas, es el estudio de Ernest Belenguer, *Jaume I a través de la història*, Valencia 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Guichard, *Al-Ándalus frente a la conquista cristiana*, Valencia 2001; Thomas Glick, *Paisajes de conquista. Cambio cultural y geográfico en la España medieval*, Valencia 2007; Josep Torró, “Arqueología de la conquista. Registro material, substitució de poblacions i transformació de l’espai rural valencià (segles XIII-XIV)”, in M. Barceló, G. Feliu, M. Miquel y J. Sobrequés (eds.), *El feudalisme comptat i debatut. Formació i expansió del feudalisme català*, Valencia 2003, pp. 153-200.

<sup>3</sup> Ricard Banyó, “Contribució a l’estudi de les sublevacions d’Al-Azraq en les comarques de l’Alcoià i del Comtat”, *Revista de l’Institut d’Estudis Alacantins* 33 (1981) 39-63.

tierras donde residir<sup>4</sup>. Esta actitud del monarca, convencido de la importancia de contar con practicantes de la medicina en el nuevo reino que estaba construyendo sobre el solar andalusí, se puso de manifiesto a través de concesiones a otros sanadores a los que igual que a su cirujano otorgó otros bienes<sup>5</sup>. Y es que durante el siglo XIII una nueva forma de entender la medicina y sus practicantes se estaban haciendo presentes en el Occidente medieval<sup>6</sup>. Jaime el Conquistador fue uno de los reyes que, convencidos de las virtudes de esta medicina, decidió implicarse en su consolidación a través de pragmáticas y leyes a favor, pero también atrayendo a practicantes de la medicina.

Las escasas fuentes conservadas han hecho que todavía sepamos poco sobre cómo se hizo realidad la instalación de estos practicantes de la medicina en el reino valenciano a escala local, y más si nos alejamos de la capital<sup>7</sup>. Sin embargo, los ricos fondos, aunque con importantes lagunas, que se conservan en la actualidad en los archivos municipales de Alcoi y Cocentaina presentan gran interés para el estudio de la práctica de la medicina en una coyuntura y un espacio geográfico, demográfico y político tan particular. Alcoi y Cocentaina son de los escasos municipios valencianos fundados en el siglo XIII de los que se ha conservado documentación para aquel mismo periodo y también para el resto de la Edad Media. Se trata de algunos volúmenes de la serie de la corte o tribunal de justicia, cuyo principal oficial se conoce con el nombre de 'justicia', llamados *Llibre d'Extravagants* (1263-1264) en Alcoi y en el caso de Cocentaina como *Llibres de la Cort de Justícia* (1269, 1275-1278, 1288-1290, 1294-1295), así como algunos protocolos del notario alcoyano Pere Miró (1296-1303). Para el siglo XIV, contamos en Cocentaina con tan solo 28 volúmenes de la serie de justicia, mientras que para Alcoi encontramos 41 volúmenes de justicia y a penas una decena de protocolos notariales<sup>8</sup>.

Durante la época musulmana, Alcoi y Cocentaina eran las cabezas visibles de dos distritos castrales o *husun* musulmanes que dominaban sobre un espacio organizado a partir de pequeñas alquerías dispersas y muy frecuentemente alineadas cerca de los ríos, habitadas por grupos de individuos que compartían una filiación tribal. Estas tierras fueron arrebatadas al Islam y añadidas al reino valenciano después de diversos tratados firmados en 1244-1245 y con la caída de Biar, donde se situó la frontera del sur del nuevo reino hasta 1304. La orografía accidentada del territorio marcaba considerablemente la forma en que se estructuraba la población y el aprovechamiento económico del espacio agrario, especialmente en el caso de Alcoi. De las grandes transformaciones que supusieron la conquista y colonización,

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<sup>4</sup> La narración de su muerte, siguiendo las crónicas reales, en Ferran Soldevila, *Vida de Jaume I el Conqueridor*, Barcelona 1958, pp. 295-302. Sobre Joan Jacme, Carmel Ferragud, *Medicina per a un nou regne. Els practicants de la medicina en el naixement del regne de València*, Alzira 2009, pp. 97-99.

<sup>5</sup> Ferragud, *Medicina per a un nou regne...*, pp. 87-107.

<sup>6</sup> Luis García Ballester, "Los orígenes del renacimiento médico europeo: cultura médica escolástica y minoría judía", *Manuscrits* 10 (1992) 119-155; idem, "The Construction of a New Form of Learning and Practicing Medicine in Medieval Latin Europe", *Science in Context* 8 (1995) 75-102.

<sup>7</sup> Carmel Ferragud, "Els practicants de la medicina en la creació del regne de València (1238-1300)", *Actes d'Història de la Ciència i de la Tècnica* 2 (2) (2009) 61-85.

<sup>8</sup> La documentación relativa al siglo XIII se encuentra en proceso de edición en un proyecto cofinanciado por la Universitat de València i l'Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua. Para el caso de Cocentaina existen diversas ediciones parciales de esta documentación, así como una edición completa en Josep Torró, *Llibre de la Cort del Justícia de Cocentaina*, Valencia 2009.

tal vez uno de los puntos más divergentes entre ambos lugares fue que mientras Cocentaina conservó su población musulmana, Alcoi la perdió casi íntegramente desde el principio de la ocupación cristiana.

Alcoi fue fundada como villa cristiana en 1256, año en que se le concedió la carta de población, mientras que de Cocentaina no existen datos tan precisos, aunque por la misma época se habían establecido ya los primeros colonos<sup>9</sup>. En principio, ambos municipios estuvieron en manos reales hasta que fueron donados en 1291 al almirante Roger de Llúria, perdiendo así su condición real. Durante la centuria siguiente, su adscripción iría cambiando, como solía ser habitual con los pequeños señoríos valencianos, pasando a manos de otros nobles o bien regresando momentáneamente a manos de la realeza.

Las dificultades para consolidar estos centros colonizadores, como ocurrió con muchos otros municipios rurales de la frontera, fueron muy considerables. Sus vecinos se encontraban muchas veces más interesados en el botín que proporcionaba la guerra que en anclarse en los lotes de tierra repartidos. La movilidad de la población era extrema y el recambio de linajes constante. Por eso la monarquía tuvo que imponer condiciones y penas para obligar a la residencia. Para dificultar aun más este proceso, aun al principio del siglo XIV se experimentaban con dureza las incursiones granadinas<sup>10</sup>.

En paralelo a este proceso de conquista y colonización, se desarrolló en Europa una renovación de la doctrina médica, una nueva forma de entender la medicina y su práctica y la aparición de un nuevo modelo de médico. Toda la población llegada a Valencia procedente de Aragón y Cataluña, pero también de Castilla y Navarra, Francia e Italia, trajo consigo la necesidad de asistencia médica. Durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIII, esta nueva forma de entender la medicina se había implantado en Occidente y, como veremos, se importó al nuevo espacio colonizado. Este modelo, fundamentado sobre el galenismo en su vertiente doctrinal y práctica, fue puesto magníficamente de manifiesto para la Corona de Aragón por Michael McVaugh y Luis García Ballester. Sin embargo, entre los numerosos archivos que en una labor titánica vaciaron estos dos grandes historiadores y maestros, no se encontraban los del límite sur de la Corona<sup>11</sup>. ¿Se acopla el modelo asistencial de las comarcas montañosas fronterizas del sur del Reino de Valencia a aquel que McVaugh y García Ballester trazaron para los municipios rurales catalanes y aragoneses, mucho mejor conocidos y estudiados hasta ahora? En este trabajo pretendo responder a esta pregunta y, en definitiva, delimitar qué tipo de practicantes de la medicina y que modelo asistencial se desarrolló en los primeros

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<sup>9</sup> Josep Torró, *La formació d'un espai feudal. Alcoi de 1245 a 1305*, València, 1992, pp. 62-68 y 71-83. Enric Guinot, *Els límits del regne. El procés de formació territorial del País Valencià medieval*, Valencia 1995. Carmel Ferragud, *El naixement d'una vila rural valenciana. Cocentaina, 1245-1304*, Valencia 2003, pp. 139-148.

<sup>10</sup> María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "La incursió de l'exèrcit de Granada de 1304 pel regne de València i l'atac a Cocentaina", *Alberri* 15 (2002) 53-149; Antoni Furió y Ferran Garcia-Oliver, "Rural mobility in a frontier land (the Valencian Country, 1250-1350)", in Sandro Carocci (ed.), *La mobilità sociale nel medioevo*, Roma 2010, pp. 513-554.

<sup>11</sup> Michael R. McVaugh, *Medicine before the plague. Practitioners and their patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285-1345*, Cambridge 1993; Lluís Garcia Ballester, *La medicina a la València medieval. Medicina i societat en un país medieval mediterrani*, València 1989. Para el ámbito general del Occidente europeo véase Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine. An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice*, Chicago - London 1990.

tiempos del todavía joven reino construido sobre el antiguo Sharq al-Ándalus, y cómo este se consolidó durante el siglo XIV.

### 1. El perfil de los sanadores de la frontera

Establecer el número y el tipo de practicantes de la medicina que existieron en estos lugares durante el siglo XIV resulta extremadamente complejo. Aunque existan fuentes documentales importantes como las descritas, éstas presentan escasa continuidad cronológica, y constituyen un material muy fragmentario. En realidad, no he podido encontrar ni una sola referencia a la práctica de la medicina ni a sus practicantes para el material documental conservado en Alcoi y Cocentaina para el siglo XIII. La primera referencia a estos prácticos es la de Bernat de Cérvoles y Bernat Sesglea, *qui eren e sabien de l'art de sangria*. Se trata de dos barberos que participaron en una intervención pericial a petición del justicia de Cocentaina. Debido a que la flebotomía era la acción terapéutica con la que fueron asociados con mayor facilidad los barberos, el escribano de la corte los registró con esta consideración<sup>12</sup>. Antes de la peste registramos otro barbero en Cocentaina llamado Pere del Pont. Igualmente Alcoi nos ha proporcionado referencias de tres barberos: Domingo d'Osca, Pere Dalmau, Guillem Gironés, también reconocido como cirujano, y en la década de 1360 Miquel Sánxeç. Un personaje que jugó un importante papel en el tribunal de justicia fue el *metge sirurgià* Domingo Sanç, quien, como veremos, fue llamado en diversas ocasiones para dar su testimonio experto. El 19 de octubre de 1380, aparece citado Mestre Ramon Mir, *metge de casa del senyor Rey*, de quien se dice era vecino de la villa. El término *físic* solamente lo podemos asociar a Pere de Soler, quien también participó en el examen pericial de 1304, antes mencionado, en Cocentaina. En cambio, los escribanos utilizaron sistemáticamente el término *metge*, que siendo genérico puede referirse tanto al físico como al cirujano, pero que, de cualquier forma, sugiere que estos individuos no poseían formación académica, sino que se habían formado por el sistema de aprendizaje artesanal o abierto<sup>13</sup>. Este sería el caso de los médicos de Cocentaina Joan de Satorre, Joan de Messina, Joan Ponç y Joan Peris.

En el caso de Alcoi, encontramos dos médicos, el primero Esteve Meravellós, que no era vecino de esta villa, trabajó durante la década de 1330, así como también un judío médico, que posiblemente tampoco fuera vecino y del que desconocemos el nombre. También un judío de Xàtiva, Abrahim Abengalell, practicó la medicina en Cocentaina, donde fue denunciado por mala praxis.

Por lo que se refiere al personal médico femenino, tenemos además referencias a una *metgessa* (médica), llamada Guillamona en Alcoi, y a una curandera

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<sup>12</sup> Una primera consideración sobre los practicantes de la medicina de Cocentaina en Carmel Ferragud, "Organització social i atenció mèdica a la Cocentaina baixmedieval: el procés a Abrahim Abengalell (1318)", *Asclepio* LVII/2 (2005) 3-24, especialmente 3-8. Sobre los barberos y su práctica en Valencia, Luis García Ballester y Michael R. McVaugh, "Nota sobre el control de la actividad médica y quirúrgica de los barberos (barbers, barbitonsores) en los Furs de Valencia de 1329", in *Homenaje al doctor Sebastià Garcia Martínez*, València 1988, pp. 73-88; Carmel Ferragud, "Els barbers de la ciutat de València durant el segle XV a través dels llibres del justícia criminal", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 41/1 (2011) 31-57.

<sup>13</sup> García Ballester, *La medicina a la València medieval...*, pp. 73-80; Carmel Ferragud, *Medicina i promoció social a la Baixa Edat Mitjana (Corona d'Aragó, 1360-1410)*, Madrid 2005, pp. 85-125.

de la vecina villa de Biar, llamada Busaldona. No es presumible, sin embargo, que hubieran existido muchos más practicantes de la medicina, ya que la población de Alcoi y Cocentaina se limitaba a unas 240 o 250 unidades familiares, y seguramente el carácter itinerante de bastantes sanadores haya hecho que no los podamos localizar en los archivos.

En cuanto al personal médico plural que concurre en la villa, podemos distinguir diversas circunstancias evidentes. Por un lado, existe el personal estable, documentado por un largo periodo temporal. Por otro lado, encontramos personajes que no pertenecen a la villa sino que se trata de individuos que proceden de otros lugares, algunos cercanos, de apenas unos kilómetros, y que actúan en un radio comarcal, mientras que otros proceden incluso de otros reinos. Respecto a éstos, resulta imposible determinar su arraigo, pero la información pone de manifiesto sus dificultades para subsistir en la villa cuando se acaban de incorporar al vecindario. Como no podía ser de otra forma en una sociedad de frontera, se produce una confluencia de practicantes de la medicina de diversas religiones, con clara presencia de judíos, aunque no residentes en la villa<sup>14</sup>. Las referencias a los practicantes de la medicina musulmanes no aparecen hasta finales del siglo XIV. En este sentido, tenemos conocimiento de Jucef Hatep, *metge*, en 1392, del *metge serurgià* Hamet Azeni, en 1397. Como hemos dicho, en Alcoi se produjo una exclusión inmediata de los musulmanes cosa que explicaría su ausencia entre los sanadores.

Aunque los barberos fueron los primeros practicantes de la medicina localizados, posteriormente aparecen mucho menos documentados que los médicos. Seguramente esto no sea más que una cuestión documental. Así podría decirse de los boticarios, casi inexistentes, ya que tan sólo se ha podido localizar a Ramon Canet en Cocentaina, cuando en realidad su labor era muy importante por la gran cantidad de elementos que producían indispensables para la vida cotidiana: productos alimentarios, dulces y confituras, cera y todos los derivados para la iluminación, medicamentos, etc<sup>15</sup>.

Una circunstancia que pone de manifiesto la confianza depositada en los médicos es que algunos vecinos no dudaban en pedir prestado dinero cuando lo requería su salud. Pere Brotons puso una demanda a Barceló Renau, procurador de sus cuñados, Guillem Barceló y María, por razón de las diversas cantidades que éste le había prestado a María mientras había estado enferma (*a costehir en la sua malaltia*). Brotons exigió el testimonio probatorio de una mujer llamada Nadala, vecina de Planes, a unos 8 kilómetros, que iba a marcharse pronto de Alcoi, y por eso Brotons apremió al justicia para que la reclamara en la corte judicial. De esta forma quedó claro que lo exigido fueron diversas cantidades que iban desde 3 sueldos y 10 dineros en vino, elemento que era habitual en el tratamiento a los enfermos; 6 sueldos y 4 dineros, de los cuales una parte se destinó a pagar a un médico judío que la atendió, y del cual no se especificó el nombre, y otros gastos ocasionados por la enfermedad (*I<sup>a</sup> partida a .I. juheu metge qui la tenia en poder e lo sobrepús despés en la dita malaltia*); y, finalmente, 20 dineros por una libra de cera, y 15 sueldos de una mortaja,

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<sup>14</sup> Sobre los judíos de Cocentaina véase Carmel Ferragud, "La sociabilitat i el treball dels jueus a Cocentaina abans de la pesta negra", *Alberri* 15 (2002) 151-178.

<sup>15</sup> Carles Vela, *Especiers i candelers a Barcelona a la Baixa Edat Mitjana. Testaments, família i sociabilitat*, Barcelona 2007, pp. 22-25.

más el alquiler de una mula que la llevó a la villa de Planes. Parece, en definitiva, que la mujer procedía de este lugar vecino, a tenor de los datos revelados por Brotons y su testigo. Otro caso también evidencia el uso del préstamo. Ramon Martí, en calidad de tutor de los hijos de Pere Martí, pagó 12 sueldos y 6 dineros a Bertomeu Reig, que éste había prestado al difunto Pere para pagar los gastos ocurridos durante su enfermedad<sup>16</sup>.

En cambio, otros preferían combinar las medidas terapéuticas o bien acudir a las curanderas o médicas que trabajaban también a un nivel comarcal, para disgusto de sus médicos. Por ejemplo, sabemos que Na Busaldona, vecina de Biar, se había comprometido a curar al hijo de Na Barcelona, de Alcoi, *de una malaltia de trencadura que avia lo dit Antoni en los genitius* (hernia). Con toda naturalidad, na Barcelona se presentó delante del justicia para reclamar la cantidad pues Busaldona no había conseguido sanar a su hijo. De otra mujer, Na Guillamona, sabemos que era médica (*metgessa*) y que debía residir en Alcoi, ya que compro en 1321 un huerto por valor de 135 sueldos<sup>17</sup>.

Sin embargo, una parte de las enfermedades, por ejemplo las relacionadas con trastornos psíquicos, quedaron por completo al margen de la progresiva medicalización de la sociedad, aunque sí hubiera existido un interés desde el galenismo por explicar sus causas y buscar remedios, y así permanecerían durante la baja Edad Media, como en en el resto Occidente.

## 2. Obligados a desplazarse

El 9 de marzo de 1335, compareció el médico maestre Esteve Meravellós ante la corte del justicia de la villa de Alcoi, con el fin de reclamar 50 sueldos que le eran adeudados por Andreu Miquel, un vecino de la villa de Biar, a unos 20 kilómetros al suroeste de Alcoi, de los 120 sueldos con los que se había comprometido a remunerarle con motivo de las curas diversas a que éste fue sometido<sup>18</sup>. En primer lugar, el médico aseguró que para iniciar este tratamiento ambos habían acudido a casa de Bernat Bru, notario de Alcoi, el día 30 de diciembre de 1333, donde se firmó un documento que recogía las condiciones y compromisos de ambas partes, el médico y el paciente. Otro vecino de Biar, Sanxo d'Aranda, de quien el enfermo era yerno, se había comprometido a cubrir los gastos en el caso de que el enfermo no pudiera hacerlo. Esteve Meravellós se quejaba de los gastos que le había ocasionado el tener que desplazarse en diversas ocasiones a Biar para atender a Andreu Miquel, acusando a su paciente de que se hubiera alargado en demasía un tratamiento que, de haber cumplido con su compromiso y haber invertido las cantidades que les pedía hubiese hecho su efecto mucho antes. Pero las acusaciones a su paciente fueron más allá, ya que Meravellós se quejó de que el enfermo había utilizado otras terapias perjudiciales y no había hecho caso a su consejo de haber huido de las cosas contrarias a su enfermedad. El tiempo iba pasando y el médico deseaba marcharse de Alcoi para poder continuar con su trabajo en otros lugares. Y en este punto se observa uno de los rasgos más evidentes de un sector de los practicantes que

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<sup>16</sup> Archivo Municipal de Alcoi (AMA), Cort del Justicia (CJ), II-1 (219), f. 80 (1-1-1333).

<sup>17</sup> AMA, CJ, II-1 (214) (7-5-1323); II-1 (213), f. 53 (7-7-1321).

<sup>18</sup> AMA, CJ, II-1 (222), ff. 114-115 (9-3-1335).



trabajaban en aquella comarca: su gran movilidad. Meravellós manifestaba que una de las condiciones propias de los que practicaban la medicina era precisamente esta necesidad de desplazamientos constantes, cosa que el alargamiento del tratamiento a Miquel y el estar ligado por un documento notarial le impedían. El médico daba un plazo breve, de entre ocho a quince días para cumplir estrictamente con sus consejos, o en caso contrario no devolvería la cantidad en la que se había pactado su salario:

*com ell sia hom de tal condició, segons art medicinal, de la qual ell ha a viure, que ell aja anar en altres partides e a partir-se del loch de Alcoy, hon ell està, e per la dita cura ell no pot aturar e viure d'aquella, que ells e cascun per si deien complir totes les desús dites coses dins lo dit temps, e qu'es quart de les coses contràries sens son consell e rebedores. En altra manera, si ells no complexen les dites coses dins los dies desús dits e no-s guarda de les coses contràries, protesta ell no sia tengut ni obligat a curar la dita malaltia ni ell ni la fermança donada de tornar los dits CXX sous si no-l curava de la dita malaltia que no sien tenguts ni obligats de tornar.*

Meses después, el 31 de julio, el justicia de Alcoi escribió una nota al justicia de Biar y también al de Castalla –posiblemente porque este último fuera el nuevo destino del médico–, sobre el caso de Meravellós y su paciente<sup>19</sup>. De esta misiva se desprende que Sanxo d'Aranda había sido llamado también anteriormente por el justicia de Biar para dar cuenta de la deuda al médico. Ante el justicia de Alcoi, el médico presentó una cédula o receta en la que se recogían todos los gastos que se habían hecho durante el tratamiento (*lo dit metge jurà que en .I.<sup>a</sup> sèdula o recepta... que aquelles coses que eren aquí escrites ho ordenades eren necessàries obs de la dita malaltia del dit N'Andreu Michel*). Tenemos aquí consignado uno de los detalles importantes de la práctica médica, la expedición de una receta al paciente, aunque no queda claro en este caso quién es el destinatario. Si como parece es el paciente, se supondría que éste o alguien cercano tendría la capacidad de poder leer. Sin duda, esto introduciría un elemento de gran interés en la relación médico-paciente en fechas tan tempranas como las que aquí manejamos. De cualquier forma, el médico quería acabar su trabajo y cobrar los 50 sueldos que faltaban del total del salario. Por eso, el justicia de Alcoi pedía a su colega de Biar que reclamase a Sanxo la cantidad, así como que se comprometiese con todos los demás gastos necesarios para sanar a su yerno. El desenlace no lo conocemos, sin embargo, es posible aventurar que Meravellós tuviera que esperar todavía unos cuantos meses par ver solucionado su asunto.

Curiosamente, Esteve Meravellós pudo reclamar una importante deuda, producto de su labor médica, gracias a la escritura de un contrato ante notario. Pero al mismo tiempo esta misma circunstancia le había anclado en Alcoi, ya que si se hubiera marchado sin acabar su trabajo habría perdido todo el dinero comprometido. Aun así, sin duda se puede entender que para un hombre como él, en permanente desplazamiento, fuera de gran utilidad este mecanismo contractual para garantizarse el cobro, sobre todo en cantidades tan importantes como la de este caso. Ahora bien, resulta curiosa una cláusula tan arriesgada en un tiempo donde los pronósticos eran tan complejos, tal vez la parte más delicada del acto médico. Posiblemente esta era la forma en la que nuestro médico pensó que podía convencer a su clientela; si el cliente no estaba satisfecho se le devolvía el dinero. Aunque ante esta posibilidad siempre se podrían utilizar las circunstancias acusatorias en contra de la actitud del paciente,

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<sup>19</sup> AMA, CJ, II-1 (222), f. 167 (31-8-1335).

reticente a hacer caso de las consideraciones médicas, y por tanto el culpable de romper con los principios del acuerdo y de la imposibilidad de alcanzar la curación<sup>20</sup>.

Los médicos de la villa de Cocentaina corroboran esta movilidad y, de forma semejante al caso anterior, para cobrar cantidades por sus servicios fueron una realidad. Así, en un proceso judicial de 1313, el médico judío de Xàtiva Abrahim Abengalell, acusado de haber provocado un aborto con su negligencia, pedía que compareciera como testigo el médico cristiano Joan de Messina, con quien había compartido la paciente y el diagnóstico. Messina deseaba marcharse pronto de la villa, y el médico judío, que temía por su futuro, reclamó pronto el testimonio de su colega para evitar males mayores<sup>21</sup>.

En 1318, el médico Joan Satorre se presentaba ante la corte judicial de Cocentaina exigiendo los 13 sueldos que le debía Ramon de Pujaçons *per rahon de servei que li féu en I malaltia*, por la que acudió a atenderle una noche. El paciente negaba que le debiera tal cantidad, pues ya le había pagado 8 sueldos y lo restante se lo había dado en vino:

*Atorga que lo dit En Johan lo serví solament I nit en I malaltia, la qual ell avia. Les altres coses contengudes en la dita demanda nega ésser veres, segons que posades són. E diu que les coses demanades demanar no-s podia, per ço car lo dit en Johan ha rebut del dit servei VIII sous. Diu encara e proposa excipient que si aparia lo dit Ramon degués al dit En Johan los demanats XIII sous per rahon del dit servei, ço que nega, que lo dit en Johan [co]vench ab lo dit Ramon que li donàs tan solament de ço que servit l'avia ab vi, e ab açò que aquell avia dat, ço és, coses de medicines X sous, dels quals li ha pagats los damunts dits VIII sous<sup>22</sup>.*

Las dificultades para cobrar parecen evidentes. El médico acudía a domicilio ante la petición de un enfermo. Como era habitual, los campesinos no solían tener en sus casas dinero en metálico con el que hacer frente a gastos de emergencia. De cualquier modo, el médico quedó parcialmente contento con una parte del sueldo y parece que con una parte del pago en especias, el vino. Pero la cuestión plantea problemas cuando la palabra de uno se enfrenta a la del otro. Ya hemos visto como el documento notarial podía permitir resolver, aunque no siempre, un conflicto como éste.

Todo parece indicar, pues, que los médicos establecían su residencia en un municipio que ejercía de base temporal. Desde allí practicaban la medicina en un radio comarcal que no debía traspasar los 20 kilómetros, desplazándose hacia los lugares en que era reclamada su presencia. Nada parece indicar que en el Reino de Valencia se hubiera desarrollado antes de la llegada de la Peste Negra la práctica, ya común en los municipios aragoneses y catalanes, de que el gobierno local firmara un contrato con algún tipo de sanador. Ésta parece que será la tónica a partir del tercer cuarto del siglo<sup>23</sup>. De momento, los municipios no habían considerado esta posibilidad, o bien no han conseguido establecer practicantes de la medicina estables. Por otro lado, existen, como veremos, otros practicantes de la medicina que sí permanecerán anclados por mucho más tiempo en la villa. La convivencia sin ningún

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<sup>20</sup> Sobre los contratos entre médicos y pacientes véase McVaugh, *Medicine before the plague...*, pp. 170-181.

<sup>21</sup> Ferragud, "Organització social...", pp. 16-18.

<sup>22</sup> Archivo Municipal de Cocentaina (AMC), CJ, 1318 (15-9-1318 y 24-9-1318).

<sup>23</sup> En general para el Reino de Valencia véase Garcia Ballester, *La medicina en la València medieval...*, pp. 80-87.

tipo de enfrentamientos entre los médicos itinerantes y aquellos residentes será una realidad<sup>24</sup>. Una convivencia que llegó incluso a reunir médicos de diferentes religiones para tratar los mismos pacientes, como se ha indicado.

Después de la Peste Negra, observamos que continúan apareciendo en Alcoi practicantes de la medicina de origen foráneo. Así, en enero de 1361, ya era vecino de Alcoi Bonanat Vernet, un médico residente anteriormente en Valencia. A éste parece que le perseguían sus deudas en la capital del reino. Jaume Blanch, su acreedor, nombró un procurador en Cocentaina para que consiguiera recuperar los 65 sueldos adeudados, según constaba en una carta deuditoria<sup>25</sup>. Tal vez todo esto nos indique que nos encontramos delante de un moroso que había decidido probar suerte lejos de Valencia, en una villa en expansión, y donde un prometedor mercado sanitario podía resultar atractivo para empezar una nueva vida.

Aquel mismo año, concretamente el 10 de mayo de 1361, nos encontramos con la aparición de otro médico llamado Nunyo Ferrández. Aunque de éste no tengamos más datos podemos afirmar su origen castellano por el antropónimo y el gentilicio, pero también porque en esa fecha entregó en garantía de préstamo tres libros, escritos en lengua castellana y catalana. No sería la única vez, como veremos, que un practicante de la medicina utilizaba sus libros como garantía en la devolución de un préstamo<sup>26</sup>:

*Primerament, un libre de medecina ab les cubertes negres que comença: 'Açí comença lo libre que és apellat Tresor dels pobres' e feneix 'siete planetas'. Ítem, asigna I altre libre de medicina ab les cubertes blanques que comença 'En el libre [sic] de Dios e de santa María' e fenex 'en primero, amén'. Ítem, asigna .I. altre libre de medicina que comença 'En el nombre de Dios' e fenex 'del frexe e renugala'*<sup>27</sup>.

Nunyo Ferrández era probablemente un médico que había sumado a sus volúmenes traídos de su tierra de origen, otros libros que, escritos en catalán, eran útiles para su profesión. Creó así volúmenes misceláneos que, aunque escritos en estas dos lenguas, debían ser entendidos perfectamente por el médico<sup>28</sup>. Sin embargo,

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<sup>24</sup> Así ocurría también en Cataluña. McVaugh, *Medicine before the plague...*, pp. 190-200.

<sup>25</sup> AMA, CJ, II-1 (239), f. 326 i ss. (1-1-1361).

<sup>26</sup> Sobre el uso de los libros como garantía en préstamos véase Josep Hernando i Delgado, "Crèdit i llibres a Barcelona, segle XIV: els contractes de venda de rendes (censals morts i violaris) garantits amb vendes simulades de llibres. El llibre, instrument econòmic i objecte de cultura", *Estudis Històrics i Documents dels Arxius de Protocols* 18 (2000) 7-222.

<sup>27</sup> AMA, CJ, II-1 (239), f. 212 (10-5-1361). El primer volumen contiene el popular recetario atribuido al médico y filósofo portugués Pedro Julião, más conocido como Pedro el Hispano, *Thesaurus pauperum*, escrito en catalán. Este texto circuló en esta lengua desde finales del siglo XIII. Al final del volumen parece haber un texto de astrología en castellano. Del segundo volumen tan solo podemos afirmar que tenía una obra de medicina escrita en vulgar castellano. El *incipit* podría ser el de cualquier obra. Sobre él hay que subrayar que seguramente por error del escribano se lee en el documento la palabra "libre" cuando debería decir "nombre". Y del tercero su *incipit* no aporta nada, más allá de que se trata de un texto de medicina escrito en castellano. Al final hay un texto en catalán, que podría ser un recetario farmacológico. Agradezco a Lluís Cifuentes sus comentarios sobre estos volúmenes. Sobre la vernacularización de textos científicos es fundamental Lluís Cifuentes i Comamala, *La ciència en català a l'Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement*, Barcelona – Palma de Mallorca 2006, 2 ed.

<sup>28</sup> Esta intercomunicación científico-médica ha sido subrayada en Lluís Cifuentes, "Las traducciones catalanas y castellanas de la *Chirurgia Magna* de Lanfranco de Milán: un ejemplo de intercomunicación cultural y científica a finales de la Edad Media", in Tomás Martínez Romero y R. Recio (eds.), *Essays on medieval translation in the Iberian Peninsula*, Castelló de la Plana 2001, pp. 95-127.

la necesidad de dinero le obligó a recurrir a un préstamo, para el que puso de garantía un bien tan preciado para un sanador profesional.

### 3. Los sanadores permanentes, su promoción y las dificultades de su labor

Las dificultades para cobrar sus honorarios no eran exclusivas de los practicantes de la medicina itinerantes. Así se desprende en el caso del barbero-cirujano Guillem Gironés, también en ocasiones considerado médico. Este barbero, a diferencia de un práctico como Esteve Meravellós, era un residente habitual en Alcoi y allí se puede comprobar su presencia, aunque con una cierta escasez documental. La primera noticia conocida sobre éste data del 8 de enero de 1320, cuando Ramon Sespujades manifestaba deberle 13 sueldos por razón de *comanda*, una fórmula habitual que encubría numerosos intercambios y préstamos a interés, quizás también el pago por servicios profesionales. De él no volvemos a tener noticias hasta pasada más de una década. De nuevo un vecino, Joan Esteve, le debía una suma de 16 sueldos<sup>29</sup>. En julio de 1340 se vendió una hanegada de huerta de Arnau Martí para pagar una deuda de 9 sueldos debida a Gironés, a quien en esta ocasión el notario catalogaba de médico<sup>30</sup>. Aquí se interrumpe el rastro del barbero. La dificultad para poder recuperar las sumas debidas por algunos individuos a Guillem Gironés hizo que éste nombrara procurador a su hijo Pere o Pericó, también barbero, para recibir todas las cantidades que le eran adeudadas en el Reino de Valencia y en Murcia, cosa que nos induce a pensar de nuevo en la gran movilidad de estos personajes. Si bien no se especifica que las deudas estuvieran relacionadas con su actividad profesional, resulta plausible pensar que al menos una parte de ellas sí lo fuera<sup>31</sup>.

Sobre su actividad profesional tenemos apenas una mención, pero, eso sí, de gran interés. El 15 de julio de 1338, el justicia le pidió que emitiera una opinión sobre el estado de la herida de Pere de Monreal, ya que su agresor permanecía en prisión a espera de que Monreal estuviera fuera de peligro, como era preceptivo. Esta operación técnica fue conocida como *dessospitació*, ya que literalmente el cirujano quitaba toda sospecha sobre el estado de salud de un herido y daba un pronóstico, con la finalidad de que el agresor pudiera abandonar la prisión o no<sup>32</sup>. En este caso no había problema con las heridas que tenía en el cuerpo, excepto con la de la cabeza, que obligaba a esperar 30 días más para una nueva exploración.

Que esta familia progresó notablemente y no se movió de la villa alcoiana lo muestra el hecho de que en 1372 existiera un mestre Pere Gironés en Alcoi que era declarado *bageller que és en medecina*<sup>33</sup>. No podemos concretar su parentesco pero el título evidencia que este miembro de la familia había estudiado en una universidad

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<sup>29</sup> AMA, CJ, II-1 (212), f. 5 (8-1-1320); *ibid.*, (218), f. 16 (16-11-1332).

<sup>30</sup> Ciertamente se trataba de una cifra miserable, pero demuestra la falta de liquidez del vecindario que a veces debe recurrir a vender su patrimonio para satisfacer sus deudas. AMA, CJ, II-1 (227), 26-6-1340.

<sup>31</sup> AMA, CJ, II-1 (221), ff. 234-235 (12-11-1334).

<sup>32</sup> Curiosamente la primera *dessospitació* de la que tenemos noticia en el reino de Valencia, antes incluso que en la misma capital, tuvo lugar en la vecina Cocentaina; Ferragud, *El naixement d'una vila...*, p. 101. Este procedimiento pericial, su introducción y progresivo desarrollo en las instituciones catalanoaragonesas apenas ha sido estudiado. Véase el siguiente apartado.

<sup>33</sup> AMA, Protocolos notariales, XV-I (3-8-1372). En esta ocasión atendía de un gran golpe en la cabeza a un joven de Alcoi.

donde había obtenido el grado de bachiller. Este proceso de promoción social de los barberos, cada vez más próximos a la cirugía, fue una tónica en el Reino de Valencia, si bien los datos sugieren que seguramente empezó antes de lo que se había pensado, y, por lo que parece, los barberos de Alcoi no escaparon a esta tendencia<sup>34</sup>. Una de las claves de esta ascensión estuvo en la formación basada en la posesión y lectura de textos quirúrgicos, eminentemente prácticos y traducidos muy pronto al catalán. Tal fue el caso de la *Chirurgia* de Teodorico Borgognoni, traducida al catalán por el cirujano mallorquín Guillem Corretger. La pretensión no era otra que instruir a cirujanos y barberos que solicitaban este material<sup>35</sup>. Que los barberos de Alcoi ya poseían libros lo demuestra el hecho que el barbero Pere Dalmau hubiera utilizado *I libre de paper qui parla de medicines* como peñora ante la demanda de un fabricante de paños llamado Guillem Oliba, a quien debía 21 sueldos. Desgraciadamente, desconocemos de qué libro se trataba, pero si podemos afirmar con ello que Dalmau era un recién llegado a la villa hacia 1330. La situación para estos recién llegados siempre era compleja y venía acompañada muy a menudo de la necesidad de solicitar préstamos para poder cubrir los gastos de su incipiente instalación<sup>36</sup>.

Pero es sin duda lo acaecido en 1334 a Guillem Gironés y a su hijo Pericó, aquello que interesa especialmente por lo reseñado anteriormente respecto de las dificultades para practicar la medicina en una villa de frontera. Ante la grave enfermedad que Bernardó, el joven hijo de Pasqual Barberà, sufría en una pierna, éste y sus amigos decidieron ponerle en manos de Gironés. Pero el barbero debía estar escarmentado de otras ocasiones y ante una situación en que peligraba la vida del enfermo decidió exigir una garantía de que ni la familia del afectado ni sus amigos intervendrían en el caso de que éste acabara con un miembro inhabilitado o incluso muriera: *enaxí que si lo dit Bernardó per la cura que lo dit Guillem, barber, li farà prena mal ni sie afolat ni moria, que lo dit en Guillem no fos tengut al dit Bernardó ni a sos amichs ni a la cort ni a ninguna persona*<sup>37</sup>. Bien conocidas son también las reacciones violentas del vecindario, donde odios y venganzas eran frecuentes, y donde la agrupación en bandos solidarios podían generar enfretamientos con resultados nefastos<sup>38</sup>.

La situación que hemos presentado refleja una constante en la vida de las comunidades bajomedievales de la Corona de Aragón, desde las villas rurales a la

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<sup>34</sup> Garcia Ballester, *La medicina en la València medieval...*, pp. 57-63. Lluís Cifuentes, "La promoció intel·lectual dels barbers-cirurgians a la Barcelona medieval: l'obrador, la biblioteca i els béns de Joan Vicenç (fl. 1431-1464)", *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 19 (2000) 427-479.

<sup>35</sup> Lluís Cifuentes, "La literatura quirúrgica baixmedieval en romanç a la Corona d'Aragó: escola, pont i mercat", in Lola Badia, M. Cabré y S. Martí (eds.), *Literatura i cultura a la Corona d'Aragó (s. XIII-XV): actes del III Col·loqui internacional "Problemes i mètodes de literatura catalana antiga" (Girona, 5-8 de juliol de 2000)*, Barcelona 2002, pp. 321-335. Lluís Cifuentes, "Vernacularization as an intellectual and social bridge: the Catalan translations of Teodorico's *Chirurgia* and of Arnau de Vilanova's *Regimen sanitatis*", *Early Science and Medicine* 4 (1999) 127-148.

<sup>36</sup> AMA, CJ, II-1 (217), f. 5 y f. 363 (10-1-1330). Los préstamos más acuciantes y los motivos más habituales para pedir dinero solían ser la alimentación y el vestido. En este sentido, también Dalmau debía 3 sueldos y 9 dineros a Bernat Cantó por la compra de trigo. AMA, CJ, II-1 (217), f. 6 (10-1-1330).

<sup>37</sup> AMA, CJ, II-1 (221), f. 70 (10-3-1334).

<sup>38</sup> El caso de Alcoi está precisamente bien estudiado para este periodo. Véase Benjamín Escriche, "Injurias, amenazas y agresiones. La violencia cotidiana en el mundo rural bajomedieval: Alcoi (1320-1335)", in Jordi Bolòs, Enriqueta Jarne y Enric Vicedo (eds.), *Condicions de vida al món rural. Actes del V congrés sobre sistemes agraris, organització social i poder local*, Lleida 2006, pp. 115-130.

gran urbe, esto es, la aparición de grupos armados de hombres que resolvían sus diferencias enfrentándose abiertamente en las calles. Por esto, inmediatamente después compareció Berenguer Torrasa exigiendo que Pericó Gironés asegurase que no iría contra él ni contra sus bienes. Así lo hizo éste en presencia del justicia y de otros testigos, añadiendo que tampoco apoyaría a nadie que así lo hiciera. Lo propio hizo Torrasa a instancias del joven barbero. Unos días más tarde, Torrasa pedía que fuera el padre, Guillem, quien asegurase que no le haría ningún daño, pues tenía miedo que no fuese en su contra<sup>39</sup>. Se juntaban aquí dos factores que podían resultar fatales para los intereses del sanador, la insatisfacción potencial de un cliente y la reacción adversa de sus familiares y amigos, y los odios permanentes y enfrentamientos entre clanes familiares integrados en buena parte por menestrales<sup>40</sup>.

#### 4. Organización social, administración de la justicia y medicina

A finales del siglo XIII, gracias a la evolución del derecho civil (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*) y canónico (*Decretales*) y el progreso de la ciencia médica, se vislumbró que la opinión del médico podía ser esencial para determinar las circunstancias y la culpabilidad en algunos procesos criminales. Parecía evidente que un cirujano podía juzgar la gravedad de las heridas y emitir un pronóstico que ayudara a los jueces en su trabajo. Con el tiempo se sumarían muchos otros cometidos y opiniones técnicas que les eran pedidas en muy diversas circunstancias.

Este proceso, que se inició en Bolonia a mitad del siglo XIII, se difundió rápidamente hacia el norte de Italia y al principio del siglo XIV aparecía en las leyes castellanas. En el caso de la Corona de Aragón, esta presencia médica en los tribunales para peritar heridos se desarrolló a finales del Doscientos y recibió el nombre de *dessospitació*, literalmente “sacar de sospecha” (*traure de sospita*)<sup>41</sup>. Sin embargo, no fue hasta los Fueros de 1329 que se pusieron definitivamente las bases jurídicas para el desarrollo pleno de este procedimiento pericial en el Reino de Valencia. Efectivamente, entre las importantes novedades para la práctica médica que instauraron aquellos fueros de Alfonso el Benigno, estaba que *tot cirurgia qui tinga algun nafrat en poder sia tengut de dir, ab sacrament sens alcun salari, quantesque vegades request ne serà si-l nafrat es fora de sospita o no*<sup>42</sup>. Sin embargo, el procedimiento

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<sup>39</sup> AMA, CJ, II-1 (221), f. 116 (22-5-1334).

<sup>40</sup> Sobre las consecuencias de la insatisfacción de los pacientes, también con reacciones violentas, véase McVaugh, *Medicine before the plague...*, pp. 182-187.

<sup>41</sup> Eugenio Dall’Osso, *L’organizzazione medico-legale a Bologna e a Venecia nei secoli XII-XIV*, Cesena 1956, i Joseph Shatzmiller, *Médecine et Justice en Provence Médiévale. Documents de Manosque, 1262-1348*, Aix-en-Provence 1989. El estudio más completo sobre el origen de la *dessospitació* en la Corona de Aragón, en McVaugh, *Medicine before the plague...*, pp. 207-209. Para Valencia véase Mercedes Gallent, “Precedentes medievales de la medicina legal: la *dessospitació* en el Reino de Valencia”, *Saitabi* 50 (2000) 11-28. Una ampliación sobre los orígenes y la continuidad en época moderna, en Carmel Ferragud y María Luz López Terrada, “La intervenció dels experts en medicina en els tribunals de justícia moderns. Els casos d’Alzira i Albalat en els segles XVI i XVII”, in Salvador Vercher (ed.), *Actes de l’XI Assemblea d’Història de la Ribera* (Corbera, 10, 11 i 12 de novembre de 2006), Corbera 2007, pp. 241-253.

<sup>42</sup> *Furs de València*, edición crítica de Germà Colon y Arcadi Garcia, vol. VII, Barcelona 1999, p. 137. Todas las novedades médicas de estos fueros se han estudiado en profundidad en diversas ocasiones. Garcia Ballester, *La medicina a la València medieval...*, pp. 53-57.

se encontraba ya en vigor en el Reino de Valencia antes de esta reglamentación, según hemos apreciado en el caso de Cocentaina.

El desarrollo de estos peritajes se debe poner en relación, en el caso de las villas de la frontera, con un elevado índice de violencia, con numerosos altercados, peleas y ataques con profusión de sangre, consecuencia de las peculiaridades de una gran población flotante compuesta por campesinos necesitados de tierras donde asentarse, colonos que no acababan de arraigar, de soldados, auténticos almogávares en busca de fortuna, buhoneros que se movían por los mercados y ferias o bien simples delincuentes. Las autoridades necesitaban los instrumentos adecuados para controlar aquel grupo tan heterogéneo y domesticar y consolidar definitivamente a una población que a finales del XIII y principios del XIV todavía se presumía inestable. En este sentido, debemos advertir que la medicina tomó un papel relevante en la sociedad por su utilidad. En caso contrario no hubiera tenido razón de ser. El alto rigor intelectual que había conseguido la medicina durante el Doscientos y el prestigio de sus practicantes, fueron argumentos suficientes para que las autoridades juzgaran indispensable la presencia de estos profesionales<sup>43</sup>.

En el caso de Cocentaina, a partir de 1376 el cirujano Domingo Sanç fue citado en numerosas ocasiones por el justicia, con el fin de ofrecer su testimonio pericial ante casos de heridos. Durante aquel procedimiento, Sanç revisaba el estado de la herida y emitía un pronóstico. Seguramente este cirujano llevaba ya tiempo realizando esta misión. De hecho lo encontramos ejerciendo la medicina en Cocentaina desde 1363. Sin embargo, el primer caso documentado de *dessospitació* está fechado en el mes de marzo de 1376. Entonces, el justicia de Ontinyent escribió al de Cocentaina pues Guillem Colomer, vecino de su villa, había sido herido por Miquel Montanya, vecino de la segunda, y pedía que fuese reconocido por algún cirujano. Así, fue llamado Domingo Sanç para que reconociera si la herida, provocada por el golpe de una piedra, estaba curada. En su informe el cirujano manifestó que el enfermo no tenía fiebre ni dolor y que defecaba y hacía todas sus operaciones naturales con normalidad<sup>44</sup>.

Así de lacónicas suelen ser las palabras con las que se explican este tipo de exámenes médicos. No parecen utilizarse las dos formas más habituales para delimitar el estado de salud de una persona y emitir un diagnóstico, esto es, el pulso y, sobre todo, la orina. Sí en cambio se citan los dolores, con la gran dependencia de la percepción subjetiva del paciente que esto suponía, y la fiebre, elemento de gran importancia en el galenismo, considerada también en sí misma como una enfermedad<sup>45</sup>. Parece también que se dio especial relevancia al funcionamiento

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<sup>43</sup> Luis García Ballester, *La búsqueda de la salud. Sanadores y enfermos en la España medieval*, Barcelona 2001, 194-199. Ferragud, *Medicina i promoció...*, pp. 623-627.

<sup>44</sup> *...aver trobat lo dit Guillemó Colomer sens febra e sens dolor, lo qual li dix que ach cellava e feia ses operacions naturals e avia atrobat la dita nafra curada*. AMC, 1376, ff. 53, 53v i 54.

<sup>45</sup> Sobre el dolor en la Edad Media véase Fernando Salmón, "Academic Discourse and Pain in Medical Scholasticism (Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries)", in S.S. Kothek y Luis García Ballester (eds.), *Medicine and Medical Ethics in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: An Intercultural Approach*, Jerusalén 1996, pp. 1366-153; idem, "From patient to text? Narratives of pain and mandates in medical Scholasticism", in Florence Eliza Glaze y Brian K. Nance (eds.), *Between Text and Patient. The Medical Enterprise in Medieval & Early Modern Europe [Micrologus' Library, 39]*, Firenze 2011, pp. 373-395. Sin duda, el hecho más cotidiano de la clínica medieval, aquel con el que más frecuentemente se encontró el médico en su práctica, fue la fiebre. Este hecho provocó que sobre ella también convergieran las más fuertes especulaciones y debates

correcto de la ingesta de alimentos y su evacuación. Aunque algunos médicos pudieron utilizar las variaciones en el color, olor y consistencia de las deposiciones como elemento diagnóstico, ya que en ellas estaban contenidas los “malos humores”, y de hecho algunos tratados latinos y traducciones vernáculas así parecerían indicarlo, en nuestro caso no queda claro si todo esto se tuvo en cuenta más allá del simple hecho de que los heridos defecaran con normalidad<sup>46</sup>. Dentro de la teoría galenista la alimentación era fundamental como aporte energético para el mantenimiento de la vida, pero los riesgos para la salud si se producía una obstrucción después de la tercera digestión eran muy altos y por eso se tenía especialmente en cuenta una correcta y frecuente expulsión de las heces<sup>47</sup>.

Esta forma de proceder en los peritajes parece que fue la habitual y la podemos encontrar en los casos de Ferrer Busaldó y Ramon Pasqual, en 1380<sup>48</sup>. Este último había agredido al primero y el justicia ordenó a su oficial (*saig*) que le capturase y le encerrase en prisión, y así lo hizo. Pasqual, que también se encontraba herido en la cara, aunque superficialmente (*ferit en la cara, jaffós en poch proffunditat*), manifestó haber sido herido en los huertos de la villa con una azada, de la cual recibió un golpe en la cabeza y otro en la cara. Se pidió el reconocimiento de Pasqual y se dieron detalles minuciosos de la herida así como de las armas con las que podían haber sido realizadas. Aunque no se manifieste explícitamente, el cuidado con que se expresó el escribano parece fruto de una observación médica:

*fon vist e atrobat aquell aver e tenir en lo cap I<sup>a</sup> naffra o ferida a la part esquerra de l'arch, per la qual apparia ésser tallat lo cuyr e la carn tro en lo test, lo qual colp o naffra apparia ésser estada feita ab coltell o espaa. Ítem, li fon vist e atrobat I altra colp en la cara a la part esquerra, lo qual apparia ésser feit ab pedra, com fos quaix redó. Et dels quals colps no-s mostràs ésser estada exida sanch alcuna, com les dites ferides fosen ben denegades, mas emperò aquell dix Ramon dix [sic] que de aquelles en lo dit dia de dichmenge li era exida molta sanch, de la qual ell s'avia feit llavà e denegar.*

Lo que parecía una agresión debió ser un altercado entre ambos individuos y por eso se pidió a Sanç que hiciera la *dessospitació* de ambos. Así manifestó:

*vistes e ben regonegudes les naffres e ferides desús declarades et en la persona dels desús dits en Ferrer Busaldó e en Ramon Pasqual e per cascun de aquells contra l'altre feites. Et aver atrobades aquelles dites nafres ben curades e guarides, e los dits en Ferrer Busaldó e en Ramon Pasqual aver atrobats sens febra e sens dolor e que açellaven bé e menjaven bé, axí com a persones sanes, per la qual cosa per les dites nafres aquells tenint bon regiment e altre mal accident a aquell no sobrevinent ésser fora de perill e dupte de mort de e per les nafres o ferides dessús dites.*

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entre autores. Luis García Ballester, “La recepción del *Colliget* de Averroes en Montpellier (c. 1285) y su influencia en las polémicas sobre la naturaleza de la fiebre”, *Homenaje al profesor Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, OFM, con motivo de su LXX aniversario*, vol. 2, Granada 1987, pp. 317-332.

<sup>46</sup> Siraisi, *Medieval & Early...*, pp. 123-127. Una muestra de cómo las complicaciones posteriores a la herida, como las fiebres o las infecciones, podían dificultar la recuperación del herido, así como también la importancia dada a las purgaciones y la correcta alimentación del cuerpo para conseguir el restablecimiento de la salud pueden verse en el caso estudiado en Carmel Ferragud, “El metge sota sospita. Actuació mèdica en els testimonis pericials a ferits davant la cort del justícia criminal de la ciutat de València (1396)”, *Recerques* 62 (2011) 69-94.

<sup>47</sup> García Ballester, *La búsqueda...*, pp. 170-172.

<sup>48</sup> AMC, CJ, 1380, f. 216 (15-7-1380) y f. 229 (23-7-1380).



En este segundo caso, se precisó sobre un punto en el que siempre insistirán posteriormente los médicos. Así, se advertía que las heridas debían cuidarse correctamente, atendiendo a la prescripción médica, pero incluso así algún accidente imprevisto podría llevar a un desenlace inesperado. Y es que el pronóstico médico fue una de las cuestiones más complejas a las que se enfrentaban los practicantes de la medicina.

Especial consideración merecen dos *dessospitacions* que se localizan en Cocentaina ya a finales del siglo XIV, por tener rasgos comunes que no se encuentran con anterioridad. El 18 de abril de 1392, Focayna, una mora del *raval*, había denunciado a Jaume de Pujaçons por haber herido a su hijo. El justicia entonces pidió al médico Jucef Hatep que examinara al joven *moratell*. De la misma forma, el 24 de febrero de 1397, el cirujano Hamet Azeni examinó a Alfonset y a un joven moro de las heridas que se habían hecho el uno al otro. Éste manifestó que los había encontrado sin fiebre, que defecaban con normalidad y realizaban todas sus operaciones naturales<sup>49</sup>. No dejan de resultar particularmente interesantes diversos aspectos. Para empezar, la aparición de dos cirujanos mudéjares a finales de siglo XIV, cuando no existe ni el más mínimo rastro anterior, e incluso resulta sumamente complicado el poder encontrar practicantes de la medicina de esta religión en cualquier rincón del Reino de Valencia. Hace ya tiempo, García Ballester estableció las razones que empujaron al colectivo mudéjar al abandono progresivo de la profesión médica basada en principios racionales y su degeneración hacia otras formas de atención propias de la folk-medicina. Si bien en algunos núcleos mudéjares continuó la práctica de la medicina con base científica de forma aislada, ya fuera por grupos o individuos concretos, y se mantuvieron contactos con el mundo islámico oriental, la tendencia general de los mudéjares valencianos, después del exilio de la elite científico-cultural y económica a raíz de la conquista, fue su masiva ruralización y arrinconamiento hacia las zonas del interior montañoso del reino. Además, se desarrolló una creciente marginación social. Todos ellos fueron factores que no estimularon en absoluto el desarrollo de una minoría médica científicamente cultivada, una vez que se descompusieron las antiguas escuelas de medicina<sup>50</sup>.

Sin embargo, llama la atención el hecho de que en este caso aparezcan dos cirujanos mudéjares, que además son llamados por la justicia para efectuar un examen pericial. Si bien es cierto que en los dos casos se da la presencia de un afectado de religión musulmana, también lo es que en el segundo uno de los examinados era cristiano. Esto nos indica que una operación tan delicada, que ya por aquel tiempo estaba en la ciudad de Valencia en manos de médicos de gran prestigio, y preferentemente con formación universitaria, era confiada sin ningún complejo a unos personajes que compartían el mismo sistema médico y que mantenían el prestigio necesario para que se recurriera a ellos. En definitiva, estas noticias parecen

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<sup>49</sup> AMC, CJ, 1393 y 1397, s.f.

<sup>50</sup> Luis García Ballester, *Historia social de la medicina en la España de los siglos XIII al XVI*, vol. I, *La medicina musulmana y morisca*, Madrid 1976, pp. 29-55; idem, *La medicina a la València medieval...*, pp. 39-42. Un resumen de la práctica médica y veterinaria de mudéjares y moriscos en Valencia, en Carmel Ferragud, "La práctica de la medicina i la menescalia pels mudéjars i els moriscos del regne de València", in *Entre terra i fe. Els musulmans del regne cristià de València (1238-1609)*, Valencia 2009, pp. 325-340 (también en versión castellana).

indicar que tal vez fueran más los mudéjares dedicados a la medicina científica que los imaginados por García Ballester.

### **Conclusiones**

La información proporcionada por los archivos de Alcoi y Cocentaina corrobora el modelo de asistencia médico establecido por McVaugh y García Ballester para el Reino de Valencia y la Corona de Aragón en general antes de la Peste Negra. En la configuración del nuevo Reino de Valencia se hizo presente de inmediato el nuevo contexto en el que se movía la medicina y su práctica desde el último cuarto del siglo XIII. Efectivamente, la asistencia a los vecinos exigía la presencia de practicantes de la medicina bien adiestrados y conocedores del galenismo que se difundía desde la universidad. Los textos médicos se encontraban en circulación en lenguas vernáculas, ya que la gran mayoría de los individuos que ejercían la medicina se habían formada a través de un proceso artesanal y desconocían el latín. Estos mismos individuos contribuyeron a mejorar el funcionamiento de los engranajes que permitían la buena marcha de aquella sociedad, o al menos en ello confiaron las autoridades. El temprano recurso a un mecanismo pericial como la *dessospitació* así lo pone de manifiesto.

Ejercer la medicina en un contexto de movilidad social tan habitual tuvo sus complicaciones, pero el médico encontró mecanismos, como el contrato notarial, para asegurar el cobro de su salario. Eran mecanismos que ya venían utilizándose en sus lugares de origen, donde también en muchos casos la itinerancia del practicante de la medicina, médico o barbero, era habitual, y que no hicieron más que aplicarse en el reino valenciano, a donde se habían desplazado en busca de mejor fortuna. En cualquier caso, el practicante de la medicina encontró un contexto adecuado donde arraigar y donde, en algunos casos, hacer cierta fortuna.

### **Abstract**

During the second half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, an important migration process took place in the recently established Kingdom of Valencia. There was great social mobility across the rural villages, as observed in the cases of Alcoi and Cocentaina, on the Southern border of the kingdom. Such mobility gave rise to a particular model of medical care also characterized by the frequent roaming of its practitioners who, nevertheless, coexisted with a group of healers living in these small communities. The difficulties experienced by these doctors (either physicians or surgeons) and barbers while carrying out their professional activities and collecting their fees were derived from this mobility and the particularities of hectic life on the frontier. However, medical practitioners played an important role as advisors in the court.

### **Keywords**

Social mobility, patient dissatisfaction, doctor-patient relationship, rural practitioners.

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**Medici amalfitani del Medioevo**

Nella seconda metà del Quattrocento il primato che Salerno, quale città d'Ippocrate, per lungo tempo aveva goduto in maniera assoluta e indiscussa, era ormai un semplice ricordo. Già dopo la metà del Trecento la dotta Bologna aveva preso il suo posto, e la stessa Università di Napoli, fin dalla sua fondazione nel 1224, assurgeva, nel Regno, a polo della nuova scuola medica<sup>1</sup>. In particolare il nuovo Studio Generale, fondato da Federico II, oltre a richiamare illustri maestri con la promessa di lauti compensi e onori, offriva agli studenti privilegi e immunità<sup>2</sup>. Nel corso della dominazione angioina, i nuovi sovrani continuarono a corrispondere onori e ricchezze ai tanti docenti, italiani e stranieri, che si avvicendarono sulle varie cattedre. Con l'arrivo degli aragonesi, lo Studio risentì delle vicende politiche che, in maniera vorticosa, si susseguirono nel Regno.

E verso Napoli iniziarono ad indirizzarsi anche gli studenti provenienti dalla costiera amalfitana e coloro i quali volevano cimentarsi nella vita accademica.

La presenza di *maestri* o di semplici medici, nel ducato amalfitano, è testimoniata fin dalla prima metà del XII secolo: si ricordano i due *Iohannes medicus*, che compaiono come padre di un testimone in un atto del 1126<sup>3</sup> e del 1183<sup>4</sup>, e Giovanni Ferrario, medico di Guglielmo II e *signore* del castello di Gragnano<sup>5</sup>.

Un notevole contributo per la storia della medicina nel Regno di Napoli per il periodo angioino è stato fornito dal lavoro di Raffaele Calvanico, dal quale è possibile desumere tutta una serie di informazioni anche relative alla costiera

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<sup>1</sup> Mentre la Scuola di Salerno continuava i suoi insegnamenti ispirandosi alla lezione di Ippocrate e Galeno, la Scuola di Bologna si faceva promulgatrice delle dottrine arabe, e la stessa Scuola medica di Napoli, pur non apportando nessuna novità di dottrina, cercava di armonizzare i dogmi della Scuola salernitana con l'arabismo. In particolare durante il periodo angioino, su impulso di Carlo I, vengono tradotti da due medici ebrei siciliani, Musa da Palermo e Farag da Agrigento, con la collaborazione del medico salernitano Matteo Scillato, l'*Enciclopedia medica* di Al Hawi di Razi e alcune opere di Binghezla (cf. M. Fuiano, *Insegnamento e pratica di medicina a Napoli e Salerno nei secoli XIII-XV*, Quaderno n. 4 del Centro Studi e Documentazione della Scuola Medica Salernitana, Salerno 1981, p. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Torraca, "Le origini. L'età sveva", in *Storia dell'Università di Napoli*, Napoli 1924, p. 4: Agli uomini studiosi, che invitava ad assumere senza indugio lo insegnamento nello Studio, [Federico] prometteva lauti compensi ed onori. Agli scolari lodava Napoli, «dove tutte le cose abbondano, dove sono ampie e abbastanza spaziose le case, dove i costumi degli abitanti sono affabili, e dove facilmente si trasporta per terra e per mare tutto quanto è necessario alla vita».

<sup>3</sup> *Le Pergamene degli Archivi Vescovili di Amalfi e Ravello*, a cura di Jole Mazzoleni, Napoli 1972, vol. I, n. XXXII, pp. 45-46.

<sup>4</sup> Compare come *Iohannes de lu medico*, in *Il Codice Ferris. Cartulario Amalfitano (secolo X-XV)*, a cura di J. Mazzoleni e R. Orefice, Centro di Cultura e Storia amalfitana, Fonti 1/I, Amalfi 1985, n. CLXXIII, pp. 331-334.

<sup>5</sup> «Bartholomeus qui dicitur Ferrarius germanus mei ss. Mathei Ferrari iudicis, f. qd. Iohannis ... qui fuit f. Thomasii f. magistri Iohannis dom. Regis Guillelmi secundi medici et familiaris, olim domini castris Graniani ...» in *Codice Diplomatico Amalfitano* (da ora CDA), a cura di R. Filangieri, Napoli 1917 - Trani 1951, vol. II, p. 161, n. CCCCXVI, (1275). Il Camera afferma, però, che Giovanni Ferrara era originario di Salerno.

amalfitana<sup>6</sup>. Tra i medici<sup>7</sup> provenienti da Amalfi, dei quali viene generalmente fornito il luogo per il quale viene concessa la licenza di esercizio, oltre a pochi altri dati, troviamo: Filippo Cappasanti, che viene licenziato in medicina per i Giustizierati di Principato e Terra di Bari nel 1274<sup>8</sup>, e al quale viene data licenza anche per il Giustizierato di Sicilia al di quà del fiume Salso<sup>9</sup>, e Donadio di Guizzano<sup>10</sup>, entrambi «per magistrum Adam de Braya clericum et Thomam de Florencia medicos familiares et fideles nostros dilectos examinari fecimus [Karolus Dei gratia rex Scilie etc.] diligenter, peritus in medicinali sciencia ad curandum et practicandum in ea sufficiens sit inventus, ... Datum apud Lacumpensulem ... XXII septembris III indictionis»<sup>11</sup>; Francesco Pulcaro che «Die V aprilis eiusdem indictionis (VI) ibidem (Neapoli) similes facte sunt sub data Neapoli per Nicolaum Fricziam de Ravello<sup>12</sup> etc. anno Domini MCCCVIII, universis per Iustitiaratus Terre Bari, Principatus et Terre Laboris et Comitatus Molisii constitutis, pro magistro Francisco de Pulcaro de Amalfia, examinato per chirurgicos et familiares domini Ducis, perito in cura egritudinum vulnerum et apostematum»<sup>13</sup>.

Dal «Quaternus Notariorum puplicorum, Advocatorum, Phisicorum, Chirurgicorum, etc. (a. V ind., 1321-1322)» abbiamo notizia delle lettere di abilitazione per Terra di Lavoro, Molise e Principato concesse a Napoli per Bartolomeo di Capua<sup>14</sup> a Giacomo da Amalfi (che compare anche come Giacomo Vespulo di Filippo da

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<sup>6</sup> *Fonti per la storia della medicina e della chirurgia per il Regno di Napoli nel periodo angioino (a. 1273-1410)*, a cura di R. Calvanico, Napoli 1962. La ricerca del Calvanico fu effettuata sui Registri Angioini originali, esistenti presso l'Archivio di Stato di Napoli, prima della distruzione avvenuta nel 1943. La raccolta dei documenti fu in un primo momento offerta per la ricostruzione dei Registri Angioini perduti e solo in seguito, su suggerimento della stessa Direzione dell'Archivio, pubblicata in un'opera monografica.

<sup>7</sup> Il giovane dottore veniva designato, al principio della sua arte, col titolo di medicus, poi con quello di Magister, quando diventava autorevole componente della Scuola, cioè del *Conventus Magistrorum*. Cf. *Regimen Sanitatis. Flos Medicinæ Scholæ Salerni*, Traduzione e note di A. Sinno, Rist. anas. Milano 1987, p. XXXVI.

<sup>8</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 47, p. 5, (Reg. Ang. 1274, B, Carolus I, n. 19, f. 182).

<sup>9</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 49, p. 5, (Reg. Ang. 1274, B, Carolus I, n. 19, f. 182).

<sup>10</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 48, p. 5, (Reg. Ang. 1274, B, Carolus I, n. 19, f. 182).

<sup>11</sup> Va ricordato che, seguendo quanto stabilito dalla Costituzione di Ruggiero il Normanno e successivamente regolato da Federico II e dai sovrani angioini, l'esercizio dell'arte sanitaria nel Regno di Napoli poteva essere autorizzato solo dal monarca, previo esame e parere di una stabile commissione o di singoli maestri positamente delegati. Cf. *Fonti*, op. cit.

<sup>12</sup> Numerosi documenti, tra il 1300 e il 1302, sono dati da *Nicolaum Fricziam de Ravello, Locumtenentem Prothonotarii Regni Sicilie*: *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 372, p. 43; n. 377, pp. 43-44; n. 385, pp. 44-45; n. 401, p. 47; n. 407, p. 48; n. 426, p. 52; n. 429, p. 53; n. 431, pp. 53-54; n. 443, p. 55; n. 446, p. 56; n. 448, p. 56; n. 449, p. 56; n. 452, p. 57; n. 455, p. 58; n. 458, pp. 58-59; n. 459, p. 59; n. 460, p. 59; n. 463, pp. 59-60; n. 465, p. 60; n. 467, p. 61; n. 468, p. 61; n. 470, p. 62; n. 473, pp. 62-63; n. 474, p. 63; n. 475, p. 63; n. 477, p. 64; n. 478, pp. 64-65; n. 479, p. 65; n. 480, p. 65; n. 481, p. 65; n. 482, p. 65; n. 483, pp. 65-66; n. 484, p. 66; n. 485, p. 66; n. 486, p. 66; n. 487, p. 67; n. 489, p. 67; n. 490, pp. 67-68; n. 491, p. 68; n. 492, p. 68; n. 493, p. 68; n. 494, p. 68; n. 495, p. 68; n. 497, pp. 68-69; n. 498, p. 69; n. 499, p. 69; n. 501, p. 69; n. 503, p. 69; n. 504, p. 69; n. 506, p. 70; n. 507, p. 70; n. 508, p. 70; n. 509, p. 70; n. 510, pp. 70-71; n. 511, p. 71; n. 518, p. 72; n. 552, p. 75; n. 554, p. 76; n. 556, p. 76; n. 559, p. 77; n. 564, p. 77; n. 576, p. 79; n. 578, p. 80; n. 579, p. 80; n. 581, p. 81; n. 729, p. 97; n. 740, p. 98; n. 741, p. 98; n. 746, p. 98; n. 751, p. 99; n. 755, p. 99; n. 756, pp. 99-100; n. 837, p. 109; n. 838, p. 109; n. 839, pp. 109-110; n. 841, p. 110; n. 843, p. 110; n. 853, p. 111; n. 854, p. 111; n. 855, p. 111; n. 856, p. 112; n. 858, p. 112; n. 864, pp. 112-113; n. 865, p. 113; n. 872, p. 113; n. 873, p. 113; n. 876, p. 114; n. 877, p. 114; n. 879, p. 114; n. 881, pp. 114-115; n. 882, pp. 115-116; n. 883, p. 116; n. 887, p. 116; n. 892, p. 116; n. 3125, p. 223; n. 1204, p. 144; n. 1206, p. 144; n. 3125, p. 223; etc.

<sup>13</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 967, p. 125, (Reg. Ang. n. 167, f. 361).

<sup>14</sup> Il *miles* Bartolomeo de Capua era Logotheta e Protonotario *Regni Sicilie*.

Furore di Amalfi), chirurgo<sup>15</sup>, esaminato da Bartolomeo Macedonio da Napoli e da Giacomo da Salerno, medici, e da Napolitano di Castello da Napoli, chirurgo<sup>16</sup>; lettere di abilitazione, dal «Quaternus Notariorum etc. Phisicorum etc., Cirurgicorum etc. (a. IX ind., 1310-1311)», per Terra di Lavoro, Molise e Principato sono date a Marino de Santis, chirurgo, esaminato da maestro Salomone<sup>17</sup>; lettere di abilitazione, dal «Quaternus Notariorum puplicorum, Advocatorum, Phisicorum, Cirurgicorum. (a. I ind., 1317-1318)», per Principato, Capitanata e Terra di Bari, a Nicola Periulo (o Pezzulo), chirurgo<sup>18</sup>, il quale riceve anche lettere di abilitazione, dal «Quaternus Notariorum puplicorum, Iudicum, Advocatorum, Phisicorum, Cirurgicorum, etc. (a. IX ind., 1325-1326)», date a Napoli *per* Bartolomeo di Capua, *per* Terra di Lavoro e Molise<sup>19</sup>; lettere di abilitazione, «datum Neapoli per dominum Bartholomeum de Capua etc. anno Domini MCCCXXII, die XXII novembris VI indictionis, regnorum dicti domini Patris nostri anno XIII», per Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Principato e Basilicata vengono concesse a Cosma da Amalfi, chirurgo, già abilitato per Terra di Bari<sup>20</sup>; lettere di abilitazione, da «De Nundinis, de Notaris, de Curialatu, de Phisicis, de Cirurgia, de Legitimatione. (a. IX ind., 1310-1311)», date a Napoli *per* Bartolomeo di Capua, per Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Principato, Capitanata, Basilicata e Val di Crati, ad Andrea da Amalfi, medico, esaminato da Francesco da Piedimonte e da Antonio de Areis<sup>21</sup>. Sempre da Amalfi troviamo Tommaso de Ligorio<sup>22</sup>; Giacomo Amalfitano di Amalfi, *filius domini Mauri Amalfitani, clericus et preclarissimus medicus*<sup>23</sup>; *magister Angelus Arcucius de Amalfia phisycus cantor Amalfitane ecclesie*<sup>24</sup>, *magister Andrea Pappa de Amalfia phisycus*<sup>25</sup>, e suo figlio Giacomo<sup>26</sup>; Luise e Girolamo del Giudice, padre e figlio, fisici, il primo morto a Cosenza nel 1473, l'altro in Amalfi nel 1554<sup>27</sup>.

Da Scala provengono: Leone di Scala, medico, al quale è concessa (Trani, 7 maggio) licenza per il Regno<sup>28</sup>; maestro Gervasio di Scala, medico abitante a Trani,

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<sup>15</sup> Quando Federico II riordina gli studi di medicina a Napoli, stabilisce un corso di otto anni (tre anni di logica e cinque di medicina) nei quali è compreso anche un corso di chirurgia, che rappresentava una disciplina quasi a parte. Dopo gli otto anni era previsto ancora un altro anno di pratica abilitante con un medico esperto. Solo dopo, fatto il giuramento, si otteneva la licenza per l'esercizio della professione. Cf. Fuiano, *Insegnamento*, p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1433, p. 158, (Reg. Ang. n. 189, f. 293, t.), n. 1869, p. 194, (Reg. Ang. 1321-1322, Carolus Illustris, n. 240, f. 252).

<sup>17</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1460, p. 160, (Reg. Ang. n. 194, f. 78).

<sup>18</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1583, p. 171, (Reg. Ang. n. 213, f. 295).

<sup>19</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3050, p. 217, (Reg. Ang. n. 261, f. 235).

<sup>20</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1932, p. 200, (Reg. Ang. n. 246, f. 65, t.), n. 1966, p. 203, (Reg. Ang. 1322-1323. D. Carolus Illustris, n. 247, f. 261, t.).

<sup>21</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3553, p. 257, (Reg. Ang. Robertus, E, n. 332, f. 28).

<sup>22</sup> M. Camera, *Memorie storiche-diplomatiche dell'antica città e ducato di Amalfi*, Salerno 1876 (rist. anast. Amalfi 1999), vol. I, p. 640 (a. 1289).

<sup>23</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. I, p. 490.

<sup>24</sup> F. M. Pansa, *Istoria dell'antica repubblica di Amalfi*, Napoli 1724 (rist. anast. Bologna 1965), II, pp. 131-132 (a. 1363?).

<sup>25</sup> Pansa, op. cit., II, pp. 145-146 (a. 1414).

<sup>26</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. I, p. 640, (a. 1435).

<sup>27</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. I, p. 640. Da notare che il Camera chiama in altra pagina della sua opera i due del Giudice Luigi e Geronimo: Camera, op. cit., vol. I, p. 655.

<sup>28</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 9, p. 2, (Reg. Ang. 1268, O, Carolus I, n. 2, f. 70, t.).

cui viene concessa, nella stessa data, simile licenza per il Regno<sup>29</sup>, che era anche medico di Carlo I d'Angiò, specializzato nella cura delle malattie degli occhi, e veniva non di rado citato dai maestri della Scuola salernitana, dove quasi sicuramente aveva studiato<sup>30</sup>; Riccardo Frisari, che aveva studiato a Salerno e che viene indicato come *miles et medicinae professor*<sup>31</sup>. Una licenza viene data *pro magistro Santoro*: «Die XXV februarii prime indictionis similes facte sunt universis per Iustitiaratus Calabrie et Terre Bari, pro magistro Santoro, iuniore, de Scala, phisico, de praticando in eadem scientia, sub data Neapoli per Nicolaum Frcziam de Ravello» [agosto 1302 - aprile 1303]<sup>32</sup>. Il medico Santoro di Giunone<sup>33</sup> «per magistrum Iacobum Pipinum de Brundusio medicinalis scientie doctorem, dilectum fisicum, familiarem et fidelem nostrum, examinari fecimus in Curia diligenter, peritus in medicine scientia ad curandum et praticandum in ea sufficiens sit inventus ... Datum Neapoli etc. anno Domini MCCCII, die penultimo augusti I indictionis regnorum nostrorum anno XVIII» ed ebbe licenza da Bartolomeo di Capua per Calabria e Terra di Bari<sup>34</sup>.

Si hanno, poi, lettere di abilitazione, dal «Quaternus Notariorum puplicorum, Advocatorum, Fisicorum, Chirurgicorum (a. XI ind., 1312-1313)» per Principato, Basilicata e Terra di Bari, concesse a Dionisio Frezza, abitante di Potenza, chirurgo, esaminato da Guglielmo da Lanciano, da maestro Salomone e da Giovanni di Blasio<sup>35</sup>; e simili per Principato, Calabria, Valle di Crati e Terra d'Otranto, a Pietro Scarrapronai (?), chirurgo, esaminato da Montereale, chirurgo<sup>36</sup>; simili per Terra di Lavoro, Molise e Principato a Paolo d'Amato da Scala, medico<sup>37</sup>.

Di Ravello è Ventura Nusca che viene licenziato in medicina per il Giustizierato di Terra di Lavoro<sup>38</sup>; una licenza viene data a *maestro Bartholomeo Castaldo*: «Die quintodecimo mensis februarii XIII indictionis, Neapoli, similes facte sunt universis per Iustitiaratus Principatus ultra citraque serras Montorii, Capitinate et Terre Ydronti constitutis sub data per Nicolaum Fricziam de Ravello, fideli nostro,

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<sup>29</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 18, p. 2, (Reg. Ang. 1268, O, Carolus I, n. 2, f. 70, t.).

<sup>30</sup> Gervasio ottenne in dono dal re alcuni beni a Minori, come testimoniato da due documenti dei Registri angioini: «Magistro Gervasio de Scala medico nostro cui concessimus quandam vineam in pertinentiis Minori in loco ubi dicitur balagaij, iuxta bona Matthei Capuani, provisio contra dictum Mattheum destituentem eum dicta vinea» (1274); «Joanni de Aqua de Ravello notario familiari cui concessimus bona burgensatica sita in Minoro de ducatu Amalfie, que fuerunt quondam Matthei et Nicolai Musca proditorum, olim concessa per quondam Regem patrem nostrum magistro Gervasio de Scala fisico, post cuius mortem concessimus eidem Joanni in auxilium maritagij filiarum suarum; que bona sita sunt videlicet in loco Petrastricta et Conti Mediocaput, castanietum in loco Sanguinetti, et vineam supra Maiorum in loco velagni iuxta bona Matthei Capuani militis, jardenum situm in plano Minori iuxta ripa fluminis» (1295). M. Camera, *Memorie storiche-diplomatiche dell'antica città e ducato di Amalfi*, Salerno 1876 (rist. anast. Amalfi 1999), vol. II, p. 294.

<sup>31</sup> Doc. del 1306, Camera, op. cit., vol. II, p. 403.

<sup>32</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 559, p. 77, (Reg. Ang. 1302-1303, A, Carolus II, n. 123, f. 361).

<sup>33</sup> Che potrebbe coincidere con il precedente: sono diversi, infatti, gli errori di trascrizione del Calvanico, nonchè di identificazione dei medici che in qualche caso vengono "sdoppiati".

<sup>34</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 711, p. 95, (Reg. Ang. n. 146, f. 105 t.).

<sup>35</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1479, p. 162, (Reg. Ang. n. 200, f. 225).

<sup>36</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1581, p. 171, (Reg. Ang. n. 213, f. 295).

<sup>37</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3317, p. 238, (Reg. Ang. n. 297, f. 62, settembre 1334 - agosto 1335). Camera, op. cit., vol. I, p. 490.

<sup>38</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 69, p. 6, (Reg. Ang., B, Carolus I, n. 19, f. 182, a. 1274).



de praticando in arte phisice»<sup>39</sup>; un'altra ad Andrea de Barbara: «Die XXVII iulii XV indictionis, Neapoli, similes facte sunt universis per Iustitiarius Principatus ultra citraque serras Montorii constitutis pro magistro Andrea de Barbara de Ravello, chirurgico (ut supra) quod sufficiens sit inventus (hic sequenter) licet alias illitteratus existat, Nos, recepto etc. (ut supra) quod possit praticari in arte chirurgie. Sub data per Bartholomeum de Capua»<sup>40</sup>.

Lettere di abilitazione a curare vengono date in Napoli da Bartolomeo di Capua, per Principato e Terra di Lavoro, ad Enrico de Tillano<sup>41</sup>, esaminato da Francesco da Piedimonte e trovato *peritus in cura bubonium, fistularum, scrofularum et vulnerum non periculosorum*<sup>42</sup>; e ancora al maestro Leonardo Scarreca: «Die XIII ianuarii V indictionis, Neapoli, similes facte sunt universis per Iustitiarius Principatus, Calabrie, Basilicate ac Terre Laboris et Comitatus Molisii constitutis, pro magistro *Leonardo Scarreca* de Ravello, fideli paterno, (mutato ubi legitur peritus in cura egritudinum vulnerum et ulcerum huic vero mutatur in) cura egritudinum vulnerum et apostematum, examinato per chirurgicos nostros. Sub data per Nicolaum Fricziam de Ravello»<sup>43</sup>. Potrebbe essere lo stesso medico Leonardo Sanneca de Ravello, *peritus in cura egritudinum, vulnerum et apostematum*, che riceve lettere di abilitazione per Principato, Calabria, Basilicata, Terra di Lavoro e Molise<sup>44</sup>. Sempre di Ravello è il chirurgo Giacomo Infante, che ottenne lettere di abilitazione per Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Principato, Basilicata e Terra di Bari<sup>45</sup> e per Principato, Basilicata, Val di Crati, Calabria e Terra Giordana<sup>46</sup>. Il medico Nicola di Marzano ricevette lettere di abilitazione per Terra di Lavoro, Molise e Principato<sup>47</sup>. Dal «Quaternus Notariorum puplicorum, Advocatorum, Fisicorum, Chirurgicorum, etc.», è estratto il duplicato della licenza «Sibilie de Afflicto de Benevento habitatrici Fogie exercitate in

<sup>39</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 448, p. 56, (Reg. Ang. n. 104, f. 285, t.), n. 1325, p. 151, (Reg. Ang. n. 181, f. 5, t., a. XIV ind., 1300-1301).

<sup>40</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 512, p. 71, (Reg. Ang. n. 119, f. 378).

<sup>41</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3126, pp. 223-224: «Pro magistro Henrico de Tillano. Karolus secundus etc. Universis per Iustitiarius Principatus et Terre Laboris constitutis presentes litteras inspecturis fidelibus suis etc. Cum magister Henrico de Tillano civis Ravelli chirurgicus fidelis noster de cuius fide et legalitate et quod est de genere fidelium ortus per testimoniale scriptus puplicum universitatis dicte civitatis Ravelli quod Nobis in curia presentavit laudabile testimonium curia ipsa recepit et quem per magistrum Franciscum de Pedemonte fisicum familiarem et fidelem nostrum examinari fecimus diligenter peritus in arte chirurgie videlicet ad curandum et praticandum in curis bubonum fistularum scrofularum et vulnerum non periculosorum sufficiens sit inventus, Nos recepto prius ab eo solito fidelitatis et quod iuxta tradiciones ipsius artis in curis prefatis curabit fideliter corpolariter iuramento licentiam sibi curandi et praticandi in predictis curis bubonum scrofulorum fistularum et vulnerum non periculosorum per predictos per Iusticiarius Principatus et Terre Laboris tenore presencium duximus concedendam, fidelitati vestre presencium tenore mandantes quatenus eundem magistrum Henricum curare et praticari in curis predictis per prefatos Iusticiarius Principatus et Terre Laboris ad honorem et fidelitatem nostram heredumque nostrorum ac utilitatem fidelium parcium earumdem libere permictatis nullum sibi super hoc impedimentum vel obstaculum inferendo. Datum Neapoli per Bartholomeum de Capua militem etc. anno Domini MCCCVI die XX mensis aprilis IIII indictionis», (Reg. Ang. n. 275, f. 82, t.).

<sup>42</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 754, p. 99, (Reg. Ang. n. 147, f. 345, t., settembre 1305 - agosto 1306).

<sup>43</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 838, p. 109, (Reg. Ang. n. 160, f. 188, t., settembre 1306 - agosto 1307).

<sup>44</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 847, p. 110, (Reg. Ang. n. 160, f. 188, t., Die IIII iulii V indictionis, Neapoli).

<sup>45</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1927, p. 200, (Reg. Ang. n. 246, f. 56, t., anno Domini MCCCXXII, die XXII novembris VI indictionis, regnorum dicti domini Patris nostri anno XIII).

<sup>46</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1970, pp. 203-204, (Reg. Ang., D. Carolus Illustris, n. 247, f. 265, a. VI ind., 1322-1323).

<sup>47</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3098, p. 221, (Reg. Ang. n. 265, f. 49, a. X ind., 1326-1327).

medendis bubonibus apostematibus et similia in quibus curandis sufficiens est inventa, privilegium quod mederi possit»<sup>48</sup>. È evidente che la medichessa non rientra in senso stretto nell'analisi che stiamo qui affrontando, ma non è secondario segnalare da un lato la sua probabile appartenenza ad una delle famiglie più in vista dell'antico ducato, e dall'altro la particolare presenza femminile che va a confermare, così come aveva già fatto Trotula de Ruggiero, una tradizione *altera* nel mondo medico<sup>49</sup>. Maggiori notizie abbiamo per Marino Del Forno<sup>50</sup>, nato e vissuto a Ravello, e figlio di *maestro* Bartolomeo, il quale probabilmente era anche medico. Esercitò sin dall'anno 1242. Nel 1270 ricoprì la carica di giudice annuale. Morì nel 1277 e fu sepolto nell'atrio del Duomo<sup>51</sup>. Alla famiglia Del Forno appartenevano i medici Leone e Giacomo, figli di Giovanni ed entrambi dottori fisici; Pietro e Gio. Matteo, figli di Lancellotto e di Marchisella de Maranta, che furono tutti e tre insieme col padre medici a Gragnano tra il 1450 e il 1508; Antonio, medico cerusico, che si prodigò a Ravello durante la peste del 1528; Giacomo che fu dottore fisico a Ravello nel 1533; Ludovico che esercitò la sua arte ad Amalfi e che morì nel 1581; Cosmo, figlio del medico Vito Antonio, che trasferì attività e abitazione nell'antica capitale del ducato e che diede vita al ramo dei Del Forno di Amalfi<sup>52</sup>. Di Ravello anche Giovanni Pironti, che aveva studiato a Salerno ed era medico e familiare di Carlo II, che lo nominò lettore di medicina nello Studio napoletano<sup>53</sup>.

Né mancano medici provenienti da centri minori della costiera amalfitana: nel 1274 viene licenziato in medicina Giovanni da Atrani di Napoli per il Giustizierato di Terra di Lavoro e Molise<sup>54</sup>. Da Agerola provengono: Palmiero de Rosa, medico, esaminato da Guglielmo Comite da Salerno, abilitato per Principato, Terra di Lavoro e Calabria<sup>55</sup> e successivamente quale chirurgo per l'Abruzzo<sup>56</sup>; il medico Baldo, abilitato per Principato<sup>57</sup>; il medico Franzone di Matteo di Vitalbo, abilitato per Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Principato e Basilicata<sup>58</sup>; Fuscolo Ricca, chirurgo

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<sup>48</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3407, p. 245, (Reg. Ang. n. 318, f. 90, t., a. VII ind., 1338-1339).

<sup>49</sup> La presenza di Trotula nella Scuola Medica Salernitana, secondo alcuni studiosi, è suffragata anche dalla sua coerenza sia con la cultura medievale longobarda, - e Benevento, insieme a Salerno, è il centro di diffusione di questa cultura -, in cui la donna condivideva con l'uomo le responsabilità politiche e religiose e spesso anche militari, sia con l'organizzazione stessa della scuola medica, che non precludeva l'accesso alle donne all'arte medica né al divenire Magistra. Si veda anche: P. Boggi Cavallo, "Donne e medichesse a Salerno: Trotula de' Ruggiero", *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 12 (1989); G.D. Crescenzo, "Figure della Scuola Medica Salernitana. Trotula De Ruggiero", *Civitas Hippocratica* 1 (1967) 52-54.

<sup>50</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. II, p. 403.

<sup>51</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. II, p. 317. Lo stesso Camera nel riportare l'epitaffio afferma che la morte è avvenuta nel 1297: «Marmoris haec fossa MARINI continet ossa dicti DE FURNO cognomine, qui diuturno Tempore dum vixit, medicina dogmata dixit. Hac cessante rota, defecit Physica tota. Det tibi det munus qui regnat Trinus et unus. Det MARINI tibi requiem que sit sine fine».

<sup>52</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 403-405.

<sup>53</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. II, p. 403. G. M. Monti, "L'età angioina", in *Storia dell'Università di Napoli*, p. 85 (Reg. Ang. 1300, E, n. 118 f. 171, t.).

<sup>54</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 55, p. 5, (Reg. Ang. 1274, B, Carolus I, n. 19, f. 182).

<sup>55</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1440, pp. 158-159, (Reg. Ang. n. 189, f. 296, a. V ind., 1321-1322).

<sup>56</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3141, p. 225, (Reg. Ang. 1329, E, Robertus, n. 278, f. 281).

<sup>57</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1556, p. 169, (Reg. Ang. 1317, C, Robertus, n. 213, f. 290).

<sup>58</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1815, p. 190, (Reg. Ang. n. 233, f. 373, a. IV ind., 1320-1321), n. 1898, p. 197, (Reg. Ang. 1322, A, Carolus Illustris, n. 242, f. 139).

*idiota*<sup>59</sup>, che riceve lettere di abilitazione per Terra di Lavoro, Molise e Principato<sup>60</sup>; lettere di abilitazione per il Principato, dal «Quaternus Notariorum puplicorum, Iudicum, Advocatorum, Phisicorum, Chirurgicorum, etc.», vengono inviate al chirurgo Martuccio da Agerola<sup>61</sup>; così come, sempre per il Principato, al medico Giovanni Iuvene<sup>62</sup>; lettere di abilitazione per Terra di Lavoro, Molise e Principato a Pietro Giovine, medico<sup>63</sup>.

Di Maiori sono Giovanni da Maiori, medico, esaminato dai maestri Filippo e Francesco, che riceve lettere di abilitazione, da «De Nundinis, de Notaris, de Curialatu, de Phisicis, de Chirurgia, de Legitimatione», per Principato, Basilicata e Capitanata<sup>64</sup>; e il chirurgo Andrea di Adamo, abilitato per Terra di Lavoro<sup>65</sup>. Nardello Mirocapillo da Maiori fu illustre medico del duca Antonio Piccolomini (1461-1495)<sup>66</sup>.

Per Tramonti abbiamo: Filippo Palumbo, che dopo essere stato esaminato dal *maestro Tommaso de Florencia* («datum Capue per Magnum Cancellarium, die XII martii V indictionis»), viene licenziato in medicina per il Principato e la Terra Benventana<sup>67</sup>; esaminato dai *maestri Symone, Gerardo e Tommaso de Florencia* fu Tommaso di Geta, licenziato in medicina per il Giustizierato di Principato e Terra Benventana<sup>68</sup>; licenza fu data al *maestro* Nicola Pisacano: «Karolus secundus etc. Universis per Iusticiariatum Principatus ultra citraque serras Montorii ac Capitanate constitutis etc. Sicut per patentes licteras Roberti primogeniti nostri Ducis Calabrie ac in Regno Sicilie Vicarii Generalis, sigillatas pendentis sigillo Vicariatus quo utimur, et ostentas in Curia nostra, Nobis constat de fide et legalitate magistri Nicolai Pisecani de Tramonto ... ipsoque magistrum Franciscum, medicum et familiarem Ducis eiusdem examinato in medicinali scientia diligenter, ... ab eoque recepto fidelitatis ... iuramento, Dux ipse prefato phisico magistro Nicolao curandi et praticandi in predicta scientia per totam provinciam Principatus duxit licentiam concedendam. Cum itaque dictus magister Nicolaus auctoritate predictarum licterarum ... praticari hucusque fruetur et ... ydoneus ad curandum ... constat, Nos licentiam sibi curandi et praticandi in iamdicta scientia ... per totos predictos Iusticiariatus ... tenore presentium duximus similiter concedendam, vobis ... mandantes quatenus eundem magistrum Nicolaum curare et praticari per totos predictos Iusticiariatus in prelibata

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<sup>59</sup> Il termine *idiota* serviva, forse, ad indicare la mancanza d'esperienza, cioè di quella pratica abilitante di un anno con un altro medico esperto, Nel Du Cange il termine significa anche *imperitus*.

<sup>60</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 2065, p. 211, (Reg. Ang. n. 257, f. 12, a. VIII ind., 1324-1325).

<sup>61</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3121, p. 222, (Reg. Ang. n. 275, f. 82, a. XIII ind., 1329-1330).

<sup>62</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3222, p. 231, (Reg. Ang. n. 281, f. 195, t., a. XIV ind., 1330-1331).

<sup>63</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3364, p. 242, (Reg. Ang. n. 312, f. 226, a. VI ind., 1337-1338).

<sup>64</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3550, p. 257, (Reg. Ang. Robertus, E, n. 332, f. 28, a. IX ind., 1310-1311).

<sup>65</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3403, p. 245, (Reg. Ang. n. 313, f. 224, a. VII ind., 1338-1339). In una registrazione successiva si fa menzione del duplicato della licenza di chirurgia, idem, n. 3411, p. 246, (Reg. Ang. n. 318, f. 103, a. VII ind., 1338-1339).

<sup>66</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 533-534. Andrea Sinno, nella sua introduzione al testo *Regimen Sanitatis Flos Medicinæ Scholæ Salerni*, afferma che il Nardello che tenne cattedra nella capitale dal 1471 al 1480, quando de medicina de nonis, quando de medicina de mane, fosse Nardello Mirocapillo di Maiori: Sinno, op. cit., p. LVIII.

<sup>67</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 145, p. 13, (Reg. Ang. 1276, A, Carolus I, n. 25, f. 203).

<sup>68</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 188, pp. 16-17, (Reg. Ang. 1277, D, Carolus I, n. 32, f. 306, Dat. Melfie, XXIII septembris, VI indictionis).

medicinali scientia ... libere permictatis ... Datum Neapoli per Batholomeum de Capua etc., die VIII novembris prime indictionis»<sup>69</sup>.

Abbiamo, poi, lettere di abilitazione per Terra di Lavoro, Molise e Principato a Florio di Fontanella, da Tramonti, chirurgo esaminato da Maestro Guglielmo *de Lanzano*<sup>70</sup> (cirurgicum, familiarem, et fidelem regium, perito in arte chirurgie et ad curandum et praticandum in lapide vessice, in simplicibus vulneribus, in sutura abscessique sectione et in lapidis extractionis cura)<sup>71</sup>, e in un documento coevo ritroviamo Florio come *magister Flore Fontanula de castro Tramonti: examinatus fuit per magistrum Guilielmum de Lanzano chirurgicum regium familiarem et fidelem*<sup>72</sup>.

Il medico Filippo di Alfano<sup>73</sup> venne abilitato per il Principato e il medico Pietro di Maranta per Principato, Val di Crati e Terra Giordana<sup>74</sup>. Alla famiglia Maranta apparteneva Bartolomeo, nativo di Venosa ma oriundo di Tramonti, che fu, alla metà del XVI secolo, medico e botanico di grande fama<sup>75</sup>. Anche i Maranta, come i Del forno a Ravello, ebbero diversi medici tra i loro rappresentanti: Andrea, detto Andrillo, è indicato come dottore fisico in un documento notarile del 1377; il figlio di Andrea, il già citato Pietro, fu dottore fisico *et vir sapiens* (1418-1446); il figlio di quest'ultimo, Landolfo, fu a sua volta medico e consigliere di Eleonora d'Aragona, duchessa di Amalfi; così come fu dottore fisico Silvestro, figlio di Landolfo (1500-1527)<sup>76</sup>. Di Tramonti erano anche Paolo de Mola, *milite* ed insigne professore di medicina nell'Archiginnasio napoletano al tempo della regina Giovanna II, che veniva denominato il Padovano, avendo studiato medicina a Padova<sup>77</sup>, e Giuliano Giordano *artium et medicinae doctor*, dimorante a Napoli nel 1498<sup>78</sup>. Originario della zona di confine del ducato era mastro Magno Casanova del borgo delle Franche *pertinentiarum castris Pini*<sup>79</sup>.

Di particolare interesse è la figura di Pietro Gulioso<sup>80</sup> di Amalfi, che rivolse la sua azione all'insegnamento e al commento di alcune opere mediche, e a cui Michele Fuiano<sup>81</sup> e Carlo De Frede<sup>82</sup> hanno dedicato interessanti saggi.

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<sup>69</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 582, pp. 80-81, (Reg. Ang. n. 123, f. 363, a. I ind., 1302-1303), n. 688, p. 93, (Reg. Ang. n. 146, f. 104, a. I ind., 1302-1303).

<sup>70</sup> Di Maestro Guglielmo sappiamo anche che era *peritus in cura egritudinum oculorum et simplicium vulnere, et peritus in cura vulnere recentium et apostematum, tamquam ydiota*.

<sup>71</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1039, p. 133, (Reg. Ang. n. 168, f. 268, a. VII ind., 1308-1309).

<sup>72</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 1286, p. 148, (Reg. Ang. n. 180, f. 212, a. VII ind., 1308-1309).

<sup>73</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3498, p. 253, (Reg. Ang. n. 325, f. 236, t., a. X ind., 1341-1342).

<sup>74</sup> *Fonti*, op. cit., n. 3433, p. 248, (Reg. Ang. n. 320, f. 267, a. VIII ind., 1339-1340).

<sup>75</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. II, p. 452.

<sup>76</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. II, p. 454.

<sup>77</sup> Di questo medico si fa menzione in un privilegio concesso dalla stessa regina al Collegio medico di Napoli, come riportato da Giambattista Bolvito, cf. Camera, op. cit., vol. II, p. 468; E. Cannavale, *Lo studio di Napoli nel Rinascimento*, Napoli, 1895, p. 18.

<sup>78</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 468-469.

<sup>79</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. I, p. 490.

<sup>80</sup> Non si hanno molte notizie sugli esponenti della famiglia Gulioso: *Iacobus de Gulioso iudex* (in CDA, vol. II, pp. 199-200, n. CCCCLX, a. 1288; pp. 234-235, n. DVII, a. 1314); *Bartholomeus de Gulioso de Amalfia, campsor, habitator Panormi* (P. Gulotta, *Le imbreviature del notaio Adamo De Citella a Palermo (1298-1299)*, Roma 1982); forse si trovava anche a Palermo, o comunque in Sicilia, *magistro Thomasio de Gulioso* che si nomina nel ricorso del 1269 a re Carlo, per essere esentati dal pagamento nell'isola di collette e pesi fiscali, non avendo in quel luogo beni stabili (Camera, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 204-205); dal regesto dell'atto, con data topica Tunisi, stipulato, il 2 aprile 1289 veniamo a conoscenza del notaio *Tomaso de Gulioso*, atto in cui Iacopo Dalmao di Barcellona dichiara di avere ricevuto da Marchixio Traverso e Percivalle

Pietro che era figlio di Leonardo<sup>83</sup> (entrambi *artium et medicinae doctores*) sposò nel 1454 la nobildonna amalfitana Medea Magliano<sup>84</sup>, ma abbiamo sue notizie, come medico, a partire dall'anno accademico 1465-1466, dalle cedole della Tesoreria aragonese, trascritte da Ettore Cannavale<sup>85</sup>. Lo Studio, che era stato riaperto da Alfonso I d'Aragona nel 1451, aveva subito una nuova chiusura, probabilmente tra il 1455<sup>86</sup> e il 1465, a causa delle controversie tra Ferdinando I e il Papa, che non voleva riconoscerlo come legittimo successore di Alfonso, e delle successive vicende. Proprio nel 1465 Ferdinando ordinò che lo Studio venisse riaperto, e durante il lungo regno del secondo aragonese si ebbe il massimo periodo di splendore, anche se vi furono altre chiusure: secondo quanto ricostruito dal Cannavale lo Studio potrebbe essere rimasto chiuso dal 1474 al 1478 e dal 1480 al 1487, ma mancano anche documenti posteriori al 1488<sup>87</sup>.

Il cognome, per gli anni 1465-66, varia nelle cedole della Tesoreria secondo le forme *Golisso, Galiosso, Gollonisi, Golioso, Golisi, Gollisi, Golissi, de Gollis*<sup>88</sup>, mentre per gli anni successivi troviamo il nome Pietro semplicemente accompagnato dall'espressione *de Amalfa* o *de malfa* o *de amalfia*<sup>89</sup>, ma nella forma Gulioso si trova già in documenti amalfitani del XIII e del XIV secolo, come nel caso del mercante *Thomasius de Gulvioso*<sup>90</sup>. Nell'edizione delle opere di Mesue, da lui curata, appare con il nome di *Petrus Gulosius de Amalfia*<sup>91</sup>.

Un documento lo dice già morto nel 1479<sup>92</sup>. Da questo stesso documento, una lettera, si apprende che ebbe un figlio di nome Nardo Antonio e una figlia lasciata alla sua morte in età da marito; che fu uomo integro e maestro assai legato al dovere. La sua fine dovuta, forse, al contagio di peste avvenne per essersi indugiato a partire

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ferrarius quanto da loro dovutogli per il frumento a loro venduto e che egli ha caricato sulla loro navis (in G. Pistarino, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Tunisi da Pietro Battifoglio (1288-1289)*, Genova 1986); *Petrus de Gulioso iudex* (in CDA, vol. II, pp. 232-233, n. DIV, a. 1313); *Bartus de Galioso iudex* (in CDA, vol. II, pp. 261-262, n. DXLIV, a. 1323). Abbiamo ancora notizia di un giudice *Thomasius de Gulioso* per il 1384; di *Petrus de gulioso clericus amalfitanus*, rettore della chiesa S. Simone di Atrani (e suo padre il nobile Nardello) nel 1434; del nobile *Nardellus de Gulioso* (molto probabilmente da identificarsi con il precedente) e della figlia *Corradina* nel 1447; del *nobilis vir* Antonio Brancia (menzionato in atti notarili tra il 1475 e il 1502) che sposò Ursina (o Fortuna) Gulioso e del *clericus Nardus Antonius de Gulioso*, rettore della chiesa S. Maria de Lupino nel 1512. Secondo il Ricca i de Gulioso risultano tra le famiglie nobili amalfitane ascritte ai sedili di Napoli, cf. E. Ricca, *Istoria de' feudi del Regno delle Due Sicilie di qua dal faro*, vol. IV, Napoli 1869, p. 739.

<sup>81</sup> M. Fuiano, *Maestri di medicina e filosofia a Napoli nel Quattrocento*, Napoli 1973, pp. 41-58.

<sup>82</sup> C. De Frede, "Pietro di Taranto e Pietro Gulioso. Per la storia dello Studio di Napoli nel Quattrocento", *Napoli Nobilissima*, V ser., I, fascic. III-IV (mag.-ag. 2000) 97-104.

<sup>83</sup> Camera, op. cit., vol. I, p. 655 (1420-1454).

<sup>84</sup> M. Del Treppo - A. Leone, *Amalfi medioevale*, Salerno 1977, p. 275.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Cannavale, op. cit.

<sup>86</sup> Per il Filangieri potrebbe essere stato chiuso nel 1456, cf. R. Filangieri Di Candida, "L'età aragonese", in *Storia dell'Università di Napoli*, p. 160.

<sup>87</sup> Mentre per il primo periodo non vi è motivo di ritenere che lo Studio fosse rimasto chiuso, per il secondo bisogna tenere in considerazione che in quegli anni ci fu la guerra d'Otranto e quella di Ferrara, oltre alla congiura dei Baroni, cf. Filangieri Di Candida, op. cit., p. 166.

<sup>88</sup> Cannavale, op. cit.: doc. 24, 44, 70, 88, 110, 133, 158, 185.

<sup>89</sup> L'Origlia menziona un Pietro d'Amalfi che operò nello Studio, senza alcun'altra informazione. G. Origlia, *Istoria dello Studio di Napoli*, Napoli 1753-54, vol. II, p. 259.

<sup>90</sup> I Registri della Cancelleria angioina ricostruiti da R. Filangieri, IV, Napoli 1952, p. 166 (anno 1270).

<sup>91</sup> M. Fava e G. Bresciano, *La stampa a Napoli nel XV secolo*, Leipzig 1911-1913.

<sup>92</sup> Cannavale, op. cit., doc. 925.

da Napoli, legato com'era alla scuola e al suo compito di medico, durante l'ondata di peste nel 1479, e la cui grande moria viene raccontata da alcuni cronisti del tempo<sup>93</sup>. La lettera viene scritta dal governatore dello Studio, il frate domenicano Enrico Languardo di Palermo, al tesoriere regio Francesco Coppola, per sollecitarlo a pagare ai figli del Gulioso l'ultimo stipendio. Si consideri l'importanza di quest'ultimo in virtù del fatto che non erano previste pensioni per gl'insegnanti, né tanto meno per mogli o figli:

Magnifico Misser Franc.º,

ve aviso che se alcun doctor deve essere pagato e satisfatto delo legere in lo Studio, massimamente divia esser pagato lo condam Misser Pietro d'Amalfi et mo, per ipso, lo figlio so herede, per che niuno doctor lesse tucto lo tempo che se devia legere, como fue Misser Pietro predicto, intanto che fo l'ultimo a partire di Napoli epo forsi morio. Fu homo da bene, de optima consciencia: po vi prego no fazati dubio alcuno a pagar la provisione sua al so figlio Nardo Antonio portatore dela presente, e pregovi per amor de Deu et de Xgme.ma. lo tractate bene, per che so poveri et haveno a maritar una figlia de Misser Pietro predicto.

La vostra virtute farà come homo piatuso.

In Napoli, 27 novembre 1479.

Vester Henricus O. P.  
Confexor domini Regis  
et Studii Gubernator<sup>94</sup>.

Da questa lettera si evince, e non c'è motivo di mettere in dubbio le parole del rettore domenicano, che Pietro fosse uno dei pochi docenti a svolgere, con coscienza, il proprio compito, e che proprio quest'attaccamento al suo dovere lo portò a rimanere più del necessario nella città appestata (*fo l'ultimo a partire di Napoli*). E' evidente, inoltre, che in momenti difficili i lettori dello studio non venivano pagati e che fosse necessario l'intervento di "altolocati" per ottenere quanto spettava loro.

Le capacità didattiche del Gulioso sono messe in evidenza dai suoi commenti agli *Aforismi* ippocratici e alle opere di Galeno. Egli tenne una *Expositio Aphorismorum Hippocratis* e una *Declaratio quaestionum Gentilis Fulginatis*, entrambe conservate manoscritte in un codice della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli (ms. XV. C. 46) e solo in parte scritte personalmente dal Gulioso. L'ammanuense che trascrisse le lezioni, forse uno studente, e che si firma alla fine della 6ª parte Silano dei Medici di Benevento ci lascia una serie di giudizi positivi sull'autore degli *Aforismi* nati *ex ingenio bono domini Petri de Amalfo doctore prestantissimo in Neapolitano Studio*: lo definisce ora *artium medicineque doctor acutissimus*<sup>95</sup>, ora *egregius doctor in medicina et arte peritissimus*<sup>96</sup> e anche *doctor prestantissimus*<sup>97</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> G. Passero, *Giornali*, Napoli 1785. Notar Giacomo, *Cronica di Napoli*, Napoli 1845. G. Fuscolillo, "Cronache", *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* I (1876).

<sup>94</sup> Cannavale, op.cit., doc. 925.

<sup>95</sup> Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli (Bibl. Naz. Napoli), Ms. XV C46, f. 1.

<sup>96</sup> Bibl. Naz. Napoli, Ms. XV C46, f. 38v.

Tra la fine del 1477 e gli inizi del 1478 il Gulioso cura, su spinta dei suoi stessi allievi, come ci ricorda lo stesso Silano, l'edizione delle *Opera medicinalia* di Giovanni Mesue il giovane (Yuhanna ibn Masawaib, meglio noto all'epoca come Giovanni Damasceno, vissuto, pare, a cavallo tra il X e l'XI secolo), già pubblicate tre anni prima da Angelo Catone<sup>98</sup>, collega di Pietro nello Studio.

Il lavoro sulle opere di Mesue testimonia la grande attenzione di fronte alla tradizione della scienza medica degli arabi, nonché al carattere pratico del testo, che in qualche modo scrollava di dosso l'accusa che già veniva mossa alla scuola salernitana di dedicarsi principalmente alla *theoria*.

Sempre dal Silano si ha notizia che nel 1473 le lezioni si tenevano in alcuni locali di San Pietro a Maiella. E' alquanto probabile che fino al 1473 i lettori leggessero le proprie lezioni in case private, il cui fitto veniva pagato dalle casse statali, mentre sappiamo che tra questa data e prima del 1487 le letture si tenevano in tre auditorii dei monasteri di S. Domenico, S. Liguori e S. Pietro a Maiella, a cui veniva pagato un fitto; a quest'ultima data fu aggiunto un altro auditorio, sempre nel monastero di S. Pietro a Maiella<sup>99</sup>. Il Gulioso fu lettore di materie medico-filosofiche dal 1465, con lo stipendio di 64 ducati, e si ritrova negli anni successivi con lo stipendio triplicato. In particolare nel 1478-1479, ultimo anno del suo insegnamento, egli svolse un corso di medicina ricevendo un compenso di 140 ducati, in concorrenza quindi con la lettura tenuta dal famoso protomedico regio Silvestro Galeota<sup>100</sup>

Di seguito il dettaglio dei pagamenti riportati dal Cannavale:

Petro Golisso - lettore - duc. 64 (1465-1466)<sup>101</sup>;

Petro de Amalfa<sup>102</sup> - lettore di logica - duc. 70 (1469-1470)<sup>103</sup>;

Petro de Amalfa - lettore - duc. 150 (1471-1472)<sup>104</sup>;

Petro de Amalfa - lettore - duc. 188 (1472-1473)<sup>105</sup>;

Petro de Amalfia - lettore - duc. 180 (1473-1474)<sup>106</sup>;

nessuna notizia per il periodo 1474-1478;

Petrus de Amalfia - lettore di *Medicine de mane*<sup>107</sup> - duc. 140 (1478-1479)<sup>108</sup>.

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<sup>97</sup> Bibl. Naz. Napoli, Ms. XV C46, f. 86.

<sup>98</sup> La prefazione del Catone fu scritta il 26 ottobre del 1474, come premessa all'edizione apparsa il 12 gennaio del 1475, cf. B. Figliuolo, *La cultura a Napoli nel secondo Quattrocento*, San Daniele del Friuli 1997.

<sup>99</sup> Cannavale, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

<sup>100</sup> Su Silvestro Galeota si veda: C. De Frede, "Un medico-filosofo del Rinascimento: Clemente Gattola di Vico", *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* n.s. XXXVII (1958) 112-113; Fuiano, *Maestri*, p. 13.

<sup>101</sup> Cannavale, op. cit., doc. 24, 44, 70, 88, 110, 133, 158, 185.

<sup>102</sup> Il Sinno, nella già citata introduzione, afferma che il Pietro di Amalfi incluso nel rotolo dei Maestri dell'Ateneo napoletano, quale insegnante di logica, tra il 1469 e il 1474, e di medicina, nell'anno accademico 1478-1479, fosse Pietro Del Forno, cf. Sinno, op. cit., p. LVIII.

<sup>103</sup> Cannavale, op. cit., doc. 574, 589, 602, 625, 650, 684.

<sup>104</sup> Cannavale, op. cit., doc. 796.

<sup>105</sup> Cannavale, op. cit., doc. 822.

<sup>106</sup> Cannavale, op. cit., doc. 856.

<sup>107</sup> Le lezioni erano mattutine (*de mane*) e serali. A giudicare dai compensi le lezioni serali parrebbero più importanti. Cf. Filangieri Di Candida, op. cit., p. 171.

<sup>108</sup> Cannavale, op. cit., doc. 909.

Nella seconda metà degli anni sessanta del '400 operò come docente dello Studio di Napoli anche un Pietro di Taranto. Ad ipotizzare una sovrapposizione tra i due Pietro fu il Pugliese Carratelli<sup>109</sup>, anche se poi la escluse. Ed anche il Fuiano<sup>110</sup> e il De Frede sono stati tentati, come afferma il primo, dal prendere in considerazione una simile ipotesi, e il secondo, in particolare, in suo scritto<sup>111</sup>, risalente alla fine degli anni cinquanta, non aveva dubbi sull'identità dei due, ipotesi poi scartata in due saggi di inizio millennio<sup>112</sup>.

La morte del Gulioso nel 1479 coincise con l'inizio di un periodo travagliato per lo Studio. Dal 1480 al 1487 questo, come detto, rimase chiuso, e alla mancanza di documenti posteriori al 1488, si aggiungono notizie sporadiche per il periodo successivo al 1490. La riapertura si avrà solo nel 1507, dopo varie richieste di "grazia" (nel 1503 a D. Consalvo de Cordova e nel 1505 direttamente a Ferdinando il Cattolico)<sup>113</sup>, oramai Napoli non era più la capitale del Regno.

### **Abstract**

#### **Physicians of Amalfi in the late Middle Ages**

Documents about physicians of Amalfi's area begin since the first half of the twelfth century, and last until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the University of Naples – founded by the Emperor Frederick of Swabia, in order to get over the famous medical school of Salerno – started to decline, and when the city of Naples was no longer the capital of a free state. The most important physician of Amalfi was Pietro de Gulioso, who worked as a teacher in Naples during the second half of the fifteenth century.

### **Keywords**

Pietro Gulioso, Medici amalfitani, Medicina medievale, Università di Napoli, Documentazione medievale del Regno di Napoli.

Laureato in Filosofia presso l'Università degli Studi "Federico II" di Napoli, con una tesi in Storia economica e sociale del Medioevo dal titolo "La fiera di Lanciano nella seconda metà del sec. XV", **Benigno Casale** ha conseguito il titolo di Dottore di Ricerca in "Storia Medievale", presso l'Università degli Studi di Palermo. È dal 2008 membro del Laboratorio di storia della documentazione, presso il

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<sup>109</sup> Cf. G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Un'epistola di Giovanni Brancati sull'arte retorica e lo scriver latino. Testo latino inedito del secolo XV", *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* N.S. II (1948-49).

<sup>110</sup> Fuiano, *Maestri*, pp. 44-46.

<sup>111</sup> C. De Frede, "Due sconosciuti maestri dello Studio di Napoli: Pietro di Taranto e Pietro di Amalfi", *Biblion* I (1959) 294-296.

<sup>112</sup> De Frede, "Pietro di Taranto e Pietro Gulioso", op. cit.. C. De Frede, *Docenti di filosofia e medicina nella Università di Napoli dal secolo XV al XVI*, Napoli 2001, pp. 25-27 e 39.

<sup>113</sup> N. Cortese, "L'età spagnuola", in *Storia dell'Università di Napoli*, pp. 203-205.



Medici amalfitani del Medioevo

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**L'Estartit i Barcelona (1356-1359)**

Els «consules et probi homines ville Turricelle», és a dir de Torroella de Montgrí, al Baix Empordà, enviaren entre els primers de setembre de 1356 i el final de juny de 1359 una considerable quantitat de cereals a Barcelona: sobretot blat, però també farina, ordi i mill, probablement a conseqüència d'un acord establert amb aquesta ciutat i gràcies a una concessió obtinguda pel batlle general de Catalunya, Pere Ça Costa. Les diverses expedicions, efectuades per mar, i constants també durant els mesos hivernals, es van realitzar mitjançant embarcacions de modesta capacitat, aptes a la navegació de cabotatge, a vegades «discohoperte». Els «barquerii», o sigui els amos d'aquestes barques – alguns dels quals van arribar a fer molts viatges – a l'hora de carregar les mercaderies es comprometien a entregar-les «in mari sive plagia Barchinone» i a portar a Torroella dins del termini de seixanta dies una quitança que en confirmés el lliurament, sota una pena eventual que oscil·lava entre els dos-cents i els quatre-cents sous de lliura barcelonina. Aquests mateixos es beneficiaven algunes vegades de la fidejussió d'algun veí del lloc, com ara el mercader Pere Julià.

Cada carregament va ser registrat acuradament en un *Llibre del guardià del port*, actualment custodiat a l'Arxiu històric de Girona, dins del fons notarial provenint justament de Torroella: un document sense cap dubte interessant, redactat probablement pel mateix guardià, o pot ser per un notari de la ciutat, i que recorda d'alguna manera un altre llibre del mateix Arxiu, tingut en aquella època a Sant Feliu de Guíxols<sup>1</sup>.

Si bé mancant dels fulls inicials i finals, i sobretot dels relatius al període des del 8 de març al 18 de setembre de 1357, el document comprèn un total de 514 escriptures relacionades amb el transport a Barcelona, escriptures que tracen un perfil força realista de la intensa circulació marítima. Només en una ocasió no va ser possible portar a terme el viatge previst, a causa del mal estat de la mar, «propter fortunam maris» (8 de novembre de 1356). Els càrrecs van partir gairebé tots des de la platja o, més ben dit, carregador de l'Estartit, a breu distància de la desembocadura del Ter, excepte els poquíssims sortits des de la «riaria de Begurio» (probablement la platja de Sa Riera), de la «maritima de la Foneylera» i de Calella de Palafrugell. Es preparaven expressament «sachas» de la capacitat de sis mitgeres<sup>2</sup>, segons la mesura local («ad mensuram Turricelle»), i el preu del noli es pagava als patrons molt probablement a la seva arribada a Barcelona.

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<sup>1</sup> Arxiu històric de Girona, *Notarial*, Torroella de Montgrí, llibre 576.

El quadern corresponent a Sant Feliu (*Registrum scripturarum guardiane portus maris Sancti Ffelicis. 1346-1364*) va ser redactat amb certa probabilitat pel notari local Gispert Roig; el guardià del port es deia en canvi Guillem Banyes. Pel que fa al contingut, es tracta d'una sèrie de llicències d'extracció concedides per Pere Ça Costa a alguns mercaders, com ara Pere Galceran, Pere Vilar i Andreu de Muixo de Barcelona o Guillem Burgar de Menorca, cadascuna acompanyada per les corresponents operacions de carregament. El blat, la farina, l'arròs i, menys sovint, les avellanes s'enviaven a Barcelona, València, Mallorca i Menorca (*Notarial*, Sant Feliu de Guíxols, llibre 632).

<sup>2</sup> Vegeu C. Alsina, G. Feliu, Ll. Marquet, *Diccionari de mesures catalanes*, Barcelona (Curial) 1996, pàg. 181.

Les barques pertanyien prevalentment a homes de la mateixa Barcelona; tot i així cal recalcar que al tràfic costaner van prendre part les embarcacions de diversos ports del litoral, de Cotlliure (al Rosselló), Cadaqués i Roses fins a Sitges, i en canvi només algú altre va venir des de més lluny, des de València<sup>3</sup>, Tortosa<sup>4</sup> i Peníscola<sup>5</sup>. S'han d'assenyalar de manera especial, per la seva aportació, les localitats d'Arenys de Mar, Blanes, Lloret de Mar, Palamós, Sant Feliu de Guíxols i Tossa de Mar<sup>6</sup>.

Globalment van ser enviats 18.719 sacs, equivalents a 109.914 mitgeres, i els llenys procedint de Barcelona va transportar aproximadament el 45% d'aquest total<sup>7</sup>.

#### Des d'Arenys de Mar

<i>Patrons</i>	<i>Viatges</i>	<i>Sacs</i>
1. Bernat Seguera	3	116
2. Ferrer Doyll	3	75
3. Francesc Sabet	1	36
4. Francesc Plantin	1	33
5. Francesc Móra	1	32
<i>Total</i>	9	292

<sup>3</sup> De Guillem Riba.

<sup>4</sup> De Guillem Textor.

<sup>5</sup> De Domènech Peralta.

<sup>6</sup> Els altres centres mencionats en la font són Begur, Calella de Palafrugell, L'Armentera, Mataró, Sant Andreu de Llavaneres i la mateixa Torroella. En aquest darrer poble posseïen petites embarcacions Pere Salom i Pere Ulvis, els quals van fer en total no més de tres viatges, amb un transport complexiu de cent deu sacs. Només en un cas el blat – una partida bastant gran, de nou-cents mitgeres – va ser col·locat no en una «barcha», sinó en un «lembo», de propietat d'un cert Francesco de Ponte, presumiblement foraster (30 de gener de 1359).

Alguns dels noms elencats a continuació – com per exemple els de Bernat Joan, Pere Sanç i Romeu Palau – figuren també en les taules incloses a un article de C.G. Maubert, "Le mouvement du port de Barcelone pendant l'hiver 1357", dins *La Península Ibérica y el Mediterráneo centro-occidental (siglos XII-XV)*. *Actas del I Congreso internacional de historia mediterránea. Palma de Mallorca, 17-22 de diciembre de 1973*, Barcelona-Roma 1980, pàgs 659-688.

<sup>7</sup> Van ser contractats 81 «barquerii» d'aquesta ciutat, que realitzaren 218 viatges, transportant un total de 8.366 sacs. Entre ells es van distingir sobretot Berenguer Carbó (amb 13 viatges), Pere Jonama (12), Ramon Eymmerich (11), Pere Florit (11), Guillem Maçana (10), Bonanat Renart (9), Pere Fàbregues (6), Jaume Sentguirch (6) i Pere Cima (6).

L'Estartit i Barcelona (1356-1359)

Des de Blanes

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<i>Patrons</i>	<i>Viatges</i>	<i>Sacs</i>
1. Ramon Ça Fàbregua	20	712
2. Bernat Serra	16	532
3. Bonanat Pas	13	547
4. Guillem Capoler	11	371
5. Guillem Rubí	9	363
6. Francesc Llepard	7	321
7. Ponç Rossell	5	135
8. Arnau Vilahur	3	94
9. Berenguer Poll	2	80
10. Salvator Beyloç	2	76
11. Pere Fornell	2	75
12. Jaume Oller	2	56
13. Francesch Maçans	2	54
14. Ponç Sifre	2	50
15. [...] Belucz	1	45
16. Guillem Tarascho	1	43
17. Pere Ferrer	1	38
18. Francesc Maçantín	1	38
19. Bonanat Vilalonya	1	35
20. Bonanat Vilà	1	35
21. Pere Garroffer	1	34
22. Berenguer Tron	1	32
23. Bernat Chenaula	1	28
24. Pere Poch	1	22
<i>Total</i>	106	3816

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Des de Lloret de Mar

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<i>Patrons</i>	<i>Viatges</i>	<i>Sacs</i>
1. Pere Bernich	7	254
2. Guillem Coll	5	201
3. Guillem Florit	2	68
4. Nicholau Duray	1	45
<i>Total</i>	15	568

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## Des de Palamós

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<i>Patrons</i>	<i>Viatges</i>	<i>Sacs</i>
1. Bernat Joan	19	753
2. Pere Sabater	3	135
3. Pere Vidal	1	21
4. Pere Soler	1	13
<i>Total</i>	24	922

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## Des de Sant Feliu de Guíxols

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<i>Patrons</i>	<i>Viatges</i>	<i>Sacs</i>
1. Pasqual Ça Olivela	14	460
2. Francesch Ribot	10	422
3. Nicholau Pascador	9	158
4. Pere Feliu	7	299
5. Guillem de Arado	6	148
6. Nicholau Perull	5	220
7. Francesc Pujada	5	111
8. Bernat Favarr	4	130
9. Guillem Dareu	4	120
10. Guillem Moyla	4	120
11. Guillem Mercader	3	114
12. Pere Valls	3	54
13. Pere Sanç	2	60
14. Nicolau de la	2	56
Gordiola		
15. Guillem Pahí	2	37
16. Ramon Coll	2	40
17. Bernat Borrell	1	65
18. Rafael Oliveya	1	35
19. Nicholau Caner	1	34
20. Guillem Agustí	1	30
21. Guillem Malard	1	30
22. Guillem Pas	1	30
23. Nicholau Sancís	1	25
24. Guillem de	1	20
Campdarga		
25. Pasqual Abinoya	1	18
<i>Total</i>	91	2836

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## Des de Tossa de Mar

<i>Patrons</i>	<i>Viatges</i>	<i>Sacs</i>
1. Romeu Palau	9	423
2. Pere Cabanyes	8	229
3. Pere Paniças	3	60
4. Bernat Far	2	62
5. Pere Planella	1	44
6. Guillem Roya	1	41
7. Arnau [...]	1	34
8. Pere Janbert	1	32
<i>Total</i>	26	945

Ara bé, no em sembla necessari insistir en la necessitat de cereals que segurament tenia Barcelona aquells anys, igual que altres ciutats com ara València<sup>8</sup>. És notori també que hi va haver una plaga de llagosta que a l'estiu del 1357, a través de Múrcia i València, va penetrar a Catalunya, causant perjudicis importants i xtensos als cultius i a tot l'àmbit rural<sup>9</sup>. Més aviat, mereix atenció la força productiva e l'àrea que estem considerant – la campanya al voltant de Torroella, L'Escala, Pals, Palafrugell, Regencós i Begur –; és evident que d'aquests camps es treia una collita de frument considerable, encara més útil si es considera la fase de indubtable i intensa dificultat<sup>10</sup>. Barcelona en rebia la quota més rellevant, però una part també era destinada a València, del moment que la «curia Turrícelle» va assignar a aquesta darrera ciutat gairebé quatre mil mitgeres de frument, dutes «ad gradum maris civitatis Valencie», en catorze lots, amb barques de Sant Feliu i de Barcelona, i del moment que a l'extracció per a València es dedicaren també alguns mercaders particulars (en primer lloc Pere i Arnau Maches de Regencós)<sup>11</sup>, amb altres dotze partides, o sigui amb altres 2.388 mitgeres.

Igualment important és el fet que les expedicions realitzades pels administradors de Torroella deixin suposar una concomitant i assídua activitat d'intercanvi amb els voltants més propers, activitat portada a terme de forma directa

<sup>8</sup> Resulten molt persuasives, en aquest sentit, les reflexions de J.F. Cabestany i Fort, "Evolució demogràfica", dins Diversos Autors, *Història de Barcelona, dirigida per J. Sobrequés i Callicó. Volum 3. La ciutat consolidada (segles XIV i XV)*, Barcelona 1992, pàg 86 sg. S'ha de considerar, a més, que sovint la historiografia mostra la tendència a posar en relleu només les importacions de blat de l'estranger, certament considerables.

<sup>9</sup> Vegeu J. - F. Cabestany, "La crisi demogràfica dels segles XIV i XV", dins Diversos Autors, *Història de Catalunya*, volum III, Barcelona, Salvat Editores, 1978, pàg. 168; i A. Rubio, "Pesta, fam i guerra", dins Diversos Autors, *Història. Política, Societat i Cultura dels Països Catalans. Volum 3. La forja dels Països Catalans. Segles XIII-XV*, Barcelona 1996, pàg. 81.

<sup>10</sup> Pel que fa al marc econòmic i social global de Catalunya cap a la meitat del segle XIV, vegeu ara la síntesi de F. Sabaté i Curull, *Catalunya Medieval*, Barcelona 2006, pàgs. 327 i sgg.

<sup>11</sup> Negocis puntuals van fer Guillem Morell i Berenguer Llepard de Barcelona.

o bé amb la intervenció de mediadors<sup>12</sup>: aquest intercanvi es presentava com el necessari estímul a l'increment de la producció agrícola. I paral·lelament existia, al llarg de tota la costa del Baix Empordà i de la Selva, una marina adequada a la conjuntura, sobretot, com s'ha observat, a Blanes, a Sant Feliu de Guíxols i a Tossa de Mar. Així que podem concloure amb certa raó que un territori català concret, no obstant els greus problemes que caracteritzaven l'època, mostrés una tenaç vitalitat econòmica, amb recursos seu propis, i desenvolupés, en conclusió, una funció de resistència gens secundària.

Dins d'un marc més ample, avui dia sembla indiscutible el fet que les economies locals, el comerç de curta distància i la navegació de cabotatge van exercir en alguns àmbits mediterranis, a partir dels decennis centrals del segle, i després al llarg de tot el prolongar-se de la crisi, una funció per dir-ho d'alguna manera "defensiva" i sense cap dubte important. Tret, però, que seria infundat entreveure en aquest tipus d'estructures sectorials i en l'intercanvi regional l'origen principal de la recuperació quatrecentista. Aquesta recuperació va ser deguda en canvi alla renaixença i a l'expansió del comerç internacional, a dins d'un context geopolític canviat; i aquest comerç, en algunes àrees va donar un major impuls als tràfics interns, en altres, com va passar per exemple als dos vessants de l'Itàlia meridional, en virtut dels instruments operatius i bancaris molt més avançats, va acabar comprimint-los i fent-los tornar subordinats, impeding per tant la formació en l'àmbit del teixit social d'una classe dels negocis més sòlida i consistent, aspirant al desenvolupament i a la progressiva ampliació de les activitats.

### **Abstract**

#### **L'Estartit and Barcelona (1356-1359)**

A document in the historical archives of Girona – the *Llibre del guardià del port* de Torroella de Montgrí (1356-1359) – let us know that many coasting ships took a large amount of wheat from the beach of L'Estartit to Barcelona: coasters that were not only of this city, but also of Blanes, Sant Feliu de Guíxols and Tossa de Mar. So, we can see the great importance of a small rural district and of the coastal shipping during a period which was one of undoubted decline for the Catalan economy.

### **Keywords**

Barcelona, XIVth century.

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<sup>12</sup> El 1360 a Girona s'importava llana de Torroella: vegeu E. Mallorquí Garcia, "L'època medieval", dins Diversos Autors, *Història del Gironès*, Girona 2002, pàg. 301.



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**Pietro Luna: uomo di Chiesa, di potere e arbitro delle sorti familiari\***

**1. La contesa sull'arcivescovado di Messina**

Le vicende familiari e patrimoniali della famiglia Luna nel XV secolo, dalla morte di Antonio, conte di Caltabellotta, e successione del primogenito Carlo, appaiono seguite, quasi indirizzate, nei momenti decisivi, dal secondogenito, Pietro, punto di riferimento dei fratelli, Carlo e Sigism[1]ondo, e *trait-d'union* con la Corona. La lettura degli avvenimenti che hanno segnato in qualche modo una svolta per la famiglia -l'annullamento del matrimonio tra Carlo e Beatrice Rosso Spatafora, la dispensa per le nozze di quest'ultima con l'ex cognato Sigismondo, le diverse concessioni regie, gli scambi dei feudi, le vendite-prestito dei beni familiari- induce a chiedersi e ad investigare quale sia realmente il ruolo del presule che sembra reggere le fila della storia osservando attentamente e condizionando il corso degli eventi.

La carriera ecclesiastica che culminerà con la promozione del Luna al seggio arcivescovile di Messina inizia quando Pietro non ha ancora compiuto i sedici anni<sup>1</sup>. Nel febbraio 1463 Giovanni II scriveva al Pontefice perché, considerando i servizi resi alla monarchia dal conte di Caltabellotta, gran connestabile del Regno, era sua intenzione che venisse conferita al suo secondogenito, Pietro, la prima dignità o prelatura vacante nel Regno di Sicilia che, essendo morto Gilforte Bonconte, era l'abbazia di San Giovanni degli Eremiti di Palermo; il Papa, da parte sua, l'aveva concessa al cardinale Niccolò Forteguerra. Il sovrano, pertanto, esortava il Pontefice a revocare il provvedimento e a fare in modo che l'attribuzione al Luna andasse a buon fine<sup>2</sup>.

Dopo alcuni mesi, il 20 luglio, Pietro, chierico, ottiene dal Papa l'assegnazione della vacante commenda del monastero cistercense di Santa Maria di Nogara. Il pontefice motiva la decisione ricordando le origini regali della famiglia e affermando di volere provvedere al sostentamento del Luna; nonostante ciò, in considerazione della giovane età del Luna, pur permettendogli di disporre dei frutti, proventi e rendite del monastero, gli affida immediatamente la giurisdizione temporale di

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\*Asp = Archivio di Stato di Palermo; Rc = Real Cancelleria; P = Protonotaro del Regno; Trp, Num. Provv. = Tribunale del Real Patrimonio, Numerazione Provvisoria; not. G. Vulpi = Notai defunti, stanza I, notaio Gabriele Vulpi; not. D. De Leo = Notai defunti, stanza I, notaio Domenico De Leo; Moncada = Archivio Moncada di Paternò; Pr. Inv. = Processi d'investitura; Aca= Archivo de la Corona de Aragón; C = Cancillería de Juan II.

<sup>1</sup> Nel documento del Protonotaro relativo all'assegnazione al Luna della commenda di Santa Maria di Nogara, nel 1463, si legge: «in sextodecimo ut accepimus vel circa tue etatis anno» (Asp, P, 61, c. 94).

<sup>2</sup> Aca, C, 3480, c. 177v. Il sovrano, già il 20 agosto 1461, aveva scritto al viceré per fargli presente la sua volontà nei riguardi di Pietro (Aca, C, 3475, c. 30v). Su San Giovanni degli Eremiti, cf. S. Fodale, "San Giovanni degli Eremiti: una discussa presenza in Sicilia dei monaci di Montevergine", in *La società meridionale nelle pergamene di Montevergine: i Normanni chiamano gli Svevi, Atti del secondo convegno internazionale, (12-15 ottobre 1987)*, Montevergine 1989, pp. 91-100; idem, *Alunni della perdizione. Chiesa e potere in Sicilia durante il grande scisma (1372-1416)*, Istituto Storico per il Medio Evo, Roma 2008, (*Nuovi Studi Storici* 80), ad indicem. In virtù di un privilegio pontificio il sovrano godeva del diritto alla istituzione e conferma dell'abate del monastero benedettino. Già in precedenza erano sorti contrasti fra il pontefice e la monarchia per l'assegnazione del beneficio (ibid., pp. 167-169).

quest'ultimo e solo al compimento della maggiore età anche quella spirituale assegnata al priore<sup>3</sup>.

Nel 1473 Pietro rappresenta il fratello Carlo nel Parlamento riunito a gennaio a Palermo<sup>4</sup> e a dicembre si reca in Catalogna presso Giovanni II per una missione<sup>5</sup>.

Morto, il 14 marzo 1474, l'arcivescovo di Messina Giacomo Tudisco<sup>6</sup>, l'amministrazione della diocesi viene assegnata a Giuliano della Rovere, il futuro Giulio II, che manterrà una pensione annua sulle rendite<sup>7</sup>. Il giorno seguente ad opera del capitolo della cattedrale della città peloritana viene eletto arcivescovo l'archimandrita del monastero basiliano di S. Salvatore in Lingua Fhari, Leonzio Crisafi, che, però, non è riconosciuto né dal sovrano, né da Sisto IV. Mentre il pontefice, infatti, insedia nella sede arcivescovile il ministro provinciale dei frati minori in Sicilia, Giacomo da Santa Lucia, Giovanni II promuove all'arcivescovado il Luna in virtù del diritto di patronato sulla Chiesa di Messina<sup>8</sup>. Pietro aveva, presumibilmente, perorato la sua promozione alla sede arcivescovile quando si era recato a Barcellona come ambasciatore presso il sovrano per l'approvazione dei capitoli del Parlamento siciliano del 1474 e ne aveva ottenuto la ratifica nel maggio dello stesso anno<sup>9</sup>.

Già il 21 aprile Giovanni II aveva ordinato a Giovanni Puiades, nuovo commendatore dell'abbazia di Santa Maria de Nogara, e ad Antonio Isaia, canonico di Messina, di percepire e custodire le rendite dell'episcopato durante la vacanza, fino alla nomina del Luna, per il quale il sovrano stesso aveva interceduto presso il Papa<sup>10</sup>. Ma, avendo Sisto IV insediato fra' Giacomo da Santa Lucia, il viceré ordinava, il 13 giugno successivo, che si impedisse in ogni modo, pena la vita, l'ingresso in città e nella diocesi di fra' Giacomo per evitare che potesse prendere possesso dell'arcivescovado; nel caso in cui fosse riuscito ad entrare, si sarebbe dovuto procedere alla sua espulsione<sup>11</sup>. In attesa che si chiarisse la questione viene chiamato ad amministrare la diocesi Girolamo Capranica, vescovo di Fermo<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Esecutoria del 7 gennaio 1464 (Asp, P, 61, c. 94). Nell'ottobre del 1470 il Luna risulta ancora commendatario dell'abbazia di Santa Maria di Nogara quando, a causa di un contenzioso in atto con l'abbazia, viene esentato dal pagamento della rata della colletta del cingolo militare (Asp, P, 69, c. 70r). Sulle vicende precedenti dell'abbazia di Santa Maria di Nogara, cf. S. Fodale, "I cistercensi nella Sicilia Medievale", in *I cistercensi nel mezzogiorno medioevale, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio in occasione del IX centenario della nascita di Bernardo di Clairvaux (Martano-Latiano-Lecce, 25-27 febbraio 1991)*, a cura di H. Houben e B. Vetere, Congedo editore 1994, pp. 363-365; idem, *Alunni della perdizione..., ad indicem*.

<sup>4</sup> R. Gregorio, *Considerazioni sopra la storia di Sicilia dai tempi normanni sino ai presenti*, Palermo 1972, II, p. 338 nota.

<sup>5</sup> Nei documenti non è specificata la motivazione del viaggio, si legge soltanto che Pietro «si e conferuto ala maesta di lu signuri re in li parti di Catalogna et vaca in li regii servicii in compagna di lu quali e andato lu venerabili don Ioanni Puiades abbati di la abbatia di la Nohara» (Asp, Rc, 131, c. 167r).

<sup>6</sup> Su Giacomo Tudisco cf. S. Fodale, "I nepoti dell'abbas panormitanus, l'anticardinale Nicolò Tudisco", in «*Come l'orco della fiaba*». *Studi per Franco Cardini*, a cura di M. Montesano, SISMEL, Firenze 2010, pp. 387-390.

<sup>7</sup> C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi ab anno 1431 usque ad annum 1503 perducta*, Monasterii 1914, II, p. 190.

<sup>8</sup> R. Pirri, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notis illustrata*, Palermo 1733, r. a. Sala Bolognese 1987, I, p. 423.

<sup>9</sup> F. Testa, *Capitula Regni Siciliae*, Palermo 1741, I, pp. 498-505; M. Moscone, "Luna, Pietro de", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma 2006, vol. 66, p. 553.

<sup>10</sup> Asp, P, 73, cc. 80r-81r (esecutoria del 27 maggio 1474).

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., c. 90.

<sup>12</sup> M. Moscone, "Luna, Pietro de", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, p. 553.

Nel 1476 Pietro è nominato «comu homu solerti utili et probatissimo ad quisto exercitio» ambasciatore dal Parlamento<sup>13</sup> per trattare con il re alcuni affari necessari al Regno; partendo avrebbe speso molto denaro «non senza danno e diminutioni» delle proprie facoltà e per questo gli viene garantita l'indennità fino al suo rientro, nessun creditore avrebbe potuto costringerlo a saldare un debito in denaro o frumento e il maestro giustiziere avrebbe dovuto soprassedere su tutte le cause che lo riguardassero<sup>14</sup>.

Sebbene la contesa sull'arcivescovado non si fosse ancora risolta, il 5 gennaio 1478 Giovanni II, scrivendo al Luna per conferirgli il *mero e misto imperio* sulla terra di Sambuca, lo definisce arcivescovo di Messina<sup>15</sup> e il 14 giugno, conferendogli il *mero e misto imperio* e la giurisdizione alta e bassa sulle terre di Racalbuto e Alcara, sottolinea la sua volontà in merito alla soluzione della faccenda e si impegna a non smettere di impetrare presso il Papa la nomina<sup>16</sup>. Il 26 dicembre il viceré scrive anche al secreto, ai giudici e ai giurati della città, essendo venuto a conoscenza che alcuni cittadini avevano cercato di introdurre in città Giacomo da Santa Lucia, cosa «aliena et penitus contraria di la expressa voluntati di la sacri regii maiestati», per ordinare loro di impedirne l'ingresso a Messina<sup>17</sup>. Nello stesso mese, quando il Luna riceve l'incarico di recarsi come ambasciatore nella penisola «ad nonnullos Italie potentatus pro rebus magnis ad servicium et statum ac utilitatem rei publice nostre»<sup>18</sup>, il pontefice non ha ancora ratificato la sua nomina<sup>19</sup>; Pietro non riesce neanche a percepire le entrate della diocesi, riscosse dal secreto di Messina<sup>20</sup>. L'anno successivo il Luna chiede al sovrano versando settecentocinquanta fiorini, il vescovado di Agrigento, le cui rendite erano percepite dal fratello Sigismondo<sup>21</sup>; morto, infatti il vescovo di Agrigento, il re assegnava, il 26 giugno 1478, gli introiti e le rendite dell'episcopato a Sigismondo «a tutta volunta di lo spetabili et reverendissimo don Petro de Luna» che cercava di giungere ad un accordo con Giacomo da Santa Lucia e, quindi, ad una soluzione in merito all'arcivescovado di Messina<sup>22</sup>. Nel marzo successivo, avendo il canonico della chiesa maggiore di Messina «presumuto prindiri la possessioni di lo vicariato di la sede archiepiscopali di la ditta nobili citati» a nome di Giacomo da Santa Lucia, ribellandosi in tal modo al re, viene ordinato all'algozirio

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<sup>13</sup> *Apodixa* del 26 settembre 1477 «pro domino don Petro Luna» del pagamento di trecentotrentatré onze e dieci tari per «li missioni e spisi» deputati dal Parlamento per gli ambasciatori (Asp, P, 81, c. 160).

<sup>14</sup> Asp, P, 82, cc. 171v-172r (31 ottobre 1477); cc. 117v-118r (4 ottobre 1477).

<sup>15</sup> Asp, P, 91, cc. 11r-12r (esecutoria del 5 dicembre 1478).

<sup>16</sup> Asp, P, 90, cc. 124r-126r (esecutoria del 5 dicembre 1478 indirizzata al futuro arcivescovo di Messina). Il 19 febbraio 1479, nonostante una precedente revoca, veniva rinnovata a Pietro la concessione del *mero e misto imperio* su Racalbuto (Asp, P, 88, c. 68).

<sup>17</sup> Asp, P, 90, c. 130; Asp, P, 91, cc. 19r-20r.

<sup>18</sup> Asp, P, 91, cc. 12r-13r (9 novembre 1478. Esecutoria del 5 dicembre).

<sup>19</sup> Il 26 dicembre (Asp, P, 90, cc. 130r-131r); già l'8 dicembre aveva ribadito la sua volontà (ibid., c. 65).

<sup>20</sup> Prima da Alfonso Staiti e poi dal figlio Giovanni Andrea (Asp, P, 87, cc. 83v-84r). Cf. anche Asp, P, 91, cc. 1v-2v.

<sup>21</sup> Il 14 luglio 1479 il maestro giustiziere, presidente del Regno, scriveva a Sigismondo Luna, conte di Sclafani e «detemptori reddituum episcopatus magnifice civitatis Agrigenti», dal momento che il vescovado era stato assegnato a Giovanni di Castro, per ordinargli di far trattenere «nomine depositi et sequestri» fino a nuovo ordine al suo sostituto Matteo Puiades, che per il conte aveva riscosso il denaro, settecento fiorini dei settecentocinquanta che Pietro aveva versato al re e che adesso chiedeva gli venissero restituiti dagli introiti dell'episcopato (Asp, P, 89, c. 174r).

<sup>22</sup> Asp, P, 91, cc. 1048v-1049r (esecutoria del 1 marzo 1479).

regio di emettere bandi pubblici affinché «sub pena publicacionis bonorum et vite» nessuno obbedisca al vicario<sup>23</sup>.

Soltanto il 7 luglio 1480 Pietro viene riconosciuto arcivescovo di Messina dal Papa che assegna a Giacomo da Santa Lucia l'arcivescovado di Filippi e il vescovado di Patti, dipendente dalla sede messinese<sup>24</sup>.

## 2. I rapporti tra i fratelli: Carlo, Pietro e Sigismondo

Il conte di Caltabellotta, Antonio Luna, nelle sue volontà testamentarie aveva disposto che erede del titolo comitale e dei suoi beni fosse il primogenito Carlo, mentre il terzogenito Sigismondo veniva designato erede particolare per i feudi di Misilcassim e di San Bartolomeo. Carlo avrebbe dovuto anche versare una pensione vitalizia ai fratelli e assegnare la dote di paraggio alle due sorelle Eleonora e Margherita. Il nuovo conte, però, veniva obbligato, una volta conseguita l'eredità, ad effettuare una permuta con il fratello cedendogli il castello di Sambuca in cambio del castello e del feudo di Misilcassim e del feudo di San Bartolomeo<sup>25</sup> e, così, per ottemperare alle volontà paterne, il 31 ottobre 1465, cedeva al fratello la *terra* e il castello di Sambuca e i feudi di Comicchio e di San Bartolomeo<sup>26</sup>. A distanza di qualche anno, inoltre, il 14 dicembre 1471, assegnava a Sigismondo la contea di Caltabellotta con i castelli e i feudi di Giuliana, Cristia e Misilcassim<sup>27</sup>; nella stessa data permutava con il fratello Sambuca con Bivona con l'obbligo per Sigismondo, essendo il valore di Bivona maggiore di quello di Sambuca, di pagare delle somme di denaro ad alcuni creditori tra cui il fratello Pietro<sup>28</sup>.

Alla luce di questi passaggi di feudi, delle permutate, delle donazioni, si ha la chiara impressione che Antonio avesse un preciso disegno nella mente quando, dovendo disporre dei suoi beni e non potendo non rispettare il primogenito cercava di garantire nel migliore dei modi il terzogenito. Viene naturale pensare, anche sulla base dei numerosi documenti della Cancelleria e del Protonotaro del Regno che testimoniano la gestione non sempre oculata del patrimonio da parte di Carlo e i suoi debiti, che Antonio fosse consapevole delle maggiori capacità di Sigismondo che, quindi, andava tutelato con condizioni testamentarie molto vincolanti e, probabilmente, con promesse non scritte.

Il primogenito, infatti, aveva ereditato il titolo comitale legato alla contea di Caltabellotta, insieme ai feudi più rilevanti dal punto di vista economico; era consigliere e gran connestabile del Regno<sup>29</sup> ed esercitava il *mero e misto imperio* sulle

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., c. 1064.

<sup>24</sup> Asp, P, 93, cc. 223v- 225v; C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica...*, II, pp. 190, 210 e 214; R. Pirri, *Sicilia sacra...*, II, p. 784.

<sup>25</sup> Le volontà espresse da Antonio nel testamento erano state ricordate anche nell'inventario redatto da Carlo in cui a proposito dei feudi di Misilcassim e di San Bartolomeo il conte ricorda che il padre aveva disposto che li tenesse Sigismondo a condizione di permutare con lui Misilcassim con Sambuca (Asp, Moncada, 873, cc. n.n.).

<sup>26</sup> Asp, Moncada, 64, cc. 319r-336v.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., cc. 337r-347v; Aca, C, 3487, cc. 195r- 197r.

<sup>28</sup> Asp, Moncada, 64, cc. 350r-357v; Aca, C, 3487, c. 190.

<sup>29</sup> Carlo risulta gran connestabile già nel 1470 (Asp, P, 68, cc. 282r-283r).

sue *terre*<sup>30</sup>. Appare, però, quanto meno strano che egli, pur non avendo avuto ancora figli, oltre ad ottemperare alle volontà del padre con la donazione di San Bartolomeo, Comicchio e Sambuca, immediatamente dopo la sua morte, a distanza di pochi anni donasse al fratello anche il nucleo principale dell'eredità, la contea di Caltabellotta con l'aggiunta di quello stesso feudo di Misilcassim oggetto della permuta di sei anni prima e che scambiasse ancora Bivona con Sambuca ceduto nella stessa data. Forse le volontà e le motivazioni nascoste dietro a queste operazioni potrebbero apparire più chiare ipotizzando che a muovere le pedine del gioco non fossero solo i due evidenti protagonisti e un genitore defunto che aveva dettagliatamente previsto il futuro, ma anche il terzo fratello, Pietro, sempre presente nella gestione del patrimonio familiare e, negli anni di difficoltà di Carlo, referente del sovrano, chiamato in causa anche per risolvere i problemi giudiziari del territorio<sup>31</sup>.

La vicinanza al sovrano è evidente in una supplica presentata a Giovanni II dal Luna in cui quest'ultimo si lamentava che il fratello Carlo volesse alienare e permutare alcuni castelli e feudi, in particolar modo, il castello e la *terra* di Bivona, azione che gli avrebbe causato grave «*damnum et prejudicium*». Il sovrano, il 7 dicembre 1473, ordinava che nel caso in cui il conte, contravvenendo alle sue volontà, avesse effettuato una vendita, alienazione o permuta, tanto a persona congiunta quanto estranea, durante l'assenza di Pietro dal Regno di Sicilia, queste venissero considerate nulle e prive di validità<sup>32</sup>.

Pietro per tutta la vita aveva gestito, direttamente e indirettamente, il patrimonio di famiglia per i fratelli e, dopo la morte di Sigismondo, avvenuta il 7 ottobre 1480, aveva continuato ad occuparsene per il nipote Gian Vincenzo di cui era stato designato dal fratello tutore insieme con la cognata<sup>33</sup>. In questa veste, a pochi giorni dalla morte del fratello, Pietro fa redigere l'inventario dei beni per il nipote<sup>34</sup> e l'anno successivo presenta il memoriale per l'investitura di Bivona di Gian Vincenzo<sup>35</sup>.

I rapporti di Pietro con Carlo e Sigismondo appaiono scanditi dai debiti dei fratelli a cui Pietro cerca di far fronte con vendite-prestiti o con fideiussioni. La tensione che si legge tra le righe dei documenti in cui l'arcivescovo reclama il denaro dovutogli da Carlo sembra fare da contraltare ad un atteggiamento più benevolo nei confronti di Sigismondo che, non solo non viene pressato con le richieste di onorare il debito di quattromila fiorini, ma che viene anche aiutato nei momenti di difficoltà economica.

Sigismondo nel suo testamento, redatto il 30 settembre 1480, tra gli altri debiti riconosciuti a garanzia della salvezza della propria anima, ricorda i quattromila

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<sup>30</sup> Il 12 gennaio 1479, in seguito alle sue lamentele, otteneva che gli venisse consegnato un suo vassallo tenuto carcerato dal conte di Reggio per avere investito nella *terra* di Chiusa una donna con il suo cavallo, in modo da essere da lui giudicato (Asp, P, 132, cc. 35r-36r).

<sup>31</sup> Il 14 agosto 1475 gli viene ordinato di occuparsi della causa vertente tra Ferrando de Luchisio e Agostino Schillesio che era stato carcerato nel castello di Chiusa per un prestito (Asp, P, 60, cc. 88v-89v).

<sup>32</sup> Aca, C, 3487, cc. 240v-241r.

<sup>33</sup> Asp, Moncada, 148, cc. 143r-158v. Nella gestione del patrimonio per il nipote minore Pietro entrerà in contrasto con la cognata Beatrice che aveva agito autonomamente nella nomina degli ufficiali di Bivona (Asp, P, 104, cc. 156v-157r). Cf. M.A. Russo, "Beatrice Rosso Spatafora e i Luna (XV secolo)", *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche* 23 (dicembre 2011) 455.

<sup>34</sup> Asp, not. G. Vulpi, 1137, cc. 289v-292v; Asp, Moncada, 164, cc. 191r-200v.

<sup>35</sup> Asp, P, Pr. Inv., busta 1484, processo 219.

fiorini dovuti a Pietro<sup>36</sup>; il conte avrebbe dovuto pagarli in virtù dell'atto di permuta di Sambuca con Bivona per compensare il maggiore valore di quest'ultima<sup>37</sup>, ma, a distanza di quasi un decennio non aveva ancora saldato il suo debito.

Se il presule sembra soprassedere e lasciare tempo a Sigismondo, addirittura fino alla morte, mostra un diverso atteggiamento verso il fratello maggiore dal quale esige il denaro dovutogli. Pietro era, infatti, uno dei principali creditori di Carlo tanto che, il 25 giugno 1473, gli ufficiali, i secreti, i collettori dei diritti e delle decime della contea di Caltabellotta e della *terra* di Bivona ricevono l'ordine di non pagare alcun creditore del conte se prima non fosse stato integralmente soddisfatto Pietro<sup>38</sup> e, a settembre, dato che quest'ultimo non aveva potuto recuperare centodieci onze perché il fratello aveva intimato di non eseguire il mandato del sovrano, il viceré ordina all'algozorio regio di recarsi personalmente a costringere i gabelloti a consegnare il denaro<sup>39</sup>. Ancora nel maggio dell'anno successivo Carlo risulta debitore del fratello di cinquantadue sulle cento onze annue dovute sulle rendite di Bivona<sup>40</sup>. Non potendo onorare i debiti Carlo decide di cedere al fratello Sambuca<sup>41</sup>, ma, nonostante ciò, nel settembre 1478 Pietro risulta ancora creditore del fratello e ottiene giustizia, dovendo avere ancora trenta onze delle centoventotto onze, otto tari e dieci grani annuali per i quali il conte aveva obbligato la gabella del vino, quella del mulino della Favara e per quanto fosse mancato al raggiungimento della somma gli altri suoi beni<sup>42</sup>; anche l'anno successivo il credito non viene saldato per intero<sup>43</sup> e nel 1484 l'arcivescovo torna a lamentarsi per avere soddisfazione del denaro dovutogli, perché, sebbene fossero state sequestrate per soddisfare il suo credito alcune rendite ed introiti del fratello, questi «propria auctoritate et de facto» continuava a riscuoterle a suo danno<sup>44</sup>. A distanza di due anni Carlo ottiene di trattenersi una parte del denaro a saldo di un suo credito e, fatta la deduzione, la parte restante delle centoventotto onze, otto tari e dieci grani sarebbe stata consegnata dai gabelloti a Pietro<sup>45</sup>. I rapporti fra i due fratelli a causa della rendita rimangono tesi e, ancora, nel 1489, l'arcivescovo chiede giustizia nei confronti dei giudici della Magna Regia Curia che avevano mal giudicato nella causa fra i due, ottenendo la restituzione dei redditi e il pagamento dei danni e degli interessi<sup>46</sup>. L'anno successivo il Luna si lamenta che sia ancora pendente presso il Sacro Regio Consiglio una causa contro il fratello e fa istanza che si prosegua per giungere al più presto ad una sentenza<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> Asp, Moncada, 148, cc. 143r-158v; Asp, Moncada, 420, cc. 418r-425r.

<sup>37</sup> Asp, Moncada, 64, cc. 350r-357v.

<sup>38</sup> Asp, P, 71, c. 222.

<sup>39</sup> Asp, P, 72, cc. 29v-30r.

<sup>40</sup> Asp, Rc, 130, cc. 332v-333r.

<sup>41</sup> Sulla vendita di Sambuca, cf. *infra* § 3.

<sup>42</sup> Asp, P, 87, cc. 187v-188r.

<sup>43</sup> Asp, P, 96, cc. 165v-166v.

<sup>44</sup> Asp, P, 111, cc. 82v-83r.

<sup>45</sup> Il 1 novembre 1486 (Asp, P, 121, cc. 108v-110v). Il 16 dicembre il viceré ordina al conte e ai suoi ufficiali di non ostacolare i commissari nell'esazione delle rendite (Asp, P, 121, cc. 267v-269r). Lamentele al viceré erano giunte, il 13 novembre 1486, anche da parte di Beatrice Cardona, madre del conte, la quale era stata intralciata nelle percezioni degli introiti che le toccavano della gabella del vino e del mulino dal figlio che aveva fatto imprigionare i gabelloti e si era impossessato di denaro e frumento (Asp, P, 124, c. 34).

<sup>46</sup> Asp, P, 135, c. 145r.

<sup>47</sup> Asp, P, 134, c. 348.

Il diverso atteggiamento di Pietro nei confronti dei due fratelli viene comprovato dalla fideiussione prestata per un debito di ottocento onze che Sigismondo e la moglie Beatrice avevano nei confronti di Carlo; come garanzia erano state obbligate al Luna le sessantaquattro onze che Beatrice annualmente percepiva sulle rendite di Giuliana per assegnazione del primo marito, Carlo. Le due parti erano giunte ad un accordo secondo il quale se entro un mese dalla data del contratto, stipulato il 31 agosto 1480, Sigismondo e Beatrice non avessero saldato il debito, Pietro avrebbe rivenduto a Carlo le sessantaquattro onze. Evidentemente la prospettiva di recuperare la rendita annuale, reddito fisso e sicuro, aveva allettato il conte più dell'incerta restituzione della somma dovutagli<sup>48</sup>.

Le numerose "vendite-prestito" operate dai fratelli per far fronte ai debiti - come quella di Bivona per diecimila fiorini a Pietro<sup>49</sup> che, a sua volta, per ottenere il denaro aveva venduto, qualche giorno prima, la *terra* e il castello di Sambuca per tredicimila fiorini a Giovanni Giacomo Ventimiglia<sup>50</sup> - permettono, comunque, di mantenere nelle mani dei diversi membri del nucleo familiare il patrimonio fondiario salvaguardandolo per i successori.

Pietro sembra gestire le sorti della famiglia anche in occasione dell'annullamento del matrimonio del fratello Carlo con Beatrice Rosso Spatafora e del matrimonio di quest'ultima con Sigismondo<sup>51</sup>. Se fra le diverse possibili letture degli eventi<sup>52</sup> si presta fede a quella secondo cui la crisi della famiglia, causata dalla grave accusa di *impotentia coeundi* e dal conseguente annullamento del matrimonio, sarebbe stata risolta costringendo Beatrice a sposare il cognato per evitare il paventato pericolo della restituzione della dote, allora si dovrebbe credere che queste vicende fossero seguite, non solo dal sovrano che aveva interesse a mantenere unita una famiglia legata alla monarchia, ma anche da Pietro, che doveva avere avuto un ruolo nell'ottenimento della veloce dispensa per la consanguineità e nella decisione di Carlo di ritirare l'appello e non procedere oltre. Nulla avrebbe potuto, ovviamente, sui sentimenti dei fratelli mutati in seguito alle seconde nozze di Beatrice: Carlo avrebbe accusato Sigismondo di ingratitude, mancanza di rispetto, tradimento, di essersi fatto guidare dal diavolo e, il 1 ottobre 1488, avrebbe revocato tutte le donazioni nei suoi confronti, quella di Sambuca, San Bartolomeo e Comicchio

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<sup>48</sup> Secondo l'accordo Sigismondo e Beatrice avrebbero dovuto pagare Carlo entro un mese dalla data del contratto (Asp, not. D. De Leo, 1391, cc. 608r-610v).

<sup>49</sup> Asp, not. G. Vulpi, 1135, cc. 614r-617v (29 gennaio 1476). Sulla vendita di Bivona, cf. *infra* § 3.

<sup>50</sup> Asp, not. G. Vulpi, 1136, cc. 97r-101r (26 gennaio 1476).

<sup>51</sup> La causa è intentata dal conte il 20 aprile 1474 in seguito all'abbandono del tetto coniugale della moglie; Carlo è fiducioso sul risultato positivo del procedimento, certo che Beatrice sarebbe stata obbligata a tornare presso la sua dimora e a compiere i doveri coniugali. La contessa, però, riesce a volgere inaspettatamente la causa a suo vantaggio asserendo che il marito non ha alcun diritto su di lei e che il matrimonio va dichiarato nullo perché non consumato a causa dell'*impotentia coeundi* del consorte. Le diverse testimonianze portate dalla nobildonna e l'esame delle ostetriche che dichiarano la sua verginità fanno pendere la bilancia dalla parte di Beatrice che, il 21 novembre 1474, ottiene la nullità del matrimonio e, non curandosi dell'appello del marito, delle conseguenti testimonianze sulla virilità del conte e su un suo presunto aborto e, quindi, dell'esito definitivo del processo, il 15 dicembre dello stesso anno, stipula un contratto matrimoniale con Sigismondo Luna. Ottenuta anche la dispensa, necessaria per la consanguineità dei contraenti, il 16 aprile 1476, i capitoli matrimoniali vengono ratificati «per verba de presenti». (Sulla causa, le diverse accuse e le testimonianze, cf. M.A. Russo, "Beatrice Rosso Spatafora e i Luna [XV secolo]", pp. 437-448).

<sup>52</sup> Sulle ipotesi di lettura degli eventi, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 452-453.

e quella di Caltabellotta, Giuliana, Misilcassim e Cristia<sup>53</sup>. Dal momento della “rottura” fra i due, Pietro è sempre più presente negli affari di famiglia, ora come arbitro, ora come fideiussore, ora come ancora di salvezza nei momenti di difficoltà economica, pronto a “comprare” i feudi di famiglia per far fronte ai debiti dei fratelli.

Se, dunque, fino alla morte di Antonio e negli anni immediatamente successivi con le vincolanti disposizioni testamentarie, i rapporti tra i fratelli appaiono fortemente condizionati e influenzati dalle volontà paterne, sembrerebbe che dagli anni '70 del Quattrocento il testimone sia passato al presule della famiglia.

### 3. La gestione del patrimonio familiare

Il ventennio che va dal 1470 al 1490 è un periodo di grande attività del Luna che, a causa delle difficoltà e delle contese fra Carlo e Sigismondo, gestisce, prima indirettamente, poi direttamente assumendone il controllo, il patrimonio familiare e si impegna in diverse transazioni economiche.

La dimostrazione delle capacità di Pietro di contro a quelle del primogenito Carlo, conte di Caltabellotta, riconosciute dagli stessi fratelli sembrerebbe venire da un documento del Protonotaro del Regno in cui il conte, che aveva ereditato dal padre anche la questione aperta sulla *terra* di Ciminna contro Giovanna Ventimiglia, chiede la licenza di cedere al fratello i diritti a lui spettanti e che Pietro, nonostante sia *clericus*, possa proseguire la causa e convenire nella Magna Regia Curia contro Giovanna<sup>54</sup>.

Anche Eleonora ha fiducia nel fratello e quando deve affidare il governo del marchesato di Geraci a un procuratore durante la sua assenza sceglie Pietro<sup>55</sup>.

Per un breve periodo il Luna risulta *dominus* di Sambuca e Bivona e amministratore della contea di Caltabellotta. Nel 1475 aveva comprato, infatti, dal fratello Carlo la *terra* di Sambuca<sup>56</sup> e nel 1476 dal fratello Sigismondo la *terra* di Bivona<sup>57</sup>. Sempre nel 1475 era divenuto amministratore della contea di Caltabellotta in seguito alle continue lamentele dei creditori di Carlo Luna che più volte si erano rivolti alla monarchia affinché costringesse il conte ad onorare i propri debiti.

Il viceré era intervenuto ordinando, il 5 aprile 1472, che, per soddisfare i creditori, tutti gli introiti e le rendite della contea e delle terre di Carlo pervenissero in mano ai secreti che, dopo averne versato una certa somma al conte per il suo sostentamento, depositassero tutto il rimanente in un banco in modo che fosse distribuito ai creditori; questi, però, continuavano a lamentarsi dal momento che il Luna si impadroniva delle rendite non permettendo ai secreti di eseguire la riscossione. Veniva, così, emesso un bando pubblico che intimava di non consegnare nulla al conte ma di rispondere delle rendite ai secreti<sup>58</sup>. L'anno successivo, non essendo mutata la situazione, Lope Ximénez De Urrea disponeva che il Luna

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<sup>53</sup> Asp, Moncada, 836, cc. 439r-461v.

<sup>54</sup> Asp, P, 91, c. 248v.

<sup>55</sup> C. Trasselli, *Da Ferdinando il Cattolico a Carlo V. L'esperienza siciliana 1475-1525*, Soveria Mannelli (Cz) 1982, II, pp. 373-374.

<sup>56</sup> Asp, Rc, 132, c. 285; Asp, P, 60, cc. 86r-87r.

<sup>57</sup> Asp, P, 76, c. 185v (Licenza regia per la vendita con la condizione del riacquisto concessa a Sigismondo. 24 gennaio 1476). Nella stessa data il notaio Gabriele Vulpi redigeva l'atto di compravendita (Asp, P, 80, cc. 257r-258v).

<sup>58</sup> Asp, P, 70, cc. 101v-102r.



continuasse a percepire solo mille fiorini di sostentamento e che le altre rendite e introiti della contea di Caltabellotta si dovessero raccogliere per pagare i creditori, ma, nonostante l'ordine, Carlo aveva continuato a percepire le rendite costringendo i secreti e i gabelloti a consegnargliele; il re era intervenuto in più occasioni affinché Carlo restituisse il maltolto<sup>59</sup>. A distanza di anni, nel 1475, il conte riceveva nuovamente l'ordine di pagare i creditori entro un tempo stabilito. Carlo, ancora una volta, aveva promesso di onorare i suoi debiti ma era venuto meno agli impegni presi e si era macchiato di un crimine, facendo tagliare il naso al prete Ruggero Bonanno, era, quindi, stato bandito e l'amministrazione della contea di Caltabellotta con le sue *terre* e i castelli, della *terra* di Giuliana con il suo castello, del castello di Misilcassim e di Cristia era stata assegnata a Pietro Luna per la sua «prudencia, sagacitate, virtute et industria», con l'obbligo di dare al fratello per suo sostentamento mille fiorini annui<sup>60</sup>.

Dei crediti vantati il presule otterrà da Carlo solo piccole somme, come per esempio, le cento onze versategli nel 1468 dal conte «sopra tutti li suoi stati e beni pro omni iure che li potea spettare»<sup>61</sup> e ciò lo indurrà a citare in giudizio il fratello che verrà condannato a cedere il castello e la *terra* di Sambuca e una rendita annua di centotrenta onze sulla *terra* di Caltabellotta<sup>62</sup>.

Forse in virtù delle centotrenta onze annuali che deteneva sulle rendite della *terra* di Caltabellotta o proprio in veste di amministratore della contea, Pietro avrebbe venduto agli eredi del *quondam* Benedetto Scolarii di Bivona quindici onze, otto tarì e quattordici grani di reddito annuo su Caltabellotta e altre due onze al palermitano Giovanni di Spagna<sup>63</sup>.

Nonostante lo stesso sovrano fosse intervenuto affinché i crediti di Pietro fossero soddisfatti<sup>64</sup>, essendo Carlo impossibilitato a pagare, decide di cedere Sambuca al fratello con un'operazione che riprova la consuetudine diffusa di mascherare i prestiti o i pagamenti di debiti con la vendita con condizione di riscatto dei beni immobili della famiglia che diventano denaro liquido. La vendita della *terra* di Sambuca, assieme alle gabelle del vino di Caltabellotta e del mulino della Favara era avvenuta, dunque, a saldo di un credito di quindicimilatrecento fiorini vantato da Pietro sulla *terra* di Sambuca e la secrezia di Giuliana<sup>65</sup> di cui una parte dovutigli come diritti sulla dote della madre e «pro legitima» del padre<sup>66</sup>. L'8 agosto 1475 il futuro arcivescovo ottiene per il fratello Carlo la licenza per la vendita<sup>67</sup> e per sé di

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<sup>59</sup> Asp, Rc, 128, cc. 312 e 394 (26 marzo 1473). A risentire della difficoltà economiche del conte è anche la seconda moglie Giulia Alliata che, poco prima della morte di Carlo, ricorre al viceré lamentandosi perché infastidita dai creditori del marito che avrebbero preteso da lei il pagamento dei debiti del Luna; il viceré interviene precisando che la contessa non doveva in alcun modo rispondere con i propri beni e le proprie rendite dei debiti del marito (4 marzo 1496. Asp, P, 170, cc. 24v-25r).

<sup>60</sup> Asp, Rc, 132, cc. 278v-279r; 279v-280r; Asp, P, 60, c. 84.

<sup>61</sup> Il conte con l'obbligo della vita-milizia avrebbe dovuto versare annualmente una pensione vitalizia ai fratelli da ricavarli dalle rendite dei beni feudali (Asp, Moncada, 874, c. n.n.).

<sup>62</sup> Carlo nella revoca delle donazioni al fratello Sigismondo lo accusa di non avere pagato quanto dovuto a Pietro pur essendosene sobbarcato l'onere in virtù della permuta di Sambuca con Bivona e di avergli, così, causato, un notevole danno economico (Asp, Moncada, 836, cc. 449r- 450r).

<sup>63</sup> Asp, not. D. De Leo, 1391, c. 254. Ringrazio F. Barna.

<sup>64</sup> Asp, P, 71, c. 222.

<sup>65</sup> Asp, Rc, 132, c. 285; Asp, P, 60, cc. 86r-87r; Asp, P, 75, cc. 303v-304r.

<sup>66</sup> Asp, not. D. De Leo, 1404, cc. 603v-607v.

<sup>67</sup> Asp, Rc, 132, c. 285; Asp, P, 60, cc. 86r.-87r; Asp, P, 75, cc. 303v-304r.

scegliere e mantenere sotto la propria giurisdizione il secreto incaricato di riscuotere la gabella<sup>68</sup>.

Pietro, a pochi mesi dall'acquisto, il 20 dicembre 1475, decide di rivendere con la condizione del riscatto il castello e la *terra* di Sambuca e ne ottiene licenza assieme alla remissione del diritto di decima e tarì spettante alla Curia per la transazione<sup>69</sup>. Dopo avere effettuato una prima vendita a Giovanni Giacomo Ventimiglia immediatamente annullata per mancanza di alcune fideiussioni, Pietro chiede di vendere Sambuca a Beatrice Branciforte contessa di Mazzarino<sup>70</sup> per undicimila fiorini<sup>71</sup>. L'undici maggio 1476 la compravendita era andata a buon fine e il procuratore della Branciforte aveva prestato il giuramento e l'omaggio al sovrano<sup>72</sup>. Nel 1478 il Luna deve aver già riscattato Sambuca se ottiene dal re, per i suoi meriti e i servizi prestati alla Corona con devozione e amore, il *mero e misto imperio* sulla *terra* di Sambuca con la giurisdizione criminale<sup>73</sup> e a giugno chiede nuovamente licenza di venderla con la consueta condizione del riacquisto<sup>74</sup>. L'operazione evidentemente non era riuscita e l'anno seguente, il 3 marzo 1479 gli viene concessa la licenza per costituire annualmente in perpetuo a Sambuca una «fera et fari curriri palio in lo iorno di la festività di Santo Iorgi»<sup>75</sup> e a giugno è indicato ancora come barone della *terra* di Sambuca, quando il maestro giustiziere, presidente del Regno, ordina agli ufficiali competenti di catturare i vassalli di Pietro che «ausu temerario» avevano insultato il capitano di quella *terra* e di portarli «sub fida custodia» a Pietro perché li castigasse<sup>76</sup>. Carlo, dal canto suo, non aveva rinunciato all'idea di riacquistare la baronia, spinto anche dal cognato Francesco Abbatellis che probabilmente vantava dei crediti per la dote della moglie Margherita Luna sorella del conte, e, dopo avere ottenuto il 17 luglio 1480 la licenza dal viceré<sup>77</sup>, costituisce suo procuratore lo stesso cognato che ricompra per diecimilacinquecento fiorini da Pietro Sambuca e ne diviene signore fino alla morte<sup>78</sup>. Nel testamento redatto il 14 agosto 1485, l'Abbatellis designa erede del castello, della *terra* e della baronia di Sambuca il figlio secondogenito Federico nato dalla seconda moglie Margherita<sup>79</sup>. Carlo, deciso a recuperare Sambuca ma non avendo il denaro necessario, la aliena a Pietro e Gilberto de Bononia che la ricomprano dagli Abbatellis per diecimilacinquecento fiorini per poi rivenderla, il 20 maggio 1491, a Pietro Alliata, procuratore del conte di Caltabellotta<sup>80</sup>. Il Luna, il 23 febbraio precedente, in seguito a una sua nuova richiesta di «redimiri» alcuni feudi e rendite per poi rivenderli, e cioè Sambuca e alcune rendite sulle *terre* di Giuliana e Caltabellotta e sulla torre di Misilcassim, aveva

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<sup>68</sup> Asp, Rc, 132, c. 281; Asp, P, 60, c. 87.

<sup>69</sup> Asp, P, 76, cc. 184v-185r (esecutoria del 26 gennaio 1476).

<sup>70</sup> Ivi, cc. 224r-225r; Asp, Rc, 135, c. 291 (14 marzo 1476).

<sup>71</sup> Asp, Rc, 135, cc. 290v-291r.

<sup>72</sup> Asp, P, 76, cc. 308v-309r; Asp, Rc, 135, c. 328.

<sup>73</sup> Asp, P, 91, cc. 11r-12r (5 gennaio 1478; esecutoria del 5 dicembre 1478).

<sup>74</sup> Una prima volta il 27 giugno 1478 (Asp, P, 83, cc. 264v-265r) e nuovamente il 23 novembre 1478 (Asp, P, 90, cc. 14v-15v). Il 5 dicembre viene indicato come «dominus» di Sambuca (Asp, P, 90, cc. 124r-126r).

<sup>75</sup> Asp, P, 88, c. 117v.

<sup>76</sup> Asp, P, 89, c. 66r (10 giugno 1479).

<sup>77</sup> Asp, P, 94, c. 77r.

<sup>78</sup> Asp, not. D. De Leo, 1404, cc. 603v-607v.

<sup>79</sup> Asp, not. D. De Leo, 1396, c. 1129r.

<sup>80</sup> Asp, not. D. De Leo, 1404, cc. 603v-607v.

ottenuto la licenza e la «relaxatione» della terza parte del diritto di decima e tari dovuto alla Curia<sup>81</sup>; Pietro e Gilberto de Bononia, dopo avere comprato, nel 1490, Sambuca<sup>82</sup>, pagano, il 3 marzo 1492, al collettore le due parti restanti del diritto di decima e tari, cioè centottantasei onze e venti tari, in cambio dell'impegno alla restituzione della somma nel caso in cui il conte avesse ricomprato la baronia<sup>83</sup>.

Le vicende di Sambuca, le numerose vendite e gli altrettanto numerosi riscatti da parte dei Luna, sono espressione della prassi ormai sempre più diffusa nella classe feudale di monetizzare i feudi per sopperire alle necessità economiche e far fronte ai debiti spesso causati da un tenore di vita legato al titolo ma non adeguato ai mezzi. La compravendita dei feudi fra i fratelli appare chiaramente un modo velato di mascherare i prestiti con l'acquisto del bene.

Indicativo anche il caso di Bivona: Sigismondo l'aveva venduta nel gennaio del 1476 per diecimila fiorini a Pietro con la condizione per sé del riacquisto e per il presule di percepire centoquaranta onze dalle rendite della secrezia di Bivona<sup>84</sup>, ma già nel marzo dell'anno successivo si rivolgeva al viceré per avere giustizia dal momento che voleva effettuare il deposito per prenderne nuovamente il possesso. L'algozorio regio riceveva, così, l'ordine di recarsi presso i due fratelli e far scegliere a Pietro il banco dove far depositare la somma per il riacquisto della *terra* di Bivona con il suo castello. Pietro avrebbe dovuto effettuare la vendita e cancellare il contratto; Sigismondo avrebbe versato al fratello centoquaranta onze annue sulle rendite di Bivona<sup>85</sup>.

L'impressione che si ricava dalla lettura di queste vicende è che l'arcivescovo godesse rispetto agli altri fratelli di maggiore liquidità e fungesse da conciliatore nei difficili rapporti tra Carlo e Sigismondo, come dimostra la fideiussione operata, nel 1480, in aiuto al fratello minore<sup>86</sup>. Era, infatti, a causa dei numerosi debiti contratti che Carlo e Sigismondo vendevano e alienavano rendite di feudi o gli stessi feudi e che ricorrevano al sempre presente Pietro.

Carlo era stato costretto ad alienare non solo feudi lontani dalla contea di Caltabellotta e da Sciacca, nucleo principale dei suoi domini, come, ad esempio, il feudo di Castellammare del Golfo<sup>87</sup>, ma anche vicini come il feudo di Taya. In un primo momento il Luna, per soddisfare un debito nei confronti di Pietro Buondelmonti<sup>88</sup> di Sciacca, gli aveva venduto con la condizione del riscatto cinque

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<sup>81</sup> Asp, P, 142, cc. 144v-145r; 145r- 146r.

<sup>82</sup> Asp, Rc, 179, cc. 234r- 326r; Asp, P, Pr. Inv., busta 1486, processo 365; G.L. Barberi, *Il Magnum Capibrevium dei feudi maggiori*, a cura di G. Stalteri Ragusa, Palermo 1993, (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, Diplomatica, Serie I, vol. XXXII), I, p. 172; F. Emanuele e Gaetani marchese di Villabianca, *Della Sicilia nobile*, Palermo 1754-59, parte II, libro IV, p. 106; F. San Martino de Spucches, *La storia dei feudi e dei titoli nobiliari di Sicilia*, Palermo 1924, II, p. 78.

<sup>83</sup> Asp, not. D. De Leo, 1405, cc. 611v-612r.

<sup>84</sup> Asp, not. G. Vulpi, 1135, cc. 614r- 617v (29 gennaio 1476).

<sup>85</sup> Asp, P, 80 cc. 257r-258v (17 marzo 1477).

<sup>86</sup> Asp, not. D. De Leo, 1391, cc. 608r-610v.

<sup>87</sup> Prima permutato con il feudo di Pietra d'Amico, vicino Bivona, e trecentottanta onze, e poi definitivamente ceduto a Gerardo Alliata (*I capibrevi di Giovanni Luca Barberi*, III, *I feudi del Val di Mazzara*, a cura di G. Silvestri, r.a. Palermo 1985, [Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, Diplomatica, Serie I, vol. XIII], pp. 394-395).

<sup>88</sup> I Buondelmonti si erano apertamente schierati con la famiglia del conte di Caltabellotta in occasione della contesa tra i Perollo e i Luna per il feudo di San Bartolomeo. Pietro Buondelmonti, in particolare, aveva rivestito per parecchi anni, almeno dal 1471 fino al 1482 anno della morte, il ruolo di procuratore

onze e dieci tarì annuali sulle rendite del feudo di Taya<sup>89</sup>; ancora pressato dai debiti, nel 1479, aveva alienato lo stesso feudo con la condizione del riacquisto<sup>90</sup> al *miles* Orlando Amato<sup>91</sup>. Nel 1481 sarebbe intervenuto il viceré per esortarlo a saldare un debito questa volta nei confronti della baronessa di Augusta<sup>92</sup>. Carlo non era riuscito a sanare la sua situazione finanziaria, forse anche per le spese sostenute per la causa di annullamento contro la moglie, e, tuttavia, non aveva rinunciato al suo ruolo di signore munifico<sup>93</sup>.

Anche Sigismondo, nonostante avesse numerose entrate grazie agli uffici di maestro secreto e maestro portulano del Regno, non riuscendo a saldare i suoi debiti era ricorso a vendite e alienazioni. Già nel 1469 il Luna aveva chiesto di vendere venti onze annuali delle rendite del feudo di Comicchio<sup>94</sup>; nel 1474 era stato costretto ad alienare il feudo di San Bartolomeo con l'esonazione dal pagamento del diritto di decima e tarì spettante alla Curia<sup>95</sup>; nel 1476 aveva ottenuto la licenza di vendere la *terra* di Bivona a Pietro<sup>96</sup> e sempre con la condizione del riscatto sessanta onze annuali sugli introiti delle tratte del porto e caricatore di Castellammare del Golfo a Guidone Gaetano con la garanzia dei redditi di Bivona nel caso in cui non bastassero gli introiti del porto<sup>97</sup>. Nel maggio dello stesso anno, dopo avere informato i viceré di

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del conte per riscuotere le rendite del feudo di Taya (F.P. Tocco, *Tra memoria e identità. La parabola insediativa di una famiglia fiorentina nella Sicilia tardo medievale: i Buondelmonti di Sciacca*, Messina 2006, p. 134).

<sup>89</sup> L'11 maggio 1479 Carlo ottiene, a posteriori, la licenza per l'alienazione e la grazia della terza parte del diritto di decima e tarì spettante alla Curia (Asp, P, 88, c. 139r).

<sup>90</sup> Il contratto di vendita viene rogato dal notaio Giovanni Pietro Grasso (Asp, P, 89, c. 124; Asp, not. D. De Leo, 1412, cc. 139v-142v).

<sup>91</sup> Orlando de Amato doveva essere legato ai Buondelmonti da vincoli di parentela se si considera che la madre di Pietro Buondelmonti era Eufemia Amato (F.P. Tocco, *Tra memoria e identità...*, p. 134 e tavola genealogica a p. 283).

<sup>92</sup> Asp, P, 97, cc. 52r-53r.

<sup>93</sup> Il ricordo legato al nome del Luna a Sciacca è quello di grande mecenate per i rapporti con Francesco Laurana. Lo scultore dalmata giunge in Sicilia nel 1468 dalla corte di Renato d'Angiò per rifornirsi di marmo alabastrino e lavorare per il Luna per il quale progetta il portale settentrionale della chiesa di Santa Margherita, fondata dall'infanta Eleonora d'Aragona, contessa di Caltabellotta, e realizza la *Maria Maddalena* dello stipite sinistro dello stesso portale. In seguito al primo breve soggiorno, il Laurana ritorna a Sciacca nel 1484-91 quando scolpisce il *busto di gentildonna* conservato oggi a Palazzo Abbatellis. Sull'identità della donna scolpita molto si è scritto; tra le interpretazioni più recenti quella che la identifica con Eleonora d'Aragona, moglie di Guglielmo Peralta, e ritiene che il busto fosse stato commissionato proprio da Carlo, suo discendente, a scopo celebrativo, per ribadire la supremazia della famiglia in un territorio dilaniato dalle lotte di fazione evidenti nel primo e secondo caso Sciacca (P. Carofano, "Viatico artistico a Sciacca fra '400 e '500", in *La maiolica siciliana tra i secoli XV e XVII ed i rapporti con le manifatture della penisola: il ruolo delle botteghe saccensi*, Atti del convegno di studi, Sciacca, 8-9 ottobre 1999, a cura di A. Governale, Palermo 2000, pp. 36-37).

<sup>94</sup> Otteneva anche, il 13 giugno 1469, l'esonazione dal pagamento della tassa della decima e tarì sia per lui che per il compratore (Asp, P, 67, c. 269v).

<sup>95</sup> Sigismondo ottiene la licenza, il 20 giugno 1474, nonostante il feudo «sit litigiosum» (Asp, P, 73, c. 255r; Asp, P, 84, c. 109v); il 24 gennaio 1478, non essendo ancora stata registrata l'esonazione dal pagamento della terza parte del diritto di decima e tarì spettante alla Curia per la vendita, viene dato l'ordine di registrarla negli uffici del Protonotaro e del Conservatore del Real Patrimonio (Asp, P, 84, c. 109).

<sup>96</sup> Asp, P, 76, c. 185v (24 gennaio 1476). Nella stessa data il notaio Gabriele Vulpi redigeva l'atto di compravendita (Asp, P, 80, cc. 257r-258v).

<sup>97</sup> Asp, P, 60, c. 3 (4 aprile 1476); Asp, Rc, 135, c. 337v; Asp, P, 76, c. 308r. La vendita ebbe luogo e il 25 maggio 1476 Sigismondo si obbligava con Antonio Pilaya, collettore del diritto di decima e tarì, a pagare

«haviri suspitioni in alcuni parti et lochi di quisto regnu esseri thesoru sive monita vel iocali asconditi» e averli supplicati di dargli licenza «di potiri fari inquiriri et cavari lo ditto thesoro monita sive iocali», aveva ottenuto la facoltà di cercare con quanti uomini volesse il tesoro, le monete e i gioielli in ogni parte del Regno, con l'eccezione dei luoghi sacri, e, una volta trovati, tenerne la terza parte consegnando le restanti due alla Curia<sup>98</sup>. Nel luglio del 1478 era stato costretto a cedere il censo di centoquaranta onze su Bivona a Margherita Caruso, vedova di Pietro Afflitto, e al figlio Baldassare<sup>99</sup>; nel dicembre seguente, Sigismondo tornava a chiedere al viceré il permesso di portare nei magazzini della marina di Sciacca cento salme di frumento per estrarle da quel caricatore<sup>100</sup> e, nel marzo del 1479, insieme alla moglie Beatrice aveva ottenuto la licenza di vendere e alienare con la condizione del riacquisto il feudo di Larminusa in territorio di Sclafani<sup>101</sup> e quella di alienare dieci onze annuali sulle rendite della contea per soddisfare il debito nei confronti dell'abate di San Filippo de Argirione, fra' Gianni Paternò<sup>102</sup>. Nel maggio successivo, quando aveva donato al consanguineo Pietro Peralta il feudo di Comicchio come ricompensa dei servizi ricevuti mentre si trovava a combattere in Catalogna, prometteva di ricomprare le diciassette onze di redditi annuali del feudo che aveva precedentemente venduto a Pietro de Burgio<sup>103</sup>. A dicembre aveva venduto con condizione di riscatto ad Antonio Biagna un censo annuale di nove onze e nove tarì a saldo di un debito di novantatré onze sul *marcato* di San Filippo sito nel territorio di Bivona<sup>104</sup>. Nel maggio dell'anno successivo la stessa Beatrice aveva ottenuto, ancora, licenza di vendere *in toto* o in parte le rendite annue della *terra* di Giuliana<sup>105</sup>; il 13 luglio 1480, un paio di mesi prima di morire, Sigismondo si era procurato quella di contrattare per la vendita della *terra* e del castello di Caltavuturo con il barone di Mazzarino<sup>106</sup>. Al momento della morte nel suo testamento elencava, per la salvezza della sua anima, tutti i debiti che l'erede Gian Vincenzo avrebbe dovuto fronteggiare<sup>107</sup> e designava come tutore del figlio, insieme con la moglie Beatrice, il fratello Pietro che avrebbe gestito, questa volta giustificato dall'esercizio della tutela, il patrimonio per il nipote.

La disponibilità economica di cui gode Pietro deriva, oltre che dai benefici e dalle assegnazioni di cui è titolare, dall'abile gestione del patrimonio accresciuto con oculate operazioni di compravendita di frumento.

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la tassa dovuta (Asp, not. G. Vulpi, 1136, cc. 189v-190r). Anche nel suo testamento Sigismondo fa riferimento alla vendita disponendo che il fideiussore che aveva fatto da garante fosse integralmente soddisfatto in tutto ciò che gli era dovuto (Asp, Moncada, 148, cc. 143r-158v).

<sup>98</sup> Asp, P, 76, c. 307.

<sup>99</sup> Asp, Moncada, 874, c. n.n.; Asp, Moncada, 3224, c. 109r.

<sup>100</sup> Asp, P, 90, cc. 119v-120r.

<sup>101</sup> Asp, P, 91, c. 249r. *Larminusa* è identificabile, oggi, con Aliminusa.

<sup>102</sup> Asp, P, 88, c. 143v (18 marzo 1474).

<sup>103</sup> Asp, Notai Defunti, stanza I, not. G. Randisio, 1158, cc. 433r-434v.

<sup>104</sup> Asp, P, 93, cc. 37r-39v.

<sup>105</sup> Asp, P, 95, cc. 184v-185v. Il 22 settembre 1481, a causa delle rimostranze di Carlo che sosteneva che Beatrice gli avesse ceduto i suoi diritti, il viceré dispone che sia il conte a dovere percepire le rendite (Asp, P, 102, c. 50).

<sup>106</sup> Asp, P, 93, cc. 199v-200v.

<sup>107</sup> Asp, Moncada, 148, cc. 143r-158v.

In virtù di una donazione fra vivi, rogata dal notaio Enrico de Antuerpia di Caltabellotta il 25 maggio 1473, Pietro aveva ricevuto dalla madre Beatrice Cardona l'assegnazione delle cento onze in tratte che la contessa deteneva annualmente per la durata della sua vita sui porti del Regno e soprattutto su Sciacca e Castellammare, con la condizione che se Pietro fosse premorto alla madre la donazione sarebbe stata annullata<sup>108</sup>; il 5 novembre 1479, il Luna era stato dispensato dal fare estrarre il frumento dai caricatori di Castellammare e Sciacca, come da assegnazione, ottenendo di utilizzare il porto di Licata.

Così, nel registro dei conti presentato da Sigismondo Luna in qualità di maestro portulano nel 1480, poco prima della morte, vengono segnate in uscita per quell'anno cento onze in favore di Pietro pagate «in iure tratte et tarenis salmarum frumenti mille quingentorum extractarum in duabus partis a carricatorio Licate in quo sit debitus introitus de dictis unciiis centum»<sup>109</sup>. Le cento onze vengono segnate anche tra gli introiti, nella parte iniziale del registro, come ricevute per il diritto di tratta e tarì per le millecinquacenti salme estratte dal caricatore, settecento da Gabriele e Pietro Sagarriga con la nave di Luca Adorno e le altre ottocento dagli stessi con la nave di Pietro Lupoyu. L'introito, ovviamente, era solo virtuale per la Curia, data l'assegnazione del Luna<sup>110</sup>. Le motivazioni della richiesta di Pietro di sostituire per l'anno in corso il caricatore da cui estrarre il frumento vengono chiarite da un documento del Protonotaro del Regno in cui viene accordata a Pietro l'estrazione da Licata dal momento che il mercante catalano Gaspare Bonet teneva nei magazzini di quel caricatore del frumento che, non essendo stato venduto, rischiava di andare a male; su richiesta del Luna al sovrano, quindi, si sarebbe dovuto fare cambio con il frumento conservato nelle fosse di Sciacca<sup>111</sup>.

Pietro negli anni precedenti aveva operato attivamente nella vendita e nelle estrazioni di frumento: nell'ottobre del 1475 aveva venduto del frumento per il quale riceveva una caparra<sup>112</sup>; nel giugno del 1477 chiedeva di estrarre fuori dal Regno quattrocento salme di frumento conservate nei magazzini di Sciacca<sup>113</sup> e ne faceva trasportare al caricatore di Sciacca centocinquanta<sup>114</sup>; a settembre chiedeva di estrarne altre provenienti dalle rendite di Racalbutò<sup>115</sup>; a ottobre si trovava in difficoltà per avere venduto altro frumento che «sperava provenirli di soi massari» ma che a causa di una rivolta non gli era stato consegnato<sup>116</sup> e, forse in debito con il secreto di

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<sup>108</sup> La concessione viene ratificata dal sovrano il 24 settembre 1473 ed esecutoriata il 7 marzo dell'anno successivo (Asp, Trp, Num. Provv., 45, c. 149). Beatrice e il marito, Antonio Luna, avevano ricevuto, nel 1446, l'assegnazione di duecento onze sui porti e caricatori del Regno e, soprattutto, su Sciacca e Castellammare (Asp, P, 47, cc. 138v-139r; Asp, Rc, 134, cc. 78r-79r). La Cardona risultava anche assegnataria, già negli anni '30 insieme con il fratello Pietro, di duecentocinquanta onze sulle tratte del Regno (Asp, Rc, 64, cc. 166v-167r).

<sup>109</sup> Asp, Trp, Num. Provv., 45, c. 149.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., c. 51r. Non è possibile verificare sulla base dei registri del maestro portulano se il Luna ricevette annualmente l'assegnazione perché i registri conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Palermo non sono continuativi e per il periodo in questione si passa dal 698 relativo all'anno indizionale 1473-74 al 45 relativo al 1479-80 e poi al 5 relativo al 1485-86 (Trp, Num. Provv., 698, 45, 5).

<sup>111</sup> Asp, P, 96, cc. 261v.-262r.

<sup>112</sup> Asp, P, 76, cc. 101v-102r (9 ottobre 1475).

<sup>113</sup> Asp, P, 77, c. 155.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., c. 155v.

<sup>115</sup> Asp, P, 82, c. 108v.

<sup>116</sup> Asp, P, 81, c. 172r.

Pietro Luna: uomo di Chiesa, di potere arbitro delle sorti familiari

Racalbuto, gli cedeva tutte le rendite e gli introiti di quella terra finché non avesse riscosso trecento onze<sup>117</sup>. Nel marzo del 1478 otteneva la licenza per estrarre da qualsiasi caricatore del Regno trecento salme di frumento<sup>118</sup>.

#### 4. La fiducia della monarchia: ancora incarichi e concessioni

La stima e la fiducia di cui il Luna gode a corte è evidente, oltre che dalle pressioni di Giovanni II per la nomina di Pietro ad arcivescovo di Messina, dalle continue concessioni e dagli incarichi ricoperti. L'appoggio della monarchia continua con Ferdinando il Cattolico che, volendo costituire un gruppo "filo-governativo" che lo appoggiasse nei suoi progetti e nell'opposizione ai Ventimiglia, accorda le sue preferenze ai Luna e li sostiene, in considerazione dei sentimenti che la famiglia iberica nutriva nei confronti dei Ventimiglia<sup>119</sup>.

Il 28 maggio 1479, dovendosi provvedere alla difesa del Regno a causa del pericolo turco, il maestro giustiziere, presidente del Regno, «confidando summe di [...] animositati, vigilancia, fidi et aptitudini di Pietro comu uno di li principali baruni di quisto regno», designa il Luna capitano d'armi di Sciacca con la giurisdizione alta e bassa, civile e criminale<sup>120</sup> e l'anno successivo il viceré gli concede, considerando la necessità che gli uomini si esercitino con le armi, di tenere una giostra a Sciacca<sup>121</sup>. La nomina non è accettata di buon grado dal castellano che gli impedisce l'entrata nel castello; a settembre il maestro giustiziere interviene per ordinarli di permettere al Luna di entrare e uscire dal castello a suo piacimento<sup>122</sup>. Poco prima Pietro, in ricompensa delle spese affrontate, aveva ottenuto dal consiglio dell'università di Sciacca trentacinque onze sulle entrate dell'università e della giudecca e la deliberazione era stata confermata dal sovrano<sup>123</sup>. Significativa appare la nomina di Pietro a capitano d'armi di Sciacca, un tempo cuore della signoria dei Peralta; i Luna, eredi della famiglia vicariale, con grandi difficoltà erano riusciti a rafforzare la loro posizione in un momento in cui, nella metà del Quattrocento, ancora accese erano la conflittualità tra clan familiari e la violenza urbana che avevano portato ad una vera e propria lotta civile e al primo "caso Sciacca". Pietro consolidava il ruolo della famiglia nella cittadina e, nello stesso tempo, rassicurava la monarchia con le sue capacità sul doppio versante del controllo dell'endemica conflittualità cittadina e degli attacchi esterni.

La minaccia turca rendeva necessario che le fortezze fossero riparate e munite d'armi; a tal fine, nel 1480, il viceré Gaspare de Spes gli affida anche l'incarico di ispezionare personalmente i castelli e le fortificazioni, tanto baronali quanto demaniali, del Val di Mazara e occuparsi della loro dotazione di armi, soldati e

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., c. 185r.

<sup>118</sup> Asp, P, 85, c. 273v.

<sup>119</sup> Il contrasto fra le due famiglie era originato anche dall'aiuto che i Ventimiglia avevano dato ai Perollo durante il primo caso Sciacca (S. Giurato, *La Sicilia di Ferdinando il Cattolico. Tradizioni politiche e conflitto tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento [1468-1523]*, Soveria Mannelli [Cz] 2003, pp. 73-76).

<sup>120</sup> Asp, P, 89, c. 49.

<sup>121</sup> Asp, P, 94, cc. 46v-47r.

<sup>122</sup> Asp, P, 92, c. 37.

<sup>123</sup> Asp, P, 96, cc. 21v-22r.

viveri, con la facoltà di imporre anche dazi per reperire il denaro, in modo da predisporli a fronteggiare «la grandi potentia di lo turco»<sup>124</sup>.

Qualche anno dopo re Ferdinando chiede al Papa che venga concessa al Luna una speciale riserva di mille fiorini su alcuni benefici della sua diocesi per permettergli di pagare la pensione annua sui redditi della sua chiesa e di vivere più comodamente<sup>125</sup>; lo stesso Innocenzo VIII nomina il Luna governatore di Perugia, dove giunge il 27 maggio 1489 e rimane fino al 1491<sup>126</sup>, quando si trova a Palermo, nella cattedrale, presente all'apertura dei sepolcri imperiali<sup>127</sup>.

Durante la sua assenza dal Regno l'amministrazione dell'arcivescovado viene affidata a terzi che fanno i propri interessi; è il caso del messinese Giovanni Staiti che incamera le entrate non pagando i debiti del Luna. Il 16 novembre 1489, in seguito alla lamentela del procuratore dell'arcivescovo secondo cui Giovanni Staiti, che aveva amministrato per conto del Luna per diversi anni l'arcivescovado, non aveva effettuato il pagamento di quattrocento onze al maestro portulano procuratore di un mercante valenzano a saldo di un debito di cinquecento onze dell'arcivescovo, il viceré dispone che si verifichi l'accaduto e si provveda a far pagare al messinese quanto dovuto<sup>128</sup>.

Due anni dopo, il 9 febbraio 1491, il viceré ordina al vicario generale dell'arcivescovo che non pagava il sostentamento alla madre del presule, di provvedere al pagamento e di non contravvenire più alla volontà di Pietro che aiutava economicamente la contessa versandole una rendita annuale<sup>129</sup>.

Nonostante le condizioni economiche del Luna peggiorino negli ultimi anni di vita, il presule appare sempre attento a saldare i debiti<sup>130</sup> e a non lasciare situazioni insolute<sup>131</sup>, anche se, forse, non lo è altrettanto nell'annotare i crediti. Pochi giorni dopo la sua morte viene pubblicato un bando per il quale chiunque detenesse per qualsiasi motivo beni del vescovo, denaro, gioielli, schiavi, animali, avrebbe dovuto denunciarli al tesoriere regio<sup>132</sup>.

L'arcivescovo era morto il 28 agosto 1492 nel monastero di San Pantaleone presso Messina ed era stato sepolto nella cattedrale della stessa città<sup>133</sup>.

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<sup>124</sup> Asp, P, 94, cc. 177r-178v; G.E. Di Blasi, *Storia cronologica de' Viceré, Luogotenenti e Presidenti del Regno di Sicilia*, r.a. Palermo 1974, I, pp. 284-285.

<sup>125</sup> Asp, P, 127, cc. 267v-269r.

<sup>126</sup> *Cronaca di Perugia dal 1309 al 1491 nota col nome di Diario del Graziani*, a cura di A. Fabretti, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, s. I, 16 (1850), parte I, pp. 712 sgg.

<sup>127</sup> M. Moscone, "Luna, Pietro de", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, p. 554.

<sup>128</sup> Asp, P, 136, c. 165.

<sup>129</sup> Asp, P, 142, cc. 89v-90r.

<sup>130</sup> Nel settembre 1491, essendo debitore del sovrano di sessanta onze sulle sessantasette dovute per la rata della prima tanda del donativo dovutogli e non avendo modo di pagare, Pietro vende le rendite di alcuni terraggi per tre anni (Asp, P, 143, cc. 355v-356r).

<sup>131</sup> Nel novembre 1491, quasi a voler tacitare la coscienza vicino alla morte, Pietro si costituisce debitore nei confronti degli eredi del calzolaio Raimondo Callar il quale avrebbe dovuto ricevere quindici onze, quattordici tari e quindici grani per una notevole - se si considera la somma dovuta - fornitura di calzari (Asp, not. D. De Leo, 1405, c. 324r).

<sup>132</sup> Asp, P, 153, c. 36r (31 agosto 1492. Pietro Luna è definito «quondam»).

<sup>133</sup> R. Pirri, *Sicilia sacra...*, I, p. 424; II, p. 1303.



### **Abstract**

#### **Pietro Luna: Clergyman, man of power and arbiter of his family's fate**

The family and patrimonial fortunes of the Luna's in the 15th century appear to be oriented at crucial moments by the prelate of the family, Pietro the archbishop of Messina, second-born children of the Count of Caltabellotta, Antonio Luna and his wife Beatrice Cardona. Pietro is the guiding beacon for his brothers Carlo and Sigismondo. Intervening on their behalf in order to settle the disputes and financial difficulties of the two, he claims lien against their real estates; he then starts managing the family's assets first indirectly and then directly by assuming control of it. Pietro Luna is for a short time the *dominus* of Sambuca and Bivona and the administrator of Caltabellotta's county. He is involved in a variety of business transactions and he is active on the wheat trade. Being the trusted man of the monarchy, he fulfils delicate tasks for the defence of the kingdom.

### **Keywords**

Pietro Luna, Luna family, archbishop of Messina, Sambuca, Bivona, Caltabellotta county, asset, sicilian late Middle Age.

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### **L'artesanía textil de Girona (1454-1458)**

Al llarg de l'any 2008 vaig realitzar una investigació sobre el tema *Artigianato e commercio a Girona (1442-1453)*<sup>1</sup>. Aquesta recerca es va basar principalment en els manuals notariais inèdits de l'època conservats a l'Arxiu històric de Girona, i va posar en evidència com les activitats artesanals realitzades aleshores a la ciutat fossin intenses i nombroses i com representessin al mateix temps un aspecte significatiu del context econòmic ciutadà, influint notablement en el perfil de la societat urbana. Hi havia un gran nombre de paraires, teixidors, assaonadors i blanquers, i també sabaters, bossers, basters, giponers, calceters, coltellers, fusters, ferrers, argenters, carnisers, ecc. Aquest considerable conjunt d'activitats – sobretot aquelles relatives al sector tèxtil – sostenien també de manera determinant les iniciatives de gènere mercantil, les quals es desenvolupaven en tres diferents àmbits: en primer lloc aquell relatiu a la ciutat, on aflüen molts compradors dels territoris dels voltants; després, aquell que podríem definir regional, basat en l'intercanvi de productes agrícoles i de manufactures; i finalment un d'horitzó més ampli, que incloïa les relacions amb Perpinyà, Barcelona i València per un costat, i amb Càller, Palerm i Nàpols per l'altre.

Conseqüentment a la conquesta del Regne de Nàpols per part d'Alfons V d'Aragó el 1442, l'economia de Barcelona i els comerços catalans en conjunt van patir una fase d'estancament, probablement a causa de la llarga guerra. Tot i així, a partir almenys del 1454, així com va documentar una coneguda obra del Mario Del Treppo (traduïda al Català el 1976), l'economia mercantil catalana va conèixer un tangible creixement, justament com a resultat de l'empresa del Magnànim, el qual va obrir a la producció tèxtil de Catalunya el mercat vast i rendible del migdia d'Itàlia de l'època. S'ha de considerar, d'altra banda, que ja abans del 1454 una ciutat industrial com Perpinyà s'havia beneficiat del nou panorama polític i econòmic, i que al mateix temps València estava a punt de convertir-se en una de les principals places financeres del Mediterrani occidental.

Pel que fa a Girona, partint dels resultats de la meua recerca, es pot afirmar que aquesta ciutat també, al llarg dels anys 1442-1453, va aconseguir un nivell de desenvolupament econòmic considerable i que estava preparada per donar la seva incisiva aportació d'energies i competències a l'expansió del comerç català durant els anys immediatament següents<sup>2</sup>.

El sector tèxtil representava el nucli de la vida econòmica de Girona cap a la meitat del segle XV, tant per la seva especial importància, com per l'impuls que imprimia als intercanvis locals i als de llarga distància. Les diferents implicacions d'aquesta activitat productiva entre el 1454 (any de la nova empenta del comerç marítim) i el 1458 (any de la mort d'Alfons el Magnànim) van ser l'objecte de les meves posteriors recerques<sup>3</sup>: va ser aquest un quinquenni de relleu decisiu per l'exportació catalana de manufactures tèxtils cap a Itàlia del sud i cap a Sicília.

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<sup>1</sup> Gràcies a una borsa d'estudi "Generalitat de Catalunya" de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans de Barcelona.

<sup>2</sup> Dins *Mediterranean Chronicle* 1 (2011) 215-233.

<sup>3</sup> Estudis recolzats per una beca del Patronat Francesc Eiximenis de la Diputació de Girona.

Entrant en detalls, vaig indagar el nombre d'artesans dedicats a la manufactura, les nombroses especialitzacions (paraires, teixidors de draps de llana, teixidors de draps de lli, abaixadors, tintorers, sastres, giponers, calceters, flaçaders, vanovers, brodadors), el volum de la producció, la seva varietat (draps, flassades, gipons, túniques), així com la qualitat dels draps de llana produïts, qualitat sovint avalada per la «bulla Girunde».

L'interès científic d'aquest estudi és doble, ja que d'una banda posa en evidència el dinamisme econòmic de Girona a final del regne d'Alfons V d'Aragó a través del seu component més rellevant (un dinamisme fins ara no estudiat adequadament) i de l'altra mostra l'estímul que representava el panorama mediterrani per a aquestes activitats.

Els manuals notariais de l'època custodiats a l'Arxiu ciutadà representen una font valuosa i força exhaustiva per a l'investigació d'aquest tema. L'espai urbà era subdividit en onze «notariae» i pels anys 1454-1458 es pot disposar d'una considerable sèrie de protocols:

*Notaria Girona 01*

Notari Nicolau Roca  
llibre 445, anni 1453-1454  
llibre 447, anni 1454-1456  
llibre 450-451, anys 1456-1457  
llibre 452, anys 1457-1458

*Notaria Girona 02*

Notari Jaume Feliu Calvó  
llibre 239, anys 1453-1454  
llibre 240, anys 1453-1454  
llibre 241, any 1454  
llibre 242, anys 1455-1456  
llibre 243, anys 1456-1457  
llibre 244, anys 1457-1458  
llibre 245, any 1458

*Notaria Girona 03*

Notari Antoni Arnau  
llibre 78, anys 1453-1455  
llibre 79, any 1454  
llibre 80, anys 1455-1457  
llibre 81, any 1456  
llibre 82, any 1457  
llibre 83, any 1457  
llibre 84, any 1457  
llibre 85, any 1457  
llibre 86, any 1458

## L'artesanía textil de Girona (1454-1458)

### *Notaria Girona 04*

Notari Berenguer Ferrer Ça Sala

llibre 188, anys 1453-1454

llibre 190, anys 1454-1455

llibre 191, any 1455

llibre 192, anys 1455-1456

llibre 193, anys 1456-1457

llibre 194, any 1458

### *Notaria Girona 05*

Notari Anthoni Serra

llibre 470, anys 1456-1457

llibre 471, any 1458

### *Notaria Girona 06*

Notari Nicholau Masdevall

llibre 180, anys 1453-1454

llibre 181, anys 1453-1454

llibre 183, anys 1457-1458

llibre 184, any 1458

### *Notaria Girona 07*

Notari Narcís Cotxa

llibre 103, anys 1453-1454

llibre 104, any 1454

llibre 105, anys 1454-1455

llibre 106, anys 1454-1456

llibre 107, any 1455

llibre 108, anys 1455-1456

llibre 109, anys 1456-1457

llibre 110, anys 1456-1457

llibre 111, any 1457

llibre 112, anys 1457-1458

llibre 113, anys 1457-1458

llibre 114, any 1458

### *Notaria Girona 08*

Notari Bernat Escuder

llibre 55, anys 1454-1455

llibre 56, anys 1455-1457

llibre 57, anys 1455-1457

llibre 58, any 1457

*Notaria Girona 09*

Notari Pere Sitjar

llibre 50, any 1453

llibre 51, any 1454

llibre 52, any 1454

llibre 54, any 1455

llibre 57, any 1457

*Notaria Girona 10*

Notari Miquel Ombert

llibre 111, anys 1454-1455

llibre 112, anys 1455-1457

*Notaria Girona 11*

Notari Pere Gilibert

llibre 50, any 1455

llibre 51, anys 1456-1457.

La lectura íntegra dels protocols acabats d'enumerar i l'anàlisi de totes les dades relatives a l'artesanía tèxtil ha consentit una avaluació de l'informació recollida de tipus tan qualitatiu com quantitatiu, en el respecte del caràcter intrínsecament fragmentari de la documentació notarial. L'anàlisi qualitativa de les escriptures ha permès de revelar quines eren les característiques destacades dels teixits (vàlua, colors, procediment de producció); aquella quantitativa, en canvi, subratlla la rellevància efectiva de l'artesanía tèxtil a Girona durant aquest període.

La bibliografia relativa a aquests temes, encara que no sigui gaire extensa, és sense dubte de gran interès i importància científica.

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Iglésies J., *El fogatge de 1553*, Barcelona 1979. Sobre la base de les fonts documentàries i bibliogràfiques disponibles es pot afirmar sens dubte, per acabar, que la visió d'una economia catalana en decadència durant el període considerat resulta avui en dia insatisfactòria, ja que existien àrees dins de Catalunya, com precisament la del Gironès, en què les activitats econòmiques coneixien un creixement indiscutible, creixement que era suportat de forma determinant per la expansió aconseguida per la manufactura tèxtil. En realitat, cal refermar que va ser només la llarga guerra civil catalana dels anys Setanta a provocar, també a Girona i al territori dels voltants, un sensible estancament econòmic i social; i així mateix sembla indubtable que precisament el sector tèxtil s'hagi de considerar el fonament de la progressiva recuperació, també comercial, que es produiria els decennis següents a la cessació del conflicte.

### **Abstract**

#### **Textile handicraft in Girona (1454-1458)**

The notarial sources of the historical archives of Girona show that the textile industry was very important in this town on the death of Alfonso the Magnanimous in 1458; and it shared in the global growth of the Catalan economy. This growth went on probably until the civil war that broke out in 1472.

### **Keywords**

Catalonia, handicraft.

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**Ρητορική τέχνη και μουσική στην εποχή μπαρόκ**

Κατά την εποχή του Μπαρόκ η σχέση της ρητορικής τέχνης με την μουσική γνωρίζει την μεγαλύτερη άνθιση. Από τα πρώτα χρόνια του Μεσαίωνα ένα λεπτό νήμα αρχίζει να συνδέει τις θεωρίες της ρητορικής με την μουσική. Η ρητορική βρίσκει εφαρμογή στην λυρική ποίηση και ενώ φαίνεται αδύνατο να βρεθεί μια γέφυρα σύνδεσης με τη μουσική δημιουργία, οι θεωρητικοί του 16<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα καταφέρνουν να δημιουργήσουν ένα κοινό λεξιλόγιο μουσικής και ρητορικής. Ανάμεσα σε αυτούς μπορούμε να ξεχωρίσουμε τον Joachim Burmeister αλλά και τους Johann Mattheson, Francesco Geminiani και Johann Joachim Quantz.

Κατά την περίοδο αυτή η μελέτη των κλασικών συγγραμμάτων (Αριστοτέλη, Κικέρωνα, Κοϊντιλιανού) αποτελούν την βάση γνώσης της ρητορικής τέχνης. Οι θεωρητικοί και διανοούμενοι της Αναγέννησης και του Μπαρόκ στηρίζουν όλες τις διαπιστώσεις τους στην λεπτομερή μελέτη των έργων του Αριστοτέλη (*Ρητορική*), του Κικέρωνα (*De Oratore, De Inventione*) και του Κοϊντιλιανού (*Institutio Oratoria*). Οι θεωρητικοί του 16<sup>ου</sup> και 17<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα προχωρούν και τονίζουν την άρρηκτη σχέση μουσικής και ρητορείας. Ο θεωρητικός Zarlino επισημαίνει σχετικά τα εξής<sup>1</sup>:

«...ο τονισμός και ο ρυθμός χρησιμοποιούνται τόσο από τους ρήτορες όσο και από τους μουσικούς, οι οποίοι κατά τον 15<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα αναγκάζονταν να κατεβάζουν και να υψώνουν τον τόνο της φωνής τους όπως οι ρήτορες».

Για την άρρηκτη αυτή σχέση ο Quantz αναφέρει<sup>2</sup>:

«Η μουσική εκτέλεση μπορεί να συγκριθεί με την παράσταση του ρήτορα. Τόσο ο μουσικός όσο και ο ρήτορας έχουν τον ίδιο στόχο. Την προετοιμασία και την τελική παρουσίαση του προϊόντος τους, που προσβλέπει στην κατάκτηση της ψυχής των ακροατών τους».

Πηγές αναφέρουν τον συνθέτη Corelli να επισημαίνει στους μαθητές του *Non udite lo parlare?* (Δεν ακούτε ότι μιλάει)<sup>3</sup>, προσπαθώντας να τους μεταδώσει την συγγένεια της φωνής ενός μουσικού οργάνου με την ανθρώπινη φωνή.

Το 1619 ο Michael Praetorius στο έργο του *Syntagma musicum* επιχειρεί τη σύγκριση μεταξύ του ρήτορα και του μουσικού ως προς τον τρόπο διέγερσης του κοινού, γράφοντας τα εξής<sup>4</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> Jydy Tarling, *The Weapons of Rhetoric. A guide for musicians and audiences*, St Albans 2004, σ. I.

<sup>2</sup> Tarling, ό.π., σ. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Tarling, ό.π., σ. I.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Praetorius (1614-1620), *Syntagma musicum* (Faksimile Nachdruck herausgegeben von Wilibald Gurlitt), Kassel 1986-1996, σ. 229.

«Όπως ο ρόλος του ρήτορα δεν είναι μόνο να διανθίζει έναν λόγο με όμορφα, ευχάριστα και ζωντανά λόγια, αλλά να απαγγέλλει με τέτοιο τρόπο ώστε να διεγείρει τα αισθήματα υψώνοντας, δηλαδή, και κατεβάζοντας την φωνή του, μιλώντας εναλλακτικά με ένταση ή με ευγένεια με χαμηλή ή ηχηρή φωνή, με τον ίδιο τρόπο είναι καθήκον του μουσικού όχι απλά να τραγουδά, αλλά να τραγουδά με χάρη και τέχνη για να αγγίζει την καρδιά και τα αισθήματα των ακροατών [...]».

Ο J.J. Quantz αναφέρει χαρακτηριστικά<sup>5</sup>: «την μουσική εκτέλεση μπορεί κανείς να την παρομοιάσει με την απαγγελία του ρήτορα». Ο ρήτορας και ο μουσικός προσπαθούν να αγγίξουν την καρδιά του ακροατή, να διεγείρουν ή να καταστείλουν τα πάθη. Ο ρήτορας θα πρέπει να έχει μια καθαρή φωνή, μια ευδιάκριτη άρθρωση. Ο λόγος του πρέπει να είναι ισορροπημένος, ώστε να αποφεύγει την μονοτονία. Πρέπει να εναλλάσσει το «δυνατά» με το «σιγά», το «γρήγορα» με το «αργά». Θα πρέπει να δυναμώνει εκεί όπου θέλει να δώσει έμφαση και, γενικότερα, να υπολογίζει τον τόνο (της ομιλίας), το περιεχόμενο και τον χαρακτήρα του κοινού που απευθύνεται. Χαρακτηριστικές είναι και οι παρατηρήσεις του Nicola Vincentino<sup>6</sup>:

«Ενίοτε, ο μουσικός ερμηνεύει την σύνθεση με έναν τρόπο που δεν είναι σημειωμένος στο μουσικό κείμενο, να κινήσει, δηλαδή, τη ρυθμική αγωγή χαμηλά ή δυνατά, γρήγορα ή αργά για να αποδώσει το πάθος των λέξεων και της αρμονίας [...] Μια τέτοια διαδικασία ικανοποιεί τον ακροατή περισσότερο από έναν μονότονο ρυθμό [...] Η πρακτική του ρήτορα μας διδάσκει αυτή τη διαδικασία: ομιλία δυνατή ή χαμηλή, γρήγορη ή αργή, καθώς αυτή η αλλαγή του ρυθμού στην ομιλία έχει επίδραση στον νου όπως συμβαίνει και στη μουσική».

Ο Quantz υποστηρίζει ότι όλα αυτά τα κριτήρια αντιστοιχούν στην μουσική εκτέλεση και έτσι επιχειρεί να αναπτύξει τους παραλληλισμούς με λεπτομέρειες. Όλα αυτά τα στοιχεία της καλής «μουσικής εκφοράς» συνοψίζονται στον όρο «έκφραση». Οι μουσικοί, οι μουσικολόγοι αλλά και οι κριτικοί χρησιμοποιούν τον όρο, για να παρουσιάσουν την άρτια εκτέλεση.

Οι ακροατές της εποχής που εξετάζουμε στην πλειοψηφία τους –όπως αναφέρει και ο Judy Tarling– έχουν κλασική παιδεία. Είναι φυσικό λοιπόν να αναμένουν από τους «διασκεδαστές» της εποχής να συνδυάσουν την κλασική παιδεία με την τέχνη και την δημιουργία. Κάτι τέτοιο μπορεί να επιτευχθεί μόνο μέσα από την γνώση της ρητορικής τέχνης, η οποία συνδέει ουσιαστικά το παρελθόν με το παρόν του 16<sup>ου</sup> και 17<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα. Προς την κατεύθυνση αυτή βοήθησαν οι επανεκδόσεις βασικών έργων οι οποίες αφορούν τη ρητορεία, όπως το *De Oratore* του Κικέρωνα, που τυπώθηκε για πρώτη φορά το 1465 στο Subiaco της Ιταλίας. Στο έργο αυτό ο Κικέρωνας (LVII 216-217) αναφέρει χαρακτηριστικά:

«Όλα τα συναισθήματα έχουν εκ φύσεως μια έκφραση χαρακτηριστική, που αποδίδεται με γκριμάτσες, με τον τόνο της φωνής και με χειρονομίες. Αρκεί να υπάρξει ένα συναισθημα ή διαδοχή συναισθημάτων και, τότε, ολόκληρο το

<sup>5</sup> Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, tr. and ed. by Edward R. Reilly, London 1985, Chapter XI.

<sup>6</sup> Carol MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, Indiana 1979, σ. 78.

σώμα του ανθρώπου από την κορφή ως τα νύχια, όλες οι γκριμάτσες που συνηθίζει να κάνει, όλη η γκάμα της φωνής του συνηχούν αναλόγως σαν χορδές μουσικού οργάνου. Οι φθόγγοι της φωνής είναι σαν τεντωμένες χορδές που, αναλόγως της κρούσεως, πάλλονται ψηλά και χαμηλά, γρήγορα και αργά, δυνατά και σιγανά. Μεταξύ των φθόγγων της φωνής υπάρχει πάντοτε ένας ενδιάμεσος, όπως επίσης υπάρχουν και παραλλαγές τους: γλυκός ή απότομος, σφικτός ή αραιός, ασθενής ή έντονος, διακεκομμένος ή διαπεραστικός, βαίνων μειούμενος ή αυξανόμενος. Στην ποικιλία αυτή των φθόγγων δεν απαντάται ένας δυνατικός φθόγγος της φωνής που να μην υπόκειται στους κανόνες της τέχνης. Οι φθόγγοι προσφέρονται στο ρήτορα όπως τα χρώματα στο ζωγράφο, *ad variandum*, που σημαίνει ποικιλίας χάριν»<sup>7</sup>.

Η ιδιαίτερη αυτή ανάπτυξη της σχέσης ρητορικής – μουσικής που άνθισε στην περίοδο 1500-1800 πέρασε μια κρίση στις μέρες μας μέσα από την σύγχρονη επιδίωξη τεχνικής αρτιότητας η οποία, πολλές φορές, ισοπέδωνε την φαντασία και την «δημιουργική σύνθεση» του εκτελεστή. Παράλληλα η αναβίωση της εκτέλεσης παλαιάς μουσικής με αυθεντικά όργανα έκανε τους εκτελεστές να «επαναπαυθούν» και τους οδήγησε σε μια αυστηρά ακαδημαϊκή προσέγγιση των έργων, η οποία έρχεται σε σύγκρουση τόσο με το πνεύμα του μπαρόκ όσο και με την ρητορική τέχνη που το διέπει. Όπως αναφέρει ο Tarling<sup>8</sup>:

«Η πρακτική εφαρμογή της ρητορικής ενθαρρύνει τους εκτελεστές να αφήσουν πίσω τους κανόνες και να ανοίξουν τα σύνορα στη φαντασία για να εκφράσουν μια σκέψη ή ένα συναίσθημα [...] Το προσωπικό γούστο κάθε εκτελεστή πρέπει να εξασκείται στη χρήση των αρχών της ρητορικής με σκοπό την καλύτερη κατανόηση του μηνύματος που στέλνει ο συνθέτης και ταυτόχρονα την ανάπτυξη της προσωπικής αισθητικής του».

Θα επιχειρήσουμε τώρα να θέσουμε μερικές βασικές αρχές της ρητορικής τέχνης και να τις εντάξουμε στην μουσική δημιουργία, γιατί τόσο η μουσική όσο και η ρητορική έχουν τον ίδιο σκοπό, να αγγίξουν δηλαδή τα αισθήματα του ακροατή μέσω του ήχου.

Η ρητορική χρησιμοποιεί ένα ευέλικτο λεξιλόγιο δυνατοτήτων για την επινόηση ενός κειμένου. Υπάρχουν πέντε κατηγορίες: επινόηση (*inventio*), διάθεση (*dispositio*), απαγγελία-ερμηνεία (*pronuntiatio*), μνήμη (*memoria*), πράξη-υπόκρισις (*actio*)<sup>9</sup>, εκφραστική δύναμη (*elocutio*). Όπως αναφέρει ο ανώνυμος συγγραφέας στο έργο *Rhetorica ad Herennium*<sup>10</sup>:

«Ο ρήτορας θα πρέπει να κατέχει τις ικανότητες της επινόησης, της διάθεσης, του ύφους, της μνήμης και της πράξης. Η επινόηση είναι η δημιουργία του θέματος (της επιχειρηματολογίας), που θα κάνει την υπόθεση πιστευτή. Η

<sup>7</sup> Γ. Κεντρωτής, *Κικέρων ο τέλειος ρήτορας. De oratore. Εισαγωγή, μετάφραση, σχόλια*, Αθήνα 2008, σ. 232.

<sup>8</sup> Tarling, ό.π., σ. IV.

<sup>9</sup> Βλ. Κεντρωτή, ό.π., σ. 361.

<sup>10</sup> [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium* I, ii. 3 (The Loeb Classical Library, No 403, London 1954) και Tarling, ό.π., σ. 2.

διάθεση είναι η σωστή διανομή του θέματος (βάζοντας τα επιχειρήματα σε μια λογική σειρά). Το ύφος είναι η υιοθέτηση των σωστών λέξεων και προτάσεων στο επιλεγμένο θέμα. Η μνήμη είναι η σταθερή υπενθύμιση του θέματος. Η πράξη είναι η τοποθέτηση της φωνής και της έκφρασης».

Ας δούμε πιο αναλυτικά κάθε κατηγορία και τους συσχετισμούς με την μουσική πρακτική.

#### *Inventio* (επινοήση)

Ο συγγραφέας/ρήτορας αποφασίζει για το θέμα και τα στοιχεία πάνω στα οποία θα επιχειρηματολογήσει. Ο μουσικός καλείται να επιλέξει την τονικότητα, το θέμα, το μοτίβο, τα μέτρα, τον ρυθμό.

Για την φωνητική μουσική η επιλογή του λογοτεχνικού κειμένου είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντική. Στην εποχή μπαρόκ δεν υπάρχει τόσο έντονη η ανάγκη μουσικού πειραματισμού σε σχέση με εποχές όπως ο 20ός αιώνας της σύγχρονης μουσικής. Αν θελήσει κανείς να αναζητήσει την δημιουργία στην εποχή μπαρόκ, θα μπορούσε να την εντοπίσει στην ανάπτυξη και επεξεργασία της φόρμας και των διάφορων συνθετικών μέσων (αυτό που απλά ονομάζουμε στιλ). Έτσι, λοιπόν, στο μπαρόκ, καινοτομία θεωρείται η επιλογή ενός στιλ, που αποτελεί τη βάση ενός μέρους κονσέρτου με σκοπό την δημιουργία συναισθημάτων. Για παράδειγμα: *gigue*=χαρούμενο, *allemande*=σοβαρό, *sarabande*=δραματικό θέμα. Εξάλλου, τεχνικές σύνθεσης, όπως το *stretto*, μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν για να αποδώσουν σκηνές με πολλά άτομα (σε μια όπερα) ή μια κατιούσα χρωματική τέταρτη μπορεί να περιγράψει την θλίψη, ακόμα και τον θάνατο.

#### *Dispositio* (διάθεση)

Ο συγγραφέας βάζει σε μια σειρά την επιχειρηματολογία του πάνω στο θέμα. Στη μουσική αυτό αφορά στην προετοιμασία της φόρμας, όπως για παράδειγμα φόρμα σονάτας, φούγκας, τοκάτας κ.λπ.

Η διάθεση του θέματος μπορεί να χωριστεί σε τρεις έως έξι τομείς. Αναλυτικά:

-*Exordium* (εισαγωγή): μπορεί να είναι μια χειρονομία για να τραβήξει την προσοχή του κοινού. Στην μουσική μπορεί να είναι ένα πρελούδιο ή μια εισαγωγική ενότητα όχι απαραίτητα σχετική με το κυρίως θέμα. Η εισαγωγή μάς δίνει μια πρόγευση του ρυθμού και της αρμονίας με την οποία θα κινηθεί το έργο. Μπορεί επίσης να εμπεριέχει τον τίτλο, την τονικότητα, την ρυθμική ένδειξη κ.λπ.

-*Narratio* (αφήγηση): ιστορική αναδρομή, προϊστορία, μια αναφορά στο κυρίως θέμα. Στη μουσική μπορεί να είναι ένα ρετσιτατίβο ή μια περίληψη αυτού που έχει προηγηθεί.

-*Propositio* (πρόταση): το κυρίως θέμα. Η τοποθέτηση του ομιλητή πάνω στο θέμα. Τα κύρια σημεία των προτιμήσεών του. Στην μουσική είναι η έκθεση του θέματος στη φόρμα σονάτα ή στη φούγκα.

-*Confirmatio* (επιβεβαίωση): ανάπτυξη των ιδεών. Παράθεση αποδείξεων και επιχειρημάτων. Παρουσίαση μιας απόδειξης μέσα από την εξέλιξη ενός επιχειρήματος. Στη μουσική ισχύει το ίδιο με την ανάπτυξη της βασικής ιδέας του μουσικού θέματος με ποικίλα ή αντιστικτική επεξεργασία.

-*Confutatio* (ανασκευή): διαφορετικές ερμηνείες πάνω στο ίδιο θέμα. Αναφορά αμφιβολιών. Αντίκρουση απόψεων άλλων ομιλητών. Στην μουσική την θέση των αντικρούσεων καταλαμβάνουν οι μετατροπές, οι οποίες όμως μπορεί και να ανασκευαστούν με αποτέλεσμα την επαναφορά τους στην αρχική τονικότητα.

-*Conclusio* (κατακλείδα): τελικά συμπεράσματα, ανακεφαλαίωση. Στην μουσική είναι η λεγόμενη *coda*, μια τελική υπενθύμιση της τονικότητας ή του βασικού θέματος, ειδικά στη φόρμα της φούγκας.

Όλα τα επιμέρους στοιχεία μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν σε ένα μόνο μέρος ενός κονσέρτου μιας σουίτας ή μιας σονάτας ή σε όλα τα μέρη τους. Ο εκτελεστής πρέπει πάντα να ενδιαφέρεται και να αναλύει την δομή της σύνθεσης, ώστε να είναι ικανός να εφευρίσκει θελκτικές στρατηγικές ερμηνείας.

#### *Pronuntiatio* (ερμηνεία-επεξεργασία)

Ο συγγραφέας επιλέγει τις λέξεις, την σειρά των φράσεων, τις μεταφορές. Στην μουσική, αντίστοιχα, είναι τα στολίδια και τα ποικίλματα.

#### *Memoria* (μνήμη)

Σε μια ομιλία η παρουσίασή της από μνήμης δείχνει έναν απόλυτο έλεγχο του θέματος και μια τεχνική αρτιότητα. Στην μουσική εκτέλεση η απόλυτη τεχνική καθαρότητα επηρεάζει θετικά το ακροατήριο.

#### *Actio* (παράσταση-υπόκρισις)

Στην ρητορική είναι η παρουσίαση μιας ομιλίας, ενώ στην μουσική είναι η ίδια η μουσική παράσταση. Ο εκτελεστής, λειτουργώντας όπως ο ερμηνευτής κειμένου, καλείται να κατανοήσει σε βάθος το νόημα της σύνθεσης και να την παρουσιάσει με τρόπο θελκτικό στον ακροατή.

#### *Elocutio* (εκφραστική δύναμη)

Σε μια ομιλία είναι ο απόηχος της σκέψης, η προσπάθεια, δηλαδή, του ομιλητή να μεταφέρει την συναισθηματική του κατάσταση στον ακροατή, χρησιμοποιώντας περίτεχνα εκφραστικά μέσα μακριά από τη καθημερινή γλώσσα<sup>11</sup>. Στην μουσική είναι η προσωπική ερμηνεία κάθε εκτελεστή για το ίδιο έργο, η διαφορετικότητα των ηχογραφήσεων του ίδιου μουσικού κειμένου, ο ήχος του μυαλού, που μετατρέπεται σε ήχο της φωνής ή του μουσικού οργάνου

Στην ρητορική τέχνη όλες οι αρχές είναι ευδιάκριτες, αφού δημιουργός και εκτελεστής είναι το ίδιο πρόσωπο. Στην μουσική η ταυτοπροσωπία, όπου ο συνθέτης είναι πολλές φορές και εκτελεστής ή μαέστρος του συνόλου, παρουσιάζεται συχνά μέχρι την εποχή μπαρόκ. Οι εκτελεστές ρεπερτορίου άλλων συνθετών θα πρέπει να αποφασίσουν τι μπορεί και πρέπει να παρουσιαστεί στο κοινό. Θα πρέπει να κατανοήσουν τις προθέσεις του συνθέτη και να τις προβάλουν στην ερμηνεία τους σε ένα συνδυασμό της δικής τους προσωπικότητας με εκείνη του δημιουργού. Πολλοί εκτελεστές αδιαφορούν για την εκτελεστική πρακτική και τα στιλιστικά χαρακτηριστικά κάθε εποχής. Μια τέτοια αδιαφορία είναι σχεδόν σίγουρο ότι οδηγεί στην μονοτονία και, τέλος,

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<sup>11</sup> Tarling, ό.π., σ. 24.

στον μαρασμό της σύνθεσης μέσα από την απερίσκεπτη επανάληψή της. Η ρητορική σκέψη παρέχει μια θεωρητική επιχειρηματολογία πάνω στην μουσική ερμηνεία και ενθαρρύνει σε εκτελέσεις έντονων αντιθέσεων και συναισθημάτων. Το κοινό είναι η κύρια φροντίδα της εκτέλεσης μέσα από το πρίσμα της ρητορικής τέχνης. Η άρθρωση και η τεχνική αρτιότητα είναι αναγκαίες για να σταλεί το μήνυμα καθαρά. Η ισορροπία των ηχοχρωμάτων, των δυναμικών, της διάρκειας των αξιών (νοτών), ο ρυθμός είναι επιμέρους στοιχεία της σύνθεσης και σκοπό έχουν να κρατήσουν το ενδιαφέρον του ακροατή.

Στο πλαίσιο μιας πορείας αιώνων διακρίνεται ένα λεπτό νήμα που συνδέει τις θεωρίες της ρητορικής με αυτές της μουσικής. Στον Μεσαίωνα η ρητορεία έβρισκε εφαρμογή στην ποίηση. Μετά την πάροδο τεσσάρων αιώνων οι θεωρητικοί του 16<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα κατάφεραν να δημιουργήσουν ένα κοινό λεξιλόγιο μουσικής και ρητορικής στηριζόμενοι στην προϋπάρχουσα σύνδεση λυρικής ποίησης και ρητορικής τέχνης. Ανάμεσα στα έργα τους, το βιβλίο του Joachim Burmeister<sup>12</sup> είναι το πρώτο που συνδέει τις μορφές της ρητορικής τέχνης με μουσικά αποσπάσματα (από τον συνθέτη Orlando di Lasso).

Από τότε μέχρι σήμερα πολλές σταθερές του παρελθόντος έχουν αλλάξει. Μία από αυτές είναι ότι ο μουσικός του σήμερα εκφράζεται με δύο πρόσωπα, δηλαδή του συνθέτη και του εκτελεστή. Συνεπώς –στις μέρες μας– οι βασικές αρχές που διέπουν την ρητορική τέχνη χωρίζονται στα δύο. Από την μία πλευρά στην υπόσταση μουσικού-συνθέτη αναλογεί η δημιουργία και η διάθεση ή διευθέτηση του υλικού. Από την άλλη πλευρά στον μουσικό-εκτελεστή αναλογούν η μνήμη και η πράξη.

Βασικός, λοιπόν, στόχος του μουσικού είναι να πείσει τον ψυχισμό του ακροατή παρασύροντάς τον μακριά από την λογική κρίση και σκέψη. Ο J.J. Quantz μας δίνει μια ενδιαφέρουσα περιγραφή του καλού μουσικού εκτελεστή, δηλαδή εκείνου που έχει ως βασική επιδίωξη να πείσει το ακροατήριό του.

«Υπάρχει ένας ακόμη κανόνας για την αρμονική εκτέλεση σε μια ορχήστρα που μπορεί να προταθεί για κάθε πρόσωπο που θέλει να γίνει ένας καλός μουσικός [...]: Ερμηνεύοντας μια μουσική σύνθεση θα πρέπει να προσχωρήσει (ο μουσικός εκτελεστής) στην τέχνη της υποκριτικής [...] Αυτός που αγωνίζεται να κατακτήσει τα πάθη του δεν θα βρει δυσκολία να ανακαλύψει το απαιτούμενο πάθος που ζητάει ένα μουσικό κείμενο, και θα παίζει καλά μόνον όταν παίζει με την ψυχή του. Όποιος δεν καταλαβαίνει την τέχνη της υποκριτικής δεν είναι μουσικός με την πραγματική έννοια του όρου, δεν είναι παρά ένας κοινός εργάτης, ακόμα και αν μπορεί να εκτελέσει τις πιο απαιτητικές δυσκολίες του μουσικού του οργάνου [...]»<sup>13</sup>.

Τα βασικά στοιχεία που χρησιμοποιεί ο μουσικός εκτελεστής από την σύνθεση που έχει να ερμηνεύσει είναι: οι μείζονες και ελάσσονες κλίμακες, τα διατονικά ή χρωματικά διαστήματα, η διάφωνη ή σύμφωνη αρμονία, η κατεύθυνση της μελωδικής γραμμής και ο ρυθμός. Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον

<sup>12</sup> Joachim Burmeister, *Musica Poetica*, Rostock 1606, tr. Benito V. Rivera, Yale 1993.

<sup>13</sup> Tarling, ό.π., σ. 73.

παρουσιάζουν οι γνώμες συνθετών της Αναγέννησης και του Μπαρόκ για τον τρόπο με τον οποίο μπορεί να επηρεάσει τα συναισθήματα του ακροατή η κλίμακα στην οποία είναι γραμμένο ένα έργο η μια μουσική φράση.

Σύμφωνα λοιπόν με αυτές, τα διατονικά ή χρωματικά διαστήματα και ο τρόπος ερμηνείας τους μπορούν να επηρεάσουν τόσο την διάθεση όσο και τα συναισθήματα του ακροατή. Ο εκτελεστής έχει την δυνατότητα να κατευθύνει την ψυχική διάθεση του ακροατηρίου του μέσα από την προσέγγιση όλων των παραπάνω «εργαλείων». Όπως αναφέρει ο Mattheson: «[...] η αρμονία με τους διάφορους συνδυασμούς της ενθουσιάζει και ταξιδεύει την ψυχή»<sup>14</sup>.

Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει η κατάταξη που επιχειρεί ο θεωρητικός Mattheson<sup>15</sup> σχετικά με τα εργαλεία μουσικής-ρητορείας. Αναλύοντας ξεχωριστά τον ρυθμό, τα διαστήματα, την τοποθέτηση της φωνής (*tessitura*) καθώς και τα διάφορα ρυθμικά σχήματα, παραθέτει όλες τις πιθανές περιπτώσεις σύνθεσης και προσπαθεί να προσδιορίσει τόσο το αναμενόμενο από την πλευρά του συνθέτη αποτέλεσμα, δηλαδή πώς φαντάζεται ο ίδιος την εκτέλεση του έργου του, αλλά και να προτείνει τρόπους παρουσίασης και ερμηνείας. Ο τρόπος παρουσίασης ενός μουσικού έργου είναι ίσως η πιο βασική επιδίωξη ενός σύγχρονου ερμηνευτή, ενώ ταυτόχρονα είναι το κύριο πεδίο δράσης του. Για την σπουδαιότητα της παρουσίασης ο Kimberger παρατηρεί τα εξής<sup>16</sup>:

«Είναι φανερό στον καθένα ότι ακόμη και η πιο συγκινητική μελωδία θα είναι εντελώς γυμνή από όλη της την δύναμη και έκφραση αν η μια νότα μετά την άλλη ερμηνεύεται πάντα με την ίδια ταχύτητα, χωρίς τονισμούς, και χωρίς σημεία ξεκούρασης (δηλ. αναπνοής της μελωδίας), ακόμη και αν ερμηνεύεται με την αρτιότερη τονική ακρίβεια».

Ο ίδιος ο Κικέρωνας αναφερόμενος στον τρόπο παράστασης (*actio*) ενός ρητορικού λόγου τον χαρακτηρίζει ως τον βασικότερο παράγοντα<sup>17</sup>. Είναι άλλωστε φανερό ότι στον τομέα της μουσικής η διαφορετικότητα της ερμηνείας είναι αυτή που μπορεί να ανυψώσει ή να καταστρέψει ένα μουσικό έργο. Στο πλαίσιο παρουσίασης μιας σύνθεσης βοηθητικός αλλά και καθοριστικός παράγοντας είναι οι χρωματισμοί (*dynamics*). Οι χρωματισμοί (*crescendo-diminuendo-piano-forte*) μπορούν να είναι γραμμένοι από τον συνθέτη αλλά μπορούν και να αποτελούν μέρος του προσωπικού γούστου και της αισθητικής του ερμηνευτή. Ο Tarling αναφέρει<sup>18</sup>:

«Δεν μπορεί κανείς να περιμένει λεπτομερείς χρωματισμούς σε μουσική που είναι γραμμένη σε ρητορικό στιλ, όπως είναι δηλαδή η μουσική της Αναγέννησης και του Μπαρόκ».

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<sup>14</sup> Tarling, ό.π., σ. 78.

<sup>15</sup> Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Hamburg 1739, trans. and ed. Ernest C. Hariss, Ann Arbor 1981.

<sup>16</sup> Tarling, ό.π., σ. 99.

<sup>17</sup> Tarling, ό.π., σ. 101.

<sup>18</sup> Tarling, ό.π., σ. 112.

Ο J.J. Quantz αναφερόμενος στους χρωματισμούς τονίζει ότι η εκτέλεση είναι πτωχή, αν όλα ερμηνεύονται χωρίς ψυχή ή στην ίδια ένταση, χωρίς δηλαδή διαφοροποίηση (*piano-forte*). Αν κανείς προσπαθεί να πνίξει τα συναισθήματα, ή γενικά εκτελεί ένα έργο χωρίς έκφραση και πάθος, οδηγεί τον ακροατή σε μια ατελείωτη ανία. Και ο J.J. Quantz συνεχίζει με την επισήμανση<sup>19</sup>:

«Αν καταφέρεις να εκφράσεις το *Forte* και το *Piano* διαδοχικά, πάντα σε συμφωνία με την φύση των ιδεών, θα καταφέρεις το αποτέλεσμα που επιδιώκεις. Να κρατήσεις, δηλαδή, το ενδιαφέρον του ακροατηρίου και να το οδηγήσεις από την μία συγκινησιακή κατάσταση στην άλλη».

Ένα επιπλέον εργαλείο παρουσίασης, εκτός από τους χρωματισμούς, είναι η διάρκεια των νοτών (ή συλλαβών, αν αναφερόμαστε στην ρητορική). Στην μουσική ονομάζεται άρθρωση (*staccato-legato-portato* κ.λπ.). Η χρησιμοποίηση τόσο των χρωματισμών όσο και της άρθρωσης προσδίδει στο μουσικό κείμενο την προσωπικότητα και διαφοροποιεί την μία εκτέλεση ή ηχογράφιση από την άλλη. Μία ακόμα ιδιαίτερα σημαντική συνιστώσα για την παρουσίαση μιας σύνθεσης είναι η αναπνοή των φράσεων στην μουσική γραφή. Είναι ένα επιπλέον στοιχείο που δανείζεται και χρησιμοποιεί ο μουσικός από την πρακτική του ρήτορα.

Στην καθημερινή μουσική διάλεκτο την αναπνοή των φράσεων την ονομάζουμε «φραζάρισμα». Ορισμένοι συνθέτες, όπως για παράδειγμα ο Couperin, χρησιμοποιεί στην μουσική του σημειογραφία το κόμμα, θέλοντας να ορίσει το τέλος μιας μουσικής φράσης και την αρχή της επόμενης. Στις περισσότερες όμως περιπτώσεις το «φραζάρισμα» πραγματοποιείται από τον μουσικό εκτελεστή. Η σπουδαιότητα της μουσικής φράσης και ο ρόλος της αναπνοής, ιδιαίτερα στα πνευστά όργανα, αποδίδεται με γλαφυρό τρόπο από τον Quantz<sup>20</sup>:

«Το να παίρνει κανείς τις σωστές αναπνοές την κατάλληλη στιγμή είναι ουσιώδες τόσο στους πνευστούς όσο και στο τραγούδι. Συχνά παρατηρείται το φαινόμενο κατάχρησης των αναπνοών, μελωδίες, δηλαδή, που θα έπρεπε να παραμείνουν ενωμένες, χωρίζονται, με αποτέλεσμα ο θεατής να χάνει μέρος της απόλαυσης. Το να χωρίσει ένας μουσικός νότες που ανήκουν σε μία ενότητα, είναι τόσο άσχημο όσο το να πάρει κανείς ανάσα, πριν τελειώσει μια νοηματική φράση».

Τέλος, το θέμα της ταχύτητας είναι ένα ακόμη πεδίο πειραματισμού και έρευνας για κάθε μουσικό εκτελεστή. Όπως αναφέρει ο Tarling, διαχρονικά οι ακροατές εντυπωσιάζονται από την δεξιολογία. Είναι, βέβαια, γνωστό ότι πολλές φορές έχουμε έρθει αντιμέτωποι με εκτελέσεις που στον βωμό της ταχύτητας θυσιάζουν τόσο την ακριβή απόδοση της σύνθεσης όσο και την καθαρότητά της, ενώ συγχρόνως κινδυνεύουν να χαθούν συναισθήματα και εικόνες που θέλει να μεταδώσει ο δημιουργός.

<sup>19</sup> Tarling, ό.π., σ. 112.

<sup>20</sup> Tarling, ό.π., σ. 139.



Συμπερασματικά, εξετάζοντας τη μουσική κατά την εποχή Μπαρόκ, διαπιστώνουμε την άρρηκτη σχέση της με την ρητορική και σχετικές ιστορικές αναφορές έχουμε ήδη από την Αρχαιότητα. Τόσο ο Κικέρωνας όσο και ο Κοϊντιλιανός επισημαίνουν σε έργα τους την σχέση αυτή καθώς και τον κοινό στόχο ρήτορα-μουσικού, την συγκίνηση δηλαδή του κοινού τους. Όπως από την μελέτη αποδεικνύεται με βάση τις μαρτυρίες ειδικών μελετητών και συνθετών διάφορων εποχών (Tarlino, Quantz, Mattheson, Corelli), η μουσική στην εποχή Μπαρόκ δεν έμεινε ανεπηρέαστη από το πνεύμα της κλασικής Αρχαιότητας. Η ρητορική τέχνη καθοδηγεί την μουσική και υποδεικνύει τρόπους προσέγγισης του κοινού. Χαρακτηριστική και ιδιαίτερα σημαντική είναι η παρότρυνση του J.J. Quantz προς τους μουσικούς να χρησιμοποιούν τα εργαλεία του ρήτορα, για να αγγίξουν την ψυχή των ακροατών τους, γιατί μόνο με αυτά θα τους εμπνεύσουν, θα απογειώσουν τα συναισθήματα και θα ανατάξουν την ψυχή τους.

### **Περίληψη**

#### **Ρητορική τέχνη και μουσική στην εποχή μπαρόκ**

Κατά την διάρκεια των αιώνων, υπάρχει ένα λεπτό νήμα που συνδέει τις θεωρίες της ρητορικής με αυτές της μουσικής. Στον Μεσαίωνα η ρητορεία έβρισκε εφαρμογή στην ποίηση. Τέσσερεις αιώνες μετά και κατά την περίοδο Μπαρόκ στην Ιστορία της Μουσικής οι θεωρητικοί της εποχής καταφέρνουν να δημιουργήσουν ένα κοινό λεξιλόγιο μουσικής και ρητορικής. Επιχειρούμε λοιπόν να τοποθετήσουμε μερικές από τις βασικές αρχές της ρητορικής τέχνης και να τις εντάξουμε στην μουσική δημιουργία, γιατί τόσο η μουσική όσο και η ρητορική έχουν τον ίδιο σκοπό, να αγγίξουν, δηλαδή, τα αισθήματα του ακροατή μέσω του ήχου.

### **Λέξεις-κλειδιά**

Ρητορική τέχνη, μουσική, Μπαρόκ, ιστορία της μουσικής, Κικέρων, Αριστοτέλης, Κοϊντιλιανός, Joachim Burmeister, Johann Mattheson, Francesco Geminiani, Johann Joachim Quantz.

Ο **Βασίλης Προβόλος** είναι διδάκτωρ του Ιονίου Πανεπιστημίου στην Μπαρόκ Μουσική. Απόφοιτος του Ωδείου Αθηνών με «Άριστα Παμφηφεί και Διάκριση», συνέχισε τις σπουδές του στο Royal Northern College of Music και στο City University του Λονδίνου με υποτροφία του Ι.Κ.Υ., και ολοκλήρωσε την έρευνά του στο York University (UK) με υποτροφία από το Κοινωφελές Ίδρυμα «Αλέξανδρος Ωνάσης». Από το 2007 είναι Κορυφαίος Α' στην Εθνική Συμφωνική Ορχήστρα της ΕΡΤ, ενώ έχει συνεργαστεί με διάφορες ορχήστρες, όπως η

Βασίλης Πριόβολος

Κρατική Ορχήστρα Αθηνών, η Ορχήστρα των Χρωμάτων, οι «Σολίστες» της Πάτρας και η Ορχήστρα Μπαλέτων της Εθνικής Λυρικής Σκηνής. Είναι ιδρυτικό μέλος του μεσαιωνικού και αναγεννησιακού συνόλου Lyrae Cantus (1995 – συναυλίες εντός και εκτός Ελλάδας, συμμετοχές σε δισκογραφία και διεθνείς κινηματογραφικές παραγωγές). Έχει διατελέσει καθηγητής Φαγκότου και συνόλων Μεσαιωνικής και Αναγεννησιακής Μουσικής στο Τμήμα Μουσικών Σπουδών του Ιονίου Πανεπιστημίου. Τα τελευταία δύο χρόνια συνεργάζεται ως διδάσκων στο Τμήμα Ιταλικής Γλώσσας και Φιλολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών.

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**Η λατινική μετάφραση του Α' Ολυνθιακού Λόγου του Δημοσθένη από τον  
Καρδινάλιο Βησσαρίωνα**

*Audite Christiani principes Demosthenem philosophum, et oratorem iam tot saeculis mortuum de statu hostis vestri nunc disserentem eloquentissime monentem quid vos facere oporteat, ne in graviora dilabimini.*

Βησσαρίων, πρώτη παρασελίδια σημείωση στη μετάφραση του Α' Ολυνθιακού λόγου του Δημοσθένη.

Στις 12 Ιουλίου του 1470, η βενετοκρατούμενη Χαλκίδα πέφτει στα χέρια του Σουλτάνου Μωάμεθ Β', που είχε ήδη κατακτήσει το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της Πελοποννήσου, τη Μακεδονία, τη Θράκη, καθώς και τα βασίλεια της Βοσνίας, της Σερβίας και της Βουλγαρίας. Η πτώση της Χαλκίδας (Negro Ponte) συντάραξε τους απανταχού χριστιανούς. Αρχίζει πια να γίνεται όλο και πιο φανερός ο στόχος των Οθωμανών κατακτητών: η επέλαση στη δυτική Ευρώπη. Οι Οθωμανοί έδειχναν, με την προς δυσμάς πορεία τους (από την Κωνσταντινούπολη έως τη Χαλκίδα), ότι δεν ήταν διατεθειμένοι να σταματήσουν στον ελλαδικό χώρο. Η Ιταλία φαινόταν ότι διέτρεχε άμεσο κίνδυνο.

Γι' αυτό ήταν πεπεισμένος ο καρδινάλιος Βησσαρίων<sup>1</sup>, που πληροφορήθηκε τα νέα για την ήττα των Βενετών στις 4 Αυγούστου του 1470. Ο γηραιός πια ιερωμένος, που επί δεκαεπτά συναπτά έτη αγωνιζόταν για την

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<sup>1</sup> Ο Έλληνας καρδινάλιος Βησσαρίων καταγόταν από την Τραπεζούντα. Γεννήθηκε γύρω στα 1402-1403 (κατ' άλλους στα 1389, 1393 ή 1395) και πέθανε στη Ραβέννα της Ιταλίας στις 19 Νοεμβρίου του 1472. Για τη ζωή και τα έργα του Βησσαρίωνα, βλ. Η. Vast, *Le cardinal Bessarion*, Paris 1878, Ν. Καλογεράς, *Μάρκος ο Εὐγενικός καὶ Βησσαρίων ὁ καρδινάλιος*, Πάτρα 1893, Α. Κύρου, *Βησσαρίων ὁ Ἕλληνας*, Αθήνα 1947 (1<sup>ος</sup> τόμος) και Αθήνα 1949 (2<sup>ος</sup> τόμος), L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, vol. 3, Paderborn 1967 (2<sup>η</sup> έκδ.), Α. Ανθεμίδης, *Η συμβολή του μεγάλου Βησσαρίωνα στη μετάδοση των κλασικών γραμμάτων στη Δύση και οι αγώνες του για την Ελευθερία του Ελληνικού γένους*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1983 (2<sup>η</sup> έκδ.), Ι.Μ. Μανούσακας, "Βησσαρίων Καρδινάλιος (1403-1472)", στο *Griechisch-udien deutscher Humanisten*, εκδ. D. Harlfinger, Wolfenbüttel 1989, σσ. 19-24, S.G. Mercati, "Bessarione", *Enciclopedia Italiana* 6 (1929), σσ. 811-812, R. Loenertz, "Bessarione", *Enciclopedia Cattolica* 2 (1948), σσ. 1492-1498, Α. Μπενάκης, "Βησσαρίων ο καρδινάλιος", *Βιογραφικό Λεξικό της Εκδοτικής Αθηνών* 2 (1990) 273-274, Χ.Γ. Πατρινέλης, "Βησσαρίων ὁ καρδινάλιος", *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* 3 (1963), σσ. 847-850, Κ.Ν. Σάθας, *Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διαλαμπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐθνεγερσίας (1453-1821)*, Αθήνα 1868, σσ. 23 κεξξ., Ν. Βέης, "Βησσαρίων ο καρδινάλιος", *Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸ Λεξικὸ Ἐλευθερουδάκη* 3 (1927) 224-225, Κ. Στάκος, "Βησσαρίων Καρδινάλιος (1403-1472)", *Griechisch-udien deutscher Humanisten*, εκδ. D. Harlfinger, Wolfenbüttel 1989, σσ. 24-28 και Β. Παππάς, *Οι Epistolae et Orationes contra Turcos του καρδινάλιου Βησσαρίωνα*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2005 (μεταπτυχιακὴ εργασία), σσ. 1-11. Επίσης, Μ.Ε. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy 1300-1800*, Boston 1962 και L. Labowsky, "Bessarione", *DBI* 9 (1967) 686-696. Σε αυτό το σημείο θα θέλαμε να εκφράσουμε τις θερμότερες ευχαριστίες μας στη Λέκτορα της Λατινικής Φιλολογίας στο Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θράκης κυρία Άννα Μαστρογιάννη για την ενδελεχή διόρθωση του παρόντος άρθρου. Η βοήθειά της υπήρξε πραγματικά πολύτιμη, με τις ουσιαστικότερες παρατηρήσεις και επισημάνσεις της.

πραγματοποίηση της Ιερής Σταυροφορίας κατά των Οθωμανών<sup>2</sup>, αποφασίζει να αναλάβει ξανά δράση: παρ' όλη την κούραση και την απογοήτευσή του (εξαιτίας των μάταιων υποσχέσεων παπών, βασιλέων κ.λπ.) συνθέτει το τελευταίο του έργο, το *Epistolae et Orationes contra Turcos*. Με αυτό το κύκνειο άσμα του ο καρδινάλιος προσπαθεί να πείσει όλους τους χριστιανούς ηγεμόνες της Δύσης να παύσουν επιτέλους τις μεταξύ τους διχόνοιες και να ενωθούν με έναν και μόνο στόχο: την αντιμετώπιση του οθωμανικού κινδύνου.

Το έργο συντέθηκε από τον καρδινάλιο το 1470, ενώ το 1471 τυπώνεται για πρώτη φορά στο τυπογραφείο του Πανεπιστημίου της Σορβόνης υπό την αιγίδα του καθηγητή και ουμανιστή Guillaume Fichet<sup>3</sup>, ο οποίος φροντίζει και να φτάσει στα χέρια όλων των ισχυρών ηγεμόνων της Ευρώπης. Οι *Epistolae et Orationes contra Turcos* θα γνωρίσουν και άλλες εκδόσεις: η δεύτερη έκδοση<sup>4</sup> έγινε το 1537 στη Ρώμη από τον Antonius Bladus Asulanus, η τρίτη<sup>5</sup> πραγματοποιήθηκε το 1543 και πάλι στη Ρώμη από τον Franciscus Priscianensis (Francesco Priscianese) από τη Φλωρεντία<sup>6</sup> και η τέταρτη στη Νυρεμβέργη από τον I. Hofmann το 1593<sup>7</sup>. Το έργο έχει εκδοθεί και στη σειρά της *Patrologia Graeca*, αλλά απουσιάζουν από αυτή την έκδοση οι σημειώσεις του καρδινάλιου στη μετάφραση του Α' Όλυνθιακού λόγου του Δημοσθένη που εκδόθηκε. Υπάρχει επίσης και η έκδοση *Εύρισκόμενα πάντα του σοφωτάτου Καρδινάλιου*, που πραγματοποιήθηκε το 1965 (Tumholti, Brepols).

Το έργο αυτό, όπως άλλωστε φαίνεται και από τον τίτλο του, αποτελείται από δύο βασικά τμήματα: α) τις επιστολές (*Epistolae*) και β) τους λόγους (*Orationes*). Το πρώτο τμήμα αριθμεί τέσσερις επιστολές (προηγείται η αφιερωματική επιστολή του εκδότη Fichet προς τον βασιλιά της Αγγλίας,

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<sup>2</sup> «Η Σταυροφορία ήταν η ακοίμητη έγνοια, η πιο επίμονη επιδίωξη της ζωής του καρδινάλιου», όπως σημειώνει ο Μανούσακας, ό.π., σ. 22. Στην πραγμάτωση του μεγαλεπήβολου αυτού ονείρου ο Βησσαρίων αφιέρωσε όλες τις δυνάμεις του, όλη την ακατάβλητη δραστηριότητά του: έγραψε, μίλησε, ταξίδεψε, διαπραγματεύτηκε, παρακίνησε πάπες και βασιλείς, υποβλήθηκε σε κάθε δυνατή θυσία. Για τις εκκλήσεις του Βησσαρίωνα και άλλων λογίων της Αναγέννησης προς τους ηγεμόνες της Ευρώπης για την αντιτουρκική Σταυροφορία βλ. Ι. Μανούσακας, *Εκκλήσεις (1453-1535) των Έλλήνων λογίων της Αναγέννησεως προς τους ηγεμόνες της Ευρώπης για την άπελευθέρωση της Ελλάδος*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1965, σσ. 1-42 και Παππάς, ό.π., σσ. 12-21.

<sup>3</sup> Γάλλος ουμανιστής και πρόεδρος του Πανεπιστημίου της Σορβόνης. Για περαιτέρω πληροφορίες για τον λόγιο αυτό. βλ. M. Meserve, "Patronage and Propaganda at the First Paris Press: Guillaume Fichet and the First Edition of Bessarion's *Orationes against the Turks*", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 97 (2003) 529-532. Βλ. και L.A. Colliard, *Un ami savoyard du Cardinal Bessarion : Guillaume Fichet*, Brindisi 2004.

<sup>4</sup> Για την έκδοση αυτή, βλ. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, vol. 3, Paris 1962, σσ. 366-367.

<sup>5</sup> Για την έκδοση αυτή, βλ. Παππάς, ό.π., σσ. 22-96.

<sup>6</sup> Το βιβλίο αυτό είναι σε σχήμα τετραδίου και αποτελείται από 36 μη αριθμημένα φύλλα. Στην εργασία αυτή επιχειρούμε μια οιονεί νέα έκδοση της δημοσθενικής μετάφρασης λαμβάνοντας υπόψιν μας την έκδοση του 1543 (Ταξ. Αρθμ. 35, Δωρεά Τρικόγλου) αλλά και αυτή της PG, τ. 161, σσ. 641-676. Η αρίθμηση των παραγράφων της μετάφρασης ακολουθεί το αρχαίο ελληνικό πρωτότυπο. Πρέπει να επισημανθεί ότι οι παραπομπές μας αναφέρονται στη δική μας έκδοση.

<sup>7</sup> Ο ακριβής τίτλος της έκδοσης αυτής είναι: *Orationes duae accuratissimae de Bessarionis Nicaeni Cardinalis olim ad principes Italiae habitae, quarum una de periculis imminentibus propter Turcicas irruptiones, altera de discordiis sedandis et bello in Turcam decernendo, ad eosdem, perdocte tractat.*

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Εδουάρδο Δ'<sup>8</sup> και ακολουθούν οι τρεις επιστολές του Βησσαρίωνα προς τον Fichet, τους Ιταλούς ηγεμόνες και τον αββά Βησσαρίωνα αντίστοιχα), ενώ το δεύτερο αποτελείται από δύο προτρεπτικούς – σε μορφή Φιλιππικού – λόγους του Βησσαρίωνα προς τους Ιταλούς ηγεμόνες. Ο πρώτος έχει τον τίτλο *Bessarionis Cardinalis ad Italos principes de periculis imminentibus oratio* και ο δεύτερος *Eiusdem de discordiis sedandis, et bello in Turcum decercendo*<sup>9</sup>. Το τελευταίο τμήμα του *Epistolae et Orationes contra Turcos* είναι η περίφημη μετάφραση του Α' Ολυνθιακού λόγου του Δημοσθένη, γραμμένου το 349 π.Χ., την οποία εκπόνησε ο ίδιος ο καρδινάλιος. Η μετάφραση αυτή αποτελεί το αντικείμενο της εργασίας μας.

Προτού προχωρήσουμε στην εξέταση της μετάφρασης του λόγου του Δημοσθένη από τον Βησσαρίωνα, θα επιχειρήσουμε να ανιχνεύσουμε το λόγο για τον οποίο ο καρδινάλιος καταπατήστηκε με αυτόν τον Αθηναίο ρήτορα. Βέβαια, ο ιστορικός παραλληλισμός είναι προφανής: όπως ο πανίσχυρος Φίλιππος Β' της Μακεδονίας είχε κατακτήσει αρκετά τμήματα της Ελλάδας και απειλούσε την Αθήνα, έτσι και ο Μωάμεθ Β' είχε καταλάβει πολλά ευρωπαϊκά εδάφη και κινούνταν απειλητικά προς την Ιταλία. Ο Βησσαρίων, όμως, φαίνεται ότι θαύμαζε τον Δημοσθένη ως ρήτορα. Μελετούσε το ύφος του, μιμούνταν τη ρητορική του δεινότητα. Δεν πρέπει να ξεχνάμε άλλωστε ότι στις δυο *Orationes contra Turcos* έδωσε μορφή φιλιππικού λόγου του Δημοσθένη. Αναντίρρητα, ο ρήτορας άσκησε μεγάλη επιρροή πάνω στον Έλληνα καρδινάλιο. Ποια, όμως, ήταν η επίδραση του Δημοσθένη ανά τους αιώνες και ιδίως στα χρόνια του Μεσαίωνα και της Αναγέννησης; Μήπως στα χρόνια που ζούσε και έγραφε ο Βησσαρίων υπήρχε έντονο ενδιαφέρον για τον μεγάλο Αθηναίο ρήτορα;

Οι ιδέες του Δημοσθένη κατά του Φιλίππου προβάλλονται ξανά με τους αγώνες εναντίον των βασιλέων της Μακεδονίας (2<sup>ος</sup> αι. π.Χ.) και χρησιμοποιούνται από τη ρωμαϊκή προπαγάνδα. Με την υποταγή της Ελλάδας στους Ρωμαίους εκείνοι που ενδιαφέρονται για το έργο του είναι οι φιλόλογοι και οι ρήτορες. Ο Δίδυμος ο Χαλκέντερος, ο Καικίλιος από την Καλή Ακτή και ο Διονύσιος ο Αλικαρνασσεύς ασχολούνται με τον Δημοσθένη. Ο Κικέρωνας τον θεωρεί τον κατεξοχήν ρήτορα της ελευθερίας, όταν γράφει τους δικούς του *Φιλιππικούς* εναντίον του Αντωνίου, αναζωπυρώνοντας έτσι το ενδιαφέρον για τις πολιτικές ιδέες του ρήτορα, ενώ ο Κοϊντιλιανός τον ονομάζει «νόμο» του ρητορικού λόγου<sup>10</sup>.

Με το τέλος του πρώτου προχριστιανικού αιώνα και την επίδραση του Αττικισμού παρατηρείται μια στροφή προς το ένδοξο παρελθόν (5<sup>ος</sup>-4<sup>ος</sup> αι. π.Χ.), ιδιαίτερα στη φιλολογία. Από την εποχή αυτή έχουμε τη βιογραφία του Δημοσθένη από τον Πλούταρχο, το *Έγκώμιον* του Λουκιανού προς τιμήν του ρήτορα και αργότερα, τον 4<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα μ.Χ., τις εξηγητικές εργασίες του Λιβανίου (*Υποθέσεις* στους δημοσθενικούς λόγους). Στον Μεσαίωνα οι βυζαντινοί είναι εκείνοι που συνεχίζουν και συνοψίζουν την κλασική ρητορική παράδοση. Οι δάσκαλοι της ρητορικής μάς δίνουν πολύτιμες πληροφορίες για τον Δημοσθένη και το έργο του. Πρέπει, όμως, να σημειώσουμε ότι στο Βυζάντιο η ενασχόληση

<sup>8</sup> Ο Εδουάρδος Δ' της Αγγλίας είναι ο αποδέκτης του συγκεκριμένου αντιτύπου της έκδοσης του 1543 πάνω στο οποίο βασιζόμαστε για την παρούσα εργασία.

<sup>9</sup> Βλ. έκδοση του 1543, σσ. (14)-(31) για τον πρώτο και σσ. (32)-(52) για τον δεύτερο λόγο (η αρίθμηση τίθεται εντός παρενθέσεων γιατί απουσιάζει από αυτή την έκδοση).

<sup>10</sup> Βλ. Κ.Ν. Παπανικολάου, *Εισαγωγή στο έργο του Δημοσθένη*, Αθήνα 1980, σσ. 78-79.

με τον ίδιο το ρήτορα και με το ύφος των λόγων του ήταν αποκλειστικά γραμματολογική και φιλολογική. Μετά την άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης οι βυζαντινοί λόγιοι που μεταναστεύουν κυρίως στην Ιταλία μεταλαμπαδεύουν στη νέα τους πατρίδα τον ζήλο τους για τον Έλληνα ρήτορα. Φέρνουν μαζί τους χειρόγραφα και μελέτες σχετικά με τον Δημοσθένη. Δεν αργεί πολύ να γίνει αντιληπτή η σημασία και ο ρόλος που μπορεί να παίξει το δημοσθενικό έργο στην πολιτική και κοινωνική αγωγή. Αυτός που το συνειδητοποιεί και εκμεταλλεύεται τα λεγόμενα του Δημοσθένη, προκειμένου να δώσει λύση στο σπουδαιότερο πρόβλημα της εποχής του, είναι ο Βησσαρίων. Μεταφράζει στα λατινικά τον Α' Όλυνθιακό του Δημοσθένη στοχεύοντας να παρακινήσει τους Ιταλούς ηγεμόνες σε πόλεμο κατά των Τούρκων. Τη μετάφραση αυτή την ενσωματώνει στο *Epistolae et Orationes contra Turcos* (αποτελεί το έβδομο τμήμα του έργου). Ο καρδινάλιος, δηλαδή, είναι ο πρώτος λόγιος της Αναγέννησης που αντιλαμβάνεται την πολιτική και πρακτική χρεία που μπορεί να έχει το έργο του Δημοσθένη, ακόμη και στα πολύ κατοπινά του τελευταίου χρόνια<sup>11</sup>.

Μπορεί ο Βησσαρίων να είναι ο πρώτος που εκσυγχρονίζει τον Α' Όλυνθιακό του Δημοσθένη, αλλά δεν είναι και ο πρώτος μεταβυζαντινός λόγιος που αποδίδει στη λατινική το έργο αυτό. Προηγείται ένας άλλος συγγραφέας και μεταφραστής, ο Νικόλαος Σεκουνδινός<sup>12</sup>. Αυτός ο λόγιος από την Εύβοια μεταφράζει –αποδίδοντας περισσότερο τα νοήματα και τις ιδέες του δημοσθενικού κειμένου και λιγότερο την ακρίβεια των λέξεων– προ του έτους 1457 τον Α' Όλυνθιακό καθώς και τα *Ύπερ Κτησιφώντος περι τοῦ στεφάνου* και το *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ ὕστερα ἀπὸ παρακλήσεις τῶν Βενετῶν πατρικίων Dom. Maurocenus και Marcus Donatus*, του συγκλητικού P. Bembo και του βασιλιά Αλφόνσου της Νεαπόλεως. Η δική του λατινική μετάφραση του Α' Όλυνθιακοῦ είναι ανέκδοτη, ενώ της μετάφρασης προηγείται επιστολή προς τον φίλο του Μοροζίνη, με την οποία ο Σεκουνδινός παρέχει πλούσιες πληροφορίες σχετικά με τη διαμάχη Αθηναίων – Φιλίππου, την κατάληψη της Ολύνθου από τον δεύτερο, την εκφώνηση του λόγου από τον Δημοσθένη κ.λπ.<sup>13</sup>.

Στην έκδοση του 1543 η μετάφραση του Α' Όλυνθιακοῦ του Δημοσθένη από τον Βησσαρίωνα καταλαμβάνει 13 σελίδες<sup>14</sup>. Την πλαισιώνουν δυο μικρά σε έκταση κείμενα εν είδει «σημειωμάτων του μεταφραστή». Το πρώτο καταλαμβάνει δύο σελίδες<sup>15</sup> και σε αυτό ο Βησσαρίων δίνει πληροφορίες για τον λόγο του Δημοσθένη. Το δεύτερο, που βρίσκεται στο τέλος της μετάφρασης σαν

<sup>11</sup> Βλ. Παπανικολάου, ό.π., σσ. 79-81. Για την επίδραση του Δημοσθένη και στα μεταγενέστερα χρόνια, βλ. C.D. Adams, *Demosthenes and his Influence*, London 1963 (ανατύπωση του 1927) και A. Lesky, *Ιστορία της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας*, (ελληνική μετάφραση Α. Τσοπανάκης), Θεσσαλονίκη 1981 (5<sup>η</sup> έκδ.), σσ. 835-838.

<sup>12</sup> Για τη ζωή και το έργο του Σεκουνδινού βλ. Σάθας, ό.π., σ. 53 καθώς και Π. Μαστροδημήτρης, *Νικόλαος Σεκουνδινός*, Αθήνα 1970 (διδακτορική διατριβή).

<sup>13</sup> Βλ. Μαστροδημήτρης, ό.π., σσ. 203-221.

<sup>14</sup> Βλ. Επίμετρο της εργασίας μας. Οι παραπομπές που αφορούν τη λατινική μετάφραση έχουν την εξής μορφή: προηγείται ο αριθμός της σελίδας του Επίμετρου και έπεται ο αριθμός της παραγράφου, που συμφωνεί με την αρίθμηση του αρχαίου ελληνικού πρωτοτύπου, π.χ. σ. 16, § 1. Ο παρασελίδιος σχολιασμός του Βησσαρίωνα ακολουθεί ελληνική αρίθμηση και η παραπομπή σε αυτόν έχει την εξής μορφή: αριθμός σελίδας, αριθμός παραγράφου και τέλος, αριθμός σχολίου, π.χ. σ. 16, § 1, σχ. α.

<sup>15</sup> σ. 19 του Επίμετρου μας.

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συμπέρασμα, καταλαμβάνει δυόμισι σελίδες<sup>16</sup>. Με το κείμενο αυτό, που κλείνει και όλο το έργο, ο Βησσαρίων προτρέπει τους Ιταλούς ηγεμόνες να εισακούσουν τις συμβουλές του Αθηναίου ρήτορα προς τους συμπατριώτες του, που και εκείνοι, όπως τώρα οι χριστιανοί, αντιμετώπιζαν τον τεράστιο κίνδυνο της υποδούλωσης, και να κηρύξουν αμέσως τον ιερό πόλεμο κατά των Τούρκων.

Το πρώτο σημείωμα έχει τον τίτλο: *Eiusdem ad eosdem pervasio ex auctoritate Demosthenis*<sup>17</sup>. Ο Βησσαρίων στην αρχή του κειμένου αυτού, απευθυνόμενος προς τους Ιταλούς πρίγκιπες, διατυπώνει την ευχή να εισακούσουν τις παραινέσεις του και να δράσουν άμεσα, προκειμένου να υπερασπιστούν την ελευθερία των χριστιανών και να αποκρούσουν τον βάρβαρο εχθρό, έτσι ώστε να μη χρειαστεί να επαναλάβει στο μέλλον τις ίδιες παρακλήσεις<sup>18</sup>. Και, για να γίνει αυτό περισσότερο αντιληπτό, ο συγγραφέας δηλώνει πως αποφάσισε να προσθέσει στο έργο του και τα λόγια ενός σοφότατου αρχαίου άνδρα, που η πατρίδα του αντιμετώπιζε παρόμοιο κίνδυνο με αυτόν που τώρα αντιμετωπίζει η χριστιανική Ευρώπη. Και εκείνος απηύθυνε στους συμπολίτες του σχεδόν τις ίδιες συμβουλές με αυτές που ο Βησσαρίων διατύπωνε σε διάφορα συνέδρια ενώπιον του πάπα αλλά και σε αυτό του το έργο προς τους Ιταλούς ηγεμόνες. Αυτός ο σοφός άνδρας είναι ο Δημοσθένης, ο καταπληκτικός αυτός φιλόσοφος<sup>19</sup> και αξιέπαινος ρήτορας. Οι δύο αυτές περιστάσεις (απειλή Φιλίππου Β' – απειλή Μωάμεθ Β') είναι σχεδόν ταυτόσημες<sup>20</sup>, σημειώνει ο καρδινάλιος. Μόνο τα ονόματα διαφέρουν. Γι' αυτό και ο συγγραφέας μας αποφάσισε να προσθέσει τον λόγο αυτό του Δημοσθένη στο έργο του. Μάλιστα, εκφράζει την άποψη ότι οι Ιταλοί πρίγκιπες θα πεισθούν πιο εύκολα με τα λεγόμενα του Αθηναίου παρά με τα δικά του<sup>21</sup>.

Στη συνέχεια αυτού του σημειώματος, ο Βησσαρίων δίνει πληροφορίες στους αναγνώστες του για τον Α' Ολυνθιακό του Δημοσθένη<sup>22</sup>. Η Όλυθος,

<sup>16</sup> σ. 25.

<sup>17</sup> σ. 19.

<sup>18</sup> σ. 19: *Haec a nobis pro communi omnium salute disputata, utinam eo studio a vobis suscipiantur, illustrissimi Italiae principes, quo a nobis dicta sunt, et inhaereant animis vestris, atque persuadeant, ut nullis amplius adhortationibus nullisque rationibus opus sit, sed re ipsa et opera ad defensionem nostram et hostium propulsationem excitemini.*

<sup>19</sup> σ. 19: *Demosthenem, philosophum excellentissimum, et oratorem*". Παρατηρούμε ότι ο Βησσαρίων αναφέρει το Δημοσθένη ως φιλόσοφο. Ο χαρακτηρισμός απαντά στους τίτλους των χειρογράφων που παραδίδουν το έργο του Δημοσθένη. Πρβ. έκδ. 1543, σ. (7) και την πρώτη παρασελίδια σημείωση του καρδινάλιου στο Επίμετρό μας, σ. 20, §2, σχ. α, αντίστοιχα: *Demosthenis, philosophi nobilissimi summi oratoris*" και "*Audite, Christiani principes, Demosthenem philosophum et oratorem [...]*". Ο όρος μάλλον είναι γενικός και σημαίνει «αυτός που αγαπά τη σοφία, τη γνώση».

<sup>20</sup> σ. 19: *Quod tunc facilius fieri posse cogitavi, si consiliis meis vires aliquas adhiberem, et auctoritate alicuius viri excellentis ea plane confirmarem, atque aliquem ex veteribus, et sapientia ornatissimum, et amplissimum auctoritate in medium adducerem, qui plane testaretur sese olim in tali causa qualis nostra est, eadem cum sensisse, tum monuisse suos cives, quae a nobis, et apud Pontificem Maximum in senatu saepenumero disputata sunt, et nunc litteris mandata. Venit autem in mentem Demosthenem, philosophum excellentissimum, et oratorem adeo omni laude cumulatam per tot saecula, ut quem cum eo conferas exstiterit nemo, in eadem incidisse tempora, eandem perorasse causam, denique nihil habuisse, quod rei nostrae non conveniat, praeter nomina hominum sui temporis.*

<sup>21</sup> σ. 19: *Itaque cum huius et auctoritatem graviorem, et orationem magis appositam ad persuadendum existimarem quam verba mea, constitui ut ipse dicat sententiam.*

<sup>22</sup> σ. 19: *Olynthus Thraciae urbs opulentissima erat. Philippus, Alexandri Magni Macedonum regis pater, cum in Graeciam universam impetum facere decrevisset, statuit ad eam rem attinere ut Olynthum primo in ditionem*

γράφει, ήταν μια πλουσιότατη πόλη της Θράκης. Ο Φίλιππος, βασιλιάς της Μακεδονίας και πατέρας του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου, όταν αποφάσισε να κινήσει εκστρατεία για να κατακτήσει ολόκληρη την Ελλάδα, θεώρησε σωστό να αρχίσει με την κατάκτηση αυτής της πόλης. Ξεκίνησε, λοιπόν, την πολιορκία της. Οι Ολύνθιοι έστειλαν πρέσβεις στους Αθηναίους, για να ζητήσουν τη βοήθειά τους προκειμένου να αντιμετωπίσουν αυτή τη φοβερή απειλή. Ο Δημοσθένης με αυτό του τον λόγο προσπαθεί να πείσει τους συμπολίτες του να προσφέρουν την ενίσχυση στους Ολυνθίους φοβούμενος μήπως ο Φίλιππος, ακόρεστος καθώς είναι, μετά την πτώση της Ολύνθου, κινηθεί ενάντια στην Αθήνα και κυριεύσει και αυτή αλλά και την υπόλοιπη Ελλάδα. Αυτή η σύντομη περίληψη του δημοσθενικού λόγου θα λέγαμε ότι μοιάζει με μια δραματική υπόθεση. Στο τέλος, ο Βησσαρίων παραλληλίζει τις δύο ιστορικές περιστάσεις: ο Φίλιππος απειλούσε την Ελλάδα, όπως τώρα ο Οθωμανός απειλεί την Ιταλία. Ο Φίλιππος, γράφει, έχει τον ρόλο του Τούρκου, οι Ιταλοί τον ρόλο των Αθηναίων και ο ίδιος του Δημοσθένη. Ο μεταφραστής Βησσαρίων πληροφορεί, λοιπόν, τους αναγνώστες του για τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα<sup>23</sup>. Κλείνει το σημειώμά του με τη διαπίστωση ότι εύκολα θα καταλάβει ο αναγνώστης πόσο ο μεταφρασμένος αυτός λόγος ταιριάζει απόλυτα στη σύγχρονη περίσταση, δηλαδή στην επικείμενη οθωμανική απειλή. Με αυτό του το κείμενο, συνεπώς, ο καρδινάλιος μας πληροφορεί και για τον σκοπό της μετάφρασης (θα προσδώσει ακόμη μεγαλύτερη πειθώ στο έργο του) και για τον λόγο που επέλεξε να μεταφράσει αυτή τη συγκεκριμένη ομιλία του Δημοσθένη (ομοιότητα ιστορικών συνθηκών). Επίσης, για την καλύτερη κατατόπιση των δυτικών αναγνωστών του, παρέχει και μια περίληψη του Α' Ολυνθιακού.

Στη συνέχεια ακολουθεί η λατινική μετάφραση του δημοσθενικού λόγου, που τιτλοφορείται: *Demosthenis oratio pro ferenda ope Olynthiis adversus Philippum regem Macedonum*. Πρέπει να σημειώσουμε ότι το κείμενο της μετάφρασης του Βησσαρίωνα στην έκδοση του 1543 είναι συνεχές, ενώ τα παρασελίδια σχολιά του είναι τυπωμένα στο δεξιό μέρος κάθε σελίδας, δίπλα στο χωρίο που ενδιαφέρει τον μεταφραστή είτε για να το σχολιάσει είτε για να επισημάνει τις ομοιότητες που υπάρχουν ανάμεσα στον Φίλιππο και τους Οθωμανούς (βλ. το Επίμετρο της εργασίας μας, όπου παραθέτουμε τη μετάφραση μαζί με τον σχολιασμό του καρδινάλιου, όπως αυτός βρίσκεται στην έκδοση του 1543). Επισημαίνουμε εδώ ότι θα ασχοληθούμε με τις κυριότερες μεταφραστικές τεχνικές του Βησσαρίωνα και θα εξαγάγουμε τα συμπεράσματά μας αναλύοντας κάποια αποσπάσματα της λατινικής μετάφρασης.

Το πρώτο που παρατηρούμε συγκρίνοντας το πρωτότυπο κείμενο με τη λατινική του μετάφραση είναι ότι αρκετά συχνά ο Βησσαρίων παραλείπει να μεταφέρει στο κείμενό του κάποιες σύντομες φράσεις του Δημοσθένη. Οι

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*redigeret. Movet arma in eam; depopulatur agrum. Olynthii legatos mittunt opem imploratum ab Atheniensibus. Demosthenes suadet opitulandum esse, ne Philippus, ad Graeciam occupandam animi infiniti ei vasti, Olyntho capta, Athenienses ac reliquam Graeciam opprimat. Ita enim tunc Graeciae Philippus imminebat; ut nunc Turcus Italiae. Sustineat igitur Philippus Turci personam, Itali Atheniensium, nos Demosthenis. Iam facile intelliges totam orationem causae nostrae convenire.*

<sup>23</sup> Βλ. σ. (54): *Ita enim tunc Graeciae Philippus imminebat; ut nunc Turcus Italiae. Sustineat igitur Philippus Turci personam, Itali Atheniensium, nos Demosthenis. Iam facile intelliges totam orationem causae nostrae convenire.*



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παραλείψεις, βέβαια, αυτές δεν επηρεάζουν καθόλου την απόδοση του σωστού νοήματος. Για παράδειγμα, διαπιστώνουμε ότι ο καρδινάλιος τέσσερις φορές<sup>24</sup> παραλείπει την κλητική προσφώνηση *ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι* που ο Αθηναίος ρήτορας απευθύνει στους συμπολίτες του. Ο Δημοσθένης γράφει: *Ὁ μὲν οὖν παρῶν καιρὸς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφιεῖς [...]* και ο Βησσαρίων μεταφράζει: *Enim vero praesens temporis occasio, voce prope modum emissa [...]*<sup>25</sup>. Παρακάτω, το αρχαιοελληνικό κείμενο έχει ως εξής: *Ὁ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεικῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦθ' ὃ δυσμαχώτατον ἐστὶ τῶν Φιλίππου πραγμάτων [...]*<sup>26</sup> και ο μεταφραστής αποδίδει: *Atqui quod in rebus Philippi permunitum videtur, vix ut oppugnari possit [...]*<sup>27</sup>. Τη συγκεκριμένη φράση παραλείπει σε άλλα δυο χωρία: *Καὶ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τις ἂν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δίκαιος λογιστὴς τῶν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν ὑπηρετημένων καταστάς [...]* και *Ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἄγνωῶ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦθ' ὃτι πολλάκις ὑμεῖς οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους [...]* γράφει ο Δημοσθένης<sup>28</sup>. Ο Βησσαρίων αποδίδει τα δύο εδάφια αντίστοιχα<sup>29</sup>: *Equidem, si quis res, quae nobis divinitus datae sunt, aequitate adhibita [...]* και *Ego vero etsi compertum habeo vos [...]* non mali auctoribus [...] *irasci solere*. Ίσως δικαιολογείται από το γεγονός ότι ο καρδινάλιος απηύθυνε αυτή τη μετάφραση στους Ιταλούς ηγεμόνες και ήθελε με αυτό τον τρόπο να ξεχάσουν οι αναγνώστες του ότι ο Δημοσθένης μιλούσε μπροστά στο πλήθος των Αθηναίων πολιτών, και να θεωρήσουν ότι οι παραινήσεις του μεγάλου ρήτορα είχαν εκείνους ως αποδέκτες. Σε ένα άλλο χωρίο της μετάφρασης<sup>30</sup>, διαπιστώνουμε άλλη μία παράλειψη: με τη φράση *Ut et cognoscatis, Athenienses, quantum detrimenti afferat rem semper aliquam singulatim sinere praeterlabi, et plane adversatis Philippi in rebus agendi stadium acerrimum* αποδίδει ο καρδινάλιος τη φράση<sup>31</sup> *Ἴνα γνῶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ αἰσθησθ' ἀμφοτέρᾳ, καὶ τὸ προῖεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον αἰεὶ τι τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἀλυσιτελές, καὶ τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην του αρχαίου Έλληνα*. Εδώ διατηρεῖ την κλητική προσφώνηση, αλλά παραλείπει το *ἀμφοτέρᾳ* και μετατρέπει τις επεξηγήσεις (*τὸ προῖεσθαι [...]* ὡς ἀλυσιτελές [...]) τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην) σε αντικείμενα των ρημάτων *cognoscatis* και *adversatis*. Ο Βησσαρίων απλοποιεῖ ἔτσι τη σύνταξη και καθιστά πιο προσιτό τον λόγο του Δημοσθένη. Σε ένα άλλο απόσπασμα, ο Βησσαρίων αφήνει αμετάφραστη τη θεϊκή επίκληση *μὰ Δία* που περιέχεται στο πρωτότυπο: τη φράση *καὶ μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν ἄπιστον ἴσως*<sup>32</sup> την αποδίδει: *quod sane minime mirandum videtur*<sup>33</sup>. Αυτό εύκολα δικαιολογείται, αν σκεφτούμε ότι ο συγγραφέας μας, σαν ιερωμένος που ήταν, προφανώς επιθυμούσε να συμπεριλάβει στο ἔργο του ὅσο το δυνατό λιγότερα σύμβολα του νεκρού πια παγανισμού. Η αποσιώπηση αυτή συνεισφέρει και στον στόχο που έχει ο μεταφραστής, να παρουσιάσει, δηλαδή, τα λεγόμενα του

<sup>24</sup> Βλ. σσ. (55), (56), (58), (60) και (61).

<sup>25</sup> σ. 20, § 2. Σε αυτό το σημείο θέλουμε να δηλώσουμε ότι οι υπογραμμίσεις του παρόντος άρθρου ανήκουν στον ίδιο τον συγγραφέα.

<sup>26</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 4.1-2.

<sup>27</sup> σ. 20, § 4.

<sup>28</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 10.3-4 και 16.3-5 αντίστοιχα.

<sup>29</sup> σ. 21, § 10 και στη σ. 22, § 16 αντίστοιχα.

<sup>30</sup> σ. 22, § 14.

<sup>31</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 14.1-4.

<sup>32</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 23.5.

<sup>33</sup> σ. 24, § 23.

Δημοσθένη στους αναγνώστες του σαν να υπαινίσσεται με αυτά ο ρήτορας τα σύγχρονα προβλήματα της χριστιανοσύνης<sup>34</sup>.

Μια άλλη μεταφραστική τεχνική του Βησσαρίωνα, που είναι αντίστροφη με αυτή που μόλις περιγράψαμε, δηλαδή τις παραλείψεις, είναι οι προσθήκες στο λατινικό κείμενο όρων, που απουσιάζουν από το πρωτότυπο. Για παράδειγμα, το χωρίο *Nunī dē kaiρός ἤκει τις, οὗτος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, αὐτόματος τῆ πόλει [...]*<sup>35</sup>, ο Βησσαρίων το αποδίδει: *Nunc autem sese exhibet occasio. Quenam, inquires? At rebus Olynthiacis sua sponte nostrae civitati [...]*<sup>36</sup>. Ο μεταφραστής προσθέτει την ερωτηματική πρόταση για να προσδώσει μια αμεσότητα στο κείμενο. Έχουμε και άλλα παραδείγματα, όπου ο Βησσαρίων προσθέτει κάποιες μόνο λέξεις (συνήθως επιρρήματα ή ρήματα παράκλησης), που δεν αλλοιώνουν το νόημα, αλλά αποσκοπούν στην ομαλοποίηση του δημοσθενικού κειμένου. Το απόσπασμα [...] *τὸν τρόπον δι' ὃν μέγας γέγονεν ἀσθενής ὢν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος*<sup>37</sup> ο καρδινάλιος το μεταφράζει: *quia Philippus cum initio pertenui in statu esset, repente magnus evasit?*<sup>38</sup>. Στη φράση αυτή, εκτός από το ότι αλλάζει τη σειρά των λέξεων και αντικαθιστά την εναντιωματική μετοχή με πρόταση (*cum initio pertenui in statu esset* για το *ἀσθενής ὢν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς*)<sup>39</sup>, ενσωματώνει στη μετάφραση και το επίρρημα *repente*, προσδίδοντας έτσι μεγαλύτερη έμφαση στην ερώτηση που δημιουργεί στη μετάφραση. Παρακάτω, ενώ το αρχαίο πρωτότυπο έχει ως εξής: *Εἰ δὲ δὴ πόλεμός τις ἦξει, πόσα χρή νομίσει ζημιώσεσθαι*<sup>40</sup>, ο συγγραφέας μας αποδίδει: *Quod si bellum aliquod huc ingruerit, quanta, vos obsecro, iactura res vestras affectum iri putatis?*<sup>41</sup>. Προσθέτει το ρήμα παράκλησης και δραματικοποιεί τη μετάφρασή του. Οι προσθήκες του Βησσαρίωνα αποσκοπούν μόνο στο να προσδώσουν μια ζωντάνια στη λατινική απόδοσή του<sup>42</sup>.

Άλλη μεταφραστική τεχνική του καρδινάλιου, που σχετίζεται άμεσα με τις προσθήκες λέξεων που περιγράψαμε παραπάνω, είναι η δημιουργία των λεγόμενων «μεταφραστικών παρατακτικών ζευγών». Παρατακτικά είναι τα ζεύγη δύο λέξεων που συνδέονται μεταξύ τους με παρατακτικούς ή διαζευκτικούς συνδέσμους. Διακρίνονται σε ταυτολογικά, συνώνυμα, περιγραφικά, αντίθετα, ή απλώς ζεύγη προσηγορικών ή κυρίων ονομάτων. Όταν έχουμε να κάνουμε με μια μετάφραση, παρατηρείται ότι τα ζεύγη αυτά χωρίζονται σε δύο κατηγορίες: α) σε αυτά που είναι παρόντα και στο πρωτότυπο και στη μετάφραση και β) σε αυτά που υπάρχουν μόνο στη μετάφραση, τα «μεταφραστικά παρατακτικά ζεύγη». Αυτή η δεύτερη κατηγορία προκύπτει όταν ο μεταφραστής, στην προσπάθειά του να ερμηνεύσει με μεγαλύτερη πληρότητα μια λέξη, προσθέτει σε αυτή και άλλη μία και δημιουργεί έτσι ένα

<sup>34</sup> Για το φαινόμενο της μεταφραστικής παράλειψης στο Μεσαίωνα, βλ. Β. Βαϊόπουλος, “Με αφορμή τις λατινικές μεταφράσεις του ποιήματος του Μουσαίου”, στο *20 Χρόνια Τ.Ε.Γ.Μ.Δ.: Επετειακός Τόμος*, Αθήνα, σσ. 144-145 και ειδικότερα υποσημ. 70.

<sup>35</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 9.1-2.

<sup>36</sup> σ. 21, § 9.

<sup>37</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 12.5-6.

<sup>38</sup> σ. 22, § 12.

<sup>39</sup> Το φαινόμενο αυτό θα το εξετάσουμε στη συνέχεια.

<sup>40</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 27. 8-9.

<sup>41</sup> σ. 24, § 27.

<sup>42</sup> Για τη πρακτική των προσθηκών σε λατινικές μεταφράσεις του ποιήματος του Μουσαίου, βλ., Β. Βαϊόπουλος, “Με αφορμή τις λατινικές μεταφράσεις του ποιήματος του Μουσαίου”, σ. 142.

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«μεταφραστικό παρατακτικό ζεύγος», που είναι δικό του αποκύημα και δεν είναι παρόν στο πρωτότυπο. Πρέπει επίσης να παρατηρήσουμε ότι η μετατροπή στη μετάφραση μιας σύνθετης έκφρασης (π.χ. υποτακτικός λόγος, ετερόπρωτος προσδιορισμός, εμπρόθετος προσδιορισμός) σε παρατακτικό ζεύγος, αποτελεί μια συνήθη μεταφραστική πρακτική, που αποσκοπεί στην απλούστευση του λόγου, έτσι ώστε να γίνεται ευκολότερα κατανοητό το περιεχόμενο του μεταφραζόμενου κειμένου. Τα «μεταφραστικά παρατακτικά ζεύγη» αποτελούν μια ευρέως διαδεδομένη τεχνική στους κόλπους των μεταφραστών<sup>43</sup>.

Σε αρκετά, λοιπόν, χωρία της μετάφρασής μας, παρατηρούμε ότι ο Βησσαρίων κάνει χρήση αυτής της τεχνικής. Ο Δημοσθένης γράφει για το πολιτικό καθεστώς της Μακεδονίας, την τυραννίδα: *καὶ ὅλως ἄπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ τυραννίδας*<sup>44</sup>. Ο Βησσαρίων μεταφράζει: *Demum tyrannidem rem infidam, et suspectam liberis civitatibus esse existimo*<sup>45</sup>. Η φράση *et suspectam* δεν έχει το αντίστοιχό της στο αρχαιοελληνικό κείμενο, αλλά αποτελεί προσθήκη του Βησσαρίωνα, με σκοπό να επιτείνει και να ερμηνεύσει με μεγαλύτερη πληρότητα το επίθετο *ἄπιστον*. Με αυτό τον τρόπο προκύπτει στη μετάφραση ένα σχήμα *ἐν διὰ δυοῖν* και δημιουργείται ένα μεταφραστικό παρατακτικό ζεύγος. Μάλιστα, το συγκεκριμένο ζεύγος λέξεων είναι περιγραφικό<sup>46</sup> και όχι ταυτολογικό, καθώς τα δυο του μέλη δεν είναι συνώνυμα, αλλά το δεύτερο, το *suspectam*, επεκτείνει και συμπληρώνει την έννοια του πρώτου μέλους, του *infidam*, που και από μόνο του αποτελεί μια ικανοποιητική απόδοση του *ἄπιστον*. Τέτοια ζεύγη απαντώνται και αλλού στη μετάφρασή μας· το απόσπασμα *πρὸς θεῶν, τίς οὕτως εὐήθης ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν πόλεμον δεῦρ' ἤξοντα, ἂν ἀμελήσωμεν;*<sup>47</sup> ο καρδινάλιος το αποδίδει: *Pro deum fidem, quis vestrum adeo tardi ingenii est, et inconsulti, qui si neglexerimus, bellum huc conversum iri nesciat?*<sup>48</sup>. Εδώ διαπιστώνουμε ότι ο μεταφραστής όχι μόνο σχημάτισε ένα περιγραφικό παρατακτικό ζεύγος, αλλά πραγματοποίησε και μια συντακτική αλλαγή σε σχέση με το ελληνικό πρωτότυπο. Το επίθετο *εὐήθης*, που είναι κατηγορούμενο του υποκειμένου *τίς*, το αποδίδει με γενική κατηγορηματική της ιδιότητας, δηλαδή με το *ingenii*, που τη συνοδεύει με διπλό επιθετικό προσδιορισμό, δηλαδή με τα *tardi* και *inconsulti*. Έτσι, καθιστά και πιο σύνθετη τη σύνταξή του αλλά και πιο παραστατικό τον λόγο του. Στη συνέχεια, ο Δημοσθένης, αναλύοντας το σχέδιο που προτείνει να ακολουθήσουν οι Αθηναίοι για να στηρίξουν τους

<sup>43</sup> Την πρακτική αυτή τη χρησιμοποίησαν στις μεταφράσεις τους ο Μάξιμος Πλανούδης, ο Θεόδωρος Γαζής κ.ά. Και οι δύο αυτοί λόγιοι μετέφρασαν στην αρχαία ελληνική έργα της λατινικής γραμματείας. Ο Πλανούδης τις *Μεταμορφώσεις* και τις *Ηρωίδες* του Οβιδίου, το *De consolatione Philosophiae* του Βοηθίου κ.ά., και ο Γαζής το κικερώνειο έργο *De senectute*. Οι ελληνικές αποδόσεις τους βρίθουν από «μεταφραστικά παρατακτικά ζεύγη». Για περισσότερες πληροφορίες σχετικά με αυτό το φαινόμενο, βλ. – για τον Πλανούδη – Β. Κοπανός, “Παρατακτικά ζεύγη στις μεταφράσεις του Μαξίμου Πλανούδη”, *ΕΕΦΣΠΘ* 13 (1974) 19-34 και – για τον Γαζή – Στ. Τζάμος, *Γλωσσικές παρατηρήσεις στη μετάφραση του Περί γήρωσ του Κικέρωνος από τον Θεόδωρο Γαζή*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1993, σσ. 71-73.

<sup>44</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 5.6-7.

<sup>45</sup> σ. 20, § 5.

<sup>46</sup> Ο όρος «περιγραφικός» σχετικά με τα μεταφραστικά παρατακτικά ζεύγη ανήκει στον Ι.Θ. Κακριδή, *Τό μεταφραστικό πρόβλημα*, Αθήνα 1966, σ. 79.

<sup>47</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 15.1-2.

<sup>48</sup> σ. 22, § 15.

Ολυνθίους, αναφέρει: *Φημί δὴ διχῆ βοηθητέον εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὑμῖν, τῶ τε τὰς πόλεις τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις σῶζειν [...]*<sup>49</sup>. Ο βυζαντινός λόγιος μεταφράζει: *Dico igitur vos bifariam rebus opitulari oportere, partim oppida, agrum que Olynthiorum tutando [...]*<sup>50</sup>. Για να αποδώσει, δηλαδή, το *τὰς πόλεις*, χρησιμοποιεί το παρατακτικό ζεύγος *oppida, agrum que*. Έτσι, τονίζει το γεγονός ότι η βοήθεια που πρέπει να προσφέρουν οι Αθηναίοι στους Ολυνθίους επιβάλλεται να είναι ολοκληρωτική, να εκτείνεται σε όλο το μήκος και το πλάτος της χώρας τους. Αξιοσημείωτο είναι, βέβαια, το γεγονός ότι εδώ δεν έχουμε να κάνουμε με μια απλή μορφή «μεταφραστικού παρατακτικού ζεύγους». Το ζεύγος αυτό αποτελεί ταυτόχρονα και ένα «μεταφραστικό δάνειο». Τα δάνεια αυτά, μπορεί να αποτελούνται από λέξεις ή φραστικά σύνολα τα οποία παραπέμπουν σε προγενέστερα λογοτεχνικά έργα. Τα «μεταφραστικά δάνεια» λειτουργούν αρμονικά μέσα στο νέο περιβάλλον (το μεταφρασμένο κείμενο), συντελώντας στην ανάπτυξη μιας διακειμενικής σχέσης της μετάφρασης με άλλα δόκιμα γλωσσικά περιβάλλοντα. Η φράση *oppida, agrum que* που χρησιμοποιεί ο Βησσαρίων αποτελεί μια φράση-φόρμουλα, που απαντάται συχνά σε έργα της λατινικής λογοτεχνίας (κυρίως σε ιστορικά). Μπορεί κανείς να την εντοπίσει στον Έννιο, στον Κικέρωνα, στον Σαλλούστιο, στον Λίβιο και σε άλλους συγγραφείς<sup>51</sup>. Η υιοθέτηση αυτής της πρακτικής φανερώνει την πλούσια κλασική παιδεία του συγγραφέα μας<sup>52</sup>.

Σε αυτό το σημείο θα σταθούμε για λίγο στον τρόπο με τον οποίο ο Βησσαρίων αποδίδει στα λατινικά τις μετοχές που συναντά στο αρχαιοελληνικό πρωτότυπο. Αρκετά συχνά παρατηρούμε ότι μετατρέπει τις μετοχές αυτές σε προτάσεις. Για παράδειγμα, τη φράση *τοῦτ' ἂν ἀκούσαντες λάβοιτε*<sup>53</sup>, την αποδίδει *id cum audieritis, accipietis*<sup>54</sup>. Τη χρονική μετοχή (*ἀκούσαντες*), λοιπόν, την καθιστά δευτερεύουσα χρονική πρόταση (*cum audieritis*), προσδίδοντας με αυτό τον τρόπο μια πιο αναλυτική σύνταξη στον λόγο του. Επίσης, το χωρίο *τοὺς τοῦτο ποιήσοντας στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν*<sup>55</sup>, το μεταφράζει *emissis militibus, qui id praestent*<sup>56</sup>. Αντικαθιστά την τελική μετοχή (*ποιήσοντας*) με αναφορική τελική πρόταση (*qui id praestent*), ενώ μετατρέπει την απαρεμφατική σύνταξη (*στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν*) σε αφαιρετική απόλυτη μετοχή (*emissis militibus*). Σε μια άλλη περίπτωση ο Βησσαρίων κάνει το αντίθετο από αυτό που μόλις περιγράψαμε: μετατρέπει τη ρηματική σύνταξη σε μετοχική. Λόγου χάρη, την αρχαιοελληνική πρόταση *καὶ ἡμεῖς [...] φανῶμεν ἐρραθυμηκότες, καὶ ἅπαντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ζητοῦντες πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ὧν οὐκ ἐβουλόμεθ' ὕστερον εἰς ἀνάγκην ἔλθωμεν ποιειν*<sup>57</sup>, την αποδίδει *Ita nos ignaviae dediti, et ad libidinem cuncta quaerentes, tandem vel invitati multa, et gravia subire*

<sup>49</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 17.1-2.

<sup>50</sup> σ. 22, § 17.

<sup>51</sup> Βλ. Enn., *Annales* 468: *agros laetos atque oppida cepit*, Cic., *Pro lege Manilia* 38.2: [...] *per agros atque oppida*, Sall., *Ad Caesarem de republica* 2.8.4.3: *oppida, agros, fana atque domos vastat* και Liv. 27.20.8.5: [...] *oppida atque agros [...]* και 37.30.5.3: [...] *oppida Brutii agrisque [...]*, κ.ά.

<sup>52</sup> Για τον ρόλο της κλασικής παιδείας και της λογιότητας των μεταφραστών, βλ. Β. Βαϊόπουλος, "Με αφορμή τις λατινικές μεταφράσεις του ποιήματος του Μουσαίου", σ. 138.

<sup>53</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 1.6.

<sup>54</sup> σ. 20, § 1.

<sup>55</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 17.3.

<sup>56</sup> σ. 22, § 17.

<sup>57</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 15.7.

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*coquamur*<sup>58</sup>. Από το λατινικό κείμενο απουσιάζει το ρήμα (*φανῶμεν*), ενώ η κατηγορηματική μετοχή (*ἐρραθυμηκότες*) αποδίδεται περιφραστικά, δηλαδή με τροπική μετοχή που συνοδεύεται από το αντικείμενό της (*ignaviae dediti*). Αλλού μετατρέπει μια χρονική μετοχή σε αφαιρετική του τρόπου: *ἵνα ταῦτ' ἐπανορθωσάμενοι [...] ἀποτριψώμεθα*<sup>59</sup>, γράφει ο Δημοσθένης, ενώ ο καρδινάλιος μεταφράζει: *ut eorum emendatione [...] deleamus*<sup>60</sup>. Οι αλλαγές αυτές δικαιολογούνται από την προσπάθεια που καταβάλλει ο μεταφραστής, για να καταστήσει πιο ομαλό και πιο προσιτό το δημοσθενικό κείμενο στους Ιταλούς αναγνώστες του. Έχοντας αυτό τον στόχο, είναι απολύτως λογικό και θεμιτό να αλλάζει σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις, όπως και εδώ, τη σειρά των λέξεων και να μη μεταφέρει στη λατινική του απόδοση αυτό τον ρυθμό (*cadence*), που είναι κύριο γνώρισμα του δημοσθενικού ρητορικού λόγου<sup>61</sup>.

Παρατηρούμε ότι η μετάφραση στο μεγαλύτερο τμήμα της ακολουθεί πιστά το αρχαιοελληνικό πρωτότυπο και αποδίδει με ακρίβεια το περιεχόμενο του. Η μεταφραστική του πρακτική συνίσταται στο να μην υπάρχει απλώς μια αντιστοιχία μεταξύ ελληνικών και λατινικών τύπων αλλά στο να δοθούν στους αποδέκτες της μετάφρασης δόκιμες λατινικές εκφράσεις οι οποίες να αποτελούν νοηματικά ισοδύναμα των αντίστοιχων αρχαιοελληνικών. Παράλληλα, στόχος του είναι να αναλύει και να ομαλοποιεί τον δημοσθενικό λόγο. Για παράδειγμα, τη φράση *ἡμᾶς πλεῖν καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν πόλιν*<sup>62</sup> ο Βησσαρίων την αποδίδει: *hortantes ut maritimo apparatu profecti, urbem suam acciperemus*<sup>63</sup>. Καταρχάς εγκαταλείπει την απαρεμφατική σύνταξη (*κελεύοντες πλεῖν καὶ παραλαμβάνειν*) και δημιουργεί μια δευτερεύουσα βουλητική πρόταση, που είναι αντικείμενο της μετοχής *hortantes (ut [...] acciperemus)*. Το απαρέμφατο *πλεῖν*, που είναι και το πρώτο αντικείμενο της μετοχής *κελεύοντες*, το καθιστά χρονική μετοχή αποδίδοντάς την περιφραστικά, με τρεις ολόκληρες λέξεις (*πλεῖν – maritimo apparatu profecti*). Για άλλη μία φορά διαφαίνεται η αναλυτική τάση που τηρεί ο καρδινάλιος στη λατινική μετάφρασή του. Σε άλλη μία περίπτωση μετατρέπει έναν εμπρόθετο προσδιορισμό σε αναφορική πρόταση: το *μετὰ ταῦτα*<sup>64</sup> του πρωτοτύπου το μεταφράζει *quae inde consecuta est*<sup>65</sup>. Αλλού ο Δημοσθένης συμβουλεύει τους συμπολίτες του να στείλουν στόλο και στρατό και να λεηλατήσουν τη χώρα του Φιλίππου: *[...] καὶ τῷ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τριήρεσι καὶ στρατιώταις ἑτέροις*<sup>66</sup>. Ο λόγιός μας μεταφράζει *fines Philippi cum terrestri exercitu, tum classe maritima incursionibus depopulando*<sup>67</sup>. Στο χωρίο αυτό παρατηρούμε ότι αντικαθιστά το έναρθρο απαρέμφατο του τρόπου (*τῷ κακῶς*

<sup>58</sup> σ. 22, § 15.

<sup>59</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 11.10-12.

<sup>60</sup> σ. 21, § 11.

<sup>61</sup> Βλ. Κ. Τσάτσος, *Δημοσθένης*, Αθήνα 1971, σσ. 341-342, αλλά και 346, όπου αναφέρει τη διαπίστωση του μελετητή της ρητορικής τέχνης του Δημοσθένη, του Blass, ο οποίος παρατήρησε ότι ο ρήτορας αποφεύγει συστηματικά τη χασμωδία, καθώς και τη συσσώρευση περισσότερων από δύο βραχειών συλλαβών στον λόγο του.

<sup>62</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 8.5-6.

<sup>63</sup> σ. 21, § 8.

<sup>64</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 8.9.

<sup>65</sup> σ. 21, § 8.

<sup>66</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 17. 3-5.

<sup>67</sup> σ. 23, § 17.

ποιεῖν) με γερούνδιο του τρόπου (*depopulando*), πράγμα απολύτως λογικό, αν σκεφτούμε ότι στη λατινική γλώσσα δεν υπάρχει έναρθρο απαρέμφατο. Αναφέρει το όνομα του Φιλίππου, γεγονός που δεν γίνεται στο πρωτότυπο και που αντιβαίνει στην τακτική του να αποσιωπά τα ελληνικά ονόματα<sup>68</sup>. Αντιστρέφει τη σειρά των λέξεων και επίσης προσθέτει επιθετικούς προσδιορισμούς (*terrestri, maritima*) στα ουσιαστικά *exercitu* και *classe* αντίστοιχα, οι οποίοι απουσιάζουν από το πρωτότυπο. Αυτό, όμως, που μας προξενεί μεγαλύτερη εντύπωση, είναι η ίδια διάταξη των όρων της λατινικής φράσης: *cum terrestri exercitu, tum classe maritima*. Τα επίθετα βρίσκονται στην αρχή και στο τέλος της φράσης, ενώ τα ουσιαστικά γειτνιάζουν. Η διάταξη αυτή μοιάζει με έναν «αργυρό» στίχο, καθώς έχει τη μορφή *a b B A*. Φαίνεται, λοιπόν, εδώ ότι ο Βησσαρίων προσπαθεί να μιμηθεί μία από τις τεχνοτροπίες των Ρωμαίων νεωτερικών ποιητών, δηλαδή τη δημιουργία «χρυσών» και «αργυρών» στίχων<sup>69</sup>. Η ευρεία γνώση της λατινικής λογοτεχνίας είναι, ξανά, εμφανέστατη. Σε ένα άλλο χωρίο ο Βησσαρίων μάς δίνει την εντύπωση ότι μεταφράζει αλλά και ότι ταυτόχρονα «ερμηνεύει» μια αρχαιοελληνική λέξη· ο Δημοσθένης αναρωτιέται: «Τίς οὖν», ἂν τίς εἴποι, «σὺ γράφεις εἶναι στρατιωτικά;»<sup>70</sup> και ο Βησσαρίων αποδίδει: “*Quid?*” *inquies. “Refers ne tu ad senatum eas pecunias militares esse debere?”*<sup>71</sup>. Εδώ η σημασία του αρχαιοελληνικού ρήματος γράφω είναι «προτείνω», «προβάλλω την άποψή μου». Μπορεί ο Βησσαρίων να προσέθεσε λέξεις στην απόδοση αλλά κατάφερε να προσφέρει στους αναγνώστες του το νοηματικό ισοδύναμο του αντίστοιχου αρχαιοελληνικού.

Πολύ συχνά, παρατηρούμε ότι ο Βησσαρίων χρησιμοποιεί στην απόδοση του το σχήμα λιτότητας. Την πρόταση δήλον γάρ ἐστὶ τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις<sup>72</sup> τη μεταφράζει *neque enim Olynthiis obscurum est*<sup>73</sup>. Λίγο παρακάτω από την πρόταση που μόλις παραθέσαμε, ο ρήτορας αναφέρει: καὶ ἴσασι ἅ τ’ Ἀμφιπολιτῶν ἐποίησε<sup>74</sup>, ενώ ο καρδινάλιος αποδίδει: *neque ignorant quid eos Amphipolitas egerit*<sup>75</sup>. Εδώ, ο Βησσαρίων αντικαθιστά την κατάφαση με δύο αρνήσεις, προσδίδοντας έτσι μεγαλύτερη έμφαση στην πρότασή του. Το ίδιο συμβαίνει και στη συνέχεια: ταῦτ’ οὖν ἐγνωκότας<sup>76</sup> έχει το πρωτότυπο, *itaque, et haec non ignorantes*<sup>77</sup>, μεταφράζει ο λόγιός μας. Είναι γεγονός ότι η λατινική μετάφραση βρίθεται από σχήματα λιτότητας. Ας παραθέσουμε και άλλα δύο παραδείγματα. Αλλού ο Αθηναίος ρήτορας αναφέρει: χρήματ’ εἰσφέροντας προθύμως [...] <sup>78</sup>, ενώ η μετάφραση έχει ως εξής: *pecunias haud segniter conferendo*<sup>79</sup>. Προς το τέλος του λόγου, ο Δημοσθένης επιχειρώντας μια πολύ σύντομη ψυχολογική ανάλυση του

<sup>68</sup> Αξιοσημείωτο είναι το γεγονός ότι ο Δημοσθένης σε όλο του τον λόγο αποφεύγει να αναφέρει το όνομα του Μακεδόνα βασιλιά (*damnatio memoriae*).

<sup>69</sup> Βλ. π.χ., το υπόμνημα του R.O.A.M. Lyne στο *Ciris*, Cambridge 1978, σ. 24.

<sup>70</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 19.7-8.

<sup>71</sup> σ. 23, § 19.

<sup>72</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 5.1-2.

<sup>73</sup> σ. 20, § 5.

<sup>74</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 5.4.

<sup>75</sup> σ. 20, § 5.

<sup>76</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 6.1.

<sup>77</sup> σ. 20, § 6.

<sup>78</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 6.4.

<sup>79</sup> σ. 20, § 6.

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Φιλίππου, αναφέρει για εκείνον: *καὶ πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν αὐτῷ παρέχει*<sup>80</sup>. Ο Βησσαρίων αποδίδει: *non mediocrem eius animo sollicitudinem affert*<sup>81</sup>. Αντικαθιστά τον επιθετικό προσδιορισμό *πολλήν* με το *non mediocrem*, κάνοντας, για ακόμη μία φορά, χρήση του σχήματος λιτότητας. Το σχήμα αυτό φαίνεται πως είναι ιδιαίτερος αγαπητό στον καρδινάλιο, γιατί με αυτό μπορεί και χαρίζει μεγαλύτερη έμφαση στα λεγόμενα του Δημοσθένη.

Υστερα από αυτή τη σύντομη εξέταση των μεταφραστικών τεχνικών του Βησσαρίωνα, συμπεραίνουμε ότι ο καρδινάλιος αποβλέπει στο να αποδώσει στη λατινική πρωτίστως το νόημα του κειμένου (*sensum e sensu*) και δευτερευόντως τις λέξεις (*verbum e verbo*). Δηλαδή, η μεταφραστική του προσέγγιση είναι πιστή αλλά παράλληλα φιλολογική και λογοτεχνική. Η μετάφραση του Βησσαρίωνα, λοιπόν, αποδεσμεύεται από το αρχαιοελληνικό πρωτότυπο και γίνεται ένα νέο, αυθύπαρκτο λογοτέχνημα. Αποδεικνύεται ότι ο λόγιός μας δεν είχε μια δουλοπρεπή στάση απέναντι στο έργο του Δημοσθένη. Ομαλοποιεί τον λόγο του αρχαίου Έλληνα και έτσι καθιστά και πιο ομαλή τη μεταβίβαση ενός από τους μεγαλύτερους κλασικούς ρήτορες στη Δύση<sup>82</sup>.

Εξαιρετικά μεγάλο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ο παρασελίδιος σχολιασμός του ίδιου του Βησσαρίωνα, με τον οποίο επισημαίνει τις ομοιότητες και τους παραλληλισμούς που υπάρχουν ανάμεσα στις δύο ιστορικές καταστάσεις (κίνδυνος Φιλίππου – τουρκική απειλή). Αυτές του οι σημειώσεις αποτελούν ένα ακόμη μέρος της όλης προσπάθειάς του να πείσει τους Ιταλούς ηγεμόνες για την έναρξη της Σταυροφορίας κατά των Οθωμανών.

Πρέπει να σημειώσουμε ότι η θέση των επισημάνσεων αυτών του καρδινάλιου στο δεξιό περιθώριο κάθε σελίδας δεν είναι τυχαία. Τοποθετούνται δίπλα ακριβώς από το απόσπασμα του ελληνικού πρωτοτύπου που κάθε φορά ο Βησσαρίων θέλει να σχολιάσει. Η μετάφραση αριθμεί είκοσι δύο σημειώσεις. Η έκτασή τους ποικίλλει: υπάρχουν κάποια συντομότερα σχόλια αλλά και κάποια αρκετά εκτενή<sup>83</sup>. Δεν συνδέονται μεταξύ τους δημιουργώντας ένα ενιαίο κείμενο. Κάθε σημείωση έχει το δικό της αυθύπαρκτο νόημα. Αυτά τα λόγια του καρδινάλιου αποτελούν, θα λέγαμε, μια εκσυγχρονισμένη ανάγνωση του δημοσθενικού κειμένου με διττό στόχο: πρώτον, τον παραλληλισμό της εποχής του Δημοσθένη με αυτή του Βησσαρίωνα και,

<sup>80</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 21.8-9.

<sup>81</sup> σ. 23, § 21.

<sup>82</sup> Για τη μεσαιωνική πρακτική της *de verbo ad verbum* μετάφρασης, βλ. Β. Βαϊόπουλος, "Λατινικές μεταφράσεις στο ποίημα Τὰ καθ' Ἡρώ καὶ Λεάνδρον", στο *Μεταφραστική Θεωρία και Πράξη στη Λατινική Γραμματεία, Πρακτικά Συμποσίου Λατινικών Σπουδών, Θεσσαλονίκη 16-19 Οκτωβρίου 2002, ΕΕΦΣΠΘ*, τεύχος Τμήματος Φιλολογίας 10 (2002-2003), Θεσσαλονίκη 2003, σ. 324. Για την ουμανιστική προσέγγιση της ελεύθερης προσέγγισης σύμφωνα με το νόημα (*ad sensum* απόδοσης), βλ. Β. Βαϊόπουλος, "Με αφορμή τις λατινικές μεταφράσεις του ποιήματος του Μουσαίου", στο *20 Χρόνια Τ.Ε.Γ.Μ.Δ: Επετειακός Τόμος*, Αθήνα 2007, σσ. 135-136, του ίδιου, "Στα χρόνια του πρώιμου ανθρωπισμού: Αλδινές εκδόσεις και λατινικές μεταφράσεις ελληνικών κειμένων", *Ιόνιος Λόγος Α'* (2007) 45 και 54-56 και του ίδιου, "Λατινικές μεταφράσεις ελληνικών έργων στη χριστιανική Δύση", *Ιόνιος Λόγος Β'* (2010) 109-112 και 116-117. Επίσης, για το θέμα της ισοδυναμίας μεταξύ πρωτοτύπου και μεταφράσματος, βλ. ενδεικτικά Γ. Κεντρωτής, *Θεωρία και πράξη της μετάφρασης*, Αθήνα 1996, σσ. 65-70, 264 κ.ε., 288 κ.ε., κ.α.

<sup>83</sup> Για σύντομες σημειώσεις, βλ. σ. 21, § 8, σχ. ε, σ. 22, § 14, σχ. κ κ.λπ. Για εκτενείς, βλ. σ. 21, § 9, σχ. ζ, σ. 21, § 8, σχ. ζ κ.λπ.

δεύτερον, την ερμηνεία κάποιων στοιχείων της αρχαίας αθηναϊκής κοινωνίας. Στη συνέχεια θα εξετάσουμε τις σημαντικότερες από αυτές τις είκοσι δύο σημειώσεις του.

Με την επιλογή του αυτή ο καρδινάλιος βοηθά τους αναγνώστες του να καταλάβουν ακόμη καλύτερα τον παραδειγματικό χαρακτήρα του δημοσθενικού λόγου. Αυτό διαφαίνεται και από την πρώτη σημείωσή του<sup>84</sup>: *Audite, Christiani principes, Demosthenem philosophum, et oratorem iam tot saeculis mortuum, de statu hostis vestri nunc disserentem, eloquentissime monentem quid vos facere oporteat, ne in graviora dilabimini*. Η αποστροφή προς τους Ιταλούς και η προτροπή που τους απευθύνει να ακούσουν τα λόγια του Δημοσθένη επαναλαμβάνεται και στη συνέχεια<sup>85</sup>: *Audite principes, vobiscum loquitur. "Dum enim negligitis oblatas occasiones hostis opprimendi, dum confiditis vobis languentibus rem prospere successuram, en quomodo auxistis Turcum"*. Στο μέσο περίπου του λόγου του, ο ρήτορας προτείνει στους Αθηναίους ένα διττό σχέδιο δράσης εναντίον του Φιλίππου: να ενισχύσουν την Ολυνθο αλλά ταυτόχρονα να στείλουν στρατό και στόλο για να πολιορκήσουν τη χώρα του Μακεδόνα βασιλιά<sup>86</sup>. Ο μεταφραστής παροτρύνει τους Ιταλούς ηγεμόνες να ακούσουν αυτό το σοφότατο σχέδιο του αρχαίου Έλληνα και να το ακολουθήσουν<sup>87</sup>: *Quid agendum sit, audite Christiani principes sapientissimum consilium*. Με αυτά του λόγια ο Βησσαρίων εκσυγχρονίζει τον Δημοσθένη. Παραλληλίζει θαυμάσια τις όμοιες πολιτικές και ιστορικές συνθήκες: όπως οι Αθηναίοι αδιαφορούσαν όταν πληροφορούνταν ότι πολιορκούνταν η Πύδνα, η Ποτίδαια, η Μεθώνη και οι Παγασές από τον Φίλιππο, έτσι και οι χριστιανοί δυτικοί ηγεμόνες αδιαφορούσαν για την προέλαση του Τούρκου κατακτητή. Άφησαν τις ευκαιρίες που τους προσφέρονταν κατά καιρούς για να κινηθούν εναντίον του, ήταν νωθροί, με αποτέλεσμα να του προσφέρουν τελικά σημαντικότερη βοήθεια.

Δίπλα στο απόσπασμα<sup>88</sup> όπου ο Δημοσθένης κατακρίνει τους Αθηναίους γιατί δεν εκμεταλλεύτηκαν τις παρακλήσεις του Ιέρακα και του Στρατοκλή, προκειμένου να κατακτήσουν την πόλη τους, την Αμφίπολη, ή και γιατί δεν βοήθησαν τις πολιορκούμενες πόλεις της Πύδνας, της Ποτίδαιας, της Μεθώνης και των Παγασών, ο Βησσαρίων σημειώνει<sup>89</sup>: *Si olim essemus Bizantio. Non egressus esset in Aegeum Turcus, non diruisset miseram Chalcidem, si cum Ciliciam, Misiam, Pannoniam inferiorem obsideri reruntiatum est, opem tulissemus*. Όταν ο Αθηναίος ρήτορας κρούει τον κώδωνα του κινδύνου στους συμπολίτες του λέγοντάς τους πως τίποτε δεν θα εμποδίσει τον Φίλιππο από το να επιτεθεί παντού στην Ελλάδα, αν κατακτήσει την Ολυνθο<sup>90</sup>, ο λόγιός μας γράφει<sup>91</sup>: *Si pedem paulo alterius intulerit Turcus, quis, te obsecro, prohibebit, quo minus in Italiam perveniat?* Στο χωρίο που ο Δημοσθένης απαριθμεί τις κατακτήσεις του Φιλίππου (Αμφίπολη,

<sup>84</sup> σ. 20, § 2, σχ. α.

<sup>85</sup> σ. 21, § 9, σχ. ζ.

<sup>86</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 17 και 18.

<sup>87</sup> σσ. 22-23, § 17, σχ. μ.

<sup>88</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 8 και 9.

<sup>89</sup> σ. 21, § 8 και § 9, σχ. ε και σχ. στ.

<sup>90</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 12.

<sup>91</sup> σ. 22, § 12, σχ. θ.



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Πύδνα, Ποτίδαια, Μεθώνη, Θεσσαλία, Φέρες, Παγασές, Μαγνησία)<sup>92</sup>, ο καρδινάλιος απαριθμεί και αυτός τις κατακτήσεις των Τούρκων<sup>93</sup>: *Bizantium primo, deinde Trapezuntem, Synopenses, Mityleneos, Peleponnesios, Misiām, Ciliciām, et reliqua*. Ο Βησσαρίων διαρκώς παραλληλίζει τα δύο ιστορικά γεγονότα, υπογραμμίζοντας την ομοιότητα της ιστορίας ανά τους αιώνες. Επίσης, για άλλη μία φορά στο έργο του, υπενθυμίζει γεμάτος πικρία και απογοήτευση την απώλεια του Βυζαντίου, αλλά και της ιδιαίτερης πατρίδας του, της Τραπεζούντας.

Αυτό που μας προκαλεί ιδιαίτερη εντύπωση σε αυτές τις σημειώσεις, είναι η γραφή της λέξης *Bizantium*. Όπως φαίνεται από τα προηγούμενα τμήματα του *Epistolae et Orationes contra Turcos*, ο Βησσαρίων φυσικά και γνώριζε τη σωστή γραφή *Byzantium* και την τηρεί παντού με συνέπεια<sup>94</sup>. Η παρούσα διαφοροποίηση μας προβληματίζει. Θα μπορούσε ο συγγραφέας των σχολίων να είναι άλλος, για παράδειγμα, ο εκδότης Fichet;

Θεωρούμε ότι δεν παρενέβη άλλος στο κείμενο του Βησσαρίωνα. Πρώτα πρώτα, ο σχολιασμός αυτός είναι παρών σε όλες τις εκδόσεις του *Epistolae et Orationes contra Turcos* και σε κανένα σημείο δεν αναφέρεται ότι ανήκει σε διαφορετικό συγγραφέα από τον καρδινάλιο<sup>95</sup>. Επίσης, αν υποθέσουμε ότι ο Fichet είναι ο συγγραφέας αυτών των παρασελίδων σχολίων, θα περιμέναμε να αναγράφεται το όνομά του, όπως αναγράφεται και στην εισαγωγική επιστολή του προς το βασιλιά της Αγγλίας Εδουάρδο Δ', η οποία αποτελεί το πρώτο τμήμα του *Epistolae et Orationes contra Turcos*<sup>96</sup>. Ο δεύτερος λόγος που μας κάνει να πιστεύουμε ότι ο σχολιασμός ανήκει στον Βησσαρίωνα είναι ότι το ύφος και η γλώσσα τους είναι εντελώς όμοια με αυτά της μετάφρασης. Διαβάζοντας τις σημειώσεις που παραθέσαμε παραπάνω και που αφορούν το Βυζάντιο και την Τραπεζούντα, διακρίνουμε όλη αυτή την πικρία και τη νοσταλγία που χαρακτηρίζουν έναν πρόσφυγα, που λαχταρά να δει ξανά ελεύθερη τη χαμένη του πατρίδα. Για τους λόγους αυτούς, πιστεύουμε ότι αυτή η σύγχρονη ανάγνωση ανήκει στον Βησσαρίωνα. Η γραφή *Bizantium* είναι, προφανώς, ισοδύναμη με τη διαδεδομένη *Byzantium*. Εξάλλου, η εναλλακτική γραφή *i* αντί *y* και το αντίστροφο φαίνεται ότι ήταν ένα αρκετά συχνό φαινόμενο<sup>97</sup>.

Ο Βησσαρίων, λοιπόν, χρησιμοποιεί αυτές τις παρασελίδες σημειώσεις του, για να παραλληλίσει τις δύο αυτές παρόμοιες ιστορικές συνθήκες. Με μια, όμως, επισήμανσή του επεξηγεί τα λεγόμενα του Δημοσθένη. Ενεργεί ως φιλόλογος, παρέχοντας πληροφορίες στους αναγνώστες του για ένα ζήτημα, που – μιας και αφορούσε την αρχαία αθηναϊκή κοινωνία – πιστεύει ότι το αγνοούν: τα *θεωρικά*. Ο Δημοσθένης προτείνει να χρησιμοποιήσουν οι Αθηναίοι τα *θεωρικά* όχι για τις εορτές τους αλλά για τον πόλεμο κατά του Φιλίππου<sup>98</sup>. Ο

<sup>92</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 12 και 13.

<sup>93</sup> σ. 22, § 12 και § 13, σχ. ι.

<sup>94</sup> Βλ. έκδοση του 1543, σσ. (9)-(11): *Versabantur olim in discrimine Byzantium*, “*Quia noluerunt quinquaginta millium aureorum sumptu in tempore opitulari Byzantio [...], infelicissimus ille de urbis Byzantinae excidio nuntius*”

<sup>95</sup> Βλ. Meserve, ό.π., σ. 523.

<sup>96</sup> Βλ. έκδοση του 1543, σσ. (3)-(5).

<sup>97</sup> Βλ. K. Sidwell, *Reading Medieval Latin*, Cambridge 1995, σ. 374.

<sup>98</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυνθ. 19 και 20.

Βησσαρίων εξηγεί τον θεσμό αυτό, αλλά ταυτόχρονα διατυπώνει και ένα θετικό σχόλιο για τη θαυμαστή ευγλωττία, τη διακριτικότητα και την προσοχή με την οποία ο ρήτορας μιλά γι' αυτόν<sup>99</sup>: *Pecuniae, de quibus verba facit, ex publico aerario populo distribuebantur. Ac sanctum erat per legem capitis poena, ne quis legem servet, ut in alium aliquem usum converteruntur. Mira igitur eloquentiae ratione Demosthenes de iis obscure, et caute loquitur.*

Δίπλα στο απόσπασμα όπου ο Δημοσθένης προτρέπει τους συμπολίτες του να εκμεταλλευτούν την ευκαιρία της πολιορκίας της Ολύνθου από τον Φίλιππο, προκειμένου να κηρύξουν τον πόλεμο και να ξεσηκώσουν και άλλους λαούς εναντίον του<sup>100</sup>, ο Βησσαρίων σημειώνει ότι επιβάλλεται και οι Ιταλοί να κηρύξουν τον πόλεμο κατά των Τούρκων και να μην ελπίζουν ότι τώρα, στην αρχή, θα τους βοηθήσουν κάποιιοι άλλοι. Έπειτα θα ξεγεραθούν και άλλοι και θα τους ενισχύσουν στον αγώνα τους. Μάλιστα, συμπεριλαμβάνει στο σχόλιό του και ένα γνωμικό, που, όπως μας πληροφορεί ο ίδιος, είναι πολύ παλαιό και χρησιμοποιείται από τον λαό της Ρώμης<sup>101</sup>: *Ita bellum suscipiendum, ut vos prius exeatis, vestro que exemplo exteras vires provocetis. Neque sperandum est, ut exteri, et alieni nobis opitulentur, nisi nos primum rebus nostris feramus opem. Nam (ut est in proverbio perveteri a Romanis usurpato) Deus adiuvat facientes.* Πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι το *proverbium* αυτό απαντάται στον Βάρρων (De re rustica, 1.1.4: *dei facientes adiuvant*). Μας θυμίζει, βέβαια, και το ελληνικό «ό τολμών νικᾶ».

Ο Δημοσθένης, ολοκληρώνοντας τον λόγο του, προτρέπει τους πλούσιους Αθηναίους να στηρίξουν οικονομικά τον πόλεμο κατά του Φιλίππου, γιατί έτσι, δαπανώντας λίγα χρήματα, θα μπορούν στο μέλλον να απολαμβάνουν άφοβα τα υπόλοιπα που θα τους απομείνουν<sup>102</sup>. Ο καρδινάλιος παρακινεί τους πλούσιους να εισακούσουν τα λόγια και τις συμβουλές του Δημοσθένη για τον ίδιο ακριβώς λόγο που παραθέτει ο αρχαίος ρήτορας<sup>103</sup>: *Divites accipite et verba, et consilium Demosthenis, ut paucis erogatis, reliquis libere fruamini.* Όλες οι συμβουλές που ο Δημοσθένης απηύθυνε στους συμπολίτες του ταιριάζουν απολύτως και στην εποχή του Βησσαρίωνα. Ο καρδινάλιος επικαιροποιεί τέλεια τα λόγια και τις συμβουλές του Αθηναίου πολιτικού και ρήτορα.

Με αυτή την πρακτική του, ο Βησσαρίων προσφέρει στους αποδέκτες της μετάφρασής του τα κοινά σημεία ανάμεσα στις δύο αυτές παρόμοιες ιστορικές περιστάσεις, που, χρονικά, βέβαια, τις χωρίζει τεράστια απόσταση. Έτσι, δικαιολογεί από μόνος του γιατί διάλεξε να μεταφράσει τον συγκεκριμένο λόγο του Δημοσθένη, τον Α' Ολυθιακό. Επίσης, αποδεικνύει πόσο όμοια είναι η ιστορία διαφορετικών λαών και πώς αυτή επαναλαμβάνεται ανά τους αιώνες. Τέλος, για άλλη μία φορά, είναι παρούσα – και σε αυτά τα γραπτά του – η πλούσια κλασική παιδεία του, αλλά και η λαϊκή σοφία.

Μετά το τέλος της λατινικής μετάφρασης, ακολουθεί ένα σύντομο επιλογικό σημείωμα του Βησσαρίωνα, που το απευθύνει στους αποδέκτες του

<sup>99</sup> σ. 23, § 19, σχ. ν.

<sup>100</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυθ. 24.

<sup>101</sup> σ. 24, § 24, σχ. σ. Για ρωμαϊκά αποφθέγματα, βλ. Ο. Sprichwoerter, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer, gesammelt und erklärt*, Leipzig 1890.

<sup>102</sup> Δημ., Α' Ολυθ. 28.

<sup>103</sup> σ. 25, § 28, σχ. φ.

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έργου του, δηλαδή στους Ιταλούς ηγεμόνες. Με αυτό το κείμενο ολοκληρω το *Epistolae et Orationes contra Turcos* φτάνει στο τέλος του.

Στην αρχή του σημειώματος αυτού ο καρδινάλιος, για ακόμη μία φορά, υπογραμμίζει την ομοιότητα των καταστάσεων της εποχής του Δημοσθένη και της δικής του. Ο μεγάλος ρήτορας, γράφει ο Βησσαρίων, δίνει την εντύπωση ότι δεν παροτρύνει μόνο τους Αθηναίους να ξεσηκωθούν εναντίον του Φιλίππου, αλλά και όλους τους Ιταλούς, όλους τους χριστιανούς, προκειμένου να αντιδράσουν απέναντι στην επικείμενη τουρκική απειλή. Γι' αυτό και πρέπει όλοι να εισακούσουν τις σοφές συμβουλές του<sup>104</sup>, αυτόν, που και πεπαιδευμένος ήταν αλλά και άριστος γνώστης των πολιτικών πραγμάτων. Όλοι επιβάλλεται να θεωρήσουν κοινό τον κίνδυνο που τους απειλεί και να κινήσουν άμεσα τον πόλεμο κατά των Τούρκων, όχι με νωθρότητα και φειδώ αλλά γρήγορα και με δύναμη και με γενναιότητα, όπως συνηθίζεται να αντιδρούν οι άνθρωποι, όταν αντιμετωπίζουν ένα προσωπικό πρόβλημα<sup>105</sup>.

Ο Βησσαρίων υποστηρίζει ότι αυτοί που πρέπει να ξεκινήσουν τον ιερό πόλεμο είναι οι Ιταλοί ηγεμόνες. Στη συνέχεια θα ακολουθήσουν και τα υπόλοιπα χριστιανικά έθνη. Ύψιστος προστάτης αυτού του αγώνα θα είναι ο Σωτήρας, ο Ιησούς Χριστός, που θα εισακούσει τις προσευχές των πιστών του, τις εκκλήσεις τους για βοήθεια<sup>106</sup>.

Απαραίτητη προϋπόθεση, όμως, για να ξεκινήσει αυτή η ιερή Σταυροφορία, είναι να καταλαγιάσουν οι έριδες και οι διαμάχες ανάμεσα στα ιταλικά έθνη, πράγμα που ο Βησσαρίων μάς πληροφορεί ότι το επισήμανε και τις προηγούμενες μέρες σε συνέδριο, στο οποίο παρών ήταν και ο πάπας, αμέσως μόλις έφτασε η είδηση της άλωσης της Χαλκίδας. Με τη βοήθεια του Θεού οι χριστιανοί θα συντρίψουν τις τουρκικές δυνάμεις<sup>107</sup>. Όλα αυτά τα δεκαοχτώ χρόνια που πέρασαν μετά την άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης πολλά ήταν τα κούφια λόγια που ειπώθηκαν, πολλές οι μάταιες υποσχέσεις που δόθηκαν για την ανάληψη μιας αντιτουρκικής Σταυροφορίας. Ο Βησσαρίων αφήνει ξανά να διαφανεί αυτή η μεγάλη πίκρα για την απώλεια της πατρίδας του αλλά και η απογοήτευση για τα μεγάλα λόγια που άκουγε κατά καιρούς από τα πιο επίσημα χείλη και που ποτέ δεν έγιναν πράξη. Σε αυτό το σημείο του κειμένου

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<sup>104</sup> σ. 25: *Hoc est, incltyti Italiae principes, summi illius ac sapientissimi viri Demosthenis consilium, non alienum a nostro; haec illius sententia quam simillima nostrae; haec Atheniensibus solum adversus Philippum Macedonem, sed omnibus Italiae populis, sed universis Christianis adversus Turcorum tyrannum, nostrae religionis truculentissimum hostem, praedicere haec proponereque videtur. Conditioni praesentis temporis, quae loquitur, accomodata sunt omnia, et ad hunc quem cernimus rerum statum mirifice quadrant. Sequamur igitur tanti viri consilium, qui cum in omni doctrinae genere, tum vel maxime in civilis disciplinae scientia fuit exercitatus, et in communis hostis excidium insurgamus.*

<sup>105</sup> σ. 25: *Commune existimemus imminere periculum; commune bellum aggrediamur non ignave, non lente, non parce, non ut fieri, cum de re aliena certatur, consuevit, quemadmodum hactenus factum est; sed fortiter, sed celeriter, sed liberaliter, sed ut fieri in proprio discrimine mos est.*

<sup>106</sup> σ. 25: *[...] Non unius alteriusve hic opus est. Hostem habemus fortissimum, potentissimum, acerrimum, cervicibus vestris imminuentem. Satis superque negotii omnibus simul erit. Sed nec exterae Christianorum gentes nobis deerunt, dum nos viderint nobis ipsis non deesse. Aderunt, favebunt, suppetias ferent. Neque nos deseret Salvator noster Christus Jesus, sed audiet nos atque exaudiet, modo nos viderit digne ea, quae decent, facientes, opem suam implorare.*

<sup>107</sup> σ. 25: *Et ut cum ea disjunctive orationem terminem, qua superioribus diebus, audita tum primum Chalcidibus obsidione in pontifico senatu usus fui, ut omnis Italia, compositis ac pacatis rebus, et omni simultate deposita, omnium viribus in unum collatis, Deo Optimo Maximo duce, Turcorum vires conteret atque infringeret.*

αποκαλύπτεται η συγκίνηση αλλά και η οργή που του προκαλεί η ανάμνηση αυτών των μάταιων προσπαθειών του. Διακόπτει τον χειμαρρώδη λόγο του και χρησιμοποιώντας μία όμορφη αποσιώπηση γράφει πως καλύτερα να συγκρατήσει τα χείλια του, για να μην ξεστομίσει πράγματα που, και στο άκουσμα και μόνο, είναι φρικτά και σκληρά<sup>108</sup>.

Ο Βησσαρίων κλείνει αυτό το επιλογικό σημείωμα, αλλά και ολόκληρο το *Epistolae et Orationes contra Turcos*, με μια θερμότατη παράκληση. Απευθύνεται σε όλους τους χριστιανικούς λαούς και τους ικετεύει να καταβάλουν κάθε δυνατή προσπάθεια, για να απομακρύνουν αυτό τον φοβερότατο κίνδυνο και να κερδίσουν μια ενδοξότατη νίκη. Εκείνος θα προσεύχεται όσο το δυνατόν περισσότερο, για να το πράξουν<sup>109</sup>.

Με τη λατινική απόδοση του Α' Όλυνθιακού λόγου του Δημοσθένη ο καρδινάλιος μας αποκαλύπτει την πολυπρισματική λογισύνη του: μεταφράζει, ενώ με τα σχόλιά του λειτουργεί ως φιλόλογος και ως ιστορικός: ερμηνεύει, παραλληλίζει παρόμοια γεγονότα και παρέχει πολύτιμες πληροφορίες στους αναγνώστες του. Η γλώσσα του είναι η «νεολατινική». Τα νεολατινικά θυμίζουν τα λατινικά της κλασικής εποχής και όχι αυτά του Μεσαίωνα, όπως σημειώνει και ο Ludwig κάνοντας λόγο για τη «νεολατινική γλώσσα»<sup>110</sup>: «η λογοτεχνία αυτή [δηλαδή η νεολατινική, που ξεκίνησε από την Ιταλία και από το 14<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα μέχρι το 16<sup>ο</sup> διαδέχθηκε τα μεσαιωνικά λατινικά] επιβλήθηκε χάρη στη συνειδητή αποστασιοποίησή της από τη γλωσσική παράδοση των μεσαιωνικών λατινικών και τον επαναπροσανατολισμό της στα λατινικά της κλασικής αρχαιότητας». Ο συγγραφέας μας, λοιπόν, είναι ένας Έλληνας και Νεολατίνος λόγιος, ένας από τους σπουδαιότερους εκπροσώπους της μεταβυζαντινής Latinitas<sup>111</sup>.

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*Bessarionis Niceni Cardinalis orationes: De gravissimis periculis, quae Reipublicae Christianae a Turca iam tum impendere providebat. Eiusdem ad principes de pace inter se concilianda, ac bello adversus Turcas suscipiendo, exhortatio*, εκδ. Franciscus Priscianensis, Ρώμη 1543.

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<sup>108</sup> σ. 25: *Aut si quod duodeviginti iam annis post Byzantii excidium experti sumus, inanibus duntaxat verbis ac vanis pollicitationibus vacabimus, brevi tempore, universa Italia...sed compesco labellum, nec id exprimam, quod auditu quoque dirum atque horribile est.*

<sup>109</sup> σ. 25: *Quare ut gravissima declinemus pericula, atque optatam victoriam consequamur, vos omnes, principes, populique Christiani, ut omni ad id studio incumbatis, quantis maximis possum precibus, oro, atque obtestor.*

<sup>110</sup> Βλ. W. Ludwig, "Η λατινική λογοτεχνία των Νεότερων Χρόνων από την εποχή της Αναγέννησης", στο F. Graf (εκδ.), *Εισαγωγή στην Αρχαιογνωσία*, Β' τόμος - Ρώμη, (ελληνική μετάφραση Δ.Ζ. Νικήτας), σ. 358.

<sup>111</sup> Για τον Βησσαρίωνα, αλλά και για άλλους εκπροσώπους της μεταβυζαντινής Latinitas, βλ. Δ. Νικήτας, "Μεταβυζαντινή Latinitas: Δεδομένα και ζητούμενα", *ΕΕΦΣΠΘ*, τεύχος Τμήματος Φιλολογίας 10 (2003) 34-46.

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## Abstract

### **The Latin translation of Demosthenes’ first Olynthiacs speech by Bessarion**

In this article, we study the translation of the 1<sup>st</sup> *Olynthiacs* speech of Demosthenes done by Bessarion, which composes the seventh and last part of the *Epistolae et Orationes contra Turcos*, a work written by the cardinal in 1470. His work is enlisted to his attempt to convince all Christians to undertake a Crusade against the Turks. The translation is consisted of three sections: a) the prefacing note, in which

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the translator provides the readers with precious information about the demosthenian era and he draws some successful parallels between the ancient epoch and his times (the similarity between Phillip II and the Sultan Mohamed II), b) the ancient text translated in Latin and c) a concluding note with which he brings to an end not only the translation but the whole work. In this study we look into the main translation techniques of the cardinal: omissions, additions from and to the original text, translative pairs of parataxis, participles' analysis, the use of the litotes and several structural mutations occurred in the Latin translation. We also deal with the translator's marginal notes which are placed at the right side of each page and next to the quotation he wants to comment.

### **Keywords**

Bessarion, Demosthenes, Latin translation of Demosthenes' *first Olynthiacs speech*, post-byzantine Latinitas, anti-Turkish Crusade.

Ο Βασίλειος Α. Παππάς ολοκλήρωσε τη διδακτορική του διατριβή (*Η λατινομάθεια του Δημητρίου Δανιήλ Φιλιππίδη († 1832): οι μεταφράσεις του Τρόγου και του Φλώρου*) στο Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης ως υπότροφος του ΙΚΥ και με βραβείο αριστείας από την Επιτροπή ερευνών του ΑΠΘ. Τα επιστημονικά του ενδιαφέροντα εντάσσονται στον χώρο της μεταβυζαντινής λατινικής λογοτεχνίας, της νεολατινικής λογοτεχνίας και της λατινομάθειας των μεταβυζαντινών λογίων από τον 15<sup>ο</sup> έως τον 19<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα, ενώ έχει ασχοληθεί ενδελεχώς και με τη λεξικογραφία.

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## Ε Π Ι Μ Ε Τ Ρ Ο

### Η ΛΑΤΙΝΙΚΗ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΗ ΤΟΥ Α΄ ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΝ ΒΗΣΣΑΡΙΩΝΑ

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#### EIUSDEM AD EOSDEM PERVASIO EX AUCTORITATE DEMOSTHENIS

HAEC a nobis pro communi omnium salute disputata, utinam eo studio a vobis suscipiuntur, illustrissimi Italiae principes, quo a nobis dicta sunt. Et ita inhaereant animis vestris, atque persuadeant, ut nullis amplius adhortationibus, nullis que rationibus opus sit, sed re ipsa, et opera ad defensionem nostram, et hostium propulsatione excitemini. Quod tunc facilius fieri posse cogitavi, si consiliis meis vires aliquas adhiberem, et auctoritate alicuius viri excellentis ea plane confirmarem. Atque aliquem ex veteribus, et sapientia ornatissimum, et amplissimum auctoritate in medium adducerem, qui plane testaretur sese olim in tali causa, qualis nostra est, eadem cum sensisse, tum monuisse cives suos, quae a nobis, et apud Pontificem Maximum in senatu saepenumero disputata sunt. Et nunc litteris mandata. Venit autem in mentem Demosthenem philosophum excellentissimum, et oratorem adeo omni laude cumulatam, ut per tot saecula, quem cum eo conferas, exciterit nemo, in eadem incidisse tempora, eandem perorasse causam. Denique nihil habuisse, quod rei nostrae non conveniat, praeter nomina ||

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hominum sui temporis. Itaque cum huius et auctoritatem graviolem, et orationem magis appositam ad persuadendum existimarem quam verba mea, constitui, ut ipse dicat sententiam. Olynthus Thraciae urbs opulentissima erat. Philippus Alexandri Magni Macedonum Regis pater, cum in Graeciam universam impetum facere decrevisset, statuit ad eam rem attinere, ut Olynthum primo in ditionem redigeret. Movet arma in eam, depopulatur agrum, Olynthii legatos mittunt opem, imploratum ab Atheniensibus, Demosthenes suadet opitulandum esse, ne Philippus ad Graeciam occupandam animi infiniti, et vasti, Olyntho capta, Athenienses, ac reliquam Graeciam opprimat. Ita enim tum Graeciae Philippus Turci personam, Itali Atheniensium, nos Demosthenis, iam facile intelliges totum orationem causae nostrae convenire. ||

Demosthenis oratio proferenda ope Olynthiis adversus Philippum regem Macedonum.

[p. lv]



1. Grandi pecuniae vos profecto anteposituros arbitror Athenienses, si planum fiat, qui nam reipublicae utile futurum sit. Qua de re nunc a vobis deliberatur. Quod cum ita se habeat, vestrum est eos attente audire velle, qui sententiam dicere statuunt. Non solum enim si quis utile aliquid excogitatum in medium attulerit, id cum audieritis, accipietis. Verum etiam (quod vestra fortuna accidere existimo) multa opportuna nonnullis ex tempore in mentem venient dicenda, ut ex omnibus optio vobis detur eligendi, quod vobis sit usui futurum.

2. Enim vero praesens temporis occasio, voce prope modum emissa, rebus illis opitulandum esse inquit. Si quidem earum salus vobis curae est, nos vero nescio quo pacto ad haec videmur affecti. Quae autem ego agenda censeo, haec sunt. Auxilia statim de cernenda, ac instruenda quam celerrime, at hinc opem feratis, ne idem, quo olim patiamini,

[α] Audite Christiani principes Demosthenem philosophum, et oratorem iam tot saeculis mortuum de statu hostis vestri nunc disserentem eloquentissime monentem quid vos facere oporteat, ne in graviora dilabimini.

[p. lvi]

legatos mittendos, qui haec renuntient, et rebus gerendis intersint.

3. Etenim illud maxime verendum est, ne cum Philippus vafer, et ad negotia obeunda callidus sit, modo cedendo, cum res postulabit, modo interminando (dignus sane fide merito haberetur) modo vos, vestramque absentiam calumniis insectando, aliquid de summa rerum pervertat, atque convellat.

4. Atqui quod in rebus Philippi permunitum videtur, vix ut oppugnari possit, idem et nobis percommodum est. Nam quod ille rerum omnium, nulla excepta, solus dominus sit, imperator, quaestor, ubique suis copiis praesit, ad res quidem bellicas mature conficiendas, et omnia in tempore gerenda longo aliter se habet.

5. Neque enim Olynthiis obscurum est sese hoc tempore non de gloria, aut agri parte certare, sed pro excidio, pro servitute a patriae cernicibus depellenda.

[β] Nobis quoque non pro agri finibus, sed pro libertate, pro capite, pro patriae salute dimicandum est.

Neque ignorant quid in eos Amphipolitas egerit, qui ei patriam prodiderunt. Quid

in Pydnaeos, qui eum terra receperunt? Demum tyrannidem rem infidam, et suspectas liberis civitatibus esse existimo, praesertim si agros finitimos habeant.

[p. lvii]

6. Itaque et haec non ignorantes, et cuncta alia considerantes diligenter, dico vos oportere incitari velle, ||

belloque gerendo, si unquam nunc certe maxime excitari, incumbere, pecunias haud segniter conferendo, per vosmet exeundo nihil prorsus omittendo. Neque enim aut ratio, aut excusatio ulla vobis amplius relicta est, quin, quae agenda sunt, peragatis.

[γ] Dicit vos oportere et excitari, et incumbere bello perendo, si unquam nunc certe in primis. Docet non verbis, sed rebus opus esse.

7. Nam quod cuncti fremebatis quondam Olynthiorum animos Philippo infestos reddendos esse, ultro evenit, et sua se sponte obtulit. Atque id eo maxime modo, quo vobis conducit. Si enim vobis suadentibus bellum suscepissent, fidei sane dubiae habendi

[δ] Qui enim tergiversari amplius potestis Turco cervicibus vestris imminente?

essent socii, et ad aliquod usque tempus non semper id decrevisse fortasse viderentur. Cum vero iniuriis ab illo lacessitis odio hominem persequantur,

constantes eos inimicitias gesturos, cum propter metum, tum propter offensas verisimillimum est.

[p.lviii] **8.** Non est igitur oblata occasio praetermittenda, Athenienses. Neque potiendum quod superiori tempore saepenumero passi estis. Nam si cum olim rebus Euboicis auxiliati reversi sumus, et ad haec ipsa sub  
sellia Hierax, et Stratocles, Amphipolitae  
aderant hortantes,  
ut maritime apparatus profecti, urbem suam acciperemus, idem pro nobis ipsis  
studium praestitissemus, quod pro Euboicorum salute,

[ε] Si olim  
opitulati essemus  
Bizantio.

et tunc nimirum  
Amphipolis in ditionem nostram  
venisset, et nunc molestia omni  
careretis, quae inde secuta est.

[στ] Non egressus esset in  
Aegeum Turcus, non  
diruisset miseram  
Chalcidem, si  
cum Ciliciam,  
Misiam, Pannoniam  
inferiorem obsideri  
renunciatum est  
opem tulissemus.

**9.** Rursus si  
cum Pydnam, Methonem,  
Potydeam, Pagasas, reliqua,  
ne in singulis diutius immerer,  
obsideri afferebatur,  
alicui ex iis cito, et (utres postulabat) opem ferre aggressi essemus, faciliore  
profecto Philippo, et humiliore uteremur. At vero dum praesentes rerum  
occassiones abiicimus, dum futura prospere sua  
sponte eventura putamus, auximus Philippum nos  
ipsi Athenienses. Tantum que ipsum reddidimus,  
quantus nunquam rex Macedonum exitit  
nemo. Nunc autem sese exhibet occasio.  
Quenam, inquires? At rebus Olynthiacis  
sua sponte nostrae civitati, quae  
nulla in re primis illis inferior est.

[ζ] Audite principes,  
vobiscum loquitur.  
Dum enim  
negligitis oblatas  
occasiones hostis  
opprimendi, dum con-  
fidentis vobis languen-  
tibus rem prospere  
successuram, en quomodo  
auxistis Turcum. |

[p. lix] **10.** Equidem si quis res, quae nobis  
divinitus datae sunt, aequitate adhibita, supputare  
voluerit, quanquam plaeraque non satis commode accidisse videntur, tamen eum  
magnas diis gratias merito habiturum existimo. Quod enim multa bello amisimus,  
iure optimo desidiae nostrae ascriperis.

Quod autem et  
iam pridem id non passi  
fuerimus, et nuper societas  
nobis extiterit,  
quae superiora omnia resarcire valeat.

[η] Desidiae nostrae  
ascribas, quae ut maxime  
diuturna fuit, ita  
gravissimas  
pepercit calamitates.

Modo ea uti velimus, deorum immortalium benevolentiae erga nos acceptum referendum plane affirmaverim.

**11.** Verum hoc perinde esse abitor, atque in pecuniarum possessione contingere solet. Si enim quascunque quis acquisiverit, eas servet incolumes, ingentes habet fortunae gratias. [Sin vero incautius consumpsit, consumpsit etiam unam recordationem habendi fortunae gratias]. In rebus idem, qui occasione non recte usi sunt, ne commodi quidem, si quod deorum beneficio sunt consecuti, recordatur. Ex ultimo enim rerum eventu ante acta omnia plaerunque pensitari solent. Quam ob rem in reliquis valde prospiciendum est, ut eorum emendatione, superiorum factorum labem delemus.

[p. lx]	<p><b>12.</b> At si hos etiam homines perdiderimus Athenienses, et Olynthum praeterea Philippus occupaverit, demonstret mihi quispiam quid sit amplius impedimento futurum, quo minus, quo libido animi tulerit, contendat.</p>	<p><b>[θ]</b> Si pedem paulo alterius intulerit Turcus, quis te obsecro, prohibebit, quo minus in Italiam perveniat?</p>
	<p>An ne vestrum aliquis animadvertit, et rationem videt, qua Philippus cum initio pertenui in statu esset, repente magnus evasit? Amphipolim primo cepit, deinde Pydnam, iterum Potidaeam, rursum Methonem, demum in Thessaliam evasit, deinceps Pheras, Pagasas, Magnesiam.</p>	<p><b>[ι]</b> Byzantium primo, deinde Trapezuntem, Synopenses, Mityleneos Peleponesios, Misiam Ciliciam et reliqua.</p>
	<p><b>13.</b> Cunctis vero ut libuit constitutis, in Thraciam se contulit, ibi aliis eiectis regibus, aliis restitutis, adversa valetudine laboravit. Qua cum paululum levatus esset, non in segnitiem sese dedit, sed Olynthios statim adortus est. Non dico nunc de illius expeditionibus adversus Illyrios, Peonas, Arymbam, et in quancunque volueris provinciam. At quispiam inquiet, quid nobis ista commemoras?</p>	
[p. lxi]	<p><b>14.</b> Ut et cognoscatis Athenienses quantum detrimenti afferat, rem semper aliquam singulatim sine ve praeterlabi, et plane adversatis Philippi in rebus agendi</p>	<p><b>[κ]</b> Heu quantum detrimenti inde nobis manavit.</p>
	<p>studium acerrimum, et curam assiduam. Cum qua pariter vitam ducit. Ob quam rebus a se gestis minime    contentus. Deinceps fieri non poterit, ut in quiete permaneat. Quod si ille maius aliquid semper moliendum decreverit, vos contra nullam rem fortiter obeundam iudicaveritis, quem tandem rerum exitum sperare debemus?</p>	
	<p><b>15.</b> Proh deum fidem, quis vestrum adeo tardi ingenii est, et inconsulti, qui si neglexerimus, bellum huc conversum iri nesciat? Quod si evenerit, equidem vehementer timeo, ne veluti foenerati, qui facile ex magnis foenoribus brevi tempore in rerum copia versati, postremo bona omnia funditis amiserunt. Ita nos ignaviae dediti, et ad libidinem cuncta quaerentes, tandem vel inviti multa, et gravia subire cogamur. Et de iis, quae nostro in agro sunt periclitari.</p>	
[p. lxii]	<p><b>16.</b> Atqui reprehendere inquires, fortasse, et facile et cuiusvis est, sed de praesenti negotio quidnam agendum sit edocere, senatoris Ego vero etsi compertum habeo vos, cum praeter sententiam, et spem aliquid evenerit non mali auctoribus, sed iis, qui sententiam ultimo loco dixerint irasci solere, non tamen propter privatae securitatis</p>	<p><b>[λ]</b> Italiae non ne (proh dolor) vobis timendum est, ne dum alienam opem expectatis, dum in alios culpam, reiicitis, demum intra moenia, intra lare[s] domesticos non sine ingenti periculo, et libertate et capitis cum hoste proelium inire cogamini.</p>
	<p>rationem, mihi silentio praetereunda arbitror, quae vobis profutura existimo.</p>	
	<p><b>17.</b> Dico igitur vos bifariam rebus opitulari oportere, partim oppida, agrum que Olynthiorum tutando, emissis militibus qui id praestent. Partim</p>	<p><b>[μ]</b> Quid agendum sit, audite Christiani principes sapientissimum consilium.</p>

finēs Philippi cum terrestri exercitu, tum classe maritima incursionibus depopulando. Nam si alterum ultrum neglexeritis, vereor, ne tota expeditio frustra, temere que a vobis suscepta sit, [18.] sive enim vos illius agrum vastetis, id que interea sustineat, et Olynthum vi capiat, victor, in patriam reversus, facile iniurias ulciscetur, sive subsidia Olyntho duntaxat mittatis, ille finēs suos periculo carere animadvertens, acrius rem urgebit, temporis que diuturnitate obsessos, in potestatem rediget. Itaque et firma, et bipartita auxilia mittenda sunt.

**19.** Haec in ope ferenda fieri oportere statuo.

[p. lxiii] De facultatae vero pecuniae inveniendae, sunt vobis pecuniae militares, sunt vobis pecuniae Athenienses, et quidem tot, quot mortalium nemini. Eas autem vos ut licet, accipitis. Eas certe si militibus reddetis, nullae vobis desunt praeterea. Sin minus praeterea desunt, immo vero omnes penitus inveniendae sunt. Quid? Inquies. Refers ne tu ad senatum eas pecunias militares esse debere? minime mehercule.

[v] Pecuniae, de quibus verba facit, ex publico aerario populo distribuntur. Ac sanctum erat per legem capitis poena, nequis legem servet, ut in alium aliquem usum converterentur. Mira igitur eloquentiae ratione Demosthenes de iis obscure, et caute loquitur.

**20.** Ego vero milites instruendos esse censeo, et pecunias, quae iis subministrandae sunt, militares esse, mutuam que esse oportere praestare operam, et pecuniam accipere. Vos autem nescio quo pacto eas per ocium ad dies festos accipitis. Qua re video reliquum esse, ut cuncti pecunias in medium conferatis,

[ξ] Pecunias in publicum conferre vos oportet ad tanti belli apparatus.

si multis opus est, multas. Sin paucis, paucas. Enim vero pecuniis opus est, opus inquam est pecuniis, sine quibus nihil oppurtunam effici potest. Commemorant alii etiam alias comparandae pecuniae rationes. Ex quibus eam diligite, quam vobis conducere existimetis. Atque dum commodum est, rem aggredimini.

[p. lxiv] **21.** Sed est aequum considerare, ratione que colligere, quo in statu res Philippi hoc tempore versentur. Nam neque ut vel videntur, vel quispiam aestimaret, qui eas parum diligenter inspexisset, satis bello se habent. Neque eo pacto, quo se haberent, si optimo in statu essent. Nunquam sane arma movisset Philippus, si manum sibi conserendam putasset

[ο] Nunquam Turcus, si aliquem ad fauces Hellesponti hostem offensurum putasset in Aegeum erumpere, in Euboiam irruere ausus est.

|| sed ut initio ita deinceps faciles omnes prosperos que rerum eventus speravit. At ea deceptus est opinione, quod cum praeter expectationem primum acciderit, valde ipsum perturbat, non mediocremque eius animo solitudinem affert.

[π] Ita speravit Turcus, sed ipse nondum sua opinione deceptus est.

**22.** Accedunt res Thessalorum, quae cum semper infidae omnibus natura fuerint, maxime veluti erant nunc etiam isti sunt. Nam Pagasas ab eo repetere decrevisse debet, et Magnesium moenibus cingi prohibuerunt. Equidem ex quibusdam audivi, eos non amplius permissuros, ut vel portorii, vel fori redditus percipiat. Quod scilicet ex iis rem publicam Thessalorum administrari oporteat, non Philippo aliquid provenire. Quibus pecuniis si privatus fuerit, in maximam profecto alendi exercitus difficultatem adduceretur.

**23.** Denique Paeones, et Illyrici, ac omne alii eius cemodi, homines, suis legibus uti in libertate vivere libentius, quam servire velle existimandi sunt.

[ρ] De sociis Turci ita iudicandum. Nam et Cariae, Ciliciae que dominum

[p. lxv]	<p>Quippequi nunquam alteri parere consueverunt. Ac ille quidem (ut aiunt) valde contumeliosus est. Quod sane minime minime mirandum videtur. Nam feliciter agere praeter meritum, insaniendi causam dementibus praebet. Quam ob rem partuas opes tueri, quam initio eas quaerere plaerunque difficilius iudicatur.</p> <p><b>24.</b> Vestrae igitur partes sunt Athenienses, has temporum, illius difficultates, vestram ducere occasionem, statim que rem suscipere, et legatos mittendo quo mittenti sunt, et in militiam exeundo, et alios omnes hortando. Illud quaeso animis vestris parumper concipite, si Philippus talem adversus occasionem arripiat, iuxta que fines nostros bellum geratur, qua tandem animi alacritate eum huc impetum facturum putatis? At vos non pudet? Et quae paterimini, si ille posset, eadem cum facultas sit, inferre non audebetis ?</p>	<p>Caramanum, et alios multos infensos, habet. qui se spem erectam viderint, omni conatu et se in libertatem vindicabunt et, hostem ulciscuntur. valde est contumeliosus, et crudelis Turcus.</p>
[p. lxvi]	<p><b>25.</b> Neque vos lateat Athenienses vobis hodie statuendum esse, ultrum illic vos an ille hic bellum gesturus sit. Si enim res Olynthiorum resistant, vos illic belligerabitis, et illius agrum damno afficietis simul agri vestri fructus secure percipietis.</p> <p><b>26.</b> At si Philippus regionem illam occupaverit, quis enim tandem, quominus huc perveniat, acerbit? Thebani? At quod nolim nimis acerbe dicyum videri, una etiam ipsi paratissime irrupent, Phocenses? Scilicet qui se domi tueri nequent, nisi vos, alius ve opituletur. At (inquies) nolet fortasse, absurdissimum sane fuerit, si quae quamvis amentiae arguatur, tamen iactare non desistit, ea ipsa cum demum possit efficere, nolit.</p> <p><b>27.</b> Porro quantum intersit bellum ne hic, an illic geratur, equidem nec verbis opus esse arbitror. Nam si</p>	<p>[σ] Ita bellum suscipiendum, ut vos prius exeatis, vestro que exemplo exteras vires provocetis. Neque sperandum est, ut exteri, et alieni nobis opitulentur, nisi nos primum rebus nostris feramus opem. Nam (ut est in proverbio perveteri a Romanis usurpato) Deus adiuvat facientes.</p>
	<p>[τ] O nos languidos, o segnes. Ille servitutem, exilia, caedem ostendat nobis, ac denunciat. Et nos sedemus, non expergiscimur, non imus in aciem? non ne plane perspicimus in nostra nunc esse potestate, illic ne nos, an ille hic bellum gerat? Non est cunctandum cunctandum, non dormiendum diutius.</p>	
	<p>[υ] Tum demum sentietis, cum experiemini, quantum intersit.</p>	
	<p>triginta duntaxat diebus nos in castra morari necesse fuerit, et quaecunque ad usum exercitus necessaria sunt, ex agro vestro percipere, nullo inquam prorsus hoste in agro versante, plus sane detrimenti agrorum dominos inde capturos existimo, quam omni ailla essent, quae in superioris belli apparatus consumpta fuissent. Quod si bellum aliquod....quanta vos obsecro, iactura resurans [res vestras] affectum iri putatis? Accedet contumelia, et rei turpitude, quam nemo sapiens ullo damno</p>	<p>[φ] Divites accipite et verba,</p>

[p. lxvii]

leviorem duxerit. et consilium Demosthenis,  
**28.** Itaque his omnibus consideratis, cuncti opitulari, ut paucis erogatis,  
et totam belli molem illuc reliquis libere fruamini.  
convertere debent locupletiores, ut pro multis, quae recte possident, paucis erogatis,  
reliquis libere, et securius fruantur. Iuvenes vero, ut rei militaris disciplina in  
Philippi agro eruditi, ad rem suam familiarem incolumen tutandam formidolosi  
custodes efficiantur. Denique oratores ut rerum a se gestarum rationes facilius  
reddere possint, qualis etenim fuerit rerum vestrarum eruditio, tales in eos iudices  
futuri estis. Omnium vero gratia vobis bene, ac feliciter evenire opto.

FINIS.

[p. lxviii]

Hoc est Italiae principes summi illius, ac sapientissimi viri Demosthenis consilium  
non alienum a nostro. Illius sententia, quam simillima nostrae. Nec Atheniensibus  
solum adversus Philippum Macedonem, sed omnibus Italiae populis, sed universis  
Christianis adversus Turcorum tyrannum, nostrae religionis truculentissimum  
hostem, praedicere haec, proponere que videtur. Conditioni praesentis || temporis  
que loquitur, accomodata sunt omnia, et ad hunc, quem cernimus, rerum statum  
mirifice quadrant. Sequamur igitur tanti viri consilium, qui cum in omni doctrinae  
genere, tum vel maxime in civilis disciplinae scientia, et fuit, et ab omnibus merito  
habitus est excellens. In communis hostis excidium insurgamus. Commune  
existimemus imminere periculum, commune bellum aggrediamur. Non ignave, non  
lente, non parce, non, ut fieri cum de re aliena certatur, consuevit, quemadmodum  
hactenus factum est, sed fortiter, sed celeriter, sed liberaliter, sed (ut fieri in proprio  
discrimine mos est) tantum quisque in hac re conferat principes Christiani, quantum  
pro salute imperii sui quoties res exegit, non dubitavit effundere. Et quantum  
diligenti ratione habita, uniuscuiusque vires, et facultates potiuntur. Non unius,  
alterius ve hoc opus est, hostem habemus fortissimum, potentissimum, acerrimum,  
cervicibus nostris imminemem. Satis, super que negotii omnibus simul erit. Sed nec  
exterae Christianorum gentes nobis ipsis non deesse, aderunt, favebunt, suppetias  
ferent. Neque nos deferet favator noster Christus Jesus, sed audiet nos, atque  
exaudiet, modo nos viderit digne ea, quae decet, facientes, opem suam implorere.

[p. lxix]

Nam (ut praeclare alibi Demosthenes inquit) non modo Deus, sed ne amicus  
quidem rogandus est. Ut dormitanti cuiquam, aut desidi praesidio || sit. Enim vero  
si haec, quae diximus, faciemus, non modo tutari, quae supersunt, sed etiam quae  
perdita sunt recuperare, coelesti praesidio poterimus. Alioquin magno discrimini  
res Italas exponemus. Et ut cum ea disiunctiva orationem terminem, qua  
superioribus diebus audita tum primum Chalcidis obsidione, in pontificio senatu  
usus fui. Aut omnis Italia compositis, ac pacatis rebus, et omni simultate deposita,  
omnium viribus in unum collatis, Deo Optimo Maximo duce, Turcorum vires  
content, atque infringet. Aut si quod duo de viginti iam annis post Bizantii  
excidium experti sumus, inanibus duntaxat verbis, ac vanis pollicitationibus  
vacabimus, brevi tempore universa Italia, sed compesco labellum, nec id exprimam  
quod auditu quoque dirum, atque horribile est. Quare, ut gravissima declinemus  
pericula, atque optatam victoriam consequamur, vos omnes principes, populi que  
Christiani, ut omni ad id studio incumbitis quantis maximis possum precibus oro,  
atque obtestor.

FINIS.

## Pasquale Natella

### La dieta mediterranea. Un'introduzione storica fra medioevo ed età contemporanea

#### Premessa.

L'aggettivo *mediterraneo* da me usato non è omaggio ad una locuzione giornalistica invalsa dopo il trasferimento nel 1976 a Pioppi di Ancel Keys e dopo la pubblicazione, insieme con la moglie Margaret, del suo libro<sup>1</sup> – in anni recenti Antonio Vacca ha ripreso l'argomento di giusto segnalando come sia il gran parlare attorno alla dieta in oggetto che spesso ingenera o confusione di apprendimento medico oppure genericità di attribuzioni. Già alcuni medici italiani avevano intravisto il problema dei grassi alimentari (Flaminio Fidanza, Gino Bergami, Arrigo Poppi, Teodoro Pòsteli, Alfonso Del Vecchio, Vittorio Puddu, regolarmente ricordati dai due Aa. nel 1958 quando risiedevano a Tucepi in Jugoslavia). Lo attualizzo, invece, per rifarsi alla tradizione di opere culinarie espressamente inserite dai curatori nel termine complessivo di *meridionale*<sup>2</sup> e si potrebbe quasi esser autorizzati a valutarlo *mediterraneo* anche perché le preparazioni vanno poste in rapporto con scritti toscani e romani. Esse ricevono palmari conferme da altri ricettari pubblicati e da ricerche archeologiche. Col riferirsi all'eredità culinaria sveva, e in particolare federiciana (1230-1250) il *Liber* [Libro di cucina] abbraccia buona parte di

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<sup>1</sup> A. e M. Keys, *Mangiar bene e stare bene (con la dieta mediterranea)*, Padova 1962 [rist. 2009]. Tradotto da A. Fidanza e V. Poppi sulla II.a edizione inglese, *Eat well and stay well. The mediterranean way* contenne una prefazione all'edizione americana di P. D. White datata da Herakleion, Ottobre 1957. Editto poi nel 1959 dalla Doubleday di New York, il titolo italiano presentò la seconda parte fra parentesi e accompagnata da una preposizione (*con la dieta mediterranea*), a mio parere non confacente all'originario, che è invece essenziale (*la via mediterranea*), non legato ad episodicità di cronaca, come spesso piace agli editori per cavalcare la notizia. La scrittura principale, fra l'altro, credo sia evidente riprova della cultura attiva e militante di Keys, che volle far capire evidentemente ai suoi connazionali che c'era un'altra via da percorrere ora che la grande Depressione del 1929-30 era superata e gli americani ritornavano a consumare: di contro alla *American way* [of life, work, culture etc.] c'era una *Mediterranean way*.

<sup>2</sup> Il testo base dell'insieme dei vari codici (della Biblioteca Vaticana e di quella Nazionale di Parigi) di cui rendo conto è reperibile in A. Martellotti, *I ricettari di Federico II. Dal "Meridionale" al "Liber de coquina"*, Firenze 2005; Anna Martellotti vi riunisce il *Liber de coquina* e il *Tractatus de modo preparandi et condiendi omnia cibaria*, testi francesi e italiani di periodo prototrecentesco e dedicati al re Carlo II d'Angiò fra il 1305 e il 1309, ove si compendiarono pure ricette eseguite per il chirurgo del re di Francia Filippo IV il Bello del 1308-1314. La coesistenza binazionale si spiega con la circostanza che l'alta nobiltà francese preferiva in prevalenza la cucina meridionale italiana, scelta che si indirizzava nel corso dei secoli verso la possibilità di gestire una sana alimentazione insita in una ancora sconosciuta dieta. Come capita, infatti, non sempre o quasi mai ci si poneva il problema, nei repertori, di chiarire quantità di cibo in base ai grassi ma al massimo si preferiva indicare, come per il biancomangiare, i tempi canonici del riposo digestivo in occasione di particolari evenienze. Solo la cultura medica di Keys scoprì, alla metà del Millenovecento, la valutazione d'un vero e proprio sistema di vita, poi finito in mano alle piatte scritture di mestieranti storici. La posizione di *meridionalità* di tale sistema, invece, era stata ben intuita (A. Vacca, *La dieta meridionale, ovvero quello che avremmo voluto sapere sulla cosiddetta "dieta mediterranea"*, Battipaglia [SA] 1999, p. 17, e id., *Fu vera dieta? La Waterloo del 'popolo mediterraneo' ed il 'CongressodiVienna' della Cucina unica*, Eboli 2012, p. 28), e forse la dieta si sarebbe potuto denominare come *cilentana* se non ostasse la scarsa cognizione di tale aggettivo topografico in bocca a lettori lontani dall'Italia.

un'alimentazione fatta di erba, carne animale [bianca e rossa], frutta, liquidi e riuscì a imporsi nelle classi agiate. E' chiaro che nell'esser codice scritto per le Corti e per personaggi di rilievo (imperatori, re, principi) dobbiamo mentalmente depurarlo di ogni confezione speciale o superiore per attenerci ad alimenti correnti cui in seguito s'è preferito accordare il termine di "poveri". La cucina popolare non è che consistesse in cibi separati, bassi e infimi ma constava più o meno – dicono Flandrin, Montanari – dei medesimi ingredienti, consumati lontani da aggiunte introvabili e costose, come spezie e odori (zafferano, e simili). Senza operar distinzioni – alla Cavalcanti o alla Artusi – di precedenze ristorative si constata come il ricettario si riferisse, appunto, ad erbario-carni di cui ogni famiglia si sarebbe potuto trovar in possesso, ed appare evidente come il tutto sia continuato nella cucina tradizionale cilentana e suditaliana.

*Erbario. Frutta.*

È facile trovarsi di fronte alle fave, alimento molto attivo soprattutto in età moderna e contemporanea quando il suo smodato consumo portò all'insorgenza della pellagra. Il confezionatore medievale del 1305-1314 consigliò:

“Affare favi novelle fa bollire  
le favi et gietta via l'acqua et  
retornale ad bollire con lacte de  
pecora o de capra et con lacte de  
agmandule .... et sopra puni ova  
desbactute...”<sup>3</sup>.

Come si vede, entrano in mezzo frutta comune e prodotti di carni minori, capre e pecore, le cui greggi inondavano i territori fin nelle periferie delle città europee, e transitanti sulle grandi autostrade qual erano i tratturi, rimasti (a S de L'Aquila, in particolare) indelebili, polverosi e fangosi dal momento che anche la più piccola traccia di radicum è scomparsa. Un altro metodo concerneva le fave tagliate. Dopo buttata la prima acqua:

“ ... Mictete in uno altro vasciello con poca  
acqua... et mictice radici de petrosimulo et  
voltale spisso senza cucchiaro ... et sopra  
puni mele et olio fricto con cipolle...”<sup>4</sup>.

Quando poté, la cucina contadina si servì della frittura dell'olio per rendere gustabili alimenti insapori. Altra verdura, i cavoli, subiva un andamento più o meno simile, al vaglio d'una confezione veloce. Le erbe, le foglie non erano state descritte da alcuno a livello popolare e se ne mangiava senza tener conto di ciò che contenessero e di quanto s'è saputo nel corso dell'evoluzione della medicina. Leggiamo un passo contemporaneo, datato anni Ottanta del Novecento, ma messo in proprio dall'Ottocento, e prima, ove la dieta mediterranea è nel suo pieno sviluppo:

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<sup>3</sup> *agmandule*, mandorle. I testi del codice *meridionale* sono al 99 % in volgare.

<sup>4</sup> *vasciello*, dialetto di *vascello*, piccolo contenitore; *petrosimulo*, prezzemolo.



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“... Ordinariamente la popolazione si nutriva di verza, cicoria, cardo, lattuga, finocchio, polenta di granone, fagioli, fave, ceci e doliche, con condimento di olio, il pane a grano e granone con un impasto interno di orzo, avena, castagne, segala. La carne era pollo, coniglio, capra o pecora. La frutta non si vendeva ma si consumava, l'unica che si vendeva erano le ciliegie. Si maneggiava poco danaro e funzionava quasi sempre il baratto”<sup>5</sup>.

Delle foglie si conobbe nei cinque sei secoli successivi il valore per il numero di vitamine, soprattutto dello sviluppo, della crescita e della resistenza individuale, accompagnate dalla frutta tant'è che gli acidi e i relativi sali contenuti nelle verdure e negli ortaggi acquistarono un'alta importanza organica, quella di regolare l'equilibrio acido-basico dei nostri tessuti; inoltre frutta e verdura disintossicano l'organismo, fustigano un'eccessiva nutrizione e intensificano la combustione e l'eliminazione delle scorie dell'organismo, e nel succo, in specie di uva, trovano un siero alcalino, nutritivo e assimilabile<sup>6</sup>.

I detti cavoli bianchi ben cotti, e le verdure passavano al vaglio della manipolazione in diversi modi, e per i primi si prevede:

“... Troncali nel tenero de la cima  
e quando bolle la pentola con oglio  
et aqua gittavi dentro i torsi e  
mettivi del biancho de finocchi”<sup>7</sup>,

e le verdure minute camminavano associate, come può riscontrarsi in altra provvista:

“... Togli spinaci e biette,  
scieglile bene et fà bollire,  
poi battile col coltello, poi  
togli petroselli, finocchi,  
aneti, cipolle et battile  
et tritale col coltello”<sup>8</sup>.

Dell'erbario alimentare si era in grado nel Trecento di diversificare il gusto menandolo al forte, o al semipiccante tanto da imbandire un magro molto più

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<sup>5</sup> C.I. Pazzanese, *Usi e costumi a Roccadaspide*, in *Cilento a occhio nudo*, ediz. M. Vassalluzzo, Roccapiemonte [SA] 1987, pp. 93-94.

<sup>6</sup> G. Tallarico, *La vita degli alimenti*, Firenze 1938, pp. 219, 233-234.

<sup>7</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 202. Variante: con i finocchi possono aggiungersi *pome* (pomi – evidente la trasposizione dal franc. *pommes*) tagliati, cioè pezzi di frutta (mele, pere).

<sup>8</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 205. *biette*, bietole; *petroselli*, di nuovo prezzemolo. Dell'aneto la Scuola Medica Salernitana prescrisse una proprietà antitumorale.

accettabile, eseguito sotto forma di salsa su pane (per esser scortata da ingestioni del potto rosso):

“... Affare salsa verde tolli  
petrosimuli, menta, cardamomi,  
nuci, pepe, et pista forte in mortale  
et giugnice poca de molglica de pane  
et poi micti agli se tu n’ay et  
destempera con bono acito”<sup>9</sup>.

*Leguminacee.*

Sempre nella prospettiva di variazioni, per gustare almeno con qualche sapore andavan seguiti, fra i legumi, *in primis*, i fagioli – pasto essenziale e irrinunciabile della dieta italiana –, le lenticchie, i ceci:

“... Togli le lenti bene lavate  
e poni a cuocere con herbe odorifere,  
oglio, sale, e quando saranno  
cotte tritale bene e messovi su ova  
debattute e cascio seccho tagliato dà  
mangiare”<sup>10</sup>.

Le lenticchie si servono condite in varie maniere ma l’indirizzo poco su espresso riceve conferma da questo approntamento, scelto per aumentare il fabbisogno con formaggio *secco*, di certo ricotta salata dura. Se non funzionante con semplicità, la cucina dei ceci sta nell’uguale prospettiva ma più elaborata come si rileva dal seguente passo, ed essi supplirono da primi “diversi”:

“... De guanti cioè ravioli di ceci. Togli  
ceci bianchi beni moli in l’acqua,  
lessali bene, poi cavati de l’acqua  
tritali forte e mestali con  
la dicta acqua e colali  
e di quella acqua colata distempera  
la farina come tu vorrai  
e friggasi a lento fuoco  
con oglio e mettivi su del mele”.

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<sup>9</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 250. Dai semi del *cardamòmo* si estrae olio per dolci, ma puro serve anche come digestivo. *mortale*, mortaio di pietra per tritare alimenti.

<sup>10</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 215; per i predetti ravioli di ceci, ead., p. 253. I legumi sono “... il tesoro da dispensa più a buon mercato per le popolazioni rurali” (Vacca, op. cit., p. 12) e appaiono in contrasto con questa parte del codice *meridionale* che innestava, dopo il sale, lo *ç[z]afferano*, croco, raro o quasi mai presente nei terreni medievali salernitani com’era un tempo in età greco-romana quando al di là della cucina si adoperava qual mitigante della libidine. Non crediamo che vi facesse ricorso un nobile cilentano, il Del Mercato (v. oltre) che fra i modi di sano comportamento della propria esistenza scrisse di tenersi alquanto lontano dal ripetuto coito.

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Quest'agrodolce finale sta in linea e il preparato ben concepito ovverosia ravioli non contenenti ricotta o carne (di sicuro la confezione o non era prevista o non si conosceva) comportò triti di legumi, per principio poco interessanti se non fritti. Di rilievo, fra l'altro, il nome dato ai contenitori, *guanti*, e a ben pensarci tali sono, dita cilindriche-quadrate, un disegno geometrico che ritorna, sotto altra veste, per le paste alimentari. E va detto che nel '600 nella sua *Piazza Universale* Tomaso Garzoni dopo aver elencato queste ultime ("... gnocchi, maccheroni, lasagne, vermicelli") fa il nome di "...guanti, torte, reticelle", e per la vicinanza dei termini è inteso che si tratta di recipienti pastari tondi, forse non sapendo che erano, in effetti, in base al *Liber*, sinonimi di ravioli.

### *Brodi. Zuppe.*

A dimostrazione di alcuni composti leggeri o non necessariamente carnosì sovvenivano le zuppe. E' il caso di citare un brodo chiamato *alla tedesca*. S'inquadra in una nozionistica cibaria parecchio diffusa, come mostra uno scrittore protototocentesco:

"... Quanto più si va avanzando verso il Nord maggiormente diviene il bisogno e diremo quasi la necessità di un nutrimento animale. Sotto ai Tropici... dove le sostanze animali ripugnano cresce il riso, le patate e nella zona dove cresce il frumento troviamo il glutine dotato delle proprietà istesse delle

sostanze

animali perché fornisce come quelle azoto e ammoniaca, e con la castagna si ha l'albumina"<sup>11</sup>.

Nel Trecento si rispondeva così circa il detto liquido:

"... Affare brodo todescho tolli galline o capuni grassi et lexa bene et mictice petrosimuli ben tagliati con coltello. Tolli altri petrosimuli, menta, maiurana, trasmarrino et salvia et trita in mortale forte et destempera collo dicto brodo et fa poco bollire"<sup>12</sup>.

Può notarsi che se si ragiona in base allo Chatelet avremmo dovuto leggere di suini, lardo, e tuttavia la varietà era anche lì apprezzata, se di là il genere sia effettivamente provenuto. Di contro una composizione parecchio rinomata fu il *brodo saracinesco*:

"... Affare brudo saracinescho tolli capuni rostiti, et li fecati delli capuni con spetie et pane abbrusciato, trita in mortaro et destempera con bono vino

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<sup>11</sup> P. du Chatelet – A. Trèbuchet, *Alimenti*, in *Nuovo dizionario tecnologico di arti e mestieri*, ediz. Lenormand, Payen e altri, XV, Venezia 1835, pp. 250-254. Il *Nuovo dizionario italiano* era la traduzione d'un'opera francese d'ugual titolo dovuta a scrittori che presero spunto dalla *Encyclopédie* degli Illuministi per aggiornare le conoscenze nel campo dei mestieri. La versione italiana superò fra sezione generale e voci analitiche i quaranta volumi, avanguardia di enciclopedie successivamente assunte da grossi editori come Pomba o Sonzogno.

<sup>12</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 219. *trasmarrino*, rosmarino.

et desmembra li detti capuni et mictili  
a bollire colle dicte cose in una olla”<sup>13</sup>.

È presumibile che, allora, nelle nostre povere campagne tale pasto si considerasse eccezionale, forse per occasioni speciali (matrimoni, feste). Vedemmo sopra i tipi di alimentazione, e vi si possono aggiungere poche novità ricavabili dal contesto recente, almeno per le zone esaminate da Keys ove son prevalenti le tagliatelle di casa con formaggio di capra, che si cuociono pure con fagioli, patate e verdure o cavoli. In età contemporanea di Sabato e Domenica era favorita una portata di tagliatelle con legumi, da accompagnare – nelle stagioni di maturazione – alla *ciauledda*, fatta di peperoni, patate, zucca e cipolle da bollire in acqua e olio. Oltre che uccelli al tegame, si preferiva la polenta, da preparare con calma, lentezza tanto che valeva il detto: “ Deve cuocere per il tempo che il prete impiega a celebrare una messa cantata”<sup>14</sup>.

Alle *spetie* indicate i ricconi univano zafferano, datteri, uva greca e  $\zeta$ [z]uccaro, niente di più lontano da una cucina popolare, ove la regola dei brodi fra XVIII e XIX secolo seguiva varia trafila:

“... Riesce opportuno il quotidiano uso delle zuppe economiche essendo di risparmio e di nutrimento. Si badi che le zuppe sien brodose. Quel principio acquoso più di ogni altro contribuisce al soddisfacimento dell'appetito e restaurazione delle forze. Allorché subisce ne' visceri la digestione si scompone in idrogeno ed ossigeno i quali costituiscono una parte del nutrimento”<sup>15</sup>.

Al desolante ritratto dobbiamo credere in quanto che lo riporta un cilentano purosangue, Filippo Rizzi, Giudice Civile e Criminale, opportunista politico che passava dai Francesi ai Borbonici, certo senza problemi di sussistenza, lui, e nel suo piccolo credeva d'interpretare gli impegni francorivoluzionari nel porger quest'inno del concreto saziarsi di aria e acqua, tal essendo il suo pensieruccio. Immaginatoci le conseguenze dell'ordine di idee ed, eventualmente, di conduzione continuata in mancanza di proteine e forza per chi lasciava casa di prima mattina al canto del gallo per sfacchinarsi a piedi o a dorso di mulo chilometri di sentieri ai fini di raggiungere lontani pezzetti di terreno arabile.

Una relativa presenza di verdure dava principio al *brodo yspanic*, molto diffuso nel Meridione d'Italia:

“... Altramente a spagnuola si fa brodo verde. Tolli  
ucelli, fegatelli, lessali bene con bone spetie e  
herbe verdi pestate et poi agiontovi ova dibattute  
polle nel dicto brodo de la detta carne e bollano. Il

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<sup>13</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 220. *olla*, grosso recipiente in cotto, di origine semitico-greca, pignatta, pentola. Il nome *saracinesco* rinvia di sicuro a composizione siciliana araba, e agli inizi il cappone dovè esser ucciso all'uso islamico, con la testa rivolta verso la Mecca.

<sup>14</sup> F. Dentoni Litta, *Antiche tradizioni del Cilento*, Acciaròli [SA] 1986, pp. 137-146; Keys, op. cit., p. 280, parla di un'ora di cottura dopo che la polenta s'era addensata – egli, inoltre, al consumo apponendo olio, cipolle, aglio, pomodori pelati e gamberetti ne ricavava al massimo un 28 g. di grassi finali.

<sup>15</sup> F. Rizzi, *Dissertazione sull'impiego de' poveri*, Napoli 1806, p. 57. Per le zuppe v. anche Z. Ciuffoletti, “Alla ricerca della dieta mediterranea: una storia italiana”, *Rivista di Storia dell'Agricoltura* XLI, n. 2 (2001) 49-57.

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brodo non de' essere spesso"<sup>16</sup>.

*Carni. Castrato.*

Compaiono – ma già in altri piatti – i volatili ma prima di affrontarli credo convenga parlare d'uno dei grossi o medi apportatori proteïnici, come l'agnello adulto ( le pecore, i cervidi, le capre formano un bestiario primario di ogni cucina meridionale dal Portogallo all'Afganistan che, se seguito oggi in preparati massicci, durevoli, credo apporterebbe gran contributo per la risoluzione di problemi di colesterolo e obesità). Nel Trecento era presso che norma:

“Togli spalla di castrone e leva la carne da l'osso e tritale e battile col coltello su la taola. E prendi erbe odorifere in buona quantità peste, e mesta colla dictta carne. giongivi cacio fresco ben pesto in bona quantità. Poi pollo sulla graticola del ferro e arostilo sí che basti e dà a mangiare"<sup>17</sup>.

E ancora:

“... Affare salsa bianca per carne de castrato tolli agresta et tritala. Tolti lo suco et salvo. Tolti poco de algli et agmandule mondate et tritale et pista queste cose in mortale e destempera con agresta"<sup>18</sup>.

Il secondo piatto appartiene di certo a confezioni speciali – se ne vede l'applicazione di Giugno-Luglio per l'uva acerba, non specificata se da tritare a livello di vinacciolo, e per il composto di mandorla, un tocco di levità per assorbire il sapore acre della salsa sul castrato. Dedotto il grasso e ogni altro legamento l'agnello ha bassi indici di grassi saturi, calcolati<sup>19</sup> da 7 a 12 valori percentuali medi (coscia, costato e spalla semigrassi).

*Carni. Gallinacei.*

Molto diffusa la gallina (nelle mense superagiate il consumo – come si vedrà oltre – ne era considerevole):

“... Togli caponi o galline e lessali e postovi dentro spetie et erbe tolli tuorla d'ova col brodo e mesta e debatti nel catino, poi bollano insieme fine che 'l brodo diventa graneloso. E così fa di tutti gli ucelli"<sup>20</sup>.

S'è visto avanti che i primi incidevano essenzialmente su legumi e zuppe, e a settimana o per occasioni (ricorrenze, feste patronali) la gallina cotta seguiva più o meno la ricetta, con addizione di interiora. Essa poteva associarsi a rara carne di suino, macellata sempre di Gennaio-Febraio, ma il prodotto era veramente insolito:

<sup>16</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 221.

<sup>17</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 239. *castrone*, castrato.

<sup>18</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 249. *agresta*, erba amara o succedaneo simile ( cicoria, pezzi di mela verde, uva non ancora giunta a piena maturazione; parola passata tal quale in dialetto).

<sup>19</sup> Keys, op. cit., p. 320.

<sup>20</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 216.

“... Distemperisi col bruodo de la carne del porco e colinse e cochansi con li detti polli. E spessesi il brudo colle tuorla d’ova. E quando sarà presso l’ora del ministrare metti in quello succhio de lemmonni o di lomie o di cetrangule”<sup>21</sup>.

Il preparato si chiamò *limonia de polli*, praticamente sconosciuto alla cucina popolare cilentana. Lo stare accanto al limone (varietà chiamata *della Costiera amalfitana*) e all’arancia amara (*cetrangule*) della *lomìa* fa capire che il pasto era di origine siciliana – la *lumìa*, infatti, non è diverso dal limone continentale, e però ha grossa scorza con prominenze e non molto sugo.

*Riso.*

Sarebbe stato più semplice, per i gusti necessariamente spartani dei meridionali, dedicarsi al riso:

“... Lava il riso e sciugalo e fanne farina et cernila con setaccio o stamigna, poi distempera la dicta farina del riso con lacte di capre o di pecora e metti a bollire in una pentola ben lavata [con] le poite della gallina lexa”<sup>22</sup>.

È ricetta tipo del *biancomangiare*, ma con varianti, che di lì a due-tre secoli avrebbero insieme col pomodoro risolto tutte le ricerche di condimento, qui collegato a esiti di ovino. Si preferiva consumare il prodotto con pezzi di gallina, massima proteina (20 per cento di valore medio; 3 di grassi saturi !) consentita per star leggeri e far funzionare la portata. Il continuo ritorno della gallina rinvia all’allevamento, o al brado, da cortile (conigli, lepri, maiali, volatili di ogni specie) diffusissimo fra campagna, orti cittadini e pezzi di terreno fra le piazze, gli stambugi, le corti urbane. Un’annotazione non peregrina: occorsero, dopo l’Unità d’Italia, varie leggi e deliberazioni Municipali per separare la bestia da stazzo e la macellazione dalla necessità dell’igiene, sia puramente medica che urbanistica. E trovandoci nella nostra regione non c’è bisogno di ricorrere a esemplificazioni di altri luoghi poiché abbiamo casi considerevoli. A Salerno dal 1860 al 1879-80 ricostruì come i bisogni fisiologici fossero fatti sui marciapiedi e in seguito consentiti lungo la discarica a mare; per tutta la lunghezza dell’attuale via Roma s’aprivano bassi con stazzi all’aperto per la conduzione dei suini e il conseguente macello. Ad Amalfi nel 1871 i pesci venivano svuotati e salati sulla pubblica via, le interiora buttate a mare; in pieno centro una saponiera lavorava grasso animale con acque reflue riversate nelle piazze e nei vicoli, modi che - fu scritto - “... non offendevano la pubblica salute” (sic !). A Pogèrola l’editto di Saint-Cloud non ancora valeva al 1887 e nelle chiese da 32 anni si seppelliva col pericolo di “... causare epidemie in tempo della calda stagione”. Il massimo era raggiunto ad Eboli giacché ancora nel 1929 in pieno centro si trovavano sei-sette recinti per capre e pecore lungo le strade e le poche piazze, con un “... fetore

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<sup>21</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 222. *colinse*, lat. *coleo*, il classico “si lavorino” dei cuochi; *cochansi*, lat. *coqueo*, “si cucinino”; *spessesi*, lat. *spisso*, restringere, “si addensano”.

<sup>22</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 225. *stamigna*, staccio di fili radi; *poita*, variante di latino medievale *pecia*, *pectia*, pezzo, porzione.

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enorme" e si dové solo alla sapiente politica sindacale di Alfonso Menna se scomparvero di lì a non molto<sup>23</sup>.

#### *Latte.*

Parte della famiglia, quando non consumato al naturale il latte si adoperò pure per cibo da scadenza, potremmo dire, o da farcire, o da pasticcio, cioè vivanda entro un involto di pasta (frolla). È composizione rimasta presso che intatta dal XIV secolo:

"... Del coppo di lacte caprino o pecorino. Togli la farina bianca, distemperala e fa lla pasta per lo coppo a modo di berreta e poni nei testi sí che sia forte. Poi togli lacte con ova dibattute e metti nella forma e cocilo competentemente e puoi rompere l'ova sane con esso che si cocano nel lacte"<sup>24</sup>.

Oggi per mantenere attivo il preparato abbiamo il burro. Nelle case meridionali si sarebbe potuto trovare il butirro, ma si considerava abbastanza raro (v. oltre) e, in genere, era immesso con somma maestria dai caciari nelle caciotte (*burrini*). Ben lavorato, il coppo serviva allo scopo. Esso era a forma di berretta, al femm., cioè quei copricapo larghi e alti immortalati dalla pittura tardogotica e protorinascimentale, veri e propri contenitori flosci che, ad acqua evaporata dopo la cottura, consentivano, una volta asciugati e semirigidi, la immissione di latte e uova già sbattute (oppure da mettere all'impronta). Per giungere ad una corretta esposizione il coppo era posizionato sui *testi*, coperchi di pentolame, alcuni dei quali sono incavati in modo da regger bene il disposto – essi, usatissimi nella cucina popolare, sono diretta emanazione corrente, dialett. *tiaste*, del lat. *testa*, derivante da lemma accadico *ṭiddum*, argilla, coccio.

#### *Pesce.*

Corrente nelle marine cilentane, il cibo non è che viaggiasse molto negli interni ove, in presenza di fiumi, laghetti o pozze se ne trovava di inferiore, lucci e trote, per i quali sarebbe potuta valere una cucina semigrave, come da ricette del genere:

"... Togli buono vino e un poco d'aceto e scuma et bolla insieme poi mettivi il pescio a cocere e cotto cavalo et il vino tutto bolla che torni al terço. Poi mettime alloro e spetie fine e fà riscaldare il pesce e cola il vino e lassa raffreddare il pesce"<sup>25</sup>.

Questa specie di gelatina – così chiamata nel codice trecentesco – è l'attuale composizione leggera di sarde o alici o lacerti in bianco, con la differenza che l'aceto

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<sup>23</sup> Per gli episodi P. Natella, "Salerno e provincia 1860-1900. L'ambiente, il volto urbano, le arti", in D. Cosimato – P. Natella – D. Dente, *La provincia di Salerno dal 1860 alla fine del secolo XIX. Società e scuole*, Napoli 1977, p. 147, e id., *Storia del turismo italiano. La Costiera amalfitana*, Amalfi 2009, pp. 63, 67. Per Eboli G. Giordano, *Cent'anni a Salerno. Incontro-intervista con Alfonso Menna*, Napoli 1988, pp. 24-26.

<sup>24</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., pp. 251-252. *testi*, coperchi di pentole, di cotto o di ferro.

<sup>25</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 257. Togliere dalla padella *la terza parte* del vino.

si pone al naturale quale degustante. L'animale vien trattato dal *Liber* in specie per esemplari superiori – lamprede, orate, seppie sminuzzate, testuggini – ma la grande quantità di spazio<sup>26</sup> ad esso dedicato mi fa convinto che si consumasse più di quel che si creda, e probabilmente trasportato fresco in una giornata verso luoghi abbastanza lontani, 30-40-60 km., soprattutto per monasteri, conventi, castelli, feudatari, mercati e fiere di buon livello<sup>27</sup>. Vedremo come ne acquistassero i ricchi, e intanto variazioni si sarebbero avute, sempre col vino, per il pesce azzurro quando si adattavano in bollitura col vino greco, pepe e aggiunta terminale di olio<sup>28</sup>. In realtà, se si bada alla cucina attuale o ai consigli di Keys si vede come il pesce da bollire nel vino sia presente solo nella cucina da *gourmet*, e il rosso nettare si adatta<sup>29</sup> ai capi corposi, grossi, poco citati o del tutto assenti nelle antiche cucine popolari. E a tal riguardo credo che con molta probabilità nei paesi di mare, da Agropoli a Sapri si usasse ricorrere dal Trecento in poi a sistemi diversi:

“... Affare sardelle o alici plene micti le sardelle o alici in acqua tepida et tolli via li capi et poy le findi per mezo sí che non se fenda la parte della coda et tolli via la spina. Tolli maiurana, trasmarino et salvia, bone spetie... et trita... et mesteca... et frigele in sartagine con olio et magnale con suco de citranguli”<sup>30</sup>.

I romani non conoscevano il sapore piacevole del limone sul pesce (e così sarebbe stato per molto tempo perché agli agrumi non si dava molto peso) ma dubito che nelle campagne si usasse l'arancia amara per accompagnarlo, tanto non si sarebbe comunque cambiato il gusto né aumentato il livello calorico, Keys avvertendoci che “... 100 calorie di sardine danno circa 12 grammi di proteine pregiate mentre con lo stesso numero di calorie una bistecca ne fornisce soltanto la metà”<sup>31</sup>. I Pollicesi, gli Asceoti, i Palinuroti avevano tuttavia altre scelte, come favorire le molte specie di erbe locali onde aumentare la voglia e coprire il fabbisogno proteinico, che qualcuno avrebbe potuto considerare scarso, e una delle ricette preferite riguarda le alici o sarde al brodo:

“...Si passano con butirro in una cassarola cipollette trite, petrose-molo, aglio, funghi ed origano, tutto trutolato e condito di spezie, si bagnano con vino bianco e vi si

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<sup>26</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., pp. 256-269.

<sup>27</sup> Viavai di fresco sono documentati: al 1690 ad una famiglia si spedivano da Agropoli a Napoli 15 rotola [kg. 13, 365; ogni rotolo = 891 grammi] di tonni, M. Sirago, *Rapporti commerciali tra le Costiere Amalfitana e Cilentana nei secoli XVII e XVIII*, in *La Costa di Amalfi nel secolo XVIII*, ediz. F. Assante, Amalfi 1988, I, p. 468. È, però, campo da arare nei mercati interni il computo del pescato, fresco o sotto sale, sol che gli storici abbandonino le solite tiriterie della ricerca (successioni feudali, chiese, confraternite e via enumerando).

<sup>28</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 263.

<sup>29</sup> P. Artusi, *La scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene*, Firenze 1993 [I.a ediz. 1891], pp. 245, 256. Ironica, e capitale l'annotazione di Keys, op. cit., p. 176 circa la preferenza smodata per alcuni tipi di vino, “predilezioni ridicole”.

<sup>30</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 263. *findi*, ital. fendere, tagliare ma da diffusione gallica su ugual verbo.

<sup>31</sup> Keys, op. cit., p. 154.



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mettano le acciughe per farle cuocere servendole calde"<sup>32</sup>.

Il bu(t)irro – notorio grasso saturo apporto di colesterolo – cominciò ad usarsi in età tardomoderna negli ambienti urbani ma nelle campagne fu praticamente sconosciuto fino agli anni Cinquanta del pregresso secolo. Anche qui la tradizione romana classica era fortissima, e non ha prodotto danni fino ad allora anche a causa del fatto che il 10 % dei suoi acidi grassi è "... a catena molto corta", e quindi il burro è più fluido e facile a digerirsi<sup>33</sup>. Il consumo accoppiato a diverse produzioni di saturi (insaccati, sughi) ha provocato il micidiale ricambio contemporaneo. Nel Trecento, naturalmente, non se ne parlava, e l'olio serviva per ogni cosa. Le rare seppie che si sarebbero potute trovare nei mercati dell'interno cilentano venivano aggiustate ancora secondo radicate abitudini:

"... Lexa la sipia grossa et frigila con olio et pepe e magnala con salsa verde"<sup>34</sup>.

#### *Pasta.*

La *pasta*, da sempre così chiamata in quanto prodotta dal pestare con acqua la farina la si lavorò per accoppiatura, come già vedemmo, ovvero chiusura di particolari forme, del genere così descritto:

"... Smembra i polli o ucelli, distempera la farina con l'acqua calda e falla molto dura, poi fà la forma del coppo de la dicta pasta e mettevi dentro i polli predicti coll'agresto non trito, spetie e un poco d'acqua fredda e chiudilo di sopra con la pasta e cocasi nel forno overo tra i testi"<sup>35</sup>.

Non ci troviamo di fronte a semplici uova sbattute che possano stare al chiuso ma ad un cibo la cui confezione non solo prevedeva tempo a disposizione – da trovare forse in rade giornate invernali, e in anni di buon raccolto – ma doti di panettiere che ti fa stare all'impiedi un involto; di panettiere, e non di semplice pizzaiolo giacché pur essendo *pasta* e *pizza* linguisticamente evoluzioni di *panis* da semit. *pêsu*, tritare, pestare, il primo era più capace di elaborare nel forno a legna una figurazione farinacea da dover poi indurire, e non c'era casa al mondo che non avesse forno, o forni da pane.

Prodotto vicino era altro genere di sacca alimentare:

"... Affare crespelle de quaresma tolli farina bianca cum poco de lavamento et destempera cum aqua e fa levetare et crescere et puni in sartagine cum olio bollito et quando è ben cotte puni de mele"<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> V. Corrado, *Il cuoco galante*, sesta ediz., Napoli 1820, pp. 94-95. Il Corrado fu uno dei maestri della cucina meridionale, non inferiore al duca di Buonvicino.

<sup>33</sup> Keys, op. cit., pp. 142-144.

<sup>34</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 266.

<sup>35</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 229.

<sup>36</sup> Martellotti, op. cit., p. 252. *sartagine*, lat. *sartago*, padella.

È il classico dolcetto quaresimale fritto, striscia di farina allungata il tanto che basti, con miele sovrapposto. Varianti da pranzo erano, e sono, la *lågana*, gr. *λαγών*, spazio vuoto, fianco, ritagli di pasta da accompagnare con legumi (già ricordati da Apicio, I (IV) sec. d. C), e i *macaròni*, dallo strano destino, di provenir inizialmente da gr. *μακαρία*, pietanza, lat. *maccatella*, *polpetta*, ma simultaneamente di debordare – per vicinanza di radicale – in *μακαρῶνος*, inetto, tocco. Da notare che il *Liber* trecentesco, e il *Tractatus* non li menzionano, ma si trovano ampiamente in letteratura, nel contemporaneo Boccaccio (e in altri, fino a Giordano Bruno nel tardo XVI secolo):

“... Genti che niuna altra cosa facevano che fare maccheroni e raviuoli e cuocerli in brodo di capponi”<sup>37</sup>.

Il contatto con i ravioli (e relativi coppì) depongono a favore dell'utilizzo realistico, e/o consuetudinario dei due preparati, soprattutto i ravioli, il che stabilisce che in antico, e nel Medioevo si propendeva a consumare pasta sempre associata a tagliatella corta o ripieno di verdura o legumi, e non erano preferiti i fili o strisce larghe maccheronici qual siamo oggi abituati a vedere<sup>38</sup>. Per conseguenza non si sapeva che cosa fare di aste di pasta seccata, in apparenza insulse perché non applicabili subito a qualche elemento considerato superiore (pane, lasagna, pizza).

Le *lågane* ancor più larghe servirono per le

“... Lasagne\*. Per far lasagne prendi una pasta fermentata e fanne piccoli pezzi, dividili in sezioni quadrate larghe quanto tre dita e oltre e mettile a cuocere in acqua bollente salata. Alla cottura [effettuata] poni [al primo strato] sopra gran quantità di formaggio grattugiato, e se vuoi puoi aggiungere altre specie di alimenti polverizzati [triti], e sopra ogni letto di lasagne polverizzaci sopra formaggio e altre sorte, e così fai fino a quando la scodella sia piena, e mangiane usando un'asta a punta di legno per prender alimenti”.

La descrizione è simile a quanto oggi si fa, con la differenza che nel Trecento era preferita una lezione “mediterranea” o “povera” e mentre presentemente riempiamo la lasagna con uova sode a cubetti, polpette di vitello, salame, mozzarella,

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<sup>37</sup> G. Prezzolini, *Maccheroni & c.*, Milano 1958<sup>2</sup> [3a ediz. ivi 1998], pp. 104-105 (egli usò molto il Garzoni, cf. *supra*, 141-143). Il suo libro – nato da una commissione del pastaio Buitoni che agli inizi degli anni Cinquanta del pregresso secolo intendeva ampiamente posizionarsi negli Stati Uniti – si chiamò *Spaghetti dinner* (New York, Abelard-Schumann, 1955), e fu usato da Keys, op. cit., p. 333. E a conferma del sottotitolo iniziale del libro, *Mediterranean way*, correttezza vuole che si indichi come il termine *mediterraneo* rapportabile alla cucina sia stato prima di Keys adoperato due volte da Prezzolini, op. cit., in particolare p. 172: “... I nomi delle paste nella lingua italiana delle origini ci riportano a Grecia, a Roma ed all'araba Spagna: insomma al Mediterraneo”. A ragione delle sue esperienze protratte fra Jugoslavia, Grecia, Turchia, Italia parve opportuno al famoso clinico americano scegliere quell'aggettivo, già di patrimonio comune.

<sup>38</sup> A conferma, nel 1780-87 Jefferson portò negli U.S.A. dall'Italia “tagliatelle alla macaroni”, Prezzolini, op. cit., pp. 34-39.

\* Per esse il codice Meridionale ha solo testo latino, che qui traduco direttamente da Martellotti, op. cit., pp. 253-254.

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formaggio (una bomba proteinica) allora sussistevano *sorte* alimentari non specificate ma che con molta probabilità si mantenevano entro il ramo caseario visto che non si parla di pezzi di *lucaniche*. Va registrata la larghezza della *lågana*, tre dita e oltre, cioè le odierne quattro. Keys conosce questo tipo di lasagna e, a tutta evidenza, pare che la tragga dal *Liber* giacché almeno in Italia meridionale è oggi molto rara e in tempo di Carnevale in nessuna famiglia si usa solo mozzarella e formaggio senza apporvi il resto<sup>39</sup>. È uno degli sforamenti dal sano concetto di *dieta mediterranea*, e appare giusto mezzo di confronto ed esemplarità per un ritorno al leggero.

Riportata<sup>40</sup> una delle prime volte al 1279, una sua variante del secolo successivo, invece, prevede carne:

“... De le lasagne. Togli farina bona, bianca;  
distempera con acqua tepida e fà che sia spessa:  
poi la stendi sottilmente, e lassa asciugare; deb-  
biansi cocere nel brodo con cappone, o  
d'altra carne grossa: poi metti nel piattello col  
cascio grasso grattato, a suolo a suolo, come  
ti piace”<sup>41</sup>.

Quasi tutta la ricetta rimanda alla cottura e non al ripieno, di cui s'intende il taglio a pezzi o di pollo o di altro, forse lessato di vitello mischiabile col *grasso* formaggio, ovverosia la circolare e bassa caciotta salata. L'occasione, o la diffusione del nome mise su nel Trecento una lasagna anche per i ghiottoni che non sapevano rinunciare al cibo consistente nel periodo di Quaresima, ovunque osservato in maniera strettissima e non come oggi quando ognuno fa il proprio comodo liturgico:

“ ... Se tu voy fare lansagne de quaresima toy le  
lasagne e mitile a coxere e toy noxe monde e  
ben peste e maxenate e mette dentro le lasagne,  
e guardale dal fumo; e quando vano a tavola,  
menestra e polverizage delle specie, del  
zucharo”<sup>42</sup>.

Le spezie da accompagnare con lo zucchero furono con molta probabilità cannella, anisette, vainiglia, chiodi di garofano, giusto scelti per aumentare l'invito al raddoppio edibile. In ambedue i casi per menare alla bocca il prodotto si tendeva già a sostituire le mani con lo spiedo, prodromo d'uno dei tre aculei della forchetta (in lat. *comede cum uno punctorio ligneo accipiendo*).

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<sup>39</sup> Keys, op. cit., p. 276: alimento per 6 persone, di cui 68 grammi di grassi, 94 di proteine e 1891 di calorie. Ingredienti, 1 cipolla, 1 spicchio d'aglio, 1 cucchiaio d'olio, 1 scatola di conserva, latte magro con olio e farina e 30 grammi di parmigiano.

<sup>40</sup> Prezzolini, op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>41</sup> Prezzolini, op. cit., p. 179. L'A. la trasse dal *Liber* nella versione che trovò negli U.S.A., il *Libro della cucina* nell'edizione bolognese di F. Zambrini del 1863 (Martellotti, op. cit., p. 9 ne indica una anastatica da Forni al 1968).

<sup>42</sup> Prezzolini, op. cit., p. 173 (dal *Liber* nell'ediz. livornese del Frati del 1899). *noxe*, noci. Chi volesse servirsi solo del codice *meridionale* (parti A e B) e non degli altri testi della Vaticana, o italiani, o francogermanici deve ricorrere all'edizione critica *Anonimo meridionale. Due libri di cucina*, ediz. I. Boström, Stockholm 1985 (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Romanica Stockholmiensia 11), accurata e filologicamente perfetta. Il Boström trovò il codice in una biblioteca privata svedese, testimone inconfutabile della propagazione della cultura napoletana angioina fin nelle brume del Nord.

*I dati dell'archeologia.*

Per districarsi fra alimentazione popolare, bassa, media o superiore soccorrono altre fonti, e in special modo per anni precedenti il Trecento. Ci arrivano dalle ricerche dell'archeologia medievale, sicure e soggette a verifiche costanti specialmente nei rispetti della paleozoologia, che rimane la migliore via per arrivare ad un computo sommario di alimenti carnivori – questi, infatti, sono gli unici disponibili perché hanno lasciato testimoni ossei, mentre per gli erbaggi bisogna ricorrere solo alle notizie scritte. I risultati, inoltre, si associano alla paleoantropologia al fine di trarre dagli esami scheletrici nozioni di malanni medici (dall'odontoiatria alle forme ergologiche, reumatiche, allergologiche, e così via). In tale campo un posto non secondario compete all'Università di Salerno che per le cure del prof. Paolo Peduto s'è mossa da anni nei due versanti, sia per il passaggio dal Tardo Antico all'alto Medioevo che per il Medioevo pieno e tardo. In particolare qui interessano le due campagne di scavo eseguite nel 1996 e nel 1997 nel castello di Lagopèsòle (PZ) e alle quali partecipai per la parte storica<sup>43</sup>.

Bisogna premettere che gli archeologi individuano in un luogo oggetti e soggetti della vita vissuta in vari modi, in necropoli, nelle case comuni, nelle discariche. I mondezai restituiscono molto, o quasi, delle conoscenze – ogni aspetto del quotidiano non

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<sup>43</sup> Un modello, un tipo di confronto storico-archeologico mi capitò quando sia dagli scritti che da esami di scavo fu appresa la presenza nel castello di trascorsi saraceni, e dal prosieguo degli studi ritrovai nella Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria un anello dugentesco con scrittura in onore di Maometto repertato nel castello a fine Ottocento da Giustino Fortunato, che rimane il migliore storico di Lagopesole. Esso è – tanto per informare come possa l'archeologia ricostruire un periodo tra l'altro scarso di risultati – contraltare oggettuale e sociale dei pochi scavi saracenicici di età Sveva (1230-1266), quelli effettuati da Luigi Capasso a Monte d'Argento a Minturno.

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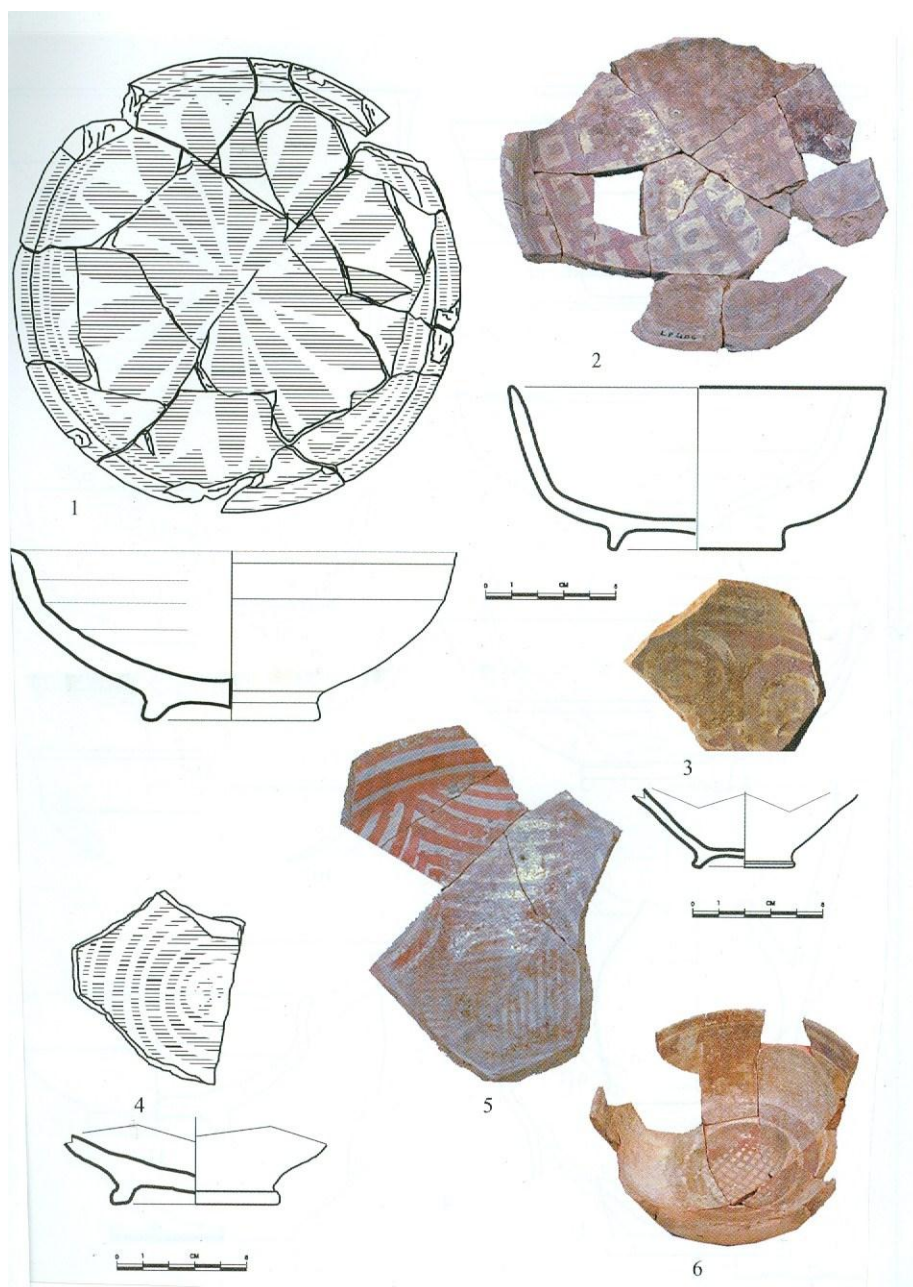


Fig. 1 – Lagopesole, castello. Piatti decorati in rosso d'età angioina, 1266-1315 (da Fiorillo).

transeunte sotto forma di liquidi organici non si disperde, in genere, perché si deposita con i rifiuti lì dove gli oggetti servirono, e così dai siti archeologici vengono fuori quasi tutti i modelli di casi umani, nomi in iscrizioni, tazze, bicchieri usati per i cibi, monete servite come stipendio o pagamenti, conci e sculture architettonici, disegni e affreschi di fede ecc. Si stabilì, pertanto, che nel castello citato – residenza estiva dei re di Napoli dal 1266 al 1315 c. – la carne di vitello fu in complesso proveniente da circa 200 animali, sorpassata dall'altra di suini nel consumo di c. 356

(bestie di non più di due anni, "... porcos bonos et pingues a duobus annis"). Di rilievo il capriovino, 578 bestie tra il 1266 e il 1280, e vi si aggiunsero formaggi, butirri e ricotte, messi in piatti (Fig. 1) che, dati i personaggi, non erano semplici tazze ingobbiate con smalto bianco ma dipinte con scene geometriche, umane, animali. Il grosso della documentazione s'impose, tuttavia, con i volatili, di giardino o da caccia, gallinacci, anatre, oche, piccioni, uccelli di ogni specie.

C'è una contingenza d'indubbio spessore, non legata al castello potentino, e che fa capire come carni basse o leggere dovessero accompagnarsi con alcuni degli ingredienti qui sopra menzionati, spezie, aromi vari, erbe d'accompagnamento, vino tracannato in abbondanza: per l'occorrenza alimentare di soldati impegnati nella lotta antiaragonese in Sicilia nel solo 1270 il re ordinava all'isola di Malta di portare a quell'esercito dai 6.000 agli 8.000 gallinacci, una cifra in apparenza enorme e che di certo non fu solo rastrellata nelle isole maltesi ma nei centri angioini intorno a Messina e a Catania.

Parecchi resti di galline furono trovati – si capisce – anche a Lagopesole<sup>44</sup>, e li presento (Fig. 2) qui in fila come tanti militi in attesa d'ingaggiare battaglia. Non mancavano

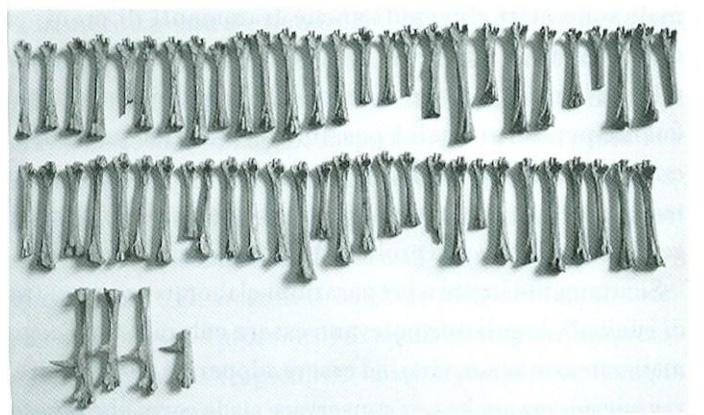


Fig. 2 - Lagopesole, castello. Resti di gallinacci di età angioina 1266-1315 (da Fiorillo).

altre risorse, e in un posto come quello attorniato allora da molte foreste era facile trovare, cacciando, cervi, o cervidi come daini, caprioli, cinghiali, e poi colombacci, e uccelli ancora più grossi e carnosì – stiamo fra Pietragalla, Avigliano, Ripacandida, Rapolla e Melfi per un'estensione di c. 32 miglia (ogni miglio = 1852 metri) e quindi una sessantina di chilometri con intervalli di centri medi e piccoli, vaste radure, fiumi, valloni.

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<sup>44</sup> R. Fiorillo, *La tavola dei d'Angiò. Analisi archeologica di una spazzatura Reale. Castello di Lagopesole (1266-1315)*, Salerno 2005, pp. 29-35, e fig. 11.



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Fig. 3 – Pompei. Ritratto di falconiere, fine del I sec. a. C. (da Grieco).

La caccia agli uccelli risale a periodi protostorici quando si usava di tutto per rastrellare carne volante, soprattutto con reti distese fra boschi, colline, picchi di



montagna, lì dove si sapeva che ne passassero a stormi interi, e ne conosciamo bene, in Campania, il modo tecnico di presa con le reti stese fra torre e torre della zona nordorientale di Cava dei Tirreni. Nei terreni interni, isolati, nelle campagne, nei piccoli casali ove non si disponeva di danaro l'acume intuitivo della gente comune imparò ad allevare alcuni rapaci, come i falchi, il cui pasto è formato da altri volatili più piccoli beccati in volo. I Romani, naturalmente, selezionarono il procedimento istituendo la figura del falconiere cacciatore, qual risulta da un affresco di Pompei del I secolo a. C. (Fig. 3). Il disegno esprime il modo tradizionale delle mani guantate per evitare le beccate dei falchi, e l'asta per il rientro del rapace. All'eterna ricerca alimentare, in specie in zone aride o di vegetazione da sottobosco improduttivo, molti raffinarono la caccia a vari tipi di uccelli riconoscendone a vista la portata di peso e carne, e le campagne divennero presto aree di preda, in specie nel Cilento tanto che nella prima metà dell'Ottocento era steso questo interessante catalogo venatorio-alimentare (ci troviamo a S. Giovanni a Piro, alla fine della provincia salernitana):

“... Dei volatili vi nidificano colombi, fringuelli. Da Agosto a Settembre abbondarvi i beccafichi che cacciansi con l'archetto e quando eranvi i vini riuscivano messi in aceto di qualche aiuto ai campagnuoli. Da Settembre ad Ottobre le quaglie cacciansi con gli archibugi e non di rado con gli sparvieri appositamente educati... Da Ottobre a Febbraio le accegge ed i tordi i quali cacciansi con reti e panie ed erano anch'essi in aceto di non poco sovvenimento a chi vi attendea”<sup>45</sup>.

Il passo è chiaro ma occorre qualche precisazione per evitare errori interpretativi. Il beccafico è uno dei più piccoli uccelli esistenti, eppure lo si inseguiva per contribuire al desco (*di qualche aiuto ai campagnuoli*) e il mezzo usato per prenderlo era l'archetto, divenuto successivamente, in tempi ambientali legali, strumento di puro bracconaggio: esso era composto da un ramo piegato ad arco, di poco ingombro tenuto ad un'estremità da un filo molto teso – all'altra estremità il rametto teneva tesa la corda formando un cappio sicché per prendere l'esca, formata da una bacca appena poggiata, l'uccellino nel muoverlo appena lo faceva scattare tagliandogli il collo. Accegge (purismo Autorale per beccacce) e tordi si pigliavano con reti stese fra i rami, ma di maggior interesse è lo sparviero, *appositamente educato*, e che è completamente diverso da quello che oggi si vede (showman per spettacoli dilettanteschi e didattici). Erano di sicuro molto esperti, sia per catturare falchi e falchetti che per istruirli, e con molta probabilità li lanciavano solo per i detti volatili, e altri corposi come i piccioni di passo, tortore, starne, galletti.

Ricordo che la documentazione archeologica riguarda una Corte Regale, e bisogna convenire che il popolo minuto aveva – se era loro consentito - di quest'immenso pasto, aleggiante al di sopra delle loro teste, solo le briciole, che potremmo immaginare consistessero, ad esempio, in pelli, interiora, ossa grandi da

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<sup>45</sup> V.S. Petrilli, “S. Giovanni a Piro”, in F. Cirelli, *Il Regno delle Due Sicilie descritto e illustrato*, Napoli 1857, III, p. 57. Le ricette per i volatili sono ampiamente illustrate da Corrado, op. cit., pp. 75-83. Per l'apporto relativo di carne Keys tratta solo la quaglia e il piccione, con percentuali di grassi saturi bassissimi, op. cit., p. 330.



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usare come attrezzi, e faccio un caso: ai primi del 1300 il re Roberto d'Angiò incaricò il castellano di Lagopesole di preparare dieci cantai di cervo da trasferire alla Corte in Napoli<sup>46</sup>. La carne fu salata, e dal raffronto vediamo che in complesso si trattò di 900 chili (1 cantai = k. 89.951.400).

Dal punto di vista dell'edibilità il tempo di consumo del cervo va dall'autunno a tutto l'inverno, con avvertenza che dev'esser giovane e grasso, altrimenti non è buono. Si preparano<sup>47</sup> i suoi filetti e cosce, addobbati di rosmarino, da cuocere arrosto allo spiedo, da servire con salsa di aceto, spezie e targone (un'erba di sapore acuto, forte, da ricercare con attenzione nel sottobosco). Keys ha stabilito che il valore percentuale medio degli acidi grassi saturi nel cervo<sup>48</sup> è fra i più bassi nel bestiame da alimento, il 4 %, derivante dalle erbe che mangiava, e ciò era un contraltare al rilevante consumo di bovini della Corte. Solo statistiche per anni o gruppi di anni potranno darci, se si effettuano i costosi accertamenti da reperti ossei, elementi per individuare l'alto corso di colesterolo nei re, familiari, dignitari, segretari di Corte, ma episodi adduttivi già informano al riguardo circa la media della vita in Italia che fra il 632 – vero inizio del Medioevo – e il 1492 non differiva molto da quella del 1881, un 35 anni c., da diminuire di un 5 anni c. dal 632 al X secolo e da aumentare di uno o due punti tra il 1881 e il 1901. Oggi si arriva intorno ai 75-76 anni di media, e nel 1955 quando Keys scriveva il suo libro<sup>49</sup> i decessi in Italia per cancro erano 483 e quelli per coronaropatie 288, segno di una persistenza della dieta popolare mediterranea in mancanza della spinta proteinica che avverrà con il *preboom* economico dal 1957-58 fino allo sviluppo degli anni fra il 1960 e il 1970-75.

Naturalmente, nella cucina medievale e protomoderna non si andava per il sottile e, accompagnata con aromi, la carne grassa di qualsiasi animale di rado veniva separata dalla magra se non per cattivo odore o sapore. E, inoltre, poiché la si salava spesso si rimane convinti che lì ove fosse mangiato, il grasso di vacca, di suini e di altri animali rimaneva utile in un paese di generale tendenza al legume, farinaceo, erba in quanto poco costosi e rintracciabili senza problemi.

All'occorrenza, nella cucina alta e non popolare l'ingestione alimentare di lì a poco soluta in colesterolo e trigliceridi era qua e là attenuata dal pesce che, tuttavia, si consumava in prevalenza nei giorni canonici stabiliti dalla religione il Venerdì e il Sabato a Pasqua, e nei giorni precedenti, oppure in ricorrenze particolari dettate da manifestazioni di vario tipo (esposizione di reliquie, giorni di magro imposti da pellegrinaggi).

Nella Basilicata interna il pesce era trasportato su carretti o a dorso di mulo da Taranto e lungo il percorso nelle ceste veniva messa neve estratta dalle nevère disseminate lungo gli Appennini. Abbiamo così la possibilità di vedere gusci di cozze, ostriche e altri mitili (Fig. 4), di spigole, cefali, orate, e non si andava per il sottile. Le casse

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<sup>46</sup> Fiorillo, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>47</sup> Corrado, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>48</sup> Keys, op. cit., p. 316.

<sup>49</sup> Keys, op. cit., p. 13.



Fig. 4 - Lagopesole, castello. Resti di gusci di ostriche e altri mitili, 1266-1315 (da Fiorillo).

Regali non retrocedevano di fronte a ordini del re, e per la quaresima del 1284 i tarantini dovettero preparare circa 5 tonnellate di orate, cefali e altri pesci grossi sotto sale.

Il pranzo era frammezzato, naturalmente, da pozioni di vino<sup>50</sup>, e anche qui non si badava a spese. Raccolta all'epoca della vendemmia, con cura come mostra lo splendido mosaico romanico di Otranto (Fig. 5), l'uva passò in liquido (Fig. 6) e si conservò in capaci botti ma doveva sempre esser pronto nell'anno, o nei mesi, di ordinazione, e per fare un altro esempio nel Marzo 1280 in previsione del soggiorno estivo di Luglio-Agosto del re a Lagopesole fu ordinata qualcosa come 384 tonnellate di vino, da distribuirsi – si pensa – equamente lungo il percorso gerarchico della Corte. Un vero e proprio piccolo esercito in movimento si costituiva da Napoli negli spostamenti mensili, o a quindicina, o per due o tre mesi (secondo calcoli previsti, caccia, insussistenza di guerra, nascite di primogeniti o cadetti, riunioni politiche con ambasciatori,

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<sup>50</sup> A. Di Muro, *Mezzogiorno longobardo. Insedimento, economia e istituzioni tra Salerno e il Sele (secc. VII-XI)*, Bari 2008, pp. 50-57, ha stabilito che nel primo ventennio del Mille il vigneto risultava diffuso, 25 %, alla pari del frutteto e del seminativo, 21 %, mentre alla fine del medesimo secolo nelle campagne fra l'Irno e il Picentino (zona molto ristretta) arrivò al 47 % della produzione seguito a notevole distanza dagli alberi da frutto, 11%. Se riandiamo a quanto detto sopra da uno storico, per il suo basso costo la frutta si consumava e non si vendeva in rapporto al vino che, al contrario, portava una certa resa. C'è, quindi, una continuità millenaria in questo particolare aspetto dell'alimentazione.



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Fig. 5 – Otranto. Mosaico pavimentale (1166). Raccolta tardoagostana (AUG[USTUS]) dell'uva (da Willemsen).

Governatori provinciali, Razionali, Connestabili), a cui vanno aggiunti ufficiali di vario ordine e grado, nobili, titolati italiani e stranieri e rispettivo seguito di famigli, scribi, valletti, stallieri e altro<sup>51</sup>. L'acqua era un *optional* e - attrazione forte - il vino si consumava su qualsiasi specie di cibo, accompagnato dal pane a forma della romana, classica ruota con scanalature circolari o a

<sup>51</sup> Per la notizia del 1280, Fiorillo, op. cit., p. 40.





Fig. 6 – Otranto. Mosaico pavimentale (1166). Vendemmia settembrina (SEPTEMBER). Da Willemsen.

rotella, proveniente da una mietitura (Fig. 7) anch'essa faticosa e lunga, e al pari dell'uva e della vendemmia l'agricoltore lo si rappresentò col copricapo a cappuccio, espediente sommario per sopportare fra Giugno e Settembre il cocente sole pugliese (o selino, o cilentano). Di riguardo è l'insieme dell'illustrato<sup>52</sup>, e il raccoglitore ha in mano un coltello a lama obliqua come i sartori e i calzolari, col piede già intento a calcare i grappoli nel cato ligneo. Il collega di Settembre oltre

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<sup>52</sup> Il mosaico pavimentale otrantino riproduce l'albero della vita. Con Aquileia, è l'unico a coprire l'intera Cattedrale a partire appena che si varchi l'ingresso e fino alle lontane absidi, uno spettacolo che da solo val la pena d'un non lungo viaggio (rispetto al XII secolo). C.A. Willemsen, *L'enigma di Otranto. Il mosaico pavimentale del presbitero Pantaleone nella Cattedrale*, Galatina 1980.





Fig. 7 - Otranto. Mosaico pavimentale. La mietitura (eseguita di Giugno, *Iunii*). Da Willemsen.

che pigiare con i piedi (si noti la maestria del mosaicista per il sinistro, con una metà delle tessere in rosso scuro perché già coperto dal color vinaccia) si aiuta con due mazze per abbattere i chicchi; il copricapo è leggermente diverso dagli altri due in quanto che il cerchio rosa fa intendere che lo stringeva per evitare la caduta visto che le mani erano impegnate per far transitare il liquido dipinto a piccoli semicerchi nel catino con beccuccio, questi ultimi posti ben in evidenza, soprattutto il grande contenitore quadro (in dialetto *matra* o *matrella*).

La traccia che fin qui dipano serve – si capisce – ad introdurre solo l'argomento, che è stato da tempo tracciato<sup>53</sup>. Negli incontri-scontri fra i vari tipi di alimentazione s'è visto che la scelta dipende tutta da noi, nel voler *stay well* quando ci sediamo per *eat well*, per dirla con Keys, ed essa può sintetizzarsi con una dichiarazione d'intenti che – tolta l'ultima osservazione (eliminare da un pertugio ciò che di troppo s'è messo dentro ? Sì – basta che non ve lo mettiamo...) – è ancora un ottimo programma:

“ Tre cose mi mantennero vivo et sano: la

<sup>53</sup> Montanari, op. cit.; Flandrin–Montanari, op. cit.

parsimonia del mangiare et bere, la dieta  
e 'l vomito quando m'intesi grave"<sup>54</sup>.

Sono parole d'un cilentano del 1679, ma valgono.

### **Abstract**

#### **Mediterranean diet. An historical introduction between Middle Ages and Modern Times**

*Mediterranean diet* is a common term which refers to a particular, unsophisticated, style of eating that is not based on the consumption of fats but rather depends on the use of simple foods and vegetables, e.g. aubergine, tomato, rice, potato, soup-paste, and tomato-paste. Observed by Ancel Keys (1904-2004), the regimen was found in Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia. Keys remained in Italy for a long time in order to study that local cuisine, where he settled in Pioppi (Salerno), a village in Cilento. In 1942, the famous American physician became the inventor of the K [Keys] *ration*, food for the subsistence of American soldiers during the war. The author traces the historical and cultural sources of this South Italian style of eating, from the time of the Swabians and Angevins, the time of Emperor Frederick II and King Charles I, with special reference to the medieval archaeological data of Lagopèsòle, a Norman-Swabian-Angevin castle in Basilicata, whose excavations restored the extraordinary remains which give accounts of a meal, gallinaceous, fishes, ('mitili' oysters, 'coze'). In addition, other sources are taken into due consideration. Examples of these include some old manuscripts of medieval foods with recipes and various types of foodstuffs (cheese, fruit, rice, herbs, lentils, chick-peas, broth, soup, mutton, sard, raviolo etc.).

### **Keywords**

Mediterranean diet, style of eating, local cuisine, medieval food, way of life, recipes, regimen, Keys.

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<sup>54</sup> Giovancola Del Mercato, *Memorie di famiglia*, ediz. F. Volpe, Napoli 1994.

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## Sanitary Legislation and Public Health measures in the Ionian Islands during the British Protection (1815-1864)

### Brief History of the Ionian Islands

The Ionian Islands are located in western Greece at the entrance of the Adriatic Sea. The islands are seven: Kerkira (in the Italian language, Corfu), Kithera (Cerigo), Zakynthos (Zante), Leukada (Santa Maura), Paxi, Cephalonia and Ithaca. After the fall of Constantinople (Fourth Crusade, 1204), Venice controlled the islands and for a short period they were under the control of the French Royal House of Anjou<sup>1</sup>. Under the Venetian occupation from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Ionian Islands escaped the Ottoman occupation<sup>2</sup>. In 1797, the Republic of Venice fell to the French forces under Napoleon and France took control of the islands. After only two years, a Russian protectorate followed, and in 1800 the Septinsular Republic was created under the status of independence until the new French occupation (1807)<sup>3</sup>. After the treaty of Paris (1815), the British took control and the Seven Islands were once more accorded a nominal independence under the British Protection<sup>4</sup>. This period (1815-1864) offered indeed a semblance of self-government by a Senate and a Primary Assembly with 40 members elected by the inhabitants but involved also the rule by the British High Commissioner<sup>5</sup>. Finally, the British Crown transferred the islands to the Greek Kingdom (Protocol of London, 1864) as a present to the first king of a new dynasty, George I.

### Historical sources

Our search is based on the Historical Archive of Corfu and the records of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece. We studied: 1) the notifications and the proclamations of the British Authorities which are related to the Administrative Sanitary System and the preventive measures for the public health of the Ionian Islands during the British sovereignty of the region, 2) the decrees and laws of the Senate and the Assembly of the Ionian Islands during British Protection (1815-1864), which are associated with public health and the struggle against infectious diseases, and 3) the newspapers of that era in order to bring into notice the positive and negative reactions of the local population in relation to the British measures.

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<sup>1</sup> D. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A study in Diplomatic and Cultural relations*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 104-148; J. Richard, *The Crusades*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 246-259; S. Asonitis, *Corfu under D'Anjou*, Corfu 1999, pp. 77-125.

<sup>2</sup> E. Concina, "Città e Fortezze nelle "Tre Isole nostre del Levante"", in *Rigo M. Venezia e la difesa del Levante*, Venezia 1986, pp. 184-320.

<sup>3</sup> Th. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity and Power in the British Mediterranean*, Indiana 2002, pp. 4-14.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



### **The sanitary organization under Venetian rule**

The Venetian Republic realised very quickly the political, economic and military importance of the Ionian Islands. In this frame, Venice showed a great interest in preventive medicine and protection of public health (construction of lazarettos-pesthouses, establishment of welfare institutions and hospitals)<sup>6</sup>. In every island, there existed the *Proveditore alla Sanità* (Health Proveditor) and the *Magistrato alla Sanità* (Health Magistrate of the island) with the sanitary officers: *Priore* (Health Director), *Cancellie alla Sanità* (Secretary of Health), *Coadiutor di Sanità* (Assistant of Health), *Inspettori* (Temporary Assistants), *Guardiani* (officers of check points at the shores), the *Priore* and the *Dottori* (physicians) of the *Lazaretto* and a sanitary armed garrison<sup>7</sup>. The *Proveditore alla Sanità* of every island controlled with his authority the *Magistrato alla Sanità* and the *Lazaretto* of the island. Also, he had the authority to convoke in emergency cases the *Collegio Sanitario* (Health College), an institution of Greek and Venetian physicians. The *Proveditore* also controlled the *Condottati* and was informed by them about the situation of the villages. The system of *Condotta* was a Venetian invention and according to this, every village had a one-year contract with a certain physician, Greek or Venetian. Finally, the *Proveditore* was the supervisor of other sanitary officers, such as the *Proveditore Straordinarii alle Strade*, a person whose duties involved cleaning the streets and the *Corpse of Celenti* (marine physicians working independently from the physicians of the *Lazaretto* or the *Magistrato*)<sup>8</sup>.

### **The British sanitary organization**

The Ionian Islands were in the crossroads of the Mediterranean Sea. Actually, their geographical position was a barrier between East and West and the major gate way to many infectious diseases<sup>9</sup>. After the Venetian presence, the French tried to introduce a new system and the principles of Preventive Medicine but the political reactions of the Greek population postponed their plan. Actually, the French promises of independence after 600 years of Venetian occupation were only promises. The efforts to enforce massive vaccination against smallpox and the direction of the Magistrate by the *Commissaires de Police* had a completely opposite effect among the angry population<sup>10</sup>.

During the Venetian Era, there existed at least, a sanitary control, a sanitary legislation and a social welfare policy. At that time, the nature of the plague was unknown but the Venetians tried to control the epidemics with their institutions<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> G. Lotter, *L'organizzazione sanitaria a Venezia, Venezia a le Peste 1348-1797*, Venezia 1979, pp. 99-102.

<sup>7</sup> M. Tiepolo, "Avanti L'Istituzione del Magistrato", in *Difesa della Sanità a Venezia. Secoli XIII-XIX. Mostra Documentaria*, Venezia 1979, pp. 11-14; P. Selmi, "Il Magistrato alla Sanità", in *Difesa della Sanità a Venezia. Secoli XIII-XIX. Mostra Documentaria*, Venezia 1979, pp. 28-50.

<sup>8</sup> E. Loutzis, *The political situation of Seven Islands under Venetians*, Athens 1856, p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> D. Anoyatis-Pelé, V. Vaiopoulos, *Pouqueville: De peste orientalis*, Athens 2005, p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> D. Anoyatis-Pelé, *Six rapports Français concernant les Iles Ioniennes et le continent voisin (1798-1809)*, Corfu 1993, p. 302.

<sup>11</sup> K. Konstantinidou et al., *Venetian Rule and Control of Plague Epidemics on the Ionian Islands during 17th and 18th centuries*, *Emerg Infect Dis* 2009, 15(1), pp. 39-43; R. Palmer, *L'azione della repubblica di Venezia nel controllo della peste. Lo sviluppo della politica governativa, Venezia e la peste 1348-1797*, Venezia 1979, pp. 105-107.



## Sanitary Legislation and Public Health measures in Ionian Islands during the British Protection (1815-1864)

The Venetian Legislation was not codified for centuries. Their sanitary laws in their colonies in Greece were very strict, with the death penalty being carried out/imposed on violators<sup>12</sup>. The British received at least a minimal background platform for their changes and their first priority was to codify the Sanitary Legislation.

The British not only adopted the Venetian sanitary organization but also preserved and extended the institutions with minimal bureaucracy and great flexibility. Consequently, this period witnessed considerable improvements in the everyday life of the Ionian citizens in calm days and during epidemics. The British innovations in the Venetian system, such as the re-organization of the old lazarettos, the marine sanitary procedures, the determination of the quarantine duration, the increased number of the physicians and medical officers, resulted in a satisfactory defense against epidemics and certain infectious diseases in the Ionian Islands during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On the administrative level, according the Maitland's Constitution (1817), the place of the old *Provedittore alla Sanità* changed to the *General Resident of Health* (Part 5, Article 1)<sup>13</sup>. The British General Resident was the core of the system in emergency cases with his expanded authority and duties.

Actually, the British concept was very simple. One person with totalitarian authority and direct control over the value rings of the sanitary chain was better than a group of nobles-officers, a lot of times without medical knowledge, as happened during Venetian rule. The General Residents of the seven islands were always appointed by personal selection and under the responsibility of the High Commissioner after an interview and examination of their medical qualification by a sanitary committee. In contrast, during Venetian rule, high-rank sanitary officers were selected after elections by local committees of the Greek population, but sometimes the criteria were more political than medical. Despite regulations, Venetian archives reported occasional problems in health services in the islands because of poorly trained health officers, who were elected from the local upper class and were eager to acquire greater political autonomy. This situation resulted in conflicts between Venetian representatives and local health officials, known as *cittadini*<sup>14</sup>.

Before describing the British system of the Ionian Islands we must state two interesting facts with great social importance for the local communities. The British Authorities preserved the Italian terminology of the offices and cleverly allowed the use of three different languages (Greek, English and Italian) on the official marine and other sanitary documents. Also, the General Resident had a close collaboration with Greek physicians, urban and provincial, in the frame of a better network concerning the needs and the hygienic situation of the Greek people.

Three persons were in direct collaboration with the General Resident and under his command, the Deputy, one Administrative employee and the Chief Guardian of the sanitary garrison. The role the Venetian *Provedittore* was continued

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<sup>12</sup> A. Papadia-Lala, *Ospizi ed Ospedali nell'Isola di Creta sotto il dominio Veneziano*, Venezia 1996, pp. 155-156.

<sup>13</sup> *Le Tre Costituzioni (1800,1803,1817) Delle Sette Isole Jonie*. Sezione V, Della Sanità, Corfu 1849, pp. 242-243.

<sup>14</sup> K. Konstantinidou, "Gli uffici di sanità delle Isole Ionie durante il Seicento e il Settecento", *Studi Veneziani* 49 (2005) 379-391.

by the General Resident, at the Health Magistrate of the island<sup>15</sup>. The Magistrate became a flexible institution with certain sanitary officers, in contrast with the Venetian era. The President (Priore) of the Magistrate and the *Protomedico* (Chief Doctor), had direct relation with the physicians of the Lazaretto and the provinces and their report to the General Resident was of great importance<sup>16</sup>. In 1820, a new sanitary officer appeared: the Inspector General of Coasts and Harbours. According to the commercial and military importance of this critical office, the Inspector of Coasts and Harbours, was directly under the command of the Resident.

One of the Resident's major duties was the convocation of the Medical College of the island in case of epidemics or the reexamination of serious health problems. This act was a common practice of the General Resident of Corfu, the capital of all islands. The Collegio Medico (founded in 1802) had members from the most eminent Greek physicians who graduated from such Italian Universities as Bologna, Padova and Sienna and their help was important to the Resident<sup>17</sup>. Also, the General Resident of Corfu in collaboration with the Collegio Medico determined exactly the duration of the quarantine for some infectious diseases (1861)<sup>18</sup>.

### **Morbidity and Mortality of the Ionian Islands**

The British Sanitary officers studied the Ionian nosology under the concept of the environmental, climatic and social parameters. Under this point of view, it is not surprising that the British medical studies included reports on the climate, humidity and temperature of the islands, the topography (rivers, mountains, water resources, swamps), the level of agricultural production, the professions of the inhabitants, even their customs and their daily life. Generally, the most frequent infectious diseases on the Ionian area were malaria, dysentery and pneumonia but in different frequency in every island. The "fevers" which were given different names by local physicians, e.g. *tertian fever*, *quartian fever*, *benign or malignant fever*, *therma continua*, *amphimerina paludoza*, were actually malaria<sup>19</sup>. Of course, during the British Protection outbreaks of plague, smallpox and cholera were reported.

In Corfu the dominated disease was malaria, followed by typhus and syphilis. Actually, syphilis was a well known problem of the island, especially in the capital and the port of Corfu, and in 1817, 104 new cases were reported<sup>20</sup>. In Santa Maura, malaria and pneumonia were the major causes of death. The pleuritis (*malatia fisica*) was four times more frequent in the rural areas of the island than in the town.

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<sup>15</sup> Public Record Office, Blue Books of Statistical Abstracts, Colonial Office 136, vols 1199-1237 (1824-1863), vols 1391-1427 (1821-1863).

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> J. Lascaratos, S. Marketos, "The links between Medical School of Bologna and Ionian Academy", *Medicina nei Secoli, Arte e Scienza* 1 (1989) 157-165.

<sup>18</sup> Report of the Central Medical Society of Corfu to H. Drummont Wolff, Secretary of H.M. Lord High Commissioner, Corfu 24 March 1861. Historical Archive of Corfu.

<sup>19</sup> W. Goodison, *A Historical and Topographical Essay upon the Islands of Corfu, Leucadia, Cephalonia, Ithaca and Zante etc.*, London 1822, p. 230.

<sup>20</sup> J. Hennen, *Sketches of the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean comprising an account of Gibraltar, the Ionian Islands, and Malta to which is prefixed, a sketch of a Plan for Memoirs on Medical Topography*, Vol. II, London 1830, pp. 190-191, 204, 228, 377, 415.

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Also, Santa Maura had 22% perinatal mortality<sup>21</sup>. The major disease in Cephalonia was once again the malaria, but during winter and spring it was the pneumonia<sup>22</sup>. In Cephalonia, outbreaks of chickenpox, rheumatic diseases and gonorrhoea were common followed by syphilis<sup>23</sup>. In Ithaca the major disease was pneumonia<sup>24</sup>. Finally, in Zante high rates of malaria, cholera and dysentery occurred<sup>25</sup>.

According to the documents, the mortality rates between the islanders and the soldiers of the garrisons were various. The British reports document a higher mortality rate in soldiers than in the inhabitants in Cephalonia from the "fevers"<sup>26</sup>. Even during the epidemic of plague in the island (1816), the death toll of the garrison was higher (220 cases-80 deaths) than the inhabitants (50 deaths in all island)<sup>27</sup>. During the period 1822-1835, all the islands were reported to have 8.435 deaths from "fevers" between the soldiers, but for the period 1828-1834 the total mortality of the islanders was lower than in Malta or other south-european territories<sup>28</sup>. According to the entries of the Military Hospitals, a continuous increase of malaria cases was reported in Corfu between 1817-1836 (396 deaths of the total 891 garrisons' deaths), in Santa Maura (193 deaths of the total 236 garrisons' deaths) and in Cephalonia (117 deaths of the total 228 garrisons' deaths)<sup>29</sup>.

### **British measures and Public Health**

According to the British Authorities, the protection of public health was a duty of the Magistrate and the Police. The first notification about public health was about the cleanliness of the streets (4.8.1818)<sup>30</sup>. The notifications following became law of the Constitution from the Assembly in 1837, "*Law on cleanliness and preservation of the streets*" (17.6.1837)<sup>31</sup>. The next move of the British was to control the food and fish market. A series of laws from 1814 to 1857 determined the places of the market, prohibited public sales, and founded a Committee, whose President was the Protomedico of the Magistrate, in order to obtain chemical analysis of poisoned and

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<sup>21</sup> N. Sideris, "Diseases and Patients in Leukada during 19th century", *Istorika* 1 (1) (1983) 101-120.

<sup>22</sup> J. Parch, *Cephalonia and Ithaca etc.*, Athens 1892, pp. 90-91.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Statistical Report on the Sickness, mortality and invaliding among the troops serving in the Mediterranean, Parliamentary Papers, XVI (166), 1839, pp. 199, 210-215.

<sup>25</sup> Parch, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

<sup>26</sup> Statistical Report on the Sickness, mortality and invaliding among the troops serving in the Mediterranean, Parliamentary Papers, XVI (166), 1839, pp. 199, 210-215.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.; J. Tully, *The History of Plague as it has lately appeared in the Islands of Malta, Gozo, Corfu, Cephalonia etc.*, London 1821, pp. 90-92, 168-169.

<sup>28</sup> Statistical Report on the Sickness, mortality and invaliding among the troops serving in the Mediterranean, Parliamentary Papers, XVI (166), 1839, pp. 199, 210-215.

<sup>29</sup> Statistical Report on the Sickness, mortality and invaliding among the troops serving in the Mediterranean, Parliamentary Papers, XVI (166), 1839, pp. 199, 210-215.

<sup>30</sup> Notificazione. Il Regente Dell'Isola di Corfu. 4.8.1818. Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece.

<sup>31</sup> Atti Emanati Dal Secondo Parlamento degli Stati Uniti Delle Isole Jonie sotto la Costituzione del 1817 durante la sua prima sessione tenuta nell'anno 1823, stampati con autorizzazione del Governo generale. Corfu, Nella Stamperia del Governo. Atto No 84, IV Ses. 17/29 Jun. 1839, pp. 92-98. Historical Archive of Corfu.

dangerous foods<sup>32</sup>. Another effort of the Authorities was the building of new aqueducts in every island and the re-building of the old Venetian *cisterne*.

The British Authorities paid great attention to two other significant problems, the swamps and the rabies. According the Law of the Assembly (16.7.1819), all the male inhabitants of the islands (except children and old men) were required to work in the draining of the swamponce a week<sup>33</sup>. During 1861, the Collegio Medico under the medical view of the “poisonous air” of the swamps and the connection with the fevers, informed the High Commissioner about the draining of swamps of Corfu because, according to their report: “*the draining will protect public health and this place will be cultivated and will be water by the river*”<sup>34</sup>. For the problem of rabies, the police (9.7.1838 and 13.5.1848) determined the rules and regulations for dog owners, such as the dog-collar with the master’s name on it<sup>35</sup>. **(Figure 1)**.

### **The British vaccination programme against smallpox**

The British Sanitary Authorities organized a qualified Committee for vaccination only by physicians. During the French occupation it was a common phenomenon for persons without medical qualification to work as “*κεντροωτέες*” (kentrototes, in Greek *kentri* means sting) at the villages, with fatal effects upon the inhabitants. On 15.3.1815, the Magistrate of Corfu determined the nine members of the first Committee under the direction of the Protomedico, Henry Robertson<sup>36</sup>. According to the decision of the Magistrate, the Committee of Variolation had the duty to collect and store the variola vaccines and to divide certain quantities of the vaccines among the official “kentrototes”. According to the traveller Hennen, every week in the Catholic Church of Annunziata in Corfu, the “Institute of Vaccinations” vaccinated the local population<sup>37</sup>.

Eight days after the vaccination, in every town or village, the physicians had the duty to visit the inhabitants in order to examine them<sup>38</sup>. It is important to underline that according to the regulation, the barbers and the practitioners were excluded from the procedure of vaccination. The punishment for the tsarlatans was 20 pounds and imprisonment. The Greek Assembly of the Ionian Islands voted the law “On Vaccination” (1845), ratified by the High Commissioner<sup>39</sup>. This law predicted the cases of unsuccessful vaccinations. In the case of unsuccessful vaccination, after the examination by the physician, the citizen must repeat the

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<sup>32</sup> Il Magistrato All’Annona, di Corfu. Corfu, Nella Stamperia del Governo 19.9.1814. Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece; Atti Emanati Dal Parlamento. Corfu, Nella Stamperia del Governo. Atto No 5, I Ses., 1845. Historical Archive of Corfu; Atti Emanati Dal Parlamento. Corfu, Nella Stamperia del Governo. 1/13 Jul. 1857. Historical Archive of Corfu.

<sup>33</sup> Atti Emanati Dal Parlamento. Corfu, Nella Stamperia del Governo 16.7.1819. Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece.

<sup>34</sup> Report of the Central Medical Society of Corfu to H. Drummont Wolff, Secretary of H.M. Lord High Commissioner, Corfu 24 March 1861. Historical Archive of Corfu.

<sup>35</sup> Notificazione Dalla Direzione Generale di Polizia Esecutiva 13.5.1848. Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece.

<sup>36</sup> Notificazione Dalla Magistrato. 10.4.1815. Historical Archive of Corfu.

<sup>37</sup> Hennen, op. cit., pp. 190-191, 204, 228, 377, 415.

<sup>38</sup> Notificazione Dalla Magistrato. 10.4.1815. Historical Archive of Corfu.

<sup>39</sup> Atti Emanati Dal Parlamento, Corfu, Nella Stamperia del Governo, 1845. Historical Archive of Corfu.

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procedure after six months. In the case of second unsuccessful vaccination on the same person, the regulation predicted a third attempt again after six months. If the third attempt was again unsuccessful, the citizen was free from the procedure (Article 2, "On Vaccination", 1845)<sup>40</sup>. For citizens without a certificate of vaccination the fine was 20 shillings (Article 3)<sup>41</sup>.

Even these strict laws for the vaccination, the programme had a lot of problems such as the civilians' fear, especially by the farmers at the villages. The British excluded the idea of vaccination by force and introduced a trick, the isolation in the Lazaretto. The punishment was of extreme importance to the farmers because during the isolation they should lose the period of the harvest with economic consequences for them and their families.

### **Fighting the seaborne diseases: Lazarettos and Quarantine**

One impressive fact is that the British who adopted and supported the Venetian institution of Lazarettos in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, ignored for long this effective measure against infectious diseases, as the traveller Sir George Sandys (1610) writes in his book (dedicated to the King James I): "*It is here a custom strictly observed (as also elsewhere within the Steights belonging to the Christians) not to suffer any to traffike or come ashore before they have a Prattice from the Seniors of Health: which will not be granted until forty dayes after their arrival, especially if the ship come from Turkie, and bring not a certificate, that the place from whence they come is free from the infection*"<sup>42</sup>.

During the British Protection, sanitary officers located at the end of the port, with the aid of the port physicians, were responsible for every ship approaching or leaving the island. Their sanitary duties began with a visit after the arrival of the ship. The captains were obliged to give their documents and their health certificates from the authorities of the departure port<sup>43</sup>. The documents certified that the town of departure was free of infectious diseases. Actually, the documents (*Fede di Sanita*) were certifications from the ambassadors or the consuls, in states such the Ottoman Empire, Italy and the liberated Greek territories. (**Figure 2**). Questions were asked about any cases of disease among the crew or the passengers and eventually any contact with other ships during the trip. The crew was obliged to be hospitalized in the Lazaretto and the duration of the isolation depended on the existence or not of a suspicious disease. The most typical physicians demanded the change of all clothes with new ones administered by the Magistrate. Clothes, blankets and coverlets had to be cleaned and exposed to the sun and clean air and all the compartments of the ship had to be fumigated by the *Sborratori*, the corpse of employees responsible for disinfection. Some more pedantic physicians insisted on sail washing with sea water as it was considered disinfectant. During the fumigation process the ship was obliged to raise a yellow flag and be guarded by the *Quardiani*<sup>44</sup>. After the end of the isolation, the officers of the Magistrate allowed the departure. The captain of the ship

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Sir George Sandys, *A Relation of a journal begun 1610*, London 1615, p. 6.

<sup>43</sup> Gazzetta Degli Stati Uniti Delle Isole Jonie, 13.8.1838. Historical Archive of Corfu.

<sup>44</sup> L. Zois, *Historical and Folklore Dictionary of Zante*, Athens 1963, p. 369.

had now new documents and certifications, the *Pratigo* and the *Fede di Partenze*, i.e. licence for free departure and commercial transactions.

In case of an infectious disease on board, the crews remained quarantined for forty (Ital. *quaranta*) days, the famous quarantine. It's interesting to mention that no exceptions were made for distinguished travellers and even celebrities like the High Commissioner. A typical example is the case of the visit of the High Commissioner Lord Maitland in Zante. On April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1816, the local newspaper *Ioniki*, reported this visit as follows: "*His Excellency, High Commissioner-General Lord Thomas Maitland, landed in our town after his quarantine*". Anyway, the duration of the quarantine varied from time to time and was affected by the circumstances. The British traveller Hugh Williams described in 1820 the changes in quarantine duration: "*At present all persons coming from the Ionian Islands perform a quarantine of twenty-eight days. The recent plague at Corfu and Cephalonia seems to justify the measure. On the other hand, there is a relaxatory quarantine of ten days on all vessels from the coast of Calabria, in consequence of the appearance of pestilence last year in the town of Noja*"<sup>45</sup>.

In 1861, the *Gollegio Medico* of Corfu, together with the General Resident, determined the duration of quarantine according to the kind of disease (yellow fever and plague 40 days, smallpox 12 days and cholera 9 days) and the port of departure (from Albania 24 days, from Aegean Islands 10 days, and from Constantinople 7), while the contact with other ships during the trip added 24 more days<sup>46</sup>.

The strictest Lazaretto was in Santa Maura because the island was connected with the Greek mainland with a small bridge. As Peter Laurent writes: "*We were daily visited by the British officers of the garrison, anxious to give us proofs of the simple and genuine hospitallity peculiar to their nation. So disgracefully are the most rigid laws of quarantine infringed by the sentinels, or *guardiani della sanità*, that we not infrequently caught our playnig at cards with them...*"<sup>47</sup>.

Hennen (1830) compares the conditions in the Lazarettos during the Venetian and British era, expressing his personal view on the British improvements but states the cases of guards' corruption, a common phenomenon of all Lazarettos<sup>48</sup>. Both mariners and travelers did not consider the isolation perspective as a pleasant adventure and tried to avoid it. Some of them compared the lazarettos with prisons as Giffard (1837) explains: "*We had therefore what anywhere else would have been an agreeable society, but in this quarantine prison nothing can be agreeable, and the time crawled but heavily along, our chief occupation being to watch the boat which brought over our breakfast and dinner from the town...*"<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> J. Booker, *Maritime Quarantine: The British experience (1650-1900)*, Aldershot 2007, pp. 405-411; H. Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Isles. (Letter XLVI, Corfu)*, Edinburgh 1820, p. 150.

<sup>46</sup> Report of the Central Medical Society of Corfu to H. Drummont Wolff, Secretary of H.M. Lord High Commissioner, Corfu 24 March 1861. Historical Archive of Corfu.

<sup>47</sup> P. Laurent, *Recollections of a Classic Tour through various parts of Greece, Turkey and Italy, Made in the years 1818 and 1819*, London 1821, pp. 222-223.

<sup>48</sup> Hennen, op. cit., pp. 190-191, 204, 228, 377, 415.

<sup>49</sup> E. Giffard, *A short visit to the Ionian Islands, Athens and the Morea*, London 1837, p. 383.

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### **The reaction of the system in emergency cases**

How did the British system work in cases of epidemics? The motivation of the system included:

- The General Resident convoked the Collegioto Medico and the Magistrate.
- The General Resident nominated the Chief of the Police as the Head of the Collegioto.
- According to the plan, the General Resident divided the town into sectors (Deputazione di Sanità) and every sector was under the responsibility of a committee consisting of 4 physicians and 2 administrative employees) in collaboration with the *Capo*, the local leader of the quarter.
- The Collegioto had the duty to inform the inhabitants about the development of the disease by giving them daily reports. Actually, these reports included a list of victims (name, age and address), new patients, new entries in the Lazaretto and instructions about new dangerous or suspicious sectors of the town or villages. (During Venetian rule, there was a weekly report).
- The General Resident had the right to nominate the provincial physicians and Condottati as active members of the Magistrate.
- Suspicious cases and patients were under observation in the Lazaretto.
- Special Committee investigated the case in order to discover the contacts of the first victim and the gate of entrance in the island.
- Military measures by the Chief of Police were taken for the quarantine of the town, even of the entire island.
- There were double check points at the entrance of the infected place.
- In case of the port's blockade, the garrison could without warning bombard ships trying to enter the port after sunset.
- If the epidemic took a large scale, the General Resident decided the foundation of temporary hospitals, in churches and monasteries and special camps for suspicious cases. In extremely large scale epidemics, the General Resident allowed the access of the inhabitants to Military Hospitals.
- A special team of physicians and guards disinfected the houses of the victims.
- According to the reports of Collegioto, the General Resident declared the end of the epidemic and the blockade of the town.
- The General Resident informed the High Commissioner about the end of the epidemic.

According to the effectiveness of the system, epidemics with high mortality rates, such as the epidemics of cholera in Cephalonia (1850, 992 deaths) and smallpox in Corfu (1852, 365 deaths)<sup>50</sup> were rare. Other epidemics or outbreaks, such as the plague (Corfu 1815 and Cephalonia 1816), cholera (Corfu 1855 and Zante

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<sup>50</sup> C. Typaldos-Preténdéris, *Du choléra épidémique observé à Cephalonie en 1850*, Athènes 1850, p. 38; Filalithis. Fol. 26<sup>th</sup> July, 22<sup>th</sup> August, 13<sup>th</sup> September, 30<sup>th</sup> September, 15<sup>th</sup> October, 23<sup>th</sup> October, 31<sup>st</sup> October, 8<sup>th</sup> December, 16<sup>th</sup> December 1852. Historical Archive of Corfu.

1856), smallpox (Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura 1837) and meningitis (Corfu 1843-1844) had minimal casualties<sup>51</sup>.

### **Major difficulties of the British Sanitary system and the smallpox crisis of 1852**

Actually, the major problems of the British Authorities were: i) the contraband at the distant shores, ii) the secret arrival of Greek rebels and their families (with the island of Santa Maura as their destination) from the Greek mainland with many natural foci of endemic infectious diseases, and iii) the reactions of the islanders against the British Protection.

About the problems of the contraband and the rebellions, the Sanitary Authorities decided to hire spies in the islands and more Quardiani to protect all the coast, and captains or citizens arrested had to pay amounts between 10 shillings and 10 pounds<sup>52</sup>. The remains of the small towers of the Quardiani at the edge of the rocks are still visible till now. Even today, in the Ionian Islands, the toponyms of the coasts and villages serve as reminders of the era of the night guards (*Ital. Quardiani, Gr. Βαρδιάνοι, Vardiani*).

The third problem was the “all-time classic” problem between the Greeks and the British Authorities. The strict measures of the blockade and the commercial difficulties, the duty of the citizens as grave-diggers, the high fines for the violation of sanitary laws and of course the measure of the Chief of Police as Head of Collegieto during epidemics were the major points of disagreement between the two sides. In 1848, the High Commissioner Lord John Seaton (1843-1849) introduced the reformation of Maitland’s Constitution and the law about the “The Freedom of the Press and the Abolition of Censorship” (18.5.1848). This act was the starting point for the existence of official newspapers for all the political Ionian parties<sup>53</sup>. The political situation was complex and the Greek Assembly of the Ionian Islands had three parties: one faithful to the British Crown, one fighting for an independent Ionian State, and the most hard-line one, *Rizospastes* (Radical -Unionists), fighting for independence and union with the Kingdom of Greece<sup>54</sup>. In every case of epidemics, the newspapers of the anti-British parties accused the sanitary organization and the Authorities of their in effectiveness and recollected the times of Venetians.

The greatest crisis was reported in 1852, during the epidemic of smallpox in Corfu. The newspaper *Filalithis* (friend of truth) accused the Magistrate of falsifying the reports on the real scale of the epidemic and charged the Committee of Vaccination with providing ineffective vaccines and unsuccessful vaccinations of the inhabitants<sup>55</sup>. From 29.2.1852 to 3.11.1852, 2.123 cases and 365 deaths were reported

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<sup>51</sup> Tully, op. cit., pp. 90-92, 168-169; P. Chiotou, *History of Ionian State (1815-1864)*, vol II., Zante 1877, pp. 355-364; C. Lavrano, *Sulla meningite cerebro-spinale-miasmatica che la dominato nell’Isola di Corfu nei mesi di Novembre e Dicembre 1843, Gennajo e Febbrajo 1844*, Corfu 1844.

<sup>52</sup> C. Loberdo, *Storia di Cephalonia*, Cephalonia 1888, p. 182.

<sup>53</sup> B. Knox, “British policy and the Ionian Islands 1847-1864: Nationalism and Imperial Administration”, *English Historical Review* 94 (1984) 503-529.

<sup>54</sup> Knox, op. cit., pp. 503-529.

<sup>55</sup> *Filalithis*. Fol. 26<sup>th</sup> July, 22<sup>th</sup> August, 13<sup>th</sup> September, 30<sup>th</sup> September, 15<sup>th</sup> October, 23<sup>th</sup> October, 31<sup>st</sup> October, 8<sup>th</sup> December, 16<sup>th</sup> December 1852. Historical Archive of Corfu.



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in Corfu<sup>56</sup>. The newspaper contested the administrative vaccination procedure and the control system and stated that the epidemic was just another example of the failure of the British Protection and it was time for political change and independence<sup>57</sup>. The most interesting fact was that according to the Ionian newspaper, the information about the real mortality reports came from the journalists of the Austrian newspaper "*Observer of Trieste*", which reported that the Austro-Hungarian Empire had special interest in the epidemic of smallpox in the Ionian Islands, confusing the British Authorities.

### **Conclusion**

The sanitary British efforts were in the spirit of the protection of public health and hygiene. The historical Ionian Islands were the only part of Greece where such advanced West European ideas were first applied, when the principles of Preventive Medicine had been initially established. The social welfare and the protection offered to the inhabitants against contagious diseases were vastly improved since the time of the Venetian rule, while the sanitary laws were codified and in some cases revised. General standards were quite satisfactory for that period and comparable to levels prevailing in other places in the Mediterranean. Particular measures were taken for the free communication among the islands, the institution of the quarantine and the function of the lazarettos. All these resulted in a very satisfactory defence against epidemics, the most significant danger of those times.

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### **Abstract**

#### **Sanitary Legislation and Public Health measures in the Ionian Islands during the British Protection (1815-1864)**

The aim of the study is to present the British efforts of the introduction of the principles of Preventive Medicine in the Ionian Islands during the period of British Protection (1815-1864). Our search was based on the Historical Archive of Corfu and the records of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece. The British adopted the legislation and the sanitary organization by the former ruler of the region, the Venetian Republic. The British not only adopted the Venetian sanitary organization

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

but also preserved and extended the institutions with minimal bureaucracy and great flexibility. Their innovation and re-organization of the old lazarettos (pest-houses), the new marine sanitary procedures, the determination of the quarantine duration for every infectious disease and the introduction of the vaccination system, resulted in a satisfactory defense against epidemics in the Ionian Islands during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Figures

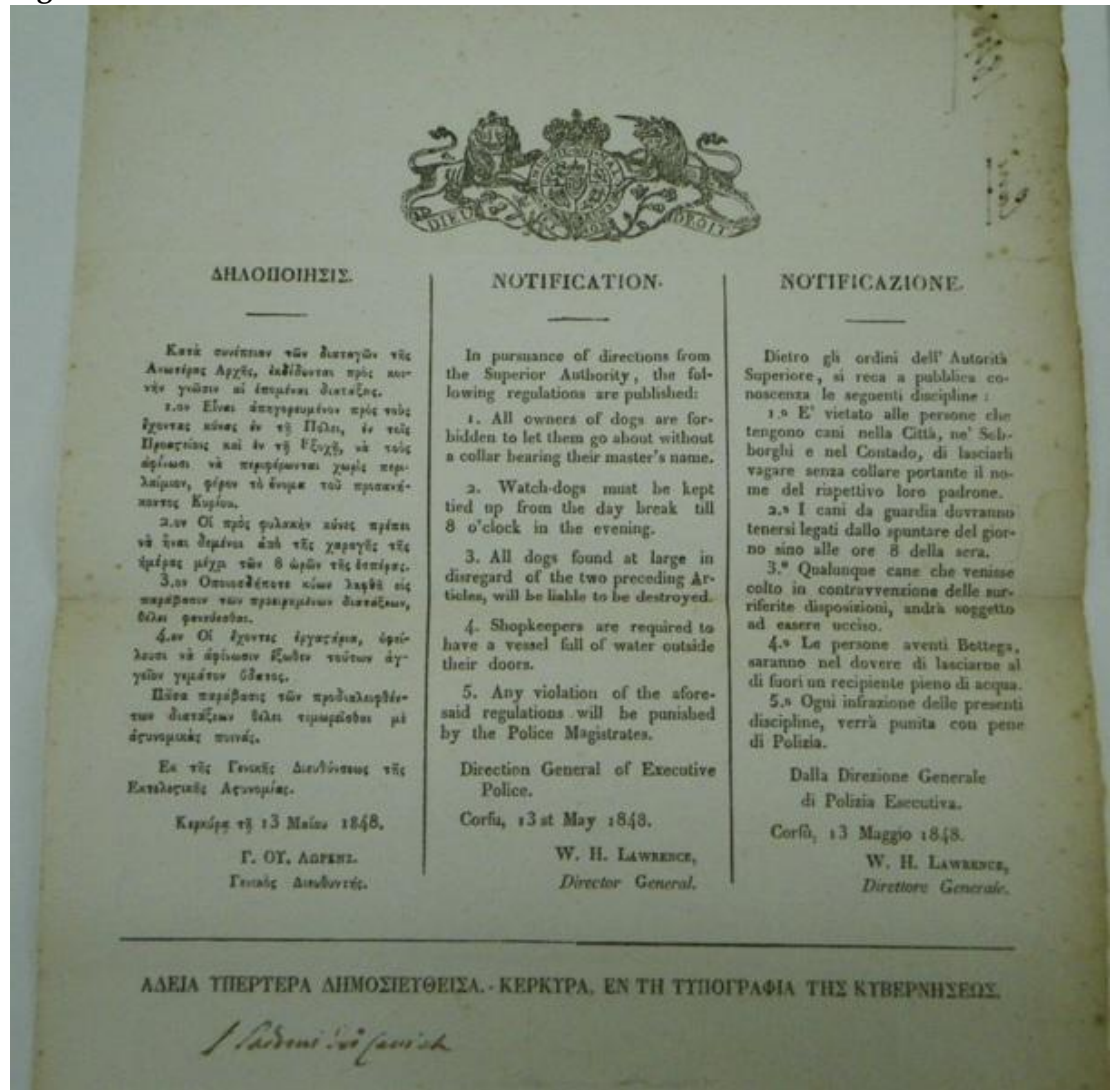


Figure 1. Notification for rabies by the High Inspector of Police (Courtesy of the National Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece).

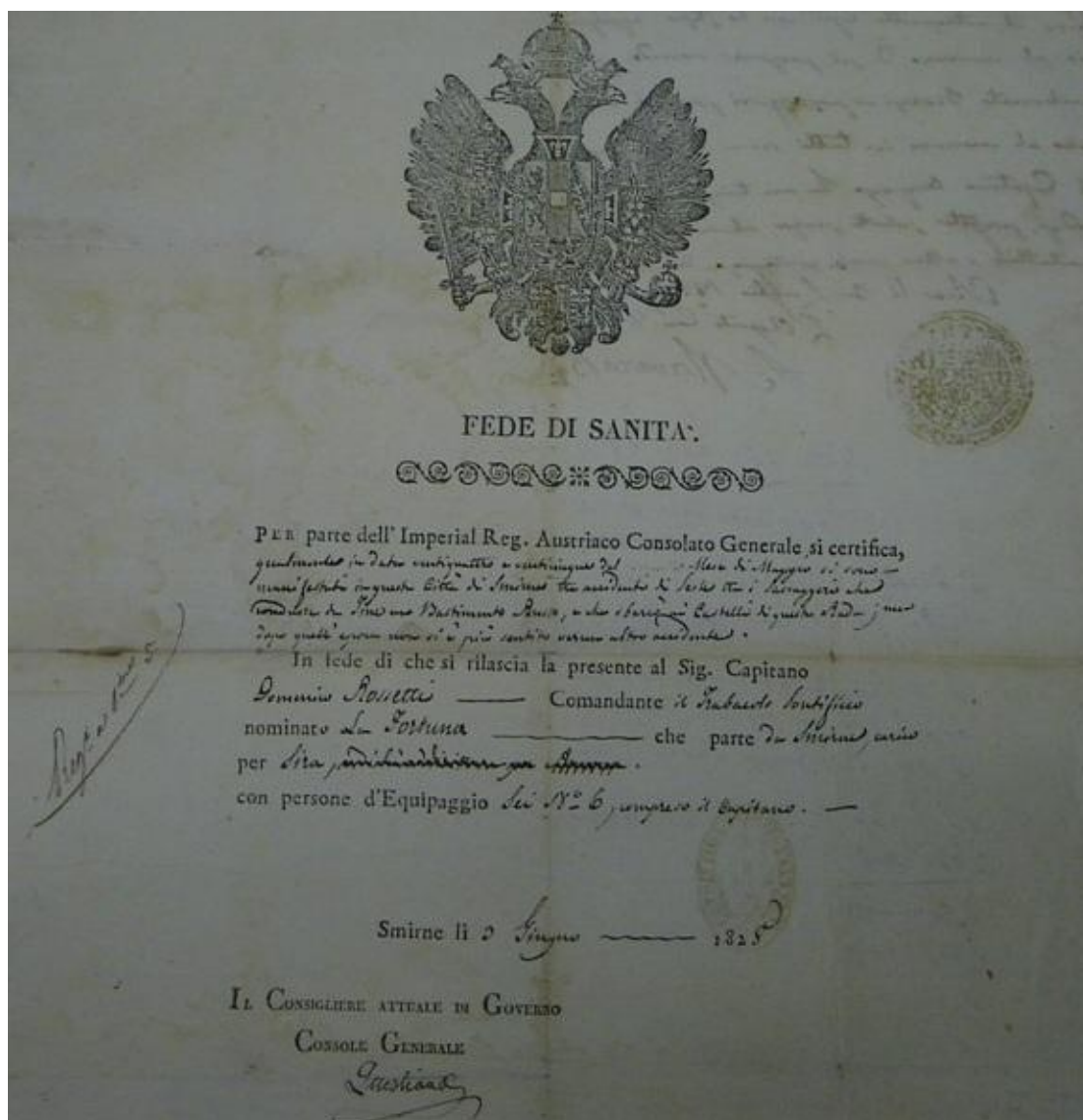


Figure 2. Fede di Sanità by the Consul of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Smyrne (Izmir) to Corfu (Courtesy of the National Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece).

### Keywords

British Empire, Infectious diseases, Ionian Islands, Public health, Quarantine, Vaccinations.

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### **Configuring the Identity of a Sea-Fighting Nation: Modern Greek Paintings depicting Naval Battles at the Hellenic Maritime Museum**

The foundation of an institution that undertakes the task of collecting, preserving and displaying artifacts connected with a nation's persistent activity at sea demarcates the latter's self-designation as a maritime nation. In the case of Greece, an independent state since 1830, this identity results from the particular way in which men of arts, letters and politics referred to exceptional incidents at sea as denominators of national aspirations and struggles. Since the Hellenic nation started to understand itself as such, it appropriated a maritime identity, because in the individual and collective conscience the sea granted communal well-being, security, opportunities for territorial, financial and intellectual expansion, plus a certainty of partaking in the same enterprises as their illustrious ancestors. The fact that the modern inhabitants of this Aegean peninsula and island complex share the same leaning towards seafaring with all the pre-existing communities in the area create a sense of continuity with the ancient and medieval past to which other Balkan nations had no justifiable claim. From the days of Themistocles to the War of Independence (1821-1830), the "wooden walls" had offered rescue in several occasions and the nation's triumphs (the ones that usually provide material to history painters) largely depended on nautical skills. Therefore, a museum devoted to the Hellenic maritime history would also exhibit art works that demonstrate the positive outcome of naval battles between 1821 and 1945, as a means of showing that this small nation-state is to be considered as a useful martial ally at sea, capable of holding its ground against numerically superior adversaries and also substantiating its traditional position as a dominant player in the arena of international transport and commerce<sup>1</sup>.

The aim of this article is to review the way in which sea-fights of the said period were presented in Modern Greek paintings exhibited in the Hellenic Maritime Museum. Notably, the act of representation is a threefold process: it engenders a choice of subject, pictorial narrative and style. Since the works in question deal with historical events, their makers concentrated on those best conveying the idea of the Greeks as a nation of valiant sea-fighters, prioritizing conceptual clarity and accuracy over aesthetic innovation. These were crucial factors, considering that the paintings in the Hellenic Maritime Museum are the outcome of state commissions or artistic endeavors undertaken with the demands of naval officers in mind. The pictorial imprints of naval battles, with which most people are less familiar than with land confrontations, should be dramatic enough to harness national energy, but also offering enough historical detail to satisfy the knowledgeable patrons (mainly naval officers). Firstly, it would be useful to track down the painters whose work found its way to the Hellenic Maritime Museum, so as to arrive to concrete conclusions about the style that the insiders favored and the way in which personal interests (e.g. the artist's links to the Navy) interacted with aesthetic priorities. Secondly, commenting

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<sup>1</sup> L. Sondhaus, *Naval Warfare, 1815-1914*, London 2001, pp. 219-222.

on the relations of the discussed paintings to Western analogues is also essential, particularly if one suspects (as we do) that such comparability was meant to upgrade the standing of both the artist and the Hellenic Navy and unite them in the creation of “central icons of the nation’s consciousness”<sup>2</sup>. Finally, it would be interesting to compare the messages conveyed by these paintings to the ones articulated in the historiography of the times of creation and inclusion in the collection, so as to show the pictorial exhibits of the Hellenic Maritime Museum as “the expression of a consensual public understanding” of Greek history, a way of averting the prospect of discontinuation in naval achievements and striking a balance between the conflicting priorities of cosmopolitanism and patriotism, international recognition and national fulfillment<sup>3</sup>.

### **The Hellenic Maritime Museum: history, ideology and aims.**

Despite the fact that Greece was proclaimed independent during the fourth decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, financial problems delayed the establishment of cultural institutions. The idea of a Maritime Museum was initially put forward in 1867 by Captain Gerasimos Zochios (1821-1881), Secretary General at the Ministry of Naval Affairs and founder of the Seamen’s Pension Fund. At that stage, the project did not progress further than the compilation of heirlooms from sea-fighters and shipowners who participated in the War of Independence. Captain Zochios’s dream came true in 1949, after the end of the Civil War, when economical problems and ideological conflicts threatened to obliterate key memories from the nation’s naval history. Then, a founding committee (i.e. the Hellenic Maritime Museum Society) was organized, representing naval officers, shipping professionals and distinguished citizens with an interest in the affairs of the sea. The fundamental aims of the organisation, as explained in the inaugural mission statement, are the following:

- “1. to collect all types of heirlooms relating to the nation’s naval struggles.
2. to gather, preserve and safeguard all the types of collected heirlooms which are of importance due to their connection with events known or unknown and are worthy of research in the context of Hellenic Maritime History.
3. to establish, organize, supervise and enrich a Maritime Museum in Piraeus.
4. to rekindle the national fighting spirit, to keep undimmed the lustrous trophies of our forefathers’ naval struggles and to foster the love of coming generations for the sea, as a source of national glory”<sup>4</sup>.

Initially, the Museum was housed at 18, Moutsopoulou Coast, in a building belonging to the family of the diplomat and politician Panayiotis Pipinelis (1899-1970). In 1964, the Piraeus Port Authority offered the land plot on the Themistocleous Coast for minimal rent; this practice continued by the Hellenic Organization of Tourism, to which the ownership of the lot was subsequently transferred. The

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<sup>2</sup> N. Tracy, *Britannia’s Palette: The Arts of Naval Victory*, Montreal and Kingston – London – Ithaca 2007, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> G. Quiley, *Empire to Nation. Art, History and the Visualization of Maritime Britain, 1768-1829*, New Haven – London 2011, pp. 3, 205-212.

<sup>4</sup> A. Anagnostopoulou-Paloumbi, “The Hellenic Maritime Museum. A brief history”, in *Hellenic Maritime Museum*, Piraeus 2005, pp. 8-9.

building of the current premises started in 1966 with the support of Konstantinos Kyriazis, who funded an album of twenty-eight illustrations of nineteenth-century ships after French prints by his ancestor Antonios Kriezis (1872-1944), naval officer and painter<sup>5</sup>. Profits from the sales of this album and other publications issued by the Seamen's Pension Fund generated enough to construct an exhibition space of 1,700 square meters, which also incorporates a section of the walls enclosing the Piraeus coastline (4<sup>th</sup> century BC). The Hellenic Maritime Museum has in its possession 2,500 objects of historical and ethnographic import, such as archaeological finds, nautical tools, furniture, weapons, ship models, private records of individuals who played a significant role in Greek maritime history, as well as logbooks, diaries, signal books, maps, drafts and plans. There is also a library containing 14,000 titles and an audio visual archive. Paintings, drawings and engravings -especially those depicting naval battles- make up only a minor fragment of the collection, but their preservation and purchase are among the constitutional aims of the Hellenic Maritime Museum. The fine art section also includes portraits of sailors, ship-owners, military and mercantile vessels<sup>6</sup>.

Despite the non-aligned status inflicted by its participation in associations such as the International Congress of Museums (ICOM) and the International Congress of Maritime Museums (ICMM), as well as its obligation to familiarize the public with the international rudiments of nautical life as effected in its geographical realm, the Hellenic Maritime Museum has a specific didactic agenda, closely tied to the national aspirations. The fact that the primary aims of the museum include the commemoration of sea fights that led to Greece's independence and confirmed its supremacy at sea throughout the ages can be attributed to the coincidence of its foundation with the winding up of nationalism and the "Great Idea", which affected memorable collective endeavors from Ferraios's "Map of the Extended Greece" to Venizelos's "Greece of the Two Continents and Five Seas"<sup>7</sup>.

Nationalism, as an ideological construction involving the identification of a group of individuals linked to a geographical area of supposedly common descent with a widespread vision of "continuity, shared memory and collective identity, i.e. by lines of cultural affinity embodied in distinctive myths, memories, symbols and values" affected the historical development of Europe from the days of the American and the French Revolution until 1945, reaching its peak between 1815 and 1920<sup>8</sup>. Still, in peripheral areas such as Eastern Europe and the Balkans the habit of defining oneself as member of a nation (rather than the inhabitant of a region or the follower of a religion) was not fully developed until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>. The formation of a

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<sup>5</sup> For more information on the artists whose work Kriezis copied, see: F. Smith, *The artful Roux, Marine Painters of Marseilles*, Salem, MA 1978.

<sup>6</sup> Z. Haidou, "The pictorial collection of the Hellenic Maritime Museum", in *Hellenic Maritime Museum*, pp. 139-162; idem, "The Pathways of the Sea Meet the Pathways of Art. From the collections of the Hellenic Maritime Museum", in *The Sea* [exh. cat. Municipal Gallery of Athens-Hellenic Maritime Museum], Athens 2000, pp. 49- 54.

<sup>7</sup> F. Constantopoulou (ed.), *The foundation of the Modern Greek state: major treaties and conventions (1830-1947)*, Athens 1999; R. Clogg, *A Concise history of Greece*, Cambridge 2002.

<sup>8</sup> A. Smith, *National Identity*, Hammondsworth 1991, p. 29.

<sup>9</sup> On nationalism in general: E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge 1992; M. Hroch, "From national movement to fully formed nation", *New Left Review* 198

national identity implies the promotion of ideals to be established in the collective conscience as primordial because of their ability to generate a concept of difference between the nation's members and their neighbors. The nation has been justly described as an "imagined community": the sense of belonging it cultivated does not depend on direct interaction and affiliation between individuals but on "the [socially constructed] image of their communion"<sup>10</sup>. The actions undertaken for achieving or sustaining self-government, the experience of hostilities from antagonistic nations and the oral, written and artistic accounts thereof contributed to the emergence of nationalism<sup>11</sup>. However, it is usually elite-instigated "nationalism [that] engenders nations and not the other way round"; the emerging or established holders of economic and cultural power usually react to the disruption of primordial communities by introducing nations as "new units, suitable for the conditions now prevailing, though [...] using as their raw material cultural, historical and other inheritances from the pre-national world"<sup>12</sup>.

Nationalism is in its root a less separatist ideology than its precedents; it encourages the assimilation of various ethnic and religious groups in new, extended communities whose plural values undermine the authority of old empires.<sup>13</sup> But, as the concept of the nation remains virtually inseparable from the myth of "given and immutable" origins and the exigency of cultural uniformity, it leads to antagonism with neighboring factions described as having less "natural" claim in the area and its heritage<sup>14</sup>. In the case of the Greeks (who were regularly involved in armed conflict due to unattained statehood and the wish to incorporate in it areas connected with the historical development of the nation) nationality was ascertained by the first Assemblies (1821-1824) only to people born in or by parents native of the realm of ancient Greece, who usually (but not always or even exclusively) spoke an evolved version of the classical language and were Orthodox Christians. Participating in battles for freedom allowed people who did not match the above description to be

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(1993) 3-20; M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms: the nation state and nationalism in the twentieth century*, Cambridge 1996; S. Woolfe (ed.), *Nationalism in Europe, 1815 to the present: a reader*, London – New York 1996; T. Baycroft, *Nationalism in Europe 1789-1945*, Cambridge 1998; O. Zimmer, *Nationalism in Europe, 1890-1940*, Houndmills 2003; M. Hroch, *Comparative Studies in Modern European History: nation, nationalism, social change*, Aldeshot 2007. On nationalism in Modern Greece and Southeastern Europe: T. Veremis–M. Blinkhorn (eds.), *Modern Greece: nationalism and nationality*, Athens 1990; S. Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: enlightenment, colonization and the institution of Modern Greece*, Stanford 1996; T. Sfikas–C. Williams, *Ethnicity and nationalism in East Central Europe and the Balkans*, Aldeshot 1999; G. White, *Nationalism and territory: constructing group identities in Southeastern Europe*, Lordham 2000; D. Tziouvas (ed.), *Greece and the Balkans: identities, perceptions and cultural encounters since the Enlightenment*, Aldershot 2003; M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford 2009.

<sup>10</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*, London 1991, p. 224.

<sup>11</sup> K. Nielsen, "Cosmopolitanism, Universalism and Particularism in the Age of Nationalism and Multiculturalism", *Philosophical Exchange* 9 (1998-99) 29 and 9; Smith, *National Identity*, 1991, p. 31.

<sup>12</sup> Gellner, op. cit., pp. 55, 49.

<sup>13</sup> T. Eriksen, "Ethnicity versus Nationalism", *Journal of Peace Research* 28 (1991) 236.

<sup>14</sup> C. Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity", *Annual Research of Sociology* 19 (1993) 221-230.



acceptance into the nation as “heroes symbolically incorporated into the foundations of the nascent state”<sup>15</sup>.

In the case of nations that perceive themselves as maritime, practical and emotional engagement with the sea is an additional unifying factor that permeates and surpasses all others. The financial and political strength of societies arising in islands, peninsulas and coastline areas derives from maritime activities (fishing and sea-trade) that flourished in times of peace. When in war, the continuation of these activities and the survival of the nation depend on prevalence in naval battles, which often determined the conflict’s outcome. The winners of such battles subsequently controlled the maritime routes, gained a reputation of competence in challenging shipping expeditions and greatly advanced the nation in terms of international political economy<sup>16</sup>. There are two nation states in post-1600 Western Europe whose dominant position was intrinsically linked to their maritime prowess, i.e. the Dutch Republic and the British Empire. The superiority of these nations at sea was achieved through trade but consolidated by warfare. The naval victories of the Eighty-Years War (1568-1648), through which the Netherlands undercut the Spanish rule and *thalassocracy*, precipitated the nation’s liberty and colonial expansion; the latter was additionally upheld by successive triumphs at sea against Britain (1652-1654, 1665-1667, 1672-1674). The British naval power, developing steadily since the days of the Armada, was internationally acknowledged as a result of the last Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784) and the Napoleonic Wars (1799-1812); consequently, maritime trade control shifted to the British for the centuries to come<sup>17</sup>.

From the late seventeenth century, the Greeks tried to emulate the progress of the above nations. They were easily recognized as the successors of the waning naval rule of Venice in the Eastern Mediterranean, due to the refusal of Ottomans to get involved in the Navy and the various merchant ships operating in their territory. Since the mid-eighteenth century, trade in the Ottoman Empire was mainly controlled by Greek mariners, who thrived especially after the Kuçuk Kainarji Treaty (1774). Several Greek communities emerged in ports (e.g. Trieste, Ancona, Livorno, Odessa, Marseilles, London, Liverpool) and gained strength during the Napoleonic Wars, when Hellenic ships defied the British blockade and supplied Europe with wheat. In 1821, the Greek fleet amounted to almost a thousand vessels, with crews experienced in battle tactics, challenging maneuvers and surprise attacks as a result of the obligatory service of islanders in the Ottoman Navy and their interchanging quarrel and collaboration with the local pirates. Most probably, the Revolution would have died out, had the Greeks been deprived of financial, technical and military reserves gained at sea. The same is true for other crucial conflicts, especially the Balkan Wars. As in the case of Holland and Britain, the Navy’s successes ensured

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<sup>15</sup> S. Van Evera, “Hypotheses on Nationalism and War”, *International Security* 18 (1994) 5-39; R. Peckham, *National Histories, National States. Nationalism and Politics of Place in Greece*, London 2001, p. 24.

<sup>16</sup> T. Ropp, “Maritime war and trade and South-Eastern Europe, 1740-1920: the setting, the issues and the results”, in A. Vakalopoulos, K. Svolopoulos & B. Kiraly (eds.), *Southeastern European maritime commerce and naval practices from the mid-eighteenth century to 1940*, Boulder 1988, pp. 380-402.

<sup>17</sup> J. Jones, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century (Modern Wars in Perspective)*, New York 1996; D. Hainsworth, C. Churches-R. Hainsworth, *The Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars 1652-1674*, London 1998; C. Bayley, *The birth of the modern world: 1780-1914*, Oxford 2004.

the ability of self-determination and shielded merchant shipping, i.e. the prime source of foreign currency for Greece<sup>18</sup>.

In our opinion, this is exactly the message that pictorial representations of naval battles exhibited at the Hellenic Maritime Museum communicate to the viewer. Their use of the language of art for conveying the nation's naval achievements as comparable to those of the greatest maritime powers in Europe unifies them in an eloquent whole which serves the educational aims and historical perspective of the institution under scrutiny. At the time of the Museum's foundation (1949), the unity of the nation had suffered blows and the country's armed forces, especially those more closely connected with the highest echelons of society, bore the brunt of the resentment felt by the previous generation, especially those who had sided by left-wing groups during the Civil War. Furthermore, the increasing amount of foreign intervention in Greece and the focus of international attention on industrial productivity (the necessary infrastructure for which the country lacked) threatened to diminish the diachronic value of national successes, as well as mar the self-confidence of sailors and naval officers alike. The Hellenic Maritime Museum was meant to act as a reminder that there was a special domain in which the nation could never be judged as defective and should thus continue to be cultivated. Within its context, emphasis was given to iconic tokens of enterprises at sea in times of war, since war was recognized as a supreme prototype of unitary action, an "antidote to descent into the tyranny of [externally introduced worship of excess] luxury" and a way of inducing "sympathetic feelings [for its self-sacrificing participants] across the entire spectrum of the nation"<sup>19</sup>. It was hoped that pictorial representations of naval battles, which in several countries with a similar background have helped to instill civic virtue through the perusal of artistic beauty, would exert a pull on visitors less favorably predisposed towards the Hellenic Navy and also provide "exemplary national narratives" to encourage simulation by future generations<sup>20</sup>.

### **Images of nineteenth-century naval battles from the Hellenic Maritime Museum**

The nationalist basis of the newly established Greek state prompted the creation of artworks celebrating achievements at sea which contributed to the nation's sovereignty. Paintings, drawings, prints and statues in the Hellenic Maritime museum commemorate emblematic figures of the War of Independence, historical ships and naval battles. These works responded to a demand of the general public and the intellectuals for new signs of artistic and military progress that affirm the nation's superiority in the region<sup>21</sup>. The same objective also motivated the

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<sup>18</sup> Anagnostopoulou-Paloumbi, op. cit., pp. 44-45. On Modern Greek sea trade, see: M.-C. Chatziioannou-G. Harlaftis, *A history of Greek-owned shipping: the making of an international tramp fleet, 1830 to the present day*, London 1996; M.-C. Chatziioannou-G. Harlaftis (eds.), *Following the Nereids: sea routes and maritime business, 16th-20th centuries*, Athens 2006.

<sup>19</sup> Quiley, op. cit., pp. 72, 201.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p. 200.

<sup>21</sup> For the connection of Greek art and art history to the nationalism, see E. Matthiopoulos, "Η Ιστορία της Τέχνης στα όρια του έθνους" [Art History in the Bounds of the Nation], in N. Hadjinicolaou -E.

creation of pictorial representations of Greek ports and peaceful activity<sup>22</sup>. Both thematic categories flourished since the 1870s, during a period characterized first of all by an intensive effort of alignment with Europe in technical endeavors (including seafaring) and secondly by a wish to further national interests in a phase of fierce antagonism with the other Balkan nations for important portions of the declining Ottoman Empire. Thus, it is not surprising that the paintings in question use an eclectic style that unifies traits of northern European art with a distinct appreciation of local landscape, light and history. Greek seascape painters of the late nineteenth- and the early twentieth centuries had an international career of sorts, despite their forced retreat into academic style after their return from Europe. The fascination of Romantic painters with the War of Independence and the historical Mediterranean landscape had also raised interest for the most common themes in Greek art. Finally, depictions of sea-fighting and sea-faring were still noticed in popular exhibitions abroad and the Greek equivalents were conveniently close to the favored styles in the art scenes of London and Paris (Romantic Classicism and modest endeavors in *plein-air* painting)<sup>23</sup>.

Its unanimous derivation from the legacy of the van de Veldes added unity of scope and style to nineteenth-century seascape painting in Europe and offered the chance of an international career to Greek artists who studied and worked for some years in northern countries, especially Germany. Angelos Prokopiou was the first Greek art historian who pointed to a latent connection between the pictorial representations of the Dutch struggles against the Spanish and the English with Greek paintings on the War of Independence, arguing that the pictorial affirmation of superiority in sea-fighting urged these nations to invest on naval preparations for consolidating their independence and expanding their territory. Prokopiou also drew interesting parallels between the social background and appeal of naval fighters in each country: in both cases the revolutionary front consisted of proletarian bandits - called 'Guezen' (Sea Beggars) in Holland and 'Kleftes' (Thieves) in Greece-, bourgeois merchants, ship owners and hardened sailors, likely to give preferentiality to realistic images of actions proclaiming extraordinary merit versus traditionally stronger and less democratic adversaries<sup>24</sup>. However, one cannot ignore in Hellenic depictions of naval battles at the end of the nineteenth century a growing number of similarities with the way in which Dutch and British painters as representatives of the most valiant naval nations in Europe after 1700 exerted their pride "through the didactic transformation of the disaster into a moralized account of heroism" and "the idea of 'conquering to save'"<sup>25</sup>.

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Matthiopoulos (eds.), *Η Ιστορία της Τέχνης στην Ελλάδα* [Art History in Greece], Rethymno, 2003, pp. 419-475.

<sup>22</sup> S. Moschonas-K. Chalkias (eds.), *The Ports of Hellenism. Ports in Greek Art*, Athens 2004.

<sup>23</sup> M. Vlachos, *Maritime painting*, Athens 1994; A. Kotides, *Ζωγραφική 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα* [19<sup>th</sup> century Painting], Athens 1995, pp. 20-26.

<sup>24</sup> A. Prokopiou, *Ολλανδία. Από τον Ερασμο στον Μοντριάν* [Holland. From Erasmus to Mondrian], Athens 1958, pp. 35-36.

<sup>25</sup> Quiley, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 196.

### A) Images related to the War of Independence (1821-183)

The first Greek painter who left behind glorious commemorations of the nation's naval battles clearly inspired by the analogous tradition of Dutch art was Konstantinos Volanakis (1837-1907), whose love for the sea can be explained by his origins and former occupation. Volanakis was born in Herakleion, Crete and schooled in Syros, the greatest merchant Greek port at that time; there, he was lucky to have the famous Ingrist portraitist Andreas Kriezis (1813-1877) as his art teacher<sup>26</sup>. Between 1856 and 1864, he worked as an accountant in a sugar-trading company in Trieste belonging to Georgios Afentoulis, kin to his brother-in-law; there, he spent his free time on drawing studies of various vessels and their relation to the Mediterranean seascape. In 1864, he entered the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, supported by Afentoulis and his family, whose financial situation had improved<sup>27</sup>. The assumption that he studied under Karl von Piloty (1826-1886) is not substantially documented, even if his depictions of naval battles brim with reminiscences of that master's military compositions. In the 1870s, Volanakis excelled in paintings that deal with seascapes and peaceful maritime activities in a style that owes more to French progressive art (Barbizon painters and Impressionism) than to the academism of Munich. The change occurred after the painter's return with his family to Athens (1883), where he was offered a professor in the School of the Fine Arts. This merit reflected the state's wish to capitalize Volanakis's international successes, including the first prize in Franz Joseph I's competition for the best representation of the Battle of Lissa (Vis) (July 20, 1866) and the purchase of a now lost painting on the Battle of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805) by the British Admiralty<sup>28</sup>.

These works, particularly the two versions of the *Battle of Lissa* which depict the counter-ram of the Austrian former ship-of-the-line *Kaiser* against the Italian ironclad *Re di Portogallo* with survivors of the sinking *Re d'Italia* on a raft at the foreground, determined Volanakis's approach to sea-fighting scenes<sup>29</sup>. The impact of the Budapest version, an epic panorama reminiscent of Piloty in its contrasting curvilinear formations which meet at the centre, is obvious on the *Battle of Salamis*, commissioned by the Greek government before Volanakis's departure from Munich

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<sup>26</sup> D.-C. Alevizou, "Τα μαθητικά χρόνια του Κωνσταντίνου Βολανάκη στη Σύρο και ο δάσκαλος ιχνογραφίας Ανδρέας Κριεζής" [The school years of Konstantinos Volanakis in Syros and the art teacher Andreas Kriezis], *Μνήμων* 27 (2003) 271-278.

<sup>27</sup> For the information that the artist's older brother, Athanasios Volanakis, run a weaving company in 1869 and a factory of ceramics in early 1873, see K. Theophanous, "Κωνσταντίνος Βολανάκης" [Κωνσταντίνος Βολανάκης], *Νέοι Σκοποί* (May 18, 1961); M. Vlachos, *Ο ζωγράφος Κωνσταντίνος Βολανάκης, 1837-1907* [The painter Konstantinos Volanakis, 1837-1907] (Ph.D thesis, University of Thessaloniki), Athens 1974, p. 37.

<sup>28</sup> Vlachos, *Ο ζωγράφος Κωνσταντίνος Βολανάκης, 1837-1907*, pp. 36-58; S. Lydakis, *Κωνσταντίνος Βολανάκης* [Konstantinos Volanakis], Athens 1997, pp. 15-36; M.S. Casimatis, *Constantinos Volanakis 1837-1907. Poet of the Sea* [exh. cat. Hellenic Maritime Museum-Aikaterini Laskaridi Foundation], Piraeus 2009, pp. 29-30.

<sup>29</sup> K. Volanakis, *The Battle of Lissa*, 1868, oil on canvas, 164 x 127 cm, Österreichische Galerie, Vienna and *The Battle of Lissa*, 1869, oil on canvas, 169 x 283 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest in Lydakis, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

and finished the following year in Piraeus<sup>30</sup>. In this composition, the tension culminates at the masts and sails, while the dazzling hues, overcrowd and unnatural serenity around Artemisia's trireme at the centre divert the viewer's attention from the actual battle scene. The arc of paddles in the vessel of the Karian Queen gives the impression of inexorable centrifugal wave, which undercuts the wall of Greek ships at the edges. The greatest naval battle of the Persian Wars (480 B.C.), which reversed the odds in favour of the Greeks and forced Artemisia to attack Xerxes's ships for escaping, assumes an allegorical meaning. Volanakis puts this incident forward as proof of a historical continuity between the Greeks fighting for their Independence and Themistocles's crews, i.e. the contemporary and the ancient guardians of the nation's practices and ideals. An unflattering connection is simultaneously being made between the Persians and the Ottomans, i.e. the past and present usurpers of the nation's natural and cultural resources. By comparing the naval battles of the War of Independence to the ancient one at Salamis, Volanakis legitimizes the efforts of the Greeks to reinstate their patrimonial rights and stresses the importance of sea-fighting for the fulfillment of the nation's goals throughout the ages<sup>31</sup>.

The *Battle of Salamis* forms part of a pictorial trilogy that refers to the nation's recent naval struggles. The second part of these series is the *Setting on fire of an Ottoman two-decker at Eressos* (fig. 1)<sup>32</sup>. This painting, which limits linear detail to the description of the vessel, depicts the arson of the Ottoman flagship *Behtas Kaptan* by Demetrios Papanikolis (1790-1855) in a port of Lesbos. After a doomed effort to destroy the frigate with their light canons, the Greeks resorted to the clandestine weapon of the Russian-Turkish War (1770). With the help of a veteran shipwright of the Black Sea fleet, Ioannis Dimoulitsas (d.1823) constructed three fireships. The first was unsuccessfully launched on May 25, 1821 while the others operated jointly two days later. Papanikolis's fireship, with Ioannis Theophilopoulos (1790-1885) at the helm, destroyed the Ottoman vessel, turning guerilla arsons into a popular tactic among the Greek rebels<sup>33</sup>. In terms of layout, this painting follows the pattern set by the Vienna version of the *Battle of Lissa*, where action is suggested by its most captivating moment. The two-decker, half-hidden by its oblique placement and the smoke clouds, occupies the two thirds of the composition and creates an impression of depth typical of Baroque and Romantic art. Its canons, stern and mast billow out

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<sup>30</sup> K. Volanakis, *The battle of Salamis*, 1882-1883, oil on canvas, 103 x 200 cm, General Headquarters of the Hellenic Navy, Athens in Lydakis, op. cit., p. 131. Cassimatis (Cassimatis, op. cit., p. 84) argues that the painting *The burning of the Turkish two-decker at Eressos* was an official commission. In her opinion, "the painting is signed C. Bolanacki, meaning that it was completed before the artist's arrival in Greece (1884) and which also rules out the possibility of its being commissioned by the state". Still, the signature with Latin letters does not necessarily preclude the possibility of a commission.

<sup>31</sup> M. Vlachos, "Κωνσταντίνος Βολανάκης" [Konstantinos Volanakis], in S. Lydakis (ed.), *Οι Έλληνες ζωγράφοι* [Greek Painters], vol. 1 (from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century), Athens 1975, p. 204; Vlachos, *Ο ζωγράφος Κωνσταντίνος Βολανάκης, 1837-1907*, pp. 137-138; Vlachos, *Maritime painting*, pp. 211-212. The equalization of the Ottomans with Anatolian people was not a fresh idea. For one, Laonicus Chalcondyles (c. 1423-1490) in *Proofs of Histories* characterizes the fall of Constantinople as a fair payback for the plunder of Troy. For an analysis of Chalcondyles's text, see: E. Darko, "Zum Leben Laonikos Chalkondyles", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 24 (1923-1924) 29-39.

<sup>32</sup> K. Volanakis, *The setting on fire of an Ottoman two-decker at Eressos*, 1882, oil on canvas, 110 x 150 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, inv. 238.

<sup>33</sup> *Hellenic Maritime Museum*, p. 57; *The Sea*, p. 97.

of a loosely handled area of dark color, highlighted by the flames on the right. This section exposes the passage through which the arsonists escaped to the Greek ships at the horizon and reduces the impression of closure. A fair balance is stricken between linear and painterly effects, visual drama and its subordination to historical accuracy. The motif of the Ottoman survivors, who climbed through a rope ladder into a rescue boat, forges a link with famous images of suffering at sea, such as Delacroix's *Barque of Dante* and Gericault's *Raft of the Medusa*<sup>34</sup>. There are also similarities with depictions of British naval victories during the Napoleonic wars by Philippe de Loutherbourg (1740-1814), where the image of drowning sailors imply an ethical clash between one's humanitarian and national duties<sup>35</sup>. Volanakis imitated Loutherbourg in glorifying less powerful nations which relied (in a Goliath-like manner indicated by the juxtaposition of their tiny ships to the giant vessels of their opponent) on their extraordinary naval skills, further to the example set by the van de Veldes in<sup>36</sup>.

Volanakis' fascination with maritime catastrophes is manifested by his insistence on commemorating guerilla arsons, including the one that took place in Chios during the second summer of the War of Independence<sup>37</sup>. The massacre on this island (March 1822) was avenged, when Konstantinos Kanaris (1793-1877) and Andreas Pipinos (1780-1836) set fire to a large moored section of Kara Ali's fleet at the early hours of the 7<sup>th</sup> of June, benefitting from the crew's participation in bairam festivities. Kanaris's fireship caused the canons of the frigate *Monsouriga* to explode and kill almost two thousand men, including the Admiral responsible for the March slaughter<sup>38</sup>. The Hellenic Maritime Museum has a variant of this composition, painted by Volanakis' student Aristovouli Lopresti, sister to the sociologist and politician Alexandros Papanastasiou (1876-1936) and wife to a higher naval officer (fig. 2)<sup>39</sup>. Due to Lopresti's weaknesses in drawing, the coloristic influence of Ivan Aivazovsky (1817-1900) – a philhellene Armenian artist from the Black Sea who depicted many naval incidents from the War of Independence combining the dark hues of French romanticism with atmospheric transparencies reminiscent of J.M.W.

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<sup>34</sup> Lydakias, op. cit., pp. 100-107.

<sup>35</sup> P. de Loutherbourg, *The Battle of the Glorious First of June, 1795*, oil on canvas, 214.5 x 278 cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; *The Battle of Camperdown, 1799*, oil on canvas, 152 x 214 cm and *The Battle of the Nile, 1800*, 135 x 180 cm, Tate Gallery, London in Tracy, op. cit., pp. 55, 116-117, 139-140.

<sup>36</sup> W. van de Velde (Elder and Younger), *The Burning of the 'Royal St. James' at the Battle of Solebay, 1672-1707*, oil on canvas, 106.7 x 53.7 cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich in *The Art of the Van de Veldes. Paintings and drawings from the great Dutch marine artists and the British followers* [exh.cat. National Maritime Museum], London 1982, p. 13.

<sup>37</sup> Works on a similar theme include *Setting on fire of the Ottoman two-decker Monsouriga, 1896*, oil on canvas, 125 x 212 cm, private collection (Christie's Greek sale, 1994) and the *Setting on fire of a Turkish frigate, c. 1890-1896*, oil on canvas, 66.5 x 114.5 cm, E. Koutlidis Collection in Lydakias, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

<sup>38</sup> *Hellenic Maritime Museum*, pp. 46, 59.

<sup>39</sup> A. Lopresti, *The setting on fire of the Ottoman flagship in Chios, ca. 1895-1935*, oil on canvas, 94 x 155 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 268. Aristovouli's artistic efforts led to a modest career, bordering with amateurism. Nevertheless, she got acquainted with important Greek painters, such as Konstantinos Parthenis (1878-1967), who left a fine portrait of her (see K. Parthenis, *Portrait of Aristovouli Lopresti, 1920-1933*, oil on canvas, 115 x 110 cm, National Gallery, Athens in E. Mathiopoulos, *Κωνσταντίνος Παρθένης* [Konstantinos Parthenis], Athens 2008.

Turner (1775-1851)– is more straight-forward in her work than in that of Volanakis. Aivazovsky set out to depict the same event during his second trip to Greece (1881-82), but in this case, it was he who imitated Volanakis and not vice versa<sup>40</sup>. The existence of a similar painting on the same theme by Antonios Kanas (1915-1995)<sup>41</sup> proves the standing appeal of arson paintings on twentieth-century artists.

Volanakis' third painting that refers to the naval achievements of the War of Independence is the *Sortie of Ares*, now exhibited at the National Gallery of Athens<sup>42</sup>. It refers to a naval skirmish that took place on April 26, 1825 at the Navarino Bay, temporarily occupied by an Ottoman armada reinforcing the siege of Ibrahim Pasha (1789-1848) on Sfaktiria. All Greek ships were hastily removed, apart from the brig *Aris*, whose captain, Anastasios Tsamados (1774-1836) was among those who fell defending the strategically important islet. In return of Georgios Sachtouris (1783-1841), the crew got ready for a challenging manoeuvre, as the exit to the sea was heavily fended. Turning towards the narrow passage between Sfaktiria and the rock Çili-Baba, *Ares* escaped three Egyptian frigates and, in a sudden counter-attack, set seven enemy vessels out of battle despite its severe damages<sup>43</sup>. In this painting, Volanakis returned to his beloved schema of reversed curves adjoined at the centre, where the brig penetrates a tight line of Ottoman ships, with sails and flag flowing. His prototypes should be sought in works by Willem van de Velde the Younger (1633-1707), especially the one glorifying the contribution of the *Golden Lion*, flagship of Admiral Cornelis de Tromp (1629-1691), at the Battle of Texel (1673)<sup>44</sup>. Volanakis' painting was serially imitated, but the versions of his younger followers do not evoke the same sense of tension. For example, Nikolaos Kalogeropoulos (1889-1957) concentrated primarily on atmospheric effects (fig. 3)<sup>45</sup>, whereas Iosif Demiris (1945-) adopted a more expressionist approach (fig. 4)<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> Ivan Aivazovsky, *Exploding Ship*, 1882-1900, oil on canvas, 67 x 96.5 cm, I.K.Aivazovsky Museum, Theodosia in N. Novouspensky, *Aivazovsky*, Leningrad 1980, fig. 19; G. Caffiero-I.Samarine, *Seas, Cities and Dreams. The paintings of Ivan Aivazovsky*, London 2001, p. 91. On Aivazovsky's influence on Volanakis and his followers, see K. Baroutas, "Ο φιλελληνισμός του Ιβάν Αιβάζοφσκι και το θέμα της πυρπόλησης της ναυαρχίδας" [The Philhellenism of Ivan Aivazovsky and the theme of the frigate's arson], *Αυγή* (March 24, 1990); Vlachos, *Maritime painting*, p. 104; Lydakis, op. cit., pp. 100-112. Although Volanakis' depiction of the Chios arson is the earliest, there is a connection between his iconography and an earlier work by Aivazovsky (*The Battle of Chesme*, 1848, oil on canvas, 184 x 166 cm, I.K. Aivazovsky Museum, Theodosia in Novouspensky, op. cit., p. 11).

<sup>41</sup> A. Kanas, *The setting on fire of the Ottoman flagship in Chios*, ca. 1945-1965, oil on canvas, 73 x 93 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 254.

<sup>42</sup> K. Volanakis, *The Sortie of Ares*, 1894, oil on canvas, 110 x 191 cm, National Gallery, Athens in N. Misirli, *Ελληνική Ζωγραφική, 18<sup>ος</sup>-19<sup>ος</sup> αιώνας* [Greek Painting, 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century], Athens 1993, pp. 168-170.

<sup>43</sup> *Hellenic Maritime Museum*, p. 54 ; *The Sea*, p. 97.

<sup>44</sup> W. van de Velde the Younger, *The Golden Lion at the Battle of Texel, 11-21 August 1673*, 1678, oil on canvas, 150 x 300 cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich in *Art of the Van de Veldes*, 1982, p. 42; Vlachos, *Maritime painting*, p. 64; G. Quiley (ed.), *Art for the Nation. The Oil Paintings Collection of the National Maritime Museum*. London 2006, p. 4.

<sup>45</sup> N. Kalogeropoulos, *The Brig Ares*, ca. 1930-1950, oil on canvas, 54 x 67 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 170. On the maritime art of Kalogeropoulos, see: Vlachos, *Maritime painting*, pp. 238-242.

<sup>46</sup> I. Demiris, *The Sortie of Ares*, 1994, oil on canvas, 90 x 68 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, coll. no. 2150.

Unlike the previously discussed compositions, the last work of Volanakis in the Hellenic Maritime Museum neither deals with achievements of the Greek revolutionary fleet nor veils its links with European art. Contemporary press mentions that he worked on a canvas commemorating the Battle of Navarino (October 20, 1827) in 1889, but it is unclear whether this information refers to a lost or unfinished work or to the copy after a painting by Ambroise-Louis Garneray (1783-1857) now kept at the Museum (fig. 5)<sup>47</sup>. The European fleet commanded by Sir E. Codrington (1770-1851), with H. De Rigny (1782-1835) and L. Heyden (1773-1850) as heads of the French and the Russian squadrons, confronted the Ottoman armada in an effort to impose the terms of the Treaty of London (July 6, 1827), (autonomy to the Greeks, but tax of subservience to the Sultan). Navarino, the last naval battle of the War of Independence fought exclusively by sailing ships, marked the onset of diplomatic encounters which led to the institution of the first Greek state (London Protocol, February 3, 1830). A copy of this battle's most famous depiction in the Hellenic Maritime Museum constitutes recognition of the foreign contribution to the national cause; however, it also implies that this external support came due to prior Greek victories<sup>48</sup>. The original was painted by a once hardened sailor, then official painter to Louis Antoine, Duke of Angouleme (1775-1844), Grand Admiral of France since 1814.<sup>49</sup> In comparison to most other depictions of this battle by painters with a military training who were witnesses –such as Jean-Charles Langlois (1789-1870) and George Philip Reinagle (1802-1835)– Garneray's composition is more comprehensive and accurate<sup>50</sup>. Shrewdly, Demiris imitated the format and style of this composition for ascribing the strength associated with the European fleet to the largest naval squadron of the Greeks<sup>51</sup>.

The above data suggest that most images of naval battles from the War of Independence at the Hellenic Maritime Museum were painted either by Volanakis or by his followers. The other great representative of seascape painting in nineteenth-century Greece, Ioannis (Giovanni or Jean) Altamura (1852-1878), is insufficiently represented in the collection, although he was the first to depict the highlights of Greek sea-fighting. Just before his untimely death, two of his naval compositions were shown at the International Exposition of Paris and one of them was also

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<sup>47</sup> K. Volanakis, *The battle of Navarino* (after Garneray), date unknown, oil on canvas, 131 x 171 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 239.

<sup>48</sup> *Hellenic Maritime Museum*, p. 47; *The Sea*, p. 98.

<sup>49</sup> A.-L. Garneray, *The Battle of Navarino*, 1831, oil on canvas, 179 x 262 cm, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Paris in P. Lemoine, *Versailles and Trianon*, Paris 1990, p. 198. Garneray firstly embarked in 1896 and for six years (1800-1806) he was a corsair, under Robert Surcrouf (1773-1827) and Jean-Marie Dutartre (1768-1811). At the end of his imprisonment by the British (1814), he turned to painting, to which he was initiated by his father Jean-François (1753-1837), a pupil of David and official painter to Louis XVI. After 1815, he received orders from Napoleon and his officers. On Garneray's life and work, see: L. Manoeuvre, *Louis Garneray: peintre, écrivain, aventurier*, Paris 1980; F. Miller et al, *Ambroise Louis Garneray*, London 2010.

<sup>50</sup> C. Woodhouse, *The Battle of Navarino*, London 1965, pp. 11, 138.

<sup>51</sup> I. Demiris, *Struggles of the Hydra Sailors*, 1992, oil on canvas, 102 x 150 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 2151.



included in the “Sacred battle of 1821” exhibition at the Athens School of Fine Arts<sup>52</sup>. This painting was commissioned by the Minister of Naval Affairs for the then mythical price of twenty-two thousand drachmas. The artist was a constant recipient of royal support (he also studied in Denmark between 1873 and 1876 with a state scholarship), partly due to his mother’s former tutelage of Queen Olga and his friendship with the Queen’s new art teacher, Athenore Christiansen (1849-1926)<sup>53</sup>.

The Hellenic Maritime Museum has a watercolor copy of this work, which allows us to compare Altamura’s approach to naval confrontations to that of Volanakis (fig. 6)<sup>54</sup>. The younger painter preferred to depict open battles rather than fireship arsons and escape manoeuvres, in this case, the first clash between the Ottoman and the Hellenic fleet under the leadership of Andreas Miaoulis (1769-1835)<sup>55</sup>. The problem with this type of subjects is that they cannot be thoroughly represented in the small-scale canvases that Altamura was accustomed to; this, and not indifference for history, is the real reason for his limited output in this domain. The high prices of his paintings and the possibility of post-mortem destruction of preliminary efforts by his mother (who burnt several of his works in her bouts of mania) explain why we rarely see his paintings in museums. Altamura prioritizes the painterly dialogue between the sea, the sky, the sun and the ships, which seem to soar over the waves; this trait was less widely followed by Greek naval painters than Volanakis’ romantic classicism. Even though both artists looked up to the Dutch tradition, Altamura did not filter its naturalistic flair through academic idealism. He had little official training in Greece and the stimulus he received in Denmark was conducive to *plein-air* painting and Impressionism. Apart from his teacher, Carl Frederick Sørensen (1818-1879), who taught him to enliven the accuracy of academic drawing with a spontaneous colorism, and Anton Melbye (1818-1875), whose romantic seascapes were well-received in Hamburg and Paris, Altamura learnt much by painters of his age keen on capturing the effect of natural phenomena, such as Holger Drachman (1846-1908), Carl Locker (1851-1915), Frits Thaulow (1847-1906) and Michael Peter Ancher (1849-1927). He also participated in the artistic colony in Skagen, where the influence of the Barbizon School and Johan Jongkind (1819-1891) was dominant. Such affiliations cannot be discerned on the monochromatic copy at the Hellenic Maritime Museum, but the abolition of dramatic credo, the pictorial economy and the integration of the historical incident in the natural environment are indicative of a modernist development. The impact of Altamura’s work would not be

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<sup>52</sup> I. Altamura, *Naval combat of Admiral Miaoulis against two Ottoman frigates at the entrance of the Patras port*, 1878, oil on canvas, 120 x 160 cm, General Headquarters of the Hellenic Navy, Athens in *Ιωάννης Αλταμούρας. Η ζωή και το έργο του* [Ioannis Altamura. His life and his work] [exh. cat. Benaki Museum], Athens 2011, p. 115. The second composition, now lost, was entitled *The setting on fire of the first Ottoman frigate in Erissos*.

<sup>53</sup> *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>54</sup> A. Kriezis, *The Battle of Patras*, ca. 1900-1930, watercolour, 44 x 68 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 994.

<sup>55</sup> The same goes for most naval battle paintings by Altamura, such as the *Battle of Lepanto* (ca 1874-1876, oil on canvas, 52 x 71 cm, National Gallery, Athens) and the *Battle of Rio-Antirio* (1874, oil on canvas, 59 x 115 cm, National Gallery), see *Ιωάννης Αλταμούρας*, pp. 116-117.

felt until well into the twentieth century and the representations of post-1830 naval battles at the Hellenic Maritime Museum are indicative thereof<sup>56</sup>.

***B) Images related to other naval confrontations of the nineteenth century***

This concept of superiority in naval affairs contributed to the consolidation of the Hellenic identity as that of a valiant naval nation and its promotion through works of art concerning the next, less successful, martial engagements against the Ottoman Empire. The first illustrated incident took place during the fifth revolt in Crete, which broke out in 1866 and lasted for almost two and a half years due to the coveted support of the Greek government. The Turkish navy tried to stifle the uprising by a strict blockade, which was broken several times by a small fleet organized by the Central Committee in Support of the Cretans. The steamship *Enosis* was the fastest of the five blockade runners governed in secret by lower officers of the Hellenic Navy to ensure the transport of supplies to the rebels. *Enosis* is known for its clash with a sizeable squadron led by Hobart Pasha or Charles August Hobart-Hampdem (1822-1886) near Syros on December 2, 1868 and the damage it caused to the cruiser *Izzedin* and the frigate *Hüdavendigâr*. This episode constitutes the summit of the Hellenic Navy's contribution to the Cretan struggles and proves that, although less efficient after the end of the War of Independence, it was still able to control the trade routes of South-Eastern Mediterranean. This is the message put across by two small works painted a classic, linear style, presently exhibited at the Hellenic Maritime Museum. The first of them, by a British known for his engravings of naval battles from the Napoleonic Wars, served as a prototype for the second, a relatively recent Greek drawing<sup>57</sup>.

Naval highlights of the "Undeclared" War of 1897 are also commemorated by works shown at the Hellenic Maritime Museum. Greece was largely responsible for the outbreak of this crisis (April 4, 1897), due to its support to yet another Cretan revolt and the intrusion of Ottoman frontiers by irregulars. Ill-prepared and over-confident, the Greek army confronted its opponents in Thessaly, only to retreat, humiliated, in less than a month. Theoretically superior but in truth aided by the timidity of the Ottoman fleet, the Hellenic navy was only relatively successful; it confined the enemy behind the Straits, but failed to take the necessary measures beforehand to impede enemy transport and supply. The small naval victories of that bleak year were advertised by brilliant paintings, such as the *Capture of an Ottoman vessel, 1897* (fig. 7)<sup>58</sup>. Offspring of a large Corfiot family that contributed to the

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<sup>56</sup> E. Fabritius, "Τα χρόνια στην Δανία" [The years in Denmark], in *Ιωάννης Αλταμούρας*, pp. 106-107; M. Jacobs, *The good and simple life: artists' colonies in Europe and America*, Oxford 1985, p. 94; N. Lübben, *Rural artists' colonies in Europe, 1870-1910*, Manchester 2004, pp. 55-56; L. Svanholm, *Northern Light: the Skagen painters*, Gyldendal 2004.

<sup>57</sup> A. Milanos, *The Steamboat Enosis during the Cretan Revolution, 1866-1868*, ca. 1950-1970, acrylic on canvas, Hellenic Maritime Museum (its prototype is A. Masson, *Enosis' Naval Battle at Syros*, date unknown, engraving, 51 x 41 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 473). For work samples by A. Masson, see: *Six Lithographic Views illustrative of the Battle of Trafalgar, Designed and Drawn on Stone by A. Masson Senr, Marine Painter*, London 1825.

<sup>58</sup> E. Prossalendis, *Capture of an Ottoman vessel, 1897*, ca. 1897-1900, oil on canvas, 36 x 56 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 476 in *The Sea*, p. 98.

alignment of Modern Greek art with European standards and a graduate of the Paris Academy, Emilios Prosalendis (1859-1926) earned his living as an officer at the Royal Navy's Corps of Engineers, painting mainly ship portraits, representations of convoys and naval battles in his spare time. This painting depicts the interception of the Ottoman passenger ship *Georgios* by the steam-powered barque *Pineios* and the torpedo boat 11, one of the few successful attempts of the Hellenic Navy to make up for lost time<sup>59</sup>.

In Prosalendis' canvas, one notices the attention paid to the introduction of steam boats, a critical evolution for navigation and the conduct of naval battles to be completed by the outset of the Balkan Wars. The Hellenic battleship squadron, due to its swifter transition from the sail to the engine, kept abreast of its opponent. Prosalendis indicates that technological advance was the nation's greatest hope for future naval victories; perhaps his painting also implies that the result of the 1897 war would not have been the same, had the key combats taken place at sea. In stylistic terms, Prosalendis's work underscores the gradual move of Greek maritime painting away from sublime iconography and dramatic historical detail; his fluid, transparent brushstroke, the deconstruction of the ships' outline in the morning light and the merging of the horizon line with the surface of the sea testify his tendency to follow in Altamura's instead of Volanakis' footsteps. Nonetheless, academic traits are still discernible in the organization of the pictorial space in parallel planes regardless of the diagonal arrangement of the three vessels, the closure of the composition and balance between variety and unity, absolute and relative clarity. Prosalendis, who also left many notable representations of early twentieth-century naval battles, is responsible for the multiplication of pleinairist traits in seascapes, further to the fashionable flair for watercolor painting in the Ionian islands<sup>60</sup>.

### **Images of twentieth-century naval battles from the Hellenic Maritime Museum**

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the leadership of the Hellenic Armed Forces felt that swift regenerative action was imperative for maintaining the desirable, but then endangered maritime dominion in southeastern Mediterranean. The General Staff was founded in 1907 with the purpose of controlling and implementing the Hellenic Navy's operational planning; a program of advanced armament was put in practice and a British naval mission led by the Admiral Lionel

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<sup>59</sup> *Hellenic Maritime Museum*, pp. 71-72; K. Alexandris, "Συνοπτική Ανασκόπηση της Ιστορίας του Βασιλικού Ναυτικού από συστάσεως του Βασιλείου της Ελλάδος μέχρι του τέλους του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνας", [Summary overview of the History of the Royal Navy from the foundation of the Hellenic kingdom until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century], *Ναυτική Επιθεώρησης* 544 (2003) 351; Z. Fotakis, *Greek Naval Strategy and Policy, 1910-1919*, London and New York 2005, p. 14.

<sup>60</sup> On Emilios Prosalendis, see: *Ναυτική Ελλάς* [Nautical Greece] (January 31, 1930) 345; F. Yiofyllis, *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Τέχνης* [History of Modern Greek Art], vol. 1, Athens 1962, pp. 230-231; A. Ioannou, *Greek Painting, 19<sup>th</sup> century*, Athens 1974, pp. 252-255. On the input of painters from the Ionian islands-including Emilios Prosalendis and his compatriot watercolorists Vikentios Bokatsiambis (1856-1932) and Angelos Giallinas (1857-1939)-to the development of Greek landscape and seascape painting, see: N. Misirli (ed.), *Η ελληνική υδατογραφία του 19<sup>ου</sup> και του 20<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα* [Greek watercolour painting in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century] [exh. cat. National Gallery-Alexandros Soutzos Museum], Athens 1991. On the change of style in Greek maritime painting, see: Vlachos, *Maritime painting*, pp. 19, 230.

Grant Tufnell (1857-1930), arrived in Athens, for endorsing changes in organization and training. The First Balkan War (October 1912-May 1913) marked out Greece as the most valiant sea-fighting nation in the area, worthy of the Entente's alliance overtures in the Great War that followed suit. Greece's belated decision to take part in the global conflict affected its naval performance, which can be described as consistent but less impressive in this and the other martial confrontations of the twentieth century (Asia Minor campaign, Second World War). Still, the Hellenic fleet took pride in its ability to withstand most foreign attacks and successfully undertake high-risk operations for facilitating or hindering maritime communications. These – apparently modest, but in truth indispensable– achievements consolidated Greece's reputation as a nation of brave sea warriors, whose efficiency was advertized by a gradually changing artistic idiom<sup>61</sup>.

One naturally wonders why Greek paintings of naval battles from the first half of the twentieth century had little international appeal, despite the political significance of the events they depict. The most obvious reason seems to be lack of public interest for the established form of this genre; modernist depictions of actions related to the war at sea, such as the dazzle camouflage in allied ships by the Vorticist Edward Wadsworth (1889-1949), seemed more appealing. Nevertheless, most official commissions abroad still went mainly to painters of sea-fights with a traditional approach such as William Lionel Wyllie (1851-1931), Charles Dixon (1872-1934), Charles Pears (1873-1958), Norman Wilkinson (1878-1971), Claus Bergen (1885-1964) and Walter Zeeden (1891-1961). It was probably their limited appearance in international forums that made the work of the Hellenic Navy's painters less likely to be noticed than those of Volanakis and Altamura, with their modest albeit well-grafted international career and to their appeal to the widespread interest in the revolutionary cause. Twentieth-century artists struggled with obstacles posed by the provincial character of Greek art and the new -strictly local– interests of European collectors of war painting. Overall, naval battle scenes of the 1900-1930 period give the impression of change towards more creative approaches, sadly halted by an excessive reverence for the idiom of previous masters. After 1940, representations of naval battles as such were replaced by portraits of historical ships, mostly purchased by naval officers who saw them as symbolic reminders of familiar struggles and tokens of the importance assumed by technical equipment in contemporary warfare.

A) *Images related to the naval struggles of the First Balkan War (1912-1913)*

The Ottoman defeat in the Libyan War (1911-1912) and diminished power of the Young Turks in the Liberal Union coalition (April-May 1912) prompted the Balkan countries to set their differences aside in view of this chance for territorial expansion. Among the members of the Balkan league, only Greece had the naval forces required for obstructing the transposition of Ottoman troops and supplies from the Asian part of the Empire. Apart from immobilizing the larger, but less

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<sup>61</sup> *Hellenic Maritime Museum*, 2005, pp. 71-77.

trained and technologically inferior Ottoman ships behind the Straits, the Hellenic Navy seized several Aegean islands (e.g. Imbros, Tenedos, Samothrace, Lemnos, Thassos, Chios, Psara and Lesvos) and ports (e.g. Kavala, Andrianoupolis), which served as intermediary stations for enemy vessels. Simultaneously, it blockaded the Albanian port of Vlore, patrolled the Ionian and Adriatic Seas and moved Bulgarian and Serbian troops to key sites of action. When compared with the contribution of the Hellenic Navy in the First Balkan War, which seems more spectacular when compared to the relatively uneventful Bulgarian guard of the Black Sea, was more than enough to compensate for the circumscribed successes of the Army (the initial victories in Giannitsa and Sarantaporo were followed by a setback at Banitsa, which impeded timely intervention at Monastir and involvement in important offensive expeditions). The ships acquired since the turn of the century (ten destroyers, four patrol destroyers and two submarines) and above all the armored cruiser financed by and named after the expatriate entrepreneur and benefactor Georgios Averof (1818-1899) played a crucial part to the achievement of the League's targets<sup>62</sup>.

The first naval success of this war is commemorated by an unsigned painting exhibited at the Hellenic Maritime Museum<sup>63</sup>. On the night of October 18, 1912, the *torpedo boat 11*, commanded by Lieutenant Nikolaos Votsis (1871-1931), secretly entered the port of Thessaloniki, sank the old corvette *Fethi Bülent* and then escaped, passing under the lights and batteries of the Kara Burnu fortress. The act had little practical importance; nevertheless it boosted the moral of the Balkan allies and paved the way for the town's surrender to the Greek army (October 26, 1912). The painting in question is similar to a composition by Emilios Prosalendis with the same subject at the History Museum of Athens<sup>64</sup>. The fact that the old catalogue records the existence of a painting with that theme at the Hellenic Maritime Museum might mean that the work of the Historical Museum was exhibited in Piraeus at least until 1956. Alternatively, it may mean that the one at the Maritime Museum is a copy of the pre-existing work by Prosalendis. In both paintings, one notices the use of Prosalendis' favorite scheme, i.e. the development of seascape in the foreground, the diagonal placement of the main vessel in a space that amounts to one third of the width, a less discernible vessel on a parallel line at the left and an emphasis on the atmospheric qualities of the sky (blues and greys). Yet, the darker tones in the lower half and the more dramatic clouds in the painting at the Hellenic Maritime Museum recall depictions of other naval battles from the First Balkan War by Vasileios Chatzis (1870-1915). Therefore, the work in question could also be a copy by Chatzis of the

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<sup>62</sup> R. Hall, *The Balkan Wars: Prelude to the First World War*, London 2000, pp. 17, 46, 64-67, 74; Sondhaus, op. cit., pp. 152, 219; Fotakis, op. cit., pp. 28-90; I. Paloumbis, "Ένας αιώνας Αβέρωφ" [Averof: one century], in M. Vlachos (ed.), *Το θωρηκτό «Γεώργιος Αβέρωφ», 1911-2011. Ιστορία και Τέχνη* [The ironclad "Georgios Averof", 1911-2011. History and Art] [exh. cat. Hellenic Maritime Museum], Piraeus 2011, pp. 21-38.

<sup>63</sup> Unknown painter, *Torpedoing of the Ottoman dreadnought Fethi Bülent*, ca. 1900, oil on canvas, 108x 60 cm, coll. no. 459.

<sup>64</sup> E. Prosalendis, *The blowing up of Fethi Bülent*, oil on canvas, ca. 1897-1900, dimensions unknown, National Historical and Ethnological Museum, Athens in M. Lada-Minotou (ed.), *Το Εθνικό Ιστορικό Μουσείο* [The National Historical Museum], Athens 1994, cat. no. 11166. For the entry in the former catalogue of the Hellenic Maritime Museum, see: *Ναυτικόν Μουσείον της Ελλάδος: οδηγός εκθεμάτων* [Hellenic Maritime Museum: a catalogue of exhibits], Piraeus 1956, no. 57.

painting held at the Historical Museum. At any rate, the role of the natural element is now enhanced, further to British prototypes<sup>65</sup>. The representation of this event in Greek popular images is similar in terms of layout, but pays more attention to the structure of the ships and also includes a cameo portrait of Votsis<sup>66</sup>.

More concrete conclusions on the similarities and differences between the way in which Prossalendis and Chatzis illustrated the naval struggles of the Balkan Wars can be drawn by juxtaposing their respective representations of the Battle of Cape Elli at the exit of the Dardanelles, the first of the two decisive clashes between the Hellenic and the Ottoman Navy. After more than two months behind the Straits, the Ottoman fleet was forced to react to a defying invitation of the Greek Naval Commander, Admiral Pavlos Kountouriotis (1855-1935). Its sortie began in the early morning of December 3, 1912, led by the cruiser *Mesudiye* and in about two hours the battle had ended with a Hellenic victory largely due to Kountouriotis's self-directed manoeuvres of the *Averof*<sup>67</sup>. Chatzis captured the dynamic first steer of the Hellenic squadron to the north-east, with *Averof* ahead and three battleships (*Hydra*, *Spetses* and *Psara*) lined abreast, so as to cut across the Ottoman formation (fig. 8)<sup>68</sup>. Contrariwise, Prossalendis set out to analyze the final skirmish i.e. the moment when *Averof*, using its advantage of superior speed to the full, crossed the T-point of the enemy lines, damaged the flagship *Barbaros Hayreddin* and forced the Ottoman fleet to retreat (fig. 9)<sup>69</sup>. Chatzis' painting was part of a commission from Eleutherios Venizelos (1864-1936) for decorating the Headquarters of the Royal Navy with his large-scale and grand-manner impressions from the Balkan Wars which he followed on board of the *Averof*<sup>70</sup>. Conversely, Prossalendis' small canvas indicates that he worked privately, invested less on his clientele's sentimentality and put forth the detached, accurate view of an experienced naval officer. Neither painter went out of his way for inventing a new schema; each decided on an episode that matched with his most successful compositions, sharing a tendency for diagonal arrangements, broad seaviews and striking light effects. Chatzis relies upon Volanakis and his

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<sup>65</sup> A.K. Tebby (after W.L. Wyllie), *HMS Derwent at torpedo practice*, 1904, drawing (turned into print), 26,5 x 36,7 cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

<sup>66</sup> *Torpedoing of the Ottoman battleship Fethi Bülent by Nikolaos Votsis in Thessaloniki during the First Balkan War*, 1912, postcard, dimensions unknown, Macedonian Heritage.

<sup>67</sup> Hall, op. cit., p. 64; Fotakis, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>68</sup> V. Chatzis, *The Naval Battle of Elli*, 1912- 1914, oil on canvas, 165 x 40 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 382.

<sup>69</sup> E. Prossalendis, *The battleship G. Averof at the Battle of Cape Elli*, ca. 1912, oil on canvas, 36 x 47 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 782.

<sup>70</sup> For Venizelos's decision to pay Chatzis in advance "in order to expedite the paintings of our [recent] naval battles", see: "Γράμματα και Τέχνες" [Arts and Letters], *Πινακοθήκη* [Gallery Magazine] 159 (1914) 40; F. Yofyllis, "Μετά την ειρήνη: τέχνη μας που εμπνέεται από τον πόλεμο" [After the armistice: our art that is inspired by war], *Ελλάς* (March 23, April 3 and November 24, 1915). M. Vlachos, "Το θωρηκτό "Γεώργιος Αβέρωφ" και οι ναυμαχίες των Βαλκανικών Πολέμων στη λόγια και τη λαϊκή ζωγραφική" [The ironclad "Georgios Averof" and the naval battles of the Balkan Wars in the official and popular painting], in M. Vlachos (ed.), *Το θωρηκτό «Γεώργιος Αβέρωφ», 1911-2011. Ιστορία και Τέχνη* [The ironclad "Georgios Averof", 1911-2011. History and Art] [exh. cat. Hellenic Maritime Museum], Piraeus 2011, p. 73.

northern legacy, although his bluish monochromes are considered a trademark of Greek naval imagery from the early twentieth century<sup>71</sup>.

Chatzis' most attention-grabbing paintings were the smaller ones, which referred to less important incidents of the First Balkan War. In the *Hellenic fleet on night patrol* (fig. 10)<sup>72</sup> and the atmospheric, but schematically typical *Destroyer Thyella* (fig. 11)<sup>73</sup> he relied on the romantic seascape tradition, as introduced by Turner, consolidated by Aivazovsky and put to frequent use –after a fertile grafting with *plein-air* painting– by official painters of the British Navy, e.g. Eduardo de Martino (1838-1912) and Herbert Barnard John Everett (1876-1949)<sup>74</sup>. Chatzis insisted on a low horizon lines, impressive cloud formations and light effects; this shows that he revered the Dutch tradition, as a result of his studies under Volanakis. Had he not died unexpectedly in 1915 of jaundice and colour poisoning, his career would have been glorious; the authorities saw in him the follower of the great nineteenth-century seascape painters and were willing to offer him the opportunity of international education which would make the most of the talent manifested in the above paintings. A retrospective exhibition at the Zappeion after Chatzis' death, whose opening was attended by members of the royal family and the government, was met with promising comments by art connoisseurs attached to embassies and foreign cultural institutions<sup>75</sup>.

The final commission bestowed on Chatzis, a monumental painting depicting the last naval battle of the First Balkan War that took place on January 5, 1913 at Lemnos was completed by Lukas Geralis (1875-1958), who abided by the preliminary studies of his late colleague (fig. 12)<sup>76</sup>. A drawing on the same subject was also completed by the future Chief Admiral Konstantinos Alexandris (1894-1976), who was then a cadet chief petty officer serving on the destroyer *Leon* (fig. 13)<sup>77</sup>. Before the second sortie from the Dardanelles, the Ottomans unsuccessfully tried to lure Averof

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<sup>71</sup> Vlachos, *Maritime painting*, pp. 231-234; Ioannou, op. cit., pp. 138-143.

<sup>72</sup> V. Chatzis, *The Hellenic fleet on night patrol*, 1912-1914, oil on canvas, 47 x 64 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 471.

<sup>73</sup> V. Chatzis, *The Destroyer Thyella*, 1912-1914, oil on canvas, 45 x 70 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 735.

<sup>74</sup> For noting the eclectic affinities between the *Hellenic fleet on night patrol* de Martino's *The Channel Squadron* (1898, oil on canvas, 48,3 x 124,5 cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich) and Everett's *A Convoy* (1918, oil on canvas, 79,6 x 95,2 cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich), see Vlachos, *Maritime painting*, pp. 233-234. There are also similarities between the *Destroyer Thyella* and da Martino's *Warship by Moonlight* (1909, oil on panel, 29,5 x 18,5 cm, Palacio Itamaraty, Brazil), while Chatzis's emphasis on waves is a trait he shares with Everett. We may not be sure whether Chatzis imitated these particular works, but we assume that, further to his appointment as official painter of the Navy, he had familiarized himself with recent achievements of his British colleagues, which were internationally recognized as the visual testimony of that nation's maritime superiority.

<sup>75</sup> M. Lambraki-Plaka (ed.), *National Gallery, 100 Years. Four Centuries of Greek Painting from the Collections of the National Gallery and the Euripides Koutlides Foundation*, Athens 1999, p. 633. S. Moschonas, *Καλλιτεχνικά σωματεία και ομάδες τέχνης στην Ελλάδα κατά το α' μισό του 20ού αιώνα: η σημασία και η προσφορά τους* [Art Societies and Groups in Greece (1900-1960); their significance and contribution] (Ph.D thesis, University of Athens), Athens 2011, pp. 162-164.

<sup>76</sup> L. Geralis, *The naval battle of Lemnos*, ca. 1915, oil on canvas, 160 x 360 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 381.

<sup>77</sup> K. Alexandris, *Naval Battle of Lemnos*, 1912-1913, watercolour, 37 x 40 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 401

away through the escape of the cruiser *Hamidieh*. Then, as Kountouriotos anticipated, the enemy ships departed at full speed for Lemnos, but were met by the Greek fleet outside Moudros. Within a few minutes, *Mesudieh* was badly hit by the battleships *Psara* and *Hydra*, while the turret of the *Averof* destroyed the turret of the *Barbaros Hayreddin*. The damages and casualties sustained by the Ottoman fleet weakened its last attempt to get past the Greek blockade two days later, which was not to be recapped until the end of the war<sup>78</sup>. Naturally, the layout of the *Battle of Elli* was recapitulated in the painting finished by Geralis, but it is also evident that Alexandris built his composition after the *Hellenic fleet on a night patrol*. Both painters took few coloristic liberties and returned to panoramic vistas and the structural description of ships. Still, they imitated Chatzis' combination of fluttering sea surface and decorous cloud-and-smoke formations evoking the dynamism and progress of the Hellenic Navy<sup>79</sup>.

### **B) Images related to the naval struggles of the 1917-1945 period**

Greece and the Ottoman Empire (then undergoing the second constitutional era after the Young Turk Revolution) took their time to enter the First World War, because of the hammering of material and human resources they had suffered for two years. Further to the transposition of military campaigns within its borders, the armed pressure exercised at the Piraeus port and a nine-month period of national division (August 1916-June 1917), Greece declared itself an active Entente ally. Hellenic ships, which had been confiscated by the French, were returned to their crews, but did not have the opportunity to support major expeditions. Nevertheless, by the time the Treaty of Versailles was signed, military requirements necessary for the realization of "Great Idea", as voiced by the exponents of the Thessaloniki movement, were met and the ensuing accretion of nationally important territories in Eastern Thrace and the Asia Minor boosted the nation's sense of pride and confidence. The entrance of the flagship *Averof*, as part of the Entente fleet, in the port of Constantinople on November 13, 1918 symbolized the restoration of Hellenic control over the lost capital of the Byzantine Empire. Political and military leaders, as well as the Greek-speaking inhabitants of the "reigning city" hoped that this would be something more than a provisional means to enforce the terms of a harsh peace settlement, since the concession of Eastern Thrace, Constantinople and Smyrna was promised to Venizelos in return for the nation's military services. In the worst case, it was believed that Greeks would be appointed as guardians of the demilitarize zone of the Straits in the name of the League of Nations, despite Russia's protestations<sup>80</sup>.

This is the reason why Greek painters were so eager to memorialize the passage of the national flagship under the Agia Sophia on its way to the Dolma Bahçe Palace. An impressive example of this circle is *The ironclad Averof in Constantinople* by Lycurgus Koveginas (1887-1940), who followed the Hellenic fleet as

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<sup>78</sup> *Hellenic Maritime Museum*, p. 95; Hall, op. cit., pp. 64-65; Fotakis, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>79</sup> Vlachos, *Maritime painting*, pp. 230-234.

<sup>80</sup> C. Rozakis-P. Stagos, *The Turkish Straits*, Dordrecht 1987, pp. 26-34.



art correspondent during the Great War (fig. 14)<sup>81</sup>. Kogevinas is among those who introduced impressionist tendencies in Greek art during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; this is confirmed by the fact that the drawing at the Hellenic Maritime Museum looks like a preparatory study drawn on the spot from the deck of a stationed ship, as indicated by his rapid brushstrokes and oblique axes<sup>82</sup>. The front half is fully devoted to the depiction of mundane activities; this suggests a wish to emphasize that the return to Constantinople was the peak achievement of a hard-working maritime nation. The portrayal of common sailors at work indicates that it is the co-ordination of individual qualities among the Greek crews, the laymen at home and the “unsalvaged brothers” of the East that brought on the national triumph. Their legitimate pride at the end of this conflict would lead to the foundation of a new power, even if the hope of reviving the Byzantine Empire would soon be taken away from them. A supporter of Papanastasiou, as guard of whom he served during the first months of 1918, Kogevinas took interest in the living conditions of the working class, although he never abandoned his bourgeois life-style and mentality. Through this work, he most probably tried to convince its members that their sacrifices during the protracted period of mobilization had not been in vain. A year later, he married Miketta Averof, daughter of the battleship’s donor. The drawing in question must have pleased his in-laws, as it put emphasis on the people as the intended recipients of the family’s contribution to the strengthening of Greece’s naval force.

Kogevinas’ drawing –with its contrasts and associations between the dark ochres, the black details and the white highlights– is more innovative in style and content than most twentieth-century depictions of the same incident. For example, Kalogeropoulos, who often painted the *Averof* “either pushed to the background or brought to the foreground and then covered by waves”, commemorated its entry to Constantinople in an elegant style, with light effects full of character, an emphasis on the element of passing time and the absorption of the vessel into the natural environment and mood of the city, thus reviving the notion of the naval scene as an ideal moment<sup>83</sup>. Still, the merits of his painting (fig. 15)<sup>84</sup>, which brings together traits of romantic and impressionist seascape painting, can be overlooked due to its leaning on schemes borrowed from Volanakis, Chatzis and Prossalendis<sup>85</sup>.

The demand for naval battle scenes abated by the 1920s; as a result, there is minimal pictorial evidence of the nation’s struggles at sea after the First World War.

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<sup>81</sup> L. Kogevinas, *The ironclad Averof in Constantinople*, 1918, gouache on paper, 30 x 47 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, coll. no. 476; Vlachos, “Το θωρηκτό “Γεώργιος Αβέρωφ” και οι ναυμαχίες των Βαλκανικών Πολέμων στη λόγια και τη λαϊκή ζωγραφική”, pp. 75-76.

<sup>82</sup> For the finished painting (1918, oil on canvas, 76 x 116 cm, National Historical Museum, Athens), see: A. Kourgia–I. Orati, *Λυκούργος Κογεβίνας, χαρακτήρας και ζωγράφος* [Lycurgus Kogevinas, engraver and painter], Metsovo 2004, p. 83, fig. 47.

<sup>83</sup> Vlachos, *Maritime painting*, p. 238.

<sup>84</sup> N. Kalogeropoulos, *The battleship Averof sails into the port of Constantinople*, ca. 1918-1920, oil on canvas, 68 x 98 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 782; Vlachos, “Το θωρηκτό “Γεώργιος Αβέρωφ” και οι ναυμαχίες των Βαλκανικών Πολέμων στη λόγια και τη λαϊκή ζωγραφική”, pp. 77-79.

<sup>85</sup> Prossalendis has also left behind a portrait of the *Averof* painted at an indefinite time and course of action, which is also exhibited at the Hellenic Maritime Museum (E. Prossalendis, *The battleship Averof*, oil and tempera on canvas, 23 x 34 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, coll. no. 468 in *The Sea*, p. 84). This painting is proof of the close ties between the older Corfiot painter and Kalogeropoulos.

The fact that the Asia Minor campaign is represented in the collection of the Hellenic Maritime Museum by just one work by the painter-cum-photographer Dimitrios Vasileiou (1920-1997) is fathomable (fig. 16)<sup>86</sup>. This was a war fought almost exclusively on the mainland; the Hellenic Navy's part was limited to the escort, supply and support of army attacks and the retreat process of soldiers and refugee civilians (August 1922). The usual stylistic and thematic choices changed: apart from the rare cases in which it was the crew's co-ordinated exertions that came to the foreground, naval art consisted mainly of ship portraits. This applies not only to the inter-war period, but also to the Second World War, which in fact opened for Greece with a naval catastrophe, the attack against the light cruiser *Elli* by the Italian submarine *Delfino* at the port of Tinos (August 15, 1940). This moment of aggressive action is not artistically commemorated in the Hellenic Maritime Museum; still, the warship itself figures in a painting by Admiral Georgios Rozakis (1936-), signifying the steady reinforcement and international presence of the Greek Navy ever since the Balkan Wars (fig. 17)<sup>87</sup>. This unpretentious canvas presents the viewer with a symbolic embodiment of national sovereignty and expansion, upheld for many decades by an unswerving naval force. An assault against the Navy is an act of violence against the country to be retaliated soon by the rest of the fleet, whose strength is denoted by *Elli's* triumphant image living on in the people's memory. The results of this attack should not be recorded on canvas because the sinking of the Hellenic vessel had not taken place in fair battle and Italy was not historically justified in its adoption of the guerrilla war tactics that had branded Greece as a heroic naval nation for more than a century. Lack of defensive action should be attributed to the nation absorption in internal affairs after the figurative burial of the "Great Idea" in Smyrna's shambles as opposed to Italy's offensive.

Vassileios Germenis (1896-1966) was given a similar commission from the Royal Navy at the end of World War II, in order to commemorate the enduring services to the Allies offered by Hellenic military and merchant ships. Germenis' oeuvre consists almost exclusively of ship portraits which often escape the attention of the admirers of modernist techniques or romantic drama. Nevertheless, these typified works, with their ostensibly strict concentration on the ship's technical characteristics, communicated the same fierce pride for the nation's maritime expertise as their more freely rendered and emotionally charged counterparts. The aim of the *Destroyer Queen Olga, 1943* (fig. 18)<sup>88</sup>, for instance, is to acknowledge the Hellenic naval action in the Mediterranean during the years of the German occupation. The surviving vessels sailed to Alexandria and participated actively in British-led convoy escorts, offensive patrols and landing operations. The *Queen Olga* attacked Italian ships, including the tanker *Stromboli*, and was involved in the allied attempts of occupying Sicily and Pantelleria isle, before its destruction in a German

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<sup>86</sup> D. Vasiliou, *Ierax Bombing the forts of Raidestos*, ca. 1950-1970, oil on canvas, 69 x 100 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 1341.

<sup>87</sup> G. Rozakis, *The cruiser Elli*, ca. 1965-1975, oil on canvas, 52 x 77 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 543.

<sup>88</sup> V. Germenis, *The destroyer Queen Olga, 1943*, ca. 1943-1949, oil on canvas, 98 x 48 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 887.

air attack near Leros (September 26, 1943). Some other Greek battleships followed the allied fleet in far- removed regions, including the *Averof*, whose heroic action in the Indian Ocean (1941) is commemorated by Pavlos Pantelakis (1914-1973) (fig. 19)<sup>89</sup>. Reinforced by some British-built vessels, such as the destroyer *Miaoulis* which had to sail around Africa to reach Alexandria and be used in the blockade of Tunis (fig. 20)<sup>90</sup>, Greece come up once again –after the blow of the Lausanne Treaty– as one of the most accountable maritime forces in the Mediterranean. Greek sailors, no longer necessarily identified with their ships, worked hard and took high risks eagerly for their country, as in the numerous occasions of laying and retrieving sea mines (fig. 21)<sup>91</sup>.

### Conclusions

The pictorial collection of the Hellenic Maritime Museum comprises mainly of donated artworks, whose themes, authorship and style cannot necessarily be read as a sign of a critical perspective meticulously formulated by curators and trustees. The systematic implementation of a long-term policy concerning targeted purchases and networking with specialist collectors is not a realistic option for smaller and financially insecure cultural institutions. Still, the Museum has compiled a coherent body of pictorial representations of naval battles within six decades, combining individual bequests with the commissions offered by the Navy's General Headquarters to prominent seascape painters since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In comparison to analogous organizations abroad, the Hellenic Maritime Museum has to offer a less extensive and acclaimed selection of naval art. However, one must consider that it was founded later than most, for instance almost one hundred and twenty-five years after the gallery at the Greenwich Hospital, i.e. the first initiative concerned with the collection, preservation and display of naval paintings and the core of the most illustrious maritime museums in the world. Its exhibits represent most accomplished painters who illustrated the momentous episodes of the Greek naval epos and attract the attention of a constantly widening audience. Modernist critics, whose voice was strong in the two or three decades following the end of the military dictatorship (1967-1974), underestimated these paintings in almost the same manner as their British or French counterparts. In their opinion, these paintings can only be recognized as “[biased] visual articulation of the nation’s maritime identity and character” –which hindered the development of non-sectarian, individual consciousness and its free association to natural experiences and collective memories and not as great art–obligatorily detached from the didactic function ascribed to all forms of creation by traditional societies and academies<sup>92</sup>.

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<sup>89</sup> P. Pantelakis, *The battleship G. Averof in the Indian Ocean*, ca. 1945-1965, oil on canvas, 66 x 85 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. 468.

<sup>90</sup> A. Kanas, *The destroyer Miaoulis*, ca. 1950-1965, oil on canvas, 66 x 115 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 640.

<sup>91</sup> V. Germenis, *Laying mines*, ca. 1945-1949, oil on canvas, 72 x 54 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, Piraeus, coll. no. 529.

<sup>92</sup> G. Quiley (ed.), *Art for the Nation. The Oil Paintings Collection of the National Maritime Museum*, London 2007, p. 1.

The demand for naval battle scenes aroused in Greece almost a century after their first heyday in Europe, during a similarly crucial period for the nation's claims, which it loyally served. Nevertheless, naval painting must generally be considered as a sign of revolt against the traditional hierarchy of genres and some of its greatest representatives just marginally belonged to academic circles. In Britain, for example, many were sailors, sons of sailors, naval officers or recipients of a certain nautical education, to which they paid more heed than to the theoretical aspects of their artistic training<sup>93</sup>. As to the Greek works discussed in this article, almost three quarters were painted by members of the above categories and all expressed the experience of people raised and living for extended periods near the sea<sup>94</sup>. Overall, maritime painting is a field that sanctions the liberation of the artistic idiom, as long as it is used for investigating man's existential identification with the sea and its associated activities. Simultaneously, the direct or indirect dependence on official purchases tightened the link between the images of naval battles and the models of artistic excellence set by the expounders of antiquarian and religious history painting, for which the work's didactic potential was of primordial importance. The theatricality dominating pictorial representations of sea-fighting until the third decade of the twentieth century reflected the opinion of great academicians that "there must be something either in the [depicted] action or in the [artistic] object in which men are universally concerned and which powerfully strikes upon the public sympathy"<sup>95</sup>. Even when the concentration on moving anecdotes was no longer first priority, painters, patrons and the public were convinced that "the combination of this [the given effect, illusion or the true appearance of the objects] with the ideal or the conception of them in the utmost perfection" was the best way of depicting a naval battle, because the composition produced "ought to abound in sources of [both] instruction and entertainment"<sup>96</sup>.

The value attributed to the expounding of the greatest national triumphs at sea as a unified, unbroken whole is manifested by the way in which the relevant exhibits of the Hellenic Maritime Museum can be chronologically categorized. A surface review of the works discussed gives the impression of an emphasis on representing naval combats that took place during the first half of the twentieth

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<sup>93</sup> British painters of the "golden age" of naval battles' representations with a strong maritime connection included Dominic Serres (1722-1793), Nicholas Pocock (1740-1821), Thomas Orde Bolton (1746-1807), Robert Cleverly (1747-1803), Thomas Yates (1760-1796), William Payne (1760-1830), Joshua Cristall (1768-1867), Captains Mark Oates and James Weir (active in 1800), William Innes Pocock (1783-1836), William Clarkson Stansfield (1793-1867) and George Chambers (1803-1840). For a full list, see Tracy, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-41.

<sup>94</sup> Namely, Prosalendis, Alexandris and Rozakis were naval officers; Lopresti and Kriezis were their kin; Volanakis and Chatzis had professional interests in the maritime world, had extensive knowledge and travelling experience; Koyevinas had travelled with battleships as art correspondent; Demiris was from Piraeus; Kanas from Smyrna; Milanos from Zakynthos; Pantelakis from Hydra; Germenis and Kalogeropoulos from the Ionian islands.

<sup>95</sup> J. Reynolds, "A discourse delivered to the students of the Royal Academy on the distribution of the prizes, December 10, 1771" in R. Wark (ed.), *Sir Joshua Reynolds. Discourses on art*, New Haven 1775, pp. 103-105.

<sup>96</sup> J. Opie, *Lectures on painting, delivered at the Royal Academy of Arts, with a letter on the proposal for a public memorial of the naval glory of Great Britain*, London 1809, pp. 18, 173.

century (fifteen out of the twenty five works). In truth, there is an exact balance between the commemorations of remarkable incidents from each century (by ten works), since the five paintings linked to the Second World War are symbolic aide-memoires of naval warfare and serene ship portraits. More specifically, there are almost as many works (eight) referring to the War of Independence and to the interrelated events of the Balkan and the First World War (nine works). This equivalence seems to reverberate the nationalist view that the success of the armed forces between 1912 and 1918 completes the liberating struggles of the 1821-1830 period. The Treaty of Sèvres confirmed that the nation had met 90% of its goals for incorporating to the state most Hellenic provinces formerly belonging to Justinian's realm. Obviously, the battles of the War of Independence were different from those of the twentieth century: the former were fought by loosely organized rebels in sail ships and the latter by an extensive fleet of steam ships, governed by officers with European training. Still, the mastery of surprise attacks, bold initiatives taken by cunning captains and use of the full maneuver potential of light, speedy vessels turned out to be unfaltering weapons against the same enemy, who remained stronger in terms of human and financial reserves. Periods during which these stereotypical traits of undifferentiated –in terms of language, religion, socio-political beliefs and bold patriotism– Greek fighters were less apparent and their liberating attempts unsuccessful (second half of the nineteenth century, Asia Minor campaign) did not attract the attention of either naval painters or traditional historians<sup>97</sup>.

A relevant, but less obvious, analogy exists between the two chronological groups of warfare images in the Hellenic Maritime Museum's collection. Just half of the works in the first group, i.e. the one referring to milestones of nineteenth-century naval history, were painted by artists of that century; from them only one (Prossalendis) had first-hand knowledge or was an exact contemporary to the illustrated events. Conversely, the second group, i.e. the one representing twentieth-century struggles at sea, mainly includes visual documents by eyewitnesses finished while memories from the incident were still fresh. Naturally, there is a higher percentage of officially commissioned paintings in the second group, since the younger artists who revisited events of the previous century did so on their own accord. The covert likeness between the two groups has to do with a standard predilection of the Greek art market for the style of the so-called School of Munich; more than half of the naval battle images in the Hellenic Maritime Museum were painted by Volanakis, Chatzis and their followers (Lopresti, Kanas, Geralis, Alexandris, Milanos, Demiris). The pictorial idiom of the School of Munich is compatible with the dominant notion of the "Hellenic soul" and its finest expression in art and literature between 1880 and 1920. The concept of a unique national spirit is in its roots romantic and hence more affected by contemporary than by ancient history and culture. Still, most men of letters extolling the dynamism of the nation's psyche always added that it remained "essentially untouched" throughout the ages,

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<sup>97</sup> A. Kitroeff, "Συνέχεια και αλλαγή στη σύγχρονη ελληνική ιστοριογραφία" [Continuation and Change in Contemporary Greek Historiography], in T. Veremis (ed.), *Εθνική Ταυτότητα και Εθνικισμός στη Νεώτερη Ελλάδα* [National Identity and Nationalism in Modern Greece], Athens 2003, pp. 281-295.

going through “only [exterior] transformations”<sup>98</sup>. The dominion of the School of Munich, with its stress on classical values, provided the rapidly changing Greek art scene with a foundation steady enough to infiltrate the new European trends and to neutralize their revolutionary potential, which would be detrimental for a nation without a long-lived tradition to react against and a powerful urban middle class to regulate such an offset ideologically and financially. Furthermore, the expounders of this Bavarian-born academism cultivated a much less pretentious but still visually striking and edifying type of history painting, supposedly more naturalistic and historically accurate, which at once pleased the political and naval authorities, the newly-rich ship-owners and the public. Finally, the adoption of the Munich idiom by Greek painters of naval battles meant that they could sustain three nationalist myths of uniqueness which rule nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historiography, i.e. the myth of cultural rebirth, the myth of unbroken continuity and the myth of swift European integration<sup>99</sup>.

The artistic preoccupations of the School of Munich changed considerably at the turn of the century and this helped its younger members to shake off the stigma of anti-modernism. Exactness in drawing and composition was replaced by manipulation of light and color, so as to make believe that the impression of the moment is re-incarnated in the painting. Volanakis and Chatzis were, of course, less progressive than Symeon Savvides (1859-1927) or even the official painter of land battles Georgios Roilos (1867-1928). On the other hand, one cannot deny that the non-historical paintings of their early career are much freer in treatment than the state commissions discussed above. They remain closer to Romanticism than to *plein-air* painting; still, they take into account the new orientation towards the incorporation of the environment in the pictorial exegesis of history, further to the positivist theories of interaction between the distinct character of a nation and the natural conditions under which it was formed. The more innovative works of Volanakis and Chatzis have a lot in common with those of the Corfiot watercolorists and etchers represented in the Hellenic Maritime Museum’s collection, i.e. Prossalendis, Kogevinas and Germenis, where the luminous atmosphere and careful orchestration of pale or earthy tones merge classicist, romantic and marginally impressionist elements in an evocative whole. These pictorial essays in naval history – just like the genre tableaux of Nikephoros Lytras (1832-1904) and Nikolaos Gysis (1842-1901)– “have managed not only to capture the genius of [foreign] works, but also to animate them with the national character”<sup>100</sup>. Their appearance at a time of reduced interest for history painting saved the contribution of the Hellenic navy from oblivion and gave a chance to the emerging national school of painting to prove its might in a realm largely dominated by Dutch and British masters. The representations of naval feats at the Hellenic Maritime Museum –even the few at odds with the legacy of the

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<sup>98</sup> V. Apostolidou, *Ο Κωστής Παλαμάς ιστορικός της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας* [Kostis Palamas as historian of Modern Greek literature], Athens 1992, pp. 111-113.

<sup>99</sup> Matthiopoulos, op. cit., pp. 428-429; A. Danos, "Nikolaos Gyzis's *The Secret School* and an ongoing national discourse", *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 1 (2002) (online article).

<sup>100</sup> T. Sofoulis, “Έλληνες καλλιτέχναι. Ν. Λύτρας” [Greek artists. N. Lytras], *Εστία* [Hestia] 36 (1893) 154.

School of Munich– support the claim of the politician-cum-historian Spyridon Lambros (1851-1919) that the combination of military and cultural excellence multiplies the nation’s regenerative resources, since “the precondition of victory is [the internalization of] an impregnable history”<sup>101</sup>.

### Figures



Fig. 1. K. Volanakis, *The setting on fire of an Ottoman two-decker at Eressos*, 1882, oil on canvas, 110 x 150 cm, HMM, coll. no. 238.

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<sup>101</sup> P. Ioannou, “Ο Σπυρίδων Λάμπρος ως ιστορικός της τέχνης” [Spyridon Lambros as an art historian], in Hadjinicolaou-Matthiopoulos, op. cit., p. 150.





Fig. 2. A. Lopresti, *The setting on fire of the Ottoman flagship at Chios (after Volanakis)*, ca. 1895-1935, oil on canvas, 94 x 155 cm, HMM, coll. no. 268.



Fig. 3. N. Kalogeropoulos, *The Brig Ares*, ca. 1930-1950, oil on canvas, 54 x 67 cm, HMM, coll. no. 170.



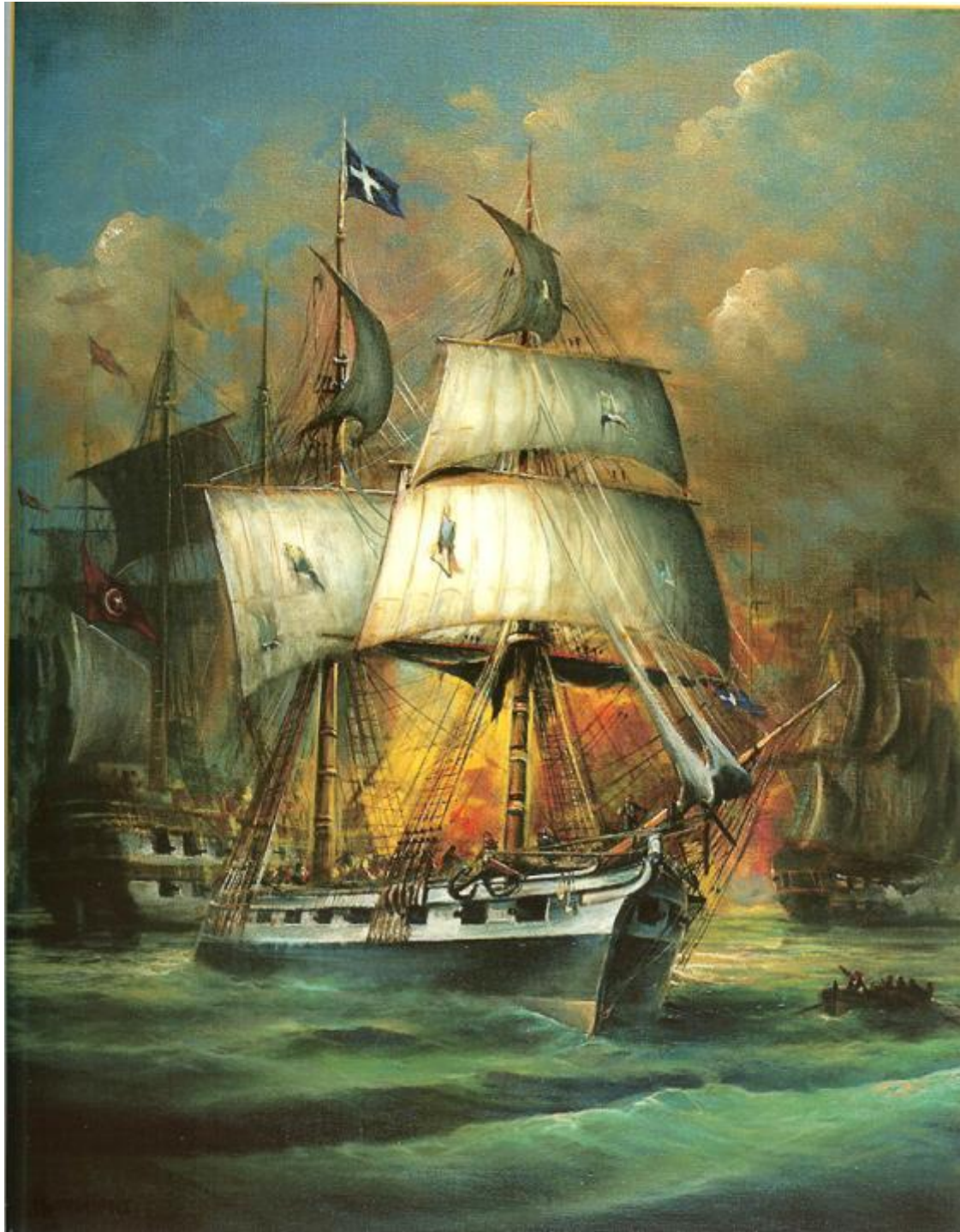


Fig. 4. I. Demiris, *The Sortie of Ares*, 1994, oil on canvas, 90 x 68 cm, HMM, coll. no. 150.



Fig. 5. K. Volanakis, *The Battle of Navarino (after Garneray)*, date unknown, oil on canvas, 131 x 171cm, HMM, coll. no. 239.



Fig. 6. A. Kriezis, *The Battle of Patras (after Altamura)*, ca. 1900-1930, watercolour, 44 x 68 cm, coll. no. 994.





Fig. 7. E. Prosalendis, *Capture of an Ottoman vessel*, ca. 1897-1900, oil on canvas, 36 x 50 cm, Hellenic Maritime Museum, coll. no. 476.



Fig. 8. V. Chatzis, *The Naval Battle of Elli*, 1912- 1914, oil on canvas, 165 x 40 cm, HMM, coll. no. 382.



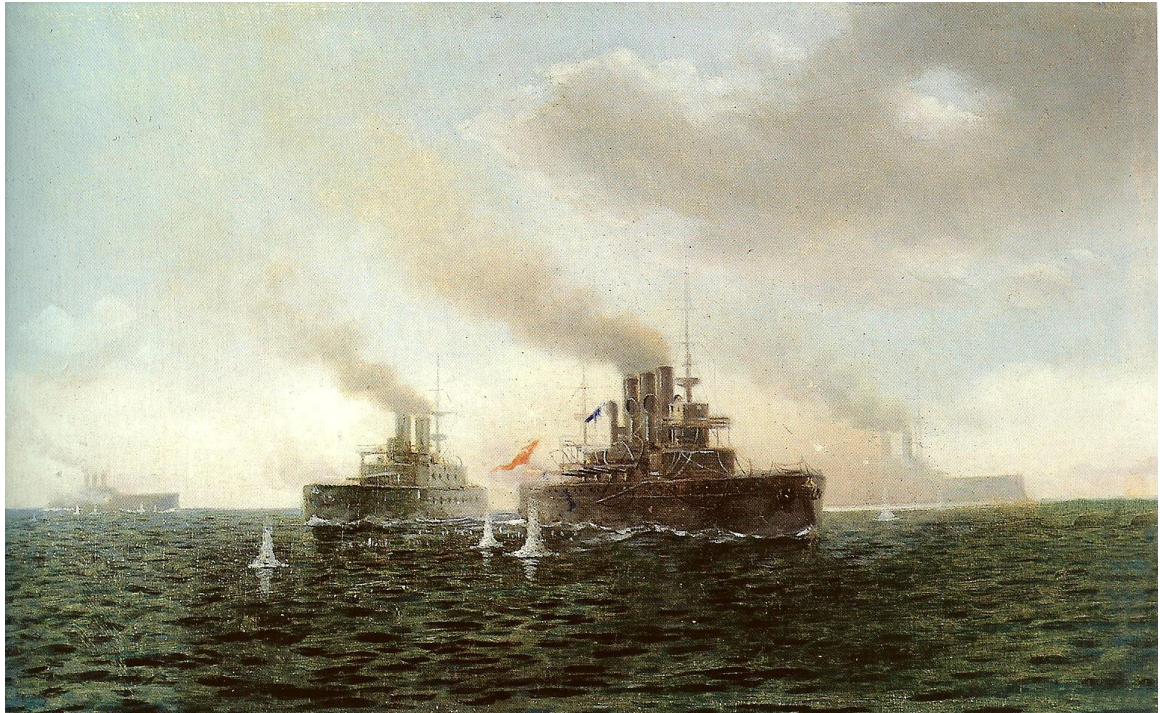


Fig. 9. E. Prossalendis, *The Battleship G. Averof at the Battle of Cape Elli*, ca. 1912, oil on canvas, 36 x 47 cm, HMM, coll. no. 782.



Fig. 10. V. Chatzis, *The Hellenic fleet on night patrol*, 1912-1914, oil on canvas, 47 x 64 cm, HMM, coll. no. 471.



Modern Greek Paintings depicting Naval Battles in the Hellenic Maritime Museum



Fig. 11. V. Chatzis, *The destroyer Thyella*, 1912-1914, oil on canvas, 45 x 70 cm, HMM, coll. no. 735.



Fig. 12. L. Geralis, *The Naval Battle of Lemnos*, ca. 1915, oil on canvas, 160 x 360 cm, HMM, coll. no. 381.



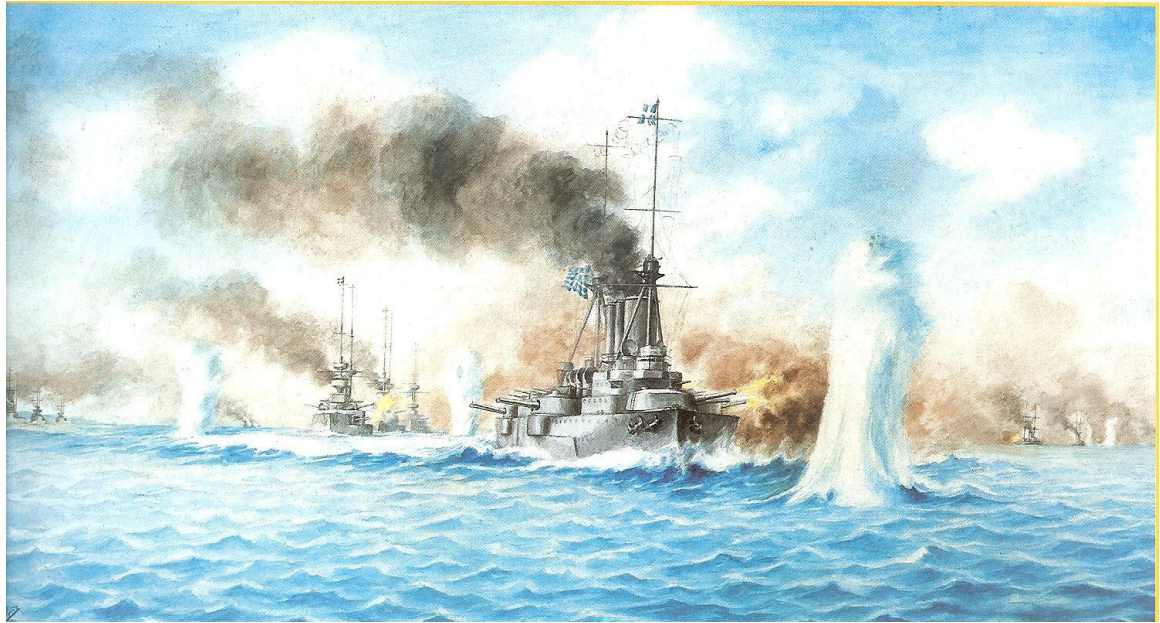


Fig. 13. K. Alexandris, *The Naval Battle of Lemnos*, 1912-1913, watercolour, 37 x 40 cm, HMM, coll. no. 401.



Fig. 14. L. Kogevinas, *The ironclad Averof in Constantinople*, 1918, gouache, 30 x 47 cm, HMM, coll. no. 476.



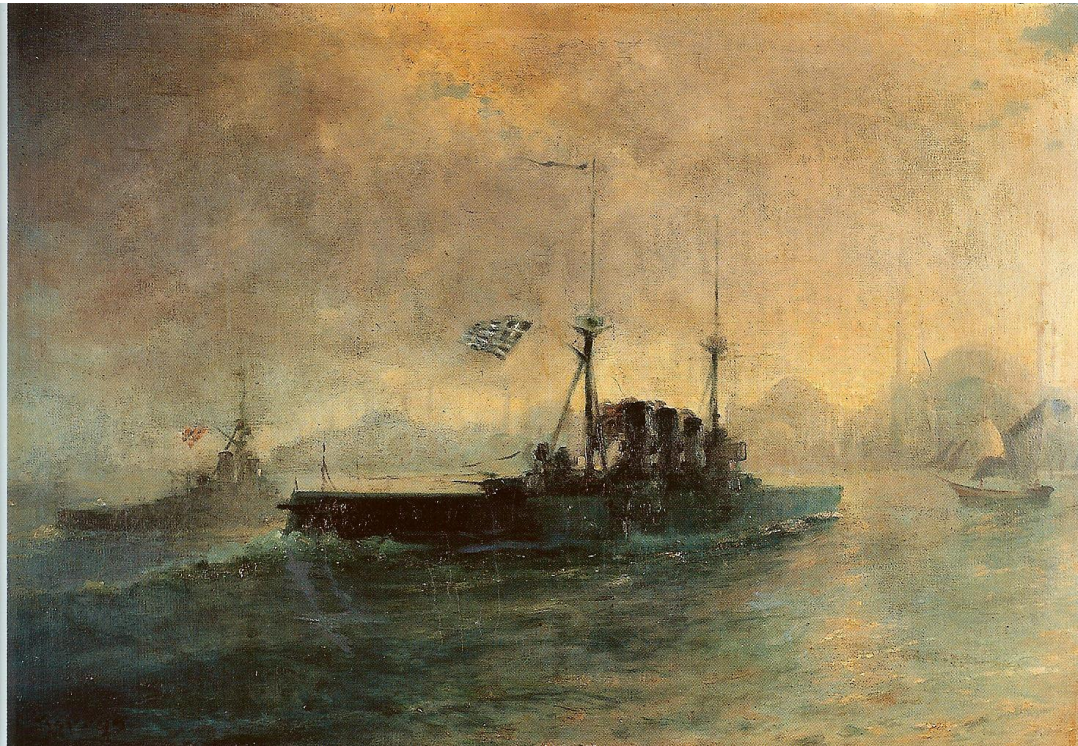


Fig. 15. N. Kalogeropoulos, *The battleship Averof sails into the port of Constantinople*, ca. 1918, oil on canvas, 68 x 98 cm, HMM, coll. no. 782.



Fig. 16. D. Vasiliou, *Ierax Bombing the forts of Raidestos*, ca. 1950-1970, oil on canvas, 69 x 100 cm, HMM, coll. no. 1391.



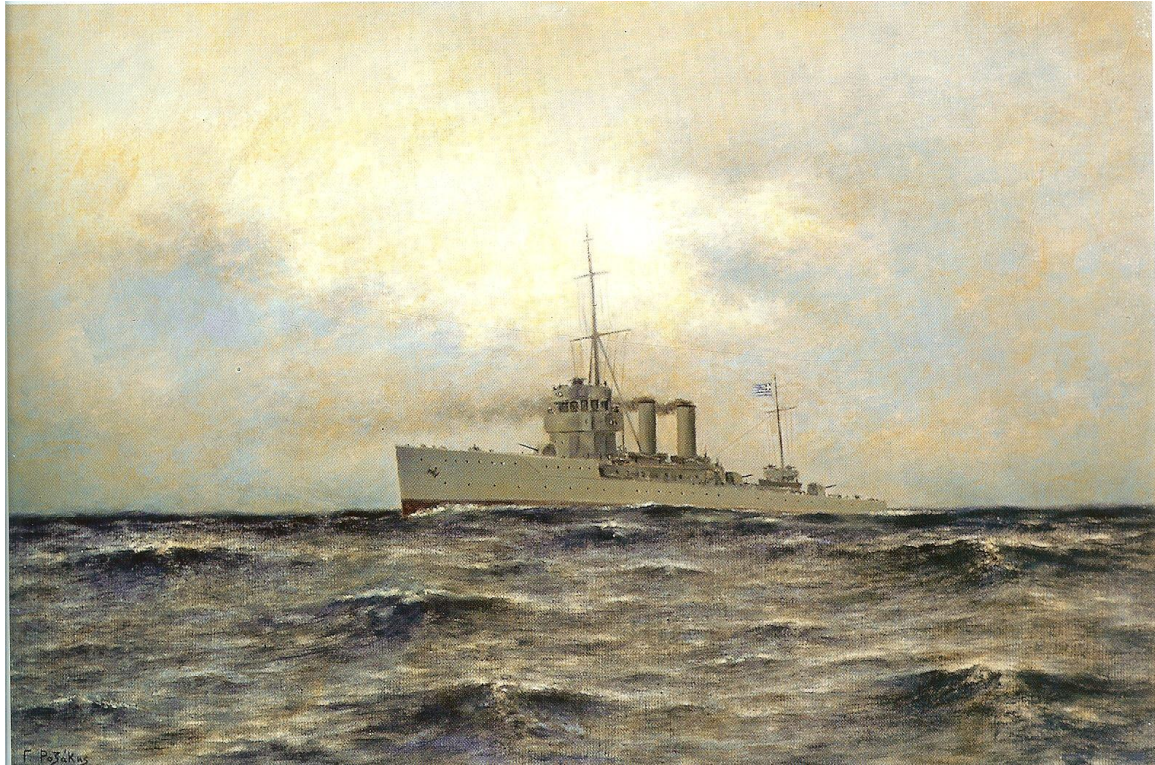


Fig. 17. G. Rozakis, *The cruiser Elli*, ca. 1965-1975, oil on canvas, 52 x 77 cm, HMM, coll. no. 543.

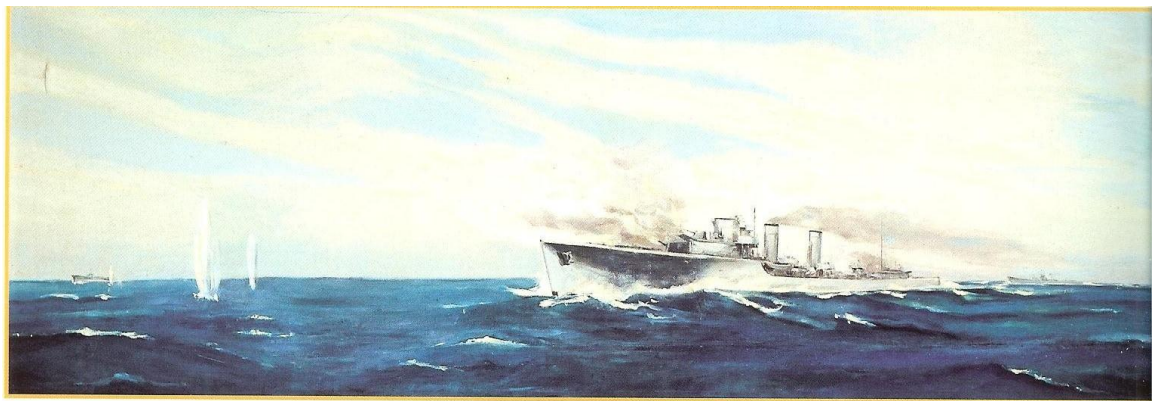


Fig. 18. V. Germenis, *The destroyer Queen Olga*, 1943, ca. 1943-1949, oil on canvas, 98 x 48 cm, HMM, coll. no. 887.



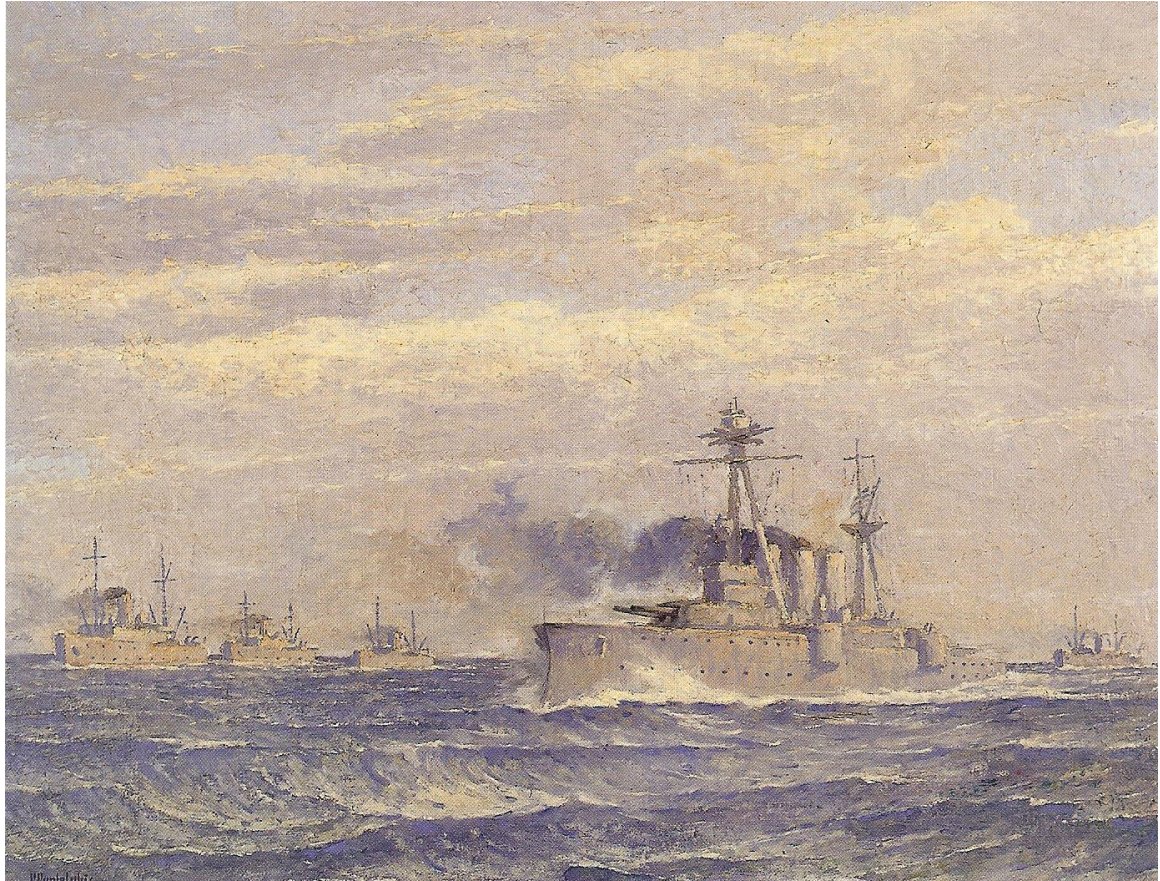


Fig. 19. P. Pantelakis, *The battleship Averof in the Indian Ocean*, ca. 1945-1965, oil on canvas, 66 x 85 cm, HMM, no. 468.

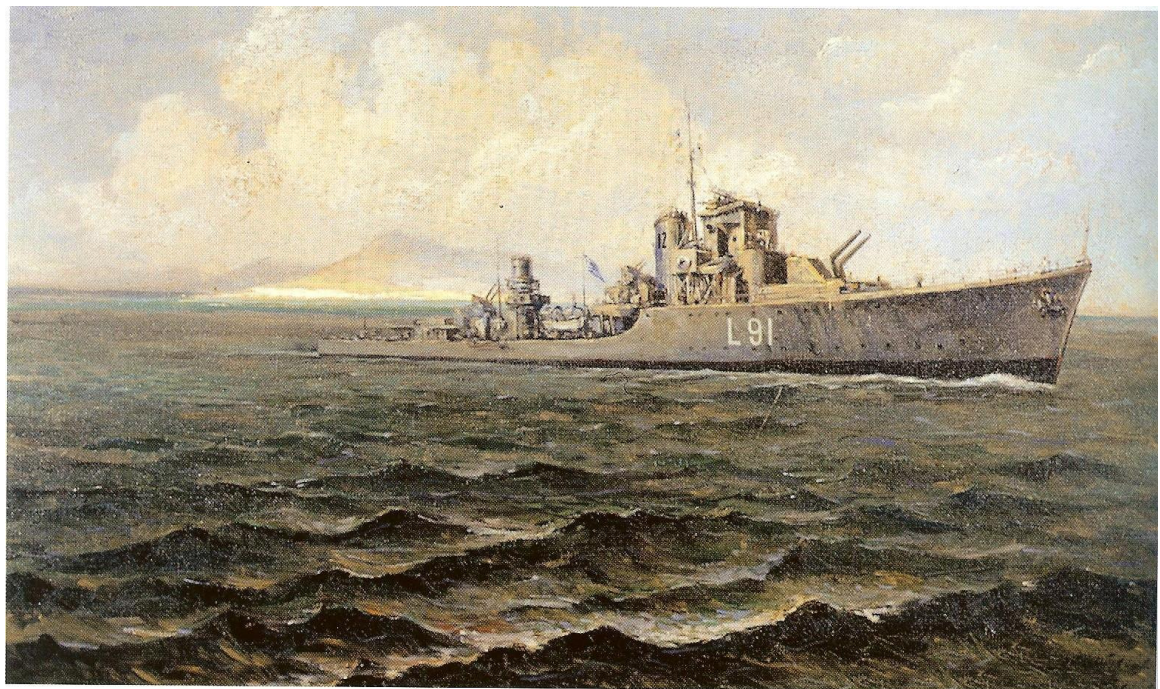


Fig. 20. A. Kanas, *The destroyer Miaoulis*, ca. 1950-1965, oil on canvas, 66 x 115 cm, HMM, coll. no. 640.





Fig. 21. V. Germenis, *Laying Mines*, ca. 1945-1949, 72 x 54 cm, oil on canvas, HMM, coll. no. 529.

### **Abstract**

#### **Configuring the Identity of a Sea-Fighting Nation: Modern Greek Paintings depicting Naval Battles at the Hellenic Maritime Museum**

The Greeks have always constituted one of the most significant maritime ethnic groups in the Eastern Mediterranean region; the formation and development of the Hellenic national identity was largely affected by sea-faring activity and its presentation in literature, the fine arts, film and the mass media. The glorification of naval achievements that took place during the War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire (1821-1830), the Balkan Wars (1912-13) and the two World Wars through the oeuvre of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Greek artists suggest that the Hellenic Navy's supremacy was the main reason for the nation's emancipation, territorial and economical expansion. This article examines paintings depicting naval battles incorporated in the collection the Hellenic Maritime Museum after 1949. Its purpose is to define the way in which these paintings contributed to the formulation of a Hellenic identity based on the ideal of Goliath-like maritime nation and to reflect on the reasons behind the stylistic and narrative choices of their makers.

**Keywords**

Hellenic Maritime Museum, Greek naval battles, Greek maritime painting, Konstantinos Volanakis (1837-1907), Aristovouli Lopresti, Ioannis Altamura (1852-1878), Vasileios Chatzis (1870-1914), Vasileios Germenis (1896-1966), Emilios Prossalendis (1859-1926), Lycurgus Kogevinas (1887-1940), Lukas Geralis (1878-1958), Konstantinos Alexandris (1894-1976), Georgios Rozakis (1936-), Antonios Kanas (1915-1995), Nikolaos Kalogeropoulos (1889-1957), Iosif Demiris (1945-), Dimitrios Vasiliou (1920-1997), Antonios Milanos, Pavlos Pantelakis (1914-1973).

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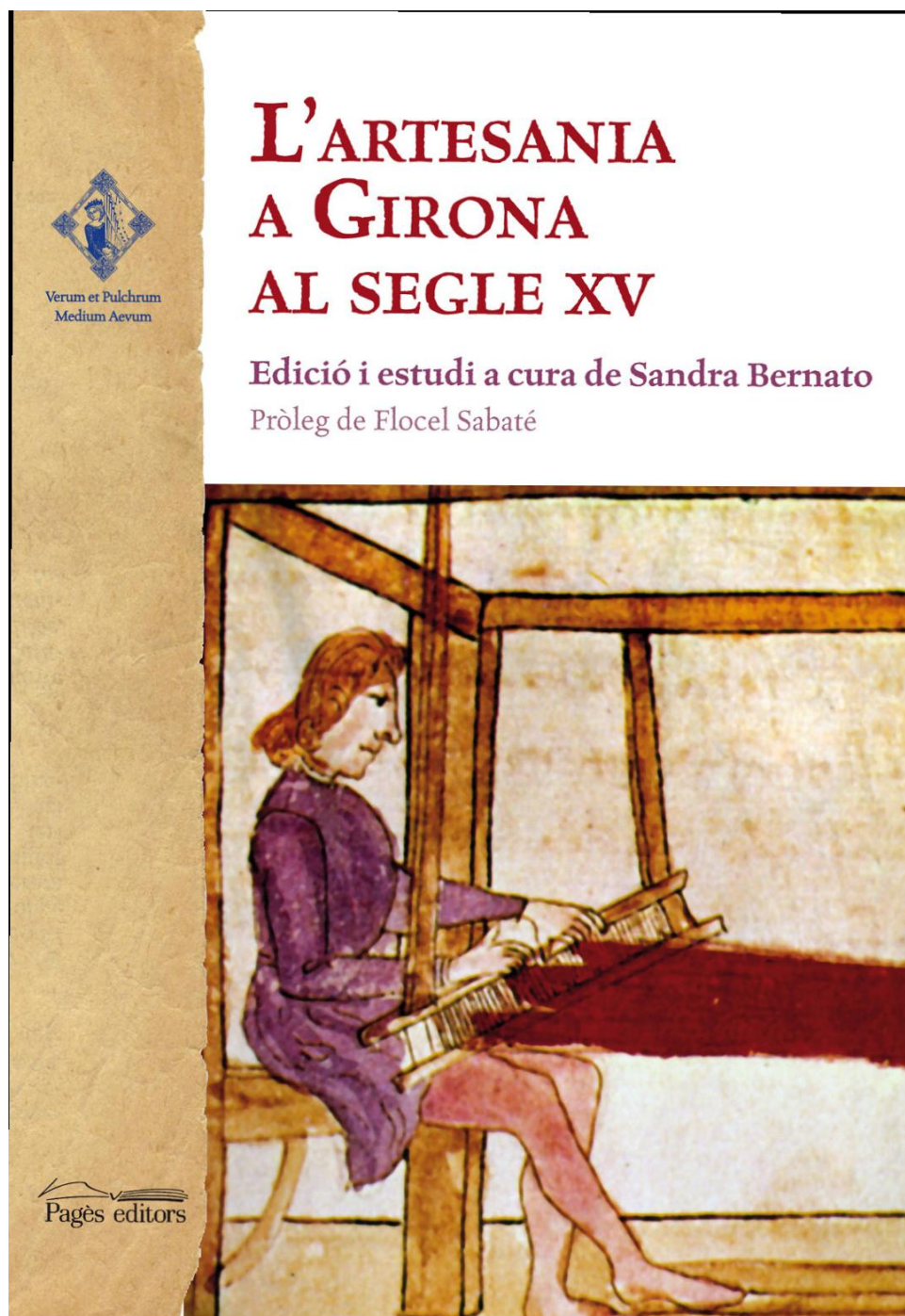
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Book reviews. Shorter notes

Sandra Bernato, *Sorrento al tempo di Renato d'Angiò*, presentazione di Gerardo Sangermano, Salerno (Laveglia Carlone Editore) 2008, pp. 112.



Il saggio della Bernato si fonda su un lungo e faticoso lavoro di edizione di un voluminoso registro redatto del notaio sorrentino Giovanni Raparo. Di tale edizione sono già apparsi tre parti: cioè *Sorrento. Giovanni Raparo. 1435-1439. Parte I. 1435*, Napoli, Edizioni Athena, 2006; e *Sorrento. Giovanni Raparo. 3 gennaio – 31 dicembre 1436*, Salerno, Laveglia Editore, 2007 e, da pochi mesi, i documenti relativi all'anno

1437 (Laveglia & Carlone). La ricerca della Bernato, peraltro, si inserisce in un progetto di ricerca, promosso e coordinato da tempo da Alfonso Leone, che prevede la pubblicazione di vari protocolli notarili quattrocenteschi di area campana e nell'ambito del quale hanno visto la luce finora ben quindici titoli. Una fonte, quella notarile, che – come ricorda lo stesso Leone nell'introduzione al primo volume della collana, nel 1994 – «per la storia del Mezzogiorno bassomedioevale, rispetto ad altre, quali quelle pubbliche o mercantili, documenta per così dire dall'interno i diversi ambiti cittadini e rurali, e mostra un peculiare significato locale, dal momento che in ciascuna realtà propone la compresenza e la relazione di aspetti molteplici: le risorse, i ceti, le consuetudini, la mentalità. In questo senso, anzi, essa consente una verifica persuasiva delle concrete condizioni di sviluppo delle regioni e delle aree meridionali nel corso del XV secolo». Il protocollo notarile del Raparo rappresenta, inoltre, un *unicum*, essendo il solo protocollo superstite dei notai sorrentini del basso Medioevo.

La Bernato ci offre, con un'attenta analisi della documentazione inedita comparata alla non ricchissima – se paragonata con quella amalfitana – tradizione storiografica sorrentina, uno spaccato dei tratti salienti della società locale, dai legami radicati e prioritari che la città manteneva con il mondo rurale alla sua partecipazione al commercio di cabotaggio tirrenico, dalla sensibile influenza della Chiesa nella realtà cittadina alle forme di diritto privato e familiare (capitolo VII), in un particolare momento della vita del Regno, che andava registrando il passaggio dalla dinastia angioina a quella aragonese.

Nel primo capitolo viene analizzata la città con la sua topografia e popolazione. Questa appare al lettore, che può ripercorrerla virtualmente dalla porta maggiore col castello alla marina di Capo Cervo o dal sedile di Dominova al Propetto, caratterizzata dalla presenza di dimore aristocratiche, come quelle dei Brancia, Acciapaccia, Guardati, Romano, Anfora, Correale, Eusebio, Falangola, Vulcano, Mastrogiudice, Capece o Molignano, solo per citarne alcune, dal gran numero di chiese e cappelle e di orti, giardini e frutteti che ad esse si accompagnavano: il tutto a riflettere «la sostanza sociale e culturale della città stessa». Così come per il resto dei centri della penisola sorrentino-amalfitana, ed in particolare come per Amalfi sul versante opposto, Sorrento appare limitata, nel suo impianto urbano, dallo stesso luogo in cui sorgeva, ma allo stesso tempo, così come ad Amalfi, nonostante tutto, le dimore aristocratiche e i luoghi di culto con annessi giardini e orti proliferavano.

La popolazione, al tempo, non doveva essere esigua, visto che solo nei documenti notarili esaminati compaiono quasi ottocento persone. È indubbia, inoltre, una significativa presenza forestiera, in particolare di persone provenienti dalla Costa amalfitana e da Napoli, a testimonianza di una buona integrazione di Sorrento in tutto il territorio peninsulare, ma anche nello stesso Regno di Napoli.

Sorrento, come l'Autrice sottolinea, sebbene affacciata sul mare e pur avendo attività legate al mare, non recise mai il suo legame economico-sociale con il suo entroterra (capitolo II). Così come accadeva per la più famosa Amalfi, la maggior parte della proprietà fondiaria apparteneva alle famiglie aristocratiche (in particolare ai Brancia, ai Mastrogiudice e ai Vulcano) e agli enti religiosi urbani principali e secondari. Una proprietà che vedeva coltivazioni di ogni genere (si passava dalla vite all'olivo, dai frutteti alla coltivazione di cereali e legumi, mentre si conservavano

castagneti e querceti) e che non raggiungeva valutazioni elevate “non tanto per il suo scarso pregio, bensì per la circolazione piuttosto esigua del denaro contante”. E proprio il rapporto tra nobiltà e proprietà terriera, tra quest’ultima e la Chiesa (a cui è dedicato il capitolo VI), per finire con il rapporto tra nobiltà e Chiesa in funzione della gestione delle proprietà «rappresenta un fattore determinante nel profilo della società locale». I proventi erano per la maggior parte in natura, anche se non mancano canoni in moneta, a testimonianza da un lato dell’elevato valore del denaro, e dall’altro, anche, dell’interesse degli stessi proprietari per alcune derrate che offrivano una facile e più vantaggiosa collocazione sul mercato napoletano. Anche nell’allevamento la presenza della nobiltà, ma anche di personaggi che rivestivano un ruolo sociale più rilevato all’interno della città, aveva un peso tutt’altro che secondario.

Sempre al tema del denaro e della sua circolazione è dedicato il terzo capitolo. I documenti esaminati mostrano, come si è accennato, una carenza monetaria e un certo «disagio economico», tanto che «il ricorso al prestito era assai frequente, nell’ambito cittadino e nel contesto tutto, a riprova di una cronica ed emblematica mancanza di danaro contante». Oltre al pegno, troviamo prestiti che comportavano l’ipoteca di *bona stabilia* e quindi si presentavano in forma mascherata di vendita e successiva rivendita. Queste pratiche erano regolarmente utilizzate dalla nobiltà, a cui è dedicato il quarto capitolo. L’aristocrazia sorrentina rispecchiava le caratteristiche tipiche di quella regnicola: una base economica fondata sulla proprietà terriera e sulla vendita di derrate, in particolare vino; una fitta rete di legami parentali creati con un’attenta politica matrimoniale; il possesso di beni all’interno della città (abitazioni e botteghe), l’inserimento di esponenti familiari all’interno del clero e dell’apparato amministrativo – tendenza sempre più evidente tra Tre e Quattrocento nel Mezzogiorno italiano –, mancanza quasi totale di una partecipazione attiva e costante alle attività mercantili (unica eccezione in tal senso è il caso di un operatore di nome Angellillo Orefice).

Su posizioni imitative si collocava il ceto medio cittadino (capitolo V), sia cercando di acquisire posizioni socio-economiche con il possesso fondiario e immobiliare, sia apportando un contributo minimo alle attività mercantili. Del resto Sorrento era «piuttosto uno scalo ben inserito nel contesto della circolazione costiera da Gaeta a Tropea, che un centro autonomo di iniziativa marinara», in cui i “maggiori” investitori in commende di mare erano forestieri come Coluccio e Loise d’Afflitto di Scala, il primo già oggetto di un attento studio da parte dell’Autrice in altra sede, e Giuliano Riccio di Castellamare.

Sorrento e la sua popolazione alla fine della dominazione angioina, conclude la Bernato, si inseriva in quella continua richiesta di prodotti agricoli fatta dalla capitale del Regno, che non apportava, però, «un rinnovamento sensibile alle forme consuete dell’economia rurale, in una direzione più avanzata e moderna. Anzi, era proprio il rapporto tradizionale che essa conservava con lo spazio agricolo circostante a denunciare con evidenza la sua struttura sociale e a incidere sul tenore stesso, esile e pigro, della vita urbana». La cronica insufficienza monetaria che caratterizzò la città, se da un lato portò alla mancata formazione di capitali mercantili, dall’altro segnò la stessa vita sociale della popolazione, mortificandone aspirazioni e qualità della vita. Il conflitto angioino-aragonese, da parte sua, incise

nel periodo analizzato sulla compagine sociale e sulla vita economica, benché non interrompesse del tutto gli scambi commerciali.

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**D.Z. Nikitas (ed.), *Laus and gratia in memoriam Κωνσταντίνου Γρόλλιου*, Thessaloniki (University Studio Press) 2012, pp. 312.**

*Laus et Gratia in memoriam Κωνσταντίνου Γρόλλιου* is a collected volume with papers in loving memory of the late K. Grollios (1917-2006), Prof. of Latin Literature at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Member of the Academy of Athens. His main research interests focused on Roman Literature, major authors of the classical period in particular, namely Cicero, Lucretius and Seneca, and above all, Horace. The volume is edited by D.Z. Nikitas, a Prof. of Latin at the Faculty of Classics of the Aristotle University; a preface by the editor and a detailed biography of K. Grollios by Vaios Vaiopoulos are followed by 11 papers (most of them in Modern Greek, followed by an abstract in English or in German) and 1 translation by current and former members of the Aristotle University Faculty of Classics teaching staff. The thematic range of this volume is wide, as it includes papers ranging from the Augustan age to up to Neo-Latin and dealing with a wide variety of literary genres such as epic tragedy, lyric and bucolic poetry technical treatises and astrology.

The papers and the translation appear in the following order:

Evangelos Karakasis: Farewell to pastoral: Calpurnius Siculus and his seventh bucolic

Stratis Kyriakidis: Manilian middles

Aimilios Mavroudis: Archigenes Latinus: Latin evidence on Archigenes from Apameia, the medical doctor, and his texts transmitted in Latin

Theodore Papanghelis: 9 *Odes* on love and 2 on death: translation palimpsests from the lyric poet Horace

Dimitrios Nikitas: ΜΥΘΟΙ ΠΑΝΥ ΩΦΕΛΙΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΡΤΙΝΟΙ: The first translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in colloquial Modern Greek by Ioannis Makolas

Helen Peraki-Kyriakidou: *Poeta agilis et versutus* (Hor. *Epistula* 1.1)

Nikos Petrochilos: Some interesting comparisons between male and female in Virgil's *Aeneid*

Leonidas Tromaras: From the ancient παρακλαυσίθυρον to the modern rebetiko

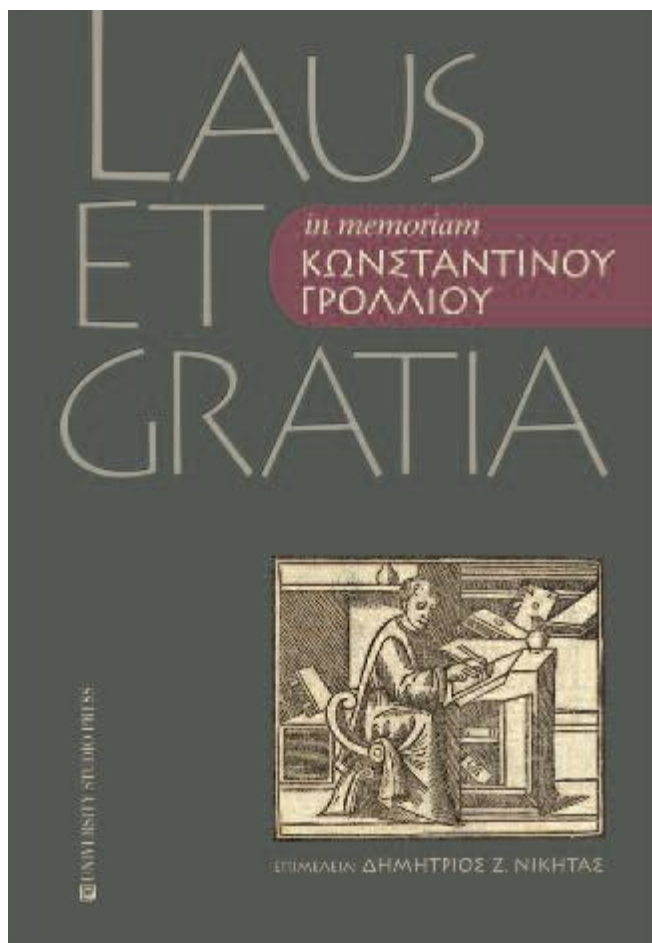
Dimitra Tsitsikli: Apuleius and Tragedy

Chrysanthe Tistsiou-Chelidoni: Horace *Epistle* 1.20: evidence of an early 'poetics of reception'

Stavros Frangoulidis: '*Assem habeas, assem valeas*': Trimalchio's reputation after death in Petronius' *Satyrical*

Basil Fyntikoglou: Horace *Ode* 4.15: *Renuntiatio recusationis*?





**Evangelos Karakasis** examines the ways Calpurnius Siculus interacts, in his seventh political eclogue, with earlier pastoral in order to suggest his generic movement towards non pastoral discourses of the *genus grande*, within the poetological framework of the Neronian aesthetics of deviation. Traditional pastoral values and pleasures, like the *locus amoenus*, are associated with urban assets, such as the wooden amphitheatre of Nero in the *Campus Martius*, and are eventually debucolised. A lengthy ephrasis of the kind cherished mainly by epic generic discourses, panegyric language and style, as well as intertextual engagement with epic/panegyric discourses evidence the generic branching of Calpurnius towards loftier generic modes.

**Stratis Kyriakidis** explores the ways the notion of the 'middle' underscores Manilius' sense of a literary, a philosophical as well as an ideological adhesion to a tradition exemplified by authors such as Lucretius, Vergil and Ovid. Kyriakidis focuses on the middle of the first Manilian book, dealing as it does with the form of the stars as well as the regularity stellar motion exhibits (1.456-531), and thus a) comes to the conclusion that Manilius employs the 'central' space of a particular narrative in a manner similar to that both Lucretius and Vergil make use of the 'middle' and b) highlights the importance of the poem's ending for decoding the meaning of the narrative part into account. Intertextuality proves to function as a decisive tool Manilius exploits in the 'middle' of his work or a section of his book, in

order to bring up both his approval or disapproval of mythological, cosmological and philosophical views, as expressed by authors functioning as his model.

**Aimilios Mavroudis** examines the reception of Archigenes in Latin literature; Archigenes from Apameia in Syria was a famous doctor and his *floruit* is dated in the age of Trajan. Archigenes, the most important representative of the so-called Pneumatic school, practiced medicine in Rome and wrote several books on various medical subjects (surgery, pharmacology, etc.). In particular, Mavroudis scrutinizes the evidence on Archigenes offered by Juvenal and ancient as well as later commentators of the satiric Roman poet. There follows a study of the material found in Byzantium, Caelius Aurelianus (who erroneously perceives Archigenes as a Methodist), the anonymous catalogue of doctors Laurentianus *plut. lat.* 73, 1 transmits and the various versions of *Physica Plinii*.

**Theodoros Papanghelis** translates 9 Horatian odes on love and two on death (1.5, 1.8, 1.13, 1.15, 1.23, 1.29, 2.4, 2.8, 3.7, 1.4) thus honoring the late Professor K. Grollios who dedicated his life to the study of Horatian poetry.

**Dimitrios Nikitas** studies the first post-Byzantine translations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, namely those by Ioannes Makolas (1686), Kaisarios Dapontes (c. 1735-50) and Spyridon Blantes (1789) in colloquial Modern Greek of the period, as well as Philippos Ioannou's (1865) translation from Latin into ancient Greek hexameter form. Nikitas pays particular attention to Makolas' translation, published in Venice, under the sponsorship of Michael Petroules, an eminent Greek of the time. Makolas' translation covers only the middle part of the publication; a translation of Iustinus' *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus* takes up the first part of the book, whereas a dialogue of Christian import (*Χριστιανική Διδασκαλία*) comes at the end. Makolas translates only twelve Ovidian stories and there cannot be any certainty as to whether Makolas had in his disposition the whole of the Latin epic or simply a florilegium. Ovid is rendered into Greek for reasons of instruction (and pleasure as well); yet the translation is not always accurate and a comparison with Blantes' work substantiates the latter's superior skills as an Ovidian translator. Be that as it may, Makolas' work is important enough, as it paves the way for several subsequent Greek translations of the Ovidian Protean epos.

**Helen Peraki-Kyriakidou** challenges the view that in vv. 16-7 of *Epist.* 1.1 Horace is influenced by the Stoic movement and, accordingly, favors a type of Stoic involvement in public life. For Kyriakidou the poet, as, first and foremost, evidenced by catchwords like *agilis* or *mesor*, simply decides to engage in Roman everyday life with a view to making the most of it, without, however, losing his self-control or changing his value-system. From a similar perspective for Horace, Kyriakidou argues, Aristippus, the Cyrenaic *sapiens*, up to a point, identifies with Homer's Ulysses who also never loses control of himself.

**Nikos Petrochilos** detects in the Vergilian *Aeneid* a broad opposition between an overall female loss of control, on the one hand, and male self-control, on the other. King Latinus, however, resembles, for Petrochilos, female and not male epic behavior, as far as self-mastery and self-control are concerned; this trait of his character evidently points to a feebleness characterizing Latium's royal house and, accordingly, justifies Aeneas' taking over power in Latium.

**Leonidas Tromaras** takes a leaf out of F.O. Copley's classical study on *paraklausithyron* (1956) and traces the story of the sub-generic formation in question

from ancient tragedy and comedy (Euripides' *Cyclops*, Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazoussae*) through Hellenistic epigram, Roman Comedy, Lyric poetry and Elegy to modern rebetiko, as imported to the Greek mainland by the refugees from Ionia, after the Greek national disaster of 1922. Tromaras points out the interesting 'revival' of paraklausithyron song in the so-called 'Greek popular song' after its disappearance from post-Ovidian Roman literature.

By considering similar embedded stories in Apuleius' novel (the unfaithful woman of book 9, the serial killer), **Dimitra Tsitsikli** argues for a tragic generic coloring (in terms of both plot structure and characterization) in the case of the *noverca* tale at the beginning of the tenth book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. She suggests that the term 'tragedy' is a corollary of theme, plot cohesion and tragic character. Such a tragic generic feeling may be perceived, according to Tsitsikli, as a marker of a stylistic change, an Apuleian branching out towards loftier generic tones.

**Chrysanthi Tsitsiou-Chelidoni** follows up with a paper on reception studies and examines Horace, *Epistle* 1.20 from the perspective of an author's commitment to and interaction, through his work, with his public. Tsitsiou reads the poem chiefly in its intratextual relation with the philological epistles 2.1., 2.2. and the *Ars Poetica* and thus establishes the poetological character of the poem. Issues of structure as a means for producing meaning also form a significant part of the scholar's analysis.

**Stavros Frangoulidis** studies the motif of death in Petronius' *Satyricon*; for Frangoulidis Trimalchio is resolved to gain control over death by exploiting his materialistic wealth. This is suggested by the instructions Trimalchio gives Habinnas, the *lapidarius*, concerning the erection of the rich freedman's wealthy tomb, and the rehearsal of his memorial service. Yet this aim of his is devaluated and, ultimately, annulled by the comic intrusion of the patrolling firemen into Trimalchio's mansion, provoked as it is by the dummy run of his funeral, and the subsequent unexpected finale of the sumptuous banquet. This surprised ending of the banquet exposes the host's foolishness in believing that he can control his death and reputation after death via his material wealth.

By examining the typology of a *recusatio*, **Basil Fyntikoglou** concludes that Horace *Odes* 4.15 with its significant discrepancies from the model *recusatio* form may be read as a *renuntiatio recusations*, although not of un-neoteric character, for the poem eventually leads to Caesar's praise. Fyntikoglou makes out a similarity with a rather elegiac symposium-framing of the kind exemplified by Propertius 4.6 and its epicising song in the line of the *Aeneid* and, hence, discerns a criticism of contemporary epicising poetic production, lacking, however, Vergilian poetic quality. For Fyntikoglou there exists a dialogue between the first and the last stanza of the poet and Horace appears to be promoting the poetological idea of a generically self-conscious, yet unassuming encomiastic poetry imitating, although not in a slavish manner, the *Aeneid*. Any poet who writes under the influence of a masterpiece like the *Aeneid* should be in a state of alert; such a state is of course an authentic Callimachean attitude, and from this point of view this farewell to *recusatio* does not mean the abandonment of neoteric principles. The poem is thus about the interaction of poetry with politics in the Augustan period and, what is more, in the shadow of Vergil's *Aeneid*.

## Settimana di Studio della Storia Medievale del Mediterraneo

È noto che il 7 ottobre 1571, nelle acque del mar Ionio, nel golfo di Patrasso e all'uscio del golfo attualmente chiamato di Corinto, è stata combattuta una delle più sanguinose e più significanti, dal punto di vista di valore storico, battaglie navali della storia moderna d'Europa, la famosa *battaglia navale di Lepanto*. Si trovarono opposte all'impero ottomano le flotte delle potenze cristiane alleate della *Sacra Lega* (Venezia, la Spagna, gli Ospedalieri di Malta e il Papa). Le perdite, sia materiali che in vite umane, erano enormi per ambedue le parti. La vittoria è stata formalmente ascritta all'armata cristiana, ma ciò non significava l'annientamento definitivo del pericolo ottomano.

Nella città di Navpaktos (Lepanto), che tiene sempre il vanto di quella vittoria, e nell'ambito delle festività che il comune della città aveva promosso per il 441° anniversario della battaglia, era organizzata dal 8 al 12 ottobre la *Settimana di Studio della Storia Medievale del Mediterraneo; Correlazioni e scontri di potenze nel Mediterraneo (XIV-XVI secoli)*. La Settimana proposta dal Centro di Studi Ioni ([www.kmi.gr](http://www.kmi.gr)) era organizzata in collaborazione con l'Istituto di Ricerche Storiche/Programma di Ricerca "Bisanzio e l'Occidente" della Fondazione Nazionale delle Ricerche (Atene) e il Comune di Navpaktos; la responsabilità scientifica era assunta dal prof. Nikos Moschonàs, Em. direttore di ricerca della F.N.R. Obiettivo dei seminari era soprattutto la diffusione della conoscenza storica, elaborata dagli specialisti, ad un pubblico possibilmente vasto e non specializzato in Storia. A questo scopo, i seminari erano corredati di proiezioni digitali di immagini, carte e disegni.

Nella prima serata, dopo i saluti del sindaco di Navpaktos prof. Giannis Boulès e degli assessori dott.ssa Maria Ziambara e dott. Costantino Stavropoulos, il prof. Moschonàs ha esposto il quadro della Settimana di Studio e di seguito ha dato la parola al prof. Charalambos Gasparis, direttore di ricerca presso l'Istituto di Ricerche Storiche, il quale ha svolto l'argomento *Equilibri fragili; Bisanzio, Venezia e Genova dal XIIIo al XVo sec.* [*Εύθραυστες Ισορροπίες. Βυζάντιο, Βενετία και Γένοβα από τον 13ο στον 15ο αι.*]. Il giorno seguente, martedì 9 ottobre, la professoressa Maria Dourou-Iliopoulou (Università di Atene) ha parlato delle *Potenze latine nel territorio greco. Aspetti della vita quotidiana* [*Λατινικές δυνάμεις στον ελληνικό χώρο. Όψεις καθημερινής ζωής*], mentre la dott.ssa Fotinì Perra (ricercatrice nell'Università del Peloponneso) ha presentato la sua relazione su *La repubblica marinara di Venezia e l'impero Ottomano tra il XV° e il XVI° sec. Le prime tre guerre veneto-ottomane* [*Η ναυτική δημοκρατία της Βενετίας και η Οθωμανική αυτοκρατορία μεταξύ του 15<sup>ου</sup> και του 16<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα. Οι τρεις πρώτοι βενετο-οθωμανικοί πόλεμοι*]. Il terzo giorno, mercoledì 10 ottobre, la dott.ssa Marina Koumanoudi, ricercatrice presso l'Istituto di Ricerche Storiche, ha parlato dell'*Estensione ottomana e cambiamenti amministrativi nello Stato da Mar veneziano (XV° sec.)* [*Οθωμανική εξάπλωση και διοικητικές*

μεταβολές στο βενετικό Κράτος της Θάλασσας (15ος αιώνας)] e la dott.ssa Fotinì Perra de *La Repubblica marinara di Venezia e gli Ospedalieri di Rodi nel Mediterraneo sudorientale; approcci e contrasti* [Η ναυτική δημοκρατία της Βενετίας και οι Ιωαννίτες Ιππότες της Ρόδου στη νοτιοανατολική Μεσόγειο· προσεγγίσεις και αντιθέσεις]. Seguirono il giorno del giovedì 11 ottobre la relazione dello storico Lambros Kotsalàs (dottorando di ricerca, Università di Atene), su *Lepanto nel tardo Medioevo. Una città-fortezza in contesa* [Η υστερομεσαιωνική Ναύπακτος. Μια διεκδικούμενη καστροπολιτεία] e la conferenza del prof. Nikos Moschonàs sull'argomento *Correlazioni di potenze nel bacino occidentale del Mediterraneo* [Συσχετισμοί δυνάμεων στη δυτική λεκάνη της Μεσογείου]. L'ultimo giorno, venerdì 12 ottobre, chiuse la Settimana il professore Jannis Hassiotis (Em. prof., Università Aristoteliana di Salonicco) con due conferenze: *Il Mediterraneo come ponte tra il mondo greco e spagnolo dal Medioevo fino al XVI secolo* [Η Μεσόγειος ως γέφυρα ανάμεσα στον ελληνικό και ισπανικό κόσμο από τον Μεσαίωνα ως τον 16ο αιώνα] e *La contestazione del dominio ottomano a Cipro e la politica mediterranea delle potenze europee (sec.XVI-XVII)* [Η αμφισβήτηση της οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας στην Κύπρο και η μεσογειακή πολιτική των ευρωπαϊκών δυνάμεων (16ος-17ος αι.)].

La segreteria della Settimana di Studio era affidata alla dottoressa Ioanna Kostì, archeologa presso il comune, la quale ha sostenuto brevemente il compito. Alla serie delle conferenze, aperte al pubblico, ha partecipato un buon numero di cittadini che seguirono attentamente tutto il ciclo e le discussioni che seguivano le relazioni erano molto costruttivi. Tanto il sindaco, quanto il consiglio comunale della città hanno accolto calorosamente la proposta della realizzazione della Settimana di Studio e hanno dichiarato apertamente la loro intenzione di stabilire annualmente la funzione della Settimana nell'ambito delle attività festive del comune nell'anniversario della battaglia navale di Lepanto.

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## Guidelines for authors

The Editorial Board of *Mediterranean Chronicle* welcomes articles to be considered for publication provided they match the following criteria:

- the texts should be original;
- the subject must be related to culture/s in the Mediterranean World;
- articles should follow the journal's citation style;
- each article should include a 200-words abstract;
- articles must include some keywords.

**Contributions are welcome in one of the following languages: French, Greek, Italian, English, Portuguese, Spanish or Catalan.**

**Topics: Humanities, History, Archaeology, Classics.**

The editors will not return originals, but all authors will be informed about the publication decision and of any suggestions made by the Scientific Committee.

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### Citation Style:

The following guidelines should be taken as general rules intended to ensure the uniformity of the journal's style, always having in view easy reference identification. In any case, authors will be allowed to include a final bibliographical list.

#### 1. Citing books

-Theodore D. Papanghelis, *Propertius: a Hellenistic poet on love and death*, Cambridge – London – New York – New Rochelle – Melbourne – Sydney 1987, p. 85 (or pp. 85-95).

Alternatively, an abbreviated style, following the first citation, can be used:

-Papanghelis, op. cit., p. 85 or pp. 85-95

or

-Papanghelis, *Propertius: a Hellenistic poet...*, p. 85 or pp. 85-95.

#### 2. Citing articles

-David F. Bright, "A Tibullan Odyssey", *Arethusa* 4 (1971) 204-205.

-Antonio La Penna, "Brevi considerazioni sulla divinizzazione degli eroi e sul canone degli eroi divinizzati", *Hommages à Henri Le Bonniec, Res Sacrae*, Publiés avec l'aide de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne par D. Porte et J.-P. Néraudau, *Collection Latomus*, Volume 201, Bruxelles 1988, pp. 275-287.

For journal abbreviations authors should refer, whenever possible, to *L'Année Philologique*.

#### 3. Citing ancient authors

-For Greek authors, the abbreviations used by Liddell-Scott-Jones in *A Greek-English Lexicon* should be followed.

-For Latin authors the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* should be followed.

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Hom., *Od.* 2.4; Cic., *Phil.* 2.20; Plin., *Nat.* 9.106.

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c. Articles should be submitted in MS Word format. When approved, authors may be asked to send their paper transformed in PDF format. This is a safety valve that prohibits the loss of eventual special characters and/or non-Latin words contained in the paper.

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