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Theseus and the Fourth Crusade: Outlining a Historical Investigation of a Cultural Problem¹

O mito é o nada que é tudo.
O mesmo sol que abre os céus
É um mito brilhante e mudo —
O corpo morto de Deus,
Vivo e desnudo.
Este, que aqui aportou,
Foi por não ser existindo.
Sem existir nos bastou.
Por não ter vindo foi vindo
E nos criou.
Assim a lenda se escorre
A entrar na realidade,
E a fecundá-la decorre.
Em baixo, a vida, metade
De nada, morre.
(F. Pessoa, *Ulisses*, 1934)²

¹ The subject of this article has been already presented and discussed in three recent and unpublished papers of mine: *The fragmentation of the Byzantine empire after 1204*, given in Modern Greek on Nov. 6, 2006, as opening lecture of the series of conferences on *The duchy of Athens* held in Athens by the Institut for Byzantine Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation and by the Italian Institut of Culture; *Theseus and the Fourth Crusade [a first outline]*, a conference given in Italian on March 29, 2007, for the School of Specialization in Archaeology of the University of Trieste in the room “Marcello Gigante” of the Dept. of Sciences of Antiquity “Leonardo Ferrero”; *Theseus and the Fourth Crusade [a second revised outline]*, a lecture given in English on June 7, 2007, for the *Department of Medieval Studies* in the *Senate Room* of the Central European University at Budapest.

² See Fernando Pessoa [1888-1935], *Mensagem*, Parceria António Maria Pereira, Lisboa 1934. Italian translation: «Il mito è quel nulla che è tutto. / Lo stesso sole che apre i cieli / è un mito brillante e muto: / il corpo morto di Dio, / vivente e nudo. // Questi, che qui approdò, / poiché non c’era cominciò ad esistere. / Senza esistere ci bastò. / Per non essere venuto venne / e ci creò. // La leggenda così si dipana, / penetra la realtà / e a fecondarla decorre. / La vita, metà di nulla, / in basso muore.» (by Luigi Panarese, Lerici editori, Milano 1967). French translation: «Le mythe est le rien qui est tout. / Le soleil lui-même qui ouvre les cieux / Est un mythe brillant et muet — / La dépouille mortelle de dieu, / Vivante, mise à nu. // Celui-là, qui trouva un

Historiographical coordinates and historical definition of the cultural problem

On the one hand, the historiographical reflexion on the Latin Conquest of Constantinople and the consequent fragmentation of the empire of the Romans (*imperium Romanorum* / βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων)³ has a history of more than eight centuries without solution of continuity since 1204 to nowadays. It starts with the thirteenth century authors of chronicles, Greek (Niketas Choniates and George Akropolites), French (*in primis* Robert de Cléry and Geoffroy de Villehardouin), and Venetian (Martino da Canal, Marco and other anonymous like the author of the *Historia ducum Veneticorum*), and continues until the most recent publications of the Acts of the three international congresses (Andros, Athens and Venice) organized in occasion of the eight hundredth anniversary of the Latin conquest of Constantinople (1204-2004)⁴. In short our libraries are

havre en ces lieux, /Reçut de son absence d'être une existence. /Sans exister il nous combla. /Parce qu'il n'est pas venu, il fut celui qui vint, /Il fut celui qui nous créa. // Ainsi s'écoule d'elle-même la légende /En venant pénétrer la réalité, /Qu'en son parcours elle féconde. /Plus bas, la vie, moitié /De rien, se meurt.» (in F. Pessoa, *Poèmes ésotériques, Messages, Le marin*, traduit du portugais par M. Chandeigne et P. Quillier, Christian Bourgois Éditeur, Paris 1988, p. 104).

3 For a historical analysis of the terms see A. Carile, *Impero romano e Romania*, in *La nozione di 'romano' tra cittadinanza e universalità*, Atti del II Seminario Internazionale di Studi Storici "Da Roma alla Terza Roma", Napoli 1984, pp. 247-261; Id., *La Romania fra territorialità e ideologia*, in *Atti del III Seminario Internazionale di Studi Storici "Da Roma alla Terza Roma"*, Napoli 1986, pp. 409-419; Id., *Roma e Romania dagli Isaurici ai Comneni*, in *Bisanzio e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo*, Atti della XXXIV Settimana di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, CISAM, Spoleto 1988, pp. 531-582. A revised edition of these three studies is available as A. Carile, *La Romània (1. Impero romano e Romània, 2. La Romània fra territorialità e ideologia, 3. Roma e Romània dagli Isaurici ai Comneni)*, in Id., *Immagine e realtà nel mondo bizantino*, Editrice Lo Scarabeo, Bologna 2000, pp. 7-90. From a linguistic point of view is still valid the analysis of C. Tagliavini, *I termini Romània e Ῥωμανία*, in *Le origini delle lingue neolatine*, Pàtron Editore, Bologna 1982⁶ (prima edizione 1949), pp. 165-169.

4 Editions of sources: *Nicetae Choniatae "Historia"*, recensuit J.-L. van Dieten, 2 vol., De Gruyter, Berlin — New York 1975 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolinensis, Vols. XI/1 and XI/2); *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, recensuit A. Heisenberg, 2 vols., B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1903 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), pp. 1-109; Robert de Clari, *La conquete de Constantinople*, éd. Philippe Lauer, Champion, Paris 1924, 1956², and Robert de Clari, *La conquete de Constantinople*, publication, traduction, presentation et notes par J. Dufournet, H. Champion, Paris 2004 (Champion classiques. Sér. Moyen Âge, 14); Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, édition et traduction de E. Faral, 2 vol., Paris 1938-1939 (Les classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Âge, t. 18) 1961²; Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise. Cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275*, a cura di A. Limentani, Leo S. Olschki Editore, Firenze 1973; for the unpublished *Chronicon Marci* see A. Pertusi, *La presunta concessione di alcune insegne regali al doge di Venezia da parte di papa Alessandro III*, in *Ateneo Veneto* n.s. 15 (1977), pp. 133-155, here 137-138, n. 16 and G. Cracco, *Tra Marco e Marco: un cronista veneziano dietro al canto XVI del 'Purgatorio'?*, in *'Viridarium Floridum'. Studi di storia veneta offerti dagli allievi a Paolo Sambin*, a c. di R. Avesani, G. Billanovich, M. Ferrari, G. Pozzi, Editrice Antenore, Padova 1984 (Medioevo e Umanesimo, 54), pp. 3-23; *Historia ducum Veneticorum*, in *Testi storici veneziani (XI-XIII secolo)*, edizione e traduzione a cura di L. A. Berto, CLEUP, Padova 1999 (Medioevo europeo, 1), pp. 1-83 with Italian translation. Act of Congresses: Urbs

rich in works on this subject, written by Greek and “Latin” historians of various times and disparate schools. And, notwithstanding the always new and different methods of re-appropriation of the past, all of them have recognized the epoch-making role of the Fourth Crusade and its consequences in the historical process, which, between the eleventh and the thirteenth century, induced the Western chivalry, the Italian merchants and the Catholic clergy to conquer states and to settle in the territories of Islamic Syria and Palestine and in the territories of the Christian Byzantine empire. Historiography knows this historical process as *The History of the Crusades*, and it can be seen in the general background of the demographic, economic, social, religious, and political conditions of Europe, the Balkan Peninsula and the Syrian-Egyptian Near East during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A history that, besides the many-centuries failure of the Western-Christian expansionism in the Eastern Mediterranean (a failure already evident during the fifteenth century but never abandoned even after the expansion on the Oceans), saw the eventful encounter with the Greek Orthodox world, «one of the most complex civil adventures that the West would have ever run», as emphasized Antonio Carile in 1972⁵.

On the other hand, the government institutions and the Greek-Latin-Turkish social realities, developed in already Byzantine territories from the thirteenth century onwards, have never become part of medieval and modern European cultural awareness, despite being economically and politically very well known, and despite having been the real encounter and meeting scene of Latin, Greek and Islamic-Turkish cultures for humanistic Italy and Europe from thirteenth to fifteenth century; when western Humanism — with its colonialist haughtiness and ancient suspicions — was at the same time opening its minds both to the Byzantine erudite tradition in its provincial survivals and to the history of the Ottoman empire.

Geopolitical and cultural consequences of the Fourth Crusade

The framework of the historical sources about the geopolitics of the already Byzantine territories after 1204 is still the one offered by the works of Antonio

Capta. *The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences / La IV^e Croisade et ses conséquences*, [Actes du congrès international organisé par l'Académie d'Athènes (Athènes, 9-12 mars 2004)], sous la direction d'A. Laiou, en collaboration avec l'Académie d'Athènes, publié avec le concours de la Fondation J.F. Costopoulos, éditions Lethielleux, Paris 2005 (Réalités byzantines, 10); *Quarta Crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero Latino*, a c. di G. Ortalli, G. Ravagnani, P. Schreiner, 2 vols., Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, Venezia 2006; the Andros Congress Acts, as far as I know, are still waiting publication.

5 See A. CARILE, *Per una storia dell'impero latino di Costantinopoli (1204-1261)*, Bologna 1972, second edition, with *Parte Terza (Nuovi studi)*, Bologna 1978, p. 30.

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Carile in the *Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae* (1965), in the *Cronachistica veneziana di fronte alla spartizione della Romania* (1968) and in the second edition of the *Impero latino di Costantinopoli* (1979)⁶.

Let's just remind a few facts. On March 1204, in the Crusaders camp out of the city walls of Constantinople, in Galata, the Latins were waiting for the price agreed upon with Alexios IV Angelos for the help they provided in his accession to the imperial throne in 1203, after the first siege and capture of the city (June 24 — July 17). During January 1204 the Greeks had seen the deposition and the death of Alexios IV and of his father Isaac, and the accession to the throne of Alexios V Dukas Murzuphlos⁷. Because it was impossible to reach an agreement with the new emperor, the duke of the Venetians Enrico Dandolo and the French-Lombard barons, after long discussions, resolved to attack the capital city and drew up a bilateral agreement ratified in the form of a double deed of obligation (i.e. two *promissionis cartae*), known to historiography as *pactum commune*⁸.

The main goal of the agreement is very clear: to conquer Constantinople and to elect a Latin emperor, to whom, from that moment on, the army of occupation would have taken its oath of allegiance until at least the end of March of the following year. In addition, the Latin patriarch of Constantinople would have been chosen by the part that had not had the emperor, namely the Venetian one. After the conquest, the city of Constantine and the Byzantine Empire would have been shared out in quarters: one

6 See the edition by A. CARILE, *Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae. Edizione e commento*, in *Studi Veneziani*, VII (1965), pp. 125-305; with the comments by N. OIKONOMIDES, *La décomposition de l'empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l'empire de Nicée: à propos de la Partitio Romaniae*, in *XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, Rapports et co-rapports I/1, Athènes 1976, pp. 3-28; reprinted in IDEM, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade*, London 1992 (Variorum Reprints, CS 369), XX; and the edition/catalogue by A. CARILE, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Firenze 1968 (Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Civiltà veneziana. Studi, 25). For the historical background see A. CARILE, *Per una storia op. cit.*, along with D. JACOBY, *The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261): The Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance*, in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, XLIII (1993), pp. 140-201.

7 See Nicetae Choniatae "Historia", *op. cit.*, pp. 565-571; and *Chronik* 7, I, 1 (1203 Juli 17. *Ansturm der Kreuzfahrer auf Konstantinopel*), 2 (1203 Juli 19. *Ausrufung Alexio's IV*), and 3 (1204 Apr. 12. *Eroberung Konstantinopels durch die Lateiner*), in P. SCHREINER, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 vols., Wien 1975, 1977, 1979 (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 12/1-3), I, pp. 59-62 (*Einleitung*), pp. 62-62 (*Text*), II, pp. 183-184 and 186-187 (*Historischer Kommentar*) and III, pp. 21-22 (*Teilübersetzungen*).

8 The edition is by W. Prevenier, *De Oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1011-1206)*, II. *Uitgave*, Bruxelles 1964, pp. 555-559; also in A. Carile, *Per una storia* 1978², cit., pp. 265-268. The document, by marquis Boniface of Monferrato, in which it is called *pactum commune* is published by G. L. F. Tafel — G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zu älteren Handels- und Staatgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, 3 voll.: I. 814-1204, II. 1205-1255, III. 1256-1299, Wien 1856-1857, I, pp. 512-515. For the *Pactum commune* analyzed in all the corpus of the Venetian Chronicles see A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, pp. 273-531.

to the emperor for the barons of his own circle, one and a half to the Venetians, and one and a half to the other French-Lombard knights, the so-called *peregrini*, under the emperor's high sovereignty.

In the meantime, the emperor Alexios V Murzuphlos left Constantinople. Niketas Choniates reports that, immediately after his flight and before the arrival of the crusading army, there were two candidates for the imperial throne a pair of young men... ὁ Δούκας οὗτοι καὶ ὁ Λάσκαρις, ἀμφοῖν δ' ἡ κλήσις ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς πίστεως βασιλεῖ (Dukas and Laskaris and the name of both was that of the champion of the faith). The elected was Laskaris (ἐκ δὲ κλήρου τὸ πρωτεῖον εἰληφώς ὁ Λάσκαρις); but he refused the honuor and left Constantinople before the Latin conquest⁹.

The city fell on April 12/13, 1204 [see Plate #1]. The most important and best known Byzantine source on the events related to the conquest of Constantinople is Niketas Choniates' Χρονικὴ διήγησις (Chronological narration)¹⁰. But, as George Akropolites wrote on the fall of the μεγίστη καὶ περιφανεστάτη πόλις (the greatest and most prominent of cities) ὅσα μὲν οὖν συνέβη τῇ πόλει, μακροτέρων ἂν εἴη ταῦτα λόγων καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν (it would be necessary to use more words to describe what happened in the city, then some-



Plate 1. *The capture of Constantinople with a view on the Blacherne Palace* (1213)

Fragment of floor mosaic (dated 1213), Church of Saint John the Evangelist, Ravenna
(See A. Carile, *Episodi della IV crociata nel mosaico pavimentale di S. Giovanni Evangelista di Ravenna*, in *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, Ravenna 1976, pp. 109-130; and A. Carnino, *S. Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna: la pavimentazione in mosaico. Storia e restauro di un frammento*, in *Quaderni di Soprintendenza*, 5, 2001, pp. 84-95).

⁹ See *Nicetae Choniatae "Historia"*, op. cit., pp. 571-572. Even if ἀρχηγός τῆς πίστεως should refer to Constantine the Great, and thus to Constantine Laskaris, it makes much more sense to identify the first candidate with his brother Theodoros, the future emperor of Nikaia, and the other with Theodoros Komnenos Dukas Angelos (later emperor at Thessaloniki); see A. GARDNER, *The Lascarids of Nicaea. The story of an Empire in Exile*, London 1912, pp. 57-58.

¹⁰ For the conquest see *Nicetae Choniatae "Historia"*, op. cit., starting just after the election of Theodoros I Laskaris (p. 572-ff.) and ending with the so-called *De Signis Constantinopolitanis* (pp. 647-655), with the study by A. CUTLER, *The 'De Signis' of Nicetas Choniates. A reappraisal*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 72 (1968), pp. 113-118.

thing like that would concern to our subject); πάντως δὲ νοεῖν ἔξεστι πᾶσιν ὅποσα ταῖς αἰχμαλωτιζομέναις πόλεσιν ἐπιπέπτωκε πάθῃ (anyway everyone can understand that it happened what happens in conquered cities), φόνοι τε ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν τε ἀνδραποδισμοί (that is murders of men and enslavements of women), σκυλεύσεις (lootings), οἰκιῶν κατασκάψεις (destructions of houses), τᾶλλά τε πάντα ὅποσα μαχαίρας ἔργον καθέστηκεν (and all other crimes)¹¹.

On May 9 Baudouin IX de Flandre was elected emperor with the title of Baudouin I of Constantinople, and, according to the agreement, a commission of 24 people was soon afterwards put at work for the allotment of the fiefs. Of its work, only the final outcome is preserved, in the form of a protocol of intention known as *partitio terrarum imperii Romanie*, datable to September 1204, and based on Byzantine fiscal records of September 1203. Whereas the document is fundamental, its interpretation is still under debate, as demonstrated by the bibliography¹². Here it will be enough to mention to the main debated problem: some of the territories of the empire do not appear in the text. The map published by Oikonomides (1974) [see Map #1]¹³, shows omissions, the reasons for which are explained by the author using only *e silentio* arguments; I do not expatiate on this subject, because in 1978 most of these arguments were already brought again by Carile in the context of the sources singled out in his *Partitio* in 1965¹⁴. Furthermore, whatever the reason of these specific land omissions could be, nothing had been conquered yet. The constitution of a new geopolitical order was entrusted and, at the same time, left to the armies of the victorious Latins, to those of the non-fugitive local *archontes* (for example Leo Sgouros¹⁵ between Argolid and Attica) and to those of the Constantinopolitan aristocracies diaspora.

11 See Georgii Acropolitae, *op. cit.*, §4 (ed. Bekker, Bonn 1936, p. 9).

12 See the works quoted above.

13 Cfr. Oikonomides 1976, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

14 See the comments by Oikonomides 1976, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-28, and the answer in Carile 1978, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-324. For the *Partitio* analyzed in all the corpus of the Venitian Chronicles see A. Carile, *La cronachistica* cit., pp. 273-531.

15 See G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates Metropolit von Athen, ca. 1138-ca.1222*, Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Roma 1934 [off-print of *Orientalia christiana*, v. 33, n. 91 (feb.-mar. 1934), pp. 122-324], pp. 179-ff.; A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204*, Paris 1951 (Bibliothèque Byzantine, publiée sous la direction de Paul Lemerle. Études, 1), pp. 173-174 and 204-205; Ch. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1968, pp. 244-245 with n. 27; A. Bon, *La Morée Franque. Recherches historiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205-1430)*, Édition d'E. De Boccard, Paris 1969 (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 213), I, pp. 55, 58-59, 62-63, 68; J. Hoffmann, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210). Untersuchungen über Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen und ihr Verhältnis zu Kaiser und Reich*, Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Universität, München 1974 (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 17), pp. 56-60 e M.Σ. Κορδώσης, Οι τελευταίες στιγμές του Λέοντα Σγουρού (Στην Κόρινθο? η στο Ναύπλιο?), in: Πρακτικά του Β' Τοπικού Συνεδρίου Αργολικών Σπουδών (Άργος, 30 Μαΐου — 1 Ιουνίου 1986), Εταιρεία Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Αθήναι, 1989, pp. 43-48.



Map 1. Byzantine territories omitted in the Partitio Romaniae

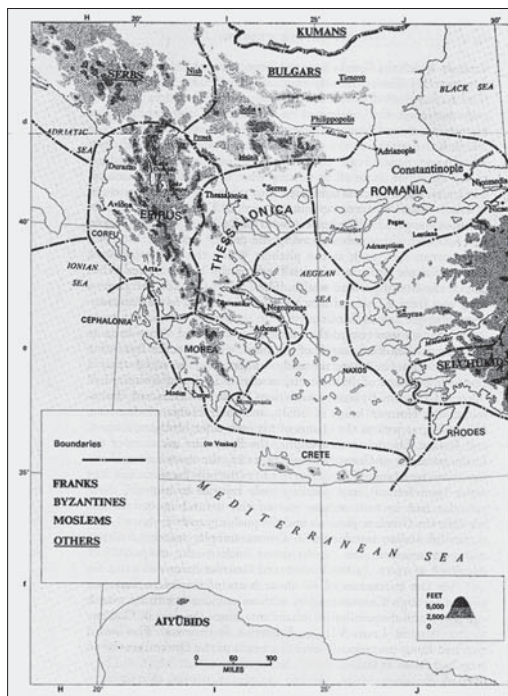
See N. OIKONOMIDES, *La décomposition de l'empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l'empire de Nicée: à propos de la Partitio Romaniae*, in *XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, Rapports et co-rapports I/1, Athènes 1976, p. 15; reprinted in IDEM, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade*, London 1992 (Variorum Reprints, CS 369), XX.

Most of the *pronoïari*, who held the large land properties¹⁶, reached an agreement with the new lords, upon which they could keep their own possessions in exchange of an oath of allegiance, payment of assessable incomes, corvée and services¹⁷. Between 1204 and 1205 the new order started to become visible, as exemplified for the years 1212-1216 ca. in **Map #2a**, taken by Setton (1969), and in **Map #2b**, taken by Saint-Guillain (2006)¹⁸.

16 See A. Carile, *Il feudalesimo bizantino*, in *Il feudalesimo nell'Alto Medioevo*, Atti della XLVII Settimana di Studio (8-12 aprile 1999), CISAM, Spoleto 2000, pp. 969-1026.

17 On the relations, all in all of convenience for both of them, that took place among the Latins and the local Greek aristocracy, see D. Jacoby, *Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque*, in *Travaux et Mémoires*, II (1967), pp. 421-482; A. Carile, *La rendita feudale nella Morea latina del XIV secolo*, Bologna 1974, pp. 12-41; Carile 1978, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-216 and D. Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader states and on Venetian expansion*, London 1989 (Variorum Reprints).

18 See K.M. Setton (general editor), *A History of the Crusades*, I-VI, Madison-Milwaukee-London 1955-1989, II, 1969², p. 186; and G. Saint-Guillain, *Les conquérants de l'Archipel: l'Empire Latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades*, in *Quarta Crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero Latino*, a c. di G. Ortalli, G. Ravegnani, P. Schreiner, 2 vols., Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, Venezia 2006, vol. I, [pp. 125-237] p. 237.



Map 2a. The already Byzantine territories in 1216

See K.M. Setton (general editor), *A History of the Crusades*, I-VI, Madison-Milwaukee-London 1955-1989, II, 1969², p. 186.



Map 2b. The already Byzantine territories in 1212-1215

See G. Saint-Guillain, *Les conquérants de l'Archipel: l'Empire Latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades*, in *Quarta Crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero Latino*, a c. di G. Ortalli, G. Ravegnani, P. Schreiner, 2 vols., Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, Venezia 2006, vol. I, [pp. 125-237] p. 237.

Here begins the centuries-old medieval history of Greek-Latin-Turkish Greece, Eastern Mediterranean and Balkans, which will be the bridge leading the Hellenism from Byzantium to Italy and Europe. Here begins the history of modern Europe, whose cultural borders identify with the Atlantic seaboard, the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and the Ural mountains¹⁹.

The Backstage: the Stato Veneto da mare (1204-1797)

A historical investigation of this cultural process can find its profitable start in the backstage: the Venetian Republic and the *Stato Veneto da mare*. Not

¹⁹ See A. Carile, *Byzance après Byzance (I. L'Europa dall'Atlantico agli Urali: tradizione o attualità? II. Abbandonare Bisanzio? III. Dalla Romània alla Grecia)*, in Id., *Materiali di storia bizantina*, Editrice lo Scarabeo, Bologna 1994, pp. 319-371.

only because it was by its sea-routes and its port facilities that the texts, the people and the ideas, which had to become the main characters of this European cultural stage, traveled. But mainly because of what Paolo Selmi (1979) identified as the spirit of Venetian civilization:

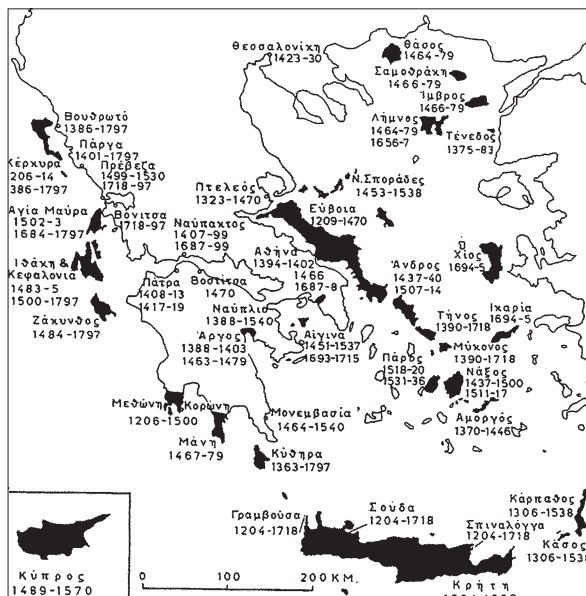
la vocazione intermediatrice che rende la civiltà veneta non solo la più conscia erede della civiltà bizantina, bensì anche la diffonditrice in Occidente dei valori meno caduchi di quella (the go-between vocation which makes the Venetian civilization not only the most aware heir of the Byzantine civilization, but also the spreader in the West of its less fleeting values)²⁰.

Selmi is here fully aware of the historical work of Agostino Pertusi, who died in that same 1979, and for whom, as remarked in 1990 Antonio Carile,

Venezia diventa nella sua ricerca un polo sempre meglio definito dei rapporti fra Occidente e Bisanzio e fra Occidente e Turchia, nel contesto di scambi eruditi e culturali che per essere di *élite* non sono per Agostino Pertusi di minore importanza di quelli commerciali e politici, poiché essi influiscono sulla mentalità collettiva attraverso la formazione storica della moderna idea d'Europa (Venice becomes in his research an always more and more defined pole of the relations between the West and Byzantium and between the West and Turkey, in the context of erudite and cultural exchanges, which because of being of *élite* are not for Agostino Pertusi less important than the commercial and political ones, since they influence the collective mentality through the historical forming of the modern idea of Europe)²¹.

20 See *Lo spirito della civiltà veneta*, [testo, ricerche iconografiche ed ideazione grafica di] P. SELMI, a cura della Regione Veneto, [Venezia 1979].

21 See Carile's *Introduzione* to the above quoted A. PERTUSI, *Saggi veneto-bizantini*, p. VIII. Among the very rich bibliography on this subject after Pertusi's works, see: *I greci a Venezia*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Venezia, 5-7 novembre 1998), a c. di M. F. TIEPOLO ed E. TONETTI, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venezia 2002; *L'eredità greca e l'ellenismo veneziano*, a c. di G. BENZONI, Leo Olschki, Firenze 2002 (Fondazione G. Cini. Civiltà Veneziana. Saggi, 46). From a historiographical point of view see *Italia — Grecia: temi e storiografie a confronto*, Atti del convegno di studi organizzato in collaborazione con il Dipartimento di Studi Storici dell'Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia (Venezia, 20-21 ottobre 2000), a c. di Ch. A. Maltezou e G. Ortalli, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, Venezia 2001 (Convegni, 1).



Map 3. The Greek-Venetian Stato da mare

See Γ. Σ. Πλουμίδης, *Η βενετοκρατία στην ελληνική Μεσόγειο*, Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, Φιλοσοφική Σχολή, Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας, Ιωάννινα 1999, p. 228.



Plate 2. *The so-called Villehardouin tower in Methoni (13th c.?)*

South-East Tower (13th c.?), Methoni Castle, Southern Peloponnese; photograph by R. Martella (2005), published in *La fortezza di Methone. Diario di viaggio del Corso di fotografia Meduproject in Grecia*, Meduproject — Facoltà di Conservazione dei Beni Facoltà di Conservazione dei Beni Culturali e DISMEC dell'Ateneo di Bologna — Comitato per l'anastilosi, il consolidamento e la valorizzazione dei castelli della Provincia di Pylos — 26^a *Ephorie* per le Antichità bizantine del Ministero greco della Cultura, con *Prefazione* di N. Zias, *Testi* di A. Nanetti ed E. Para, *Fotografie* di R. Collu, M. Giada, L. Lazari, R. Martella, R. Massari, F. Taverni e A. Urcia, Meduproject Edizioni e Danilo Montanari Editore, Ravenna 2006 (*Diari del Mediterraneo*, 1), p. 27.

After the Fourth Crusade, the Venetians appealed to all their experiences of government and public administration. They laid the first unrefined stones of their *Stato da mare* (State of the Sea) on whatever solid they could find in Byzantine institutional foundations in Ionian and Aegean islands and in strategic ports [see Map #3]. Whereas the juridical term *Stato da mare* appears in Venetian public records only in the first decades of the fifteenth century (after the conquest of Padova and Verona in the mainland); from a political, social and cultural point of view we can look at the Venetian Sea State imagining it as a big Mediterranean building, at the same time Venetian, Gothic and Byzantine [see Plate #2], whose yards went on working from the Fourth Crusade until the suppression of the Venetian Republic by the Napoleonic army on the 12th of May 1797. Today, after more than two centuries of memory abandonment, during which it seemed that those workshops were definitively closed, the cultural heritage of the Romeo-Venetian matrix has been rising again in several places along the Adriatic, the Ionian and the Aegean coasts. The architectural ruins of fortresses and castles, once monuments of hate and fear, are becoming little by little meeting and studying spaces, where contemporary European states recognize a phase of their history, whose study waits to be entrusted to young and new generations of scholars. And this, thanks to the Venetian archives and to the manuscripts of Venetian chronicles, where have been “fished” as excerpts between the second half of the nineteenth and the twentieth century most of those *documents/monuments*, as Jacques Le Goff would say²², on which still today the academies of Italy, Slovenia, Hungary, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Turkey, Russia, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Spain, and France, meet together studying the history of the post-Roman societies that appeared at the Mediterranean and at the Black Sea window during the Middle Ages.

Graecia: classical revival, interest for Byzantine studies and for the Turks

The category of «renaissance» has been created to serve the theories on the evolution of Western culture, and it is strictly related to the category of «Middle Age» and to a precise concept of the role of Antiquity in Western culture²³. The historical vision of a “Middle Age” which progressively assimilates ancient pagan culture in monotheistic patterns (Roman-Christian in the Latin-German West, Greek-Christian in the Byzantine commonwealth, and Arabic-Muslim in the Islamic world), has eliminated the idea of “Renaissance” vs “Middle Age” made popular by Burckhardt (1860) and by Voigt (1859), and still alive in the mentality of our contemporary tourism (let’s think for example at Florence, Venice, and Rome). The studies of Mandonnet, Gilson, Haskins, and Paetow for the Western «renaissances» (Carolingian, end of eleventh and twelfth century, and fifteenth century Italy) have given a deeper insight of the specific conditions of these various steps, relativistically qualified as «renaissances». The western categories of Antiquity and Middle Age are anyway still Eurocentric. They are connected to an ideology — i.e. «a system (which has its logic and its rigor) of representations (imagines, myths,

23 On the historical concept of «Renaissance» see W.K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation*, Boston 1948, and G. L. Fontana — L. Molà (edd.), *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa*, voll. 12, Fondazione Cassamarca, Angelo Colla Editore, Costabissara (Vicenza) 2005-. For antiquarians and humanists see also R. Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, B. Blackwell, Oxford 1969, based on E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renaissances in Western Art*, Stockholm 1960. For the “use” of antiquity see S. Settis, *Continuità, distanza, conoscenza: tre usi dell'antico*, in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, edito da S. Settis, voll. 3, Einaudi, Torino 1984-1986 (Biblioteca di Storia dell'Arte, n.s., 1-3), vol. 3 (*Dalla tradizione all'archeologia*), pp. 373-486; based on the approach pioneered by A. Warburg, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike: kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance*, voll. 2, reprint der von G. Bing unter Mitarbeit von F. Rougemont edierten Ausgabe von 1932, neu herausgegeben von H. Bredekamp und M. Diers, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1998. On American historiography see *Imagined Histories. American historians interpret the past*, edited by A. Molho and G. S. Wood, Princeton University Press, Princeton (NJ) 1998, pp. 206-221 (E. Weber, *Western Civilization*), pp. 222-237 (R. Saller, *American Classical Historiography*), pp. 238-262 (G. M. Spiegel, *In the Mirror's Eye. The writing of medieval history in America*), and pp. 263-294 (A. Molho, *The Italian Renaissance, Made in USA*). For a specific focus on Venice see P. Fortini Brown, *Venice & Antiquity. The Venetian Sense of the Past*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London 1997; it is the result of a six years painstaking research on the evolving sense of the past in Venice during its “Golden Age” (the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries) through its arts, crafts, and literature to explore the “evolution of a Venetian view of time, of history and of historical change” (inspired by A. Pertusi and A. Carile) in the encounter with physical and literary remains of pagan and Christian antiquity (inspired by S. Settis), and its distinctive relationship to the present; Brown's thesis is that unlike the other great centers of Italian Renaissance art, Venice had no direct connection *in situ* with ancient Rome, because its site was not an urban settlement until after the German *Wanderungen* of the sixth century.

ideas/concepts) with a historical existence and role in a given society» according to Louis Althusser (1918-1990) — , which idealizes prematurely the European history, marginalizing in the medieval revival of Hellenistic Antiquity the synergic role of Byzantine and Islamic «renascences».

During the fifteenth century was born the European interest for Byzantine studies along with the interest for Turkish studies; as demonstrated Agostino Pertusi in his pioneering studies²⁴.

La longue et difficile histoire des recherches et des études sur le Turcs va de pair en Occident avec l'histoire de l'intérêt pour le monde byzantin, c'est-à-dire pour une puissance... L'une et l'autre historiographie sont engendrées par de complexes raisons et motivations culturelles, politiques, spirituelles et religieuses qui constituent dans leur ensemble l'essence des courants d'idées d'où naît et mûrit l'idée même de l'Europe moderne. La cause la plus immédiate de l'attention en Occident pour le peuple turc, pour ses origines, son histoire, ses institutions, son armée, sa croyance, doit être cherchée surtout dans une composante psychologique: la grande peur qui s'est répandue en Europe après la chute de Salonique (1430), les défaites de Varna (1444), de la plaine de Kosovo (1448) et notamment après la chute de Constantinople (29 mai 1453). De Venise à la Croatie, de la Hongrie à la Valachie et à la Moldavie, toute la zone de l'Europe orientale était en grand danger et les peuples dans un état de grande tension. Tous les hommes de bonne volonté, et plus particulièrement les humanistes, en premier lieu les Italiens et les Grecs, étaient convaincus qu'il fallait faire quelque chose pour endiguer la marée montante des conquêtes turques; invocations et exhortations, recommandations et projets de guerre se succèdent, au cours d'une période d'environ soixante-dix ans, sans répit, et parmi les auteurs de diverses propositions il faut citer les grands noms de Francesco Filelfo (1444, 1451, 1463-1464, 1471-1472), de Biondo Flavio (1453-1454), de Poggio Bracciolini (1455), du cardinal Bessarion (1470), de Giovanni Gemisto (1516), de Marc Mousouros (1517) et de Jano Lascaris (1516 et 1525). Chacun des auteurs de ces exhortations ou de ces projets savait pourtant très bien que les possibles promoteurs d'une guerre non seulement n'avaient pas prévu un barrage réel et approprié à opposer aux conquêtes turques, mais avaient plutôt pensé à s'emparer de nouveau de Constantinople pour en faire une capitale, successivement aragonaise, vénitienne ou française. Ils ne pouvaient non plus se faire des illusions à l'égard des ambitions des empereurs et des rois occidentaux, armés l'un contre l'autre dans le grand jeu pour la conquête de la suprématie européenne.²⁵

24 See A. PERTUSI, *Storiografia umanistica e mondo bizantino*, Palermo 1967 (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Quaderni, 5); ID., *Premières études en Occident sur l'origine et la puissance des Turcs*, in «Bulletin de l'Association International d'Études Sud-Est Européen», 10 (1972), pp. 49-94 (revised edition of *I primi studi in Occidente sull'origine e la potenza dei Turchi*, in «Studi Veneziani», 12, 1970, pp. 465-552); A. PERTUSI, *Τα δράματα με βυζαντινή και τουρκική υπόθεση στο ευρωπαϊκό και το βενετικό θέατρο από το τέλος του 16ου ως τις αρχές του 18ου αιώνα*, in «Ελληνικά», 22 (1969), pp. 341-369. The three has been reprinted in *Bisanzio e i turchi nella cultura del Rinascimento e del barocco. Tre saggi di Agostino Pertusi*, a c. di C. M. Mazzucchi, Vita e Pensiero, Milano 2004 (Bibliotheca erudita, 25), pp. 3-111, pp. 113-170, and pp. 171-200 (in Italian, with a bibliographical investigation by G. Zanlonghi).

25 See PERTUSI, *Premières études*, op. cit., pp. 113-114 (reprint 2004).

Defining the method of investigation

In the definition of a method of investigation of this slippery historiographical problem, the supporting *Leitmotiv* can be Flaubert's intuition *Ce ne sont pas les perles qui font le collier, c'est le fil*, along with other three authors, in some way related to this motto. Italo Calvino in *Leggerezza* (Lightness), the first of his Charles Eliot Norton Poetry Lectures, that he would have had to give at Harvard in the Academic Year 1985/1986 with title *Six memos for the next millennium*²⁶, wrote:

Molti fili si sono tracciati nel mio discorso? Quale filo devo tirare per trovarmi tra le mani la conclusione? C'è un filo che ... C'è un filo che ... C'è un filo che ... Devo imboccare questa strada? Ma la conclusione che mi attende non suonerà troppo scontata? Resta ancora un filo, ...: la letteratura come funzione esistenziale, la ricerca della leggerezza come reazione al peso di vivere ... Abituato come sono a considerare la letteratura come ricerca di conoscenza, per muovermi sul terreno esistenziale ho bisogno di considerarlo esteso all'antropologia, all'etnologia, alla mitologia²⁷.

The second, from a historical point of view, is Carlo Ginzburg, who in 2006 in the introduction to his collected studies *Il filo e le tracce. Vero falso finto* wrote:

I Greci raccontano che Teseo ricevette in dono da Arianna un filo. Con quel filo Teseo si orientò nel labirinto, trovò il Minotauro e lo uccise. Delle tracce che Teseo lasciò vagando per il labirinto il mito non parla. Ciò che tiene insieme i capitoli di questo libro, dedicati a temi molto eterogenei, è il rapporto tra il filo — il filo del racconto, che ci aiuta ad orientarci nel labirinto della realtà — e le tracce²⁸.

The third, quoted by Ginzburg, is La Mothe Le Vayer, who in 1669 in his *Discours sur l'histoire* wrote:

C'est le temps qui compose ce qu'on nomme proprement le fil de l'Histoire. Car la Chronologie est un filet plus nécessaire à se démeller d'une narration historique, que ne fut iamais à Thésée celui qui le tira de tous les détours du Labyrinthe²⁹.

Among the many and very entangled threads interwoven in the (hi)story of *Europe and Greece after the Fourth Crusade*; the experimental idea which came out from the above mentioned quotations was to use Theseus himself as *methodological thread* in a historical analysis of the European imagery about the duchy of Athens.

26 Calvino died during the night between the 18th and the 19th of September 1985. The first edition of these lectures was published posthumous in May 1988 as *Lezioni americane. Sei proposte per il prossimo millennio*, with an introductory note by Esther Calvino (Garzanti, Milano).

27 See I. CALVINO, *Lezioni americane*, Oscar Mondadori, Milano 2006²⁴, pp. 32-33.

28 Published by Feltrinelli in Bologna (for the quotation see p. 7).

29 See F. La Mothe Le Vayer, *Œuvres*, 15 voll., Paris 1669, vol. II, p. 152.

Theseus and The duchy of Athens (1205–1456) as methodological thread

The duchy of Athens³⁰ was born in 1205 as seigniory of Athens, with jurisdiction on Attica and Beotia. The lordship was granted by Boniface of Monferrato to Otto de la Roche (*de la maison de Borgogne*), and bound him by feudal oath to the kingdom of Salonika. The rule went then to the Catalans (1311–1388) and to the Florentines (1388–1456), with a short Venetian parenthesis after the first Ottoman conquest of 1397. Let's notice here that, although the capital were Thebes, Otto made his residence in the Athenian Acropolis, and not for strategic reasons. This fact leads to further considerations.

[See Plate #3] The first book of Dante's *Comedia* mentions a duke of Athens in Hell, ch. XII, lines 16–21:

*Lo savio mio ver' lui gridò: «Forse
tu credi che qui sia il duca d'Atene,
che sù nel mondo la morte ti porse?
Pàrtiti, bestia: ché questi non vène
amaestrato da la tua sorella,
ma vassi per veder le vostre pene»*

(My Sage towards him shouted: «Peradventure / Thou think'st that here may be the Duke of Athens, / Who in the world above brought death to thee? / Get thee gone, beast: for this one cometh not / Instructed by thy sister, / But he comes in order to behold your punishments»)³¹.

Shakespeare set the first act of *A Midsummer night's dream* in the palace of the duke of Athens³². But both, Dante and Shakespeare, made a reference to Theseus, the greatest hero of Attic myth, the Theseus of classical literature, the son of the king of Athens Aegeus,

30 See A. Kieseewetter, *Ricerche costituzionali e documenti per la signoria ed il ducato di Atene sotto i de la Roche e Gualtieri V di Brienne (1204–1311)*, in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo)*, Atti del Colloquio Internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz o.p. (Venezia, 1–2 dicembre 2000), Istituto Ellenico di Studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia — Centro tedesco di studi bizantini, Venezia 2002 (Convegno, 5), pp. 289–347; which offers a wide critical review of previous bibliography (from Gregorovius to Longnon, Fedalto, Setton and Koder).

31 Translation by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Routledge, London 1890–1894. The Dantesque critics, when notices it, usually get rid of it considering that Dante uses anachronistically the title of his time (Athens becomes duchy 15 years after Dante's birth) referring to classical times, as he calls *Arabi* the Carthaginian (*Paradiso* VI 49), *Franceschi* the Gauls (*Convivio* IV, v 18), et cetera. They remind, eventually, as Anna Maria Leonardi Chiavacci, that the same idea of anachronism was unknown during the Middle Ages. See A. Petit, *L'anachronisme dans les romans antiques du XII^e siècle: le Roman de Thèbes, le Roman d'Enéas, le Roman de Troie, le Roman d'Alexandre*, Champion, Paris 2002 (Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Age, 65).

32 This shakespearean drama is one of the few, for which critics did not find previous narrative material that the author could have used. It has only been noticed that Shakespeare could have read *Theseus and Ippolita* in Plutarch's *Bioi* or in Chaucer's *The Night's Tale*. See T.J.B. Spencer [editor], *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, Harmondsworth 1954; G. Bullough [editor], *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 voll., London 1957–1975; K. Muir, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays*, Lond 1977; A. Serpieri et al., *Nel laboratorio di Shakespeare. Dalle fonti ai drammi*, 4 voll., Parma 1988.



Plate 3. incipit of Dante's Hell, c. XII — *The Minotaur*

Illumination by an Anonymous of Florentine school (middle of the 14th c.), National Library of Florence, cod. Pal. 313 (called *Codice Poggiali*), f. 28 r.

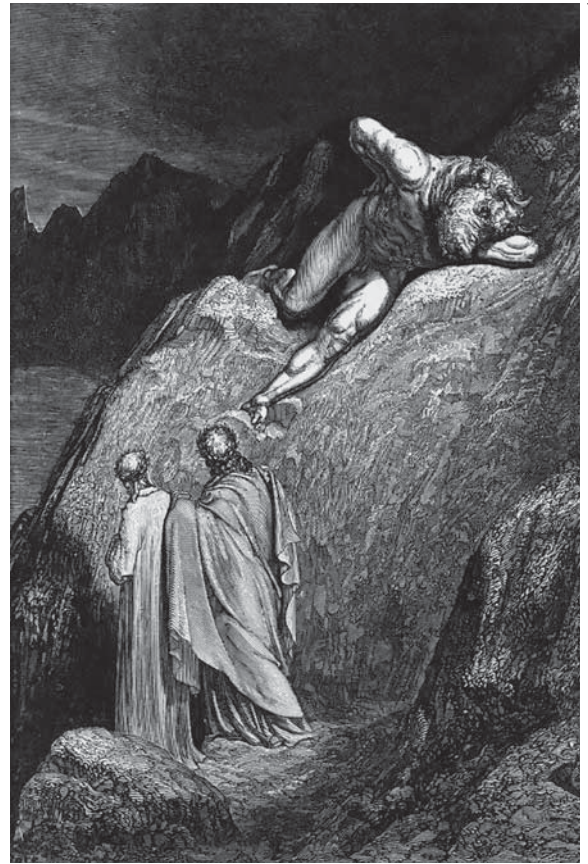


Plate 3bis. *The Minotaur* by Gustave Doré (1861-1868)

the father of Hippolytos, the killer of the Minotaur and the husband of Minos' daughter Phedra³³; assigning to him the medieval title of duke awarded in fact for the first time only in 1280 by the king of Naples Charles I Anjou to William de la Roche, already *dominus/seignour* vassal of the prince of Achaia³⁴. Here is a refined and erudite late medieval title, whose allegorical game probably only Dante had been fully aware.

Little or nothing has to do with the Latin duchy of Athens the historical novel of Niccolò Tommaseo published with the title *Il Duca d'Atene*³⁵ in 1837 and, in a new

33 At the time the West could read Euripides' *Hippolytos* (Ἰππόλυτος στεφανοφόρος), Seneca's *Phaedra* and Plutarch's Theus. See the critical editions of Euripides, *Hyppolite*, in *Œuvres*, II, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1973, pp. 26-111; of Seneca, *Phèdre*, in *Tragédie*, I, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1968, pp. 178-226; and of Plutarch, *La Vita di Teseo*, in Plutarco, *Le vite di Teseo e di Romolo*, a c. di C. Ampolo e di M. Manfredini, Mondadori, Milano 1988 (Fondazione Lorenzo Valla).

34 See Kiesewetter 2000, *op. cit.*

35 Critical edition and commentary by Fabio Micheli, Editrice Antenore, Padova 2003 (Scrittori italiani commentati).

elaboration, in 1858. The duke of Athens, the novel's despotic protagonist, is Gautier VI de Brienne³⁶, a vassal of the king of Naples Robert I Anjou, to whom between 1342 and 1343 the Florentine families offered the seigniory of Florence³⁷. Gautier VI was also the titular of the duchy of Athens from 1311 to 1356, when Attica and Beotia were ruled by the Catalans. In fact Gautier VI was the legal heir of Gautier V de Brienne, duke of Athens from 1308 to 1311, when the Catalan company settled in the capital Thebes and in Athens, relieving the entire duchy, in spite of the papal excommunication and of the ghost, feared by the Pope, of an armed intervention of the Hospitallers. But the work of Tommaseo is not interested in all this. Only, Tommaseo used for Gautier VI that empty medieval title "duke of Athens", which emphasized his foreign connotation. The novel focuses on the last days of Gautier tyranny in Florence, and the narration reaches its acme when he confronts the popular insurrection of the 26th of July 1343, the day in which he was removed. The author's attention is devoted to the constitution of various conspiracies that draw together in only one rising for freedom; in which it is easy to recognize an allusion to the Italian political situation of the first half of the nineteenth century. The commentary of the recent critical edition by Fabio Micheli shows the historical sources of Tommaseo, both declared (Villani and Machiavelli) and not declared, such as the *Istorie fiorentine* by Scipione Ammirato³⁸. Nothing refers to medieval Greece, even if the novel was published in that same Paris that between 1824 and 1829 had seen Jean Alexandre Buchon (1791-1849) sending to the press his 55 volumes of the *Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises, écrites en langue vulgaire du treizième au seizième siècle*, a collection of sources very rich of information on medieval Greece. So, the new-born nineteenth century European historical novel is not interested at all in medieval Greece, even when it has the historical material ready-to-use. But, let's go back to fourteenth century Florence, in order to find out if there was a bit more interest in contemporary Greece.

Who would expect something more from Boccaccio, he would be disappointed³⁹. What about the *duca d'Atene* of the *Decameron*, who in *novella* 7 (48, 61-62 and 69-70)⁴⁰

36 See G. Vallone, *L'ultimo testamento del duca d'Atene*, in *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 99/2 (1994), pp. 253-296 and the quoted bibliography, as an update of the entry by E. Sestan in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 14 (1972), coll. 237-249.

37 Here his source is probably GIOVANNI VILLANI, *Nuova Cronica*, tomo III, *Libro tredicesimo*, Parte I (I-LVIII) [1342-1345], qui I-XVII.

38 S. Ammirato (1531-1601), *Istorie fiorentine*, Parte prima, Firenze 1600, e Parte seconda, Firenze 1641-1647.

39 See A. Pertusi, *Venezia, la cultura greca e il Boccaccio*, in *Il Boccaccio, Venezia e il Veneto*, a c. di V. Branca e G. Padoan, Firenze 1979, pp. 63-80; also in «Studi sul Boccaccio», 10 (1977-1978), pp. 217-234; and now reprinted in A. Pertusi, *Saggi Veneto-Bizantini*, a c. di G. B. Parente e con un'introduzione di A. Carile, Firenze 1990 (Civiltà Veneziana. Saggi, 37), pp. 239-257.

40 See S. KINOSHITA and J. JACOBS, *Ports of Call: Boccaccio's Alatiel in the Medieval Mediterranean*, in

of the *Giornata II* goes to Clarence, by the prince of Morea/Achaia, in order to see Alatiel, the beautiful daughter of the Cairo sultan⁴¹, sent in marriage to the king of Marocco⁴²? The comment of the editor Vittore Branca makes us aware of him. He reminds that «the character [of the duke] is fictitious», wondering: «Maybe a vague and sarcastic allusion to that duke of Athens related to the Angevins, who Boccaccio met in Naples, and who was later invited as seigneur of Florence in 1342-43?». And to think that the Morea had been for Boccaccio the set of contemporary enterprises and events, that he followed with special interest. In 1338 one of his greatest friends, Niccolò of the naturalized Florentine but Bergamask family of the Acciaioli, who since 1334 had undertaken all the interests of the princes of Taranto in Morea, leaded Catherine de Valois-Courtenay, daughter of Baldwin II and therefore the titular empress of the Latin empire of Constantinople, and her sons Robert and Louis of Taranto (the future husband of Joan I of Naples) to take possession of the principality of Achaia. Niccolò Acciaioli came back three years after, in 1341. Boccaccio's vernacular letter (*Epistola V*), dated Florence August 28, 1341⁴³, testifies how joyful he was for his friend's return, but it also testifies his complete lack of interest for the reality that Acciaioli left back in the Peloponnese. That world awakens in Boccaccio only classical reminiscences, that he finds far more alive and vivifying than the geopolitics and the rural miseries of Latin Morea. Only Ancient Greece touched his poetic inspiration. Just then, in fact, in Naples between 1339 and 1341, Boccaccio writes in *ottava rima* the twelve books of *Teseida delle nozze di Emilia*, a lyric-sentimental mythological allegory dedicated to his beloved Fiammetta and set in the framework of the war of the king of Athens Theseus facing the Amazons and of his war against Thebes; all inspired by the Theban Cycle epic events. Boccaccio's literary models are Virgil's Aeneid and Statius' Thebaid with contaminations by the tradition of the courtly romance. The core of the story is the love quarrel, which divides two friends, *Arcita* and *Palemone*: they had been taken prisoner and brought from Thebes to Athens, and there both of them had fallen in love with Theseus' sister-in-love Emilia. Boccaccio's *Teseide*, with its mytho-

Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 37 (2007), pp. 163-195; and M. PICONE, University of Zurich, WS 1998/99: http://www.rose.uzh.ch/static/decameron/seminario/II_07/index.htm (2007-06-03).

41 In the text *soldano di Babilonia*, i.e. sultan of the Mamelukes of the Old Cairo (Al-Fustât, SW of Cairo).

42 In the text *Algarvio/Garbo*, i.e. a region of Morocco ruled by the Merinides of Fez.

43 See P. Schreiner, *Ein Mord in Glarentza: Der Decamerone von Boccaccio und die Peloponnes im 14. Jahrhundert*, in *Polyphonia Byzantina. Studies in Honour of Willem J. Aerts*, ed. by Hokwerda H. — Smits E.R. — Woesthuis M.M. with the assistance of Midden L. van, Groningen, Forsten 1993 [1994] (*Medievalia Gregoriana*, 13), pp. 251-255. For *Epistola V* see the edition by G. Auzzas (G. Boccaccio, *Epistole, Lettere*), in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, a c. di V. Branca, V/I, Mondadori, Milano 1992, pp. 542-543. For N. Acciaioli see Matteo Palmieri, *La vita di Niccolò Acciaioli*, a c. di Alessandra Mita Ferraro, Società Editrice il Mulino, Bologna 2001 (Istituto italiano per gli studi storici in Napoli. Testi storici, filosofici e letterari, 10). For Boccaccio's «chivalrous refoundation of the world» see F. Cardini, *Le cento novelle contro la morte. Giovanni Boccaccio e la rifondazione cavalleresca del mondo*, Salerno Editore, Roma 2007.

logical world contaminated by suggestions of the *chansons de geste*, interlacing the arms motif with that, far more seducing, of love, was a very successful work and had a quick and wide diffusion all over contemporary Europe⁴⁴.

Thus, even if Boccaccio is inspired by contemporary events, king Theseus is always the element of comparison, the cultural archetype. It happens here, what will happen a bit later in *The Knight's Tale* inspired to the same Boccaccio's *Teseida* in the late fourteenth-century *Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer⁴⁵, passing then to the *Phèdre* by Jean Racine (1677, the masterpiece of the poetic-dramatic creation based on classicistic material in France)⁴⁶, to the drama *Teseo riconosciuto* of the first Neapolitan period of the Italian composer Gaspare Spontini based on *libretto* by Cosimo Giotti (1798)⁴⁷, to the *Θησεύς* / *Thisèfs* (1870, inspired by Plutarch) and to the *Φαίδρα* / *Phèdra* (1916) by Αριστομένης Προβελέγγιος / Aristoménis Provelénghios⁴⁸, to the *Fedra* by Gabriele

44 See G. Boccaccio, *Teseida*, a c. di A. Limentani, in *Tutte le opere*, II, Mondadori, Milano 1964.

45 First published in 1478, the work is now available in a digital edition started in the Nineties as *The Canterbury Tales Project* by the *Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing* of the University of Birmingham, based on fifteen fourteenth-century manuscripts. This edition has been recently presented in Arezzo by Peter Robinson on the 19th of January 2006 at the congress *Digital Philology and Medieval Texts* organized by the *Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*. See up-to-date news in <http://www.canterburytalesproject.org>

46 Before Racine, French literary tradition used mythographic material to put on the stage palace tragedies with sentimental, passionate and political implications. Racine, as he explicitly admits, wants to get back to the originary Euripides' and Seneca' spirit. The tragedy dramatic composition is inspired by Seneca's *Phaedra*, and a lot of cues, sentences and expressions seem to be literal translations by Euripides' *Hippolytos*. See Euripide, Seneca, Racine, d'Annunzio, *Fedra. Variazioni sul mito*, a c. di M. G. Ciani, Marsilio Editori, Venezia 2003, which provides an Italian translation of Euripides' *Hippolytos* (pp. 21-76), the Italian translation by A. Traina of Seneca's *Phaedra* already published in 1999 in Milano by Rusconi (pp. 77-102), the Italian translation by D. Dalla Valle of Racine's work already published as *Fedra e Ippolito* in 2000 with French text in Venice by Marsilio (pp. 103-166) and G. d'Annunzio's *Fedra* in the 1986 edition by P. Gibellini published with notes by T. Piras in 2001 in Milano by Mondadori (pp. 167-313).

47 This *dramma per musica* in two acts was played for the first time on the 22nd of May 1798 in the *Teatro della Pallacorda* in Florence: director Francesco Giuliani, with sopranos Maria Catruffo (as Asteria), Lucia Calderara (Medea), Fortunata Formigli (Leucippe and Ombra d'Etra), tenors Gaetano Crivelli (Egeo) and Luigi De Santis (Teseo), basso Cesare Biscossi (Connida and Evandro). The play was recorded at the modern world première of the 13th of October 1995 in the *Teatro Pergolesi* of Jesi (Ancona): *Orchestra Filarmonica Marchigiana* directed by Alberto Zedda, with tenors Carlo Allemanno (Egeo), Diego D'Auria (Teseo), sopranos Sonia Visentin (Asteria), Paoletta Marrocu (Medea), Daniela Piccini (Leucippe) and Patricia Borromei (Ombra d'Etra), bassos Stefano Rinaldi Miliani (Connida) and Carlo Bosi (Evandro); scenes by the National Hellenic Opera.

48 In foreign translation I know only the Italian translation of two poems (*L'organetto* and *La città sommersa*) published by B. LAVAGNINI, *Arodafnùsa*, Atene 1957; I thank Cristiano Luciani for the information. From Lucia Marcheselli, through Caterina Carpinato, I learned that A. Provelenghios (Sifnos Island, 1851-1936) published in *miktì dimotiki*, besides *Theseus* (*Thisèfs*, 1870, awarded in the literary contest of Athens University), also the tragedy *Phaidra* in 1916.

d'Annunzio (1909)⁴⁹, up to *Thésée*, the work-testament of André Gide (1946)⁵⁰, and up to the character of Theseus in the *Dialoghi con Leucò* by Cesare Pavese (1947)⁵¹.

First test. Sixteenth century Venice, the Fourth Crusade and the cartography of Greece

The history of this mentality goes in parallel with the historical studies in Venice too. In the sixteenth century⁵², along with the revival of the Fourth Crusade glories both in historiography and in pictorial cycles, a few peculiarities can be noticed in the Mediterranean through the filter of cartographic representation of *Graecia* in the background of the Veneto-Turkish commercial and diplomatic relations.

The political (re)use of the past was very common in Medieval and Renaissance Venice⁵³. It consisted in using episodes of the historical memory to suggest an authoritative

49 See Gabriele d'Annunzio, *Fedra*, con incisioni di Adolfo de Carolis, Treves, Milano 1909, in the edition by P. Gibellini with notes by T. Piras, Oscar Mondadori, Milano 2001.

50 See the Italian translation with French text by Ivana Sguanci and François Giraudeau, Polistampa, Firenze 2003. Jean-Pierre Cassel introduced this last Gide's work in a recent public reading held in Paris (*Auditorium du Louvre* on the 22nd of January 2007, h. 20:30) with the following significant words: «*Récit à la première personne d'un Thésée au crépuscule de sa vie, labyrinthe de style et de pensée dans lequel se distinguent certes tous les caractères de l'oeuvre gidienne, mais sous une forme souvent déroutante, ce texte généralement considéré comme testamentaire conserve une place à part dans l'oeuvre de Gide*». See the issue avril-juillet 1991 of the «Bulletin des Amis d'A. Gide» dedicated to *Gide et la Grèce: Bibliographie*; from which can be quoted the following titles: C. Dugas et L. Flacelière, *Thésée*, Edition de Bocard, Paris 1958; H. Watson-Williams, *A. Gide and the Greek Myth*, Oxford 1967; P. Roels, *Le Mythe de Thésée de la Grèce antique à la France Moderne: Structure anthropologique d'un archétype culturel*, in «Dissertation Abstraite Internationale», avril 1987; W. Woodhull, *Out of the Maze: A Reading of Gide's Thésée*, in «The Journal of the Midwest Modern L. A.», Spring 1988; M. D. Steel, *Thésée à Cambridge*, in «Bulletin des Amis d'A. Gide», avril-juillet 1988; C. Calame, *Thésée et l'Immaginaire athénien. Légende et Culte en Grèce antique*, Editions Payot, Lausanne 1990.

51 See the dialogue *Il toro* (The bull) between Lelex and Theseus in the edition published by Einaudi, Torino 1999 (ET Scrittori, 600) with *Introduzione* by S. Givone, pp. 119-123. Pavese opens the dialogue with an epigraph: «Tutti sanno che Teseo, di ritorno da Creta, finse di dimenticarsi sull'albero le nere vele segno di lutto, e così suo padre credendolo morto si precipitò in mare e gli lasciò il regno. Ciò è molto greco, altrettanto greco come la ripugnanza per ogni mistico culto di mostri». This is the many-sided soul of the Myth; beloved by twentieth century poetry.

52 See G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione nella «pubblica storiografia» veneziana del '500*, in «Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano», V-VI (1963-1964), pp. 215-294; *Crisi e rinnovamenti nell'autunno del Rinascimento a Venezia*, a c. di V. Branca e C. Ossola, L. S. Olschki, Firenze 1991 (Fondazione G. Cini. Civiltà Veneziana. Saggi, 38); and G. Cozzi, *Venezia dal Rinascimento all'Età barocca [1530-1631]*, in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, VI. *Dal Rinascimento al Barocco*, a c. di G. Cozzi e P. Prodi, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 1994, pp. 3-125.

53 Did it come from the Greek-Roman-Byzantine DNA? I am thinking at E. Concina, who, in *Arte*

and influential solution for much-discussed and contingent political questions. As occasion might require, the by the time ruling civic group projected the most convenient retrospective settlement of events' reinterpretation into chronicles and into the pictorial cycles of the Ducal Palace; for both foreigners and citizens⁵⁴. The strict and peculiar relation between painting and history in medieval and Renaissance Venice has been demonstrated by Brown in 1984. A painting was «a piece of testimony: an instrument of proof that such an event had actually happened... Rather than simply acting as surrogate for the written word for those who could not read, the image reinforced it as an even more powerful proof of the historic event»⁵⁵. Just to focus on the potential political strength of this mentality in late medieval society, it is worth to think at what David Lowenthal wrote in 1997 about «an Iowa senator [who] was incensed when the state historical society vetoed a bogus memorial to his bailiwick's patron. "All they care about are the historical facts," fumed the senator. "I don't care if he lived in it or not; I just want a memorial. ... Just put up a plaque, say Ansel Briggs lived here and who would know the difference?»⁵⁶.

In 1541 Francesco Contarini, Procurator of Saint Mark and Venetian ambassador to Charles V, coming back to Venice brought along a French manuscript of Villehardouin's *La conquête de Constantinople*⁵⁷. In December 1556 Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485-1557)

ducale e miti costantinopolitani: memoria storica e immaginario del medioevo veneziano, a paper given at the International Congress *L'Ellenismo italico dal VII al XII secolo* (Venice, Hellenic Institut of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies, 13-16 Nov. 1997) but not published in the Acts, pointed out how «cronachistica e immaginario del medioevo e del primo rinascimento veneziano hanno costruito una serie di miti che semplificando potremo definire veneto-bizantini. A "ragioni narrative" e a temi politici, questi hanno talora associato strettamente manufatti architettonici e artistici, caricando questi ultimi di forti evocazioni simboliche e in qualche caso del ruolo di riferimenti e segni-codice di componenti e tratti di matrice imperiale e costantinopolitana della cultura artistica venetica e veneziana poi».

54 See P. Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*, New Haven and London 1988; W. Wolters, *Il pittore come storiografo? A proposito delle pitture del Palazzo Ducale a Venezia*, in *Crisi e rinnovamenti nell'autunno del Rinascimento a Venezia*, a c. di V. Branca e C. Ossola, L. S. Olschki, Firenze 1991 (Fondazione G. Cini. Civiltà Veneziana. Saggi, 38), pp. 205-219 and figg. 1-8; Id., *L'autocelebrazione della Repubblica nelle arti figurative*, in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondato da Giovanni Treccani, Vol. VI. *Dal Rinascimento al Barocco*, a c. di G. Cozzi and P. Prodi, Roma 1994, pp. 469-513, and mainly pp. 492-493, that summarize W. Wolters, *Die Bilderschmuck des Dogenpalastes. Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung der Republik Venedig im 16. Jahrhundert*, F. Steiner, Wiesbaden 1983, It. transl. *Storia e politica nei dipinti di Palazzo Ducale. Aspetti dell'autocelebrazione della Repubblica di Venezia nel Cinquecento*, Arsenale Editrice, Venezia 1987 (pp. 179-185).

55 See P. Fortini Brown, *Painting and History in Renaissance Venice*, in «Art History», VII (1984), pp. 263-294; quotations from pp. 264-265.

56 See D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Viking, London 1997; paperback edition by Cambridge University Press 1998, p. 127, and note 1 at page 269; Iowa State Senator Norpel quoted in Ch. Phillips, *The politics of history*, in «History News», 40/9 (Sept. 1985), pp. 16-20.

57 See N. Zorzi, *Per la storiografia della Quarta Crociata: il De bello Constantinopolitano di Paolo Ramusio e la Constantinopolis Belgica di Pierre d'Outremer*, in *Quarta Crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-*

proposed to the *Consiglio dei Dieci* (Council of Ten) to translate into Italian Villehardouin's chronicle and to print the original French text in France, in Lyon, in order to promote as much as possible the chronicle among the Italians and the French⁵⁸. In the same petition Ramusio proposed his son Paolo for a historiographical work based on the same text. He should have started with a translation into Latin:

... accrescendola con le altre cose, che si trovano scritte nell'histoire di questa città et nelli libri pubblici (increasing it with other things, which can be found written in the histories of this city and in the public books)⁵⁹.

In January 1557 (1556 *more Veneto*) Paolo Ramusio received by the *Council of Ten* the public appointment, upon favorable advice by the three *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova* (Reformers of the University of Padua), who authorized the publication for its high value of propaganda:

... se ne andrà per il mondo con gran reputation e gloria di questo eccellentissimo Dominio (... it will go around the world with great reputation and glory for this most excellent Dominion)⁶⁰.

The work was presented by Ramusio to the *Riformatori* in 1572⁶¹, in the climate of Lepanto's naval battle (October 7, 1571); but its publication had to wait: in 1604 was first published an Italian translation made by Paolo's son Girolamo⁶², and only in 1609 Paolo's Latin text⁶³. With this historiographical work, as Carile remarked, the Venetian chronicles' tradition on the Fourth Crusade finds a breaking point:

si entra nel clima di una storiografia erudita, che attinge non solo dalla tradizione cittadina, ma si pone consapevolmente il problema delle fonti, risolto mediante una utilizzazione sistematica di storici bizantini, documenti e fonti occidentali (we enter into the clima of an erudite historiography, which not only derives informations from the civic tradition, but pays also attention to the

Impero Latino, a c. di G. Ortalli, G. Ravegnani, P. Schreiner, 2 vols., Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, Venezia 2006, vol. II, pp. [683-746] 692-697.

58 The Lyon edition was published only in 1601. In the meantime the *editio princeps* was published in Paris as *L'histoire de Geoffroy de Villehardouyn, Mareschal de Champagne et de Romenie; de la conquête de Constantinople par les Barons François associez aux Venitiens, l'an 1204* [...], par Blaise de Vigenère [...], A Paris, Chez Abel l'Angelier [...], 1584 (and 1585). See Zorzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 702-711.

59 See A. Pasini, *Sulla versione Ramusiana della cronaca di Villehardouin*, in «Archivio Veneto», III (1872), [pp. 264-267] p. 265.

60 See Pasini, *op. cit.*

61 See Venice, *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, Marc. Lat. X 79 (= 3077): *Pauli Rhamnusii Veneti de Alexii Isaacii Imp. f. reductione, et de bello Constantinopolitano libri sex, ex Gallicis Gotthofredi Villharduini equitis Franci Campaniae Marescalli Commentariis excerpti*.

62 See *Della guerra di Costantinopoli per la restitutione de gl'imperatori Commeni fatta da' sig. Venetiani et Francesi l'anno MCCIV libri sei*, di Paolo Rannusio Venetiano, In Venetia, Appresso Domenico Nicolini, 1604.

63 See *Pauli Rhamnusii Veneti de bello Constantinopolitano et imperatoribus Comnenis per Gallos et Venetos restitutis, MCCIV, libri sex*, Venetiis, Apud Haeredes Dominici Nicolini, 1609. A second, revised, edition was published in 1634 (Venetiis, ap. Marc. Ant. Brogiolum).

problem of sources, solved by the sistematical use of Byzantine historians, documents and Western sources)⁶⁴.

The sixteenth-century Venetian political use of the Fourth Crusade is clearly and very well expounded by Ramusio himself, who defined the conquest of Constantinople as «the greatest enterprise, that would have ever made this Sublime Dominion» (la «*più grande impresa, che giammai abbia fatto questo Eccelso Dominio*»), for the following reason:

Et se bene il titolo dell'Imperio del mare fù da Papa Alessandro Terzo donato a Sebastiano Ziani, Principe della Repub., dopo la rotta, data in mare ad Ottone, figliuolo dell'Imperator Federigo Barbarossa, presso a Salboro ... quello nondimeno fù titolo di scrittura, né si dee paragonare con questo del Doge Dandolo, che con l'armi aggiunte alla Repubblica un quarto et mezzo dell'Imperio di Costantinopoli, onde fu vero titolo d'Imperio, per via di questa guerra acquistato (And although the title of the empire of the sea was gifted by pope Alexander III to Sebastiano Ziani, prince of the Republic, after the defeat, given in the sea to Otto, the son of emperor Frederick Barbarossa, close to Salvore [of Istria, today Savudrija] ... that one however was a nominal title, and it has not to be compared with this one of doge Dandolo, who by arms added to the republic a quarter and a half of the empire of Constantinople, so that it was real title of empire acquired by this war)⁶⁵.

In the same years, after the fires of May 11, 1574, and December 20, 1577, which damaged the Ducal Palace, the Venetian ruling group didn't miss the opportunity to create an up-to-date self-celebration of past and recent Mediterranean glories and Italian triumphs in the pictorial cycles of two of the main halls of the Doge's Palace, in order to state the Republic's historical imperial rights on land and sea, and to show its ideal imagine of modern nation in front of the big European monarchies; and in order to goad the Venetian patricians into being always ready to serve their country.

The three main oils on canvas, painted by Paolo Caliari known as Veronese (1528-1588) for the ceiling of the *Sala del Collegio* (the College Hall) in 1575-1577 [see Plate #4], were perfect for the hall, where the ambassadors of friends and enemies had to be received⁶⁶. The first of them represents *robur imperii* (the power of the Venetian Dominion) [see Plate #5] in the bodily form of the lion of St. Mark between Mars and Neptune, the symbols respectively of the Venetian Republic, and of its Land and Sea States. The figures evidently refer to the two

64 See A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Firenze 1968 (Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Civiltà veneziana. Studi, 25), p. 203.

65 See the above quoted Italian translation published in 1604, c. a2v and p. 4.

66 See *L'opera completa di Paolo Veronese*, con presentazione di G. Piovene e apparati critici e filologici di R. Marini, Rizzoli, Milano 1968 (Classici dell'arte, 20); J. SCHULZ, *Venetian Painted Ceilings of the Renaissance*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1968; and the catalogue of the exhibition on *Veronese* [Paris, Musée du Luxembourg 2004, and Venice, Museo Correr 2005], ed. by G. Romanelli, F. Pedrocchi [and others], Skira, Ginevra-Milano 2004-2005. The Latin quotations come from the didactic inscriptions illustrating Veronese's work in the ceiling of the hall.



Plate 4. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale*, *Sala del Collegio*, Veronese's ceiling (1575-1577)

Paintings by Paolo Caliari known as Veronese (1528-1588). See A. Gentili, C. Terribile, M. Di Monte, G. Tagliaferro, *Veronese. La pittura profana*, Giunti, Firenze March 2005 (Art e Dossier, 209), pp. 40-41.



Plate 6b. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale*, Sansovino's sculptures of Mars and Neptune (1554-1566)

Marble sculptures by Jacopo Tatti known as Sansovino (1486-1570) placed in 1567 in the Palace courtyard on the top of Antonio Rizzo's staircase (since then named *La Scala dei Giganti*, the Giants' Staircase). See A. Markham Schulz, *Antonio Rizzo. Scala dei giganti*, Arsenale, Venezia 1985 (Hermia, 6).



Plate 5. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale*, *Sala del Collegio*, Veronese's *Marte e Nettuno* (1575-1577)

Oil on canvas by Paolo Caliari known as Veronese (1528-1588). See U. Franzoi, T. Pignatti, W. Wolters, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Edizioni Canova, Treviso 1990, p. 288 (pl. 245).

Plate 6a. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale*, Rizzo's Staircase (projected in 1483-1485, completed in 1491)

Work of the architect Antonio Rizzo (1430-1499). Web image.

marble sculptures [see Plates #6a-b] of Mars and Neptune made in 1554-1566 by Jacopo Tatti known as Sansovino (1486-1570), and placed in 1567 in the Palace courtyard on the top of Antonio Rizzo's staircase (since then named the Giants' Staircase)⁶⁷, surmounted by the characteristic winged lion handing a book,

67 See A. Markham Schulz, *Antonio Rizzo [ca. 1430-1499]. Scala dei giganti*, Arsenale Editrice, Venezia 1985 (Hermia, 6) and *La scultura a Venezia da Sansovino a Canova*, a c. di A. Bacchi, con la collaborazio-



Plate 7. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale*, Bon's *Porta della Carta* (1438-1442)

Marble decorations by the sculptors Giovanni Bon (1360ca.-1442) and his son Bartolomeo (†1464). Web image.



Plate 8. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale*, *Sala del Collegio*, Veronese's *Il trionfo della Fede* (1575-1577)

Oil on canvas by Paolo Caliari known as Veronese (1528-1588). See U. Franzoi, T. Pignatti, W. Wolters, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Edizioni Canova, Treviso 1990, p. 290 (pl. 246).



Plate 9. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale*, *Sala del Collegio*, Veronese's *Venezia con Giustizia e Pace* (1575-1577)

Oil on canvas by Paolo Caliari known as Veronese (1528-1588). See U. Franzoi, T. Pignatti, W. Wolters, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Edizioni Canova, Treviso 1990, p. 291 (pl. 247).



Plate 10. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale, Sala del Maggior Consiglio*, Veronese's *Trionfo di Venezia* (1579-1582)

Oil on canvas by Paolo Caliari known as Veronese (1528-1588). See U. Franzoi, T. Pignatti, W. Wolters, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Edizioni Canova, Treviso 1990, p. 320 (pl. 292).

which marked all Venetian colonial architecture, the same lion [see Plate #7] to whom doge Foscari kneels in the sculptures of the *Porta della Carta* (1438-1442) by Giovanni Bon (1360ca.-1442) and his son Bartolomeo (†1464)⁶⁸. The central oval canvas [see Plate #8] depicts the Faith's personification, which, *numquam derelicta* (never abandoned), is *fundamentum rei publicae* (the foundation of the State). The third [see Plate #9] represents Venice seated on throne receiving olive branches by Peace and a sword by Justice, *custodes libertatis*, guardians of freedom for the subject people. The model was the Christian kingdom devoted to defend the Faith, as pointed out by emperor Charles V.

The apex of self-celebration was reached, after the fire of 1577, in the historical pictorial cycles of the *Sala del Maggior Consiglio* (the Major Council Hall). The ceiling is dominated by "The triumph of the *Pax Veneta*" painted by Veronese in 1579-1582 [see Plate #10]: the most powerful and complete glorification of Venice ever imagined⁶⁹. The *Paradiso* (1588-1592 ca.) by Jacopo and his son Domenico Robusti both known as Tintoretto (1518-1594 and 1560-1635) [see Plate #11], like a promise of final work,

is what all Venetian Patritiate could see behind the wooden temple shaped tribune/throne of the *Minor Consiglio* (the Minor Council, i.e. the Doge and his six advisors) at each session of the *Maggior Consiglio*⁷⁰. The other three walls of the hall are decorated with «atti virtuosi de' suoi cittadini» (virtuous acts of citizens) as stated in the official program⁷¹. Among them, on the wall facing the sea, in front of the traditional cycle

ne di S. Zanuso, Longanesi, Milano 2000 (Repertori fotografici, 11).

68 See D. Pincus, *The Arco Foscari: The Building of a Triumphal Gateway in Fifteenth Century Venice*, New York and London 1976; and U. Franzoi, T. Pignatti, W. Wolters, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Edizioni Canova, Treviso 1990, pp. 57-64.

69 See D. Rosand, 'Venetia figurata': *The Iconography of a Myth*, in *Interpretazioni veneziane. Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, a c. di D. Rosand, Arsenale Editrice, Venezia 1984, pp. 177-196.

70 See *Il Paradiso di Tintoretto. Un concorso per Palazzo Ducale*, [catalogue of the exhibition: Paris, Musée du Louvre; Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza; Venezia, Palazzo Ducale, 2006], a c. di J. Habert con la collaborazione di L. Marabini, 5 Continents and Musée du Louvre, Milano-Paris 2006, pp. 17-59; and Ch. De Tolnay, *Il "Paradiso" del Tintoretto: note sull'interpretazione della tela in Palazzo Ducale*, in «Arte Veneta», 24 (1970), pp. 103-110.

71 See W. Wolters, *Der Programmwurf zur Dekoration des Dogenpalastes nach dem Brand*



Plate 11. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale*, *Sala del Maggior Consiglio*, Tintoretto's *Paradiso* (1588-1592 ca.)

Oil on canvas by Jacopo and his son Domenico Robusti known as Tintoretto (1518-1594, 1560-1635). See U. Franzoi, T. Pignatti, W. Wolters, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Edizioni Canova, Treviso 1990, pp. 342-343 (pl. 325); or the catalogue of the exhibition *Il Paradiso di Tintoretto. Un concorso per Palazzo Ducale*, [Paris, Musée du Louvre; Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza; Venezia, Palazzo Ducale, 2006], a c. di J. Habert con la collaborazione di L. Marabini, 5 Continents and Musée du Louvre, Milano-Paris 2006, p. 19.

of emperor Frederick I *Barbarossa* and pope Alexander III, was added a new cycle of oils on canvas, dedicated to the enterprises related to the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204). The cycle of oils on canvas starts with *Doge Enrico Dandolo and the Crusader captains take their oath in the Basilica of St. Mark* painted in 1619-1620 by Carlo Saraceni (1580-1620) and Giovanni Leccrer (1587-1633), followed by *The Crusaders conquer Zara* by Andrea Michieli known as Vicentino (1542-1617)⁷², *The Surrender of Zara* (1598-1605) by Domenico Robusti known as Tintoretto (1560-1635), *The young Alexius petitions Doge Enrico Dandolo for help* by Vicentino, *The Crusaders' army attacks Constantinople [in 1203]* (1604 ca.) [see Plate #12] by Jacopo Negretti known as Palma the Young (1544-1628)⁷³, *The Surrender of Constantinople [in 1204]* (1598-1605) [see Plate #13] by Domenico Tintoretto, *Baldwin of Flanders is elected Emperor of Constantinople by Doge Dandolo and the Crusader princes* [see Plate #14a] by Vicentino, and the *Coronation by Baldwin of Flandres as Latin Emperor of Constantinople* [see Plate #14b] by Antonio Vassillacchi known as Aliense (1556-1629). The last two oils give a painted version of Fortunato Olmo theory: «essendosi assegnata la sola quarta parte all'Imperatore, e al Doge una e mezza, era dunque più imperatore il Doge di Venezia che l'Imperatore istesso...» (having been assigned only a quarter to the emperor, and to the doge one quarter and a half, was thus more emperor the doge of Venice than the

vom 20 Dezember 1577, in «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz», XII (1976), pp. 271-318; and ID., *Die Bilderschmuck*, op. cit., App. (It. transl. pp. 299-310: p. 300).

72 See P. Battistella, *Notizie biografiche di Andrea Michieli detto Vicentino*, in «Venezia Arti», 9 (1995), pp. 145-146; and V. Mancini, *Per la giovinezza di Andrea Michieli detto il Vicentino: il pittore di "Cha Priuli"*, in «Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti», Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti 158/2 (1999/2000), pp. 305-328.

73 See Palma il Giovane. *L'opera completa*, a c. di S. MASON RINALDI, [Roma] Alfieri e Milano Electa 1984, p. 143 (#540) and p. 343 (plates 385-387).

Plate 12. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale, Sala del Maggior Consiglio, The Crusaders' army attacks Constantinople [1203]* by Palma the Young (1604 ca.)

Oil on canvas by Jacopo Negretti known as *Palma il Giovane* (1544-1628), Venice, *Palazzo Ducale, Sala del Maggior Consiglio*. See *Palma il Giovane. L'opera completa*, a c. di S. Mason Rinaldi, Electa, Milano 1984, p. 143 (#540) and p. 343 (figg. 385-387)



Plate 13. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale, Sala del Maggior Consiglio, The Surrender of Constantinople [1204]* by D. Tintoretto (1598-1605)

Oil on canvas by Domenico Robusti known as Tintoretto (1560-1635), Venice, *Palazzo Ducale, Sala del Maggior Consiglio*. See U. Franzoi, T. Pignatti, W. Wolters, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Edizioni Canova, Treviso 1990, p. 347 (pl. 329).





Plate 14a. Venice, Palazzo Ducale, Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Baldwin of Flanders is elected Emperor of Constantinople by Doge Dandolo and the Crusader princes [1204] by Vicentino

Painting by Andrea Michieli known as Vicentino (1542-1617). See *Crisi e rinnovamenti nell'autunno del Rinascimento a Venezia*, a c. di V. Branca e C. Ossola, L. S. Olschki, Firenze 1991 (Fondazione G. Cini. Civiltà Veneziana. Saggi, 38), fig. 7.

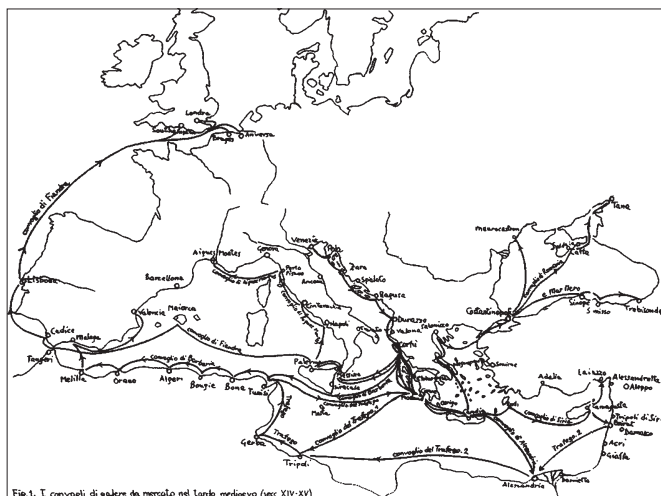


Plate 14b. Venice, Palazzo Ducale, Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Coronation by Baldwin of Flandres as Latin Emperor of Constantinople [1204] by Aliense

Painting by Antonio Vassillacchi known as Aliense (1556-1629). See *Crisi e rinnovamenti nell'autunno del Rinascimento a Venezia*, a c. di V. Branca e C. Ossola, L. S. Olschki, Firenze 1991 (Fondazione G. Cini. Civiltà Veneziana. Saggi, 38), fig. 8.

emperor himself...)⁷⁴. Contemporary literature illustrates the same clima. The twentyseven *cantos* in *ottava rima* of *L'Enrico ovvero Bisanzio acquistato* by Lucrezia Marinella (1571-1653), composed in 1635, is based on the same Venetian historiographical tradition, and presents the Latin conquest of Constantinople as it would have been an exclusively Venetian fact and not a French one too⁷⁵.

But self-celebration wasn't enough to be up to the Mediterranean late sixteenth-century reality⁷⁶. Apart from the Spanish, French and most Adriatic seaboard, all the Mediterranean commercial ports frequented by Venetian merchant ships [see Map #4] were ruled by the Ottoman Empire [see Map #5]. Just a couple of years after the very celebrated naval victory of Lepanto, Venice recognized Ottoman hegemony in the Mediterranean by a separate peace with Selim II in 1573, which aroused the angers of



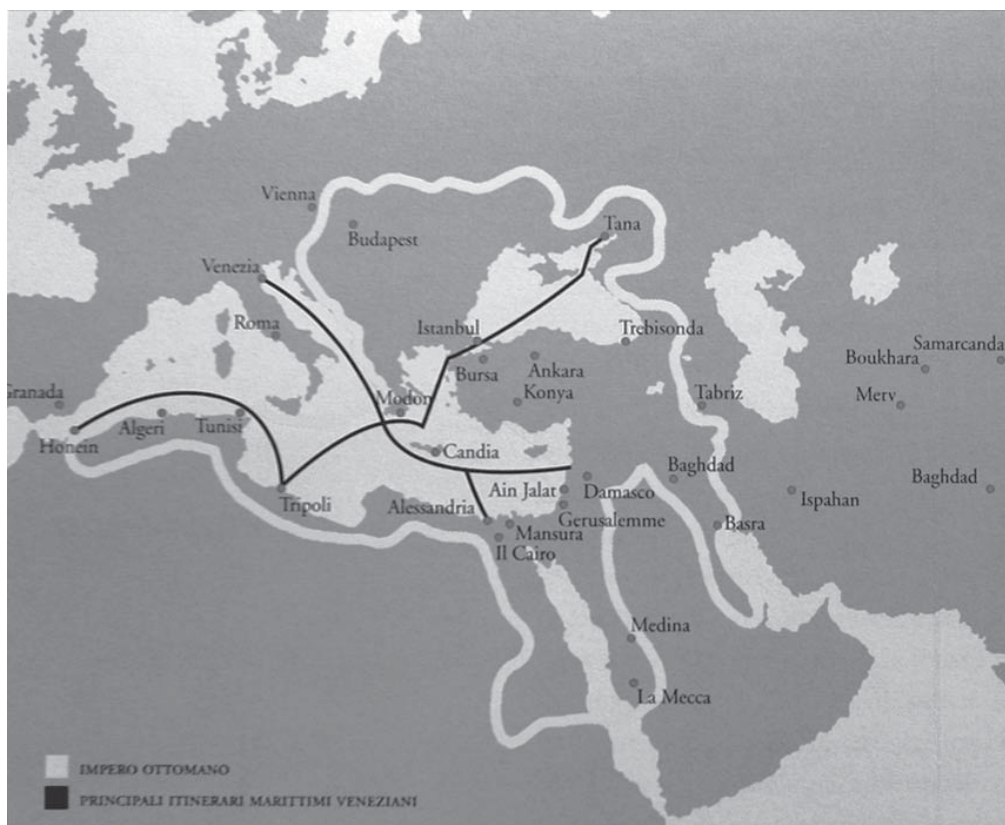
Map 4. The see-routes of the Venetian commercial fleet (14th-15th c.)

See M. COSTANTINI, *Le Isole Ionie nel sistema marittimo veneziano del Medioevo*, in *Venezia e le Isole Ionie*, Atti del convegno di studio promosso da Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, Università dello Ionio (Corfù, 26-27 settembre 2002), a c. di Ch. A. Maltezos e G. Ortalli, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venezia 2005, [pp. 141-163] p. 160.

74 See A. CARILE, *La 'Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romanie' del 1204 nella tradizione storica dei Veneziani*, in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici*, n.s. 2-3, XII-XIII (1965-1966), [pp. 167-179] p. 177; based on Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Miscellanea di carte non appartenenti ad alcun archivio*, b. 9 [autograph files by abbot Fortunato Olmo on the Byzantine Empire], p. [12].

75 *L'Enrico, ovvero Bisanzio acquistato, poema heroico*. Di Lucretia Marinella. Al sereniss. principe Francesco Erizzo, et serenissima repubblica di Venetia. In Venetia: appresso Ghirardo Imberti, 1635. – See A. PERTUSI, *I drammi di soggetto bizantino e turco nel teatro europeo e veneziano dalla fine del sec. XVI all'inizio del sec. XVIII*, in *Bisanzio e i turchi nella cultura del Rinascimento e del barocco. Tre saggi di Agostino Pertusi*, a c. di C. M. Mazzucchi, Vita e Pensiero, Milano 2004 (Bibliotheca erudita, 25), pp. 171-200 (original Italian version of Id. *Τα δράματα με βυζαντινή και τούρκικη υπόθεση στο ευρωπαϊκό και το βενετικό θέατρο από το τέλος του 16ου ως τις αρχές του 18ου αιώνα*, in «Ελληνικά», 22, 1969, pp. 341-369); p. 172.

76 See A. Tenenti, *The Sense of Space and Time in the Venetian World of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, in *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J. R. Hale, Faber and Faber, London 1973, pp. 17-46; and A. Tenenti, *Venezia e il senso del mare. Storia di un prisma culturale dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, Guerini, Milano 1999 (Istituto Italiano di Studi Filosofici — Napoli. Saggi, 34).



Map 5. The Ottoman empire in the 16th century

See J.-C. HOCQUET, *Venezia e il mondo turco*, in *Venezia e l'Islam*, [catalogue of the exhibition *Venise et l'Orient*, Paris, Institut du Monde Arabe 2006/2007; *Venice and the Islamic World 828-1797*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007; Venice, Palazzo Ducale, 2007], Marsilio 2007, [pp. 29-49] p. 34.

the allied nations. And in 1574 the Ottomans recaptured Tunisia from the Spanish, who had taken it in 1572. With the 1573 peace, Venice renounced Cyprus (1489-1571). It was the nth big renunciation after the loss of the Peloponnese (in less than eighty years, between 1463 and 1540). Although Venice in 1461 had negotiated with the Sublime Door the keeping of Methone, Korone, Argos and Nauplion, in an already almost completely Turkish Peloponnese; the first Venetian-Turkish war (1463-1479) costed Venice not only the islands of the Thracian Sea conquered during the same war (Thasos and Limnos were Venetian between 1464 and 1479, Samothraki and Imbros between 1466 and 1479), but also Argos (Venetian in 1388 and from 1394 to 1463) and Negroponte (1209-1470). The second (1499-1503) saw the loss of Lepanto (1407-1499) and of Old Navarino (1423-1500), Methone and Korone (1207-1500): all the Peloponnese was lost apart Monemvasia (Venetian from 1464 to 1540) and Nau-

plion (Venetian in 1388 and from 1389 to 1540), that fell little afterwards, during the third Venetian-Turkish war (1537-1540), which had already costed several islands: Egina (1451-1537), Karpathos and Kasos (1306-1538), and all the Sporades (1453-1538). After Cyprus (1573), Crete would have become Turkish in 1669, except for three coastal fortresses (Gramvusa, Suda and Spinalonga) that became Turkish along with the islands of Tinos and Mykonos (1390-1718) with the treaty of Požarevac (1718), which ended the “Morea’s romantic adventure” (1684-1715). Outside the Gulf of Venice only the Ionian Islands, will escape Turkish encroachment until 1797⁷⁷.

In the Venetian self-celebration program was involved cartography too, as evidence the sixteenth-century (about 1540) cycle of mural maps on canvas made by Giacomo di Gastaldi (or Castaldi, 1500ca.-1566)⁷⁸ under the supervision of Giovan Battista Ramusio (1485-1557) for the walls of the *Sala dello Scudo* (the so called Shield’s Hall because of the doge’s coat of arms, and then *Sala delle Mappe/Maps’ Hall* too)⁷⁹. The maps can be seen today in the remaking accomplished by Francesco Grisellini (1717-1787)⁸⁰ in 1762 in collaboration with the painter Giustino Menescardi⁸¹. Just in front of the map of the New World, there’s a map [see Plate #15a] showing *theatrum Venetæ / negotiationis per Mediterraneum* (the theatre of Venetian trade

77 See Βενετία και Πελοπόννησος [Venice and the Peloponnese (1204-1540 and 1684-1718)], in *H Πελοπόννησος. Χαρτογραφία και Ιστορία, 16ος – 18ος αιώνας* [The Peloponnese. Cartography and History, 16th-18th century], Αρχείο Χαρτογραφίας του Ελληνικού Χώρου — Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης [Archive for Cartography of the Greek territory — National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation], Αθήνα 2006, pp. 25-49 and 142-145; *Bellini and the East*, [catalogue of the exhibition] by C. Campbell and A. Chong, National Gallery and Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, London-Boston 2005, along with O. Pamuk, *Il volto gentile di Maometto*, translated by P. Mazzearelli, in «Il Sole-24 Ore», n. 293 (Oct. 29, 2006), pp. 34-35; *Venezia e Istanbul: incontri, confronti e scambi*, [exhibition held in Palmanova in 2006; second title *I turchi in Europa, civiltà a confronto*], a c. di E. Concina, con la collaborazione di E. Molteni e A. David, Forum, Udine 2006; and the contribution by J-C. Hocquet in the catalogue of the exhibition *Venice and the Islamic World 828-1797* [Paris, Institut du Monde Arabe, *Venise et l’Orient* 2006/2007; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007; and Venice, Palazzo Ducale, 2007], *Venezia e l’Islam*, Marsilio 2007, pp. 29-49.

78 See the entry by D. BUSOLINI in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 52, Roma 1999, pp. 529-532.

79 The main study on these maps is R. Gallo, *Le mappe geografiche del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, in «Archivio Veneto», LXXIII (1943), pp. 58-113. More recent studies give sometimes incorrect informations: E. Turri, *Una cartografia per amministrare e per glorificare*, in *Venezia da Stato a Mito*, catalogo della mostra (Venezia, Fondazione G. Cini), Marsilio Editori, Venezia 1997 (Cataloghi di mostre, 55), pp. 37-45; J. Schulz, *La cartografia tra scienza e arte. Carte e cartografi nel Rinascimento italiano*, [traduzione dall’inglese di T. Doria De Zuliani], Franco Cosimo Panini, Parma 1990; and Id., *Maps as Metaphors: Mural Map Cycles in the Italian Renaissance*, in *Art and Cartography. Six Historical Essays*, ed. by D. Woodward, Chicago and London 1987, pp. 97-122 and 223-229.

80 See the entry by P. PRETO in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 59, Roma 2002, pp. 691-696. Senator Marco Foscarini supported Grisellini for the appointment.

81 For this painter of the Tiepolo’s school, see R. Pallucchini, *Pittura nel Veneto. Il Settecento*, vol. 2, Regione Veneto, Electa, Milano 1995.



Plate 15. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale, Sala dello Scudo (alias Sala delle Mappe)*, Grisellini's Eighteenth century remake of Gastaldi's Sixteenth century Map of Tyrrhenian, Adriatic, Ionian and Aegean Seas

See *Venezia da Stato a Mito*, catalogo della mostra (Venezia, Fondazione G. Cini), Marsilio Editori, Venezia 1997 (Cataloghi di mostre, 55), p. 36. The color image comes from the web.



Plate 15b. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale, Sala dello Scudo*, Map of Tyrrhenian, Adriatic, Ionian and Aegean Seas, Epigraph on the left

See *Venezia da Stato a Mito*, catalogo della mostra (Venezia, Fondazione G. Cini), Marsilio Editori, Venezia 1997 (Cataloghi di mostre, 55), p. 36.



Plate 15c. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale, Sala dello Scudo*, Menescardi's allegory of Venice in the Map of Tyrrhenian, Adriatic, Ionian and Aegean Seas

See *Venezia da Stato a Mito*, catalogo della mostra (Venezia, Fondazione G. Cini), Marsilio Editori, Venezia 1997 (Cataloghi di mostre, 55), p. 36.



Plate 15d. Venice, *Palazzo Ducale, Sala dello Scudo*, Map of Tyrrhenian, Adriatic, Ionian and Aegean Seas, Cartouche on the right

See *Venezia da Stato a Mito*, catalogo della mostra (Venezia, Fondazione G. Cini), Marsilio Editori, Venezia 1997 (Cataloghi di mostre, 55), p. 36.

across the Mediterranean), as declares the epigraph on the left [see Plate #15b].

tabulam hanc quae sola / ex rhamusianis fato / evasit theatrum venetæ / negotiationis per medi- / terraneum exhibentem / j. baptista rhamusius / descripsit. vir multiplici / eruditione et prima / itinerum collectione / solerter curata / insignis. / FRAN. GRISELINI EX S. C. RESTITUIT (This painting, the sole among Ramusian ones which escaped fate, showing the theatre of Venetian trade across the Mediterranean, J. Baptist Ramusio described, man of many-sided learning and great for his cleverly edited travels' collection. Fran. Grisellini by Senate resolution restored).

It shows the seas that the Menescardi's triumphal allegory [see Plate #15c] in the center of the map declares as under Venetian rule. The cartouche on the map's right [see Plate #15d] is both the geographer's method statement and a political program: Ramusio was a brilliant geographer and a smart politician too.

Petrus Lauretanus insigni ad Rapalum de Januensibus victoria clarus / et Aloysius a Musto Rei Nauticae Saeculo xv facile Princeps compositis / ut vocant Portulanis non solum Jonii Maris et Aegei Oras sed haec ipsa / litora universa tum quae ultra Gaditanum Fretum excurrunt usque ad / Germanicum Mare usu edocti accurate descripsere. Quo auxilio / tutiorem quaquaversus Nautes viam praestiterunt (Pietro Loredan, famous for the great victory over the Genoese at Rapallo, and Alvise da Mosto, certainly the chief of fifteenth century marine, instructed by experience in accurately describing not only the Ionian and Aegean Seas coastlines but also all the shores which stretch themselves out of the Straits of Cadiz as far as the German Sea, composed so-called portulans, by the help of which the seamen held everywhere the safer course).

But cartography was elaborated not only for administrative, commercial, military or celebrative purposes. In the humanistic cultural atmosphere of fifteenth-century Italian cities was born new land cartography of Southern Balkans, Aegean islands and Anatolian shores, which very soon afterwards spread all over the European courts⁸². In these maps we can see how Venice and the other Western Christian

82 For a historical and cultural analysis see N. Γιακωβακη, *Ἡ Ἑλλάδα στὴν ἔντυπη εὐρωπαϊκὴ χαρτογραφία*, in *Ἡ Πελοπόννησος. Χαρτογραφία καὶ Ἱστορία, 16ος – 18ος αἰῶνας*, Αρχεῖο Χαρτογραφίας

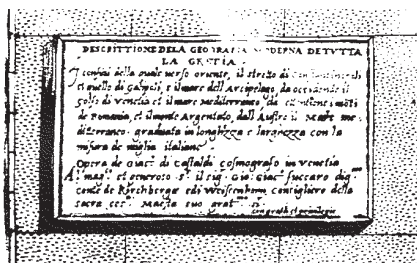


Plate 16a. Castaldi's *Descrittione dela geografia moderna de tutta la Gretia* (1545 ca.)

DESCRITTIONE DELLA GEOGRAFIA MODERNA DE TVTTA / LA GRECIA, / I confini della quale uerso oriente, il stretto di Constantinopoli / et quello di Galipoli, e il mare dell Arcipelago, da occidente il / Golfo di Venetia et il mare Mediterraneo, da Settentrione i mo(n)ti / de Romania, et il monte Argentato, dall Austro il Mare me= / diterraneo. graduata in longh.ezza e larghezza con la / misura de miglia italiane. / Opera de Giac.o di Castaldi Cosmografo in Venetia / Al mag.co et generoso S.r il sig.r Gio: Giac.o fuccaro dig.mo / Conte de Kirchbergæ e di Weissenhom, consigliere della / sacra ecs.a Maesta suo grat.mo si.r / con grat.i.a et priuilegio. [1d] scala de miglia italiane. [2d] fabius licinius fecit / Venetiis. Image from Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana [atlante lafreriano variamente intaccato da furti non recenti].

European powers started to look at the territories of the Ottoman empire in the Southern Balkans and at the Greek-Latin Aegean islands as an ideal cultural datum, located geographically in that *Graecia*, of which they were staring to map out the borders, as it makes [see Plate #16a] the *Descrittione de la geografia moderna de tutta la Gretia* by Giacomo di Castaldi (or Gastaldi, 1500-1566), made in Venice in 1545 ca. In 1545 the council of Trento was opened, during decades of stormy relations among Catholicism, Protestantism and Orthodoxy. This description of Greece was dedicated to Johann Jacob Fugger, the Catholic banker counselor of the emperor Charles V (1519-1556, †1558)⁸³. The map's *cartouche* [see Plate #16b] gives to Greece the following borders: *I confini della quale verso oriente il stretto di Constantinopoli et quello di Galipoli, e il mare dell Arcipelago, da occidente il Golfo di Venetia et il mare Mediterraneo, da Settentrione i monti de Romania et il monte Argentato, dall'Austro il Mare Mediterraneo*⁸⁴.

του Ελληνικού Χώρου — Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, Αθήνα, 2006, pp. 11-23.

83 See R. V. Tooley, *Maps in Italian Atlases of the Sixteenth Century, Being a Comparative List of the Italian Maps Issued by Lafreri, Forlani, Duchetti, Bertelli and Others, Found in Atlases*, in *Imago Mundi*, 3 (1939), pp. 12-47; and A. Avramea, *Une source méconnue: la liste des noms anciens et modernes de la Grèce par Giacomo Gastaldi*, in «*Studia Balcanica*», 10 (1975), pp. 171-176.

84 DESCRITTIONE DELLA GEOGRAFIA MODERNA DE TVTTA / LA GRECIA, / I confini della quale uerso oriente, il stretto di Constantinopoli / et quello di Galipoli, e il mare dell Arcipelago, da occidente il / Golfo di Venetia et il mare Mediterraneo, da Settentrione i mo(n)ti / de Romania, et il monte Argentato, dall Austro il Mare me= / diterraneo. graduata in longh.ezza e larghezza con la / misura de miglia italiane. / Opera de Giac.o di Castaldi Cosmografo in Venetia / Al mag.co et generoso S.r il sig.r Gio: Giac.o fuccaro dig.mo / Conte de Kirchbergæ e di Weissenhom, consigliere della / sacra ecs.a Maesta suo grat.

Plate 17. *Map of the Peloponnese* by Giacomo Cantelli from Vignola (dated 1685)

Peloponnesus ad antiquor mentem et praecipue Pausaniae, Strabonis, ac Ptolomaei descripta. Map dated 1685 and published in Rome in 1690 by G. G. Rossi. (See *Η Πελοπόννησος*.

Χαρτογραφία και Ιστορία, 16ος – 18ος αιώνας, Αρχείο Χαρτογραφίας του Ελληνικού Χώρου — Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, Αθήνα 2006, p. 119; and Ch. G. Zacharakis, A Catalogue of Printed Maps of Greece 1477-1800, second edition revised and amplified, Samourkas Foundation, Athens 1992, p. 228).



For toponymy Castaldi's map used the traditional method yet. He took the port names by portulans and marine maps and the other place names by contemporary chorographic data. But the new printed maps, addressed mainly to the learned public of the erudites, abandoned this traditional method, like Nikolaos Sophianos' *Totius Graeciae Descriptio* (1540, 1544, 1545). Sophianos' map was a sixteenth-century cartographical bestseller. All the geographical material recorded refers to Antiquity, and all the place names «are in their Hellenized Latin form, with Roman letters spelling the Greek names»⁸⁵. A separately provided concordance of 276 names helped the readers in locating the ancient cities, mountains, rivers, lakes and seas in their late medieval/early modern contemporary world.

The antiquarian maps of Greece, always more numerous from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards⁸⁶, aimed [see Plate #17] to provide the cartographic

mo si.r / con grat.i.a et priuilegio. [1d] scala de miglia italiane. [2d] fabius licinius fecit / Venetiis. For this map, that I studied in the copy of the *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, see Paris, *Bibl. Nat. de France, Département des Cartes et Plans*, Rés. Ge B 1674 (and Rés. Ge D 3256; another copy without the name of the author). The same map was later printed by Gastaldi also in the Italian translation of Ptolemy's *Geography*: [La] *geografia di Claudio Ptolemeo alessandrino, con alcuni comentì & aggiunte fattevi da Sebastiano Munstero alamanno, con le tavole non solamente antiche & moderne solite di stamparsi, ma altre nuove aggiuntevi di ... I. Gastaldo ... ridotta in volgare Italiano da M. P. A. Mattiolo ... con l'aggiunta d'infiniti nomi moderni, di città, provincie, castella, et altri luoghi, fatta ... da esso ... I. Gastaldo, etc., Gioa. Baptista Pedrezano, Venetia 1548.* See Paris, *Bibl. Nat. de France*, coll. FBHA G 87 A6 P97 (*This copy is incomplete, containing only the 60 maps on 120 leaves. All other paging is wanting; maps are hand colored. Contemporary binding*); and London, *The British Library*, Maps.C.1.a.3. — C.20.a.1. — 303.c.27).

⁸⁵ See G. Tolias, Nikolaos Sophianos' *Totius Graeciae Descriptio*: *The Resources, Diffusion and Function of a Sixteenth-Century Antiquarian Map of Greece*, in *Imago Mundi*, 58/2 (2006), pp. 150-182.

⁸⁶ The largest available printed catalogue is Ch. G. Zacharakis, *A Catalogue of Printed Maps of Greece 1477-1800*, London, Map Collectors Circle, 1974 (Map Collectors Series, nn. 98 e 102) [with 707 maps];



Plate 18. Detail of Sophianos' *Totius Graeciae Descriptio* (Rome, Antonio Blado, 1552)

The detail shows the city of Byzantium-Constantinople, the temple of Diana, and the ruins of Troy (Ilium, bottom left). Note the parallel use of Greek and Latin for the names of the seas: Propontis (Sea of Marmara) and Euxine (Black Sea). See G. Tolias, *Nikolaos Sophianos' 'Totius Graeciae Descriptio': The Resources, Diffusion and Function of a Sixteenth-Century Antiquarian Map of Greece*, in «*Imago Mundi*», 58/2 (2006), pp. 150-182. Fig. 13, reproducing it with permission from the British Library, Maps M.T. 6.g.2.(4).

representation of the places described or mentioned in the works of Strabo, Pausania and Ptolemy, as explicitly declared in the *cartouche* of the map of the Peloponnese by Giacomo Cantelli from Vignola dated 1685 and published in Rome in 1690 by G. G. Rossi⁸⁷: *Peloponnesus ad antiquior mentem et praecipue Pausaniae, Strabonis, ac Ptolomaei descripta*. The idea of a new Greece, Ancient and Modern at the same time, was born. And it was geographically identified beneath the previous mentioned borders, where the Ottoman Empire did not exist yet (or any more?). Let's just notice that in Sophianos' map no Byzantine, Frankish or Ottoman name appear, with the significant exception of *Byzantion-Constantinopolis* [see Plate #18]⁸⁸.

Second Test. The Acropolis and Athens' medieval Latin heritage

Un crucifix roman n'était pas d'abord une sculpture, la Madone de Cimabué n'était pas d'abord un tableau, même l'Athéna de

Theopress, Nicosia 1982 [2.173 maps]; second edition revised and amplified, Samourkas Foundation, Athens 1992 [catalogue of 2.538 maps with B/W photos of 555].

87 See *Πελοποννήσος* 2006, op. cit., p. 119 (n. 38, color reproduction) and Zacharakis 1992, op. cit., tav. 93 (p. 228, map no. 546).

88 See *Byzantium and the Modern Greek identity*, ed. by D. Ricks and P. Magdalino, Ashgate, Aldershot 1998 (Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London. Publications, 4). C. M. Woodhouse started his *Modern Greece. A Short History* (London 1968) with the foundation of Constantinople (324-330).

Phidias n'était pas d'abord une statue (A. Malraux)⁸⁹.

During the last quarter of the Nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth century the geography expounded by antiquarian maps became a political program too, in a modern “independent” Greece, which wanted to delete the Ottoman phase of its history⁹⁰. The cultural role and the political use of archaeology in the building of the European modern Greek national identity have been well studied in the last three decades⁹¹. The Acropolis of Athens is a perfect case history, if, following Effie-Fotini Athanassopoulou (2002), we consider it «an archaeological topos that was “constructed” in the course of the nineteenth century»⁹². In 1979 Oriana Fallaci in his *Un Uomo*, attributes the following statement to Alekos Panagulis (1939-1976):

... quale ostaggio avrebbe potuto essere più prezioso del Partenone? Chi amava la bellezza e la cultura, dicevi non aveva ancora cessato di maledire quel Koenigsmarck che nel 1687 lo aveva preso a cannonate per stanare i turchi, e i turchi ci avevano messo una polveriera. Perdere ciò che era rimasto del Partenone, quindi, sarebbe stato come perdere il simbolo stesso della civiltà: il mondo intero sarebbe insorto a difesa delle sue quarantasei colonne, tutte le ambasciate sarebbero intervenute presso la Giunta per supplicarla di accettare le tue richieste⁹³.

In this process the “richness” and the “presence” of the Greek and Roman classical archaeological heritage was and is the major cause of destruction in Modern Times of the “ignored” medieval evidence; not only Latin and Ottoman, but Byzantine too⁹⁴.

89 See A. Malraux, *Le Musée Imaginaire*, Gallimard, Paris 1965, *incipit*; J. Le Goff, *Documento/monumento*, in *Enciclopedia Einaudi*, vol. V, Torino 1978; and M. E. La Torre, *La nozione di documento*, in Id., *Contributo alla teoria giuridica del documento*, Giuffrè, Milano 2004, pp. 1-46.

90 The mixing process of «Education, Antiquarianism and Patriotism» had started among Greek intellectuals during the eighteenth century; see G. TOLIAS, *The cartography of the Greek Enlightenment, 1700-1820*, in «The New Griffon», 8 (2006), pp. 37-46.

91 See M. Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, University of Texas Press, Austin 1978, and Pella, New York 1986.

92 See E.-F. Athanassopoulou, *An “Ancient” Landscape: European Ideals, Archaeology, and Nation Building in Early Modern Greece*, in «Journal of Modern Greek Studies», 20/2 (2002), pp. 273-305; and D. King, *The Elgin Marbles. The Story of the Parthenon and Archaeology's Greatest Controversy*, Hutchinson, London 2006.

93 See O. Fallaci, *Un uomo*, Rizzoli, Milano 1979, Part II, Chapter II; in BUR-Opere di Oriana Fallaci 2000, pp. 166-180; quotation at p. 166. For the consequences in Greek society see R. Caparrini — V. Greco — N. Radicini, *La Grecia contemporanea (1974-2006). Un modello di sviluppo politico, economico e sociale*, a cura di R. Caparrini, prefazione di A. Ferrari, Fondazione Spadolini Nuova Antologia, Edizioni Polistampa, Firenze 2007 (Biblioteca della Nuova Antologia, collana diretta da C. Ceccuti, 24).

94 See K.M. Setton, *The archaeology of medieval Athens*, in *Essays in Medieval life and thought*, presented in honor of Austin Patterson Evans, Columbia University Press, New York 1955, pp. 229-258 (offprint, Athens, Gennadius Library, HG 207.5 S49); K.M. Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, Variorum Reprints, London 1975; and D. King, *The Elgin Marbles*, op. cit., pp. 149-219 and 321-323 (bibliography).

It would be enough to think at what Schliemann and his followers demolished in a few decades on the Acropolis of Athens, starting with the Florentine Tower in 1875. Maybe the secret dream was a restoration of the Ancient City like, just to give an example, the one [see Plate #19] by Charles Robert Cockerell dated 1810-1813 and published in London in 1829⁹⁵. But the final outcome was very different; and not only



Plate 19. *Restoration of the City of Athens* by Ch. R. Cockerell (1810-1813)

Etching (14 x 23,5 cm), by Charles Robert Cockerell, in *Athens in the Travellers' Accounts, 15th – 19th century*, City of Athens, Papyros Graphic Arts, Athens 2004, p. 101 (source: H. W. Williams, *Select Views in Greece with Classical Illustration*, II, London 1829; Athens, Benaki Museum).

church in the Erechtheion, et cetera.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth-century archaeological yard erased all Byzantine, Frankish and Ottoman evidence on the Acropolis of Athens. Any-

for the reason that «the more realistic a reconstruction of the past seems, the more it is a part of the present», as David Lowenthal wrote in 1985⁹⁶. In order to understand what exactly happened, we have just to compare one of the many modern views of the Acropolis [see Plate #20]⁹⁷ with early twentieth-century aerial photographs, like the two in the Benaki Museum Historical Archives [see Plates #21a-b]⁹⁸: nothing medieval is preserved on the Acropolis: no tracks of Byzantine, Latine or Ottoman architecture in the Parthenon, neither of Saint Bartholomew church at the Propylaea, neither of the Trinity

95 See *Athens in the Travellers' Accounts*, op. cit., p. 101 (Etching, 14 x 23,5 cm.; source: H. W. Williams, *Select Views in Greece with Classical Illustrations*, II, London 1829).

96 See D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1985, as quoted by N. Silberman, *Beyond Theme Parks and Digitized Data: What Can Culture Heritage Technologies Contribute to the Public Understanding of the Past?*, paper presented at VAST 2004, the 5th International Symposium on Virtual Reality, Archaeology and Intelligent Cultural Heritage (Belgium, Brussels and Oudenaarde, Dec. 7-10, 2004), p. 9 (www.enamcenter.org).

97 See *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα*, in *Η Καθημερινή / Επτά Ημέρες* 1995-12-24; *Byzantine Athens*, City of Athens, Papyros Graphic Arts, Athens 2004; *Athens in the Travellers' Accounts, 15th – 19th century*, City of Athens, Papyros Graphic Arts, Athens 2004.

98 See Athens, *Μουσείο Μπενάκη, Ιστορικά Αρχεία*, Αρ. Εισ. 220 (Φωτογραφίες από το αρχείο Εμμανουήλ και Αντονίου Μπενάκη, 1913-1920), photographs 12 and 13 (αεροφωτογραφίες της Αθήνας και της Ακρόπολης, χ.χ.); as catalogued by V. Tselika, *Οδηγός Ιστορικών Αρχείων Μουσείου Μπενάκη*, Μουσείο Μπενάκη, Ιστορικά Αρχεία, Αθήνα 2006, p. 268.

Plate 20. *View of Athens from the Philopappos Hill by W. Pars (1765-1766)*

Watercolor by William Pars, in *Athens in the Travellers' Accounts, 15th – 19th century*, City of Athens, Papyros Graphic Arts, Athens 2004, p. 12.



Plate 21a. *The Acropolis of Athens (1920 ca.)*

Detail of aerial photograph by Anonymous. See Athens, *Μουσείο Μπενάκη, Ιστορικά Αρχεία*, Αρ. Εισ. 220 (Φωτογραφίες από το αρχείο Εμμανουήλ και Αντονίου Μπενάκη, 1913-1920), photograph 13 (αεροφωτογραφία της Αθήνας και της Ακρόπολης, χ.χ.); as catalogued by V. Tselika, *Οδηγός Ιστορικών Αρχείων Μουσείου Μπενάκη*, Μουσείο Μπενάκη, Ιστορικά Αρχεία, Αθήνα 2006, p. 268. The digital image is by Dr. M. Zaccarini (Leonardo Project 2007) and the © Museum Benaki.



Plate 21b. *The Propylaea and the Erechtheion (1920 ca.)*

Aerial photograph by Anonymous. See Athens, *Μουσείο Μπενάκη, Ιστορικά Αρχεία*, Αρ. Εισ. 220 (Φωτογραφίες από το αρχείο Εμμανουήλ και Αντονίου Μπενάκη, 1913-1920), photograph 12 (αεροφωτογραφία της Αθήνας και της Ακρόπολης, χ.χ.); as catalogued by V. Tselika, *Οδηγός Ιστορικών Αρχείων Μουσείου Μπενάκη*, Μουσείο Μπενάκη, Ιστορικά Αρχεία, Αθήνα 2006, p. 268. The digital image is by Dr. M. Zaccarini (Leonardo Project 2007) and the © Museum Benaki.



way we currently speak of “restoration” and even the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens judges as a damage only the conversion of the Parthenon to a Christian church, as states one of the panel exhibited in the mezzanine dedicated to this subject.

The Parthenon, the preeminent symbol of the ancient world, was transformed into a three-aisled basilica with a gallery, two narthexes and a baptistry in the late sixth century. Similarly, damage was inflicted on much of the Parthenon’s sculptural decoration by the adherents of the new faith. The church became an important shrine of the Virgin, attracting pilgrims from far afield. It underwent repairs, additions and further adornment in the twelfth century, when it was used as the cathedral of Athens.

The poor remains of Athens’ medieval Latin heritage are now in the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens⁹⁹. Room II.6 is fully dedicated to *Byzantium after the Fourth Crusade*¹⁰⁰. Among all the evidences, [see **Plate #22**] stands out the so-called

99 See the catalogue of the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens, *Ο Κόσμος του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου / The world of the Byzantine Museum*, Athens 2004.

100 On June 17, 2007, the permanent exhibition displayed the following items along with the following descriptions: BXM (Βυζαντινό Χριστιανικό Μουσείο/Byzantine Christian Museum) 1165. *Bone pectoral with Christ enthroned and Vergin orans* (13th-15th c.); BXM 1101. *Iron tongs/seal for stamping the Host with incised lily flower and Salomon knob. Found in Thebes* (13th c.); BXM 1102-1103. *Bronze tongs and seal with Latin inscription found at Thebes in Beotia* (13th c.); BXM 1018. *Processional copper alloy cross with incised representations and Latin inscription on both sides* (13th c.); BXM 1085. *Part of a marble arch with relief representation of Saint Paul and the Latin inscription [P]AUL(US). From Athens* (13th c.); BXM 1086. *Part of a marble arch with Western style relief decoration of olive branches and part of a prelate figure. From Athens* (13th c.); BXM 1104. *Marble arch with relief figures related to the Nativity of Christ. Combined Byzantine and Western stylistic elements. From Athens* (13th c.); BXM 1105. *Marble slab with relief representation of the Nativity. From Athens* (13th c.); BXM 1109. *Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria. Probably painted in Cyprus by a Western artist (early 13th c.)*; BXM 1108. *Double-sided icon with Saint George and Saints Marina and Irene (?)*. It combines elements of Byzantine and Western style. From Kastoria (13th c.) – two large photographs are placed on the walls one facing the other: on the right *The Frankish church of Saint Sophia at Andravida in Eleia (mid. 13th c.), seat of the Dominican monks who settled in Greece after the Fourth Crusade*, and on the left *The church of the Paregoretissa (late 13th c.) in Arta, capital of the autonomous state of Epiros. Characteristic monument containing Byzantine and Western elements, both architectural and in the sculptural decoration* —; BXM 1105. *Parchment manuscript Book of Gospels. Western influences can be identified in its illuminations* (14th-15th c.); BXM 1106-1107. *Marble arches, probably from a ciborium, with relief figures related to the representation of the Descent to Hell; obvious Western influences. From Athens* (13th c.); BXM 1316-1317, 1250-1252, 1311-1312, 1855, 1530. *Glazed clay bowls, with coloured engraved decoration. They are examples of the Cypriot ceramic output under Frankish rule (14th-15th c., donated by C. Pierides)*; BXM 1100. *Bizonal icon with Crucifixion (upper zone) and the Virgin and Child flanked by saints (lower zone). A work of the Italian artist Borghese di Piero [Borghese (1397-1463)]* (15th c.); BXM 1097. *Icon with the Crucifixion. Attributed to the circle of the Venetia painter Paolo Veneziano [the 1358 ‘Coronation of the Virgin’ in The Frick Collection of New York is Paolo’s last dated work. In addition to his brother Marco and his sons Luca and Giovanni, several other artists were trained in his influential workshop]* (14th c.); BXM 1098-1099. *Icons with the Annunciation and the Nativity. Works of an Italian artist* (15th c.); BXM 1110. *Fragment of wall painting representing a saint; obvious Western influences. Pyrgos, Euboea, church of Saint Nicholas (end of 13th c.)*; BXM 1083. *Marble sculpture in the shape of a closed book. From Jerusalem* (13th c.?). BXM 1095. *Marble capital. From Oropos, Attica* (13th c.?). BXM 1091. *Part of marble capital with Western style relief decoration of horned*

Παναγία καταλανική (the Catalan Holy Virgin)¹⁰¹, whose synthetic museographical label sounds like an epitaph for the grave stone of the Byzantine-Frankish church dedicated to Prophet Elijah in Staropazaro (Σταροπάζαρο, i.e. the Ottoman Grain Market), judged unworth of preservation by nineteenth-century archaeological requirements in the area of the Roman Agora.

Wall painting representing the enthroned Virgin and Child, known as 'Madonna Catalana'. Athens, from the presently demolished church of Prophet Elijah in Staropazaro (mid. 15th c.). The composition probably comes from the lintel drum above the church entrance. It was associated with the 14th c. Catalan lords of Athens. However, the initials F.A. and L.S., which are inscribed near the coats of arms, have been identified with Francesco Acciaioli, the Florentine duke of Athens in 1441-1460, and Lorenzo Spinola, a nobleman¹⁰².



Plate 22. The so-called *Madonna Catalana* (1441-1460, Florentine period)

Detached fresco (112 x 154 cm.), Athens, from the presently demolished church of Prophet Elijah in Staropazaro (Σταροπάζαρο, the Ottoman Grain Market, in the Roman Agora area). See *Ο Κόσμος του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου / The world of the Byzantine Museum*, Athens 2004, p. 112 (pl. 89).

The bases of this mentality were already present in the thirteenth century, as shows a letter of Peter III of Aragon to his treasurer dated Lérida (Cataluña) September 11, 1380¹⁰³:

male head. From Zakynthos Island (13th c.?): BXM 1094. Part of a marble 'arcosolium' (burial monument) with Western style relief decoration, surmounted by a Gothic three-lobed arch. From Athens (13th-14th c.); BXM 1080, 1082. Western style statuettes of the Virgin and Child (14th c.); BXM 1081. Marble statuette of female figure (13th-14th c.); BXM 1111 (see the following quotation in the text).

101 See *La expedición y dominación de los Catalanes en Oriente juzgadas por los Griegos, ... por A. Rubió y Lluch, ... Real Academia de Buenas Letras, Barcelona 1883*, pp. 120-123. The image was first considered Catalan by L. Kaftantzoglus, because of the supposed Catalan foundation of the church in which it was: on this subject see the letters written by E. Stamatiadis to A. Rubió in 1880-1882, now published with Catalan translation in A. Rubió y Lluch, *Epistolari grec*, vol. 1 (Any 1880-1888), Correspondència recollida i anotada per Eusebi Ayensa i Prat, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 2006 (*Memòries de la Secció històrico-arqueològica*, LXIX), pp. 33-40, 60-62, 71-76, 83-89, 97-98, 101-103, 113-117, 132-134, 140-141, 156-159, 166-168, 181-183.

102 See BXM 1111.

103 See Barcelona, Arx. Cor. Aragó, reg. 1268, f. 126; editions with some misunderstandings in A. Rubió y Lluch, *Los navarros en Grecia y el Ducado catalan de Atenas en la época de su invasión*, in «Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona», IV (1887), doc. XX; *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301-1409)*, Col·lecció de documents per a la història de l'expedició catalana a Orient i dels ducats

Le rey

Tresorer: sapiats que a nos son venguts missatgers, sindichs e procuradors dels ducats de Atenes e de la Patria, ab poder bastant de totes les gents del dit ducat, e han nos fet sacrament e homenatge es son fets nostres vassalls. E ara lo bjsbe de la Megara, qui es i del dits missatgers, tornasen de licencia nostra, e hans demenat que per guarda del castell de Cetenes li volguessem fer donar x o xii homens d'armes. E nos vahents que açó es molt necessari e que no es tal cosa que nos deja fer, majorment con lo dit castell sia la pus richa joya qui al mont sia, e tal que entre tots los reys de christians envjdes lo porien fer semblant, havem ordonat quel dit bisbe sen men los dits xii homens d'armes los quals entenem degen esser ballasters, homens de be qui sien be armats e be apparellats e quels sia feta paga de iiii meses, car abans quels dits iiii meses no seran passats, nos hi haurem trames lo vescomte de Rochabertí e lavores ell los provehirá. Per queus manam espressament que vos procurets los dits xii homens e que estiguen apparellats de guisa que quant lo dit bisbe será aquí, nos haja a leguiar per ells una hora. Dada en Leyda sots nostre segell secret a xi dies de setembre del any M CCC LXXX. Rex Petrus.

Dirigitur Petro de Vallo.

On the tracks of "Europe and Graecia" after the Fourth Crusade

*A beleza è grega.
Mas a consciência de que ela è
grega è moderna*

(F. Pessoa)¹⁰⁴.

The ideological coordinates (images, myths, ideas and/or concepts) are those of the geopolitical situation presented by Braudel, in the end in the fifth French edition of *La Méditerranée* (1982), and those of the cultural environment presented in *Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales* by van der Vin (1980), in *Storie greche* by Ampolo (1997), in *Nella terra del mito* by Del Corno (2001), in the catalogue of the exhibition *The Light of Apollo* held in Athens in 2003, and in the preface to the Greek edition (2006) of S. Settis' *The Future of «classical»*¹⁰⁵.

d'Atenes i Neopàtria, recollida i anotada per Antoni Rubió i Lluch, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 1947, doc. CDIV (vol. I, p. 491); *Elogio de la Acròpolis d'Atenes. VI^è centenari (1380-1980)*, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona 1908, pp. 47-53, with the image of the manuscript, which I used to give here the new edition. For a deep historical analysis of the text see A. Rubió i Lluch, *Significació de l'elogi de l'Acròpolis d'Atenes pel rei Pere 'l Cerimoniós*, in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal: miscelanea de estudios lingüísticos, literarios e históricos*, voll. 3, Madrid 1925, III, pp. 37-56.

104 *Beauty is Greek. / But the consciousness that it is Greek is modern.* See F. Pessoa, *aforismos e afins*, Assírio & Alvim e Herdeiros de Fernando Pessoa, Lisboa 2003, p. 48 (133/50). The first sentence was first an underlined title: *A beleza grega*. Then, Pessoa added the verb «é» and the second sentence.

105 See F. BRAUDEL, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, I-II, Paris 1949 (revised editions 1966 and 1986), with the critical historiographical analysis on the work's genesis

This mentality is the result of a long lasting process of encounter between Latin and Greek cultures, whose chronological starting point is usually set in 146 BCE, when Mummius' military campaign confirmed the definitive Roman conquest of Greece. Afterwards, as Horace wrote,

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes

intulit agresti Latio (Epist. II, 1, 156-157)

(Greece the captive captured her wild victor and brought her arts into rustic Latium)¹⁰⁶.

With the help of chronology, other turning points can be identified in this historical process. In 330 Constantine the Great inaugurated the new capital of the Roman Empire Byzantium/Constantinople. In 1453 the New Rome was conquered by Mehmet II.

«In the early years of the fifteenth century ... two approaches to antiquity and its remains had emerged: the literary or text-based approach formulated by Petrarch and followed by most humanist scholars, and the primarily visual or object-based approach pursued by collectors, by artists such as Donatello and Brunelleschi, and by travelers»¹⁰⁷. The earliest evidences of travels to Greece for explicit cultural reasons date to the first half of the fifteenth century; and they can be considered exceptions, even if they influenced an entire epoch. The antiquarian interest of the *Descriptio insulae Cretae* (1417-1422)¹⁰⁸

by E. PARIS, *La genèse intellectuelle de l'œuvre de Fernand Braudel. La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (1923-1947), avec une Préface de E. LE ROY LADURIE, Institut de Recherches Néohelléniques / Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique de Grèce, Athènes 1999; Jos. P.A. VAN DER VIN, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople. Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales*, I-II, Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, Istanbul-Leiden 1980 (Uitgaven van het Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul / Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul, 49); C. AMPOLO, *Storie greche. La formazione della moderna storiografia sugli antichi Greci*, Einaudi, Torino 1997 (Biblioteca Einaudi, 11); D. and L. DEL CORNO, *Nella terra del mito: viaggiare in Grecia con gli dei, eroi e poeti*, A. Mondadori, Milano 2001; furthermore M. MARTIN, *Suggestioni omeriche nell'etnografia d'età ellenistica ed in quella tardo settecentesca*, in *Itineraria*, I (2002), pp. 1-65; and S. SETTIS, *Futuro del «classico»*, Einaudi, Torino 2004 (Vele, 6).

106 See A. Henrichs, 'Graecia Capta': Roman Views of Greek Culture, in «*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*», 97. *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance* (1995), pp. 243-261. Epist. II (14 BCE), 1, 156-160: *Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit et / artes intulit agresti Latio; sic horridus / ille defluxit numerus Saturnius, et graue / uirus munditiae pepulere; sed in longum tamen / aeuum manserunt hodieque manent uestigia ruris*.

107 See C.M. Woodhouse, *The Platonic Renaissance in 15th-Century Italy*, The Ninth Annual Walton Lecture in the Gennadius Library, Athens 1990; P. Fortini Brown, *Venice & Antiquity. The Venetian Sense of the Past*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London 1997, pp. 75-92 (quotation at p. 77) *Antique fragments, Renaissance eyes*, and pp. 149-162 *The still visible past*.

108 The work has been composed by the author in at least three different versions, all of them dedicated to Niccolò Niccoli; a first version dates 1417, followed by a second one, shorter but with elements absent in the previous one, and a third one was completed in Constantinople in 1422. Today only the first two version are extant. They are edited by Corner, *Creta sacra*, I, Venetiis 1755, pp. 182-187 (*breuior*) e 77-109 (*amplior*), reprinted in *Description des îles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti*,

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and of the *Liber insularum Archipelagi* (1418, 1420, 1422 and 1430)¹⁰⁹ by the Florentine priest Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1385-1430)¹¹⁰, and of the *Itinerarium* (1441-1442) by

version grecque par un anonyme, publiée d'après le manuscrit du Sérail avec une traduction française et un commentaire par Emile Legrand, Première partie ornée de 52 cartes géographiques, E. Leroux, Paris 1897 (Publication de l'École des langues orientales. Quatrième série, tome XIV), pp. 101-156. See the critical editions Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Descriptio insule Crete et liber insularum cap. XI: Creta*, édition critique par Marie-Anne van Spitael, Επιμελητής της εκδόσεως Στεργ. Γ. Σπανάκης, Iraklion 1981; and Ένας γύρος της Κρήτης στα 1415. Χριστόφορου Μπουοντελμόντι Περιγραφή της Κρήτης, πρόλογος Σ. Αλεξίνου, μετάφραση και εισαγωγή Μ. Αποσκήτη, Iraklion 1983.

109 Four versions are known, all of them dedicated to cardinal Giordano Orsini. The first, sent in 1418, is not preserved. A second more extended version was completed in Rhodos and sent in 1420. The 1422 version is shorter, but sometimes contains new material. The final version by the author, the most extended, is dated 1430; the text is enriched by a series of antiquarian, mythological and philosophical digressions and by an ample preface. The work had a wide manuscript diffusion. It was translated not only in Vernacular Italian, but also in Greek (see the above mentioned edition by Legrand) and in English (see London, British Museum, Ms. Titus B VIII, cc. 245r-248v, which partially contains it). Apart the shortened edition Christoph. Bondeumontii, florentini, *Librum insularum Archipelagi*, e codicibus Parisinis regiis [Bibl. Nat., R. Ge F.F. 9351] nunc primum totum edidit, praefatione et annotatione instruxit Gabr. Rud. Ludovicus de Sinner, Lipsiae et Berolini, apud G. Reimer, 1824, with two color plates (Crete and Corfù); the Latin text is unpublished. For the manuscript tradition see C. Barsanti, *Costantinopoli e l'Egeo nei primi decenni del XV secolo: la testimonianza di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, in «Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte», s. III, 56 (2001), pp. [83-253] 160-169. From an antiquarian point of view, the illuminations are the most interesting part of the work. Buondelmonti in the description of the islands does not give informations on ruins; he is much more interested in ancient and medieval history and in myths, as demonstrates for Delos S. Reinach, *La description de l'île de Délos de Bondeumonte*, in «Revue Archéologique», 3e série, 1 (1883). For the quality of the illuminations, can be mentioned the following manuscripts of the 1420 version: Milano, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, cod. A 219 inf.; Ravenna, *Biblioteca Comunale Classense*, ms. 308 (see the description by S. Marcon, *Cristoforo Buondelmonti [Scheda del Ms. Classense 308]*, in *Biblioteca Classense. Ravenna*, a cura di Angela Dillon Bussi e Claudia Giuliani, Nardini Editore, Fiesole 1996, pp. 74-76, and the *carta nautica* in P. Frabetti, *Carte nautiche italiane dal XIV al XVII secolo conservate in Emilia Romagna. Archivi e biblioteche pubbliche*, Istituto di Geografia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università degli Studi di Bologna, Leo S. Olschki, Firenze 1978 — Nuovo repertorio delle carte nautiche italiane manoscritte conservate in Italia, secoli XIII-XVII, 1 —, pp. 33-35); Athens, *Gennadius Library*, mss. 71 (paper, 42 ff., 300x220 mm., late 15th c., Sotheby's Dec. 14, 1980); *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Urb. Lat. 458; *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, Cod. Magl. XIII, 7 (paper, first half of the 15th c., ff. VII+48+III, 295x205 mm., mutilated). The 1430 version is known only in its Italian translations: see the text in Vernacular of the Marches in *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, cod. Ross. 704; and the in Venetian in Venezia, *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, cod. It. VI, 19 and in Milano, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, Y 72 sup. Other value manuscripts are: Firenze, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Cod. Pluteus 29.25; London, *British Library*, Ms. Arundel 93. See P. Lucchi, «Investigare la condizione et effecto delle isole»: il viaggio di Cristoforo Buondelmonti e la nascita dell'isolario «cum pictura», in *Navigare e descrivere. Isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia: XV-XVIII secolo*, a c. di C. Tonini e P. Lucchi, Catalogo dell'omonima mostra (Venezia, Museo Correr, 2001-2002), Marsilio, Venezia 2001, pp. 58-59.

110 See R. Weiss, *Un umanista antiquario — Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, in «Lettere Italiane», XVI (1964), pp. 105-116; R. Weiss, *Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 15 (1972), pp. 198-200; H. L. Turner, *Christopher Buondelmonti: Adventurer, Explorer and Cartographer*, in *Géographie du monde au Moyen-âge et à la Renaissance*, éd. M. Pelletier, Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Paris 1989, pp. 207-216; C. Barsanti, *Costantinopoli e l'Egeo nei primi decenni del XV secolo*:

Ciriaco Pizzecolli known as Cyriac of Ancona (1391-1452)¹¹¹, are very well known, along with the travels to Greece of Giovanni Aurispa (1376ca.-1459) in 1413-1414¹¹², of the Benedictine monk Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) in 1420-1427 (secretary of the Venetian *bailo* of Constantinople, married then Teodora the daughter of John Chrysoloras), of Guarino Veronese (1370ca-1460) in Constantinople (1403-1408) with Manuel Chrysoloras¹¹³.

This process — from Humanistic and Renaissance rediscovery of Ancient Greece as an unavoidable comparison — would have led to Neoclassic nostalgia, to Nietzschean mourning, as Paul Ricoeur would say¹¹⁴, to what Fernando Pessoa (1888-1934) wrote under the pseudonym of the neopagan philosopher António Mora, to Henry Miller's *The Colossus of Maroussi*¹¹⁵, to the deep epistemologic valence that Albert Camus and André Gide in different ways gave to the myth¹¹⁶, to Robert Rauschen-

la testimonianza di Cristoforo Buondelmonti, in «Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte», s. III, 56 (2001), pp. 83-253.

111 See *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio (Ancona, 6-9 febbraio 1992), a c. di G. Paci e S. Sconocchia, Edizioni Diabasis, Reggio Emilia 1998 (Progetto Adriatico, 2); and *Ciriaco d'Ancona e il suo tempo: viaggi, commerci e avventure fra sponde adriatiche, Egeo e Terra Santa*, Atti del convegno internazionale (Ancona, 13-14 marzo 2000), a c. di G. A. Possedoni, Centro studi Oriente Occidente d'Ancona, Edizioni Canonici, Ancona 2002. For the *Itinerarium* see the *Anastatica impressio* by Forni Editore, Bologna 1969, of *Kyriaci Anconitani Itinerarium*, nunc primum ex ms. cod. in lucem erutum ex bibl. illius clarissimique Baronis Philippi Stosch. Editionem recensuit, andimadversionibus, ac praefatione illustravit, nonnullisque ejusdem Kyriaci epistolis partim editis, partim ineditis locupletavit Laurentius Mehus, Florentiae, ex novo typographio Joannis Pauli Giovannelli ad insigne palmae, 1742, in-8°.

112 See *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa*, a c. di R. Sabbadini, Tipografia del Senato — Roma 1931 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall'Istituto storico italiano. Epistolari secolo XV, 70), rist. an. by Bottega d'Erasmus, Torino 1969; and A. Franceschini, *Giovanni Aurispa e la sua biblioteca: notizie e documenti*, Antenore, Padova 1976 (Medioevo e Umanesimo, 25). The manuscripts that he brought back from Greece (1413-1414) are today in Savona.

113 See *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, raccolto ordinato illustrato da R. Sabbadini, voll. I-II. *Testo*, vol. III. *Commento*, Venezia 1915 (I), 1916 (II), 1919 (III), (Miscellanea di Storia Veneta, Serie III, Tomi VIII, XI, XIV); rist. anast. by Bottega d'Erasmus, Torino 1967.

114 See P. Ricoeur, *Filosofia: verso l'antica Grecia, dalla nostalgia al lutto*, in G. Duby (a cura di), *Los ideales del Mediterráneo*, Corso di lezioni tenuto a Barcellona per l'*Institut Català de la Mediterrània d'Estudis i Cooperació (ICM)* e diretto da G. Duby nel 1991, ICM, Barcellona 1997; trad. it. *Gli ideali del Mediterraneo. Storia, filosofia e letteratura nella cultura europea*, Mesogea, Messina 2000 (La Grande, 4); le citazioni fanno riferimento alla paginazione della traduzione italiana, pp. 221-238.

115 See H. Miller, *The Colossus of Maroussi*, New Directions, New Haven 1941.

116 See A. Camus, *Le Mythe de Sisyphe*, Gallimard, Paris 1942; along with the *Introduzione* by V. Carofiglio to the Italian translation by E. Minervini of *Thésée*, 1946 (Casa Editrice Palomar, Bari 1996): «Pensare, dunque, sé e il mondo, la soggettività e l'attualità, attraverso l'universalità immaginaria del mito e della poesia, non fu solo un segno di distinzione intellettuale nella generazione di Gide, e nella



Plate 23. *Trophy III* (for Jean Tinguely)
by Robert Rauschenberg (1961)

Mixed Media (96 x 65 ¾ x 10 1/2 in.), The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, The Panza Collection © Robert Rauschenberg/Licensed by VAGA, New York. See the catalogue of the exhibition *Robert Rauschenberg: combines* [Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2005/2006; Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles 2006; Centre Pompidou, Paris 2006/2007], Steidl, Göttingen 2005.

berg [see **Plate #23**] *Trophy III* (for Jean Tinguely, 1961)¹¹⁷, and to the value attributed to the Ancient Greek heritage in our contemporary global challenge for human rights and environment, as pointed out by Jean-Pierre Vernant (1914-2007) in his last conference given in the lycée “Le Corbusier” of Aubervilliers, *dans*

la banlieue parisienne, on October, 23, 2006¹¹⁸.

This was the process, thanks to which, looking towards *Graecia*, in Humanistic Italy, the Early Medieval *Western and Latin* Christian idea of Greek classical antiquity came across the Greek texts saved by Byzantium. It is the historical and cultural process studied by Agostino Pertusi (1918-1979)¹¹⁹, who stressed on the elements of conti-

successiva, ma anche la via migliore per vedere e interpretare il mondo, quello delle idee e della storia».

117 Mixed Media (96 x 65 ¾ x 10 1/2 in.), The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, The Panza Collection © Robert Rauschenberg/Licensed by VAGA, New York. See the catalogue of the exhibition *Robert Rauschenberg: combines* [Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2005/2006; Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles 2006; Centre Pompidou, Paris 2006/2007], Steidl, Göttingen 2005. Jean Tinguely (1925-1991) is the Swiss painter and sculptor known for his metamechanics.

118 For a definition of the challenge see S. SASSEN, *Territory, Authority, Rights: from Medieval to Global Assemblages*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2007. For Vernat's last conference see C. Ossola, *L'Odissea nella «banlieue»*. *Ricordo di Jean Pierre Vernant*, in «Il Sole-24 Ore», Jan. 14, 2007, p. 31.

119 See first the collected studies A. Pertusi, *Saggi Veneto-Bizantini*, a c. di G. B. Parente e con un'introduzione di A. Carile, Firenze 1990 (Civiltà Veneziana. Saggi, 37), and *Bisanzio e i turchi nella cultura del Rinascimento e del barocco. Tre saggi di Agostino Pertusi*, a c. di C. M. Mazzucchi, Vita e Pensiero, Milano 2004 (Bibliotheca erudita, 25); then, A. Pertusi, *Bisanzio e l'irradiazione della sua civiltà in Occidente nell'Alto Medioevo*, in *Centri e vie di irradiazione della civiltà nell'Alto Medioevo*, Atti della XI Settimana di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (18-23 aprile 1963), CISAM, Spoleto 1964, pp. 75-133 and 159-226; and in Id., *L'irradiazione della cultura e della civiltà bizantina dopo il 1204 in Italia e nell'Europa occidentale*, in *Actes XV^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, Rapports et co-rapports IV/2. *Rayonnement de la culture et de la civilisation byzantine après 1204*, Athènes 1976, pp. 3-17 (a version with manuscript notes by A. Pertusi is in his former personal library now in Ravenna in the *Biblioteca della Facoltà di Conservazione dei Beni Culturali dell'Università di Bologna*, PER 1653); and, for a complete bibliography, see Agostino Pertusi (1918-1979). *Bibliografia*, in «Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi», III (1983), pp. XV-XXX. On this subject see also C. Toumanoff, *The Social Myth: Introduction to*

nuity in what he called “the irradiation of Byzantine culture and civilization in Western Europe”. Pertusi demonstrated the long lasting continuity of relations between Byzantium and the West, and the eminent role of Byzantium in the cultural process of western revival of Greek thought; and he did it in an academic milieu, which saw Europe just as a Carolingian creation, with no constructive relations with Orthodoxy and Islam. In this context has to be read his statement that the date of 1204 has not a historical meaning on the way of “Byzantine” West: the revival of Greek thought in twelfth and thirteenth centuries Europe (Italy, Spain, France, and England) had a tradition in those early medieval relations, which he presented in Spoleto in 1963 at the eleventh week of study on the Early Middle Age¹²⁰.

Byzantinism, Viella Editrice, Roma 1984; E. Concina, *Navis: l’umanesimo sul mare, 1470-1740*, Einaudi, Torino 1990 (Saggi, 738); S. Cosentino, *La percezione della storia bizantina nella medievistica italiana tra Ottocento e secondo dopoguerra: alcune testimonianze*, in «Studi Medievali», 3ª serie, XXXIX/II (1998), pp. 889-909; *Byzance en Europe*, sous la dir. de M.-F. Auzépy, Saint-Denis 2003; the contributions by L. Canfora and S. Ronchey to *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, 3. *Le culture circostanti*, I. *La cultura bizantina*, a c. di G. Cavallo, Roma 2004, pp. 635-690 (*La riscoperta dei bizantini*) and pp. 691-727 (*Bisanzio continuata*).

120 See PERTUSI, *L’irradiazione* (1976), op. cit., pp. 3-4, and, for twelfth century, pp. 16-17: «Il quadro vasto e complesso di questo movimento scientifico-filosofico occidentale che va dalla Siria latina all’Italia meridionale, dalla Spagna all’Italia settentrionale, da Parigi al Brabante e all’Inghilterra, durante il quale si sentì il bisogno di ritornare alle fonti greche del pensiero occidentale [perché l’Islam lo aveva già fatto con quel profitto che tanto si ammirava?], o per via diretta (traducendo direttamente dal greco), o per via indiretta (traducendo dalle versioni arabe), ci pone il problema delle origini, o delle cause di questa ventata di cultura laicizzante, che prelude, a sua volta, all’umanesimo prima solo latino, poi anche greco dei Petrarca e dei Boccaccio, di Barlaam e di Leonzio Pilato. Evidentemente ci fu alle soglie del sec. XII un ripensamento sulla tradizione di cultura medioevale, un po’ simile a quello che si era verificato già a Bisanzio tra la fine del sec. IX e l’inizio del sec. X. (Leone il Matematico, Fozio, Areta di Cesarea, ecc.) e continuato nel sec. XI (Michele Psello, Giovanni Italo), nel XII (Eustazio di Tessalonica, Niceforo Blemmida) e nel XIII-XIV (Massimo Planude, Tommaso Magistro, Demetrio e Nicola Triclinio, Manuele Moscopulo). Ma solo esteriormente ci sono punti di somiglianza, perché, a mio avviso, l’atteggiamento intellettuale dei bizantini diverge molto da quello degli Occidentali, e in ogni caso, il cosiddetto “umanesimo bizantino” ha carattere più letterario che filosofico-scientifico. D’altra parte è difficile pensare che la situazione politica abbia avuto un’influenza determinante sul movimento occidentale... Ma anche ammesso ciò rimane da spiegare la vastità del fenomeno e le cause che l’hanno determinato. Forse al fondo di esso c’è un atteggiamento di rivolta contro la cultura medioevale clericale e l’anelito verso una cultura svincolata, per quanto lo permettevano i tempi, dalle limitazioni imposte, per ragioni religiose, dalla Chiesa e, in ogni caso, il desiderio di verificare il fondamento di certi valori trasmessi e sostanzialmente accettati, fino a quel tempo, per tradizione». See also Ch. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 1927 (reprint New York 1964); K. M. Setton, *The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance*, in «Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society», 100/1 (1956), pp. 1-76; M. D. Chenu, *La théologie du douzième siècle*, Librairie Vrin, Paris 1976; R. Hiestand, *Il cronista medievale e il suo pubblico. Alcune osservazioni in margine alla storiografia delle crociate*, in *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell’Università di Napoli*, 27 (1984-1985), pp. 207-227; O. Von Simson, *The Gothic cathedral: origins of gothic architecture and the medieval concept of order*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1983³ (Bollingen series, 48); Ch. Wickham, *The Sense of the Past in Italian Communal Narratives*, in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, edited by P. Magdalino, The Hambledon Press, London

Thus Pertusi's work has not to be seen against the epoch making geopolitical role of the Fourth Crusade. It opened in fact a new phase in the relations between the West and Greece/*Graecia*. As Ch. Maltezou (1986, 2001, and 2005) emphasized, it was with the settlement of the Latins after the Fourth Crusade in the territories of the Byzantine province, primarily in Athens and in the Peloponnese, that «the European thought could link to the historical memory of Ancient Greece»¹²¹.

It is in the history of thirteenth and early fourteenth-century Latin Greece that one could look for tracks of the spiritual encounter/meeting of the Latins with *Graecia*. Those Latins who knew the twelfth-century “classical trilogy” (the anonymous *Roman de Thèbe*, the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Saint-Maure, and the *Roman d'Eneas*)¹²², and the *Roman d'Alexandre* by Albéric de Pisançon/Briançon¹²³, better than the Byzantine Orthodox world; with the significant even if rare cultural exceptions pointed out by Pertusi.

At this point — even if *Solaz nos faz antiquitas* (antiquity entertains us/gives us amusement) as Albéric de Pisançon writes at the beginning of his *Alexandre* — one could put to the sources the question if any Latin, touching by hand the places of the myth, felt any powerful emotion of deep feeling for Ancient Greece heritage, like those of Michael Choniates (metropolitan of Athens, 1182-1204) in Athens.

We may still enjoy [here in Attica] the same loveliness of the countryside, the temperate climate,

1992, pp. 173-189. This society was the same which brought to the conquest of Constantinople.

121 See Ch. A. Maltezou, *L'immagine della provincia bizantina presso gli Occidentali*, in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, IV (1984) [Bologna 1986], pp. 205-211; *Italia – Grecia: Temi e storiografie a confronto*, ed. Ch. Maltezou e G. Ortalli, Venezia 2001; and Ch. A. Maltezou, *The Greek version of the Fourth Crusade: from Niketas Choniates to the History of the Greek Nation*, in *Urbs Capta*, op. cit., pp. 151-159.

122 The 30.000 and more *langue d'oïl* verses of the *Trojan Romance* (written 1160 ca.) were a veritable *summa* of all what the western medieval culture (the *clerici*) knew about the ancient Greek world: mainly Ovid, Virgil, and Horace, but also Paul Orosius' works, Hyginus' *Fabulae*, the Thebaid by Statius, and a long series of encyclopedic treatises as the *Etymologiae* or *Origines* by Isidore of Seville, the *Eruditio didascalica* by Hugh of St. Victor, the *Imago mundi* by Honorius of Autun. See *Le Roman de Troie par Benoît de Saint-Maure*, publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus, par L. Constans, 6 voll., Société des Anciens Textes Français, Firmin Didot, Paris 1904-1912, *Introd.*, vol. VI, pp. 182-191; and Binduccio dello Scelto, *Storia di Troia*, a c. di G. Ricci, Fondazione Pietro Bembo / Ugo Guanda Editore in Parma 2004 [the edition of the Tuscan vernacular text of the codex Magliabechianus II.IV.45], *Introduzione*, pp. xi-xvi and xxiii-xxxiii. The Tuscan is based on a *langue d'oïl* prose version of the *Roman* composed at the end of the thirteenth century, probably in the Veneto region. For the role played by Venice and the Veneto as an intermediary between the French literary world and Italy during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries see *Volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento*, a c. di C. Segre, UTET, Torino 1964, p. 13, and G. Carlesso, *Le fonti francesi e la tradizione del “Libro Troiam” veneto*, in «Studi di Letteratura Francese», II (1969), pp. 274-288.

123 See *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre*, Vol. 3. *Version of Alexandre de Paris Text, Variants and Notes to Branch I*, éd. A. Foulet, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1949 (Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 38), t. 3, p. 37-60 [ms. Firenze, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Plutei, LXIV, 356, f. 115v-116r, XII; see E. Monaci, *Facsimili di antichi manoscritti*, Roma 1881-1892, pl. 12 et 13]. See also the forthcoming edition with Italian translation and commentary, in the *Fondazione Valla* series of the Italian editor Mondadori.

the fruit-raising, the fertile land, Hymettus rich in honey, the calm Piraeus, Eleusis of the mysteries, the horse-ridden plain of the Marathonian warriors, the same Acropolis, too, where I sit now, as I write, and seem to bestride the very peak of heaven ...¹²⁴.

On this question I will take some conclusions.

Conclusions

History is uniquely important in forcing the reader to look beyond the course of events and to see the decisive role that the choice of values plays in human development (F. Gilbert)¹²⁵.

Minding the substance, the picture given by the introductory words of Peter Schreiner at the international colloquium *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (Byzantium, Venice and the Frankish-Greek world)* held in Venice in 2000 on the centenary of father Loenertz birth (1900-1976) is still actual:

Loenertz, even if he never taught in any University, «had gathered around him, after the ancient or also Byzantine manner, young scholars who attended his lessons in the monasteries of Rome, Venice, Scheyern, and at last of Paris too. They wanted to learn from him what in any University was taught: the knowledge of the Greek-Latin Orient after the Fourth Crusade».

But how strong is the absolute supremacy of Classics was involuntarily taught to his disciples by the same Loenertz too, as can be very well noticed in the personal memories brought by Chryssa Maltezou to the same colloquium:

While Greece of his interests of researcher was the Medieval one, when our conversation turned to the Greek things in general, he himself, paradoxically, always turned to Ancient Greece and not to Medieval ... I think that the choice was not accidental, but on the contrary fully conscious. Notwithstanding he would have spent his life studying aspects of the last Byzantine period and of Greek-Latin Orient cultural history, father Loenertz saw Greece with the eyes of the learned European, who was fed, since school years, on classical culture. For the wise researcher Greece always preserved his classical breeze.

The Byzantinist Agostino Pertusi's academic career followed the same river. In 1941 he graduated with Raffaele Cantarella, a Greek scholar for antonomasia. Since 1955 he taught Byzantine Philology and in 1973 he moved his full professor position to

124 See *Μιχαήλ Ακομινάτου του Χωνιάτου τα σωζόμενα*, υπό Σπ. Π. Λάμπρου, 2 vols., ed. by Spyridon P. Lampros], Athens 1879-1880, *Ep.* 8 [to his friend Michael Autoreianos, in after years the patriarch of the Nicene empire in exile], 3 (vol. II, p. 12, ll. 7-18). The translation (ll. 7-14) is by K.M. Setton, *The archaeology of medieval Athens*, in *Essays in Medieval life and thought*, presented in honor of Austin Patterson Evans, Columbia University Press, New York 1955, p. 258.

125 See F. Gilbert, *History: Politics or Culture? Reflections on Ranke and Burckhardt*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1990, in G. Scatasta's Italian translation F. Gilbert, *Storia: politica o cultura? Riflessioni su Ranke e Burckhardt*, Il Mulino, Bologna 1993 (Universale Paperbacks, 275), p. 93.

the more prestigious chair of Greek Literature.

Still today Italian universities leave the history of *Europe and Graecia/Greece after the Fourth Crusade* to the sensibility of the professors of *Byzantine Civilization*, an academic discipline mainly philological and literary. The Italian academic system (see *Decreto Ministeriale* Oct. 4, 2000, published in *Gazzetta Ufficiale* on Oct. 24, n. 249 — *Supplemento Ordinario* n. 175) does not provide for *Byzantine history* among the *Historical Sciences* (Area 11) but has only *Byzantine Civilization* among the *Sciences of Antiquity, philological-literary and historical-artistic* (Area 10). More recent university regulations for the three years courses on *Cultural Heritage* (i.e. the historical memory of our identity) list among the compulsory subjects all the historical disciplines (from Prehistory of Africa to Contemporary Far-East history), but *Byzantine history* is absent. It is true that there is *Medieval history* but — as two eminent Italian medievalists, S. Boesch and R. Bordone, recently declared — this discipline cannot have among its subjects either the study of the presence of the Italian medieval Communes in the Eastern Mediterranean or the study of the Greek-Latin statual institutions born after the Fourth Crusade in already Byzantine territories.

All things considered, there are excellent research achievements but no imaginary on *Europe and Graecia/Greece after the Fourth Crusade*. By the way it was there that Europe met *Graecia* and chose a certain idea of Greece as head-stone to rebuild its past, to think at it and to reuse it in contemporary politics. It is a cultural aporia in public reception of historical research, and the cause is not simply *mauvaise conscience*. The need of historical answers is evident in any vintage picture of Athens' Acropolis taken in the second half of the twentieth century [see Plate #24]. The subject is not a new kind of *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* on what is worth or unworth to be preserved of our cultural heritage. What's done is done. The subject here is much more important. It hangs on what is worth or unworth to be taught in our Universities, to whom who will be asked



Plate 24. *Souvenir of Athens* by Anonymous (1972)
Color Print (9 x 11,5 cm.), Private Collection, Italy.

to take public decisions on compatibility between development and preservation, to whom who could explain away and defend the reasons of local histories in architectural and landscape memories of our future global societies. At the end, in order to teach

how to take decisions, it could be useful to show when, how, and why main decisions have been taken in the building of our present globalized mentality: maybe it is not by chance that the cover illustration of David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* published in 1985 is a detail of C. J. G. Perlberg's painting *Fête by the Olympeium* (1838, Athens, National Historical Museum).

But, my dear friend Sergei, as Rudyard Kipling would say, it is another (hi)story¹²⁶.

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¹²⁶ This paper aims to open a discussion, which wants to become a cultural project both for research and teaching. For further developments see the on-line resources in <http://www.selectedlibrary.com>.

Тесей и Четвертый крестовый поход: наброски к историческому исследованию культурного феномена

Историографическая рефлексия на IV крестовый поход (1198–1204) и на ту роль, которую он сыграл в становлении восточно-средиземноморской геополитики в последующие столетия, остается с 1204 г. и по сегодня не завершенной и продолжающейся историей. Вопреки постоянно изменяющимся подходам в реапроприации прошлого, которым следуют историки разных времен и школ, сами по себе хорошо известные социальные реальности греко-латино-тюркских государственных институтов, развивавшихся на византийских территориях с XIII в. и позже, как представляется, никогда так и не были включены в средневековый и ново-европейский культурный опыт.

Для того, чтобы наметить силуэт исторического исследования этой культурологической проблемы на фоне, с одной стороны, многовековых историографических разработок, и полного к ней безразличия прежде — с другой, я предпочел из множества запутанных нитей, переплетенных в истории/повести «Европа и Греция после IV крестового похода», избрать Тесея, как *методологическую нить* в историческом анализе комплекса европейских представлений об Афинском герцогстве. Предварительные заключения этого исследования проверялись как экспериментальная гипотеза одновременно на венецианской географии Греции, как она представлена на картах, а также и на памятниках средневекового латинского наследия Афин.

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