

THE INITIATION POWER OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA IN *TIRANT LO BLANCH* AS A MATTER FOR NEW SOURCES FROM CLASSICAL HISTORIANS TO EXPLAIN FACTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

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ABSTRACT

Tirant lo Blanch is a novel with multiple sides. In particular, the Mediterranean Sea becomes especially important. We pay attention to two episodes which can become examples of the strategic relevance that corresponds to the Mediterranean Sea in *Tirant lo Blanch* as a 'romance' tale as well as a work written after the classic historiography: the *History of the love between Leander and Hero*, by Joan Roís de Corella; and we identify for the first time a 'new' source for *Tirant lo Blanch* after the important Roman historian Dion Cassius. The present study additionally suggests a (most) probable evidence of the influential activity carried out by the Grand Master of the Hospital, Juan Fernández de Heredia.¹

KEYWORDS

Tirant lo Blanch, Mediterranean Studies, Historiography, Classical Tradition, Humanism.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Tirant lo Blanch, Studia Mediterranea, Historiographia, Traditio Classica, Humanismus.

1. Introduction

Tirant lo Blanch,² written by the Valencian knight Joanot Martorell (who died in 1464) is, according to Miguel de Cervantes (the author of *El Quijote*), the best book in the world. One of the most outstanding merits of this novel actually lies in its realism, manifested by the absence of any magical or marvelous elements as action-driving agents. It is a novel which shows an unusual (realistic) psychological complexity and coherence in its characters where the sea turns out to be a decisive element within that coherence.

2. The sea in *Tirant lo Blanch*: initiation itineraries and a continent of maturity

Without a doubt, the sea is extremely important in the development of this long novel. It would suffice to look at the multiple travels carried out by the protagonist which can be graphically seen below (illustration 1). Note that the four major travel routes (or lines) that appear in *Tirant* evolve following the development of the novel, that is, in accordance with the succession of the four main parts (or blocks) of its plot. Additionally, each of these routes represents one of the four major stages in the protagonist's life evolution and personal maturation:

1. 'The Journey to England': necessarily with a significant maritime route, going around Brittany and crossing the English Channel. Tirant has still not become a knight. He leaves from his native Brittany towards London in order to become

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2. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*, ed. Albert Hauf. Valencia: Editorial Tirant lo Blanc, 2004. Although we mention other editions, the quotations about this book will be always from this edition.



a knight. It is then that he meets the old hermit, Guillem de Varoic, as a direct reflection of Lull's *Llibre de l'Orde de Caballeria*.³

2. 'The Journey to Sicily and Rhodes': an essentially maritime —and Mediterranean— journey, without any further references to the Atlantic context. It represents three quarters of the novel, the richest ones from a literary point of view and with regard to its main character's psychological complexity. It is in this part where Martorell's work acquires and shows the characteristics that make it become 'the best book in the world.' This journey to Sicily and Rhodes expresses the entry into maturity of Tirant, already a knight, but still not an expert, neither in the command of troops nor in real fight (he had been the champion in singular jousts and fights, according to a strict ritual, in England) and neither was he an expert in the Court's subtleties regarding government matters. During his stay in England, he had mostly taken care of his own training and had focused on his own personal interest; in Rhodes and Sicily, though, he will be concerned and will concentrate his efforts on the general interest:
3. Breaking the Turkish-Genovese siege of Rhodes, as explained above, going through Cyprus, Beirut, Holy Land (without leaving aside the emblem *par excellence*: Jerusalem) and the freeing of Christians reduced to slavery in Alexandria... This precisely allows Tirant to travel through a substantial part of the destinations of the (ultimately failed) crusades which took place between the 11th and 13th centuries.
4. Making it possible for the French Prince Philip, who had very few or hardly any social skills, to marry the beautiful *Infanta* Ricomana of Sicily, in a marriage of great and mutual interest for both crowns. In fact, Tirant will be doing this as a way to prepare strategic bases and the operations theatre to launch (at an advanced stage of the novel) a large-scale attack on the North African Maghreb coast from Tunisia. This was exactly the target of another great military crusade, the one led by Saint Louis of France, which proved unsuccessful; and it was also the object of desire in the 'crusade of thinking' proposed by Ramon Lull, who even preached in some of those places, with the result of suffering serious danger for his physical integrity and being imprisoned and, on the last occasion, he was apparently hit with a stone on the forehead which caused him a deep cut and left him badly injured, although it must have been practically healed when, on his return to Majorca and just before arriving at the port, he passed away.
5. 'The Journey to the Greek Empire': it is the fundamental part of this work. It means Tirant's access to the fully mature life of a knight who has just proved to be able not only to earn a good reputation, fame and wealth for himself but also to settle 'regional crises' —as the episodes of Rhodes and Sicily might have been

3. See: Lull, Ramon. *The Book of the Order of Chivalry / Llibre de l'Orde de Cavalleria / Libro de la Orden de Caballería*, ed. Antonio Cortijo. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2015; Lull, Ramon. *Vita coetanea / A Contemporary Life / Vida coetànea / Vida coetània*, ed. Antonio Cortijo. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2016.



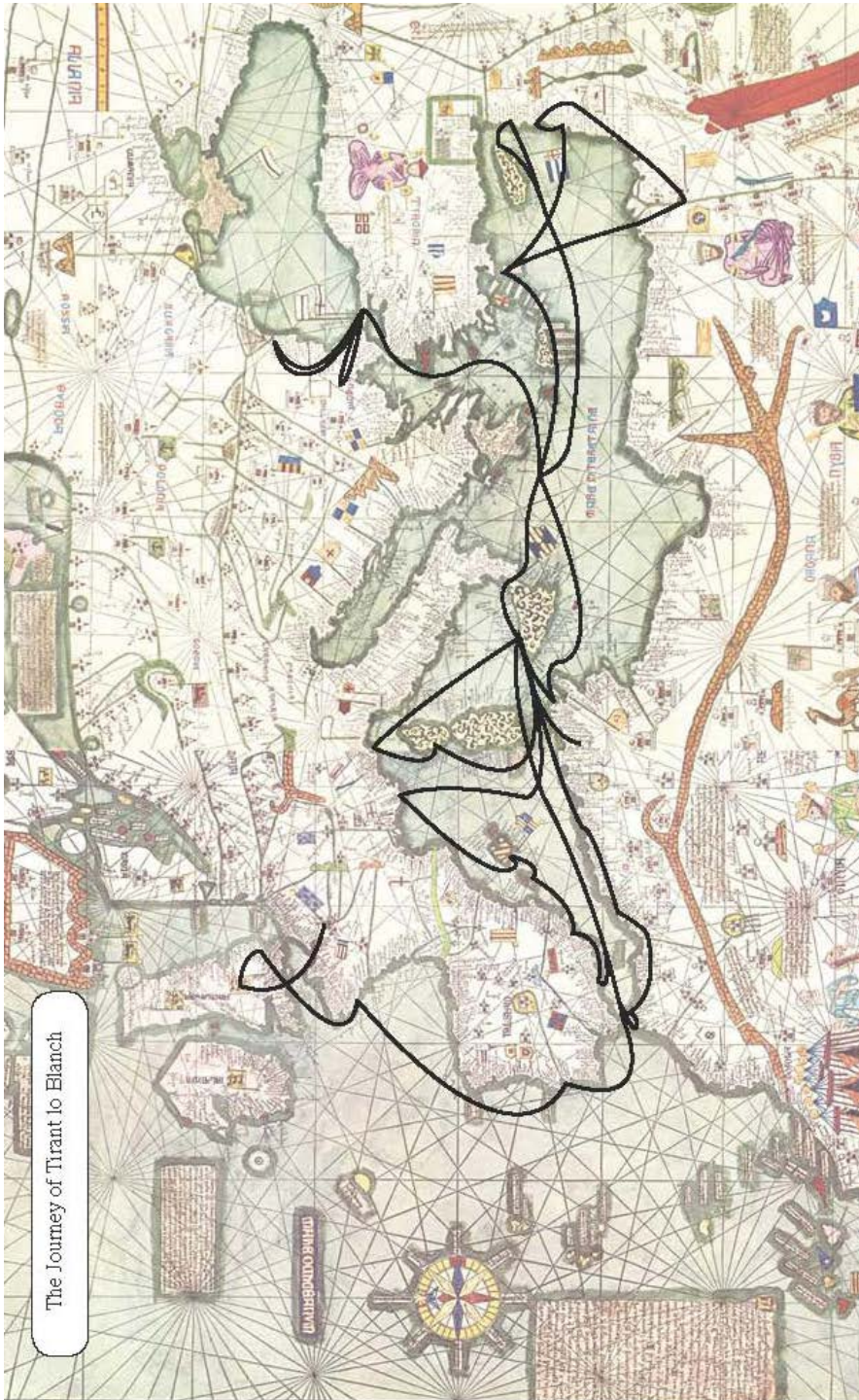
described in the words of a strategic analyst. Now he is in a position to show that he can resolve the great global strategic crisis of the time: the Ottoman threat to the Second Rome and, consequently, to the whole Christendom. He not only had to victoriously settle the conflict *ante portas* of Constantinople, in Rumelia (Adrianopolis), Illyria (Troy) and other places of the then already reduced Byzantine Empire—in fact, when Martorell started to write this work, 1460, Constantinople had already fallen into Ottoman hands 7 years before...

6. 'From Constantinople, Tirant leaves for the conquest of Northern Africa' as a consequence of his need to disappear from the court for a sensible length of time after the homicide which, pushed by the anger of jealousy, he had perpetrated on the unfortunate figure of the black slave Lausetta. Because of the deceit hatched by the *Viuda Reposada* who, out of spite towards Tirant, hinders his relationship with Carmesina, Tirant made the huge mistake of believing that his beloved had an affair with this slave. In order to expiate that murder, Tirant assumes the leadership of the great expedition (in fact, a crusade) that had to snatch the North of Africa from the infidels. In strategic terms, this would permit to alleviate the pressure that the Great Turk was exerting on the Greek Empire despite Tirant's irremissible victories; and the outcomes of the latter could be ensured. Tirant's venture in Northern Africa was thus more than coherently devised and displayed, precisely in an essential proportion of Tirant's stay, along with his life experiences and feats, in the Greek Empire. North Africa, and more specifically the Maghreb, had belonged to the Byzantine Empire, although it was lost after the irruption of Islam and its rapid expansion. This section of the novel has a successful culmination to—a literary catharsis—the (military and thinking) crusades of Saint Louis of France and of Ramon Llull,⁴ whose strategic support foundations had already been established by Tirant during his Sicilian negotiations in the 2nd part of the novel.
7. 'Tirant's return to the Greek Empire from North Africa can be situated in fifth place'.

See the following map (illustration 1) of the journey of Tirant lo Blanch:

4. See: Ensenyat, Gabriel. "Pacifismo y cruzada en Ramon Llull". *Quaderns de la Mediterrània*, 9 (2008): 354-360; Berlin, Henry, coord. "Arts of Finding Truth: Approaching Ramon Llull, 700 Years Later". *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 8 (2015): 1-159; Compagna, Anna Maria; Puigdevall, Núria, coord. "Llull: filosofia, filologia, pedagogia, storia. Napoli all'epoca di Llull. Anteprema". *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 10 (2016): 1-57; 11 (2017): 1-220.

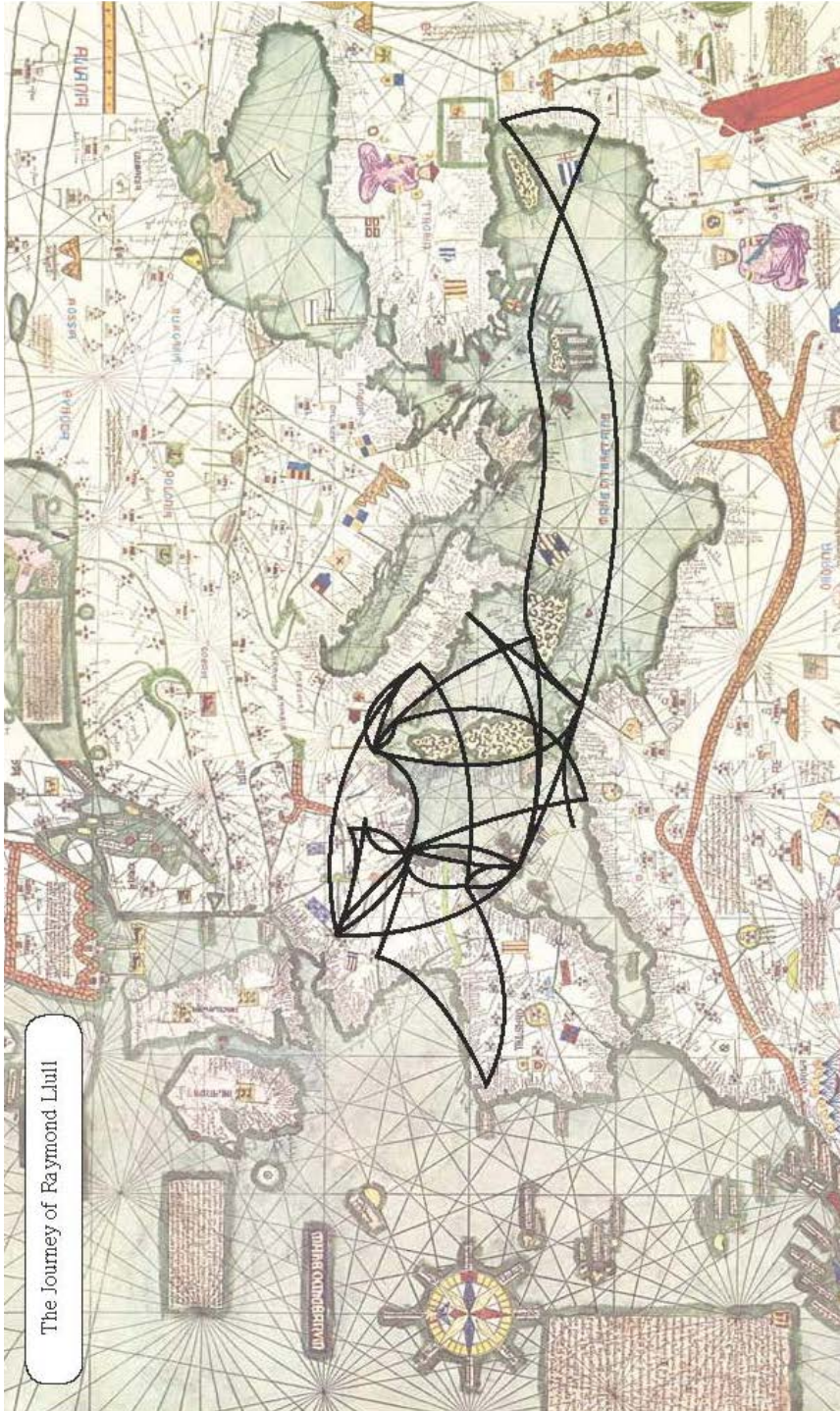




The Journey of Tirant lo Blanch

ILLUSTRATION 1. MAP OF THE JOURNEY OF TIRANT LO BLANCH. INFOGRAPHICS BY JORDI ANTOLÍ, BASED UPON AN IDEA OF VICENT MARTINES, CREATED FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY. ORIGINAL SOURCES: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE. "LE ATLAS CATALAN". *Expositions*. 5 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://EXPOSITIONS.BNF.FR/CIEL/CATALAN/INDEX.HTM](http://expositions.bnf.fr/ciel/catalan/index.htm)>; THE CRESQUES PROJECT. "HOME". *The Cresques Project*. 20 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://WWW.CRESQUESPROJECT.NET/](http://www.cresquesproject.net/)>.





The Journey of Raymond Llull

ILLUSTRATION 2. MAP OF THE JOURNEY OF ANOTHER 'GIANT' OF UNIVERSAL LITERATURE, ALSO BORN IN THE CROWN OF ARAGON, RAMON LLULL. INFOGRAPHICS BY JORDI ANTOLÍ, BASED UPON AN IDEA OF VICENT MARTINES, CREATED FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY. ORIGINAL SOURCES: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE. "LE ATLAS CATALAN". *Expositions*. 5 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://EXPOSITIONS.BNF.FR/CIEL/CATALAN/INDEX.HTM](http://expositions.bnf.fr/ciel/catalan/index.htm)>; THE CRESQUES PROJECT. "HOME". *The Cresques Project*. 20 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://WWW.CRESQUESPROJECT.NET/](http://www.cresquesproject.net/)>.

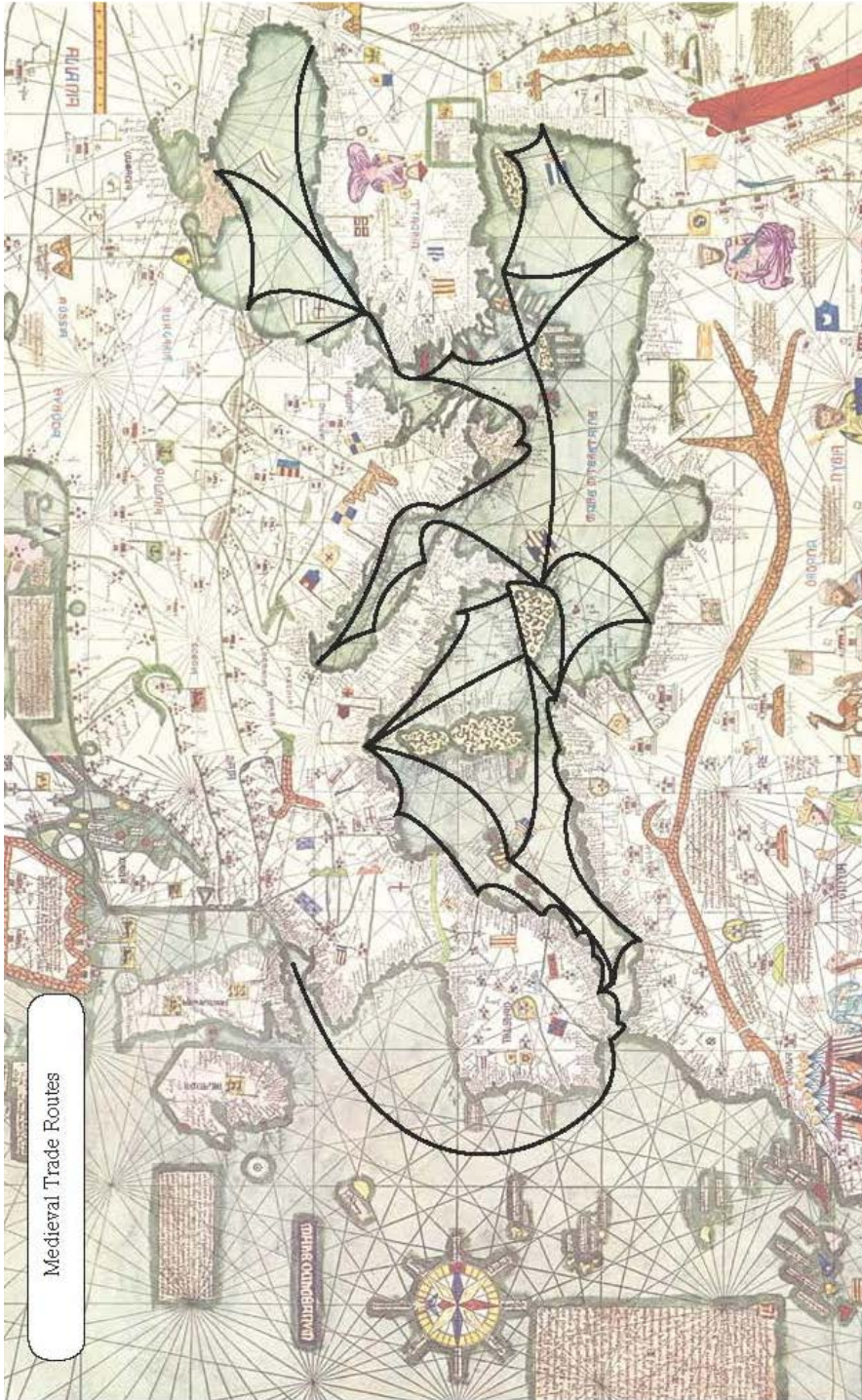


ILLUSTRATION 3. MAP OF THE (MAIN) MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES. INFOGRAPHICS BY JORDI ANTOLÍ, BASED UPON AN IDEA OF VICENT MARTINES, CREATED FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY. ORIGINAL SOURCES: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE. "LE ATLAS CATALAN". *EXPOSITIONS*. 5 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://EXPOSITIONS.BNF.FR/CIEL/CATALAN/INDEX.HTM](http://expositions.bnf.fr/ciel/catalan/index.htm)>; THE CRESQUES PROJECT. "HOME". *THE CRESQUES PROJECT*. 20 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://WWW.CRESQUESPROJECT.NET/](http://www.cresquesproject.net/)>.



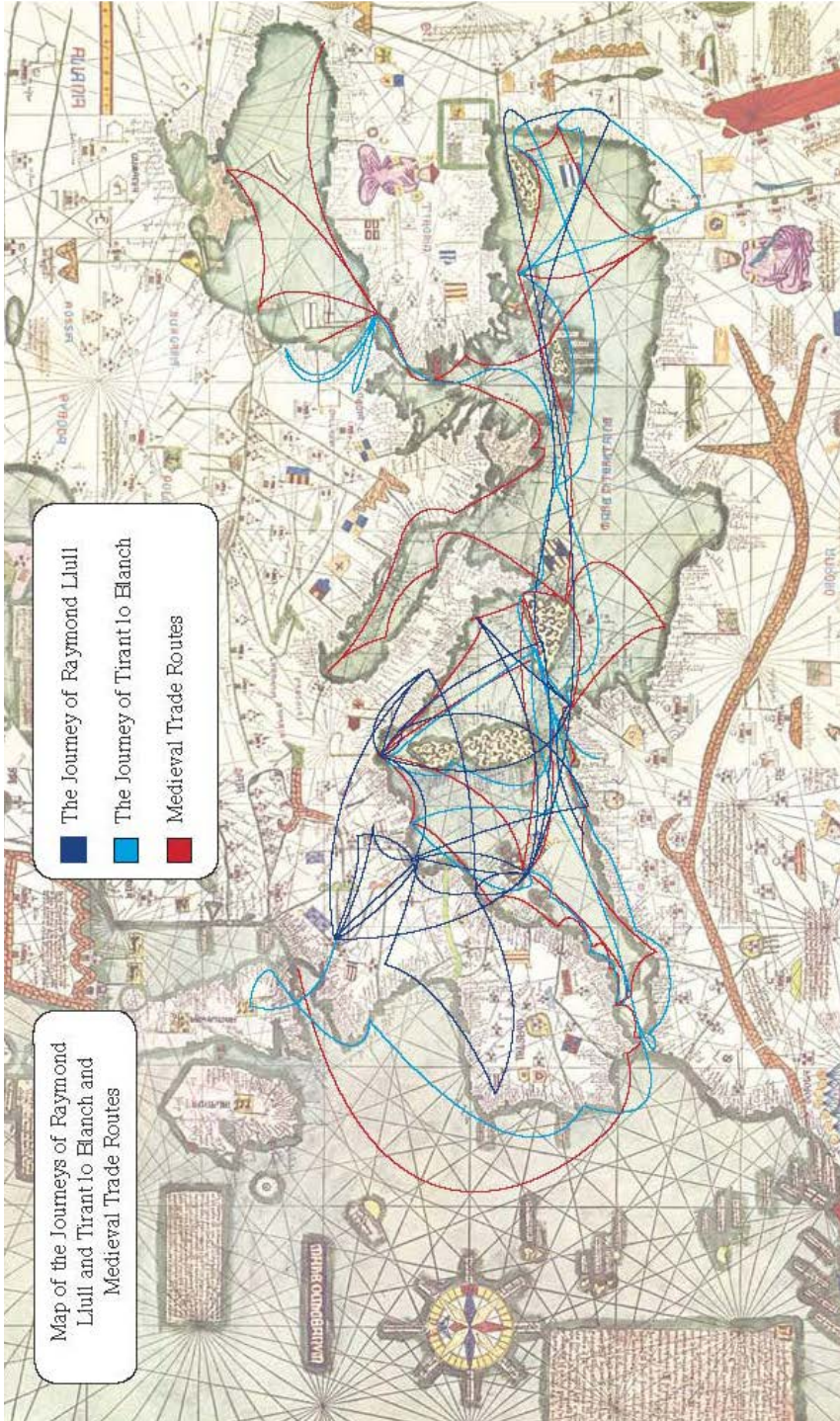


ILLUSTRATION 4. MAP OF ALL-IN-ONE. JOURNEYS OF RAMON LLULL AND TIRANT LO BLANCH, ALONG WITH THE (MAIN) MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES. INFOGRAPHICS BY JORDI ANTOLÍ, BASED UPON AN IDEA OF VICENT MARTINES, CREATED FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY. ORIGINAL SOURCES: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE. "LE ATLAS CATALAN". *EXPOSITIONS*, 5 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://EXPOSITIONS-BNF.FR/CIEL/CATALAN/INDEX.HTM](http://expositions-bnf.fr/ciel/catalan/index.htm)>; THE CRESQUES PROJECT. "HOME". *THE CRESQUES PROJECT*, 20 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://WWW.CRESQUESPROJECT.NET/](http://www.cresquesproject.net/)>.

The well-known map drawn by Cresques (1375) portrayed the knowledge of the world throughout the 14th century, and it remained valid until the late 15th century, when Columbus arrived in America. This map represents the world as it was known and explored by the high-level 14th- and 15th-century intellectuals and authorities who are mentioned by us in the present study and who, somehow or other, had an influence not only on Joanot Martorell's novel: Ramon Llull and the Grand Master of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Juan Fernández de Heredia. The latter is coeval with the humanist Bernat Metge, the maximum authority in the Crown of Aragon's Royal Chancery, and with the also humanist Coluccio Salutati, who held an equivalent post in Florence.

In our view, it would not suffice to relate this map of the journey of *Tirant lo Blanch* to the maps shown below (illustrations 2, 3 and 4), where the absolutely central and crucial position of the Mediterranean as well as the coincidence with Tirant's sea routes becomes evident. At the same time, so few terrestrial routes are followed by Tirant, fewer than those existing at the time—although the number of land routes was smaller than that of sea routes:⁵An aspect which has still not been highlighted amongst those which confer upon it the status of a 'total novel' is the fact that *Tirant lo Blanch* presents a hero traveling throughout the Mediterranean axis, from West to East, from North to South. He travels across its latitude and its longitude. *Tirant lo Blanch* became totally Mediterranean as a literary work, in the same way as the *Odyssey* made the context of the Helade become 'total'—since Ulysses travels through practically every region of the Greek world of his time—and the sea was much more than a mere accumulation of salt water. It took a life of its own and, beyond the whims, outrages and moves of Poseidon, who felt hostility towards Ulysses after his intervention in Troy's destruction, the sea becomes a key part in the evolution of this novel, both as an initiation element in each one of the tests that the protagonist had to overcome and as a catalyst of his evolution. This is what the sea represents in *Tirant lo Blanch*: much more than an initiation element.⁶

This meaning which confers a generic notion of the Helade, and perhaps even more for its nature as an epic, can also be found in the other great Homeric work, the *Iliad*, insofar as the Achaeans, in their first 'foreign' venture, travel to defeat Troy from everywhere in Greece, from the powerful Mycenae and Sparta to the

5. We would get further information on the sea (relationship between routes, trade and literary works) about Joanot Martorell and his brother in law, the great poet Ausiàs March. See: Gisbert, Josep A. "La mar de March", *El gust d'Ausiàs March*, Josep A. Gisbert, ed. Gandia: Ajuntament de Gandia-Centre d'Estudis i Investigacions Comarcals Alfons el Vell, 1999: 135-148; Garcia-Oliver, Ferran. *Ausiàs Marc*. Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valencia, 2009; Alchalabi, Frédéric. "Des reflets changeants. La mer et la traduction littéraire des concepts de vie et de mort. L'exemple de 'Tirant lo Blanc et d'Amadis de Gaula'", *Pour une histoire comparée des traductions*, Dominique de Courcelles, Vicent Martines, eds. Paris: École nationale des chartes, 2012: 137-145; March, Ausiàs. *Dictats*, ed. Robert Archer and trans. Marion Coderch, José María Micó. Madrid: Cátedra, 2017.

6. See about Don Pero Niño: Beltrán, Rafael. "El caballero en el mar: don Pero Niño, conde de Buelna, entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico". *Erebea. Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*, 3 (2013): 71-102; and about Sir John Mandeville, at: Morales, Susana; Fernández Hoyos, Sonia. "El Mediterráneo a través de la ficción el extraño caso de Sir John Mandeville". *Anuario de estudios medievales*. 36, 1 (2006): 335-354. To travel was/is more than just moving: Iglesia, José Ignacio de la, ed. *Viajar en la Edad Media. XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, 2008*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2009.



comparatively insignificant Ithaca... And Troy, despite not being Greek, does form part of the Helade for its culture and beliefs.

Tirant lo Blanch uses the sea to shape a unitary idea of the Mediterranean, and it all in a waning and autumnal moment of the Middle Ages.⁷ Similarly, an overall idea of what is generically Hellenic can be identified at an equally later period of the Classical Greek world, since it incorporates contexts which did not originally belong to it in works such as *The Argonautica*, for instance. The successive versions of this work gradually modify the scope and field of action where the Argonauts carry out their feats on the return way, after having achieved the main aim of their (outward) journey: the Golden Fleece...⁸

3. With a smaller number of words, the sea is much more than an 'initiation force' in *Tirant lo Blanch*. The help provided by Corpus Linguistics (the *Corpus Informatitzat Multilingüe de Textos Antics i Contemporanis* -CIMTAC- MetaCorpus)

The sea has no friends.⁹ Ulysses already experienced it. It bolts down entire navies; it was then believed to be inhabited by beings that instilled terror. Curial was shipwrecked—close to Tunisia—¹⁰ and Tirant also suffers the doings of the sea's evil, since the latter allies itself with the streams and/or the winds. So it is said by Tirant himself: —*la Majestat vostra deu saber que tot lo meu mal és de mar, car los vents de aquesta terra són més prims*.¹¹

Something similar happens in other narrations with a chivalric theme and inspiration which had such huge importance—and a more than respectable length

7. Original version: Huizinga, Johan. *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. London: Penguin, 1924. Online version: Huizinga, Johan. "The Waning of the Middle Ages". *Archive.org*. 12 December 2016 <<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.100122>>.

8. Rhodius, Apollonius. "Argonautica". *Theoi Greek Mythology*. 12 December 2016 <<http://www.theoi.com/Text/ApolloniusRhodius1.html>>; and the maps in the different versions of *The Argonautica*: Jason and the Argonauts through the ages. "Places. Maps and routes". 12 December 2015 <<http://www.argonauts-book.com/maps.html>>.

9. Garcia-Oliver, Ferran. *Ausias Marc...*: 113-120.

10. *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. Antoni Ferrando. Toulouse: Éditions Anacharsis, 2007; *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. and trans. Jean-Marie Barberà, Antoni Ferrando. Toulouse: Éditions Anacharsis, 2007; *Curial e Güelfa, traduzione alla lingua italiana*, ed. and trans. Cesáreo Calvo, Anna Giordano, Antoni Ferrando. Rome: Aracne Editrice, 2014; *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. and trans. Ricardo Da Costa, Armando Dos Santos, Antoni Ferrando. Santa Barbara: Publications of eHumanista-University of California-California University Press, 2012; *Curial and Güelfa: a Classic of the Crown of Aragon*, ed. and trans. Max Wheeler, Antoni Ferrando. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012; Soler, Abel. "Enyego d'Àvalos, autor de 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Estudis Romànics*, 42 (2017): 137-165; Soler, Abel. "L'entorn valencià d'Enyego d'Àvalos i l'autoria de 'Curial e Güelfa'". *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 11 (2017): 401-430.

11. "Your Majesty must know that all my troubles are caused by the sea, since the winds of this land are milder". Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch...*: 484 (line 12) (Hauf's edition, quoted at note 2).



too— as the *Matière* of Bretagne, in general. This is how the sea appears in *Queste du Saint Graal*—of which a complete translation to Catalan had been finished in 1386¹² and in *Tristany* too. The sea acquires a meaning similar to that of the Terre Gaste and the forest in these works. The sea is certainly a strange place where dangers and characters unaware of the court successively appear. Despite the fact that the sea does not actually represent a central element in these works, it is worth highlighting that, from its Celtic roots, the sea appears as a constituting element of these works as well. The sea in such works was an element—an environment and a continent, not only a passing element, but also a determining actant—which brought the Afterlife and reality together. Similarly to the Terre Gaste and the forest, the sea in *Queste du Saint Graal* also becomes a space for the adventures and tests of the chosen knights, on board the vessels in which they sail, in the islands and rocky islets where they arrive.¹³

It is particularly striking to check that only a quantitatively low number of occurrences of the word *mar* (“sea”) can be found in such a long novel, where the sea simultaneously plays such an objectively important role—even if it is only for the large number of long and short voyages, journeys and trips that it contains and which become clearly visible in the map shown above, and even by the number of naval combats and battles. This can be quantified through CIMTAC:¹⁴ only 179 throughout—it must be stressed once again—such a lengthy novel. In short, the sea does not act as a friend in *Tirant lo Blanch*; it can be: *amarga mar* (“bitter sea”),¹⁵

12. Martines, Vicent. “La versió catalana de la *Queste del Saint Graal* i l’original francès”, *Medioevo y literatura. Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval* (Granada, 1993), Juan Paredes, ed. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995: 241-252; Martines, Vicent. “Tiempo y espacio en la versión catalana de la ‘Queste del Saint Graal’”. *Hispanic Review*, 43/3 (1996): 373-390.

13. Martines, Vicent. *Els Cavallers Literaris. Assaig sobre Literatura Cavalleresca Catalana Medieval*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 1995. This book merited an award: *Premio de Ensayo de Catalán, Gallego y Vasco 1993 de la Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia y la Fundación Ortega y Gasset y La Caixa*.

14. See, as an example, the usefulness of CIMTAC in Diachronic/Corpus Linguistics based Literary and Philological Studies in: Antolí, Jordi Manuel. “Canvi semàntic i gramaticalització en el sorgiment de marcadors evidencials. Evolució semàntica de PARERE i derivats en el llatí tardà i en el català antic (s. III- XVI)”. *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 2 (2012): 41-84 (<<http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/ivitra/volumes/2/>>); Antolí, Jordi Manuel. “Recursos léxicos en la expresión de la evidencialidad: el verbo catalán ‘veure’ en los ‘Col·loquis de la insigne ciutat de Tortosa’”. *Revista Internacional d’Humanitats*, 31 (2014): 7-32 (<<http://hottopos.com/rih31/index.htm>>); Ferrando, Antoni, ed. *Linguistic and Cultural Studies on “Curial e Güelfa”, a 15th Century Anonymous Chivalric Romance in Catalan*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012; Martines, Josep, coord. “Monographic Issue: Aspectes de diacronia de la llengua catalana (en el context romànic)”. *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 2 (2012): 1-270 (<<http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/ivitra/volumes/2/>>); Martines, Josep. “L’expressió de l’abstracció i l’estudi de les traduccions. Les Poesies d’Ausiàs Marc i la traducció espanyola de Baltasar de Romani”. *Estudis Romànics*, 31 (2009): 105-139; Martines, Vicent; Sánchez, Elena. “L’ISIC-IVITRA i el metacorpus CIMTAC. Noves aportacions a la lingüística de corpus”. *Estudis Romànics*, 36 (2014): 423-436; Sánchez, Elena. *Estudi de la llengua d’Ausiàs March a través de les col·lacions. Una aproximació semiautomàtica*. Boston-Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013; Sánchez, Elena; Jordi Manuel Antolí. “L’exonímia en el Corpus Informatitzat Multilingüe de Textos Antics i Contemporanis (CIMTAC)”, *Topònims entre dos llengües. L’exonímia, una manifestació de la globalitat*, Emili Casanova, Emili Payá, eds. València: Denes, 2012: 157-165.

15. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 728 (line 14).



tempestuosa mar d'adversitats ("stormy sea of adversities"),¹⁶ *mar tenebrosa* ("gloomy sea"),¹⁷ *brava* ("rough sea"),¹⁸ *cruel mar* ("cruel sea"),¹⁹ *espantosa mar que causa gran mal* ("horrifying sea that causes great damage"),²⁰ and changeable like the wheel of Fortune (*Naveguem aquesta pròspera mar fins que la tempestuosa aygua aumente*).²¹

Let us draw a brief comparison between three fundamental classical works which are coeval with Martorell and *Tirant lo Blanch*, in terms of 'cultural genome' and ideals of their authors, and situated in the same synchronic state of language: together with *Tirant lo Blanch*, *Curial e Güelfa* and Ausias March's *Poesies*. This comparison is based on the number of occurrences of *mar* and of other words which have an essential connection when it comes to characterizing these works: *mar*, *guerra* ("war"), *amor* ("love") and *amar* ("to love"). Our references stem from the results provided by the CIMTAC MetaCorpus and the software equally developed inside ISIC-IVITRA for their management:

Table 1. Love, war, sea in words

Sample words	<i>Tirant lo Blanch</i> , Joanot Martorell	<i>Curial e Güelfa</i> , Anonymous	<i>Poesies</i> , Ausias March
Total graphic forms	16,922	10,461	7,110
<i>amar</i> ['to love'] (lemmatization)	329	74	357
<i>amor</i> ['love'] (occurrences)	700	73	793
<i>guerra</i> ['war'] (occurrences)	146	9	10
<i>mar</i> ['sea'] (occurrences= lemmatization)	179	26	19

Even though it seems logical to find more cases of *amor* and *amar* in March's *Poesies* than in *Curial* and *Tirant lo Blanch*, this brief comparison reveals that *Tirant lo Blanch* is proportionally the one within these group of three works where the occurrences of *mar* (and of *guerra*) are by far the most frequent. It is also worthy of mention that *amor* and *amar* accumulate the highest number of cases/occurrences in

16. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 806 (line 11).

17. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 806 (line 16).

18. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 1088 (line 24).

19. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 1088 (line 36).

20. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 1094 (line 29).

21. "We sail through this prosperous sea until the stormy water grows". Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 1381 (line 13).



this novel. Consequently, it cannot be denied that a high amorous and sentimental component prevails throughout this great novel where the main role is played by a knight and army commander whose primary aim consists in defeating the Turks... It equally deserves to be highlighted that the occurrences of *mar* outnumber those of *guerra*... Therefore, it does not seem unreasonable to think that a special link exists between the highly frequent cases of *amor/amar* and *mar* in *Tirant lo Blanch*; and also that, despite the high number of (land and sea) battle events described in the novel, the higher number of references to *mar* suggest that the sea is an initiation context which plays a catalyzing and necessary role that becomes essential for the development of what gives *Tirant lo Blanch* more specificity than the mere battle events, the complexity of a love feeling and its expression.

Our paper will now focus²² on an emblematic case when it comes to the utilization of the sea as a topic of endless immensity referred to the love that Tirant feels for his beloved Carmesina which additionally helps to weigh up the high degree of extreme development reached through the expression of the amorous feeling in this outstanding work. All of this is in keeping with the reference and intertextuality regarding *La Història dels amors de Leànder i Hero* as we can see in the elegant expression through which Diaphebus, Tirant's loyal friend, explains to Carmesina the texture and the intense love that Tirant feels for her: —*Si la mar se tornava tinta e la arena paper, jo pens no bastaria d'escriure l'amor, la voluntat, les infinides recomendacions que aquell pròsper e virtuós Tirant tramet la majestat vostra.*²³

4. Two examples from *Tirant lo Blanch* where the sea becomes a stage of amazing events, in love and in war. The sea which refers to classical tradition

Despite the significantly small number of occurrences of the word *mar* in the body of Joanot Martorell's novel, the quality and importance generally assigned to the role played by the sea, as well as the classical referents to which many of the episodes where the presence of the sea is strongly felt refer us back, shows the huge relevance of the sea motif.

Let us now pay attention to two episodes which can prove illustrative in this respect. They become more valid insofar as they provide examples of the strategic importance which corresponds to the sea in *Tirant lo Blanch*:

22. Although it will not be examined in depth here. For further information about this case, see: Pedroa, José Manuel. "Memoria folclórica, recreación literaria y transculturalismo (siglos II al XX)". *Artes da fala. Colóquio de Portel*, Jorge Freitas Branco, Paulo Lima, eds. Oeiras: Celta Editora, 1997: 87-1997.

23. "If the sea became ink and the sand (became) paper, I think that would not suffice to write about the love, the will, the endless recommendations which the prosperous and virtuous Tirant feels towards your majesty". Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 728 (lines 14-16).



4.1 *The sea refers to classical tradition in the expression of love through 'La història dels amors de Leànder i Hero', by Joan Roís de Corella. A possible new source for Corella, which passes on to 'Tirant lo Blanch'*

The sea turns out to be essential as proof of true love within a key work in the constitution of the amorous sentimental element as a narrative motif for the psychological complexity of fiction: *La història dels amors de Leànder i Hero*, by Joan Roís de Corella, the end of which was incorporated (actually grafted) into the narration climax of *Tirant lo Blanch*, in Carmesina's pathetic death on Tirant's dead body, moved by an irresistible outburst of pain.²⁴

La història dels amors de Leànder i Hero has come to us, firstly through Latin sources (as Ovid, *Heroides*²⁵ or Virgil, *Georgics*,²⁶ a brief mention) and, especially, through the work of the Byzantine Musaeus, who refers much more extensively to it.²⁷ It has been established that the presence of influences from this work confers an undoubtedly humanistic and Renaissance character upon it. Corella is the first to deal with this topic in the whole Iberian context, thus exerting an influence on Martorell and, during the Spanish Golden Age, on Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega—the theme of Leander and Hero, though not through the Iberian branch, was also cultivated by the Elizabethan Britons Marlowe and Shakespeare.

It has also been established that Ovid (43 BC-17 AD), who had already dealt with these passionate and tragic kind of love in his *Heroides*, was the source for Corella and, therefore, that it was Ovid who influenced Martorell and the other authors mentioned above. In epistles 18 (from *Leander to Hero*)²⁸ and 19 (from *Hero*

24. Martines, Vicent. "Els elements plàstics en l'obra de Joan Roís de Corella. Pintar amb paraules els amors de Leànder i Hero". *Afers. Fulls de recerca i pensament*, 76 (2013): 661-686. See also: Cortijo, Antonio. "From Corella to Musaeus. Motif of Hero and Leander", *The Story of Leander and Hero, by Joan Roís de Corella. A multilingual edition of a classic from the Crown of Aragon*, Antonio Cortijo, Josep-Lluís Martos, eds. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2016: 1-17.

25. Ovid. *Heroides. Amores*. ed. Grant Showerman, George P. Goold. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1986 (2nd edition); Knox, Peter E. *A Companion to Ovid*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2009. Online versions: (in the original language) Ovid. "Heroides". *Bibliotheca Augustana*. 10 March 2015 <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lsante01/Ovidius/ovi_hero.html>; (translation into English) Publius Ovidius Naso. "The Epistles of Ovid". *Perseus Digital Library*. 3 March 2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0085>>.

26. *P. Vergili Maronis opera, Georgicon libri IV*, ed. Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969. Online versions: (in the original language) Publius Vergili Maronis. "Georgicon libri IV". *Bibliotheca Augustana*. 10 March 2015 <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lsante01/Vergilius/ver_ge00.html>; (translation into English) Publius Vergilius Maronis. "Georgicon". *Perseus Digital Library*. 3 March 2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0059%3Abook%3D1%3Acard%3D1>>.

27. See: Oxford Bodleian Libraries. Manuscripts Barocci, Ms. 50, f. 322r. Online version: Musaeus. "Hero and Leander". *The European Library*. 10 March 2015 <<http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~33010~122700>>.

28. Online versions: (in the original language) Ovid. "Leander Heroni". *Bibliotheca Augustana*. 10 March 2015 <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lsante01/Ovidius/ovi_hero.html#18>; (translation into English) Publius Ovidius Naso. "Leander to Hero". *Perseus Digital Library*. 3 March



to Lender),²⁹ the lover lets Hero know that, because of the bad weather, he will not go to sea—in other words, that he was not going to swim in the already dangerous waters of the Hellespont. In the following letter, she lets him know that she is feeling an irresistible need to see him. He dives into the sea—as he usually did—to swim across the mile which separates Sestos from Abydos to meet her beloved. This time the outcome is tragic, though.

This work was highly celebrated in Western Europe through Ovid. Nevertheless, critics have so far not paid attention to the fact that, in Roís de Corella's version, it is not Hero's epistolary request—but Fortune's iniquity—that makes Leander jump into the sea on that occasion and ultimately drown. This is the kind of evidence which leads us to think that Ovid might not have been Corella's (only) source.

Our next step will consist in highlighting the 'coincidence' of the wording found in Corella's work and *Tirant lo Blanch* (authorship and the first two editions) with two important works:

the preparation of an important manuscript of *L'Epistre d'Othea*, by Christine de Pizan, which shows the prestige and influence both of the author and of the work itself.³⁰ It is possible for us to thoroughly enjoy the extremely careful polychromous making of its overelaborate illuminations. This manuscript was commissioned by the great bibliophile Antoine de Bourgogne (1421-1504). The manuscript is contemporary—actually simultaneous—with the writing of *Tirant lo Blanch* (illustration 5).

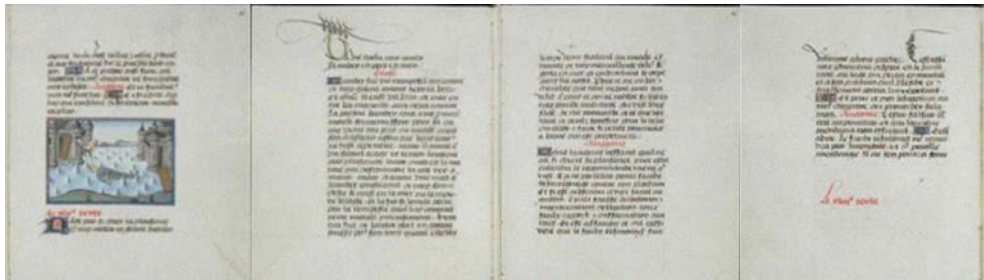


ILLUSTRATION 5. "LEANDER AND HERO" AFTER *L'ÉPISTRE D'OTHEA*, BY CHRISTINE DE PIZAN. ORIGINAL SOURCE: CHRISTINE DE PIZAN. "*L'ÉPISTRE D'OTHEA* (CA. 1460)". *FONDATION MARTIN BODMER. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ET MUSÉE*. 10 FEBRUARY 2015 <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/doubleview/fmb/cb-0049/7r>>.

2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0085%3Apoem%3D18>>.

29. Online versions: (in the original language) Ovid. "Hero Leandro". *Bibliotheca Augustana*. 10 March 2015 <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lsante01/Ovidius/ovi_hero.html#19>; (translation into English) Publius Ovidius Naso. "Hero to Leander". *Perseus Digital Library*. 3 March 2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0085%3Apoem%3D19>>.

30. Christine de Pizan. "*L'Épistre d'Othea* ('ca.' 1460)". *Fondation Martin Bodmer. Bibliothèque et Musée*. 10 February 2015 <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/doubleview/fmb/cb-0049/7r>>. Original source (quoted on the website): Vielliard, Françoise. *Manuscrits Français du Moyen Âge*. Cologne-Geneva: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1975: 146-149 (Codex Bodmer 49, 65r-67v).



Below can be seen two engravings from the incunabular edition of *De Herone et Leandro* (illustration 6), carried out by the great printer and already editor Aldo Manuzio.³¹ This edition is bilingual, like those which Manuzio published, bilingual with the original version in Greek (Musaeus' text) and its translation into Latin. This subtle Latin edition is in turn simultaneous with the *editio princeps* of *Tirant lo Blanch*³² and with the second edition.³³

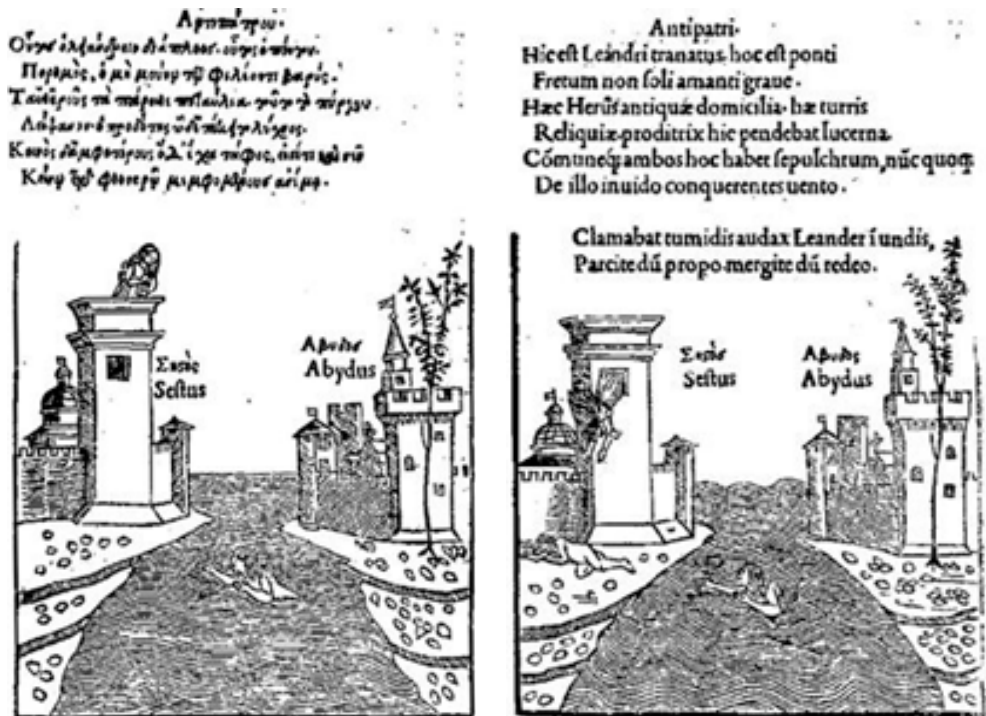


ILLUSTRATION 6. *DE HERONE ET LEANDRO*, BY ALDO MANUZIO, CIRCA 1495-¿1497? ORIGINAL SOURCE: MANUZIO ALDO. "DE HERONE ET LEANDRO". *BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA*. 20 FEBRUARY 2015 <http://www.bne.es/es/AREAPRENSA/MATERIALGRAFICO/EXPOSICIONES/HISTORICO/2015/ALDO_MANUZIO/>.

31. Manuzio Aldo. "De Herone et Leandro". *Biblioteca Nacional de España*. 20 February 2015 <http://www.bne.es/es/areaprensa/materialgrafico/exposiciones/historico/2015/aldo_manuzio/> (the original document dates from Venice, circa 1495-1497?)

32. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*. Valencia: Nicolás Spindeler, 1490 (Edition Princeps).

33. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*. Barcelona: Pere Miquel i Diego Gumiel, 1497 (2nd Edition).

4.2 The sea refers to classical tradition in the narration of an amazing battle event (θαύματος) in 'Tirant lo Blanch': 'Com Tirant féu cremar la nau del capità dels genovesos, qui fon causa que tots los moros se n'anaren de ylla [Rhodes]'.³⁴ Report about a historical referent not observed so far.

This episode shows the crucial role played by the sea as a war stage. It is obviously an essential theme in *Tirant lo Blanch*, though not so much for his Herculean qualities as for his intelligent shrewdness of a strategist capable of adapting to the circumstances so that Tirant could defeat more powerful enemies; exactly the same as the role played by Ulysses in the *Odyssey*. This episode which is going to be analyzed next takes us back to a historical referent which has hitherto not been mentioned, and which does nothing but stress the high quality of the classical culture roots in *Tirant lo Blanch* and accordingly places this work even more clearly within the *mainstream* of Humanism and Renaissance in the mid-15th century. The episode in question can be found in chapter 106 of the novel, when Tirant manages to break the blockade which had been imposed on the port of Rhodes by the ships of the Genovese, who were the Ottomans' allies. Chapter 106 of the novel (—*Com Tirant féu cremar la nau del capità dels genovesos, quin fon causa que tots los moros se n'anaren de ylla [Rhodes]*) narrates an episode which is generally well-known.³⁵ A sailor suggests a ruse to Tirant for them to destroy the fleet that is blocking the port. In short, the sailor swims and dives to pass a rope-end through the ring of the Genovese captain's ship rudder—the one anchored nearer to the land amongst the fleet that is blocking the port. Once the rope-end has been passed, the troops of Tirant will pull from it from land to make an incendiary barge (*brulotte*) reach the captain's ship. In this way, it would be impossible for the captain's ship to escape while simultaneously nobody would be able to stop the barge. The result was a disaster for the attacking fleet which had to lift its siege.

Nevertheless, none of our precedents has mentioned what could be the historical fact from which the tactic explained in this episode originated—and which has been highlighted as an excellent piece of evidence to show the realism of this work. Based on the historical referent (and its classical written materialization) which has been identified by us and will now be explained, this chapter once again draws our attention towards the core of *Tirant lo Blanch's* references in the actual Byzantium, the ultimate target sought with the great strategy of opposition to the undeniable Ottoman danger which is dealt with in Martorell's work.

This episode in chapter 106 tells us how —*Com Tirant féu cremar la nau del capità dels genovesos, qui fon causa que tots los moros se n'anaren de ylla*. According to *Obsidionis Rhodie*, which dates back to 1481:—*A nostris arte cognita, nauta quidam rerum*

34. "How Tirant ordered to burn the Genovese captain's ship, which made all the Moors flee from it [Rhodes]". Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 410-414 (chapter 106).

35. Hauf, Albert. "Una versió valenciana quatrecentista desconeguda de la 'Obsidionis Rhodie de Guillaume Caoursin'". *Caplletra*, 15 (1993): 89-126; Stegmann, Tilbert Dídac. "Aspectes del realisme tècnic i del no-detallisme al 'Tirant lo Blanc'". *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik*, 10 (1997): 7-38.



*maritimarum non ignarus, noctu undis se obruit, anchoram soluit, fune cautibus remissius alligato, qui parua vi dissolauator.*³⁶ See illustrations 7 and 8:



ILLUSTRATION 7. IMAGE WHICH SHOWS THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE RUSE CARRIED OUT BY THE SWIMMER, WHO SUCCEEDED IN DESTROYING THE BRIDGE OF BOATS WHICH CLOSED THE PORT OF RHODES. THE IMAGE BELOW IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE *TIRANT LO BLANCH* EDITED BY ALBERT HAUF. SOURCE: BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, MANUSCRIT LATIN, MS. LAT, 6067 (GUILLAUME DE CAOURSIN. "OBSIDIONIS RHODIE DESCRIPTIO, 1481". *BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE*. 20 FEBRUARY 2015 <[HTTP://GALLICA.BNF.FR/ARK:/12148/BTV1b9076643X/f110](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/BTV1b9076643X/f110). IMAGE>).³⁷

36. Hauf, Albert. "Una versió valenciana quatrecentista...": 111.

37. See also: *Connaissance des Arts*. (2011, January 10). *Le siège de Rhodes de Guillaume Caoursin* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yjSGGiJS_iM&t=8s>.



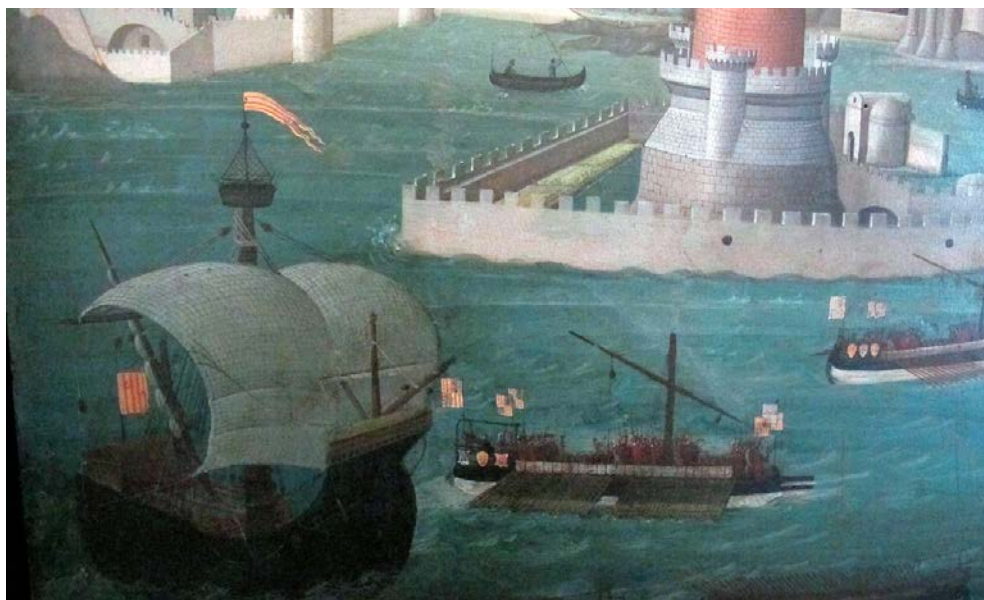


ILLUSTRATION 8. TAVOLA STROZZI, DETAIL (CIRCA 1472, MUSEO NAZIONALE DI NAPOLI), WITH A FLEET OF THE CROWN OF ARAGON ARRIVING AT THE PORT OF NAPLES. THE SAME KIND OF SHIPS CAN BE 'SEEN' IN *TIRANT LO BLANCH*, IN AN IMAGE THAT IS ACTUALLY COEVAL. THE SAME KIND OF SHIP APPEARS AT THE ILLUMINATION OF *OBSIDIONIS RHODIE DESCRIPTIO*, 1481. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

It needs to be highlighted that the critics who have most deeply studied this chapter 106³⁸ suggest the possibility of a certain textual connection between *Obsidionis Rhodie* and *Tirant lo Blanch*, despite the chronological determinants which would more than evidently hinder it. As a matter of fact, the 26 years elapsed between the moment when the writing of *Tirant lo Blanch* came to an end and its *édition princeps* might have been a long time period, long enough to allow interventions alien to the author who had already passed away in 1465:

- *Tirant lo Blanch*, was written between 1460 and 1464,
- siege of Rhodes by Sultan Mehmed II, referent of *Obsidionis Rhodie*, 1480,
- writing of that work, 1481.

It is Stegmann that most clearly denies the textual influence of Caoursin's work on that of Martorell:

—*Veiem que estem davant d'un grapat d'elements barrejats i variants segons les necessitats del moment narratiu que de cap manera ens forcen a suposar influències directes de Caoursin en el Tirant de 1490, ni viceversa, és clar.*³⁹

38. Hauf, Albert. "Una versió valenciana quatrecentista...": 95-96; Stegmann, Tilbert Dídac. "Aspectes del realisme...": 27.

39. "We can see that there are a lot of elements in front of us which are mixed and varied according to the needs of the narrative moment and which by no means force us to assume direct influences



From our point of view, it should be taken into account that interventions could indeed have occurred subsequently to the author's death (1465) and prior to the *edition princeps*,⁴⁰ but they could hardly have had so much importance and intensity as to interpolate entire and lengthy passages—and at the same time as significant as this one. Furthermore, before Martorell's novel was written, and due to its extremely important strategic location, Rhodes suffered numerous sieges by the Muslims; it was taken by the latter and reconquered by the Byzantines, fell into Genovese hands and into those of the Order of Saint John, until it resisted the siege by Mehmed II in 1480 which is narrated in *Obsidionis Rhodie*, and until it fell into Ottoman hands under the sultanate of Suleyman the Magnificent in the first third of the 16th century.⁴¹

Our research allowed us to find—as a hypothesis that could be likely—the narration of a historical event which took place *ante portas* of Byzantium as well. This strategic city was still not called Constantinople, since it owes this name to its 'refoundation' by Constantine—who assumed the post as sole emperor in 324 AD—that made the city revive—especially between 324 and 330 AD—after the long years during which it had been reduced to little more than a mere village after the destruction inflicted on it by emperor Septimius Severus (in office from 193 to 211) after culminating the terrible siege that he imposed on Byzantium because this city had sided with his opponent for the post as Caesar, Caius Pescennius Niger. This happened within the context of the civil war which devastated the Roman Empire after the murder of Caesar Commodus (192).

of Caoursin on the Tirant of 1490 neither the other way round, of course". Stegmann, Tilbert Dídac. "Aspectes del realisme...": 27.

40. Ferrando, Antoni. "Del 'Tiran' de 1460-64 al 'Tirant' de 1490", *Actes del Novè Col·loqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes (Alacant/Elx, 1991)*, Rafael Alemany, Antoni Ferrando, Lluís Meseguer, eds. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat: 1993, III, 25-68.

41. Rhodes was taken in 654 by the Umayyad caliph Muawiyah I, who ordered to collect the remains of the mythic Colossus of Rhodes. The island was captured once again by the Muslims in 673 as part of the first Muslim attack on Constantinople, which was resisted *ante portas* by the Byzantine fleet and its Greek fire—it was the first time this secret weapon was used in a battle—and then by strong storms which ended up destroying the Muslim fleet. Nonetheless, the island was evacuated in 679-680 by virtue of the Byzantine-Umayyad treaty. In 715, a Byzantine fleet recaptured the island, which had rebelled against the Muslims; this permitted the consolidation of Theodosius III as the Basileus or Byzantine emperor. In 1090, it was snatched again from the Byzantines by the Muslims, as one of the consequences of Byzantium's decisive defeat to Selyucid Turks at the battle of Mazinkert. It was recovered once more by Byzantium, under the Basileus Alexius I Comnenus during the First Crusade. In 1248-1250, it was occupied by the Genovese, as a result of the weakening suffered by Byzantine power following the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, during the unfortunate Fourth Crusade. The island then became a province of the Empire of Nicaea and then (1261) of the restored Byzantine Empire. In 1305, it was delivered to the Genovese Andrea Morisco, who was at the service of Byzantium. In 1309, the island was occupied by the Order of Saint John of the Hospital. It resisted the siege which was imposed on it by the sultan of Egypt in 1444, and also resisted the new siege of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II in 1480. Only in 1522, it will not be able to resist the massive siege imposed by Suleyman the Magnificent. See: Vatin, Nicolas. *L'ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes (1480-1522)*. Leuven-Paris: Peeters, 1994; Buttigieg, Emanuel; Phillips, Simon, eds. *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*. Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, 2013; Vraire, Jean-Bernard de; Vissière, Laurent. *Tous les Deables d'enfer. Relations du siège de Rhodes par les Ottomans en 1480*. Paris: Éditions Droz, 2014.



Dion Cassius, one of the key ‘intellectuals’ and politicians in those turbulent years which culminated with the murder of Commodus and the civil wars until 193—including the so-called ‘year of the 4 Caesars’—is a privileged witness. With a senatorial family background, Dion Cassius was a proconsul in several provinces, senator under Commodus, praetor under Pertinax (the ephemeral Caesar who only ruled for 86 days, precisely in the dangerous times that followed the murder of Commodus and the resolution of the civil war in 193), consul *suffectus* (‘substitute’ or ‘deputy’) under Septimius Severus (*circa* 204), imperial *curator* of important centers in the Eastern regions of the Empire (Pergamon and Smyrna), provincial proconsul in the important province of Africa (today’s Maghreb, approximately), *legatus* in Dalmatia and in Upper Pannonia, consul under the Caesar Alexander Severus, *legatus* in Asia Minor... until he retreated from public life in 235, in Nicaea, to devote himself exclusively to his writings.

Dion Cassius composed his *Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία* (“Roman History”) in Greek. Although it starts from the actual foundation of Rome (and reaches up to the period of Gordian Caesars), this is a key work of –Roman, though expressed in Greek—classical historiography for:

- historical memory;
- for the treatment of the standpoint precisely about some convulsed decades;
- for the government of the ‘world’ of the time, about which his treatment is far from servile with regard to what could be understood as the ‘official version’ or the one which was totally obliging with the Caesar’s option.

Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία contains the thrilling report of the blockade that Septimius Severus imposed on Byzantium and the heroic way in which the Byzantines resisted it; the hardships that they suffered, the hunger, the deprivations of all kinds (they even ate reheated leather, wove dresses with women’s hair, drank putrid water...) before surrendering. Finally, the city surrendered by hunger, not by the force of Septimius’ army. A battle event is highlighted by Dion Cassius to stress how amazing (*θαύματος*)—hence our inclusion of the expression ‘amazing event’ in the title of this section—the behavior of those besieged was: they captured several of Septimius Severus ships which exerted—sorry about the pun—a ‘severe’ naval blockade on Byzantium. The capture was made through swimmers who, diving and putting their lives in great danger, passed rope-ends through the rings of the lower part of the hulls. From inside the walls, other soldiers pulled strongly and—with no oarsmen or pilots guiding them—managed to make the ships reach the shore, where their equipment was rendered useless and the vessels themselves were captured.

We would like to bring attention on swimmers as main action agents in attention at the top risk they engaged. Also, swimmers become the common factor between the *Obsidionis Rhodie* (swimmer and *brulotte*) and our hypothesis regarding Dion Cassius (just swimmers). This feat of heroism by swimmers according to Dion Cassius’ report, which can be regarded as one of the first naval special operations ever in history, did not ultimately serve to save Byzantium. However, it did represent a landmark in the unequivocal willingness to resist of a human group who did by



no means want to be captured —something which is not new in the context of Roman Empire history. At the same time, and above all, it acquires a nuance of realism and wit —precisely like in Martorell’s novel— exactly in the city which is the focus of attention in *Tirant lo Blanch*, right at the nerve center of the sea stretch that connects East and West, from the Bosphorus to the Dardanelles, going through the Hellespont, an obstacle and at the same time a link for the amorous passion of Leander and Hero, who also acted as referents in Martorell’s novel.

Let us see the fragment in question, in its translation/s:

Table 2. Divers of Byzantium according Dion Cassius, *Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία* (“Roman History”)

Dion Cassius, <i>Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία</i> From: Perseus Digital Library ⁴²	Translation into English ⁴³
<p>12 [1] πολλά μὲν οὖν καὶ ἔδρασαν καὶ ἔπαθον οἱ Βυζάντιοι, ἅτε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὡς εἰπεῖν στόλοις ἐπὶ ὄλον τριετὴ χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι: λελέξεται δὲ ὀλίγα καὶ τὰ ἐχόμενά τινος θαύματος. ἦρουν μὲν γάρ καὶ πλοῖά τινα παραπλέοντα εὐκαιρῶς ἐπιτιθέμενοι, ἦρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις τῶν</p> <p>[2] ἐν τῷ ὄρμῳ τῶν ἐναντίων οὐσῶν. τὰς γὰρ ἀγκύρας αὐτῶν ὑφύδροις κολυμβηταῖς ὑποτέμνοντες, καὶ ἤλους 1 ἐς τοὺς ταρσοὺς σφῶν, καλωδίοις ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ἐκδεδεμένους, ἐμπηγνόντες, ἐπεσπῶντο, ὥστ’ αὐτὰς ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν αὐτομάτως προσπλευούσας ὀρᾶσθαι, μήτ’ ἐρέτου μήτ’ ἀνέμου μηδενὸς ἐπισπέρχοντος</p>	<p>12 [1] Many, now, were the exploits and the experiences for the Byzantines, since for the entire space of three years they were besieged by the armaments of practically the whole world. I shall relate a few of the incidents that were in any way marvellous. They used to capture not only ships that were sailing past, by making opportune attacks, but also triremes that were in their opponents’ roadstead.</p> <p>[2] They accomplished this by causing divers to cut their anchors under water and drive in the ships’ sides nails that were attached by ropes to the friendly shore; then they would draw the ships towards them, so that these appeared to be sailing up all by themselves, of their own accord, with neither oarsman nor wind to urge them forward.</p>

42. Online version: Cary, Earnest; Foster, Herbert B. (critical editors). “Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historiae Romanae*”. Perseus Digital Library. 3 March 2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0593%3Abook%3D75%3Achapter%3D12%3Asection%3D1>> (section 1); <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0593%3Abook%3D75%3Achapter%3D12%3Asection%3D2>> (section 2) (Based on the edition: Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Dio’s Roman History*, ed. and trans. Earnest Cary, Herbert Baldwin Foste. London-New York: Macmillan-W. Heinemann, 1914-1927).

43. Online version: Cary, Earnest (critical editor). “Cassius Dio. “Roman History”. *University of Chicago*. 10 March 2015 <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/75*.html> (Based on the edition: Cassius Dio. *Roman History*, ed. and trans. Earnest Cary. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1927 [2nd edition]).



In fact, Dion Cassius' reference served as the basis for us to be able to situate and date the idea, and to contextualize it in a consistent and significant way with regard to the novel *Tirant lo Blanch*: Byzantium/Constantinople. This was not done by the critics who preceded us, who, instead, did highlight as a precedent⁴⁴—apart from the afore mentioned *Obsidionis Rhodie*—chapter 334 of *Dotzè* by Eiximenis⁴⁵ and the frustrated plan of attack that Giacomo Coco, Venetian defender of Constantinople, proposed for the night of April 24th 1453. The possible antecedent for Eiximenis suggests the general technique of using rope-ends—*ab corde*—to take a galley rowing in the middle of a fight with more powerful galleys; meanwhile, Coco's trick, despite being located *ante portas* of Constantinople, did not include any references either to swimmers or to divers tying or passing rope-ends through the rings of the Turkish ship hulls so that incendiary barges (*brulottes*) could be fastened to them. To this must be added that Coco's plan could not be put into practice due to the Genoese soldiers' refusal to participate when they knew about it. In fact, the Genoese had not been informed because of the distrust that they raised among the Venetians, the Byzantines and the other defenders, because of the Ligurians' deceitfulness in favor of the Turks—as was recorded in the proceedings of the council held on April 23rd during which Coco presented his plan.⁴⁶

Hence why the textual connection from Dion Cassius' report would follow a sequence that paves our way towards another connection which has not been taken into account by critics so far: Dion Cassius is the main source for Roman history (until the early 3rd Century) of the great Byzantine historian John Zonaras, in his *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν* (*Epitome Historiarum*). Zonaras, a true man of the court who, under Alexius I Comnenus, eventually became the great 'Drungary' (commander of the Emperor's personal guard) and *Πρωτοασηκρήτις* (*protoasecretis* or "first private secretary of the Emperor"), and after the Emperor's death, retired to the monastery in Mount Athos until the end of his longevous life—*circa* 88 years.⁴⁷

44. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 414 (note 13).

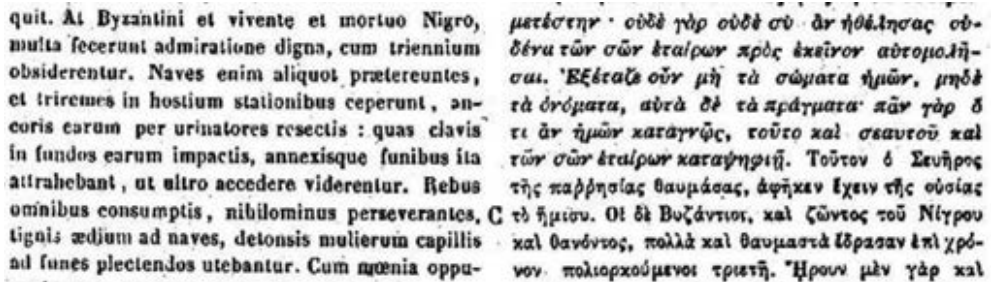
45. Eiximenis, Francesc. *Dotzè llibre del Crestià*. Valencia: Lambert Palmart, 1484: without pages (chapter 334). Online version: Eiximenis, Francesc. "Dotzè llibre del Crestià. Chapter CCCXXXIV". *Biblioteca Nacional de España*. 5 March 2015 <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?pid=d-1603994>>.

46. Kenneth M. Setton. *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571). II: The Fifteenth Century*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1978; Motos, Encarnación; Morfakidis, Moschos, eds. *Constantinopla. 550 años de de su caída. Κολωνηοληλνύπννε. 550 ρζόλλη από ηελ άνωζε*. Granada: Centro de Estudios Bizantinos, Neogriegos y Chipriotas-Universidad de Granada, 2006.

47. Ioannis Zonarae. *Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum libri XIII-XVIII*, ed. Theodor Büttner-Wobst. Bonn: Impensis Editor Weberi, 1897. Online version: Ioannis Zonarae. "Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν". *Bibliotheca Augustana*. 2 February 2015 <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/graeca/Chronologia/S_post12/Zonaras/zon_kass.html>.



Zonaras was an influential author throughout the Middle Ages and his work stood out as one of the references for Catholic texts. It was incorporated into Migne's work and into the set of *Documenta Catholica Omnia*.⁴⁸ Zonaras' *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν* (*Epitome Historiarum*), which includes the fragment about the ruse for the capture of Septimius Severus' ships by the Byzantines:



quit. At Byzantini et vivente et mortuo Nigro, multa fecerunt admiratione digna, cum triennium obsiderentur. Naves enim aliquot pretereuntes, et triremes in hostium stationibus ceperunt, ancoris earum per urinatores resectis : quas clavus in fundos earum impactis, annexisque funibus ita attrahebant, ut ultro accedere viderentur. Rebus omnibus consumptis, nihilominus perseverantes, Cignis ædium ad naves, detonsis mulierum capillis ad funes plectendos utebantur. Cum αἰχμητῶν ὀπίσθεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σὺ· ἂν ἠθέλησας σὺ· δέναι τῶν σῶν ἑταίρων πρὸς ἐκείνον αὐτομολῆσαι. Ἐξέταξέ οὖν μὴ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν, μηδὲ τὰ ὄνοματα, ἀλλὰ δὲ τὰ πράγματα· πάντες γὰρ δεῖν ἂν ἡμῶν καταγῶς, τοῦτο καὶ σκαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἑταίρων καταψηφίη. Τοῦτον ὁ Σευήρος τῆς παρρησίας θαυμάσας, ἀφῆκεν ἔχειν τῆς οὐσίας C τὸ ἡμῶν. Οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι, καὶ ζῶντος τοῦ Νίγρου καὶ θανόντος, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔδρασαν ἐπὶ χρόνων· πολιορκούμενοι τριετῆ. Ἦρουν μὲν γὰρ καὶ

ILLUSTRATION 9. THE RUSE FOR THE CAPTURE OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS' SHIPS BY THE BYZANTINES DIVERS ACCORDING TO ZONARAS' *ἘΠΙΤΟΜΗ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ* (*EPITOME HISTORIARUM*). SOURCE: IOANNIS ZONARAE. "Ε Π Ι Τ Ο Μ Η Ἱ Σ Τ Ο Ρ Ι Ω Ν". *BIBLIOTHECA AUGUSTANA*. 2 FEBRUARY 2015 <[HTTP://WWW.HS-AUGSBURG.DE/~HARSCH/ GRAECA/CHRONOLOGIA/S_POST12/ZONARAS/ZON_KASS.HTML](http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/graeca/chronologia/S_post12/zonaras/zon_kass.html)>.

Zonaras is one of the authors whose work has come to us in a direct translation from Greek due to the enormous activity driven and encouraged by the Grand Master of the Order of the Hospital, Juan Fernández de Heredia that was essential for the flourishing of Humanism in the Crown of Aragon, and in Western Europe as a whole.⁴⁹ More specifically, amongst the numerous classical and Byzantine Greek works that Fernández de Heredia ordered to translate was a large part of this important work by Zonaras that materialized in the resulting translation into the Aragonese language, in the form of the *Crónica o Libro de los Emperadores* ("Chronicle or Book of the Emperors")⁵⁰ (illustration 10).

48. Joannis Zonarae. "Annales", *Patrologiae. Coursus Completus. Series Graeca*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne. Paris : Jacques Paul Migne editorem, 1864. col. 39-1414.

49. Cacho, Juan Manuel. *El gran maestre Juan Fernández de Heredia*. Saragossa: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1997; Butinyà, Júlia; Cortijo, Antonio, eds. *L'Humanisme a la Corona d'Aragó* (en el context hispànic i europeu). Potomac: Scripta Humanistica, 2011.

50. Zonaras, Juan. *Libro de los Emperadores (Versión aragonesa del Compendio de Historia Universal, patrocinada por Juan Fernández de Heredia)*, ed. Adelino Álvarez Rodríguez, Francisco Martín García. Saragossa-Huesca: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza-Institución Fernando el Católico-Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses-Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de Aragón, 2006.





ILLUSTRATION 10. *LIBRO DE LOS EMPERADORES*, WITH THE IMAGE REPRESENTING THE GRAND MASTER OF THE HOSPITAL, JUAN FERNÁNDEZ DE HEREDIA. SOURCE: FERNÁNDEZ DE HEREDIA, JUAN. "EL LIBRO DE LOS EMPERADORES; EL LIBRO DE LOS FECHOS ET CONQUISTAS DEL PRINCIPADO DE MOREA". *BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA*. 20 MARCH 2015 <<http://www.bne.es/es/Micrositios/Exposiciones/BNE300/Exposicion/Seccion3/sub1/OBRA10.html?origen=galeria>> (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA. MANUSCRITOS 10131, F. 1R.).⁵¹



The widespread knowledge that existed about Fernández de Heredia's activity is clearly evidenced by the interest with which the great Coluccio Salutati, the unquestioned representative of Florentine Humanism during the late 14th century and the early 15th century, asked the Grand Master of the Hospital to send a copy of the translation into the Aragonese language of the *Cronica de Conquiridores* ("Chronicle of the Conquerors", also known as *Plutarco*),⁵² from Plutarch's *Vidas paralelas* ("Parallel lives") —Salutati explicitly composed the Italian version of the latter.⁵³

On the other hand, it is worth highlighting that another of the sources which makes an easily perceivable contribution to Martorell's novel, a work by the Franciscan doctor in Theology John of Wales (Worcester, early 13th century- Paris, circa 1285, contemporary of Ramon Llull, and a source for Martorell too), also appears amongst those translated within the framework of the initiative undertaken by the Grand Master of the Hospital, even though a translation of it already existed into Catalan at the end of the 14th century: the *Communiloquium* or *Summa collationum*, which materializes through Fernandez de Heredia's activity as the *Libro de Actoridades* or *Rams de Flores* —circa 1385-1393—⁵⁴ which was already translated into Catalan. Another of the works by John of Wales translated into Catalan in the 15th century XV was the *Breviloquium de virtutibus* or *Lo breu parlament dels antichs*. Expressed differently, he was a well-known author within the Crown of Aragon context whose works amounted to an unusual number of hand-written copies throughout Europe

51. This image is lacked in the digital version of "almost" the whole codex, which begins at f. 1v and "forgets" f. 1r. Available at: Fernández de Heredia, Juan. "El libro de los emperadores; el libro de los fechos e conquistas del principado de Morea". *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica. Biblioteca Nacional de España*. 20 March 2015 <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000008326&page=1>>.

52. Álvarez Rodríguez, Adelino. 'Plutarco'. *Vidas Semblantes: versión aragonesa de las 'Vidas paralelas', patrocinada por Juan Fernández de Heredia*. Saragossa: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza-Gobierno de Aragón-Instituto de Estudios Alto-aragoneses-Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2009: I, II.

53. Coluccio Salutati describes at his "Proemio" of the *Cronica di Plutarco* (Salutati, Coluccio. *Cronica di Plutarco*. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, phil. 26, sin, 7) the line of translations: from the *gramatica greca* (ancient Greek) into Byzantine (*vulgar greco*), and from this into aragonese, after the *comandamento* by the Grand Master of the Hospital, Juan Fernández de Heredia: *cronica di Plutarco, famoso ystorial greco, la quale fù trans-/latata di gramatica greca in/ vulgar greco in rodi per uno/ philosopho greco chiamato [...] et di greco fù trans-/latata in aragones per un fray-/re [...] per comandamento del molto/ reverente in Yesuschristus reverendo padre / e signore dom Ffrayre Giovanni/ Ffernandez di Heredia, per la gratia/ di Dio Maestro dell'Ordine dell'O-/spedale di San Giovanni di Gerusa-/lem* ("chronicle of Plutarco, famous Greek historian, which was translated from the Greek grammar to vulgar Greek in Rhode by a Greek philosopher called [...] and from the Greek translated to Aragonese by a friar [...] under the order of the Reverent in Jesus Christ Master Father and Lord Dom John Fernandez de Heredia, Master of the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem by the Mercy of God"). Martines, Vicent. "Famoso ystorial greco'... Les lliçons dels clàssics, les traduccions i l'Humanisme a la Corona d'Aragó entre la fi del segle XIV i el XV", *L'Humanisme a la Corona d'Aragó (en el context hispànic i europeu)*, Júlia Butinyà, Antonio Cortijo, eds. Potomac: Scripta Humanistica, 2011: 575-408.

54. Cacho, Juan Manuel. "La reconstrucción del 'Rams de flores' de Juan Fernández de Heredia. A propósito de una nueva edición". *Archivo de Filología Aragonesa*, 56, 200 (2000): 247-264; Guardiola, Conrado. *Rams de flores o Libro de actoridades. Obra compilada bajo la protección de Juan Fernández de Heredia, Maestre de la Orden del Hospital de San Juan de Jerusalén (edición del ms. De la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, Z-I-2)*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1998.



and over the centuries —between 150 and 200 manuscripts of his works have been preserved, although some scholars increase the count up to 453.⁵⁵

It can thus be seen that Dion Cassius' influence converges directly onto the Crown of Aragon through the Master of the Hospital —whose Mother House was in Rhodes— and through the translation of Zonaras' work, for which Dion Cassius represents one of the main sources. Furthermore, the Master of the Hospital also appears amongst the authors who provide sources for Martorell's work, John of Wales. In this case, the fact that Wales also appears on the list of translated works confirms that Fernández de Heredia's efforts were properly contextualized with regard to the works and authors of his time who will be subsequently regarded as components of the humanists' genome.

5. Conclusions

Tirant lo Blanch is a novel with multiple sides, amongst which also stands out that of hoarding a variety of elements, and especially important ones even as continents or determinants, themselves, of crucial parts in the plot. In particular, the sea becomes especially important in a work like this one, so widespread throughout Europe and the Mediterranean: the action moves from Brittany to London and, from here, to Rhodes, Sicily, Byzantium, North Africa, and once again Byzantium... This is not only a mere geographical space: in addition to being the route through which the protagonist travels, *el mar* (or *la mar*) —in the masculine or in the feminine— appears as an initiation environment for the main character, a context which defines his progressive successes and his personal maturity..., as if it were the same sea of Ulysses' life experiences in the *Odyssey*, or the one that Jason sailed across together with his Argonauts, or that in which Leander swam (and drowned) to visit his beloved Hero... These are just a few of the *Matière Ancienne* references which nourish this novel, especially that of *Leander and Hero* —from another great author who lived in the Crown of Aragon too, Joan Roís de Corella— which combine in a particularly complex way in this work that, despite being chronologically medieval, is actually 'modern' in its conception.

In any case, it has been possible for us to prove —using Corpus Linguistics techniques and applications and also by means of the CIMTAC MetaCorpus— that the crucial importance of *mar* in the novel is unmatched with a large number of lexical occurrences or forms. A (brief) comparison has been drawn with another two classics which were contemporary with *Tirant lo Blanch* —Curial e Güelfa, attributed to Enyego d'Àvalos, and Ausiàs March's Dictats— from which can be inferred that the forms referred to *amar* and *amor*... outnumber those related

55. Ramon, Lluís. "Descripció codicològica de la traducció catalana del 'Communiloquium' de Joan de Gal·les". *Saitabi*, 45 (1995): 371-392; Nighman, Chris L. *The Electronic Manipulus florum Project*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University, 2001-2015. Online version: Nighman, Chris L. "Auxiliary Resources. Home". *Wilfrid Laurier University*. 2 February 2015 <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/page12.html>>.



to *guerra*. And along with the amorous words, those referring to the sea are more numerous than war-related ones. It has been established that a particular connection exists between the high number of cases of *amor/amar* and *mar* in *Tirant lo Blanch*; and also that, despite the high number of (land and sea) battle events which appear in the novel, the greater number of references to *mar* clearly suggests that this is an initiation context, which plays a catalyzing and necessary role that becomes essential for the development of what gives *Tirant lo Blanch* more specificity than the mere battle events, the complexity of a love feeling and its expression.

Despite the significantly small number of occurrences of the word *mar* in the text body of Joanot Martorell's novel, the quality and importance of the role played by the sea in general and by the classical referents to which many of the episodes where the presence of the sea can be strongly felt, refer us back shows the huge importance that the sea has as a motif.

Our attention is now going to focus on two episodes which can prove highly valid in this respect because they represent examples of the strategic relevance that corresponds to the sea in *Tirant lo Blanch*:

- On the one hand because, through the influence of the *History of the love between Leander and Hero*, by Joan Roís de Corella —coeval, as well as a friend and neighbour of Joanot Martorell's— on *Tirant lo Blanch*, the sea refers to classical tradition in what regards the expression of a love feeling. Furthermore, a new possible source has been proposed for Corella's work, which passes on to Martorell's novel and gets further enriched.
- On the other hand, chapter 106 has been analyzed here as a hypothesis of a referent for the roots of classical tradition that become visible in an amazing battle event, and information has been supplied about a historical war stratagem never before observed in relation to Martorell's novel, despite having been thoroughly studied by critics. The sea continues to be the main character in this historical ruse, totally consistent with the references in the novel (Byzantium, situation of siege and naval blockade imposed by an invading force, attack diving as a tactic...), as it was attested in writing by the *Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία (Historia romana)* ("Roman History") of the important Roman historian Dion Cassius. The present study additionally suggests a probable way of textual connection between the work of this author and the Crown of Aragon through Zonaras' *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν (Epitome Historiarum)* as an evidence of the influential direct translation activity focused on classical Greek works and carried out by the Grand Master of the Hospital, Juan Fernández de Heredia. And evidence has also been provided for the confirmation of the proximity that this entails with regard to Martorell's novel, insofar as Fernández de Heredia saw to it that another work which also influenced *Tirant lo Blanch* —though in other aspects- was translated, namely: the *Communiloquium* by John of Wales.

In short, all the love experiences, negotiations, battle events, stratagems and progression (in the *Curriculum Vitae*) of *Tirant* have something in common: the sea is much more than a means of communication needed in this so strongly



Mediterranean novel. At the time, when 28 years still had to elapse before America was discovered, the Mediterranean and ‘Mediterraneity’ represented the cornerstone of the known world onto which North and South —East and West— converged.

To conclude, it deserves to be stressed that the sea does not have the same symbolic meaning in *Tirant lo Blanch* as in Xenophon’s *Anabasis* (circa 430-circa 355) (Perseus Digital Library; Bibliotheca Augustana-Xenophon), where the ten thousand Greeks’ march inland across the Persian Empire, from Sardes to Cunaxa, in the heart of Mesopotamia, and then as far as Trabzon, looking for an exit to the sea, like a destination, a target or a goal. When they finally get to see the sea, after so many hardships, Xenophon describes the moment deeply moved: ⁵⁶⁵⁷

Table 3. Xenophon, *Κύρος Ανάβασις* / *Anabasis*

Xenophon, <i>Κύρος Ανάβασις</i> ⁵⁶	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i> (translated into English) ⁵⁷
<p>[4.7.23] ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ βοῶντας καὶ πολλῶι μείζων ἐγίνετο ἢ βοὴ ὅσῳι δὴ πλείους ἐγίνοντο,</p> <p>[4.7.24] ἐδόκει δὴ μείζον τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ’ ἵππον καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἰπέας ἀναλαβὼν παρεβοήθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν «θάλαττα θάλαττα» καὶ παρεγγυόντων. ἔνθα δὲ ἔθεον πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἠλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.</p>	<p>[23] But as the shout kept getting louder and nearer, as the successive ranks that came up all began to run at full speed toward the ranks ahead that were one after another joining in the shout, and as the shout kept growing far louder as the number of men grew steadily greater, it became quite clear to Xenophon that here was something of unusual importance [24] so he mounted a horse, took with him Lycius and the cavalry, and pushed ahead to lend aid; and in a moment they heard the soldiers shouting, —The Sea! The Sea!! and passing the word along. Then all the troops of the rearguard likewise broke into a run, and the pack animals began racing ahead and the horses.</p>

56.Xenophon. “Κύρου Ανάβασις”. *Bibliotheca Augusta*. 10 March 2015 <https://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/graeca/Chronologia/S_ante04/Xenophon/xen_ana0.html> (Based on the edition: Xenophon. *Xenophon’s opera omnia*. Tomus III: *Expediitō Cyri*, ed. Edgar Cardew Marchant. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1904).

57.Brownson, Carleton L. (critical editor). “Xenophon, *Anabasis*”. *Perseus Digital Library*. 15 March 2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0202%3Abook%3D4%3Achapter%3D7%3Asection%3D23>> (book 4, chapter 7, section 23-24) (Based on the edition: Xenophon. *Xenophon in Seven Volumes*, ed. Carleton L. Brownson. Cambridge (Mass.)-London: Harvard University Press-William Heinemann Ltd., 1922).



The sea is a goal for those long-suffering ten thousand; first the Black Sea that will take them home, the most desired end to their expedition: Byzantium —the future Constantinople.

Tirant also sails across the seas, all his efforts and interests being concentrated on Constantinople; in his case, to save it from the Ottoman danger. He will eventually become a Caesar of the Greek Empire and is truly in love with the crown Princess, Carmesina. Constantinople will be about to become 'his' home. In *Tirant lo Blanch* and for its main character, the sea is an initiation element, the means and the purpose, the environment and the whole.

