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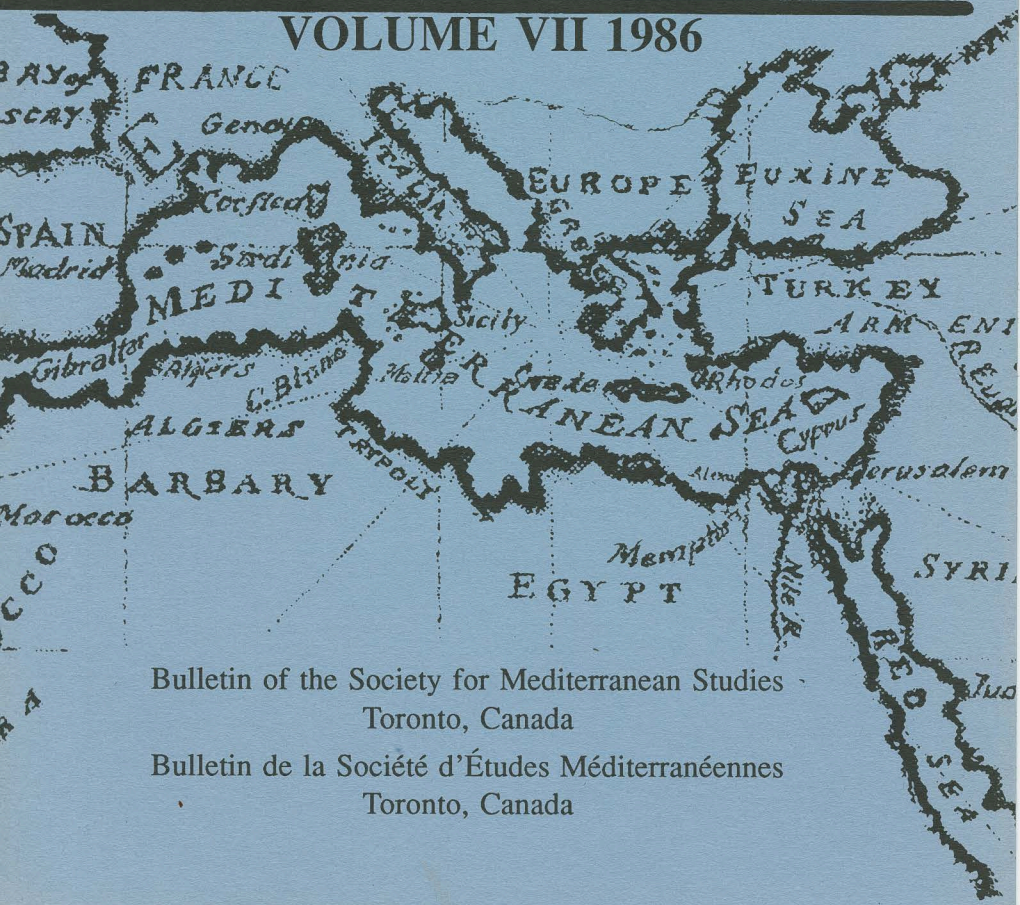

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Frederick Gerson

Bayle: Dante et le boucher Hughes Capet

Dans son *Dictionnaire Historique et critique*[1] Pierre Bayle consacre sept pages à Dante, ainsi qu'un petit article à Hughes Capet, bête noire du poète florentin. Bien que Bayle se penche sur des considérations d'ordre bibliographique et vise essentiellement à réfuter des inexactitudes de Moréri, il résume la vie tumultueuse de Dante en quelques lignes, quitte ensuite à l'étoffer par de nombreux commentaires afin de saper l'orthodoxie suggérée. Néanmoins, même si la méthode de Bayle vise à dégager les contradictions historiques allant à l'encontre de la raison, elle nous engage aussi à lire entre les lignes. Nous nous proposons d'examiner certaines réflexions de Bayle sur Dante afin de mieux apprécier pourquoi un penseur qui avait déjà un pied dans le milieu encyclopédiste n'a point dédaigné le Moyen-Age et de dégager ce qui l'avait poussé à utiliser Dante à des fins personnelles.

Bayle résume ainsi les hauts et les bas de l'engagement politique de Dante: le poète joua un rôle politique à Florence, qui le chargea de mission diplomatique. En qualité de prieur, il prit parti pour les "guelfes" et fut exilé par les "gibelins." Le climat politique à Florence étant très houleux, le pape Boniface VIII y envoya Charles de Valois en 1301 pour imposer l'order. La façon la plus efficace de le rétablir fut de chasser les "guelfes." Bayle signale avoir dit ailleurs que cela fut la cause du mensonge ridicule que Dante débite sur l'extraction de Hughes Capet.[2]

Notre communication se limitera strictement à la haine que Dante voua à Hughes Capet, haine dont la cause principale remonte à l'intervention de Charles de Valois, frère de Philippe-le-Bel, dans la querelle de Florence. Force m'est d'avouer être conscient du risque que d'augustes érudits de Dante puissent se truver parmi nous et que je ne saurais avoir la témérité de m'aventurer sur l'épineux terrain qu'est la vie de l'auteur de *La Divine Comédie*. Je préfère avoir recours à Bayle qui, citant un bref d'Innocent XI aux évèques des

Pays-Bas daté du 6 février 1694, disait:[3]

Apprenons de là qu'un auteur, qui veut éviter que les siècles à venir n'interprètent de plusieurs façons contraires ce qu'il a dit, souhaite une chose presque impossible. Si l'on prévoyait les controverses qui s'élèveront dans trois ou quatre cents ans, on s'experimerait d'une manière plus précise; mais je ne sais si les langues forniraient autant de termes qu'il en faudrait pour ôter les équivoques, et pour obvier aux chicanes.
Et:
Prenez garde à une chose, c'est que Dante fournit des preuves, et à ceux qui disent qu'il était bon catholique, et à ceux qui disent qu'il ne l'était pas.

Il est significatif que non seulement Bayle insiste dans son article sur Dante sur les ingérences de la royauté française dans les affaires intestines de la ville de Florence et sur l'origine quelque peu "dégradante" de Hughes Capet, mais il invite aussi le lecteur à consulter l'article du quatrième tome sur Hughes Capet. Dans ce dernier, il signale que Dante débita un mensonge ridicule lorsqu'il prétendit que le père de Hughes Capet était boucher. Dante aurait été poussé à émettre cette allégation afin de se venger du traitement qu'il avait reçu du prince de Valois, issu des capétiens. Bayle estime que puisque le pape Bonfiace VIII avait intrigué avec ce Charles de Valois, frère de Philippe-le-Bel, pour proscrire Dante et le démunir de ses biens, Dante se vengea de sa plume et vilipenda les rois de France en les calomniant du côté de l'extraction. Dante fait avouer à Hughes Capet qu'il est fils de boucher, *figliul fui d'un beccai du Parigi*, (*Purgatoire*, chant XX) et qu'il reconnaît être la racine d'une plante qui fit beaucoup de mal à la chrétienté:

I fui radice de la mala pianta,
Che la terra christiana tutta aduggia
Si che buon frutto rado se ne schianta.

La racine je fus de la mauvaise plante,
Qui fait ombre nuisible au terroir chrétiens,
Si que fort rarement bon fruit elle présente.

Dante devait avoir connaissance du ragot qui courait en France et qui faisait de Hughes Capet le petit-fils d'un boucher riche, mais néanmoins boucher. Henri Longnon, dans ses commentaires, signale qu'une chanson de geste avait été composée vers 1314 sur *Hughes Capet*. Cette légende s'oublia vite en France, si bien que François Ier s'étant fait lire *La Divine Comédie*, sur le conseil de sa soeur

Marguerite, quand il entendit ce passage, arrêta net le lecteur: "Le méchant poète, dit-il, qui honnit ma Maison."[4] Et Bayle de poursuivre sa prétendue enquête sur les antécédents de notre capétien en ayant recours à Balthasar Grangier, chanoine de Paris, qui, dédiant à Henri IV la traduction qu'il avait faite en vers français de *La Divine Comédie*, dit à son monarque qu'il ne faut prendre à la lettre le mot de boucher:

> Car, Dante qui, durant son exil, fut longtemps en cette ville de Paris, n'a pas ignoré notre façon de parler. Quand un prince est un peu rigoureux à faire faire justice de plusieurs malfaiteurs, nous disons qu'il en fait une grande boucherie; et ainsi notre dit poète appelle Hughes-le-Grane, comte de Paris, père du susdit Hughes Capet, grand justicier de son temps des gentilshommes et autres malfaiteurs et rebelles, boucher de Paris. . . [5]

L'auteur du *Dictionnaire* constate que cette explication est par trop ridicule et nous soumet une conjecture avancée par Pasquier[6] qui, afin d'excuser Dante, affirmait que sous ce nom de "boucher," Dante voulait dire que Capet était fils d'un vaillant guerrier. Toujours selon Pasquier, un certain Olivier de Clisson était ordinairement nommé "boucher" par les hommes d'armes français, parce que de tous les Anglais qui lui tombaient entre les mains, il ne faisait grâce à aucun et les faisait tous passer au fil de l'épée. Ceci dit, Bayle précise, en passant, mais la remarque n'est point gratuite, que "ceux de la religion appelaient boucher François de Lorraine, duc de Guise." Mais laissons l'article sur Capet pour revenir à l'article concernant Dante. Les remarques sur Hughes Capet continuent de ternir la réputation de la dynastie, mais le poète inclut dans son indignation la ville de Florence, en la comparant à une retraite de brigands et à une fille de prostituée: elle mettait toutes les charges publiques en vente, changeait constamment de magistrats, de monnaie et de coutumes pour supporter avec moins de peines les incommodités de son gouvernement:

> à Dieu tant plus est chère, et tant plus agréable
> Ma veuve, que beaucoup au monde j'ay aymé.
> que plus eule à bien faire elle est par trop louable.
> Pour ce que le pays de Sardaigne estimé
> Barbare, est bien plus chaste en ce qui est des femmes
> Que là où je la laisse au milieu des infâmes,
> O frère bon et doux, que veux-tu que je dye?
> Déjà le temps futur m'est au-devant des yeux,

Qui suivra non de loing l'heure qui nous manie.
Lors l'on interdira pour adviser au mieux
En la chaire publicque aux dames florentines
De monstrer leurs tétins et leurs molles poitrines.[7]

(Dante, *Chant* XXIII, du *Purgatoire*)

Bayle rapporte la paraphrase du traducteur Grangier:

Le temps viendra bientôt, que l'ire de Dieu se débondera d'une telle façon au grand malheur de la république de Florence, pour les impudicités et vilainies des dames Florentines, que, si l'on veut apaiser son ire, les prédicateurs seront contraints de défendre publiquement qu'elles ne portent plus leurs gorges et poitrines ouvertes. C'est ce qu'il veut dire, *Nel qual sarà in Pergamo* (il nomme ainsi la chaire de vérité) *interdetto a le sfaciate donne Fiorentine*, proprement eshontées, l'*andar monstrando con le poppe il petto*, c'est-à-dire d'aller par la ville la gorge découverte pour montrer leurs grosses mamelles et l'estomac relevé.[8]

Bien que Bayle se contente de citer Dante traduit et commenté par Grangier, on décèle chez le critique une malice qui ne manque pas de piquant. Bayle en dépit de sa formation protestante, apprécie la tournure grivoise. Nous sommes loin de l'austérité de ses coreligionnaires écossais et du zwinglianisme helvétique.

Après s'être complu à ternir l'image de la royauté française en ouvrant le dossier sur la "boucherie," Bayle prend comme cible le Vatican quand il prétend démêler les raisons qui poussèrent Dante à dénoncer les ingérences de Rome dans les querelles intestines et temporelles de Florence. Il déclare que dans *La Comédie de l'enfer, du purgatoire et du paradis*, sont contenues "certaines choses qui ne plaisent point aux amis des papes, et qui semblent signifier que Rome est le siège de l'antéchrist. *Un autre livre de Dante à fort déplu à la cour de Rome . . . et l'a fait passer pour hérétique.*[9] Il y soutient que l'autorité des empereurs ne doit point dépendre de celle des papes. Voilà son hérésie."[10] Le fait que Bayle ait recours à de doctes théologiens et critiques tels que Paul Jove, M. Brulart, Papyre Masson, révèle que non seulement il aimait rendre la question sur les ingérences du Vatican plus complexes que jamais, mais encore qu'il ne s'était pas tenu au-dessus de la mêlée et qu'il était disposé lui aussi à vouloir restreindre l'influence de l'Eglise au niveau politique:

Il fit un traité intitulé *Monarchie* où il prouve que le pape n'est point au-dessus de l'empereur, et n'a aucun droit sur l'empire; directement contre la

Clémentine *pastoralis*, qui prétend l'un et l'autre, en vient mesme jusqu'à dire en son Purgatoire:[11]

Di' hoggi mai che la Chiesa di Roma
Per confonder in se due reggimenti
Cade nel fango et se bruta et la soma.

Di maintenant que l'église de Rome
Qui fond en un les deux gourvernemens,
Tombe en la fange, et se gaste, et la somme.[12]

Et Du Plessis Mornai de souligner que dans son poème du *Paradis*, Dante se plainte que le pape, de pasteur, est devenu loup et à fait dévorer les brebis:

En un autre lieu, que c'est chose indigne, que l'escriture divine soit du tout mise en arriere, ou vienlentée ou torse; qu'on ne considère point combien de sang elle à cousté à semer au monde; combien elle est agréable à qui s'en accoste avec humilité; qu'aucontraire, chacun tasche à se faire valoir par ses inventions, et l'Evangile se taist; les questions vaines, les fables retentissent sur las chaire toute l'année, et s'en retournent les povres brebis repue du vent; et plusieurs autres lieux s'en pourraient tirer contre les pardons et indulgences du pape, et autres abus de l'eglise romaine, qu'il nous dépeint de sorte qu'il est aisé de voir qu'il avait bien remarqué la paillarde de l'Apocalypse.[13]

Bayle cite encore Rivet qui exhorte le lecteur à prendre garde à ces vers de Dante:[14]

Di voi pastor saccorse l'Uvangelista,
Quando colei chi siede sopra l'acque
Puttaneggiar choi regi à lui fu vista
Quella che con le sette teste nacque
E da le dicci corna hebbe argumento
Fin che virtute al suo marito piacque.

Canto XIX del Inferno.

Là, certes Rivet reconnaît que saint Jean, au XVIIe livre de l'Apocalyspe à parlé du pape, sous le nom de "la paillarde assise sur les eaux" et de "la bête à sept têtes et dix cournes." Il n'y à personne, poursuit Rivet, qui ne nie que ces choses en elles-mêmes ne soient recommandables en toute église. Mais si elles sont usurpées par un tyran, rien n'empêche qu'on le décrive tel qu'il est.

Lorsque Bayle choissit de se pencher sur les remarques de Dante au sujet du grand méchant loup qui dévore les agneaux, on consta-

tera que le critique était lui aussi quelque peu impliqué, puisque ce genre de métaphore ne lui était guère inconnu. On rapprochera les allusions de Dante à la citation tirée de Bayle:

> Peu s'en faut que dans les transports de mon indignation à la vue du triste état où vous avez réduit la qualité de Chrétien, je me suive d'exemper d'Avverões qui s'écria: "que mon âme soit avec celle des philosophes, vu que les chrétiens adorent ce qu'ils mangent"; et moi j'y ajoute: vue qu'ils se mangent les uns les autres, comme les loups et les brebis.[15]

Bayle nous brosse un tableau inspiré d'une jungle où la raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure, un tableau où le scepticisme cotoie un pessimisme proche de celui de Hobbes. Bayle l'exilé des Pays-Bas s'est identifié au proscrit Dante. Dante, à tort ou à raison, à dénoncé les méfaits du pape et la traîtrise du roi de France. D'une part, Bayle prend pour cible l'Eglise qui s'est ingérée dans le domaine temporel, et de l'autre, il ne perd pas de vue que le roi à failli à son rôle en se prêtant aux machinations ecclésiastiques. Lorsque Bayle s'éternise sur le stigmate de "boucher" et feint d'en faire une mise au point, en vérité il se complait à suivre la trace de Dante et à éclabousser la réputation du roi. Ceci dit, l'épithète de "boucher" doit être interprêtée à la lumière des points de repères du Grand Siècle. Quand Bayle prit le chemin de l'exil ce fut après avoir été témoin et victime de la politique du Roi Soleil à l'égard des Huguenots: révolte des Camisards du Languedoc et des Cévennes, dragonnades de 1681 à 1685, Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes en 1685, et du décès de son frère en prison et de la dispersion de la famille.

Bayle demeurait cependant bien disposé à l'égard de la monarchie française. En fidèle disciple de Hobbes, il estimait que l'obéissance à la personne du roi était un moindre mal; ou, pour reprendre la thèse d'Elizabeth Labrousse,[16] que d'autres régimes politiques présentaient de plus grands inconvénients que la monarchie absolue. En dépit de sa formation pyrrhonien, Bayle n'avait jamais douté de l'efficacité du pouvoir absolu. Tel qu'un personnage racinien jetant le blâme sur le conseiller du roi perfide et machiavélique, mais n'osant s'en prendre au monarque, Bayle vise l'ancêtre d'un monarque dépourvu de scrupules par le truchement de Dante, sans jamais toutefois porter atteinte à l'existence du système absolu ni la remettre en question. Somme toute, si l'Edite de Nantes avait pour de bonnes raisons été promulgué par Henri IV en 1598, Louis XIV pourra le révoquer un siècle

plus tard. Bien que la postérité ait loué le premier de sa décision et dénoncé l'autre, les deux monarque imposèrent leur volonté de manière arbitraire: tout système gouvernemental qui repose soit sur la bonne volonté, soit sur la méchange humeur d'un dirigeant, doit forcément aller à l'encontre d'un équilibre gouvernemental judicieux. De la même façon que le descendant des Capétiens, Philippe-le-Bel, avait envoyé Charles de Valois pour collaborer avec Boniface VIII et avait renoncé à son rôle historique, Louis XIV suivait un cheminement analogue avec la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes.

Bayle, au moyen d'une étude sur l'auteur de *La Divine Comédie* à actualisé des événements précis de la guerre civile à Florence avec l'intention de critiquer de manière oblique un monarque qui faillit au rôle que sa fonction lui imposait. Si Bayle, tout en faisant semblant de demeurer sceptique à l'égard des allégations de Dante lui est bien disposé, c'est qu'il estime néanmoins que la royauté demeure l'unique garant de l'autorité civile face à l'Eglise. A une époque où la question de la laïcité ne se posait pas, une centralisation administrative efficace lui semblait la seule solution pour préserver un climat de tolérance. En plus, malgré un certain esprit frondeur, il était cependant marqué et influencé par la centralisation; il visait un monarque dont la fonction était synonyme de l'arbitraire: les Protestants ayant pris le chemin de l'exil ou ayant jugé bon de se convertir, la France devenait "Protestantenrein" et l'Edit de Nantes tombait en désuétude. Nul ne pouvait prévoir que ce genre de raisonnement portait déjà une conception proto-totalitaire.

Le lecteur retiendra que Bayle est parvenu à éclabousser la dynastie des Bourbons de la même façon que Dante avait terni celle des Capétiens et que ses citations et commentaires eurent le mérite d'actualiser des faits précis. Bayle s'est intéressé à Dante et à eu la perspicacité de le remettre à l'honneur à un moment de l'histoire où la réputation de ce dernier était quelque peu tombée dans l'oubli. Tout en admirant le tour de force intellectuel d'un critique dont la pensée philosophique annonçait le mouvement encyclopédique, il est difficile néanmoins d'admettre sa notion paradoxale d'une monarchie absolue en tant que moindre mal et à la fois seule garantie contre l'abus.

NOTES

1 *Dictionnaire Historique et critique.* Nouvelle édition, augmentée de notes de Chaufepié, Joly, La Monnaie, L.-J. Leclerc, Leduchat, Prosper Marchand, etc., etc., Tome cinquième, Paris, Desoer, 1820.
2 *Ibid.*, tome quatrième, page 398.
3 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 380.
4 Dante, *La Divine Comédie*, traduction, préface, notes et commentaires, par Henri Longnon, Editions Garnier Frères, Paris, page 600.
5 *Opus. cit*, Volume 5, Recherches, livre VI, chap. i, page 399.
6 *Ibid.*, Volume 5, 399.
7 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, page 375 (traduction de Grangier).
8 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, *Commentaires sur le Purgatoire de Dante*, p. 404
9 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 371.
10 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 374, Volaterranus, *Comment. Urban.*, lib. XXI, p. 771.
11 *Ibid.*, page 348.
12 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, page 378, Du Plessis Mornai, *Mystère d'Iniquité*, page 419-20.
13 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, page 379; Dante *Paradiso*, c.9 et 29; et *Purgatorio*, c. 32. Tel qui cité par Bayle.
14 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, page 379, *Remarques sur la Réponse au Mystère d'iniquité*, IIe part, page 494 et suiv.
15 Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique sous le règne de Louis le Grand* (mars 1686).
16 *Pierre Bayle et l'instrument critique*, ed., Seghers, Paris 1965.

Domenico Pietropaolo

The Institutionalisation of Scientific Thinking in the Tuscany of the Last Medici

It has become customary in general accounts of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany during the first three decades or so of the eighteenth century, which correspond to the last years of the long Medici dynasty, to speak a little disparagingly—and even with a touch of irony—of its institutional culture, portraying its chief representatives as being either absorbed in the self-complacent protocol of the court or else intent on dispensing ultimately insignificant erudition at the podium, where only rarely is the audience treated to a flash or two of actual brilliance. To the extent such general statements are acceptable without being universally binding, this is perhaps a sufficiently reasonable, if definitely uncharitable, appraisal of the situation. Certainly if we attempt to define its parameters geographically, we soon enough come across men like Giambattista Vico in the Vice-kingdom of Naples, Antonio Conti and Antonio Vallisnieri in the Republic of Venice, and Ludovico Antonio Muratori in the Duchy of Modena, and the comparison cannot possibly be favourable to the Tuscan literati. If we instead approach the question historically within the Grand Duchy itself, we immediately encounter the luminaries of the Accademia del Cimento (1657–1667), namely Giovanni Alfonso Borelli, Francesco Redi and Vincenzo Viviani, all of whom were dead by 1703, and we are forced to admit that their successors' contribution to world knowledge was not of an overwhelming magnitude. It would seem indeed, as Cochrane put it, that at the beginning of the eighteenth century Tuscan science went into temporary hibernation.[1]

There is a sense, however, in which the customary appraisal of the early Tuscan *Settecento* is not acceptable, and it concerns the possible consideration of its scholarly society as a more or less intelligent group of cultural consumers and transmitters—working within the limits of the academic establishments—rather than rival producers

of a body of doctrines hopelessly incomparable to the ones inherited from the Cimento. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the institutional order of Tuscan culture at this time, paying particular attention to the manner in which it received and used the teachings handed down as the Cimento legacy, and to appraise at the same time the efficacity of its creative institutionalisation of the principal thought-forms of that tradition in other fields of knowledge. Reception or *receptio*, as it is technically known by its Latin name, is a composite idea which includes the appropriation, utilisation and application of principles derived from a source of acknowledged epistemological validity and intellectual superiority as well as institutional legitimacy, and it is a historiographic category that can enable us to understand the natural end point of a historical process—such as the dissolution of an academy or the death of a productive man of genius—as the actual beginning of a new tradition, in which the achievements of the past, frequently attained through the heroic and prolonged efforts of the country's best minds, now figure as the basic conceptual apparatus of freshmen and inexperienced novices working in a variety of areas.[2]

It follows from all of this that in tracing the institutional reception of the philosophical attitude and general mode of thinking of the Accademia del Cimento, especially as it survived its dissolution in the work of Francesco Redi, who had been one of its leading members and who—by reason of his closeness to Cosimo III—enjoyed for several decades a position of great power in the academic establishments of the Grand Duchy,[3] it is necessary to look for signs of its presence also in fields generally regarded as conceptually and methodologically distant from experimental science. The underlying assumption here is that the similarity among the arts and sciences in an institutionally cohesive setting—such as that of the Grand Duchy—is not accidental, and that research carried out by the same men simultaneously in several fields is bound to be conditioned by the models basic to the one field that enjoys institutional prominence over the others, which is itself an official recognition of its primacy as gauged in terms of relative financial support from the authorities. It is an assumption that privileges the general mode of thinking of an age, with the proviso that this must always be properly interpreted to take into account its dependence on the institutional life of a given culture

within an area and a period of political and ideological homogeneity.

This means, for instance, that where the chief field of activity, sanctioned by the government and favoured by a flourishing profession, is jurisprudence, as it clearly is in early eighteenth century Naples, then research in other areas of the curriculum is bound to bear the trademark of this discipline, as is in fact exemplified by the aesthetics of Gianvincenzo Gravina, whose conceptual and explanatory categories in the theory of poetry are actually derived from the systematic exposition of Roman law.[4] Where, on the other hand, the dominant field is, or has been till very recently, what may be loosely called experimental science, then the thought-forms and explanatory techniques as well as the standards of professional rigour of the local scientific tradition are very likely to condition the character, and to orientate the procedures, of most efforts at progress in adjacent fields. My claim is that this is precisely what happened in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany during the last years of Medici rule.

That this should be so may come as a surprise to those who are accustomed to consider the history of science in isolation from other fields of study, for in the Grand Duchy of the last Medici there were no societies devoted to the examination of purely scientific problems, except, perhaps, the society of the physiocrats of Siena, which was altogether insignificant on account of its locally restricted scope. Indeed this was true of Italy as a whole, which throughout the first half of the eighteenth century could not claim any scientific academies to carry on the work of the great societies of the previous century, notably the Investiganti in Naples, the Lincei in Rome and the Cimento in Florence. None of these, it may seem, had left any legacy worthy of discussion to the eighteenth century, nor indeed to the last decades of the seventeeth. Middleton, correctly and with a touch of elegance, refers to the Accademia del Cimento after its dissolution in 1667 as the "dead academy," permanently in the past and now alive only in the nostalgic dreams of its secretary Lorenzo Magalotti.[5]

It would be, however, a serious error in method to isolate the strictly scientific work of men like Francesco Redi and his disciples, contextualising it only in the history of science and showing indifference to its points of contact with other areas of inquiry, on the assumption that the evolution of science proceeds in accordance with

its own internal laws of development. For what *we* call science, in the Grand Duchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had neither the conceptual nor the institutional autonomy of later times. In this context it is worth recalling that the motto of the Accademia del Cimento, "provando e riprovando," is a quotation from Dante's *Divine Comedy*,[6] and that while completing his studies on vipers and human parasites as well as on spontaneous generation, Francesco Redi was, among other things, a highly esteemed professor of Tuscan poetry at the University of Florence. On the frontispieces of his scientific works he proudly identified himself as a member of the Accademia della Crusca, which had been constituted principally to promote the study and status of the Tuscan language, and he literally filled his laboratory reports with quotations from Dante and from other ancient Italian, Latin and Greek poets. Later, his disciple Lorenzo Bellini presented his studies on anatomy as a series of lectures before the same academy, while his and Vincenzo Viviani's other disciple and friend Anton Maria Salvini, discussed earthquakes, the tobacco leaf and humoral psychology before the Accademia degli Apatisti, which was especially devoted, as was Salvini himself, to the cultivation of eloquence and poetry.[7] This was more or less the situation in all of Tuscany until the last years of Giangastone, the last Medici Grand Duke, who in 1733 finally authorised a series of radical reforms in the University of Pisa.[8] The knowledge pursued by the scholars of Redi's and of the following generation was thought to possess encyclopaedic unity and to require institutional cohesiveness. Redi, recalled his earliest biographer and younger contemporary Salvino Salvini, who was then president of the University of Florence, was regarded as being skilled in "universal letteratura,"[9] which distinction (we may add) his real and his ideal disciples now strove in his wake to attain for themselves within the institutional framework of the Grand Duchy, concentrating in one or two areas without ever neglecting the others. In all such cases, science is not an autonomous activity but only one aspect—formally separable from the others without being practically so—of what the scholars of the time simply called *scientia*, unified in theory and largely uncompartmentalised in practice.

It is at the level of the thought-forms proper to such encyclopaedic *scientia* that the institutional reception of Francesco Redi and the Accademia del Cimento is more clearly visible in the eighteenth century.

The most important teaching that he and his fellow academicians imparted to the scholars of the following generation was a lesson in scientifically rigorous thinking, which then meant empirically based inferential thinking with self-evident guarantees of validity, the kind of thinking alluded to in the academy's Dantesque motto "provando e riprovando." While the exact meaning that this quotation had for each member of the academy may be difficult to determine, there is no ambivalence in the perception that Francesco Redi had of it and later transmitted to his students and readers. In the opening line of his *Osservazioni intorno alle vipere* (1664), his paraphrase of the famous motto as "iterata e reiterata esperienza" leaves no doubt that for Redi repeated experimentation, or the collection and analysis of various sets of data, constitutes a modern scientist's claim to methodological superiority.[10] That empirical observation was the way of scientific progress had been—in the common perception—the legacy of Galileo, but that all single experiments should be treated with scepticism unless sufficiently repeated to allow a reliable comparative study of the data was Redi's special contribution to the development of rigour and to the concept of method in the Tuscany of his period. The reception of this thought-form in eighteenth-century *scientia* was efficacious, in so far as the methodological principle that it represented was accepted as a criterion of scientific and scholarly competence, and active, in so far as it was not simply taken as an established truth incapable of further elaboration but regarded as a principle of creative reflection.

Its most important—but certainly not its only—fruit was the creation of the science of textual philology, the first principles of which were slowly and systematically formulated in Tuscany by the scholars of the post-Redi generation, all working within the official institutional framework of Tuscan culture. Prior to this time in Tuscany, and even at this time elsewhere in Italy, the works of ancient authors were published in the text of famous past editions, on the assumption that the acceptance of the authority of tradition was preferable to the arrogance of its self-proclaimed correctors. The first step in the right direction, analogous to the natural philosopher's privileging of direct observation in opposition to traditional accounts, was the utilisation of a manuscript rather than an older printed source as the basis of the new edition. The second step, due indirectly to the philosophical

anti-authoritarianism and working scepticism inspired by all of the Cimento and directly to Redi's teaching, was the recognition of the need to unearth as many manuscripts of a work as possible, to develop reliable techniques for their collation, and hence to establish rigorous criteria for the identification and emendation of the errors transmitted by the editorial tradition. The chief contributors to the development of this new science—in which the mode of thinking that calls for the collection and collation of the manuscripts is the same as that which in the biological sciences calls for repeated experimentation and comparative analysis of the data—were: Anton Maria Salvini, senior professor of Greek at the University of Florence and Cosimo III's permanent auditor in the Accademia degli Apatisti; Anton Maria Biscioni, a custodian of the Grand Duchy's magnificent Laurentian library and an archivist of the first calibre; Rosso Antonio Martini, sometime secretary of the Accademia della Crusca; Giovanni Gaetano Bottari, chief compiler of its official dictionary; and Salvino Salvini, permanent rector of the University of Florence and president of the Accademia Fiorentina.[11]

It is no accident, therefore, that textual philology, whose first principles have been variously credited to later foreign scholars as a result of the general unfamilarity with the state of Tuscan scholarship in the early eighteenth century, developed and flourished here rather than in any other active cultural centre in Italy. For its founders and principal contributors, all real or ideal disciples of Francesco Redi, had at their disposal all of the institutional machinery of the Grand Duchy for the dissemination of new modes of thinking and standards of excellence. In the year 1700, two years after the death of Francesco Redi and thirty-two after the dissolution of the Cimento, the collective membership of the Florentine academies was not greater than 150, and this figure included most professionals and amateurs with an active interest in cultural matters. But by the middle of the century that figure would quadruple, keeping pace with the increasing level of advanced literacy, to a very large extent the result of institutional proselytising and training.[12] For the academies at once provided institutional backing to aspiring scholars and trained them in institutional solidarity and epistemological orthodoxy.

Given this state of affairs, however, actual scientific ideas and theories, rather than the thought-forms that rendered them possi-

ble, could be propagated—whether or not they had been sanctioned by Redi and the other Cimento academicians—only if they passed through a tightly screened control mechanism, designed to ensure quality as well as to rule out dissidence. The institutional order of Tuscan culture at that time was not even formally independent of the State. The schools and academies of which it is comprised are in fact hierarchical structures that stem from the broad base of their general membership or student body, rise through their elected or appointed officers, and finally culminate in the Grand Duke himself, who thereby had access to and control of his collective intelligenzia through the formal structures of what were in effect undisguised state corporations.[13] Consequently the Tuscan academicians of this period display a degree of cultural and ideological homogeneity that would be unthinkable beyond the chronological and geographical boundaries of Cosimo III's domain, which is marked by inflexible intolerance of insubordination and heterodoxy in any form. Elsewhere in Italy the co-existence of mutually subversive intellectual currents, into which the internal tension of healthy cultural growth is dialectically resolved, contrasts very heavily with the peculiarly uniform appearance of the Tuscan scholarly world. And although they certainly did not encourage dissidence, Cosimo's predecessors and successors were by comparison permissive in their attitude to cultural pluralism. Here it is sufficient to recall that the University of Pisa—and by implication all other academic institutions, all of whom were in the shadow of its great prestige—enjoyed academic freedom prior to and after but not during Cosimo's reign. In 1691 Cosimo, under the influence of the Jesuits and of friars from various orders, went as far as to legislate the inerrancy of Aristotle and the falsity of all divergent systems of thought, decreeing that only Aristotelian philosophy could be expounded by Tuscan university professors and explicitly forbidding any public or private discussion of atomism, in a concerted effort to subdue the lure of materialistic heresies and to curb the diffusion of theologically erroneous doctrines.[14]

In such a discouraging climate, which could potentially cause the stagnation of several branches of science into an exclusively Aristotelian examination of texts and ideas, it occasions little wonder that the institutional reception of the Accademia del Cimento and of Francesco Redi did not openly stress their epistemology of di-

rect experimentation in science, and frequently blurred out of focus their polemical attitude toward the scientific stances favoured by the church. One must read not only the book of nature but also those in the library, Anton Maria Salvini had wisely taught a class of junior academicians, in an effort to check possible overconfidence in empiricism and growing disregard for the magisterium of tradition.[15] And in another lecture before an assembly of the Apatisti, whose president had challenged Salvini to determine which science was more obliged to the eighteenth century, he diplomatically replied that no single science had been privileged over the others and that they all flourished in the Grand Duchy.[16] But in discussing the principal achievements of the Tuscan men of his and of the previous generations, he carefully avoided mentioning the controversial aspects of their work, preferring to pass in silence Galileo's defence of the heliocentric system, Redi's ridicule of Aristotelianism and of the principle of philosophical authority as well as of the would-be scientific attitude of the distinguished Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, and he chose not to mention Redi's sympathy for the explanatory power of atomism. Nor was any of these aspects of Redi mentioned by Giuseppe Maria Bianchini who, in 1714, in a dissertation on the hypocrisy of men of letters, indicated him as model of intellectual distinction. And none, of course, had been alluded to in the three medals that Cosimo III had issued in honour of Redi in 1688, which Bianchini recalled as examples of enticing rewards for scholarly achievement combined with institutional loyalty.[17]

Now all of this abundantly proves that in a tighlty controlled institutional system passive reception, which may range from the silent acceptance of an idea to its use as a datum in arguments that are not designed to raise questions of wide scope and great magnitude, always accompanies active reception, in virtue of which whatever is received is regarded as an enabling condition in the continuing and unrestrained pursuit of knowledge, and may therefore be said to be a living force in the evolution of ideas. Redi and the Cimento tradition, however much admired by the two generations of scholars that followed them in the long reign of Cosimo III, were necessarily received through both forms, in accordance with the Tuscan official policy on academic freedom. Of course, passivity with respect to potentially subversive ideas of irrefutable validity may quite simply

mean calculated adherence to an official policy for fear of reprisals—and here it is worth recalling that the Italian translation of Lucretius by the Galilean physicist Alessandro Marchetti was categorically denied permission to go to press in Tuscany, despite the translator's solemn declarations of philosophical orthodoxy, and that when an edition was attempted in Naples by a publisher with professional contacts in the Grand Duchy, it was quickly thwarted by the authorities. The Italian Lucretius had finally to be issued in London by Paolo Rolli almost a half a century after it was translated. But more often than not, such passivity is very probably a sign of idelogical complicity with the policy-setting authority, resulting as it does from the system's efficacity in training its members in institutional loyalty as they rise through the ranks—and here it should be sufficient to observe that, by means of careful patronage and through the lieutenancy of ideologically trustworthy persons at the top of the Grand Duchy's cultural hierarchies, Cosimo had been able to secure public denunciations of atomism and eloquent justifications of state policies from some of the most undisputed luminaries of the academic world.

Such then was the institutional reception of the Accademia del Cimento and Francesco Redi, after the dissolution of the former and the death of the latter. The passive component is definitely there, calling for criticism from the historian of cultural institutions. But the active or creative one shows more than the occasional flash of brilliance and stands as a tribute to a generation of scholars who—in a very unheroic age and under very unfavourable conditions—did their best to promote the dissemination of knowledge, and to pass on the kind of thinking that in better times leads to intellectual progress.

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NOTES

1 Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 255.

2 Y. Congar, "La *réception* comme réalité ecclésiologique," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 56 (1972), pp. 369–403.

3 On this point see Domenico Pietropaolo, "Literary Taste at the Court of the Last Medici," in *The Spirit of the Court*, ed. G. S. Burgess and R. A. Taylor (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985), pp. 264–272.

4 For a full discussion, see Domenico Pietropaolo's, "La definizione della poesia nella *Ragion poetica* del Gravina," *Quaderni d'italianistica* VI (1985), pp. 52–63.

5 W. E. Knowles Middleton, *The Experimenters: A Study of the Accademia del Cimento* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), p. 326.

6 *Paradiso* III, 3.

7 Anton Maria Salvini, *Discorsi accademici* (Venezia: Pasinelli, 1735), I, pp. 4, 103, 118; II, p. 152.

8 See Domenico Pietropaolo, "Dante's Concept of Nobility and the Eighteenth-Century Tuscan Aristocracy: An Unknown Study of the *Convivio*," *Man and Nature* V (1986), pp. 145–147.

9 In Francesco Redi, *Opere* (Milano: Classici italiani, 1809), I, p. xxvii.

10 In Francesco Redi, *Scritti di botanica, zoologia e medicina*, ed. P. Polito (Milano: Longanesi, 1975), p. 43.

11 For a full discussion see Domenico Pietropaolo, "Anton Maria Biscioni's Textual Criticism of the *Convivio* and the *Vita Nuova*," *Studies in Medievalism* II (1983), pp. 213–216; "The *editio princeps* of Boccaccio's Commentary on the *Divine Comedy*," *Quaderni d'italianistica* VII (1986), pp. 153–164.

12 Statistics based on Eric Cochrane, *Tradition and Enlightenment in the Tuscan Academies: 1690–1800* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 37–38.

13 Cf. Michele Maylender, *Storia della accademie d'Italia* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1926–1930), III, p. 4.

14 Niccolò Rodolico, *Stato e chiesa in Toscana durante la reggenza lorenese: 1737–1765* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1910; rpt., 1972), p. 3.

15 *Prose toscane* (Venezia: Pasinelli, 1734), p. 464.

16 *Discorsi accademici*, III, pp. 29–30.

17 *Della satira italiana con una dissertazione dell'ipocrisia degli uomini letterati* (Roveredo: Marchesoni, 1759), p. 81.

Anne Urbancic

The Duke of Athens: A Study of Niccolo Tommaseo's Medievalism

From his earliest studies, Niccolò Tommaseo (1802–1874) had always professed a great admiration for the Middle Ages. A linguist, an author, a pedagogue and a politician, he considered that his own nineteenth century had much to learn from the dark and powerful Middle Ages. In this paper the development of Tommaseo's interest in the period shall be outlined. The main focus will be on his novella *The Duke of Athens* in which, through various literary experiments, the author attempted to achieve a binary goal. First, he aspired to write the "ideal" historical novel and secondly, he wished to recreate a convincing medieval atmosphere. Finally, mention will be made of the critical reaction to Tommaseo's attempts.

In 1827 Tommaseo was invited by publisher Giampietro Vieusseux to write articles for the journal *Antologia* in Florence. He spent seven years in that city initiating there the most active, and certainly the most innovative period of his life as writer. In 1834, after the political suppression of the *Antologia*, Tommaseo went into exile in France. This period, which lasted until 1839, was also a time of intense literary activity. Among his publications was the short historical novel *The Duke of Athens* (Baudry, 1837).

As a student, Tommaseo linked his studies to the Classical authors. At seventeen years of age, however, as he confesses in the *Memorie poetiche*, he discovered that there was a certain correspondence between the sensual and the spiritual worlds. At that point he began to read the works of Dante,[1] and to memorize them.[2] For Tommaseo, Dante was, in fact, a symbol of patriotism and an indication of Italy's future greatness.[3] Furthermore, for Tommaseo the centuries in which Dante lived constituted the true Middle Ages and, in fact, in referring to the "Medioevo" Tommaseo generally limited himself to the period from the 12th to the 14th centuries. He did not concern himself with the fact that the term may have described a far more extended period of time, or that the scholarly tradition

may have understood it differently. In his dictionary he does define the Middle Ages as "the centuries that spanned the time from the fall of the Roman Empire to the fifteenth century."[4] However, that Tommaseo has a more limited period in mind is clear from the fact that his two major historical novellas deal with events of the 14th century. His interest in the Middle Ages, and more specifically in the time of Dante, is well in keeping with the Romantic fascination with the period. It manifested itself not only in the historical novellas but also in his numerous reviews of historical novels, including a critically provocation review of Alessandro Manzoni's *The Betrothed* published in the *Antologia* in 1827. In addition, Tommaseo also studied the works of Sir Walter Scott in translation. Most important among the works that are evidence of his interest in and fascination with the Middle Ages is his commentary on Dante's *Divina Commedia*, a work that is still considered valid today. Significantly, it was first published in 1838, just after the publication of *The Sacking of Lucca (II Sacco di Lucca)* in 1834 and *The Duke of Athens (II Duca d'Atene)* in 1837. In the introduction to the *Commentary* on the *Divina Commedia*, Tommaseo explains his interest in the Middle Ages, or more specifically in the 'secolo di Dante,' in this way:

> It was an era of "passion which was not weak, of virture which was not insincere, of misdeeds which were not timid. The body was robust, the imagination ardent; the customs were varied and the language young and masculine. Woman was either despised as a less than human creature or venerated as an angel, or she was part of that masculine pride, communicating to man those qualities which render her divine. It was an era of misfortune alternating with joy, as do short days with long nights; government by few and government by too many were confused. . . . Religion was often abused, but not to the point of making its harmful aspects greater than its beneficial ones: vices were bared but without shame; cruelties were truly brutal, but not without remorse; misfortunes were grave but they carried the reward of resignation or hope or glory. The [common] people occupied themselves with new arts, with commerce, with the pursuit of civil liberties; nobles often worked for the good of all, but more often to the detriment of all, but at least they occupied themselves in undertakings and thus inertia, that plague of the State, and boredom, that hell for souls, were expelled from restless spirits and tired bodies. Religion was not divided from morality, nor knowledge from life, nor the word from the deed . . . "[5]

Tommaseo's fascination with the Middle Ages led him to contrast

that era with those that followed, always to the disadvantage of the latter. He wrote in *(Bellezza e civiltà)*, for example, that he had observed "in the sculptures of the 14th and 15th centuries such a force of "affetto" (sentiment of affection) that hardly a century later could be found only with great difficulty in even the most powerful paintings. . . . And all the things of those centuries are depicted in masculine relief.[6] The dichotomy between masculine and feminine is also found in Tommaseo's contrast of the Middle Ages and his own century, the former being dark and powerful while the latter was "soft, and with gas lamps."[7]

We have previously stated that Tommaseo's interest in this period manifested itself in various works, most of which were written in the period from 1834 to 1838. These dates are significant in the writing career of this author because they represent the time span during which his best and most innovative works were written. After 1838, in fact, Tommaseo turned hs attention to literary experimentation in the controversial novel *(Fede e bellezza)*, the work for which he is best known and which was published in 1840. By his own admission, both *Il Sacco di Lucca* and *Il Duca d'Atene* were also of a highly experimental nature, although different in literary aim from *Fede e bellezza*. In 1836, Tommaseo wrote to one of his closest friends, Gino Capponi in Florence, that he had written *The Duke of Athens*; it was not a novel, he stated, but a painting with dialogue.[8] In a note appended to the novella in its second edition, published in 1858 in Milan, he outlined the specific aims that he had set for himself in writing the work. He commented that he had focussed much more on the use and abuse of victory in the story, rather than on the instruments of resistance and battle. He continued that his historical sources had been Villani and Machiavelli, and he appended the relevant passages to the novella inviting those readers who wished to do so to judge how, in his version, he had reproduced the colour of the times. He invited his readers to the historical events through the meditation of the imagination and through "affetto." He added that in writing the novella he had sought historical truth even in the language, making use of archaic terms and grammatical forms, which were better suited to the description of the century and the place. Nevertheless, he was careful to maintain the vividness of a living language. This, he wrote, was facilitated by the fact that the

Tuscan dialects used in the novella contained many ancient terms.[9]

Tommaseo had set himself another goal in writing *The Duke of Athens*, namely that of producing a historical novel that would serve as a good example of the genre. To corroborate this is the fact that in the note appended to the second edition, Tommaseo concerns himself with defending the genre to the reader. In other writings, especially in *Della bellezza educatrice* (1838), he laments the corruption that the genre had suffered at the hands of inept authors. He observes that they seem to have followed some terrible formula in order to produce what he facetiously calls a "good historical novel." This involves opening the story with a historical passage, followed by a dialogue in which the plot of the novel is revealed. It is better that the dialogue be trivial and long. The character must be presented in minutest detail, and if during the description of these details, the character should wrinkle his nose or forehead, that gesture should also be reported in a separate parenthesis. The number of hairs in a character's beard should be scrutinized to the same degree as his most intimate thoughts, for the more minute the detail, the more precious it becomes. If it should be necessary in the novel to refer back to a historical source, this also should be quoted in its entirety. Another necessary aspect of the "good historical novel," states Tommaseo sarcastically, is a comic character who attaches himself to the principal heroes and who makes them laugh in the midst of fear or danger, or remorse or misfortune. The "good historical novel" should have more than one comic character; these should either have some ridiculous fixations or appear from nowhere in order to lighten a scene. Depict the great and the lowly, monarchs and userers, men of letters and murderers with equal detail, he advises. Then, an author should add a mysterious character who keeps the reader in suspense. In this way he will have composed a "good historical novel" according to all the rules.[10]

In a more serious vein, Tommaseo concludes that the purpose of the true historical novel was not to elaborate upon history, gathering minute particles of truth that had been cast aside by the Muse, and weaving from them a faded garland. Rather, it was to make better known great and important historical facts, illustrating them in an imaginative manner and commenting on them in such a way as to make plain their moral essence.[11] Authors of the historical novel have

rather an important function since they must imbue history with the vital breath of poetry. In a sense, they must make the dead speak, they must repaint those hues faded by the years and bring closer to the heart of the reader those faraway faces so that the reader can judge them, listen to them and feel them live.

These then, are the goals which Tommaseo had set for himself in writing the *The Duke of Athens*. The historical events which he had chosen to treat revolve around Walter of Brienne, the Duke of Athens, who came to the military service of Florence in 1342. In the same year, he became Lord of the city, a title which he obtained with enormous help both from Florentine nobles and the common people. However, much stronger allegiance to the latter soon became evident. His military strength came from French mercenaries. It was not long before there was great resentment and opposition to the violence of the Duke's soldiers, his high taxes and his oppression of those who opposed him. This dissatisfaction gave rise to three conspiracies which in the end brought about the expulsion of the Duke from Florence.

Tommaseo envisaged his novella as a series of vignettes dealing with the actions of the members of various conspiracies. His aim was, of course, to be as accurate as possible from the historical point of view. In fact, the character of the Archbishop Acciaiuoli in the first edition of the novella, was demoted, as it were, to Bishop in the second edition, when Tomaseo was reminded, in a letter from Gino Capponi, that Florence did not have an Archbishop until the end of the 14th century.[12] Of greater importance to the author, however, was that portray, as plausibly as he could, the psychological atmoshpere in which his historical characters moved. An example of this is the description of Lucia Buondelmonte, desperately in love with Ippolito, son of the jailer, who was not only fourteen years her junior but also totally unworthy of her. Tommaseo describes her as a "loving and delicate woman, in whom the light of the once clear but now fleeting youth, was more alive and more ardent than ever. . . ." Beauty was renewed in her (because of her love) but this would render all the more bitter the moment in which she would sadly realize that time had passed and that earth blossomed with much younger love. She loved Ippolito as if she were devoted to a fatalistic necessity."[13] Another example is that of the confession of Filippo Brunelleschi

who had inadvertently betrayed one of the conspiracies. Tommaseo writes that each word of the confession was as a wound inflicted by a sword piercing the hero's breast, but as his confession continued, he began to feel unburdened, and although he felt more despised by his co-conspirators, he also felt less unworthy in the eyes of God and in his own eyes.[14]

The action of the novella moves from conspiracy to conspiracy and then focuses on the crowds incited toward rebellion. It also moves behind the scenes to delicate descriptions of the fears and the prayers of those whose loved ones were participants in the fighting, and then to the surreptitious actions of the Duke's cowardly supporters in their attempts to evade retribution for their actions. These are at times violent descriptions and overly graphic. Nevertheless, they do capture the atmosphere of rage, frustration, confusion and loss of social order which Tommaseo tried to evoke. The Duke of Athens himself appears in the novella only towards the end. Until his appearance he is described as arrogant and strong. His brief entrance to grant honours and freedom to Antonio Adimari, one of his prisoners, in a last attempt to quell the rebellious Florentines, corroborates this. But when the author directly focusses upon him in the latter half of the novella, he presents him quite differently, as a broken man, asking mercy from the Bishop and begging him to advise the Florentines that he had mended his ways and his politics. The Bishop is so taken by this new attitude that he goes to implore the crowds to spare the Duke's life. Still later, Tommaseo shows the reader the human side of Duke Walter of Brienne, thus making him much less of a villain than he had appeared up to this point. For Walter, writes Tommaseo, every moment seemed to be an hour, so great was his anxiety (as he waited for news of the insurrection and its progress). Nor could the Floretines have imagined a greater torment than this agony of doubts, of delays and of new negotiations, even if they had wished. But then suddenly Tommaseo manipulates the readers' feelings again, as the Duke allows two of his supporters to be killed so that he himself may be spared.

We have stated previously that Tommaseo attempted to recreate the atmosphere of the banishment of the Duke of Athens from Florence through the use of "authentic" vocabulary and sentence structure. In fact almost every modern edition of the *Duke of Athens*

contains a glossary that explains some of the more archaic terms, which are far too numerous to be described in detail here. He also attempted to bring his historical characters back to life through the extensive use of dialogue and by keeping the omniscient authorial voice to minimal interruptions. Both of these techniques were praised by contemporary critics, such as Gino Capponi and Giovita Scalvini. On the other hand, almost all the critics found that the violence presented in the story was unnecessarily emphasized. In a letter to his friend, Cesare Cantù, who was also an author of historical novels, Tommaseo defended his work, saying:

there are too many atrocities in the Duke; this is true. I did this in order to mask the aspects which are not so good.[15]

He answered Capponi in this way:

In the Duke the tortures are too many, it's true, but the fact is that the people did eat the roasted flesh (of the two men condemned by the Duke in order to save himself). . . . Deliberated cruelty is not in the nature of the people, but in this case it was; and I toned it down by making only a few men guilty of it, rather than all of Florence . . .[16]

Nevertheless, many of the more horrifying scenes of the novella were attenuated in the second edition.

Despite the criticisms of Tommaseo's contemporaries, as valid as they may be, the modern reader of the *Duke of Athens* must admire not only the way in which this novella fulfills the author's criteria for a good historical novel but also his attempts to recreate linguistically the atmosphere of 14th-century Florence.

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NOTES

1 N. Tommaseo, *memorie Poetiche.* Edizione del 1838 con appendice di poesie e redazione del 1858 intitolata *Educazione dell'ingegno.* A cura di Marco Pecoraro (Bari: Laterza, 1964), p. 32.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 49)
3 N. Tommaseo, *Diario intimo* a cura di R. Ciampini, 2a ed. (Torino: Einaudi, 1939), p. 27.

4 N. Tommaseo, *Dizionario della lingua italiana* nuovamente compilato dai signori Nicolo Tommaseo (sic) e Cav. Prof. Bernardo Bellini con oltre 100.00 giunte ai precedenti Dizionarii (Torino-Napoli: UTET, 1872), Vol. II, 610.

5 N. Tommaseo, *La Commedia di Dante Alighieri* colcommento di Niccolo Tommaseo (Milano: Pagnoni, 1869), Vol. I, XIX. The translation is mine.

6 N. Tommaseo, *Bellezza e civiltà o Delle Arti del Bello sensible.* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1857), p. 365.

7 N. Tommaseo, *Fede e bellezza*, a cura di Daniele Mattalia. (Milano: Rizzoli, 1963), p. 137.

8 N. Tommaseo and G. Capponi, *Carteggio inedito dal 1833 al 1874.* per cura di I. Del Lungo e P. Prunas (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1911–1932), Vol I, 496.

9 N. Tommaseo, *Il Duca d'Atene* (Milano: Francesco Sanvito, 1858), pp. 224–232.

10 N. Tommaseo, *Della bellezza educatrice.* Pensieri di Niccolò Tommaseo (Venezia: Gondoliere, 1838), pp. 190–91.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 197.

12 N. Tommaseo and G. Capponi, *Op. cit.*, Vol I, 586.

13 N. Tommaseo, *Due baci e altri racconti* a cura di Carlo Bo (Milano: Bompiani, 1943), pp. 86–87. The translation is mine.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

15 *Il Primo esilio di Nicolò Tommaseo, 1834–1839.* Lettere di lui a Cesare Cantù edite ed illustrate da Ettore Verga (Milano: Cogliati, 1904), p. 153. Some of the linguistic changes that Tommaseo made in order to attenuate the violence of *The Duke of Athens* are discussed in Mario Puppo, *Tommaseo prosatore*, 2a, ed. (Roma: Studium, 1975), pp. 201–222.

16 N. Tommaseo and G. Capponi, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, 577–78.

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Tom Barbiero

The Persistence of Feudal Economic Institutions in the Agricultural Sector of 19th Century Sicily

Emilio Sereni, the well known Marxist scholar, maintains that one of the prime reasons Italy was a relative late-comer to the ranks of other European idustralized nations was the persistence of "feudal residues" in her agricultural sector, especially in the southern part of the peninsula.[1] According to Sereni, feudal residues in agriculture impeded capital accumulation and attempts to commercialize the Italian economy, both of which retarded industrial expansion. This interpretation has come under frequent attack, but no one denies that in the south, and Sicily in particular, feudal institutions continued to exist well into the 19th century.

This paper focuses on the persistence of feudal economic relations in the agricultural sector of 19th century Sicily up to the unification of Italy in 1861. It will be argued that feudal economic relations in Sicilian agriculture continued well into the 19th century because of the absence of an effectual central government. The Bourbon government which ruled Sicily for almost 200 years prior to 1861 was unable to displace the economic and political power of the landed aristocracy of the island. Each of the large landowners continued to possess a private army, while the Bourbon government undertook the protection of its citizens only after 1838. Even after unification the private armies, the embryonic stage of the Sicilian mafia, were not disbanded, posing a constant threat to the legitimacy of the Italian government.[2]

European feudalism arose in an atmosphere of decaying central authority, civil war, invasions and economic stagnation. It was the economic climate of Europe, however, that gave major impetus to the formation of feudal ties. With the disintegration of central government and invasions from the Arab countries, European feudalism was a way of coping with the military necessity of the time. In such a predominantly rural society in which land was the chief source of

wealth there was no means of raising funds to provide the fighting men with their livelihood and equipment except granting them land from which they could draw a rent.

Fedualism, in an economic sense, refers to the relationship which existed in the Middle Ages, especially from the 9th to the 13th century, between members of the fighting (vassals) and landowing classes.[3] It consisted of a complex system of political and social obligations contingent on the possession of a fief. This was a military benifice, consisting of a parcel of land, given to a vassal for rendering a host of services to his lord, the most important of which was military service. The fief was made up of organized manors worked by peasants or slaves for the owner of the tenement. The vassal collected from them a rent, extracted labour services for his own plot of land, and recruited fighting men for his army. Further, the owner of the fief administered justice and local taxes, and extracted labour services for the upkeep of roads, bridges and fortification of the fief.

Peasants working on the manors of the fief rarely owned the land. In return for a plot of land they paid rent, usually a portion of the harvest, taxes, provided labour services for the vassal, and came under the protection of the feudal army. As we shall see later, the Sicilian *mezzadria*, a sharecropping contract, had remarkable resemblance to the implicity contract that existed on the manor between the peasantry and the vassal, and served many of the economic functions the manor did during the feudal period.

One of the main reasons that feudal institutions persisted well into the 19th century in Sicily was the Spanish domination of the island up to 1861. During the latter part of the 17th and throughout the 18th century the Spanish government's pressing fiscal needs led to the infeudation of land in Sicily.[4] With the purchase of land from the government the buyer acquired the title of count or marquis; the right to levy taxes on the consumption of meat, wine and bread, on the baking of bread and milling of flour; extraordinary privileges, such as the administration of justice (both civil and criminal notary prerogatives), and the exclusive right to hunt on the land. The owners of the infeudated lands were also exempt from paying one-third of their tax obligation to the Spanish government. The infeudation of land naturally led to the decentralization of power as the landed nobility increased its influence over the islands political leadership.

In the late 18th century progressive laws were passed by the Sicilian parliament to curtail feudal rights. For example, from 1785 the peasants were legally allowed to sell their food surpluses to anyone they chose, or use other bakeries, besides that of their landlord, to bake their bread.[5] These reforms were to weaken the personal bonds between a peasant and his landlord. They were not successful, however.[6] The feudal landlords were too powerful, and the state was too weak to enforce its own laws. This weakness was due to the fact that the feudal lords (*Signori di Vassalli*) were disproportionately represented in the Sicilian parliament. Up to 1812, parliament was composed of 63 representatives of the Church, 43 representatives of the municipalities, and 228 feudal lords.[7]

In 1812, while briefly under England's rule, Lord Bentinck reformed the Sicilian parliament along British lines: two chambers, one hereditary and the other elected by property owners.[8] With these reforms it would appear that feudalism had come to a virtual end. But as Franchetti and Sonnino, two 19th-century scholars, point out, that was not the case in practice.[9] Most of the large landowners continued to possess an army, and social relations between peasantry and the landowning class remained of a personal and dependent nature. The dominant cultural codes were still honour and fidelity. While in the rest of Europe the old feudal establishment was crumbling, in Sicily it remained virtually intact.[10]

By the mid-19th century the political and economic situation had altered little. Agriculture still served largely the same role it did during the feudal period: it sustained the large landowner, his private army, and the Church. The primary agricultural institution through which this was accomplished was sharecropping, known in Sicily as *mezzadria*, or, less commonly, as *metateria*.

The *mezzadria* was by far the most common agricultural contract in Sicily throughout the 19th century. In theory this contract gave a peasant the use of a plot of land for one year for half the resulting harvest. The landowner or his administrator, known as *gabellotto*,[11] would lend out the initial seeds and the peasant, called a *mezzadro*, would supply his labour and all farm implements and draft animals. Although the *mezzadro* appropriated half the harvest, out of this portion he had to pay a number of different people.[12] He was obliged to contribute one-sixteenth of his share to the head

guard (*capo campiere*) of the latifundia, and a similar amount to all the other guards (*diritto di guardia*) who shared it among themselves. The guards made up the landlord's personal army, just as in the feudal period. They guarded the large estates on horseback and were armed. These feudal armies were a necessity for the protection of those working on the estates since the Bourbon government did not undertake the protection of its citizens until 1838.[13] Even after this date, however, private armies continued to exist and were a necessity for those living or working in the countryside. The latter was sparsely populated,[14] which, with a lack of central army or policy force, invited criminals to roam it in search of defenseless individuals. The renowned 19th-century scholar *Pitrè*, recorded that even under escort no one set out on a trip into the interior without first making his last will and testament, having himself confessed and taking communion.[15]

The mezzadro also had to contribute one-sixteenth of his harvest share to the local priest (diritto di Messa), one-sixteenth to the landowner for the loss of grain in transit, and one quarter of his half as interest on the seeds the latter loaned him at the beginning of the harvest season. The *mezzadro* also contributed towards the expense of the annual feast for the local patron saint. The average *mezzadro* was left with only about a quarter of his harvest to feed himself and his family.

As in the feudal period peasants were generally obligated to perform a number of labour services for the landlord or his administrator.[16] These included working on the latter's garden, repairing roads, fences, bridges and buildings on the estate. Peasants were also expected to pay homage to the landlord with gifts on religious holidays. These donations usually consisted of a few chickens or rabbits and eggs.

From the peasant's point of view the *mezzadria* was an advantageous economic contract. Once he had found a plot of land the landlord would provide an advance on the *mezzadro's* portion of the harvest to sustain the latter's family throughout the winter and spring until harvest time. As Franchetti and Sonnino point out, however, once the *mezzadro* accepted a loan from his landlord he became *ipso facto* a slave.[17] Since it would be very difficult to repay the loan because the following year's harvest would be barely enough to feed his family, a dependent relationship developed betweed the *mezzadro*

and the landowner. Although from today's viewpoint such a dependent relationship seems coercive, the *mezzadro* generally entered the *mezzadria* contract willingly. In the absence of an effective central government that could protect and provide for the peasant and his family in times of emergencies, it was comforting to know that in time of need he could turn to his protector as he often did. In especailly lean winters a peasant would often turn to his landlord for emergency loans to pay his taxes or food. The landowner would be pleased to help out this *mezzadri* since the more in debt they were to him the more difficult it would be for them to repay their debts. As a result, the landlord was sure that all those peasants indebted to him would be back to work for him the following year.

The persistence of this quasi-feudal social structure in Sicily kept agriculture in a state of backwardness compared to other areas of Europe, much as it had been in the medieval period. One of the main reasons was the almost complete absence of internal markets within the island on which food surplus could be sold by the peasantry.[18] The lack of internal markets was a symptom of the ineffectual central government which could provide the appropriate infracture for them to function. For example, roads were few and badly maintained. Carriageable roads that crossed the island were non-existent until the late 18th century when about 250 miles were built. These poorly constructed roads fell into disuse by 1825.[19] As a result of the poor communication network, many communities were completely isolated from each other, and this made trade extremely difficult. Market transactions were impeded by the lack of a unified standard of measurement. Despite the adoption of the metric code in 1809, the 48 different standards of weights and measures used throughout the island continued to exist well in the 19th century.[20] Moreover, the economic dependence of the *mezzadro* on his landlord made arm's length trading impossible. Any surplus the former had to put on sale would generally be purchased by the landlord whether the *mezzadro* liked it or not since he could find himself without a plot of land the following year. With such dependent social and economic relations markets cannot function.[21] As a result, much of trading that occurred in the Sicilian economy was on the basis of barter. Economic progress in such an environment is almost impossible. The relative backwardness of agriculture coupled with a rapid population

growth was to lead to mass rural immigration in the late 19th and in the early 20th century.

Although few internal markets existed, Sicilian agriculture consistently exported wheat, beans, nuts, citrus fruit, wine and cheese to other European countries. Most of the exporting was carried out by agents of the landlords and a small group of professional entrepreneurs in Palermo. In the absence of internal markets these entrepreneurs collected agricultural commodities through an extended network of friends and contacts. This form of a distributive mechanism was a manifestation of the feudal structure which permeate Sicilian agriculture.

It is interesting to note that the sale of agricultural products did not affect the internal structure of agriculture. The *mezzadria* contract remained largely unaltered even after unification. External trade was strictly separated from the workings of the internal economy. As Sereni points out, the small entrepreneurial class in Sicily was not sufficiently powerful to influence the existing order and thus learned to function in a largely fedual economic environment.[22]

This situation did not appreciably change after the unification of Italy. The political strength of the landed nobility remained intact. Senate representation from Sicily came exclusively from the ranks of large landowners. Suffrage was accorded to only property owners, about 2 percent of the population.[23] Private armies and feudal social relations remained, even if the new country had created a central army and started to build a modern infrastructure. While it would be technically incorrect to maintain that a feudal structure in agriculture remained after 1861, the dependent relationship of the peasantry on the landowning class was to continue into the 20th century. Indeed, a case can be made that remnants of feudalism have persisted to the present day in Sicily. The mafia, which as already noted had its beginnings as the large landowners' private armies, represents a countervailing centre of economic and political power to that of the Italian state, in a sense, a state within a state. Only very recently has the Italian government had success at partially ridding itself of this sub-centre of political and economic power. Given the important role of secrecy, honour and fidelity within the mafia, not to mention the brutal force to make sure these codes are followed, it is likely

that feudal residues will persist in Italy for a long time to come.

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NOTES

1 E. Sereni, *Il Capitalismo nelle Campagne, 1860–1900* (Torino: Einaudi, 1947), p. 30. Sereni, a Marxist scholar, attributes the persistence of the feudal residues (i.e. pockets of feudal modes of production and social relations) to the incomplete bourgeois revolution in Italy, which left the old dominant feudal landowing class with the political power to protect its interests.

2 While a strong central goverment was created with the unification of Italy in 1861 feudal economic organizations and institutions continued to exist. However, their function quickly changed. For example, the sharecropping contract exists to this day in Italy but its economic function, as will be shown, has been altered completely.

3 L.T. White, *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) p. 6–10 and passim.

4 In 1652 Philip IV urged all states under jurisdiction, including Sicily, to: " . . . infeoder n'importe quelle terre ou bien de cet Etat, offront le titre de Marquis, de Comte Du un autre choix, au prix le plus élevé possible, meme si ce prix restait au desous de la taxe imposée jusq'alors et etablié par les ordres, attendue les presentes necessites qui ne permettent aucun delai." B. Caizzi, "La Ville et la campagne dans le systeme Fiscal de la Lombardie sous la Domination Espagnole," in L. Febvre (ed.) *Éventail de L'Histoire Vivant* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1953), p. 369.

5 L. Franchetti and S. Sonnino, *Inchiesta in Sicilia* (firenze: Vallechi, 1974), Vol. 1, p. 62.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

8 *Ibid*, p. 66.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

11 The word *gabellotto* comes from gabella, a tax originally collected from the *mezzadro* to pay for the services of his administrator. As the 19th century progressed in many instances the *gabellotto* leased the large estate outright from the landowner.

12 Franchetti and Sonnino, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 26–27.

13 A. Battaglia, L'*Evoluzione Sociale in Rapporto alla Società Fondiaria* (Palermo: Edizioine della Regione Siciliana, 1974), p. 227. Strictly speaking feudalism came to an end at this date.

14 The countryside was sparsely populated because for the most part the island's population lived in urban areas. A contemporary explained this phenomenon

by the lack of availability of water in most of the island. Thus, towns sprang up wherever water was available. A. Battaglia, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

15 J. Schneider and P. Schneider, *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily* (New York: Academic Press, 1976), p. 53.

16 The obligation of labour services differed from estate to estate, and generally was arbitrary. L Graziani, "Patron-Client Relationship in Southern Italy," *European Journal of Political Research*, 1973, p. 9.

17 Franchetti and Sonnino, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 102.

18 Schneider and Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–104.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 54.

20 Battaglia, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

21 Although internal markets were lacking, Sicily did export a number of agricultural products, among which the most important were wheat and citrus fruit. Agricultural exports were carried out by a class of rural entrepreneurs. See Schneider and Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 104.

22 Sereni, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Dionisius A. Agiùs

Italo-Siculo Elements of Nautical Terms Found in Medieval and Post-Medieval Arabic

During the age of Islam's major impact on the Mediterranean basin, Arabo-Berber and Italo-Siculo influenced to a considerable extent each other's lexical evolution. Arabo-Berber left its trace in the lexical borrowing of Italo-Siculo during the third-seventh/ninth-thirteenth centuries, whereas Italo-Siculo lexical influence played an imporant role in the development of Arabic during the Italian colonization of levantine ports in the Crusade and post-Crusade periods (i.e. fifth-ninth/eleventh-fifteenth centuries). This is evident especially in Arabic nautical terms directly or indirectly borrowed from Italo-Siculo elements. The purpose of this paper is threefold: (a) to discuss, from a historical viewpoint, some important factors about Arabo-Berber and Italo-Siculo elements in the Mediterranean basin, (b) to draw a list of Italo-Siculo nautical terms found in medieval and post-medieval Arabic, and (c) to analyze etymologically eight nautical terms from the available inventory.

1:1

The rapid expansion of Arabs into the Mediterranean basin mutilated the Byzantine Empire and obliterated the Latinity of Northern Africa. Such a rapid movement would have not taken place if the socio-economic position of central Europe, Byzantium, and North Africa had been stable.[1] The second/eighth century was a continuum of (political and military) developments and crises. The regions' three dominant cultures, Greek, Arabic and Latin, shifted their positions of influence forwards and backwards across the Mediterranean area.[2] This flux was complicated by disagreement between the two halves of the Christian Church, i.e. Greek Constatinople and Latin Rome, while contacts between the patriarchates of the Eastern Mediterranean were never cordial from the very beginning and in some centres exerted a disruptive influence on each other.[3] On the

other hand, in the Central Mediterranean the Italian peninsula was the site of constant warfare, having long been subject to invasions by Lombards, Northern Germanic tribes, and Byzantines. Furthermore Frankish monarchs in asserting their power in Europe were apt to interfere in Italy in order to press their claims to political leadership over Western Europe. The Germanic tribes manipulated most of the economical power in north-eastern Europe, which was at one time controlled by the Slavs. All the goods coming from the East (i.e. Persia and India) passed by either Anatolia or the Mediterranean. The Slavs and then the Germanic tribes constantly drained the economic strength of Byzantium, which was the basis for maritime trade in the Mediterranean.

1:2

Islam was in this climate perceived to be an alternative to these European internal strifes and political upheavals, and so Arab seafarers became more influential in trade in the Mediterranean.[4]

It is not clear how the Arabs came to adapt themselves so readily to seafaring. Northern Arabs, particularly those of Syria, Iraq and the Hijaz area, were primarily a continental people with little knowledge of the sea, much less navigation. The Southern Arabs of Yemen, however, were not unacquainted with the sea. They had a long tradition, before the rise of Islam, of shipbuilding and of conducting maritime traffic in the lands bordering the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.[5] If at the time of the conquest of Syria in the first/seventh century, the Northern arabs were not acquainted with ship-building and seafaring they ought soon to have learned these skills from Graeco-Syrians who were stationed in Syrian ports. These seaports were well equipped with Byzantine shipyards.[6] The Arabs, after the conquest of Syria developed the "triangular" trade that had existed between the Levant, the Central Mediterranean region and the Iberian Peninsula. This meant, in practical terms, a growing exchange of luxury commodities such as spices, silks and ivories from the Levantine states for heavy commodities such as iron, timber and slaves from Central Europe. One important factor of this trade, one which many historians of the Mediterranean tend to ignore, is the tendency of the Arabs to use trade as a vehicle for spreading the universalism of Islam. This notion is an established fact in the history of Islam on

the East coast of Africa, the Southern tip of India and the Far East. But of equal importance is the settlement of Islam in the Central Mediterranean (Sicily, Italy and Sardinia) and the Western Mediterranean (the Iberian Peninsula), a longer and more fruitful influence than that in isolated points of Greece and the Aegean.[7]

1:3

In the course of the third/ninth centuries the Muslim Arabs consolidated their domination over the Mediterranean Sea. They seized the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and Malta.[8] On the coasts of North Africa they founded new ports: Tunis, Meldia and Alexandria. in Sicily, Palermo became strategically an important sea-port for the control of trade in both the East and the West Mediterranean. On the other hand, the Iberian Peninsula, by virtue of its geographical position and its predominantly Mediterranean characteristics, attracted Arabs and Berbers, inspiring them to further their military and religious expansionist policy. Ultimately, the Arabs established themselves in newly conquered the territories there. Muslim Spain (138–897/756–1492) became one of the three world centres, after Constantinople and Baghdad, and achieved under Islamic artistic and aesthetic impact a high level of culture and civilization.[9]

1:4

In both the Central and Western Mediterranean the ethnic basis of the conquerors was Arabo-Berber, as was their contribution to the preceding strata of the indigenous population, namely Punic, Greek and Latin. Evidence of this Arabo-Berber influence on the Siculo-Italian culture during the Middle Ages is provided by Arabic technical terms that penetrated the administrative language of these indigenous Mediterranean cultures. The loan-words pertain mainly to agriculture, maritime warfare and techniques, urban industry and institutions. A survey of this liguistic encroachment found in etymological works of pioneers who derived Siculo-Italian technical terms from Arabic, was systematically done by G.B. Pellegrini in his *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine* (two volumes, Brescia, 1972). However, most of these lexical borrowings do not necessarily derive from Arabic and even less from Berber. They are, in fact, often the result of the linguistic impact of Greek and Persian words penetrating

into Arabic, words which ultimately found their way into the Romance languages.[10] Some examples include: It. *dogana* Ar. *dīwān* Per. *dīwān* customs, custom house; It. *caffettano* Ar. *quftān* Tur. and Per. (?) *qafṭān* a long vest with wide sleeves; Sic-Ar. *fùnducu* Ar. *funduq* Gr. *pandokos* a house for the reception of strangers; Sic-Ar. *filusi* ar. *fuls/fulūs* Gr. *phollis* or Lat. (?) *follis* a single piece of money.

1:5

This linguistic tide changed course when Italians moved into Muslim territories by the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century. The Venetians, Pisans and Genoese established colonies in the Syrian ports and towns.[11] They set up *fondachi* (S. *fondaco*) warehouses, a word that came from Greek *pandokeion/pandokos* and passed on to Arabic *funduq* by either way of Siculo-Arabic *fúnnacu/fùnducu* or Greek. The Italians established *fondachi* in Egypt at Alexandria where goods came from India and China by way of the Red Sea. Venice maintained practically an independent policy by supplying naval assistance to Byzantium and at the same time using Constantinople as a trade centre for goods coming from India via Persian territories. Moreover, Venice also gained the confidence of Muslim sea-ports in Egypt and North Africa by providing goods from these ports to the rest of the Mediterranean.

1:6

The Italian colonies in the Levantine states may have suffered trade losses by the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century. The importance of maritime trade with oriental goods loaded by Genoese and Venetian galleys from the Levantine states was blocked of communications caused by the advance of the Turks. This blockage brought about increasing supply problems, if not an actual diminution in the quantity of Oriental goods available in the ninth/fifteenth century. Many Italian importers had to avail themselves of exotic goods from other geographical areas. With the discovery of America at the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, the Spaniards and then the Portuguese introduced to Europe goods from the new world. The Portuguese opened trade routes with the Orient by circumnavigating Africa and sailing into the Indian Ocean to the effect that they diminished the

importance of the maritime trade in the Mediterranean basin.

2.0

In the course of the Arabo-Islamic occupation of the Mediterranean and the Italian colonization of the Levantine states, it is difficult to determine which nautical terms were borrowed by Arabic. But that Arabic absorbed a number of nautical terms directly from Italo-Siculo (or other dialectal italian) elements, as it will be shown, is very highly probable. An early Greek (Byzantine) lexical interference in both Arabic and Italo-Siculo (or other dialectal Italian) languages is worth considering. An additional problem lies in the fact that Arabic nautical terms sometimes share certain common semantic and morphological features with their Ottoman Turkish equivalents, which may have been directly borrowed from Italian or Arabic. This borrowing, however, could only have taken place later in the ninth-tenth/fifteenth-sixteenth centuries during the Ottoman expansion into the Mediterranean basin. The Ottomans were a powerful seafaring people and they, like the early Arabo-Muslims, probably employed native Greeks, who were traditionally skillful in maritime art, to undertake their trade.

2:1

This list of Italo-Siculo nautical terms found in medieval and post-medieval Arabic is divided into three categories: (a) Italo-Siculo terms that were assimilated into Arabic, (b) Italian or Spanish terms that reached Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian or the Maghribi (i.e. North Africa) dialects, and (c) Italo-Siculo terms that were originally borrowed from Arabic and then passed on into Arabic at a later period.

The following phonetics are observed to change from Italo-Siculo into Arabic:

Italo-Sicilo	*Arabic*
c	k/q
g	gh
p	b
t	d/ṭ
z/cc/zz	s/ṣ/z
a	a/ā
o	a
e/i	i/ī
i/o/u	u/ū

2:2

Category A Italian —→ Arabic

It. barcuccia, > Sic. barcuzza > Ar. barkūs (see 3.1) [small boat]
It. capitano, > N-Af. qabtān/qubtā/qān/qāpūdān; Mal. kaptan; Ott-Tur. qapudān. [captain]
It. chiglia, > Ar. Kiyya; Syr. kilīya. [keel]
It. filaccia, > Sic. filàzza > Mor. flāsa. [lint]
It. fortuna, > Ar. fartū/fartāna; Mal. fortuna; Ott.-Tur. furtuna [fortune, possessions, spoils]
It. lancia, > N-Af. lānsha > Egy.lāncha > Mal. lanca, (See 3.1) [ferry-boat]
It. mezzana, > Sic. mizzāna > Ar. mizāna. [mizzen]
It. mistico, > N-Af. mistīkū
It. nave, > N-Af. nāvī. [ship]
It. nolo, > N-Af. nūlūn; Syr.-Pal. nawl/nāwlūn.
It. palandra, > Egy. balāndra. [rent, hire]
It. pilota, > N-Af. bilūṭa; Egy. Syr-Pal. bilūṭa/ balūṭa (see 3.1) [pilot]
It. pertuso, > Sic.pirtūsu/partusu > Mor. bartūz/ partūz. [hole]
It. saettia, > Ar. shayāṭī (Sing? shayyitī). [swift vessel]
It. sardiniera, > Ar. sarādīniyya. [small boat]
It. scuna, > N-Af. skūna. [schooner]
It. sentina, > N-Af. santūna/sanṭīnia; Ott-Tur. sintīnā [lower internal part of a boat]
It. treccia, > Mor. trāṣ. [container of ropes, wires, nails, tapes]

2:3

Category B Italian/Spanish ⟶ Arabic

It. bandiera
Sp. bandera } > N-Af. bandīra; Syr-Pal. bandayra; Mal. bandiera; Ott-Tur. bāndara/bāndīra. [flag]

It. battello
Sp. batello } > N-Af. baṭīl > Mor. baṭāl; Egy. Syr-Pal. baṭīl. [boat]

It. carena
Sp. carena } < Lat. carīna (m); It./Sp. > N-Af. qārīna; Egy. Syr-Pal. qrīna; Ott-Tur. qārīna. [ship's bottom]

It. catena
Sp. cadena } < Lat. catēna (m) < ? Etrus.; It/Sp > Egy/Syr. katīna; Mal. katina; Ott-Tur. qādenā/qādāna (see 3.2). [chain]

It. coperta
Sp.cubierta } It. > Sic. cuèrta/cuvèrta; > Mor. kūbirta/kubirta; Egy. Syr-Pal. kubarṭa/kūanta; Mal. qverta; Mal. gverta; Ott-Tur. gugherte. [cover]

It. flotta
Sp. flota } It. > Sic. frotta > Ar. ufrūṭā/furūṭa; Syr. flūṭā/frūṭā; Mal. flotta. [fleet]

It. fregata
Sp. fragata } > N-Af. fargāṭa/frājattā/fargaṭṭa/firqāṭa/farqāṭa/fargāṭa; Egy. farqīṭa; Mal. fregata; Ott-Tur. firqata/firqaṭīn/firqatīn. [frigate]

It. gancio
Sp. gancho > Syr-Pal. ghanjū; Mal. ganc; Ott-Tur. qāncha/qānja (see 3.2) [hook]

It. maestro
Sp. maestro < Lat. magistru(m); It. > Sic. màstru; Mor. mashtrū; Mal. mast(ru); Ott-Tur. māstūrī. [master]

It. poppa
Sp. popa < Lat. puppi (m); It/Sp. > N-Af. puppa; Syr-Pal. būba; Mal. poppa; Ott-Tur. pūpā. [stern]

It. porto port
Sp. puerto Lat. portu (m); It/Sp. > N-Af. būr; Syr-Pal. burtū; Mal. port. [harbour]

It. prua
Sp. proa < Lat.vul. prōra (m); It/Sp > N-Af. brūwwa/ brūā/prūā; Syr-Pal. barūā; Mal. pruwa; Ott-Tur. prūva. [prow]

It. puntale
Sp. puntal < Lat. puncta (m); It/Sp. > Mor. punṭāl; Mal. puntal; Ott-Tur. puntāl. [tip]

It. scalo
Sp. escala < Lat. scala; It. > Sic. scalo/iscalo/scala; It/Sp. > N-Af. saqāla, askala; Egy. iskala; Syr-Pal. saqāla; Mal. skal; Ott-Tur. iskele. [dock]

It. timone
Sp. timon < Lat.vul. * timōne(m); It/Sp. > N-Af. damān/dmān/dūmān/ṭūmūn; Egy. dūmān; Syr-Pal. dimūn; Mal. tmun; Ott-Tur. dmān/dümen (see 3.2). [rudder]

2:4

Category C Italian ↔ Arabic

Ar. amīr, > It. ammiraglio > Egy.Syr-Pal. amīrāl; Mal. ammiral. [admiral]

Ar. qāla, > It. Sp. Port. cala > Fr. cale > Ar. qāla; Mal. qala/kala (see 3.3). [inlet of the sea]

Ar. qalfaṭa/jalfaṭa/qalfatas, > It-Sic. calafatare > N-Af. qalfaṭa; Mal. qalfat; Ott-Tur. kalfatlamaq (see 3.3). [to call]

Ar. qalfāṭ/jalfāṭ/qalfāt, > It-Sic. calafato > qalfāṭ; Mal. calafato/kalafato; Ott-Tur. qalfātji (see 3.3). [calker]

Ar. kālma, > It./Sp. calma > Mor. kālma > Syr. kālma; Mal. kalma; Ott-Tur. kalma. [calm]

Ar. dar ṣināca, > It-Sic. darsena/darsina/darsana; Sp.darsena> Ar. dārsna; N-Af. tarsāna; Egy. tarskhāna; Mal. tarsna (see 3.3). [dock yard]

ar. ghaliyūn, > It. galeone/galea/galera > Ar. ghaliyūn. [galley]

Ar. tartāna, > It. tartana > Ar. tārtāna. [small sailing ship]

3:0

A comparative list of Italo-Siculo and Arabic nautical terms.

3:1

Category A

It. *barcuccia*[12] a small boat, diminutive of It. *barca* (< Lat. *barka* <? Gr. *bāris*)[13] a boat; (> Ar. *barka*,[14] also Hisp-Ar. *la barca/labarka*[15] flat bottomed boat on rivers); > Sic. *barcúzza*; > ar. *barkūs* a small boat,[16] probably used in the (early) crusade period.[17]

It-Sic. *lancia*[18] a boat attached to a ship to carry passengers; > N-Af. *lānsha*; > Egy. *lāncha*, a term imported in 10/16 century;[19] Mal. *lanca*.[20]

It.-Sic. *pilota* (< Lat. *pedota*)[21] pilot of a ship; > Egy. Syr-Pal. *bilūṭa/balūṭa*;[22] *also bālūṭ*.[23]

3:2

Category B

It-Sic. *catena/catina*[24] (< lat. *catena* < ? Etrus.[25] or Sans. *kat* "to fall away")[26] a chain for a clock, ship or slaves; also meaning "wharf-chain,

anchor-chain, mountain-chain"[27] Brunot and Dozy base it on the Spanish *cadena*[28]; but according to Corripio, it means "collar" (6/12 century)[29]; Egy.Syr-Pal. *datīna* watch-chain;[30] also *qatāna*'[31] > Mal. *katina* watch-chain, anchor-chain and weight-chain;[32] < It-Sic. *catina* or Ar. *katīna*; > Ott-Tur. *qadinā* "chain for the slaves"[33]; < ? Ven. *cadena.*[34]

It-Sic. *gancio/ganciu*[35] (<?)[36] hook; Sp. *gancho*[37]; Port. *gancho*[38]; < Gr. *gampsós* (7/13 c.)[39]; > Ar. *ghanj* shepherd's crook, root[40]; > Syr-Pal. *ghanjū* hook[41]; Mor. *ghanjū* rampoon to catch fish[42]; > Mal. *ganc* hook and several other meanings[43]; > Tur. *kanca* hook.[44] If Corripio is right about the Greek origin of this word, one may suggest that Arabic borrowed the term at an earlier stage than Siculo-Italian or Spanish.

It-Sic. *timone*[45]*/timūni* [Lat. *temo-onis*[46] and Lat-vul.* *timōne* (m)][47] rudder; or sp. *timón* shaft of a carriage (7/13 c.)[48]; > Ar. *dumān*[49] also *tumān* "tongue of a carriage, cart";[50] > syr-Pal. *damūn*[51]; Egy. *dūmān*[52]; N-Af. *damān*[53]; Mor. *dmān* rudder, steering-wheel[54]; > Mal. *tmun* (< Sic. *timùni*)[55]; *dumen* rudder[56] < Ott-Tur.[57]

3:3

Category C

It-Sic. *cala* an inlet, cove, creek[58]; < ? Gr. *kólos* "docked, curtailed"[59] (Lat. *curtus* shortened")[60]; or ? Lat-vul. *cola* a sheltered port[61]; < ar. *qāla* creek, a fishing-wharf[62]; > Sp. *cala* anchoring-ground (8/14 c.)[63]; > Port. *cala*[64] >Fr. *cale*[65]; Mal. *qala* inlet,[66] or *kala*[67]; either < Ar. *qāla* or < sic-Ar. *cala*. The Sic-It. *cala* may have semantically developed into *calafatare* (< either Lat. *calefacere/** *calefare* or Gr. *kalfatéo*[68] to enter dock, repair, refit[69]; Sp. *calafatear*[70]; Port. *calafetar*[71] > Ar. *qalfaṭa/jalfaṭa/qalfata*[72]; Mal. *qalfat* to caulk[73]; probably from Sic-Ar. or directly from Arabic; Ott-Tur. *qālāfātmak* "to caulk"[74]; also *qalfātlamak* "to go into dock"[75]; a term perhaps from Sic-It. or from Arabic.

It-Sic. *darsena/darsina/darsana* dockyard[76]; a term used in Pisa and Genova (6-7/12-13 centuries)[77]; also in Palermo toponomy *tarzanà* (8/14 c.)[78]; < Ar. *dār sanāca*[79]; > Hisp-Ar. *dār as-sanac/daracana adaracana* (Seville 7-8/13-14 centuries)[80];

> Sp. *darsena/atarazana* (10/16 c.)[81]; > Cat. *drassana/drasena*[82]; Egy. *tārsāna/tarsakhāna* arsenal dockyard[83]; either < Ar. or Sic-It.; Mal.*tarsna*[84]; either < Ar. or Sic-It.; Tur. *tersane* shipyard, dockyard[85]; <

Ott-Tur. *tersāne* dockyard or *tersākhāne* "the Imperial dockyard at Constantinople"[86]; either < Ar. or Sic-it.; also Per. *tersāne/tershāne*[87] .

NOTES

1 Pirenne, 25–29; Hodgett, 44–45; Lopez, 24–26; Daniel, 6–7.
2 Daniel, 8.
3 Southern, 54–56.
4 With this political instability in the West and the rupture between the West and the East, Henri Pirenne tends to believe that the sudden appearance of Islam in the Mediterranean may have brought about an imbalance of economy and trade between the Byzantine world and the Latin West, see Pirene, 23 and 29. Pirene thinks that this dichotomy only existed after the Arabs destroyed the safety of communication in the Mediterranean. This closure of the Mediterranean as a result of the Arab invasions has not yet been proved. There are reasons to believe, however, that at certain times the invasion made communications more difficult and less frequent, but to suggest that the invasion led to a paralysis of seaborne trade is a false generalization. There were commercial links with the East, and Marseilles remained the great trading centre for supplying Western Europe with Levantine goods, see Hodgett, 42.
5 Hourani, 31–33.
6 Al-Balādhurī, 118, Ibn, Jubayr, 305.
7 Nicholas, 1, 11.
8 Ahmad, 13–16.
9 Lévi-provençal, 21–26; Montgomery-Watt, 22.
10 Agius, 7–8.
11 Luzzatto, 73.
12 Barbera, *Elementi* 82.
13 Zingarelli, 174.
14 Al-Iṣṭakhri, 1, 139; 4, 188; Lammens, 46; Kindermann, 4.
15 kindermann, 4.
16 Abu Shama, 3, 207; 4, 20.
17 Barbera, *Elementi* 82.
18 *ibid.*, 166.
19 *ibid.*
20 Serracino-Inglott, 5, 250; Barbera, *Dizionario* 2, 623.
21 Barbera, *Elementi* 202; Zingarelli, 1279.
22 *ibid.*
23 Brunot, 11.
24 Barbera, *Elementi* 113.
25 Zingarelli, 297.
26 Lewis-Short, 301; Pokorny, 1, 534.
27 Kahane-Bremner, 38–39.

28 Brunot, 111; Dozy, 2, 378.
29 Corripio, 78–79.
30 Spiro, 512.
31 Dozy, 2, 378.
32 Serracino-Inglott, 5,69.
33 Barbera *Elementi*, 113.
34 *ibid.*
35 *ibid.*
36 Zingarelli, 724.
37 Corripio, 213.
38 Leitão-Lopes, 222–224.
39 Corripio, 213.
40 Dozy, 2, 228.
41 Barbera *Elementi*, 154.
42 Brunot, 406.
43 Serracino-Inglott, 3, 77.
44 Akdoğan, 170.
45 Barbera *Elementi*, 239.
46 Corripio, 464; Lewis-Short, 1848.
47 Zingarelli, 1827.
48 Corripio, 464–465.
49 Dozy, 1, 462.
50 *ibid.* 2, 62.
51 Barbera *Elementi*, 239.
52 *ibid.*
53 *ibid.*
54 Harrell, 22.
55 Barbera, *Dizionario* 4, 1089.
56 Akdoğan, 97.
57 Zenker, 443; Redhouse, 928.
58 Barbera, *Elementi* 99; Kahane-Bremner, 33.
59 Liddell-Scott, 385.
60 Lewis-Short, 504.
61 Dozy, 2, 296.
62 *ibid.*
63 Corripio, 79.
64 Leitão-Lopes, 97; Da silva, 277.
65 Barbera, *Elementi* 99.
66 Barbera, *Dizionario* 3, 877.
67 Serracino-Inglott, 5, 19.
68 Pellegrini, 1, 254.
69 Barbera, *Elementi* 99.
70 Corripio, 79.
71 Leitão-Lopes, 97.

72 Dozy, 2, 397.
73 Barbera, *Dizionario* 3, 880.
74 Redhouse, 1419.
75 Zenker, 707.
76 Barbera, *Elementi* 134; Zingarelli, 467.
77 Pellegrini, 1, 91–92.
78 *ibid.*
79 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 4, 356–359.
80 Pellegrini, 1, 92.
81 Corripio, 133.
82 Barbera, *Elementi* 134.
83 Spiro, 73.
84 Dessoulavy, 120.
85 Akdoğan, 292.
86 Redhouse, 532.
87 Zenker, 278.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ar.	Arabic
Egy.	Egyptian
Fr.	French
Gr.	Greek
Hisp-Ar.	Hispano-Arabic
It.	Italian
It-Sic.	Italo-Siculo
Lat.	Latin
Lat-vul.	Latin vulgate
Mal.	Maltese
Mor.	Moroccan
N-Af.	North-African
Ott-Tur.	Ottoman-Turkish
Per.	Persian
Port.	Portuguese
Sans.	Sanskrit
Sic.	Sicilian
Sic-Ar.	Siculo-Arabic
Sp.	Spanish
Syr-Pal.	Syro-Palestinian
Tur.	Turkish
Ven.	Venetian

Carmelo Filice

Settlements of Albanian Origin in Calabria

Introduction

In the last few years there has been in Southern Italy a gradual weakening of the relations between town and country. The separation between human settlements and their surrounding territory, which was determined prevalently by the lack of economic assistance to the area, has undermined the traditional functional identity of the Calabrian urban centres. In its historical evolution Calabria enjoyed its major moments of splendour and importance when it exercised a central function with respect to the Mediterranean basin, in other words when it had the power to impose on other regions its model of territorial organization, particularly during the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods. However, Calabria played a secondary role when it failed to adhere to its own natural model of territorial organization, under the influence of other economies structured on quite different principles. The present study is an attempt to analyse some significant areas of the Crati River valley in Calabria, where the presence of settlements of Albanian origin has given rise to a model of territorial organization different from those produced by the local culture prior to Albanian immigration. The Albanian settlements, even though they are tightly linked to the local political and economic systems, have produced a noteworthy form of territorial organization which presupposes a different relationship between urban space and territory. An analysis of these urban centres can help us to understand the formation of new models of urbanization and the urban crisis which characterizes settlement structures in southern Italy.

History

From the fifteenth to the nineteeth century several waves of Albanian immigration succeeded one another in various areas of southern

Italy. These migrations were made possible by the close relations between Alabanian sovereigns, the Pope and the King of Naples and Sicily. The first important immigration took place in 1448, when Albanian troops led by Demetrio Reres came to Italy to subdue a revolt of Calabrian and Sicilian barons against King Alfonso I of Aragon. Various territories in Sicily were thus offered to the victorious Albanian troops so that they might establish themselves there and, at the same time, assume a position of leadership in the defense against French incursions. Consequently, during this period many settlements arose in Northern Sicily. In 1461 there was a second expedition headed by Prince Giorgio Castriota Skandenberg, who came to the aid of Pope Pius II. The help the Albanians offered was useful and decisive, and for this reason they received feudal lands in Puglia, which were inhabited and repopulated by Albanian people. But the largest settlements were formed between 1465 to 1506, after Giorgio Castriota's death (1464), when all the cities and fortresses of Albania fell definitively to the Turkish army, and when many Albanians were forced to seek refuge in Southern Italy in order to escape atrocious persecution. From that time on numerous settlements developed in Calabria both on abandoned urban centres and *ex novo* on territories assigned to the Albanians. In 1534 there was a massive exodus from the city of Corone in the region of Morea, and many Albanians settled in Puglia, in Lucania and in Calabria. The most recent settlement took place in 1744, as the last refugees from Morea established themselves in Lucania.

Urban Structure

Albanian settlements in Italy, which are typical of the area and original in conception, continue to represent a rich anthropological-cultural and architectonic-urbanistic patrimony in which the aspiration to urban form has constituted a unique example of its kind. In fact the Albanian urban plan, generated by successive stages of settlement, establishes itself in the urban centres of Southern Italy by introducing new schemes and solutions into the local urban culture. The "rione," which forms the largest portion of the village, is delimited by the most important roads. In general the main roads which cross the village separate the higher "rione" from the lower one. Each of the "rioni" is provided with services of different types

(church, "cantina," etc.) which make it autonomous with regards to other "rioni."

The closest urban spatial dimension to the "rione" is the "quartiere" which forms an identifiable fraction of the urban agglomerate. Physically, the "quartiere" represents the basic building block of the city, since it consists of elements that define urban reality by simple aggregation. In the development of Arberesch (Albanian) villages, the "quartieri, each assume a distinct role in the commercial and social life of the urban system. The most important characteristic of the "Arberesch" town plan is that it is made up of smaller units of the urban fabric known as *Gijtonia*. Underneath the "rione" and the "quartieri" the "Gijtonia" is physically represented by an urban microstructure consisting of a "piazzetta" (small square) with narrow "vicoli" (roads) leading into it and surrounded by buildings which together form a circular space. The tendency to build along curved lines is a new element introduced by the Albanian community in the urbanistic—structural system of southern Italy. This circularity is in fact an indication of a non-hierarchial culture very often found in Eastern societies. The aggregation of the various urban microstructures creates a polycentric system peculiar to the Arberesch city. In fact, even if at times the urban agglomerate can be compared to others of a different nature, the Albanian urban system cannot be defined as monocentric. The various *Gijtonie*, in fact, function as gravitational areas which, when connected to one another form the peculiar urban setting of Arberesch cities. The typical southern Italian settlements, which have medieval urban characteristics, clearly differ from those based on the Albanian system. Since the urban centres of southern Italy have inherited pre-roman models based on the establishment of settlements on hills and mountains—that is to say on strategic locations and in close touch with the surrounding landscape—they generally include a wall around the village which is an element added in medieval times. Other indications of this medieval structure are large walls and fortresses, narrow and interwoven roads, and patterns implying political and social hierarchy. It should also be mentioned that the economic administration of the city is based on a self-sufficient system. The settlement, even if it adheres to the Latin orthogonal scheme, offers a very compact structure with very few open spaces in the urban network. This type of

settlement also includes a potential for growth towards the mountains and fields along straight lines, and this gives he urban plan a linear scheme. The result is an urban system with a central point on which all of the community's activities are focused. It is to be noted that, when the centre is particularly large, the poles—which are all always functionally interconnected—become more than one. In the central pole, which is represented by the main "piazza," are located the ruling powers: the church and the lord's palace.

Conclusion

As we have seen, Arberesch villages belong to a very complex urban conception and are constantly subject to urbanizational processes which give a sense of anonymity to the urban structure and disaggregate the old morphology. The arberesch city, even if it presided over locations which had shown to be for a long time poorly accessible and which local people considered of little interest, in a short time gave rise to relations of reciprocal dependency with the territory. In the last few years the relation between city and territory has been weakened, given the continuous depauperation of the land and of the urban centres. The various initiatives of recovery (for example, the improvement of historical sites, the "Piani di Recupero," the "Comunità Montane," the mountainous tourist-roads, parks, etc.) do not resolve the problem but make the product anonymous. As a result of this, the most important problem for the centres, which is to find a self-identity with respect to the territory, becomes always more difficult. The rebirth of the city is tied not only to factors deriving from the political and social situation but also from an awareness of the problem. Consequently, the search for an urban plan to co-ordinate the centres of Albanian origin seems more important than ever.

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