THE CRUSADES: HISTORY AND MEMORY

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The Crusades: History and Memory

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Edited by
KURT VILLADS JENSEN AND
TORBEN KJERSGAARD NIELSEN

BREPOLS

Cover illustration: Images of shields of knights of the First Crusade, located in the St Louis French Hospital, Jerusalem, and created by the Comte de Piellat in the 1880s. (Photo: Jonathan Phillips).

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Preface

The Ninth Quadrennial Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (SSCLE) was held at the University of Southern Denmark in Odense on 27 June – 1 July 2016, with the theme Diversity of Crusading. Almost 150 scholars, representing a large number of universities in Europe and America, participated together with independent scholars. During the five days of the conference,112 papers were read including three plenary lectures. Some of the scholars offering papers were afterwards invited to contribute to two thematic volumes: *Legacies of the Crusades* and *The Crusades: History and Memory.* Many other papers from the conference have subsequently been reworked and have appeared in scholarly journals, collected volumes or other contexts.

We are very grateful to series editor Alan V. Murray for accepting the volumes in the Outremer series.

Any event this size is a huge undertaking, and the Ninth Quadrennial Conference of the SSCLE would not have been possible without the help and support from several institutions and individuals. The conference received economic support from the Danish Research Council for the Humanities; from Jubilæumsfonden af 12.8.1973; from the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Southern Denmark, and from the then Institute for Culture and Global Studies at Aalborg University. We wish to express our gratitude for this support without which the conference had not been possible.

Placed institutionally in Aalborg and Stockholm, the organizers had to rely heavily on support from people in Odense. Special and warm thanks should be given to Dr Thomas Heebøll-Holm (University of Southern Denmark). Thomas's tireless efforts and whole-hearted commitment before and during the conference were invaluable. This also goes for the support we received from the administrative staff at the Faculty of Humanities and the Department of History. The host of enthusiastic student workers who cheerfully assisted participants with any and all queries during the conference also deserves mention.

Special thanks also go to Dr Ane Bysted for her learned introduction to selected medieval churches during the conference excursion, and to the Viking Ship Museum in Roskilde for letting participants proudly ride the waves of Roskilde Fjord in their replica Viking ships. We are certain this experience brought new insights to many participants of the trials and tribulations of medieval crusading.

April 2020
Kurt Villads Jensen and Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen

KURT VILLADS JENSEN &
TORBEN KJERSGAARD NIELSEN

The Crusades. History and Memory

Introduction

Can you have memory of a phenomenon without having a word for it? Can you begin writing the history of a phenomenon for which you do not even have a precise designation, the history of something that is not a clearly defined concept, or has not yet become so?

This question has vexed crusade historians for long time, increasingly so towards the end of the 20th century. There was no single, precise word for crusade until a hundred years after the First Crusade's conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, Nevertheless, there was an abundance of narratives from the 12th century telling the detailed tales of what happened during the military expeditions to liberate the Holy City, or during the many missionary wars on the Iberian Peninsula and in the Baltic that immediately took over spiritual and theological framing from the First Crusade. It has become common among most modern historians to mention this conceptual deficiency and to comment upon it, mostly shortly and without any thorough attempt to explain it.

The problem with conceptualizing crusading is fundamental, and the present volume discuss the medieval words for 'crusade' in two articles. The first, by Christoph T. Maier, argues that it was only in the 17th century that French historians as the first ones began to use the word in the same way as we do today. In the early 13th century, *crozada* and other similar words began to be used in charters and narratives, but with a more specific and less general coverage than later, according to Maier. This very first history of the word 'crusade' is the topic for the article by Benjamin Weber who, based on modern linguistic theories, concludes that a new concept must reflect a new social reality, namely that several kind of military expeditions that earlier had been distinct from each other now after 1200 were considered part of the same phenomenon, and therefore necessitated a new common word to be described.

The memory, or maybe better the memories of single episodes or individuals were shaped in a concrete historical context and often disputed. Different memories competed about being accepted and becoming the main narrative and a part of the collective memory of larger groups. It may have begun as a fight on words between different persons or factions but the memories then took on their own life and continued to develop without it being possible for us today to follow in details how it happened. Carol Sweetenham shows how the crusaders' finding of the Holy Lance in Antioch was enthusiastically welcomed by some and highly suspected by others of simply being a fraud.

They agreed, however, that it served its purpose and endorsed the crusaders with new energy and hope so they could resume fighting and gain victory although being severely outnumbered. Afterwards, the Lance conveniently disappeared and it was no longer necessary to discuss its authenticity.

The opposite happened to the warrior-saints who suddenly appeared in the sky, riding out from heaven and fighting together with the living crusaders. Only the Norman contingent, and only some of the Normans, actually claimed to have seen them according to the earliest narratives of the First Crusade, but over time they became standard ingredient in almost all crusading histories and were followed in other theatres of war by other warrior saints.

Memories may be passed on from one media to another, from written to oral, and specific places may become the symbolic representation of events or persons, sometimes long after their historical occurrence. Jonathan Phillips argues that the memories of Saladin and of the crusades were not lost in Islamic countries after the Middle Ages only to become revitalised with modern nationalism in late 19th century, as it has generally been assumed. The memories lived on, but in media and in forms that have not attracted the attention of modern historians.

Memories of historical events are slippery and flexible and change, slowly or fast, by deliberate decision or merely reflecting new implicit understandings of the world, or they were even changed simply to become better and more dramatic. The second Latin emperor of Byzantium, Henry from Flanders, died in 1216 and may or may not have been killed by his Bulgarian wife. Later Greek folk songs elaborated on the theme and let the 'bitchy wife' cut off the head of Henry during the wedding night. These songs became very popular and have survived in many copies and versions, as analysed by Aphrodite Papayianni in her article.

Memories of crusades could obviously be evoked when political circumstances made it opportune. It happened in the later Middle Ages, when the house of Montferrat sponsored the copying and editing of crusading narratives to stress the connection to former crusaders and bolster its own political engagement in both the West and the East, as discussed by Massimiliano Gaggero. Partly political, partly psychological and social concerns lay behind the many First World War memorials in Britain with crusader motifs. They were very common and sometimes commissioned by individuals, sometimes by a larger public group. They commemorated the many losses during the recent war, and aimed at giving them a meaning by connecting to a longer historical background, as discussed in Elizabeth Siberry's article.

Sometimes memories of crusading were not activated in circumstances where we would have expected it. Pope Honorius III intervened to help King Valdemar II of Denmark who had been imprisoned in 1223 by his vassal. The pope referred to the many services that Danish kings had rendered the papacy and how the king had taken the cross and promised to lead a crusade to the Holy Land, and these plans were connected to similar ones from the side of Emperor Frederick II. But no one has mentioned the big, decisive and

victorious crusade of Valdemar II in 1219, that conquered Tallinn in pagan Estonia, as discussed in the contribution by Kurt Villads Jensen. It is difficult to understand why not.

Memories may serve purposes outside themselves, but basically memory is an attempt to create meaning and give order to a historical past in a present context, which changes over time. That is lucidly illustrated in the article by Mike Horswell, analysing how the crusades have been presented in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* from 1771 till 2018, and in Adam Knobler's precise summarizing and categorizations of many modern uses of the history of the crusades.

Most of the articles in the present volume were read at the Ninth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, which were held in Odense in Denmark on 27 June – 1 July 2016. Two articles have been added after the conference.

MASSIMILIANO GAGGERO

The Circulation of the *Eracles* in Italy and Galeotto del Carretto's *Chronicle(s)*[*]

▾ The history of the crusades known as the *Eracles* circulated widely in Europe and the Holy Land. In Europe we can trace its presence through existing manuscripts and fragments, some of them copied late in the fifteenth century, and through the entries in library catalogues, most notably those from noble families in fifteenth-century northern Italy. The *Italian Chronicle* by Galeotto del Carretto exists in various redactions in both prose and verse and is one of the lesser-known adaptations of the Old French text of the *Eracles*. Along with other sources, it is recast into the genealogical history of the noble house of Montferrat which, at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, was still trying to capitalise on its crusading past in order to assert its role in both Western and Eastern politics.

Adaptations and straightforward translations of the *Eracles* appear in Italy from the end of the thirteenth century. Francesco Pipino from Bologna translated the *Eracles* and Ernoul-Bernard into Latin as a part of his *Chronicon* at the end of the thirteenth century,[1] and the first Italian translation of the *Eracles* was made in Florence in the fourteenth century.[2] Some episodes from the Old French text also ended up in some of the major collections of late thirteenth-century Italian short stories, such as the *Novellino* and the *Conti d'antichi cavalieri*, which paved the way for a larger circulation of these excerpts.[3] In the fifteenth century a partial translation was composed by an anonymous writer at the Visconti court,[4] and Matteo Maria Boiardo (1440–1494) used

* This paper is part of a research project on the circulation of the *Eracles*, which has been funded by the 'Rita Levi Montalcini' Program of the Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca (MIUR). I thank Professor Peter W. Edbury for having accepted to read this article before submission.

1 Francesco Pipino, *Bernardi Thesaurarii Liber* and Francesco Pipino, *Chronicon*.

2 See Rinoldi (2005) and Mazzitello (2016).

3 Rinoldi (2003) and Gaggero (2018).

4 Albonico (2014).

The Crusades: History and Memory, ed. by Kurt Villads Jensen and Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen, Outremer 12 (Turnhout, 2021), pp. 95–124.

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material drawn from the *Eracles* in his translation of the now lost *Historia imperiale* by Riccobaldo da Ferrara, written between 1471 and 1474.[5]

Thanks to its presence in the main aristocratic libraries, and through its translations and adaptations, the *Eracles* played a major role in shaping the memory of the earlier crusades and the history of the Latin East in Italy, from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Whereas for the other seigneurial families from Northern Italy ties with the Holy Land and the Latin East were tenuous or non-existent, and the interest in the history of the crusades more of a matter of self-representation, the family of the marquis of Montferrat, who commissioned Galeotto del Carretto's *Chronicle*, had a long-standing tradition of intervention in those areas. They played a major role in Latin East in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries and the branch of the family that reigned at the end of the fifteenth century was tied to the Palaiologoi family that had reigned over the Byzantine Empire.[6]

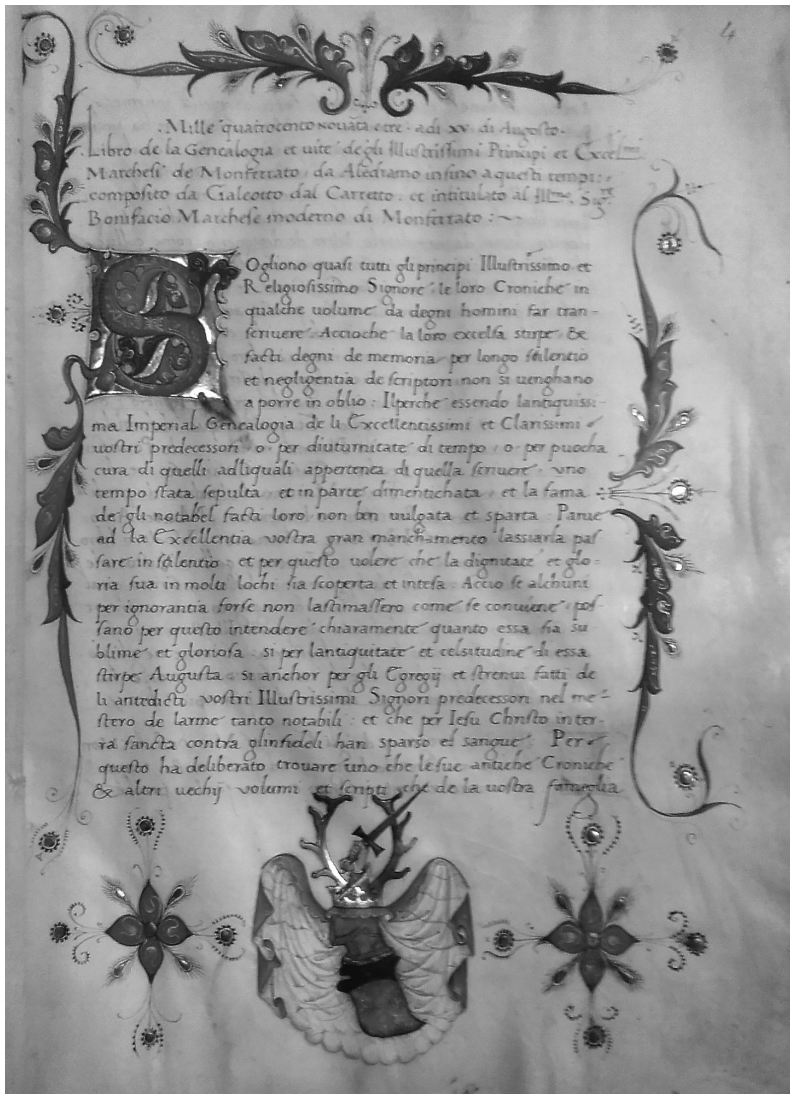
For this reason, a study of the way in which lengthy passages from the *Eracles* were translated and adapted by Galeotto reveals how he tried to express the views of his patrons and their understanding of their family history. It also helps us to understand the geography of the circulation of the different redactions of the *Eracles* in Italy. In this article, I shall systematically compare the sections about William V 'The Old', Renier, Boniface I and Conrad of Montferrat in Galeotto's Italian text with their main source, the compilation known as *Eracles*, comprising the Old French translation of William of Tyre and at least the first of its Continuations.

Galeotto del Carretto (born before 1455, died *c.* 1530) was a nobleman from a prominent family in north-western Italy. He had received a good literary education and he enjoyed contacts with scholars and poets both from the court of Montferrat at Casale Monferrato and from Milan. Starting from 1494, he was almost constantly in contact with Isabella d'Este (1474–1539). Galeotto was a prolific author of lyric poetry and of plays, although not all his works have come down to us. He was also a diplomat and politician and was sent by the Palaiologoi of Montferrat on numerous embassies. His career ran smoothly at the court of Montferrat, except for the years 1501–1502, when he was sent into exile as someone deemed too close to the Holy Roman Emperor. Even after he returned, he continued to undertake important duties at court. He died on 31 October 1530, a few months after the death of Boniface IV of Montferrat (r. 1512–1530).[7]

5 On the relationship between Boiardo's text, Riccolbaldo and the *Eracles*, see Rizzi's introduction to Matteo Maria Boiardo, *Historia imperiale*, especially pp. xl–xliii and lxxi–lxxii. A new complete edition by Andrea Rizzi and Antonia Tissoni Benvenuti is currently being published.

6 The most comprehensive study of the Montferrat presence in the East, from the First to the Fourth Crusade, remains vol. II of Usseglio (1926). More recently, see Haberstumpf (1995) and the studies mentioned in the footnotes below.

7 On Galeotto's biography see Ricciardi (1998).


Mille quatrocento nouāta otto · adi xv · di Augusto ·
Libro de la Genealogia et uite de gli Illustrissimi Principi et Excell.mi
Marcheſi de Monferrato · da Aleramo in fino a questi tempi ·
composito da Galeotto dal Carretto · et intitulato al Ill.mo S.r
Bonifacio Marcheſe moderno di Monferrato ·

Vogliono quasi tutti gli principi Illustrissimo et
Religiosissimo Signore · le loro Croniche in
qualche volume da degni homini far tran-
scriuere · Acciochè la loro excellā stirpe · & le
facti degni de memoria per longo silentio
et negligentia de scriptori non si uenghano
a porre in oblio · Ilperche essendo lantiquissi-
ma Imperial Genealogia de li Excellentissimi et Clarissimi ·
uostri predecessori · o per diuturnitate di tempo · o per puocha
cura di quelli adliquali appertenea di quella scriuere · uno
tempo stata sepulta · et in parte dimenticata · et la fama
de gli notabel facti loro non ben uulgata et sparta · Parue
ad la Excellentia uostra gran manchamento lassarla pur
stare in silentio · et per questo uolere che la dignitate · et glo-
ria sua in molti lochi sia scoperta et intesa · Accio se alchuni
per ignorantia forse non la stimassero come se conuiene · pos-
sano per questo intendere chiaramente quanto essa sia su
blime · et gloriosa · si per lantiquitate · et celsitudine di essa
stirpe Augusta · si anchor per gli Coreggi et strenui facti de
li antichi uostri Illustrissimi Signori predecessori nel me-
stero de larme tanto notabili · et che per Iesu Christo in ter-
ra sancta contra gli infideli han sparso el sanque · Per ·
questo ha deliberato trouare uno che le sue antiche Croniche
& altri uechij uolumi et scripti che de la uostra famiglia

Figure 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 412, f. 4r: beginning of the Chronicle by Galeotto del Carretto (1493 prose redaction)

Galeotto composed his *Chronicle* at the request of Boniface III of Montferrat (1424–1494) and presented it to his patron on 15 August 1493 in both a prose and verse redaction. The verse redaction uses the Italian stanza known as *ottava rima*, which belonged to an established Italian tradition dating back to Boccaccio and the *cantari* tradition of the fourteenth century, and which

would later be used by Ariosto and Tasso: an appropriate choice designed to give the story a chivalric overtone.[8] Galeotto later reworked the prose text by adding more details, some of which were drawn from archival documents, and continued the narrative to 1530. Both the prose and verse texts of the 1493 redaction end with a eulogy of Boniface III's wife, Marija Brancović (1466–1495), who acted as regent during the last years of her husband's life and the minority of her son William.[9] The 1530 redaction ends with the death of Boniface IV (1512–1530) and the beginning of John George's rule, which would only last for three years. This second redaction of the *Chronicle* thus embraces almost the entire history of the Montferrat family.

Little is known about the manuscript tradition of Galeotto's *Chronicle*. The first prose redaction survives in a single manuscript and remains unpublished.[10] This manuscript may well be the one presented to Boniface III in 1493. There is also a direct copy of this manuscript, made by jurist Percivalle del Monte.[11] The verse redaction was published by Giuseppe Giorcelli in 1897 on the base of a manuscript that was then kept in the Istituto Leardi in Casale Monferrato.[12] The second prose redaction, dating from 1530, was published by Avogadro in 1848, although without any indication of which manuscripts the editor used. According to Fumagalli, he probably had one of two manuscripts destroyed in the 1904 fire at the National Library in Turin.[13] Fumagalli lists four other manuscripts of the second redaction, all of them in Turin.[14] If the libraries where the manuscripts are now kept are in any way indicative of the original circulation of the text itself, Galeotto's *Chronicle* would have been copied for readers living in the same region as the author and his patrons, possibly members of the local aristocracy who were tied by politics and family history to the Montferrat dynasty. To my knowledge, no detailed comparison of these manuscripts and of the different redactions has yet been attempted.

For the sake of this discussion, I will use the printed edition of the 1530 redaction that I collated with the 1493 redaction transmitted by the Parisian manuscript. I shall first try to determine which form of the *Eracles* was used by Galeotto and then examine some instances of how the French text has been adapted, and the importance of the memories of the Latin East for fifteenth-century members of the house of Montferrat.

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8 On the history of the *ottava rima*, see Beltrami (1994²), pp. 75–77 and 183–285.

9 Galeotto del Carretto, *Cronica*, col. 1239d.

10 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, italien 412.

11 MS. Torino, Archivio di Stato, Ducato di Monferrato, 2,1. See Fumagalli (1979), pp. 396–97.

12 Giorcelli (1897), p. 213; this scholar talks about 'several manuscripts' but only quotes this one (without shelfmark). *Ibid.*, p. 137, he says that Benvenuto Sangiorgio also had a copy of the verse redaction. The edition of the text is in Giorcelli (1898).

13 MSS. Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, N. II. 39 and N. V. 25.

14 Biblioteca Nazionale, O. II. 35 and Biblioteca Reale, St. P. 321, 707 and 754. See Fumagalli (1979), pp. 392–93.

Galeotto's sources and the manuscript tradition of the *Eracles*

Galeotto did not attempt to produce an independent account of the history of the Montferrat family. Although he sometimes quoted from documents that must have been in the archives (the numbers of which increase in the 1530 redaction), he mainly relied on existing narrative sources that he compiled and translated.[15] Fumagalli has produced a valuable assessment of the *Chronicle*'s sources. At the beginning of the text, Galeotto refers to a number of historical texts that dealt in part with the history of the Montferrat family:

> Although some authors, both Italians and from beyond the Alps (such as Bartolomeo Platina in his *Vitæ Pontificum*, Flavio Biondo in his *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades*, Eusebius of Caesaraea and his continuators, Martinus Polonus in his *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, Marco Antonio Sabellico in his *Historiae rerum venetarum ab urbe condita*, the book known as *Fortalitium fidei* [by Alphonsus de Spina], Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale* and the *Book of Godfrey of Bouillon*) have already touched upon this topic, I will try, using my weak wits, to tell the genealogy and the most notable deeds of your most illustrious predecessors following the true story, as I found it in the aforementioned books.[16]

Ironically, Galeotto made no use of the learned Latin texts mentioned in this passage and relied instead on the works of local historians, such as the *Memoriale de gestis civium Astensium* by Guglielmo Ventura (*c.* 1250–1322), that he may have known through a vernacular translation.[17] He did, however, use the only vernacular text quoted in the passage above, the *Eracles*. *Gottifredo de Bogliono* is the standard title for the compilation in library catalogues of some noble families (Gonzaga, Visconti-Sforza, Este) from northern Italy.[18] The Gonzaga library catalogue also distinguished a copy of the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* from a copy of the *Eracles* by giving the *Chronique* the title of *Saladinus* and the *Eracles* the title of *Gotofredus de Boiono*.[19]

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15 *Ibid.*, p. 425.

16 "Et quantunque alcuni autori, Latini et Tramontani, cioè el Platina ne la *Vita de Pontifici*, el Biondo ne le sue *Decche*, Eusebio Cesariense, et chi ha scritto doppo lui, frate Martino de l'Ordine de Predicatori ne le *Vite de' Pontifici et Imperadori*, Marco Antonio Sabelio ne le *Historie Venetiane*, un altro libro nominato *Fortalicium fidei*, Vincentio Gallico *Historiale*, el *Libro de Gottifredo de Bogliono* e habiano scritto qualche cosa, cercharò iuxta al puocho ingenio mio raccontare la Genealogia et nottabel facti de questi illustrissimi Vostri Antecessori, seguendo la mera historia sì come ne gli volumi sopradicti, che di essa fanno mentione, ho ritrovato" (Galeotto, *Cronica*, cols 1082b-1083a).

17 On Guglielmo Ventura, the main historian of the city of Asti in the Middle Ages, see Garofani (2002), which also summarizes the discussion by previous scholars, and Luongo (2012).

18 On these libraries and the book lists that allow to reconstruct their collections, see Pellegrin (1955); Ottolenghi (1991); Antonelli (2012) and (2013) and the article quoted in the note below.

19 Braghirolli-Paris-Meyer (1880), p. 508.

Galeotto's contemporary and friend, Benvenuto Sangiorgio, also from Montferrat,[20] states in his own *Chronica* that copies of the *Eracles* where hard to find in the region at that time:

> As one can read in the history written in the French language and entitled *Godfrey of Bouillon* (that is Boulogne in *Celtogalatia Belgica*) duke of Lotharingia, book VII, chapter 1. I will transcribe the original text, since this book is only found in a few people's libraries.[21]

Benvenuto then transcribes a passage from the *Eracles* (XVII, 1) giving a list of the participants of the siege of Damascus.[22] It has not hitherto been noted that the same passage is found, translated into Italian and placed at the beginning of the narrative of the Second Crusade, in Galeotto's *Chronicle* (1090c-d = *Eracles*, XVI, 18 and 19).[23] Since Benvenuto underlines the rarity of *Eracles* manuscripts, it is possible that he was copying from the materials that his friend Galeotto had already used when writing his own account. It is difficult to assess the significance of Benvenuto's statement and the identity of the passage he quoted with the one used by Galeotto: did the Montferrat family or Galeotto have a copy of the *Eracles*, or was Galeotto translating excerpts that he had transcribed from a manuscript he could only consult for a limited time?

Galeotto mainly used the first two parts of the *Eracles*, the Old French William of Tyre and the first continuation, adapted from the Ernoul-Bernard text.[24] Galeotto's text is a genealogical compendium rather than a true chronicle: it is divided into chapters, each of them dedicated to a marquis (or another relevant male member) of the Montferrat family.

Since the central Middle Ages, genealogy had been one of the most important means of self-representation for the aristocracy. They were first compiled for royal dynasties only but soon genealogies for the higher and lesser noble families also appeared.[25] Some of the late examples of the genre, such as the genealogy of the counts of Foix compiled by Michel de Bernis in the fifteenth century, were still copied alongside the charters of the family

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20 According to Fumagalli (1979), pp. 423–424, Sangiorgio, who also worked for the Montferrat family and had a more critical approach to history writing, influenced Galeotto when he was composing the 1530 redaction of his *Chronicle*.

21 Benvenuto Sangiorgio, *Historia Montisferrati*, 338c: "(…) come si legge (…) in quella descritta in lingua Gallica, intitolata a Gottifredo di Boglie, ovvero di Bologna in Celtogalacia Belgica, Duca di Lothoringia, nel settimo Libro, al primo Capitolo (…) le parole della quale Istoria, però che il volume si ritrova appresso di rare persone, ho volute descrivere formalmente". Cf. Fumagalli (1979), p. 395.

22 *Ibid.*, 338 Benvenuto misquotes the book number.

23 References to book and chapter of the Old French William of Tyre follow the 1879–1880 Paris edition.

24 The short redaction of the Continuation coincides with the *Chronique* edited by Mas Latrie. See Edbury (2010). It is represented in the apparatus of the *RHC* edition by the *G* and (with many variants) the *C* texts.

25 For an overview of the history of the genre see the seminal works of Genicot 1998² and Duby 1967 (1975) on genealogies in the Middle Ages, and Bizzocchi 2009² for modern examples of the genre.

they deal with.[26] Originally, genealogies were sketchy but they tended to grow lengthier and more detailed and became sometimes closer to chronicles, as it is the case with Galeotto's text. Genealogy also became one of the most widespread structuring principles for narrative texts in the Middle Ages, both in Latin and in the vernacular, where it featured prominently in the composition of *chansons de geste* and *romance* cycles.[27]

In fifteenth-century Italy, authors turned to genealogy as a way to represent the continuity of the lineages they wrote about from ancient, and often mythical, ancestors, in order to celebrate their patrons' families but also to support their politics.[28] Some of these authors worked in their patrons' chanceries (which explains why they sometimes heavily relied on charters and other documents), but others were lesser noblemen and members of the court, as it was the case with Galeotto.[29]

This form, which was rooted in the origins of the medieval aristocracy itself, along with other traditional genres, was at that time challenged by a new kind of history writing, influenced by the renewed interest in classical Latin (and Greek) historiography among fifteenth-century humanists such as the authors mentioned in Galeotto's prologue, Flavio Biondo and Bartolomeo Platina. Humanists saw history writing as an *ars oratoria* and were mainly influenced by Livy's *Ab Urbe condita libri*. Their writings also reflected a different view of the past, which tended to avoid anachronism, and the belief that the new culture ushered in a new era, which soon led to the previous centuries being seen as 'Middle' Ages.[30] Genealogy, the other genres inherited by the Middle Ages and humanist historiography often coexisted in the same court, and the more traditional forms of history writing sometimes picked up features of the more recent ones.[31]

The structure of genealogy does not square well with the nature of the sources used by the Galeotto, which are not organised as biographical accounts. He thus tried, although rather clumsily, to adapt his material by indicating the importance of his characters' contribution every time he could, even if that meant going beyond historical accuracy.[32] The table below summarises the passages from the Old French William of Tyre that Galeotto compiled in the related chapters of his own text:

William V 'the Old' of Montferrat (*c.* 1115–1191)1090a-1097c = *Eracles*, XVI, 18–29: the Second Crusade until the arrival of Louis VII in Jerusalem;

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26 Biu (2002), Meneghetti-Gaggero (2016), pp. 173–181.

27 Bloch (1983), Gaggero (2008).

28 Genicot (1998²), Bizzocchi (2009²), Barbero (1985), pp. 249–262 for the authors writing in Piedmont before and after Galeotto.

29 Biu (2002), Bidot-Germa (2010), Barbero (1985), pp. 253–254, Folin (2001), pp. 39–40.

30 An overview of the features of humanist historiography is provided by the proceedings of the conference *La storiografia umanistica* (1992).

31 Barbero (1985), p. 251 on the historians of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Piedmont.

32 Fumagalli (1979), p. 415.

1097c-1103c = *Eracles*, XVII, 1–8: the siege of Damascus;[33]
William 'Longsword' of Montferrat, count of Ascalon and Jaffa (*c.* 1140–1177)
1104c-1105c = *Eracles*, XXI, 11 [12]: marriage and death of William Longsword;
1105c-d = *Eracles*, XXII, 24: Sibylla marries Guy of Lusignan;
1105d = *Eracles*, XXII, 28 [30]: bad relations between Baldwin IV and Guy of Lusignan;
1105d-1106a = Ernoul-Bernard, 117–118: the crowning of Baldwin V;
Renier of Montferrat (1162–1183)
1106b-1106d = XXII, 3 [4]: marriage between Renier and Maria Porphyrogenita;
1106d-1107d (unknown source): Judith, wife of William the Old, travels to the East.

The lengthy chapter on William the Old is based on a large, continuous passage drawn from the Old French text. A very short chapter, towards the end of the Old French William of Tyre, is dedicated to Renier. Galeotto did not translate the following chapter, XXII, 4, of William's text, which mentions Renier (under his Greek name, John) and his wife among those who conspired against Alexios II (1169–1183) after the death of Manuel Komnenos in 1180. This is probably because he did not want any of the members of the family to be cast in a negative light. He mentions instead, as we shall see, the story of Manuel granting Thessalonica to Renier, and of how Judith of Babenberg (*c.* 1115–1168), wife of William the Old, travelled to the East, whence she brought back a relic of the Holy Cross. A similar account is found in Benvenuto Sangiorgio.[34]

The chapter dedicated to William Longsword pieces together snippets of text drawn from various widely spread chapters of William of Tyre and from the very beginning of the Ernoul-Bernard continuation. Galeotto mentions William's presence in the Holy Land, stresses the coronation of his son Baldwin (V) as a king of Jerusalem (in 1183) and highlights Guy of Lusignan's (*c.* 1150–1194) difficult relationship with Baldwin IV, as if to underline the differences between Sibylla's (*c.* 1160–1190) first and second husband.

A similar pattern, with the faithful translation of lengthy passages and a more thorough rearrangement of other passages, emerges from the analysis of what the author retained from the first continuation of William of Tyre, based on Ernoul-Bernard:

Boniface of Montferrat (*c.* 1150–1207) and Conrad (of Montferrat?) (d. 1192)
1107c-1108a (unknown source): the descendants of Boniface of Montferrat;
1108a-b = *RHC*, II, 402–403: death of Alix of Montferrat;
1108b-1128b = EB 125–231: from the arrival of Boniface of Montferrat in the Holy Land and of Conrad in Constantinople to the surrender of Jerusalem;

33 The end of the paragraph, 1103c-1104c is different in the 1530 redaction, where Galeotto quotes Otto of Freising: see Fumagalli (1979), pp. 424–425.
34 Benvenuto Sangiorgio, *Historia Montisferrati*, coll. 345d-346c.

1128b-1137a = EB 235–310: the defence of Tyre, the Third Crusade, the marriage of Isabella to Aimery of Cyprus;
1137a-c = EB 407–411+449–451: marriages of Maria of Montferrat and her daughter Isabella;
1137c-1138a (unknown source): Boniface of Montferrat in Italy;
1138a-1148c = EB 337–390: the Fourth Crusade and its aftermath, until the death of Boniface of Montferrat.

One chapter is dedicated to the lives of both Boniface and Conrad. This structure reflects a problem with the Ernoul-Bernard. For the period after 1185, the Old French text consistently calls William the Old 'Boniface', stating that he was Conrad's father. The historical Boniface then enters the narrative with the first stages of the Fourth Crusade. Since it was impossible to disentangle the narratives concerning 'Boniface'/William and Conrad, the two characters are lumped together in the same chapter, that also covers the activities of the actual Boniface of Montferrat. The 1493 redaction of the *Chronicle* follows the Ernoul-Bernard narrative in conflating William the Old and Boniface of Montferrat, while the 1530 redaction attempts to remedy this mistake without changing the Ernoul-Bernard narrative but fails to do so consistently[35]. As in the section translated from the Old French William of Tyre, there is a very short passage, dealing with the marriages of Maria of Montferrat and her daughter Isabella, that pieces together information scattered in the last part of Ernoul-Bernard and that marks the passage from the narrative of the Third to the narrative of the Fourth Crusade.

Fumagalli established that Galeotto used the short version of William of Tyre's *Continuation* based on Ernoul-Bernard's *Chronique*, rather than one of the long redactions known as the Colbert-Fontainebleau and Lyon texts.[36] This makes it hard, at first, to identify the redaction of the *Eracles* used by Galeotto: forty-three manuscripts from both Europe (France and Italy) and the Holy Land contain the short redaction of the first Continuation. Fortunately we can narrow this figure down by considering some hitherto overlooked evidence, such as the material drawn from the following section of the *Eracles*. After the Ernoul-Bernard Continuation, the tradition splits: fourteen manuscripts contain the so-called Rothelin Continuation, written in France, and ten, mainly from the Holy Land, contain the so-called Acre Continuation.[37] Overlooked evidence shows that Galeotto used a manuscript that contained the Acre Continuation.

At the beginning of the chapter about Boniface and Conrad, Galeotto writes about the sons of Boniface of Montferrat. He mistakenly presents Alix of Montferrat, Boniface's granddaughter, as his daughter. He then goes

35 Fumagalli (1979), pp. 394–396.
36 *Ibid.*, pp. 414–418.
37 Figures from the manuscript tradition and manuscripts' *sigla* refer to Folda (1973).

on to mention her marriage in 1229 to Henry I of Cyprus (1217–1253) and her death (1232–1233).[38] This passage is a straightforward translation of the corresponding one in the Acre Continuation:

1108a-b: Costei venne a morte in una terra del regno de Napoli nominata Charino, essendo el re Henrico, suo marito, a campo a la ditta terra, dove quelli del ditto loco, vedendola morta, la vestirono come ad una regina s'appartene, cum mandare un messo al re Henrico (…) quelli della terra non facendo anchora lor offesa a quelli de fuora la portarono fuor de le mura, et quelli del re Henrico la presero, et fuo portata a Nicosia cum gran festa e gran pompa, et fuo honorevolmente interrata dall'Arcivescovo di Estorgues ne la chiesa di Santa Sophie.	*RHC*, II, 402–403: Quant ele fu trespassee, cil qui estoient dedens Cherines la atornerent si come l'on doit atorner et vestir reine, et puis firent demander fiance de envoier un home parler au roi. (…) Lors la mistrent cil de Cherines hors dou chastel, et cil de la herberge la receurent, et fu portee a Nicosie a grant compaignie de gent, et fu enterree honoreement en la mere iglise de Sainte Sophie, et l'enterra l'arcevesque Estorgue.

[*Translation of the Italian text*: She died in a land of the kingdom of Naples named Kyrenia, when her husband, King Henry, was engaged in a military expedition in the same land. The local people, when they saw she was dead, dressed her up as it is fit for a queen and sent a message to King Henry. The local people, who had not yet attacked those who were besieging the castle, brought the body outside and King Henry's men took it. It was brought to Nicosia with great celebrations and great pomp, and it was buried in the church of Saint Sophia by archbishop Eustorgius ('the archbishop of Eustorgius' according to Galeotto).]

This arrangement of sections (Old French William of Tyre – Ernoul-Bernard's Continuation in its short redaction – Acre Continuation) only survives in eight manuscripts of the *Eracles*. Four of them (*F69*, *F70*, *F71*, *F78*) are from Acre, although *F70* was completed in Venice at the beginning of the fourteenth century;[39] two manuscripts (*F74*, *F77*) were copied in Italy from manuscripts coming from the Holy Land,[40] and two (*F67* and *F68*) are fifteenth-century copies of the Acre manuscript *F69*,[41] *F74* (copied in Northern Italy)[42] and *F70* cannot be the manuscripts used by Galeotto: inside the short version

38 Edbury (1991), pp. 60 and 67 n. 95.

39 Folda (1976), pp. 111–116, Folda (2005), pp. 495–497; for a brief overview of the bibliography on this manuscript, Gaggero (2018), p. 192. The manuscript has been recently studied in two PhD theses: Helou (2017) and Di Fabrizio (2013).

40 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2631 and fr. 9082.

41 Edbury (2007), pp. 81–82.

42 Avril-Gousset (1984), pp. 39–40.

of the first continuation they have interpolated passages from the Colbert-Fontainebleau and Lyon long redactions respectively, which are not found in Galeotto's text. Where the short and the long redactions can be compared, the Italian text consistently follows the short redaction.[43]

The other manuscripts come closer to the exemplar that Galeotto is likely to have used, although it is difficult to identify this manuscript with one of the extant copies. Once we discard *F74* and *F70*, the only Italian copy left is *F77*, dated Rome 1295 by its colophon.[44] Galeotto went to Naples in December 1488 as a member of the group of noblemen sent to escort Isabella of Aragon (or Naples, 1470–1524), the future wife of Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1469–1494), and to Rome in 1492, when Ludovico Maria 'il Moro' Sforza (1452–1508) sent ambassadors to the newly elected pope Alexander VI (p. 1492–1503). He may have seen the manuscript on one of these occasions, if it was still in Rome at that time. We do not, however, know the history of this particular copy between its completion in 1295 and the end of the seventeenth century, when it entered into the collection of the *maréchal* of Noailles, from where it entered the library of the king of France in 1740.[45] The evidence about the manuscripts that belonged to the seigneurial families Galeotto was in contact with does not help determine which manuscript he may have used.[46]

Although we can determine the form of the *Eracles* Galeotto used for his compilation, it is not possible, for the time being, to identify this manuscript with any of the extant copies. If further analysis should prove that Galeotto used *F77*, it may be that he only copied (or had someone copy for him) excerpts of the sections in which he was interested. He may have shown these excerpts to Benvenuto Sangiorgio, who in turn copied from his notes the Old French excerpt he quoted in his *Chronica*. There is also the possibility that, after consulting a copy that would form the base text for his translation, Galeotto may have seen, at a later stage of his work, other copies belonging to the seigneurial families with which he was in touch.

Galeotto may also have used a manuscript which is now lost or partially destroyed. An important number of fragments from *Eracles* manuscripts have been discovered in recent years, especially in Italy, proving that more copies

43 Edbury (2010), pp. 111–112.

44 Avril-Gousset (1984), pp. 137–138.

45 Giannini (2016), pp. 81–86.

46 We have seen that, although it has been localised to north-western Italy by art historians, *F74*, which belonged to the Visconti, cannot have been the one used by Galeotto. The entry for the now lost copy of the *Eracles* in the Gonzaga catalogue also shows that this could not have been the copy used by Galeotto: the *explicit* registered in the catalogue entry ("en conuent. Et li rois atant sartint [*sic*; *s'an tint* in the extant manuscripts]": Braghirolli-Paris-Meyer (1880), p. 508) corresponds exactly to the ending of the Ernoul-Bernard Continuation, and it proves that the Gonzaga *Eracles* did not have any further continuation after this section. The fragments from the two Este manuscripts come from the section containing the Old French William of Tyre, and do not give any indication about the Continuations they originally contained.

of the text circulated widely in the peninsula.[47] It would be reasonable to suppose that this lost copy belonged to the Montferrat family. The form of the *Eracles* that Galeotto used arrived in Italy from the Holy Land. If Galeotto used a manuscript that belonged to the Montferrat family, it may be that the copy was purchased in the Latin East in the thirteenth century. On the other hand, we have seen that Benvenuto Sangiorgio, who, like Galeotto, was a member of the court, commented on the rarity of the *Eracles* manuscripts in the places in which they both lived and worked. Benvenuto transcribed a passage from the *Eracles* because his intended readers (i.e. the members of the court) would not have a copy at hand.

Textual strategies and the shaping of the Montferrat's memory: the Third Crusade

Let us turn to the question of how Galeotto used the *Eracles*. The narrative of the Third Crusade represents a turning point in the exploitation of this source. The first part of the Boniface-Conrad section is a fairly close rendering of the corresponding section from the short redaction of the Ernoul-Bernard Continuation, up until the narrative concerning the surrender of Jerusalem and the defence of Tyre. This section of the French text is not specifically concerned with the exploits of either character. For this reason, Galeotto tried to stress the importance of 'Boniface' (i.e. William the Old) by repeatedly referring to him as witnessing or taking part in the events (the extra sentences are highlighted in italics).

1110c: Sibilla, contessa de Iaphet, era in Hierusalem cum Guido de Lusignano e soi cavalieri, quale *consigliandosi col marchese Bonifacio*, ch'ivi era presente, et col Patriarca, et col Maestro del Tempio, et col Mastro dell'Hospitale gli dissero, che volesse esser Regina, ch'al despetto de ogni homo la coronarono.	EB 130–131: La contesse de Jaffe, qui seur fu le roi de Jherusalem, [fu en Jherusalem entre] li et sen baron et ses chevaliers, et fu a l'enfoïr le roi son fil. Et si fu li marcis Bonifasses ses taions et li patriarces et li maistre del Temple et de l'Ospital. Quant li rois fu enfouis, si vint li contesse de Jaffe al patriarce et au maistre del Temple et de l'Hospital, et si lor demanda, pour Dieu, qu'il le conseillassent. La vint li patriarces et li maistres del Temple, si disent que il le couronneroient, malgré tous ciaus de le tiere (…)

47 Limentani (1961–1962), Longobardi (1986 and 1994), Mantovani (2009–2010) and Cambi (2016).

1111a: El Maestro del Tempio et lo principe Raynaldo presero Sibilla, et la condussero al Sepulchro per coronarla; *in sua compagnia v'era il marchese Bonifacio.*	EB 133: Li patriarces et li maistres del Temple et li prinches Renaus prisent le dame, et si le menerent al patriarce et au Sepulchre pour couroner.
1117c-d: (…) [the treasure] era in custodia del Mastro del Tempio, et a quel tempo et urgentissimo bisogno, lo lassò nelle mani del Re Guido, quale pagando li soldati di quello, in sette septimane molti ne raunò inseme, et fece un bel exercito, havendo molti cavalleri e baroni, et sergenti, di quali ciaschuno avea una bandera. *Fra costoro v'era el marchese Bonifacio di Monferrato, quale come valoroso ed il re Guido parente molto era apprezzato et honorato*. Saladino in questo tempo passò el fiume, et assediò Tiberiade.	EB 157: Chel tresor que li Temples avoit livra li maistres del Temple al roi Guion; et se li dist qu'il voloit qu'il assanlast tant de gent qu'il se peust conbatre contre Sarrasins, et pour vengier le honte et le damage qu'il li avoient fait. Dont prist li rois le tresor del Temple, si le donna as chevaliers et as siergans et commanda al maistre connestable des serjans que cascuns eust baniere des armes le roi d'Engletiere, pour çou que de son avoir estoient paiié et retenu. Quant li rois ot esté illuec entour .v. semaines et il ot amassé grans gens, si vint Salehadins, si passa le flun et asseja Tabarie.

[*Translation of the Italian text* – 1110c: Sibylla, countess of Jaffa, was in Jerusalem with Guy of Lusignan and his knights. She consulted Marquis Boniface, who was there, the Patriarch, the Master of the Temple and the Master of the Hospital, who advised her to be crowned as queen: they would crown her against any opposition.
1111a: The Master of the Temple and Prince Reginald took Sibylla and brought her to the Holy Sepulchre in order to crown her; Marquis Boniface was with them.
1117c-d: The treasure was in the Master of the Temple's custody, and he, in that time of urgent need, handed it over to King Guy. He paid the soldiers with the treasure: in seven weeks he gathered numerous soldiers and he put together a worthy army with many knights and barons and sergeants, each of whom had a banner (*sic*). Among them was Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, who, as a valiant man and a kinsman of King Guy, was appreciated and honoured. Saladin crossed the river and besieged Tiberias.]

The first part of the Ernoul-Bernard narrative presented the delayed arrival of Conrad of Montferrat in the Holy Land and his role in the defence of Tyre as part of God's plans to leave one of the cities to the Christians while handing over Jerusalem and the rest of the kingdom to the Muslims. This presentation of the events that casts Conrad in a positive light was in line with Galeotto's agenda, and all the passages of Ernoul-Bernard stating that

Conrad was instrumental in fulfilling God's plans have been duly translated in the *Chronicle* (1109d = EB 129; 1122a = EB 179, 1122d = EB 182).

Conrad and Boniface (conflating, as we have seen, William the Old and his son Boniface) feature, more or less prominently, in two thirds of the Ernoul-Bernard narrative. Galeotto thus tried to cut out everything that looked like an unnecessary development in order to achieve a shorter narrative with a quicker pace and one that focused more closely on the two characters, without sacrificing too much of the broader narrative framework.

The first instance of serious abridgement occurs at the end of the narrative of Saladin's siege of Jerusalem: Galeotto strips the discussions for the ransom of the Christians of Jerusalem down to their essentials as well as the episodes illustrating Saladin's magnanimity and the description of the Christians' departure from the city. In this way, twenty pages of the French text are squeezed into two columns in the Italian adaptation (*Cronica*, 1126c-1128a = EB 216–235). He adopts the same radical approach in trimming down the text when it comes to the narrative of the Third Crusade. The Ernoul-Bernard author inserts the narrative of the Third Crusade in the context of the relationships between Philip Augustus (1165–1223) and Richard I (1157–1199) but Galeotto cuts everything that has to do with this broader framework (*Cronica*, 1130c-1137b = EB 244–310).

This results in a narrative that lets the deeds of Conrad stand out, most notably his confrontations with Saladin (1138–1193) and Guy of Lusignan, but which is sometimes very confused about everything else. After the arrival of Philip Augustus at the siege of Acre, the death of Sibylla and the marriage between Conrad of Montferrat and Isabella (*Cronica*, 1134a = EB 268), Galeotto stops the narrative of the siege of Acre altogether:

> I will not say anything else about Acre, except that in the end the king of France and the king of England took the city. And while the king of England was going to the Holy Land, he was unfairly attacked by the king of Cyprus, so he set foot on the island and took it without meeting any resistance, because its king had fled on a fleet horse out of fear of him.[48]

He then goes on to relate how the island came into the hands of Guy of Lusignan first, and was then passed over to Aimery of Cyprus (1153–1205) (*Cronica*, 1134b-1135b = EB 268–271–273, 284–288). Galeotto kept the narrative about Cyprus in order to provide a context for the subsequent marriage of Isabella and Aimery. There follows an accurate translation of the episodes of the death of Conrad of Montferrat and Henry of Champagne (1166–1197)

48 Galeotto, *Cronica* 1134a-b: "Io non parlarò più oltra de la città d'Acri, se non ch'el Re Philippo de Francia inseme col Re Richardo d'Inghilterra alfin la presero: et nell'andar che fece el Re Richardo in terra Santa, essendo a torto per mare molestato dal Re de Cipro, prese terra cum le sue navi, et pigliò quell'isola de Cipro a salvamano, essendo fuggito el suo Re, per gran paura de quello, sopra un cavallo legiero".

(*Cronica*, 1135b-1136a, 1136b-d = EB 288–291, 305–307) while he makes only a sketchy mention of the departure of Richard I and the troubles following the death of Saladin (*Cronica*, 1136a-b, 1136d = EB 291–298, 308–309). At the end of the section, Galeotto groups together a very brief survey of the marriage of Aimery and Isabella (1197)[49], the marriage in 1210 of John of Brienne (*c.* 1170–1237) to Maria, daughter of Conrad (1192–1212)[50], and the marriage in 1225 of John's daughter, Isabella II (1211–1228), to Frederick II (1194–1250):[51]

> After the death of count Henry II of Champagne, the barons of the kingdom discussed together to whom they should give Isabella, who was now a widow. In the end, they agreed that she should marry Aimery, king of Cyprus, who had been the brother of King Guy of Lusignan. They sent for him, they had him marry Isabella, and they crowned him king of Jerusalem [= EB 310]. Aimery kept with him and his wife Isabella, the daughter she had from Conrad of Montferrat. When she inherited the kingdom of Jerusalem at the death of King Henry, and was under the custody of John of Ibelin, the son of Balian and Queen Maria (who had been the wife of King Amalric of Jerusalem), with the consent of the patriarch, the high priests, the knights of the land, the Temple and the Hospital, Conrad's and Isabella's daughter was married to a valiant Frenchman named John of Brienne, whom they went to seek in France. He came on the French king's advice. When he arrived in Tyre, he was crowned king of Jerusalem with great pomp and honours. And this wife, the daughter of Marquis Conrad, died when the king of Hungary came to Acre. She left a daughter named Isabella [= EB 407–411], who became the wife of Emperor Frederick II; she bore him a child whose name was Conrad; he should have been his heir but he was poisoned by Manfred, his stepbrother [= EB 449–451]. John of Brienne remained in the kingdom of Jerusalem without a wife and then took one of the daughters of the king of Armenia [= EB 411].[52]

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49 Edbury (1991), p. 33.

50 Perry (2013), pp. 41–50.

51 *Ibid.*, pp. 125–127 and 135–138.

52 Galeotto, *Cronica*, 1138d-1137b: "Morto che fu el Conte Henrico de Campagna, i signori del Regno fecero conseglio tra loro, a cui dovevano dare Hisabella, qual era rimasta vidua. Finalmente fu concluso per tutti, che fosse data in matrimonio ad Almerico Re de Cipro, che fu fratello del Re Guido da Lusignano, et mandando per lui, gliela fecero sposare, et fu fatto re de Hierusalem [= EB 310]. Il quale tenne appresso di lui et d'Hisabella sua consorte una figliola di lei et del Marchese Conrado. Il qual poi la morte del Re Henrico, essendo herede del Regno de Hierusalem, et in tutela de uno suo zio nominato Giovan Deybellino figliolo di Belliano et di la Regina Maria, qual poi fu moglie del Re Almerico de Hierusalem, per consentimento del Patriarca et degl'altri Prelati et Cavalleri de Terra Santa et de quelli del Tempio et Hospitale fu data per moglie ad uno valoroso Francese nominato Giovan di Breyna, quale mandarono a prendere insino in Francia, et per conseglio del Re de Francia venne. Il quai giongendo a Sura, fu con gran triumpho et honore fatto Re de Hierusalem. Et questa sua moglie, figliola del Marchese Conrado, morì nel lempo che'l Re d'Ungaria,

In piecing together this information scattered throughout the last part of the Ernoul-Bernard Continuation, the author's intention is clearly to stress, through the line of descent going from Conrad to Maria and Isabella, the ties between the Montferrat family and the German empire on one hand, and the kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus on the other. The entire *Chronicle* underlines these two *foci* of the foreign policies of the Montferrat family. Their allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire is discussed at length at the very beginning of the text (see the lengthy prologue, coll. 1083a-1088a), whereas their ties to the Latin East emerge gradually from the narrative as soon as we come to the chapters that are derived from the *Eracles*.

The marquis of Montferrat and Thessalonica: a local historical tradition?

Galeotto's intention to highlight the importance of the Montferrat's presence in the Latin East, and especially in the lands of the former Byzantine empire, is also evident from the references to Thessalonica that Galeotto inserts into the chapters derived from the *Eracles*. I have not been able to identify all the sources of these passages but they are sometimes matched by Benvenuto Sangiorgio and other local historians from the Montferrat region. After translating the description of the marriage between Renier of Montferrat and Maria Porphyrogenita (1152–1182) (Old French William of Tyre, XXII, 3, p. 413), Galeotto adds a brief remark:

> Manuel I entrusted Renier with the government of all his empire, and he gave him the crown of the kingdom of Salonicco on 2 March 1180; being courageous and full of virtues, Renier was held in high esteem in Constantinople and Thessaly.[53]

This information is seldom found in contemporary sources; the only exceptions seem to be the *Chronicles* of Robert de Torigni and Sicard of Cremona:

> Robert de Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 528, 17–22: Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, gave Renier, the son of Prince (*sic*) William of Montferrat, his daughter, born from his previous wife. The young lady said that she

venendo in Terra Santa, gionse ad Achri, el lassò di lei una figliola nominata Hisabella [= EB 407–411], qual fu moglie dell'imperatore Federico secondo, et di lei hebbe Conrado, qual a la sua morte constituí herede, ma fu morto di veneno da Manfredo suo fratello bastardo [= EB 449–451]. Giovan di Breyna rimase nel Regno de Hierusalem senza moglie, et tolse poi una figliola del Re d'Armenia [= EB 411]".

53 Galeotto, *Cronica*, 1106d: "L'Imperator Emanuel dedde el governo de tutto l'Imperio ad Raynero, et coronollo poi del Reame del Sollenicho, nell'anno 1180, a giorni doi de marcio, quale per esser animoso et di molte virtù dotato fuo molto estimate in Constantinopoli et por tutto el paese de Tesalia".

> would never marry any man who was not a king, so the emperor, amused by her attitude, wore his crown together with his wife. He crowned his son Alexios as young emperor along with the daughter of the king of France. Renier, son of the marquis of Montferrat, and Manuel's daughter, whom he gave him, were crowned in a similar way. And he gave him the honour of Thessalonica, which is the highest charge in the kingdom after that of Constantinople.[54]

> Sicard of Cremona, *Cronica*, p. 173, 9–10: He sent Renier, a beautiful young man, to Constantinople; who received the daughter of the emperor, who had been betrothed to him, together with the crown of Thessalonica. But they wore the crown for a very short time, and they soon left this world.[55]

It is possible that Robert de Torigni used *honor* to translate the Greek *pronoia*, indicating the granting of the fiscal revenues from Thessalonica; Sicard, mentioning a *corona*, may have thought that the use of a crown in the ceremony marking the access to the charge of Caesar meant that Renier had received a proper fief. This served the interests of the Montferrat family: claiming what was thought to be a former family possession may have inspired Boniface of Montferrat in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade[56]. The information is picked up not only by Galeotto but by other historians from the same area, and thus seems to reflect a local historical tradition.[57]

In the chapter about Boniface and Conrad, Galeotto translates the passage, from Ernoul-Bernard's account of the Fourth Crusade, relating that Henry I of Constantinople (1176–1216) granted Thessalonica to Boniface, who later passed it down to his son Demetrios (1205–1230):

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54 Robert de Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 528, 17–22: "Manuel imperator Constantinopolitanus dedit Rainerio filio Willermi principis Montis Ferrati filiam suam, natam ex priore uxore sua. Que cum diceret, se nunquam alicui nupturam, nisi esset rex: imperator exhilaratus, fecit se coronari et uxorem suam et Alexium filium suum iuniorem imperatorem cum uxore sua filia regis Francorum. Similiter fecit coronari Rainerium filium marchisi Montis Ferrati cum filia sua, quam ei dederat; et dedit ei honorem Thesolonicensium, qui est maxima potestas regni sui post civitatem Contantinopolitanam".

55 Sicard of Cremona, *Cronica*, p. 173, 9–10: "Rainerium adolescentem decorum aspectu Constantinopolim misit; qui promissam imperialem filiam pariter cum Salonichensi corona suscepit. Sed modico tempore diademae regali fruentes, ambo de hoc seculo migraverunt".

56 Wolff (1969), p. 165, followed by Haberstumpf (1995), pp. 54–62 and Maestri (2005), pp. 49–52.

57 See also the anonymous *Chronica di Monferrato* (ed. Moriondo, coll. 188, 46–62) and Benvenuto Sangiorgio, *Historia Montisferrati*, 345d. According to Jacopo d'Aqui quoted in Benvenuto Sangiorgio's Latin *Chronicon* as an unnamed author, Renier conquered Thessalonica in a war against Alexios II: see Haberstumpf (1995), p. 63.

Cronica, 1146a-b: [Baldwin I of Constantinople] andò verso Solennicho per conquistarla, et darla a Bonifacio, a cui avea donato el Reame de Tesalia. El Marchese Bonifacio andò con lui, et condusse seco l'Imperatrice sua moglie, quale havea sposata: quella fuo moglie già dell'Imperator Chrisacho, et matre del fanciullo Imperatore Allexio, che Morgofle fece strangolare, et sorella del re Ungaro: el suo nome era Margarita, come ho detto sopra. Costei hebbe dal Marchese uno figliolo, che poi fuo Re de Solennicho, quale è lontano quindece giorni da Costantinopoli. L'Imperator havendo seco el Marchese andò a Solennicho, et in tutti gli lochi dov'andava, lo ricevevano per signore: poi venendo a Solennicho, si rese a lui, et egli lo donò al Marchese Bonifacio, *e tutte le gran terre sulla marina verso Poglia*. Et poi [Baldwin I] volse che Bonifacio vendesse l'isola de Candia a Venetiani, i quali la desideravano havere: et acciò che la puotessero havere, lassarono altre cose loro all'Imperatore. Bonifacio, che havea havuta quest'isola dal fanciullo imperator, figliolo del ceco Chrisacho, per non despiacere all'imperator Balduino, quale cum instantia lo pregò che la volesse lassare ad Venetiani, gliela vendette per bona derrata. Gli oratori Venetiani, ai quali al nome di S. Marco fuo venduta, furono Marco Sanudo, Venetiano, et Rabano de Caceribus, Veronese.	EB, 377: (…) et ala a Salenike, pour prendre, et pour delivrer aveuckes le marchis de Monferras, cui il avoit donee Salenique et le royaume. Li marcis ala aveuc, et mena l'emperis se feme qu'il avoit espousee, qui feme avoit esté l'empereour Kyrsac, et mere l'empereur cui Morchofles avoit fait estranler, et suer le roi de Hungherie. Cele dame ot .i. fil del marcis qui puis fu rois de Salenique. Il a bien .xv. journees de Costantinoble dusques a Salenique. Li empereres ala de Costantinoble en Salenique; et en tous les lius la ou il aloit, estoit reçus a segnour par toute le tiere. Et quant il vint a Salenique, se li rendi on, et il le dona le marcis. Apries li rendi on grant tiere sour le marine, par deviers Puille, qu'il dona les Campegnois, que puis tint Joffrois de Ville Harduin.

[*Translation of the Italian text* – Baldwin I of Constantinople went to Thessalonica in order to conquer it and hand it over to Boniface, to whom he gave the realm of Thessaly. Marquis Boniface went with him and he brought his wife the empress, whom he had married. She had already been the wife of emperor Isaac, and the mother of the young emperor Alexios (whom Murzufle had strangled), and the sister of

> the king of Hungary. Her name was Marguerite, as I have said before. She bore the marquis a son, who became king of Thessalonica, which is fifteen days from Constantinople. The emperor, together with the marquis, went to Thessalonica, and wherever he went, he was received as lord. When he arrived in Thessalonica, the city surrendered to him and he gave it to Marquis Boniface along with all the lands on the sea facing Apulia. And then Baldwin I wished that Boniface sold the island of Crete to the Venetians, who desired it. In order to have it, they handed other things that belonged to them over to the emperor. Boniface, who had received the island from the young emperor, the son of Isaac II, agreed to sell the island to the Venetians for a good price, in order not to upset the emperor, who asked him insistently. The Venetian ambassadors, who received the island in the name of St Mark, were Marco Sanudo, a Venetian, and Rabano de Caceribus, from Verona. *Ending of the French text* – And then they surrendered to him a vast territory on the sea, facing Apulia, which he gave to the Champenois contingent; Geoffrey of Villehardouin then governed the land.]

Although he faithfully translated the first part of the chapter, Galeotto altered its ending, to the effect that Boniface seems to have been granted a much larger territory by Baldwin I than is stated in the Ernoul-Bernard text (with no substantial variation in the manuscripts).

The second part of the paragraph, relating how Boniface sold the island of Crete to the Venetians, is another addition to the Ernoul-Bernard narrative taken from the *Eracles* and is a striking instance of Galeotto using a documentary source to complete his narrative source already in the 1493 redaction of his text. The episode he relates is derived from the *Refutatio Cretae* (1204), a document that survives in copies that were kept in the Venetian archives and which features in many of the Venetian chronicles studied and edited by Carile.[58] The chronicle corresponds to the document so closely that Galeotto also gives the names of the Venetian ambassadors who negotiated the treaty. He does not mention that the treaty implied the renunciation to all Boniface's possessions in the East (including Thessalonica), which made Boniface a vassal to the republic of Venice. It is also interesting to observe that the Latin text of the *Refutatio* seems to imply that Thessalonica was granted by Manuel Komnenos to Boniface's brother (i.e. Renier), a sign that the version of the story referred to above had become part of the house of Montferrat's tradition as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century.[59]

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58 Edition in Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, pp. 512–515. For the Venetian chronicles, see Carile 1969 and the online edition coordinated by Carile: http://www.cronachevenezianeravennati.it/home/index.jsp (last access 25/02/2017).

59 For a discussion of the *Refutatio* see Usseglio (1926), II, pp. 247–251 (especially p. 249), Wolff (1969[2]), pp. 190–191, Carile (1978), pp. 197–198, Haberstumpf (1995), pp. 60–62, and Maestri (2005), 61–62.

In order to create a tie-in with the *Refutatio* episode, Galeotto has added a few lines into the narrative of the first stages of the Fourth Crusade. During the first stages of the expedition, the crusaders, according to Ernoul-Bernard, waited in Corfu for Alexios IV (1182–1204), while he was taking leave from the king of Hungary. At this point, Galeotto adds that, when Alexios came back, he received an embassy from Crete that surrendered the island to him. He then gave it to Boniface:

> And there they waited for Emperor Isaac's son. When he arrived, the men from Crete came to him and handed over the island of Crete. He gave it to Marquis Boniface, who kept it until the time I will talk about in due course.[60]

The Ernoul-Bernard account is thus adjusted in order to acknowledge documentary evidence of a treaty that may have been in the archives of the Montferrat family. The importance of the treaty itself is underlined by the fact that, as I have said, Galeotto seldom quotes from documents in the first redaction of the *Chronicle*.

The narrative about Thessalonica is picked up again at the end of the same chapter about Boniface and Conrad, where Galeotto again expands on the Ernoul-Bernard account. He first adds a more detailed description of the death of Boniface of Montferrat, that takes place during his stay in the city (1148a-b), and goes on to translate the Ernoul-Bernard account of the death of Henry I of Constantinople (1176?-11 June 1216) and Peter II of Courtenay (d. 1219).[61] Following the Old French text, Galeotto mentions the fact that Demetrios was crowned king of Thessalonica (1148b-c = EB 391–393 fairly abridged). Galeotto then relates how Demetrios was ousted in 1223 by a Greek revolt (in fact, the city was captured by Theodore Komnenos Doukas [1180–1253] at the end of 1224), and fled to Frederick II's court in Pavia:

> Demetrius, the son of Marquis Boniface, crowned king of Thessaly by emperor Henry, was ousted from his kingdom by the Greeks, who had rebelled throughout the land. He came to Montferrat, whence he came back three years after with his brother William and with a big army in order to recover his lands, but he could not have them back. He then went to Pavia to Emperor Frederick II, who was then in that city, and he handed over to him in his will the kingdom of Thessaly, whence he had been removed. He died in the city in the year 1223.[62]

60 Galeotto, *Cronica*, 1141c: "(…) et ivi aspettarono el figliol de l'Imperatore Chrisacho; il qual venuto che fu, gli uomini di Candia vennero da lui, et gli deddero l'isola di Creta, et egli la donò al Marchese Bonifacio, il quale la tiene fino al tempo, che dirò più oltre al loco suo".

61 Usseglio (1926), pp. 259–262, Maestri (2005), 83–86.

62 Galeotto, *Cronica*, 1148c-d: "Demestrio dunque figliuol dil Marchese Bonifacio essendo fatto Re di Thesalia dall'Imperator Henrico, fu cacciato dal Regno da' Greci, i quali per tutto quel paese s'erano rebellati, et venne in Monferrato, dove tri anni poi ritornò cum Gulielmo suo fratello et cum grand'exercito per racquistarlo, ma non lo puotè havere. Andò poi a Pavia

A similar narrative is provided at the end of the following chapter, containing the biography of William VI, Demetrius's brother, who died in Greece (Almyros) on 17 September 1226 (1150b-c) while trying to recover Thessalonica with his brother:

> Going back to Marquis William, whom I was talking about previously, I say that, since he was going to Greece to help his brother Demetrius (who, as I said, had lost the kingdom of Thessaly), and he did not have enough to pay the soldiers, whom he wanted to bring with him, he pledged all his state to emperor Frederick II in exchange of 100,000 livres, except for Trino and Pontestura, which he gaged to the inhabitants of Vercelli for 10,000 livres. Along with his brother Demetrius and his son Boniface, he then went to Greece with a great army of soldiers and footmen, and he did great harm and inflicted great damage to the Greeks. He died in Thessalonica, the main city of the kingdom. Boniface went back to Lombardy with few people, because most of the army had died in Greece because of a diarrhea epidemic, since the Greek had poisoned the fountains and the wells. Demetrius, as I said, went back to Pavia to Emperor Frederick II, and there he died. William died because of the poison in Thessalonica in 1225.[63]

Details on the expedition are scarce in the sources but it is probable, according to Gallina, that the army was struck by an epidemic (perhaps the same that had already struck it in Brindisi in 1224 forcing it to delay its departure) and that William died in Thessaly without ever reaching Thessalonica. Galeotto, who says that William died in the city (as if he reconquered it) and blames the death of the count and the soldiers to the poisoning of the waters by the Greeks, follows again a tradition which is found in other local historians.[64]

Although both passages are very sketchy, the second one completes the first one by retelling the story, as it were, from the point of view of William:

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dall'Imperator Fiderico secondo, il qual a quel tempo era in quella città, a cui lassò per testamento il Regno de Thesalia, da quale era condutto, et nella città di Pavia passò di questa vita nell'anno 1223 (the 1493 redaction gives the date 1227)".

63 Galeotto, *Cronica*, 1150b-c: "Tornando a Gulielmo Marchese, da cui ho lassato de parlare, dico ch'andando in Grecia in aiuto del suo fratel Demetrio, quale, come ho ditto, havea perso el Regno de Thesalia, et non havendo donde puotesse pagare gli soldati, i quali volea condurre seco, impegnò tutto el Stato suo all'Imperator Federico secondo per cento millia libbre, excetto Trino et Pontestura, quale due terre obbligò a gli Vercellesi per dece millia libre: e poi se n'andò in Grecia col fratel Demetrio et cum suo figliolo Bonifacio cum grand'exercito de soldati et fanti, et dedde gran molestia et danno a gli Greci, et finì gli giorni soi nella città di Solennicho, qual è la principal terra de quel Regno: et Bonifacio suo fratello ritornò in Lombardia cum poca gente, perché la maggior parte dell'exercito era morta in Grecia del mal de fluxo, perché gli Greci haveano velenate le fontane, gli pocii et uve. Demetrio, come ho ditto, tornò a Pavia dall'Imperator Federico secundo, et ivi morio. Gulielmo morio de veleno in la città de Solennicho nell'anno mille ducento venti cinque".

64 Maestri (2005), pp. 79–80. On the events leading to the loss of Thessalonica see Usseglio (1926), II, pp. 271–278.

he hands over his lands to Frederick II, just as his brother left him his rights to the kingdom of Thessaly in his will. Galeotto later mentions that, in 1239, Frederick gave the title of Thessaly back to Boniface II (1202–1253), as well as his claims on the lands of the marquis of Montferrat:[65]

> In 1239, on the last day of August, Boniface received from Emperor Frederick II Montferrat and the kingdom of Thessaly, which the emperor had received from Demetrios, the son of Boniface and the aforementioned Marguerite.[66]

By insisting only on the support provided by Frederick II, Galeotto does not acknowledge both the financial and diplomatic support that Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) provided for the expedition.[67] Here again the author seems to stress how the marquises' politics is consistently shaped by their allegiance to the German emperor, who was their overlord.

Thessalonica is not mentioned again in the *Chronicle*. Galeotto does not say that the title was subsequently added by William VII of Montferrat (1240–1292) to his daughter Yolande's (1274–1317) dowry when she married Andronic II Palaiologos in 1284. This marriage would prove instrumental in the preservation of the Montferrat dynasty through the new Palaiologoi branch with Theodore I (*c.* 1290–24 April 1338), once the direct descent from Aleramo was extinguished with the death of John I in 1305.[68] As a turning point in the history of the family, Theodore I's biography is dealt with at length by Galeotto (*Cronica*, 1163a-1178a).[69]

After this the author's interest in the Latin East seems to dwindle. Only towards the end of the section which is shared by the 1493 and the 1530 redaction is this theme brought up again by the marriage of Boniface III, who first commissioned the *Chronicle* to Galeotto, and Marija Brancović, daughter of the despot of Serbia, Stefan the Blind (*c.* 1417–1476), in 1485. Galeotto records that Boniface:

> Boniface III had two wives: (…) the second was Maria, the current marchioness, who was the daughter of the good Stefan, despot of Serbia. She is a relative of the emperor of Constantinople, who is still alive, and she has been brought up at his court; the emperor decided all by himself (as if inspired by God, He who never lets down the righteous), to marry her to the marquis (…) and in his old age God has allowed him to give birth to two green and healthy young trees,

65 Gallina (1985), pp. 81–82.

66 Galeotto, *Cronica*, 1152a: "Nell'anno mille duecento trenta nove, all'ultimo d'agosto, questo Bonifacio fu investito da Federico secondo, imperator, del Monferrato e del Regno di Thesalia, a lui lassato da Demetrio, figliolo di Bonifacio e Margarita figliola del Re d'Ungaria soprascritta".

67 Gallina (1985), pp. 65–76.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 82–83, Haberstumpf (1995), pp. 63–64. For a recent assessment of Theodore I's politics in Montferrat and in the Byzantine Empire see Haberstumpf (2008) with a complete bibliography.

69 On Theodore, see Laiou (1968).

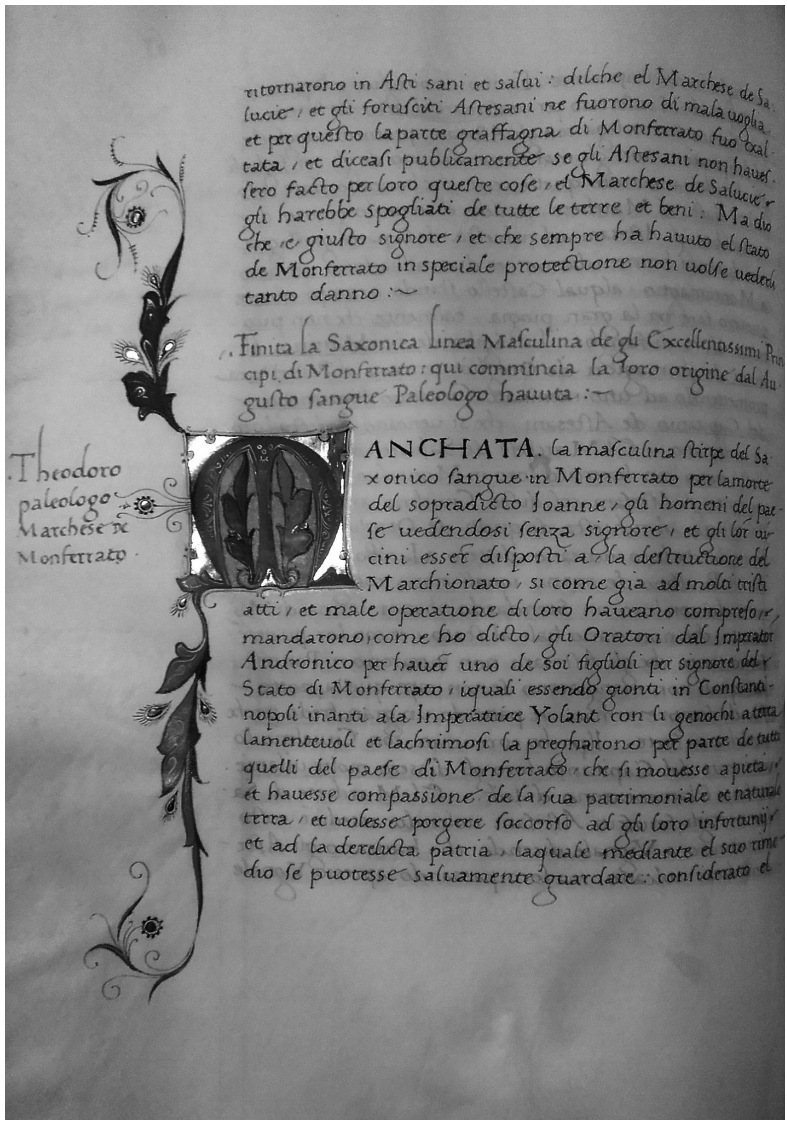

Figure 2: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it 412, f. 68v: beginning of the chapter about Theodore I Palaiologos (1493 prose redaction)]

> born by a wife who has the blood of a Caesar as he has, and who has restored the Montferrat dynasty as Theodore Palaiologos of Montferrat did before her (…).[70]

70 Galeotto, *Cronica*, 1238a-b: "[Boniface III] ha havute due moglie: (…) l'altra fuo Maria, moderna Marchesa, figliola che fuo del buon Stefano, Dispoto di Servia, la quale per esser

These lines draw an explicit comparison between the change of dynasty that brought the Palaiologoi to Montferrat and the new beginning that the arrival of Maria Brancović seemed to bring about: Boniface was in his sixties and heirless when he married Maria, who bore him two children (William IX and John George).

The marriage must have also seemed to rekindle the ties of the family with the Latin East. This is probably one of the reasons why memories of the family's involvement in the crusades and the politics of the Holy Land and the Byzantine empire are so important in the structure of Galeotto's text, that he tweaks his Old French source text and completes it by drawing on local traditions and on charters (as it is the case with the *Refutatio Cretae*) in order to highlight them.

We must bear in mind that the passage about Maria is only a few lines away from the end of the 1493 text preserved in MS. Paris, BnF, it. 412 (see note 15 above) and in the verse redaction, both of which conclude with a long eulogy for the marchioness, who acted as a regent due to the old age of her husband and the minority of their children. Apart from the courtly *flatterie*, a new beginning may really have seemed to be at hand for a family whose power had been shaken by the rise of more powerful dynasties in the nearby regions, such as the Visconti and the Gonzaga.

In 1530, when the second prose redaction was completed, things must have looked very different: Boniface IV (1512–1530), son of William IX (1486–1518), had died heirless on 6 June from a fall from his horse; John George (1488–1533), his uncle, governed the land together with Anne d'Alençon (1492–1562), William IX's widow. The marquisate, which had suffered from a tense relationship with its neighbours, and especially with the dukes of Milan, had fallen first under the influence of King Louis XII (1462–1515) and then Emperor Charles V (1500–1558).[71] On 20 September that same year Maria (1509–1530), the elder daughter of William IX and heir to the marquisate, also died. She had been married to the duke of Mantua, Federico II Gonzaga (1500–1540) who had repudiated her in 1517. He now married Maria's younger sister, Margherita (1510–1566). With the death of John George in 1533, the dynasty of the Palaiologoi of Montferrat would end and the lands of Montferrat would pass to the duke of Mantua.

Galeotto, who had tried to channel the hope of a new beginning when he wrote the 1493 redaction of his *Chronicle*, concludes the 1530 text on a poignant note. He first narrates how Boniface IV died after falling from his horse and how John George became marquis and connected his wife, Anne d'Alençon, to

congiunta d'affinità con l'Imperator ch'ancora vive, et cresciuta a la Corte sua, egli di sua sponte, siccome inspirato da Dio, il quale non abbandonò mai gli iusti, la maritò a questo nostro Marchese (…) et in vecchiezza, per lui Iddio l'ha fatto germinare doi verdi et salubri arboscelli, havendoli data una consorte di Cesareo sangue simile a lui, la quale ha restaurata la stirpe di Monferrato, siccome già fece Theodoro Paleologo di Monferrato (…)".

71 See the chapters by Basso, Musso and Raviola in Maestri-Basso (2008), pp. 27–81.

the government of the marquisate. After mentioning the burial of Boniface IV, he goes back to the moment of his death, writing that a friar, named Thomas,

> when he saw the aforementioned marquis fall from his horse, ran to where he was, and, taking him by his hand, reminded him that he should repent of his sins, and that he may squeeze his hand as a sign of repentance. He squeezed his hand twice, showing that, although he could not speak anymore, he was sorry for his sins.[72]

These last sentences of the *Chronicle* mark the end of the Montferrat dynasty on a low key note, showing the last marquis dying of a premature death, and unable to even give voice to the repentance for his sins. This is in stark contrast with the grandiloquent discussion of the family's imperial descent that opens the text.[73]

As we have seen, Galeotto wrote at a time when the Montferrat family had already lost much of its political power. Nevertheless, in 1493, he may have had reason to think it possible to restore something of its past glory: the marriage between Boniface III and Marja Brancović may have seemed to open up the prospect of an international role for the Montferrat family. The borrowings from the *Eracles* made by Galeotto, all of which were already present in the 1493 redaction, show how much the medieval vernacular tradition regarding the history of the crusades and the Latin East was still relevant for the historical culture of the Montferrat family in the fifteenth century in order to keep alive memories of the past that were still shaping their marriage strategies. The abridgments and additions made to the Ernoul-Bernard narrative show the way Galeotto tried to adapt the narrative to a different form, the genealogy, but also what he perceived as important in order to reconstruct the Montferrat family's past, that was still shaping the family's self-perception.

By the time he completed the 1530 redaction, the Montferrat dynasty had very much come to its end. The text as it stands in the nineteenth-century edition seems complete, since it covers all the facts leading up to the current state of affairs in the marquisate at the time when Galeotto was writing. It nevertheless lacks a proper epilogue, whereas the 1493 redaction ended with the eulogy of Maria Brancović. It is significant that Galeotto does not seem to have been able to end his text with some concluding remarks that would have lent some sense of hope for a better future. Genealogy turned in the end

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72 Galeotto, *Cronica*, 1300c: "(…) veggiendo cadere el prefato Marchese da cavallo, corse dove era, et prendendolo per la mano, gli ricordò il pentire de soi peccati, et che in segno di penitentia gli stringesse la mano, et così gliela strinse per due volte, mostrando che anchora non potesse parlare, era malcontento de soi peccati".

73 Galeotto was not the only fifteenth-century author writing the genealogy of a family whose prestige and political relevance were fading or was long gone. Folin (2009), pp. 41–43 underlines that the interest in genealogy, as a textual structure or as a genre in its own right, among authors writing for the Este family in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reflects the family's wish to assert the legitimacy of its rule through their ancestry, all the more so since their power dwindled after the war with Venice (1482–1484).

into a way to celebrate the identity and past glories of a family that had lost its political relevance, whose lineage was actually about to come to its end only three years after the *Chronicle* was finished.

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