



THE EARLY HISTORY OF  
VENICE

FROM THE FOUNDATION TO THE  
CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE

A.D. 1204

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# CONTENTS

## BOOK I

### *THE ORIGINS*

CHAP.	PAGE
I. THE LAGOONS AND THEIR FIRST INHABITANTS	3
II. THE EARLIEST GOVERNMENT OF THE LAGOONS —THE CHURCH OF AQUILEIA AND THE SCHISM OF THE THREE CHAPTERS—SLAV SETTLEMENTS IN DALMATIA . . . . .	33
III. EARLY DOGES AT HERACLEA AND MALAMOCCO .	58
IV. THE DOGES AT RIALTO BEFORE THE ORSEOLI .	76
V. THE ORSEOLI . . . . .	122
VI. THE CITY AND LAGOONS IN THE TENTH CEN- TURY: THEIR EXTERNAL ASPECT, GOVERN- MENT, AND TRADE . . . . .	130

## BOOK II

### *THE BEGINNINGS OF EMPIRE*

I. THE CONQUEST OF DALMATIA . . . . .	169
II. RELATIONS WITH WESTERN AND EASTERN EM- PERORS . . . . .	186
III. WAR WITH THE NORMANS AND ALLIANCE WITH EASTERN EMPIRE . . . . .	209

## BOOK III

*THE CRUSADES*

CHAP.	PAGE
I. THE FIRST CRUSADE AND CHRISTIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST . . . . .	233
II. FREDERIC BARBAROSSA : HIS LOMBARD WARS AND THE PAPAL SCHISM . . . . .	266
III. MANUEL COMNENUS AND HIS AGGRESSIONS ON VENICE . . . . .	277
IV. THE PEACE OF VENICE . . . . .	300

## BOOK IV

*VENETIAN EMPIRE IN THE LEVANT*

I. CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES OF ORIO MASTROPIERO : RELATIONS WITH CRUSADERS AND COURT OF CONSTANTINOPLE . . . . .	327
II. ENRICO DANDOLO AND THE FOURTH CRUSADE EXCURSUS ON THE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE . . . . .	428
INDEX . . . . .	439

## MAPS

I. THE LAGOONS . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
II. PLAN OF MODERN VENICE . . . . .	<i>Opposite page 130</i>



# INTRODUCTION

## ON THE SOURCES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF VENICE

THE chronicle of John the Deacon was formerly known as that of Sagornino, because the name of John Sagornino, an ironsmith, is signed to a memorandum written on a blank space *ad calcem*, and this was erroneously supposed to be the name of the author. It was edited under this name in the middle of the eighteenth century, and is so quoted in so late a work as Romanin's *Storia Documentata*. The memorandum really relates to an appeal which Sagornino made to Pietro Barbolano (doge 1026 to 1031) and Dominico Flabianico (doge 1032 to 1043) against the Gastaldo, or Head of the Corporation of Smiths, for a grievance connected with some corvée due by the smiths to the doge's palace, and is interesting as the earliest record of any corporation or "Arte" at Venice: but has nothing to do with the chronicle. The attribution of the latter to John the Deacon rests upon the fact that, in his account of Otto III.'s famous visit to Venice, the chronicler relates things that could have been known only to the Emperor, the doge, and John the Deacon. John was a person of consideration, who, as we know from documentary evidence, was sent to the Emperor at Aachen in the year 995, as an envoy from the doge. This mission is mentioned in our chronicle,<sup>1</sup> without the name of the envoy, and in the minute account of the Emperor's journey from Pomposia to Venice<sup>2</sup> the Deacon John is mentioned more than once, but without any intimation that he is the writer himself. He is mentioned in several other

<sup>1</sup> Page 150 in Monticolo's *Cron. Venez. Ant.*      <sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 160 *sqq.*

documents as discharging important duties in the service of Pietro Orseolo II., and appears last in the year 1018, after that doge's death, as sent on a mission to the Emperor Henry II. on behalf of the abbess of San Zaccaria. He is often called the doge's chaplain.

It may certainly be accepted as highly probable that John the Deacon was the author of our chronicle. But whether he was so or not, there is no doubt that the work is of the highest authority, especially for the important reign of Pietro Orseolo II. It is written in very tolerable Latin, quite different from the rudeness of the lesser chronicles that have been confused with it in MSS. and editions, the *Cronicon Gradense* and the *Cronica de Singulis Patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, works belonging to the same category as the Altino Chronicle, of which I shall soon have to speak, containing passages of different dates, but some of a very high antiquity, some written by persons ignorant of chronology as well as of the elements of Latin grammar. Monticolo, the editor of these chronicles in the *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*,<sup>1</sup> puts them on the same level with legends of the saints, of which, in fact, a good part of them consists, and from which they are distinguished by no intellectual superiority.

The *Cronaca Veneziana* and the minor chronicles connected with it are published in the ninth volume of Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ. S.S.*, vii., as well as in the series of *Fonti* referred to above. Pertz was the first to give to the second chronicle the name of *Cronicon Gradense*, which is wanting in the MSS. and is not altogether appropriate, as it deals with Torcello as much as with Grado. From internal evidence we may conclude that both this chronicle and that *de Singulis Patriarchis* were the work of a priest of the church of Grado living in the early years of the eleventh century.

The recent editions above referred to of the *Cronaca Veneziana* have been printed from a MS. in the Vatican Library formerly belonging to the Dukes of Urbino, and known as Urbinas, 440. Pertz was inclined to think this

<sup>1</sup> *Cronache Veneziane Antichissime*, vol. i. Roma, 1890.

MS. was the actual autograph of John the Deacon; whether it is or not, it is certainly very nearly contemporary, its date being earlier than A.D. 1032.

The Altino Chronicle was known in old times. Andrea Dandolo has several times quoted it, and Martino da Canale and Marco and an anonymous chronicler, supposed to be of the Giustiniani family, all writers of the thirteenth century, have incorporated fragments of it in their history. Filiasi, who wrote about the year 1800, deploras its loss, but as some verbatim quotations from it are found in his works, he must have had access to it without attaching a name to it. Indeed early in the eighteenth century it had been described in print by Apostolo Zeno, a Venetian antiquary (who found a copy in the famous library of the Senator Bernardo Trevisano, and published an account of it in 1712 in the *Giornale de' Letterati d'Italia*), and by Montfaucon, who ten years before gave a short sketch of its contents in the *Diarium Italicum*. Flaminius Cornelius or Cornaro, the learned historian of the churches of Venice and Torcello, quoted it many times in his great work published in 1749. The Trevisano MS. is now at Dresden; but there is another in the library of the Patriarchal Seminary at Venice and a third in the Vatican; all three belong to the thirteenth century, and all are more or less incorrect copies of lost originals.

The oldest part of our chronicle is that which relates the destruction of Altino and the foundation of Torcello and Grado. This served as the rough sketch of the Chronicle of Grado described above, and is quoted in the Venetian Chronicle of John the Deacon, who died early in the eleventh century; it must therefore be earlier than that date, while its mention of Obelerius and Beatus, doges early in the ninth century, gives a *terminus à quo*. It is a highly composite product, as indeed appears at first sight, and has been proved with perhaps needless detail by its latest editor, Henry Simonsfeld;<sup>1</sup> besides the

<sup>1</sup> *Venetianische Studien I.*, von Dr. Henry Simonsfeld, München, 1878.

narratives I have mentioned as its oldest part are lists of Patriarchs of Grado and Bishops of Olivolo and Torcello, and of the families that had migrated to Rialto by the beginning of the ninth century, with an account of their religious foundations, and a purely fabulous history beginning with the Exarch Longinus and mixed up with an equally fabulous account of the war of the Franks against Venice.

All this part of the chronicle is written in the most atrocious Latin, so that much of it is absolutely unintelligible. The best authorities, however, Waitz and Simonsfeld, are disposed to think it contains some trustworthy traditional information. I have referred in my text to the prominent part that a tribune Aurius is made to play in the first settlement of Torcello and the other lidi of the lagoon. The family name of Aurio, Dauro, or Doro, which was well known in later times in Venice, and is perpetuated in the Ca' Doro on the Grand Canal, is found frequently in old documents relating to Torcello and the surrounding islands. And there is no reason to doubt the accounts it gives of the *roda* or wheel in the pavement of the cathedral of Torcello, or of the water brought into the font of the baptistery by pipes, and poured out of the mouths of bronze images of beasts. It is in references such as these and in mentions of feudal or quasi-feudal tenures and customs, and not in history proper, that the value of the greater part of the chronicle consists. But an important addition to it, occupying pages 72-97 in the edition in Pertz SS., vol. xiv., is quite distinct from the rest, and a valuable historical document, giving in intelligible Latin an account, probably nearly contemporary, of the events between the accession of the doge Domenico Michieli about 1120 and the peace of Venice in 1177. This addition, which is separately entitled *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, is our most valuable authority for the period of which it treats.

I should add that Simonsfeld, the editor of the Altino Chronicle in Pertz, used a better MS. from the Vatican

Library than was available for either of the earlier recensions in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, series i. vol. viii. (from a Venetian MS.), series i. App. v. (from a Dresden MS.).

Andrea Dandolo,<sup>1</sup> the most famous of Venetian chroniclers, is a conspicuous person in Venetian history. He was elected doge in 1343, at an unusually early age, either thirty-three, thirty-six, or thirty-eight, according to different accounts. But several years before he had held high and dignified offices, that of Procurator of St. Mark in 1331, that of Podestà of Trieste in 1333, and that of *provveditore in campo* in the war against Mastino della Scala in 1336. He was learned in jurisprudence, perhaps a doctor and Professor of Law in Padua. He was an honoured friend of Petrarch, who wrote the inscription on his monument in the baptistery of San Marco, and contemporaries and later writers agree in praise of his justice, his liberality, his cheerful gentleness, as well as of his learning and eloquence. He tells us in a passage of his history (Mur., xii. col. 237) that he was of the same family as the great doge Enrico Dandolo: but the stemma drawn up by Simonsfeld shows that he was not a lineal descendant. Of the troubled but not inglorious eleven years for which he governed the republic, his Turkish and Genoese wars, and the terrible black death, which in those years visited Venice as it did the rest of Western Europe, this is not the place to speak. He seems to have been all his life a student, interested in old laws, of which he added a sixth book to the existing collection of *Statuta*, and in the ancient relations of Church and State in Venice,<sup>2</sup> and always prepared to appeal to history for guidance. It was he who collected in the *Liber Albus* the treaties with

<sup>1</sup> He spells his own name "Dandulus," but the spelling Dandolo for his very famous family has been so long accepted, that it would be a pity now to alter it.

<sup>2</sup> See the edict with its proemium prefixed to his chronicle at p. 9 of Muratori SS., vol. xii., in which the doge takes up, at least with reference to his chapel of St. Mark, its primicerius and chaplains, whom he will not allow to call themselves Canons, the highest Erastian ground.

Oriental states, and in the *Liber Blancus* those with Italian states, the two great collections still in the Archives of Venice, of which so much use has been made by Tafel and Thomas and other writers. These books were compiled after the sixth book of *Statuta*, which came out in 1346.

Of his historical writings we have two different accounts. Raffaele Caresini, the author of a continuation of the chronicle coming down to the year 1388, who was in 1379 Chancellor of the Signoria, and speaks of Andrea Dandolo as his lord, tells us that he wrote two chronicles of the memorable deeds in the days of his predecessors, one *Seriose et per extensum*, the other *breviloquiam eleganti stilo.*"<sup>1</sup> Muratori concluded, apparently with good reason, that the chronicle which he published was the longer work; the "brief and elegant" compendium he identified with an abridgment confined to books four and five<sup>2</sup> of the chronicle we know, with all the parts relating to the general history of the world omitted. But another writer, Marino Sanudo the younger, who wrote the *Vite de' Duchi di Venezia*, printed in the twenty-second volume of Muratori, and who was living in 1522, describes Andrea Dandolo's works as "a Latin chronicle called *Mare Magnum* of the origin of the noble families of Venice, which appears to be in the Council of Ten," and the *Compendio Latino di Venezia.*" These we might probably identify with the two chronicles mentioned by Caresini, if Sanudo's testimony stood alone. But the editor of the collection of official historiographers of Venice says that Dandolo wrote three historical works, of which the longest, called *Mare Magnum Historiarum*, and containing a general history from the creation of the world, was lost, when he wrote (A.D. 1718); the other two derived from this, one called annals, the

<sup>1</sup> Muratori SS., xii. col. 417. "Seriosè," I suspect, means "in form of a series," and refers to the curious arrangement in books, chapters, and parts.

<sup>2</sup> The first three books are not known to exist. The fourth book begins with the Episcopate of St. Mark, so that we can easily dispense with its predecessors. Both the MSS. that Muratori himself used were in the Este Library at Modena.



other a chronicle. The annals, he says, omitted only the first three books of the *Mare Magnum*, the chronicle was less full than the annals, but for the most part transcribed from them.

I do not think there is much difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the *Mare Magnum*, the greatest of the three works, stands for the complete work in ten books (whether it ever existed or was merely imagined from the fact of the chronicle beginning with the fourth book), though it is no doubt strange that in no MS. of the chronicle known to us is there any trace of such a title as *Mare Magnum*. Romanin<sup>1</sup> thought he had found in the library of St. Mark at Venice a MS. of the *Mare Magnum* which he considered to be the work as published by Muratori, and another of the shorter chronicle. But according to Simonsfeld, who has looked at the two MSS. referred to, there is no reason for calling the former the *Mare Magnum*.

The chronicle we have in Muratori consists of the seven books (four to ten inclusive) of the annals, and a "second volume," or rather an appendix from the lesser chronicle. The former ends with the year 1280; the latter brings us down to 1342, the year of the death of Dandolo's immediate predecessor, Bartolomeo Gradonico. It is much more compendious, and the division into books, chapters, and parts is not continued.

Besides the two Este MSS. that Muratori consulted, he was furnished by Saxius, the librarian of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, with a copy of a MS. in that library, which owed its existence to a most laborious and accurate scholar of the end of the sixteenth century, Pinelli, who spent forty years at Padua in investigating Venetian archives and conversing with learned Venetians. The copy made for him was constructed in a peculiar manner: the base appears to have been a MS. of the lesser chronicle, in the margin of which, or on pages inserted between those of the original, he has added the readings of the larger work, the

<sup>1</sup> iii. 173.

annals, and also a mass of notes made by himself or other scholars, so that the whole forms, in the words of Saxius, "confusa indigestaque farrago." Much of this additional matter is of uncertain date and doubtful authenticity, but it contains much of value, and moreover one of the MSS. that Pinelli used, belonging to the Contarini family and now in the library of St. Mark, is thought by Simonsfeld<sup>1</sup> to be of the fourteenth or the earliest years of the fifteenth century, and so very near the time of Dandolo himself. Many of the marginal additions in the Ambrosian MS. are passages of authors such as Thomas, Archdeacon of Salona, whose works were known to Dandolo. Simonsfeld has shown that so many of these marginal additions correct mistakes in the text or improve the expression, that it is almost credible that some of them may have come from an annotated copy belonging to the author himself.

We find in Dandolo's Chronicle much information taken from earlier writers now known to us, such as the Altino Chronicle, the Grado Chronicle, and that of John the Deacon: others from later writers nearer his own time, such as Martino da Canale and Marco, which have been published in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*. In other passages it is probable that he made use of chronicles now lost. Simonsfeld has traced in places, especially in Dandolo's account of the Fourth Crusade, facts taken from Paulinus, Bishop of Puteoli, a writer of hagiologies. We have also evidence of the care taken by our doge to collect and arrange ancient documents. When Romanin at Vienna examined the *Liber Albus* and *Liber Blancus*, he found prefixed to each a patent of Andrea Dandolo, in which he says that desiring to spend the little leisure left him by the business of government in some way useful to the public, after compiling the sixth book of *Statuta* he found, on a careful examination, "the privileges, jurisdictions, and treaties of our most holy city, procured at divers times by our predecessors or ourselves, scattered about through many volumes, with no separation of

<sup>1</sup> *Andreas Dandole und Seine Gesch.*, p. 27.



subjects, places, or times, in uncertain or, to speak more truly, unsuitable places; whence the eyesight of readers was dimmed, the understanding of searchers dulled, and the finding of what was sought rendered often most difficult and almost impossible." Desiring to redress this notable defect, he had ordered the documents to be collected, arranged by a proper comparison, and distributed in suitable places and in maturely considered order, leaving nothing in a bad or unbecoming situation, but all in consecutive series as subject, place, or time required: and had thus made access to them pleasant instead of difficult, clear instead of obscure, inserting in the present volume (*i.e.* I presume the *Liber Blancus*) documents relating to the affairs of Lombardy, Tuscany, the Romagna, the March, and Sicily. He ends the patent with expressing the wish, "ut venerabili patriæ comissisque nobis divinitus populis quibus principaliter nati sumus prodesse quam præesse potius valeamus,"<sup>1</sup> a wish that, to judge from the testimony of his contemporaries, was characteristic of this humane and public-spirited doge.

Of sources of information not contemporary I have not thought it necessary to consult specially the collection of the official historiographers for this early period of the History. Of modern books Romanin's *Storia Documentata di Venezia*, 1853, in ten volumes, is indispensable to the historian, and my opinion of its value has increased with my familiarity with it. The author is not a scholar: I have mentioned in one place, and might have done so in others, his ignorance of Greek: and I strongly suspect that many of the documents he prints might have been made more intelligible by better editing. But the history is a work of great learning and industry, if dry and unattractive in style, and has made knowledge of Venetian history much more accessible, as Dandolo's arrangement of the Archives did. Le Bret's *Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, Leipzig and Riga, 1769, which professes to be founded on the French history of the Abbè Langier, seems

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, i. pp. 354, 355.

to be a more scholarlike, if not a more attractive book. It contains some ancient documents that are nowhere else to be found in so correct a form. Of Filiasi's *Memorie Storiche dei Veneti primi e secondi* I wish I could have read more: they are full of the most interesting antiquarian and topographical learning, but given on such a scale as would make a history that did justice to them a work only to be undertaken by a Methuselah.

The collection of *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedigs*, by Tafel and Thomas, published in the *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, Abth. ii. Bde. xii-xiv, is a book that any historian of Venice must have constantly in his hands, especially for those parts of his subject which connect it with Byzantine history. Both the editors were experts in Byzantine scholarship, and their annotations on the documents they collected, especially on points of geography that arise, are models of German thoroughness. They help their reader less in the very difficult task of interpreting the documents, many of them Latin translations of Greek charters, from the hands of clerks who understood little Latin. The Greek originals would probably not have been easy to understand, but they appear not to be in existence, at least for the earliest times: the great collection of Miklosich and Müller (*Acta et Diplomata Græca. Vindobonæ*, 1860, &c.) contains hardly any documents earlier than the Latin conquest of 1204. In the Latin translations, as in the barbarous chronicles of Altino and Grado, we find ourselves in a world where the rules of Priscian are unknown, and where the encyclopædic learning of Ducange seldom helps us. Still we learn much from them, especially in connexion with the passages from the Byzantine historians and Andrea Dandolo that the editors have collected and printed as illustrations of their work. The close connexion of Venice with Constantinople in early times makes it necessary for the historian of Venice to have some acquaintance with the vast stores of historical literature that fill the forty-nine volumes of

the Bonn Corpus, a rather dreary field of study, which would however be less uninviting if all the editors furnished us with the abundant illustration that is to be derived from the notes *e.g.* of Reisk and Ducange. The only Byzantine historians I have made any acquaintance with are Constantine Porphyrogenetus, Anna Comnena, and Nicetas Choniates, all of whom were in a position to know the history of their times the first two being members of the Imperial family, the third a high officer of state. But all had conspicuous defects that impair the literary and historical value of their writings, Constantine being one of the dullest of antiquaries; the princess, one of the most foolish and superstitious of court ladies; and Nicetas, a rhetorical theologian, spoiled by a bad school, who is however quite capable of telling his story with clearness and good sense, and even, in his more inspired moments, with a pathos that touches us still.

The mention of the connexion between Venice and Constantinople reminds me that I should say something of a book very frequently referred to in this volume, Gfrörer's *Byzantinische Geschichten*, a work compiled by Dr. J. B. Weiss of the University of Graz, after Gfrörer's death, from lectures given by the latter at Freiburg. The University of Freiburg in Switzerland is one of the great centres of Ultramontanism, and Professor Gfrörer's most elaborate work was a history of Gregory VII., which I do not myself know. We may therefore expect to find in his Byzantine Histories an ultramontane tendency. And this in fact we do find, and an animus against what he calls "Byzantinismus," which is much the same as what we call Erastianism. But the chief characteristic of his book—the first volume of which is entirely taken up with the History of Venice down to the war with Robert Guiscard and Alexius Comnenus' Golden Bull of 1082—is its accentuation of the dependence of Venice on the Eastern Empire of early times. This dependence had no doubt been overlooked by Italian writers, and Romanin

had, from patriotic sensitiveness, striven to minimise it: but most readers will, I believe, think that Gfrörer has given this feature of the History undue prominence, and there is visible in other parts of his work a tendency to paradox, which detracts from its value. It has not, however, the effect, which love of paradox sometimes has, of banishing the dryness, which we have a right to expect in a work of German erudition. It is a very dry book, but accurate and well-informed; one never finds a fact in any ancient authority that has escaped Gfrörer's vigilance.

I have used Daru very little. His great history is a French classic, and he was himself conversant with *la haute politique*, and in that respect a competent historian of the famous republic. But his special gifts would come into play more in the later parts of his history: on the earlier history his authority is not great, and his accuracy and impartiality have been much called in question by recent writers who have resented, some his injustice to Venice, others his hostility to the Church.<sup>1</sup>

Gibbon has been very frequently in my hands throughout the compiling of this volume, and Milman's "Latin Christianity," and Giesebrecht's *Deutsche Kaiserzeit* have also been most useful. No books show more clearly the interdependence of the histories of all parts of Europe during the Middle Ages. My references to Gibbon are to the edition of Dr. W. Smith, in eight vols. (Murray, 1854).

Another authority to whom any one dealing with the early history of Venice must constantly have recourse is

<sup>1</sup> In *Venedig als Weltmacht und Weltstadt*, von Hans v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst (Bielefeld, Leipzig, 1899), p. 145, we may read "der Franzose Daru, eine gewissenlose Kreatur Napoleons I., der in acht Bänden die Geschichte Venedigs entstellt und gefälscht hat," and a reference to his fables about the Inquisition at Venice, which for half a century might compete in success with the romances of chivalry or brigandage. The book of Zwiedineck-Südenhorst is short and interesting, and most beautifully illustrated. S. A. F. Rio, *Épilogue à l'Art Chrétien*, i. p. 349, quoted in a note to p. viii. of Gfrörer's first vol., speaks of Daru having "robbed of all its charm, edification and grandeur, the history of this heroically Christian republic."

the great Ducange—Charles Du Fresne, Sieur Ducange. His greatest work, the *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, is indispensable for any student of the Middle Ages, but the rest of his works, that represent the product of the larger part of his long life of learned activity, relate more or less to Constantinople, the city which more closely than any other is connected with the early history of Venice. His history of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the first work he published, his edition of Villehardouin, that of the Greek metrical chronicles of the Latin conquest, in a language then almost unknown, to which his *Glossarium Græcitalis* was the first introduction, his notes on Anna Comnena, Nicephorus Bryennius, Cinnamus, the Paschal Chronicle and Zonaras, his account of the churches and palaces of the city in *Constantinopolis Christiana*, show, taken altogether, an almost unexampled mass of learning. It is obvious to speak of him as a Gibbon, of equally encyclopædic learning, but without the literary gifts that make a history a work of art. But in comparing him with Gibbon one must always remember that the century which separated their lives had immensely facilitated the research of Gibbon, by printing much of the material of ancient and mediæval learning, which Ducange had to acquire laboriously from MSS. To any one using the great Glossary, or his full and exhaustive notes to Villehardouin or the Byzantine historians, it is difficult to conceive how even in seventy-eight years of opulent leisure, spent not in a monastery, but amid the distractions of family and social life, such a vast apparatus of learning could be accumulated.

I should lastly mention, as a book to which I owe very much, Heyd's *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, a very learned and interesting book on a most attractive subject. I have used the French translation of M. Furey Raynaud (Leipzig, 1885), which was translated from the second edition of the original before that had appeared in German.

The special authorities for the History of the Fourth

Crusade, a complicated and highly controversial subject, I have discussed in an excursus at the end of this volume. But I ought to mention here that I owe my acquaintance with these authorities to a very learned and interesting English monograph, "The Fall of Constantinople, being the story of the Fourth Crusade," by Mr Edwin Pears (Longmans, 1885).

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The map of the lagoons is from a reduced photograph of an Admiralty chart. It gives the whole of the seaboard "from Grado to Capo d'Argine," in Dandolo's words.

The plan of Venice I owe to the kindness of Mr. Augustus J. C. Hare, who has done so much to make more attractive the study of Venice and other Cities of Italy.

## ERRATA

- Page 5, note 1, for 'ποθμελοvs,' read 'ποθμελοis.'
- „ 10, note 1, add at end 'and Jackson's "Dalmatia, the Quarnero, &c.," iii. 412 sqq.'
- „ 11, line 29, for 'Mæsia,' read 'Mœsia.'
- „ 12, line 6, „ „
- „ 13, line 5, „ „
- „ 13, line 37, „ „
- „ 16, line 34, for 'seder,' read 'sedes.'
- „ 17, line 14, for 'of,' read 'by.'
- „ 18, line 36, for 'Gelarius,' read 'Gelasius.'
- „ 19, last line, for 'ands,' read 'lands.'
- „ 28, line 34, for 'Stiller,' read 'Stieler.'
- „ 43, line 33, for 'σίου,' read 'ολου.'
- „ 55, line 23, for 'Mæsia,' read 'Mœsia.'
- „ 77, line 11, for 'salt-marches,' read 'salt-marshes.'
- „ 84, line 37, for 'Du Canale,' read 'Da Canale.'
- „ 86, line 3, for 'Quamero,' read 'Quarnero.'
- „ 91, line 39, for 'de,' read 'der.'
- „ 108, line 29, for 'is,' read 'in.'
- „ 125, line 25, for 'Ermo,' read 'Eremo.'
- „ 145, lines 27, 28, omit 'He was . . . supporting,' and read 'This caused enmity between the doges and.'
- „ 149, last line, add after '188,' 'and 245.'
- „ 186, line 24, for '1000,' read '1001.'
- „ 191, line 37, for 'capellan,' read 'capellam.'
- „ 211, line 4, for 'event,' read 'events.'
- „ 227, line 32, for 'San,' read 'St.'
- „ 233, last line, for 'Λογγυφαρδίας,' read 'Λογγυβαρδίας.'
- „ 234, line 1, for 'four or five,' read 'fourteen or fifteen.'
- „ 249, lines 9, 10, for 'terminvait,' read 'terminavit.'
- „ 254, line 35, for 'Gravimund,' read 'Guarimund.'
- „ 258, line 18, delete 3 after 'else,' and insert it in line 19, after 'stipulations.'
- „ 265, line 28, for 'odevant,' read 'oderant.'
- „ 273, line 8, omit 'his,' before 'investiture.'
- „ 276, line 11, for 'Corinthia,' read 'Carinthia.'
- „ 317, line 13, for 'mythopœic,' read 'mythopœic.'
- „ „ lines 36 and 38, for 'jvenis,' read 'juvenis.'
- „ 332, line 22, for 'Paphlaginian,' read 'Paphlagonian.'
- „ 342, last line but one, for 'daudum,' read 'dandum.'
- „ 343, line 24, for 'Verves,' read 'Verres.'
- „ 356, line 6, for 'ship,' read 'ships.'
- „ 365, note 1, for 'donce,' read 'donec.'
- „ 372, add to note 1, 'Dandolo, x. 4, 5, says of Navigajoso, a Venetian nobleman, who became Lord of Stalimene or Lenmos, "Imperii Megaduche est effectus."''
- „ 399, line 20, for 'pré,' read 'pié.'
- „ 400, line 30, for 'θεξιότητι,' read 'δεξιότητι.'
- „ „ line 33, for 'ἀρχηγός,' read 'ἀρχηγός.'
- „ „ line 36, for 'occursa,' read 'occursu.'
- „ „ line 37, for 'Sanctur,' read 'Sanctus.'
- „ 403, line 9, for 'Bishop,' read 'Bishops.'
- „ 422, line 1, for 'Erckli,' read 'Erekli.'
- „ 431, line 12, for 'Natalie,' read 'Natalis.'
- „ 437, line 13, for 'Riaut,' read 'Riant.'





BOOK I  
THE ORIGINS



# THE EARLY HISTORY OF VENICE

## CHAPTER I

### THE LAGOONS AND THEIR FIRST INHABITANTS

THE northern part of the west coast of the Adriatic is, and appears always to have been, the scene of very remarkable geological effects. The Po and Adige and many of their tributaries bring down from the Alps, especially at the time of the melting of the snows, vast quantities of detritus, sometimes in the form of blocks of stone or rounded pebbles, sometimes in that of fine sand or mud. The stones and pebbles do not travel any great distance, and are said not to be found in the Po at a lower point than its junction with the Trebbia;<sup>1</sup> but the sand and mud are longer held in solution. In old times, before the industry of man had intervened, these rivers used, every summer and whenever a storm of unusual violence had swollen them, to spread themselves over the level ground in their basins, and there deposit a great part of the detritus they carried, but still a considerable residuum was borne on to the sea. Since the rivers have been confined by embankments, a still larger quantity of sediment reaches the sea. Hence has resulted a gradual decrease in the depth of the Adriatic, which is very shallow opposite Venice and yields, when dredged, river shells; a decrease which, but for a simultaneous

<sup>1</sup> Lyell, "Principles of Geology," i. p. 423 (11th edition).

depression of the bottom of the sea, would have ere this filled up the head of the Adriatic. But part of the river deposits is not carried out to sea, but, turned aside by the action of the tide which at this corner of the Mediterranean rises as much as five feet,<sup>1</sup> or by sea-currents, has formed in the course of ages long narrow strips of sandy island, running in a direction parallel to the shore and separated from it by shallow land-locked basins. The shallow basins are called *lagune*, the sandy islands *lidi*. Where a stream of any size enters the sea, it breaks a channel through the lido, and these channels or *porti* are what made and still make the lagoons of Venice useful as a harbour for large ships. It is probable from the evidence of names and the expressions of old chroniclers that in ancient times the lidi were generally overgrown with pine-woods; the famous pine-forest of Ravenna is situated on an old lido, which long ago, by the filling up of its lagoon, became *terra firma*, and now reaches some miles inland from the sea.

The rivers that now water the fertile plain of Ravenna coming down from the Apennines, have a short and stagnant course, and are not causing any great alteration of the coast-line. But in former times they must have worked much the same effect as the rivers to the north have worked in later times, or, as is more probable, the delta of the Po extended once as far south as Ravenna,<sup>2</sup> and the river had

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, v. i. (5), p. 212, mentions the Adriatic tides, *μόνα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη σχεδόν τι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττης ὁμοιοπαθεῖ τῷ ὠκεανῷ, καὶ παραπλησίως ἐκείνῳ ποιεῖται τὰς τε ἀμπώτεις καὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας.*

<sup>2</sup> Pliny (*H. N.*, iii. c. 16 or 20) gives us an interesting account of the mouths of the Po, which is well illustrated in the notes to Franz's edition and the art. "Padus" in Smith's Dictionary of Geography. The mouth reaching the sea near Ravenna he calls Padusa or Fossa Augusta; the latter name makes it probable that it was an artificial cutting of imperial times. Such cuttings have been made in these regions from time immemorial. The name of Padusa is familiar to us from Virgil's mention of the wild swans that haunted it:—

"Piscosove amne Padusæ

Dant sonitum rauci per stagna loquacia cycni."

—*Æn.*, xi. 457.

the same operation there as farther north. Strabo, the greatest of ancient geographers, who lived in the reign of Augustus, describes Ravenna "in the marshes" in words that would apply to Venice. "It is," he says, "all built on wooden piles and water flows through it, and it is traversed by means of bridges and ferries;" and he adds that the scour of the tide and the rivers combined made it a healthy place, notwithstanding the marshes that surrounded it, so that it was chosen as a place for training gladiators.<sup>1</sup>

Ravenna owes its important place in history to Augustus, who built a new harbour with a lighthouse, that is mentioned by Pliny<sup>2</sup> as a wonder, at a place three miles off, afterwards called Classis, and made it the chief naval station on the Adriatic. For more than 400 years it was one of the most important cities of Italy; in the decline of the empire of the West its impregnable situation made it the refuge of the Imperial family, and the seat of such government as then existed. After the fall of the Western Empire it reached its highest glory as the capital of Theodoric the Ostrogoth; and it had still later a position of some dignity as the seat of the Exarch, the representative in Italy of the Byzantine Cæsars. We shall see how in this connection with the Eastern Empire, as in other things, Venice may be looked upon as the successor of Ravenna.

Pliny tells us that the delta of the Po reached from Ravenna on the south to Altinum on the north, and Strabo speaks of both these cities and Spina and Butrium, which lay between them, as situated "in the marshes." The chain of lagoons connecting Ravenna and Altinum, through which communication was carried on by boat, seem to have

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, v. i. § 7, p. 213. ξυλοπαγῆς ὄλη και διάρρυτος γεφυραῖς και πορθμέιους ὄδευομένη.

<sup>2</sup> *H. N.*, xxxvi. 18.

been known as the Seven Seas (Septem Maria).<sup>1</sup> Altinum, which is an important place in the history of the origins of Venice, is now represented by a poor village on the river Sele, two miles from the coast, in the north-west part of the lagoon of Venice. But it was a place of importance under the Roman emperors, both as a fortress and a watering-place. Tacitus tells us that Antonius Primus, when invading Italy in the interest of Vespasian, left a garrison at Altinum to resist the attacks of the Ravenna fleet, while Martial speaks of its shores as rivalling the villas of Baiæ,<sup>2</sup> and longs to spend his old age there in words recalling Horace's lines about Tibur.

The coast of the Adriatic between the Po and the Tagliamento was part of Venetia, a name that was a puzzle to the ancient geographers. There were Celts called Veneti on the coast of Armorica, whose name appears in the modern city of Vannes, and there were Heneti (or had been in the Homeric times) in Paphlagonia. Several circumstances would have led any one using modern methods of investigation to connect the Veneti of the Adriatic with their namesakes of the farther Gaul; for they lived close to Celtic tribes, some of whom, *e.g.* the Senones and the Cenomanni, had namesakes in Gaul. But the ancients had different methods of reasoning, and would always prefer a hypothesis that connected places figuring in their own

<sup>1</sup> See the passages in the *Itiner. Anton.* and Herodian, quoted in Smith's Dictionary of Geography (art. "Padus"). Pliny seems to confine the name to the marshes round Adria (*H. N.*, iii. 16 or 20). The passage of Herodian referred to (viii. 6 and 7) says that the soldiers who carried the head of Maximin, killed before Aquileia, to his rival Maximus: διέπλευσαν τὰς τε λίμνας καὶ τὰ τενάγη μεταξὺ Ἀλτίνου καὶ Ραουέννης, and that Maximus advanced upon Aquileia, διαβὰς τὰ τενάγη ἃ τε ὑπὸ Ἡριδανοῦ ποταμοῦ πληρούμενα καὶ τῶν περικειμένων ἑλῶν ἑπτὰ στόμασιν εἰς θάλατταν ἐκχεῖται ἔνθεν καὶ τῆ φωνῆ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Ἑπτὰ πελάγη τὴν λίμνην ἐκέκνην.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Hist., iii. and Mart., iv. 25: "Æmula Baianis Altini litora villis." Strabo describes Altinum as παραπλησίον ἔχον τῆ Ραουέννη τὴν θέσιν, *i.e.* I presume it was built on piles and intersected by canals (v. i. § 7).

history with the Trojan legend. And so Strabo<sup>1</sup> deliberately chooses the theory which derived the Veneti from Paphlagonia, an ally of Troy; and he could allege as authorities Livy, who came from Patavium, one of the chief cities of Venetia, and Virgil, whose home at Andes by Mantua was very near its frontiers. Virgil, following the Greek tragedian Sophocles, tells us how Antenor,<sup>2</sup> escaping from the Greeks, reached in safety the Illyrian gulf and the realms of the Liburnians (*i.e.* the northern shores of the Quarnero or Gulf of Fiume), and passing the famous springs of the Timavus founded the city of Patavium, gave the name of Trojans to his people, and hung up the armour he brought from Troy. A city that has such authority to quote for its mythical origin may be excused for cherishing the memory of Antenor; but perhaps the most probable theory of the origin of the Veneti is that which connects them neither with the Trojan fugitives nor with the Celts to whom they appear always to have been hostile, but identifies their name with that of Wends given by the Germans to their Slavonic neighbours.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V., i. § 4, p. 212. He compares the Venetian horse-breeding with Homer's description of the wild mules of the Heneti. He tells us that Dionysius of Syracuse imported his breed of racehorses from these parts, and that Venetian colts were long famous among the Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> "Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis  
 Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus  
 Regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare Timavi,  
 Unde per ora novem, vasto cum murmure montis  
 It mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti.  
 Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit  
 Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit  
 Troica."  
 —*Æn.*, i. 242-249.

In the thirteenth century a marble sarcophagus containing, within two interior coffins, a gigantic skeleton with a sword, was dug up in Padua and judged, from some letters on the sword, to be the tomb of Antenor. This is still to be seen, under a mediæval canopy, in one of the streets of Padua, and is said to resemble early Lombard tombs at Ravenna. For the difficult lines about the Timavus cf. Conington's note *in loco* and the art. "Timavus" in *Dict. Geog.*

<sup>3</sup> This is accepted as a probable derivation, though not a certain one, by Schafarik, *Slavische Alterthümer*, i. p. 257 sq. He thinks the

However this may be, the city of Patavium or Padua is of most undoubted antiquity, and can boast of having repulsed, in the year 301 B.C., a filibustering expedition of Cleonymus, son of King Cleomenes of Sparta, who had sailed up the river Medoacus or Brenta, which then flowed through Padua, and plundered three villages about fourteen miles from the city, when the Paduans attacked his ships in their flat-bottomed boats, and took or drove ashore four-fifths of them.<sup>1</sup> Strabo gives us a lively picture of the greatness and wealth of Padua in his day: his statement, indeed, that she could send 120,000 men into the field may safely be ascribed to the error of a transcriber; but we need not doubt what he says of her 500 citizens with income sufficient to belong to the equestrian order, a number reached by no other Italian city except Rome; of her sheep's excellent wool, which her citizens wove into carpets and hangings for the Roman market; of the abundance of wine of the country round, evidenced by the casks larger than houses;<sup>2</sup> and the herds of swine in the oak forests, which supplied Rome with pork. The genius of the Veneti had always been commercial, and they had in early times allied themselves with the great commercial city of Rome. Hence, when the Roman conquest came, no severe measures destroyed the prosperity of their towns.

Veneti of Brittany may also have been Wends, and illustrates the case by that of the Vandals, who in the times of the migrations might have been found on the Oder or the Black Sea, in Pannonia, Gaul, Spain, and Africa. There were also Veneti in our island, in the part of South Wales known as Gwynneth.

<sup>1</sup> See the account in Liv., x. 2, who no doubt writes with local knowledge. He describes the lidi and lagoons: "Quum audisset tenue prætentum littus (*lido*) esse; quod transgressis stagna (*lagune*) ab tergo, irrigua æstibus maritimis." He adds that many still living at Patavium had seen the beaks of the Laconian ships in the temple of Juno, and that every year the day of the battle was celebrated by a battle of boats in the river that flowed through the town. For Cleonymus see Droysen, *Gesch. des Hellenismus*, iii. 108, 207, 210. His history is mixed up with that of Pyrrhus.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, v. i. p. 213, 218; iii. p. 169.



A greater city than Patavium sprung up on the northern borders of Venetia in the second century before Christ, Aquileia, the eagle city, so called from the appearance of an eagle at the time of its foundation. About the year 185 B.C. a wandering body of 12,000 Gaulish soldiers found their way through the passes of the Alps and began to build a town in the country where the lower slopes of the Alps approach nearest to the shores of the Adriatic. The account of what followed, given us by Livy, is instructive, read in the light of subsequent history. The Romans were at once on the alert. M. Claudius, one of the consuls of the year 183, who had Cisalpine Gaul as his province, ordered the Gauls to desist from building, and they obeyed and surrendered to him. But when they found they were deprived of their arms, they sent envoys to Rome to complain. The envoys pleaded that they had been driven by pressure of want and scarcity of land from their old homes; that they had attacked no city, but had only set about founding a town in what appeared to be no man's land. The senate maintained firmly that the strangers had had no right to settle in a Roman province without the leave of the Roman magistrate in command; but that if they would return whence they came their arms should be given back to them. The Roman legates who went back with them across the Alps found the Transalpine Gauls of the tribe inclined to blame the mercy of the senate which returned unwelcome tribesmen to their hearths, and, as they said, would encourage future intrusions of the same kind.<sup>1</sup> To guard against any similar dangers the senate decided to send a colony to the neighbourhood from which they had ousted the Gauls, and two years later 3000 families were sent out, organised in the usual military fashion, and these were, after twelve years, reinforced by 1500 more families. They found themselves exposed to constant attacks from Istrians and Illyrians. At no point of the northern frontier was the

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxix. 54, 55. For the foundation of the colony see xl. 34.

mountain barrier so easy of passage. But in spite of all dangers the city grew and flourished. Its situation, about six miles from the sea, on or near the Natiso, a navigable river,<sup>1</sup> and at the foot of the easiest pass to the Danube and Save valleys, gave it great commercial advantages. It became the emporium at which the wine and oil of its own territory and the goods brought up its river from the sea were exchanged for the slaves and cattle and hides brought thither by Illyrian and Pannonian traders. Its military position was also important. Its situation was held to be impregnable; its population of over 120,000 was militarily organised, and it lay in the path of any force that invaded Italy from the north-east. Ausonius, writing about the middle of the fourth century A.D., speaks of the famous walls and harbour of the Italian colony thrown forward to the Illyrian mountains, and places it ninth among the great cities of the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> It is often called the chief city of Venetia, though, strictly speaking, it was outside the limits of the Veneti and in the country of the Carni or Istri.

Another important city of Venetia was Concordia,

<sup>1</sup> It is thought that large vessels could not come up the river to Aquileia, and that there must have been in early days a port at Gradus, on a little island in the lagoons at the river's mouth. Gradus in later times became an important place, and played a prominent part in the early history of Venice. It is not mentioned before the fall of the Roman Empire, but there are traces of a paved causeway of Roman work connecting it with the mainland. See Dict. of Geog., art. "Aquileia," and Freeman's "Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice," p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> "Nona inter claras Aquileia cieberis urbes  
Itala ad Illyricos objecta colonia montes,  
Mænibus et portu celeberrima."

—AUSONIUS, *Ordo. Nob. Urb.*, 7.

The "order" is as follows:—Rome, Constantinople, Carthage, Antioch, Alexandria, Treveri, Mediolanum, Capua, Aquileia, Arelate, Emerita (Merida in Spain), Athens, Catana (Catania), Syracuse, Tolosa, Narbo, Burdigala (Bordeaux), the poet's birthplace, below which he does not take his readers.

situated between Aquileia and Altinum, ten miles from the Adriatic. It was probably a colony founded by Augustus to commemorate the restoration of peace after Actium, and in Strabo's time it was still a small place. But in later periods of the Roman Empire it had become a very important city.

A branch of the great Æmilian road<sup>1</sup> led from Bologna or Modena, crossing the Po at Vicus Varianus (Bariano), to Este and Padua, and thence by Altinum and Concordia to Aquileia. A traveller from Rome bound for Pannonia or Illyricum would leave the city by the Flaminian road, which traversed the Apennine chain to Ariminum, would there turn into the Æmilian road, which he would follow to Bologna or Modena; or, as has been already mentioned, he might from Ravenna, to which a branch of the Flaminian road led, go by boat along the lagoons to Altinum. The Flaminian and Æmilian roads were constantly thronged with travellers, and furnished with regular relays of post-horses, by which it was possible for agents of the government, and sometimes for private citizens, to travel at the rate of one hundred miles a day.<sup>2</sup>

The great roads were also the lines of advance of the many armies that in the troubled times of the empire advanced upon Rome from the provinces. As Turin lay in the path of an enemy coming from Gaul by the Cottian or from Helvetia by the Pennine Alps, or Verona in the path of an invader from Germany or Rhætia over the Brenner, so Aquileia was the first Italian city at which an army from Pannonia or Illyricum or Mæsia or Dacia would arrive. When Antonius Primus raised the standard of Vespasian at Pætovio in Pannonia (now Petau in Styria), in the first civil war that wasted Italy after the peace of

<sup>1</sup> The main Via Æmilia ran from Ariminum (Rimini) to Placentia (Piacenza). The country it traversed has been commonly called the Æmilia from the time of Martial downwards.

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon, c. ii. v. i. p. 188, ed. Smith, 1854.

Augustus Cæsar, he entered by this route, and we can trace in Tacitus his passage from station to station, Aquileia, Opitergium, Altinum, Patavium, Ateste, till he fights his first engagement at Forum Alieni, which is supposed by some to be Ferrara.<sup>1</sup> Suetonius says that it was at Aquileia that one of the legions from Mæsia first proclaimed Vespasian emperor.<sup>2</sup> The same cities were the first to welcome Septimius Severus, when he led his Pannonian legions to put down Didius Julianus.<sup>3</sup> In the next civil war, that which followed the murder of Alexander Severus by his soldiers, Aquileia became for a time the scene of a struggle that decided the fate of the Roman world. Maximin, the gigantic Thracian soldier, who during the three years of his reign had not seen Rome or Italy, in the early spring of the year A.D. 238 led the veteran legions from the Rhine and the Danube to quell the resistance which the senate, with a courage and energy worthy of earlier days, had organised. He entered Italy by the Julian Alps, found the villages and open towns deserted, the cattle and provisions removed, and the bridges broken down, while the rivers were in flood; the city of Aquileia was strongly garrisoned and provisioned, and Crispinus and Menephilus, two of the twenty senators who had been chosen by the senate to defend Italy, commanded the garrison. The defence was resolute; we are told that the thanks of the Roman senate were formally voted to the god Belenus, a Celtic Apollo, for his personal share in the defence; and that a temple was afterwards dedicated to Venus the Bald in memory of the women who cut off their hair to make bow-strings for the defenders. Their resistance saved Italy, for famine and disease caused discontent

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Hist., iii. 6. Mommsen, in *C. I. L.*, v. i. p. 225, thinks Forum Alieni was not at Ferrara, but near Legnago on the Adige.

<sup>2</sup> Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Dion., l. lxxiii. p. 1238; Gibbon, i. p. 250.

in Maximin's camp, and led to the murder of the usurper and his son.<sup>1</sup>

In every civil war that followed till the fall of the Western Empire, the cities of the Venetian plain bore a full share of trouble. Illyricum, Pannonia, and Mæsia were vast nurseries of soldiers, from which armies were led into Italy to support the claims of their commanders to the dominion of the Mistress of the World.<sup>2</sup> Aquileia, Patavium, and most of all Verona saw repeatedly pitched battles under their walls. When the barbarian invasions began, the situation of these cities was still more exposed to danger. In 259, and again in 270 A.D., the Alemanni descended through Rhætia upon Italy, and penetrated the first time as far as Ravenna, the second time as far as the Metaurus in Umbria, the river where nearly five centuries before Hannibal's brother had been defeated.<sup>3</sup> After these incursions the Emperor Probus, an excellent soldier, did much to strengthen the Rhætian frontier. For a century and a quarter we read of no barbarian inroads into Italy. The greater men who filled the Imperial throne during that time, Aurelian, Diocletian, Constantine, and his sons, Julian, Valentinian, Theodosius, if they fought with barbarians at all, fought on the Danube or the Rhine or the Euphrates. Only twice in this period do we read of war near Aquileia, once when Constantius, the son of Constantine, in the year 352, drove Magnentius from his refuge in its walls; and again, when in 387 the Empress Justina

<sup>1</sup> See Gibbon, i. 319, 320, from Herodian and Muratori's *Annali*. A few additional local facts may be found in Joannes Candidus, *Comm. Aquil.*, pp. 13, 14, *apud* Grævium, vi. Pt. IV. The latter writer says that news of the death of Maximin reached Rome in four days, but that in his time (A.D. 1520 *circ.*) the journey could be made, by relays of horses and messengers, in forty-eight hours.

<sup>2</sup> Of the great emperors of the latter half of the third century an unusual number were natives of these provinces. Decius and Aurelian came from Pannonia; Claudius, Probus, and Diocletian from Illyricum; Constantius from Mæsia or Dardania (the north part of Epirus).

<sup>3</sup> See Gibbon, i. 393; ii. 13-15.

and her son Valentinian II. fled there from Maximus, but distrusting its strength, embarked at the head of the Adriatic, and sailed round the Peloponnesus to find shelter under the protection of the great Theodosius at Thessalonica.

But the race of great emperors ended with Theodosius; and under his two sons, Arcadius, who reigned at Constantinople, and Honorius, who reigned at Milan, both East and West felt again the power of barbarian invaders. When Alaric invaded Italy in 402, Aquileia again stood a siege, and Istria and Venetia were ravaged in a way that spread terror over the whole of Italy, and even to the shores of Sicily,<sup>1</sup> and made Honorius flee from Milan. Stilicho, the greatest general of the day, after gaining over Alaric, near Turin, a victory that did not seriously check his course, had to purchase his retreat by a large bribe. The bribe appears not to have been paid, and five years later the Gothic army again entered Italy. The Venetian cities again felt the first brunt of the attack, but the host passed on, and shunning the impregnable defences of Ravenna advanced along the Adriatic coast to Rimini, and thence struck across the Apennines to Rome, which for the first time since the war with Hannibal saw an enemy encamped before its walls, and for the first time since the almost mythical Gaulish invasion was taken by storm.

The last years of Alaric's life were spent in ravaging or oppressing the southern parts of Italy, and after his death his successor Adolphus led the Gothic army to the conquest of Southern Gaul and Spain. But forty years later a more formidable invader than Alaric came down upon Venetia. Attila the Hun, who reigned over a powerful Nomad kingdom in the plains of Hungary between the Danube, the Theiss, and the Carpathians, had in the year 446 compelled Theodosius II., the Eastern Emperor, to surrender to him a great extent of Roman provinces, reaching from the Danube to the Balkans, and to promise to pay

<sup>1</sup> See a fine passage in Claudian, *de Bello Get.*, 213-222.



him tribute. He had next attacked the Gaulish provinces of the Western Empire. In 451 his hordes, crossing the Rhine, overran a great part of Gaul, till the patrician Aëtius and the Visigothic king Theodoric drove them back from Orleans, inflicted on them a crushing defeat, as they retired eastward, on the plains of Chalons-sur-Marne,<sup>1</sup> and forced them to retire over the Rhine and through Germany to Pannonia. Undeterred by this, the next year Attila was again in the field marching upon Italy. Aëtius, this year, anxious to guard Rome and the Emperor, kept south of the Po, and Attila, who advanced along the great road by Sirmium and Æmona to the passes of the Julian Alps, found no army in the fertile plains of Venetia to stop his progress. But Aquileia was strongly garrisoned, and its siege delayed him more than three months, and almost reduced his barbarous troops, unskilled in siege works, to despair. A picturesque legend, told by Jornandes a century after the event, and by every later historian,<sup>2</sup> says that, as he walked round the walls of the besieged city, Attila saw the white storks that built their nests in the roofs of the houses carrying off their young ones into the country, and it occurred to him that the birds, foreseeing the future, were escaping from a doomed city. The omen cheered his soldiers, and the city was taken and suffered all the extremities that a conquering army of barbarians and pagans, untouched by the Christian influences that, Augustine<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This invasion of Gaul is admirably described by Amédée Thierry in his *Histoire d'Attila*, vol. i. pp. 140–197.

<sup>2</sup> Jornandes, *de rebus Geticis*, c. 42 (Muratori SS., vol. i.) The story is repeated by Andrea Dandolo, and told of the destruction of Altino by the Lombards in the *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. ii. (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, ser. iii. vol. viii. p. 54). Another legend in Dandolo says that the inhabitants of Aquileia fled from their city, deluding Attila by placing images on the walls (like the figures on the battlements of Alnwick Castle), and that Attila, flying his falcon near the city, discovered the trick through his bird alighting on one of the images. As to the story of the storks see also Gibbon, c. xxxv. n. 49 (iv. p. 240).

<sup>3</sup> See the well-known passage in the *de Civitate Dei*, lib. i. c. 1.

tells us, had mitigated the horrors of Alaric's sack of Rome, could inflict on a helpless population. A similar fate overtook the neighbouring cities of Concordia, Altinum, Padua, and Opitergium, and the armies of the Huns seem to have overrun all Italy north of the Po as far as Milan, Pavia, Como, and Turin.<sup>1</sup>

The population that, like the storks Attila saw, fled with their children and property from the destroyed cities, took refuge in the islands and lidi of the lagoons. There is no need to imagine that they found these places of refuge uninhabited except by sea birds.<sup>2</sup> The passage I have referred to above, in which Livy describes Cleonymus' attack upon Padua, mentions three "vici maritimi" of the Paduans on the Medoacus (Brenta), fourteen miles from Padua. Strabo also mentions a harbour of Medoacus, which served as the port of Padua, and Pliny calls this same harbour apparently Portus Edro. No doubt a port implied some sort of village, and it is probable that all the cities near the coast had some sort of harbour settlement on the lagoons,<sup>3</sup> and that it was in these that the fugitives took refuge when their city homes were destroyed by Attila. The traffic between Ravenna and Altino along the lagoons implies some population at different points on the way. When the Huns of Attila spread ruin over the *terra firma*, the settlements in the lagoons became important as places of refuge. The maritime trade, which had been one of the chief resources of Aquileia or Padua, though doubtless the exports must have decreased from the wasting of the inland country, was still open to the refugees in Grado or Rialto, and would have saved them from absolute destitution when they had to leave their fields and vineyards to be wasted by the barbarians.

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, iv. p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Sabellius, a Venetian writer of the fifteenth century, says in a pleasantly graphic style, "Incolebant repostas seder marinæ tantum volucres, quæ illuc apricatum ex alto se recipiebant, et fortassis piscator aliquis, sed rarus, in his locis agebat" (*Hist. Venet.*, i. p. 14).

<sup>3</sup> See what is said as to Aquileia and Gradus in note 1, p. 10.



The first beginnings of Venice are thus an incident in the history of Attila, the scourge of God, and he may in a sense be looked on as the founder of the city.<sup>1</sup> Yet probably, had peaceful times followed his invasion, the fugitives might have gone back to their old homes, and left the lagoons undistinguished. But the century that followed the Hunnish invasion brought a succession of troubles on this part of Italy. Attila indeed died the year after the destruction of Aquileia, and his Huns did not again spread terror and destruction in Italy. But bands of several of the barbarian tribes that had served under his banners, Alans and Herulians and Scirians, took service as mercenaries under the succession of weak princes who, placed on the throne of Count Ricimer the Suevian, brought to a close the series of Emperors of the West. Twenty years after Attila's invasion, civil war recommenced in North Italy, when Ricimer at Milan turned his arms against the Emperor Olybrius, his own creature. Three years later Odoacer, the leader of the Confederates, as the barbarian mercenaries were called, began to reign as practically, if not in name,<sup>2</sup> King of Italy, and the Senate of Rome sent a letter to the Emperor Zeno at Constantinople, begging

<sup>1</sup> Rogers' lines are so good that they deserve quoting, especially as they are probably not so well known now as they were fifty years ago:—

“A few in fear  
Flying away from him, whose boast it was  
That the grass grew not where his horse had trod,  
Gave birth to Venice. Like the water-fowl,  
They built their nests among the ocean waves ;  
And where the sands were shifting, as the wind  
Blew from the north or south—where they that came  
Had to make sure the ground they stood upon,  
Rose, like an exhalation from the deep  
A vast metropolis.”

The exhalation was some centuries in rising.

<sup>2</sup> Writers since Gibbon have doubted whether he ever called himself King of Italy. See Manso, quoted in Milman's note to Gibbon, iv. p. 298. He was in fact the first of the Condottieri, the prototype of the Malatestas and Sforzas of later times.

that they might come under his rule as a part of the one and undivided Roman Empire. Whether war actually prevailed at any time or not, the invasions of the barbarians had destroyed all feeling of security, and pestilence and famine following upon those invasions had effectually reduced the population.

For perhaps nearly a century before the prosperity of Italy had been on the wane, and this decline is generally attributed to the pressure of taxation.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Maximian first imposed upon the Italians the *tributum* or property-tax which, in the more flourishing times of the Empire, had been paid only by the provincials. It is not easy to see why lands so fertile and so well cultivated as the plains of Cisalpine Gaul had once been should have been ruined by the weight of a tax, even though made heavier by the oppressive system of farming the revenue which the Romans always adopted. It is probable that the population had seriously decreased under the scourge of civil war and foreign invasion, and also that the task of regulating the rivers, which is essential to the prosperity of those regions, had been neglected during the troubles of the time. At any rate we may read in a letter of St. Ambrose, of the date A.D. 388, an incidental mention of Bologna, Modena, Reggio, and other towns of the Æmilia as "corpses of half-ruined cities."<sup>2</sup> And there are laws in the Theodosian Code against the *decuriones* or members of the corporations of *municipia*, who, to avoid their legal liability for the taxes of their communities, withdrew into

<sup>1</sup> See Denina, *Rev. d'Italia*, lib. iv. c. vi. vol. i. p. 297 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> "Semirutarum urbium cadavera." The passage (Epist. 39) is quoted in the 21st Dissertation of Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, in which many curious details as to the ancient state of the Æmilia, especially of Modena, Muratori's own city, are given. The passage of Ambrose is an obvious imitation of Servius Sulpicius' famous letter of consolation to Cicero; but we need not therefore suppose that the description is a mere rhetorical flourish. A century later Pope Gelarius (see the passage quoted in note 141 to c. xxxvi. of Gibbon, iv. p. 303) speaks of Æmilia and Tuscany as almost uninhabited.

remote corners of the country. The same pressure of taxation and usury was one of the causes of the great religious movement, which in the time of Jerome and Ambrose sent so many thousands of all classes into the monastery or the desert.<sup>1</sup> Such devotees would, in many cases, as Gibbon observes, gain in the cloister more than they had sacrificed in the world.

Such causes as these may well have kept the islands and shores of the lagoons peopled, even after the waves of barbarian invasion had rolled away. Nearly a century elapsed between the elevation of Odoacer to the kingdom of Italy and the conquest of Northern Italy by the Lombards: during which time only twice was the peace of these parts disturbed, once in A.D. 489-90, when Theodoric the Ostrogoth, acting as a general of the Eastern Emperor at Constantinople, led his barbarian host against Odoacer, whom he defeated on the river Sontius (or Isonzo), near the ruins of Aquileia, and again under the walls of Verona; and a second time, when Justinian's generals Belisarius and Narses were reconquering Italy from the Ostrogoths; then the tide of war almost or quite reached the cities of Venetia. In A.D. 538 some Burgundians, subjects of the Frankish king of Austrasia, took Milan; and in 539 the siege operations of Belisarius against Ravenna extended to a blockade of the channels of the Po.<sup>2</sup> In 552, when the Eunuch Narses began the last campaign against the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy, he found the greater part of the Venetian province occupied by Franks,<sup>3</sup> allies of Totila the Gothic king, who refused his request for a free passage. The Gothic commander in Verona also laid the low country in his neighbourhood under water, and, as the Eastern Empire could not furnish ships enough for the transport of a vast army, Narses led his

<sup>1</sup> See Gibbon, iv. p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, v. pp. 151, 153.

<sup>3</sup> The Franks, we are specially told by Procopius, conquered those lands without much bloodshed, οὐδενὶ πόνῳ (*Gothica.*, iv. c. 24).

motley host, in which Lombards (a name that Italy then first learned to dread), Heruli, Huns, and Persians marched side by side, along the edge of the lagoons,<sup>1</sup> his fleet accompanying his march and providing boats to bridge the several rivers. The twenty years during which Justinian's armies were fighting to recover Italy are said to have been years of greater suffering for the Italians than those of any of the barbarian invasions.<sup>2</sup> They had been preceded by more than thirty years (A.D. 494-526) during which the enlightened and generally peaceful reign of Theodoric had given the distracted country an interval of rest and prosperity. We read in the epistles of Cassiodorus, who was prætorian præfect under Theodoric and his successors, contemporary evidence of the peaceful and luxurious life that was going on in Italy; amid the natural warm-baths and the villas built far out over the sea, the oyster-beds and the fish reserves of Baiæ:<sup>3</sup> or on the coasts of Istria and Venetia, regions that overflowed with wine and oil and corn, where was as it were a Baiæ of the Ionian Sea, delicious retreats rightly called the Campania of Ravenna, the larder of the royal city,<sup>4</sup> enjoying, though far advanced in the north, an admirably tempered climate. I have quoted this passage, which goes on to speak in a still more rhetorical style of magnificent country houses,<sup>5</sup> because it apparently relates to the Venetian lagoons, and

<sup>1</sup> Procopius says that Totila thought *διὰ μὲν τῆς παραλίας κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου, Ῥωμαίοις μήποτε δυνατὰ εἶσεσθαι τὴν πορείαν ποιείσθαι, ἐπεὶ νανσίποροι ποταμοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐκβολὰς ἔχοντες ἀπὸ βρεντα παντάπασι παρέχονται εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία.* John, the son of Vitalianus, who knew this coast, suggested the expedient of bridging the river with boats. (Procop., *Goth.*, iv. 26).

<sup>2</sup> Denina, *Revoluz. d'Italia*, lib. vi. c. vi. (i. pp. 394 *sqq.*, ed. 1820).

<sup>3</sup> Cassiod., Var. ix. 6.

<sup>4</sup> "Urbis Regiæ cella penaria, voluptuosa nimis et deliciosa digressio fruitur in Septentrione progressa cœli admiranda temperie." The whole letter is worth reading. (Cassiod., Var. xii. 22).

<sup>5</sup> "Prætoria longe lateque lucentia in margaritarum speciem putes esse disposita." Prætoria are country houses in Suet., Tib. 39, Calig. 37, and in several places of the Jurists. Cassiodorus, I suppose, compares them to pearls, because they were built out in the sea.

would seem to show that more than fifty years after Attila's invasion some relics of the old luxury of Altinum still remained.

Another letter of Cassiodorus<sup>1</sup> has been more frequently quoted than any other passage of an ancient author by those who have treated of the origins of Venice. It is a despatch to the tribunes of the *maritimi* or men of the sea-board, bidding them provide for the transport of wine and oil from Istria to Ravenna ; and it incidentally introduces a description of the mode of life of the dwellers in this maritime region. Cassiodorus, in a vein of exaggerated compliment, dwells on their frequent voyages, not only over the immense spaces of the sea, but also on the rivers, where their boats are towed by their crews rather than driven by the wind. He then describes the situation of their homes, having Ravenna and the Po to the south, and to the east the pleasant shore of the Ionian Sea ; there they had settled, like sea-birds, on flats alternately covered and left bare by the tide, building up and keeping together with wattling the soil on which their houses rested. All enjoyed an equal share of wealth, and no one envied his neighbour. The only produce that was abundant was fish and salt, the latter of which furnished their staple industry, the cylinders of the saltworks taking the place of plough and scythe, salt itself serving for money instead of the less useful gold. His letter ends with repeating his request that they would fit out with all speed the vessels that lie in every man's shed, as elsewhere the cattle in the sheds of the farmyard.

We need not perhaps see in this remarkable letter the evidence of a commercial power in its infancy, which some patriotic Venetians have found in it. Making allowance for the rhetorical colour that is introduced rather to beautify the prefect's letter than to express genuine admiration, we

<sup>1</sup> Var. xii. ep. 24. An Italian translation is to be found in Romanin, *Storia Documentata*, i. pp. 68, 69 ; a German in Gfrörer, *Byz. Gesch.*, i. pp. 4-6.

may think that the description given would have been applicable to the people of the lagoons at any time as the necessary result of their situation. The lagoons formed a highway of communication between Ravenna and Altinum<sup>1</sup>; the mention of sea-trade by Cassiodorus is less full and detailed than that of barge-traffic on the rivers. Nor is it necessary to discuss, as Romanin does, the evidence of the independence of these tribunes; they no doubt were officers of the Gothic government. The connection of this coast with Ravenna was always close and intimate; in the time of Narses' invasion we are expressly told by Procopius<sup>2</sup> that the seaboard of Venetia was subject to the Romans, that is, to the Eastern Empire, whose viceroy was at Ravenna. So vigorous a prince as Theodoric would surely not have tolerated an independent commonwealth so near his court.

To return to the campaign of 552. Narses marched on to Ravenna and Ariminum, and then struck into the Apennines, and there at a place called Taginæ, where a legend said that Camillus had once beaten the Gauls, he defeated and killed Totila. Rome soon fell into his hands, and the Gothic power fell with Teias, Totila's successor, at the battle of Mount Lactarius<sup>3</sup> in Campania. This was in March 553. In the next year Narses had to repel another invasion of Franks and Alemanni, who penetrated as far south as the Vulturnus. But from his defeat of these hordes till the year 568 Italy enjoyed another interval of peace and prosperity under his government as Exarch at Ravenna. At the end of this period Narses, now a very old man, was deprived of his office by the suspicions of Justin, the successor of Justinian, and a new Exarch, Longinus, was sent to take his place. It is said that Narses, in revenge, from

<sup>1</sup> Filiasi (*Memorie Storiche*, ii. 290 *sqq.*) refers this description to Altinum, which he thinks was restored by Theodoric.

<sup>2</sup> *Goth.*, iv. c. 24. Cf. also in c. 26, *κατηκόων σφίσιω ὑπτων τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων.*

<sup>3</sup> There is an interesting note on this place in Gibbon, v. p. 236, n. 43. It was the seat of an ancient Molkencur.



his retreat at Naples, invited to Italy Alboin, the Lombard king, who was already meditating an invasion. Alboin, as rude and fierce a barbarian as Attila himself, led his people from their Pannonian home, whence a horde had marched with Narses in his invasion of 552, and brought back to their kindred tidings of the riches of the soil and the mildness of the climate of Italy. The king himself now crossed the Julian Alps, and the plains of Venetia again bore the brunt of the first onset of the barbarians. What was left of Aquileia was once more destroyed, and the patriarch of that see, Paulinus, fled with the relics and other treasures of his church to Grado.

The earliest chronicles of Venice<sup>1</sup> speak of the Lombard destruction of Aquileia as that which led to the foundation of a city, or rather several cities, in the lagoons. The writers of these chronicles, and no doubt the earlier authorities whom they follow, were churchmen; and to them the significant event would be the abandonment of the old city by its bishops. After the destruction by Attila, the patriarchs of Aquileia seem to have clung to the ruins of their city.<sup>2</sup> But the second destruction by Alboin drove them away, carrying with them the relics of the martyrs that constituted then the highest title of any church to sanctity. The Chronicle of John the Deacon lays stress also on the

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Diaconus, *apud* Pertz SS., vol. vii. p. 1. The passage is from an anonymous *Cronica de singulis Patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, which is printed as a separate document from John the Deacon's *Cronaca Veneziana*, by Giov. Monticolo, the editor of *Cronache Veneziane Antichissime*, in the series of *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* published by the Istituto Storico Italiano (Roma, 1890). The longer account in the *Cronaca Veneziana* (Monticolo, i. pp. 59-63) agrees in the main with the *Cron. de Sing. Patr.* (*ib.*, pp. 5-16). The latter dates from the eleventh century.

<sup>2</sup> Andrea Dandolo, it is true (v. 11, 13), says that it was at Forum Julii, *i.e.* Friuli, now known as Cividale, that the Bishop of Aquileia was dwelling when he was driven to Grado by the Lombards. But it is clear from other authorities that it was not till later that Forum Julii became the seat of the patriarchs (Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, v. p. 13). The patriarch who moved to Grado is called sometimes Paulus, sometimes Paulinus.

episcopal thrones of St. Mark and St. Hermagoras the Martyr being moved to Grado. The former had been sent to Aquileia from Alexandria, some said by the Empress Helena, some by the Emperor Heraclius. The throne of St. Mark is in all probability that now to be seen in the Treasury of St. Mark's, which is pronounced by experts to be of the sixth or seventh century and of Egyptian workmanship. The Altino Chronicle, which is, however, unusually unintelligible in its account of this time, connects the destruction of Altino and the flight of its inhabitants to Torcello with the Lombard invasion.<sup>1</sup> It is, I think, on the whole more probable that the permanent abandonment of Aquileia for the lagoons did not take place till after Alboin's invasion, the fugitives who had taken refuge there from Attila or other destroyers having generally returned to their old homes when the storm had passed over.

Where the boundaries of land and water are so shifting as they are on this coast, it is peculiarly difficult to identify sites and landmarks after the lapse of thirteen centuries; but thanks to the labours of Filiasi, a Venetian antiquary, who wrote at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, we are able to fix, with tolerable certainty, the several places at which the refugees from the different cities first settled.

Beginning at the north-east, at the large lagoon, called Porto Buso on modern maps, close to the present frontier of Austria and Italy, the island or peninsula of Grado, where had always been the port of Aquileia, connected with the mainland by a causeway of Roman work, was occupied by fugitives from Aquileia, and received, as we have seen, the relics and other treasures brought thence. At Grado, or new Aquileia, a magnificent church, dedicated to St. Euphemia, was built about twelve years after the flight from the older city. In the tenth century the Emperor

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. p. 54 in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1st series, vol. viii. For the two thrones see Monticolo (*Cron. Ven. Ant.*, p. 63, note 1).



Constantine Porphyrogenetus, in his treatise *de Administrando Imperio*, speaks of Grado as containing "a great metropolis and many bodies of saints."<sup>1</sup> The patriarchs of Grado, and their rivalry with those of Aquileia, will be often mentioned in the subsequent course of our history.

Some distance to the south-west of Grado, between the mouths of the Tagliamento and the Livenza, amidst an intricate network of lagoons and marshes, is still to be found on the map the name of Caorle, now an unhealthy village, but representing the once important city of Caprula, founded by fugitives from Concordia (which was only eight miles distant), and Opitergium, the modern Oderzo. The names of Caprula and of the adjacent forest, the *Silva Caprulana*, are no doubt derived from the wild goats that wandered in the thickets on the coast. In ancient times there is said to have been a small settlement of seafaring people on this spot. It became, shortly after the Lombard invasion,<sup>2</sup> the seat of a bishop, and a populous and wealthy place, but it suffered much, in the disorders of the Middle Ages, from land and sea robbers, and gradually decayed till, in the last years of the republic of Venice, we find it mentioned only as the seat of a *podestà* and famous for the choice fish caught in its lagoons.<sup>3</sup>

Passing still to the westward, and crossing the mouth of

<sup>1</sup> He calls it *Κάστρον Κογράδων*. *Μητρόπολις* is here no doubt used for a cathedral, a "metropolitan" church. It is an ecclesiastical, not a civil term. The Chronicle of John the Deacon mentions another island, which he calls Bibiones, between Grado and Caorle (*Monticolo*, *Chr. Ven. Ant.*, i. p. 64). This is also mentioned in the *Altinate* as inhabited by fishermen (*ib.*, note 2).

<sup>2</sup> In 599. There is a curious story in *de Rubeis*, *Monum. Eccl. Aquil.*, pp. 285, 286, of its first bishop, John, who had previously been bishop of a place called "Castellum ad Novas," where he suffered persecution for adhering to the orthodox side in the contests about the Fifth General Council (of which more hereafter). For his fidelity there he was invited to Caprula by the people with the consent of the Exarch, but he seems at a later time to have lapsed into schism, or to have been suspected thereof, as the Pope ordered the Archbishop of Ravenna to add the island to his diocese.

<sup>3</sup> *Topografia Veneta* (1787), iii. 272, 273.

the Piave, the stream that comes down from the Dolomites past Titian's house at Cadore, we come to the great lagoon of Venice, which the fugitives from the Lombard invasion were destined to make one of the most famous spots in the world. It is shut off from the Adriatic by a crescent-shaped line of low sandy lidi, about thirty miles long, and broken at four or five points by narrow channels. These lidi were probably in ancient times covered to a great extent with pine-woods. Within them lies an expanse of shallow water, hardly ten miles wide at its widest, thickly studded with islands. At the northernmost point of this expanse—it runs due north and south—between the Piave and the lagoon, where the Roman road came nearest to the seashore, stood Altinum; and a few miles off in the lagoon were the islands now known as Torcello, Burano, and Mazzorbo, the last two so near together as to be connected by a bridge. The three had probably once been occupied by some of the seaside villas that made Altinum appear to Martial a rival of Baiæ. These islands, and three others—Murano, so long famous for its glassworks, lying south of Torcello, and Ammiana and Constantiaca lying to the east—are all said to have been the refuge of the people of Altinum after both its destructions. A tradition that seems to be very ancient, for it is found in one of the most archaic parts of the *Cronaca Altinate*, tells us that the six islands<sup>1</sup> were named from the six gates of Altinum, and that Torcello commemorated a lofty and beautiful tower, for which Altinum was famous. Legends

<sup>1</sup> The ancient names of the islands appear to be Torcellus, Boreana, Majorbium, Muriana, Ammiana, and Constantiaca. We may see in Boreana the memory of a north gate, in Majorbium of a Porta Major; Constantiaca is a probable enough name for a gate, when Constans and Constantius had been names of recent emperors. The islands of Ammiana and Constantiaca were swallowed up by the sea in the thirteenth century, as appears from a speech of the Doge Pietro Ziani in 1221, recorded by Dan. Barbaro. See also *Fl. Cornaro Eccles. Torcellane*, iii. 320–364. A note of the editor of *Cron. Venez. Ant.*, i. p. 23, says the islands were abandoned in the sixteenth century.

cluster around the fall of Altinum. We read first of the warning given by the birds<sup>1</sup> carrying their young from the nests in the roofs of the city—the same story that we have found before in Jornandes' account of the destruction of Aquileia by Attila. We are then told that, when part of the population had fled to Ravenna, and others to Istria and the Pentapolis of Rimini, the rest heard a voice from heaven bidding them go up to the top of the great tower, and look to the stars, and when they went up to the tower, they saw the islands of the lagoon at their feet and knew that God had pointed out these to them as their homes. We are told the names of the leaders of the fugitives, Arrius and Arator his son, who are sometimes called Tribuni, sometimes Duces, though it is probable that these men lived two centuries later.<sup>2</sup> The legend goes on to relate how Geminianus the presbyter took compassion on the homeless exiles, who at first were living in boats or

<sup>1</sup> Professor Rossi in his Introduction to the second book of the *Altinate* calls the birds colombe; but surely they would more naturally be storks, as Jornandes calls them, the storks who built their nests in the roofs of the houses.

<sup>2</sup> The old chroniclers (the *Altinate*, John the Deacon, and Dandolo) all speak of the name of Arrius as commemorated in that of the Torcello group of islands, though it is not clear whether the islands were known as the Arrian islands, or whether some of the individual islands had the name of Arrius added to them. John certainly says that Torcello was called Torcellus Arrii (similarly to Turris Stratonis or Torre del Greco). The Vatican MS. (Urb., 440) of the *Chronicon Gradense* says: "Factum est ut cujusdem excellentissime ejusdem turris nomine Torcelli Arrii omnes insule prefate vocarentur," where I think Torcelli must be a plural. The MS. of the Venetian Patriarchal Seminary (G. iii. 10) which generally agrees more closely with the Vatican MS., reads: "Ut à nomine cujusdam excellentissime ejusdem civitatis turris Torcellum appellarent, sicque singule ejusdem loci insule Arias vocarent, unde etiam Ariana insula," where Monticolo assumes Ariana to have been another name for Torcello. Arrius and Arator were no doubt the recognised founders of the Cathedral of Torcello, and the chroniclers, who carry us back to the tenth century and probably even further, may have had access to authentic documents relating to the foundation. But they all make Arrius and Arator contemporaries of Rotharis, king of the Lombards in the seventh century, and of Obelerius and Beatus, doges of Venice in the ninth. Arrius is also called Marchius or Marquius.



Venetians distinguish two kinds of islands in their lagoons ; *tumbe*, which are ridges of sand or of some firmer substance, very seldom covered by the tide, and *velme* or *barene*, which are banks of mud covered with sea-weed, that are frequently submerged.<sup>1</sup> To the former class belonged Torcello and Mazzorbo and Murano, and the greater part of the lidi, whose sand-dunes protected the lagoon from the storms of the Adriatic ; to the latter class belonged the group of Rialto, comprising besides the island of that name those of Luprio, Dorsoduro, Spinalunga (afterwards the Giudecca) and Olivolo (afterwards Castello). The name of Rialto, "Rivoaltus" in the Latin of the old Chronicles, is supposed by most of our authorities<sup>2</sup> to have been that of a small stream, that joined the Meduacus or Brenta near its mouth, its course being marked by the Grand Canal, which is often called Canale di Rialto. On these inhospitable shallows there had been perhaps from early times some sort of village belonging to Patavium,<sup>3</sup> inhabited by fishermen or fowlers (for the *velme* are haunted by flocks of birds, especially woodlarks) ;<sup>4</sup> and there, when the Lombard invasion was at its worst, fugitives from Patavium took refuge. If, as some authorities tell us,<sup>5</sup> the Eunuch Narses, when

<sup>1</sup> Filiasi, *Ricerche Storiche sui Veneti primi e secondi*, ii. 307 ; Romanin, i. 31.

<sup>2</sup> See Romanin, i. 44, and the authorities there quoted. Temanza (*Sulla Pianta Antica di Venezia*, p. 5), would see the word already in the "ostium fluminis *præalti*" of Livy, x. 2, in his description of Cleonymus' attack on Padua. But that deep river, we learn a few lines later in the passage, is the Meduacus. It seems clear that the first part of the word is the Latin *rivus*, not the Italian *riua*. No bank could possibly have been called "High Bank" in these islands. Constantine Porphyrog. (*de Admin. Imp.*, c. 27, in Meursius, vi. 997, 998) apparently mentions the island twice, calling it once *Κάστρον Πιβαλέντης*, and again *Πιβαντον*, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται τόπος ὑψηλότατος ἐν ᾧ καθέξεται ὁ δούξ Βενετικῆς. If it was called *τόπος ὑψηλότατος*, it must have been on the principle of *lucus à non lucendo*.

<sup>3</sup> See Romanin, i. 44, 45, with the passage of Bern. Giustiniani quoted in his note.

<sup>4</sup> Filiasi, *l.c.* As to water-fowl on the lagoons, see also Horatio Brown, "Life on the Lagoons."

<sup>5</sup> And. Dandolo, v. 11, 6 (Muratori SS., xii. 179-187).

still Exarch, founded the two churches of St. Theodore and SS. Geminianus and Menna on the island of Rivoaltus, this would imply an earlier settlement, perhaps dating from Attila's invasion. And these two churches were never held to be the most ancient in Venice: that honour was claimed by San Giacometto di Rialto, of which Dandolo<sup>1</sup> tells us that it was built as a thank-offering after a great fire by some settlers from Patavium, who about the time of Attila's invasion came under "three consuls" to the island.

It will be safer to reject these stories about Narses and the three consuls, and to suppose that Rialto, like Torcello and the lidi, became permanently inhabited during the early times of the Lombard invasion. The soil on which the churches and palaces and warehouses of the great republic were afterwards built, must have been painfully reclaimed by the first settlers, who cut the straight lines of the lesser canals and fenced the tracts granted to them by piles driven in the water, on which they made of the earth dug from the canals a foundation<sup>2</sup> for their houses, no doubt originally of wood. It has been remarked that the parish churches of Venice were mostly founded by private families, and that the parishes, which vary much in area, may probably represent the tracts originally granted to different families, the head of each of which would build a church and dedicate it to his patron saint.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. 1, 9, 10. The island he called "insulam sive tunbam circa ostia fluminis Realti." This story of the foundation of San Giacometto in Dandolo appears to rest upon a decree of the "consuls and senate," of Patavium quoted by Daru and dated in the year 421, a decree now admitted to be a forgery. See Mr. Hodgkin's "Italy and her Invaders," vol. ii. pp. 183, 187. The old church of St. Theodore occupied the north side of the present site of San Marco: St. Geminianus stood about the centre of the present Piazza of San Marco. See a plan at p. 7 of Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's *Venedig als Weltmacht und Weltstadt*, which, however, is called a "Rekonstruktion," and apparently puts the latter church on the north instead of the south side of the Piazza.

<sup>2</sup> The origin of the term *Fondamenta*.

<sup>3</sup> Temanza, *Pianta Antica*, pp. 7, 8. This eighteenth-century dissertation is very interesting and instructive.



From the same exodus from Patavium, that peopled the swamps of Rialto, came the population of the towns that grew up on the lidi, of which Madamaucus or Malamocco was a bishop's see, and at one time the seat of the doge's government. It was swept away by a storm in 1102, and its bishop moved his see to Chioggia, which was in the Middle Ages a place of some importance at the south-west extremity of the lidi, and a depôt of goods that were brought down the Po or Adige for exportation. Farther to the south again, other cities were founded at the same time, Loreo near the mouths of the Po, Capo d'Argine, afterwards known as Cavarzere on the Adige, and Brondolo, Albiola, and Pelestrina on the lidi.<sup>1</sup> From these places, by artificial channels which cannot now be traced,<sup>2</sup> the inland navigation used to be carried on between the lagoon of Venice and the great lake of Comacchio, south of the Po, which almost reached to Ravenna.

Some other spots in the lagoons had before these times been peopled by fugitives of another kind, who fled, not from the violence of barbarians, but from the seductions of the world. St. Heliodorus, who was Bishop of Altinum at the end of the fourth century, had been one of a band of zealous young men in the church of Aquileia, who in the year 373 had set out, under the guidance of Evagrius, a priest of Antioch, to seek in the deserts of Syria a life of greater privations and more absolute isolation than the Western world offered them. Heliodorus had given up, for the sake of the religious life, a brilliant position in the Venetian province and in the army of Rome, but he was

<sup>1</sup> Constantine Porphyrog. apparently calls Albiola Ἡβόλα, and Pelestrina πριστήνα. κλούγια and Βρονδον and κάστρον Λανριτών are no doubt Chioggia, Brondolo, and Loreo. καβερτζέντζη may represent Capo d'Argine.

<sup>2</sup> One of these, the Fossa Clodia, is said to be the origin of the name Clugia or Chioggia. As to this and other places in this part of the lagoon there is much information given by Mommsen in *C. I. L.*, v. i. p. 219. He thinks Meduacus major was the Brenta, Meduacus minor the Bachiglione, Portus Medoacus or Edro the lagoon of Pelestrina, between Porto di Malamocco and Porto di Chioggia.

not prepared to throw over the duty of providing for a sister and her son, and he longed for the active pastoral work of a priest among his own people. So he returned to Europe, and received from one of his companions, Eusebius Hieronymus of Stridon, in the Illyrian Alps, better known to the modern world as St. Jerome, a letter of eloquent reproach, which made so profound an impression on the Roman world of that day, that many Christians at Rome could say it by heart. Jerome lived to repent the acrimony of his reproaches, which did not move Heliodorus to give up the useful and charitable work he had chosen. He became in time Bishop of Altinum, but in his old age retired with St. Marcellianus to end his days as a hermit in the little island named from the latter Marcelliana, which seems to have been situated in the north-easternmost corner of the Venetian lagoon, near where the towns of Heraclea and Equilium were afterwards built. Liberalis, a disciple of Heliodorus, chose for his retirement from the world the adjacent island of Castraria, and built there a church dedicated to St. Lawrence.<sup>1</sup> No doubt other recluses had been the founders of monasteries in other parts of these regions; and such foundations in the West always tended to introduce industry and wealth, where the founders had only thought of solitude and mortification.

<sup>1</sup> See for Heliodorus and Marcellianus And. Dandolo, v. 1, 1, for Liberalis, v. 2, 5. For Jerome and his friends see the excellent work of Amédée Thierry. The epistle to Heliodorus is No. 14 in Vallars edition; that to Nepotianus, in which Jerome speaks of his former letter with regret, is No. 52. Both are printed (Nos. 1 and 6) in a handy little volume of select Epistles of St. Jerome, being vol. xi. of Hurter's *Sanctorum Patrum Opuscula Selecta* (Innsbruck, 1870). The relics of St. Marcellianus were, as we are told in *Chronicon Gradense* (Monticolo, *u.s.* p. 34), acquired "vi et dolo" from the Castellans by some of the Frauduni family, who built a church to SS. Marcellianus and Maximus in the now lost island of Constantiaca. Monasteries on lonely islands are still one of the romantic features of the lagoons. Besides the well-known San Lazzaro, San Servolo, and San Clemente, all still devoted to pious uses, there are S. Nicolò in Lido, S. Giorgio in Alga, so eloquently described by Ruskin, and San Francisco in Desertis.



## CHAPTER II

### THE EARLIEST GOVERNMENT OF THE LAGOONS — THE CHURCH OF AQUILEIA AND THE SCHISM OF THE THREE CHAPTERS—SLAV SETTLEMENTS IN DALMATIA

THE earliest notices left to us of the settlements in the lagoons describe them as governed by tribunes. The letter of Cassiodorus quoted above is addressed to the "Tribuni Maritimi." And the account in the Altino Chronicle of the foundation of Torcello always speaks of Aurius or Arrius, the leader of the fugitives, as the Tribune. The tribunate appears to have been originally a military office, corresponding in small towns to that of dux, or comes in a large town.<sup>1</sup> In the late Imperial times the military commanders frequently had civil power conferred upon them, and this continued into the Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> Our earliest authorities agree in saying that at the time of the Lombard conquest the settlements in the lagoons began to elect each for itself a tribune or tribunes.<sup>3</sup> The election was no doubt a relic of the old municipal life of Imperial times. It implied a certain amount of local freedom, such as had existed even

<sup>1</sup> "Tribuni" is not one of the technical terms for municipal officers, as "duumviri," "decuriones," or "curiales" were. The Altinate and Dandolo both give us lists of families that had held the office of tribune, as if such families constituted a class apart. One family perpetuated the name of Tribuno; it bore also that of Memmio or Menio, and perhaps claimed kindred with the gens to which Memmius, the friend of Lucretius, belonged. On the subject of tribunes see Romanin, i. p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> See in Romanin, i. p. 80, n. 1, a passage quoted from the Altinate, "Judicabat ut miles tota ista territoria."

<sup>3</sup> See the passages quoted from Sagornino (*i.e.* John the Deacon) and Dandolo, in Romanin, i. 79, 80.

in the times when the Empire was strongest, and was in no way inconsistent with a relation of dependence on the protection of the Byzantine government, which we are told that Longinus, the Exarch who succeeded Narses, had established.<sup>1</sup> The coasts of the Adriatic had long been flourishing and important, and it was essential that the Byzantine emperors should have a firm footing there, if they wished to keep Italy subject to them. On the other hand, the protection and friendship of Byzantium was important to the Venetians for the development of their maritime trade.

The government by tribunes went on, we are told, for 150 years, of which hardly any record exists. We have incidental mentions of Slavonic pirates who lurked in the bays and creeks of Dalmatia to prey upon the commerce of the Adriatic; of attacks on the islands by Lombard bands from the *terra firma*, as when Lupo, Duke of Friuli, sacked Grado; of the fortification of the Venetian harbours.<sup>2</sup> We know from the history of Paul the Deacon how wild was the disorder in the early days of the Lombard rule in North Italy, especially when, after the murder of Cleph, son of Alboin, there was no king over the Lombards, but thirty dukes, each governing his own city and district. The writings of Gregory the Great, whose Papacy occupied the last decade of the sixth century, are full of the ravages and cruelties of the Lombards. They besieged Rome in some year between 592 and 595, but they never took it. Rome,

<sup>1</sup> See the seventh book of the Altinate (*Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 1st ser. viii. 200 *sqq.*).

<sup>2</sup> Olivolo is one of the islands that, we are told (Romanin, i. 91), was fortified at this time. From its fortifications, it came in later times to be called Castello. Its church, once the cathedral of Venice, was, and is, known as San Pietro in Castello. The name of Olivolo suggests an olive wood or an olive tree; but a mere sand or mud bank, such as this island must originally have been, is an unlikely place for olives. Dandolo (v. 5, 5) has a strange account of this island, where, he says, the Trojans under Antenor first landed and called it Troja. It was afterwards, he adds, called Pagos and "Olivulos Latinè dicitur 'quid plenum,' ubi non est dare vacuum," a sentence at the meaning of which I cannot guess.

Ravenna, and Naples, with the districts adjoining each, and the Venetian islands, were all that remained of continental Italy to the Eastern Emperor; the whole north of Italy was subject to the Lombards, whose royal city was Pavia, while the great duchies of Spoleto in the centre, and Benevento in the south, spread the Lombard's influence over the whole peninsula.

It is not surprising that, in the presence of so great and aggressive a power, the Venetian settlements should have found it essential to keep up a close union amongst themselves. This is the reason the old chroniclers assign for the establishment of the office of Doge: "omnes Venetiæ,"<sup>1</sup> says John the Deacon, assembling in council with the patriarch and the bishops, determined that it was more honourable to be under dukes than under tribunes.<sup>2</sup> The patriarch Christopher of Grado proposed the election of a single duke as a security for union; no doubt the several cities with their own tribunes had frequently disagreed. The election of a duke was a measure of confederation, parallel to that of the Achæan cities in face of the great monarchies that arose from Alexander's conquests.

The use of dux as an official title has been traced in a learned passage of the *Verona Illustrata* of the distinguished eighteenth-century scholar, Count Scipione Maffei,<sup>3</sup> with which may be compared a notice in the seventeenth chapter of Gibbon.<sup>4</sup> The word seems to be first found in a technical

<sup>1</sup> The Latin for Venice was always the plural "Venetiæ," thus keeping up the memory of its origin as a federation of cities. This may throw light on the origin of the plural names of cities so common in ancient times, as Athenæ, Thebæ, Mycenæ. But the recent editions of John read Venetici for Venetiæ.

<sup>2</sup> Gfrörer, i. 36, 37, points out how in this case the rule laid down in Justinian's "Pragmatic Sanction" was followed, viz. "that judges of provinces should be chosen by the bishops and other most considerable persons of the districts concerned"; but varied by the introduction of the people to a share in the election (*ib.*, p. 44), and the mention of the clergy last instead of first (p. 45).

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 87 *sqq.* of the edition in eight vols. 4to. Venice, 1792, i. p. 442 *sqq.*, edition of 1825.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii. p. 320, edition Smith.

sense in the *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii*, a compilation that may be dated at the end of the fourth century, and that commemorates the great official hierarchy established by Diocletian and Constantine. In this dux is exclusively a military title held by thirty-five commanders, who, in subordination to the masters-general (*magistri militum*), were responsible for the defence of the provinces. Ten of the chief of them were further dignified with the name of *comites*, or companions, *i.e.* of the Emperor, a name the connection of which with dux has continued in all the very different senses through which each word has passed. In the time of the *Notitia* the dukes were strictly confined to military functions, and were prohibited from interfering with the administration of justice or the collection of the revenue. But subsequently, probably during the Exarchate of Narses, the dukes, as we have already seen to have been the case with the tribunes, grew from merely military commanders into governors with civil authority also. Nothing is more likely to happen in unsettled times; it is a sort of permanent establishment of martial law. However this may have been, dukes, generally taking their titles from cities, are frequently met with from the time of Narses. In the parts of Italy that remained subject to the Exarchs we find dukes of Rome and of Naples; of Gaeta, Amalfi, and Sorrento; we read of a duke of the island of Sardinia. The title was still more common with the Lombards; we meet with Dukes of Friuli, Pavia, Brescia, Bergamo, Trent,<sup>1</sup> Spoleto, Benevento. In thinking it more honourable to be under dukes than under tribunes, the patriarch Christopher and his hearers were following the prevailing fashion of the day.

If the 150 years preceding the establishment of Doges are barren of civil history, we are by no means without fragmentary notices of ecclesiastical affairs during that time. The old chronicles are full of stories of the foundation on each island or lido of a church dedicated by the founder

<sup>1</sup> Paulus Diaconus, ii. 32.

to some chosen saint, and of theological and ecclesiastical disputes. It is not only because the chroniclers were themselves churchmen that this prominence is given to church affairs. It is partly because the Church was at this time by far the most powerful factor in society. Guizot has shown, in his second Lecture on the History of Civilisation in Europe, what an important rôle the clergy played in the municipal life of the later Roman Empire; how the bishop was by the Code of Justinian made an auditor of official accounts, an official guardian of wards; how he and his clergy were members of the board that appointed *defensores*, *i.e.* the officials whose duty it was to protect the private citizen against the oppression of agents of the government. He sums up the result of his researches by saying that between the municipal system of the Roman Empire and that of the Middle Ages there was interposed a municipal system that may be called the ecclesiastical.<sup>1</sup> It was natural that a young and vigorous organisation like the Christian Church should gain power and influence at the expense of the old decaying organisation of the municipia, worn out by the oppressions of a bad financial administration. As in Rome Leo during the invasion of Attila, and Gregory at the time of the Lombard wars, came to the front to take the post of danger that the representatives of the Emperor shrank from, so was it to a greater or less degree in every city. The bishop and his principal clergy stepped into the place that the decuriones were unwilling to occupy.

Few ecclesiastics were more fitted by their high dignity and antecedents to come forward as leaders of men than the bishops who, under the name of Patriarchs of Aquileia, had removed their see to Grado, the new Aquileia. The see boasted that it had been founded by St. Mark the

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 54 *sqq.* of the French edition. Gibbon, ch. xlvii. (vol. vi. pp. 12, 13), has an instructive passage on the secular authority exercised by the Patriarch of Alexandria, a fact which is constantly coming in view in the History of St. John Chrysostom's persecution by Theophilus of Alexandria, and in that of the Robber Synod of Ephesus.

Evangelist,<sup>1</sup> sent thither by the chief of the Apostles himself, and in proof of this appealed to a copy of St. Mark's Gospel, written by the saint's own hand, which was one of the treasures of the cathedral of Aquileia, so long as there was a cathedral of Aquileia.<sup>2</sup> Another relic of St. Mark was an ivory throne in the same cathedral (see *ante*, p. 24), on which the saint had sat, and none of his successors had presumed to sit. St. Mark, it was believed, had stayed one or two years in Aquileia, and then returned to Rome, going thence again to Alexandria, where martyrdom awaited him; but he left behind at Aquileia Hermagoras, afterwards a canonised saint, who suffered for the

<sup>1</sup> The connection of St. Mark with Aquileia is fully discussed by de Rubeis, *Monum. Eccl. Aquil.*, c. i., with a very decided bias in favour of the tradition. There is no evidence for it that is certainly older than the eighth or ninth century. In the early Church the names of all deceased bishops were recited in the Mass in their cathedral, and these names were preserved on a folding tablet or diptych. A catalogue of patriarchs of Aquileia, beginning with St. Mark, was in the eighteenth century still recited on Candlemas Day in the church of Friuli (Cividale). De Rubeis calls this "species quædam Diptychorum," but its age is quite uncertain, except that its use of the word "Patriarcha" shows that it cannot be earlier than the sixth century. There is a passage in the 25th Oration of Gregory Nazianzen that gives Italy as the scene of St. Mark's missionary labours, and the old Roman Martyrology (which Ado in the ninth century calls "venerabile et perantiquum"), speaking of Hermagoras' martyrdom at Aquileia, calls him a disciple of St. Mark.

<sup>2</sup> This autograph copy is mentioned by all the authorities, viz. Joannis Candidi, *Comm. Aquil.*, in Grævius, vol. vi. Pt. IV. (who treats it as the original MS. of the Gospel); the two series of lives of patriarchs of Aquileia (one anonymous, the other by Antonius Bellonus, a notary of Udine) that are to be found in Muratori SS., xvi.; the life of St. Mark in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* (April, iii. 346 *sqq.*). In the Treasury of San Marco one can still see what remains of the MS. in question, for two *quaterni*, the last of seven in all, were sent by the Emperor Charles IV. to Prague, where the Gospel was in 1671 still read from it on Easter and Ascension Days. It is strange that we have different accounts as to the language it was written in. Cornelius à Lapide says, on the authority of a canon of St. Mark's, who had had the book in his hands, that it was written in Greek. But the Emperor Charles IV., when he sent the two *quaterni* to Prague, described it as written in Latin characters (see *Acta Sanctorum*, u.s.), and that this was the fact is shown by the letter of Nicholas, Patriarch of Aquileia, Charles IV.'s brother, which



faith in one of the early persecutions. Hermagoras is said to have been appointed "Protepisopus" of the province of Italy, and the see of Aquileia in fact ranked next to Rome among all the churches of Italy, its patriarch sitting at the Pope's right hand in a council held at the Lateran under Clement II. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.*, tom. v.). Its bishop bore the title of Patriarch, a title, the exact significance of which it is not easy to explain. The word is found in the New Testament (in St. Stephen's *apologia*), used of the sons of Jacob, from whom the twelve tribes were named, and its derivative meaning is "chief of a tribe." In some of the early Fathers, *e.g.* Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen, the word is used rhetorically as synonymous with Episcopus. From this sense it passed into a more restricted one, and was used only of a few bishops, whose sees corresponded with certain of the large administrative divisions of the Empire. What these divisions were, whether dioceses or what else, it is difficult to decide. The bishops most commonly spoken of as patriarchs were those of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, places which were all great administrative centres,<sup>1</sup> but the title is sometimes given to the Bishops of Thessalonica, Prusa, Bourges, and other places. But in no place did it

gives the initial and final words of the part sent to Prague, and by the testimony of Montfaucon, who saw it himself, and said that, though almost illegible, it was clearly in Latin. As early as 1564 it was so dilapidated that it was difficult to say whether the Prague fragment was on parchment or papyrus, and the Archduke Ferdinand wrote to the Imperial Minister at Venice to ascertain on what the leaves left at Friuli were written. See de Rubeis, *u.s.*, ch. ii., who also gives a curious letter from the Doge Mocenigo to the agent employed to procure the MS. from the canons of Friuli. Another letter to the authorities at Friuli demands it to be sent to Venice, "ut idem liber apud editorem et scriptorem ipsius reducatur," *i.e.* to San Marco. (See Romanin, iv. p. 81, n. 6.)

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the title of Patriarch was properly restricted to the sees of apostolic origin. This the Popes always held to be the material distinction between one see and another, partly because this rule, as interpreted by them, left Constantinople in an inferior position. In course of time, however, some special connection with St. John was

take root so firmly as in Aquileia, perhaps because it was a title the Lombards liked to maintain. When Paulus the Patriarch of Aquileia fled to Grado, he kept up the title of Patriarch of "New Aquileia." But soon a schism arose, and a rival series of bishops at Cormona or Forum Julii claimed to represent the patriarchs of the old Aquileia. The history of this schism is connected with the famous controversy of the Three Chapters, which, though it has been sketched by Gibbon in one of his most masterly chapters (the 47th), is too important for the Church History of Venice to be passed over altogether here.

The early Church, or at least the Eastern branch of it, was long agitated and divided as to the exact definition of the mode in which the Divine and Human Natures were united in Christ. Among the earliest of heretical teachers the gnostic Cerinthus held that the Christ the Son of God was distinct altogether from the man Jesus, on whom he descended at his baptism, and whom he quitted before his passion. When the end of the Arian controversy had established the absolute divinity of the Son co-equal with the Father, the strong contrast of such a Being with even the highest and best human nature seemed likely to bring men dangerously near to Cerinthus; and in fear of this Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, taught the One Incarnate Nature of Christ, which combined the body and sensitive soul of a man with the Logos or Divine Wisdom, taking the place that the rational soul<sup>1</sup> occupied in other men. This belief was declared heretical by the second Œcumenical Council, and from that time speculation in the Church ranged between the two separate Natures of Cerinthus, and the One Nature of Apollinaris: in the picturesque

imagined for Constantinople. If apostolic origin made a see patriarchal, Aquileia would owe its title, as did Alexandria, to its reputed foundation by St. Mark, who, though not an apostle, was very closely connected with both St. Peter and St. Paul, and is sometimes loosely spoken of as an apostle.

<sup>1</sup> The "reasonable soul" of the Athanasian creed.



language of Gibbon, "the horrid phantoms of Cerinthus and Apollinaris guarded the opposite issues of the theological labyrinth." All who would be safe must admit the Two Natures, but deny their separation; and the mode of their union furnished the material for more than a century of theological discussion. At one time a prominent thinker would approach either Cerinthus or Apollinaris, but then the pendulum swung back towards the opposite extremity. One of those who approached Cerinthus was Nestorius, a man full of eloquence and zeal, who in 428 was raised to the high dignity of Patriarch of Constantinople. He taught that the human nature of the Saviour was as it were a temple that the Word dwelt in, or a robe that the Word put on, he declaimed against the application to the Saviour's Mother of the title *θεότοκος*, or Mother of God, and ridiculed the notion of the Godhead dying or suffering. Those who are charitably disposed may see in these opinions only a strong protest against the Arian doctrine of the inferior and subordinate Godhead of the Son, but opponents who wished to drive Nestorius to the most rigorous logical consequences of his words might point out that Cerinthus said no more than that the temple of the Logos was entered at the baptism and quitted at the crucifixion, that the clothing of the Logos was put on at the baptism and taken off at the crucifixion. The Council of Ephesus, which met in 431 to settle this controversy, was near splitting up into two schismatic bodies, and had in the end to refer the main issue to the Emperor Theodosius II. for decision. The Court had at first favoured Nestorius; but his party was clearly the weaker in the Church; his great opponent, Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, was the leading churchman of the day; and the Emperor temporised. He dismissed the Council, but recognised its deposition of Nestorius by allowing a new patriarch to be consecrated in his stead. On the dogmatic question there was a compromise; the doctrine denied by Nestorius was positively

asserted, and the title *θεότοκος* solemnly given to the Virgin Mother; but the new Creed ignored certain propositions which had been agreed upon in a synod at Alexandria early in the controversy, and which are famous in ecclesiastical history as the Twelve Anathemas of St. Cyril. One of these anathemas was held, probably from a misunderstanding,<sup>1</sup> to assert that there was but one Nature in Christ; and on this account in many churches of Syria, Cilicia, and Armenia, Cyril's name was anathematised as a heretic of the same order as Apollinaris.

When the Nestorians were driven out of the Church to become a feeble sect in the Far East, the pendulum soon swung back, and the next great controversy, that tore the Church even more violently, came from an exaggeration of St. Cyril's teaching. The doctrine that, after the union of the Divine and Human elements, there was but one nature in Christ had, as we have seen, been imputed to Cyril on the strength of a doubtful interpretation of one of his anathemas: it was now taught openly by some of the monks who had been the warmest partisans of Cyril at Constantinople, especially by the Archimandrite Eutyches and by several Egyptian bishops at whose head Dioscorus, who succeeded Cyril at Alexandria, placed himself. This party was favoured by the Byzantine court, and when a synod at Constantinople had condemned Eutyches' doctrine, and deprived him of his offices, he obtained a rehearing, Theodosius II., the Eastern Emperor, in concert with his Western colleague, Valentinian III., summoning a Council to meet at Ephesus in the spring of 449. This Council, which deserved and has ever since retained the name of the Robber Synod given to it by Pope Leo the Great, condemned those who divided the one Nature of Christ, disregarded a letter which

<sup>1</sup> The anathema, in condemning the Nestorians who reduced the Union of the Godhead and Manhood in Christ to a moral union, such as that of two persons who are said to be of one mind, used the expression *καθ' ἔνωσιν φυσικῆν*, meaning probably "natural (*i.e.* real) union" and not union of nature (Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii. 170, 171, 2nd German edition).

Pope Leo, who was also one of the greatest theologians of the age, had written in confutation of Eutyches' teaching,<sup>1</sup> deposed Flavian the Patriarch of Constantinople, and other bishops, amongst them the great Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, and was the occasion of such scenes of violence that Flavian died from the injuries he received from the soldiers and sailors and fanatical monks whom Dioscorus brought from Alexandria to enforce his theological views.

The Pope (who had in the state of Italy, over which Attila's invasion was impending, a sufficient reason for following the uniform practice of the early Popes, of absentsing themselves from General Councils) and Theodoret did not rest under the condemnation of the Robber Synod, and induced the Emperor Marcian, who, with his wife Pulcheria succeeded her brother Theodosius on the throne in 450, to call another Council in the following year to consider again the doctrines of Eutyches ; and after some difficulties as to the choice of a place of meeting, such a Council assembled at Chalcedon, and under the guidance of the Emperor or his commissioners, and Pope Leo's legates, discussed the questions at issue in a spirit very different from that of the Robber Synod. There was indeed little hesitation in accepting Leo's letter as a correct statement of the orthodox doctrine, and the decree finally adopted accepted that letter as a refutation of Eutyches, and at the same time certain letters of Cyril as a refutation of Nestorius, and published a formal summary of the purport of Leo's letter.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Leo's letter is famous in Church History as the "Tome of St. Leo." "Tome," which to our ears implies something large and ponderous, is a word of Greek origin, equivalent to "section," or "epitome," and is used of a concise statement of doctrine. Ducange (*Index Græcitatibus*) defines *τομογραφεῖν* as *τὸ συντεταγμένως ἐκδίδοναι καὶ σίον ὀρίξεσθαι τὰ διὰ μακρῶν διαλαληθέντα καὶ στραφέντα πολλάκις, i.e.* "to make a précis or epitome." "Breviarium" would be a Latin equivalent.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the decree, with its four famous Greek adverbs, *ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαίρετως, ἀχωρίστως*, excluding any confusion or conversion, or division or separation of the two natures, can be read in Hefele's *Conciliengesch.*, ii. 467-472. Leo's letter is given *ib.*, ii. 353-364.

Many of the Fathers at Chalcedon weighed jealously the words of Leo, fearing lest, in avoiding the error of Eutyches, they might be led too near to that of Nestorius. For Scylla and Charybdis were now visibly and palpably near to one another. Less horror seems to have been inspired by Eutychianism than by Nestorianism; and naturally, for though the inevitable corollary of the doctrine of One Nature, viz. that the Saviour did not partake of our nature, but had a nature of His own, a mixture of the Human and Divine, conflicted with words of Scripture and with some of the dearest hopes of Christians, it did not seem to detract from the honour due to Jesus of Nazareth and His Mother, as Nestorianism had done, and so did not raise up against it the passionate feeling of loyalty to the Saviour which possessed the ardent souls of men like Cyril and Leo. It is important to bear this in mind, for the next great dispute that divided the Church seems to have arisen from an uneasy consciousness that the decree of Chalcedon had perhaps gone too far in the direction of Nestorianism. That decree indeed never received universal approval. In the three great Eastern Patriarchates the Monophysite party never ceased to exist, and in Syria and Armenia, Egypt and Abyssinia, there are still Jacobite churches that have never ceased to anathematise the Synod of Chalcedon. The Emperors of the East were generally in favour of finding some formula in which Orthodox and Monophysites could agree, and in their efforts after this risked schism with Rome. At length, in the year 543, the Emperor Justinian, whose vast intellectual energy was ambitious of distinction in the arena of Theology, was induced to reopen the question settled at Chalcedon by issuing an edict against certain writings of three men long dead, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius' teacher, whose orthodoxy had always been doubtful; Theodoret, who, as we have seen, had been condemned by the Robber Synod and reinstated by the Council of Chalcedon, and a more obscure bishop

of Edessa named Ibas. The Emperor's edict set forth passages from the writings of these men, and anathematised them as infected with Nestorianism.<sup>1</sup> The acceptance of this decree might, it was thought, bring back to orthodoxy many who, without being Monophysites, thought the Council of Chalcedon had not steered clear of Nestorianism.

The patriarchs of the great Eastern Churches showed themselves ready to follow the lead of the Emperor: this was almost a matter of course, but Justinian could boast of a more illustrious follower, the Pope Vigilius himself. The Pope's conduct in the affair gives it an interest at the present day. Vigilius had accepted his office as a creature of the Empress Theodora, and spent six years (547-553) in Constantinople, sometimes the Emperor's guest in the Placidia Palace, sometimes taking shelter from his enemies in the basilica of St. Peter in Hormisda, or in the more sacred church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon. His absence from Rome nearly coincided with the Gothic occupation of the city, which was taken by Totila in 546, and not finally recovered by Narses till 553. It may be doubtful whether he would not have done more wisely to brave the swords of the barbarians, rather than expose himself to the theological and moral pitfalls of the Byzantine court. Certainly his fortunes at Constantinople are a striking illustration of the

<sup>1</sup> The edict is not extant. It is always known as the "Three Chapters." The word Chapter (*capitulum*, *κεφάλαιον*) is well known to be almost equivalent to Anathema. But from the earliest times it became customary to speak of the condemned doctrines themselves as the *tria capitula*, so that the epithet usually applied to them is *impia*; those who agreed with Justinian's condemnation are spoken of as the adversaries of the Three Chapters, while the defenders of the Three Chapters are those who defended the three persons impugned. In later writers we find them spoken of as the *tria Chalcedonensis Concilii capitula*, as if they were certain propositions in the decrees or canons of that Council. In reality the Council had pronounced no authoritative decision on either Theodore's or Theodoret's writings; it had restored to Theodoret his bishopric, and it had abstained from condemning Ibas' letter, which was full of very doubtful doctrine and asserted *inter alia* the orthodoxy of Theodore of Mopsuestia (Hefele, ii. 800, 801).

great gain of prestige that came to the Popes from their residence away from the Imperial court. His vacillations and self-contradictions when he was certainly speaking *ex cathedrâ* and *de fide* must be very embarrassing to the maintainers of Papal infallibility. He arrived pledged against the Emperor's edict. In 548, when he had been little more than a year at Constantinople, he was induced by flattery or promises to issue his *Judicatum*, which assented to the Emperor's doctrine, "salvâ synodo Chalcedonensi." But the remonstrances of some Western bishops, who were then at the Imperial court, led him to reconsider his position, and in 550 the *Judicatum* was withdrawn: in August 551, at an assembly of Western bishops, the Pope pronounced a solemn condemnation of Justinian's advisers, Theodorus Askidas and Mennas, Patriarch of Constantinople. Then the Emperor tried the effect of violence, and the Pope was very roughly handled in the basilica of St. Peter by the Imperial soldiers, but he was not actually deprived of his liberty, and a General Council was summoned to decide the question of the Three Chapters. This Council, the Fifth Œcumenical Council, or the Second of Constantinople, was attended almost exclusively by Eastern bishops; of 164 members, only six or eight Africans represented Western Christendom, and in view of this disparity the Pope would not take part in its deliberations, but confined himself to sending a "Constitutum de Tribus Capitulis," in which he boldly asserted his authority to guide the opinions of all churchmen and annul all decrees, by whomsoever put forth, that were inconsistent with his teaching. He did not defend the orthodoxy of Theodore of Mopsuestia, but cited precedents of reluctance to censure a dead man; as regards Theodoret and Ibas, he adhered closely to the approval given them by the Council of Chalcedon. But when the Council disregarded his authority and anathematised the Three Chapters and all their defenders, and the Emperor proceeded to banish him for contumacy, he found, as his



advocates say, on cooler reflection, that the decrees of the Fifth Council were not irreconcilable with those of the Fourth ; and when a revival of the Emperor's favour allowed him, on Narses' reconquest of Rome, to leave Constantinople for his own city, he put forth two fresh documents, in which, as the fruit of longer study of the Fathers, he anathematised many of the very propositions on which only the year before he had set the seal of infallibility. Vigilius did not long survive this ignominy : he died at Syracuse before reaching Rome ; but his successor Pelagius, who was supposed to have been more subservient than himself to the Emperor, continued the same theological policy, and though many churches of the West, especially in Africa and Illyricum, were unwilling to change with the Pope, the authority of the Apostolic See carried the day, and the decrees of the Fifth Council became recognised throughout both East and West as part of the orthodox Faith.<sup>1</sup>

But the schism lasted long in the West, and nowhere longer than in North Italy. Dacius, Archbishop of Milan, had been one of the most consistent opponents of the Emperor, and Macedonius of Aquileia agreed with his neighbour of Milan, with whose church his own was closely connected, it having been the custom that the bishop of the one see should always be consecrated by the bishop of the other, the consecrating bishop coming to the church of the consecrated to ascertain that the latter had the suffrages of his clergy and people. When Dacius

<sup>1</sup> Hefele (ii. 816-914) makes out the best case for Pope Vigilius, but he cannot deny the tergiversation, on which Milman ("Latin Christianity," i. 337-344) is much more severe. It was lamentable that to gratify the vanity of an Imperial theologian, the stigma of anathema should have been inflicted on three dead men, one of them universally revered in his life ; but the untheological mind can reflect with satisfaction that whether the condemnatory capitula were correct or not is a question of very small importance, either to the writers whose opinions were condemned, or to the Church in general : an opinion in which so scrupulously orthodox a writer as the Rev. W. H. Hutton, in his "Church of the Sixth Century," pp. 175, 176, would seem to concur.



died in 552, before the deliberations of the Fifth Council were concluded, Narses, who was then Exarch, broke through the old custom, fearing that Macedonius, if left to himself, would consecrate none but a schismatic to the see of Milan. He therefore required both bishop and bishop-elect to come to Ravenna, to be under his own eye. But he could not prevent Vitalis, Dacius' successor, from lapsing into schism, and Paulinus, who in 557 succeeded Macedonius, did the same. The Venetian and Istrian bishops, and those of the Milanese province, carried their opposition to the Fifth Council further than the churches of Spain and Gaul. The latter long refused, as the phrase ran, "to condemn the Three Chapters," but did not, like Milan and Aquileia, refuse communion to all who held with the Council. The Popes took measures to stop the schism from spreading by exacting from all newly consecrated bishops in North Italy a "cautio," *i.e.*, it would seem, a promise to preserve unity.<sup>1</sup> And they were unwearied in their endeavours to bring back Milan and Aquileia to the orthodox communion. Pelagius I., Vigilius' successor, pressed Narses to use the secular arm against Paulinus and an unnamed Archbishop of Milan, to send them to Constantinople, to be punished "by the most merciful Emperor" with confiscation or imprisonment. But the court of Constantinople was unwilling to interfere, and in a few years the situation was complicated by the Lombard invasion, which drove Paulinus to the island stronghold of Grado, and the Milanese archbishop to Genoa. Milan was soon restored to communion with Rome, for on the death of Archbishop Honoratus in 570 there was a double election, and Laurentius, who was chosen at Genoa by the majority of the suffragan bishops, in order to win the Pope's support against the rival elected by those bishops who remained in Milanese territory,

<sup>1</sup> This appears from Letters of Gregory the Great, quoted in de Rubeis, *Monum. Eccl. Aquil.*, pp. 199-202.

promised to renounce his schism, and was soon able to fulfil his promise. But at Grado the feeling was more bitter. Probinus, who succeeded Paulinus and only lived a year, Elias his successor, and Severus, who followed next, were all schismatic. Elias is a man of some mark : he was a Greek priest, elected by the clergy and people of Grado, as the ravages of the Lombards prevented the suffragans from assembling. He built a great church dedicated to St. Euphemia<sup>1</sup> at Grado, and founded two monasteries in neighbouring islands. A synod held by him at Grado sent legates to Constantinople, who prevailed upon the Emperor to leave them in peace, though Smaragdus, who was then Exarch, was devoted to Pope Pelagius II., and anxious to bring the secular arm to bear against the schismatics.<sup>2</sup> This must have happened after 583, when Smaragdus became Exarch ; and about the same time the Pope himself entered into a conciliatory correspondence with Elias, and Gregory the Great, who was then the Pope's secretary, wrote moving periods against the folly of the vine-branches cutting themselves off from the root, and the madness of leaving the Ark when the deluge was coming fast upon

<sup>1</sup> The cathedral at Chalcedon was dedicated to St. Euphemia. The choice of the same saint at Grado was perhaps a sign of the conspicuous honour with which those who rejected the Fifth Council were zealous to treat the Fourth. But the Euphemia of Chalcedon was a Bithynian martyr ; the Euphemia of Grado may have been a more or less apocryphal virgin of Aquileia, who suffered with St. Hermagoras.

<sup>2</sup> The letter of the synod to the Emperor speaks of the Byzantine Empire as "sancta respublica," a curious survival of the word *respublica* (see de Rubeis, *Mon. Eccl. Aquil.*, p. 229). The expression is not uncommon ; it occurs again in a letter of an Exarch of Ravenna to Childebert, king of the Franks (*ib.*, p. 295). A letter of Pope Honorius (*ib.*, pp. 297, 298) speaks of the Eastern Empire as "Christianissima Respublica." Gfrörer, i. p. 15, thinks that the lenity of the Emperor to Elias arose from a fear that severity would drive the Venetian bishops into the arms of the Popes.

This synod of Grado (*Cron. de sing. Patr. Novæ Aquil.*, in Monticolo, *u.s.*, p. 5) "statuit ecclesiam Gradensem caput et metropolim totius provinciæ Histriensium et Venetiarum." We shall hear a good deal more of this claim.

them. The letters volunteered a statement of devotion to the Council of Chalcedon and an apology for Vigilius' double-dealings, founded on his ignorance of Greek. But though the Pope offered a free conference at Rome or Ravenna, Elias and his bishops remained obstinate, and in 586 Elias died in schism. His successor Severus received rougher treatment: for soon after his election Smaragdus appeared with a fleet off Grado, took the bishop by force from his basilica and carried him to Ravenna, where (it does not appear whether by force or by fair means) he was brought to communicate with Archbishop John of Ravenna. Three Istrian bishops shared the violence done to Severus. In the next year (587) Smaragdus was recalled to Constantinople, and Severus returned with his companions to Grado. But they were very ill received by their flocks, who would not communicate with them, till at a synod of ten bishops held at Marianum (now Marano), on the Adriatic coast, Severus formally recanted his errors<sup>1</sup> and relapsed into schism.

The powerful and versatile mind of Gregory the Great, who succeeded Pelagius II. in 590, found time amidst the troubles of Lombard invasion, of pestilence, flood, and famine, and the later labours of converting the English from Paganism and the Visigoths of Spain and Lombards of North Italy from Arianism, to devote much thought to the healing of the Aquileian schism. He at first tried to induce the schismatic bishops to come to Rome to discuss the question of the Three Chapters, urging some command of the Emperor Maurice; but the bishops thereupon wrote to the Emperor protesting their orthodoxy and representing that, if they themselves returned to communion with the Church of Rome, their laity (*plebes*) would not tolerate it, and that the result of forcing the Patriarch of Aquileia to conformity would be the alienation of the churches of

<sup>1</sup> "Dantem libellum erroris sui" are the words of Paulus Diaconus, who (iii. 26) tells the story of the bishop's abduction.

Venetia from his authority. They could easily do, as three churches once depending on Aquileia had already done,<sup>1</sup> fall away and join some of the provinces of Gaul. This was a disagreeable prospect for the Emperor, whose hold on Italy was but feeble; and he accordingly threw cold water on the zeal of the Pope and ordered the Exarch Romanus not to molest the schismatics. Gregory found it necessary to postpone action till a more friendly Exarch was at Ravenna; perhaps also till the troubles of the Lombard inroads had subsided. A Lombard duke was now established at Spoleto, within easy reach of both Rome and Ravenna, and the anarchy that had followed on Clepho's death and weakened the offensive strength of the nation was brought to a close when Autharis, Clepho's son, obtained the regal power in the same year (590) in which Gregory was raised to the Papacy. Soon converts from among the schismatics began to seek reconciliation with Rome. One of the first was Theodelinda, Autharis' widow, who had been accepted as queen on her husband's death, and allowed to associate with her in the kingdom Agilulf, Duke of Turin, whom she chose for her second husband. Theodelinda came from the Catholic house of Bavaria, and was the first to win the Lombards from Arianism; but she had been disposed to take part with the party in the Church of Milan that rejected the Fifth Council, till Gregory<sup>2</sup> persuaded her to go with the Holy See. Her example was followed by Ingenuinus, Bishop of Sabio, hitherto an adherent of Severus, but from this time orthodox and afterwards a canonised saint. At a somewhat later date, after the

<sup>1</sup> The churches are Beconiensis, Tiburniensis, and Augustana. Tiburnia or Teurnia was in Noricum, on the Drave, apparently at Paternion, near Klagenfurt in Carinthia. For Augustana we should perhaps read Aguntina. Aguntum was one of the sees in the province of Aquileia; it is shown on the map near Tarvis, on the borders of Carinthia and Carniola. Of Beconia I can discover nothing.

<sup>2</sup> His letter to her, which is very confident in tone, is to be found, very slightly varied, in iv. 4 and 33 of Gregory's epistles (ed. Ewald and Hartmann).

year 597, in which Callinicus, a friend of the Pope, succeeded Romanus as Exarch, we read of Firminus, Bishop of Tergeste (Trieste), wishing to come back to the Roman communion; and Gregory writes to beg the Exarch to protect the bishop from the violence of his flock, stirred up by the machinations of Severus.

When Severus died in A.D. 606 or 607, the Pope had so far secured a footing for orthodoxy in the province of Istria, that four bishops met at Grado and elected a bishop pledged to remain in communion with Rome. The bishop chosen is generally called Candidianus, but Dandolo calls him Candianus,<sup>1</sup> and says he came "de vico Candiano," and was "natione Annoniensis." The other party did not acquiesce, but met at the instigation of Gisulf, Duke of Friuli, and with the consent of Agilulf, the Lombard king, and elected John the abbot patriarch of old Aquileia. There were thus two rival metropolitans, and it is probable that of the Venetian bishops, those whose sees were in Lombard territory adhered to the schismatic, while those who were subjects of the Eastern Empire supported the claims of the orthodox Candidianus. John the schismatic, writing to King Agilulf, describes<sup>2</sup> how "the wretched suffragan bishops of Istria were brought to Ravenna by the severe compulsion of the Greeks,<sup>3</sup> and forced to elect Candidianus, being not allowed even freedom of speech. Candidianus was looked upon by the schismatics as a

<sup>1</sup> The Candiani were a famous Venetian family from very early times. Annone is a little town between Oderzo and Portogruaro, in the country south of Conegliano and Pordenone.

<sup>2</sup> The letter I quote from de Rubeis, *Mon. Eccl. Aquil.*, pp. 290, 291.

<sup>3</sup> He mentions three Istrian bishops, Petrus, Providentius, and Agnellus, as having been dragged from their homes by the soldiers of the Exarch. But this is probably untrue, as we know that Petrus and Providentius had been in correspondence with St. Gregory (Epist. v. 56, ed. Ewald & Hartmann), who died two years before Candidianus' election, desiring to come to Rome to reconcile themselves. The violence done to Severus by Smaragdus was the probable origin of the story (Rubeis, *Mon. Eccl. Aquil.*, p. 282).

renegade, for he had at one time been in favour with his predecessor Severus.

When Candidianus died, the orthodox succession was kept up by Epiphanius, A.D. 612; Cyprianus of Pola, 613; and Fortunatus, A.D. 628; the last named was a sore bishop to the Church, for he plundered not only his cathedral of Grado, but all the *Baptismales Ecclesiæ* and *Xenodochia*<sup>1</sup> in the islands, and fled with his booty to the Lombards, by whom he was allowed to settle at *Castrum Cormones*, now *Cormons*, a place half-way between *Aquileia* and *Forum Julii*. The bishops and clergy of his province applied to Pope Honorius for advice,—who wrote bidding them fill up the place of their Judas, and directing them to consecrate *Primogenius*, a sub-deacon and *regionary*<sup>2</sup> of the Church of Rome, whom he sent to Grado with the *pallium* that conferred metropolitan jurisdiction. At the same time he wrote to the Lombard king commanding him to give up the traitor Fortunatus. So far was the king from doing this that he did not prevent Fortunatus from being elected Bishop of old *Aquileia* in succession to *Marcianus*, who had succeeded *John*.<sup>3</sup> Thus, though Honorius was celebrated in some epigrams that have come down to us as having ended the seventy years' schism of *Istria*, as *Cyrus* ended the seventy years of *Babylonian* captivity, the schism still went on. It was not till seventy years later, during the

<sup>1</sup> "*Baptismales ecclesiæ*" are nearly the same as parish churches, *plebes* in mediæval Latin; but the term would probably include some monastic churches in which, as in parish churches, baptism was conferred twice a year, at Easter and Pentecost. See *Ducange*, iii. 4, *s.v.* *Eccl. bapt.*

"*Xenodochia*" were properly houses provided for entertaining pilgrims, but the word is frequently used for monasteries.

<sup>2</sup> The "*regionarii*" were representatives of the deacons, sub-deacons, and notaries of the city. *Gfrörer* quotes the Bull of Honorius from *Jaffé's Regesta*, No. 2016 (1562), vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Fortunatus' quarrel with the Pope led him in fact to desert the orthodox for the schismatic side. A worldly prelate of his stamp probably cared very little as to the fate in the other world of *Theodore of Mopsuestia* and *Theodoret*,



papacy of Sergius I. (687-701), that a synod of Aquileia, held by Peter, the last schismatic bishop, accepted the decrees of the Fifth Council, and brought to an end the long controversy about the Three Chapters. To Serenus, Peter's successor, Pope Gregory II., at the request of Liutprand, King of the Lombards, granted a pallium, so that from this time (about A.D. 715) there were two metropolitans, one of Istria and maritime Venetia<sup>1</sup> having his see at Grado, the other of what was afterwards called the Terra Firma of Venetia, retaining the old name of Aquileia, though his episcopal throne was no longer in that venerable city, which perhaps at this time had temporarily fallen under the Greek Emperor, but first at Cormones, and afterwards at Forum Julii,<sup>2</sup> the modern Cividale. The Patriarch of Grado was a subject of the Eastern Emperor; the Patriarch of Aquileia of the Lombard king; and the difference in their secular sovereign had probably gone for something in prolonging the schism. Till the reconciliation of the schismatics with

<sup>1</sup> The name of Istria seems to have been used for the whole province. In the signatures to the decrees of a synod held at Rome in 679 (de Rubeis, *l.c.*, p. 306), the bishops of Opitergium (Oderzo), and Altinum both describe their sees as in Istria, which is incorrect geographically, even though, as was probably the case, both sees had by this time been moved to the islands; Altinum to Torcello, Opitergium to Caprulæ or Heraclea.

<sup>2</sup> The old Roman city gave its name to the Lombard duchy of Friuli, and the modern province of the same name, but came itself to be called Civitas Austriæ, or simply Civitas, whence the modern Cividale. It is surprising at first sight to find Austria in these parts in such early times, but there was an Austria and Neustria in Lombardy, as there was an Austrasia and Neustria in Gaul, an east and a west province. The Lombard Austria consisted of the duchies of Friuli and Venetia. In a hymn in honour of St. Hermagoras, the martyred Bishop of Aquileia, we read—

“ Cujus amore, capite  
Truncatus es, ut hodie  
Sublimet Aquilegiam  
Urbem, fovendo Austriam,”

where *caput* must be supplied as nominative to *sublimet*, and *fovendo* be taken in its modern sense of a present participle. See de Rubeis, *Monum. Eccl. Aquil.*, pp. 221-226, and the authorities there cited. The hymn to St. Hermagoras is given in the *Acta Sanctorum Julii*, iii. p. 239.



Rome, the patriarchs of Grado had called themselves and been called at Rome<sup>1</sup> bishops of Aquileia; but when the pallium was granted to their rivals of the Terra Firma, they must no doubt have given up the venerable name of the city that had ranked next to Rome among the episcopal sees of Italy.<sup>2</sup>

I have already mentioned that Heraclea, which seems at the end of the seventh century to have been the principal city in the lagoons, was named after the Emperor Heraclius.<sup>3</sup> How this came about we are not told; the events of that heroic reign, with which we are most familiar, passed far away in the East, in Armenia and Media. But he is also connected with one important event in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic, an event which was not without influence on the future destinies of Venice and of Europe. One of the most formidable of the enemies of Heraclius was Baian, the Chagan of the Avars, whose nomad host more than once encamped under the walls of Constantinople. The Avars seem to have been a Hunnish people, the legitimate successors of the hordes of Attila. Their homes were at this time north of the Danube, but they used frequently to overrun Pannonia, Illyricum, and Mæsia, and on one occasion they swooped down upon the coast of Dalmatia,<sup>4</sup> where ever since Diocletian's time there had been a considerable

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* in the signatures to the Lateran Council of 649 and a synod at Rome in 679.

<sup>2</sup> See note at end of chapter.

<sup>3</sup> The *Cronaca Altinate* says: "Eraclii temporibus Imperatoris venerunt Venetici . . . et fecerunt Civitatem novam, quæ Eracliana nuncupata est, et manserunt ibi usque temporibus Karoli Magni Regis Francorum" (lib. iii. p. 91 of the edition in vol. viii. of *A. St. Ital.*).

<sup>4</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenetus (*de Admin. Imp.*, c. 30), who is our authority for these events, gives a romantic account of this raid, which he says was undertaken to avenge a raid of some Roman cavalry from Salona, who were set to guard the Danube. He mentions as still standing in his time the palace and hippodrome of Diocletian, εἰς τὸ κάστρον Σαλώνης πλῆσιον τοῦ κάστρου Ἀσπαλάθου (Spalatro).

Roman population about his palace at Aspalathus, near Salona. To dislodge these Avars Heraclius employed some Slavonic tribes, Serbs and Croats,<sup>1</sup> who had appealed to him for protection, probably against the same enemies. After a sharp struggle the Avars succumbed, and the Croats established themselves in Dalmatia, the Serbs to the north-east, where they still dwell, by the junction of the Danube and the Save. None of the barbarian settlements have been more permanent than that of these Slavonic tribes, partly because they were already an agricultural people. Croats and Serbs still remain where they then settled, and the chief magistrate of the former under the Austrian government, the Ban, is still known by the title given to his predecessor in the writings of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus<sup>2</sup> (A.D. 950). The Emperor Heraclius took steps for the conversion of his new settlers, and got an archbishop and bishop and other clergy sent from Rome to baptize them;<sup>3</sup> but some tribes continued Pagans, especially those who occupied the sea-coast and islands of Dalmatia. These Pagani, as Constantine Porphyrogenetus<sup>4</sup> names them, were also called Arentani: they are the ancestors of the Slavonic pirates of Narenta, of whom we shall find frequent mention later; Narentani is their more correct name, derived from the river Neretwa.

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer remarks that in Paulus Diaconus we meet with Slavs in this neighbourhood as early as the last quarter of the seventh century, when Wëktaris, Duke of Friuli, defeated them on the river Natiso, south of Aquileia. Their piracies in the Adriatic are traditionally connected with the first election of a Doge of Venice (i. pp. 46, 47).

<sup>2</sup> He calls the Croats *χρωβάρτοι*, the Ban *ὁ βάνος*. Ban is not a Slavonic title, but came to them from the Avars. Schafarik suggests that it may be derived from the Persian Bajan.

<sup>3</sup> Const. Porph., *de Admin. Imp.*, c. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, c. 36. He speaks of some Slavonians carrying on commerce in the Adriatic. In his account of the islands off this coast, he speaks of Meleda as the scene of St. Paul's shipwreck. On all these obscure events, which are connected with the still more obscure history of the Slavonian or Avar conquest of Greece, see Finlay, "Greece under the Romans," pp. 406, *sqq.* Pogan is the Slavonic for Heathen (Schafarik, *Slav. Alterth.*, ii. 266).

These Slavonic tribes settled in Dalmatia had their own princes, but were nominally under the suzerainty of the Eastern Empire. The new-comers were, it is probable, of kindred race with the peasant population already scattered over the same lands; the Illyrian race, now represented by the Albanians, must at this time have been driven southward. From Heraclius' days to those of Francis Joseph, the inhabitants of Dalmatia have been mainly of Slavonian race; and when Dalmatia became, as it did in very early days, subject to Venice, the Slavonian name became familiar in the city, as it is to this day to every one who walks along the marble flags of the Riva dei Schiavoni, or visits, for the sake of Carpaccio's pictures, the little Scuola of San Giorgio dei Schiavoni.<sup>1</sup>

NOTE.—I have related the fortunes of the schismatic church of Grado and the controversy of the Three Chapters, from which the schism originated, at greater length perhaps than its importance in Church History warrants, partly from its interest as illustrating the way in which dogma was manufactured, but mainly because the isolation of Venetia from Western Christendom, caused by the schism, was a capital fact in the history of the Republic, a contributing cause of her exclusion from the Western Empire, and of the independent attitude she always maintained towards both Rome and Constantinople. We shall frequently in the subsequent history come upon instances of her disregard of the Papal authority, though she was generally careful to treat the occupant of the apostolic throne with great outward respect.

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<sup>1</sup> The three saints, Jerome, George, and Trophonius, whose exploits are illustrated with such charming naïveté by Carpaccio on the walls of the Scuola, are the patron saints of Dalmatia.

## CHAPTER III

### EARLY DOGES AT HERACLEA AND MALAMOCCO

WE have seen in the last chapter (p. 35) how the patriarch Christopher of Grado proposed, and the assembly of the Venetian cities at Heraclea decided, "that it would be more honourable henceforth to remain under dukes than under tribunes." The date commonly given for this epoch-making decision is A.D. 697, but as John the Deacon, our oldest authority, tells us that it happened when Anastasius was Emperor of the East and Liutprand King of the Lombards, the former of whom began to reign in 713 and the latter in 712, we should probably place it at least sixteen years later. The first doge elected was named Paulicius Anafestus—or Paoluccio Anafesto, if we prefer to use the modern equivalent: his is a very shadowy personality. One edition of the old Altino Chronicle tells us that the famous family of Faletri or Falieri were called also by the name of Anafesti; but the reading is doubtful,<sup>1</sup> and no tradition seems to have connected the first doge with this family. If the date given for his death is correct, he can have reigned but two or three years. In his time the long

<sup>1</sup> The Dresden MS. of this chronicle (*Arch. St. Ital.*, 1st ser., App. V. p. 98) has the reading quoted; the Venetian MS. (*ib.*, 1st ser., viii. p. 84) reads, for Anafestis, "a fenestis." The whole passage is, "Faletri de Fano venerunt, a fenestis nomine appellati," and it probably means that Faletri was a corruption of "Fanestes," which the author uses (p. 46 of Ven. MS.) for inhabitants of Fano. Fanestris is found on coins as the adjective derived from Fano. Fano was one of the cities that formed the Pentapolis of Rimini, in which, as we have seen (*ante*, p. 27), the Altino Chronicle tells us that some of the fugitives from Aquileia took refuge.

and disgraceful reign of Justinian II. had weakened the authority of the Byzantines—the Romans, as the contemporary chroniclers call them—in Italy: the people of Ravenna had at one time risen in revolt, and murdered the Exarch. On the other hand, the Lombard power was attaining its highest point under King Liutprand, who, during a long reign of thirty-one years, made his power felt from the Alps to Beneventum, and by his feudatory Pemmo, Duke of Friuli, spread the Lombard dominion over the Slavs as far as Villach. With Liutprand the doge Paoluccio made a treaty, the terms of which are known to us, not only from the old chroniclers, but from references in subsequent treaties. It fixed the boundary between the Lombard kingdom and the Heracleans, setting forth the rivers, the embankments, and the ditches by which it ran: it stipulated that the Venetians should be allowed to trade throughout the Lombard kingdom, that Lombard subjects should not molest the herds of cattle and horses that fed in the pastures of Equilium or Heraclea, and that the people of the several islands should have the right of cutting timber in certain specified woods, for all which privileges they were to pay an annual indemnity to the Lombards.<sup>1</sup>

The Altino Chronicle, followed by Martino da Canale, tells us that the doge Paoluccio was killed with all his family, except one clerk, in a contest between his own city, Heraclea, and the neighbouring Jesolo or Equilio,<sup>2</sup> but no other authority mentions that his life ended thus. He was succeeded by Marcello Tegaliano, who, as master of the horse, *i.e.* as chief military commander, had been joined with Paoluccio in the treaty with King Liutprand. The only event recorded of the nine years during which Marcello

<sup>1</sup> See Romanin, i. pp. 106, 107, and the authorities quoted in his notes.

<sup>2</sup> See lib. iii. p. 93 of the ed. in vol. viii. of *Archivio Storico Ital.* (The parallel passage of the *Cod. Dresdensis* is at p. 105.) Da Canale, Part I. c. vi. pp. 278, 279 of vol. viii. *Arch. Stor. Ital.* The former chronicle describes the ships of Malamocco and Jesolo sailing in fair array (“*decenter ornatæ*”) to “*civitas nova Heracliana.*”

was doge (717-726) was a raid made by Serenus, patriarch of Aquileia, upon the lands of the rival patriarch of Grado. The doge seems to have checked his resentment at this outrage in fear of offending the mighty Liutprand, who supported Serenus; but he appealed to Rome, and Pope Gregory II. exerted his apostolical authority to make Serenus retire into his own territory.

The third doge, who succeeded in 726, was Ursus or Orso, a native of Heraclea, who received from the Byzantine court the honorary title of Hypatus or Consul, a title which, in the form of Ipato,<sup>1</sup> passed into a family name in Venice. His lot fell in more stirring times. The year of his accession is an important era in Italian history, for it is the year of Leo the Isaurian's decree for the destruction of images, which began the Iconoclastic controversy, and resulted in the loss by the Eastern Emperors of their Italian provinces, and the foundation of the temporal power of the Popes.

As soon as Leo's decree was published in Italy the people of Ravenna, always turbulent, broke out in insurrection, and drove out the Exarch Paul. It met with equally violent hostility throughout the Imperial dominions in Italy. The Pope made himself the interpreter of the general feeling of devotion to sacred pictures (for it was against them principally, and not only against graven images, that war was waged), and wrote to the Emperor two letters full of indignant rhetoric and ignorant citations from Scripture;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Romanin (i. 109), who is not strong in Greek, supposes that Ipato is connected with *Ἱππεύς*, and translates it "cavaliere." Reisk, in his Annotations to Const. Porphy., 37 D. 3, says, "Hypati et Dishypati eâ ætate (*i.e.* the tenth cent.) de infimis erant magistratibus;" and J. H. Leich adds a reference to Giannone's ill-natured notice of this title being conferred on doges of Venice (see vol. ii. p. 158 of the Bonn ed.). Giannone, *Storia del Regno di Napoli*, ii. 279 *sqq.* (ed. 1753), says nothing worse than that Venice was once subject to the Greek Empire, a fact that no one would now care to deny.

<sup>2</sup> See quotations from them in Gibbon, vi. 146-148; Milman, L. C., ii. 158-163. The latter points out the Pope's confusion of the good Hezekiah with the wicked Uzziah, and the curious mistake as to David placing the brazen serpent in the Temple, and Hezekiah's impiety in removing it.



but pointing out with force how the Popes were a powerful means of holding together the Roman Empire. This he showed in practice by preventing the election of a rival Emperor in Italy. He feared, perhaps, the election of Liutprand, who at this time invaded the Exarchate, professing zeal for images, and took Ravenna and the cities of the Pentapolis.<sup>1</sup> The Venetians, like the Pope, though they clung to their sacred pictures, did not wish to see the Lombard power in Italy increased; they gave the expelled Exarch a refuge, and sent a fleet to aid the Byzantines in retaking Ravenna. This seems to have been the occasion referred to by Paul Warnefrid, when Hildebrand, Liutprand's nephew, was taken prisoner, and Peredeo, the Duke of Vicenza, killed<sup>2</sup> fighting at Ravenna. But when the next Exarch Euty chius marched to Rome and was suspected of a design to procure the assassination of the Pope, all the Italian subjects of the Eastern Empire, who were, moreover, aggrieved by an increase in their taxation that Leo had made, united in defence of the Pope, and the Imperial power in North Italy was reduced at the time of Pope Gregory II.'s death, A.D. 731, to a shadow of its former self. After the failure of a great fleet sent from Constantinople to relieve Ravenna, which was repulsed by the people of the sea-coast sailing out in boats against it,<sup>3</sup> the Exarch Euty chius was almost a prisoner in Ravenna. He held out there for nearly twenty years after this; but he exercised

<sup>1</sup> This is a convenient geographical term for the five cities of Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, and Ancona.

<sup>2</sup> Paulus Diaconus, vi. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Gibbon, vi. 149, 150, whose account is taken from the quaint and picturesque narrative of Agnellus' *Liber. Pontif.* in Muratori, ii. Pt. I. The chronology of all these events is uncertain. The order of events adopted by Milman (L. C., *ut supra*) and Finlay ("Byzantine Empire, pp. 47-50) is not the same. Gfrörer, i. 54 *sqq.*, takes a different view of the whole sequence of events; according to him Liutprand won over Euty chius and tried to win over the Pope to expel the Byzantines from Italy; but the Pope, who was already allied with the Franks beyond the Alps, was able to thwart Liutprand's plans.



no power beyond the walls, and after his retirement in the year 751 no other Exarch was sent thither.

In the year 737 the doge Ursus Hypatus died, killed in some of the many conflicts between his own city Heraclea and the neighbouring Equilium or Jesolo. The chronicler of Altino tells us much about these conflicts, and especially of a great massacre of the inhabitants of what he calls "Littus Pineti," *i.e.* the lido of the pine-wood in the canal of Arco,<sup>1</sup> which he thinks was originally called Archimicidium from this wholesale homicide. The Chronicle of Savina, quoted by Filiasi, assigns this massacre to the time of Ursus Hypatus; if we were left to the guidance of the Altino Chronicle in matters of chronology, we should have to connect this event with others so far removed from one another as the death of the doge Paulicius Anafestus in A.D. 717; the migration from Heraclea to Rialto, which probably was due to Pepin's invasion in 810, and the foundation of Equilium (which the chronicler calls Exulo, and seems to confuse with the Asylum of Romulus in the legendary ages of Rome), an event probably at least as early as the Lombard invasion.<sup>2</sup>

It is probable that these dissensions between the cities, aided perhaps by the decay of the Byzantine power in North Italy, led to the temporary abrogation of the ducal government,<sup>3</sup> and the substitution of annually elected

<sup>1</sup> The Canale dell' Arco is to be found on Captain Ambert's map of the lagoons, passing Cavallino and not far from the Piave Vecchia lighthouse.

<sup>2</sup> See the third book of the *Altinate*, pp. 92 *sqq.*, and the Commentary of the Abbè Rossi on that book, pp. 67 *sqq.* of *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, viii.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Finlay treats the first doges as officers of the Byzantine government as much as the Dukes of Rome and Naples. Giannone, who writes with a bias against Venice, has a good deal on this subject; he calls the doges "ufficiali dell' Imperadore," and derives their dress and ornaments from the Byzantine court. He also quotes a grant to the convent of St. Zaccaria at Venice, in which the doge Giustiniano Participazio calls himself "Imperialis Hippatus et Venetiarum dux." We shall meet with many instances of this title as we proceed. We have already had one at page 60.

officers called sometimes Masters of the Horsemen and sometimes Judges.<sup>1</sup> But this change lasted only five or six years (737-742), at the end of which Deodatus, son of the last doge, Ursus, and himself for one or two years Master of the Horsemen, became doge again. The restoration of the office coincided in time with a removal of the seat of government from Heraclea to Malamocco. The latter place, whose Latin name was Matamaucus, is always spoken of as connected with Padua, and I suspect it is the harbour of Medoacus mentioned by Strabo, the port at the mouth of the river Medoacus or Brenta, which, it will be remembered, figures in Livy's account of Cleonymus the Spartan's attack on Padua. A village of Malamocco still exists on the long lido that shuts in the lagoon of Venice, at the opposite end to the village of San Nicolo and the sea-baths of the lido; it is unprotected on the side of the sea, and I think it is probable that, now the Byzantine power was melting away on the mainland of Italy, but still had the command of the Adriatic, the Venetians, preferring the distant Emperor on the Bosphorus to the neighbouring King of the Lombards, should feel safer on the seashore than in the recess of the lagoon where Heraclea stood. Heraclea and Jesolo continued to be important places, and on the group of islands in the mid-lagoon, amongst which were Rivo Alto and Olivolo, another town was growing into importance.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *magistri equitum* were—1. Domenicus Leo; 2. Felix Cornicola; 3. Deodatus, son of Ursus (perhaps for two years); 4. Julian (or Jovian) Ceparius, who received the title of Hypatus from Constantinople; 5. Joannes Fabriciatius or Fabriacus. Gfrörer, i. 59, 60, thinks these *magistri militum* were military governors set up by the Byzantine government, and that the last doge, Orso, was punished for deserting from his Byzantine master to the side of the Lombard and the Pope. He explains all the revolutions that followed by an alternate preponderance of Lombard and Greek influence. His theory is ingenious, but I think more probable the old-fashioned view adopted in the text.

<sup>2</sup> The Altino Chronicle first speaks of migration to Rivo Alto in connection with the quarrels of Heraclea and Jesolo (lib. iii. p. 93).

The dread of the Lombards, that drove Venice into fidelity to Byzantium, led the Pope to seek a new alliance with the Franks, who, under their great Mayor of the Palace, Charles Martel, had lately won renown throughout Christendom by the defeat of the Saracens between Tours and Poitiers. The year (A.D. 752) in which the Exarchate of Ravenna came to an end was the same in which Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, deposing Chilperic, the last of the Rois Faineants, ascended himself the Frankish throne. Pope Stephen II. met some envoys of the new king at St. Maurice in the Valais, and afterwards went himself to Paris to crown Pepin and his two sons, Charles, afterwards known as the Great, and Carloman. In 754 a Frankish army invaded Italy by the pass of Fenestrelle, twice defeated the Lombard king Astolfus, and gave to the Pope the cities of the Pentapolis and Ravenna, which the Lombards had taken from the Byzantine Empire. One of the titles of the Exarch of the Eastern Emperors at Ravenna had been "Patrician of Rome":<sup>1</sup> this title the Pope, claiming to act in the name of the Roman people, but ignoring the rights of the Emperor at Constantinople, gave to Pepin, and with it certain indefinite claims to authority in Rome.

Meanwhile the restoration of the doges had by no means brought back peace to the lagoons. Deodatus, the first restored doge, belonged himself to Heraclea, and in 755 he was deposed and blinded by Galla Gaulus of the rival city of Jesolo, who himself, after a year of power, suffered the same fate in a popular insurrection, and was succeeded by Dominicus Monegarius of Malamocco. The new doge's power was limited, in a manner congenial to late Venetian habits, by the annual election of two tribunes as his assessors. After six years' enjoyment of this limited authority Monegarius suffered the same fate as his last two predecessors; he was blinded and driven from his throne. These horrors were characteristic of the age, given

<sup>1</sup> On this title see Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire," c. iv.

up to licence and cruelty through the weakening of the time-honoured authority of the Emperor, rather than due to any peculiar atrocity in the Venetian character. About the same time blinding and forced retirement to monasteries were the punishment of more than one of the leaders in ecclesiastical politics at Rome.<sup>1</sup>

The next doge saw the fall of the Lombard kings, the nearest, if not the most friendly, neighbours of the Venetians ever since their flight to the lagoons. We have seen how Astolfus, the successor of Liutprand, was twice defeated by Pepin in 754-5. He soon afterwards died, and was succeeded, to the exclusion of his brother Rachis, a monk, by Desiderius, Duke of Tuscany. Desiderius, during the papacy of Paul I., marched through Rome on his return from a successful campaign against his rebellious vassals, the Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento. He took a high hand with the Pope as to the restitution of certain towns of doubtful ownership, but on the whole he was friendly, and the Pope hoped for his help against the heretical power at Constantinople. But when a marriage was proposed between Hermingard, Desiderius' daughter, and either Charles or Carloman, the heirs of the Frankish throne, Pope Stephen III. was seriously alarmed. The Franks had been the Pope's chief helpers against the Lombards, so that a union of the two nations boded ill for the papacy. The marriage came off in spite of the Pope, and Charles, the brother who was destined to live and prosper, was the bridegroom. But no union of nations resulted therefrom; for after a year of wedlock Charles divorced his Lombard wife ignominiously, and a war followed, in which he passed the Alps, took Pavia after a long siege, drove Desiderius into a monastery, and his son Adelchis into exile at the court of Constantinople, and united the Lombard to the Frankish dominions. North Italy became part of the dominions of

<sup>1</sup> See Milman's "Latin Christianity," ii. 250 *sq.* (= Book IV. ch. xi.).

Charles the Great, who twenty-five years later, still in strict alliance with the Pope, was crowned Roman Emperor at Rome in defiance of the successor of the long line of princes on the Bosphorus, whom 300 years' uncontested possession had led to consider themselves the sole legitimate claimants of that venerable title.

The dominions of Charles the Great do not appear to have included the Venetian islands and lagoons, but they surrounded them on nearly every side. Not only Lombardy, but, by victories over the Slavs (whom Eginhard calls Welatabi) and Huns or Avars, Pannonia and Dacia, Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, except certain maritime cities that he allowed his Imperial brother at Constantinople to retain, were governed by Charles.<sup>1</sup> Nor did the Venetian territory form any part of the Exarchate that, by the gifts of Pepin and Charles, came to the Popes, and was held fast by them notwithstanding the claims of the Archbishops of Ravenna. Perhaps the Venetian were among those maritime cities that were left to the Eastern Empire, as Calabria and Sicily still were.<sup>2</sup> They were not high in Charles' favour; he suspected them of still adhering to the Greek Empire, and of being actively engaged in the slave trade that he was seriously anxious to stop. But Dandolo tells us that, in a treaty between Charles and the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus, it was stipulated that the Venetians should enjoy the same immunities that they had previously been granted in the Italian kingdom, by which we may understand the commercial privileges granted them in the treaty that Liutprand, the Lombard king, made with the first doge, Paulicius.

<sup>1</sup> Eginhard, c. xv. Schafarik, *Slav Alterth.*, ii. 282, shows that the Croatians, both on the Dalmatian coast and on the Save, were conquered by Charlemagne, and placed under a ruler subordinate to the Margrave of Friuli. A place called Francochorion is found near Sirmium, showing how far East Frankish settlements extended.

<sup>2</sup> A passage of Ciaconi, *Vita Pontif.*, quoted in Romanin, i. 128, says that Charles "Venetos suis legibus uti permisit."

The doge who succeeded Monegarius in the year 764 was Mauricius, of the family of Galbani. I do not know whether this is the same family as the Galbani,<sup>1</sup> whom the Altino Chronicle mentions among the earliest founders of religious houses, and also among the original families who came from Heraclea to Rivoalto.<sup>2</sup> Three generations of the family occupied the ducal throne for forty years, Maurice setting what Dandolo calls the pernicious example in a republic of raising to a share of his throne his son John, who in his turn associated his son Maurice. The twenty-three years of the elder Maurice's reign seem to have been peaceful and prosperous. The chief event ascribed to them is the creation of the bishopric of Olivolo. Till the year 774 the Bishop of Malamocco was the pastor of all the lagoon settlements that had originally been colonies of Padua. But in that year the group of islands inside the lagoon behind Malamocco, of which Rivoalto and Olivolo were the chief, had grown important enough to demand a bishop of their own, and leave was obtained from Pope Adrian I. to establish a Bishop of Olivolo, who should have jurisdiction over Rivoalto, Olivolo, Dorsoduro, and Luprio; and one Obelerius,<sup>3</sup> who is called son of a tribune of Malamocco, was elected the first bishop. This was the

<sup>1</sup> Sanuti, *Duchi di Venezia* (Muratori, vol. xxii. 447, 448), calls their surname Calbanolo.

<sup>2</sup> "In ecclesiolâ Sti. Servuli monasterium constituerunt Monachorum. Egressi de Patuâ venerunt, de Civitate Novâ exierunt" (*A. S. I.*, viii. p. 82). A little later (*ib.*, p. 85) we read, "Calbani de Caprâ Istriæ (no doubt Capo d'Istria or Justinopolis) venerunt. Tribuni ante fuerunt." The families from Heraclea (Civitas Nova) are enumerated, *ib.*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> This name, which was also that of the doge who succeeded the Galbaio family, appears in some of the German chronicles as Willarius or Wilharius, as though the first two letters (like the Greek Ου-) represented a V or W; and Romanin protests against the doge Obelerius being thus converted into a German. A similar name, Obeliebatus, is found at Venice. Obelerius the bishop and Obelerius the doge belonged to the same family; the former was the son of a tribune of Malamocco, the latter himself tribune of Malamocco. Gfrörer, i. 75, 76, quoting Dandolo.



beginning of the see of Olivolo or Castello, whose cathedral church of St. Peter in Castello continued the episcopal church through all the ages of Venetian greatness, overshadowed as it was, so far as regarded material splendour, by the great church of St. Mark, originally the private chapel of the doge's palace.

The doge Maurice died in 787, and was succeeded by his son and colleague John. Maurice had been a wise and gentle ruler, but his son was inclined to violent counsels. So far as we can conjecture from the little evidence we have as to the hidden causes of events, it would appear that when Pepin, the son of Charlemagne, was set over Italy by his father and was reported to be building a fleet at Ravenna, a Frankish party began to raise its head in the Venetian cities against the doges, who clung to the traditional policy of alliance with Constantinople. The leader of this Frankish party was John, the Patriarch of Grado, to counteract whose influence the doge, who had associated his son, a second Maurice, with himself in the government, got elected to the bishopric of Olivolo in 797 a Greek named Christopher, who was at the time a youth of sixteen. The patriarch refused, or was expected to refuse, to consecrate him; to prevent or punish which the doge John sent his son Maurice with a squadron of ships to Grado. The patriarch was wounded in a combat that arose in the streets and taken prisoner, and thrown in cold blood from the top of a high tower of his own palace. The sacrilege excited some horror, even in that age of violence, and later generations believed that they could still see on the stones under the palace the blood of the murdered bishop.<sup>1</sup> The doges either themselves procured, or could not prevent, the election of Fortunatus of Trieste,<sup>2</sup> the murdered patriarch's

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo, vii. 13, 23; Sanuti, *Duchi*, Murat. xxii. p. 448. Gfrörer places the murder of the patriarch in the winter of 801 or spring of 802 (i. 79).

<sup>2</sup> This Fortunatus must not be confused with the patriarch of the name 180 years before, in the time of the Schism of the Three Chapters.



nephew, to succeed him, and Fortunatus became a more successful leader of the Frankish party, which was now joined by many of the Venetian nobles, particularly by Obelerius, tribune of Malamocco. Unable safely to conspire in the lagoons, the enemies of the doges retired to Treviso, which was safe in the Frankish dominions<sup>1</sup> while convenient for intrigues in Venetia. Fortunatus went even to Charlemagne's court in Franconia,<sup>2</sup> and took with him, or was preceded by, a letter of Pope Leo III., which depicted him as an exile seeking safety from the persecution of Greeks or Venetians.<sup>3</sup> The Emperor of the West was not at this time disposed to quarrel with his rival at Constantinople,<sup>4</sup> but the intrigues of the exiles at Treviso, without his aid, succeeded in rousing a popular tumult, before which both doges fled, not, as might have been expected, to Constantinople, but John to Mantua, and Maurice to some part of the wide area known as Francia. Obelerius of Malamocco (whose family name, Degli Antenori, points to legendary antiquity in Padua, the mother city of Malamocco) was elected doge in the Frankish interest, but he does not appear ever to have been sure enough of his position to recall Fortunatus from exile. On the contrary, his reign coincided with a great diminution of the authority of the patriarch; for we are told that, in consequence of a renewal of the old feud between Heraclea

<sup>1</sup> It was conquered in 776 by Charles. (Pertz, i. 154, 155, quoted by Gfrörer, i. 98).

<sup>2</sup> One MS. of Eginhard (Pertz, i. 191) mentions the arrival at the Frankish court of the patriarch Fortunatus from the land of the Greeks. (Gfrörer, i. 98).

<sup>3</sup> See the extract quoted from Baronius (Pagius), xiii. 389, in Romanin, i. 133, n. (3). It should be remembered that in these iconoclastic days Greek in the mouth of a Pope connoted Heretic.

<sup>4</sup> In the year 803, which was the year of Fortunatus' arrival in Germany, ambassadors from Nicephorus, the newly made Emperor of the East, were at Königshofen on the Saale, negotiating with Charles for a treaty. The year before Charles had been treating for a marriage with Irene, the Empress, when the negotiations were interrupted by her deposition. (Gfrörer, i. pp. 99, 100.)

and Equilium, Obelerius and his brother Beatus, who had been associated with him in the ducal authority, held a council of all the tribunes of the different cities at the lido of the pine-wood that had been the seat of some fighting, and obtained a decree transferring the authority over the lidi and other lands between Heraclea and Grado from the patriarch to the doge.<sup>1</sup> The object of this change was, it may be supposed, to preserve the public peace better under a more powerful ruler. Such an encroachment of the temporal on the spiritual power, rare in the age that had seen Pepin's donation, raised, so far as we know, no protest either on the spot or at Rome. Both the Altino Chronicle and Dandolo date from these affairs the decay of Heraclea, and the migration of its chief families to Rivoalto.

The patriarch Fortunatus, after some years of waiting, got through the Frankish Emperor the bishopric of Pola, and considerable property and authority in Istria. He is described as a worldly prelate, ambitious and loving money, and owning four merchant-ships trading in the Italian ports. He established himself at Campalto near Mestre, and from thence succeeded in recovering his see of Grado. The doge Obelerius had been originally a Frankish partisan, his brother Beatus had possibly been joined with him as a representative of the opposite, or Greek party, but at this time both doges seem to have worked with the restored patriarch in the interest of Charles and Pepin. In the year 806, we read in the Chronicle of Eginhard that both doges with a doge and bishop of Jadera (Zara) in Dalmatia went to Charles' court, and that there the Emperor made orders about the dukes and people of Venetia and

<sup>1</sup> The Altino Chronicle, our chief authority for this affair, is unusually ungrammatical and obscure. I have borrowed Romanin's interpretation (i. 137, 138). The chronicle mentions the lidi of Linguentia, Grumellis, Romandina, the Pinewood, and all the land of the Plavis (or Piave), as the country put under the doge's authority.

Dalmatia.<sup>1</sup> But the Greek party was still strong in the Venetian cities. Their trading relations with Constantinople were close and intimate; and any outbreak of war with the Greek Empire would have led to the seizure of Venetian ships and merchandise in Byzantine waters. So we learn without surprise that Venetian opinion, which the doges were not strong enough to resist, soon veered back towards Constantinople; and between 805 and 809<sup>2</sup> both doges received titles of honour from the Greek court,<sup>3</sup> while the patriarch Fortunatus had again to take refuge in Frankish territory. The oscillation between East and West at this time, both in Venetia and in Dalmatia, shows us that at the head of the Adriatic the attraction of the Western power on the Rhine and that of the Eastern power on the Bosphorus as it were neutralised one another, a circumstance which had a great effect subsequently in fostering the growth of independence at Venice.

The change of feeling just described was no doubt promoted by the appearance of a Greek fleet in the Adriatic. In the year 808 again a Greek fleet, under an officer named Paul, wintered in the Venetian islands, and in the next spring made an unsuccessful attack on Comacchio, a

<sup>1</sup> See the passage quoted in Romanin, i. 140, and in Gfrörer, i. 106. The latter connects this passage with one of Johannes Diac. (p. 14, Pertz, vii.), which tells us of a naval expedition to recover Dalmatia sent from Constantinople. Gfrörer thinks Dalmatia had been first conquered by Venetian ships in the interest of the Frank, and the Doge of Zara set up; he now was taken by his Venetian colleague to Germany to do homage to their liege lord. This aggression, he thinks, led to the Greek fleet being sent, probably in the following year (806-807) into the Adriatic, as we shall see very shortly.

<sup>2</sup> Gfrörer thinks these titles were given in reward for services rendered to the Greek fleet that was sent in 806-807 (see last note) to recover the Dalmatian coast (i. 107, 108).

<sup>3</sup> Obelerius was made Spatharius, and Beatus, who went himself on an embassy to Constantinople, was made Hypatus. The latter title we have already met with. Spatharius means a body-guard. The title was granted much as the honorary colonelcy of a regiment of Guards is now conferred, at St. Petersburg or Berlin, or we may add in London, on a foreign prince.

seaport situated south of the mouth of the Po on a lido<sup>1</sup> of the great shallow lagoon known as the Valli di Comacchio,<sup>2</sup> famous for its fisheries that both Ariosto and Tasso have described. This attack was an aggression on the Franks, to whose dominions Comacchio belonged; and Pepin, thinking that if the Venetians had not taken part in the attack on Comacchio, it was at any rate dangerous to leave so near the scene of the aggression a maritime power (which the Venetians already were) friendly to the Greeks, determined to attack the lagoons.<sup>3</sup> The Venetians, as soon as they discovered his designs, sent in haste to Constantinople for help, and meanwhile blocked up the entries to the lagoons, and removed the buoys that marked the channels. The cities were full of processions to the churches to ask succour from Heaven.

Pepin collected his forces at Ravenna and advanced from the south, meeting with resistance as soon as he touched Venetian territory. He took Brondolo, Chioggia, and Pelestrina, the southernmost of the lidi, and encamped at Albiola, where only a narrow channel separated him from Mathemaurus or Malamocco, the seat of the doges' government. We can eke out the accounts of the later chroniclers by an interesting notice of these events in the Treatise on the Administration of the Empire which the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus wrote for his son Romanus in the middle of the tenth century, about 150 years after

<sup>1</sup> Eginhard calls Comacchio an island, as Gfrörer thinks it probably was in those days.

<sup>2</sup> "Valli" is still the word used at Venice for breeding-grounds of fish (Brown's "Life in the Lagoons," p. 90).

<sup>3</sup> Gfrörer (i. 111-114) thinks that the Venetians defended Comacchio for the Franks, and were attacked by the Greek admiral for so doing; and he supposes that a change of policy in the direction of Greek interests occurred in this same year, 809, when a third brother, Valentinus, was joined to Obelerius and Beatus. He also thinks that the deposition of Obelerius and Beatus, and the elevation of Agnello Partecipazio, took place before the attack of Pepin. But all this is highly conjectural.

the events.<sup>1</sup> He compares Pepin's attack to Attila's, and goes on as follows: "Now when King Pepin came against the Venetians with an army and much people, he encamped on the mainland over against the ferry to the Venetian islands in a place called Aeibolæ. And the Venetians, seeing King Pepin coming against them with his army, and intending to ship his cavalry over to the island of Madamaucus (for this island is near to the mainland), they blocked up the passage with a barricade of ships' yards.<sup>2</sup> So the people of King Pepin being rendered helpless—for they could not cross elsewhere—encamped against them on the mainland six months, fighting with them every day. And the Venetians went on ship-board, and took up a position behind the ships' yards they had fixed, but Pepin stood with his people on the seashore. And the Venetians fought with arrows and other missiles, not letting them cross over to the island. So King Pepin, being at a loss, appealed to the Venetians, saying, 'Ye are under my hand and my providence, since ye come from my land and dominions.' But the Venetians answered him, 'We will be the servants of the King of the Romans, and not of thee.'" We read in Dandolo that Pepin attempted to get his troops over, not to Malamocco, but to Rivoalto, on rafts or pontoons made of timber and brushwood, but that the Venetian ships coming against these with the tide ("in augmento aquarum") broke them down. Dandolo wrote more than 500 years after the event, in the dawn of the revival of classical learning, and he is possibly thinking of the bridging over of the Hellespont by Xerxes. The attack of Pepin may appear, to one who knows the subsequent history of Venice, parallel to the attack of Xerxes on Athens; but the early writers, John the Deacon and the Emperor Constantine, are not so "bold in history," and the real proportions of the Venetian defence, as they

<sup>1</sup> Dand., vii. 15, 23; Const. Porph., *de Adm. Imp.*, c. 28.

<sup>2</sup> κερατάρια.

have been worked out by Filiasi and Romanin, are much more modest. The channel which then divided Malamocco from the lido of Pelestrina is said to have been not at the present Porto di Malamocco, but at Porto Secco, where there is now no opening. Of the town of Albiola (Constantine's Aeibolæ) no traces appear to remain; the old channel was probably so narrow that Pepin might not unreasonably have thought of crossing it on pontoons.<sup>1</sup> But when the way-marks were removed one can readily understand that the Venetian sailors, with their knowledge of the soundings and the tides, would be more than a match for the Frankish engineers. It is certain that, although other towns surrendered to Pepin or were burned by him—not only those of the southern lido, but Grado, and perhaps Caorle, Heraclea, and Jesolo—Malamocco escaped. But its peril had been so great that, when the war was over, it was decided to remove the seat of government to Rivoalto, which was in a decidedly stronger position, being about equally distant from the mainland and the open sea.<sup>2</sup>

Although Pepin did not succeed in conquering the Venetians, he put such pressure upon them that they agreed to pay tribute, and this tribute, though diminished from time to time, continued in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenetus to be paid to the ruler of "Italy or Pavia," though it then amounted to only thirty-six pounds of uncoined silver.<sup>3</sup> Pepin died at Milan on the 8th of July of this same year, 810; his father died four years later,

<sup>1</sup> A different theory of the locality of Pepin's attack has been put forth by Mr. Hazlitt in the *Antiquary* for February 1885. Mr. Hazlitt does not produce his evidence, and I do not think his theory has much in its favour.

<sup>2</sup> It is now two and a half miles from the mainland at Mestre. Constantine Porphyrogenetus describes it as at the distance at which one can just see a man on horseback (*l.c.*).

<sup>3</sup> Such is the interpretation given of "διβάρια ἀσίμων λιτρας λ'ς" ἀσίμων is guessed to be equal to ἀσήμων, but διβάρια is altogether unknown.

and then the Frankish Empire, under the weak rule of Louis the Pious and amid the discord of his sons, rapidly diminished in power. In 812 a treaty was concluded between Charlemagne and Michael Rhangabè, Emperor of the East, in which Venetia (or perhaps more correctly the claim to Venetia that Pepin had failed to make good) was ceded by the Franks to the Greeks. This renunciation was final: neither Charles nor any of his successors in the Empire of the West was able to extend their dominions over the lagoons. Gfrörer<sup>1</sup> thinks this retrogression was made necessary by the dislike of the Frankish people to distant foreign conquests. As the term of Frankish conquests in the East, the treaty of 812 is an historical landmark.

<sup>1</sup> i. 132, 133.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE DOGES AT RIALTO BEFORE THE ORSEOLI

THE failure of Pepin's attack on Venice, and the removal in 813 of the doges' government to its final seat in Rialto, where it was destined to remain for nearly a thousand years, form a well-marked epoch in Venetian history. The doges Obelerius and Beatus, who had reluctantly defended the city against the power by whose influence they had come to the head of affairs, were deposed as soon as the siege was over and exiled, the former to Constantinople,<sup>1</sup> the latter to Jadera, afterwards known as Zara, on the Dalmatian coast. In their place was chosen a citizen of Heraclea, but one whose family had been some time settled in Rialto, and had given several tribunes to that island. His name was Angelo (or Agnello) Participazio or Particiaco.<sup>2</sup> The family is one of those most honoured in the Altino Chronicle, which says<sup>3</sup> they came originally from Pavia; that besides the tribunate, they had the title of Hypati; that all of the family were wise and benevolent. Every great Venetian

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer (i. 131, 132), as I have already remarked, believes that the doges were deposed before Pepin's siege. He quotes a passage of Eginhard, a contemporary authority, showing that Obelerius was sent to Constantinople by the Emperor of the West as a prisoner, so that he must have first taken refuge in Frankish territory.

<sup>2</sup> They had also the name of Badoario. This name is found at Byzantium in a son-in-law of the Emperor Justin II., see Gibbon, v. p. 341. Ducange (*Familie Byzantinae*, p. 99, ed. Paris, 1680, fol.) says, "A Baduariorum gente Græcanicâ originem, opinor, sumsit Baduariorum Veneticorum illustris familia." Baduarius cannot be a Greek name; perhaps it is Slavonic.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 84 and 82 of the ed. in vol. viii. of *Arch. Stor. Ital.*

family had a special connection with some church or monastery, and the Particiaci are connected by the chronicle with the monasteries of St. George and St. Servilius or Servulus. In evidence of their connection with the latter saint, we can still read, in what the editor of John the Deacon's Chronicle in Pertz's *Monumenta* calls the oldest extant document relating to Venice, the grant by the doges Agnellus<sup>1</sup> and Justinian his son to the abbot and monks of St. Servulus, who were straitened for room in a low-lying site among the marshes, of a chapel dedicated to St. Hilary, with ample lands and salt-marches on the mainland to the south of Mestre,<sup>2</sup> in which they might live in the quiet becoming the Order of St. Benedict, that is, the quiet of well-to-do landed proprietors. The community on its new site became the Abbey of St. Hilary and St. Benedict, but the monks were bound to keep up the daily and nightly office at their old monastery of St. Servulus.<sup>3</sup>

Niccolò Zeno the younger, in his inquiry into the origin of the barbarians, published towards the end of the sixteenth century, gives us an interesting account of the house inhabited by the Particiaci when tribunes of Rialto: it was

<sup>1</sup> Such is the name, according to Romanin (i. 155), in the original charter in the Archives: Dandolo, in his version of it, calls him Angelus, as elsewhere in his chronicle. John the Deacon (in Pertz) calls him Agnellus. (As to the confusion of the two names, see Miss Yonge's "Christian Names," i. 263. It is an instance of inversion of consonants, something like that we have recently met with, the Grecising of Albiola into *Αειβόλαι*.)

<sup>2</sup> The charter is in Dandolo, viii. i. 26. It contains many stipulations as to the monks' exemption from exactions of millers, fishermen, and farmers, as well as of the more powerful *gastaldi* or *missi* of the doges, who are forbidden to demand unpaid service (*angaria*) or compulsory presents (*exenia*); and from the molestations of their ecclesiastical superiors, the Patriarch of Grado and the Bishop of Olivolo, who are forbidden to drag any monk against his will to church councils. Gfrörer remarks (i. 164, 165) on the expressions in this document, "our see of Grado," "our bishops of Olivolo," as showing the authority these doges claimed in Church matters.

<sup>3</sup> St. Servulus is, I suppose, the island still known by that name close to the Lido: the monastery of St. Benedict and St. Hilary is to be seen on maps of mediæval Venice some way to the south of Mestre.

on the Campiello della Casone, adjoining the church of the Holy Apostles, not far from the Riva facing Murano, where a canal, known in old times as the Rio Badoario, flowed into the lagoon: it had a great gate, always kept shut, that was approached by a broad lane (*calle*) and a postern in common use, but guarded, that opened on a narrower lane (*callicella*). Fragments of the old house remained in Zeno's day, and were used as the prison of the quarter.<sup>1</sup> The doge Agnellus left this palace and built another<sup>2</sup> near the church of St. Theodore (one of the churches replaced by the present San Marco), and no doubt on the site of the present Ducal Palace, though no trace of the primitive building is to be found in its lordly successor.

The building of the new doge's palace was part of the great work of repairing the damage done during the siege and preparing the Realtine islands for the new destiny that had befallen them. Piety towards the birthplace of his family made the doge build a little city on the site of Heraclea, which from this time perhaps got the name of Cività Nuova.<sup>3</sup> Clugia and the other towns on the lidi were also rebuilt. The church of St. Peter in Castello, the original cathedral of Olivolo, was built soon after this time; and another famous church, that of St. Zacharias, was founded in the reign of the doge Agnellus himself. This was built to receive the body of Zacharias (the father of John the Baptist), which, with other precious relics, came to Venice from Leó the Armenian, the Emperor of the East. The charter of foundation of the nunnery connected with the church, which is printed in an appendix to the first volume of Romanin, speaks as if the whole cost of the work and the architects who built it had been provided by

<sup>1</sup> The passage is quoted in Romanin, i. p. 156. There are two editions of Zeno's book (1585 and 1586) in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> John the Deacon speaks of Doge Agnellus as "palatii huc usque manentis fabricator." He wrote about the year 1000 (Monticolo, *Cron. Venez. Antich.*, i. p. 106).

<sup>3</sup> Dand., viii. 1, 13.

the Greek Emperor. The church, situated near the doge's palace<sup>1</sup> and closely connected with the doges, will frequently appear in the course of our history.

The doge Agnellus lived in peace with both Western and Eastern Empires; but at home he seems to have had little quiet. It must have been from some jealousy of the ducal power that at the beginning of his reign two tribunes were appointed to hold office for a year, as assessors or assistants to the doge in hearing civil and criminal causes.<sup>2</sup> The names of these tribunes—Michiel and Giustinian—were both famous in later times. We hear of no successors; on the contrary, the doge was soon able to place his younger son Giovanni beside him on the throne, a step that caused trouble, as it gave umbrage to the elder son Giustinian, who was absent at the time on an embassy to Constantinople, where he was received with great distinction and had the title of Hypatus conferred on him. On his return he would not take up his abode in his father's palace till his brother was deposed and himself made doge instead; and even when this was done he was not satisfied

<sup>1</sup> The property of the monastery reached from the Riva now called dei Schiavoni, as far as the site of the great Piazza of St. Mark, "La quale gran tempo servì di Brolo al mesimo luogo di San Zaccaria" (Bozzoni, *Il Silenzio di San Zaccaria*). Brolo is an old word for "a garden." Dante (*Purg.*, xxix. 147) uses it for a garland. The original meaning of the word (of which the French equivalent is *brueil*, the Provençal *bruelh*) would seem to be "a bush"; the sense of tumult, broil, that later attached to Broglio is a derivative. The "Broglio" was till late times a name for the Great Piazza (Yriarte, *Vie d'un Patricien de Venise*, p. 278, ed. de luxe).

<sup>2</sup> At first sight these tribunes look very much like some of the checks on the doge's power that are so characteristic of Venetian habits in later times. But it is more probable that they are survivals of local independence in the several islands of the Realtine group. We learn from a passage of Nic. Zeno already referred to, that the tribune of Rialto merged in the doge, as the tribune of Olivolo merged in the bishop. There would remain the tribunes of Luprio and Geminæ to be represented by Michiel and Giustinian. Filiasi (v. iii. p. 254) thinks that a relic of three tribunes was found in the standards or pennons that were displayed (1) at St. Nicolas, (2) in the Piazza of St. Luke, and (3) opposite the Arsenal.

till Giovanni was exiled to Zara. When he left Zara and went through Slavonia to Bergamo, the doges at once called upon Louis the Pious to give him up, and insisted on his retiring with his wife to live at Constantinople.<sup>1</sup>

We are told somewhat later of a conspiracy against the doges in which Fortunatus, the Patriarch of Grado, who had seen so many vicissitudes of fortune, was thought to be involved, and was deposed and exiled in consequence, ending his eventful life in banishment, either in the Frankish kingdom or at Rome. He bestowed a great part of the wealth, that probably came from his mercantile ventures in the Adriatic rather than from his ecclesiastical revenues, on the building and beautifying of several churches in Grado, some of which required rebuilding after the Frankish invasion. John the Deacon mistrusts the power of his pen to describe the gifts of Fortunatus, the altars he gilded or silvered, the shrines he gave for relics, his vestments and curtains and inlaid pavements. He had been bishop for twenty-seven years off and on.<sup>2</sup>

About the same time died the doge Agnellus (A.D. 827) and his son and colleague Giustinian reigned alone, but only for a year and a half. During this time he was called

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer (i. 143, 144) has a curious interpretation of those events. He thinks that Giustinian was sent to Constantinople as a hostage for his father's loyalty; that the elevation of Giovanni without Byzantine sanction was a breach of allegiance, which Giustinian was sent back to Venice to punish, and that Giovanni's exile to Zara (which was then under the Byzantine government) and, after his escape thence, to Constantinople, was enforced by the Eastern Emperor. He thinks this is the reason why the old doge Agnellus is ignored (though he was still living) and Giustinian only mentioned, and mentioned as "Imperial Hypatus," in the deed of foundation of San Zaccaria.

<sup>2</sup> Two passages of Eginhard (Gfrörer, i. 150) give us a notion of the restlessness of this prelate. In 821 he was accused before Louis the Pious of having aided and abetted Liudewit, Duke of Pannonia, in a rebellion against the Empire; he at first thought of appearing at Louis' court to answer the charge, but changed his mind and fled to Zara, and thence to Constantinople. In 824 he was sent with some Byzantine ambassadors to Louis at Rouen, and by Louis was sent to Rome to answer before the Pope for his former flight from his see.

upon by the Emperor Michael the Stammerer to aid in the recovery of Sicily from the Saracens, and he sent a Venetian fleet to take part in an unsuccessful expedition thither. The Venetians, but this must have been after Giustinian's death, joined in a second equally unsuccessful expedition about the year 830 or 831. The island was slowly overrun by the Saracens, who thenceforward held it with little intermission till its conquest by the Normans. The doge's reputation does not rest on these warlike doings so much as on his founding of churches and monasteries. He was "maximus ecclesiarum cultor; sancti vero Zachariæ et sancti Hyllarii monasteriorum devotissimus fabricator."<sup>1</sup> I have already mentioned the foundations of St. Hilary and St. Zachariah, which both belong to the time that Giustinian was his father's colleague. In the last year of his life, the year in which he was sole doge, a more memorable church was founded, that of the Holy Evangelist who was so long the patron of the republic, under whose banner her fleets sailed to so many victories. Of this event John the Deacon, our oldest authority, gives the following account: "But in the last year of his life he was thought worthy to receive the body of the most holy Mark the Evangelist, brought by the Venetians from Alexandria. To give an honourable reception to so great a treasure he caused to be got ready in a corner of his palace a chapel, where the body might be kept deposited until the church should be finished which the same lord doge began. But he being cut short by death, John, his brother, brought the work to completion."<sup>2</sup> But later chroniclers give us a far more piquant account of the translation of the body of the saint, an account that reminds us of some of the stories in Herodotus or in the Arabian Nights, and illustrates the saying of M. Guizot, that in the Middle Ages the legends

<sup>1</sup> Johannes Diaconus, p. 15 in Pertz Script., vol. vii.; Monticolo, *u.s.*, i. p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 15, Monticolo, *u.s.*, i. pp. 109, 110.



of the saints furnished the chief aliment to the imaginative faculties of mankind.<sup>1</sup> The narrative we have to deal with is not only full of incident told with a humour that is not altogether unconscious, but shows a disregard of strict notions as to *meum* and *tuum* that recalls Greek myths about Ulysses.

The story is told in a manuscript in the Vatican, printed in the Bollandist collection<sup>2</sup> of Lives of the Saints, and runs as follows: The Emperor Leo the Armenian had forbidden his subjects to trade with the Saracens of Syria or Egypt, and the Doge of Venice had followed the Emperor's example. In spite of the prohibition, however, ten Venetian ships were, about the year 827, at Alexandria. In one of these were two Venetian gentlemen, Buono, tribune of Malamocco, and Rustico of Torcello. Worshipping at the church of St. Mark "in loco Buculi," apparently a suburb on the landward side, these men became acquainted with two custodians of the church, Stauracius, a monk, and Theodorus, a priest, who told them thrilling stories of the persecutions suffered by the Christians, through the desire of the Saracen prince of the country to rob the churches of their precious marbles. The Venetian traders seem at once to have suggested that the monk and the priest should come on board their ship, leave the infidel city, and carry the body of their saint to Venice, where the relics and their votaries would be sure of an honourable reception. To the Alexandrians' scruples at taking the saint from the land of his martyrdom and the love of so many devout worshippers, they replied that the holy evangelist had been Bishop of Aquileia before he was Bishop of Alexandria, and that a return to Venetia would be a return to his old home. Their arguments and new tales of Saracen persecutions at length prevailed, and a plot for removing

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, leçon 17, vol. ii. 46 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> In vol. iii., April, pp. 356 sqq.



the saint was devised. There was little difficulty in removing the stone lid from the sarcophagus in which the body lay on its back, wrapped in a silk shroud, the edges of which were fastened together with many seals down the front.<sup>1</sup> The custodians turned the saint on his face, cut the shroud down the back, removed the body of St. Mark, and placed in the shroud the body of St. Claudian that lay hard by, and then sewed up the seam and reversed the body, so that the unbroken seals would be shown to any one who again opened the tomb. When the saint's body was brought out again into the church, so great a fragrance spread through the church and the town, that the neighbours came running together, and a suspicion was whispered that the Venetian strangers might be stealing the saint. But the seals on the shroud dispelled the suspicion. The strangers meanwhile had placed the body in a great chest and covered it with vegetables and pork, the latter to check any unseasonable curiosity on the part of the Moslems. The harbour officers did in fact insist on looking into the chest to see what goods were being exported, but seeing the pork cried out in disgust, "Kanzir, kanzir" (the Arabic for "horror"), and let the abomination pass. So the chest was taken on board one of the ships, and then the saint's body was wrapped in one of the sails and slung up to the yard-arm till their departure. Then it was placed with due honour on the deck, with candles and incense before it, and the flotilla sailed, amidst a succession of miracles, to the Adriatic.<sup>2</sup> The Venetians did not dare to enter the lagoons at once, but made for the harbour of Umago in Istria, whence they sent to the doge, told him what cargo they had brought back from Alexandria, and offered the saint's body to him for his new city, if he would forgive their unlawful voyage

<sup>1</sup> The description is rather suggestive of a mummy.

<sup>2</sup> A character who figures much in this part of the legend is one Dominic of Comacchio, who, on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, met our Venetians at Alexandria, and returned with them and the saint.

to Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The doge gladly assented, and the ship with its holy burden was brought over to the harbour of Olivolo; but the saint did not find his rest in the cathedral that was rising there, though the bishop and clergy received him with processions and all due ceremony. He seems to have indicated in some way his pleasure to remain in the banqueting-hall of the doge's palace, where a temporary chapel was made ready for him to rest in, as we have seen stated by John the Deacon. Thus the connection of the saint was from the first rather with the civil than with the ecclesiastical government, and his church was not the bishop's cathedral, but the doge's domestic chapel, its ecclesiastic being called *primicerius*,<sup>2</sup> and the priests who performed the daily and nightly services *capellani*.

St. Mark, as patron of Venice, is said to have displaced St. Theodore, the saint whose image, treading a dragon under foot, is still to be seen on the column in the Piazzetta.

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer has an ingenious theory as to the secret history of the translation of St. Mark. In the year 827 a synod at Mantua, presided over by representatives of the Pope and the Frankish Emperor, had proposed to restore the old patriarchate of Aquileia, and reduce the see of Grado to the rank of a suffragan bishopric. This was an indignity to the doge, and even threatened his independence of the Frankish kingdom. It was therefore opportune that just at this time the doge should acquire the relics of the saint, who was the chief glory of the Church of Aquileia. Gfrörer thinks the two Venetian merchants were not at Alexandria by accident, but on a mission from the doge to purchase the saint's body, which they brought not to Grado, hitherto the religious centre of the islands, but to Rialto, where it would be safer from any claims of the Church of Aquileia, and where its presence might either, by imparting some of its sanctity to the doge, make him a spiritual personage, or bring with it the Patriarch of Grado, shorn of his dignity by the decree of Mantua, but who would be raised to a higher dignity as the evangelist's special servant and patriarch of Venice. This theory appears to me to be quite in keeping with mediæval ideas (i. 156-163).

<sup>2</sup> Du Canale, whose *Chronique des Veniciens* dates from the end of the thirteenth century, gives this account with some slight variations, in cc. x.-xii. He appeals to the history of this translation, written "devant la bele yglise," *i.e.* to the mosaics then on the front of the church of St. Mark, which have now been superseded by more modern work.

There are two St. Theodores in the calendar, one of Amasea, the other of Heraclea, both in Pontus: both saints were soldiers, and both martyrs, but in different persecutions. The body of St. Theodore of Heraclea was, towards the end of the Middle Ages, brought to Venice and deposited in the church of the Saviour (San Salvatore); but it is probable<sup>1</sup> that it was St. Theodore Amasene, the more famous of the two, in whose honour a church was built—if it really was built—by the Eunuch Narses in Rialto, on a part of the ground now covered by San Marco. Beyond this legend, which commemorates the fact that a church dedicated to St. Theodore was one of the earliest founded in Rialto, we have nothing but conjecture to guide us as to the connection of the saint with Venice. The dragon-slaying saints—of whom St. George is the most famous after the Archangel Michael—no doubt symbolise the war of Christ's religion against moral evil, derived from the old serpent of the Apocalypse; but I think it is possible they also represent protecting power against pestilence.

The doge Giustinian died in 829: he had been reconciled to his brother Giovanni and made him his colleague. When his son Agnellus died on an embassy at Constantinople, Giovanni was sole doge for six or seven troubled years. Obelerius, the doge deposed in 809, escaped from Constantinople after twenty years' detention, and established himself in a town called Curidus, that, according to Dandolo, was situated in the island of Vigilia or Veglia. Romanin seems to consider the place in which Obelerius established himself to have been on the Terra Firma coast of the lagoon, south of Mestre, and over against the lidi of Malamocco and Pelestrina. The editor of Johannes Diaconus

<sup>1</sup> A learned essay on this question by Flaminio Cornaro, the author of the *Ecclesiæ Venetæ*, is to be found in vol. xiv. of Calogierà's *Raccolta Nuova*, &c.

in Pertz,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, supposes the place chosen to have been in the island of Veglia on the coast of Dalmatia, lying in what is called the Quamero Channel, south of the bay of Fiume. The name of Veglia or Vegla is of not infrequent occurrence in that part of the Altino Chronicle which treats of the places of origin of the great Venetian families.<sup>2</sup> It is no doubt the equivalent of the Latin *Vigilia*, a guard post, a name likely to occur often. Whether on the coast of the lagoon, or across the narrow waters of the Adriatic, it is interesting to compare the event with the incident, so frequent in the history of the Greek republics, of an exiled faction taking up its position close to the frontier, to be ever on the watch for an opportunity of turning the tables on its rivals. We are told that the doge's soldiers who came from Malamocco would not fight against Obelerius, their own fellow-citizen, but went over to his side, with the final result that their city was taken and burnt, and Obelerius beheaded. His head was put up on a stake on the mainland near Campalto and Mestre.

But this did not end the troubles of the doge Giovanni: after another year's quiet a conspiracy was formed against him among the people of Malamocco and *Vigilia*, with one Pietro Caroso at its head. We know no details of this, save that it was so threatening that the doge gave up his throne and retired to the court of Louis the Pious. Caroso was elected in his place, but his supporters, though strong

<sup>1</sup> The latest editor of John the Deacon (Giov. Monticolo, in *Fonti per le Storia d'Italia*), says, "*Vigilia città della Venezia insulare che fu distrutta: 'Curiculum' = Correggio sul litorale di Palestrina*" (p. 110, n. 3). I can find no such place on any map of the lido of Pelestrina.

<sup>2</sup> In the chronicle it generally has the word "*Vercellis*" added. In one place (lib. iii. p. 91, *A. S. I.*, t. viii.) it is mentioned amongst the "*castra*" of Venetia. The passage runs—"Tarvisiana, Cormona, Freina, Modona, Vegla Vercellis, Plasencia, Crisopula quæ Parma appellata est": where the two names that follow and the one that immediately precedes it look suspiciously like the names of great cities of N. Italy. The situation of Veglia is fully discussed in Lucius, *de Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatia*, ii. 2, who concludes that it was in the marshes on the shore of the Terra Firma near Fusina and Abbondia.

enough to turn out Giovanni, were not strong enough to maintain their own candidate in power. The adherents of the Participazii collected to the number of thirty—all principal citizens—at Campalto,<sup>1</sup> and thence repeated with more success the tactics of Obelerius; for they soon found themselves able to enter Venice, surprise Caroso in his palace, put out his eyes, and banish him, putting his chief supporters to death. They did not at once restore the late doge, but for a year two tribunes, with Ursus, Bishop of Olivolo, who was a brother of Giovanni Participazio, conducted the government of the islands. At the end of the year Giovanni was restored, on St. Demetrius' day. During this second portion of his reign he saw the new church of St. Mark consecrated, and the body of the evangelist worthily enshrined. But he was not allowed even now to end his life in power: the Mastalici, a family to whom the Altino chronicler, partisan of the Participazii, gives a very bad character,<sup>2</sup> were, as John the Deacon says, "led astray by the suggestion of the devil" to waylay him as he returned from the church of St. Peter on that saint's festival. He was neither killed nor blinded, as so many of his predecessors had been, but, after a precedent common enough in Carolingian France, his hair and beard were shorn, and he was consecrated a clerk, and thus incapacitated for worldly ambition, was suffered to retire to a monastery at Grado, where he soon afterwards died.

The citizens met at the lido of St. Nicholas, or of Rialto,

<sup>1</sup> John the Deacon (Pertz, p. 17) says "in Sti. Martini ecclesia que apud Mistrinam loco qui vocatur Strata sita est" (Monticolo, *Cron. Venez. Ant.*, i. p. 111). This may be Stra, between Padua and Fusina, now famous for a beautiful Renaissance palace.

<sup>2</sup> He says "de Rezo (prob. Reggio) venerunt, Tribuni ante fuerunt; sed mendaces et stulti et concupiscentes, ac Ecclesiarum edificatores." The Particiaci, on the other hand, were "sapientes ac benevoli omnes" (l. iii. p. 84, *A. S. I.*, t. viii.). The Vylliareni Mastalici, who came from Veglia Vercelli, are mentioned separately by the Chronicle (*ib.*, pp. 87 and 90), and praised (as is indeed the more usual practice of the chronicler). We have seen reason before to conjecture a connection between the names Villiarieni and Obelerius (*ante*, p. 67, n. 3).

to elect a new doge. They chose Pietro Tradonico or Transdominico.<sup>1</sup> His family, originally of Pola, had come to Rialto from Equilio, and it is worth noting that they and the Mastalici and Carosi are all mentioned in the Altino Chronicle among those families that came from Equilium, while the Participazii head the list of those from Heraclea. We may reasonably conclude that the feud, in which the first three families were set against the last, was a remnant of the old enmity between the two cities.<sup>2</sup> So the people of Malamocco supported their own citizen, Obelerius, when he tried to recover his power from the hands of the Particiaci. The supremacy of Rialto was not yet by any means acquiesced in.

In the time of the doge Pietro Tradonico, wars with the Slavonic pirates of the Dalmatian coast and with the Saracens first come before us as prominent facts of Venetian history. The wars with the latter had indeed begun when Giovanni Participazio had sent ships to aid the Byzantine Emperor to recover Sicily. That expedition was aimed in the first instance at Euphemius, a Sicilian Greek, in command of a district in the island, who had revolted against Photinus, the governor. But Euphemius had called to his assistance Ziadet Allah, the Aglabite sovereign of Cairowan, who had a powerful fleet, which he at once despatched to Sicily, eager to attack the fertile island that lies so temptingly near to the African coast.<sup>3</sup> A struggle of fifty years ensued, the Saracens conquering one by one the Sicilian towns from Girgenti in 827 to Syracuse in 878. But while this conquest was going on,

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo says, viii. 4. "Cognominatusque est à Populo Transdominico sive Trandonico," as if it were a popular nickname. A.D. 836.

<sup>2</sup> A recent book, "Life on the Lagoons," by Horatio Brown, which contains much curious and original information as to the gondoliers, mentions that the two factions of Nicollotti and Castellani, which contend in all regattas, and used to engage in less friendly contests, traditionally represent the citizens of Eraclea and Jesulo (pp. 302, 303).

<sup>3</sup> Gibbon, c. LII. vi. 408, 409. Finlay's "Byzantine Empire," 164.



in some year between 830 and 840 the ships of the unbelievers appeared off Otranto, threatening the Adriatic, and the Eastern Emperor Theophilus demanded the aid of the Venetians to dislodge them. The danger to Christendom was an especial danger to Venice, and the doge responded heartily to the Emperor's appeal, and fitted out sixty large ships; but neither they nor the Byzantine ships could stop the Saracens from sailing up the Adriatic, burning Ançona<sup>1</sup> and landing at Adria, and finally taking up a position at the mouth of the gulf, where they could intercept Venetian ships returning from Sicily.

The Slavonic pirates were equally harassing enemies. The coast of Dalmatia, with its deep indentations, and the chain of islands fringing its seaboard, affords in abundance the deep bays and sheltered creeks that the pirate loves. The Croats and Serbs, who had been settled in these parts by the Emperor Heraclius, very soon showed a turn for the sea; the more important and populous parts of the coast, the cities of Zara, Trau, Spalato, and Ragusa, they did not at first occupy. These were still "Roman" in the time of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus;<sup>2</sup> but other parts of the coast were unoccupied and lay open to their attacks, and one tribe of Serbs in particular settled on the Narenta (Neretwa in Slavonic tongue), a river that flows into the almost land-locked bay behind the long and narrow peninsula of Sabioncello. Higher up in its course, where it washes the walls of Mostar, the capital of the Herzegovina, it is a rapid mountain stream, flowing in places

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo says they also attacked Dalmatia and burned "Auserensem urbem." This is Oszero in the island of Cherso, in the Quarnero, the ancient Apsyrtus. A description and engraving of the town, on a peninsula, and connected by a bridge with an island, is to be found in *Topographia Veneta*, i. p. 22 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The Emperor mentions Aspalathum (Spalato), Rausium (Ragusa), Tetrangurium (Trau), Diodora (probably Jadera or Zara), Vecla (Veglia), Opsara (Oszero in Cherso). (Sir G. Wilkinson's "Dalmatia," i. p. 123.) Schafarik observes that *τετραγγούριον* is a mistake for *τετραγγούριον* (*Slav. Alterth.*, ii. 303).



through deep rocky gorges; but at its mouth it finds its way into the sea, through fever-stricken marshes, by several sluggish channels. In these the water is deep and there are no bars, and the banks are overgrown with brushwood, so that they would form a safe hiding-place from which pirate ships could dash out upon merchant vessels becalmed among the islands. The Serbs on the Neretwa are commonly called Narentani or Arentani by Latin writers; but they seem to have called themselves Pogani, the Slavonic form of Pagani, and to have been proud of their rejection of the Christian faith that most of their race had adopted. From about the year 700 they began to be a power in the Adriatic, and they gradually conquered the neighbouring islands, Lesina, the ancient Pharos that had figured in the wars between Rome and the kings of Epirus; Curzola, or "black Corcyra," so called from the dark pine-woods that covered its southern side; and Meleda, the land of honey, which the Emperor Constantine takes for the Melita of St. Paul's shipwreck. The strait between Lesina and Curzola is still called the Channel of Narenta,<sup>1</sup> and Andrea Dandolo, the chronicler, speaks of the three islands as the Narentan islands.<sup>2</sup>

The doge's first expedition against the Slavs was successful. He overawed and forced to make peace Miroslav, a Croatian prince, and Drosaic the Narentine. But when Miroslav was murdered and succeeded by a freebooter named Turpimir, the peace was broken, and the doge had to make a second expedition, which was not successful.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the Narentines see Schafarik, *Slav. Alterth.*, ii. 263-268; Sir C. Wilkinson, "Dalmatia and Montenegro," i. 249, 251, ii. 11. For an account of a journey up the Narenta to Mostar see *ib.*, ii. 11-58. This journey can now (1900) be taken on one of Messrs. Cook's personally conducted tours.

<sup>2</sup> viii. 4, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Dandolo's text has some strange corruptions of these Slavonic names. Of the first expedition he says that the doge made peace "in loco cui nomen est S. Martinus Curtis (v.l. Riscurtis) cum Octo (v.l. Mui) Sclavo illorum principe"; and then, passing to the Narentine

We shall shortly hear more of these Saracenic and Narentine wars; they troubled Venice for many years after this, and it was probably from fear of them that the next event we read of in the chronicles occurred. This is the confirmation of a treaty, or series of treaties, made by Venice with the neighbouring cities forming part of the kingdom of Italy and Western Empire, which the Emperor Lothair effected by a document dated at Pavia 840, the oldest extant record of Venetian diplomacy. This document, which is printed in an appendix to the first volume of Romanin, is not of undisputed authenticity, the dates upon it appearing to be self-contradictory.<sup>1</sup> But Romanin has shown that this difficulty can be explained, and has even made out that one of the copies we possess belongs to a collection of such documents made by the doge and historian, Andrea Dandolo, whose patent describing the collection he had ordered and the method of its arrangement Romanin himself discovered in the Archives at Vienna. The treaty itself deals with the multiplicity of petty things about which quarrels arise between neighbouring states: the harbouring of runaway slaves or fugitives from justice, accidental homicides, rights of cutting wood, or feeding cattle, or hunting or fishing on the borders, the immunities of ambassadors or letter-carriers, the dues to be paid by traders at ferries

islands, renewed the treaty "cum Drosaico Marianorum duce." The second expedition he describes as "cum Diuclito Sclavo (vv. ll. Deliviro or Divelaro)." Schafarik explains some of these names. Moislav is the correct form of the name Miroslav, so that Dandolo's v. l. is very nearly right. Drosaik (Drzit) is the correct name; but he was probably a Narentine, and it is not easy to see whence Dandolo has got "Marianorum duce." Mariani may equal Marchani, a form of the name of the Bulgarian Moravians (Nieder-Mähren), *i.e.* the dwellers on the Morawa in Bulgaria (Schaf., ii. 211 *sqq.*). As to Diuclitus Sclavus I can make no conjecture. Gfrörer points out that in the time of the Venetian dominion a Croatian tribe, known as the Mariano-vich, held a prominent position in Dalmatia (i. 178, 179, where he quotes Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, iii. 14(a).)

<sup>1</sup> It is not included by Tafel and Thomas in their great collection of documents, *Urkunden zur älteren Handel- und Staats-geschichte de Rep. Venedig in Fontes rerum Austriacarum Abth.*, ii. Bde. 12-14.

or landing-places. It binds the subjects of the Emperor not to aid the enemies of Venice, but, on the contrary, to help them defend themselves against the Slavs. Another document issued in the Emperor's name at Thionville in 842 or 844-5 secured to the Venetians the frontiers that had been long ago settled by treaty between the first doge Paulucius and Liutprand, King of the Lombards.

In the year 842 the Saracens were again in the Adriatic, having been invited into Calabria by Radelgiso, Duke of Benevento, to aid him in a civil war. The Venetian fleet found the Saracens off the little island of Sansego<sup>1</sup> at the mouth of the Quarnero channel, and not far from the southern point of Istria. A fiercely contested battle ended in the discomfiture of the Venetians, and the Slav pirates, encouraged by this misfortune of their enemy in their own immediate neighbourhood, seized the opportunity to cross the Adriatic and land and ravage Caorle. To protect their coast against such incursions, the Venetians built two very large ships, called *Falandrie*, which were stationed at the *Porti* or entries to the lagoons, as guard-ships.<sup>2</sup> The Saracens, who had suffered in the battle at Sansego, did not stay in the Adriatic, but retired to the south, and we next hear of them landing at Centumcellæ and taking Rome, from which Guido, Marquis of Lombardy, drove them into Apulia and Sicily. We shall soon see a still more

<sup>1</sup> There is an interesting description of this island in *Top. Ven.*, i. 95 sqq. It had some Roman remains, but its condition at the date of that description (the last years of the Venetian republic) was very wretched.

<sup>2</sup> *Rom.*, i. 178. The same two ships are mentioned by Dandolo, viii. 4, 26, as sent by the doge to protect the Patriarch of Grado. John the Deacon calls them *Zalandria*. The proper name is *Chealandia* (Χελάνδια), a word found several times in the writings of Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, e.g. in *Antapod.*, v. 9, 15, in both places for large ships, armed with Greek fire; and in *Legatio*, 29 and 33. Gfrörer quotes from Thietmar's *Merseburg Chronicle* (Pertz, iii. 766) a definition of *Salandria* as ships of unwonted length, with two banks of oars, and a crew of 150 men. He thinks these were the first war-ships built by the Venetians, and that before this time they had used only armed merchant ships (i. 180).

powerful race of maritime freebooters appear in the waters of the Mediterranean.

The long reign of this doge (836–864) covers some of the most important years of the Carolingian dynasty. In 842 the three sons of Louis the Pious met at Verdun, and divided into three parts the vast dominions that his father, Charles the Great, had gradually united. In 855 Lothair, to whose share the kingdom of Italy had fallen, retired from the world, as his father had done before him, and ended his life in the Præmonstratensian monastery at Prühm, near Cologne. Louis II., his son, succeeded him in Italy, and soon after his accession paid a visit to Venice, probably to discuss with the doge, as the chief naval power in Italy, the defence of the country against Saracens, Slavs, and Normans.<sup>1</sup> He had previously, it would appear, received at Mantua an embassy from the doge, asking for an Imperial confirmation of the Venetian claims upon certain possessions situate on the Terra Firma, and within the jurisdiction of the Roman Empire. The Emperor and Empress were received in great state, the doges (for Pietro had associated his son Giovanni with himself) and all the people went out to Brondolo, where the Emperor was entertained at the convent of St. Michael, and brought him to Rialto, where he stood godfather to (“de sacro fonte levavit”) a son of the younger doge, Giovanni, and remained three days in conference with the doges and seeing the sights of Venice.

If we may believe the chroniclers of Venice, the same doge had the honour of receiving as a guest the other great potentate of the Christian world, the Pope Benedict III., who in 855 was elected to succeed Leo IV. ; but before his

<sup>1</sup> At very nearly the same time the King of Wessex, Ethelwulf, Egbert's successor, had crossed to the Continent to confer with the Pope and with Charles the Bald, King of the West Franks, as to measures of defence against the Northmen (Green's "Conquest of England," pp. 81, 82). His young son, then six years old, who accompanied his father on this journey, grew up to be the greatest hinderer of Danish conquests, Alfred the Great.

consecration certain of the clergy, in concert with the Emperor Louis' envoys, set up as an Antipope one Anastasius, whom his enemies describe as a man lying under ecclesiastical censure for evil life. For a time Benedict was the weaker, and was forced to retreat to the Basilica known as St. Maria ad Præsepe; but in about two months from his election the opposition died off, and he was consecrated. The story in the Venetian chronicles, for which Dandolo appeals to certain very ancient books, refers to those two months during which the lawful Pope was suffering oppression. But neither Anastasius, nor Baronius, nor Pagius, though they give full and minute accounts of the double election and the two months' schism, mentions any departure of the Pope from Rome, nor is their narrative consistent with his having so departed; and though in Oldoini's addenda to Ciaconius' "History of the Popes" the story is given on the authority of Paul Morosinus, a Venetian, it is impossible to get any independent support for it.<sup>1</sup> It probably arose from a pious legend current among the nuns of St. Zaccaria, which told how the Pope, in memory of the shelter he had received at Venice, promised and sent to their convent the bodies of St. Pancratius and St. Sabina, though objectors have, it is true, remarked that both bodies were shown at Rome also in later times.<sup>2</sup>

The reign of the doge Pietro Tradonico was also disturbed by dissensions between the patriarchs of Aquileia and Grado, which required the intervention of Pope Leo IV. to compose them. The quarrels were as to the metropolitan jurisdiction over the churches of Istria. We also

<sup>1</sup> John the Deacon, the oldest Venetian chronicler, is silent as to the Pope's visit. Romanin, i. 183, 184, has an exhaustive note as to the authorities for and against the event.

<sup>2</sup> Baronius, an. 855; Ciaconius, i. 639 *sqq.* Flaminio Cornaro, *Ecl. Ven.*, xi. 315, says that St. Pancras' head was not to be seen, and that the bones do not correspond "humani corporis integritati." The nuns in his time had given away part of the bones to the town of Montechiari, in the Brescian territory.

read that about the year 849 the Venetians aided the Veronese in a war against some of the cities on the Lake of Garda. The Venetian commander, Maffio Giustiniani, is said to have quartered with his paternal arms the gold bar on an azure field that was on a banner he took from the enemy, and to have brought home the more substantial advantages of rich booty and many prisoners, the latter of whom were employed in sweeping the grand Piazza or in rowing in the war galleys.<sup>1</sup>

The family of Giustiniani are also mentioned as parties to a great feud, which the doge is accused of fostering.<sup>2</sup> We know nothing of the circumstances of this, except that the opposite party to the Giustiniani (the Istolii, Selvii, and Barbolani) were exiled, but soon, by the aid of the Emperor Louis, were allowed to settle in the island of Spinalunga or the Giudecca, then probably a marshy tract overgrown with brushwood. It is probable that this feud, not allayed by the exile or restoration of the one party, was connected with the conspiracy against the doge Peter, which caused his death in the year 864. He was coming out of the vesper service at the church of San Zaccaria, that has been already more than once mentioned, either on Easter Monday or on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross,<sup>3</sup> when he was attacked suddenly by an armed band—eight of the leaders of whom are named in the chronicles—and left dead in the street. In the general alarm his body was uncared for, till at night the nuns of San Zaccaria had it carried to their convent and buried in the atrium of their church.

His son, whom he had associated with him as doge, had

<sup>1</sup> Rom. i. 186, with the authorities cited.

<sup>2</sup> In the Addenda in Ambrosian MS. to Dand., viii. 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup> If the account given below is accurate, the former would be the date. The Exaltation of the Cross was celebrated on September 14th. The fact that the doges always paid a solemn visit to San Zaccaria on Easter Monday is in favour of that being the date of the murder.



died a year before, so that the ducal throne was vacant, and confusion seems to have reigned in the city for some days at least. The murdered doge's servants took refuge in the Ducal Palace and put it in a state of defence; but when, on San Sisto's day, the 6th of April, which in that year was four days after Easter Monday, five of the principal conspirators were murdered by the mob, the servants surrendered, and a commission or junta, with Peter, Bishop of Equilio, at its head, was appointed to try the murderers and settle the feud. By this junta some<sup>1</sup> of the conspirators were exiled, and the doge's servants were also removed from the principal islands and ordered, some to the little island of Pupilia or Poveglia in the lagoon, others to Fines, a place on the north-eastern coast of the lagoon. It does not clearly appear of what fault these men were guilty in holding, in a time when the regular government was suspended, the palace against all comers. But in token of the remission of their fault the Gastaldo of Pupilia, with seven of its older men, used every year to come to receive the kiss of peace from the doge.<sup>2</sup>

The doge who was chosen in place of the murdered Tradonico was Orso Participazio or Particiaco, another member of the great family that had so long governed Venice. Probably the factions that had brought the last

<sup>1</sup> One alone, Urso Grugnario, was allowed to stay in the islands, and he shortly afterwards, in the words of John the Deacon, "a demonio conquisatus expiravit." (*Apud Pertz, ut supra*, p. 19; Monticolo, *Cron. Venez. Ant.*, i. p. 118).

<sup>2</sup> Gfrörer's remarks on this are very ingenious. He thinks the servants were a body-guard of slaves, probably heathen Croats. He grounds this opinion on a passage of Dandolo as to certain heathen servants of the next doge Orso, who were settled on the island of Dorsoduro. Such settlements of unenfranchised aliens paid tribute—the only pecuniary revenue of the Venetian State at this time. Citizens were not taxed in money till a later date (i. 187 *sqq.*). The passage in Dandolo is viii. 5, 34, where Gfrörer translates "Excusati Ducatus" "the freedmen of the doge's house," Ducange (*s.v.*) says that they were so called because relieved from certain civil duties "ex quâdam officii prerogativâ." We meet with the expressions "excusati de Muriano," "de Mazorbo," or "nostri Palatii."

reign to its disastrous termination were thought more likely to be appeased by the elevation of one of so distinguished a name. At any rate, his reign of seventeen years seems to have been undisturbed by opposition, and more prosperous against the public enemies than that of his predecessor. He gained some successes on the Dalmatian coast against Domagoi, a Slavonic prince; and some years later he was invited to join the Emperors Basil of the East and Louis of the West, whose forces had united to attack Bari, where a Saracen garrison had been established for thirty years. That city, mentioned by Horace in his Journey to Brundisium with the epithet of *piscosum*, was situated on the south coast of the Gulf of Manfredonia, in the district of Apulia, known to the ancients as Calabria, a name that was about this time transferred to the district still called Calabria, the toe instead of the heel of Italy. The old Calabria was a convenient situation for an outpost of pirates watching the entrance of the Adriatic, and the Saracens had established themselves firmly there, and did not relax their hold even when the Venetian fleet had defeated theirs in the Gulf of Tarentum. The two Emperors continued the siege till the surrender of the city in 871; but not in uninterrupted harmony: the ground on which they were fighting was itself suggestive of strife, for it was a kind of debatable land of which it was difficult to say whether it belonged to the Lombard duchy of Benevento, and so was under the suzerainty of the Western Emperor, or to the Byzantine Empire. In the time of Constantine Porphyrogenetus it was reckoned as part of the Eastern Empire, under the name of the Theme of Lombardy.<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been from some rivalry on this score, as well as from a broken-off project of marriage between the two Imperial families, that the Emperor Louis came into conflict with

<sup>1</sup> For the Themes see Gibbon, vii. 5, note 12. For the geographical details given my authority is the Commentator on the *Tabula Chorographica Italiæ Medii Ævi*, in the tenth volume of Muratori.

Adelgisius, the Duke of Benevento, who kept him for some time a prisoner in that city. Soon after his release Louis died near Brescia, in the year 875, and for some time no Emperor of the West exercised power in Italy.<sup>1</sup>

The Saracens were not at once driven from the Adriatic after their expulsion from Bari, but an expedition from Crete shortly afterwards appeared off the island of Brazza, on the Dalmatian coast, and even sailed up the gulf as far as to Grado; but driven off from that coast by Giovanni, a young son of the doge, who for this service was joined with his father on the throne, they sacked Comacchio on their retreat. The chronicles mention, with a particularity that we cannot now explain, how a small ship sent out towards the Istrian coast to watch the movements of the Saracens was taken by Slavonic pirates lurking in the harbour of Silvodi, and all its crew put to the sword.<sup>2</sup>

The doge Orso had next to repel a great fleet of Slavonic pirates, who, after plundering Istria and destroying many of its cities, advanced to Grado. There the Venetian ships, aided by thirty from Zara across the Adriatic, met and routed them, and recovered much plunder, of which they were careful to restore to its rightful owners so much as had been taken from churches. It is interesting to remember that these inroads of the Pagan Narentines upon the cities and churches of Istria are almost contemporaneous with those in which the Pagan Vikings were ruining the churches and monasteries of Northumbria and Mercia. The ninth century witnessed a great outbreak of piracy: the Scandinavians, who wrecked both coasts of the North

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Carloman, who in 877 succeeded on the death of Charles the Bald, left the management of Italian affairs entirely to the Pope.

<sup>2</sup> Dand., viii. 5, 14; Johan. Diac., p. 19 (Pertz). The harbour of Silvodi appears to be near Grado. The latest editor of John the Deacon (in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, p. 120) reads with Muratori, "Silvoclis" for "Silvodis," and identifies the place with Salvore, a cape in Istria at the mouth of the harbour of Pirano, just opposite Grado and Caorle, which we shall meet with again as the site of a perhaps legendary sea-fight in the twelfth century.

Sea, and the English and St. George's Channels were themselves plundered by Wendish pirates in the Baltic,<sup>1</sup> while the Slavonic kinsmen of the latter rivalled the Saracens in harrying the coasts of the Mediterranean.

Besides the military successes I have described, the doge Orso Particiaco won a peaceful triumph over Walpert, the Patriarch of Aquileia, who was, like his predecessor, jealous of the spiritual claims of the Patriarch of Grado. Walpert appears by this time, probably during the years of the decline of the Carolingian power, to have acquired temporal dominion over a part of the duchy of Friuli, and in his temporal capacity the Venetians found him vulnerable; for by closing the port of Pilo, by which his subjects traded with them, they caused such discontent as to bring about his speedy submission.<sup>2</sup> Orso's government at home is distinguished from that of his predecessors by philanthropic incidents; he exerts himself to put down the trade in slaves, from which Venice still got unlawful gains;<sup>3</sup> he plants settlements in waste, recently reclaimed parts of Rialto, and in Dorsoduro and the ports of St. Nicolo and Murano; he sends, whether from a religious or merely a friendly motive, twelve bells to Constantinople as a present to the Emperor Basil, from whom he had himself received the dignity of Protosphatharius. After seventeen years of power, in the year 881<sup>4</sup> he died, leaving one son, Giovanni, his colleague on the throne, another (perhaps) Patriarch of Grado, and a daughter, Abbess of St. Zacharias.

<sup>1</sup> See Green, "Conquest of England," p. 89; who quotes Dahlmann, *Gesch. von Dänemark*, i. 129, 136.

<sup>2</sup> The treaty made on his submission stipulated that the four factories the Venetians owned in Aquileia should be protected, and that the doge's own trading ventures in Friuli should be free from taxation (*Dand.*, viii. 5, 35).

<sup>3</sup> Gfrörer argues that the edict prohibiting the slave trade was rather the work of Peter, Patriarch of Grado, than of the doge. Peter had a life-long controversy with the doge, interesting as evidence of the moral feelings of the age, but unnecessary to enter on here (*Gfr.*, i. 200-207).

<sup>4</sup> Gfrörer thinks the true date was 882 (i. 193, 194).

Giovanni, soon after his succession, made an attempt to exalt his family, and at the same time increase the security of his country. Comacchio, between Venice and Ravenna, the town of the great lagoon near the mouth of the Po, had been lately growing in importance under two princes of the famous family of Este, the later of whom, Marino, had worked hard to increase her fleet and her trade; and it was felt at Venice that so powerful a city in such near neighbourhood to her would be a danger in the event of such an attack as that of Pepin. To avert this danger the doge made interest with the Pope, to whom the Emperor Carloman had entrusted the disposal of the Imperial fiefs in Italy, for the appointment of his own younger brother Badoario to the post of governor of Comacchio; but Badoario, on his way back from Rome, was waylaid, wounded, and taken prisoner by his rival, Marino d'Este. When his wounds had been tended at Comacchio, he was sent back to Venice, charged to dissuade the doge from his designs against the city, but, far from this attempt at peace-making being successful, Badoario's death soon after his return roused his countrymen to greater indignation; ships were at once fitted out, and the territory of Comacchio wasted with fire and sword even up to the walls of Ravenna.

But for this incident the reign of the doge Giovanni was uneventful. In 883, when the Emperor Charles the Fat was at Mantua, an embassy from the doge obtained his signature to a treaty granting the Venetians undisturbed possession of the probably then unenclosed pastures and woods about the lagoons, freedom of trade on the rivers and roads of the Empire, with no further exactions than the customary ripatico and teloneo,<sup>1</sup> and the right, at least so far as the doge, patriarch, bishop, &c., were concerned, of

<sup>1</sup> There is some doubt whether ripatico was so called because its proceeds were applied to keeping up the banks, or because it was a payment for the right to expose articles for sale on the banks, or for the use of the banks for towing. Teloneum seems to be the generic word for all taxes levied on goods imported by sea.

owning land in the Empire. These privileges had been granted by former Emperors, but it seems to have been thought advisable to get them renewed at every convenient opportunity. There was probably a constant risk of the Venetian State falling into the general system of the Western Empire, and losing its remains of old municipal freedom in the prevailing feudalism. This very treaty contains an implicit acknowledgment of the Emperor's authority in the lagoons, for it guarantees to the doge his lands both in Venetia and in the Frankish Empire. This recognition was perhaps given in return for a secret article in which the Emperor concedes to the doge jurisdiction over Venetian subjects settled in the Empire. Gfrörer thinks that this clause was meant to hinder the conspiracies against doges that had so frequently been hatched on the mainland.

Giovanni's health failing, he took as his colleague his brother Pietro, and on his death another brother Orso. But when Giovanni grew too weak to take any part in the government, Orso, feeling unequal to the weight of reigning alone, abdicated, and the people chose Pietro Candiano,<sup>1</sup> the family of Participazio for a while retiring into private life. The new doge seems to have been elected as a colleague ("assumptus" is Dandolo's expression) to the existing doges. He was elected in his own house and at once went to the palace, where he was courteously received by Giovanni and got from him the insignia of office, and "when enthroned he bore himself with all due honour ("satis honorificé") towards his predecessor Giovanni, and in like manner towards Orso his brother."<sup>2</sup> But this would appear merely to mark the peaceful nature of the change. The two predecessors in fact retired, and Candiano, for the five months that he lived, was sole doge. He was a man of forty-five, and, we are told, so devout a Christian that he

<sup>1</sup> The Candiano family, like so many others, migrated early from Heraclea to Rialto.

<sup>2</sup> Dandolo, viii. 7, 1.



was never for a day absent from divine service. He at once took action against the Narentine pirates, and when the first fleet he sent out returned without success, sailed himself towards the end of the summer, with twelve ships, to the Dalmatian coast. He met the Narentine fleet not in their own waters, but at a point a few miles west of Zara, in what must have been Croatian territory. Perhaps the Narentines had come so far from home to attack the Croatians, who appear to have been allies of Venice at this time. Anyhow the fighting took place at a place called Mucole, or the Slavs' mountain, now Punta Micha, where the doge effected a landing and repulsed the enemy's troops. But as he was returning to destroy their ships, which we may presume had been left drawn up on the beach, the Slavs rallied and fell upon him,<sup>1</sup> and he was himself killed in the fight that ensued. This was on the 18th September in the year 887, only five months from his elevation. The doge's body was brought to Grado and buried in the cathedral there, some say by his Slavonian enemies, others by one Andrea Tribuno, who recovered it from the pirates.

When the city was thus suddenly left without a chief, the old doge Giovanni Participazio consented to resume power for a short time, so that a new doge might be chosen without undue haste. After some months, when the year 888 had already begun, Pietro Tribuno was elected doge. He was the son of one Domenico Tribuno, of whom there is some evidence, in a probably genuine charter<sup>2</sup> granting

<sup>1</sup> The fullest account I have seen of this affair is in Lucius, *de Regno Dalmatie et Croatiae*, l. ii. 2, where the difficulties of the early narratives are discussed not very conclusively. The account in Dandolo is to be found viii. 7, 2. Sir G. Wilkinson ("Dalmatia and Montenegro," ii. 224) gives some more particulars.

<sup>2</sup> See Romanin, i. pp. 215-222, a long argument which does not satisfactorily clear up this difficulty. Possibly Domenico was doge with his son during the early part of his reign. The document in question dates from the latter part of the same. Gfrörer (i. 217, 218) thinks Tribuno is not a surname yet, but that Peter and his father had both held the office of tribune in the lagoons.

certain privileges to Chioggia, that he also was doge. Pietro's mother was a niece of Pietro Tradonico, the doge who was murdered on the bridge by San Zaccaria in the year 864.

Pietro Tribuno was doge for twenty-four years, momentous years in the history of Italy. In the year of his accession Charles the Fat, the last Carlovingian prince who wore the Imperial crown, was deposed, and Germany, France, and Italy, that had been nominally governed by him, parted asunder. Arnulf, an illegitimate son of that Carloman who had been King of Italy ten years before, and so subservient to the Popes, maintained himself in power in Germany. In France the Count of Paris became the most powerful, but by no means the undisputed, chief. Italy was still more distracted. Arnulf claimed the inheritance of his fathers there, while two powerful feudatories, Berengar, Marquis of Friuli, a grandson of Louis the Debonnair, and Guido, Count of Spoleto, endeavoured each for himself to secure a sovereignty over the Peninsula. Both were Lombard princes, the former a chief among the petty princes of the North, the latter among those of the South. We are told that in Charles' lifetime they had sworn to an agreement by which, on his death, Berengar should succeed to his Italian dominions, Guido to Western France, the German or Eastern France being no doubt left to Arnulf. But when Charles was dead, Guido was not prompt enough in taking possession of his share of the Empire, so that, though he was crowned at Langres, he found that Eudes, Count of Paris, had been before him and had already secured the allegiance of the kingdom. So Guido returned to Italy (A.D. 888), and in violation of his oath attacked Berengar and established himself firmly at Pavia, whence neither Berengar himself nor Centebald, a son of Arnulf, sent five years later (A.D. 893) to help Berengar, could dislodge him. But in the following year Arnulf himself appeared on the scene, was received by Berengar at Verona

and striking terror into North Italy by hanging the Count of Bergamo before his city's gate, occupied both Pavia and Milan without resistance, Guido retreating to the south, where his strength lay. Arnulf, either at once or after returning in the summer to Germany, continued his advance towards Rome, being invited by the Pope Formosus to deliver him from a hostile faction, and early in the year 896 he stormed the Leonine city and was crowned Emperor in Rome by the Pope. But he stayed there only long enough to shock the religious world by the licence of his soldiery, and to stir up the vehement hatred Italians have always been ready to feel towards invaders from Germany. He then marched to Spoleto, was there seized with illness which he attributed to poison, and so hastened back across the Alps to die three years later (A.D. 899) by the malady of Herod the Great, which ecclesiastical writers have held to be the special punishment of the tyrant or the persecutor. Liutprand, the Bishop of Cremona, a contemporary authority for these events, treats Arnulf's death as a punishment for his recklessness some years before his descent into Italy, in inviting the terrible Hungarians to pass the barrier that had kept them on the Lower Danube, and burst like a flood upon the civilised Western world.<sup>1</sup>

It was in the year of Arnulf's death (899) that the Hungarian hordes, which the year before had reconnoitred as far as Verona, first invaded Italy. They stormed, we are told, Aquileia and Verona, and reached Pavia.<sup>2</sup> Berengar

<sup>1</sup> Liutprand, *Antapodosis*, i. 36. The barrier ("clusee") in Liutprand is illustrated by a passage in Widukind, *Res geste Saxon*, i. 19, (Pertz, script. iii. p. 426) speaking of the Hungarians, whom he calls Avars, "Victi autem a magno Karolo et trans Danubium pulsii, ac ingenti vallo circumclusi prohibiti sunt a consueta gentium populatione Imperante autem Arnolfo, destructum est opus et via eis nocendi patefacta." The "ingens vallum" was no doubt a work like the Roman wall in Britain, or Offa's dyke, and may have been a very sufficient barrier to a rude people.

<sup>2</sup> "Aquilegiam, Veronam, munitissimas pertranseunt civitates, et Ticinum, quæ nunc excellentiori Pavia notatur vocabulo, nullis resistentibus veniunt" (Liutp., *Antap.*, ii. 9).

was still the chief power in North Italy, and probably kept his court at Pavia: his rival, Guido, had died five years before, but had left a son, Lambert, who before his father's death had already received the Imperial crown at Rome. Lambert had maintained an even struggle with Berengar for Pavia, and seems to have driven him back to Verona, when, in the year 898, he was himself killed, either by an accidental fall from his horse or at the hand of a treacherous friend. So Berengar was for the moment undisputed head of Italy, and had to face the Hungarians alone. These were still heathens and savages,<sup>1</sup> a horde but little advanced in culture since the days when they had lived the life of the Lapps or Samoiedes among the Ural mountains, as fierce, but apparently not so formidable as the Turks<sup>2</sup>—a people of the same blood—became when they had adopted the religion of Mahomet. At least they do not seem to have deemed themselves equal to the large army of civilised soldiers whom they found opposed to them under Berengar on the Adda and the Brenta. Berengar's overweening contempt for them led to the overthrow of his army on the banks of the latter river, and about the same time they defeated, on the Lech, the army that fought under the banners of Louis, the infant son of Arnulf; then the barbarians found North Italy and South Germany open to them, and their inroads were extended northwards to Bremen, westwards to the Pyrenees, and southwards to Calabria. The Venetian lagoons did not escape the hordes that overran the *terra firma*. In the invasion of Attila they had been uninhabited marshes, offering an inaccessible refuge to fugitives, and in the later attacks of the Lombards they had been small and poor settlements, safe in their obscurity and isolation. Now they were a rich group of cities, with many

<sup>1</sup> Many of our authorities describe them as cannibals. Liutprand (*Antap.*, ii. 16) quotes of them this passage in the 5th chap. of Jeremiah, vv. 15-17, "Filius tuos et filias tuas comedet."

<sup>2</sup> Liutprand frequently speaks of the Hungarians as Turks.

of the religious houses that the barbarians knew by experience to yield the richest spoil, and they invited rather than deterred plunderers. Whether from accident or from traditions lingering among the neighbouring cities, the Hungarians directed their attack almost exactly as Pepin had directed his a century before. They first destroyed Cività Nuova, Fines, and Equilio, and then advanced along the inner coast of the lagoon by Altino, where the monks of San Stefano had to leave their burning home and flee to the island of Ammiana, and thence over the lowlands of Treviso and Padua by Mestre and Abondia, where in later times Campi Unghareschi and a Via degli Ungheri kept up the memory of the invasion, till they came upon the southern end of the lidi, set fire to Capodargine and Loredo and Brondolo, and occupied the two Chioggie. But on the lido of Pelestrina the doge was waiting to receive them, and when they attempted to cross to it on the 29th of June, the day of the Passion of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Venetian ships proved more than a match for the coracles of skins which the Hungarians carried with them for use in crossing rivers. The Venetians gained a great victory, off Albiola, at nearly the same spot where Pepin's army had been destroyed.<sup>1</sup> The danger of Venice had lasted about a year.

In connection with this defeat of the Hungarians, we read in the chronicle of John the Deacon that the doge Peter, with his followers, began to build a city at Rivoalto. We know that for a hundred years Rialto had been the chief of the Venetian communities, and had been full of houses and churches and monasteries. But probably it had been unwallled, and so not worthy to be called a city. The chronicler describes the wall of Doge Peter, reaching from the head of the canal of Castello to the church of St. Maria Zobenigo, whence an iron chain was stretched across

<sup>1</sup> Johannes Diaconus, p. 22. Monticolo, *Cron. Venez. Ant.*, i. p. 130; Filiasi, vi. 136-147.

the canal to near the church of St. Gregory in the opposite island.<sup>1</sup>

Except for their experience of the Hungarian invasion, the Venetians do not seem to have been much concerned with the succession of civil wars that distracted North Italy during the first half of the tenth century. The name of Venetia hardly occurs in the *Antapodosis* of Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, whose interesting account of these feuds is nearly contemporary. Her concern was still rather with the East, and especially with the Eastern Cæsars. So when after a twenty-three years' reign Peter died, lamented by all his people, and was buried in San Zaccaria (A.D. 912), and the family of Participazio was again raised to power in the person of Orso II., surnamed Paurecta, the first act of the new doge was to send his son Pietro to Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> The Emperors Constantine (Porphyrogennetus) and Alexander, who then shared the throne, conferred on the doge the title of Protospatharius, which seems to have been the usual return for such embassies of courtesy; but on his return the young man was taken prisoner by Michael,<sup>3</sup> the Ban of Croatia, and by him handed over to Simeon, King of the Bulgarians. Simeon was a Christian and highly civilised prince, who had been educated at Constantinople, and had translated Greek books into the Slavonic tongue, that had only lately acquired a written character.<sup>4</sup> But he was at

<sup>1</sup> Johannes Diac., p. 22; Monticolo, *u.s.*, p. 131; Filiasi, vi. 138. In the map published by Temanza "Antica pianta dell' inclita città di Venezia," which is, I think, of the fourteenth century, a wall surrounding the Brolio or Piazza of St. Mark is clearly shown. St. Gregory is the beautiful desecrated Gothic church near the Salute, the courtyard of the Abbazia of which is one of the most famous sights of modern Venice.

<sup>2</sup> Gfrörer thinks there was an interregnum of eight or nine months (i. 225).

<sup>3</sup> Schafarik (*Slav. Alterth.*, ii. 255, 256) identifies this prince with Michael Wyschewitz, who was a prince of the Zachlumian Serbs, *circ.* 912-926.

<sup>4</sup> See Schafarik, *Slav. Alterth.*, ii. 185-187. Simeon was the first Bulgarian prince who took the title of Tsar, which he derived from the Latin Cæsar, or rather the Greek *Καῖσαρ*. A characteristic passage



this time at war with the Eastern Empire, and so may have been not unwilling to act as gaoler to the son of so faithful an ally of Constantinople as the doge. We may gather from the account given by John the Deacon<sup>1</sup> that the young man was long detained in captivity, though his father sent Dominic, Archdeacon of Malamocco, to Bulgaria to treat for his release. He was released in due time, and at a later period himself became doge.

Orso's reign of twenty years was peaceful and prosperous. He was rich, and spent his fortune liberally in works of charity and religion. In the politics of North Italy he seems to have been inclined to the party that opposed Berengar, for two documents that have come down to us from his time are treaties with Rudolph of Burgundy, and Hugh of Provence, who in 922 and 926 were set up at Pavia by Berengar's chief adversary, Adalbert, Marquis of Ivrea. Probably a marquis of Friuli was too near a neighbour to be on good terms with the Venetians. The first of these treaties is remarkable as making no exception in the commercial privileges granted to Venice, of the *ripatico*, *i.e.* the duty levied on every boat that put in at a sea or river port in the Italian kingdom, a duty from which, in previous and subsequent treaties, only ships that were the private property of the doge had been exempted. Both treaties confirm to Venice the right of coining money, a right which Rudolph recognises that she had exercised from ancient times, additional evidence of which is found in the mention, in considerably earlier times, of "*libræ Veneticorum*,"<sup>2</sup> and is the surname of "*Monetarius*" or "*Minter*."

of Liutprand says of him, "*Hunc etenim Simeonem emiargon (i.e. Semigrecum), esse aiebant, eo quod a puericia Bizantii Demostenis rhetoricam Aristotelisque silogismos didicerit*" (*Antap.* iii. 29).

<sup>1</sup> P. 23 in Pertz, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 132 of *Cronache Veneziane Antichissime*, curà Giov. Monticcolo.

<sup>2</sup> Denarii have been found with "*Venecia*" on the reverse, and the image in one case of Lothair I., in another of Louis II. on the obverse (Gröner, i. 227, 228). There is much learning on this subject in Lebret, i. p. 213.

Local mints were common in the Roman Empire from the time of Aurelian, but they coined only Roman money with the Emperor's image and superscription. As the process of dissolution went on in the later times of the Empire, no doubt abuses arose in the coinage, as in other branches of municipal administration, and when Charlemagne re-established a powerful, centralised government, one of his capitularies ordered that money should be coined nowhere but at court, that is, in one of the royal palaces, and that the palace money should circulate throughout the dominions. This order caused the mints at Treviso, Lucca, Pavia, Milan, and Pisa to be closed.<sup>1</sup> Venice, as we know, was not part of Charlemagne's empire, so that if a mint existed in the islands before this date, it would not have been closed by the decree, the effect of which would rather have been to make a mint at home more necessary when those of the neighbouring towns were shut up. In later times Venice coined money for foreign states till the year 1356, when it was forbidden by the Great Council. If few undoubtedly Venetian coins are found of a date earlier than A.D. 1000, this may be due, as Romanin suggests, to the old coinage, which had the Western Emperor's name on it, having been recoined with the doge's name alone in the time of Sebastiano Ziani<sup>2</sup> in the twelfth century.

In the year 932 Orso resigned his office in order to retire from the world to the monastery of St. Felix, which the monks who fled from San Stefano in Altino at the time of the Hungarian invasion had founded in the island of Ammiana. His successor was Pietro Candiano, a son of the doge who had fallen in battle against the Narentine

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, i. p. 226, where the capitulary is quoted in a note. See also Hallam, "Middle Ages," i. 227, 228, as to the right of the vassals of France in later times to coin money.

<sup>2</sup> Sebastiano Ziani is the first doge, whose coins are in the very complete collection in the Museo Civico or Correr. Before his time only the Western Emperor's name is found on the few coins known to have been minted at Venice.

pirates forty-five years before.<sup>1</sup> Of him the only facts recorded in the oldest chronicle are, that he sent his son and namesake to Constantinople on what had become a customary embassy of ceremony, and that he inflicted a signal punishment on the people of Comacchio for having sent out ships to prey on Venetian commerce, and detained as prisoners some Venetians taken by these ships. The Venetians now burnt the city, and carried off to Venice as hostages all the principal people of either sex.<sup>2</sup>

Later writers tell us that in this doge's time an advantageous treaty was made with Capodistria and other cities of Istria.<sup>3</sup> That peninsula had, since Charlemagne's time, formed part of the kingdom of Italy, and was now governed by a marquis named Wintker, under Hugh of Provence. He was displeased at certain overtures made by envoys of the Istrian cities to Venice for mutual trading advantages: they had offered to the doge not a tribute, but an honorarium of 100 amphoræ of wine yearly in return for the freedom of trade they enjoyed in the lagoons, and had promised to welcome and protect Venetian merchants in their territory. No doubt the commercial importance that Venice had by this time reached made it important for the Istrian cities to send their wines<sup>4</sup> and other produce to so handy a market; but for the cities to act for themselves in such a matter, though it might be looked upon as nothing but an assertion of old municipal independence in their own market-places, naturally seemed to the marquis an infringement of his master's rights. He tried to deal with

<sup>1</sup> *V. ante*, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Diac., *ut supra*, p. 23 (i. p. 133 in *C. V. A.*, ed. Monticolo), Dand., viii. 11, 4, in Murat. SS., xii. p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> The treaty with Capo d'Istria (Justinopolis) is quoted by Gfrörer, i. 232, 233, from Tafel and Thomas, *Fontes rerum Austriac.*, 2, xii. 6 *sqq.* In its date it acknowledges Hugh of Provence as King of Italy, but in substance it is a submission of the city to the doge's personal government, Gfrörer thinks, rather than to that of Venice.

<sup>4</sup> Istriano is still the ordinary wine at Trieste and Abbazia and the neighbourhood.

the business with a high hand ; he not only confiscated what property of the doge he could find in his territory, but also that of the Patriarch of Grado and the Bishops of Olivolo and Torcello, and of other churches<sup>1</sup> and individuals ; he plundered some Venetian ships, and put their crews to death ; and he strictly enjoined his subjects to have no dealings with Venice, and in particular to pay no debts owing to Venetians. But when the doge retaliated and prohibited his subjects from trading with Istria, it was found that the advantage of the trade was so much on the side of the Istrians, who were reduced to severe privations for want of imports from Venice, that Wintker had to submit, and even to entreat the injured Patriarch of Grado to intercede with the doge for a reconciliation. The agreement that resulted, which is still in existence, bound the Istrians to abstain from harassing Venetian property, to pay all the customary trading dues in Venetian ports, and not only to keep their ships from hostilities against the Venetians, but to give information at Venice of any instigations to hostilities against them that they might receive from the King of Italy.<sup>2</sup>

After holding power for seven years, Pietro Candiano II. died in 939, and was succeeded, not by his son, whom he had sent ambassador to Constantinople early in his reign, but by Pietro Participazio<sup>3</sup> the son of Orso, who in his father's

<sup>1</sup> The Patriarch of Grado had had jurisdiction over Istria since the year 732, so he probably had lands in Istria, and this may also have been the case with the other bishops and churches. But Venetian doges seem at this time to have so frequently engaged in commerce, that the doge's property in Istria was more likely ships and merchandise in the Istrian ports.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, i. 229, 230, quoting *Cod. Trev.* See also Gfrörer, i. 237-239. This second treaty was signed at Rialto on 12th March 933. It is printed in Tafel and Thomas, No. xi., *u.s.*, p. 11, and in the Appendix to Romanin, vol. i. pp. 367 *sqq.* Its language shows Latin developing into Italian.

<sup>3</sup> This is the first member of the family to whom Joh. Diac. gives the name of Badovarius or Badoer, by which they were so long, and are still, known. In the previous century we have met with Badovario as a Christian name in this family (*v. ante*, p. 100). This Pietro is the last of his family who was doge.

reign had been so long detained at the court of Bulgaria. After his uneventful reign of three years (939-942), Pietro Candiano the son succeeded, the third of the name, and had a long and busy reign of seventeen years (942-959).

The new doge's energies were first directed to one of the frequent quarrels that had arisen between the Patriarchs of Grado and Aquileia, in which the latter had recourse to arms in resisting the jurisdiction of the former in the churches that had been so long disputed between them. The doge settled the quarrel by a repetition of the vigorous measures his father had adopted against the Marquis of Istria. All traffic with the patriarchate of Aquileia was forbidden, and this soon brought the patriarch to reason. He, like Wintker, had to ask for the good offices of Marino, the Patriarch of Grado, whom he had injured. The document in which he bound himself to pay a fine of 50 lbs. of gold if he ever interfered with the jurisdiction of Grado, or attacked any Venetian territory, is still extant.<sup>1</sup>

In the sixth year of the doge's government, he had again to send out a fleet against the Narentine pirates, and at first without success, though he equipped thirty-three large ships called *gumbarie*, a word said to be derived from the Saracens.<sup>2</sup> But a second expedition was more successful. Romanin refers to this victorious second expedition an account in a thirteenth-century chronicler<sup>3</sup> of the Venetians conquering the Istrian pirate Gajolo on Candlemas day by a levy of the schools,<sup>4</sup> which conquest was the occasion of

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, i. 233. It is dated 13th March 944 (Gfrörer, i. 251).

<sup>2</sup> Lucius, *de Regno Dalm. et Croat.*, ii. 2, p. 65. It is *κομβάρια* in Greek.

<sup>3</sup> The extract (in *Archiv. Stor. Ital.*, viii. p. 265 sqq.) is worth reading. The writer tells us his name was Marcus, and that he had compiled his chronicle in Latin from "certain old and modern French histories" in the year 1292. The modern French history would seem to be Martin da Canal's (see next page) written thirty or forty years before.

<sup>4</sup> The Latin of Marcus is not very intelligible. I presume "in festo Virginis Cerealis" refers to Candlemas, Cerealis being formed from

the famous legend of the "Rape of the Brides of Venice," commemorated in an annual festival that went back to an unknown antiquity, but of the origin of which no good ancient authority makes mention. The earliest document relating to the "Festa delle Marie," as it was called, is a regulation of the year 1142, which speaks of the festival itself as an old custom. From this and from an account in the chronicle of Martin da Canal<sup>1</sup> we can frame a description of the festival itself, which may throw some light on the legend which grew up as to its origin.

The regulation of 1142 merely prescribes the course to be taken by the procession of *scuole* that formed part of the festivities. The *scuole* of Venice were religious and charitable confraternities, taking their names from different saints; one of their chief objects was the providing of dowries for poor maidens, and we shall see reason to think that the festival of the Marie was connected with this part of their duties. In the time of Da Canal the festival began on the 30th of January, the eve of the Feast of the Translation of St. Mark, with the landing of a company of young men before the doge's palace and their marching with trumpeters and banners and men carrying trays of confectionery and cups of wine to the church of St. Mark, whence, accompanied by the clergy of the church in copes of cloth of gold, they proceeded to the church of Sta. Maria Formosa; there they were received by a crowd of ladies to whom they offered in the church the confectionery and the

cerei rather than Ceres, and "cum apparatu scaularum" to the *scuole* as to which see above on this page. He does not say anything about brides, or their capture from St. Peter in Castello; but there is a lacuna in the MS. at a place where this might have been described.

<sup>1</sup> He wrote in the reign of Ranieri Zeno (1253-1268), in French, translating, he says, "l'ancienne estoire des Veneciens de latin en françois," because "lengue française cort parmi le monde, et est la plus delitable à lire et à oir que nule autre." It is to be found, with introductions by Galvani (who has given an Italian translation) and Angelo Zon, in vol. viii. of the first series of *Archivio Storico Italiano*. It borrows much from the Altino Chronicle.



wine. The next day there was a similar procession, with the addition of a dramatical representation of the Annunciation, the parts of the Angel and Mary being taken by two clerks dressed in character. In the afternoon of the same day there was feasting in the houses of the twelve families, from which the Marie of the year were chosen, at which the Marie themselves appeared in beautiful dresses, there being great competition between the different families which should show the most beautiful and richly dressed maiden.<sup>1</sup> It was determined each year by lot which parishes should provide the Marie, and the parishes chosen seem to have selected the houses that should furnish the representative maidens. The two processions mentioned were only preliminary to the great ceremony which took place on the 2nd February, the Purification. On the morning of that day the Marie were taken in four large boats, escorted by two others, one for the priests, the other for forty armed men, to the bishop's palace at Castello: there the bishop gave them his blessing and returned with them to St. Mark's in his boat, which was towed by two that the parish priest of Sta. Maria Formosa was bound to supply. At St. Mark's the doge joined the procession in his *maestra nave*, afterwards famous as the Bucentaur, and made with them the circuit of the Grand Canal, ending the day with a grand banquet at the Ducal Palace.<sup>2</sup>

This order differs in some points from that recorded in the regulations of 1142. At the earlier date, the procession went, if the depth of water permitted, up the Canal dei Santi Apostoli, which parted from the Grand Canal near

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear from Da Canal whether the Marie were in his time living maidens or large wooden dolls. The passage in Marco leaves no doubt that they were dolls, "fecerunt construi ymagine formosas duodecim." Their dress was so wonderful and beautiful, "quam vix possit humanis ad plenum sermonibus explicari" (*Arch. Stor. Ital.*, viii. pp. 266, 267). Cicogna thinks that Da Canal's words, "et metent les Maries en mi les nes," implies that they were dolls.

<sup>2</sup> The account of Da Canal is in chapters 242-248, pp. 566-576 of *A. S. I.*, v. viii.

the Rialto bridge to the church of St. Maria Formosa ; and it was composed mainly, it would appear, of the several *scuole*. Probably the intervention of the *maestra nave* of the doge was inconsistent with the passage of the small canal, and the whole festival must have become more aristocratic and luxurious in the hundred years before Da Canal wrote. The original ceremony seems to me to have been the presentation in the cathedral of Castello of twelve poor maidens<sup>1</sup> for whom the *scuole* found dowries. The members of the confraternities went there with them to see them receive the benediction of the bishop. The Purification seems to have been chosen because on that day the priest of Sta. Maria Formosa was bound to pay some quasi-feudal services to the bishop and to the doge. We have seen that he sent two boats to tow the bishop's barge from Castello to the palace : at the same festival he presented to the doge fruits and muscat wine and "gilded straw hats." Both of these actions seem analogous to the "services" incident to the holding of land by grand-serjeantry and similar tenures. Each of the boats sent to tow the bishop's barge was manned by forty rowers : whether these were represented by the forty armed men who accompanied the Marie in Da Canal's time, I think is doubtful : but the forty armed men seem to have had a good deal to do with the generation of the myth, which, as we may conclude from analogy, grew up to account for the festival. The legend ran that in old times maidens about to be married were taken on the 31st of January, with their dowries in caskets, to the church of St. Peter in Castello to receive the marriage benediction ; that on one occasion a band of pirates led by one Barberigo and his six brothers, who had hidden their boats among the bushes that then fringed the island, swooped down upon the church and carried off the brides and their trousseaux, making for the

<sup>1</sup> "Marie," I presume, means "marite," or "maritate" brides.

Istrian coast with all the speed their oars could attain. At nightfall they had reached a creek near Caorle, called from this event the Porto delle Donzelle, and were in the act of dividing the spoil, when they were overtaken and all slain by some Venetian youths, foremost amongst whom were the carpenters and box-makers of the parish of Sta. Maria Formosa. The latter, it was said, asked the doge, as a commemoration of their exploit, to pay a yearly visit to their parish church. The doge replied, "What if it should be too hot?" "We will give you wherewith to refresh you." "And if it should rain?" "We will supply hats:" whence the annual offerings of fruit, wine, and straw hats.

Any one used to investigate Greek or Latin myths will at once perceive the resemblance of this story to many of those of ancient mythology, that were invented to account for sacrifices or ceremonies or old customs, the real history of which was lost in the mists of antiquity.<sup>1</sup> The *Fasti* of Ovid are full of similar legends, and I do not believe there is any more truth in the legend of the Brides of Venice than in these creations of the mythopœic spirit of Greece or Rome. The customary services paid to the doge and the bishop, and the ceremonies connected with the portioning of the poor maidens, gave occasion to the invention of this graceful story. Why it should be assigned to the reign of Pietro Candiano III., I cannot say. No date can be less probable, except the reign of Pietro Orseolo II., in which Rogers<sup>2</sup> places it. Either of these would bring it into the lifetime or very shortly before the lifetime of our earliest chronicler, John the Deacon, who would have willingly found a place for so romantic a story.

The last years of the doge's life were years of strife and great distress. In an evil hour he took as colleague his

<sup>1</sup> See Grote's "History of Greece," i. pp. 85 *seqq.* (third edition).

<sup>2</sup> The story of the Brides makes a great figure in Rogers' "Italy" and Sismondi's *Republiques Italiennes*.

son Pietro,<sup>1</sup> and the young man's ambition drove him to factious courses against his father, which ended in a fight in the forum of Rialto ("in Rivoalto foro"). The son's party was beaten, and his father was urged to put him to death, but spared his life and banished him: however, clergy and people assembled and swore an oath that neither in his father's lifetime nor afterwards would they accept him as doge. The young man took up the appropriate trade of a condottiere, for which the state of Italy on the eve of the invasion of Otto the Great furnished a fruitful soil, and took service with Guido, son of Berengar, Marquis of Ivrea, who was in the year 950 crowned King of Italy on the departure of Hugh of Provence. Under the banners of Guido and Berengar Pietro fought in an expedition against Spoleto and Camerino, and, in return for his services, received from the king permission to take vengeance on his country. So he established himself at Ravenna, and with the help of the ships of that city, always a rival of Venice, he first cut off seven Venetian merchantmen in the harbour of Primaro, at the mouth of the Po, on their way to Fano, and then embarked on a regular course of piracy against Venetian commerce in the Adriatic. A terrible pestilence at the same time visited Venice, and in the midst of her distress, while new churches were being built to propitiate the anger of Heaven, and the streets were full of religious processions, the doge ended his life (959), after reigning seventeen years.

The spirits of the Venetians must have been broken indeed by these troubles, for we read<sup>2</sup> that all the people

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer's view is that the creation of a second doge was always an effect of faction. He thinks that in this case the younger Peter was the representative of the Italian king's party, and that his retreat to the camp of Berengar's son confirms this opinion. The elder Peter had been at Constantinople, and bore a Byzantine title of honour (i. 255, 256).

<sup>2</sup> Jo. Diac., *ut supra*, p. 25 (i. p. 138, ed. Monticolo).

assembled with the bishops and abbots, and forgetting their oath, hastened with 300 ships to Ravenna to fetch back the exiled Pietro and make him doge. There is reason to suppose that Pietro had been always popular with the common people, and that the fight that resulted in his banishment was a rising of the democracy against the nobles.<sup>1</sup> The humiliation of the latter, thus compelled to kiss the rod that had punished them, must have been complete. Perhaps it was because the nobles, his opponents, were chiefly interested in the slave trade, that one of the new doge's first acts was to gather in the church of San Marco all the clergy, headed by the patriarch, the nobles, and the people, to renew the prohibition against that old-standing sin of Venice, which the Church had condemned long before. The assembly threatened with spiritual and temporal penalties all who either engaged in the slave trade or found money for it; and this decree may very likely have hit some of the merchant-nobles of the islands.<sup>2</sup>

Pietro Candiano IV. also, in 967, sent envoys to Otto the Great when at Rome for his son's coronation, and renewed for a perpetuity the five years' treaty of commerce that subsisted between Venice and the Italian kingdom. He also obtained from the Pope privileges for the church of Grado. In his time an embassy came to Venice from Tzimisces, the heroic Emperor of the East, to remonstrate against the Venetian trade with Syria and Egypt, by which the Saracens got arms from Europe. This trade, which appeared to men of that age nothing less than a heinous crime, the Venetians readily promised to regulate, so that

<sup>1</sup> Roman., i. p. 244. Gfrörer thinks that the people recalled Peter Candiano on conditions, and that henceforward there was a council regularly established side by side with the doge (i. 263).

<sup>2</sup> The text of the decree (which is printed by Tafel and Thomas in *Fontes rerum Austriac.*, xii. 19 *sqq.*) is translated in Gfrörer, i. 265-267. Its date is early in June 960.

neither arms nor contraband of war should find their way to the infidels ; but they stipulated for permission to continue the export to the Levant of such timber and other manufactured articles as could not be put to a warlike use.<sup>1</sup>

But the events that most impressed the doge's contemporaries were connected with his private life. Soon after his accession he divorced his wife Giovanna, sent her to be a nun in the convent of San Zaccaria, and made her son Vitale take the tonsure, in order that he might marry Waldrada, a sister of the Marquis of Tuscany, then the richest and one of the most powerful of the princes of Italy. Her father, Hubert, an illegitimate son of Hugh of Provence, had been invested by his father with the March of Tuscany, in succession to Boso, his uncle, whom Hugh deposed in the year 936 for treasonable attempts against himself.<sup>2</sup> The family of Hugh and the family of Berengar of Ivrea, though hostile, were connected by marriage, so that the doge may have met with his future wife when on exile at the court of Berengar. She brought to him lands in the march of Treviso, in Friuli, the Ferrarese, and Adria, so that he became at once a considerable feudal prince on the *terra firma*. His Venetian subjects saw, with dread and suspicion, their duke assuming feudal state, and guarding his palace by foreign troops levied on his wife's estates, and, worst of all, dragging Venetian soldiers to fight in the Ferrarese or at Oderzo for his territorial interests. He was also thought to have recognised some sort of superiority over the Venetian islands as residing in the Emperor Otto ; and this would naturally stir up against him the hostility of the Byzantine party that always existed at Venice, and of the larger party that dreaded the introduction of feudalism. His foreign guards and his friendship with the Emperor for

<sup>1</sup> The law regulating this trade is translated in Gfrörer, i. 281-283, from *Fontes rerum Austriac.*, xii. 26 sqq. Its date is 971.

<sup>2</sup> Liutpr., *Antap.*, iii. 20 ; iv. 10.



some time overawed discontent, but at length a riot arose and a mob attacked the doge's palaces. Beaten back by the guard, they thought of the "wicked counsel" of setting fire to the houses which stood over against the palace, on the same side of the small canal (*citra rivolum*—I presume the canal separating the palace from the prisons, and spanned by the Bridge of Sighs), by which they raised so great a conflagration that, besides the palace, the churches of St. Mark<sup>1</sup> and St. Theodore, the newly built church of Sta. Maria Zobenigo, and more than three hundred houses were destroyed. The doge, driven out of his burning palace by the heat and smoke, attempted to escape by the atrium of the church of St. Mark: he had but a few attendants with him; at the gate of the church he met some of the chief nobles, and endeavoured to excite their compassion, promising to make amends for any wrong he might have done. But they had no compassion for him: "affirming him to be most wicked and worthy of death, they cried out with terrible voices that there was no possibility of escape for him. And they instantly surrounding him, and wounding him cruelly with strokes of their swords, his immortal soul, leaving its prison-house of the body, sought the haunts of the blessed."<sup>2</sup> So writes the contemporary John the Deacon with an unusual striving after effect, and an appearance of sympathy with fallen greatness that is creditable in one who was employed in high offices by the son of the succeeding doge, Pietro Orseolo. The doge's little son by Waldrada was killed in his nurse's arms, run through with

<sup>1</sup> In this conflagration, Dandolo tells us, the body of St. Mark was lost, for the doge and the few other persons who were in the secret of its resting-place all perished at the same time. A century later, in the time of Doge Vitale Faliero, it was again discovered, but its place was again concealed from all men but three—the doge, the primicerius of the doge's chapel, and the procurator of St. Mark; and in Dandolo's time it was still a secret. Gfrörer thinks that this secrecy was a device to prevent the forcible removal of the relics, by Papal or Byzantine authority, to Grado (i. 168, 169).

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Diac., p. 25 (i. p. 140, ed. Monticolo).

a spear, so furious was the popular hatred ; and even his elder son, Vitale, who had been made a priest on his father's second marriage, had to go into exile. The bodies of the doge and his child were at first put on a common boat and carried to the shambles (*forum macelli*), till a holy man, Giovanni Gradenigo, persuaded the mob to cease from vengeance on the dead, and give the bodies honourable burial. But even so they were not buried, as doges usually were, in San Zaccaria, but away in the monastery of St. Hilary, which Agnellus Participazio had founded in the marshes near Abbondia.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *V. ante*, p. 77.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ORSEOLI

PIETRO ORSEOLO was elected doge at an assembly held in the church of St. Peter in Castello—the cathedral of Olivolo—on the 12th August 976. A tradition followed by Dandolo attributed to him the first suggestion to the people to set fire to the palace: perhaps this rested on the maxim “fecit cui prodest”: it seems inconsistent with the character of the new doge, a man, we are told, of saintly life from his childhood, who was unwilling to accept the greatness thrust upon him, who on the throne lived the life of a monk, separating from his wife after the birth of one son (of whom we shall hear much hereafter), who spent his private fortune lavishly on rebuilding the church of St. Mark—the church that still stands to perpetuate his memory—and on founding hospitals for the sick and lodgings for pilgrims, and who finally, after reigning only two years, gave up his power to retire into a remote monastery, where, after nineteen years of devout life, he died in A.D. 997, and was canonised.<sup>1</sup>

The two years that he was doge were years of busy activity, not only in rebuilding the church of St. Mark and the palace, but in settling other difficulties that the oppressive rule of his predecessor and its violent termination had left to him. The “dogressa” Waldrada had escaped—

<sup>1</sup> Romanin says that his feast is kept at Venice on the 14th of January. The Bollandists mention him on the 11th of January, but give no biography of him, on the ground that though he is recognised by some hagiologies, “*cœlitum catalogo non ascribitur.*”

probably she had not been in Venice when the insurrection occurred—and had taken refuge at the court of Otto II. Adelaide, the widow of the great Otto, who was still a powerful person at her son's court, was Waldrada's kinswoman,<sup>1</sup> and ready to see that justice was done her by her husband's murderers. Venice could not venture to resist her claims for the dowry she had brought to her husband, the *morganatum* (the German *morgengabe* or gift to the bride on the morrow of the wedding) and other post-nuptial gifts. All these claims were satisfied, and Romanin quotes, from an abstract in the library of St. Mark, the terms of Waldrada's deed of release, which was afterwards confirmed by the Empress Adelaide and the Court Palatine at Verona. But the payment of these claims and the cost of repairing the damage done by the fire obliged the doge to call upon the people for a tithe. He himself showed a noble example of liberality, in taking upon himself the cost of rebuilding the palace<sup>2</sup> and St. Mark's church. To the latter object he devoted a sufficient sum to yield a yearly income of 8000 ducats for eighty years.<sup>3</sup> He brought skilled workmen from Constantinople to do the choicer work, and the design and details both show many traces of its Byzantine origin. He also brought from Constantinople the famous "Pala d'Oro" or altar-front of silver gilt, jewelled and enamelled,<sup>4</sup> that is still to be seen, much restored and decorated, behind the high altar.

The account of this doge's abdication is a curious illustration of the feelings of the time, in which asceticism was

<sup>1</sup> Adelaide's first husband was Lothair, son of Hugh of Provence; so that she was Waldrada's aunt by marriage. The progeny of Hugh, legitimate and illegitimate, was so numerous that relationships amongst the Italian princes of this time were complicated.

<sup>2</sup> While the palace was rebuilding the doge lived in his own house "circa curtis rivulum" (Dand., viii. 15, 1).

<sup>3</sup> Romanin, i. p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> Dand., viii. 15, 3. Joh. Diac., *apud* Pertz, p. 26, where also is mention of a legacy of "mille libras ad Veneticorum solatia," and another 1000 "in pauperum alimonias" (i. pp. 142, 143, ed. Monticolo).

reviving after the sufferings of the Hungarian invasion and the gross immoralities that characterise both the secular and the ecclesiastical history of Italy in the middle of the tenth century, perhaps in connection with the general expectation that the world would come to an end in the 1000th year of the Christian era. We have an almost contemporary account of the abdication in the life of St. Romuald by the famous ascetic, Peter Damiani,<sup>1</sup> who lived in the middle of the eleventh century, and also in the chronicle of John the Deacon. St. Romuald, when still young, in compunction at blood shed by him in a brawl in the streets of Ravenna, retired for a penance to the monastery of St. Apollinaris in Classe: there, by a twice-repeated appearance of St. Apollinaris himself, he was with difficulty persuaded to become a monk; but his mind once made up, he longed for greater austerities, and after three years found an opportunity of joining one Marino, a Venetian, in a retreat to some hermitage on that desolate coast, such as that which had been chosen by Heliodorus, the friend of Jerome, six centuries before. In this retreat the friends seem to have heard of the doge's wish to retire from the world. Peter Damiani, the severest of fanatics, imagines the doge to have been sunk in remorse for his sins towards his predecessor Candiano. He says that Orseolo's house was next to the Ducal Palace, and that the conspirators came to him to propose that he should set fire to his house in order that the palace might be burned. He had consented on condition that he should succeed as doge. His remorse for so black an ambition had not been removed by his lavish expenditure on the new church and on the poor, and exacted a total renunciation of the world. A friend of his, named Guarino, who was abbot of a monastery of St. Michael either in Catalonia or in Aquilaine,<sup>2</sup> had visited

<sup>1</sup> *Apud* Bolland, 7th February.

<sup>2</sup> There are two monasteries of St. Michael that claim to have been the doge's retreat—1. St. Michael in valle Cusanâ in the diocese of

him when doge, and on hearing of his troubles of conscience, had invited him to enter his monastery. The doge caught at the suggestion, but desired some delay to settle his secular affairs. When he was thus half resolved, Romuald and Marino seem to have come upon the stage, and Guarino also is said to have come back to Venice, under colour of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. A night was fixed—the 1st of September 978—for the doge's escape, and horses were kept ready saddled at the monastery of St. Hilary that we have so often had occasion to mention. The doge stole away,<sup>1</sup> with no companions but his son-in-law Giovanni Morosino and Giovanni Gradenigo, probably the same holy man who had cared for the Christian burial of the late doge and his child. They rode quickly, avoiding Milan and large towns, over North Italy and the passes of the Alps, till they reached the monastery of St. Michael, where the doge had yet nineteen years of life to spend in devotion.<sup>2</sup>

His successor in the palace was Vitale Candiano, a brother of the late doge, not the son of the same name, who was Patriarch of Grado. The family of Candiano must

Helena (Elna) or Illiberis in Roussillon, where was a famous Benedictine monastery founded by St. Flamianus in the time of Charles the Great, as to which see Bolland for 5th of January; 2. St. Michael en l'Erm *i.e.* in Ermo in Gascony, which has in its favour the authority of the Bollandist annotator on the Life of St. Romuald, 7th February, *ut supra*. Roussillon in the Middle Ages, and indeed till the reign of Louis XIV., was part of Catalonia. Dom Vaissete, *Hist. de Languedoc*, iii. 77 (ed. 1841).

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo says, "Nesciente uxore et filio omnibusque fidelibus." He had been so liberal to Venice, that his *fidèles* may fairly have forgiven him for taking with him a large treasure for the benefit of his new home. John the Deacon (p. 26, i. p. 142 Monticello), whom Dandolo here follows almost verbatim, adds a few details. The fugitives had shaved off their beards for disguise. On the third day from their flight "Mediolanensem ruram transeuntes, Vergelensem urbem conspicerent," *i.e.* probably Vercelli.

<sup>2</sup> Girorer (i. 318-330) sees in Orseolo's retirement a conspiracy of churchmen, hatched at Rome, to withdraw the doge from the vengeance of the Western Emperors, whose plans had been thwarted by the murder of Peter Candiano, but I do not think he makes out his case.



have been still powerful, for Vitale seems to have been a man of no particular mental power, and an invalid. He succeeded in making terms with the Emperor Otto II., but the treaty granted by the latter was unusually condescending in tone, as though the wrong done by the city to the kinswoman of the Ottos had not yet been forgiven. After a fourteen months' reign, marked by no event of importance besides, Vitale, broken in health and longing for rest, retired to the monastery of St. Hilary, where, after only four days, he died and was buried.

Another of the party of Candiano was the next doge, Tribuno Memo,<sup>1</sup> who had married a daughter of the murdered Pietro. He is described as a man of no force of character, unfit for the stormy element in which he was placed, for the party that had risen against his father-in-law was disaffected, and strong enough to cause civil discord. The opposing parties, as in earlier times, leant on German or Byzantine support. The German party was led by the Caloprini, the Byzantine by the Morosini. These two families came to blows in the streets, and one of the Morosini was killed in the piazza of St. Peter in Castello by Stefano Caloprini. We do not know whether there was any peculiar treachery or atrocity in the murder, but for some reason it caused so much horror that Stefano felt his life unsafe in the city, and fled with two sons and a crowd of kinsmen and adherents to Ravenna,<sup>2</sup> to beg the Emperor Otto to restore him, and thus end the discord of his distracted country, in return for which he undertook to make her tributary to the Western Empire, and in all things submissive to the Emperor's policy. Otto II. had, after seven years of brilliant success north of the Alps,

<sup>1</sup> Or Menio; but the proper name of this family seems to have been Memmio. The "Tribuni Memmi" are frequently mentioned in old chronicles.

<sup>2</sup> So says Giesebrecht, *Deutsche Kaiserzeit*, i. 603, apparently on the authority of German chronicles. Romanin makes the Caloprini go to Verona at the time of the great diet shortly to be mentioned.

come down to Italy in 980, and at once embarked in the heroic and arduous design of expelling the Saracens from South Italy and Sicily. The Eastern Emperors Basil II. and Constantine IX., Otto's brothers-in-law, were quite unable to defend their provinces of Apulia and Calabria (the "Theme of Lombardy" in official phrase) against the Sicilian Moslems, who were then at the height of their power, and had lately established a dynasty in Egypt and built Cairo; but they dreaded their powerful brother-in-law more than the enemies of their faith, and Otto had the Greek power at Bari (such as it was) and its allies at Naples and Amalfi to contend with as well as the Saracens. In the early summer of 982 he took Bari and overran Apulia, and advancing along the coast of the Gulf of Tarento to Calabria, defeated and killed Abulkasem, the Emir of Sicily, at a village near Cape Colonne. But this success led him to neglect the necessary precautions, and so on the 13th of July he fell into an ambush at a spot south of Cotrone, where the mountains came down close to the sea, and was so worsted that he only escaped by swimming his horse to a Greek ship<sup>1</sup> that was off the coast, the crew of which, ignorant of the prize chance had given them, landed him in safety at the town of Rossano, which his troops still held, from whence he escaped in great haste to the Lombard principalities of Capua and Salerno. The Saracens did not follow up their victory, and the Emperor was able to stay at Rome through the winter and over the following Easter: in June 983 he was at Verona, where the loyal princes and bishops of Germany and Italy rallied round him, and a great diet of the two kingdoms elected his little son Otto, then three years old, to the united thrones of Germany and Italy. When the diet dispersed, the Emperor, still bent upon his designs against the Saracens, moved southwards by Mantua

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Diac., p. 27, calls the ship a *zalandria* (i. p. 145, ed. Monticolo).

and Ravenna. The mission of the Caloprini came at a welcome time, for to succeed in his attack on Sicily the Emperor needed a strong fleet, and this he could get only from Amalfi or Venice. It is probable that, in his last unsuccessful war, as in his father's former war with the Greeks in Apulia, both these cities had fought on the Greek side. But now he had already secured Amalfi, and he hoped, by the help of the Caloprini and their party, to obtain the Venetian fleet also. He had, before leaving Verona, renewed with the Venetians the usual treaty allowing them freedom of trade in his empire.<sup>1</sup> But the offers made by the Caloprini opened a prospect of conquering once for all the islands and their fleet, and an edict was at once issued prohibiting all intercourse with Venice. Venetian exiles of the Caloprini, Badoarii, and Silvii, among them a Tribuno who must have been a relation of the doge, were posted at Padua, at Mestre, on the Adige, and on the road to Ravenna, to keep up a strict blockade, while discontented subjects at Capodargine and the Bishop of Belluno, always hostile, took up arms against Venice, which was soon reduced to great suffering from famine.<sup>2</sup> The Emperor was the heart and soul of the confederacy against Venice, and had he lived and prospered Venice might well have been absorbed into the Western Empire. But Otto II. was not destined to strike his great blow against the Saracens. Troubles in Germany delayed his

<sup>1</sup> The document is in Romanin, i. pp. 379, 380. Its date, "7 idus Junii," shows that it must have been executed at Verona, not, as Giesebrecht says, at Ravenna. The Archbishops of Mainz, Magdeburg, and Treves are mentioned as present. The words of the concession are, "Ut majores et minores illius Venetiæ populi patriæ per suum imperium orientem versus meridiem occidentem et Septentrionem libere et secure ambulent." The "majores et minores populi" are, I presume, nobles and commons.

<sup>2</sup> Gfrörer points out that the March of Friuli (at this time better known as the March of Verona) and the March of Istria were both in the hands of the Duke of Carinthia, one of the German Emperor's feudatories (i. 344-346).

advance, and he never got beyond Rome, but died there of fever (Dec. 983), at the early age of twenty-eight, an angel revealing to a certain "spiritalis monachus" that his premature death was a punishment "ob Veneticorum afflictionem."<sup>1</sup> This averted the peril from Venice, and the party of the Caloprini (Stefano himself was by this time dead), instead of a restoration by force of arms, had to trust to the intercession of the Empress Adelaide with the doge to obtain a peaceful return. But they were ill looked upon in the city, and could not brook the sight of their enemies the Morosini filling all the places of power and favour. The old enmities began again, and in 991 were again signalised by murder: three brothers of the Caloprini were killed, when embarking in their boat near the doge's palace, by some of the Morosini. The doge was held to blame in this, whether as an active accomplice or merely from his want of power to stop such scandals, and he was compelled to abdicate and become a monk in San Zaccaria.

His successor is one of the greatest figures in early Venetian history, and his reign begins a new policy of foreign conquest. It will be well, before beginning to describe it, to take a survey of the external and internal position of Venice at this time, very nearly the thousandth year of the Christian era.

<sup>1</sup> Chr. Joh. Diac., *u.s.*, p. 28 (i. p. 147, ed. Monticolo).

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CITY AND LAGOONS IN THE TENTH CENTURY: THEIR EXTERNAL ASPECT, GOVERNMENT, AND TRADE

It is hardly possible now to realise to our mind's eye the outward appearance of Venice in the days of the Orseoli: no picture or coin representing it is extant; hardly any building of their time remains. In the year 976 Pietro Orseolo I., the canonised doge, began the present church of St. Mark, in place of its predecessor that was burnt in the riot that ended Candiano's reign and life. But by the year 1000 it could have made but little progress, for it was not till the year 1071—ninety-five years after its foundations were laid—that its five domes, its forest of pinnacles, its internal wealth of mosaics, were finished. The city of the year A.D. 1000 was without this great landmark, without the Campanile, without the Ducal Palace, without the Rialto bridge, without San Giorgio, or the Salute, or any of the great churches or palaces that now go to make up our idea of Venetian architecture. Of the oldest Christian architecture of Venice, unaffected by Lombard or Arab influence, and very slightly affected by that of Constantinople, all that now remains is, Mr. Ruskin tells us, to be found in the crypt of St. Mark, in the church of San Giacomo in Rialto, and in the cathedral and the church of Sta. Fosca at Torcello.<sup>1</sup> The numerous churches and baptisteries, of whose foundation in all the islands and lidi

<sup>1</sup> "Stones of Venice," i. pp. 19 *sqq.*







Isola di S. Chiara

Orio Botanico

S. Giobbe

Rio di S. Girolamo

Canareggio

Ghetto Nuovo

Ghetto Vecchio

P. Manfrin

S. Geremia

S. Marco

La Maddalena

Canal Grande

Museo P. Corner

S. Simon Grande

S. Stea

S. Simon Piccolo

S. Giacomo dall'Orio

S. Me. Malc. Dom.

S. Cassiuno

S. Andrea

S. Niccolo da Tolentino

Campo di Marte

S. Rocco

Frari

S. Polo

S. Aponat

S. Sivesto

Scuola S. Rocco

S. Toma

S. Pantaleone

Canal Grande

S. Luca

Carmini

P. Foscari

P. Grassi

S. Stefano

S. Fantin

S. Maurizio

Teatro la Fenice

S. Vitale

S. Maria Zobenigo

P. Dorna

Serra

S. Maria della Salute

Canal di Fusina

S. Sebastiano

S. Trovaso

Accademia di Belle Arti

Canal della Giudecca

La Giudecca

Il Redentore





of the lagoons we read in the old chronicles, particularly in that of Altino, were no doubt built somewhat on the model of these churches at Torcello, or those of considerably earlier date at Rome or Ravenna—churches plain even to austerity in their exterior of almost windowless walls, but rich inside with architectural detail of pillar and capital, cornice and frieze, and, above all, with their glittering mosaics covering every blank space on the walls or ceilings. Of the secular buildings of those early times, Mr. Ruskin again tells us, we have the type in the Ducal Palace, the open arcades below built to yield shade to the passers through the streets, “the upper parts of the palace being sustained on magnificent arches, and the smaller houses sustained in the same manner on wooden piers, still retained in many of the cortiles, and exhibited characteristically throughout the main street of Murano.”<sup>1</sup> There must also have been many examples in the islands of the fortified palace, such as that of the Particiaci when tribunes of Rialto, the description of which I gave in a former chapter.<sup>2</sup> The scenes of violence in the streets of Venice, of which we have so frequently read, bear witness to the fact that family feuds prevailed there as in other Italian towns, but probably to a less degree, since the bent towards trade, which characterised Venetians from very early days, will have tended to soften the harsher features of mediæval life. In the time of the Orseoli the islands of the Rialto group were by no means completely covered by buildings. For long after this the Giudecca was, on its side towards the lagoon, marshy and uninhabited: the little island, now made conspicuous by the Campanile of San Giorgio Maggiore, was a vineyard and a wood, with only a chapel standing on it, till in the year 982 the doge Tribuno Memmo granted it to Giovanni Morosini (the son-in-law of San Pietro Orseoli, who fled with him to his retreat in Aquitaine), to found a Benedictine monastery there. More than a century earlier,

<sup>1</sup> “Stones of Venice,” i. p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> *V. ante*, p. 77.

when Orso Parricipazio I. was doge, there were still marshes to be drained in Rialto : the same doge built the first bridge to unite the islands of Rialto and Dorsoduro, the predecessor of the famous bridge that has usurped the name of the island. Another early topographical notice of the city is given us in Dandolo's account of the doge Pietro Tribuno in the year 897, when a prudent statesman could foresee the coming Magyar invasion, building a wall from the mouth of the canal of Castello to the church of Sta. Maria Zobenigo and stretching across the Grand Canal from the beginning of this wall to the church of St. Gregory a massive iron chain.<sup>1</sup>

If we turn from the external aspect of the city of Venice to the political principles that prevailed there from its earliest days, we shall find that, perhaps more than any other of the states that formed the Western Europe of the Middle Ages, it embodied the ideas that had been bequeathed by the Roman Empire. Guizot has pointed out how the two political ideas that the Roman Empire bequeathed to the modern world were those of municipal or city government, and of the majesty of the Imperial power. From the combination of these ideas with those of tribal life in the country and tribal government, which the barbarians brought with them from the forests of Germany, and from which the feudal system was developed, has sprung the variety of modern civilisation. In Venice we find the Roman ideas of municipal government and of the majesty of the Empire highly developed : their predominance was no doubt one of the causes of the marked sympathy that so long existed between Venice and the Byzantine Empire. \ On the other hand, feudalism hardly made any impression on Venice. Though in the earliest records we find frequent mention of pasture and

<sup>1</sup> Dand., viii. 9, 12. The canal of Castello would probably be on the site now occupied by the Arsenal.



hunting-ground, of farms and mills, of herds of cattle and horses, belonging to the doge or the Patriarch of Grado, or some of the religious houses on the islands, evidence that country life was not so unknown in Venice then as in later days, there can be no doubt that the dominant colour of the lives of Venetians from the first came from the city and the sea, rather than the fields. Once only, when the doge Peter Candiano IV. married Waldrada, and through her came into possession of large feudal estates on the mainland, have we found any trace of the introduction into the island community of the state and splendour, the guards and retainers, that were characteristic of feudal nobles. And the citizens soon brought to a violent end the power of this aspiring doge and his wife.

The political arrangements of Venice were thus untinged by feudalism, chiefly because they originated with a power that was out of the range of feudalism, the Eastern Empire. There can, I think, be little doubt that the first Dukes or Doges of Venetia were Byzantine officers, like the Dukes of Naples and Rome, who for a short time existed contemporaneously with them. The Pragmatic Sanction of Justinian, which was issued in the year 554 to regulate the government of Italy, provided for the election of local judges (*judices*, which perhaps we may assume, from comparison with other passages, to have included *duces*) by the clergy and notables of their district.<sup>1</sup> Dandolo speaks of the election of the first doge, Paulutius, by "the tribunes, the notables, and all the people in assembly, together with the Patriarch of Grado, the bishops and the other clergy"; and so far as the intervention of the people is concerned, he is confirmed by the earlier authority of John the Deacon (about A.D. 1000). Gfrörer<sup>2</sup> thinks that the sailor population

<sup>1</sup> "Provinciarum judices ab episcopis et primatibus uniuscujusque regionis idoneos eligendos et sufficientes ad locorum administrationem ex ipsis videlicet jubemus fieri provinciis" (*Corpus Juris*, Leeuwen, Amsterdam, 1663, Pt. III., p. 236, cap. 12).

<sup>2</sup> *Byz. Gesch.*, i. p. 44.



of the islands were even at this early date sufficiently powerful to assert their right to a voice in elections, and this would be in accordance with the general rule, that sea-faring people tend towards democracy. But neither of our authorities was contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the event they describe, and it seems more probable that they used of earlier times a form of words that would have been appropriate in their own time.

The original dependence of Venice upon the Eastern Empire, when first asserted by Giannone,<sup>1</sup> was strenuously denied by Venetian writers, and even Romanin devotes several pages to an argument for the original independence of the city. But an independent republican city in Italy in the sixth or seventh century would be an anachronism. The idea of the world-empire of Rome was still living and believed, and real or nominal dependence on the Empire was accepted without humiliation by the states that were springing up on the scenes of its former dominion. According to accidents of place or time, the dependence would be on the Eastern or the Western Cæsars: but after the reconquest of Italy by Justinian, there being then no Emperor of the West, the petty Italian states would naturally have been attracted towards Constantinople. There is, as Gfrörer has shown in many places of his history, abundant evidence of doges of Venice receiving honorary titles from the Byzantine court; of embassies being sent to Constantinople immediately after the accession of a new doge, presumably for some sort of investiture or confirmation; of the ambassadors sometimes being detained as hostages.

Elective offices, in a mediæval state, will in most cases be found to be of Roman origin. The Roman Empire had received them from the republic, and maintained them with more or less freedom of election, especially in the towns of Italy and the provinces. But the election was generally annual: except the Emperors themselves no officer in the old

<sup>1</sup> ii. 279 *sqq.* ed. 1753.

Empire was elected for life. And the industry of Savigny could, in all the mines of old documents he explored, find no mention of an elected duke, except one<sup>1</sup> at Naples long after the extinction of the Exarchate. All other dukes—and they became very numerous in Italy after Justinian's reconquest—are Imperial or Papal officers with military but no civil jurisdiction. The instance of Venice is almost, if not quite, unique; and this would seem to show, if the clause in the Pragmatic Sanction about the election of judges applies to *duces* (which Gfrörer perhaps too hastily assumes), that Venetia was one of the parts of Italy in which edicts coming from Constantinople found the readiest acceptance. But Venetia was also closely connected with the Lombard kingdom, and in that kingdom the office of duke was a familiar one and may, consistently with old German precedents, have been elective.

It appears from the text of the treaty that the doge Paulucius made with the Lombards, that there existed in those early days side by side with the doge, and supreme over military affairs, an officer with the title of "Master of the Soldiers" (*magister militum*). This was the title of a high functionary in the Byzantine Empire,<sup>2</sup> and when in 737, after the murder of the third doge Ursus, the doge holding office for life was superseded for a few years by annually elected "Masters of the Soldiers," Gfrörer is probably right in seeing in this event evidence of an assertion of Byzantine authority against an untrustworthy subordinate. The doge of Venice in those days occupied a perilous position between two great powers, the Lombard kingdom and the Byzantine Empire, and it is likely enough that he tried

<sup>1</sup> He quotes Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.*, i. c. 4, p. 244 (227 ed. 1826), whose authority is Johannis Diaconi, *Chron. Episc. Neapol. Eccles.*, Murat. SS. i. Pt. II. 313.

<sup>2</sup> But the title is commonly found in Italian documents, especially in those belonging to Ravenna and the Exarchate, down to the eleventh century. Savigny thinks it took the place of the older Roman title of Comes (*Gesch. des Röm. Rechts. im Mitt.*, i. 390, 391).

to trim his course now on one side, now on the other. What it is most to our present purpose to remark is that neither the substitution of masters of the soldiers, nor the subsequent establishment of two tribunes as a check upon the doge, lasted long. However unusual in those days a ruler elected for life may have been, there must have been something in it that peculiarly suited the soil of Venetia, for it lasted for eleven centuries, and was, when it ceased to exist, the most venerable institution in Europe after the Papacy; older than the Holy Roman Empire or the French monarchy.

Perhaps the most surprising thing about the office of doge is that it remained elective throughout the Middle Ages. Under the influence of feudal ideas all offices had a tendency to become hereditary, for they carried with them the tenure of land, and it would seem natural that the land attached to them should follow the usual devolution of land. Savigny<sup>1</sup> has pointed out numerous cases in the Ravenna archives of the office of consul, duke, or master of the soldiers belonging to certain families, and one of the year 1197, in which the right to a *ducatus* of land in a certain parish was the subject of a legal dispute.<sup>2</sup> It is well known that the great offices in the court of the German Emperors became hereditary in the great electoral families; and there are still in England an hereditary Earl Marshal, an hereditary Grand Chamberlain, and an hereditary Grand Falconer. The first step towards making his office hereditary—the assumption of a son as colleague—was taken first by the doge Maurice I., in the year A.D. 778, a step

<sup>1</sup> *Ut supra*, i. p. 394.

<sup>2</sup> Ducange does not throw much light on this sense of the word *ducatus*. A passage in the *Chron. Gradense* (p. 39 Pertz), to which I shall have to refer for another purpose shortly, says of the bishopric of Torcello, “Quod episcopium præfatus Aurius . . . *ducatum* in proprii domini jure vendicavit;” where it would perhaps be rash to assume that *ducatum* is an accusative case in apposition with *Episcopium*, or that it means a kind of estate (*v. post*, p. 137).

that Dandolo describes as a bad example for the future. The example was followed by the Participazii, the Trandonici, the Candiani, and the Orseoli. The Participazii in particular kept the dignity in their family for a very great part of the ninth century, and regained it for a time in the tenth century. The influence that seems to have acted steadily against the introduction of feudalism was that of the Byzantine court. Commercial activity, as it grew up, will have acted in the same direction, for there was never any sympathy between feudalism and trade. Professor Gfrörer thinks that in the time when the doges Obelerius and Beatus were adopting a policy of dependence on the Frankish kingdom, there was serious risk of Venetia being feudalised: he quotes from the chronicle of Grado that is printed in Pertz' *Monumenta* immediately after the Venetian chronicle of John the Deacon, a story of a tribune, Aurius,<sup>1</sup> who with his kindred and dependents established on one of the islands some villages and a basilica, for which he founded a bishopric, and prayed the doges and the inhabitants of Malamocco and Rialto to grant him the formal ownership of the bishopric and the villages; and he points out that such a grant would have been in fact an enfeoffment, and that a policy of such grants carried out for two or three generations would have been sufficient to convert the islands into a feudal state resting on landed ownership and agriculture, instead of into the trading city that was destined to make such a mark in the world.

Dandolo, in his account of the election of the first doge, gives us a description of the political privileges of the office:

<sup>1</sup> The tribune Aurius, or Arrius, and his son Arrator figure in the 2nd and 4th books of the Altino Chronicle, where they appear to be connected with Torcello. St. Maurus and St. Geminianus are mentioned in the same legend, which is, as usual with the Altino Chronicle, reckless of chronology (v. *post.*, p. 144 n. 3). The passage in Gfrörer is to be found in vol. i. pp. 133, 134; that from the *Chronicon Gradense*, quoted in note 2 on last page, is at p. 23 of Monticolo, *Cron. Venez. Ant.*, i.

the doge had power to summon general assemblies of the people ; to appoint tribunes and judges, with jurisdiction in temporal matters over clergy as well as laity ; to hear appeals from these judges ; synods of the clergy could not meet, nor bishops be elected to vacant sees, without the doge's permission, and bishops elect required investiture by the doge. It is not necessary to suppose that those privileges were formally granted to the doge by any law or charter ; probably all that Dandolo means is that he found in old chronicles instances of the exercise of all these powers.

The extensive power of the civil over the ecclesiastical authorities, which is perhaps the most striking feature in Dandolo's description, is treated by Professor Gfrörer as part of a system of government that he calls "Byzantinismus." He finds instances of this system in the language of a charter, to which I have referred in a previous chapter, in which the doges Angelo and Giustinian Participazio, granting lands to the convent of St. Servulus, speak of "*our* Patriarch of Grado," and "*our* Bishop of Olivolo" ; and in the history of the bringing of the body of St. Mark, not to the cathedral of Grado or that of Olivolo, but to a chapel in a corner of the Ducal Palace, where its actual place of deposit was in Dandolo's time not known to patriarch or bishop, but only to three persons—two of whom were laymen—viz. the doge, the procurator of St. Mark, and the *primicerius* or chief chaplain of the doge's chapel. This supremacy of the civil authority, in the person of the chief ruler, over church matters was one of the most distinctive features of the Byzantine Empire, from which it has been handed down to Russia, the country in which it is now best exemplified. In Venice, as we shall see, the civil government always asserted great independence in ecclesiastical matters, but did not cease, for all this, to be generally on good terms with the Holy See.

The doge seems to have maintained his authority by means of a body-guard, which, there is reason to suppose,

was composed of Croatian slaves, probably heathens.<sup>1</sup> To pay these and meet the other expenses of the state he seems to have had the right to certain payments from aliens resident in the islands, but he probably depended in great measure on his own private means. In a city whose merchants were princes, it was not thought derogatory to the chief magistrate to engage in trade. Orso Participazio, in A.D. 880, did not scruple to stipulate, in a treaty with the Patriarch of Aquileia, that his own merchandise should be exempt from the taxation to which his subjects' goods were liable. We have met with a case of a patriarch of Grado who also possessed trading ships.

Was the doge in early times absolute ruler of the Venetian islands? or was his power limited or controlled by any public assembly, or any other officers? Amelot de la Houssaye,<sup>2</sup> a very shrewd and competent observer, writing near the end of the seventeenth century, argues for the sovereignty of the early doges in contrast with their very limited power in his own time—firstly, from the prelates and officers elected by the people receiving investiture from the doge; secondly, from princes like the King of Jerusalem and the Pope accrediting their ambassadors to the doge alone; thirdly, from the doge Domenico Michieli refusing the crown of Sicily on the ground that he was already sovereign of a more considerable state; fourthly, from the same doge, when fighting in Syria, having coined and given currency to leather money called Michiette; fifthly, from the confiscated goods of condemned persons going to the doge; sixthly, from several doges having associated sons or brothers with themselves; and seventhly, from several doges and their children having intermarried with royal families. He remarks in another passage<sup>3</sup> that except for the name Venice was as much a kingdom as Poland, or Poland as little a kingdom as Venice. As regards the

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer, i. 186 *sqq.*; *v. ante*, p. 96, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Gouv. de Venise*, pp. 135 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *ib.*, p. 120.



evidence of old documents, we find that in the year 809, when after Pepin's attack on Malamocco Angelo Partecipazio was elected doge, the first who dwelt at Rialto, two tribunes were joined with him, one of them to try civil, the other criminal, causes. These were judicial officers and appear in no way to have diminished the executive power of the doge. Nor have we any trace of any legislative council to aid the doge till the year 960. The doge appears to have been from the first elected by some sort of free election, by whom or according to what rules we are entirely ignorant. But once elected and confirmed by the Emperor at Constantinople, there was no regular check upon his action. This may be gathered not only from the silence of chronicles and charters, but from the indirect evidence furnished by the selfish stipulations for private trade advantages contained in the treaty just mentioned with Walpert of Aquileia, and by the importance attached to the appointment of a brother or son as colleague to control an unpopular doge. But in 960, when Peter Candiano IV. was brought back from Ravenna, notwithstanding the vow of the clergy and laity, to succeed his father, some constitutional change seems to have been introduced. For in a document of the first year of the new doge, an edict against the slave trade, of which I shall have more to say soon, we find distinct traces of a great council of the people. The edict begins by reciting that the doge, with his predecessor,<sup>1</sup> "with the excellent patriarch Bonus, and with the reverend bishops and heads of the land," had met in council in the Ducal Palace, and come to the resolutions that follow. Professor Gfrörer thinks that the association of such a Council of State was one of the conditions

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer explains that the doge Peter, in whose name the edict is given, is the younger Candiano, Peter IV., and that the "doge Peter Candiano," whose name follows, is his father, still living, though he had ceased to reign (i. 268). The document is to be found in Tafel and Thomas, *Fontes rerum Austr.*, xii. 19 *sqq.* (No. xiii.), and in Romanin, i. pp. 370 *sqq.*, where it is very incorrectly given.

on which the secular and spiritual chiefs consented to the younger Candiano's accession. The Council must have been a numerous one, for the edict in question has more than sixty signatures, many of the names being those of the old noble families, whose migration from Heraclea or Malamocco to Rialto Dandolo has noted. Another edict of the year 971, forbidding the export of ship timber or war material to the Saracens, recites more in detail that Peter, "most serene doge and our ruler," held council with the patriarch and suffragan bishops, at which were present also many of the people, both noble and of the middle class, and also poor. This edict is subscribed by eighty-one persons, of whom, however, Gfrörer remarks that only eighteen sign their names, the rest merely affixing their marks (*signum manus*), from which he draws the inference that the doge had attempted to lessen the importance of the Council by swamping it with poor, uneducated men. He also observes that the language of the edict draws a distinction between the action of the doge, patriarch, and bishops, and that of the other signatories, the latter being merely stated to have been present, while the former were taken into council by the doge.<sup>1</sup> From this time onward a Great Council appears frequently in Venetian history, confirming, for instance, grants of state lands to monasteries.<sup>2</sup> From the same time the creation of second doges seems to have become rare. It is instructive to observe that half a century before the first appearance of a Grand Council at Venice, the Popes had revived a senate

<sup>1</sup> "Astante in eorum præsentia magna parte populis, majores videlicet mediocres et minores." This document is No. xiv. in Tafel and Thomas (*F. R. A.*, Abth. 2, Bd. 12, 25 *sqq.*), and is printed by Romanin, i. 373 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Gfrörer, i. pp. 288, 289, who quotes a grant of land belonging to the chapel of St. Mark to Benedictine monks, and observes that the scribe who wrote the copy of Dandolo's chronicle now in the Ambrosian library has added a note, that the 130 who subscribed with the doge would seem to have been the Great Council of that day. For another instance see *ib.*, i. p. 319.

at Rome,<sup>1</sup> to which Alberic II., who had reigned there for a time as despot, gave a democratic complexion. The imitation may very likely have been unconscious: the early part of the tenth century was distinguished by the great decay of secular authority; there was no powerful Emperor, either of the East or of the West; no Pope eminent for sanctity or energy. Such a time is suitable for the establishment of political experiments; of the two political experiments we are considering, the Roman Senate was not fated to have so long or so memorable a life as the Venetian Council.

There can be no doubt that next to the doge the most important person in the public affairs of the islands was the Patriarch of Grado. We have seen how the latter had gradually got the advantage in his long struggle with the far more venerable see of Aquileia. The Popes had granted him the pallium of a metropolitan, and jurisdiction over the bishops of Istria, restricting the Aquileian patriarch to the province of Friuli. For these Papal favours the see of Grado was indebted to the same cause, which had fostered the independence of the doge, viz. its situation at the meeting-point of East and West, and its connection with the Eastern court of Constantinople. At the time of the controversy of the Three Chapters, the patriarchs of the day, Elias and Severus, had won credit by their steady adherence to the losing cause, which was locally more popular, and evoked more generous sympathies, than that which relied on the secular force of the Byzantine court and the spiritual authority of the Popes and the Fifth Council. For the rest the patriarch was a very great territorial potentate: large tracts of the lidi stretching from Grado southwards as far as the Rialto lagoon were feudally subject to him; these were not then marshy and barren, as in later times, but rich pasture-lands and woods, where the flocks of sheep—for which Altinum had been famous

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon (viii. p. 198) is not inclined to believe in the statements of Blondus and Sigonius to this effect.

from the days of Pliny and Martial<sup>1</sup>—and great herds of horses, were fed; he had the exclusive right of fishing and fowling there, or of coming on horseback with a retinue to hunt there; and when he came for any of these purposes, the inhabitants were bound to come in their boats to do him suit and service.<sup>2</sup> When he travelled from his episcopal city to his palace by the church of San Giovanni Elemosinario in Rialto, the monasteries of the seaboard on his route were bound to lodge and feed him, providing “good beds, game, and fish.”<sup>3</sup> Bishops and abbots and priests of the lagoons were bound to attend his provincial synods. In later times he had great foreign estates in Istria, Dalmatia, and Greece, and was one of the most powerful prelates of Italy; for, so long as the Roman See upheld his claims against the rival patriarch of Aquileia, the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna alone were his equals. We can judge of the greatness of the power of the patriarchs of Grado by the position of rivalry they at times took up against the doges. When in the year 801 Maurice, who was joint doge with his father, John, was sent to take Grado by storm, and took prisoner and executed the patriarch John, the next patriarch, Fortunatus, a kinsman of the murdered John, was able to stir up a conspiracy at Treviso among the disaffected, whether in Venice or in exile, which succeeded in driving Maurice and John from their country, and installing Obelerius, the tribune of Malamocco, in their place.

Besides the patriarchal see of Grado, several other cities

<sup>1</sup> Plin., ep. ii. 11, 25; Arrianus, to whom this letter is written, was at Altinum; Mart., xiv. 155, “Velleribus primis Apulia, Parma secundis Nobilis: Altinum tertia laudat ovis.” Both these quotations I take from Filiasi, ii. 275, 276, who (ii. p. 319) gives other curious passages from mediæval writers as to the productiveness of this district.

<sup>2</sup> See *Chron. Altin.*, lib. iii. pp. 100, 101 (Pertz SS. xiv. 39). The passage is well known as containing the earliest mention of gondolas: the inhabitants were to come “in gundulis et angaridiis” (whatever the latter word may mean). This part of the chronicle dates from the thirteenth century, and may represent a more feudal state of relations than existed at the time I am now speaking of.

<sup>3</sup> Filiasi, iii. 23, 24.

in the lagoons were then the seats of bishoprics. John the Deacon<sup>1</sup> mentions them in the following order: Caprulæ, where the bishops of the destroyed Concordia continued their succession; Heraclea, a similar successor of Oderzo; Equilus or Equilium, Rivoaltus, and Metamaucus. He mentions Torcello in the same passage without saying it was an episcopal city, but this is probably only a slip,<sup>2</sup> as there is no doubt that the bishops of the ancient and historical city of Altino had in very early times established themselves at Torcello, and we meet with one or two bishops of Torcello playing a conspicuous part in early Venetian history.<sup>3</sup> Of the other bishoprics, Heraclea ceased to have bishops in 1440, and Equilium (Jesolo) probably at a much earlier date. Malamocco was about the year 1100 swallowed up by the sea in a great earthquake, and its bishops then migrated to Chioggia, where, when Ughelli wrote, they still ruled over a tiny diocese, containing the four towns of Pelestrina, Malamocco, Corrigium, and Loreo, at the southern end of the lagoons. But the smallest and strangest of these dioceses is Caprulæ or Caorle, a see of the most venerable origin, for Gregory the Great presided over its establishment in the year 599, when the Schism of the Three Chapters was not yet composed, and three of his extant letters relate to its affairs.<sup>4</sup> It must have always been very small and

<sup>1</sup> Pertz, vii. 5, 6 (i. pp. 64, 65, ed. Monticolo).

<sup>2</sup> The *Chron. Gradense* mentions Torcello among the six bishoprics under the jurisdiction of Grado (Pertz, vii. p. 43; *Cron. Venez. Ant.*, i. p. 43, ed. Monticolo).

<sup>3</sup> Maurice, the second bishop, who founded the monastery of St. John in Torcello in the year 640, seems to be the presbyter Maurus who figures so prominently in the Altino Chronicle, if we may judge from some verses relating to its foundation inscribed in the cloisters of that monastery, which Ughelli gives:—

“Torcellanus erat Antistes Maurus amænus  
Et duo Torcelli curabant scepra tribuni  
Aurius et consors ejusdem legis Arator.”

(*v. ante*, p. 137).

<sup>4</sup> Greg., ep. ix. 9, 10, and 97; ii. 154–156, ed. Ewald and Hartmann. See also de Rubeis, *Mon. Eccl. Aquil.*, pp. 285, 286, and Ughelli, *I.S.*, v. 1335, 1336.

thinly peopled, and its erection into a bishopric (in place of the destroyed Concordia) seems to have had some connection both with the strife of the Three Chapters, and the longer strife between the metropolises of Grado and Aquileia. When Ughelli wrote (early in the eighteenth century) he described it in a more picturesque style than it is his wont to use: "The diocese is nearly all marshland, reaching fifteen miles to the east as far as the Tagliamento, and to the westward it contains the sea-coast for ten miles from the harbour of Caprulæ to the Livenza; in all which tract only two very small churches—venerable to sailors and fishermen—are found." So obscure is the history of this see, that the names of only three bishops are known for the first 450 years of its existence.

The only bishopric in the lagoons that was destined to attain to future distinction was that which John the Deacon calls of Rivoaltus, but whose cathedral was actually situated on the closely adjacent island of Olivolo or Castello, the church now known as St. Peter in Castello. The creation of this see dates from the year 775, more than thirty years before the siege of Pepin, which resulted in the transfer of the doge's government to Rialto. The first bishop, Obeliebatus by name, was a son of the tribune of Malamocco, and apparently a brother of the doges Obelerius and Beatus, who reigned during the Frankish siege.<sup>1</sup> His successor, a Greek named Christopher, was elected, to please the court of Constantinople, though only sixteen years old. He was after much strife deposed, the doge supporting John the Patriarch of Grado, who refused to consecrate so young a man; and the sequel of the strife was the murder of the patriarch by the doge Maurice Galbaio. Early in the ninth century we find Orso, a son of the doge Angelo Partecipazio, Bishop of Olivolo. He it was who built the first

<sup>1</sup> This is the statement of John the Deacon and the Altino Chronicle: Dandolo, whom I have followed on p. 67, calls this bishop Obelerius.



church of St. Peter in Castello. Two of his successors in the tenth century are also remarkable men; the first, called by Dandolo "Dominicus, the son of Barbarus Maurus of Malamocco," who was put into the see about the year 910 "in defiance of the doge and the patriarch and other bishops of the islands": Gfrörer thinks it must have been the Papal power that, in one of its efforts at Church reform, put in this unwelcome bishop. But in five years he died, or was deposed by the local potentates his appointment had displeased, and his successor, another Dominicus, was a layman and married, though well versed in the Holy Scriptures. This bishop, brought in by the doge Orso II. as a protest in favour of the secularism that prevailed at Constantinople, seems to have been a reluctant instrument from the first, and, after eighteen years of office, about the same time that the doge Orso retired into a monastery, resigned his bishopric, and set off on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the bishops we have mentioned, the Venetian lagoons were full of the abbots and abbesses of monasteries, for which the desolate islands and marshy levels of the mainland furnished appropriate sites, before the Benedictine discipline had spread over the western world the belief that he who labours prays, and that to fertilise and make beautiful their homes was a duty well pleasing to God. One of the most frequently mentioned of these dignitaries was the Abbess of St. Zacharias, in whose convent,<sup>2</sup> which was in

<sup>1</sup> See Gfrörer, i. 223, 224, 230.

<sup>2</sup> A curious document of the doge Giustinian Partecipazzo is connected with this convent, founded by the Emperor Leo the Armenian (813-820). This recites the erection of the building by Byzantine workmen, its endowment with gold and silver and relics, and the golden-lettered Bull recording the gift. The doge calls himself "Imperialis Hypatus et dux Venetiarum," and the Emperor "conservator totius mundi." It is the first document in Tafel and Thomas' *Urkunden* (*Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, xii. pp. 2 sqq., and is quoted by Gfrörer, *Byz. Gesch.*, i. p. 146).

The most ancient nunnery in the lagoons was that of St. John in Torcello, the sisters belonging to which were among the fugitives from Altino. For its foundation see *Chron. Gradense*, in Monticolo, *Cron. Ven. Ant.*, i. pp. 35, 36.

the immediate neighbourhood of the Ducal Palace, and often governed by a lady belonging to the doge's family, eight of the early doges were buried. Venice was always in some respects a very religious city, and choice marbles for new churches or monasteries were at this time constantly being imported in her merchant ships from Asia Minor or Greece.<sup>1</sup>

Tradition ascribed the foundation of no less than eight churches in the islands of the lagoon to St. Magnus, Bishop of Oderzo, who, on the ruin of that city by the Lombards was the first founder of the city of Heraclea, and its first bishop. He was told by a vision to build a church in honour of St. Peter, who was once bidden by his Master to feed His sheep, in a place where he should see a number of oxen and sheep feeding together: the church he built on this spot was the first church of St. Peter in Castello. The other seven churches he founded were among the oldest in Venice, that of Santi Apostoli in Canalreggio, the place for which was fixed by a vision of twelve storks; that of St. John Baptist in Bragora, the site of which the saint himself selected; that of Sta. Giustina of Padua, on a site in a remote corner of the city, where a vine was found bearing fruit; <sup>2</sup> that of Sta. Maria Formosa, the epithet being derived from the beauty of a white cloud, in which the Virgin Mother appeared on this site to the saint; that of St. Raphael in Dorsoduro, on a spot indicated by a great assembly of birds; that of San Zaccaria, which, as I have mentioned, was afterwards the seat of a famous monastery, but was originally, like all these foundations of St. Magnus, a humble parish church, probably built of wood; and lastly, San Salvatore, near the Rialto bridge, built in obedience to a command of the Saviour himself, on a spot where a red

<sup>1</sup> Ruskin, "The Saint's Rest," Pt. I. p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The church of Sta. Giustina, now suppressed, is near San Francesco della Vigna, on the north side of the city, a little west of the arsenal. No doubt that neighbourhood was known in old times as the Vineyard.

cloud appeared to the saint.<sup>1</sup> It must be confessed that the legends of the foundations of churches in the lagoons, of which the above are a fair sample, are distressingly lacking in imagination. Was this because the Venetians, an eminently practical people, were religious only on the practical ground that religion brought its reward either in this world or another, but lacked the fervour of enthusiasm that animated St. Francis in Assisi and Dante in Florence? St. Magnus took up his abode in the parish of San Geremia in the district of Canalreggio, in a hut that was known to Flaminio Cornaro, the historian of the churches of Venice, as the Camera di San Magno, and his body was buried in the great church of San Geremia, that stands so conspicuously at the point of junction of the Canalreggio with the Grand Canal.

The great monastery of St. Nicolas in the Lido, so famous in later times, was not founded till 1053, only half a century before Enrico Contarini, Bishop of Castello, brought back from the First Crusade and placed in the new convent the bones of St. Nicolas, the "glorious bishop," that he had stolen from the saint's own city of Myra in Lycia. In the early days we are speaking of there was no church on the Lido, the inhabitants of which were dependent on the clergy of St. Peter in Castello for the baptism of their children and the extreme unction of their

<sup>1</sup> For St. Magnus' foundation see pp. 2, 28, 35, 42, 125, 221, 250, 267, 417 of the abridgment of Flaminio Cornaro's *Eccl. Venete e Torcellane* ("Notizie Storiche delle Chiese e Monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello": Padova, 1758). There is a curious parallel between these legends of St. Magnus and another set of legends in *Chronicon Gradense* (Monticolo, *Cron. Venez. Antich.*, i. pp. 24-31) as to the foundation of churches in the lagoons around Torcello. There the visions are seen by Aurius the tribune and Maurus the presbiter. The Saviour, the Madonna, St. Peter, Sta. Giustina, and St. John Baptist appear in turn and order churches to be built in their names. Sta. Giustina there, as here, has her church among the vineyards, St. Peter his on the Lido of the Oxen (*Litus Boum* or *Bovense*), and announces himself to Maurus as "à christiani gregis Pastore constitutus ut ipsius pascam oves et agnos."

dying, and often in the stormy days of winter had to do without those essential sacraments. Shortly after the time I have reached the original hospital of St. Lazarus, on the island, that the Armenian monks have in the last two centuries made so fertile and beautiful, was established for the many pilgrims who came back from the crusades infected with the leprosy of Syria.<sup>1</sup>

But even by the year A.D. 1000 Venice had become pre-eminently a commercial city, a city whose princes (and whose chief priests sometimes, as we have seen) were merchants. We can trace in outline and generally the causes of her mercantile greatness, and the process by which she reached it; but the details that have come down to us, though not altogether few, are scattered and incomplete. It may be said generally that she attained a great commercial position partly as the heir of Aquileia and Patavium, partly as the favoured subject or ally of the Byzantine Empire. From Aquileia and Patavium she inherited the trade with the interior of North Italy by the Po, Adige, and other rivers, and that with the still savage lands of Germany towards the Baltic coast by a long and complicated route partly by river and partly overland.) Through her connection with Constantinople she first shared in, and in the end succeeded to, the great trade with India and China, which had flowed on in an unbroken stream, and by routes that changed wonderfully little in the course of centuries, since the early days of the Roman Empire.)

<sup>1</sup> Flaminio Cornaro *Notizie Storiche, ut supra*, pp. 497 *sqq.* The island of San Servolo, now occupied by one of the great lunatic asylums of Venice, has been connected with the name of St. Servulus, a local saint belonging to Trieste, from the very earliest times. The Benedictine monks were moved from it, as we have seen, to St. Ilario, on the shore of a remote part of the lagoon near Abbondio, by the doge Angelo Partecipazio, but they were required to leave a few monks in their old home, who continued there till the twelfth century, when they were permitted to cede the island to some Benedictine nuns fleeing from the destruction that threatened Malamocco (see also *post*, p. 188.

The rivers of North Italy brought down to the emporia at Aquileia or Patavium the produce of one of the best cultivated regions in the world, and especially wines. These latter were probably the chief exports,<sup>1</sup> which Italian merchants carried through Pannonia into the distant Baltic regions, 600 miles distant, Pliny<sup>2</sup> estimated, from Carnuntum in Pannonia (Presburg) to exchange for the amber that was so highly prized not only at Rome but in the East. Part of this route was by boat on the Save and Danube. Another export from the Venetian lagoons was salt, which in Cassiodorus' time was their staple produce. But, to judge by the quantities of Roman or Arabic<sup>3</sup> coins found in the Baltic countries, much of the amber sent to the south must have been paid for in money. Besides amber, furs were brought in great quantities from the north of Europe. The north of Germany, Scandinavia, and Russia were as prolific of the skins of wild animals as the Hudson's Bay territory has been in modern times, and furs poured into Southern Europe not only by the trade routes leading to the head of the Adriatic, but by the great Russian rivers leading to the Black Sea and Constantinople. It is probable also that a slave trade was from early times carried on in the Adriatic. At any rate in the eighth century we find Venetian merchants incurring the censure of Pope Zacharias for selling Christian men (apparently Romans bought in open market in Rome) to the Saracens in Africa.<sup>4</sup> An extant edict of the year A.D. 960, in the reign of Peter Candiano IV., as we have seen, forbids the slave

<sup>1</sup> See Herodian, viii. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *H. N.*, xxxvii. 11. He mentions one Julian who was sent to the Baltic in Nero's time to fetch amber for a great gladiatorial show, at which the nets that protected the spectators were fastened by knots of amber, and the arms, the bier for carrying off the killed, and all the furniture on one day was of amber.

<sup>3</sup> Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels* (French transl.), i. 57 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> See *Anastasius Bibl.* in Muratori, vol. iii. p. 164, quoted in Gfrörer, i. 84. See also Heyd, *u. s.* i. 95, 96. For the edict of 960 see *antea*, p. 118.

trade under temporal and spiritual penalties, and it mentions Pola in Istria as a principal seat of the trade. From this it has been inferred that the slaves mostly came from the Hungarian and Croatian regions, for which Pola would be one of the natural outlets, and this inference is supported by the fact, known from other sources, that the Caliph of Cordova at this time had a body-guard of Hungarian slaves, whom he may have obtained from Venetian dealers,<sup>1</sup> though it must be remembered that already at this early date Saracen corsairs used to sweep the Mediterranean and carry captive men and women from any defenceless towns or villages they found near the coast : we have already seen how much trouble the Venetians had to keep the Adriatic clear of such corsairs.<sup>2</sup>

But the Eastern trade, which had certainly to a great extent fallen into the hands of Venetian merchants even at the date we have now reached, was far more important than that with the barbarians of Northern Europe. This had come to Venice through her friendship with the Eastern Cæsars. From the first origin of Venice, when Cassiodorus described her seamen as sailing over "immensa spatia" of sea, but more frequently employed in sailing or towing their barges over the rivers and creeks of North Italy, Constantinople had been the greatest and richest city of the world. To her had flowed all the different kinds of merchandise that St. John in his apocalyptic vision had seen carried to the elder Rome, the gold and silver, and precious stones and pearls, the fine linen and purple, and silk and scarlet, the ivory, the thyine and other precious woods, the brass

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer, i. pp. 85 and 274.

<sup>2</sup> The edict of A.D. 960 allows the slave trade to go on, firstly, where its cessation might cause danger to the state, which Gfrörer explains by suggesting that the doge might have been bound by treaty to deliver slaves to foreign governments, such as the Saracen princes in Africa or Spain, who might resent any breach of contract ; secondly, where it was carried on for the purposes of the doge's government, *i.e.* no doubt, for manning the army and the fleet (Gfrörer, i. 275, 276).



and iron and marble, the cinnamon and odours and ointments and frankincense, the wine and oil and fine flour and wheat, the beasts and sheep, the horses and chariots, and lastly, the slaves and the souls of men. Some of this merchandise, of course, came from near home. All the coasts of the Mediterranean bore their part in supplying the wants of the Imperial city: they sent, no doubt, the wine and oil, the fine flour and wheat,<sup>1</sup> and some of the precious metals. It is interesting to trace the different routes by which her markets were supplied, which had all been used in the times of the rivalry of Alexander the Great's successors in Syria and Egypt, and perhaps long before in the days when the great Phœnician cities grew rich on the trade of the Mediterranean. The starting-points were India and China: the former had sent her wares to the West as early as the days of Solomon, and in the age of Pliny the Indian imports of the Roman Empire amounted in value to fifty million sesterces, or £400,000 annually; silk, the chief product of the latter, is supposed not to have been brought to Rome till the time of Julius Cæsar, but it rapidly became indispensable to Western luxury, and the income China drew from exporting it to Europe must have been very large. An article so small in bulk as compared with its value was eminently fitted for caravan transport, and it often came on camels' backs over the great plateaux of Central Asia. The Sogdians, living in the plains of Bokhara, were long the middlemen of this trade, bringing the silk from the frontiers of China to the ports on the Eastern shores of the Caspian, where it was embarked on shipboard, and conveyed, no doubt with one or two transshipments, by the Araxes and Phasis to the Euxine.<sup>2</sup> An alternative route was through Persia to some

<sup>1</sup> In the reign of Justinian Egypt alone sent 260,000 quarters of wheat every year to Constantinople (Gibbon, v. p. 55, 56). But the majority of the more precious commodities came from the East.

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels*, i. pp. 3, 4 (French transl.).

city on the Tigris or Euphrates ; and Justinian agreed with the Persians that markets should be held at the three towns of Artaxata, Nisibis, and Callinicum. At those towns were Byzantine custom-houses, and there the goods passed into the hands of the Byzantine merchant. But Persia was so often a hostile power, that the Byzantines were always anxious, though usually without success, to encourage trade by other routes.

There was also a sea route, but this too found it difficult to avoid Persia. Chinese ships did not generally carry goods beyond Ceylon ; so far there was a great traffic, not only in silk, but in Buddhist pilgrims to their holy places. From thence Indian ships from Malabar seem to have taken the silk intended for the West as far as the mouth of the Indus or the Persian Gulf, though Chinese ships are said occasionally to have reached the Euphrates. The Byzantines would naturally have preferred a route by the Red Sea, from which caravans could easily have reached the great market of Alexandria ; and Justinian tried to induce the Ethiopians to undertake this part of the transport. But the vested interests of the Persian traders in the Indian ports proved an invincible obstacle, and Clisma (Kolzoum, near Suez) and Aila<sup>1</sup> (Akaba, at the head of the gulf of that name), the chief Byzantine ports in the Red Sea, seem to have traded principally with the Ethiopian ivory merchants, and only to a less degree with the Indians, except when the wars with Persia, that were very common in the ante-Mohammedan times, stopped commercial intercourse with that country.

Ceylon was the entrepot not only of silk from China, but

<sup>1</sup> Aila or Aelana, the Elath of the Old Testament, was very near Ezion-Geber, the Berenice of Ptolemæan and Roman times, the port from which Solomon's ships sailed with those of Hiram, King of Tyre, to fetch gold and precious stones and almuq trees. The situation of Ophir is a well-known geographical puzzle, for a full discussion of which see Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," *s.v.* One of the most probable conclusions is that, wherever situated, it was an emporium to which the wares mentioned were brought from India or Malacca.

of spices and aloes and sandal-wood from the Indo-Chinese peninsula ; and the ships loading there for the West took in on their voyage pepper (a most highly prized luxury) at the Malabar coast, and musk from Thibet at the mouth of the Indus.

Whether the commodities from the East came by Persia, by the Northern route, or by the Red Sea and Egypt, they reached the Mediterranean, or the Euxine, on territory belonging to the Byzantine Empire. For centuries—ever since Alexander's conquests—the trade of all these coasts had been in the hands of Greeks. But by the reign of Justinian the great Greek trading cities, such as Rhodes and Cyrene, had fallen into decay, impoverished by the oppressive financial system of the empire ; and trade was more and more falling into the hands of the Jews, who were numerous in Alexandria and all great cities, and scattered over every coast of the Mediterranean as far west as the Pillars of Hercules, and, from having lost their independent national existence, were not prevented by any wars from trading with all men who would trade with them. But whether Jew or Greek, the merchants of Egypt, Syria, and the Euxine would all be Byzantine subjects, and would enjoy trading privileges by the favour of the Byzantine Government.

These privileges would no doubt be shared by the Venetians, who had long been subject to, and had always been careful to keep up a good understanding with, Constantinople. But for all the early part of the Middle Ages our records of Venetian trade and navigation are very few. The first notice after that already quoted from Cassiodorus, is found in the Life of Charlemagne by the monk of St. Gall. He tells us incidentally how some fine gentlemen among the Emperor's courtiers were once at Friuli, on a wet and stormy day, challenged by their master to go a hunting, they and he in the clothes they then had on. He

wore, the monk says, a pelisse of sheepskin, no better than the famous cloak of St. Martin, while they were in such holiday array as befitted gentlemen who had lately come from Pavia, whither the Venetians had brought on ship-board from parts beyond the sea all the riches of the Eastern nations. He goes on to mention some of their finery—"skins of phœnixes," "necks, backs, and tails of peacocks," "garments of Tyrian purple, with borders of intense orange colour," "the fur of the otter and the ermine."<sup>1</sup> The peacocks' skins of this passage would have come no doubt from India, like the peacocks that Solomon imported in his navy of Tarshish; the Tyrian purple probably from factories at Constantinople;<sup>2</sup> the furs from the north of Europe or the Caspian regions. Whence the phœnix skins came we should indeed be glad to know. It is possible, but I know of no evidence on the subject, that bird-of-paradise feathers may have been brought in early times from the Malay Archipelago to Ceylon markets, or, if the phœnix fable is connected with the mention in hieroglyphic inscriptions of the bird beunu, which seems to be a kind of heron, it is possible that feathers of some of this family, or of the flamingo, may have been brought from Egypt,<sup>3</sup> and in connection with this it may be mentioned that Phœnicopterus,

<sup>1</sup> The passage which is quoted in all the more modern authorities—Romanin, Gfrörer, Heyd's *Gesch. des Levantehandels*—is to be found in Pertz, ii. 760. It is curious, and by no means free from difficulty. The peacocks' feathers seem to have been worn in whole skins: "littea" "borders" (the old editions read "litra") is a doubtful word, and "diacedrine" an uncommon one, though its meaning seems pretty clear, "cedrina" being "of citron." The otter skin was a favourite fur with Charlemagne himself; but it is by no means certain that "lodices" are otters. Planché ("Cyclop. of Costume," s.v. "Feathers") says that feathers were not used as ornaments of dress till the thirteenth century; but this passage, I think, shows that Charlemagne's courtiers wore them, though possibly not in their hats.

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, i. 54. The shell-fish from which the dye came was still caught at Tyre.

<sup>3</sup> Arabic writers are said ("Encycl. Brit.," s.v. "Phœnix") to speak of a kind of asbestos wool as "phœnix feathers," but it is not probable that Charlemagne's courtiers decked themselves in asbestos wool.

the Linnæan species name of the flamingo, meaning "scarlet feather," is found as the name of a marsh-bird in the Birds of Aristophanes; and is also named by Suetonius with peacocks, pheasants, and other birds, among the victims offered in sacrifice to Caligula: while Juvenal gives it the epithet *ingens*, that is very appropriate to the flamingo.<sup>1</sup> From all these reasons I think we may fairly conjecture that the phœnix skins of the monk of St. Gall represent the scarlet plumage of the flamingo.<sup>2</sup>

A century and half after Charlemagne, in the year 949, Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, was sent from Pavia on an embassy from Berengarius, King of Italy, to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus. He tells us that he travelled by boat on the Po in three days from Pavia to Venice, where he waited some three weeks, and then embarked in company with a Byzantine ambassador returning from Spain and Saxony, and a rich merchant of Mentz, named Liutefred, who was taking presents from Otto, afterwards the Emperor Otto the Great, to the Eastern Emperor. They left Venice on the 25th of August, and reached Constantinople on the 17th of September. In the account<sup>3</sup> Bishop Liutprand has left us of his later and more famous visit to Constantinople in the year 968, as the Emperor Otto's ambassador to Nicephorus to ask the hand of the Princess Theophano for his son, there are one or two references to Venetian trade and Venetian settlements in the Eastern Empire. This time he seems to have both

<sup>1</sup> Ar., *Av.*, 273; Suet., *Calig.*, 22 and 57; Juv., xi. 139. The Latin passages speak of the bird rather as a delicacy of the table than as serving decorative purposes.

<sup>2</sup> Heyd (i. 111 of French transl.) thinks it was not the birds themselves, but their likenesses inwoven or embroidered on cloth that the courtiers wore: such stuffs were made both by Greek and Arabo-Persian looms.

<sup>3</sup> *Leg.*, cc. 58, 14, 53-55. This famous account of the Byzantine court—written in no courtly spirit—is well worth reading. It is to be found in Pertz, *SS.*, iii. pp. 347-363, and in the school edition of Liutprand's Works reprinted for Pertz by Hahn of Hanover.

gone and returned by land, leaving hastily, and apparently by stealth, crossing the Golden Horn in a boat, and thence, in his own words, "asinando, ambulando, equitando, jejunando, sitiendo, suspirando, flendo, gemendo" to Naupactus, where he crossed the Adriatic to Otranto. But he had wished to go back earlier in a Venetian merchant ship, and it seems possible that his clandestine departure had some connexion with certain purple silk palls he had bought for his church, but was not allowed to carry away, on the ground that the export of silk of the imperial colour was prohibited, though he protested that purple silk was worn in Italy by courtesans and monks,<sup>1</sup> who bought them of the travelling merchants<sup>2</sup> of Amalfi or Venice.

Liutprand mentions the presence of Amalfitans and Venetians in the army that the Emperor Nicephorus led to Assyria during his stay at Constantinople. These must no doubt have been residents in the city, and it is probable, though we do not know for certain,<sup>3</sup> that both cities had already a regular colony or factory at Constantinople. The first of the capitulations so famous in modern times, *i.e.* of the treaties conceding self-government and extra-territoriality to foreigners in Constantinople, was granted in the year 905 to the Varangians, who were English or Danes coming from Russia.

We have seen that when Bishop Liutprand first went to Constantinople in the year 949, he met at Venice a

<sup>1</sup> "Obolariæ mulieres et mandrogerontes." M. Havet, in the *Revue Critique* (1878, pp. 197, 198), shows some strong reasons for translating the latter word "mountebanks."

<sup>2</sup> "Institoribus." "Pedlars" would be hardly too scornful a word. Liutprand's attitude towards both towns is contemptuous. He says of the army Nicephorus was leading into Assyria, "Qualis sit hinc potestis conicere, quoniam qui cæteris præstant, Venetici sunt et Amalphantani," *Leg.*, c. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Heyd finds no notice of an Amalfitan colony at Constantinople before the eleventh century. The Amalfitan was the earliest of the colonies established there by Italian cities (Pears' *Fall of Constantinople*, pp. 158, 159). For the agreement with the Varangians of 905, see *ib.*, p. 145.



Byzantine ambassador returning from Spain and a German envoy on his way from Otto's court to Byzantium. This looks like a regular conveyance of passengers from Venice to Constantinople. Some evidence that a regular carriage of letters between the same places took place is furnished by some provisions of the same decree that has been already mentioned as issued by the doge Peter Candiano IV. against traffic in slaves. This decree belongs to the year 960, *i.e.* eleven years after Liutprand's first embassy, and it is supposed by Gfrörer to have been made by the doge in the interests of Berengar, to prevent communication between his great enemy Otto the Great and the Byzantine court. The decree, which is printed in the appendix to vol. i. of Romanin,<sup>1</sup> denounces temporal and spiritual penalties against any Venetian subject who should receive for transmission to Constantinople any letters from the kingdom of Italy (*i.e.* Lombardy), Bavaria, Saxony, or elsewhere. An exception is made of certain letters it has been the custom to send from the doge's palace: and the prohibition in the decree seems to be based on the injury the letters from other countries would do to these Venetian "cartulæ" which were sent to the Emperor "pro salvatione nostræ Patriæ." We know little of the postal arrangements either of the old Roman Empire or of so early a period of the Middle Ages, and in the absence of such knowledge, several things in this document are perplexing.<sup>2</sup>

When the great Arab power rose suddenly into eminence in the seventh century, its princes and their subjects very soon showed a decided bent towards trade. This may have partly arisen from their close connexion with the Jews, who had long before developed the same commercial taste.

<sup>1</sup> i. pp. 370-373. It is also in Tafel and Thomas, *Fontes rer. Aust.*, xii. pp. 19-25. See also Heyd, i. pp. 112, 113, and note (French transl.).

<sup>2</sup> Gfrörer, who has a long and instructive discussion of this edict (i. pp. 271-273), throws no light on the nature of the "cartulæ" referred to.

In the eighth century we find Arab merchants travelling to India and China, and in the ninth century fleets of Arab merchant ships sailed from Obollah in the Persian Gulf, which served as the port of Bagdad, along the coasts of Beloochistan and Malabar—touching at many ports on the way—and from Ceylon struck across the Bay of Bengal either to China or to the islands of the Malay Archipelago. The Arab conquest of Egypt and Syria does not seem at first to have led to trade with the Christian nations of Europe, but as Mussulman kingdoms established themselves along the north coast of Africa and in Spain, their brethren of Egypt and Syria entered into trade with them, and Arab vessels became abundant in the south and west of the Mediterranean, carrying the fabrics of Persia and Egypt, or the goods imported from China or India, to the wealthy courts of Kairouan or Cordova. But in the early days of Mussulman conquest the Arab traders, who brought the rich wares of the East to Mediterranean ports that were in Moslem hands, and so came close to the doors of the principal Christian nations, did not care to trade with the enemies of their faith. The Arab vessels that were best known to the Christians on the Mediterranean coasts of France or Italy were in those days not peaceful merchantmen, but armed corsairs. The port at which commercial intercourse between Christian and Mussulman first began appears to have been Trebizond, which was fairly accessible from Constantinople on one side and Bagdad on the other. Istachri, an Arabic geographer of the tenth century, says of Trebizond: “All our merchants go there: all textile fabrics of Greek manufacture, all the brocades imported into Mussulman territory, pass by Trebizond.”<sup>1</sup> But it is probable that trade between Egypt and Christian ports in the Mediterranean did not entirely cease after the Mussulman conquest. There were latitudinarians on both sides in those days; and they would be likely to be found in

<sup>1</sup> *Ap. Heyd, l. c., i. 44.*

numbers in the trading class. We know from Dandolo's account of the carrying of St. Mark's body to Venice that Leo the Armenian, Emperor of the Greeks, had forbidden his subjects to trade with Egypt, and that the Venetian Government had followed the Emperor's example. But the same story shows us Venetian traders disregarding the interdict ; and no doubt Amalfi, Salerno, Gaeta, and Naples were equally careless of it, as we find them in the year 875 making an alliance with Saracen pirates, and helping them to ravage the Pope's own territory.<sup>1</sup> In truth, if the European states were not prepared to forego all trade with the East—to do without silk, and pepper, and camphor, and cinnamon—they must needs traffic with Mussulmans, or depend upon the long and difficult caravan routes that led over the steppes of Central Asia to the Volga and the Black Sea. All the easiest and best known routes from the East to the West passed through territories subject to the successors of the Prophet. The rich Greek subjects of the Byzantine Empire found such scruples as they felt at trading with the infidel give way before the imperative demand for the luxuries they had been long used to. Under the influence of this powerful motive they were glad to arrange some way by which, with no more scandal than was inevitable, the produce of the East might be carried from Bagdad or Alexandria or Damascus to Constantinople. But their interests were those of consumers, not of distributors : they willingly left to the Italian trading cities the task of carrying these goods to the European nations. As regards some articles, they were rather disposed to monopolise them than to spread them over the Western world, as we may see from the case of Liutprand's silk goods, to which I referred on a former page. On such goods as they allowed to leave the country they levied an export duty of 10 per cent.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that the greater readiness of Italian, as compared

<sup>1</sup> See Heyd, i. 98, and the passages there quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, i. p. 56, and the authorities there cited.

with Byzantine traders to enter into commercial relations with unbelievers was the main cause of the gradual transfer of the carrying trade of the Mediterranean from Byzantine to Italian hands.

In the obscure records of the commerce of this early period, next to Venice, the city of Amalfi is most often mentioned. This little seaport, situated thirty miles from Naples, at the mouth of a rocky ravine running down to the Bay of Salerno, seems to have had a very short period of prosperity ; it is not mentioned by any writer before Pope Gregory the Great in the sixth century, and Constantine Porphyrogennetus, who mentions it more than once in his treatise, *de Administrando Imperio*, tells us nothing of its history before his own time. It was in the part of Italy that longest remained subject to the Eastern Empire, and its fate seems to have resembled that of Venice, in that a duke, who was originally an officer of the Byzantine Emperor, became gradually the elective head of a republic. In the tenth and eleventh centuries—the time of its greatest prosperity—the little city, on its barren ledges of rock, had acquired a subject-territory of some square miles of coast and inland, and had a population of 50,000 souls. Its merchantmen were seen all over the Mediterranean, in ports subject to the Mussulman as well as at Constantinople. We can read in the Chronicle of Salerno<sup>1</sup> a letter the Emperor Louis II. wrote in the year 871 to Basil, Emperor of the New Rome, in which, together with much other highly controversial matter, he complains that the port of Naples, still nominally subject to Basil, had become as “Palermo or Africa,” a place of refuge, into which Arab corsairs could run when pursued by the Emperor Louis’ ships, and return, as soon as danger was over, to their ravagings, which were most often, it would seem, directed against the patrimony of St. Peter. Amalfi was no doubt like Naples. These seaports of South Italy, far

<sup>1</sup> *Apud* Pertz, iii. 526.

away from the seat of their own government, or any other great Christian Power, were in the midst of Mussulman settlements; during the ninth and tenth centuries nearly the whole of Sicily was conquered by the Saracens; from every seaport in that island Arab galleys sailed out to harass the coasts of Italy, or prey upon Italian merchantmen. The Saracens held Bari till the year 871, when, as we have seen, the Eastern and Western Emperors combined to retake it. Fraxinet, on the long peninsula that shuts in the bay of Villafranca to the east of Nice, was also at the beginning of the tenth century an outpost of Saracens, from which they carried their plundering excursions into the kingdom of Burgundy on the one side and Piedmont on the other, burning the monastery of Novalesa and driving the monks to take refuge in Turin; at another time occupying St. Maurice in the Valais, and there intercepting a company of English and French pilgrims on their way to Rome, till in the year 942 Hugh of Provence induced the Eastern Emperor, Romanus, to send his fleet and burn that of the infidels, while he attacked their fastness by land, and spared them on condition that they should occupy the pass of Monte Moro, as an advanced guard to stop his rival, Berengar of Ivrea, from entering Italy from Germany.<sup>1</sup> Surrounded by so many ports in the hands of infidels, and exposed to plunder by their privateers, it was natural that the Italian seamen should be tempted to live on friendly terms with neighbours who might be so dangerous as enemies. But it is doubtful whether their government sanctioned their proceedings. The seafaring class has always, from the time of the Athenian democracy downwards, been impatient of government control, and easily able to evade government orders; we have seen how the Venetian sailors

<sup>1</sup> Murat, *Ann. d'Italia (Classici Italiani, Milano, 1819)*, viii. 274, 275. The contemporary authority is Liutpr., *Antap.*, v. cc. 9 and 16-17. The Monte Moro may perhaps be the well-known pass leading from the Saas valley to Macugnaga. In 972 the Saracens were finally expelled from this post.

who brought home St. Mark's body were at Alexandria in defiance of the doge's edict; and we have further evidence in a document of the year 971 given by Romanin<sup>1</sup> and Gfrörer, a kind of bond, in which the Patriarch of Grado, the Bishop of Olivolo, and some seventy other Venetians of all classes, bind themselves to the doge Peter Candiano IV. not to export from Venice or any other port arms or ship timber to the Saracens. The bond makes a special exception in favour of ashen and poplar boards of small size, and of wood suitable for casks, and in favour of certain cargoes already laden the owners of which were poor men. But the most curious feature in it is the recital with which it begins, viz. that the most holy Emperors John (Zimisce) Basil and Constantine had sent an embassy to Venice inquiring as to the export of timber and arms to the infidel, and threatening that, if it continued, the Byzantine fleet would burn the ships found engaged in the trade, with their crews. The doge, far from resenting this high tone, calls together his bishops and laity, who take council how they can "appease the wrath of the Emperor." The Venetians, in fact, had been discovered by the court of Constantinople in winking at dealings which their own conscience and that of Christendom disapproved, and they had nothing to do but to get out of the guilt as well as they could.

The fanatical hatred of Christians and Mussulmans was revived by the Crusades, but even then commercial intercourse between them did not cease. After the First Crusade Donizo, the biographer of the great Countess Matilda, is shocked at the Pagans, Turks, Libyans, Parthians, and foul Chaldeans who crowded the streets of Pisa;<sup>2</sup> and at the beginning of the Fourth Crusade we shall shortly see how the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. pp. 248 and 373 (App. ix.). Gfrörer, c. 24, i. pp. 279-288

<sup>2</sup> Pertz, SS., xii. 379, quoted in Heyd, i. p. 51:—

"Qui pergit Pisas, videt illic monstra marina.  
Hæc urbs paganis, Turclis, Libicis quoque Parthis  
Sordida. Chaldæi sua lustrant litora tetri."



readiness of Venice to make commercial treaties with the Soldan of Cairo caused scandal, and exposed her to the suspicion of being bribed to keep the Christian host out of the Holy Land. The Church itself was in part responsible for this intercourse with the unbelievers. There was a constant demand in the West, especially at Rome, for pearls and precious stones to adorn crosses and vestments, and for incense for the Church services ; all these commodities came only from the East, and had to be procured by some means from the Saracens. As long as Amalfi and the neighbouring cities were nominally subject to the Greek Emperors, they enjoyed special advantages, from the generally friendly relations between Constantinople and Cairo or Damascus ; when, towards the end of the eleventh century, Amalfi became subject to Robert Guiscard, and hostile to the Greek government, she lost to Venice the first place in Oriental trade.

Venice does not seem to have been largely interested in the trade between Rome and the East ; her commercial mission had been from the first to serve as the port of the north of Italy and the Adriatic coastlands. In virtue of this mission she served the market of Pavia, the chief emporium from which the trade routes over the great Alpine passes to France or Germany were supplied with Eastern wares, and in exchange for those wares wool or cloth, timber, arms, and slaves went back to the East. The Dalmatian coast was also a great source of the supply of timber, and Venice already enjoyed a predominant influence there. If the Greek Emperors did not wish Venice or the other Italian republics to cheapen silk or purple, their only serious objection was to the export of timber suitable for shipbuilding or weapons of war ; they dreaded a trade that might supply a possible enemy with ships or arms. The Popes constantly protested against the selling of Christian slaves to Moslems, a crime of which we are obliged by a concurrence of evidence to hold many of the

Italian republics to have been guilty. St. Zacharias, Pope 741 to 752, found Venetian merchants buying in Rome itself slaves of both sexes to carry into Africa for sale to a "Pagan people." He redeemed the slaves by paying the Venetians the price they professed to have given for them. We have also a letter of Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne in reply to a complaint that subjects of the Papacy had sold Christians as slaves to the Saracens. His defence is, that the wickedness was not done with his consent—that certain unspeakable (*nec dicendi*) Greeks, sailing along the Lombard coasts, and making friends of the Lombards, had received slaves from them. The Pope had caused some of the Greek ships to be burnt in the harbour of Centumcellæ, and had detained the crews in prison; but, he adds, some of the Lombards had gone willingly on board the ships, and sold themselves from stress of hunger.<sup>1</sup>

The establishment of direct commercial intercourse between the Italian towns and the Saracens was probably used by the former as a means of extorting from the Byzantine government lighter import duties for wares carried in Italian vessels. Besides the import and export duties, there was a toll levied at the Dardanelles on all ships going either to or from Constantinople—two *solidi* on each ship going to Constantinople, fifteen on each ship coming out of the straits, the cargo of which was likely to be much richer than that of any ship coming in from the West. These charges had constantly been exaggerated by the local collectors, and in 992 a decree specially exempted Venetian ships from more than the above-mentioned tolls, and entrusted

<sup>1</sup> See for St. Zacharias, *Liber Pontif.*, ch. xxii. of Life of St. Zacharias, ii. p. 79, ed. Vignolius; for Hadrian's letter, *Cenni Monum. Dominationis Pontificie*, i. p. 369. I borrow both these references from Heyd, i. p. 95 (French transl.). It is interesting to find, some centuries before the "unspeakable Turk" arrived in the Mediterranean, that the religious world of the eighth century found certain Greeks to be unmentionable by Christian tongues.

the collection of them to superior officers less liable to the suspicion of unjust extortion.<sup>1</sup> This policy of granting special commercial privileges to the Venetians was, as we shall see, continued and largely extended by Alexius Comnenus and his successors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

<sup>1</sup> In Alexius Comnenus' *Chrysobullum* of A. D. 1082, as given in Tafel and Thomas, No. xxiii., vol. i. pp. 43 *sqq.*, and in many other documents in the same collection we have lists of the duties from which the Venetians are exempted, and of the officers to whose jurisdiction they are not subject. The following is one of the lists of duties in the curious mixture of Greek and Latin in which the document has come down to us: "Xilocalami, limenatici, porteatici, caniskii, exifeileos (? ἐξαφόλλεως, as to which *vide* Ducange), archontichii," and others. The officers whose jurisdiction is ousted are given in Greek (again in the genitive case), "ἐπάρχου παραθαλασσίου, ἐλεσπαρόχου τοῦ γενικοῦ, κομμερκιαρίων, χαρτουλαρίων τῶν δημοσίων φόρων, ὑπολόγων κ.τ.λ." The authority to decide all questions in which Venetian traders were involved was "secretum ton oichiacon," *i.e.* "domesticorum." A long history might be written of the word "secretum."

BOOK II  
THE BEGINNINGS OF EMPIRE



## CHAPTER I

### THE CONQUEST OF DALMATIA

WHEN John the Deacon<sup>1</sup> begins his account of the reign of Pietro Orseolo II. his style assumes a new dignity. The new doge succeeded the unfortunate Tribuno Memmo in the year 991, being then thirty years of age. "In virtuous actions no degenerate son of his sainted father," writes the chronicler, "he yet excelled almost all the ancient doges in knowledge of mankind."<sup>2</sup> Not only did he restore to their former state and consolidate the fortunes of his country, but he so advanced the commonweal that in his times Venice was said to be raised high in honour and wealth above all the neighbouring provinces." His first acts were to secure the friendship of the Eastern emperors and all the princes of the Saracens; then he sent an embassy into Saxony to Otto III., "a child of illustrious genius, with whom he bound himself in so close a bond of love and friendship that in the future he obtained from him without delay whatever he asked, if it was possible for Otto to give it." He refused to pay blackmail<sup>3</sup> to Croats or Slavs; and

<sup>1</sup> Pertz, SS., vii. pp. 29 *sqq.* (i. pp. 148 *sqq.*, ed. Monticolo). There is a good modern book on Pietro Orseolo II., Kohlschütter's *Venedig unter dem Herzog Peter II. Orseolo* (Göttingen, 1868).

<sup>2</sup> So I venture to translate "utriusque peritia hominis," taking "utr. hominis" as equivalent to "omnium hominum." He seems to wish to contrast the able statesman with the guileless saint.

<sup>3</sup> There is some confusion about this blackmail, which Dandolo calls "census," and Sabellicus "tributum." There seem to have been two payments that the doge stopped, first the irregular payments Venetian subjects had to make to the Narentine corsairs, who laid wait for them among the islands of the Dalmatian archipelago; secondly, a payment



towards Italian princes he preserved an attitude of friendly independence that would tolerate no encroachment on Venetian rights. "The brilliant fortunes of Venice in his days I will endeavour to set forth in order."

The chronicler begins his task with the doge's restoration of Grado, which had fallen into ruin, from its foundations to the battlements of its walls. He built for himself a palace there near the western tower, and another, "a house of beautiful appearance,<sup>1</sup> with a chapel," at Heraclea. Finding some lands belonging to the dukedom of Venice in the neighbourhood of Heraclea, held unjustly by John, Bishop of Belluno, he applied to Henry, duke of the March of Verona, and then to Otto himself, to do him justice. But the valiant bishop cared neither for duke nor king, indeed the duke was, it would seem, his secret ally; and the doge had to take their punishment into his own hands. So he strictly forbade his subjects to enter, or have any buying and selling with, the Marches of Verona and Istria, and reduced Duke Henry's subjects to great distress for want of the salt they got from Venice. When, in the spring of 996, Otto crossed the Alps to be crowned Emperor at Rome, he summoned the bishop to Verona, and there made him restore the usurped lands to Venice, and he paid the doge the signal compliment of sending for his young son, who was recently baptized,<sup>2</sup> and himself holding him in his arms

that the Greek cities on the Dalmatian coast had long ago agreed to make to the Croats by the advice of the Byzantine Emperor, Basil. Constantine Porphyrogennetus mentions this, and the sums paid by each city (see Lucius, *de Regno D. et C.*, ii. 5, p. 71).

<sup>1</sup> "Pulchræ imaginis domum."

<sup>2</sup> The award in the case of the Bishop of Belluno is given in Kohlschütter, pp. 84 *sqq.* John the Deacon says, "Adhuc cristianæ fidei confirmatione carentem" (i. 151, ed. Monticolo). Monticolo says the child was one year old, being fourteen in 1007 (*ib.* p. 170). Confirmation in early times followed close upon baptism: Hooker seems to think it was often conferred as soon as the presence of a bishop could be secured. (See also Gfrörer, i. 383, 384.) Some years later (A.D. 1001) a daughter of the doge "adhuc caticumina" becomes the Emperor's goddaughter at Venice. Here it was no doubt a baptism; "de sacro baptismatis lavacro cæsar suscepit" (Joh. Diac., Pertz, vii. p. 34; Monticolo, i. p. 163).

when the unction of chrisam was administered, and giving him his own name of Otto, in place of his father's name of Peter. He thus became the spiritual kinsman (*compater*, "gossip") of the doge,<sup>1</sup> and he showed an anxiety to act up to the obligations of kinship. While at Pavia, on his return from Rome at the end of this same expedition, he published an edict giving Venetian subjects freedom to travel and immunity from taxation in all parts of his empire.

About the same time the doge came into collision with the Croats of the Dalmatian coast. Some potentate, whom John the Deacon calls the judge<sup>2</sup> of the Croats, resenting the doge's prohibition of blackmail, tried to annoy Venetian subjects. The doge sent a squadron of six ships under Badoario Bragadino across the Adriatic, who took the city of Lissa,<sup>3</sup> and carried its inhabitants captives to Venice, "whence grew up a greater force of hatred between Venetians and Slavs; and the latter again began to demand tribute, to which the doge replied, 'I care not to send this by any messenger, but if I live I will not refuse to come myself to pay this tax.'"<sup>4</sup>

In the year 998 the Emperor again came into Italy to right some wrongs done to the Pope at Rome. From Pavia he sailed down the Po to Ravenna, and begged the doge to send his son, the Emperor's godson and namesake, to meet him "beyond Ferrara; which thing the doge, being ready

<sup>1</sup> J. D., p. 31. "Qui ex Ticinensi urbe Ravennam descendere navigio disponens, Petro suo dilecto compatri Veneticorum duci rogando demandavit quatinus Ottonem suum filium ultra Ferrariense castrum sibi obvium mittere non recusaret" (ed. Monticolo, i. p. 154).

<sup>2</sup> The native name for this officer would no doubt be the Zupan.

<sup>3</sup> Kohlschütter (pp. 37, 38) prefers to follow Lucius, ii. 4, p. 69, taking Cissa, an old name of Pago, to be the place referred to. This was a more likely place to be under Croatian government. The Croatian territory generally reached from Fiume to the mouth of the Kerka near Sebenico; the Narentane from the Kerka to the Narenta opposite Sabioncello; the Zachlumian from the Narenta to Ragusa.

<sup>4</sup> "Dationem" = "dazio."

to do, sent his son with ships in gala array,<sup>1</sup> among which one ship excelled in size and beauty; on which ship the Emperor, embarking with the boy, came to Ravenna, and after a short stay there, sent back the doge's son enriched with abundant gifts to Venice." In the same year<sup>2</sup> an embassy came from the Dalmatian tribes, of whom only the people of Zara remained subject to Venice, but all alike suffered from incursions of the Narentanes, begging the doge to come himself or send an army to help them, and promising that, if he freed them from the oppression of the Slavs, they would be faithful servants to him and his successors. The doge only delayed long enough to get the support of his council, before fitting out a great armament, and on May 9, the Feast of the Ascension, that was ever afterwards a great day at Venice, he gathered a great assembly to hear mass in the church of St. Peter at Olivolo. "To him Dominico, the bishop of that place, presented a triumphal banner,<sup>3</sup> and all, embarking together

<sup>1</sup> "Cum decoratis navibus." The largest ship was probably the doge's galley, a predecessor of the *Bucentaur*.

<sup>2</sup> There is some doubt as to the date. John the Deacon says the doge started on the expedition which he began immediately after the Dalmatian embassy ("nulla interposita dilacione"), in the seventh year of his reign, *i.e.* in 998 (ed. Montic., i. p. 156), but afterwards (*ib.*, p. 160) he says that when Otto III. came to Como on his third Italian progress, which we know was in the summer of 1000, he was met there by "John the Deacon, the envoy of Doge Peter," *i.e.* the chronicler himself, who was then ignorant of the success of the Dalmatian expedition, and could only inform the Emperor of the doge's setting out upon it. The whole expedition was probably got through before the end of the summer, and certainly did not take up two years. It therefore in all probability is to be placed in the year 1000, the ninth, and not the seventh, of the doge's reign. Ascension Day was, in the year 1000, on the 9th of May, in 998, on the 26th of May, which would allow too little time for the expedition, which Kohlschütter makes out to have taken two months; John the Deacon tells us that the news of the doge's triumph reached him at Pavia, where he was with the Emperor Otto early in July (Monticolo, *Cron. Venez. Ant.*, i. pp. 160, and 156 n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Gfrörer suspects (i. p. 395) this was the Venetian banner so famous in later times, bearing the crowned and winged lion with the open gospel, and notes that this record is more than a generation earlier than the first mention of the Caroccio of Milan.

on the fleet, that same day entered the harbour of Equilio. Then with sails spread to the west wind that blew, they steered to the city of Grado. The Lord Patriarch Vitalis, with his array of clergy, and preceded by the common people, received them, and offered becoming obeisance to his prince, whose right hand he honoured with the victorious symbol<sup>1</sup> of Saint Hermagoras. From thence, ploughing the waves of the sea, they crossed over to the Istrian province, and prepared to take down their sails and pass the night near the island of the city of Parenzo. Whom the venerable Andrew, the bishop, meeting, bestowed many services on Peter the doge, humbly begging him to consent to approach the shrine of St. Maurus. In whose request the doge acquiesced, and entered the city with a strong escort of soldiers; and when divine service in the church of St. Maurus was over, the Venetians resumed their voyage, and being rowed to the island of the monastery of St. Andrew, which is near the city of Pola, they were glad to accept welcome hospitality. Thither Bertaldus, the eminent Bishop of Pola, came in haste with a number of clergy and citizens, and did honour<sup>2</sup> on the part of both to the said doge. Thence sailing over the open sea, they were carried to the city of Ossero; where not only the citizens, but all the people of the neighbouring villages,<sup>3</sup> whether Roman or Slavonic, assembled, rejoicing that they were in time to welcome the arrival of so distinguished a guest; and all

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer suggests that this may have been a ring with relics of St. Hermagoras; the words "dexteram condecoravit" agree with this meaning better than that of a banner.

<sup>2</sup> Gfrörer translates "mit zwiefacher Ehre," and explains that the bishop recognised the temporal and spiritual supremacy of Venice, the sees of Istria having been lately, by a Bull of Pope Sylvester II., subjected to the metropolitan authority of Grado. But "utroque" may be here used, as "utriusque" was used before, for "omni."

<sup>3</sup> "Castellis." Sir G. Wilkinson, i. 172-76, describes the so-called Castelli on the sea-coast between Salona and Träù as "villages built in the neighbourhood of old castles." He gives two interesting sketches of such castles. They were places of refuge for the villagers and their cattle in case of attack.

taking oaths of allegiance, decided to remain under the power of that prince. When this was done, in the solemn celebration of the day of Pentecost, they chanted the verses of praise to the aforesaid prince. The doge then commanded all who were of full age to come with him on his expedition, and they, receiving his wages, began to cross the sea on the journey proposed to them. The next day, before he drew near the city of Zara, the Prior<sup>1</sup> of that city, with the bishop and others, received their lord in festive array; and having entered the city, there the notables of that region assembled, and formally elected to be under the government of that prince. Among whom the Bishops of Veglia and Arbe came with the priors of those cities, and, with a like oath, swore upon the sacred words of the evangelists that, according to their knowledge and power, they were from that time bound to be loyal to the Lord Doge Peter. Moreover, the bishops by the same sanction promised that on those holidays on which it was the custom to celebrate a solemn service of praise in the church, they would do honour to the name of that prince after the name of the emperors. Now the king of the Croats, recognising in good time that the doge had come for the ruin of his race, sending urgent messages endeavoured to propitiate him by peaceful words, which the lord doge disregarding sent back the messengers, and prepared, in reliance on his army of both races (Latin and Slav), to arrange in what way he could penetrate the fastnesses of the enemy, and by what devices he could take without loss their strongest posts. Then he learnt, from the information of certain men, that forty of the nobles of Narenta were wishing to return from the parts of Apulia, where they had finished their business, to their own

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the Civil Governor, *v.* Ducange, *s.v.*, where it is said that Prior is the name found in the old Dalmatian charters for the magistrate afterwards called Count. The name was also common at Florence and other Italian towns.

country. So he ordered ten ships laden with troops in all haste to the island that is called Cazza,<sup>1</sup> who, falling in with these on their journey and seizing them without difficulty, set out with all speed for the city of Träù. For the doge, guarded by soldiers of both Dalmatians and Venetians, leaving the aforementioned city" (*i.e.* Zara) "on the sixth day came to a certain island not far from the city of Belgrad.<sup>2</sup> From which he determined to send a message to the citizens to say that if they would pay him voluntary homage and swear allegiance to him, they would be able to gain pardon: if not, let them know for certain that his army would take their city. Now, hearing this, they were afraid to incur the displeasure of their lord the king of the Slavs, and were not strong enough to resist so great a prince. Whence placed between two fires they knew not how to act. At length worn out by their terror of the lord doge, in the very presence of the Slav king's troops, they took the oath of allegiance and did homage to the doge. Who passing on thence, inhabitants of the island of Levigrad,<sup>3</sup> came to meet him and readily took their oaths. And when he came to the city of Träù, he was supported by the oaths sworn to him by the bishop and citizens: there he found his troops, whom we have before said that he sent from the city of Zara, victorious. The brother also of the king of the Slavs, Surigna by name, was there, who had formerly, by the fraud of his brother, lost the diadem of the kingdom. And he not only associated himself to the

<sup>1</sup> Cazza is a small island lying west of Curzola or Black Corcyra, a sort of outpost in the Adriatic very suitable for such an ambuscade.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* what is now known as Zara Vecchia, formerly called Belgrado. The latter name, meaning "white town," is common in Slavonic countries.

<sup>3</sup> This island is by some supposed to be Lunga or Grossa, by others (Sir G. Wilkinson amongst them) it is identified with Mortar, the island that lies off the coast about half-way between Zara Vecchia and Sebenico (Sir G. Wilkinson, i. p. 284). Lucius, *de Regno Dalmatiæ*, p. 70, l. ii. c. iv. says it is Mortar or Zuri, the latter a small island off Sebenico. A note to Monticolo's edition of John the Deacon calls the island Vergada, and in this opinion Kohlschütter (p. 41, n. 1.) agrees.



said doge by the bond of an oath, but also delivered as a hostage for his fidelity, Stephen, a little boy, his own dearly loved son.<sup>1</sup> From thence the aforesaid prince came to the very famous and strong city of Spalatro, which is the mother-city<sup>2</sup> of all Dalmatia, where the archbishop in the mitre of his sacred office received him with a crowd of clergy and laity of the city, and when he celebrated mass, all the citizens were eager to propitiate the doge by an oath of fidelity according to promise.<sup>3</sup> And when the Narentan prince learned that forty of his subjects were taken into captivity, he sent envoys and entreated the doge with an urgent prayer that they might be restored to him, on this condition, that before the doge departed from these regions, both he, the Narantan prince, and all his chiefs would agree to give the doge satisfaction to the best of their power, and that he would bind himself neither to exact the tribute formerly mentioned nor to molest any Venetian on a journey. Then the doge ordered the prisoners to be given up, retaining only six of them as hostages, that the prince should not disturb the peace. These things being concluded, he proceeded to subdue the other inhabitants of this region. He won by the strong hand and subdued to his government the island of Curzola, whose inhabitants refused to obey his orders when he had demanded hospitality at the church of St. Maximus. Moreover, while the doge by the favour of God was obtaining all that was at his heart, he took upon him to attack the obstinate inhabitants of the island of Ladestina,<sup>4</sup> by whose violence the Venetians who

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo adds that this young Slavonian prince afterwards married the doge's daughter, Hicela or Hicella. See also John the Deacon, i. p. 171 ed. Monticolo.

<sup>2</sup> Metropolis, as usual, in its ecclesiastical sense of an archiepiscopal see.

<sup>3</sup> The Latin is not intelligible. I have taken the passage to mean that the oath of allegiance was taken during the mass.

<sup>4</sup> The editor of John the Deacon, in Pertz, identifies this with Lesina, but Sir G. Wilkinson's opinion (i. 284) that it is Lagosta seems better founded. Lagosta, but not Lesina, would naturally be visited after Curzola.

sailed through those seas were very often robbed of their goods and sent naked away. For the said island was guarded all round by rocky promontories. Although it did not actually deny all access to its shores, it was famous for the loftiness of its mountains, one of which, fortified by walls and towers, was believed by all to be impregnable. But the aforesaid prince, having concentrated a great number of ships, forced his way into a certain harbour of the island, sending to the citizens to bid them quit their stubborn ways and come over to him, or know that his army would fight them. And they, constrained by fear, offered peaceful words. Afterwards it was impressed upon them, that they could by no means obtain peace from the doge unless they pulled down their city with their own hands and left it irreparable and uninhabitable. Which strongly objecting to do, they attempted to resist the doge's mighty army. Then the said prince ordered his troops to prepare for action and attack them with vigour. But because the place from its high situation offered difficulties of approach, they strove for some time to reduce the enemy by hurling missiles from a distance with all the vigour they could exert. But by the dispensation of Almighty God the greater part of the army attacking from the side on which the provision gate<sup>1</sup> opened, the rest ascending by devious mountain paths, they seized the towers where the reservoirs of water were kept. And being established there, they held the enemy in their grasp, until discouraged in mind they laid down their arms,

Lucius (*l.c.*), who as a native of Träù had good local knowledge, says that Lagosta answers better to the description, having rocky capes, and quicksands, and was a more suitable place for a pirate's nest than Lesina. Kohlschütter (p. 42, n. 1) remarks on the striking resemblance of our chronicler's account with modern descriptions of the island. In 1813 there was fighting between French and English on this island.

<sup>1</sup> "Municionis ostia": The way up to this gate would probably be the easiest. Dandolo, ix. i. 29, who copies closely from John the Deacon, reads, "nullius munitionis ostia," *i.e.* "an undefended gate." This looks like a conjectural emendation coming from a misunderstanding of the meaning.

and on their bended knees entreated and obtained no greater grace than to be delivered from the dreaded peril of death. So the doge, who was a lover of mercy, resolving to spare the lives of all, gave orders only to lay waste the city. Which having been done, the prince returned victorious to the church of St. Maximus. Then the Archbishop of Ragusa meeting him with his clergy, took the oaths of allegiance and offered many signs of homage to the prince. Thence, passing again by the aforesaid towns, making his way back to Venice, he at length returned with great triumph.”<sup>1</sup>

I have given at length John the Deacon’s lively and circumstantial account, because it comes from a writer who was living when the events took place, and, if he was not actually an eye-witness of them, evidently knew well the places of which he wrote. It would be an easy and interesting voyage to follow the steps of this first conquering expedition of a Venetian doge, passing from Castello, behind the Public Gardens and the Arsenal, through the lagoons to Equilio and Grado; then crossing the narrow upper part of the Gulf of Trieste to the coast of Istria, and sailing southwards along this to Parenzo and Pola; then rounding Cape Promontore, the southern point of Istria, and entering the Quarnero channel, with its numerous large islands, stopping at Ossero, a town of Cherso, the largest of

<sup>1</sup> The passage is in Monticolo’s edition, vol. i. pp. 155-160. In the margin of the Ambrosian codex of Dandolo it is added that the doge sent prefects from Venice to the cities of Dalmatia—Otto Urseolo his son to Spalato and afterwards to Ragusa; D. Pollano to Träù, John Cornaro to Sicum (?), Vitale Michiele to Belgrad, Maffeo Giustiniano to Zara, Marino Memo to black Corcyra or Curzola and the other islands. For Sicum Romanin substitutes Sebenico, but the site of the ancient Sicum mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny, between Salona and Tragurium or Träù, is far away from Sebenico. Sir G. Wilkinson identifies it with some Roman remains near Castello Vetturi (i. 176). Lucius (*de Regno Dalm.*, ii. 7) says that no Dalmatian authority mentions these magistrates, and suspects that the marginal addition to Dandolo is of a later date.

these islands, where the doge first met with willing submission from Slavonic as well as from Roman villages. Our voyage would continue down the Quarnerolo channel to Zara on the mainland, and further on to Belgrado or Zara Vecchia, and then to Träù and Spalatro, situated one at each end of the portion of the Dalmatian coast that faces the south, and enjoys a climate as mild as that of Naples or Calabria. The narrative of John the Deacon does not mention the important and populous island of Brazza, nor (probably) those of Lissa and Lesina, all of which lay on the doge's path as he sailed from Spalato to Curzola and Lagosta. If the church of St. Maximus was, as would appear most probable, in Curzola,<sup>1</sup> these two islands will have been the farthest point reached. Curzola, the ancient Corcyra Nigra, was so called from the dark foliage of the pinewoods, which at the time of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's visit, about fifty years ago, still covered four-fifths of its area, and which furnished Venice with excellent timber for shipbuilding, as it still furnishes her with firewood.

The chronicler's statement, that the Archbishop of Ragusa and his clergy took an oath of allegiance to the doge at the church of St. Maximus, is denied by the Ragusan writers, who say that an embassy was sent, but only to demand compensation for the seizure of the ship in which the Narentine merchants were taken prisoners, which belonged to Ragusa.<sup>2</sup> Ragusa prides herself on having never been a subject city to Venice. Her history, at the

<sup>1</sup> Farlati, *Ill. Sacr.*, i. 199, 1, mentions a rock of St. Maximus adjoining the island of Curzola, but mentions no church there except a chapel with a miraculous image of the Saviour; this statement as to the image he contradicts in a later volume. The church spoken of by John the Deacon was probably on this rocky island, but all memory of it was lost before Farlati wrote.

<sup>2</sup> Appendini, *Notizie*, &c., i. 163. The only annalist he quotes as an authority is Michael of Salona, of whose date I have been unable to discover any indication. But he adds that documents were extant at Ragusa in his day, going back to 1023, which are dated always by reference to Greek emperors and not to Venetian doges. There is another and fuller account of these proceedings in Appendini, *u.s.* p. 250.

period we have reached, stretched back 700 years to the day when in the year 265 the city of Epidaurus was destroyed by the Goths<sup>1</sup> or Sarmatians or Slavs, for accounts differ as to the circumstances of the destruction. Fugitives from the destroyed city took refuge, as the fugitives from Aquileia or Altinum had taken refuge in the Venetian lagoons, in a place that, from the rocks which gave it its security, was called Rausium, or Lausium from the Greek word *λᾶας*. Perhaps originally a mere fishing village, it was increased by fugitives from other cities during the centuries of invasion, especially from Salona, which was destroyed in 639 by the Avars, and in the time of Constantine Porphyrogennetus was recognised as one of the Roman cities of Dalmatia. The original Ragusa stood on what is the south half of the present city, the situation of which is described by a recent traveller as "a craggy peninsula, which was in those days insulated by a shallow, marshy canal running east and west from sea to sea on the site of the present Corso. This island, sloping gradually upward from the canal, but scarped abruptly with sheer precipices towards the sea, was the *κρημνὸς* or *λαῦ*, where the Roman refugees established themselves."<sup>2</sup> As the town grew, it absorbed a settlement of Vlachs or Bosnians that had occupied the slopes of Mte. Sergio beyond the canal, and from the oak-woods that covered those slopes till cleared to make room for the city is derived the Slavonic name of Ragusa, Dubrovnik (from *dubrava*, "an oak-wood"), a name that the Turks have made significant in their own language by changing it into Dobro-Venedik, "good Venice."<sup>3</sup> Of the history

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that Epidaurus survived the Gothic invasion and existed till that of the Slavonians in the seventh century, in which Salona was destroyed. See Smith's Dict. of Geogr., *s.v.*

<sup>2</sup> Jackson's "Dalmatia, the Quarnero, and Istria," ii. 288.

<sup>3</sup> Sir G. Wilkinson, i. 277. I do not know whether Samuel Pepys was thinking of this Turkish name when he wrote (Diary, Jan. 11, 1661-2), "The Dukedom of Ragusa in the Adriatic, a state that is little, but more ancient, they say, than Venice, and is called the mother of Venice."

of Ragusa before the date of Doge Orseolo's expedition we know little except from one or two passages of Constantine Porphyrogennetus.<sup>1</sup> He mentions the gradual growth of the city in population and area, requiring two or three extensions of the walls,<sup>2</sup> and a siege of fifteen months that it endured from a fleet of Saracens from Africa in the reign of Basil the Macedonian, who sent Nicetas the Patrician, the Drungarius or vice-admiral of the fleet,<sup>3</sup> with 100 Chelandria, and obliged the Saracens to raise the siege and cross over to the theme of Lombardy, where they besieged and took Bari.<sup>4</sup> He also mentions that in Ragusa lay the body of St. Pancras, in the church of St. Stephen, and that the inhabitants paid tribute to two tribes of Slavonians—the Zachlumi and Terbuni<sup>5</sup>—for some vineyards that they cultivated in the territory of each.

The conquest of Dalmatia by this great doge was an event of capital and permanent importance for Venice. It won for her a long extent of sea-coast singularly rich in good harbours, the southern part of which, beyond Cape Planca, where its direction changes from southward to

<sup>1</sup> *De Admin. Imp.*, c. 29, pp. 130, 137. *De Them.* ii. p. 61 (Bonn).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137. οἰκοδομήσαντας αὐτὸ προτερον μικρὸν καὶ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦτα μείζον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν τὸ τεῖχος αὐτοῦ ἀνέξήσαντες μεχρὶ δ' ἔχειν τὸ κάστρον διὰ τὸ πλατύνεσθαι αὐτοὺς κατ' ὀλιγὸν καὶ πληθύνεσθαι. I think the last clause means, "Till they occupied the whole stronghold through their gradually extending their site and increasing their numbers."

<sup>3</sup> Gibbon, vii. p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> There is some difficulty as to the chronology. Bari was retaken by the Eastern (Basil I.) and Western (Lewis II.) Emperors in 871, after a four years' siege. Basil I. only succeeded to the throne in 867: so that the original surrender of the city to the Saracens must have fallen very early in Basil's reign, and its second siege followed almost immediately.

<sup>5</sup> The name of the Terbuni still remains in Trebinje. Zachlum is said to denote the country beyond the mountain called Chlum. This is merely a derivation of Const. Porph., and is not altogether consistent with other facts—*e.g.* we know that there was a duchy of Chulm in those parts, and that the Hungarian kings called themselves Dukes of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Chulm (Gfrörer, ii. p. 29.)



eastward, was rich in vines and olives, maize, millet, and sorghum. From the mountains of the interior, that are always within a few miles of the coast, and from some of the islands, she henceforth got an inexhaustible supply of good timber. There were several ancient cities still boasting the name of Roman, and preserving their allegiance to the Roman Empire of the East though surrounded by Croat and Servian tribes. These latter also to a certain extent, as we have seen, submitted to Venetian rule in this year, and from them in later times the republic raised some of her best cavalry, as the towns of the mainland and islands of Dalmatia furnished a large proportion of the sailors of her fleet. The fortresses of the Dalmatian coast formed convenient outposts in later days against the Turkish power which conquered up to their gates, but was there held in check by Venice, "Europe's bulwark 'gainst the Ottomite."

It is significant of the position Venice was still content to hold towards the Byzantine Empire, that her Dalmatian conquests seem still to have been considered as owing allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor as suzerain. When the priors and bishops of Zara, Veglia, and Arbe met the doge near Zara to offer their submission, the bishops swore that on the feast days on which they were wont to exhibit in church the ceremony of Laudes, they would honour the name of that prince (the doge) after that of the emperor. There is an interesting chapter in Lucius (*de Regno Dalmatiæ*, l. ii. c. vi.) in which he traces the whole history of this ceremony of Laudes from the times of the heathen emperors downward. He shows that the name Laudes was given to the acclamations with which the emperor's busts were received, when being carried on a progress through his dominions; that these acclamations were given first in the theatre or the circus, but when the empire became Christian, gradually came to be given in the churches. The form of words used is given in the well-

known account of Charlemagne's coronation, "Carolo Augusto a Deo coronato magno et pacifico Imperatori Romanorum vita et victoria." But Lucius is able to give us the actual form of words in use in the churches of Zara, Spalatro, and Träù in his time, on the great festivals Easter and Christmas, and some others, in which the "Laudes" were introduced into the mass. In his days, the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Pope had succeeded the Emperor in the place of honour, and next to him came the doge, according to the stipulation mentioned by John the Deacon. The words of the acclamation to the doge were, at Träù,<sup>1</sup> "Serenissimo ac excellentissimo principi et domino nostro gratiosissimo. Dei gratia Inclyto Duci Venetiarum, &c. Laus honor gloria et triumphus perpetuus"; these were chanted by the canons, and the choir replied, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat." In Lucius' times many acclamations in similar words followed, to the bishop, the count, the camerarius and præfectus artis, the canons, &c., &c.

One of the marginal additions to the Ambrosian MS. of Dandolo's chronicle (to which I have had occasion before to refer) tells us that Venetian nobles were sent by Peter Orseolo II. into Dalmatia as governors or prefects, Otto Orseolo, the doge's youngest son, to Spalatro; Domenico Pollano to Träù; and others to other towns. But except for this one mention, we hear nothing of these governors, and it is probable they did not long maintain themselves there. Eighteen years later, in 1018, as we shall see, Otto Orseolo, the next doge, had to send an expedition to protect these Dalmatian towns against the Croats, who ruled the mountain regions at the back of the northernmost of them, and when he had conquered these highlanders, we are told

<sup>1</sup> At Spalatro the words were, "Salus honor vita et perpetua victoria"; at Zara, "Salus honor vita et victoria." The words at Träù seem to be a reminiscence of the Palm Sunday hymn, "Gloria laus et honos," which commemorates the "acclamations" received by the Master Himself.

that the bishops and priors of the towns pledged themselves to pay tribute to Venice.<sup>1</sup> The priors seem to have been originally Byzantine officers, and to have continued to exercise authority after the Venetian conquest, in accordance with the good understanding that generally prevailed between Constantinople and Venice. In one or two legal documents that have come down to us from the same time, the date is fixed by the names of the bishop, or archbishop, and the prior. In other documents some fifteen years later we find the Byzantine Emperor named before the bishop and prior, and Gfrörer has traced the history of one Gregorius, who in 1033 is styled Prior and Proconsul of Zara, and by 1036 has become Protospatrius and Strategos of all Dalmatia. In 1069 a successor of Gregorius, named Leo, is called Protospatrius and Catapan of all Dalmatia.<sup>2</sup> The Byzantine government was obviously endeavouring to tighten its hold upon the Dalmatian cities. Meanwhile, in 1052, Cresimir III., King of the Croats, began to add to his title "and of the Dalmatians." During all those years we find no outward signs of any Venetian government, and do not know whether the cities continued to pay the tribute that Otto Orseolo had imposed. From this time the Dalmatian coast figures constantly in the history of Venice, and we shall see especially how the relations of Zara to Venice, and to the Eastern Empire helped to bring about the diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople, the most important event in the early history of Venice.

The annual commemoration on Ascension Day of Peter Orseolo's embarking for the conquest of Dalmatia goes back to the date of the event commemorated.<sup>3</sup> But for the first 180 years the *Festa* was limited to a voyage out of the lido,

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo (Muratori, xii. 236), ix. 2, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Gfrörer, ii. 208, 210, 211, and 215.

<sup>3</sup> Michiel, *Feste Veneziane*, i. 123 *sqq.* (ed. Milano, 1829). This is a gossiping book written in the early years of the nineteenth century, making no pretensions to antiquarian accuracy.

made by the doge in his barge with the Bishop of Olivolo, the councillors, and a great crowd of the people: it was not till Pope Alexander III., in gratitude for the support Venice gave him in his misfortunes, granted her investiture of the Adriatic, that the commemoration became known as the Marriage of the Doge to the Adriatic. The ring of investiture that was dropped into the sea was confused with the wedding ring.

## CHAPTER II

### RELATIONS WITH WESTERN AND EASTERN EMPERORS

WE have already seen how intimate were the relations between Peter Orseolo II. and the Emperor Otto III. That "child of illustrious genius," as the Venetian chronicler calls him—one of the most interesting characters of all the Middle Ages—was at this time only twenty years old: he had dreamed of a revival of the old Empire of the West, governed not from Aachen or any place north of the Alps, or even from Pavia or Ravenna, but from the Eternal City herself. With this object he strove to get a Pope devoted to himself, to make his own present influence constantly felt in Italy, and to win useful adherents among the Italian princes. As the revived empire would have as one of its chief tasks to quell the Saracen power, and perhaps to resist the claims of the Eastern Emperors, a naval force able to cope with Arab corsairs or Byzantine fleets was essential to his plans. Venice, if not the only one, was the nearest of the Italian states that could supply him with a powerful navy; and this is probably the reason of the favour he showed to Venice in all her quarrels with her neighbours on the mainland, and which was more signally manifested in the secret visit he paid to Venice in the year 1000. We have a minute and interesting account of this in the chronicle in Pertz,<sup>1</sup> known to the older writers by the name of Sagornino, but which is now commonly called

<sup>1</sup> SS. vii. p. 33; i. pp. 160 *sqq.* ed. Monticolo.

by the more probable name of John the Deacon. If this is correct, it is probably (for here again the commonness of the name excludes certainty) the work of a chief actor in the events narrated. The chronicle tells us that John the Deacon was sent on an embassy to the young Emperor to Como just at the time the doge started on his Dalmatian expedition. At Pavia, where he went with the Emperor, he received news of the success of the expedition; and at the same time Otto made him a secret proposal to come if possible to some place in the doge's dominion, "for the sake of the love he bore to him, and to have the advantage of the sagacious counsels of so great a man and his own compeer." The doge was surprised that the Emperor should be willing to enter any other prince's territory,<sup>1</sup> and kept the matter secret: meanwhile the Emperor continued his progress towards Rome. The meeting of the Emperor with the doge's envoy at Pavia took place in July 1000. In Lent of the year 1001, John the Deacon again met the Emperor at Ravenna, where he spent Easter of that year. After the festival, Otto gave out that he was going for some days, for the sake of his health, to the monastery of St. Mary in the little island of Pomposa, or Pomposia, at the mouth of the Po. There the Emperor proposed, in modern phrase, to make his cure,<sup>2</sup> allowing three days for the purpose. And he went from Ravenna to the island, saw the abbot and monks, and ordered a lodging (*ospiciolum*) to be prepared for him; but without staying a night there, he went down in the evening with a few of his court—Count Hecilius,<sup>3</sup> who was afterwards Duke of Bavaria; Raimbald,

<sup>1</sup> "Aliena jura entrare."

<sup>2</sup> "Se purgationis poculum accipere velle," "curationis potum custodire simulabat," are the expressions of the chronicle.

<sup>3</sup> I presume this name is the same as the Italian Eccelino, or Ezzelino, but there is a good deal of ambiguity as to the personality of this chief companion of the Emperor. Gfrörer (i. p. 406) identifies him with a Count Henry of the house of Luxemburg, who was brother-in-law of



Count of Treviso; Teupernus, whom the chronicler describes as "a very warlike man"; and others—to the sea-shore, where John the Deacon had a ship ready, on which the Emperor and his party embarked, and after passing a stormy night and day at sea, landed the next evening at the church of San Servolo, on an island not far from the doge's palace. There the doge met them in secret, in so dark a place that they could not see one another's features. The night was far advanced, and as the doge particularly wished the Emperor to see the monastery of St. Zacharias (it does not clearly appear why), he hurried him off thither at once, so that he might be safe within the walls of the Ducal Palace before dawn. The secrecy of the visit was maintained with the most scrupulous care. Count Hecilinus and the other courtiers appeared in public as the Emperor's envoys; they were received formally by the doge at the threshold of St. Mark's, as he came out of the morning office; but the Emperor only ventured to visit the splendours of the doge's palace in disguise, and for the rest of the time was thrust away into the eastern tower, where the doge paid him hurried visits, fearing to arouse suspicion if he stayed long with his guest. After appearing at the banquet given to

the Emperor Henry II., a known historical person who was made Duke of Bavaria in 1004 by his brother-in-law, as we know from Thietmar, vi. 3 (Pertz SS., iii. p. 805). There are several persons near this date known indifferently as Henri or Hezil, but Henry the Emperor's brother-in-law does not appear to be one of them. One, who was known as Hezil or Hezilo, was a great grandson of Otto the Great. Enzio was a recognised variant of Henry in Italy, but if Hecilinus is the equivalent of Eccelino, its affinities would appear to be different. Giesebrecht (Kaiserzeit, i. 747) speaks of Count Hezilin as father-in-law of Henry, Duke of Bavaria. There is no trace of any different reading in the chronicle, nor has Giesebrecht any note to explain his variation from it. I suspect he is wrong, and that Henry who was made Duke of Bavaria in 1004 was also called Hezilo; see Richer, ii. 97 = Pertz SS., iii. p. 628, who calls him "patruelis," *i.e.* cousin german, of Otto II. Kohlschütter (*Venedig unter dem Herzog Peter II., Orseolo*, p. 46) says simply, "der spätre (1004) Herzog Heinrich von Baiern."

the Emperor's envoys, the doge slipped away to dine with his Imperial visitor in his eastern tower.

At such hurried interviews as took place some business was settled. Presents were offered by the doge and accepted by the Emperor, an ivory chair and footstool, a silver bowl and ewer. The Venetians were released from the annual payment of a robe of state, which, in addition to 50 lbs. of silver, had been paid by the doges since the time of Otto I.,<sup>1</sup> and also confirmed in the possession of certain estates on the mainland that were claimed by some of the churches of the city and some private citizens. The day after his arrival the Emperor seems to have left. Count Hecilinus and his companions stayed a day longer, and the Emperor was attended on his return to Ravenna by only two servants and John the Deacon, who seems to have been the doge's principal agent in the whole affair. Arrived at Ravenna, the Emperor broke silence and publicly announced that he had been to Venice; and upon this the doge too informed his people of the visit, and they, according to John the Deacon's expression, approved their own lord's skill as much as the good faith of the Emperor.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever schemes of the young Emperor were connected with this remarkable secret visit were shipwrecked by his death, which took place early in the following year (January 24, 1002) at a village named Paterno, in the neighbourhood of Rome. Into the romantic circumstances of this momentous death we are not called upon to enter here. It had not the effect of interrupting the friendship with the Western Empire, that was the settled policy of the doge Peter. When Ardoïn set himself up as a rival king in Lombardy, the doge adhered to the victorious cause of Henry II., from whom, before the end of the year 1002, he received a formal confirmation of all the privileges granted by former

<sup>1</sup> See the documents quoted in the two footnotes at i. p. 163 of John the Deacon, ed. Monticolo.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. of Joh. Diac., i. p. 164, ed. Monticolo.

Emperors. In this document the doge is styled Duke of Venice and Dalmatia. When the new Emperor came to Italy in the year 1004, the doge sent his youngest son to meet him at Verona. The Emperor again undertook the office of sponsor at the boy's confirmation,<sup>1</sup> and gave him his own name of Henry, so that the doge had two sons bearing the names of two successive Emperors.

The friendship of the Western Emperors did not interfere with the old standing relations with those of the East. The two empires were not unfriendly at this time, but however this might have been, circumstances kept the Byzantine government fast bound to the rising power, whose fleet could command the Adriatic and control the formidable activity of Saracen corsairs. In the year 1003 the Greek Catapan, Gregory by name, was shut up in Bari by a Saracen fleet commanded by a renegade called the Alcalde Saphi,<sup>2</sup> but on the feast of St. Laurence (August 10th) of that year, the doge Peter set sail from Venice, and on the 6th September forced his way into the town with provisions and reinforcements, and then withdrawing the remainder of his forces, drew out the fleet of the infidels into the open sea and fought a three days' battle in which, apparently by the aid of Greek fire, he completely defeated them, and brought back to the Greek dominion all the neighbouring places on the mainland (*i.e.* probably the Lombard cities of the duchy of Benevento) that had fallen away.<sup>3</sup>

Soon after this, and perhaps in reward for the service done at Bari, the doge's eldest son John, who in the early part of 1003 had been associated with his father as doge, and (according to Dandolo's account) his younger brother Otto also, went to Constantinople, and were received with

<sup>1</sup> "Quem crismatis divo liquore ex more fecit linire" (Chron. Joh. Diac., i. 167, ed. Monticolo).

<sup>2</sup> Ann Bar. in Pertz, v. 53; Joh. Diac., i. p. 165, ed. Monticolo.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Diac. in Pertz SS., vii. 35; i. p. 166, ed. Monticolo.

great honour. The young doge, then nineteen years of age, was invested with the dignity of Patrician, and was solemnly married to a niece of the Emperors Basil and Constantine, Martha, the daughter of Argyrus or Argyropylus, and sister of Romanus, who was afterwards Emperor.<sup>1</sup> This marriage was, by John the Deacon's account, the main purpose of the visit. It was no doubt a great preference that a son of a doge of Venice should be treated as an equal match for a daughter of the house of Basil the Macedonian,<sup>2</sup> and the Venetian chroniclers enlarge upon the splendour of the marriage ceremonies in the Imperial chapel, when the patriarch gave the nuptial blessing, and the two Emperors themselves laid their hands on the heads of the bridal pair and crowned them; upon the gift from the Emperors to the bride of the relics of St. Barbara, the bitter tears shed in the Imperial circle at the departure of the bride, the universal joy both of the subjects of the Greek Empire and of the Venetians shown on the journey of the august pair to their home.<sup>3</sup> The doge, we are told, in honour of the event, distributed a largess of one thousand and fifty pounds' weight of dinars among his people—thus quite assuming the royal style.

The association of his son with himself as doge was an act by no means without precedent, as we have seen, but it

<sup>1</sup> Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.*, ii. p. 452 (ed. Bonn).

<sup>2</sup> The Byzantine historian Cedrenus seems to wish to accentuate this view when he adds, "τὸ ἔθνος οὕτως ὑποποιοῦμενος," where the participle would hardly be too strongly rendered by "subjecting," though the Latin version in the Bonn edition softens it down to "devinciens."

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Diac. in Pertz SS., vii. 36, "Cui Græcorum seu aliarum gentium incolæ ubique usque ad patriam non denegabant impertiri obsequia. Revera par gaudium nostris finibus emicuisse, nemo nostrorum reminiscitur" (i. pp. 168, 169, ed. Monticolo). The chronicler adds that the doge, in honour of the marriage, "Cepti palacii opus ad unguem perduxit; ubi inter cetera decoritatis opera dedalico instrumento capellan construere fecit, quam non modo marmoreo verum aureo mirifice comisit ornatu"—an interesting reference to the inlaid marbles and mosaics of St. Mark.

had never been regarded with approval at Venice, and combined with the Byzantine marriage, would naturally lead to the suspicion that the doge wished to make his power hereditary and to develop into a king. The Greek princess was not popular in Venice, if we may assume that some stories told of her by Peter Damiani, in a treatise on monastic life, are derived from Venetian rumour. He quotes her as an instance of shameful Oriental luxury: "She scorned to wash with common water, so that her servants had to gather the dew of heaven for her bath. Nor would she take her food with her hand like other mortals, but her eunuchs cut it into small pieces which she then carried to her mouth with a golden instrument that had two prongs: <sup>1</sup> her rooms, too, were always scented with the costliest perfumes." This curious indication that a golden fork, or indeed any fork at all, was a rarity at Venice must not be taken for more than it is worth.<sup>2</sup> Peter Damiani was probably living at the time he speaks of, and was well acquainted with North Italy, his chief exploit having been the suppression of married clergy at Milan; but he was the bitterest and strictest of ascetics, and any information that might come to him from Venice would represent the sentiments not of the merchants whose enterprise was raising the city to a great position in the world, so much as of the monks and hermits of the lonely islands in the lagoons.<sup>3</sup>

The young doge and his Greek wife, however splendid

<sup>1</sup> "Quibusdam furcinulis aureis atque bidentibus."

<sup>2</sup> The passage is in *Opusculum I.*, entitled, "Institutio Monialis," c. 11, pp. 780, 781, in Migne, vol. 145 (Series Latina), p. 744. The passage ends with a painful description of the horrors of her last illness. Romanin (i. p. 310) and P. G. Molmenti (*La Dogressa*, pp. 59 *sqq.*) attribute the story of Peter Damiano to Theodora, wife of the Doge Domenico Selvo, also a Byzantine princess, who was more nearly a contemporary of the writer.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Damiani was a disciple and biographer of St. Romualdus, the founder of the abbey of Camaldoli about the year 1000, whose history is connected with that of Peter Orseoli I., the canonised father of the present doge (v. *ante*, pp. 124, 125).

their situation, did not enjoy it long; for both died in a plague that visited the city in the year 1007.<sup>1</sup> The plague, and a famine that had preceded it, were thought to have been portended by a comet that appeared in the year 1000. The death of the young doge did not break down his father's design to make the dignity hereditary in his family; for another son, Otto, the godson of the Emperor, though only fourteen years old, was at once associated with him as doge.

With the association of the young Otto with his father and the almost contemporary elevation of the doge's second son, Orso (Otto was the third son), to the bishopric of Altinum, *i.e.* of Torcello, the chronicle of John the Deacon, which has been till now our best authority for Venetian history, ends. From this time we have no contemporary chronicle; but Dandolo, who becomes now our best authority, had no doubt other contemporary writers to follow as closely as in places he has hitherto followed John. The loyal admirer of the Orseoli family was perhaps fortunate, if his life ended at the same date as his history, in not surviving the greatest member of that family, and his own master. The doge Peter II. died in the year following his son's elevation to the see of Torcello, A.D. 1009, after a reign of seventeen years. His third son, Otto, who was joined with him as doge a few years before, succeeded him without opposition. He was sixteen years old, and two years afterwards he married, and, like his brother, married into a royal family: his wife was not indeed a king's daughter, for Geiza her father, sometimes called the first king of Hungary, seems to have been more properly the Duke of Hungary: his ancestor Arpad only ninety years before had been a barbarian, and the Magyar race had been a horde of warlike pagans till the reign of Geiza, which lasted from the

<sup>1</sup> They died within sixteen days, and were buried in one "mausoleum" in San Zaccaria. Pertz SS., vii. p. 36; i. p. 170, ed. Monticolo.



year 972 to 997. Geiza, like Clovis in Gaul or Ethelbert in Kent, had married a Christian wife and adopted her religion: and Stephen, his son and successor, afterwards a canonised saint, in the year 1000 had received from Pope Sylvester a grant of a royal crown, with the right to have a cross borne before him, as a sign of apostolic power. This power was given him in honour of his having brought his subjects over to Christianity, and it is the source of the title of "Apostolic Majesty" borne by the Emperor of Austria, who now wears the crown of St. Stephen. Stephen was a warrior like his fathers, but he was something more; he not only made his subjects Christians, but he organised their civil government, and gave them laws and a regular polity. It was natural that the new-fledged royalty in the plains of the Middle Danube should ally itself with the aspiring family which now, in the third generation, ruled the cities of the lagoons, and might be expected ere long to wear a crown.

We have some documents belonging to Otto Orseolo's dukedom still extant: one dating from his first year (March 1010) confirms to the city of Cività Nuova or Heracliana some privileges and immunities in respect of lands lately acquired by the state. Another of the seventh year (1017) of the doge is a treaty by which Peter, the Bishop of Hadria, whose territory lay between the southern boundary of Venice and the Po, undertook to appear with certain of his chief lay subjects before the doge, to ask pardon for an unprovoked attack on the Venetian town of Loreo, and promise to make no more such attempts in future. He also bound himself not to complain before any court whatever of the treatment he now received from the doge: a condition which Gfrörer<sup>1</sup> thinks was imposed in view of the possibility of some rival to the German Emperor, Henry II., establishing himself permanently or for a time in Italy. Otto Orseolo was loyal to his father's policy of supporting on

<sup>1</sup> i. p. 427.

his side of the Alps the cause of the German Emperor against the Lombard Ardoïn marquis of Ivrea, who for twelve years after Otto III.'s death had the upper hand in Italy, though he never succeeded in getting the Imperial crown. Till the year 1014, when Henry II. was able to cross the mountains and conquer Italy, the doge Otto was a partisan of a losing cause, and this was probably the reason why so petty a potentate as the Bishop of Hadria ventured to wrest from him the town of Loreo. During the same time some of the Dalmatian conquests of the late doge seem to have gradually fallen away; for in the year 1018 we are told that the king of the Croats having harassed Zara and the other towns of the sea-coast by daily attacks, the sufferers sought help from Venice; on which Doge Otto fitted out a fleet, and sailed to Dalmatia to protect the cities and confirm them in loyal subjection. On his return he received a fresh submission from the islands of the Quarnero, Veglia, Arbe, and Ossero, and the treaties he made with them are still extant. In each case the bishop acts for the island: Maius, Bishop of Arbe, binds his subjects to pay a yearly tribute of 10 lbs. of raw silk; Martin, Bishop of Ossero, forty marten skins; and Vitalis, Bishop of Veglia, thirty fox skins. It is interesting to learn that at this date the silk-worm was bred, though it would seem in small quantities, on an island in the Quarnero, and that Venice possessed factories capable of making the raw silk into marketable fabrics.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1017 Vitalis, Patriarch of Grado, the son of the doge Peter Candiano IV., died after fifty years' tenure of that see. He was succeeded by Orso Orseolo, the doge's brother, whose former see of Torcello went to another brother, Vitalis, so that the two chief places of dignity in the lagoons and a third but little inferior were now held by members of the same family. This would no doubt give

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer, i. 428-430. He quotes Marin, *Storia dei Veneziani*, ii. 273.

some umbrage at Venice, as it gave the Orseoli a very advantageous position for any design they might meditate for establishing hereditary government. The patriarch was ordinarily a counterpoise to the doge. It might well be thought that two brothers, working in the two offices for a common object, must overpower all opposition. The apprehension of this may well have had something to do with the discontent which, as we shall soon see, broke out against the Orseoli family.

In the year 1019 a new patriarch was appointed to the old city of Aquileia, who proved an unquiet and dangerous neighbour to Venice. This was Wolfgang, a German of illustrious family, whose name the Italians seem to have softened down to Poppo. He was a kinsman of Meinwerk, Bishop of Paderborn, who, as his biographer<sup>1</sup> also tells us, was of the royal Saxon house. One of the Emperor Henry II.'s fixed principles of action in Italy was to fill the important sees with German bishops. Poppo, as soon as he became patriarch, appealed to Pope Benedict VIII. praying him to summon Orso of Grado to give account of his usurpation of the old rights of the see of Aquileia over Grado. This was a very ancient quarrel, as we have seen, dating back to the days of Justinian and the Three Chapters. It is possible that the claim was not revived without the assent of the German Emperor Henry II., whose conduct to Venice from this time onward seems to have been hardly friendly. Poppo was high in the Emperor's favour, and commanded one of the divisions of the Imperial army that in the year 1022 Henry led from Ravenna against the Greeks of Bari and their allies, the Lombards of Benevento and Salerno. This expedition was successful and even glorious : it sealed the friendship between the Emperor and Pope Benedict VIII., a man of vigour and independence, and made the two all-powerful in Italy from the Alps to Naples and Amalfi. It is probable that Venice sympathised with

<sup>1</sup> See Bp. Meinwerk's Life in Pertz, xi. pp. 108 and 153.

the Greeks in this war, though she does not appear to have helped them actively: she would thus have been in sentiment opposed to the winning side, the side of the Emperor and Pope that was now so predominant in her neighbourhood; and Poppo of Aquileia, the doughty warrior of Henry II., was at her doors ready to make her feel the weight of the Emperor's enmity.

The Pope, when he first received Poppo's complaint, summoned Orso of Grado to appear at Rome and answer the charge, but readily accepted his excuse that he dared not come for fear of the Emperor. It appears that he was also summoned to synods at Ravenna and at Verona: that he did not appear, however, and that the Pope was inclined to let Poppo's complaint drop. But Poppo had recourse to shorter methods than the dilatory ways of Rome. In the year 1024, in which both Pope Benedict and the Emperor Henry II. died, a ruinous dissension broke out in Venice, in the end of which the doge and his brother the patriarch were driven from the city and took refuge in Istria. No sooner were they gone than Poppo appeared in Grado, we are not told with what force, claiming to come as the ally of his brother patriarch Orso and of the doge. The people at first refused to believe him, but were persuaded by the confirmatory oath of eighteen of his followers to admit him within their walls, as the representative of their exiled patriarch, whereupon he showed himself in his true colours, letting his soldiers loose to sack churches and convents, violate nuns, and carry off to Aquileia the treasures and relics of the cathedral of Grado. These doings, which Gfrörer is inclined to doubt, rest on the testimony of a Bull of Pope John XIX. of the year 1029, not five years after they had taken place, and they must have come under the Pope's notice immediately on their occurrence, for the Bull of 1029 recites and revokes another issued in 1024 or 1025, by which the same Pope, deceived, as he says, by Poppo's false statements, had

granted him possession of the cathedral of Grado and all its belongings.<sup>1</sup> The court of Rome in the beginning of the eleventh century was not a place where such a story of violence as the above would shock men's minds, nor was John XIX. a scrupulous prince: and we need feel no difficulty in believing that his conduct in issuing the Bull of 1024-5, and revoking it in 1029, was in both cases guided by political considerations. I do not think we can tell now what these considerations were. In the interval between the two Bulls the doge and his brother had been brought back from exile, and had recovered Grado, Poppo's garrison offering them no resistance. Dandolo attributes their recall to the Venetians' repentance and disappointment at the effects of their exile: but it was more probably connected with some vicissitudes of the affairs of the Empire in the early years of Conrad the Salian. When Grado had been recovered by its own patriarch and the intruding Poppo removed, the Pope could without difficulty find precedents for its independence of Aquileia, just as he had before found them for its subjection to Aquileia. There seems to me to be a lack of evidence for the ingenious theory of Gfrörer, that the doge and his brother

<sup>1</sup> The Bull of 1029 is in Mansi, xix. 493 (where the date "iudictione viii." (*i.e.* 1024) is corrected to "iudictione xiii." (*i.e.* 1029). It is interesting as calling Poppo Forojuliensis Patriarcha, which perhaps does not show that his see was already transferred to Cividale, but only that his authority extended over the province of Friuli. There is also in it an ingenious instance of the papal habit of fencing about a decision in case it should prove inconvenient in the future. "Præterea confirmamus vobis insulam Gradensem cum pertinentiis sicut iuste et canonice per antiqua privilegia vobis et ecclesiæ vestræ pertinere dinoscitur: et sicut tu ipse iuste probare omni tempore potes et promittis." The Bull refers to decisions of seventeen former Popes, all in favour of the independence of Grado. An "Apostolic and Imperial decree" of a synod held at Rome in 1027, when the Emperor Conrad was there, is printed in *de Rubeis* (*Mon. Eccl. Aquil.*, pp. 512-514). It also both argues on the merits and appeals to precedents, and concludes by prohibiting the see of Grado from claiming to be "pontifical," *i.e.* patriarchal, and subjecting it for ever to the church of Aquileia. *De Rubeis*, writing in the eighteenth century, is still full of zeal for the claims of Aquileia. He is a learned and interesting writer.

were originally in collusion with Poppo, and desired to cede Grado to him, with the view of transferring the patriarchal throne to Venice itself, *i.e.* to St. Peter in Castello; and that the Pope in 1024-5 approved the cession (though it was kept secret to avoid disturbances at Venice) because he knew of Orso's consent, and reasoned that *volenti non fit injuria*.

In 1029, when the Bull of 1025 was revoked, the doge and patriarch had not been able to maintain themselves. Both had gone into exile in 1026; and the incident that immediately caused their removal is the only fact that lends any colour to Gfrörer's theory. In that year the see of Olivolo fell vacant by the death of Domenico Gradonico. A nephew of the dead man, of the same name, was at once elected his successor, though only eighteen years old. The doge, very properly as it would appear, refused to confirm the election; and this refusal, offending a powerful family, caused the former dissensions to kindle again. One Domenico Flabianico headed a conspiracy against the doge, who fell into the hands of his enemies, was deposed, and his beard shaven off, according to old Venetian custom, to fit him for the cloister; he was then sent a prisoner to Constantinople; his brother Orso was at the same time, Dandolo says, on suspicion of treason, banished from Grado.

Gfrörer thinks that the doge's refusal to confirm young Gradonico's election was a part of his long-cherished design to transfer Orso's patriarchal throne from Grado to Olivolo, and that this was resented by those who feared the accession of power<sup>1</sup> an ambitious doge would derive from having the chief spiritual authority of the islands under his hand instead of away at Grado. But it seems much more probable that the doge's objection to the bishop elect was on the ground of his youth, and that the offence given by the refusal of confirmation to a powerful family was sufficient

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer calls this subjection of ecclesiastical to civil power "Byzantinismus" (*v. ante*, p. 138).



to turn the scale decisively against an ambitious family, who certainly might reasonably be suspected of intending to make the dignity of doge hereditary.

The chief of the conspirators who deposed Otto Orseolo, Domenico Flabianico, was not his successor as doge: the election fell upon Pietro Barbolano, also called Centranico: "but," Dandolo adds, "as many took no pleasure in him, frequent disturbances broke out." The party of the Orseoli was, as we shall see, still strong; moreover, Poppo of Aquileia was still near, powerful, and unreconciled. Conrad the Salian, who was Poppo's friend, came to Rome for his coronation as Emperor in 1027, and was there present at a synod in the Lateran, that put forth a decree entirely in favour of the claims of the Church of Aquileia to superiority over Grado. At the same time, the King of Hungary—Dandolo says Andrew, but it must have been St. Stephen, who reigned till 1038—attacked Dalmatia and forced some of the cities there to surrender to him. It was probably under the influence of his Venetian nephew, Peter, son of Otto Orseolo, who had been summoned to the Hungarian court, and who succeeded, on his uncle's death, to the throne of Hungary, that this act of hostility was undertaken. Peter might claim with some consistency that his grandfather had conquered Dalmatia for his family, not for the ungrateful country that had banished his descendants.<sup>1</sup> During Barbolano's dukedom there seems to have been some reaction in favour of the Orseoli, for Orso the patriarch, after the synod at the Lateran of 1029, at which he was present, had recognised his claims as patriarch, came back to Grado, and was able to maintain himself there till his death in 1045. He had still a certain part to play in the affairs of Venice. The reaction was too strong for the doge; in the year 1030 he, like his predecessor, was shorn and made a monk, and sent as prisoner to Constantinople. And then the Venetian people resolved to recall the banished

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer, i. 454.

Otto Orseolo, and sent his brother Vitalis, Bishop of Torcello, with an embassy to Constantinople, where the deposed doge was still in confinement, to bring him back again as ruler. Meanwhile the patriarch Orso exercised authority in his brother's name, and so complete was the revulsion of feeling, that Flabianico and his friends took fright and left the city. We do not know what the embassy did at Constantinople: probably they found Otto too feeble in health to return at once to Venice;<sup>1</sup> for at the end of fourteen months, during which Orso was provisional ruler, ruling wisely and well, news came that the doge Otto had died at Constantinople. Orso at once resigned power, and retired to Grado. But another member of the Orseoli family was more ambitious. Domenico, a young kinsman of Peter II., perhaps a son of his youngest son, to whom the Emperor Henry II. stood godfather, usurped the throne, but after retaining it only for one day, took flight and fled to Ravenna. Dandolo's<sup>2</sup> account of this seems to show that there was no free election: the great majority, he says, disapproved his attempt and rose up against the usurper, because they desired the liberty that was native to their country, and no tyranny. The Orseoli family had thus, it would appear, come to be associated in men's minds with despotic government; and there is probability, I think, in Gfrörer's idea that this association arose from some close alliance between the Orseoli and the Salian Emperors, whose dominions included both Istria, to which Otto fled in 1024, and Ravenna, in which Domenico now found a shelter for the rest of his life.

At Easter 1027, when Conrad was crowned at Rome by

<sup>1</sup> Gfrörer thinks the Byzantine court would not release him; his theory is that the Republican party at Venice, of which Flabianico was now the representative, leant upon Constantinople and had influence there. We shall see that Flabianico received one of the honorary titles, that took the place of modern orders at Constantinople, as soon as he became doge, A.D. 1032 (i. 464, 470).

<sup>2</sup> *Apud* Murat., xii. 240.

John XIX., and was present at the Lateran synod that asserted Poppo's superiority over Grado, the Imperial power was very great in Italy. Lombardy, Tuscany, Ravenna had all, after more or less resistance, submitted to Conrad; and he seemed to have a safe means of holding them; for the bishops had, chiefly by Imperial favour, risen to the chief power in their dioceses at the expense of the margraves and feudal nobility, and the chief sees had been given to German prelates, of whom, besides Poppo of Aquileia, Aribert of Milan and Leo of Vercelli were the most prominent. At a later date, as we shall see, the bishops of North Italy made common cause with their flocks against the Emperors, but as yet we have not come to the age of Guelfs and Ghibellines; the Church and the Empire in the West were for a time as closely united as in the East, and the secular princes of Italy were submissive. "All the princes from Mte. Gargano to the sea adjoining Rome," wrote Canute, King of Denmark and England—who was in Rome at the same Easter festival, and obtained valuable privileges and exemptions for Northern pilgrims and merchants on their way to Rome—"were present to meet the Emperor," and take part in the deliberations on public affairs.<sup>1</sup>

When Domenico Orseoli had taken to flight, those who had resisted his usurpation recalled Domenico Flabianico from his voluntary exile at Constantinople and made him doge. He was at once made a Protospatharius at the Byzantine court; but this warlike title did not alter the peaceful character of the great Venetian merchant,<sup>2</sup> of whom a modern historian says<sup>3</sup> that his ten years' reign

<sup>1</sup> Letter to English bishops quoted in Giesebrecht, *Deutsche Kaiserszeit*, ii. p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> We know he was a merchant from the accidental preservation at the end of one of the MSS. of John the Deacon's *Chronicon Venetum* of a record of an Inquisition held by the doge Otto Orseolo on the subject of the trade in silks, at which, among other merchants who give evidence as to the customs of this trade, we find Domenicus Florentinus Flabianicus. (Pertz, vii. p. 38; i. pp. 178, 179, ed. Monticcolo.)

<sup>3</sup> Gfrörer i. p. 471.

produced not a single warlike action, and even no public act bearing on foreign affairs. His reign is memorable for a law that lasted as long as the republic, and had a great share in keeping the republic from developing into a monarchy or feudal principality. This was the law prohibiting a doge from appointing a colleague or electing a successor, a practice that till now had been not unusual. An anonymous annotator to the Ambrosian MS. of Dandolo says that a further law was made, banishing from Venetian soil and disqualifying from the ducal office all members of the Orseoli family. As a matter of fact no Orseolo was doge after this date; but if this is any evidence that the family was disqualified, there must be some exaggeration as to the banishment, for Orso remained Patriarch of Grado till his death in 1045, and Vitalis Bishop of Torcello till 1040.

Whether the reforms of Flabianico included any measure for the organisation of a legislative and executive body, such as the Great Council afterwards became, is an obscure question. We have seen<sup>1</sup> that from the time of Pietro Candiano IV. edicts had been issued under the signatures of the doge, the chief church dignitaries, and a large number of nobles and others, some of whom are specially described as *judices*, and that the Ambrosian annotator of Dandolo saw in these signatories the members of the Great Council of that day. The phraseology of these edicts is not always the same. Sometimes they recite that the doge and other persons, sitting "in publico Placito," decreed such and such things.<sup>2</sup> "Placitum" would naturally be held to mean a law court, and it seems reasonable to believe that, in Venice as well as in other places, the earliest legislation took the form of declaration of the law by a court of justice.<sup>3</sup> One remarkable instance

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, pp. 140 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *e.g.* in the edict against the slave trade (Romanin, i. 371), and in the record of the Inquisition held by Otto Orseolo on the subject of the silk trade (Monticolo, *Cron. Ven. Antich.*, i. 178; cf. Gfrörer, i. 482).

<sup>3</sup> See Sir II. Maine's "Early History of Institutions," pp. 388, 389.

of such a decision, in old Venetian history, is the case of Sagornino, the record of which has by some accident been interpolated in the MSS. of John the Deacon's Chronicle. John Sagornino the blacksmith and his kinsmen had, in the time of Pietro Barbolano, disputed the doge's right to demand certain forced labour of them. They were ordered to produce sworn testimony as to the custom, and accordingly—but not till Flabianico had succeeded Barbolano as doge—they appeared before the doge “when he was sitting in his palace with his judges, and the greatest part of his lieges (*fidelium*) there standing by,” and produced their evidence, on which the doge gave a written decision in accordance with their contention,<sup>1</sup> relieving them from subjection to a certain *gastaldo* of the smiths, who seems to have been the executive officer who was responsible for the supply of metal work for the army and fleet. The decision, thus based upon sworn testimony, must have been a decision that the custom was as Sagornino contended, and, if so, the remedy of the grievance will have been not the result of legislation, but, either in fact or by virtue of a legal fiction, a restoration of the ancient custom. It was probably by a series of such decisions—case-law, as we should say—that the doge's court gradually grew into a legislative council.

In another record of a decision, that has been also preserved to us by its incorporation in John the Deacon's Chronicle, and also in the edict of A.D. 971 prohibiting the export of arms or ship-timber to the Saracens,<sup>2</sup> mention is made of three classes among those present (the *fideles* of the Sagornino document); *majores et mediocres et minores*, and, in the former case, the first class alone seem to be described as *judices nostræ terræ*; this may, perhaps, as Gfrörer thinks,<sup>3</sup> point to a distinction between a smaller and a greater Council, such as afterwards existed.

<sup>1</sup> Monticolo, *u.s.*, i. 175, 176.

<sup>2</sup> V. *ante*, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Gfrörer, i. 483, 484. His conclusions as to the *gastaldi* being the *minores judices*, and as to their action in the bad times of the Orseoli, seem to me to be very far fetched.

Besides the law against coadjutor doges, Flabianico was the author of another law fixing the minimum age for ordaining a priest at thirty, for a deacon at twenty-six. This law was the work of a synod of prelates assembled by the doge in the chapel of St. Mark in the year 1040. The patriarch Orso, who must have taken part in enacting it, could remember in his long experience many a bishop in his teens; <sup>1</sup> the evil was one that prevailed widely and had appeared even in the Church of Rome in this age, when ecclesiastical dignities gave so high a secular position to their holders.

History tells us nothing further of the events of Doge Flabianico's ten years of power. If he was so important a person as some moderns think, he unfortunately lacks such a *vates sacer* as Peter Orseolo has found in John the Deacon. He died probably in the year 1042, and shortly after his death Poppo of Aquileia, who died at the end of the same year, again surprised Grado, burnt its churches, tore down its altars, and carried off its treasures. Perhaps the confusion arising from this attack prevented the immediate filling up of the office of doge, for Domenico Contareno, who succeeded, was not elected till 1043. His first act was to send envoys to Rome to complain of the aggression upon Grado that had been the last act of Poppo's life. The envoys seem to have found the Pope Benedict IX. in great trouble: in January 1044 he had had to fly from Rome, but in March he returned, and in April issued a decree in the doge's favour, confirming all the rights and immunities of the Church of Grado, and giving the patriarch authority over all the churches of the islands, of the adjacent coast of Italy, and of Istria. The patriarch Orso just lived to enjoy this signal triumph, and in 1045 died, surviving little more than two years his formidable antagonist of Aquileia. Another actor who had lately vanished from the scene was the Emperor Conrad; he had died in 1039, leaving a young son to succeed him

<sup>1</sup> He had himself, Gfrörer thinks (i. p. 485), been Patriarch of Grado at sixteen.



as Henry III., who was detained for seven years by troubles, north of the Alps, before he could come to Italy to claim the Imperial crown. During this time the Imperial authority probably fell low in Rome, and this would have contributed to the success of the Venetians there, as they were less likely to find friends than enemies in the Salian house. The papal court, if free to act as it pleased, had generally favoured the claims of Grado: the decision come to in 1044 was confirmed by a synod in 1053 that finally settled the rival pretensions of Aquileia and Grado. Grado had become by this time very closely connected with Venice: Orso Orseoli was the last patriarch who lived at Grado: his successors migrated to Venice, where they lived in a house near the church of San Giovanni Elemosinario.<sup>1</sup>

Besides recovering Grado by force of arms, Dandolo tells us that Contareno, in the second year of his reign, that is in 1044, reconquered Zara from the Hungarians. He does not mention the time of its conquest by the Hungarians, and he is wrong in saying it was reconquered from Solomon, who did not begin to reign till 1064: at the time of its reconquest the crown was disputed between Peter, the nephew and successor of St. Stephen, who by his father's side was a Venetian of the Orseoli family, a son of Doge Otto, and Aba the Cumanian, St. Stephen's brother-in-law. The latter had rebelled in the Magyar interest against the Italian Peter, who leant on the support of the German Emperor, and aimed at Germanising the kingdom. In the same year, 1044, in June, the young Emperor Henry III. invaded Hungary, defeated and killed Aba, and restored Peter for a short time. But for some years before and after this, civil war was permanent in Hungary, and it is likely enough that a distant possession like Zara may have fallen away.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, i. p. 305. The palace of the patriarch is shown in Carpaccio's picture of the "Cure of a Demoniac," in the hall of the Holy Cross in the Venetian Academy.

<sup>2</sup> For Hungarian affairs at this time, which are interesting, see Engel, *Gesch. des Ungarischen Reichs.*, i. 134 foll.

Contareno had a long reign of twenty-seven years, from 1044 to 1071: during nearly all this time the power of the see of Rome was wielded by the great Cardinal Hildebrand, the future Pope Gregory VII. Domenico Marengo, the next successor but one to Orso Orseoli in the see of Grado, was a kindred spirit to Hildebrand: he had ideas of Clugny, as the German historians say. In two documents<sup>1</sup>—letters of Hildebrand, after he had become Pope, to the doge Silvio—he speaks of his love for Venice and the noble freedom her people enjoy, and of services he had rendered her in his earlier life, by which he had incurred the hate of powerful enemies. This must almost certainly refer to the Emperors Henry III. and Henry IV.: but I do not think we can identify the occasions to which the Pope refers, for I cannot see any evidence for the view of Gfrörer,<sup>2</sup> that one of the enemies in question was the doge, and that the reference is to measures intended to weaken the doge's power, and prevent the office from becoming hereditary, among which measures he particularly includes an abortive attempt of the doge Contareno to endow the poor church of Grado with an adequate income raised by contributions from the chief ecclesiastical and secular corporations of the Venetian archipelago,<sup>3</sup> and so to deprive the doge of the ever-ready help of a pauper patriarch in any ambitious schemes he might cherish. Without having

<sup>1</sup> They are to be found in Mansi, xx. pp. 154 and 233, and belong to the years 1074 and 1077. In the second—which is a rebuke to the doge and people for consorting with excommunicated persons—the Pope uses the expression: “Nos multum gavisî libertate quam ab antiquâ stirpe Romanæ nobilitatis acceptam conservastis.” No doubt the long-standing independence of the Holy Roman Empire appeared to Hildebrand the most remarkable fact of Venetian history.

<sup>2</sup> i. p. 496.

<sup>3</sup> We learn of this attempt from a later deed printed by Muratori (*Antiq. Italie*, i. 243), in which the next doge, Domenico Silvio, with the bishops, abbots, and judges, undertakes actually to pay the sums that had been settled, but never paid, in his predecessor's day. The date of this latter deed, which is well worth reading, is 1074. Much of it is translated in Gfrörer, i. pp. 494, 495.

recourse to such a far-fetched hypothesis, it is sufficient to remark that for more than a quarter of a century before his election to the papacy Hildebrand was the guiding spirit of the Roman Church, and must have had numerous opportunities of serving or disserving the interests of Venice.

Another event of Contareno's reign, in which Gfrörer also describes the hand of Hildebrand and an attempt to lessen the doge's power, is the institution of the office of Procurator of St. Mark. This is mentioned in one of the passages added to Dandolo's chronicle in the Ambrosian MS. and placed in the year 1071, the last year of the doge's life.<sup>1</sup> The business of the procurator was to keep the accounts of the state, of the treasury of St. Mark as it was already called: the creation of such an officer marks the cessation of the old imperfect separation between the revenues of the doge and those of the state. In the oldest times the revenues of the state had been treated simply as belonging to the doge; but as early as the year 933 we find in a treaty with Capo d'Istria the expression "property of the doge's palace"; and now in 1074, in the deed of endowment of the see of Grado, we find among the sources from which the contributions came the three following—1, the treasury of St. Mark; 2, the Roga, apparently the official revenue of the doge; and 3, Roga Magistratus, or the revenue of the Council.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Amelot de la Houssaye, *Gouvt. de Venise*, p. 182, says that the first Procurator of St. Mark mentioned in the Archives is Bartolomeo Tiepoli, elected in 1049. He also thinks probable the opinion of some writers, whom he does not mention, that Pietro Orseolo I., when he began to build the chapel of St. Mark, instituted the office of procurator. He is a late writer, and though well informed as to his own time, not equal in authority on any point of ancient history to the annotator of Andrea Dandolo. (Dandolo, ix. 8, note 1; Murat. SS. xii. 247.)

<sup>2</sup> In Latin "de camera S. Marci, de roga" (Gfrörer thinks "ducis" has fallen out), "de roga magistratus." *Roga*, I presume, from *erogare*, "to spend," was originally the largess distributed by an Emperor or other dignitary on solemn occasions. It may have been a part of the revenue set aside for the bounty of the doge or the Council. (Gfrörer, i. p. 501.)

## CHAPTER III

### WAR WITH THE NORMANS AND ALLIANCE WITH EASTERN EMPIRE

WHEN Contareno died in 1071, Domenico Selvo or Silvio succeeded as doge. The election was, according to Dandolo,<sup>1</sup> conducted with a tumultuous enthusiasm. "The people assembled in the church of St. Nicholas<sup>2</sup> and unanimsly chose Silvio for doge; then they led the doge elect into the chapel of St. Mark, which was at that time not entirely completed, and put him in possession of his office by handing to him the flag," *i.e.* the standard of the Lion of St. Mark. We know nothing of Silvio's antecedents, and cannot guess why he was so high in the popular favour. He soon showed that he had personal and family ambition, for, like his predecessor Otto Orseoli, he married a Byzantine princess, Theodora, daughter of the late Emperor Constantine Ducas and sister of the reigning Emperor Michael, and received from his Imperial brother-in-law the distinguished title of Protoproedros. Such titles were the current coin of the Byzantine court, with which they avowedly purchased support, but the granting of this title does not seem to have prevented Silvio from seeking allies in the Western world, for a Bull of Gregory VII. issued in June 1077,<sup>3</sup> (to which reference has been already made)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Muratori, xii. 247; Dand., ix. 8.

<sup>2</sup> I presume San Nicolò on the lido, then a new church built by the late doge Contareno, whom the inscription over the west door of the present church commemorates as the subjugator of Zara and Aquileia and conqueror of the Normans in Apulia.

<sup>3</sup> Jaffé, 3782.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, p. 206, n. 2.

reproaches the doge for consorting with such as are laden with the Church's curse, and this in the mouth of Hildebrand can only mean the Emperor Henry IV. This policy must have lasted for nearly ten years from the doge's accession, for in another Bull of April 1081<sup>1</sup> the Pope speaks of Silvio as only then beginning to be on his side. These ten years, from 1071 to 1081, include a great part of the memorable struggle between the Pope and Henry IV. In 1077 the Emperor sank to the lowest depth of his fortunes in his humiliation at Canossa ; in 1080 he was excommunicated, and retaliated by deposing Gregory and setting up Guibert of Ravenna as Antipope ; in 1081 he began the siege of Rome, which after four years ended in his complete victory, and the Pope's banishment from his own city. It was therefore not at the time of the Emperor's depression, but when the tide was beginning to turn, that the doge began to quit his side for that of the Pope ; a change that perhaps was not solely due to magnanimity, but partly to the fact that the Emperor of the West naturally appeared in a more favourable light to the Venetians, when his fortunes were down and he was detained in Germany, than when his victorious standards were crossing the passes of the Alps or waving over the cities of Lombardy.

In the year 1082 the doge Selvo became involved in more important operations for the defence of the Byzantine Empire than any of his predecessors had yet undertaken. It is unnecessary here to enter into any details as to the series of revolutions and usurpations at Constantinople, which ended in the previous year with the elevation of Alexius Comnenus to the throne. But it will be worth while to make a digression to give some account of the enemy from whom the doge was called upon to save the Eastern Empire.

The period we have reached, the latter half of the eleventh century, may justly be called one of the most

<sup>1</sup> Jaffé, 3930.

important of the Middle Ages. Not to mention other great men who lived in it, it is the age of Hildebrand, and the age of William the Conqueror. To English readers, to whom it is always useful to date the event of foreign history by the contemporary events of their own, this period may best be remembered as the age of the Norman Conquest. But it was really the age of two Norman conquests ; and of these the conquest of England by William the Bastard was the less marvellous and less romantic. That was the conquest of a powerful kingdom by a great soldier commanding the forces of a large semi-independent feudal principality that had grown to importance under several generations of warlike princes. The conquest of Apulia by Count Rainulf, William of Hauteville, and the other leaders, ending with Robert Guiscard, was that of a large province of Southern Italy—not, it is true, an organised and united kingdom like England, but still a province powerful from its wealth and population and its fortified cities—by a handful of adventurers far away from their base in Normandy, the nucleus of whom had lingered, on their return from the Holy Land, in the genial southern climate, and by lending their swords to Greek or Lombard, had won, first Aversa, then Melphi, then the whole of Apulia but Bari and one or two other cities. We have two contemporary accounts of Robert Guiscard—one written by a friend, the poetical chronicle of William of Apulia ; the other that of a bitter enemy, the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena, daughter of Alexius, the Emperor of the East, with whom he was so soon brought into hostile relations. Of the moderns Gibbon has described, in some unusually brilliant pages, this romantic episode.

In the year 1016 the Normans were settled at Aversa ; in 1038 they helped the Byzantines to conquer the Arabs in Sicily ; in the years 1040 to 1043 they turned against the Byzantines and made themselves masters of Apulia ; in



1053 they defeated, on the field of Civitella, the saintly Pope Leo IX., whom the exigencies of politics sent forth as the champion of the Empires of East and West against the upstart Northern adventurers. As the result of that battle Robert Guiscard became the chief man of his nation and the most devoted servant of the conquered Pope, from whom he received the investiture of the fiefs of Apulia and Calabria. By the year 1060 he was made Duke of Apulia by the Papal grant and the vote of the Norman soldiers combined.

The younger son of a small landowner or *vavassor* near Coutances in Normandy, Robert de Hauteville—Guiscard or Wiscard is a nickname won by his craft—is painted to us by friends and enemies as a rough and coarse warrior, crafty, cruel, and grasping; but he had the strength of will and firmness that are the most essential qualities for a leader of men and a conqueror in an age of violence. His career in Apulia and Calabria was that of a condottiere, if not of a brigand; but it was persevering and remorseless, and by the end of twenty years from his elevation to the dukedom he had subdued all Apulia and Calabria, while his brother Roger had made great progress with the conquest of Sicily. But his ambition was still unsatisfied, and circumstances led him to contemplate a more brilliant conquest, that of the Byzantine Empire, whose weakness he had been brought to appreciate in the long wars he had waged against it in Italy. The circumstances were as follows. The Emperor Michael Parapinaces, son of Constantine Ducas, one of the most feeble of the sovereigns who wore the purple in those days at Constantinople, had sanctioned the betrothal of his son Constantine to a daughter of Robert Guiscard. We have seen in more than one case a princess of the Imperial family of Constantinople bestowed on a doge of Venice, and these instances compared with that of Robert Guiscard seem to show that, like modern Austria, the Eastern Empire had an established

policy of obtaining useful if humble allies by marriages. But before the betrothal took effect, Michael had retired peacefully from the throne to become Archbishop of Ephesus, and the prospects of Constantine suffered an eclipse. The Norman count was either duped by an impostor, or more probably himself put forward, a monk who pretended to be the deposed Michael, come to take refuge with his<sup>1</sup> ally, and by his aid to recover his throne.

Michael had abdicated in the year 1078, and in the summer of 1082, when Robert's fleets were gathered in the harbours of Otranto, Brindisi, and Tarento for the attack on the Eastern Empire, Nicephorus Botaniates, who succeeded Michael, had given place to Alexius Comnenus, whose uncle Isaac had been Emperor five-and-twenty years before, whose family was dignified and honourable, and his military talents respectable.

The short passage of the Adriatic from Brindisi to Durazzo, the same that had been so often traversed by the soldiers and statesmen of republican and Imperial Rome, was no obstacle to the skilful Norman sailors: from Durazzo the old Roman road, the Via Egnatia, ran in a straight and uninterrupted course to Constantinople. Durazzo was fortified and held by George Paleologus, a kinsman of the Emperor Alexius, and like him a representative of one of the most famous families of the Lower Empire; but this did not prevent the Norman from coming to shore at the harbour of Aulona, the deep recess sheltered from south and west by the famous Acroceraunian cape some sixty miles south of Durazzo. Durazzo still barred his way to Constantinople, and he prepared to attack it both by land and by sea. It was then, it seems, that the Emperor Alexius, as so many of his predecessors had done, appealed to the Venetians for aid, and begged them to send over a fleet to help Paleologus

<sup>1</sup> συμπένθερος.

in the defence of Durazzo, offering to grant them whatever they wished as their reward, provided it could be granted without risk to the Empire. In July or August their fleet arrived under the doge's command, and came to shore near a church of the Immaculate Mother of God<sup>1</sup> at a place called Pallia, nearly two miles from Robert's camp before Durazzo. The events that followed we will relate first in the Princess Anna's own words: "When they (the Venetians) saw the fleet of Robert on the other side of the city of Durazzo, equipped with every kind of engine of war, they feared to engage it. When Robert heard of their arrival, he sent his son Bohemond to them with a squadron of ships, bidding them acclaim the Emperor Michael and Robert himself. But they begged to put off the acclaim to the morrow: and evening having come on, as it was not possible for them to come near to the shore in the dead calm, they fasten together the larger ships with ropes, making what is called a sea-harbour;<sup>2</sup> and having built wooden towers in the masts, they draw up by ropes into the towers the little boats that were towed behind each ship, and put in these armed men and stout logs sawn into blocks a cubit long, with sharp iron nails stuck into them; and so they waited the coming of the French ships. When it was daylight, Bohemond sails up, demanding the acclamation. But when they laughed in his face, not brooking this he advanced first against them, attacking their largest ships, and the rest of the fleet followed. The fight became hot, and as Bohemond was assailing vigorously, the enemy threw down from above one of the before-mentioned logs and knocked a hole in the ship in which Bohemond was. And when from the water rushing in the ship was like to sink, some of the crew, leaving the ship, fell into the very danger they were

<sup>1</sup> Anna Comn., iv. 2 (vol. i. p. 192, Bonn) *ὑπεραμώμου θεοτόκου*.

<sup>2</sup> *πελαγολιμένα*. See Ducange's note to A. C. at vol. ii. p. 498, Bonn.

fleeing and were drowned, others were slain fighting with the Venetians, while Bohemond saved himself by leaping on to another ship. The Venetians, the more encouraged, followed up their victory, and having completely routed the enemy, pursued them as far as Robert's camp, and as soon as they were near the land, they leapt on shore and began another battle with Robert. When Paleologus saw this, he too sallied out of the citadel and fought with them; and as the battle raged and reached even to Robert's camp, many were pursued beyond that, and many were put to the sword. The Venetians then returned with much spoil to their ships, and Paleologus retreated to the citadel. The Venetians then, after resting some days, sent envoys to the Emperor, informing him of what had happened: and he, pleased with them, as was natural, dismissed them loaded with favours, having sent with them large sums of money for the doge of Venice and those who commanded under him."

This account by the Byzantine princess of the first engagement between the Norman and Venetian fleets does not differ materially from that which William the Apulian gives in his poetical account of the Deeds of Robert Wiscard. Alexius, he tells us, "summoned an allied people to resist Robert on the sea. This people was skilled in sea-fighting and brave: the populous Venetia sent it forth, at the prayer of the Empire, a land rich in wealth and rich in men, where the extreme gulf of the Adrian waters lies under the northern stars. The walls of this nation are surrounded by the sea, nor can one man go to another's house unless on ship-board. They dwell ever in the waters: no nation is more powerful than this in fighting at sea, or steering their barks over the water.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> " Non ignara quidem belli navalis et audax  
Gens erat hæc; illam populosa Venetia misit,  
Imperii prece, dives opum divesque virorum,  
Quâ sinus Adriacis interlitus ultimus undis

Alexius exhorts these to bring help to the besieged citizens, to bring their own ships and fight with the ships of the duke (*i.e.* Robert), so that, these enemies being vanquished in battle, it might be an easy task to enter upon war on shore, when the duke's people were thinned. They obey his command, and hasten to come to blows with the duke's ships. Now the evening of the day had begun to fall: they meet the duke's ships, but because the hour of night was near, war is postponed by common accord. The next morn advancing had dispelled the shades, each people stands ready for naval war. The Venetian nation, because more skilled in this kind of war, rushes boldly on: the duke's fleet, panic-stricken, returns in flight to the shore—so the battle was left. On the third day a large force of Venetians seeks the harbour and assails the ships of Robert. Those ships, that came from Ragusa or Dalmatia, made some show with missiles, but did not venture far out of harbour: in the harbour the camp of Robert hard by protected them, but some were cut from their moorings, and driven to sea by the Venetians."

By both accounts the Normans were severely defeated in this first day's engagement, and all through the winter they were shut up in their camp, Greek and Venetian cruisers cutting off their supplies from South Italy. When the spring came, the main fleets of the same enemies forced Robert to draw up his ships on shore and later to remove them to the harbour of Oricum (which Anna Comnena calls Jericho) near Aulona, where, as the summer got hotter, they were left high and dry by the failure of the river Glycys. With his ships thus helpless, the Norman duke began to suffer from famine and disease: but his spirit continued

Subjacet Arcturo. Sunt hujus mænia gentis  
Circumsepta-mari, non [nec] ab ædibus alter ad ædes  
Alterius transire potest, nisi lintre vehatur;  
Semper aquis habitant; gens nulla valentior istâ  
Æquoreis bellis ratiumque per æquora ducta [? ductu]."

*Apud* Pertz SS., ix. 285.

—Lib. iv. v. 277-285.

undaunted, and his army succeeded, by hard digging, in narrowing and deepening the channel of the river and floating his ships.

The events of Robert's campaign before Durazzo, and on the road thence to Constantinople, have little concern with Venetian history, and may be passed over shortly. The Emperor Alexius, who left Constantinople as soon as he heard of the Norman invasion, failed to relieve Durazzo, and indeed left it in a worse plight than he found it in, for George Paleologus, who had commanded the garrison, was not able to get back to the city after coming out to meet the Emperor, and the citadel was now entrusted to a picked band of Venetians, while an Albanian commanded in the town. Meanwhile the Emperor was much harassed in his retreat along the Egnatian road. He was defeated and severely wounded in a battle<sup>1</sup> on the river called Charzanes by his daughter (perhaps the Panyasus): at Ochrida, on the lake of that name, known to the ancients as Palus Lychnitis, he made a stand, hoping still to be able to save Durazzo; but when that city surrendered in February 1083 he continued his retreat to Thessalonica, Robert not pursuing him after the first, but going into winter quarters in the high valleys about Joannina and between it and Durazzo. After the surrender of the latter<sup>2</sup> he found a safer place of refuge in it. From thence in the following spring he advanced through Albania to the Thessalian mountains, took 300 English prisoners in Castoria, and then came near Thessalonica, so that panic reached the capital on the Bosphorus. But the Eastern Empire was saved this time by the affairs of Italy recalling Robert suddenly to protect Pope Gregory VII. from his bitter enemy, the Emperor Henry IV. The Western Emperor was the ally of his

<sup>1</sup> This was on the 18th of October. William of Apulia has a highly coloured account of this victory of his hero (iv. 366-424). Pertz SS., ix. 286, 287.

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon (vii. p. 125) says that Durazzo was sold to Robert by a Venetian noble for a rich and honourable marriage.



Eastern brother, and his attack upon Rome served to rivet the alliance between the Pope and Robert, an alliance which was close henceforth till the Pope's death, and made men think that the Imperial crown of the West was within the northern adventurer's reach. During his absence his son Bohemond pressed the Greeks hard in Thessaly, but after a long siege failed to take Larissa, in which were the treasury and magazines of the Greeks. Alexius was in great distress for men and money, but Bohemond's counts became disaffected, his army broke up, and he himself retired to Apulia.

But the danger was by no means over. As soon as the Emperor Henry IV. was driven out of Rome, Robert resumed his enterprise against the Eastern Empire, and in October 1084 he again crossed the Adriatic, this time from Brindisi rather than Otranto, with 120 ships. Alexius again had induced the Venetians to send him valuable help in transports and galleys. Robert reached the coast of Epirus between Aulona and Buthrotum (now Butrinto), over against Corfu. There he was joined by the remains of the troops who had been fighting under Bohemond. The Venetian fleet, which included nine great galeotes, was ready for them. It had been at Corfu<sup>1</sup> some six months before, but had retreated as soon as it was known that Robert was still in Apulia and not likely to be free to cross the sea. In March 1084 the ships were back in the lagoons, but in the autumn another pressing summons from Alexius came, and they had returned to Corfu before Robert reached the coast of Epirus. It was not only zealous friendship for the Byzantine Emperor that made them so prompt; for, as Gfrörer well remarks,<sup>2</sup> it was a matter of life and death to them to prevent a single strong power from holding Brindisi, Butrinto, and Corfu, and so having the power effectively to block the mouth of the Adriatic and keep the war ships

<sup>1</sup> This appears from Guil. Appulus, v. 96 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> i. p. 539.

and merchantmen of Venice confined almost to their own lagoons.

For a description of the important operations that followed off Corfu, we will again borrow the words of the Princess Anna. "Since Corypho, which he had formerly occupied, had fallen away again, Robert left his sons at Bothrentum and sailed with all his navy to Corypho. When the Emperor had learnt this action of Robert, he by no means stood hesitating, but wrote to stir up the Venetians to fit out a sufficient expedition and renew the war with Robert, promising that they should get back many times over what they spent. He himself got ready biremes and triremes and every kind of piratical craft, and sent them against Robert, having put on board hoplites familiar with sea warfare. And Robert, having heard of the advance of the two fleets against him, eager for the fight, as was his way, weighed anchor with his whole fleet and occupied the harbour of Cassope. But the Venetians being in the harbour of Passara, and there having soon heard of Robert's advance, they too endeavour to seize Cassope. And a fierce conflict having arisen, and the fighting being at close quarters, Robert gets the worst. But with his war-loving disposition, and excessive stomach for fight, not even after that defeat did he give in altogether, but prepared for another and more serious combat, which when the generals of the allied fleets learnt, being in high spirits from the victory that had gone before, they again attacked on the third day, and the victory they won over him was a brilliant one. Afterwards, they just return to the harbour of Passara, and whether, as is often the case, elated by the former victories, or thinking the case of the conquered desperate, they are excited as if they had accomplished everything, and disposed to contemn Robert. Then selecting the best sailing vessels, they sent them to Venice to relate what had happened, and how they had completely defeated Robert. But Robert, having learned

this from a Venetian called Peter Contareno, who had lately deserted to him, grew so alarmed that he could not bear the suspense, but summoning up his courage advanced again against the Venetians. The latter, astonished at his unexpected approach, having fastened together with cables their larger ships opposite the port of Corypho, and prepared what is called a 'harbour in the sea,'<sup>1</sup> drove their small boats into the middle, and all in armour waited the advance of the enemy. Robert, coming down upon them, is now engaged in battle with them; and the battle was more terrible than those that preceded, for neither party would yield, but rather came on face to face, till the Venetians, having first exhausted their ammunition and having nothing in their ships but soldiers, these from their lightness floated as it were on the surface of the water, which did not reach up to the second girdle, and when the crew rushed all to the side next to the enemy, capsized, and some 13,000 men were drowned. The other ships, with their crews, were taken. Robert, after this brilliant victory, was in fierce humour, and treated many of the prisoners savagely, putting out the eyes of some, and slitting the noses, or cutting off arms or feet, or both, of others. As to the rest, he sent to their fellow-countrymen to make it known that whoever wished to ransom their relations, might come to him without fear. And at the same time he inquired of them about peace; but they inform him, 'Know, Duke Robert, that though we were to see our wives and children being slain, yet would we not renounce our agreement with the Emperor Alexius, nor yield an inch of our promise to help him and fight desperately for him.'

"But after a short time, the Venetians having got ready dromones and triremes, and some other of the small and swift ships, come against Robert with a superior force. And finding him encamped near Buthrentum, they engage him, and inflict a severe defeat, killing many

<sup>1</sup> See note 2 on page 214.

but drowning more ; and they all but took prisoner Robert's lawful son Gidus and his concubine Gaita. And having won a glorious victory over him, they tell everything to the Emperor, who, having recompensed them with many gifts and much honour, gave the Doge of Venice himself the dignity of Protosebast, with the corresponding stipend (*ρόγα*), and to their patriarch also he gave the rank of Hypertimus (most honourable), with a corresponding stipend. Moreover, he ordered that there should be distributed to all the churches of Venice every year a considerable quantity of gold from the Imperial treasuries ; but to the church named after the evangelist apostle Mark he made all the Amalfitans occupying factories at Constantinople tributary, and also gave the Venetians the factories reaching from the old Hebrew landing-place to the place called Bigla, and the landing-places included within that distance, and also gifts of many other immovable goods both in the Imperial city and in Dyrrachium, and wherever else they might have asked. But what was most, he made their merchandise free from all burdens in all the lands subject to the Romans, so that they might trade without restraint and as they pleased without paying so much as an obol for the customs,<sup>1</sup> or any other imposition payable to the public treasury, but were altogether outside Roman authority."<sup>2</sup>

Cassope was a harbour in Corfu which Robert, always forward in action, was the first to occupy. Passara was on the coast of Epirus, and the Venetians had to sail across the narrow sea and attack Robert in the position he had chosen. If the princess is correct in her details, they won two actions within three days, but did not drive Robert from his position. On the contrary they retreated to Passara, and from there sent home the despatch announcing their victory. What follows is a little vague in Anna's account. We do not learn clearly where the action took place, for Robert

<sup>1</sup> *ὑπὲρ κομμερκίου*. Ducange's note makes it clear that this word was used for "customs" both in Low Latin and Low Greek. (A.C., ii. p. 545, ed. Bonn.)

<sup>2</sup> A. C., vi. 5, vol. i. pp. 283-287 (ed. Bonn).

advanced to attack the Venetians, who were on the Albanian coast, yet the fight seems to have taken place off Corfu. In this battle, undoubtedly the greatest and most sanguinary of the four, Robert is admitted to have won a great victory, which the success of the Venetians in the final raid upon his camp at Butrinto can have done little to neutralise. In the poetical account of William the Apulian, we are told of but one action, in which Robert won a great victory, and we may reasonably infer from this that the successes of the Venetians, of which Anna's narrative makes so brave a show, were won in skirmishes before and after the decisive action.<sup>1</sup> And this quite accords with the fact we know from Dandolo,<sup>2</sup> that the wrath of the Venetians at the ill success of their fleet in the battle led to the immediate deposition of the doge Silvio, who, like so many of his predecessors, retired into a convent.

But, if the reputation of the Venetians suffered by their defeat on the element they might claim as their own, they were compensated by the material advantages that the gratitude of the Eastern Emperor conferred upon them. We have read the Princess Anna's description of these, the titles of honour and the pensions bestowed on the doge and the patriarch, the gifts to all the Venetian churches, and especially the great gift to the church of St. Mark of the tribute due to the Imperial treasury from the Amalfitan colony that had been allowed to settle in Constantinople, the grant of the landing-places and warehouses along the Golden Horn.<sup>3</sup> But more important than all the other

<sup>1</sup> This matter is discussed in a brief note by Gibbon, c. lvi. note 91 (vii. pp. 130, 131).

<sup>2</sup> Murat., xii. 249; Dand., ix. 8, 11; Gfrörer, i. p. 547, 548.

<sup>3</sup> See Van Millingen's "Byzantine Constantinople," pp. 216 *sqq.* With the plan in this book before us, we can get some notion, not perhaps very accurate or precise, of the footing in Constantinople granted to the Venetians by this famous concession, a cardinal fact in Venetian history. The eastern limit of the concession was the Jew's Gate, called also the Gate of the Perama or ferry, from the ferry to Galata that crossed the harbour where the Galata Bridge now is; from thence it

concessions were the immunity of Venetian merchants from all the vexatious taxes and burdens that fell on commerce in that age, and their independence of all inferior Byzantine officials.

Though some of these privileges were taken away thirty years after this by Alexius' son Kalojohannes, so long an enjoyment of them must have given the Venetians a knowledge of the city and its trade, that remained to them as a possession for the future, and was no doubt a help to them in recovering their advantageous position as soon as an opportunity offered.

Their services against the formidable Norman invader were not again to be required, for in the summer of 1085 Robert Guiscard's adventurous life ended: he died at the age of seventy, of fever, in a camp in Cephalonia, whither he had gone to aid his son Roger in a campaign against the Greek islands. Of his sons, Bohemond, who inherited more of his father's genius than his younger brother Roger, was left without any other inheritance by his father's jealousy or partiality, and thus had not the resources of Apulia to back any ambitious designs he may have entertained: till the Crusade offered him a chance of winning

ran westward probably to the Gate of the Drungarii, now known as the Odoun Kapan Kapoussi, but deriving its ancient name from the officers of the police station (*τῆς βίγλας δρουγγαριοί*), whose post, called in our documents Vigla or Bigla, is often mentioned as one of the limits of the Venetian shore.

Bigla or Vigla is the Latin *Vigilia*. The police station or guard-house may have been situated within the city walls. Mordtmann (*Esquisse Topographique de C. P.*, p. 38, § 62), thinks it was at the mosque of Suleiman. It is probable that the grant to the Venetians extended some little way inland. The descriptions of it in Tafel and Thomas, i. §§ xxiii. and l. are not very intelligible. Van Millingen has identified the little church of the Forerunner with an old ruined chapel near the Zindan Kapoussi, the gate between the two mentioned above. The former of these documents conveys "*ergasteria quæ sunt in Embolo Peramatis, cum solariis suis que habent introitum et exitum in totum quod procedit ab Ebraica usque ad Viglam.*" For "*Embolus*" see Ducange's note to Anna Comnena, p. 161 D. (= vol. ii. p. 541 of the Bonn edition). "*Solaria*" would seem to be "*arcades*" or "*bazaars*," For "*totum*" one is tempted to read "*comptum.*"



himself a principality in the East, his energies were spent in disturbing his brother's peace at Salerno.

When the Venetians, in their first anger at the disaster of Corfu, deprived the doge of his authority and made him a monk, they elected Vitale Faledro to succeed him: the new doge, Dandolo tells us, had "by promises and gifts induced the people to depose his predecessor."<sup>1</sup> His first act after his accession was to send ambassadors to Constantinople to get Imperial sanction to his authority over Dalmatia and Croatia, for Dalmatia, Dandolo adds, was the first province of Greece according to the partition made between Charles and Nicephorus. The ambassadors were warmly received by Alexius, and a golden Bull was issued granting the doge the right to add Dalmatia and Croatia after Venice in his title, and to finish up with the more mysterious dignity of Imperial Protosevastos. Dandolo's chronology is confused, for after this embassy he relates Bohemond's fighting against Alexius in Thessaly, which was certainly before Robert's return to Epirus and the battle of Corfu (in the autumn of 1084), and passes on to Robert's rescue of Pope Gregory when besieged in the Castle of St. Angelo, and the Pope's death at Salerno, the former of which belongs to the preceding summer (May 1084), the latter to May 1085.<sup>2</sup> Then he tells how at the request of Alexius the new doge sent a fleet against Robert, which was beaten with the Greeks by the Normans at Sasinum, a place which is easily identified<sup>3</sup> with the little rocky island known to Polybius and Pliny as Saso, and in modern times as Saseno, lying north of the Acroceraunian cape, in the very waters in which, according to

<sup>1</sup> Murat., xii. 249; Dand., ix. 9, 1.

<sup>2</sup> The dates are wrongly given in Milman's "Latin Christianity." He puts Robert's rescue of Gregory and the latter's death both in May 1085. There is, however, no doubt that a year intervened between them.

<sup>3</sup> Gfrörer, i. 550; Smith's Dict. Geog., s.7. Saso.

William of Apulia,<sup>1</sup> Robert Guiscard spent the winter after his great victory at Corfu:<sup>2</sup> indeed it looks as if this engagement at Saseno was identical with the fourth battle mentioned by Anna as having been fought near Butrinto, and won by the Greeks and Venetians.<sup>3</sup>

Vitale Faledro died peacefully as doge in the year 1095. The ten years of his authority contain little that was eventful, and nothing that was unprosperous. He re-established the fortress of Loreo over against Adria at the southern end of the lagoons. He was one of the few princes of Italy on whom the unfortunate Emperor Henry IV., at war with the Pope, the Countess Matilda, Roger the Norman Duke of Apulia, and the Lombard cities, could always rely for support. In return for many services, the Emperor being at Treviso in the year 1095, and meeting there an embassy of three Venetian nobles, renewed the old treaties of friendship we have so often heard of with former Emperors, and promised to visit the city of the lagoons, and be godfather to a daughter of the doge. This promise he fulfilled in the summer of the same year, when he visited the church of St. Mark, then lately finished, and several monasteries to which he granted privileges, especially to the nunnery of St. Zacharias, which had been under the peculiar protection of the German Emperors for some generations back.<sup>4</sup> Great events were coming on: in

<sup>1</sup> William mentions the river Cliceus, which is perhaps the same as the *γλυκὸς ποταμὸς* of Anna, and the port of Jericho, *i.e.* Oricus.

<sup>2</sup> The actual place, Bundicea, where the Norman land force wintered is identified by Gfrörer as Woniza in the Gulf of Arta. This was on the way to the Ionian Islands, which Robert was proceeding to conquer the following summer when his career was cut short by death. His ultimate object was, no doubt, Constantinople, and perhaps, having failed to fight his way overland to it, he was now endeavouring to reach it by sea, conquering the Morea and its adjacent islands on his way.

<sup>3</sup> This is apparently the opinion of Romanin, i. p. 327.

<sup>4</sup> Lebet, i. pp. 271, 281. It will be remembered that the Emperor Otho III., on his hurried and secret visit to Venice in the time of Peter Orseolo II., made a great point of visiting this nunnery. See p. 188, *ante*.

March of this same year, 1095, Alexius' ambassadors had come to a great Council, not only of bishops, but of secular princes also, that Urban II. had assembled at Placentia, had poured into sympathetic ears the tale of their master's danger from the Turks already encamped across the Bosphorus in sight of the capital of the Eastern Empire, and had roused the religious and warlike enthusiasm that issued in the first Crusade. In the late autumn the Pope brought together another Council at Clermont, in Auvergne, to come to a final resolve and settle the plan of the Crusade. This Crusade was to affect all the future history of Venice: the city was herself to take a leading part in it; but the doge Faledro was not permitted to see this: he died in December, and at Christmas was buried in the church of St. Mark (A.D. 1095).

He lies in an old heathen or early Christian sarcophagus at the right hand of one who enters the atrium of the church by the great central door, where it seems fitting the doge should rest in whose time the present building, begun more than a hundred years before by Pietro Orseolo I., was completed and consecrated. We have no account of how the building went on during the 108 years from 977 till 1085; nor is there any representation extant showing the outward form of the church at that time.<sup>1</sup> The two doges who did most to push on the work appear to have been Domenico Contarini and Domenico Selvo. The latter was the first to put up mosaics<sup>2</sup> in the church, and he also it

<sup>1</sup> The mosaic of the church over the north door of the atrium represents a later date, for the famous horses, brought from Constantinople in 1205, are already over the centre of the west front.

<sup>2</sup> Called in the Latin of that age *istoria*, as in some lines of about this date:—

“Istoriis, auro, formâ, specie tabularum  
Hoc templum, Marci fore dic decus ecclesiarum.”

We have seen, p. 191, note 3, what may be an earlier reference (of the latter years of Peter Orseolo II.) to the mosaics of San Marco. Romanin, i. p. 325, n. 2, quotes an old Venetian chronicle for Domenico Selvo being the first to put up the mosaics.

was who required every Venetian ship loading in the East to bring home marbles or fine stones for the basilica as part of its cargo.<sup>1</sup> The building, when completed, must have been in all its larger features and its general plan much as it is now, with its group of domes giving the peculiarly Oriental character to its exterior, and the most remarkable of the mosaics on the interior of the dome and vaulting, the symbolism of which is so redolent of Oriental influences. It was probably the first church at Venice built of stone, the earlier churches having been of wood.<sup>2</sup> Another feature of the church finished by Doge Faledro was probably the undulating pavement that has now almost disappeared under recent restorations. This feature, which can be seen also in the cathedral at Murano, is said to have been an imitation of the floor of the church of St. John the Evangelist at Ravenna, built by Galla Placidia as a thank-offering for the preservation of her life in a shipwreck on a voyage from Constantinople. An old Ravenna chronicle printed by Muratori<sup>3</sup> tells us that "the Augusta ordered the manner of her shipwreck to be represented everywhere in this church, so that the whole appearance of the building might as it were tell of her dangers. The wavy pavement introduced, as if agitated by winds, was to present a likeness of a storm."<sup>4</sup>

When the church was finished, Dandolo tells us, the

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, i. 325.

<sup>2</sup> The traditions preserved by Dandolo or collected in Ughelli's *Italia Sacra* (v. pp. 1177, 1178), give us San Giacomo de Rialto as the oldest church of Venetia, dating from the fifth century, to which also belongs St. Raphael in Dorsoduro, founded by a Paduan lady named Adriana, and the cathedral of Torcello. In the sixth century the churches of San Theodore (standing where St. Mark's now stands), and St. Geminiano, and St. Euphemia (the cathedral) at Grado. In the seventh century eight churches were built in Rialto, and others at Malamocco and several other places on the lidi. But no doubt there were different traditions as to many of these churches. See as to St. Raphael in Dorsoduro, *ante*, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Murat., i. Pt. II. p. 568. I derive this quotation from Mr. Hodgkin's "Italy and her Invaders," i. p. 868 (2nd ed.).

<sup>4</sup> The passage is corrupt, but its meaning is plain.

doge, with the Patriarch of Grado, and the bishops and clergy of the lagoons, fasted and prayed three days, that the body of the saint, which had been lost ever since the burning of the former church in Peter Candiano's time, might be discovered. While they were praying, some pieces of a pilaster behind the altar of San Giacomo fell away, and a hand was seen projecting. The body was thus discovered, and was solemnly buried in the crypt, where it was till removed to the high altar in 1835. But its exact place of deposit was still, as in the famous case of St. Cuthbert at Durham,<sup>1</sup> kept secret from all but three great dignitaries, the doge, the procurator, and the primicerius of St. Mark. Andrew Dandolo, who is our authority for this, adds that, both as procurator and doge, he had seen the reliques, and quotes the passage of St. John, "He that saw it bare record," &c. The procurator of St. Mark, whose office was created, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> by Domenico Contarini, had originally charge of the work of building the great church, and the administration of the large funds given or bequeathed to the church (or chapel, as it was more properly called) was the chief part of the duties of the several officers who in later times had the name of procurators of St. Mark. The primicerius is a person of more doubtful function; the name, equivalent to "primus in ceram relatus," the first entered on the wax tablet or roll of a corporation, was ordinarily given to one of the three chief officers of a chapter, the other two being the archipresbyter and the archdeacon, and the duty of the primicerius seems to have been to look after the inferior church officers, such as acolytes, readers, and exorcists; but at St.

<sup>1</sup> It is a pleasure to quote Walter Scott's lines:—

"There, deep in Durham's Gothic shade,

His reliques are in secret laid;

But none may know the place,

Save of his holiest servants three,

Deep sworn to solemn secrecy."—*Marmion*, 2, xiv.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 208.

Mark's it seems that the primicerius was the head of the chapter. Amelot de la Houssaye says that the "benefices" of St. Mark consisted of "26 Canonries and a Deanery always filled by a noble Venetian called Primicerio di San Marco, who is independent of the Patriarch of Venice, and enjoys episcopal privileges."<sup>1</sup>

The five doges between the banishment of Otto Orseolo, A.D. 1027, and the death of Vitale Faledro in 1096, were mostly men of mark, and the period during which they governed the republic was a most important one for the history of Venice. Peter Orseolo II. had begun the career of conquest which in two hundred years was to give her the supremacy over a great part of the Eastern Empire, and the services she was able, under Domenico Selvo, to confer on the rulers of that Empire had earned her those commercial privileges at Constantinople which laid the foundation of the world-wide commercial predominance, by virtue of which she held the gorgeous East in fee. The completion of the church or chapel of St. Mark in the same period was an outward sign of the willingness to spend great sums of money on religious or public objects that was to be always a distinguishing mark of the Venetian character, while at the same time it brought for the first time to the West forms of architectural grandeur and sumptuousness that till then had been devoted to Christian worship almost only in Constantinople. The Western world had ocular demonstration that a great and wealthy commercial civilisation had taken root among them zealous for the Christian religion, and prepared to employ all the resources of science and art for its honour and glory.

<sup>1</sup> Amelot de la Houssaye, *Gouv. de Venise*, p. 149 (ed. 1676).





BOOK III  
THE CRUSADES



## CHAPTER I

### THE FIRST CRUSADE AND CHRISTIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST

THE soldiers of the first Crusade, whether the horde of pilgrims that went with Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless, or the three divisions of men-at-arms who followed the great feudal chiefs, Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of Toulouse, Hugh of Vermandois, and Bohemond son of Robert Guiscard, all travelled mainly overland. Godfrey's division kept north of the Alps. Raymond's crossed the Alps, but made a circuit round the head of the Adriatic, and along the coast of Dalmatia, striking inland at Durazzo. Hugh and his companions from France or Normandy, who passed through Rome to obtain the Pope's blessing, and Bohemond, who started from Apulia, were the only chiefs who crossed what Anna Comnena describes all the Crusaders as crossing, "the straits of Lombardy."<sup>1</sup> They crossed from Bari to near Durazzo, and Hugh was shipwrecked and taken prisoner by some ungrateful subjects of the Greek Emperor. The rendezvous of the whole host was at Constantinople, whence they again took the long overland journey through Asia Minor and Syria. Some later Crusades went by sea from Western Europe to the coast of Syria, and, had the first Crusaders ventured to try this more formidable, but really easier route, they would have found abundant Venetian merchantmen to carry them over the seas. For the Golden

<sup>1</sup> τὸν τῆς Λογγιφαρδίας πορθμὸν (ii. p. 32, Bonn).

Bull of Alexius, which four or five years before had conceded to the Venetians the right of free trade in the Eastern Empire, had expressly mentioned Antioch and Laodicea and all the principal seaports of Asia Minor<sup>1</sup> as places to which they might trade. Such a concession is evidence that in all these places Venetian traders had already got a footing, as we know they had long before this in Alexandria. Nor had they ever been without rivals in the ports of the Levant: Bari, and in a lesser degree Trani, Brindisi, and Tarento had, towards the end of the tenth, and through much of the eleventh, century traded with Constantinople, with Antioch, and with Egypt. Peter the Hermit returned from his pilgrimage, that led to the first Crusade, in a merchant vessel of Bari that he found on the coast of Syria, and Bernard, a French monk, of whose pilgrimage an account has come down to us, embarked for Egypt in a Saracen ship sailing from Tarento in the days when a Mussulman power was established at Bari.<sup>2</sup> Amalfi, which we have already often mentioned as a trading city, was a more powerful place and had far more intercourse with the East: William the Apulian speaks of her as wealthy and populous in Robert Guiscard's days, of her streets thronged with sailors, her trade with Alexandria and Antioch, her familiarity with Arabs, Libyans, Sicilians, and Africans, the fame of her trading voyages spread through the world.<sup>3</sup> The Amalfitans had a flourishing establishment at Constantinople, with factories there and in other parts of Romania, each owner of which was able to pay three hyperpera annually as a rent to the

<sup>1</sup> See the list in Heyd (*Comm. du Levant*, i. p. 119) and Lebrét, i. 275. The Golden Bull itself is in Tafel and Thomas, i. 51-54, 116-123, 182-186. Laodicea is not, of course, the city of the Apocalypse, but the Laodicea on the coast of Syria over against Cyprus, that once belonged to the Tetrapolis of Antioch, and is now called Ladkeyah or Latakia, and is known in all the world for its tobacco.

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, *Comm. du Levant*, i. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. III. v. 476-485 in Pertz, ix. 275. See Gfrörer, *Byz. Gesch.*, i. 571; Heyd, *Comm. du Levant*, i. 106.

government, which Alexius Comnenus, as we have seen, handed over to the church of St. Mark at Venice:<sup>1</sup> they had monasteries in Constantinople, on Mount Athos, and at Jerusalem some years before the first Crusade. Pantaleon, an Amalfitan merchant,<sup>2</sup> who lived in great magnificence at Constantinople, and bore the Byzantine titles of Patrician and Consul, made vigorous efforts to bring about a coalition of the Eastern and Western Emperors and the anti-Pope Honorius II. against the Normans in Apulia, entertaining in his house Gisulf the Duke of Salerno, when he went to Constantinople in the same cause. These efforts were fruitless, and did not save Amalfi herself from submitting voluntarily to Robert Guiscard in 1073, and becoming a part of his Apulian duchy. The days of her independence and magnificence were over.<sup>3</sup> She had lived on the best of terms with her Saracen neighbours in Sicily and North Africa, and was accused of exporting Christian slaves to Babylon, *i.e.* to Cairo. Two other cities which about the time of Amalfi's decline were beginning to rise into prominence—Pisa and Genoa,—had, on the contrary, won their first laurels in resistance to Saracen aggression.

Pisa was an Etruscan city of great antiquity, which boasted of a mythical connexion with some of the heroes returning from the Trojan War. Under the Roman republic its inhabitants had been famous merchants and pirates, and its harbour had been one of the most frequented in the Tyrrhenian Sea, a starting-place for expeditions to Marseilles, Sardinia, or Spain. Genoa also had been an important seaport since the Second Punic War.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 222. The document referred to there (in note 3) is given in a different form by Lebret, i. 275. The hyperperum is defined as equal to "tres solidos argenteos."

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, *u.s.*, i. pp. 100-108.

<sup>3</sup> By this surrender she became subject to the greatest enemy of the Byzantine court; it is no doubt on this account that in 1082 the Golden Bull of Alexius Comnenus depressed Amalfi and exalted Venice (*v. ante*, p. 164).



But neither city seems to have retained the vestiges of the free constitution of a Roman municipality that were so conspicuous in the case of several cities of Northern Italy. Pisa was subject to the Counts of Tuscany; Genoa had been a free city since the year 958, but till then she had been under some species of feudal government. Both cities had suffered much, as did all the coast of the Gulf of Lyons, from Saracen raids. When these corsairs were established permanently in Sicily and the Balearic Islands, and seemed likely to establish themselves in Sardinia, in the years 1016-17, the Pisans and Genoese united in an expedition against the Arab chief whom their chronicles call Mugietus, but whose proper name seems to have been Mogahid, and drove him out of the island and back to Africa, from which he had come. After his defeat, the two Christian powers, as on many subsequent occasions, fell into strife. The chronicle of Bernardo Marangone, a distinguished Pisan of the twelfth century,<sup>1</sup> says that, after the flight of Mugietus, "the Pisans and Genoese returned to Turris (Porto Torres), on which the Genoese rose in insurrection against the Pisans, and the Pisans conquered them, and cast them out of Sardinia." In 1034 the Pisans took the offensive in an expedition against Bona on the coast of Algiers, in 1063 against the Moslem power in Sicily, where, the same chronicler tells us, they won great glory by breaking through the chain that closed the harbour of Palermo, and taking prisoner six great ships, one of which they sold, and with its proceeds built the walls of their city.<sup>2</sup> In 1087 the Pisans and Genoese formed the bulk of a force which the Pope sent to dislodge Temim, a pirate chief, who had established himself at

<sup>1</sup> *Apud* Pertz, xix. 236 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Bernardo Marangone in Pertz, xix. (238, 239) says this, but the commoner legend was that the cathedral and its adjacent buildings, which were finished in the year 1067, came from the proceeds of this victory. A Latin inscription on the façade of the cathedral commemorates this latter legend.

Mehdia, to the south of Tunis, on the Gulf of Syrtes. When the enemy was beaten, and his stronghold taken, the two cities stipulated not only for the release of Christian captives, but for free admission of their own ships to trade on the Tunisian coast.<sup>1</sup> Nor was it only with the Saracen powers in the west of the Mediterranean that the two cities traded. We read of Gisulf, Prince of Salerno from 1052 to 1077, plundering Pisan merchant-ships that sailed along his coasts, and such ships could only have been bound for the Straits of Messina, the high-road to Egypt and the Levant. Accordingly we are told that in 1063 Ingulf, Abbot of Croyland, in England, returned from a pilgrimage in a Genoese merchantman he found at Jaffa.<sup>2</sup> But voyages to the Levant were dangerous and probably rare and isolated so long as Sicily was in Mussulman hands. When in 1090<sup>3</sup> the conquest of Sicily was completed by Roger, the youngest brother of Robert Guiscard, and both sides of the Straits of Messina were in Christian and friendly hands, the impulse given to the maritime enterprise of Pisa and Genoa, who with Amalfi and Venice were invited to free trade with the Sicilian ports, must have been very great. Their ships could now reach the Levant with far greater safety, and in a few years the beginning of the Crusades, transporting multitudes of Western warriors to the coasts of Syria, furnished a great inducement to the traders of Italy to send out to those coasts the merchandise that civilised nations demanded. In the year 1094 or 1095 Godfrey of Bouillon sailed on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and returned to Europe in a Genoese ship named *La Pomella*.<sup>4</sup>

As soon as the crusading armies reached Syria, they met with Italian ships from Genoa, Pisa, or Venice, who had come there in the ordinary course of trade, bringing

<sup>1</sup> Heyd, i. 121, 122.

<sup>3</sup> Gibbon, vii. 116 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, i. 124.

<sup>4</sup> Heyd, *l.c.*

provisions or arms, or sometimes belated recruits. Moreover, in July 1097 Genoa had fitted out a squadron of twelve galleys, manned with her own citizens, who took the cross and at the end of that year were sharing in the sufferings of the siege of Antioch, while the galleys were employed in keeping up the communications of the army with the sea by holding a fortified post at St. Simeon or Solinum, the port of Antioch. When Antioch was conquered, Bohemond granted them in the town thirty houses, the church of St. John, a bazaar, and a fountain.

When after a year's delay in besieging Antioch the crusading army at length laid siege to Jerusalem, we again read of a few Genoese ships, the private venture, it would appear, of two brothers of the family of Embriaco, arriving at Jaffa in time for their crews to give valuable assistance as engineers in the siege.<sup>1</sup>

After the capture of Jerusalem, and after the battle of Ascalon in August 1099, we first hear of a Pisan armada in the Holy Land. If an anonymous Pisan chronicle<sup>2</sup> says of the former event, "cujus victoriæ Pisanus populus fuit et caput et causa," the words are merely a piece of patriotic vanity. Their fleet arrived after the fall of Jerusalem, and its first enterprise was not directed against the infidels, but against the Greek Emperor Alexius, whose city of Laodicea the headstrong and violent Bohemond, in spite of the remonstrances of the other leaders, was besieging. The Pisans were led by their archbishop, Databert or Dagobert, who was instrumental in inducing his own Pisans and some Genoese in the same camp to repent of their share in this unholy war against a Christian prince and join the other leaders, whom the Greek Emperor allowed to occupy the

<sup>1</sup> Raimond d'Agiles *apud* Bongars, i. 177. He says, "Qui de navibus suis cordas et malleos ferri . . . et secures quæ permaxime nobis necessariæ erant." Wilken, i. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, iii. 371. The same chronicle is to be found also in the sixth vol. of Muratori.

city as his friends.<sup>1</sup> This did not offend Bohemond, who, when he went on a pilgrimage with Baldwin of Edessa to spend the Christmas of 1099 at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, took the Archbishop of Pisa with him as leader of a vast body of Italian pilgrims. When Bohemond and Baldwin returned, after spending the night of the Nativity in the cave at Bethlehem, and bathing at the scene of the Saviour's baptism in Jordan, Dagobert and his Pisans stayed behind. He was a cardinal and high in repute with Pope Urban; and Godfrey of Bouillon, as well as the other leaders at Jerusalem, thought so highly of him that he was now chosen Patriarch of Jerusalem in place of the Norman Arnulf, an ambitious and immoral prelate, whose election immediately after the conquest of the city was pronounced irregular.<sup>2</sup> The chief leaders of the Crusade were so full of zeal for the Church, that they voluntarily accepted investiture in their fiefs in Syria from the hands of the patriarch.

The Venetians were behind both Genoese and Pisans in taking an active part in the Holy War. A fleet of 200 ships under Enrico Contarini, Bishop of Castello<sup>3</sup> and son of the former doge, Domenico Contarini, and Giovanni Michieli, son of the reigning doge, arrived in Joppa apparently late in the summer of 1100. It had left Venice nearly a year before, probably as soon as the news of the taking of Jerusalem reached Italy, after an enthusiastic assembly at which its sending had been decreed, and a solemn mass and presentation of consecrated banners on the eve of its departure. The winter had been spent at Rhodes, where Contarini had had to resist strong persuasions from the Greek Emperor to withdraw from the

<sup>1</sup> Wilken, ii. 21 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 45-53. Arnulf was chaplain to Robert, Duke of Normandy, and heir of the wealth of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, William the Conqueror's half-brother.

<sup>3</sup> He was the first bishop under whom the name of the see was changed from Olivolo to Castello (Romanin, ii. p. 14).

enterprise. During the winter an ominous event had happened, a great sea-fight with a Pisan fleet in those waters, the first of the many wars with Italian rivals, that were to form so constant a feature of Venetian history. Another very characteristic event happened in the early spring. Near their winter quarters was the Lycian city of Myra, the see of the great St. Nicholas, whose church at the lido, lately founded by the doge Domenico Contarini, was already one of the chief holy places of Venice. The Venetian fleet seems to have cast anchor off Myra in hopes of obtaining some relics of the saint. They found the city had been destroyed by the Turks, and some of the crews of their ships searched everywhere among the ruins; but though they went so far as to put to the torture four Christians, whom they thought to be keepers of the shrine of the saint, they could get possession of nothing more precious than the bones of St. Theodore the martyr (who, it will be remembered, before the relics of St. Mark had been similarly obtained, had been the patron saint of Venice), and of another Nicholas, the uncle of his greater namesake. But the prize that they failed to get by diligent search, or by torture of its keepers, was granted to the prayers of the bishop. As the searchers were just about to re-embark, a sudden fragrance guided them to a recess under a dilapidated altar, and there they found the body of the real St. Nicholas and carried it triumphantly on board ship.<sup>1</sup>

The Venetian fleet arrived at Joppa at a striking moment in the first Crusade. Godfrey of Bouillon, in mortal sickness, was, at his new hospice at Joppa, nursed by the knights he had placed there; and at first he feared that the fleet was one of the Saracens. He rejoiced to find

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, ii. 14-16. The naïve account given by Flaminio Cornaro (*Eccle. Venetæ*, ix. 6 *sqq.*), from a contemporary narrative preserved in San Nicolò di Lido, should be read. For the church of San Nicolò see *ante*, pp. 148, 209, note 2.

it was no enemy, but so powerful a new ally that had arrived; he was at once visited by the bishop and the doge's son, who brought him gifts of gold and silver vessels, and begged him to employ them against the unbelievers. He was too ill to see the rest of the Venetian pilgrims, but was able, in concert with Werner of Greis and Tancred, to assign them the task of besieging Caifa by sea, which Tancred was at the same time to attack by land. Caifa lies at the foot of Mount Carmel:<sup>1</sup> the Venetians, though saddened by the news of Godfrey's death that reached them during the siege, were soon masters of the town.<sup>2</sup> Satisfied with this success, they returned before winter to the lagoons, welcomed not only as partakers in the Holy Wars, but as bringing back with them, to be deposited in his church on the lido, the relics of so great a saint as St. Nicholas, "glorious by land and by sea." They were received by the doge, the magistrates, and the people on St. Nicholas' day, the 6th of December.

For three or four years after this Venice took no active part in the Crusades, though doubtless her trading vessels were still constantly sailing to and from the Syrian ports and carrying, besides the usual merchandise, many of the pilgrims, whom the news of the conquest of Jerusalem brought in crowds to the Holy Land. In the year 1101 ships of war from Venice and Ravenna, operating on the Po, helped the Countess Matilda to besiege and take Ferrara, which had shown signs of falling away from her party to that of the Emperor Henry. As a result of this victory, Venice acquired the right of keeping a visdomino or consul, to protect the interest of her merchants, in Ferrara, and the Venetian merchants who settled there appear shortly afterwards to have built, as we shall soon see they did in the Crusaders' settlements in Syria, a

<sup>1</sup> Caifa is the modern Haifa, so well known to the present generation as the home of Laurence Oliphant.

<sup>2</sup> See the account in Alb. Aquensis, vii. 18-20 (Bongars, i. p. 299).



church of their patron, St. Mark. About the same time a Venetian fleet in conjunction with ships of Coloman, King of Hungary, then an ally of the republic, though with some scruples as to the doge's right to the title of Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, took Brindisi and Monopoli from the Normans, and ravaged the coast in those parts of Apulia.

In 1102 the doge Vitale Michieli died, and was succeeded by Ordelafo Faledro or Faliero, of the same family as his last predecessor but one, a family that with them first attained the chief magistracy, though it is mentioned in the Altino Chronicle among the first that settled in the islands, and there was a tradition that Anafestus, the first doge, belonged to it. Nothing is known of the previous history of the new doge, nor of his remarkable Christian name, which is not met with elsewhere, and of which Romanin remarks that it is, without the final *o*, the anagram of his surname Faledro. In his reign the Venetians again took part in the Crusades. The first work that Baldwin, the successor of Godfrey of Bouillon, undertook, the conquest of the seaports of the Mediterranean coast of the Holy Land, was one that particularly interested the trading cities of Italy. In the conquests of Accon (Ptolemais) in 1104, and of Tripolis in 1109, Genoese and Pisans took a considerable part, distinguishing themselves, however, as much by cruelty and treachery as by courageous energy.<sup>1</sup> Venetian ships are not mentioned as taking part in these contests till 1108. In the autumn of that year Albert of Aix writes that King Baldwin assembled a fleet from the different tribes of the kingdom of Italy, of Pisans, Genoese, Venetians, Amalfitans, and all those who, after the manner of pirates, are wont to fight and plunder those at sea, and with them attacked Sidon ;<sup>2</sup> a more distant ally,

<sup>1</sup> See Wilken, ii. 186-214.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Aq., x. 45 (Bongars, p. 355). He calls the town Sagitta, showing its name had in his time made some progress towards its modern name of Saida.

Sigurd, son of King Magnus of Norway, assisting also with ships and fighting men. How long the Venetian fleet remained in Syrian waters we are not told: neither it nor any other Italian contingent is mentioned in the accounts of the siege of Tyre, which followed in the year 1111. In a deed<sup>1</sup> of 1123 recording a grant by the Patriarch of Jerusalem and many spiritual and temporal barons of the kingdom during the king's captivity, mention is made of a certain part of a street in Acre, which had been formerly granted by King Baldwin "to the blessed Mark and the Lord Doge Ordelafo and his successors" at the time of the conquest of Sidon. Dandolo also speaks of Ordelafo acquiring in Acre "a street, piazzas, weights and measures, and dominion, both pure and mixed, among the Venetians residing there," as well as other immunities in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

No doubt this doge's exploits in Palestine were of no great importance: he had more fighting to do nearer home against the King of Hungary and his own rebellious subjects in Dalmatia. But his reign was most famous for a succession of great material disasters from fire, earthquake, and irruptions of the sea. Two great fires, within seventy days, broke out and raged among the buildings, in those days mostly of wood, over great parts of the city, one beginning in the houses of the Zen family in the parish of Santi Apostoli, and destroying much of the parishes of San Cassiano, Sta. Maria Mater Domini, St. Agatha, St. Augustin, and St. Stephen the Confessor, that is, of the central parts of the city near the Rialto on both sides of the Grand Canal. The second fire was much worse, destroying part of the palace of the doge and his chapel

<sup>1</sup> This deed is given *in extenso* in Wilhelm. Tyr., xii. 25 (Bongars, i. pp. 830, 831) and is No. xl. in Tafel and Thomas, i. p. 84. Dandolo's account of the doge's expedition is in ix. 11, 14 (Muratori, xii. p. 264). We shall speak of the deed later on. Baldwin I. was the king who made the grant to Ordelafo, Baldwin II. the king who was in captivity at the date of the second grant.

of San Marco, and also the churches of San Zaccaria, San Geminiano, San Moise, Sta. Maria Zobenigo, San Maurizio, and San Nicolò in Dorsoduro, all of which lay in the south of the city, and on both sides of the Grand Canal. About the same time came the irruption of the sea that swept away the town of Malamocco. The old city that for seventy years in the eighth century had been the seat of government of the doges, that had repulsed the besieging army of Pepin, and, when Angelo Participazio made Rialto his capital, resisted the change, recalled her old doge Obelerio, and fought till she was given to the flames, and Obelerio hung at Campalto, now vanishes from history, an earthquake having followed the inundation, and completed the work of destruction. A new Malamocco has since arisen on the lido,<sup>1</sup> but not on the site of the old one, the ruins of which in Filiasi's time could sometimes be seen at low tide in the water. Nor did the inhabitants remain on the lido, they seem to have followed the bishop and the chief monastic bodies of the town to Chioggia. The charter of the doge authorising the translation of the see was extant<sup>2</sup> after the time of Andrea Dandolo. The bishop took with him to Chioggia the body of St. Felix and the head of St. Fortunatus, and some other similar treasures (*honorificentia*) belonging to the see. The prior of the Benedictine abbey of St. Cyprian, known as "de Pado Vetulo de Mathemauco," a mysterious name which seems to indicate some confusion between the Venetian lagoons and those through which the Po finds, or loses, its way into the Adriatic, moved not to Chioggia but to

<sup>1</sup> It is near the south end of the lido of St. Niccolò, at the north end of which the modern Venetians take their sea baths. The steamer to Chioggia stops at it and other little towns or villages standing among fields and vegetable gardens enclosed by reed-hedges, and in early summer ablaze with red poppies.

<sup>2</sup> Filiasi, *Saggio*, ii. pp. 244-248. Le Bret, i. 288, 289, and 352, who gives the date of the doge's charter as 10th August 1111. The original authority is Andrea Dandolo, ix. 11, 9.

Murano, where land was granted to the convent by the Gradonici. The abbess of St. Leo of the same order obtained a convent on San Servolo,<sup>1</sup> the island now occupied by the large lunatic asylum described in Shelley's "Julian and Maddalo."

In the year following the destruction of Malamocco, A.D. 1106, the doge Ordelafo offered in the ducal chapel the famous silver-gilt altar front called the Pala d'Oro, which may still be seen uncovered behind the high altar of St. Mark's on great Church festivals. It is of Byzantine work and is traditionally said to have been made at Constantinople in 976—130 years before this date—for Pietro Orseolo the saint; but the inscription placed on the Pala itself by the doge Pietro Ziani, who repaired it in 1209, makes no mention of Pietro Orseolo, and distinctly states that it was "new made" in the reign of Ordelafo Falier.<sup>2</sup> The Pala, which is enriched with an innumerable quantity of gems, is an interesting specimen of Byzantine art, with a great number of small compartments containing sculptures of incidents in biblical or legendary history, medallions of saints, and inscriptions in inlaid letters, some in Greek, others in Latin. All the sculptures are not of the same date, some having certainly come from Constantinople after its capture by the Crusaders in 1205.<sup>3</sup>

In the eighth year of Doge Ordelafo, A.D. 1110, the fleet that had been sent to Constantinople to aid the Emperor Alexius against Bohemond returned to Venice, bringing with it the relics of another saint, a treasure greatly prized everywhere in those days, but perhaps nowhere more than

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 149, note 1, and p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> "Anno Milleno centeno iungite quinto,  
Tunc Ordelaphus Faledrus in urbe ducabat,  
Hæc nova facta fuit gemmis ditissima pala."

<sup>3</sup> I have not carefully observed the Pala d'Oro myself, and the descriptions of it in Romanin, ii. 30, and in Murray's and Hare's Handbooks, are difficult to reconcile.

at Venice; for it must always be borne in mind that, besides the gratification to the religious mind of feeling that its city was full of the bones of saints, the commercial instincts of a rich trading community knew well the value in hard coin of a shrine that attracted pilgrims. The body of St. Stephen, the first martyr, had been taken from Jerusalem to Constantinople by Constantine, and was in one of the churches there. Peter, the prior of San Giorgio in Venice, Dandolo tells us, who had been sent by his abbot Tribuno to govern a church in Constantinople that was subject to San Giorgio, conceived the desire of bringing the body of the saint to Venice. He found it easy to persuade the Caloyer (or Eastern monk) who guarded the relics to let him convey them to his own church in Constantinople; but the attitude of the people deterred him from moving the body at once to Venice: at length, however, opportunity was found to put it on board a Venetian ship about to sail, in the crew of which were many nobles. The crew were not told of the treasure they had on board, till in a storm that overtook them, as the storm did Menelaus of old, as they were rounding Cape Malea, a divine voice announced the saint's presence, before which the storm ceased, and the ship arrived at Venice. The doge carried the relics on his own shoulders from the ship to his barge, and after some dispute among the churches, deposited them, as was clearly right, in San Giorgio, now San Giorgio Maggiore. On a little island covered with olives and cypresses, that faced the doge's palace from the other side of the wide mouth of the Grand Canal, a Benedictine monastery had been founded (A.D. 982) by a monk Giovanni Morosini, who was the companion of the sainted doge Pietro Orseolo in his flight from the cares of sovereignty to his far-away retreat in the Pyrenees. The graceful campanile and magnificent Palladian church, that now form so conspicuous an object in Venetian scenery, were not built till 450 years later, but the monastery must have been

important to have had a "cell" at Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> It became from this time the monastery of SS. George and Stephen the martyrs, a Scuola<sup>2</sup> or religious confraternity was attached to it, and from that time to the days of Dandolo, and indeed till the end of the republic, the doge in state attended at vespers and mass in the church, on the eve of St. Stephen, the afternoon of Christmas Day.<sup>3</sup>

Other troubles fell upon Venice at this time. The Paduans invaded her lands on the *terra firma* near Sant' Ilario, and in October of the same year that had seen the arrival of the relics of St. Stephen, the doge had to fight a battle in the Brenta country to get rid of these hostile neighbours. In the following year, 1111, the Emperor Henry V., who had succeeded his father in 1106, and now came down to Italy to be crowned, was met by embassies from Padua and Venice at Verona, and reconciled the two cities; at the same time he renewed the boundary treaties that had long existed between his predecessors and the Venetians; the Venetians, in exchange for their independence of his authority, agreeing to pay him every year 50 Venetian lire, 50 lbs. of pepper (a very precious article of trade all through the Middle Ages), and a Pallium.<sup>4</sup> In 1116, five years after this, the Emperor again crossed the

<sup>1</sup> There is in Tafel and Thomas, i. 55-63, a document, No. xxv., of A.D. 1090, by which the doge Vitale Faledro grants to the monastery of San Giorgio lands and houses in Constantinople, extending "a comprehenso sacro de Vigla qui percurrit ad portam Perame usque ad Judeccam." For these localities see *ante*, p. 222, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> This Scuola did not last, or at least is not enumerated among those existing at the end of the sixteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> For a description of this function see Romanin, ix. 28, 29. The accounts I have followed are in Dand., ix. 11, 11, and Romanin, ii. 26.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 189. The tribute of the Pallium, from which Otto III. exempted the republic a century before, was thus re-imposed, and the 50 lbs. of pepper added. Kohlschütter has shown reasons for believing (in Exc. ii. pp. 75-83 of his *Venedig unter den Herzog Peter II. Orseolo*) that the annual pecuniary payments from Venice to the Emperor, went back to the time of Charles the Great, and perhaps of Liutprand, the Lombard king, who was contemporary with the first doge P. Anafesto.



Alps, and this time was entertained by the Venetians in the doge's palace.<sup>1</sup> He was now a powerful sovereign, Pope Paschal had crowned him at Rome in 1111; the Lombard cities, and even the Countess Matilda, had forgotten their long hostility to his race and submitted to him. Venice was no doubt ready to hail the rising sun. She was herself engaged in a harassing and difficult war: several years before, when her fleet was in Palestine, Caloman or Coloman, King of Hungary, whose territories touched the northern frontier of Dalmatia, had made an irruption into that country, and taken several of its maritime cities. To bring back their fleet from the East would have been to leave the field there open to Genoese and Pisans, so the Venetians heroically resolved to fit out a new fleet for the recovery of Dalmatia. To aid them in this hard task they sent the Patriarch of Grado to Constantinople, to ask for help from Alexius. This, Dandolo tells us, was in the tenth year of Doge Ordelafo, *i.e.* in 1112. The Emperor, then near the end of his long reign, promised help, but counselled delay; and in 1116, when the Western Emperor was in Venice, Coloman's invasion was still unpunished. Henry, like Alexius, promised to aid in his punishment, so that Venice had two Imperial allies in the struggle she now began.

Coloman had died in 1114, and Stephen II. was now king. The Hungarians had taken the cities in the mountains and Spalato on the coast, but had failed to take Zara till they induced it to submit by false promises. This all happened in the lifetime of Coloman, who, before he returned to Hungary, held a court at Zara, when he promised to preserve the liberties and old customs of the Dalmatians, and won the clergy over by gifts to the churches of Spalato, Zara, and Arbe. In 1115 Venice took Zara again, all

<sup>1</sup> A charter of 12th March 1116 is dated at the Ducal Palace in the kingdom of Venice ("in regno Veneciarum in palatio ducis"), Dand., ix. 11, 20; Romanin, ii. 28, note (1).

except its citadel, from the new king of Hungary, and in 1116, this time with the help of troops of the two Emperors, she defeated the Ban of Croatia in an important battle that led to the surrender of the citadel of Zara, and also of Sebenico (a very strong place), Spalato, and Träù. The doge returned to Venice, resumed the style and title of Doge of Dalmatia and Croatia, but was the next year again recalled to Dalmatia, and lost his life in a battle under the walls of Zara. "Gloriosissime dies suos terminavit" is the tribute paid to him by Andrea Dandolo.

Ordelafo Falier was the second doge we have seen die in battle on the Dalmatian coast. The maintenance of their dominion on that coast, whether against native pirates, against Greeks or Normans from the south, or now against the rising power of Hungary, was of great importance for the safety of Venice, and of still greater importance for her trade. So long as she occupied the Dalmatian seaports the Adriatic was a close sea, from which she could exclude all foreign ships, whether war vessels or merchantmen. And moreover the Dalmatian cities, having vast forests on the mountain slopes that shut them in on the land side, could supply Venice with the timber she needed for her shipbuilding yards. These, formerly scattered over various parts of the islands of the Rialto group, Ordelafo Falier concentrated in one spot that has ever since been the Arsenal, which, besides the proper interest of a history of near 800 years, has the additional fame of having furnished a simile to the *Inferno* of Dante.

The different kinds of ships mentioned in ancient Venetian chronicles have been enumerated and described by Romanin.<sup>1</sup> The names are mostly derived from the Greek, and no doubt the ships themselves were built on Byzantine models. Of large ships we read of galandrie or zelandrie (the Greek *chelandriæ*), which had a tower (or *castello*) on deck, and a mast, besides the regular apparatus of benches

<sup>1</sup> ii. p. 31 *et seq.*

for the rowers, so that they could use sails as well as oars. Other ships of war were called palandre<sup>1</sup> or palandrie, a word of uncertain derivation, which seems in later times to have been used especially of mortar boats. Then there were dromoni, a name common in the Byzantine historians, some of which are described as 175 feet in length, with two decks, the upper one having no rowers, but left free for combatants and engines of war. These had sometimes high towers intended to facilitate the landing of soldiers on the walls of besieged fortresses, and strong bulwarks in the centre, behind which the manganelle and trabacchi and other engines for hurling stones or beams were sheltered. Some of the most formidable of these engines were the sifoni, or metal tubes for discharging the Greek fire. Other ships with Greek names were the ippagogi, or horse-transport, of which we frequently read in the history of the Crusades, large and clumsy ships with a door in the stern, that could be let down to the level of the water for the horses to be taken in or out.<sup>2</sup>

Other ships of domestic origin were gumbarie, buzi,<sup>3</sup> brulotti, gondole, some of which (*e.g.* the buzi) are said to have been of large size, but the generality were probably small. The gumbarie are mentioned specially by John the Deacon as used by Pietro Candiano II. against the

<sup>1</sup> The word palandra (French *balandre*) is derived by Diez (*s.v.*) from the German *binnen-länder*, and explained as meaning barges for inland navigation. Much of the trade of the Venetians, and some of their warlike enterprises, were carried on on the network of rivers and canals that connected their lagoons with those of the mouth of the Po and those of Ravenna.

<sup>2</sup> These are the huissiers of Villehardouin and other old French writers.

<sup>3</sup> "Buzo" is a word running through the Romance and Teutonic languages, meaning a fishing-boat; Anglicè, "buss." "Boat" has probably the same origin. Whether the doge's Bucentaur is "busus Aureus buso d'oro," as Romanin (i. 238, n. 2) suggests, is very doubtful. The doge's state boat is apparently called Busus in a ceremonial compiled for the canons of St. Mark between 1250 and 1289, "debeant sociare dominum ducem quando iverit in Buso"—*i.e.* at the Feste of the Marie and of Ascension Day.

Narentine pirates; and for this purpose they must have been of light draught, fitted to run up shallow creeks and rivers. The gondole we have already seen mentioned in the Altino Chronicle, as the boats in which the tenants of some of the islands and lidi were bound to receive the Patriarch of Grado, when he visited his estates. We cannot say whether they were of the same shape as those we so well know by the same name; but they appear to have had rostra, or beaks, at either end, and there is every reason to suppose that the type of boat commonly used, and so convenient for the rapid turns necessary in the navigation of the canals, will not have changed much in seven or eight centuries.

The spot chosen by the doge for the Arsenal was towards the eastern end of the group of islands north of the Grand Canal. Two small islands there were called Gemine, or, in the Venetian dialect, Zemole or Zemelle:<sup>1</sup> these contained the old parish church of San Giovanni in Bragora, *i.e.* St. John in the Marsh, and extended eastwards into a network of canals and fish-ponds and ground unusually marshy even for Venice. Here the doge established his building-sheds and his docks, with the trenches or pits in which the pitch was boiled, that were recalled to Dante's memory by the Malebolge, the "Evil Trenches" he saw in his vision of Hell.<sup>2</sup> These, enclosed with a wall, became known as the Darsena, from two Arabic words meaning "house of industry," a word possibly in general use in low Latin as it is in modern Italian, which, however, in Dante's time had lost its initial letter, and become arzanà, having made half the passage to the common form in modern European languages, arsenale or arsenal. The space to the east of the original arsenal, now partly occupied by the new arsenal, was then a waste of waters and marshes with a few water-mills scattered about them, a

<sup>1</sup> Filiasi, *Saggio*, ii. p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Inferno*, xxi. 7-18.

great part of the expanse being known by the name of the Lake of San Daniele.

The next doge to Ordelafo Falier was Domenico Michiel, of a family that had already given to Venice one doge, Vitale, the immediate predecessor of Ordelafo. Dandolo tells us that he was a man "Catholic and bold and full of days." He was one of the chief nobles who had accompanied the late doge to Dalmatia in the expedition in which he met his death. His name appears as a witness to the oath, by which Ordelafo, in accepting the submission of the island of Arbe, swore to maintain its ancient customs and privileges. His first act was to make a truce of five years with Stephen, King of Hungary, by which the Venetians retained a part of Dalmatia.

This truce was probably connected with another wave of enthusiasm that passed over Europe about this time, and impelled men's thoughts everywhere towards Palestine. Things had there been going very ill with the Christians. Baldwin II., the King of Jerusalem, had been defeated, and his whole army wrecked, by a Turcoman prince, named Il Ghazi, and an invasion of his kingdom from Egypt was imminent. Letters signed by Baldwin and by the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch reached Western Europe, praying for help. The Pope, Calixtus II., took up the cause warmly, and Venice was naturally one of the first places to which he appealed, as any expedition to the Holy Land must rely on her to a great extent for both warships and transports. We read of a great assembly at a mass of the Holy Ghost in San Marco, of the Patriarch of Grado reading letters from the Pope, and of a speech made by the doge. Some of the more prudent of the assembly hesitated at sending the flower of their youth and the main strength of their fleet on so distant an expedition, but the zealous crusading party prevailed, and a fleet of forty galleys, twenty-eight larger

galleys with rams, called Gatti or Cats, and four large transports were at once fitted out and despatched to the Eastern Seas, the doge himself taking the command. This was apparently in the latter part of the summer of 1122. Their zeal for recovering the Holy Land was not, however, so engrossing as to exclude other feelings, and one of these was bitter resentment against the Eastern Emperor, Calojoannes, who had succeeded Alexius in 1118, and had rejected some friendly overtures from Venice. So they paused on their voyage to Palestine to attack the Byzantine stronghold of Corfu, and were besieging this, when worse news from Palestine came to them. Baldwin II. had been taken prisoner in the territory of Edessa by a Turkish prince named Balak Ghazi,<sup>1</sup> who had succeeded to the greater part of the power of his uncle Il Ghazi, and a large sea and land force advancing from Egypt upon Jaffa had reached Ascalon. Some authorities say that the Venetians upon this hurried on to the Holy Land—it was already the spring of 1123—but the Byzantine historian Cinnamus makes them delay longer, fighting and plundering among the Greek islands, and only to have gone on to Syria when worse news reached them at Cyprus. In May or early in June of that year they hastened from Cyprus to Acre on learning that Joppa was besieged. By the time they reached Acre the imminent danger was over; the Egyptian force surrounding Joppa had raised the siege on the advance of a Christian force from Jerusalem under the constable Eustace Grenier, who was regent during the king's imprisonment. The constable, as soon as Joppa was saved, attacked a land force that had marched from Egypt to co-operate with the fleet against Joppa, and drove it back with great loss. The Saracens' ships retired to Ascalon, but the Venetians pursued them into the harbour, engaged them hotly, the doge's galley fighting a single combat with the Saracen Emir's ship and sinking it, and

<sup>1</sup> Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzz.*, ii. 476, 477.



destroyed the whole fleet except four galleys and five other ships that were taken; the slaughter was so great, we are told, in the narrow space of the harbour, that the waves were dyed red with blood, and the heaps of dead bodies thrown upon the beach caused a pestilence. The Venetians after their victory sailed as far as El Arisch, where they took ten ships laden with rich merchandise and returned with their booty to Acre, from which an embassy from the Patriarch of Jerusalem and William of Buris, who had succeeded on Eustace Grenier's death as regent and constable, invited them to Jerusalem to visit the Holy Places. Accordingly the doge and his captains went to Jerusalem and spent Christmas in devotion and festivity there and at Bethlehem.

After Christmas the Palestine Christians asked the Venetians whether they would undertake any further work for the Holy Land, and suggested that they should undertake the siege of one of the two fortresses on the coast that still remained in the power of the Caliph of Egypt, Ascalon and Tyre. The doge replied that he had come out to fight for the cross, and was willing to stay and continue the fight. Which of the two cities should be attacked was difficult to decide. The barons from the northern parts were for Tyre, which threatened them; while those from Jerusalem and the south were more in dread of Ascalon, which was at their doors. To avoid a quarrel on this point it was agreed to decide the question by lot, and a young child was chosen to take the determining ticket out of the urn. The ticket with the name of Tyre came out, and the Venetians gladly undertook to besiege Tyre. Their fleet was stationed at Acre, and thither commissioners went down from Jerusalem to settle what Venice was to be paid for her help. In the church of the Holy Cross at Acre a treaty was drawn up between the patriarch Warmund or Gravimund of Jerusalem, William de Buris the constable, and Pagan the chancellor of the kingdom on the one side,

and the doge on the other, the text of which is to be read in Dandolo,<sup>1</sup> and also in Tafel and Thomas' collection of *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*.<sup>2</sup>

This document is so instructive as to the position of the settlements of Crusaders from the west in Syria, some traces of which have continued to exist till the present day, that it is worth while to take some note of it. It begins with a recital of the victory of the doge (who styles himself also "prince of the kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia") over the fleet of "the pagans of the King of Babilonia," *i.e.* of Egypt, off "the harbourless shores of Ascalon," and of his victorious entry into Jerusalem; mentions next the meeting of the doge with the patriarch, constable, chancellor, and others in the church of the Holy Cross at Acre; and then the promises King Baldwin had sent to the Venetians when he first implored their aid. The grant follows "to the holy evangelist Mark, the doge and his successors, and the nation of the Venetians": it grants to them in all cities ruled by the King of Jerusalem or his barons a church, an entire street, a platea,<sup>3</sup> a bath, and a bakehouse: these were all to be enjoyed as free of all taxation as the king's own property. "In the platea of Jerusalem they were to have as much for their own property as the king is wont to have"—whatever this somewhat enigmatical clause may mean.<sup>4</sup> At Acre they were to

<sup>1</sup> ix. 11, 26; Muratori SS., xii. p. 275, 276. The treaty is also mentioned in Marin Sanudo (Bongars, *Gesta Dei*, ii. 159), Fulch. Carnot. (*ib.*, i. 440, Wilh. Tyr. (*ib.*, i. 829 and 841).

<sup>2</sup> i. 79 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> "Integram rugam unamque plateam." *Ruga* is the origin of the French *rue*. *Platea* is, according to Heyd, i. p. 152, a building site, not what we now call a piazza. *Campus*, he thinks, means an open space in front of a building suitable for a market, and *campo* is no doubt common in Venice in some such sense. *Piazza* is not, I think, common in Venice.

<sup>4</sup> The old French translation of William of Tyre has "autant de rante (rente) en leur propriété com li rois i seut avoir" (*i.e.* solet habere). (Heyd, i. 144, note 1). This may probably be rendered by "a royalty."

have a bakehouse, a mill, and a bath, and the right to use their own weights and measures, both in dealings among themselves and in selling to foreigners, while in buying they might (as would no doubt be necessary if they were to have freedom to buy where they chose), make use of the king's weights and measures. They were to pay no *dazio* or duty on importing or selling any foreign products, except that one-third of any fare a Venetian received for bringing pilgrims in his ship to Syria, or carrying them away from the country, was to go to the king, according to custom. On the other hand the Venetians were to receive every year, on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, 300 "Saracen besants" from the customs of Tyre.<sup>1</sup> Besides these new privileges, the deed confirms to the Venetians all that part of Acre that had been granted by Baldwin I. to St. Mark and the Doge Ordelafo after the acquisition of Sidon. The part is defined as a street reaching from the house of Pietro Zanni to the monastery of St. Demetrius, and another plot of ground containing one wooden and two stone houses, which at the time of the original grant were cottages of reeds "*casulæ de cannis.*" The next clause provided that any lawsuit between Venetian and Venetian, or brought by a foreigner against a Venetian, should be tried in the Venetian court, but any lawsuit of a Venetian against a foreigner, should be tried in the king's court; if a Venetian died in the Holy Land, with or

<sup>1</sup> So I interpret "*de funda Tyri*" (William of Tyre, xii. 25), "*de fontico Tyri*"; Marin Sanudo (Bongars, ii. 159): *fonticum* is the word *fondaco*, familiar to us in Venetian topography: it means a warehouse or shop. Diez (*s.v.*) derives it from the Arabic and not from *fonda*, *funda*, which last words have a curious history. They are said to mean originally a purse, hence "a place for buying and selling," just as *borsa*, *bourse*, come from another word for a purse. Hence *fonda* came to be the common Spanish word for an inn, as a place where buyers and sellers congregate. *Funda*, a purse, is a Latin word found in Macrobius, and is perhaps the same as *funda*, a drag-net, which is found in the 1st Georgic, and *funda*, a sling. Our "fund," "the funds," are not connected with this word, but come from the French *fond*, *fonds*, which are derived from the Latin *fundus*.

without a will,<sup>1</sup> his estate should pass to his heirs or to the Venetian state; if he was shipwrecked on the Syrian coast, the king's government would claim no right to his property cast up on the shore. Finally, if Tyre or Ascalon fell into the hands of the Christians by the help of the Venetians, a third part of the territory of each should go to the Venetians in as full ownership as that of the king in the other two thirds.

The grant of a quarter in a town taken from the infidels had been a not unfrequent event in the earliest period of the Crusades. In the North, streets in Tripoli and Laodicea had been granted to Pisans and Genoese; Genoa had a quarter in Antioch, side by side with an old Amalfitan quarter ("ruga vicus Amalfitanorum"), that dated from before the Crusades; Marseilles had a quarter at Jerusalem and Acre. Genoa, Pisa, and Venice were, from the time we have now reached, the Italian cities that owned the largest properties in the Syrian towns; but Venice had very little in the northern states, the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli; while Pisa had very little in the kingdom of Jerusalem, but received from Tancred a quarter of Laodicea and Antioch, at Laodicea a street of arcades reaching down to the sea, a common feature in Syrian towns, and the church of St. Nicolas.

The terms for which she fought being settled, Venice drew up on land her ships, all but one that cruised off the harbour to maintain a blockade, landed her troops, and joined the troops of the kingdom of Jerusalem in besieging Tyre from the land side. The siege began on the 15th February 1124, and the town capitulated on the 7th of July,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Latin words are curious—"ordinatus vel inordinatus, quod nos sine linguâ dicimus." There is an interesting explanation of this in Ducange, s.v. *Inordinatus*.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, who has related several details of the siege on the authority of Andrea Morosini's *Imprese de' Veneziani* in Terrasanta, says that the town surrendered on the 30th of July, and that that day was in after years commemorated as a festival in honour of the victory (ii. pp. 46, 47).

when the Venetians immediately took possession of the third that had been promised them. A German scholar who has brought local knowledge to the interpretation of the documents, has come to the conclusion that the Venetian third included the southern and south-eastern parts of the city, and it would appear to have also included lands and farms outside the city walls.<sup>1</sup> In later times we find the Venetian colony at Tyre in possession of a palatium where the bajulus or bailo lived, and where justice was administered ; of a great fonticum or fondaco, which served as both a magazine of goods and an exchange ; and of three churches, the principal of which was naturally dedicated to St. Mark.<sup>2</sup> The greatest care was taken to place the Venetian colony under a Venetian governor, administering Venetian law by means of Venetian judges ; this was probably with the intention of exempting Venetians from the feudal institutions which existed in the crusading states more strictly than anywhere else.<sup>3</sup> The Genoese and Pisans made the same stipulations, and similar arrangements were made as to the church. But the Syrian bishops seem in the end to have established jurisdiction over the priests of the colonies, and excluded that of the bishops of the home city. In the Syrian towns the traders of the Italian cities found themselves on the high-road of the trade from India and China, whose exports were brought by Arab or Persian traders to Bagdad, and from thence ascended the Euphrates to some point from which the passage of the

<sup>1</sup> Heyd, i. pp. 151, 152, who quotes Prof. Prutz, *Aus Phönizien*, pp. 268, 269, Tafel and Thomas (i. 79, 90, 140, 145, 167) contain grants of lands and buildings in Tyre or other Syrian towns to doge and St. Mark, or to the local Venetian colony.

<sup>2</sup> See Heyd, i. p. 152, who quotes for the palatium Tafel and Thomas, ii. 364 ; for the fonticum, *ib.*, ii. 390 ; for the churches, *ib.*, ii. 362, 363.

<sup>3</sup> One family, however, that of the Embriaci of Genoa, established themselves as feudal princes in Gibelet, one of the smaller towns on the Syrian coast, having freed themselves from the control both of the crusading princes of Antioch and of the republic of Genoa (Heyd, i. 162).

desert to Antioch or Laodicea was the shortest. The independence of the native local authorities and the jurisdiction of judges chosen from their countrymen first granted to those Italian merchants have been continued ever since, and exist at the present day, under the so-called capitulations, in the form of the jurisdiction of European consuls in the Turkish Empire.

After the fall of Tyre, King Baldwin was released from captivity on payment of a large ransom, and the doge soon returned to Venice. While still in Syria he heard of an aggression of Stephen II., King of Hungary, in Dalmatia, where he had taken Spalato and Träù, but not Zara, and of hostile measures still being taken against Venetian subjects by the Greek Emperor. At the latter he was able to strike on his way home, by landing and plundering some of the Greek islands. By the next year he had retaken the Dalmatian cities, and was able to return with reinforcements to the Greek waters and occupy Cephalonia, on which the Emperor Calojoannes was induced to confirm to the doge the Chrysobullium by which his father Alexius had granted commercial privileges to Venetians.<sup>1</sup>

This campaign, the conquest of Tyre and the spoil of the Greek islands, brought great wealth to Venice, and it is probable that from this time the building of great and magnificent churches and palaces in the city began. A relic of the siege of Tyre is the granite slab of the altar in the baptistery of St. Mark's, said to be one on which Christ stood, when preaching to the Tyrians; and the memory of the same event is preserved by two pictures on the walls of the Sala dello Squittinio, one of the sea-fight off Ascalon, the other of the surrender of Tyre; while a small oval in the ceiling represents a perhaps mythical refusal by the doge of the crown of Naples and Sicily. Another event of the siege found its memorial in the arms borne by the family of

<sup>1</sup> This concession is recited in a later Chrysobullium of Manuel, No. li. in Tafel and Thomas, vol. i.



Barbari. Marco Barbaro, it was said, cut off the arm of a Saracen, and with his bloody sword drew a circle of red on his banner, and the family ever afterwards bore on their shield a ring gules on an argent ground. The Venetians of that day no doubt thought more of the relics of St. Isidore<sup>1</sup> and St. Donatus that were brought back and solemnly deposited in churches, the former at Venice, the latter at Murano, than of granite slabs or marble columns.

Domenico Michiel's reign was signalled by the institution of *capi di contrada*, officers who had charge amongst other things of the police of the city, and of a rude and makeshift lighting of the lanes and alleys which at Venice more than in any other city were dangerous to traverse, from the double risk of falling among thieves and falling into canals. The "Anconas"<sup>2</sup> or little niches, each with its statue of a saint and a little lamp burning before it, are still a familiar object in Venice: these are now, I believe, generally kept burning by private piety, but an old chronicle tells us<sup>3</sup> that in the year 1128 the Piovani, *i.e.* the clergy of the several parishes, were ordered to provide and keep up those lamps in all dangerous places, the cost being borne by the government. It was a characteristic instance of the type of piety prevalent at Venice, that the same objects should serve to do honour to the saints and to provide for the safety of the public.

After governing the state for eleven years, Domenico Michiel resigned office and retired to the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, where he died some months afterwards, in 1130; his tomb may yet be seen in the monastery, with an inscription doubtful in prosody and Latinity, recording

<sup>1</sup> The relics of Isidore were brought from Chios in 1125. They had to wait for a fit resting-place till 1355, when Andrea Dandolo built for them the beautiful Capella Sant' Isidoro at the entrance to the north transept of San Marco.

<sup>2</sup> Diez (*Romance Dictionary*, *s.v.*) says Ancona is merely a corruption of the Greek *εἰκὼν*.

<sup>3</sup> See Gallicciolli, i. p. 305, quoted by Romanin, ii. p. 51, n. 2.

that he was the terror of the Greeks and the praise of the Venetians, prudent in counsel and consummate in intellect, who conquered Tyre and made Hungary mourn, and caused his countrymen to rest in peace and quietness.<sup>1</sup>

His successor as doge was his son-in-law Pietro Polani, whose government was not distinguished by crusading exploits, but was much occupied with the affairs of Italy, which at this time was torn asunder by the rivalry of two Emperors and two Popes. The Venetians, in alliance now with the Greek Empire, were chiefly anxious to lessen the power of the Norman Roger, Duke of Sicily and Apulia, who about this time took the title of King of the two Sicilies. He was in close alliance with one of the rival Popes, Anacletus, who at this time was the stronger in Rome, though his rival Innocent II., chiefly owing to the support of St. Bernard, the great Abbot of Clairvaux, in the end was recognised as the rightful Pope. Innocent, after an exile of some two years in France, was brought back to Rome by Lothair the Saxon, whom in 1133 he crowned Emperor in the Lateran. But Lothair could not then maintain his ground in Italy and retired into Germany, the Pope also escaping to Pisa. In 1136 Lothair again appeared in Italy, invited by a joint embassy from the Greek Emperor and the Venetians. In the next year he overran the march of Ancona, Capua, and Apulia, and Roger had to retreat into Sicily. But again the Emperor had to return to

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is quoted, with certainly one misprint (*fecit* for *fuit* in line 8), from Cicogna, *Iscr.*, iv. p. 515, at p. 52 of Romanin's 2nd vol. The words "quem timet Hemanuel," were at the time *φωνήαντα συνετοῖσιν*, no doubt; but we cannot be certain whether they refer to Manuel Comnenus, who did not succeed to the Byzantine throne till 1143, thirteen years after Domenico Michiel's death, and was at that date still a young man, indeed only twenty-one. If he is the Hemanuel referred to, the writer of the inscription must, at a later date, have represented the Byzantine Emperor of his day, a bitter enemy of Venice, as trembling at the name of the dead doge. In May 1901 I observed that Hemanuel had been erased, but nothing substituted to make the line scan.

Germany, and on his way back died, in December 1137; the King of Sicily appeared again in Naples, and within the next six years had fought with Pope Innocent, taken him prisoner, and finally won him over to his side. If the object of the Venetians had been to eject Roger from the south of Italy and set up again Byzantine authority there, their failure had been signal.

At the same time Venice was making steady but unobtrusive progress towards a supremacy over some of the neighbouring cities of North Italy. Fano, one of the cities of the Pentapolis of Rimini, and in the twelfth century still a seaport, appealed to Doge Polani for help against the neighbouring cities of Ravenna, Pesaro, and Sinigaglia. The Venetians promised her protection and the help of eight galleys against her enemies, which the Fanesi, however, were to pay for; and for the future, the privilege of free trade in Venetian territory, just as if they had been Venetian subjects. In return, the consuls of Fano promised "to God and the Apostle and Evangelist St. Mark," as well as to the doge, to be loyal subjects of the republic: every consul of Fano was to swear, on his election, to regard the honour and safety of Venice as highly as that of his own city; Venetians living in Fano were promised security of life and property, their disputes with citizens of Fano were to be decided by a Venetian court, they were to have the same remedies against their debtors as if they had been at Venice. The city was to send to Venice every year 1000 measures of oil for lighting the church of St. Mark, and a hundred for the use of the doge's palace. In any war Venice was engaged in anywhere between Ragusa and Ravenna—*i.e.*, I presume, on either coast of the Adriatic north of Ragusa on one side and of Ravenna on the other—Fano undertook to man and arm a galley, either of her own or supplied by Venice, to aid in the war; if the war was between Ravenna and Ancona, *i.e.* at the doors of Fano itself, the Fanesi bound themselves more generally to take

part in it. Lastly, the Savii or members of council at Fano were bound to come to aid the Venetian council with their advice, whenever asked, just as the other subjects of Venice. The treaty is extant: it resulted, Dandolo tells us, in an expedition, led by the doge himself, that gained a complete victory over the enemies of Fano.

In 1142 another war arose with Padua, in consequence of a new channel the Paduans had cut for the Brenta, not far from Sant' Ilario, which brought accumulations of sand into the lagoons. For this war, which had to be fought on land, Venice for the first time engaged foreign condottieri, Guido di Montecchio or Montagone (no doubt a member of the famous Veronese family, the Montecchi or Montagues, whose two castles are such conspicuous objects to the traveller between Verona and Vicenza) to command the cavalry, and Alberto da Bragacurta the infantry. The Paduans were soon beaten, and promised to undo the mischief they had done. Morosini, a historian of the seventeenth century, considers that the Venetians employed foreigners to command their troops from fear that the number of followers and dependants of a successful general would expose any Venetian subject to too great a temptation to adopt a splendour unbecoming the citizen of a republic. The first experience of such hired service was successful. The Paduans were defeated in a battle at la Tomba and did not fight again, but made peace in the year 1143.

During Polani's reign the Crusade led by Louis VII. of France and the Emperor Conrad III. was going through much suffering in Asia Minor, and Sanudo tells us that under this doge the Venetians sent a great expedition to the Holy Land. But we know nothing more of this;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> However this may have been, Venice as a common place of embarkation for Syria was always full of Crusaders and pilgrims passing to and fro. Dandolo tells us that in the year 1145 one Orso Badoer granted a marsh between Murano and Mazzorbo as a site of a hostel of St. James for the benefit of pilgrims ("Romei"). San Giacomo in Palude is still in existence, just opposite to San Francesco del Deserto.

and meanwhile the Venetians were dragged by the Greek Emperor Manuel Comnenus into a war, not with the infidels, but with Roger of Sicily, whose ships about this time were taking Corfu and plundering Cephalonia, Corinth, Thebes, Athens, and Negropont, carrying off from these skilled workmen in silk, to introduce that industry into Sicily. The coasts and islands of Greece were too near the Adriatic to allow of the Venetians regarding these Norman enterprises with indifference, and the Emperor Manuel was glad to purchase their aid with titles granted to the doge and the Patriarch of Grado, gifts to St. Mark's church, a special church at Durazzo for Venetian sojourners to worship in, and in particular, freedom to carry on trade without transit or import duties in most parts of the Byzantine dominions; in fact he renewed on this occasion all the privileges granted to Venice by Alexius Comnenus or Calojoannes, and extended them to Crete and Cyprus, which had not been within the scope of former treaties. A fleet set out from Venice under the doge's command, in great haste, for the Normans were already burning the suburbs of Constantinople, but the doge fell ill and had to land at Caorle, and returned to Venice only to die (A.D. 1148); his brother and son, Giovanni and Ranieri Polani, remained in command of the fleet, and won a victory over the Normans off Cape Malea: the allied fleets then proceeded to besiege Corfu, which the Normans still held; but violent quarrels broke out in camp between Greeks and Venetians, the latter carried fire and sword into the island of Asteride and grievously hurt the pride of the Emperor by taking possession of a Byzantine ship, decking it out like the Emperor's own galley, and dressing a black slave in Imperial robes to represent its master. This brief alliance of five or six years with Byzantium was likely to leave a legacy of ill-feeling, but it lasted over another defeat of the Norman fleet, and only contrary winds prevented a joint landing in Sicily. Roger died very soon

after this (1154), and the Venetians at once made peace with his successor William, who was ready to undertake not to molest the Adriatic coasts north of Ragusa. Peace and the suppression of piracy in the Adriatic were the first of Venetian interests, and two years before the death of Roger, Morosino Morosini, a son of Domenico Morosini, the doge who succeeded Polani, was sent to sea to take and destroy some privateers from Ancona. At the same time another son of the same doge was, at the request of the Zaratines themselves, made Count of Zara,<sup>1</sup> an event which served to tighten the grasp of the republic on the head of the gulf. With the same object, as other Dalmatian cities, Spalato, Träù, and Sebenico were now Hungarian possessions, the Venetians obtained from Pope Anastasius IV. the pallium for the Archbishop of Zara, so that the cities independent of Hungary should not be under the metropolitan jurisdiction of a Hungarian see. This was in 1154, and three years later Hadrian IV. made an arrangement still more favourable to Venice, by placing the Archbishop of Zara, though a metropolitan, under the patriarchate of Grado, an arrangement which naturally appeared a grievance to the Zaratines.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a somewhat full account of the events leading to this in *Cron. Alt.*, lib. v. p. 159 of *Arch. St. Ital.*, tom. viii., or Pertz SS., xiv. p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> See the documents quoted in footnotes 2, 3, and 4, p. 65 of Romanin, vol. ii. The Altino Chronicle, which for this time is nearly contemporary and of high authority, says: "Odevant Jadrenses Venetos, propterea quod archiepiscopatum suum ipse Dux Patriarchatui Gradensi subesse debere dicebat" (lib. v. p. 159 of *Arch. St. Ital.*, tom. viii. Pertz SS., xiv. p. 76).



## CHAPTER II

### FREDERIC BARBAROSSA : HIS LOMBARD WARS AND THE PAPAL SCHISM

THE Emperor Conrad had died in 1152, and his nephew, Frederic Barbarossa, who was powerful as well from his personal qualities and character and the distinction he had won in the last Crusade, as from his family connexions in Germany—being head of the Staufers, one of the two greatest families in that country, and at this time, and long after, in close alliance with his cousin Henry the Lion, the head of the other great family, the Welfs—was elected at Frankfort and crowned at Aachen. Many potentates from North Italy, we are told, took part in the election. From his accession he was conscious of having a mission, that of restoring the Empire as a great moral force for keeping the West in peace, and in the end delivering the Holy Sepulchre from the infidel, the great religious object that ever floated before the eyes of the men of those ages. For the success of this mission, it was necessary to brace up the Imperial authority, that had become dangerously slack, in face of the great feudal barons, and still more the free cities of Lombardy.<sup>1</sup> When in 1154 he entered Italy by Trent and held a diet at Roncaglia in the territory of Piacenza, to which all the cities, including Milan and Venice, sent representatives, he was content only to advance to Rome, where he was crowned by Pope Hadrian IV., and return at once to Germany. He was not seen again in Italy till 1158.

<sup>1</sup> See the passage from Otto of Freisingen quoted by Romanin, ii. 66, 67.

The struggle of Frederic Barbarossa with the Lombard republics, and particularly with Milan, is one of the most signal events of the Middle Ages. The details of this struggle would be out of place in a history of Venice, but the part played by Venice in the negotiations that brought it to a close was so important, and so materially affected her future position in Europe, that it is necessary for an historian of Venice to realise her situation in reference to both the parties, and the motives that led her in the end to assume the office of mediator.

As regards the domestic or Italian aspect of the quarrel, the sympathies of Venice would *primâ facie* have been with the Lombard republics: for she had always herself cherished her independence of the German Emperors, and the subjection of Milan would have threatened this independence. But Frederic's aims were not only domestic and Italian: he had also a world policy, the first stage of which was to be the complete union of Italy under an Emperor in loyal co-operation with the Pope, its ultimate object the reconquest of the East and the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Venice had also a world policy, and the powers with whom it brought her in contact were the same as those with whom the Emperor had to deal—the Pope, the Normans of Sicily and Apulia, the Byzantine Empire, and the Saracens. Frederic's ultimate object, the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, was dear to Venice from both religious and secular motives. Two governments pursuing independently lines of policy with regard to the same regions, and with a similarity in their general aims, were likely to be as often as not in agreement. Frederic, for instance, was generally opposed to both the Byzantine Emperor and the Sicilian Normans, and the occasions must have been rare on which Venice did not sympathise with one or other of these enmities. She therefore had interests and sympathies in common with both parties to the Lombard struggle.

In 1154, when Frederic first came into Italy and

projected an attack on the Normans, the Pope Hadrian IV. was zealous on the same side. But when, after an interval of four years, he again crossed the Alps, he found the Pope on the side of the Normans, and not disposed to sympathise with severities against the Lombard republics. Milan was for a first time deprived of her independence, and on St. Martin's day, the 11th of November 1158, the Emperor, having been crowned at Monza, held a second diet at Roncaglia, the edict of which reclaimed for the Empire all regalia, such as road or harbour dues, rights to confiscated goods, treasure trove, &c., that had of late been enjoyed by churches or bishops or communes, unless documentary evidence of their alienation by the Emperors could be produced. The effect of this edict was to restore to the Emperor a revenue of 30,000 pounds; it was naturally very unpopular, and it cost Frederic twenty years of constant struggle to bring it into partial and unsatisfactory operation.<sup>1</sup> Another edict of the Roncaglia diet provided for the appointment of podestàs or consuls in the Italian cities, and the commissioners appointed to enforce this met with great resistance from Milan, in consequence of which the Emperor resolved to humble the rebellious city to the dust. With rebellion seething in Lombardy, Frederic could not venture to march southwards to attack the Normans. The struggle with the Lombard republics became his first object, and the punishment of these went on slowly, the little town of Crema requiring a siege of several months, and procuring a respite for Milan. In the meantime she and the other Lombard cities on her side got an important ally in the Pope. Hadrian had not liked the Roncaglia edicts, and still less the enforcement of them by levying taxes in the lands that were once the Countess Matilda's. He would have been glad to come forward as an open enemy of the Emperor, had it not been that the latter could count on the loyalty to himself of nearly all

<sup>1</sup> Giesebrecht, *Kaiserzeit*, v. 178 and 180.

German and Lombard bishops. As it was, he instructed his legates with the Emperor, Cardinals Octavian and Henry, to use the friendliest language, while he secretly wrote to the Milanese that he was their friend, whatever his legates might say, and encouraged them to resist the Roncaglia edict. At the same time he went to Anagni, near the Sicilian frontier, and there in August 1159 he received envoys from Milan, Brescia, and Piacenza, and promised them to excommunicate the Emperor within forty days. But this promise he was prevented from fulfilling by his sudden death on the 1st of September. A disputed election followed, and two rival Popes confronted one another as Alexander III. and Victor IV. Thus began a Papal schism which lasted eighteen years, affected the home and foreign affairs of every country of Western Christendom, entangled itself confusedly with the Emperor's quarrel with the Lombard cities and Henry II. of England's quarrel with Thomas Becket, and almost, if not altogether, shipwrecked the high aims with which Frederic Barbarossa's life had started. To achieve those aims the union of Pope and Emperor was essential; without the Pope's assistance Frederic could not hope to reconcile hostile nations and jarring factions, and lead an army of united Europe to rescue the Holy Land from the Saracens. For these eighteen years, some of the best of his life—he was thirty-seven at their beginning and fifty-five at their end—Frederic was in constant antagonism with Alexander, whom the general sense of both clergy and laity throughout Western Europe slowly and in many cases reluctantly came to recognise as the lawful Pope.

The alliance of Pope Alexander was, on the other hand, a tower of strength to the disaffected Lombard cities and all other enemies of the Emperor. So the Emperor, who at first endeavoured to be impartial between the two candidates, was driven to take the side of Victor. Alexander refused to appear before a great synod that met in February

1160 at Pavia, and claimed to be both a Council of the Church and a Diet of the Empire, and the synod, after hearing Victor's case only, recognised him as Pope and excommunicated Alexander. Alexander's legate at Milan replied to this before the end of February by an excommunication of the Emperor and Victor, by declaring the Emperor's acts invalid, and releasing his subjects from their allegiance. But for a time the decision of the synod of Pavia had a great effect in Europe; the kings of France and England, for example, though both inclined to recognise Alexander, were unwilling to break with the Emperor and so large a body of the German and Italian clergy. But in the course of a year the influence of the French clergy, and particularly of the great Cistercian monasteries in France, had made King Louis a partisan of Alexander, who, when obliged to leave the Papal territory in the last days of 1161, took refuge in France, and was an exile there for more than three years, from March 1162 till September 1165. The King of France was, as nearly always, jealous of the Emperor, and all the enemies of the latter—Manuel of Constantinople and William of Sicily, Geisa, King of Hungary, and some disaffected German princes—were, like the rebellious city of Milan, encouraged by the sympathy of a Pope and a King of France to persist in their hostility. Milan in fact was able to defy the Emperor's German forces and her bitter enemies among rival Lombard cities throughout 1160 and 1161. Her resistance was heroic; neither the pressure of famine, nor the cruel severity with which Frederic treated those of her defenders or allies who fell into his hands, broke her obstinate courage till the 1st of March 1162, when the starving populace overbore their leaders and compelled an unconditional surrender. The conditions fixed by Frederic were severe enough; in return for the removal of the ban of the Empire, the walls for a large space near each gate were to be pulled down to admit the Imperial army, all the castles of the Milanese

were to be surrendered, four hundred knights to remain in the Emperor's hands as hostages, and the carroccio, the vast movable tower on which the banner of St. Ambrose floated, was made to bow down and deposit that banner, the symbol of their municipal freedom, at the Emperor's feet. But even this severity did not satisfy the hostility of Pavia, Lodi, and Como, and by their advice the Emperor three or four weeks later required all the inhabitants to quit their homes in eight days, and this sentence was carried out relentlessly, the broken-spirited inhabitants taking refuge in neighbouring cities or camping out in fields near the great monasteries; while their Lombard enemies were allowed to burn and destroy the houses and even the churches, the piety of the Emperor saving only the relics of saints.<sup>1</sup>

The long resistance of Milan was, as we can now see, more significant than its final humiliation, for it showed how seriously the Emperor's action on Italy was weakened by distance from his German dominions, the only trustworthy source of his military power. But for a time the fall of Milan and the severe treatment meted out to her overawed men's minds, and he seemed powerful enough to undertake the work on which his thoughts were next concentrated—the subjection of Rome, and the chastisement of the Norman power in Sicily and Apulia. For a campaign against Sicily, sea power was essential, and he at once made overtures to Pisa and Genoa. Pisa was zealously Imperialist, and willing to recognise the Emperor's Pope, but Genoa was devoted to Alexander. Why the Emperor did not look to Venice also is not quite plain. She was on the side of Alexander, but not more so than Genoa or than many of

<sup>1</sup> It was from the spoils of Milan on this occasion that the relics of the three kings were given by the Emperor to the Archbishop of Cologne (Giesebrecht, *Kaiserzeit*, v. 304). Several churches escaped, perhaps from reverence, perhaps from weariness in the work of destruction.



the German bishops who retained their loyalty and affection to the Emperor. There must have been ill-will between the Emperor and Venice, though the only direct evidence of it is contained in a parenthetic clause of Frederic's *privilegium* to Genoa.<sup>1</sup> Venice seems at this time to have been drawn closer to Manuel of Constantinople and the Sicilian Norman, both of whom had generally been her enemies; and about this time she had a long and bitter feud with Udalrich, Patriarch of Aquileia, a trusted friend of the Emperor. Venice, though priding herself on her attachment to the Roman See, stood so much outside Italian politics that the schism was a matter of comparative indifference to her.

The *privilegium* granted to Genoa, which followed the lines of one previously issued to Pisa, gave her in fee all the coast from Monaco to Porto Venere (Pisa had received that from Porto Venere to Cività Vecchia). When Sicily should be conquered, Genoa was to have Syracuse and 250 knights' fees (Pisa was to have half of Palermo, Messina, Salerno, and Naples, and the whole of Gaeta, Mazara, and Trapani), and a street in every town that should be conquered, with a church, bath, bakehouse, and warehouse, just as we have seen in the grants to Venice of privileges in the Syrian towns. In return the Genoese bound themselves to defend all the coast from Arles to Mte. St. Angelo,<sup>2</sup> in concert with the Pisans, and to assist actively in the war with William of Sicily. There was difficulty in inducing Genoa and Pisa to abstain from

<sup>1</sup> "Concedimus—consulibus et communi Januæ liberam potestatem expellendi Provinciales Francigenas euntes per mare et redeuntes a negotiatione totius Siciliæ et totius maritimæ et calabriæ, et omnes principatus Venetorum etiam, nisi ipsi Veneti gratiam nostram et bonam voluntatem fuerint consecuti." The passage is quoted from Muratori, *Ant. It.*, t. iv. col. 254, by Romanin, ii. p. 74, and Giesebrecht, vi. p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> This was the ancient Garganum, the cape to north of the Gulf of Manfredonia, at the entrance of the Adriatic. The Adriatic was no doubt looked upon as a *mare clausum* of Venice.

fighting one another, but the diplomatic skill of the Archbishop of Cologne brought about an understanding.

After the fall of Milan and the submission of the other revolted cities, the Emperor employed himself during a long stay at Pavia in enforcing the Roncaglia edicts, and especially in appointing podestàs in the several cities. The most loyal cities, such as Cremona, Lodi, and Pavia, were allowed to elect their own podestàs, subject to his investiture by the Emperor; but in all other places the Emperor appointed. The plan of placing a city under the rule of a single foreigner as podestà, which was generally followed by Frederic, was valued by the Italians as a check upon native factions, and was not unpopular. It was no doubt galling to see the podestà imposed on them by the Emperor instead of being chosen by themselves; and more serious friction was caused when the podestàs—often ecclesiastics from north of the Alps, like the Bishop of Liège, who was Podestà of Milan—found it necessary to increase taxation in order to meet the expenses of a more highly organised government, and to restore to the Emperor the share of the regalia reclaimed for him by the Roncaglia edict. Still, if the Lombards paid more and lost some of their liberty, the peace they enjoyed after the long and cruel civil war was a compensation. Could the Papal schism have been healed, and Frederic have prospered in his expedition against Sicily, Lombardy might have settled down in quiet loyalty to the Empire. But all the Emperor's efforts to heal the schism were fruitless in the face of Alexander's *non possumus*: a claim by right divine, as his was, could not submit itself to the give and take of diplomacy. When Frederic returned to Italy at the end of October 1163, no approach had been made to a reconciliation, and the army that he brought from Germany was smaller than in the past.

However, his adherents in Italy were ready: a number of princes and delegates met him at Lodi on November

2nd, where a treaty was signed with Genoa and Pisa binding them to begin war with Naples next 1st of May, and all present swore to start with the Emperor at the same date. As the date for starting drew near, the Italian Imperialists grew less zealous for a campaign in the South, and the Genoese, on asking when their fleets were to be ready, were told by the Emperor to await the decision of a diet to be held at Sarzana on April 12th: but before that date the Emperor fell ill of a fever, which detained him at Pavia till the middle of June, and made a postponement of the campaign for another year inevitable. In April 1164 the Antipope Victor had died at Lucca, and it is strange that, anxious as Frederic had been for some time to end the schism, he did not seize the favourable opportunity, and prevent the election of a successor: so far as we know, the Emperor's chief advisers were also willing to see the schism ended, his chancellor Rainald, Archbishop elect of Cologne since 1158, had, for instance, deferred his consecration in hopes of being able to receive it from a Pope or bishops of unquestioned authority. But for some reason unknown to us Rainald, who was near at hand when Victor died, caused the cardinals at Lucca to meet in hot haste, and Guido of Crema was elected and proclaimed as Paschal III., before the Emperor's instructions to stop an election arrived. For reasons also unknown to us, Frederic acquiesced in the action of the cardinals, recognised Paschal as Pope, and the schism only became embittered by the change.

The successive hindrances to Frederic's campaign in South Italy showed the limitations of his power so far from home, and encouraged the discontent of the cities of Lombardy and Romagna. Milan, now a mere collection of isolated village communities, was naturally disaffected; Bologna got rid of its podestà; Como and Piacenza, though they had elected their own podestàs, murmured at the increased taxes. And while things were thus moving

towards a renewal of the rebellion, Venice began to take an active part in the affairs of North Italy against the Emperor. In ordinary times she was so little concerned with the affairs of Germany, or the parts of Italy in direct relation with the Empire, that it had been usual for each Emperor on his accession to renew his predecessor's treaties with the republic, which related mainly to questions of frontier and questions of trade, and for the rest of his reign to have no dealings with her, except the occasional sending or receiving of complimentary embassies. The destruction of Milan on one side, and the republic's increasing friendship with the Emperor of the East and the King of Sicily on the other, tended to interrupt the ordinary feelings of amity or indifference. The first result of this was an attack on Capo d'Argine, near Chioggia, by Veronese, Paduans, and Ferrarese, stirred up by the Emperor. This appears to have been in 1162, but the Venetians repelled the attack and punished the aggressors; and in the next year were able to form an alliance with Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, the four cities pledging themselves to yield no more privileges to the Emperor than their fathers had yielded to the Western Emperors from the time of Charlemagne. This Veronese league became from henceforth an important factor in the Emperor's troubles with Lombardy. The Emperor lost no time in endeavouring to grapple with the rebellious cities; but the German reinforcements he summoned from Salzburg and neighbouring districts seem not to have been forthcoming, while the Lombard troops, with which in June 1164 he attacked Verona, sympathised so much with the rebels that he did not venture on an engagement, but retreated to the Lake of Garda: he had to make great concessions to Ferrara, Mantua, and Treviso, to prevent them from joining the Veronese league. This was supported by large sums of money from Venice.

At the same time with the Emperor's attack on Verona,

Venice came into conflict with Udalrich the Patriarch of Aquileia, one of the many German churchmen who, as we have seen, were at the same time partisans of Alexander in the schism, and loyal supporters in all secular matters of the Emperor; his election to the Patriarchate had been well received in Venice; he was conducted to Aquileia for investiture by Burchard of Cologne, an Imperial chaplain, who has left us an interesting account of their journey; how they endeavoured to reach Aquileia by the lagoons in gondolas, but gave up the attempt; while Duke Henry of Corinthia, who had gone with them, and persevered in his voyage, had his gondola capsized by a freshet in the mouth of the Tagliamento and was drowned. Udalrich's friendship with Venice did not, however, prevent him from attacking the rival Patriarch of Grado in the summer of 1164: the Venetians came to the rescue of Grado with all the galleys they had ready for sea, one of which succeeded in taking the patriarch prisoner with 700 of his soldiers. Later Venetian chronicles tell us that a tribute of twelve loaves and twelve pigs, paid every year on the Wednesday before Lent by the patriarch to the republic, represented Udalrich's ransom on this occasion. They also say that while the men of Caorle had marched with the doge to the relief of Grado, the Trevisans attacked their city; but the women left in charge put on men's clothes and arms and embarked in ships, driving the attacking enemy into the neighbouring marshes. The pigs from Aquileia were, it is added, hunted by the people in the Piazza of St. Mark on the day after their delivery ("Giovedî grasso"); and at the same time the doge came to the Sala del Piovego, or public room, and there he and his companions beat down with sticks wooden castles, in memory of the destruction of the castles belonging to the patriarch in Friuli.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Romanin, ii. pp. 75, 76.

## CHAPTER III

### MANUEL COMNENUS AND HIS AGGRESSIONS ON VENICE

THE failure of the Emperor's attack on Verona was followed by his return to Germany to bring up reinforcements, which, Verona once brought to submission, might be used in the long-deferred expedition against the Sicilians. He crossed the Alps in the autumn of 1164, and at once became immersed in important German business. In the winter that followed, moreover, an embassy he sent to Henry II. of England, then at the hottest of his dispute with Becket, led to a confident hope that England would throw her weight decisively on the side of Pope Paschal against Pope Alexander. Two English bishops appeared at a great diet held at Würzburg in May 1165. Encouraged by their presence the Emperor himself took, and an edict of the diet required all princes of the Empire to take, and to cause their feudal dependants to take, an oath never to recognise Alexander, and never to elect an Emperor who would not promise to recognise Paschal. Rainald of Cologne, who induced the Emperor to take this decisive and most compromising step, in the hope that so vigorous a measure might bring the schism to an end, was himself one of the first to take the oath, which was reluctantly taken by most of the leading German prelates, and as a further pledge of his sincerity consented to accept consecration from an adherent of Paschal. He died soon after this, when the oath was being strictly enforced in



Germany and the Low Countries, and it was still hoped that all the West would desert Alexander. The Emperor at Christmas 1165 was at Aix la Chapelle, employed in finding the bones of his predecessor Charles the Great, and transferring them to a sumptuous shrine with a view to his canonisation by Paschal. Alexander, to whom the Emperor sent a copy of the Würzburg decrees and a summons to abdicate, showed no sign of yielding, but at this time issued, from his retreat in France, a summons to a new crusade. He was on his way back to Rome, where, before the end of the year 1165, he was installed in the Lateran, after a magnificent reception by William, King of Sicily, at Messina. The Emperor's representatives in Italy advised him to make Rome and not Verona his first object of attack, and secure the person of the Pope, dead or alive. The Pope was in this winter negotiating with Manuel Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor, and a conjunction between these potentates was ominous of danger to Frederic.

Manuel Comnenus was a very remarkable man. His long reign, which began nine years before Frederic's and ended ten years before its close, was a period of bustling activity, in which the Emperor strove, with many of the qualities of a born ruler of men, to arrest the decline, which had so long set in, of the wealth and vigour of his Empire. In person he was tall, handsome, of great strength and activity, brave even to rashness, delighting in war, and, next to war, in tournaments and brilliant court festivals; intellectually powerful, far superior, as were Byzantine nobles generally, in knowledge and mental cultivation to the contemporary feudal princes of the West. His moral character was bad, even judged by a Byzantine standard, and partly for this reason, but still more because he was suspected of a leaning to the Latin Church, he was never on good terms with the Greek clergy. At the time we have now reached he held out hopes to Alexander that he

was ready to temporise on the question of the Double Procession, and even on that of the Papal supremacy, if Alexander would support his claim to rid Italy of the German Emperors, and restore him to the position that Justinian had occupied. And the Pope had listened to the voice of the charmer, and in 1166 two cardinals and the Bishop of Ostia were at Constantinople endeavouring to come to terms. This inclination towards union with the Latin Church was only one amongst many instances of Manuel's affection for the West. He was himself twice married to Latin princesses, the first from Germany, the second from the crusading principality of Antioch. His son he married to a daughter of Louis VII. of France, and his daughter, after being offered in succession to a Hungarian king, to William II. of Sicily, and to Henry the son, and afterwards the successor, of Frederic Barbarossa, was in the end married to a son of the great Italian house of Montferrat. His army, too, was full of Germans, Franks, and Italians, in addition to the old Varangian guards, because he felt, as one skilled in all active exercises himself, that the physical training and skill in horsemanship and the use of arms of the Western men-at-arms was far superior to that of his own subjects.

But Manuel's predilection for the Western nations did not make him particularly favourable to the Venetians: the enterprising spirit of the traders of the republic did not appeal to him so strongly as did the warlike skill and splendid courage of the feudal militia. He seems, on the contrary, to have borne somewhat impatiently the commercial predominance in the Empire that the Venetians had obtained through the concessions of his predecessor, Alexius I. He endeavoured to counterbalance these by similar concessions to Genoese, Pisans, and Amalfitans—similar, but less extensive, as, while the Venetians were exempted from all import duties throughout the Empire, the other maritime republics had duties reduced from 10 to

4 per cent. in Constantinople only, and were at all other ports in the same position as native-born subjects. In return for these privileges they, and the Venetians also, probably paid high rents to the Imperial Government for the shops and warehouses granted to them—it was Manuel's treaty with Genoa that first established a Genoese colony in Galata—they agreed to be subject to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Byzantine courts, and promised not to put obstacles in the way of a Byzantine conquest of the Christian settlements in Syria, if their existing rights in those settlements were preserved.

Venice may, no doubt, have felt aggrieved at Manuel's efforts to introduce Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi to share with her the profits of the Eastern trade, and, as we have seen, she was not pleased at the war with the Normans in Corfu, into which his alliance had led her, but up to 1165 she had not formally broken with him, and her anxiety at Frederic's severity towards Milan, and his aggressive action against Pope Alexander, led her to fall in with Manuel's ambitious views for a restoration of Byzantine power in Italy. Had these views come near realisation, no doubt the policy of Venice would have changed; it was not to her interest to have a powerful Imperial authority in Italy, whether its home was in Germany or at Constantinople. So long as the Greek was a distant power, she preferred the friendship of the Greek to that of the German, and by virtue of this friendship she was valuable to the Lombard cities and to Pope Alexander, as, from her old-established connexion with the Eastern Empire, she could form a link between it and them, and bring supplies of Byzantine gold to encourage the Veronese league, or replenish the Pope's generally empty treasury.

At the end of October 1166 Frederic appeared again in Italy, and in November a diet was held at Lodi, in order that the Italian dignitaries might follow the example of Germany in swearing to the Würzburg decrees. The

oath seems to have been generally taken, but discontent at the weight of taxation and the loss of municipal independence was rife in Lombardy: the Emperor, we are told, sympathised in their complaints of oppressive taxation, but could not lower his demands, and had now to add to them a demand of military service—not indeed against Verona, which they could hardly have been expected to grant, but against Alexander at Rome and the King of Sicily.

So Verona was left for a time in her contumacy, and the Imperial army advanced, during severe winter weather, with heavy falls of snow, to the south. The two warlike archbishops, Rainald of Cologne and Christian of Mainz, were sent to attempt the difficult task of reconciling Genoa and Pisa, and to bring up to the rendezvous in the Campagna supplies of men and money from Tuscany, while the Emperor himself advanced slowly through Romagna and along the Adriatic coast, staying at Rimini till the end of April, and afterwards delayed for two or three weeks by the necessity of punishing Ancona for having called the Greek Emperor to her aid. Meanwhile the archbishops had succeeded in bringing a considerable force, amongst others a body of Brabançon mercenaries, very near the walls of Rome, where they found a bitter war being fought between Rome and Tusculum, and on the 28th of May, in defending the latter, inflicted on a large relieving force from Rome a defeat described at the time as the greatest Romans had suffered since Cannæ.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor, informed of this victory, at once advanced, but had to make a digression to reduce a castle in the Abruzzi—the only blow he ever struck against the Normans—and did not appear before Rome till the 24th of July. He at once attacked the city, and got a footing in the Leonine suburb. Pope Paschal, who was with the Emperor, was enthroned in St. Peter's, and consecrated fifteen archbishops and bishops, and on the 1st of August he crowned there the

<sup>1</sup> Giesebrecht, *Deutsche Kaiserz.*, v. 539.

Emperor and Empress, Beatrix for the first time, but the Emperor's coronation was a repetition of the ceremony performed twelve years before by Pope Hadrian. The rival Pope Alexander had till a few days before been in the city across the Tiber, in a castle of the Frangipani family, near the Coliseum ; but about this time, apparently from a fear that the Romans were inclined to a compromise on the basis of the deposition of both Popes, he escaped in disguise, dropping down the Tiber in a boat, and reaching in due time Gaeta and Benevento. Before he reached the latter place, the Emperor had had also to flee from Rome before a more fearful enemy. In the days immediately following the coronation of 1st August, a terrible pestilence broke out both in the city and the Imperial camp. It was impossible to check its ravages, and after a few days of alarming mortality Frederic decided to retreat into Tuscany. This was the end of his last attempt to invade the Sicilian king's dominions, the end of his long struggle to establish his authority throughout Italy. Before his camp under the walls of Rome was broken up, he lost by death three German prelates who had been among the most useful of his statesmen and generals—Daniel of Prague, Hermann of Verden, and Rainald of Cologne.

His retreat by Pisa and Lucca, as far as Pontremoli, at the head of the valley of the Magra, was not opposed, but he found the pass of La Cisa, that led over the Apennines to Parma, occupied by rebels from Cremona—a foretaste of what would be the effect of his Roman disaster in Lombardy. His loss before Rome and on this retreat was estimated at 2000 men, so many great churchmen among them, that men thought of the words of Ezekiel about the slaughter that was to begin at God's sanctuary. The Emperor himself was ill during the retreat, but recovered. His enemies in Europe, with Pope Alexander and Thomas of Canterbury at their head, did not shrink from the presumption of attributing the awful catastrophe that had

overtaken their enemy to the judgment of God against the favourer of schism.

He was, no doubt, in a perilous position. With the mere wreck of his fever-stricken army he found himself, in loyal Pavia, surrounded by a seething mass of enemies. Before his disasters, in the spring of 1167, Cremona, Mantua, Brescia, and Bergamo formed a secret league, pledging them to mutual help, and reserving those Imperial rights only that were one hundred years old, thus implicitly rejecting the new claims made at Roncaglia. They did not venture openly to join the league of Verona, but were in sympathy with it, and, probably through it and Venice, in communication with Pope Alexander. Milan was soon admitted to the league, in great secrecy at first, but at the end of April the four cities sent a force to escort back the exiled Milanese and rebuild the walls, and the Emperor's podestà did not venture to resist,<sup>1</sup> but took his departure. Lodi was the next city to join; she had always been loyal to Frederic, and highly favoured by him; he had built a palace there and frequently lived in it; it required a siege and bloodshed to bring her into the league, and her accession was rewarded by important concessions. Next Piacenza came in voluntarily, Parma by compulsion. From every city that joined the league the Imperial officers were expelled, and the government of elected consuls restored.

By the end of the summer of 1167 the four cities originally forming the league had been increased to eight, and Bologna and Modena, and even Pavia, showed signs of sympathy; all this had happened before the Emperor's disaster at Rome. When he returned to Lombardy he sent to Germany for reinforcements, but without waiting

<sup>1</sup> This event is commemorated by an interesting contemporary sculpture that was formerly on the Porta Romana, and is now let into the wall of a house in the neighbourhood: a description of it is to be found in Murray's Handbook to North Italy. The Fra' Giacomo who is conspicuous in it, is unknown from any other source (Giesebe, *Deut. Kais.*, v. p. 575).



for them crossed the Ticino and laid waste the Milanese territory, but was prevented by a force from Lodi from occupying Milan itself; he also failed to take Piacenza, and, after these unsuccessful attempts, in November shut himself up in Pavia. A new archbishop of Milan, named Galdin, a zealous Alexandrine, was the heart and soul of the resistance to the Emperor, and appears to have been the connecting link with the Pope and with Venice.

On the 1st December 1167 the consuls of the eight cities met those of the four cities of the Veronese league, and of Ferrara, Bologna, and Modena, with delegates from Venice. It was agreed, without dissolving either of the existing leagues, to stand united as one city against the Emperor, and to resist all claims of taxes not paid before the accession of Frederic. Venice stipulated that she should not be called upon to aid except with ships and within certain limits, which may be roughly stated as the Venetian lagoon and the rivers flowing into it;<sup>1</sup> on the other hand she would not expect the allied cities to help her in defending her own frontiers from the mouth of the Adige to that of the Livenza. Whatever money Venice should receive from the Byzantine or Sicilian court she was to divide among the allied cities, after paying the expenses she had incurred in helping the league of Verona or in sending embassies to Constantinople or Palermo. A federal Board consisting of the rectors (*i.e.* one of the consuls of each city which had consuls) directed the affairs of the league and assessed the contributions of the several members.

At the end of the year a significant accession to the league took place. One of the Malaspina family concluded,

<sup>1</sup> The Po is also specially mentioned. See the oath to the agreement or Concordia given in Muratori, *Antiq.*, iv. col. 261, 262. The words relating to Venice are also to be found in Romanin, ii. p. 82, note 1. The words are "debent juvare usque in Brentam, et usque in Civitate Nova, si opus fuerit, et usque in Mestrem et Baledello et per mare et per Padum et per alias aquas dulces, ubi possunt." Baledello or Balestrello, according to a various reading, is an unknown place.

by the mediation of Piacenza, an offensive and defensive alliance with the Lombard league. In return for a large sum of money he promised to allow Piacenza to appoint castellans to some of his castles, and either himself and his wife, or his son and his son's wife, should, as long as war lasted, take up their residence in Piacenza.<sup>1</sup> The feudal princes of North Italy had been up to this time generally staunch supporters of the Imperial cause; this appears to be the first instance of what became common later, the abandonment by a noble of his feudal isolation in the country for a share in the privileges and duties of civil life.

Novara and Vercelli were the next cities to join the league. The Emperor did not feel sure even of Pavia, and retreated to the mountainous country near Asti, where he moved about from one to another of several castles of the Montferrats in those regions. He was reduced to such extremities that he thought of recognising Alexander as Pope, and consulted some Carthusian and Cistercian monks as to a release from his Würzburg oath. But as soon as he found he could rely on the loyalty of the Count of Savoy and thus secure his retreat over the Alps he broke off the negotiations, and in March 1168 passed the Mont Cenis to Grenoble and thence to Geneva, having to escape from Susa in disguise. He found the bishops of Burgundy all on the side of Alexander: wrath and disappointment made him cruel, which he seldom was, but his hopes of recovering and extending his authority in Italy were as high as ever.

Meanwhile the number of cities in the league rapidly increased. Tortona, that Frederic had destroyed, was rebuilt. Lodi and other cities were made to depose their schismatic bishops and elect Alexandrines in their place:

<sup>1</sup> This stipulation is quoted by Gieseb., v. 591, from the text of Malaspina's agreement with Piacenza in *Vignati Storia Diplomatica della liga Lombardica*, pp. 149-152. It does not appear in his treaty with the league in Muratori, *Antiq.*, iv. col. 263, 264.

Alexander himself was invited to come to Lombardy, and, though he did not venture to leave his safe refuge at Benevento, he allowed the new fortified city that was being built in the Montferrat country to be named Alessandria after him. This new city, in a situation, at the junction of two rivers, that might be made powerful for defence, was also well placed for attacking or watching Pavia, the one city left faithful to the Emperor, and the lords of Montferrat and Biandrate: it was from the first populous, and was allowed to receive immigrants from other Lombard cities, but its houses were hastily built and rude, and the Pavians in mockery called it the City of Straw. It was at once admitted a full member of the league and sent its consuls to the diet of Lodi in May 1168, which agreed to a kind of federal constitution for the league, the general effect of which was to transfer the main rights of sovereignty from the several cities to the league and its board of rectors. The old Imperial rights, *i.e.* those prior to the Roncaglia edicts, were allowed to continue, but a clause in a treaty between Asti and Alessandria provides for the contingency of the Imperial power ceasing to exist: two petty Lombard cities were bold enough to contemplate the possibility of the dominion of the Eternal City coming to an end. The foundation of Alessandria proved, during the rest of the Lombard troubles, an obstacle in the way of peace.

During the winter of 1167-8, and for five or six years afterwards, the Emperor stayed in Germany. There was much important work going on there, the general effect of which was to increase the Emperor's power, but we are more concerned with his foreign policy. He was constantly endeavouring to persuade Louis of France and Manuel of Constantinople to take part openly against Pope Alexander: the prospect of a joint crusade was held out as an inducement to a termination of the Papal schism in favour of the Emperor's Pope. During those years the affairs of the Christians in Palestine had got sensibly worse; Saladin

had succeeded in bringing to an end the rule of the Fatimite khalifs in Egypt, had himself adhered to the Sunnite sect, the Fatimites having been Shiites, and thus enabled the two khalifates of Cairo and Bagdad to act in concert. The Moslem schism had been easier to heal than the Papal schism, and the power of the united Mussulman world was in the hands of a warrior and statesman. Another event of these five or six years was the death of the Antipope Paschal, and the election and recognition by the Emperor of Calixtus III. as his successor. This was an obstacle to the restoration of peace, but the general course of events was rather turning in favour of a reconciliation.

Frederic's relations with Manuel of Constantinople improved at this time: partly because Manuel had fallen out with Venice, partly because his design of adding Italy to the Eastern Empire had been shipwrecked: the latter result was due to the Pope's refusal to go to this extremity of hostility with Frederic, even more than to the loss of the Venetian alliance: Frederic naturally felt grateful to Alexander for his resistance to Manuel. Moreover Western Europe was obviously concentrating its forces on the side of Alexander. Some parts of Tuscany and the March of Ancona, with Rome itself, still adhered to the Antipope: but in the whole of North Italy, France, and England, and far the greater part of Germany, as well as in outlying countries such as Denmark, Poland, and Hungary, the opinion of churchmen had decided in favour of Alexander. It was a significant fact that when Henry the Emperor's young son was crowned King of the Romans at Aachen in August 1169, the provision that an elected king should swear to observe the Würzburg resolutions, *i.e.* under no circumstances to recognise Alexander as Pope, was evaded. Since 1167 the abbots of the two great monasteries, Clairvaux and Citeaux, which at this time had acquired so great an influence in Europe, had been endeavouring to mediate a peace between Frederic and Alexander. In 1169 Eberhard,

Bishop of Bamberg, a leading adherent of the Emperor, was joined with them, and though at first the Lombards, whose interests were deeply concerned in keeping up the quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor, refused to let him pass through their territory to Benevento, early in 1170 the Pope prevailed upon them to remove this prohibition, and himself moved into the Papal States to Veroli to meet Eberhard. He would, however, give him no answer till he had consulted with the deputies of the Lombard league, and he wrote to the rectors promising that he would make no peace that did not include them. But, whether the Lombards liked it or not, no peace was yet possible, for the Emperor felt himself bound by his Würzburg oath not to recognise Alexander as Pope, and Alexander insisted on recognition as a condition precedent to any compromise. He impressed upon the Emperor's envoy that, in refusing recognition, Frederic was setting himself against the matured opinion of the whole Western Church, and all other crowned heads in Europe. The maxim "Securus judicat orbis terrarum" was, as at other times, pressed into the Pope's service. It probably had some effect on the Emperor, who, however, on the Bishop of Bamberg's return, prepared to resume open hostilities with the Pope. Soon after this the murder of Becket came, an event that could not but make the Emperor hesitate before such a breach with the Church. The same inauspicious event had made the King of England more anxious to conciliate the Pope, and Louis of France had in consequence become more friendly to the Emperor. Thus many events were concurring towards peace. In May 1171 negotiations for healing the schism were again begun, but for a long time made no decisive progress. Meanwhile a series of events affecting Italy led to a considerable rearrangement of the forces in conflict there. With some of these events our history is very nearly concerned.

Since 1167 Manuel had been cooling in his friendship

towards Venice. In July of that year a Greek army had invaded Hungary, and won a great victory at Sirmium on the Save. As a result of this the Dalmatian coast, which Stephen III. of Hungary had taken from Venice, slowly and gradually passed into the hands of Manuel. By 1171 most of these cities were Byzantine: Zara had been retaken by the Venetians, who were at this time in intimate relations with Hungary; two sons of the doge Vitale Michiel—Nicolas, Count of Arbe, and Leonard, Count of Apsara or Ossero<sup>1</sup>—being married, the former to a daughter of King Ladislaw II., the latter to a daughter of the Duke of Dees, a great Transylvanian potentate. The Venetian government was always sensitive as to the intrusion of any foreign power in the Adriatic, which it claimed the right to consider as Venetian waters: it had often been hostile to Hungary on this ground, and this feeling of hostility was now transferred to the Greek Emperor. With such a temper prevailing, the powerful and highly privileged Venetian colony at Constantinople became a difficulty and a danger for Manuel. It was in 1169 that the treaty with Genoa, granting the Genoese a quarter of Constantinople for a trading settlement, to which I have before referred,<sup>2</sup> as a means of balancing the

<sup>1</sup> Ossero was a town in Cherso, which, like Arbe, was an island in the Quarnero, and had been allowed to select two Venetians, one of whom was to be appointed count by the doge. Each had selected a son of the doge (Romanin, ii. 77).

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 280. The treaty of 1169 was not acceptable to Genoa, and was revised in the following year. The revised terms granted a quarter within Constantinople instead of one in the suburbs, and omitted an undertaking to act as a friendly power in the case of Manuel being at war with any enemy, "crowned or not," a stipulation manifestly referring to the Western Emperor, with whom Genoa was anxious to remain on good terms. The Genoese government also refused to accept 28,000 perperi sent from Constantinople as a retaining fee to engage them against Frederic. See Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels* (French translation), i. pp. 204, 205, 209-211. The references to *Annal. Jan.*, at p. 211, are to be found at pp. 247 and 235, 236, of vol. i. of the *Annals of Caffaro* and his continuators in the *Fonti*, published by the Istituto Storico Italiano.



power of Venice, was concluded. In 1170 a similar treaty with Pisa brought a Pisan colony back. All this must have increased the exasperation of Venice; and when the new Genoese colony was attacked, and their houses burnt and pillaged, Manuel threw the blame on the Venetians, though the Genoese preferred to attribute it to his own native subjects. The Greek historian Cinnamus assumes Manuel's charge to be true, and assigns it as the cause of his subsequent conduct to the Venetians;<sup>1</sup> but it seems more probable that this was merely a pretext, and that his real cause of quarrel with them was, as Venetian chronicles say, the refusal of the doge to join in an alliance with him against the Western Empire: we know that Manuel was at this time in possession of Ancona, and contemplated a restoration of the Exarchate of Ravenna, and we can easily understand that in those circumstances Venice would lend no countenance to his schemes.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever may have been the cause, on the 12th of March 1171, the feast of St. Gregory, all the Venetians resident, whether in Constantinople or elsewhere in Manuel's dominions, were arrested and their ships and property confiscated: in anticipation of resistance, troops had been brought to the capital and its defences strengthened. The plot must have been for some time premeditated; it is even said by Dandolo that as early as 1168 the Venetian government had suspicions of what was coming, and forbade its subjects to make voyages to Romania; and that on this Manuel had made renewed protestations of friendship and offers of more extensive trading privileges, and that tempted by these no less than 20,000

<sup>1</sup> We do not know the date of this attack on the Genoese, and should naturally have thought that it was later than 1171; but Cinnamus was a contemporary and an Imperial notary, *i.e.* an important official person, and could not have attributed the arrest of the Venetians to a cause that was later in date.

<sup>2</sup> The question is well discussed by Heyd, *ut supra*, i. pp. 215-217.

Venetians in the few following years went out to the Eastern Empire. Two ambassadors, Ziani and Mastopietro (or Malipiero), went with them; these at first suspected unfriendly intentions, but were reassured by the Emperor. If this rather doubtful story is true, Manuel's motive was no doubt to increase the amount of property and the number of hostages he could seize.<sup>1</sup> The 20,000 would, of course, not have all settled in the East; many of them would have been at any moment on the sea, going or returning; but all accounts agree that 10,000 were arrested in Constantinople alone; that they overflowed all the prisons, and had to be confined in the convents, while some were after a few days released on bail, of whom a few managed to escape by the help of a Venetian captain of an Imperial ship. These and others from Almyro, where the seizures were not successfully executed, brought the news to Venice.<sup>2</sup> At first it was proposed to ask for explanations at Constantinople; but as the fugitives came in, the popular indignation grew so vehement that war was resolved upon, and 100 galleys and twenty transports at once got ready for sea. By the end of September a fleet set sail under the doge in person; the subjects of the republic in Istria and Dalmatia had

<sup>1</sup> The Venetian residents would have been something in the position of Jews in the Western countries, rich and unpopular strangers, whom the government could plunder without much risk. The account of Manuel's treachery in the *Hist. Ducum Venet.* (Pertz, xiv. pp. 78, 79) is very full. He was anxious to attract them to his capital: "videns eos divitiis habundare et virtutibus refulgere." They go into Romania: "portantes secum pecunias infinitas et arma copiosa et naves multas et magnas." The Emperor flatters the two ambassadors, calling the Venetians his sons; promising that they shall have all Romania, and that any one injuring them shall be hung.

<sup>2</sup> The fugitives from Almyro were enough to fill twenty ships. Almyro is in Thessaly, a port on the Gulf of Volo. Many existing documents show that there was a flourishing colony of Venetian merchants there in the latter half of the twelfth century. See Heyd, i. pp. 245, 246 (French translation), who quotes *Hist. Ducum Venet.* from Pertz, xiv. pp. 78, 79.

orders to join the expedition on its way, and all Venetians resident abroad were called home to serve in the war.

After some landings for plunder on the coasts or isles of Greece, the fleet reached Negropont, where the doge was persuaded to enter into negotiations, and meanwhile to go into winter quarters at Scio. There a pestilence broke out in the fleet, which spread like wildfire in the crowded ships and amid the relaxed discipline of an idle winter. Thousands died, and neither movements of the ships from Scio to Sta. Panachia, Mitylene,<sup>1</sup> Stalimeni, and Skiros, nor the burning and sinking of infected ships, stopped the progress of the plague. The fleet waited in the Ægean till the ambassadors sent to Constantinople, Enrico Dandolo (whose name we now hear for the first time) and Filippo Greco, returned convinced that Manuel's only design was to gain time, and then sailed back to Venice, carrying the plague with it. It was in this unfortunate expedition that the Giustiniani family, like the Fabii in old Roman history, lost all their men of full age, but one who was a monk in a convent at home: the legend—for such it probably is—says that he was brought out of his convent and received a dispensation to marry the doge's daughter, who bore him several sons to save the house of his fathers from extinction, after which both he and his wife retired to convents, that the service of God might not suffer from the discharge of a sacred family duty.

The disappointment at Venice was so great at the failure of the expedition and the introduction of the plague that soon spread all over the city, that the doge was very ill received at an assembly held in his palace. So formidable was the attitude of the people that he endeavoured to take refuge in the monastery of San Zaccaria, but was attacked

<sup>1</sup> The *Hist. Ducum Ven.* calls Mitylene "Medolini." "Stalimeni" is the ancient Lemnos (*u.s.*, p. 80). There is a small island in Panagia just south of Thasos; but the name is probably common of those parts.

and killed before he could reach it.<sup>1</sup> This was on the 28th of May 1172.

Marco, a chronicler of the next century, who had good information, but appears, like his contemporary Martino da Canale,<sup>2</sup> to have had a turn for picturesque narrative, says that the doge Michieli, before his assassination, had had time to make preparations for another expedition to Romania, but that these were carried no farther, as Manuel gave orders for the release of the imprisoned Venetians; but in this he differs from all the contemporary authorities,<sup>3</sup> both Greek and Venetian, who agree that the two powers continued at enmity till 1175, when Manuel was alarmed at the consequences of his violent action, which had driven the Venetians not only to ally themselves with the King of Sicily, but even to aid the Archbishop of Mainz, Frederic's lieutenant in Italy, in the siege of Ancona, a half-Greek city, which was alone willing to bring Italy again under Byzantine rule. The siege, to which Venice sent forty

<sup>1</sup> The *Historia Ducum Venetorum* (Pertz SS., xiv. p. 80) says: "Et per pontem transiens ad Stum Zachariam fugere cepit. Et cum ante fores ecclesie venisset, quidam latro nefandissimus ei fuit obvius, qui sine interrogatione cultello eum peremit et fugit. Sed dux, se percussum sentiens, sacerdoti cuidam qui ad aperiendas januas obvius ei exierat, confessus migravit ad Dominum." The name of the latro was Marco Cassulo (or Casolo); he was "suspensus a Comune Venetiae" (*Altinate*, Pertz, *ut sup.*, p. 61), and his house in the Calle della Rasse destroyed (Romanin, ii. 96).

<sup>2</sup> Both Marco and M. da Canale are printed in *Archivio Storico Italiano* (1st series), viii. The former wrote in Latin, the latter in charming old French. He says (p. 268): "Por ce que langue francoise cort parmi le monde, at est la plus delitable a lire et a oir que nule autre, me sui ie entremis de translater l'ancienne estoire des Veneciens de latin en francois." He began to write before 1268, and is thus a little later than Villehardouin, and about contemporary with Joinville.

<sup>3</sup> These are *Hist. Ducum Venet.* in Pertz SS., xiv. p. 81, and on the Greek side Nicetas, p. 225 *seq.* (Bonn.) The latter is the only writer who says the prisoners were released even as soon as 1175. Dandolo, who was of course much later, but was a doge, and had access to all state records, says that they continued in confinement till the reign of Andronicus, 1182-85.

galleys,<sup>1</sup> lasted from April till October 1173, and was unsuccessful, the city being relieved in the end by an army of Lombards and Romagnuols under the Countess of Bertinoro, a Roman lady of the Frangipani family.<sup>2</sup>

This short war with Manuel and its disastrous consequences were the cause of more than one important change in the constitution and government of Venice. The first of these changes was the institution of a National Debt and a State Bank. As nothing of the kind was known before this in Europe, state credit did not exist, and a voluntary loan would not have been productive. Any loan to succeed, therefore, must be forced. Accordingly commissioners were appointed, called *Inquisitori*, to go through the six sestieri of the city, parish by parish, and ascertain the income of every parishioner, and his expenditure (calculated, it must be presumed, according to some uniform standard corresponding to his station, family, or necessities). One per cent. on the net income, after deduction of expenditure, was exacted by the Chamber of Loans (*Camera degli imprestidi*) as a forced loan at 4 per cent., the whole revenue of the city being mortgaged as security for repayment. The payment of the half-yearly interest of 2 per cent. was spread over the half year, the six sestieri casting lots every 1st of March and 1st of September to determine the month in which the creditors belonging to each should receive their interest: this not only secured impartial treatment of the several districts, but introduced an element of gambling that has its attractions even for the soberest investors.<sup>3</sup> The right to receive the

<sup>1</sup> Ancona could not be reduced without a fleet to blockade the harbour. So, when it held out till the end of autumn, and a fleet could no longer keep the sea, the siege had to be raised.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, ii. 99; Giesebrecht, v. 742. The authorities are well discussed in a note of Giesebrecht, vi. 513-515.

<sup>3</sup> An old chronicle quoted on this occasion in Romanin, ii. 84, n. 1, gives us the names of the six sestieri, as if they were new divisions

interest could be transferred from hand to hand, and its value will have varied according to the financial condition or prospects of the republic, and soon a bank was established, and bonds (*obligazioni di stato*) issued, with regular *estinzioni* or drawings for repayment. The bonds and the bank became from this time regular institutions at Venice. In 1291 the bonds had become so recognised a kind of property, and we may add so common a subject of speculation, that a law was passed, providing that where a dowry was repaid, in cases of divorce, the bonds (*imprestiti*) should be taken at the current price on the Piazza, and not at their nominal value.

About the same time we find the fighting sea force of the republic organised in a more systematic manner. For all ordinary occasions, whether of defence or conquest, in both of which the citizens felt that their personal interest as well as their patriotism was concerned, the voluntary service of citizens, who were paid, and also had a chance of prize-money, was relied on. These volunteers formed the *forza ordinaria*. Dalmatia and Istria, and other dependent or allied communities, were bound under conventions to furnish contingents constituting the *forza sussidiaria*; for these the city itself provided ships and rigging, the dependencies the rest of the equipment, as well as the crew. When it was thought to be necessary, the government engaged in all foreign countries with which Venice had commercial relations mercenaries, constituting the *forza straordinaria*. The age of the *condottieri* was already beginning; Brabançon mercenaries were an important element in the armies Frederic Barbarossa brought into the field against the Lombard cities, and no troops of the time inspired so much terror.

formed at this time, viz. St. Mark, Castello, and Canareggio on one side the Great Canal, and Sta. Croce, San Polo, and Dorsoduro on the other side. He tells us that Murano was included in Sta. Croce, and Spinalunga or the Giudecca in Dorsoduro. The *sestieri* retain these names at the present day.



More extensive constitutional reforms affecting the power of the doge and his mode of election were made in the interregnum that followed Michiel's murder. A law attributed to Flabianico, the doge who was elected after the fall of the Orseoli, had instituted two counsellors to advise the doge in all the executive business of his office, and had required him in matters of greater importance to consult the wisest and most respected among the citizens, the Consiglio de' Pregadi that had existed from still earlier times. The law had been very much of a dead letter; the two counsellors we find hardly ever mentioned, and the vagueness of the law allowed the doge to decide when to summon the Pregadi, and whom to summon. The new law now established provided that twelve electors, two from each of the six sestieri, should every year nominate forty counsellors each, forming a body of 480 in all, to be renewed every Michaelmas. This Council had in its hands the appointment to all public offices, and is spoken of frequently<sup>1</sup> as Comitia Majora. It appears to have had some legislative power, but it did not displace the Pregadi, who still were summoned and consulted, especially in questions concerning foreign affairs, and who became shortly after this the germ of the senate.

The institution of this body of electors in the year 1173 is often spoken of as the first establishment of the Great Council,<sup>2</sup> but some body under the name of Mayor Consiglio is mentioned in a document of 1047 as making a law,<sup>3</sup> and may perhaps have been a distinct body from

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* in the dialogue *de Republicâ Venetorum* of Donatus Jannotius. This dialogue is in Grævius, *Thesaurus Antiq. Italiæ*, tom. v. Pars I. The author, Jannotius or Jannutius Manettus, was a Florentine senator and scholar of the time of Pope Nicholas V., *i.e.* of the middle of the fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* by Amelot de la Houssaye, *Gouvt. de Venise*, pp. 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Novissima Veneta Statuta* (1729), p. 12. I am rather doubtful as to the date 1047. Many of the ordinances printed in this collection have "in Consilio Rogatorum," or "in Pregadi," or "in Magno Consilio," with the date added. The phrase for an ordinance passing was "Vadit pars, quòd, &c."

the Pregadi or "Consilium Rogatorum," and also from the "Arengo" or tumultuary assembly of all the citizens, that confirmed by acclamation either laws or elections. However this may have been, this Council of 480 was the precursor of the Great Council of later times. We cannot doubt that to it was at this time confided the duty of selecting the eleven electors who were to choose the new doge. Till now the theory had been that the doge was chosen by the unanimous acclamation of all the people, and this tumultuous form of election had not always had a satisfactory result. The change was not likely to be popular, and caused murmurs; to lessen or disguise the magnitude of it, it was provided that the electors should meet in public in the church of St. Mark, and that the candidate chosen should be introduced to the people assembled there for their approval. The latter soon degenerated into a mere formality, but the publicity of the election may have been a real security for an honest choice. Another change made at this time was the increase of the Consiglieri del Doge from two to six. This, like the constitution of the 480 electors, was meant to lessen the independent power of the doge.<sup>1</sup> As some compensation for this loss of power, the ceremonial dignity of his office was increased; the Capi di contrada, parochial officers with certain administrative and judicial duties, had every four years to take an oath of allegiance to him on behalf of their constituents. He was to be accompanied by a cortège of nobles and citizens, whenever he left his palace on public business, while immediately after his election he was carried round the Piazza of St. Mark in a circular chair called the "Pozzetto," from its resemblance to the circular wells common in Venice, from which he scattered

<sup>1</sup> The doge and his six counsellors formed the "Signoria," the Chief Executive Committee of the republic, which in later times was called "Consilium Minus" or "Consiglietto." The Latin equivalent for Signoria, "Dominatio," occurs first in a document of the time of Vitale Michieli II. (Jannotius, *Dial.*, p. 47).

money among the people. The sum so distributed was subsequently limited to not less than 100 nor more than 500 ducats.

The new form of election was put in force at once. Eleven electors were chosen "de comuni voto et concordia totius populi," who, after being sworn to impartiality, un-animously chose Sebastiano Ziani, a man described as prudent, discreet and kind, and very rich.<sup>1</sup> He found the state of the republic's finances, owing to the war with Manuel and the subsidies that had been paid, and that were still due, to the Lombard league, so serious that it was urgently necessary to patch up a peace with Manuel. Enrico Dandolo and Filippo Greco, who, as we have seen, had been sent to Constantinople by the late doge, had been discourteously treated by Manuel, and it is said that orders had been given to seize and blind Dandolo, when he managed to escape. Some writers even say that some actual injury was done to his eyes, but whether he was really blind or not at the later time, when he played so important a part in history, is one of the most curious instances of conflicting testimony as to a matter of fact. The *Historia Ducum Veneticorum* appended to the so-called Altino Chronicle, which is a contemporary authority, says that as soon as he saw the two ambassadors returned safe and sound, the doge sent other three ambassadors, Vital Dandolo, Manasse Badoer, and Vitale Falier, to Constantinople;<sup>2</sup> and this may be taken as conclusive that, whether "blind old Dandolo" was really blind or not at a later time, he certainly was not blinded now by Manuel.<sup>3</sup> The three new ambassadors could come to no

<sup>1</sup> "Diviciis infinitis exuberantem" is the phrase of the chronicler (*Hist. Ducum Venet.*, Pertz SS., xiv. 80).

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. St. It.*, viii. p. 168; Pertz SS., xiv. p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> This is the conclusion of Romanin, ii. p. 97, and Hurter, *Innoc. III.*, i. p. 354 (Fr. tr.). Hopf, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, in Ersch and Gruber, 85, p. 190, is inclined to believe the old story. He is a good authority, and knew the history of this period well, but he does not always quote his authorities.

agreement with the Byzantine court, and the doge, seeing no escape from a continuance of the war, sent ambassadors—Enrico Dandolo again, and Giovanni Badoer—to make an alliance with King William of Sicily. These in Sclavonia, as they made their way down the eastern coast of the Adriatic, met ambassadors coming from Constantinople and returned with them to Venice. So anxious were the Venetians to make peace that they at once despatched Leonardo Michiel, Count of Ossero, the last doge's son, with Marino Michiel and Filippo Greco, on a final mission to Constantinople; but when this resulted in another failure, and it was evident that Manuel's design was only to gain time, they determined to send a new embassy, Aurio Mastopietro and Aurio Daurio, to Apulia, who, in September 1175, concluded a treaty of peace for twenty years with King William, by which Venetian traders were granted great privileges in the Sicilian dominions, and the king undertook not to invade Venetian lands on the coasts of the Adriatic from Ragusa to Venice.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The terms of the treaty are given in Tafel and Thomas, i. No. lxxv.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE PEACE OF VENICE

MEANWHILE the Emperor Frederic was again in Italy. He had crossed the Alps from his Burgundian dominions, and in September 1174 had taken and burnt Susa. The six years of strenuous activity that he had spent in Germany had increased and consolidated his power there, but had not enabled him to bring into Italy so great a force as had accompanied him in his former invasions. Henry the Lion, whose territory and power equalled or exceeded what the Emperor had himself inherited, was still his loyal subject and friend, but he would not send a contingent into Italy. He had spent the year 1172 in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem on an almost royal scale, in which he had been received in the most distinguished manner by Manuel at Constantinople, but had probably refused to concur in his schemes for the recovery of Italy. Henry's hands were generally full with operations against Wends or Abrodites on the Baltic coast, Christianising and civilising work that was changing the face of society in those parts.

The army that Frederic led into Italy is said to have numbered no more than 8000, and a sensible proportion of these were Brabançon and other mercenaries. On the other hand, Frederic could feel reasonably secure of attack from other neighbours. Louis of France was unusually friendly, and moreover fully occupied by a quarrel with Henry II. of England. Manuel too was friendly, and, since his breach with Venice, less disposed to aid the Lombard or Veronese league. Hungary also had been brought

to submission. Two events furnishing striking evidence of Frederic's high estimation in the world occurred during these years. Saladin sent an embassy to his court at Easter 1173, proposing a marriage between his son and one of the Emperor's daughters, and offering upon the marriage to release all his Christian prisoners, and himself and his son to become Christians; and on Frederic's arrival in Italy in the autumn of 1174, a message from Amalric, the King of Jerusalem, reached him, complaining that all hope for his kingdom from France, England, or Constantinople had failed, and that only the fear of the great Emperor of the West prevented the infidels from driving him from his throne.

In Italy the efforts of Archbishop Christian, and the example of loyalty shown by Pisa and Genoa, had prevented the Tuscan cities and princes from joining the Lombard league, and dissension had been making progress in the league itself. The restored greatness of Milan had given unbrage to Cremona, and Como and Pavia were anxious to fall away from the alliance into which they had been forced. Some of the noblemen who had also been forced to join the league, as Otto of Biandrate, who had made away his lands to Vercelli and received them again as fiefs under the city, and William of Montferrat, who had been compelled after a defeat of his troops to promise to obey the orders of the consuls of Cremona, Milan, Piacenza, and Lodi, were burning for an opportunity of freeing themselves. Montferrat was indignant that he, a high and mighty prince, who considered himself all but the equal of kings, should be in a position of something like subjection to Lombard burgesses, and he was urgent in his entreaties to the Emperor to come southward.

The Lombard cities were at times suspicious of Pope Alexander, and at one time (in 1171) the rectors of the March of Verona stopped a cardinal who was passing the Alps on a mission to the Emperor. But really it was Pope



Alexander who kept the league together through all the mutual jealousies and suspicions tending to disruption. His legates presided over meetings of the rectors at Piacenza in October 1172, and at Modena in October 1173. At the latter a revision of the terms of alliance was agreed to, and special advantages were offered to Cremona to keep her in the league. But, if the Pope was not lukewarm, Venice certainly was; she was unrepresented at the Modena assembly, and just before that her fleet had been helping the Emperor's chancellor in the siege of Ancona. Since her breach with Manuel, she was likely to feel more friendly towards the Emperor of the West.

As the Emperor advanced eastward from Susa, Turin and Asti submitted to him: Pavia, with Alba and Acqui and the Marquis of Montferrat and the Count of Biandrate, voluntarily joined him. Montferrat and Pavia were eager for the destruction of Alessandria, and Frederic was ready enough to comply with their wish for the punishment of the Straw City, whose creation was a symbol of the resistance to his new Imperial policy, and whose very name could not but be displeasing to him. But the stars in their courses seemed to fight for Alessandria: storms and floods filled her ditch and surrounded her with inaccessible marshes; a severe frost blocked the roads from Pavia, and caused scarcity of food for men and horses in the besiegers' camp. The Bohemian allies, who had followed the Emperor reluctantly, deserted about Christmas and preferred a winter passage of the Alps to the hardships of the siege. Though the Emperor brought up skilled artisans from Genoa to build engines for the siege, the garrison held out and rivalled him in their warlike machinery: it was said that the Straw City had been as stout as a city of iron, and the Emperor would get no straw from it into his barns. But it was soon in straits for want of food, and called on the league to relieve it. For this purpose, and also to help Bologna, whose castle of San Cassiano was

being attacked by Archbishop Christian, a meeting of rectors in February 1175 called on the several towns for contingents of horse and foot and contributions of money, the rectors of four cities to act as a committee for the relief of Alessandria in the West, those of four other cities for the relief of San Cassiano in the East. The latter was in the more urgent danger, and a force of 3000 cavalry was brought into the field early in March, but was too late to save the castle. On its fall, Imola and Faenza, no longer constrained by it to adhere to Bologna, forsook the league, of which Rimini and Ravenna had before now ceased to be more than nominal members. Meanwhile the relief of Alessandria had to stand over, and on the night of Good Friday, in violation of the truce of God that prevailed in the Holy Week, the Emperor's troops got into the town through a mine, but were not able to maintain themselves there, and had to retire with loss. On the morning of Easter Sunday (April 13th) the Emperor raised the siege and marched to Pavia, which was threatened by the army raised for the relief of Alessandria. On the 15th of April the Emperor was at Voghera, the Lombard army, under Ezzelin da Romano from the March of Verona (a name to be much heard of in future years) and Anselm da Dovera from Cremona, were at Montebello between Casteggio and Voghera facing him.

The Emperor's army was weary and discouraged, and the Lombards were probably uncertain of some members of the league, especially of Cremona, which had sent no contingent and was known to be jealous of Milan and anxious for friendship with Pavia. Both parties were therefore ready to negotiate, and preliminaries of peace were soon agreed upon: we do not know the terms in detail, but we know that generally the Emperor's sovereignty was recognised, but the more extended claims made in the Roncaglia decrees were abandoned. Six umpires were to decide all points of detail, which, if they could not agree, were to

be referred to the consuls of Cremona. The Emperor was unwilling to recognise Alessandria as a member of the league, and would call it nothing but the Straw City in the formal documents ; but security was taken in the way then usual, by the oath of conspicuous persons on the other side, that, though excluded from the treaty, she should have the benefit of an armistice.

The six umpires could not agree, and the consuls of Cremona had to make an award : their decision differed from the terms demanded by the Lombards in two important points ; it did not make the peace conditional on the Emperor's reconciliation with Pope Alexander, but merely provided that each member of the league should be at liberty to settle its own relations with the Pope and the Church ; it did not recognise Alessandria as a member of the league, but stipulated that its inhabitants should be allowed, on its destruction, to return to their old homes, from which they had migrated at the time of its foundation. Feeling on these points was so hot in the Lombard cities that the people overbore their rulers, and insisted on a rejection of the treaty. This angered the Emperor and embittered his relations with the league, as he now considered the rectors to be perjured, being unable to comply with the award they had sworn to accept. But he had no army sufficient to chastise them, or even to resume operations against Alessandria : all he could do was to endeavour to come to a separate agreement with Pope Alexander. Accordingly three cardinals came to Pavia, and were warmly welcomed by the Emperor, who listened patiently to some plain words of reproof from the Bishop of Ostia. As between Pope and Emperor a reconciliation might probably have been made now, but the Pope was bound to make no agreement that did not include the Lombards, and between them and the Emperor there was absolute divergence of views, the Emperor insisting on the destruction of Alessandria, the Lombards on its maintenance as a member of

their league. So the negotiations ended in nothing, and in the early spring of 1176 the Emperor again attacked Alexandria, but was repulsed, while an army for its defence was being raised in Lombardy. The Emperor appealed to the German princes for help, particularly to Henry the Lion, whom it is said that he met at Chiavenna, and there fell at his feet, and entreated him not to fail the Empire in its extreme need; but Henry would not help unless the Emperor would grant him, as the price of his aid, Goslar, the richest city of Germany, a condition which Frederic could not accept without dishonour. This refusal of Henry, the first breach of a life-long friendship with the Emperor, Frederic could not forgive; many things may have caused it, but the most potent cause was probably that an Italian campaign would have interfered with his ambitious policy in Germany, where he thought he was so strong as to be safe from the Emperor's anger. Events showed that in this calculation he was grievously mistaken.<sup>1</sup>

But though Henry refused his aid, the Archbishop of Cologne, who crossed the Alps to call for reinforcements, found a zealous response from many princes, especially in his own Rhenish and Westphalian neighbourhood. The great Church dignitaries were as usual foremost; two armies under the Archbishops of Cologne and Magdeburg crossed the Alps, and were joyfully welcomed by the Emperor at Como. Their numbers were less than he expected, not more than 2000, but he hoped to be joined at Milan by a Lombard army from Pavia. The Milanese did not give him much time; leaving the city in charge of some allies from Brescia or Verona, they marched out with their carroccio to Legnano on the Olona, ten or eleven miles distant from the city, and some four from the Emperor's camp. There, on the 29th of May, a party of 700 knights from the Lombard army, sent out to reconnoitre, came

<sup>1</sup> On this subject Giesebrecht, v. 777-785, is very instructive, as he always is in matters relating to Henry the Lion.

upon some German cavalry with the Emperor in person, and an engagement began. The Imperialists, though in far inferior numbers, drove back the enemy and routed some cavalry of Brescia and Verona; but the Milanese cavalry and infantry round the carroccio fought stubbornly hand to hand for several hours, and the lances of the citizen infantry were found formidable obstacles to the charge of the feudal chivalry. The Emperor's standard-bearer was killed, and his standard fell; he was himself dismounted in the thick of the fight in sight of his men, already discouraged at the stout resistance they met with. At sunset he was obliged to order a retreat, and soon a wild flight began to the Ticino, in which many important persons were taken prisoners, and the Emperor was missing for some days, and thought to be killed. He reappeared, however, under cover of night, at Pavia, and found that his losses had been less serious than might have been expected, and that his cause was by no means desperate. But he could hope for no reinforcements sufficient to win a decisive advantage, and therefore resumed negotiations for peace. The Cremonese, who were uneasy at the great part played by Milan in the war, came forward as mediators with the proposals their consuls had made under the treaty of Montebello: these had been rejected by both parties then; now the Emperor was ready to accept them as a basis, but the league would not hear of them. The Emperor could well afford to let things remain *in statu quo*, for the rejection of the Cremonese proposals was certain to increase Cremona's leaning towards the Empire, and make a dangerous rent in the unity of the league. He could employ the interval of peace in settling terms with Alexander. He was too experienced a statesman to let his temper, or the rash oath he had taken at Würzburg eleven years before, thrust aside the conviction that, in the matter of the schism, time and the general opinion of the world had decided against him and in favour of Alexander. The clergy

of France and England and a constantly increasing number of those of Germany recognised Alexander: in North Italy he was not only looked up to as "Catholic and Universal Pope" but as representing Italian independence and municipal liberty. Frederic, having once resolved to make a serious attempt at a reconciliation with Alexander, pressed the matter on: a lay brother of the Chartreuse of Silve Bénite and the abbot of the Cistercian convent of Bonnesvaux, both in Burgundy, seem to have felt the way for him. The Cistercian and Carthusian orders had throughout retained the Emperor's confidence, though openly on Alexander's side in the schism. Even before these emissaries had returned from Italy, the Archbishops of Magdeburg and Mainz and the Bishop of Worms, were hurried off to Anagni, where the Pope graciously received them in October.

The negotiations for peace were by no means simple, for the Pope would make no agreement exclusive of the King of Sicily or the Byzantine Emperor, or the Lombards, and there were also a number of bishoprics and other ecclesiastical dignities to which there were rival claimants, representing the hostile parties in the schism. Every one of these contentious questions had to be discussed and settled in the preliminaries. But at last, in November 1176, the Emperor's ambassadors returned to him at Annone on the Tanaro, where he was watching Alessandria, to announce that the important questions raised by the schism had been settled, and that the Pope would come northwards to help the Emperor to come to an agreement with the Lombards and the King of Sicily. The Emperor gladly gave him a safe-conduct: he had been so convinced of the necessity of a reconciliation that he had broken his Würzburg oath and would now let no minor difficulties stand in the way: the Pope was equally anxious for peace, probably because it would be a great gain for him to be undisputed head of an undivided Church, and had made the sacrifice involved in a recognition of some bishops consecrated by



the Antipopes. But he would not come to a Council summoned by the Emperor, and the idea of a Council that had been first intended to meet at Ravenna, afterwards at Bologna, was abandoned. It was agreed that he should come by sea to Venice, and the question where the Conferences should actually be held was left open. The Lombards were disappointed and angry, for, though the Pope constantly assured them he would make no peace without them, the friendship of the Emperor and Pope took away their most serviceable weapon against the Emperor. Tortona and Cremona about this time withdrew from the league, and Como, which was important from the fact that through her territory lay one of the great roads from Italy to Germany, was only kept in the league by force.

At length the Pope started from Benevento, and at the beginning of February 1177 was at the sanctuary of Mte. Gargano on the Eastern coast. Seven galleys sent by the King of Sicily were waiting for him at Viesti, with the Sicilian envoys to the Conference on board.<sup>1</sup> For four weeks he was delayed by contrary winds, and when he had got off on Shrove Tuesday (March 9th), a storm drove his ship to shelter at the little Island of Pelagosa, far out in the mouth of the Adriatic. But after this his voyage up the Adriatic was prosperous. The galley carrying him led the way with a light on its mast at night: the little fleet passing Lissa, reached Zara on the 13th, where the townspeople, at this time subjects of Hungary, who had never before been visited by a Pope, received him with Slav hymns and provided him with a white palfrey to ride on to the cathedral of St. Anastasia. He was again detained there by the wind for four days, but after this delay was able to coast along by the Quarnero and Istria, and to land on the 23rd of March on the Lido. There he was received by the doge's sons and other great dignitaries, and, after sleeping at the

<sup>1</sup> One of those was Romuald, Archbishop of Salerno, one of our chief authorities for these proceedings. His chronicle is in Pertz SS., vol. xix.

monastery of St. Nicholas, entered Venice the next day, and was received by the doge and the Patriarchs of Aquileia and Grado on their state gondolas: he went on board that of the doge, and, seated on its deck between the doge and the Patriarch of Grado, was rowed to the landing-place by the doge's palace—that on the Molo—and walked thence to San Marco to hear mass. After mass he blessed the crowd in the church and outside in the piazza, and was then taken on the doge's galley to the patriarch's palace by the church of San Silvestro, not far from where the Rialto bridge now stands, where he stayed during the whole of his sojourn at Venice. The next day was Lady Day, on which the Pope himself said mass in San Marco, and again on the fourth Sunday in Lent, Laetare Sunday as it was called, from the Introit "Laetare Jerusalem" appointed for it. On the latter day he presented to the doge the golden rose usually reserved for emperors or kings. The bishops and clergy from all the neighbourhood flocked to the city to show their respect to the Pope, and to convince him that those regions of Italy were still devoted to his cause.

The Emperor was at this time at Cesena, on his return from the March of Ancona; from thence he sent word to the Pope that he would fulfil his engagements made at Anagni, but that he could not agree to Bologna as the place for the Conferences, his chief representative, Christian of Mainz, being so unpopular in that city that it would be dangerous for him to visit it; he would prefer Ravenna or Venice, but the Pope objected to abandoning the place agreed upon with the Lombards. He was going to meet the bishops and rectors of the Lombard towns at Ferrara, and invited the cardinals now at Ravenna and representatives of the Emperor to meet him there and settle on a place for the peace negotiations. Accordingly on the 9th of April the Pope left Venice and sailed to Loreo, and thence up the Po to Ferrara, arriving there on the following day, a Sunday and a fair day, so that the town was thronged

with people from the country round, who gave the Pope a joyful welcome. The Patriarch of Aquileia and the envoys of the King of Sicily were with the Pope, and the next day the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna, with their suffragans, the rectors, consuls, and podestàs of many towns of the Lombard league, with many marquises and counts of the same regions, arrived. These the Pope addressed, dwelling on his zeal in coming so far from home at some risk to one of his age, in order that the peace which the Emperor was ready to conclude with him might not be made without them. The Lombards were inclined to blame him for listening to overtures for peace without consulting them; *they* had refused to talk of peace till the schism was healed. They would be glad to have peace now, but not at the cost of their ancient liberties. The Pope, without noticing the reproachful tone they had adopted, blessed them and sent them away. Three days after, seven plenipotentiaries from the Emperor, five German archbishops, and two great officials appeared prepared to treat on all the subjects in dispute, and the Pope named seven cardinals, and the Lombards four bishops and three laymen, to meet the Emperor's representatives. The King of Sicily's two envoys were to be present at the discussions; the Emperor himself did not propose to be present.

There was still some difficulty in choosing a place of meeting; the Lombards liked no place but Bologna, which the Emperor would not agree to: he would accept Venice, Pavia, or Ravenna, but argued for Venice as a place where all parties would be perfectly safe, and the Pope with some difficulty induced the Lombards to consent to Venice. The situation was in fact this—both Pope and Emperor were anxious to become friends, but the Pope felt bound in honour not to desert the Lombards; the Lombards would have preferred to see the Pope and Emperor unreconciled, but were not prepared to continue war with the Emperor without the advantage they derived from the alliance of the

Pope. The Sicilian envoys suggested that the Venetians should be asked to give safe-conducts : those were obtained, and the Pope stipulated that the Emperor, with his own consent, should be excluded during the negotiations from Venetian territory.

The Pope stayed at Ferrara over Easter, which that year fell on April 24th. On the 10th of May, when the safe-conducts had arrived from Venice, the Pope and cardinals returned there by the same route by which they had come to Ferrara. Again they were solemnly escorted to St. Mark's and lodged in the patriarch's palace. The Venetian government, zealous for the conclusion of peace, sent safe-conducts for the Imperial plenipotentiaries without delay, but the Lombards were still unwilling agents, and the Pope wrote from Ferrara to the King of France that the prospect of peace was by no means certain. Many eyes both in France and elsewhere were looking anxiously to Venice, eagerly expecting a peace that would end the schism.

The plenipotentiaries met in the chapel of the patriarch's palace twice a day at first ; the Pope was usually present. The terms of peace between the Emperor and the Lombards were first taken in hand, as, if they could be settled, the treaty with the King of Sicily and with the Pope would present little difficulty. Christian, Archbishop of Mainz, the Emperor's chief representative, proposed three alternative bases for negotiation—Firstly, a judicial decision by an arbitrator<sup>1</sup> as to the regalia and other rights claimed by the Emperor, but now exercised by the cities ; or secondly, the adoption of an award made by certain Bologna jurists at the time of the Roncaglia diet ; or thirdly, a reversion to

<sup>1</sup> The Latin of Archbishop Romuald (Pertz, xix. p. 447) is, " Ut aut de regalibus et his, quæ ad eum pertinent, quæ vos detinetis illi iustitiam faciatis." I do not clearly understand this, and doubt if it was more than an offer, of studied vagueness, to do what was generally right and fair. The Lombards accept it with the alacrity with which they would naturally consent to a proposal committing them to nothing. For the Bolognese jurists' award, see Giesebrecht, v. pp. 177, 178. In

the relations that existed a hundred years before between the Emperor Henry IV. and the Lombards of his day.

Girardo Pista, on behalf of the Lombards, professed a willingness to come to an equitable settlement as to the Emperor's rights, if allowed time to consult the several city authorities, but objected to both the second and the third basis on grounds sufficiently reasonable. The Lombards offered, moreover, to accept the award made after the treaty of Montebello by the consuls of Cremona, which they only rejected then because it did not deal with the question of the schism. The Imperialists, however, would not agree to the award without modification, and called in question the accuracy of the Lombards' version of the award, as to which the Lombards offered to appeal to the Cremonese themselves, "though enemies." After a discussion of many days no agreement was reached; and the Pope, foreseeing that the arguments over details would be interminable, proposed that the conference should be satisfied with obtaining a truce of six years, during which there would be time to come to a settlement of the terms of a permanent peace. Between the Emperor and the King of Sicily the points of dispute were less complicated, and a truce of fifteen years, if not a permanent peace, might be aimed at.

The Lombards and the King of Sicily accepted this suggestion of the Pope, but the Emperor's ambassadors found it necessary to consult their master on this change of plan, and Christian of Mainz went at once to him at Ravenna; and on the 2nd of June the question was formally discussed by his council at the Abbey of Pomposia,

the third alternative the words are "ea quæ antecessores vestri *Seniori Henrico* reddere consueverunt." It appears from the reference to a junior Henricus in the Lombard reply, that the two Emperors meant are Henry IV. and Henry V.; but Giesebrecht points out that Girardo Pista, in his indictment of Henry IV. as one who "salva auctoritate imperii, non debet dominus sed tyrannus vocari," lays to his charge some of the sins of Henry V.

on the wooded island in the Po, near Volano, the same from which Otto III. had started on his famous secret visit to Venice 178 years before.

The Emperor was angry with his plenipotentiaries for not rejecting the Pope's suggestion at once, and sent them back to tell the Pope that the Emperor would gladly make peace with him, but no truce with Lombards or Sicilians. This was a rebuff for the Pope, and an intricate negotiation followed. But this did not prevent an agreement being reached, which was ready to be submitted to the Emperor on July the 6th. In order that there might be less delay in his dealing with the Pope's plenipotentiaries, the Pope was asked to consent to his entering the Venetian territory. Alexander, after consulting the Lombards and Sicilians, expressed his willingness that Frederic should come with a small following to Chioggia, if he swore that he would not approach nearer to the place of conference without the Pope's leave.

As soon as this permission was communicated to the Emperor, he came to Chioggia: a son of the doge and other noble Venetians escorted him from Ravenna. There he could be informed of the progress of negotiations day by day, and could consult on any point that arose with Christian of Mainz and other great German ecclesiastics who were in his suite. But with the Emperor's arrival at Chioggia a critical and alarming state of affairs began in Venice. The Emperor had warm adherents in the city<sup>1</sup> who urged him to disregard the oath he had sworn to the Pope, and enter the city to wrest favourable terms from the Papal and Lombard envoys. The Emperor was not willing to break his oath, but he did not distinctly refuse; he only said he would not act without the approval of the

<sup>1</sup> They were indignant, as Archbishop Romuald tells us, that the Emperor should be delayed several days at Chioggia, "*ubi caloris distemperantias et muscarum et culicum plures molestias sustinet*" (Pertz, xix. p. 449).



Venetian government. The Pope from the first proposed that Frederic should not enter the city till he had sworn to observe the conditions of peace, which were then on the point of being agreed to, and he offered to send the Lombard and Sicilian envoys at once to Chioggia to exchange oaths to the truces proposed with each. The Emperor naturally preferred to wait to see whether there was a popular rising in his favour in Venice. This was no doubt probable; the recent war with Manuel is likely to have made public opinion incline to Frederic rather than to the Pope and Lombards, who were allies of Manuel. The Lombard envoys were so much afraid of a rising that they hurried away to Treviso.

The doge was urged at an assembly held in St. Mark's to invite the Emperor in, but his firmness in refusing to do this without the Pope's consent, and the Pope's determination to keep the negotiations with the Emperor in his own hands averted the danger. The Pope and cardinals would also have been in danger in a popular rising, but they were reassured by the presence of two galleys, which the Sicilian envoys kept ready for them to embark on, in case of a tumult. These envoys, of whom, as I have said, Romuald, Archbishop of Salerno, was one, took a conspicuous part in calming the storm. They resented the doge's having even listened to a proposal to admit the Emperor, and threatened to leave the city and break off the negotiations. When he urged them to stay till the Emperor had replied to the Pope's last message, they affected to fear they would be forcibly detained, blew their trumpets, and made loud preparations for leaving. A quarrel with the Sicilian king would have been disagreeable to the numerous Venetians having commercial or other relations with his kingdom, and the doge, to conciliate them, caused proclamation to be made at the Rialto that no one must speak of the Emperor's entry till the Pope had sanctioned it.

The Emperor was probably not sorry to have some days at Chioggia to consider with his Council the terms he was soon to swear to observe. He was at first inclined to think he had conceded too much at Anagni, but Archbishop Christian easily convinced him that he could not back out of his engagement to recognise Alexander, and the only alteration he insisted on in the preliminaries was the omission of the promise to restore the Countess Matilda's territories. On the 21st of July these terms were agreed to, and the same day two proxies for the Emperor went, with the plenipotentiaries of himself and the Pope, to Venice to swear in the Emperor's name to observe the treaty, and the Emperor promised to add his own oath both to the treaty with the Church and to the truces with Lombards and Sicilians when he came to Venice. The princes of the Empire were also to swear to observe the terms. The next day, in the presence of many German princes, of the Lombard envoys now brought back from Treviso, and of a crowd of Venetian citizens, the Emperor's proxies, and a chaplain of the Archbishop of Cologne as proxy for the princes of the Empire, swore to the treaty with the Pope, who upon this released the Venetians from their oath not to admit the Emperor to the city, and begged them to bring him in. The next day, the 23rd, the doge sent six galleys to Chioggia, which brought the Emperor that same evening to the abbey of St. Nicolas in Lido, where the doge's younger son Jacopo received him, and the proxies who had sworn in his name rejoined him. The following day, the 24th, a Sunday, was a memorable day in Venice. The middle gates of the atrium of St. Mark's were shut, and the Pope's throne set up in front of them in the piazza; at the landing-place in the piazzetta, where the Emperor was to land, high masts with long banners of St. Mark reaching to the ground were planted,<sup>1</sup> and all the

<sup>1</sup> The passage in *Relatio de Pace Veneta* (Pertz, xix. p. 462) is worth quoting. "Erecta sunt etiam duo ligna magna abiegnia mire

enceinte of the church was turned into a festal hall. At an early hour the Pope heard mass in St. Mark's with all the plenipotentiaries and other dignitaries, and then despatched seven cardinals to the lido to release the Emperor from excommunication and to receive his formal renunciation of the schism and his promise of obedience to Alexander and his canonically elected successors.

When the Emperor and his suite were formally absolved and received into the unity of the church by those cardinals, the doge, with the Patriarch of Grado and a crowd of Venetian nobles, came to the lido to conduct the Emperor to the city; and the Emperor, seated, as the Pope on a previous occasion, on the doge's galley between the doge and the patriarch, with the seven cardinals in the same galley, was rowed to the landing-place. When the Emperor and doge landed, they found the Pope on his throne surrounded by the cardinals, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna (who had had, at an earlier hour, a contention for the seat third from the Pope's right hand), and many other bishops. It was ten o'clock in the morning. The doge, the Patriarch of Grado, and many bishops, clergy, and laity walked before the Emperor to St. Mark's; the piazza was crowded. As the Emperor reached the Pope's throne,<sup>1</sup> he took off his purple cloak, bowed to the ground before the Pope, and kissed his feet. The Pope in tears lifted him up and gave him the kiss of peace. The crowd in the piazza then struck up a *Te Deum*,<sup>2</sup> and the bells rang, as the Emperor took

altitudinis ex utraque parte litoris, in quibus vexilla Sti. Marci mirabili opere contexta et longitudine sua terram tangentia dependebant; litus autem maris quod dicitur marmoreum prope ecclesiam erat, scilicet ad jactum lapidis." These words identify the place as the Molo, and give us a name for it, "The marble lido."

<sup>1</sup> He was led up, the *Relatio de Pace Veneta* tells us, "à septem archiepiscopis et canonicis ecclesiæ" (Pertz, xix. p. 462).

<sup>2</sup> Romuald (Pertz, xix. p. 452) says the *Te Deum* was sung "a Teotonicis." The *Relatio de Pace Veneta* (ut supra) says of the Pope, "Imposuit etiam hymnum *Te Deum* Laudamus cum pulsione

the Pope by the hand and led him down from his throne and into the church, where at the high altar he received his blessing. It is said that he had to protect the old and feeble Pope from the pressure of the crowd in the church.<sup>1</sup> After laying rich gifts on the altar, he left the church with the Pope. He then took up his residence in the doge's palace, while the Pope went back to his former quarters in that of the patriarch.

The republic of Venice had played a great part in the restoration of peace to the Church after eighteen years of schism, and the Venetians of after ages were rightly proud of their achievement. But the exaggerations of the part they took, which the mythopæic faculty produced in the next 100 years—for the legends are as old as the thirteenth century—really detract from the greatness of the position that Venice held. The real dignity of her position consisted in the fact that, from her independence of both Pope and Empire, her habit of dealing as an equal with the Eastern Emperors, her great commercial importance and cosmopolitan character, she could be trusted to be impartial. The *Relatio de Pace Veneta*, a contemporary document of great historical value, the work apparently of a German partisan of Alexander,<sup>2</sup> says that the Emperor and Pope accepted Venice as the place of conference, because it was "subject to God alone," and was a place

signorum," which I translate for the benefit of those not well versed in liturgical phrases: "He gave the note for the hymn *Te Deum Laudamus* with firing of the bells."

<sup>1</sup> The words of Romuald (Pertz, xix. p. 453) are "Pape ad altare venienti viam tanquam ostiarius preparavit."

<sup>2</sup> I think this is clear, first from his describing Ferrara as "civitatem nobilissimam in finibus Italie super flumen magnum nomine Padum sitam," a particularity that would have been unnecessary in an Italian; and secondly, from the personal details he gives as to Frederic's great ecclesiastical statesmen and generals, the Archbishops of Mainz, Cöln, and Magdeburg: Christian of Mainz, "etate invenis, statura mediocris, facie decorus"; the Archbishop of Cöln, "scilicet etate invenis, statura magnus, eleganti forma spetiosus"; the Archbishop of Magdeburg, "vir bonus mitis et modestus, sed prioribus etate provecior" (Pertz, xix. p. 462).

where the courage and power of the citizens could preserve peace among the partisans of either party, and see that no discord or sedition, voluntary or involuntary, arose.<sup>1</sup> We have seen how real a danger this was; even at Venice there was an Imperialist faction eager for a fray, who wished to bring the Emperor into the city at all risks, but the doge's loyalty to his oath, and the authority of a long-established government, averted the danger.

Sebastiano Ziani deserves to share the credit of re-establishing the peace of the Church with the Emperor and Pope, each of whom maintained, with rare exceptions, during their long contest, a high standard of statesmanlike moderation. The Venetian legends make Venice to have taken a far more active part than she did for the Pope against the Emperor, to have given the Pope a refuge when he fled before an invading army advancing against Anagni,<sup>2</sup> to have defeated a great fleet of the Emperor, and taken one of his sons prisoners:<sup>3</sup> they also make the triumph of the Pope at Venice far more signal, introducing the well-known scene of his placing his foot on the Emperor's neck, with the words of the Psalm (xc. 13 in Vulg.): "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem," and the Emperor's reply, "Non tibi sed Petro," to which

<sup>1</sup> The words are: ". . . decretum est . . . ut in aliquem locum vel civitatem sibi invicem occurrant, ubi fortitudo et potestas civitatis concordiam inter se suosque illibatam conservet, et ne discordia vel seditio inter eos oriatur, velint nolint, provideat. Hac igitur de causa papa Venetiam *que Soli Deo subjacet*, veniens," &c. (Pertz, xix. p. 462).

<sup>2</sup> The Pope was said to have fled in disguise from Benevento to Venice, and an inscription commemorated his having slept on the bare ground near the church of St. Apollinare. He was said to have engaged himself as chaplain, or as scullion, in the monastery of Sta. Maria della Carità, when he was recognised by a Frenchman, who informed the doge. Several other churches (San Salvatore, Sta. Sofia, San Giacomo di Rialto, &c.) claimed that he slept on their ground (Romanin, ii. 113).

<sup>3</sup> Romanin thinks there is some evidence of a sea fight at this time at Salvore between Parenzo and Pirano. A local inscription commemorates it, and the names of all the chief Venetians serving on the fleet have been preserved (ii. p. 116 and note).

the Pope retorted, "Immo mihi vice Petri." This famous scene is related by none of the contemporary chroniclers,<sup>1</sup> and it is inconsistent with authentic details that they do relate. The Pope's mood was never aggressive or overbearing, and at this time thankfulness for restoration of peace was his predominant feeling; the parable of the Prodigal Son was on his lips. The *Relatio de Pace Veneta* tells us that he sent to Frederic many gold and silver vessels, full of divers kinds of meats; "he sent also a fatted calf, commending to him these words: 'It is right to feast and rejoice; for my son has died and risen again; he had been lost and is found.'" <sup>2</sup> Nor is the representation of Venice as a partisan of the Pope in accordance with fact; it was rather her comparative neutrality in the conflict that enabled her to take so effective a part in terminating it. We have seen that there was a zealous and violent Emperor's party in the city, but this did not prevent the Pope's being received with due respect, and his interests maintained in the negotiations. He did not, it is true, get all the advantages promised him by the Preliminaries of Anagni; he had to acquiesce in the abeyance of his claims to the Countess Matilda's inheritance; but the main thing, his claim to be canonical Pope, was firmly secured. This great result he owed to many separate causes—to the moderation of the Emperor as soon as he recognised that the Christian world was against him; to the quiet influence

<sup>1</sup> It is found in Martino da Canale, a charming writer, but with a turn for romance. He wrote before A.D. 1268. He is followed by the MS. chronicle of Marco, of A.D. 1292. (See extract li. in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1st series, viii. p. 262.) M. da Canale's account is in the same volume, pp. 312, 314. Dandolo gives it in a passage of doubtful authenticity. Dean Milman ("Lat. Christ.," iii. p. 536, note *p*) thinks it may have arisen from a symbolical picture painted by a papal partisan. Romanin, whose discussion of this matter is full and instructive (ii. pp. 112-117), says that the apocryphal account is found first in a contemporary writer, Obone of Ravenna. It is perpetuated by the picture of Federigo Zuccherò in the doge's palace, and by a passage in Rogers' "Italy."

<sup>2</sup> Pertz, xix. p. 463.



of the great German prelates (especially to the Primate, Christian of Mainz), who had a difficult task in reconciling their loyalty to the Emperor with their conviction that he had taken the wrong side in the schism; to the King of France, who had been Alexander's steady ally and protector, and to the leading men of the great Cistercian and Carthusian orders, whose sanctity of life was the most powerful spiritual influence in Christendom at that time.<sup>1</sup>

The day that followed the great reconciliation, St. James' Day, the Pope said mass in St. Mark's early in the morning, assisted by German clerks, the Emperor and all the cardinals and other Church dignitaries being present. After the mass the Pope went into the pulpit and preached in Latin, explaining the terms of the peace. There the Emperor, who understood Latin imperfectly, and the Patriarch of Aquileia, joined him, and the latter translated into German what the Pope had said for the benefit of the German laymen who were present. As the Pope mounted his horse at the church door, the Emperor held his stirrup, and would have led the horse to the place of embarkation, but this Alexander would not allow, and dismissed him with his blessing at the gate of the doge's palace. The next day the Emperor paid the Pope a congratulatory visit at the patriarch's palace, and they had a friendly conversation through interpreters.

On the 1st of August the terms of peace were formally sworn to at the patriarch's palace, the Emperor and Pope and a crowd of great princes and prelates being present. The oaths were sworn on a gospel and a fragment of the True Cross, first by the Emperor's proxy, Count Henry of Diez, then by twelve princes of the Empire, who also gave a confirmation in writing under their seal. Then the King

<sup>1</sup> A lay brother of the Carthusians, named Theoderich, was constantly about the Emperor's person, and much trusted by him (Giesebrecht, v. p. 843).

of Sicily's ambassadors and thirteen representatives of the Lombard cities swore to their several truces, and promised that the king, with his princes, and the consuls and chief men in each Lombard city, would in due time add their own oaths.

The truce with the Sicilian king ripened into a permanent peace. Before the fifteen years ran out, Henry, the Emperor's son and successor, was married to Constantia, the heiress of the Sicilian kingdom. Germany and South Italy were thus for a time dynastically united, the Imperial power in Italy immensely strengthened, and that of the Popes, who had habitually leaned on the Normans of Sicily as supporters against the German Emperors, proportionately decreased. A similar result followed from the failure of the Lombard truce to settle the affairs of North Italy. The lists of the Lombard cities on either side, that are derived from the formal documents of the Peace of Venice, show that as many cities were on the Emperor's side as on that of the league, and the most powerful feudal barons, the Marquis of Montferrat and the Count of Biantate, were on the same side. The disunion that was almost sure to spring up in a league of equal free cities was a powerful ally to the Emperor.

For some time after the peace had been sworn to both Pope and Emperor stayed at Venice, and all who hoped to gain or feared to lose by the peace flocked thither. A Venetian chronicle tells us that the city was crowded by such an influx of foreigners as even her experience of varied and busy life had never before seen. The suite of the Archbishop of Cöln amounted to 400, those of the Archbishops of Mainz, Magdeburg, and Aquileia each to 300: 160 followed Duke Leopold of Austria, 330 Count Roger of Andria, the second envoy of the King of Sicily; and there were great numbers of strangers from every part of the West. A great deal of business had to be done to remove the personal effects of the schism; it had to be

settled which bishops appointed by the Antipopes were to retain their sees and which were to be deprived. All who renounced the schism and recognised Alexander were absolved and freed from excommunication, but by no means all retained their places. As a general rule the Germans were left in possession, the Italians and Burgundians left to the tender mercies of the Pope. Christian of Mainz, who is said to have burnt the pallium he had received from the Antipope Paschal, received a fresh one from Alexander, as did also Philip of Cöln. Conrad of Wittelsbach, whom Alexander had made Archbishop of Mainz and the Emperor had extruded, was a powerful German prince and the Pope's legate in Germany; he was given the Archbishopric of Salzburg, which opportunely came to be vacated, with an understanding he should eventually succeed to Mainz. One can imagine how much diplomatic skill was required to settle these knotty personal questions. On the 14th of August, at a Council held in St. Mark's, at which the Emperor and doge were present, the Pope threatened excommunication for all who should break the peace and renewed that of all the schismatics not absolved, and then handed torches to the Emperor and others present to throw down and extinguish in order to indicate the fate of those who disturb or hinder the peace. After the ceremony the envoys of the Sicilian king and of the Lombards left the city, but the Emperor and Pope remained. On the 17th of August the Emperor granted to the doge, "his dearest friend," a privilegium, such as we have often met with in earlier times, confirming all treaties of his predecessors, by which free trade had been granted to Venetian subjects or lands to churches and monasteries in Venice. By the end of August most of the German dignitaries went home, but Christian of Mainz and Udalrich of Aquileia stayed with the Emperor, who did not leave till the 18th of September. By that time arbitrators had been appointed, in accordance with the peace of Venice, to settle the dispute as to the

Countess Matilda's lands ; but they appear not to have acted, and the dispute was simply laid on one side, the Pope being unwilling to bring matters to an issue so soon after the peace. He stayed at Venice till the 16th of October, probably on business connected with the Lombard league, then left by sea on galleys lent him by the doge which carried him to Siponto, from which he travelled by land to Benevento and Anagni.

The Emperor spent all the winter in Central Italy, keeping Christmas at Assisi, and passing into Tuscany early in the new year. Genoa and Pisa rivalled one another in the loyal welcome they gave him. Christian of Mainz was sent to Rome to bring the Antipope Calixtus to reason, but met with a good deal of opposition. The early summer of 1178 found Frederic in North Italy, endeavouring to arrange a permanent peace with the Lombard league. In June he crossed the Alps on his return to his Burgundian kingdom, leaving Archbishop Christian as his legate in Italy. Christian had succeeded in bringing back to Rome in March Pope Alexander, who received the warmest welcome there. The streets were thronged with the people who came to kiss the Pope's feet, as he rode on his palfrey to the Lateran, his hand weary with blessing the crowds. He was able to keep Easter in the Corona of St. Peter's, but surrounded by German troops. In the heat of the summer he went into villeggiatura at Tusculum, and there on August 29th the Antipope Calixtus submitted to him, was pardoned and made governor of Benevento. Invitations for a General Council to be opened at Rome on the 18th of February 1179 were sent over all the Christian world, including the crusading settlements in Syria. The Council actually met in March and was largely attended, particularly by bishops from Palestine : it settled a good many disputes still carried over from the time of schism, and attempted to devise a rule for papal elections that would preclude future disputes. It was a very great triumph for

Alexander, who had for nearly all his pontificate been an exile dependent on foreigners, to preside at a gathering from all parts of Christendom in his own city. Nothing was said at the Council about a crusade in the cause of the suffering kingdom of Jerusalem, but a good deal about measures for putting down the Albigensian heretics. The Council passed decrees against tournaments and against the employment of Brabançons and other mercenaries, general measures to satisfy the humanity of Christian morals, that were hardly likely to have much effect in that age.

BOOK IV

VENETIAN EMPIRE IN THE LEVANT





## CHAPTER I

### CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES OF ORIO MASTROPIERO : RELATIONS WITH CRUSADERS AND COURT OF CONSTANTINOPLE

THE part taken by Venice in the healing of this great schism was so important that for the decisive year 1177 our history has had to include in its purview that of all Italy and a good deal of that of the rest of Europe. For the subsequent years so wide an extension is not necessary, and we can confine ourselves for the present to events directly concerning Venice. The commercial treaty Venice now made with the Emperor, which I have before mentioned, allowed Venetian traders to import goods into any part of the Emperor's dominions<sup>1</sup> on payment of only the usual *ripatico* and an *ad valorem* duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; but the subjects of the Emperor were allowed to trade on similar terms with Venice only as far as the city and no farther, a restriction which seems to recognise the Adriatic from the lagoon southward as Venetian waters, where Venetians could claim exclusive trading privileges.

The Pope granted to several Venetian churches ample indulgences ; amongst others, to all who visited St. Mark's during the octave of the Ascension. He gave greater solemnity to the famous ceremony of that day by the gift of a ring blessed by himself, to be used for the espousal of the sea. The gift of the ring was no doubt intended as investing the doge with some sovereignty over the sea, and the words of espousal used were a poetical metaphor of

<sup>1</sup> " Per terram scu per flumina " (Romanin, ii. 109).

this investiture. The great spectacle of the Sensa, as it was called, became an important annual event. On that day the doge on his state galley, manned by officials of the Arsenal with the high names of admirals and captains (*capimaestri*), and accompanied by the great officers of state, civil and military, the canons of St. Mark's to represent the Church, and the ambassadors of foreign states, as well as by a great number of large galleys and smaller *barche* or gondolas, went out to the lido; and after being received by the Bishop of Castello at the little island of Sta. Elena, where the monks presented the bishop with dried chestnuts and red wine, and the doge with damask roses in a silver goblet—no doubt incidents of some feudal service by which they held their lands—reached the mouth of the lido harbour; and at the opening of this to the sea threw overboard the ring blessed on this occasion by the Pope, subsequently by the Patriarch of Grado, with the words, "We espouse thee, O sea! in sign of our true and perpetual dominion;" and ended the ceremony with a mass at San Niccolò and a banquet in his own palace; the fêtes and masquerades that followed; the fifteen days' fair of the Sensa, and the visits to the churches for the sake of the indulgences—all these incidents were from this time among the causes that contributed to make Venice ever more and more a place where foreigners resorted, a city of pleasure for the whole of Christian Europe.

The long stay of the Pope at Venice was utilised for a settlement of the long strife between the Patriarchs of Aquileia and Grado, though the Concordat carrying this into effect was not concluded till 1180. The Brief of Alexander assigned to the Patriarch of Aquileia as metropolitan the bishoprics of Como, Mantua, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Ceneda, Trent, Concordia, Trieste, Capodistria, Parenzo, Pola, Cittanova, and Pedene (except two parishes); to the Patriarch of Grado, the other sees of Istria and those of

the Dogado, as well as the primacy of Dalmatia, granted in the year 1157.<sup>1</sup>

Sebastian Ziani, the first doge to fill worthily a conspicuous place in the eyes of all Europe, is also one of the first to leave traces of his action on the external face of the city. He acquired for the citizens the site of the great piazza of St. Mark, part of which had been occupied by the church of San Geminiano, which he pulled down and rebuilt on a site that was at a later date taken from it for an extension of the ducal palace,<sup>2</sup> and the rest by a garden belonging to the nuns of San Zaccaria; he paved the space thus acquired with stone; he caused houses to be built round it "with columns at the windows," probably like the galleries of the first floor of the present doge's palace; he is also said to have built the front towards the canal of the palace. The two columns of the piazzetta were perhaps brought by him from Greece; if they were brought by his predecessor, they were still lying on the ground where they had been landed—a third that had been brought home with them had been lost in the mud of the canal—till the engineering skill of one Niccolò Barattieri<sup>3</sup> devised a means

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, ii. III, 112.

<sup>2</sup> In after times, until the end of the republic, the doge paid an annual visit to the church of San Geminiano; on his return the clergy of the church walked with him in procession to the twenty-third arch of the Procurazie Nuove, no doubt the site of the original church, where prayers and versicles were intoned; and in old times the doge gave the parroco a gold sequin for the purchase of lime and sand for the rebuilding. See Romanin, ii. p. 120, and the passage quoted from Cicogna in the note. See also note at p. 30, *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> The verb "barattare" is used for any low kind of traffic, as of a buyer and seller of old clothes; and "barattiere" acquired the particular sense of a cheat, especially a cheat at the gaming-table. Some old chronicles say the real name of the engineer, before he got the ill-fame of keeping a hell, was Staratonius (Romanin, ii. p. 121, n. 2). As an engineer he had a distinguished pupil named Montagnana. As to his method of raising the columns there is a curious account, the technical terms in which I do not quite understand, quoted from a MS. by Romanin (ii. p. 122, n. 1). "Andò alla Signoria, domandò Sartia, feramenta, legname e travi e poi tolse octo homeni et non più, et comenzò a lavorar picconi li qual apellamo

of setting them up in a short time and with small expenditure of labour, as his reward for which he claimed the right to establish public gaming-tables between the two columns. The story is well known of how the Great Council, in order to diminish the value of the concession, ordered that the space between the columns where the gaming-tables were set up should also be the place of executions, which had before taken place at San Giovanni in Bragora. At a later date the columns were surmounted by the lion of St. Mark and the St. Theodore (San Todero) standing on a crocodile. St. Theodore was, as we have before seen, a more ancient patron saint of Venice than St. Mark—going back, it was said, to the time of Narses. The present statue of St. Theodore is a work of the fourteenth century, but a lion was on the other column as early as 1293, when a decree, still extant, was made for its restoration. About the same time, and by the same engineer, the first wooden bridge at the Rialto was built. The outward aspect of the Venice of Sebastiano Ziani had some of the principal features that we associate with it now, though, except St. Mark's, hardly any of the existing buildings are the same as were standing then; and the great Renaissance buildings that contribute largely to the idea of Venice in our minds—the Salute and the Dogana, the scuola of San Rocco, and the church of San Giorgio Maggiore, as well as such examples of pointed architecture as Santi Giovanni e Paolo or the Frari—belong to a much later date.

On the 12th of April 1178 the doge, after ruling the state for six eventful and glorious years, retired from the

ancuo indì *argani* e fo lavorada et fata la fundamenta sotto terra forte e bona in sette dè e in l'octavo alzò." *Picconi* would appear to be the pick-axes used for excavating the foundations; but *argani* (given as a synonym for them) seem to be the cranes used in hoisting up the column. The same Niccolò was held to have invented a cage for hoisting up men and materials to complete the upper stages of the Campanile, no doubt some application of the same *argani* by which he erected the two columns. For *argani*, see Diez, Romance Dictionary (*s.v.*).

world to the monastery of St. George on the island directly opposite his home as doge. He left to the church of that convent, which now had relics of St. Stephen deposited in it, his house property in the heart of the city between the church of St. Julian in the Merceria and the Ponte de' Baretteri, charging the rents with the cost of keeping a lamp ever burning before the relics of St. Stephen, of providing a dinner every Tuesday for twelve poor persons, and a dinner of lentils and cheap fish and wine for his own family on St. Stephen's day.<sup>1</sup> Other houses in the Merceria between the piazza of St. Mark and St. Julian's church he left for the benefit of poor prisoners.

A decree issued before his death altered the mode of election of future doges. The eleven electors who had chosen him were to give place to forty chosen by four selected from and by the Great Council, not more than one of the forty to come from any one family, and each of them to receive the votes of three out of the four electors. The four chosen to elect the first board of forty were Enrico Dandolo, Stefano Vioni, Marin Polani, and Antonio Navigaioso.

The forty electors chose Orio Mastropiero,<sup>2</sup> who had been one of the ambassadors sent to make a treaty with Sicily in 1175, when the city finally broke off friendly relations with Manuel: he is also named as a contributor to the loans that were raised to aid in forming the Lombard league in 1164, and to meet the cost of the expedition against Manuel in 1171. At some other time he had been on an embassy to Constantinople, so that he was a man well practised in affairs of state. During his government the republic was again involved in war with the Greek Empire. Tragic events in Constantinople occasioned this:

<sup>1</sup> I suppose this Lenten entertainment was intended to give his kinsfolk a lesson in humility. It appropriately followed the feast day of Christmas.

<sup>2</sup> The family is more usually called the Malipieri. Mastro is said to be merely Maestro or Magister, and the family name was probably originally Orio or Aurio.



on Manuel's death in 1180, his widow, Maria of Antioch, who was regent for her young son Alexius II., a boy of twelve or fourteen, was opposed by her stepdaughter Maria, the daughter whom Manuel had offered in marriage to more than one German or Italian prince, and who appears now to have been the wife of Rainier of Montferrat. The factions of the two ladies fought in the square of the palace and the church of St. Sophia, and the patriarch and leading men among the courtiers, to restore peace, summoned to Constantinople Andronicus, a cousin of the Emperor Manuel, a bold and adventurous soldier, whose romantic history is the subject of one of the most picturesque episodes in Gibbon. He came and assisted at the coronation of the young Alexius, but was soon tempted first to associate himself with the boy as Emperor, and finally to depose him and put to death both him and his mother. At first popular and courting popularity, he found that having once begun a career of bloodshed, he could not stop. Amongst other victims of his tyranny, the Venetian and other Latin residents, who formed a large settlement on the shore of the Golden Horn, were accused of being partisans of Maria, and the Paphlagonian guards of Andronicus attacked them and burned their houses and churches. There followed a great exodus of Latins; fugitives spread all over the East, some taking refuge with the Sultan of Iconium or the crusading princes in Syria: others came to Europe, with a number of Greek exiles also, and implored the help of the Pope and the Emperor, the Kings of France, Hungary, and Sicily, and the Marquis William of Montferrat,<sup>1</sup> who, since

<sup>1</sup> This was the marquis known as William II., the father of Rainier we have just mentioned as married to Manuel's daughter Maria, of Conrad, who some ten years later became by marriage King of Jerusalem (he is the Conrad of Montferrat of the "Talisman"), and of Boniface, of whom we shall hear much twenty years later in connexion with the fourth Crusade. These three were younger sons; the eldest, William III., who had died in 1177, had also made a career for himself in the Holy Land, where he married Sibylla of Anjou, heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and became Count of Joppa and Ascalon. His

the Lombard truce, had detached himself from his old alliance with the Western Emperor and sought a new field for his family's ambition in Constantinople or Syria. The King of Sicily was eager to respond to their appeal and repeat the exploits of his ancestor Robert Guiscard, and the Venetians who were, as we have seen, his allies, and whom any interference with Western traders in Romania touched very nearly, sent forty ships to support the expedition that he at once despatched to Durazzo. That city was easily taken and Thessalonica stormed, and the Norman army threatened Constantinople, while the Venetian ships wasted the coasts of the Propontis and Hellespont. But meanwhile the usurper Andronicus was overthrown by another revolution: Isaac Angelus, a feeble old man, descended in the female line from the Comneni, ventured to resist arrest by the usurper, was supported by the mob and placed on the throne, while Andronicus was deserted, apprehended, and tortured to death. Isaac was a weak and contemptible ruler, but his General Branas, who was a good soldier, defeated the Normans, retook Thessalonica, and drove the invaders back to their country. Isaac readily made peace with the Venetians, confirming all their former privileges and promising (and to a very limited extent performing) compensation for the wrong done them by Manuel in 1171, which is apparently referred to in the words reciting that the Venetians, who had formerly been good friends and servants to the Empire, "occulti ob cujusdam rerum excessum Romanie alieni effecti sunt."<sup>1</sup> By a separate document of the same date elaborate arrangements were made for the Venetian residents in Romania aiding in the defence of the Empire. The republic agreed to provide at any time, on six months' notice, from forty to one hundred galleys, to be

son by Sibylla was for one year King of Jerusalem under the name of Baldwin V. (see K. Hopf's *Bonifaz von Montferrat*, in Virchow and Holtzendorff's *Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, serie xii. ; Heft, 272, pp. 257-296). For more about the Montferrat family see *post*, pp. 357, 363.

<sup>1</sup> Tafel and Thomas, i. p. 180.

equipped at Venice at the cost of the Emperor. Three out of every four Venetian settlers were to be liable to serve on the galleys, under Venetian officers, who were, however, to be sworn to obey the captain of the Imperial fleet in operations against all enemies, Christian or Pagan. In all lands conquered by the help of those galleys, the Venetians were to have "a church, a warehouse and a quay, and free trade." When peace was made, the galleys were to return to Venice, but to be kept there in readiness for any call from Constantinople. In urgent cases, such as a sudden attack on the Empire by forty or more galleys, a levy of Venetians could be made to serve on ships of the ordinary Greek navy without waiting for the arrival of the Venetian galleys. The crew of a galley was ordinarily 140 men, so that the full number of 100 galleys would require some 14,000 men: we may therefore estimate, allowing for women and children and men incapable of service—which classes would not be so numerous as in an ordinary stay-at-home population—that the Venetians in Romania amounted to nearly 20,000 souls.

The same treaty empowered the Greek Emperor to pass through Venice mercenaries levied in Lombardy for service in the Empire, provided they were not to be employed against Venice or her allies. The Emperor undertook on his part to defend the Venetian territories against all attacks, to make no peace that did not include them, and to pay all sums due to Venetians, and compensation for all losses incurred at the time of Manuel's aggression in 1171. The provisions of the treaty were to hold good notwithstanding any order, dispensation, or excommunication of any Pope.<sup>1</sup>

Peace being concluded with the Eastern Empire, the Venetian government next turned its thoughts to the recovery of Zara, which, since its reduction by Vitale

<sup>1</sup> The documents "Privilegia Isaachii Imperatoris" are Nos. lxx-lxxii. in Tafel and Thomas, i. pp. 178-204. They are dated A.D. 1187. The revolution that put Isaac Angelus on the throne was in 1185.

Michiel II. in 1166, had again fallen away, and placed itself under the King of Hungary. For the expedition sent against Zara in 1187 a new loan was contracted. The repayment of this with interest at the rate of 4 per cent. at the end of four months was secured on the revenue from salt (which was a monopoly of the state), from the profits of the Mint, and from the tribute paid by the Count of Ossero. The government undertook to contract no new loan for two years, and the Proveditori al Sale and the officers of the Mint were sworn not to apply their revenues to any other purpose till the loan was paid off. The church of St. Mark, having a rich treasury, rents of houses or perhaps a rate on houses in the city, helped the state, as the great ecclesiastical foundations in Germany helped the Emperor Frederic in his Italian wars, by pledging its revenues to guarantee against loss bodies of citizens who furnished ships for the expedition.<sup>1</sup>

We are not told that this was a forced loan ; possibly by this time lending for four months at 4 per cent. on government security had come to be looked on as a good investment of capital, and the government preferred to meet any extraordinary charges by an appeal, that would not be unwelcome, to the richer citizens rather than by an increase of taxation that would cause discontent among the poorer citizens, and be an impediment to trade.

The expedition against Zara did not meet with immediate success. The King of Hungary sent strong reinforcements to the garrison there, and the siege threatened to be a long one, when an appeal from Pope Gregory VIII. to all Christian powers to make peace among themselves and

<sup>1</sup> The contract between the two procurators of St. Mark "by order of the doge and with the approval of the councils" and a company of citizens is quoted in Romanin, ii. p. 129. It was about this time that a second procurator was appointed in view of the growth of the property of the Church. Amelot de la Houssaye, *Hist. du Gouv. de Venise*, p. 183, thought, from the examination of MSS. in the Library of St. Mark, that under the three doges that followed Ziani there was only one procurator.

hasten to the rescue of their brethren in Palestine, induced both parties to conclude a two years' truce.

Since 1174, when Saladin became a leading person in the Mohammedan world, his power had been gradually increasing. A projected Sicilian invasion of Egypt had come to nothing, the dilatoriness of the Christians in Palestine had failed to second the efforts of Manuel, who in 1177 had actually sent a fleet from Constantinople to Acre to co-operate with them in an attack on Egypt. Meanwhile Saladin, who had consolidated his power in Syria, by conquering rival Mussulman princes at Aleppo and Mosul, was probably in alliance with Kilidj-Arslan, the Sultan of Iconium, and was preparing for a final attack on Jerusalem. His power reached its maximum in 1185, in which year Baldwin IV., King of Jerusalem, a brave and capable king, though a leper, died. His successor Baldwin V., the son of his sister Sibylla (by her marriage with William, Marquis of Montferrat, to which I lately referred,<sup>1</sup>) a child of eight or nine, died in September 1186. Then strife broke out between the old crusading families who had long been settled in Palestine, led by Raymond, Count of Tripoli, and new comers from Europe; the former party was inclined to make a truce with Saladin, the latter zealous for war, in which its chief support came from the two great military Orders of the Temple and the Hospital. This party succeeded in placing Guy of Lusignan, Sibylla's second husband, and Baldwin V.'s stepfather, on the throne. Aid from Europe was expected; Henry II. of England and a great number of his barons and knights had taken the cross in 1185 at the instance of Lucius III., the Pope who succeeded Alexander in 1181. Urban III., who succeeded him, was too much involved in disputes with Frederic Barbarossa to devote much energy to the cause of the Christians in Palestine. He was on his deathbed at Ferrara when news reached Italy of their extreme peril.

<sup>1</sup> Page 332, note 1, *ante*.

Guy of Lusignan had been on July 4, 1187, defeated by Saladin in a great battle at Hattin, three miles from Tiberias, and on the 20th of September Saladin had appeared before Jerusalem. The city resisted only till the 2nd of October, and then surrendered. The news that the Holy Sepulchre was again in the hands of the infidel at length stirred Europe to action. Gregory VIII., who was elected Pope on the 25th of October of this same year, lost no time in taking advantage of the tide of feeling that rose over Europe; the two months of his short Pontificate were fully occupied with his efforts to send forth another crusade. He journeyed himself to Pisa to reconcile the two great maritime republics of Pisa and Genoa, whose aid was so necessary for any operations over the sea, his letters urged all Christian princes to lay aside all hostilities with Christians and arm for the Holy Land. He ordered strict measures of fasting and humiliation. Every one was to fast three days in the week, the Pope and cardinals four. The cardinals, if they did not go on foot to Palestine as pilgrims, were not to mount a horse, but go on all their journeys on foot, so long as the Holy City was profaned by the feet of the Saracens.

It was the Papal letters at this time that put a stop to the Venetian siege of Zara. It was a more difficult matter to patch up a peace between France and England or to settle the manifold complications, which always kept Germany unquiet, sufficiently to enable Frederic Barbarossa to start for the Holy Land. But in France, England, Germany, and Sicily there was no hesitation about taking the cross. The Archbishop of Tyre came to Europe and induced first William of Sicily to divert to the Holy Land a fleet he had equipped for an attack on Constantinople: by January 1188 he had reconciled Henry of England and Philip of France. Richard Cœur de Lion, then known as Count of Poitou, had already taken the cross in November 1187. The Archbishop of Canterbury made a progress



through Wales, giving the cross to all who would take it ; a tax of one-tenth of their income, known as the Saladin tax, was paid by many in England who did not undertake personal service. But with all this zeal, mutual suspicion delayed the Kings of England and France, and they did not quit their homes till 1190, when Henry II. had passed away and been succeeded by Richard. Not only William of Sicily, but the old Emperor Frederic, nearly seventy years old, who in his youth had taken part in the Second Crusade, seemed likely to get the start of them. William of Sicily, it is true, did not live to begin the crusade, and on his death (November 1189) the succession of his aunt Constantia, the wife of Henry, Frederic Barbarossa's son, was disputed by a patriotic Sicilian party, who preferred Tancred, an illegitimate descendant of Roger I.<sup>1</sup> Sicily had still a large Saracen population, whom Tancred's party desired to enlist, side by side with the Normans, in the defence of the kingdom against the Germans : they could not, therefore, be expected to show any zeal for a crusade, and in fact no contingent from Sicily or Apulia seems to have gone to the aid of Guy of Lusignan.

The first expeditions to start for Palestine were two from Venice and Pisa, both composed of Italians from all parts, including the Archbishops of Ravenna and Pisa. About the same time, in May 1189, Frederic Barbarossa started from Ratisbon. He took the overland route by Hungary and Bulgaria, Constantinople, and Asia Minor, relying on promises of support from Isaac Angelus and the Sultan of Iconium. Both, excusably enough—for Kilidj-Arslan was a Moslem, and a crusading host was always a terror to the Eastern Empire—were more than lukewarm in fulfilling their promises, and Frederic's host was delayed and harassed, and much reduced in numbers, when in June 1190 its old leader was drowned in trying to swim his horse over the river

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, vii, 142-144.

Saleph,<sup>1</sup> the ancient Calycadnus, in Cilicia, a large mountain stream running from the Taurus into the sea over against the north coast of Cyprus. His disheartened army was led on by his nephew Frederick of Suabia to Antioch, where it made a useful diversion in favour of the Christian host, that had in August 1189 sat down before Acre, the best harbour on the coast of Palestine, that had been a flourishing Christian town and a sort of second capital of the kingdom of Jerusalem, but in the general collapse of the Christian power two years before had fallen under Saladin's power and been garrisoned by him. The town was strong and its surroundings unhealthy, and the besiegers were soon hemmed in on the land side by Saladin himself. This relieving force had to be diminished to meet the invasion of the Germans from the North, while the besiegers were constantly being increased by the arrival of isolated bodies of Crusaders—Flemish, English, French, or German—through the winter of 1189 and the spring and summer of 1190. But still the siege lasted long: the Christians were not secure in their command of the sea, and Saladin lost no opportunity of throwing in supplies from the land side or the sea. Both the besieged and the besiegers suffered much from hunger. The place was still holding out in April 1191 when Philip Augustus, and in the following June when Richard of England, at length arrived; but it did not resist much longer. On the 12th of July, after a siege of two years, it was forced by famine to surrender.

The surrender of Acre was important to the Italian trading towns, as Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans resumed possession of the streets and churches, the wharves and quays acquired by former treaties. But no other result followed from the Third Crusade. The Kings of England and France came to a bitter quarrel, and their discord was

<sup>1</sup> Its Turkish name is Gök-su. Saleph or Seleph is derived from the town of Selefkeh (a corruption of Selencia) at its mouth.

reflected in a dispute as to the kingdom of Jerusalem, which for a time was partitioned between Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat. The King of France left the camp on the 31st of July and went home, leaving some of his troops behind, who, however, did not heartily cooperate with the English. Richard stayed in Palestine for more than a year afterwards, and on his exploits during this time, his great victory at Arsûf, his two marches on Jerusalem, which, however, he did not succeed in entering, his relief of Jaffa and his rebuilding of Ascalon, his fame as a great warrior rests. By the treaty made with Saladin in September 1192, a strip of the coast from Acre to Ascalon was ceded to the Crusaders, over which Henry of Champagne, a French knight but a nephew of Richard, was to reign in place of Guy, who was compensated by a new kingdom of Cyprus, which his descendants retained for two centuries. The peace was only for three years, and during this time the Christian pilgrims were to be allowed to visit the Holy Sepulchre, though it remained in the hands of Saladin. Richard, whose heart was in the Crusade, fully intended to return when the truce expired, but his long captivity and his early death prevented the fulfilment of this intention.

Richard's shipwreck, which led immediately to his captivity, was on the coast between Venice and Aquileia, but Venetians had no part in that treacherous capture, which was the work of the Duke of Austria and the Montferrats. For the next few years Venice was at peace; the rest of the doge Mastropiero's life was occupied with measures for increasing the trade of the city and developing its internal government. A treaty with Ferrara in 1191 stipulates for freedom of trade, special trading places (*fondachi*), special judges for disputes between Venetians and foreigners. Such treaties frequently provide against the confiscation by a foreign state of the property of Venetians shipwrecked or dying abroad. In all places

where Venetian traders congregated their city appointed consuls under the names of *Visdomini*, *Baili*, *Delegati*, or *Consoli*, to protect their interests. Venetian trade was at this time constantly growing in Italy; fairs and markets owed their origin or their prosperity to traders from Venice, whose ships were always ready to carry their own productions or those of other countries to those fairs or markets. Two of the principal sources of Venetian riches were the trade in salt and the trade in grain. The rich *saline* of Chioggia were a monopoly of the Venetian government; every cargo exported had the doge's seal. But the Venetians also imported salt from Istria, Cervia, Dalmatia, Sicily, and even from as far off as Barbary,<sup>1</sup> for re-export, and, so far as they could, stipulated in treaties with foreign producers for a monopoly of this article. For grain Venice was always dependent on foreign countries, and from earliest times imported it from the *terra firma* and from Constantinople; it is one of the articles the free import of which was provided for in her many commercial treaties with the Eastern Empire. At the time we have now reached her numerous merchant-ships enabled her to carry on a lucrative carrying trade in corn from Sicily, Egypt, and the Greek islands, to European ports.

An active trade is sure to lead to much litigation, and at this time we find an important development of the judicial arrangements of Venice by the institution of the *Quarantia*. It was a peculiarity of Venice that the administration of justice was not in the hands of a single officer, as in other Italian towns it was in the hands of the *podestà* or the consul, but of a board. The doge, with his councillors, now six in number, and the *Pregadi* appear to have had judicial powers, but the former were not sufficient to hear all the causes that required to be decided, and the latter were only summoned for special purposes, and were not a

<sup>1</sup> Imported salt was known as "Sal Maris," to distinguish it from "Sal Clugieæ."

standing body. The Quarantia was to consist of forty citizens of distinction, under three capi or chiefs, who in later times were for their term of office, which only lasted two months at a time, members *ex officio* of the Collegio, the chief executive body of the republic. At the time we have now reached, when the Collegio was not yet in existence, and the elaborate political constitution of later times was undeveloped, the Quarantia exercised various powers, executive, legislative, and judicial. It considered all proposals of the doge and his councillors, before they were submitted to the Great Council; it received foreign ambassadors; it heard appeals in civil cases, and was the chief court in criminal matters. But in these early days the field of public affairs was not definitely partitioned out between the different bodies of the state.<sup>1</sup> At the passing

<sup>1</sup> The *Capitulare Nauticum*, a code of maritime law of 1255, was drawn up by three commissioners appointed by the doge Raynier Zeno, "qui utilia Statuta considerunt et illa Duci exhibita auctoritate majoris et minoris Consilii et publicæ Concionis approbata sunt" (*Conciani Leges Barbarorum*, v. p. 341). In the title of the code we have "per ipsum Dominum Ducem et suum Consilium majus et minus et *Quadráginta* laudata, et in Concione publica approbata et voce Veneti populi confirmata." There must be some surplusage here, as it must have been in the *concio publica* that the voice of the people of Venice confirmed by acclamation the laws. The formula shows us that the institution of the Great Council did not dispense with the acclamation in the "Arengo," or public assembly, usually held in San Marco. It will be observed that the senate is not mentioned here. But of the two earliest laws printed in *Novissima Veneta Statuta*, an official edition in 4to, printed in 1729, one of 26th September 1041, dealing with an ecclesiastical matter, is dated "in Pregadi"; the other, relating to appeals from the *terra firma* to the auditors, is dated "in Mazor Conseglio 1047, 8 Marzo." This looks as if laws were sometimes submitted to the Great Council and sometimes to the Pregadi. The Latin title of the Senate is "Consilium Rogatorum." The first law, printed in the *Leggi Criminali del Serenissimo Dominio Veneto*, 4to, 1751; the *Liber Promissionis Maleficii* of 1232 is issued by the doge Jacobus Theupolo: "Cum nostris iudicibus et sapientibus Consilii, cum collatione Populi Venetiarum." One of the early laws in this volume as to the sale of goods belonging to outlaws says: "Judices pronuntient secundum consuetudinem Venetorum observatam, vel secundum ordinem datum seu daudum per minus et majus Consilium et per quadráginta."

of any law by the Great Council it was decided by the Council to what body its execution should be committed, whether to the doge alone or in conjunction with his councillors, or to the Quarantia or to its three *capi*.

Other legal institutions ascribed to Aurio Mastropiero were the *Magistrato del Forestier* and the *Avogadori del Comune*. The *Magistrato del Forestier* consisted in later times, and probably also from its origin, of three judges, and the older judges, *di Palazzo*, whom these were appointed to relieve, were henceforth known as *Giudici del Proprio* or *del Nazionale*, the court being different, as had been the case in early days at Rome, in causes in which citizens only were interested, and causes in which one or both of the parties were foreigners.

The *Avogadori del Comune*, on the other hand, were not an institution framed on a Roman model. At Rome the pleading of causes, whether on behalf of the state, of a private prosecutor, or of an accused person, was originally the unpaid work of statesmen or young aspirants to a political career. If they held office at the time, their appearance as advocates was no part of their official duty. Cicero, when holding no office, had on behalf of the state accused *Verves* of peculation in Sicily, and, when consul, had accused *Catiline* of treason. But neither in earlier nor in later times was there at Rome any public prosecutor or law officer to act for the state in the law courts: the only public officer engaged in any trial was the consul or *prætor* or other president of the court who decided points of law that arose; the judges who decided on the guilt of the accused or the justice of the claim were, like our jurymen, amateurs selected for the particular trial, and the counsel for the parties were also amateurs. The Roman law was unwilling to relieve private citizens from the duty of defending themselves from accusations or prosecuting those who had done them wrong: it was only gradually and reluctantly



that the employment of *procuratores* or *cognitores* was permitted. But in most modern systems of law derived from the Roman, and in our own law in theory, if little in practice, we find official advocates whose duty it is to represent the interests of the community in legal proceedings, whether the state is one of the parties to the action or not. Such were the *avocats généraux* in France under the *ancien régime*, and such were the Avogadori at Venice. The principal duty of the latter was to see that the laws were observed. For this purpose they used to conduct the prosecution of criminals, and had power to stop the execution<sup>1</sup> of orders of other magistrates, just as was done at Rome by the *Intercessio* of the tribunes, to whom the Avogadori were in many respects analogous. They had also power to prevent an elected officer from exercising the powers of his office till he had cleared himself from any charge made against him. In the case of a Procurator of St. Mark this was called "sospendere la veste." Besides this they watched over all legal proceedings and reported to the Quarantia or, in more important cases, to the Senate or the Great Council, any decision that appeared to affect the public interest. Any case they took up on behalf of the public was privileged and took precedence of all other cases. In criminal cases before the Quarantia the avogador proposed one penalty and the chiefs of the Quarantia another, and the judges were bound to select one or the other of these. The provision was analogous to a well-known rule of law at Athens. A character of severity was held to be a qualification for this office. The Avogadori were bound to be present, and occupied special seats, at all elections in the Grand Council, but they did not take

<sup>1</sup> The technical word for this was *intromettere*. In the English divorce court, the practice of which has been influenced by ecclesiastical, and through that by Roman law, the Queen's Proctor has the duty of preventing the parties to the action coming to a settlement against the interests of public morality.

so prominent a part in this as the chancellor or *scribarum princeps*.<sup>1</sup> It will be necessary at a later time to return to the subject of this office in connexion with other parts of the constitutional system of Venice.

<sup>1</sup> See Amelot de la Houssaye, *Gouvt. de Venise*, pp. 218–224. This account is much later, dating from the last half of the seventeenth century, and some of the details it gives are probably inapplicable to earlier times. The foundation of the Council of Ten, which was subsequent to the time we have reached, altered in some respects, but only in relation to political crimes, the functions of all officers concerned in the administration of justice.

## CHAPTER II

### ENRICO DANDOLO AND THE FOURTH CRUSADE

WHEN Aurio Mastropiero died in 1192 the councillors of the doge summoned all the inhabitants from Grado to Capo d'Argine for the election of the new doge. By this general assembly the forty electors were chosen, not in the elaborate manner that came into use later: "more solito" are the words of the chronicler Andrea Dandolo, and these appear to mean that the assembly chose, by majority of votes at a secret ballot, four electors who chose a body of forty, each of whom must receive the votes of three out of the four electors, and not more than one of whom might belong to any one family;<sup>1</sup> those forty then chose the doge by a majority of votes. We shall see how within a short time the fear of private ambition and factious intrigue led the Venetian aristocracy to adopt the most curious and complicated form of election ever devised.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 331, as to the rule made by Sebastiano Ziani, which seems to have been followed, though at first sight "more solito" is a strange way of describing a procedure of which there had been only one precedent. Dandolo's words: "Consilarii nunc primò regimini prefecti pro electione Ducis solemniter celebranda, incolas a Grado usque ad Caput Ageris per edictum citaverunt. A quibus *in concione* decreta die *congregatis* more solito XL electores constituti sunt" (x. 3, Mur. SS., xii. col. 315). He does not use the words "Magnum concilium"; but the interesting discussion in Jannotius' *Dialogus de Rep. Venetorum* (*apud* Grævium, *Antiq. Ital.*, tom. v. Pt. I. pp. 41-52), makes it probable that the Great Council, which he calls "Comitia," was originally an electing body only, existing perhaps in earlier times, but adopted by Seb. Ziani, when he devised new machinery for the orderly election of the doge. The early history of the Great Council was a mysterious subject to the most ancient Venetian writers.

The choice of the forty electors at this time fell upon Enrico Dandolo, whom we have already had occasion to mention several times. He was an old man and blind, or nearly so,<sup>1</sup> but still vigorous and ready for warlike or diplomatic action, in which he had distinguished himself in earlier life. His election was proclaimed on the 1st of January 1193 (1192 according to the Venetian reckoning, which began the year on Lady Day). The "promissione" to which he swore immediately after his election, in accordance with a custom which was probably already ancient, is the first preserved to us. The collection of those in a MS. volume in the library of St. Mark is, as it were, a manual of the constitutional law of Venice. There is a certain monotony as to the substance as well as the form of those documents.

The "promise" begins with a preamble of some length, after which it runs: "Nos Henricus Dandolo," or "Jacopus Teupolo," with full style and titles, "promittentes promittimus vobis universo populo Veneciarum majoribus et minoribus," and it ends, "hæc promissionis carta in sua permaneat firmitate." The substance of the document consists partly of generalities, such as a promise to execute justice impartially and according to custom, if such exists, if not, according to his conscience; not to accept or let others accept any advantage or favour; to seek in all his actions the good and honour of Venice: partly of clauses referring to particular branches of government, such as promises not to interfere in filling the see of Grado, or any bishopric that might fall vacant; not to claim authority in

<sup>1</sup> Villehardouin, a contemporary and eye-witness, says of him: "Sé biaux ielx avoit en sa teste, si n'en véoit-il goutte, car perdue avoit la vue par une plaie qu'il avoit eue el chief." This enables us to diagnose his blindness as the most hopeless kind, caused by atrophy of the optic nerve, often the effect of injury to the spinal cord, which leaves the eye to outward appearance capable of sight. Villehardouin adds that he was "de moult gran cuer." Romanin says he was "di debolissima vista" (see note 3 on p. 298, *ante*).

regard to the sealing of salt or in the affairs of Castelnovo in Dalmatia, and not to write letters to the Pope or other princes on behalf of the republic without the authority of a majority of his council.<sup>1</sup>

In the interval between the election of Dandolo and that of Jacopo Teupolo in 1229, a body of five Correttori was elected to revise the terms of the Promissione Ducale, and those officers became a permanent institution of the republic. Whether this was their first establishment is a little doubtful, as there is reason to suppose that Correttori existed as early as 1032. Jealousy of the doge's power grew up gradually from very early times. The requiring him to swear on his accession to a number of promises, and the care taken to make these more explicit and detailed for each succeeding doge, were stages in the long process by which his authority was reduced from practical sovereignty to a mere shadow of power.<sup>2</sup>

The first acts of the new doge were treaties with Verona and Treviso, the Patriarch of Aquileia, and the King of Armenia. That with Verona, extorted by a threat of a total suspension of trade, secured to Venetians free navigation on the Adige, and a monopoly of the supply of salt to the Veronese territory. In Dalmatia the doge found himself involved in disputes with Zara, which led to events of the highest importance. We have seen<sup>3</sup> that the expedition sent to recover it in 1187 had shortly afterwards been interrupted by the appeal that Pope Gregory VIII. made to the combatants to make a truce and turn their arms

<sup>1</sup> Romanin gives a summary of Enrico Dandolo's promise at pp. 143-145 of vol. ii. In an appendix to the same vol., pp. 430-438, that of Jacopo Teupolo, who became doge in 1229, is given *in extenso*. Some illuminated promissioni on parchment are to be seen (and read without difficulty) in the Museo Correr or Civico.

<sup>2</sup> As to "Promissioni ducali" and "Correttori" there is a good deal that is instructive in Yriarte, *Vie d'un Patricien de Venise* (pp. 265 *sqq.*, large paper ed.).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, pp. 335, 337.

against Saladin. The truce for two years concluded in consequence of this appeal had lasted till now, and for these five years Zara had remained independent and defiant of Venice. Nor did she submit at once now; for Pisan ships came into the Adriatic to help her and took Pola, which Venice had to retake, and also to punish Brindisi for aiding the Pisans. The last years of the twelfth century in Italy were also disturbed by the failure, with the death of William II., of the male line of the Norman princes of Sicily, and the claim of the Emperor Henry VI., Frederic Barbarossa's son, through his wife Constantia, William's aunt, to succeed him in the kingdom; the patriotic resistance of the Norman Tancred had not kept the Emperor out of Sicily and Apulia; but in 1197 the death of the Emperor and the succession of his infant son by Constantia, who, as the Emperor Frederic II., was afterwards to play a great part in the world, added to the uncertainty of the prospect. Henry VI. had entertained the idea of a possible conquest of the Eastern Empire, which in its present condition the experience of former crusades had shown to be a serious obstacle to the reconquest of the Holy Land by Western Christendom.<sup>1</sup> The existence of this idea in the West may be usefully borne in mind in connexion with the events which shortly followed. At Constantinople itself a revolution had taken

<sup>1</sup> The designs of Henry VI. are explained in a very instructive book, *Der Vierte Kreuzzug*, of W. Norden (Berlin, 1898). He represented the Normans of Sicily, the most persistent enemies of the Byzantine Empire. Norden quotes some very remarkable testimonies to the enmity felt towards Constantinople by the Crusaders, e.g. when the Crusaders are before Constantinople in 1101, "subito murmur exoritur invisum imperatorem Thurcorum potius quam Christianorum parti favere." They say "Perfidus ille Alexius se tanti facere dicit Francos cum Thurcis pugnantes quanti canes se invicem mordentes" (Eccehard, *Hierosolymita*, p. 237). Bohemond in 1104 preached everywhere in the West a crusade against the Greeks, as the destruction of their empire would best promote Christian success in Syria (Fulco of Chartres, *Fulcherius Carnotensis*, in *Recueil des Hist. des Crois Occid.*, iii. p. 418). It is as the embodiment of this belief that he is so cordially



place in 1195. Isaac Angelus, the indolent and incapable Emperor, had been dethroned by his brother Alexius, who, on his elevation, assumed the name of Comnenus from the Imperial family of which he was a descendant in the female line; Isaac was now in prison, blinded, according to a too common Byzantine custom, and his son Alexius, a lad of fourteen or fifteen, had escaped from his uncle's custody and was seeking help from the Sicilian court and the Pope as well as from Philip of Suabia, the younger brother of the late Emperor Henry, and a claimant for the elective crown of Germany, whose wife was a daughter of Isaac Angelus and sister of the young Alexius. The Venetians, always affected by revolutions at Constantinople, had had more trouble than usual in getting a new Golden Bull, renewing their privileges, from the new Emperor. Whether from this cause or from their being involved in some way with which we are not acquainted in the Sicilian troubles, the Venetians had been delayed in the re-conquest of Zara; that town was still holding out in 1201, when it became involved in important events affecting the whole of Christendom.

In 1198, only six years after Richard Cœur de Lion had made peace with Saladin and left Palestine, a new crusade was in preparation. Innocent III., who ascended the Papal throne in that year, was not a pontiff to rest in inglorious peace while the Holy Sepulchre was in the hands of the infidels. Saladin had died in 1193, but the Saladin tithe, originally levied in England and France on the occasion of his conquest of Jerusalem, had set a precedent which Innocent was not slow to follow. On the last day of 1199 a Papal proclamation was issued announcing

hated by the Princess Anna. Odo de Diogilo says of the Greek Emperor "quo regnante cruci Christi et sepulcro nihil tutum, quo destructo nihil contrarium" (de Ludovici, *Itin.*, lib. iii., in *Migne Patrol. lat.*, vol. 185, p. 1223). The Abbot Suger thought the only hope of success in Holy Land lay in removing the empire that had impeded all former attacks (Norden, *u.s.*, pp. 14-19).

that the Pope and cardinals and all the clergy of Rome had decided to contribute a tenth of their revenues for the delivery of the Holy Land, and calling upon all prelates and clergy in Latin Christendom to contribute at least a fortieth for the same purpose. The contributions were not to be sent to Rome, but to be administered in each diocese by the bishop in concert with a knight of each of the two military orders of the Temple and the Hospital. The laity were to be exhorted at every mass to help in the pious work, an alms-chest for the purpose being placed in every parish church; but they were also to be called on for personal service; the Pope professed his readiness to set the example, and two cardinals at once took the cross and set out, one for France, the other for Venice, to raise recruits. But the impetuous zeal of the Pope was shocked at the reluctance with which his appeals for money were met.

In France the Pope's efforts were seconded by a much humbler agent. Fulk, the parish priest of Neuilly-sur-Marne, had led, like many of the French clergy, an idle and profligate life, till, struck by a sudden compunction, he had given himself up to study and asceticism, in order to be better able to teach and convert his people. His preaching had had the rapid success that has so often attended religious revivals, and by 1195 had filled the streets of Paris with crowds of penitents, pouring their money down at his feet, and praying him to inflict penance on their sins and give directions for their future conduct. At this time the dying request of his teacher, Peter the Chanter, turned his zeal into the new channel of the Crusade, and his influence, which had begun to flag, revived. He began to travel about the country like Peter the Hermit, and the Pope, hearing of his success, wrote him a letter of commendation, and placed him under the guidance of Cardinal Peter Capuano, his legate at the court of France. This was in 1198. The cardinal himself took

the cross, and was authorised to grant absolution to all who would do the same and give a year's service to God<sup>1</sup> in the crusading host.

The appeal of Fulk and the cardinal reached, towards the end of the next year, Thiebaut, Count of Champagne, and Louis, Count of Blois, who were with other nobles assembled for a tournament at the castle of Ecri, near Rethel. They were both very young, both grandsons of Louis VII. and Eleanor of Aquitaine, and so nephews to both Philip Augustus of France and Richard of England. They took the cross, and their example was followed by Baldwin, Count of Flanders, Thiebaut's brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, Renaud de Montmirail, and other high barons of France. At Soissons, Compiègne, and other places meetings ("parlements") were held to decide when to start and what route to take, but want of funds prevented them from coming to an immediate decision. After several meetings, the barons went so far as to send envoys—two representing each of the three Counts of Champagne, Flanders, and Blois—to arrange for the expedition.<sup>2</sup> One of the representatives of Count Thiebaut was the Marshal of Champagne, Joffroy or Geoffrey de Villehardouin, who, fortunately for us, had at his command not only the pen of a ready writer, but one of the most admirable vehicles of expression that the world has seen, the *langue d'oïl* of the Isle of France. In his graphic account we possess not only an eye-witness's description of one of the most remarkable events of mediæval history, the Latin conquest of Constantinople, but also a lively picture of the Venetian constitution in operation at an early period of its development.

The envoys had full powers to decide as to the route to be followed, and carried with them deeds already sealed<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Villehardouin, c. i. My references are, unless otherwise stated, to the edition of Paulin Paris, 1838.

<sup>2</sup> "Por aparellier l'estoire," Villeh., viii. and ix.

<sup>3</sup> "Bonnes chartes pendans" (Villeh., c. x.), *i.e.* "charters with seals hanging to them" (de Wailly's ed., p. 10, note 2).

to confirm any agreements they made on behalf of the barons. They determined to go to Venice, because there they believed they would find greater abundance of shipping than at any other port. They arrived there in the first week of Lent, and were received with great honour by the doge, though he wondered much for what purpose they had come to his land. When he had read their credentials and found they were sent by persons of so much importance ("li plus haut home qui soient, orendroit, sans corone porter"), and that they desired to deliver their message to him in the presence of his Council, he fixed a meeting for the fourth day, on which they went to the palace, "which is very rich and beautiful," and delivered their message, asking for help and advice as to shipping. The doge begged for eight days fully to consider so great a matter, at the end of which, having conferred in private with his Great Council, he informed the envoys of the terms he would recommend the people of Venice<sup>1</sup> to accept for their ships and of their advice as to the passage.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> "Le comun de Venise."

<sup>2</sup> This I take to be the meaning of the words in c. xiii., "il metroient bien conseil à leur passer." But the reading is doubtful. By "the Great Council" is meant the Quarantia, as is clear from Villehardouin's explanation in ch. xv., "c'est quarante homes des plus sages de toute la terre," whose function was "loer et creanter," "to say and promise" what was best to do. But the doge also, we are told, referred to a body of 100, then to 200, and then to 1000, assembled in the church of St. Mark "to hear a mass of the Holy Ghost, and pray for counsel." When these had severally approved, the "comun de Venise" mentioned in ch. xiii. were assembled, no doubt the "arengo" as it was called in earlier times, the whole body of citizens who met in the church and by acclamation consented to, or dissented from, the proposals made to them. Who the 100 and 200 and 1000 were is more doubtful: the Senate or Pregadi were a body of indefinite number selected arbitrarily by the doge, and I would suggest that the doge summoned three meetings, first of a smaller, then of larger numbers, to consider so important a matter. In later times a question of foreign policy, such as this application of the barons, would have been in the province of the Senate (see Jannotius, *Dial. de Rep. Ven.*, apud Grævium, tom. v. Pt. I. p. 40). No doubt so important a matter as this would at any time have caused the Senate to be summoned.

terms were—4500 knights, each with his horse, 9000 squires and 20,000 “serjans,” *i.e.* men-at-arms to serve on foot, were to be supplied with transports at the rate of four marks a year for each horse and two for each man, amounting to a total of 85,000 marks. The Crusaders were to find nine months’ provision for men and horses. In addition to the 85,000 marks the Venetians asked for half of all the lands or property taken, and they offered to furnish, besides the transports, fifty armed galleys to be at the disposal of the Crusaders.

The envoys agreed to these terms and, at the doge’s request, themselves proposed them to the common people in San Marco (“el moustier”): Villehardouin tells us how they were gazed at by the multitude, who had not seen them till then, while he made them a speech, exhorting them to have pity on the Holy City and aid the barons of France to avenge the shame of Jesus Christ. They had come to Venice, he said, because no people had such power on the sea as they had. Then the six envoys knelt down at the feet of the Venetians, weeping aloud, and the doge and all those with him wept too and cried out, stretching their hands on high, that they granted their request<sup>1</sup>; there was such a shout that the earth seemed to tremble, and when this was quieted, Henry the doge ascended the lectern<sup>2</sup> and addressed them, pointing out how highly favoured they were, that the barons of France, the noblest race in the world, had asked them in preference to all other people to join them in so high a task as the avenging of our Lord. Next day the formal agreements were sealed, and the details of the expedition settled but not all made public: for instance, it was announced only that they were to go to Syria by sea, though it was secretly

<sup>1</sup> “Nous l’otroions ! nous l’otroions !” ch. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> “Monta ou létrin.” The ambone in San Marco has two pulpits, from one of which, that on the side of the epistle, the doge showed himself immediately after his election and took his oath.

agreed that they should go by "Babiloine," *i.e.* Cairo. The barons and pilgrims were to be in Venice by St. John's Day (24th June) 1202—it was now Lent 1201—and everything was then to be ready for them to start. The sealed agreements were brought to the palace, where the doge had assembled both the Great and the Small Council: when the doge delivered to the envoys his sealed copy, he knelt down in tears and swore on the relics of the church to observe its terms. The forty also swore, and the six envoys. "Sachiez," Villehardouin adds, "que là ot mainte larme plourée de pitié." We need not think that there was insincerity in all this weeping, or that it was merely an effect of infectious enthusiasm among an excitable Southern population. No doubt it was partly due to this: but "the shame of Jesus Christ," the thought that His sepulchre was in the hands of the infidels, trampled on and insulted by believers in Mahomet, was felt as a poignant personal grief by numberless simple and pious souls all over Christendom. "'At the retaking of Jerusalem by the Pagans, Abbot Samson put on a cilice and hair-shirt, and wore under-garments of hair-cloth ever after; he abstained also from flesh and flesh-meats thenceforth to the end of his life.' Like a dark cloud eclipsing the hopes of Christendom, those tidings cast their shadow over St. Edmundsbury too: shall Samson Abbas take pleasure while Christ's tomb is in the hands of the infidel?"<sup>1</sup> But this genuine sorrow and determination to do their part in avenging the Saviour was quite consistent with a shrewd determination to make a profit out of the expedition, and even, as we shall see, to drive a hard bargain with the barons and pilgrims.<sup>2</sup> Both

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle's "Past and Present," p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> I have not mentioned in my text the assertion of some writers that the Venetians had been already bribed by the Sultan Malek-adel to divert the Crusade from Egypt and Syria, because I am convinced it is a libel. In a note to this chapter I hope to discuss the whole question of the varying accounts of this Crusade.



parties sent embassies to the Pope<sup>1</sup> with the agreements for his confirmation, which he readily gave. His approval of the Venetians, as we shall see, did not last long.

It was of bad augury that the envoys had to borrow 200 marks in Venice to give to the doge to enable him to begin the work of fitting out the ship :<sup>2</sup> lack of money was destined throughout to paralyse the enterprise of the barons. Then the envoys separated : four of them went on to Genoa and Pisa to see what aid they could get from them in ships or money, while Villehardouin and one companion crossed the Mont Cenis to report to the barons who had sent them. Another evil omen met them on their way home : they met Walter of Brienne, whose wife was a daughter of "King Tancred," that is, the Tancred I lately mentioned, the illegitimate descendant of Roger Guiscard, who had endeavoured to save the kingdom of Sicily from the Emperor Henry VI. : Walter of Brienne was bound for Apulia, with the Pope's sanction, to maintain his wife's rights, and with him were a great part of the good people of Champagne who had taken the cross. When Pope and Emperor were at issue as now, good Christian people who wished to strike a blow for religion were likely to confuse the cause of the enemies of Christianity with that of the Pope's political enemies. They promised Villehardouin to be at the rendezvous in Venice in good time, "but events happen," the marshal says, "as pleases our Lord : for they never had the power of joining the assembled host : from which came much damage, for they were very good men and stoutly valiant."

Another misfortune followed. At Troyes Villehardouin found his master Count Thiebaut very ill : in joy at his envoy's return he felt well again, and said that he would mount his horse : but "alas never again but that once did

<sup>1</sup> "L'Apostole de Rome" as always in Villeh. and in other French writers of this time. The occupant of the "Sedes Apostolica" is himself raised to apostolic rank.

<sup>2</sup> "Pour comencier la navie."

he ride." He died at Troyes and was buried there in the abbey of St. Stephen. Villehardouin and other of the Crusaders endeavoured to persuade Duke Eudon of Burgundy, and failing him the Count of Bar-le-duc, two cousins of Count Thiebaut, to take his place: and on their refusal there was a "parlement" of the leaders at Soissons to decide on the choice of a commander: they resolved to send letters to Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, asking him to come to Soissons and take over the command. He belonged to a great Italian family, of which we have heard much already in connexion with the East and with Frederic Barbarossa's campaigns, but Villehardouin tells us he was much honoured in France and Champagne, "and right was it should be so, for he was cousin-german to the King of France," and moreover one of the most valiant men then living.<sup>1</sup> Boniface came at once to Soissons, was present at another parlement in an orchard adjoining the abbey of Notre Dame, and accepted the offered command; and the Bishop of Soissons, with Fulk of Neuilly and two Augustinian friars, fastened the cross on his shoulder in the abbey church. He was obliged at once to go to his own country to arrange his affairs during his absence, but promised to be at the rendezvous in Venice in due time. On his way he attended the general chapter of the Cistercian order held at Citeaux on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross (14th September), where a great number of both churchmen and laymen took the cross. Before the host got off, another of its most valued leaders, the Count del Perche, also fell ill and died.

About Pentecost of 1202 the pilgrims began to flock into Italy by the various passes of the Alps,<sup>2</sup> and assembled at

<sup>1</sup> Villeh., chaps. xxv., xxvi. Adelaide of Savoy, aunt of Boniface, had married Louis le Gros, King of France. Louis VII., son of Louis le Gros, was therefore first cousin to Boniface.

<sup>2</sup> "Parmi Borgoigne et parmi les Mons de Montgeu et par Moncenis et par Lombardie" (Villeh., ch. xxx.). Parmi is the Latin *per medium*. "Borgoigne" is the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles which covered

Venice, where they were lodged in an island called St. Nicholas before the port (San Nicolò di Lido). Count Baldwin of Flanders was among those pilgrims, but some ships, that he and his brother had sent, were sailing round by the Straits of Morocco (*i.e.* of Gibraltar), laden with cloth and provisions and other good things to bring to Venice. Many others of the French nobles preferred the shorter land journey to Marseilles and embarked there; others, after crossing the Alps, went off from Piacenza into Apulia. It is probable that Marseilles and Bari and Brindisi offered easier terms than Venice. The number of defaulters, of whom tidings came to the leaders at St. Nicolas, was alarming: for if the total number were seriously diminished, the payment promised to Venice could not be found: the barons were "esbaï et esmaïé" (astonished and dismayed), and sent Villehardouin with Count Hues de St. Pol to meet the Count of Blois and other leaders at Pavia, and persuade them to come to Venice and to come without delay. They prevailed upon the count and some others, but Vilains de Nulli, a vassal of Count Baldwin, whom Villehardouin calls "one of the good knights of the world," preferred to go by Apulia, and so many others were like him, that the numbers who came to Venice were not a third of those for whom the Venetians had prepared ships. The latter pressed for the money agreed upon: they had hoped even more than the guaranteed number would come, and it was a bitter disappointment that the actual number fell so far short of their expectations. The leading pilgrims collected all the money they could, but many of the host were poor, others

the French side of the Alps almost all the way from Geneva to the Mediterranean. The "Monts de Montgeu" are those of the Great St. Bernard, called Mont Joux (Mons Jovis) in the Middle Ages: compare Jeudi for "dies Jovis." "Moncenis" needs no explanation. "Par Lombardie" need not refer to a third pass: it may merely mean that all the mountain routes ended in Lombardy, just as they all started from Burgundy. The Simplon was not probably in use so early, and it (and still more any pass to the east) would be out of the way of pilgrims coming from France or Burgundy.

were only too glad of an excuse for giving up an enterprise that promised to be costly and difficult. The chiefs, Baldwin of Flanders, Boniface of Montferrat, the Counts of Blois and St. Pol, were still zealous and were ready to advance all the money they had, or could borrow, for the great cause. Better to spend all the money they had left, they said, than sacrifice what they had already spent and give up the rescue of the Holy Land. So much as this cool reason seemed to counsel: the religious enthusiasm of others made them gladly give all they had and "march poor in the host of our Lord," trusting to Him for repayment in another world.<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly the Venetians saw quantities of beautiful gold and silver plate carried to the doge's palace to make up the payment; but after every effort, the sum forthcoming was less by 34,000 marks than the covenanted price. Those who wished to return home were exulting, but God, so the pilgrims held, would not suffer the enterprise to fail, and put it into the heart of the doge to advise the Venetians not to ruin so holy a cause by insisting on their rights, but to make a compromise.<sup>2</sup> He pointed out to his Council that Zara was kept from them by the King of Hungary, that it was a very strong place, which they needed the help of the Crusaders to recover. If the barons would grant this help, he advised his countrymen to let them off the 34,000 marks till the place had fallen. On St. Mark's Day (April 25th), which this year fell on a Sunday, when the people were assembled in San Marco, before mass began, the doge again from the lectern addressed the congregation, which included most of the nobles of the city, and many of the French pilgrims also. He reminded the Venetians that for the highest of all purposes, the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, they were already engaged in co-operation with the noblest men in Christendom. He was himself old and feeble, needing rest; but he saw no one in their community

<sup>1</sup> Villeh., chaps. xxxv., xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> "Plait" = placitum, a general word for an agreement.

better able to lead them to battle than he was. If they would let his son govern the city in his absence, he would take the cross and go with them to live or die, whichever God might destine for him. Such words from the blind old doge, who had so long been among their chief leaders, naturally moved his hearers. While they shouted their approval, he went to kneel before the altar of St. Mark, and there had the cross fastened to his cap<sup>1</sup> "in front so that all might see it." Villehardouin tells us that the "great gentleness they saw in the doge" moved the pity of the pilgrims, pity, I suppose, for the age and infirmities which did not prevent him from so arduous an undertaking as this Crusade; but gentleness (*douceur*) is hardly the quality one would most naturally attribute to an old man of ninety, still so eager for fighting.

From St. Mark's Day till near September the process of handing over the ships to the pilgrims went on. There was no reason to complain of the equipment of the galleys, or the "huissiers"<sup>2</sup> to carry horses; when men and horses

<sup>1</sup> "Chapel de Coton." This was not the "zoia" or "corno," so familiar to us in portraits of doges, which was of cloth of gold with a fringe of large pearls, and very heavy. Neither of these names, nor probably the thing itself, is so old as 1200. Later doges wore under it what is no doubt referred to here, a white linen skull-cap. A writer of the eighteenth century (*Topografia Veneta*, iii. 167-172) describes it as "certa cuffia di tela finissima, le cui due estremità da una parte e dall'altra del viso gli pendono esteriormente." The continuer of William of Tyre (fol. 184), in his account of Dandolo taking the cross, speaks of his "chapiel de bonnet." "Bonnet" is conjectured to be "bourre de laine ou de soie," *i.e.* rough wool or floss silk. The doge's cap would be of the former more likely than the latter. See Diez, *Romance Dictionary* (English trans.), *s.v.* "bonete" and "borra." John Bellini's portrait of the doge Loredano, in the National Gallery, shows us the under-cap of white stuff with the two tapes or ribbons hanging down on either side, as described in the above quotation. The corno in that picture is of a rich brocade, with a band of cloth of gold running round it. Gentile Bellini's portrait of the doge F. Foscari, in the Museo Correr, also shows the under-cap.

<sup>2</sup> See the description of "Ippagogi," *ante*, p. 250. They were called "huissiers" or "uscieri" from the great doors (*huis* Fr., *usci* It.) let down to admit the horses, as I have noted there.

were embarked with arms and provisions, with 300 *perrières* and *mangoniaus* and other engines for taking towns, when the shields were hung on the "*chastiaus*" or deck-towers, the banners floating from the masts, it seemed to the French that so fair an expedition had never started from any harbour.

They started on the octave of St. Remi, that is on the 9th of October, and on the eve of St. Martin, the 10th of November, they appeared before Zara. They found it a city enclosed with high walls and great towers, so strong that they said to one another—How could such a city be taken, if our Lord Himself did not take it?<sup>1</sup> But they did not delay their attack. On St. Martin's Day the galleys and other large ships forced the chain that closed the harbour, and landed their crews between the harbour and the town. "Then you might have seen many a knight with many a stout sergeant come out of the ships, and many a fair charger be drawn out of the huissiers, and many a fair tent with its rich covering."<sup>2</sup> As soon as the host had pitched its camp the siege began. On the next day some from the city came out to the doge's tent and offered to surrender if their lives would be spared. But while the doge was consulting the French leaders, some of those who were opposed to the attack on Zara—Robert de Boves is mentioned as taking a lead in this movement—persuaded the envoys that the pilgrims would not really attack the city, and that they had only the Venetians to deal with, so that, when the doge returned, he found the envoys had gone back. The leaders of the pilgrims had agreed to

<sup>1</sup> Villeh., ch. xlv. Psalm cxxvii. 2, "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain," seems to have been in their minds.

<sup>2</sup> "Lors veissies maint chevalier avec maint bel serjant issir des nés, et maint biau destrier traire des huissiers, et maint riche tref et maint bel pavellon" (Villeh., ch. xlv.). There is some doubt as to the meaning of "tref." I have followed M. Paulin Paris (ch. lvi.) in rendering it of the "étouffe" or "tapisserie" covering the framework of the hut or tent. Its usual sense in old French is "a beam" (cf. Latin "trabes").



accept the surrender, and the doge had pledged himself to follow their advice. So he was very angry when the Abbot of Vaux,<sup>1</sup> a Cistercian, confronted him with an order from the Pope ("de par l'Apostole") not to assault this Christian city; and the pilgrim leaders supported him in his resolve to make the attack in spite of those who would divert him from it. So the next morning all the engines were set up before the gates, and scaling-ladders got ready on the ships, and the *perrières* began to hurl stones at the walls.<sup>2</sup> When this had gone on for five days, and progress had also been made with a mine near one of the gates, the town surrendered on the terms first offered. Then the doge came to the barons and proposed that, as winter was near and they could not proceed on the Crusade before Easter, they should stay in the rich country near Zara, the Venetians occupying the half of the city that lay towards the sea, the French the inland half. This was done, and both parties took up their abode in the town. But on the third day after, about the time of vespers, a fierce dispute arose between Venetians and Franks: the well-disposed of both parties tried in vain to separate the combatants, and the fight went on through the night with a good deal of slaughter, Giles de Laudast, a chief among the Flemings, being one of the killed. At length the doge and the barons succeeded in allaying the tumult.

Shortly after the surrender of Zara, Montferrat with

<sup>1</sup> Vaux Sernay, Ducange calls the abbey. It is now known as Vaux-le-Cernay, and is twenty-five or thirty miles from Paris. There are some remains of the abbey, which belong to the Rothschilds (Hare's "North-Eastern France," pp. 315, 316). This was the Vaux at which Fouquet, the famous Surintendant des Finances under Louis XIV., in whose misfortunes Mme. de Sévigné took so tender an interest, built his famous palace of delight, from which he passed so suddenly to the Bastille. The account in Tafel and Thomas, from *Cod. Gall. Monac.*, 52, represents the abbot as being of the more famous monastery of Clairvaux (T. and T., i. p. 338).

<sup>2</sup> There is a lively representation of the assault in one of the great pictures (by Vicentino) on the walls of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the doge's palace.

Montmorenci and other leaders of the French joined the host, and a fortnight later came a more remarkable recruit. This was Alexius, the young son of Isaac Angelus, the deposed Emperor of the East. He, as we have seen, had fled to Western Europe, where his connexion with Philip of Suabia enabled him to make powerful friends. Alexius, in the course of his wanderings about Europe, fell in at Verona with some of the French pilgrims on their way to the rendezvous at Venice. His friends advised him to ask the aid of the crusading host in the recovery of his kingdom, and this request was conveyed to Montferrat, who had not at this time reached Venice, and was possibly near Verona.

Montferrat and his family were well acquainted with Constantinople. I have already mentioned the connexion of his father and his brothers William, Rainier, and Conrad with the East. Rainier and his wife had met their deaths in the revolution that put Andronicus on the Byzantine throne.<sup>1</sup> Conrad had started for Palestine when his father went out in 1185. They were at Constantinople when the counter-revolution put Isaac Angelus on the throne in place of Andronicus. Conrad made himself useful to Isaac, was given his sister Theodora in marriage, and created Cæsar. In one or two years that he spent at Constantinople, he saved his brother-in-law from the very dangerous rebellion of Branas; but his wife dying he went on to Palestine, where, after delivering his father from captivity in 1188, he by a second marriage became, in 1193, King of Jerusalem; but on the day on which he heard of his election, was murdered by an emissary of the Old Man of the Mountain. Boniface, the youngest of the four brothers, was now, through the death of his three elders without male issue, the head of his family, and might consider himself entitled, as their representative, to play a part in the troubled waters of the Eastern Empire—perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Finlay, "Byzantine and Greek Empires," ii. p. 247.

to avenge the wrongs of the two who had already played a part there.

Although the other barons whom Boniface consulted were surprised at an offer of help from such a quarter, they felt it was important for them in their attack upon Palestine to have Constantinople in friendly hands; and they agreed that if Philip, Alexius' brother-in-law, would take the cross and help in their expedition, they in their turn would help Alexius to recover his rights. So they sent envoys with the young Alexius (whom Villehardouin always calls by the title, that sounds strange in modern ears, of the "Valet" or "Varlet"<sup>1</sup> of Constantinople) to Germany. Philip of Suabia's answer, which was received at Zara a month after the taking of the city, was that he would place his brother-in-law in the hand of God and the barons: they were fighting in the cause of right and justice; to restore the disinherited would be a congenial task, and the "Valet" if restored would bring all his empire to the Roman obedience, that is, to the obedience of the Pope; would give 200,000 marks of silver, and if they wished would furnish 10,000 men at his cost for a year, and 500 for ever after. The envoys who had been to Germany advised the acceptance of this offer, but when it was discussed the opinion in the host was far from unanimous. The Abbot of Vaux, who had protested in the name of the Pope against

<sup>1</sup> "Vaslet" or "Varlet" in old French is a diminutive of vassal, a word said to be of Welsh origin. As a vassal in the feudal sense was called "the man" of his lord, "varlet" or "valet" came to be used for "boy" simply; "garçon" or "gars," in the sense of a waiter, has a somewhat similar history. Valet being a boy, "valet de Constantinoble" would be parallel to "fils de France" or "enfant d'Espagne," for a prince royal of France or Spain. The following old uses of "valet" (which I take from Godefroi, *Dict. de l'Anc. Langue Franc.*) are curious: MS. Hist. of St. Joseph at Petersburg, fol. 4a, "si enfanta un vallet qui ot nom Jhesus"; *Ler de Lincy Rois*, i. 17, p. 65, "Respundi Saul, 'ne te poz pas a lui cupler, kar tu es vadlez, e il est uns merveilus bers de sa bachelerie"; Ducange, *s.v.* "valetus," says, "nobilium sen militum filios, qui nondum militarem ordinem erant adepti, valetos appellatos."

the attack on Zara, now said that if they attacked Christians they would be going against the law of Rome.<sup>1</sup> The party that had been against the Crusade from the first agreed with the abbot ; but many of the pilgrims—not only laymen but churchmen, another Cistercian abbot in the number—took the other side, arguing that no Crusade that had gone direct to Syria had ever succeeded ; if the Holy Land had ever been conquered it had been by way of “Babiloine” (*i.e.* Cairo) or Greece. Moreover, after the engagement they had made to the “Valet” it would be disgraceful to abandon him. The prevailing opinion was that, for the cause of God, they should all hold together and adhere to the former agreement ; and the chief leaders—Montferrat, Baldwin of Flanders, Louis of Blois, and Hugh of St. Pol, with the doge—were all on this side. So a formal treaty was sealed and sworn to, details as to time to be settled when the “Valet” joined them, which was to be immediately after Easter.

During the winter spent in inaction at Zara the host again began to melt away. A high baron of Germany, whom Villehardouin calls Garniers de Bolende, went away in a merchant-ship ; Renaut de Montmirail, by the aid of

<sup>1</sup> The Pope was careful to leave a loophole : he would write to his dear son in Christ, the Emperor of Constantinople (*i.e.* the usurper Alexius), urging him to provide victuals for the crusading host ; if the Emperor should refuse this, the host being consecrated to the service of the Crucified Lord of the world, “posset utique non absurdum videri ad similitudinem Imperatoris terræ, de quo cautum est in jure civili, quod si ejus exercitus indiguerit alimentis, ea possit accipere undecunque, possitis et vos cum timore Domini, sub satisfaciendi proposito ad necessitatem tantum ea sine personarum accipere læsione” (*Gesta Innocentii*, § 87). They were not to let the Venetians have the opportunity of breaking up the Crusade (this was an altogether unworthy suspicion, as it was not the Venetians who wished to stop the enterprise), but to take precautions : “ut multa pro tempore dissimulare ac tolerare curetis, donec ad locum perveneritis destinatum, ubi opportunitate accepta eorum ut expedit malitiam comprimatis.” The infallible guide in faith and morals first forbids a course of action as entirely wicked ; then allows a transparent excuse for following it, provided they are willing only to follow it so far as to get an opportunity of betraying their allies.

the Count of Blois, got sent on a mission to Syria in one of the ships of the host, and did not return, though he had sworn on relics to do so. Villehardouin records, with a sense of righteous retribution, how 500 of the rank and file (*menue gent*) who had withdrawn in merchant-ships were lost at sea, and how a large body, trying to get to their destination overland by Sclavonia, were all but four massacred by the peasantry. On the other hand, news came that the fleet that had started from Flanders, and come round by the Straits of Gibraltar, had reached Marseilles safely. The châtelain of Bruges, who commanded it, sent to ask Count Baldwin for instructions, and was bidden to start at the end of March and join the main body at Michon in Romania—perhaps the island of Myconos in the Ægean. These also did not join the host, but went on independently to Syria, with no intention, Villehardouin says, of performing any exploit there. He goes on to remark bitterly that if the Lord had not so loved this host it could scarcely have held together when so many people wished it ill.<sup>1</sup>

One of the causes of these defections that threatened to dissolve the expedition altogether was undoubtedly the feeling that the Pope disapproved of the diversion of the Crusade to Zara. Innocent III. was not only a man of commanding character, who would at any time have had to be reckoned with, but the circumstances of the time made him far the greatest power in Christendom. The Imperial throne was disputed between Philip of Hohenstaufen and Otto of Brunswick; the successor of the late Emperor in the kingdom of Sicily, the direct representative of the Hohenstaufen family, was a child; neither Philip Augustus of France nor John of England was a commanding personality. The Venetians indeed on this as on many other occasions, though preferring to be on good terms with the Pope and ready to help him if he needed help, cared very little whether their

<sup>1</sup> Villeh., ch. liv.

conduct was approved or censured by him. But the French leaders were uneasy under his supposed disapproval, and sent an embassy to him from Zara to explain and apologise for their being there. The ambassadors, the Bishops of Soissons and Noyon, John de Friaise and Robert de Boves (the same who had been active in encouraging the men of Zara to resist), were sworn to return, so fearful were the chiefs of further defection. Robert de Boves broke his oath, and not only did not return, but did not go to the Pope, and made his way to Syria. The other three explained how the defection of those who went to other ports than Venice put them at the mercy of the Venetians. Innocent at first was firm: they must restore Zara on pain of excommunication. But when Montferrat told the Pope that he could not make this answer public, as the Venetians had no thought of surrendering Zara, and their excommunication would wreck the Crusade, Innocent accepted the apology, and while peremptorily ordering him to communicate his letters to the Venetians, let him know that, if the result was the excommunication of the Venetians, the French leaders might still co-operate with them without sharing the penalty. Not a word was said at this time about the engagement to restore Alexius.

After Easter the pilgrims removed to a camp outside the town, in order that the Venetians might pull down the walls and towers, in punishment for its many revolts. At the same time Simon de Montfort and his brother, with the Abbot of Vaux and others, left the camp, having come to an agreement with the King of Hungary—"a great disgrace to themselves, and a great loss to those of the host," says Villehardouin, who never doubted that, having begun the Crusade, they must push on the work in the best way that circumstances allowed.<sup>1</sup> The loyal majority of the host got ready the ships and transports, and agreed to rendezvous at Corfu, the first who arrived there to wait for the last. Just

<sup>1</sup> Villeh., ch. lvi.



before the last ship started, the valet Alexius appeared in the camp<sup>1</sup> with the message from his brother-in-law that I have described on a former page.<sup>2</sup> A portion of the ships was given to his charge, and the doge and Montferrat set sail with him, and after touching at Durazzo reached Corfu, where they found the bulk of the host already before the town, having landed the horses and built huts and tents *per rafreschir*. Alexius was received by these with great joy, and pitched his tent, side by side with Montferrat, in the midst of the host. The island was rich with plenty of all good things, and this proved a snare to the section of the host that had shown throughout such a lack of zeal. Many openly declared they would stay there, letting the host go on, and then find their way to Walter of Brienne at Brindisi, who was endeavouring to recover the kingdom of Sicily for his Norman wife, but had taken the cross, and could be credited with the intention of crossing the sea to Syria.

We are told that more than half of the host sympathised with this faint-hearted party, but did not venture to show their feelings. Montferrat and Baldwin of Flanders and the other chiefs were aghast at a danger the extent of which they could not fathom, and when they had called a meeting in a valley, in the presence of Alexius and many churchmen, dismounted and threw themselves at the feet of the malcontents, vowing they would not rise from that posture till these had promised not to withdraw from the host. The malcontents consulted apart, and agreed to

<sup>1</sup> He arrived at Zara on April 25th, and overtook the first division of the Crusaders at Corfu on May 25th (Winkermann, *Philipp v. Schwaben*, &c., i. p. 527).

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 364. Philip, it seems certain, contributed no material help to the expedition. He was not in a position to do this, having as much as he could do to maintain his own ground in Germany. But the German chroniclers all represent Philip as being the real instigator of Alexius's enterprise, and as having induced Montferrat to take up his cause. Had the young Alexius perished in the attempt, Philip would probably have claimed the Byzantine throne in right of his wife. (See Winkermann, *u.s.*, i. pp. 527, 528, 30, note 1.)

stay with the host till Michaelmas, if the other leaders would swear on relics (“*seur sains*”) to give them then, truly and honestly, ships to take them to Syria. On Whitsun eve 1203 the fleet sailed from Corfu, many merchantships joining to take advantage of their escort. The weather was fine, the winds favourable and gentle; as far as eyes could see, there was nothing but the sails of ships and vessels to be seen, so that the heart of every one rejoiced exceedingly.<sup>1</sup> “Joffrois, the Marshal,” so Villehardouin always describes himself, “who dictated this work, and never to his knowledge put a false word in it, as one who was present at all the councils,” bears witness that never was seen so great an armament, which seemed one that must conquer the earth.<sup>2</sup> The fleet soon ran to Cape Malea or Matapan, which Villehardouin calls “*Cademaalée*” (Cap de Malée), where they met two ships with “pilgrims and serjeants” who had been among those that started from Marseilles, already returning. These were ashamed to show themselves to so fair and rich a fleet of which they might have formed a part, but, when Count Baldwin sent his ship’s boat to see who they were, one of the serjeants dropped on board the boat, leaving behind all his goods, and begged to go with the host, who seemed men that must conquer. He was made much of as the returned prodigal, and the fleet sailed on to Negropont. There it was decided in council that Montferrat and Baldwin, with Alexius and a considerable part of the host, should occupy the isle of Andros as a nucleus of the land to be recovered for the prince. The rest of the ships sailed on to Bouche de Avie, the ancient Abydos—many of the old classical names assume a softer form in the mouths of their Western conquerors—where the Straits of St. George, as the Hellespont

<sup>1</sup> The leaders, in the letter they wrote to the Pope justifying their action, appeal to the favourable wind “sent by God” to carry them to Constantinople, as evidence that their enterprise was favoured by Heaven. (*Gesta Innoc.*, § 90.)

<sup>2</sup> Villeh., ch. lx.

was now called from the monastery of St. George of Mangana at its entrance, fall into the open Ægean Sea, and ran up the straits to Avie, a fair city in a good situation on the Turkish side of the straits. They stayed eight days there for all the ships to come in, and laid in a store of wheat. Then they set sail again, and the straits might be seen all the way up blossoming with ships,<sup>1</sup> a marvellously beautiful sight. On the eve of St. John the Baptist they came to the Abbey of St. Stephen, the San Stefano so famous in the diplomatic history of our time, on the Sea of Marmora, three leagues south-west of Constantinople, "and then they saw in full view Constantinople."<sup>2</sup> Those who had never seen it could not believe that there could be so rich a city in all the world. When they saw those high walls, and those rich towers with which it was shut in, and those rich palaces and those lofty churches, of which it had such a multitude as no man could believe if he had not seen them with his own eyes; and when they saw the length and breadth of the town, which was the queen of all others, know that there was none so bold but his flesh shuddered, and it was no marvel if they were dismayed, for never was so great a business taken in hand by any nation since the world was set in motion."<sup>3</sup>

The doge, with the counts and barons, landed and held a conference at the monastery of St. Stephen. The doge, who knew the country of old, advised that they should not land in force on the mainland to advance thence upon Constantinople, and risk the loss of men, who would be sure to disperse in search of provisions—they were all too few already for the work before them. It would be better

<sup>1</sup> "Dont peussiés véoir le bras St. George flori tout contremont de nés et de vessiaus et de galies et d'huissiers" (Villeh., ch. lxi.).

<sup>2</sup> Paspatis, *Meletai Byzant.*, p. 175, says: 'Η Κωνσταντινόπολις, πνέοντος βορείου ανέμου, μόλις φαίνεται από τὸν "Ἁγίον Στέφανον ἀπέχοντα μίλια δέκα ὅταν νότιος ἄνεμος πνέη παντὰ τὰ κτίρια θαυμασίως διακρίνονται. κτίρια are "buildings."

<sup>3</sup> Villeh., ch. lxi.

to land a foraging party to collect corn and meat from the labourers in the Princes' islands close at hand, and when they had got enough for their present needs, to sail up the Bosphorus. This advice was taken; it was decided to strike the blow at once, and the next day—Midsummer Day 1203—the fleet sailed up the Bosphorus, and appeared before Chalcedon, on the Asiatic coast,<sup>1</sup> where the usurper Alexius had a delectable palace, in the gardens of which the Crusaders encamped. The Byzantine soldiers showed themselves on the walls of the city opposite; but the Crusaders did not at once attempt to cross. After two days at Chalcedon the ships of war set sail up the strait to Scutari,<sup>2</sup> where was another palace of the usurper, the knights (*la chevalerie*) going overland. The rapid stream running out of the Black Sea makes it easier to cross to Constantinople from Scutari than from Kadi-koi.<sup>3</sup>

The accounts of the events that followed, which have come down to us from the two eye-witnesses, who played an important part in them, Nicetas Choniates on the side of the Byzantines (the "Romans" as he calls them), and the Marshal of Champagne on the side of the "Latins," are not difficult to reconcile. For nine days the invaders stayed in the neighbourhood of Scutari, and a small

<sup>1</sup> "Devers la Turkie," Villeh., ch. lxii. Chalcedon is now called Kadi-koi. "La Turkie" means the dominions of the Seljukian Sultan of Iconium. Wilken (*Kreuzzüge*, v. p. 203, n. 31) remarks that the letter of the Count of St. Pol (*apud* Godefr. Mon. Struve., i. p. 369) uses the equivalent expression, "versus Iconium," in describing Scutari.

<sup>2</sup> Villeh. calls it "Lo Scutarie," and says it was a league above Constantinople. Nicetas also speaks of it as *Σκουτάριον*, not by its ancient name of Chrysopolis. It has been thought, from Pliny's language in speaking of Chrysopolis, that that city was no longer in existence when he wrote.

<sup>3</sup> The transports remained at anchor off Chalcedon, over against Perea, more than a bow-shot from the Asiatic shore, near a place known as *Διπλοκίονιον*, or the double columns, which marked the usual place for crossing the strait. (See Wilken, *Kreuzz.*, v. p. 150, n. 30). It seems agreed by modern authorities that the Diplokionion was situated on the shore of the Bosphorus, east of Galata, near the palace of Beschiktash (Van Millingen, *Byzantine C. P.*, 242, 243, and 305).

foraging party that went out under Eudes of Champagne came upon a much larger body of "Greek knights," under a leader whom Villehardouin calls the Meghédus<sup>1</sup> of the Emperor, and put them to flight, taking many horses and mules and tents. The next day, according to Villehardouin, a Lombard in the service of the Emperor Alexius, named Nicolas Roux, came on a mission to complain that they had relinquished their professed object, the reconquest of the Holy Land, to attack a Christian power, to whom they replied, by the mouth of Conon or Quénes de Bethune: "bons chevaliers et sages et bien éloquentes," that they had not attacked Alexius' realm, but one that he held "à tort et à péchié et contre Dieu et contre raison"; that the real lord, the son of the Emperor "Kirsac," was in their camp; that the elder Alexius must expect nothing more than a pardon and a liberal provision for his life, if he at once made way for his nephew.<sup>2</sup>

The leaders decided the next day to show the young Alexius to his subjects, and accordingly put him on board a ship with the doge and Montferrat, and carried him across the strait. The city was in a state of defence, the garrison on the walls and the chain stretched across the mouth of the harbour. No one stirred to welcome the Vallet, so great was the fear of the usurper.<sup>3</sup> So the barons returned to their camp at Scutari, and agreed upon an order of battle in which to attack the city next day. Their first object was to get possession of the harbour of the Golden Horn,

<sup>1</sup> This is conjectured, and not improbably, by the editors of Villeh. to be an attempt to represent μέγας δούξ, "great duke." δούξ is a recognised Byzantine word.

<sup>2</sup> Villeh., chaps. lxxv.-lxxvii. "Kirsac" is the name Villeh. always gives to the dethroned and blinded Emperor. It probably represents Κύριος Ἰσαάκιος. It is also invariably the name in the French continuation of William of Tyre.

<sup>3</sup> The leaders confessed in their letter to the Pope announcing the first taking of the city (*Gesta*, § 90), that they found popular feeling against them, the usurper having instilled into men's minds that the Latins had come to subject their Church to the Pope. When they tried to obtain a hearing they were received with a shower of darts.

which was, as we have seen, closed by a chain stretched across from a tower in Galata near the gate of the Lime-burners (*Kiredschi Kapussi* in Turkish) to the Acropolis near the Seraglio Point.<sup>1</sup>

The Greek historian Nicetas, whose patriotic wrath against the piratical Crusaders is mingled with contempt for the cowardice of his countrymen, the corruption of high officials, and the incapacity of the usurper Alexius, describes the attack in very few words. "The ships and transports and boats," he says, "crossed to the entrance of the bay,<sup>2</sup> and when some on land and some by the sea attacked the castle in which the Romans have been accustomed to fasten a heavy iron chain, whenever an attack from an enemy's boats was impending, they straightway fall upon the walls; and one could see some of the Romans who guarded it taking flight from it after a short resistance, others killed or taken prisoners, and some letting themselves down the chains, as if by the rope of a draw-well, and getting into our triremes there, while many missing their hold of the chain fell head foremost into deep water. Then the chain was broken and all the enemy's force flowed in."<sup>3</sup>

Villehardouin's account is more detailed and picturesque :

<sup>1</sup> It could also be stretched to the Tower of Leander, the lighthouse tower on a rock off Scutari, if it was desired to close the Bosphorus instead of the Golden Horn (see von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphoros*, ii. p. 109). Remains of this tower "in Galata" are still to be seen. A various reading of Nicetas gives "Arcla" as the name of the tower; but this was the ancient name of the Tower of Leander. Villehardouin speaks of "la tour Galatas." But the well-known Galata Tower is of later date than 1204, and is, moreover, situated some distance from the shore, so that a chain from it to Stamboul or Scutari would have to pass, for about half its length, over the roofs of the houses of Galata.

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τὸν ἐσέχοντα κόλπον (as to which cf. Hdt. ii. 11, κόλπος ἐκ τῆς βορρῆης θαλασσης ἐσέχων ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίας) means "to the mouth of the bay." The bay itself, the Golden Horn, was shut off from them by the chain; but they could lie under the north-west shore towards Topchane.

<sup>3</sup> Nicetas, p. 718 of Bonn edition.



Count Baldwin of Flanders was to command the van and Montferrat the rearguard. Their orders were to take the harbour at all costs, "si come por vivre ou por morir." It was as doubtful an enterprise as was ever attempted, and the bishops and clergy urged all who were to take part in it to make their confessions and their wills, "for they knew not when God would issue his summons to them." Then they went on board their transports. The knights were in full armour, with helmets laced, the horses caparisoned and saddled: a little before sunrise on a fine July morning they started from the Asiatic shore, each galley or war-ship towing a huissier or horse-transport "pour passer séurement." No regular order was observed; the knights in the ships that first reached the shore landed first, leaping into the sea up to their girdles; the trumpets sounded merrily, and the serjeants and archers drew up, each man in front of his company. The Greeks of Alexius were on the shore to receive them, and made a great show of resistance, but when it came to lowering of lances, they suddenly turned their backs and retired from the shore. After this first brush the horses were taken out of the huissiers, the knights mounted, and the several "battles" were formed, not now irregularly, but in the order previously agreed upon. They advanced first upon the position the Emperor had held, but he had abandoned it, struck his tents, and was marching towards Constantinople. So the crusading leaders reconnoitred the position, and decided that if they did not take the tower they would be as good as dead men.<sup>1</sup> So they secured themselves before the tower in "the Jewry which was called Lestanor, where there was a very good town and very rich,"<sup>2</sup> posting

<sup>1</sup> "Il seraient mort et mal bailli."

<sup>2</sup> The map in von Hammer's "Constantinople" shows a "Jewish quarter" just in this part of Galata. M. Paulin Paris thinks that "Le Stenon" would be a better reading than Lestanor, "Stenon" ("narrow") being a name apparently given to the whole European coast of the Bosporus. But there is some doubt as to this, Stenon being used

sentinels, a precaution that was very necessary, as next morning at tierce the garrison of Galata made a sortie, aided by barges from Constantinople; this was vigorously repulsed, and the Crusaders pursued the retreating enemy so closely that they got into the tower before the gate could be closed, and after a sharp fight in the gateway, remained in possession of the tower, and cut the chain: thus the harbour of Constantinople was won.<sup>1</sup>

The next day all the ships were towed into the harbour, and at a discussion amongst the leaders it was decided that the Venetians should attack the city from their ships, and the barons from the land. On the fifth day they were ready for the attack: the "battles" advanced, in the order before agreed upon, as far as the upper end of the Golden Horn, over against the palace of Blachernæ. This was at the northern apex of the triangle of Constantinople, on a site first enclosed in the city walls by Heraclius. The ships sailed up the harbour parallel to them.<sup>2</sup> The bridge<sup>3</sup> over the river Barbyzes that there joins the Cydaris and flows

sometimes certainly for the Golden Horn (see Zonaras, xvi. 5, quoted in Van Millingen, p. 89). There is a learned note in Wilken, *Kreuzz.*, v. p. 216, on the topography of Galata, and the curious forms in which old French writers expressed Greek names they did not understand, e.g. Guirice for *κέρας*, Scique or Seique for *σικαί*, the old name of Galata. According to Antony of Novgorod there was a Jewish quarter at Pegæ, a suburb to the west of Galata, now known as Cassim Pasha (Van Millingen, *Byzantine C. P.*, p. 210).

<sup>1</sup> Blondus Flavius (*de Origine et Gestis Venetorum*, in Grævius, *Thes. Ital.*, tom. v. Pt. I. col. 11) says the chain was cut by a huge forceps on board a great Venetian ship that sailed down upon it with wind and tide. A strong beak would under such circumstances be all that was required.

<sup>2</sup> "Endroit aus."

<sup>3</sup> A v. l. in Nicetas says the bridge was called the Camel's Bridge. It was near a place known as *Τρυπητός λίθος*, that is, "the Tunnelled Rock," the synonym of the "Pierre Pertuis" between Berne and Basle, of many Pertuis in Brittany, Pertusa in Aragon, and Mte. Pertuso, near Salerno. It is mentioned again in Nicetas, p. 742 Bonn. (see *post*, p. 389), where the historian speaks of *τὴν ἐκεῖσε περιαιρομένην ἀψίδα*, apparently a vaulted passage cut in the rock, like those familiar to us on Alpine roads (Wilken, v. p. 221, n. 79).

into the harbour, forming together the famous "Sweet Waters," had been broken down, but a night's work restored it, and as soon as it was rebuilt the "battles" passed over it, and were drawn up facing the western slope of the hill on which the palace of Blachernæ stood. Nicetas speaks of a skirmish at the bridge, but Villehardouin is silent as to this, and says that no sortie was made from the city at this time, though the force within was to the besiegers as 200 to four. The latter pitched their camp near the city wall, between the Blachernæ palace and an abbey which Villehardouin calls the "chatel de Buimont," that is, Bohemond's Castle, so named after the Norman leader who in the First Crusade and afterwards had left behind him at Constantinople the memory of a treacherous and formidable enemy.<sup>1</sup> The camp was so close to the walls that, as Nicetas tells us, the besiegers about Gyrolimne could almost converse with those in the city. We are told that sorties were so frequent from the gates in the neighbourhood that the besiegers had to protect their camp with a strong palisade.<sup>2</sup> Nicetas is severe on

<sup>1</sup> The abbey was that of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Nicetas calls it Cosmidium, and Anna Comnena tells us that Bohemond, when at Constantinople with the First Crusade, was lodged at the Cosmidium. It was at the village now known as Eyoub.

<sup>2</sup> Nicetas (p. 719 Bonn) speaks of an *αβλειος* on the slope of the hill of Blachernæ *πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μὲν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος λήγουσα ὅπερ ἔρμα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνήγειρε Μανουήλ, κατὰ δὲ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐγγίζουσα*. Wilken, v. p. 222, n. 82, conjectures this to be an open space in front of the palace, either without or within the walls. There were two gates here, that of Blachernæ and that of Gyrolimne: the latter is the one we are concerned with here. It was named after a "silver pool" (*ἀργυρὰ λίμνη*), which may have been a part of the Sweet Waters. But there is some uncertainty about the origin of the name. We are told by one authority that Bohemond in the First Crusade was lodged "extra civitatem in Sancto Argenteo." We know from other passages that he was at SS. Cosmas and Damian, and Van Millingen (p. 127, n. 2) rather strangely supposes that the *ἀργυρὰ λίμνη* was named from an association of ideas with those saints' epithet of *ἀνάργυροι*, "the impecunious." Van Millingen's note on the above passage from Nicetas (*Byz. C. P.*, p. 122) is instructive, and he gives, opposite p. 166, a very beautiful photogravure of the view of the city from the slope on which the Crusaders encamped.

the cowardice of the Emperor, who took no active part in the defence, but contented himself with watching the operations from the highest tower of the palace of the Empress who came from Germany ;<sup>1</sup> but some of his kinsmen and household, resolved to show there were still some Romans in the city, got up the constant sorties, in which Alexius' brother-in-law Theodore Lascaris<sup>2</sup> particularly distinguished himself. The besiegers were strongly entrenched on a hill commanding the gate of Gyrolimne, but the missiles from the garrison made it so hazardous for them to leave their camp that provisions began to run short.

Thus, though they repulsed all the sorties with vigour,<sup>3</sup> their situation was growing untenable, so that on the 17th of July, the tenth day of the siege, an assault from both land and sea was ordered. On the land side Count Baldwin, leaving Montferrat with the rearguard composed of Burgundians and Champenois to guard the camp, assaulted a barbican<sup>4</sup> near the point where the city wall touched the Golden Horn ; according to some accounts a part of the wall was thrown down by a battering-ram or a mine, but Villehardouin speaks only of scaling-ladders. Anyhow only a handful of men, sixteen in all, established themselves on the wall, and they soon had to retire before a large force of Danish and English mercenaries—the famous Varangian Guards—who held this position, and were, it appears, supported by Pisans and Genoese, whom

<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἐξ Ἀλαμανῶν δεσποινῆς (Nicetas, p. 720 Bonn). This was the Empress Irene, wife of Manuel Comnenus, by birth Gertrude, daughter of Count Beringer of Sulzbach (Wilken, v. p. 226, n. 97).

<sup>2</sup> Theodore's brother Constantine was taken prisoner in one of the sorties. Villeh. calls him "Constantins li Acres." The Empress' tower was only a part of the vast palace of Blachernæ.

<sup>3</sup> "Les remetoient ens mout durement" (Villeh., ch. lxxv.). *Ens* is the Latin *intus*.

<sup>4</sup> This barbican appears to be what Van Millingen calls the citadel of Blachernæ, the rather narrow quadrilateral enclosed between the Heraclian Wall and that of Leo the Armenian. See *Byz. C. P.*, p. 172.

no doubt jealousy of the Venetians had induced to fight in the Grecian ranks. The Venetian attack from the sea was more successful: and here we get a life-like picture of the old doge and his "estrane fierté" from the pen of the Marshal of Champagne. The engines on the ships were throwing showers of stones, amid so great a clamour that it seemed as though earth and sea must melt together, but the galleys were not venturing to run aground. The doge, spite of his age and blindness, "was standing all armed at the bow of his galley and had before him the banner of St. Mark. He called out to his sailors to put him ashore quickly, or he would do justice on their bodies; so his galley was run ashore immediately and the crew landed with his standard. All the Venetians followed his lead: those in the horse-transport sallied out, and those in the great ships got into the boats and landed as best they could."<sup>1</sup> This Villehardouin saw with his own eyes, and more than forty barons testified that they saw the standard of St. Mark on one of the towers, but no man knew who carried it there. "By the will of our Lord," he adds, "the citizens fled and left the walls, and the Venetians entered and occupied five-and-twenty towers."<sup>2</sup>

Nicetas, whose account does not clearly distinguish the part played by the Franks and the Venetians in this day's operations, mentions that a breach was made by a battering-ram in a part of the city wall facing the harbour near the king's landing-stairs, and in this he is confirmed by a letter of the Count of St. Pol preserved in the chronicle of Godfrey, the Monk of Cologne. His account of the Venetian attack is more detailed than that of Villehardouin:

<sup>1</sup> "Qui ains ains, qui miels miels" (where "ains" is Latin *ante*, "miels" *melius*).

<sup>2</sup> The row of towers, twenty-five or nearly as many in number, are conspicuous in Domenico Tintoretto's picture of the Taking of Constantinople in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, which also shows the Venetians, some climbing their scaling-ladders, others swarming along the yards that reach from the masts of the ships to the towers.

the mechanical contrivance by which, when the transports were anchored close up to the wall, ladders of ropes were slung up to the topmasts and then let down on to the walls, so that those on the ships were able to get the advantage of descending from above on the defenders, seems to have impressed him much.

The garrison at once tried to recover the twenty-five towers won, which formed the defences of a quarter of the city called Petrium, corresponding with the Fanal of the present day, the seat of the Patriarchate ; but the Venetians held them fast, and kept the enemy at bay by setting on fire the houses suspended from the walls<sup>1</sup> and separating them by a barrier of fire from the interior of the city. The fire spread till all the quarter reaching from the hill of Blachernæ to the convent of Christ the Benefactor<sup>2</sup> was in ruins. But undeterred by this, the flower of the garrison—and there were very good soldiers among them—made a sortie later in the day under Alexius from near the Gate of St. Romanus,<sup>3</sup> which looked so formidable to the besiegers that the doge hurriedly sent reinforcements from the towers he was occupying and his ships ; but the usurper had lost heart, and, when Theodore Lascaris pressed for leave to charge the enemy, he preferred the ignominious counsels of the courtiers about him and returned to the palace, resolved to give up the contest and abandon the city. That night he took with him his daughter Irene and all the money and jewels he could lay hands upon, and escaped by sea to Debelton, a town in Bulgaria between the Hæmus or Little Balkan and the coast of the Black Sea.

The Crusaders advanced cautiously as the far more numerous Greek host, deserted by its commander, retired,

<sup>1</sup> ὄψομαι τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκκρεμεῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Ducange *C. P. Christiana*, lib. iv. pp. 79, 80. Vide *post*, p. 394, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Wilken, v. p. 230, n. 110. The Gate of St. Romanus was some way to the south of the point of attack, so that a sortie from it would have attacked the right flank of the enemy.



not apparently to the city, but to the palace of Philopation—Villegardouin calls it Phelipos—which was without the walls and not far from the Propontis.<sup>1</sup> They were cautious not only from their inferiority of numbers, but from a serious scarcity of provisions. They spent the night in their camp, but before the next day broke, news came to the young Alexius that his uncle had fled from the city, and that his father Isaac had been taken from his dungeon, and established with his wife in the Blachernæ palace. Alexius told the news to the marquis Boniface, who called the other leaders to his tent to communicate it to them. “Ne convient mie a demander,” says Villegardouin, “s’il en orent grant joie,” and he goes on to express their feelings of thankfulness in words recalling those of the hymn, “He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and exalted the humble and meek.” At dawn they all armed, not trusting to Greek good faith, and after a parlement, at which the doge was present, they sent envoys to Isaac to ask him to confirm the engagements of his son, whom meanwhile they detained in their camp.

Villegardouin was one of the four envoys, two chosen from the Frank leaders, two from the Venetians, so that we have a graphic account from an eye-witness of the aspect of the palace and city immediately after the revolution that had occurred. They were admitted by the Gate of Blachernæ, and there dismounted and walked to the palace of that name, the English and Danes, all with their axes in hand,<sup>2</sup> lining the road. In the palace they were brought before

<sup>1</sup> It was near the Selivri Gate and the village of Balukli. The Holy Spring, still famous for its medicinal qualities, was close to this palace: from this the gate leading to Selivri, and now known as Selivri Kapoussi, was called in Byzantine times *πυλὴ τῆς πηγῆς* (Van Millingen, p. 75).

<sup>2</sup> “A toutes leur haches” (Villeg., ch. lxxxvi.). The common word for the Varangian Guards in Nicetas is *πελεκύφοροι*. They had been called together by the Eunuch Constantine, the prefect of the Treasury, immediately on the usurper’s flight, and their consent to the restoration of Isaac had been obtained (Nicetas, p. 727 Bonn).

the Emperor, who was richly clad and had the Empress at his side, a very fair lady, who was sister of the King of Hungary. A great crowd of courtiers made it difficult to move in the presence chamber, all who had been before the enemies of Isaac thronging now to offer their services. The envoys asked for a private audience, and were allowed to retire into a side room with the Emperor and Empress, their chamberlain, and their dragoman. Villehardouin was, as on other occasions, the spokesman, and explained that until the Emperor had confirmed his son's covenants the young man could not be allowed to enter the city, and he recapitulated the stipulations the Crusaders had made; first and foremost, the subjection of the empire to the obedience of Rome, that is, of the Pope; secondly, the payment of a subsidy of 200,000 silver marks and of provisions for the army for a year; thirdly, a contingent of 10,000 men for a year to aid in conquering the land of "Babiloine," *i.e.* of Egypt, and the service of 600 knights in Syria<sup>1</sup> for the rest of his life. He reminded the Emperor that his son had promised this in writing and by oath, and that Philip of Germany, his brother-in-law, had done the same. The Emperor hesitated; the terms asked were so great that he did not see how he could grant them, yet no reward he could give those who had restored him and his son could exceed their deserts. There was much discussion, but in the end the Emperor gave the same pledges as his son had given;<sup>2</sup> the envoys returned to the camp, and the barons mounted their horses and rode with the Vallet into the city, where his father received him with

<sup>1</sup> "La terre d'Outremer" (Villeh., ch. lxxxix.).

<sup>2</sup> Nicetas' account (p. 729 Bonn) of this negotiation is rhetorical, full of indignation against the covetousness of the Latins (*οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔθνος ἔρασιχρηματώτερον τοῦδε τοῦ γένους τρεχεδειπνότερον τε καὶ δαπανηρότερον ἕτερον*), but entirely lacks the details so naively told by the Marshal of Champagne. He is particularly shocked at the plunder of Church treasures and destruction of sacred images; but this may be only a reminiscence of the 74th Psalm. The city had not been stormed, and it can hardly have been necessary to hew down carved images in order

great joy. So unexpected a success caused great joy also in the crusading host; but in view of what soon followed it looks ominous when we read that the Emperor Isaac begged them to remove from their position on the landward side and encamp on the other side of the harbour towards the Bosphorus<sup>1</sup> and Galata, as if they were too near the town there would be danger of discord and destruction. They moved accordingly, and their new camp was plentifully supplied with provisions. Nor were individuals prevented from entering the city and visiting the palaces and churches, of which no city had so many or so splendid,<sup>2</sup> not to mention the holy relics, of which there were more in the sanctuaries of Constantinople than in all the rest of the world.

It was agreed that the new Emperor, *i.e.* the young Alexius, should be crowned on the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, the 1st of August, and on that day he was crowned with all the splendour usual at a Byzantine state ceremonial. He began paying the subsidy he had promised, and what he paid was at once distributed among those who had advanced the money demanded by the Venetians for their passage. But before long the young Emperor came to a private conference with Count Baldwin and the doge and other leaders, and explained to them that he had so many false friends in the city that he would not be able to maintain his position if the Crusaders left, as had been agreed upon, at Michaelmas. Nor could he pay the stipulated sum by that time. If they would stay through the winter he would pay what they owed the Venetians

to provide the subsidy demanded. No doubt Church treasuries may have been drawn upon to find the sums promised, and this spoliation would have been an important cause of the unpopularity that the restored Emperor and his son so soon incurred.

<sup>1</sup> "Devers l'Escanor et devers Galatas." I take "L'Escanor," like "Lestanor" (see p. 374 *ante*, and note), to be a corruption of "Le Stenon."

<sup>2</sup> The monk Alberic (quoted in Wilken, v. 240, n. 2) says that there were then 500 abbeys and conventual churches in Constantinople.

and provide all they needed till Easter. By that time he would be firm on his throne, and the revenues that would be coming in would enable him to pay all the promised subsidy. They would start on their voyage and their campaigns when the fine season was beginning.

When the Emperor had returned to Constantinople and his proposal was laid before a parlement of the host there was much difference of opinion. The party that had all along chafed at their delay in reaching Syria called out loudly that this Byzantine episode was lasting too long, and demanded ships to carry them immediately to the land of the unbelievers. Every fresh delay would make it more difficult to retain the sanction, very lukewarm at the best, that the Pope had given to their enterprise. But the leaders had good ground for supporting Alexius' proposal: if they started at Michaelmas the winter would be on them before they could strike a decisive blow in Egypt: the Venetian fleet, if it carried them to Egypt in the autumn, must needs winter there, so that not much additional cost would be incurred by staying at Constantinople till the spring. When it was known that the Venetians would allow their fleet to stay for another year, there was no doubt what prudence counselled. Only those continued to oppose, says Villehardouin, who wished the Crusade to break up altogether. When this was settled, the young Emperor started on an expedition to reduce Thrace, where his uncle was endeavouring to re-establish his usurped authority at Adrianople. The marquis Boniface and a large body of Crusaders went with him, and, Villehardouin says, all his Greek subjects from either side of the "Arm of St. George," except John, King of Wallachia and Bulgaria.<sup>1</sup> The latter, a Wallachian who had succeeded in

<sup>1</sup> "Rois de Blaquie et de Borgherie" (Villeh., ch. xc.). *Blas* is the ordinary word for a Wallachian. As to King John, see *post*, p. 420, note 2.

establishing a semi-independent power on the European side of the straits, probably felt it to be more to his interest to support the usurper Alexius. Nicetas, who is indignant at the large sums of money paid to Boniface for his services in this campaign, tells us that the army had a successful march through the Thracian cities as far as Cypsella on the Hebrus, not far from the northern shore of the Ægean, and compelled the usurper to flee to a much greater distance from the capital. The Vallet, however, displeased his father Isaac by adhering to the faction that had deposed and blinded him, and caused him to suspect that his real intention was to ignore his father and govern the Empire alone.

During the absence of this Thracian expedition serious troubles arose in the capital. Some Flemings, in company with Pisans and Venetians who had been allowed by the courtesy of the Emperors to visit the city, attacked and plundered what Nicetas calls "a little synagogue of the Saracens or children of Hagar," that is, a mosque which Isaac Angelus before his deposition had allowed the Mussulman inhabitants to provide in the northern part of the city towards the harbour; the Saracens, aided by the Greek inhabitants of the quarter, resisted the attack, and the Latins, who had begun the quarrel, to defend themselves set fire to houses not only near the mosque, but in other parts of the city: a high wind that was blowing spread the conflagration far and wide, and kept it burning for two days and two nights, till a very great part of the eastern end of the city was destroyed.<sup>1</sup> As in the case of the burning of Moscow, there were various inconsistent stories as to its origin: but Nicetas' story of the attack on the mosque is

<sup>1</sup> Villeh. says that its front, as it advanced, covered a league. Nicetas gives very full details of the extent of the fire. It began on the northern slope towards the harbour, near the *τεμενος* called after St. Irene. We know of two churches of St. Irene, but neither of them was on the northern slope. Its eastern limit was *ἐς τὸν νέων τὸν παμμέγιστον*, which one would suppose was St. Sophia: its western

not improbable, and he is perhaps more likely to have known the truth than the Crusaders in their camp beyond the Golden Horn,<sup>1</sup> from which they watched its progress, grieving, as Villehardouin says, to see tall churches and rich palaces vanish, and great streets full of merchandise in flames, but unable to help in extinguishing it. No doubt the zealous crusading party, that had always opposed the diversion to Constantinople as delaying their proper object of fighting the infidels, may have complained of the additional delay caused by this misadventure, but they could not have maintained that the original cause of it, the destruction of a mosque, was inconsistent with the proper purpose of a crusade.

The fire was a serious calamity to the Crusaders as well as to the Greeks: for it put an end to all amicable relations between the invaders and the invaded, whom they nominally came to deliver from the unjust rule of the usurper. The restored Emperor Isaac was, Nicetas tells us, grieved at the fire and also at the plundering of the churches, but the young Alexius seemed to the same witness to be a mere firebrand, and like the wicked burning angel of the Scripture,<sup>2</sup> to exult in the calamity. The first sign of the mischief caused by the fire was the sight of numberless boats and barges crossing the Golden Horn, carrying the Latin

limit the so-called Perama, *i.e.* the principal ferry over the harbour at the point where the Galata Bridge is now situated. But the forum of Constantine in the 8th, one of the central regions, is mentioned as burnt. To the south it burnt as far as the western side of the Hippodrome, not far from the Sea of Marmora. It was not continuous but leaped over (*ὑπεραλάμενον*) certain districts.

<sup>1</sup> One Latin authority, the continuator of William of Tyre, whom Ducange called Hugo Plagon, attributes the fire to the Greeks setting fire to the houses of Latin settlers: Abulfaradsch, an Arabic authority, attributes it to Franks settled in the city, but without assigning any motive (Wilken, v. 248, n. 22).

<sup>2</sup> τὸν γραφικὸν ἐμπρηστὴν πονηρὸν ἄγγελον, p. 734 Bonn. Nicetas was a great theologian, but it looks as if he had here made the fourth angel of c. 16 of the Apocalypse, who causes the sun to scorch men with fire, a fallen angel.



residents with their wives and children and all their property they had been able to save from the fire, to a safe refuge in the camp of the pilgrims: those refugees, who were thus leaving the homes of their adoption for fear of their incensed neighbours, were said to amount to 15,000 souls.

The fire took place about the end of September or beginning of October 1203: at Martinmas, in the middle of November, the army of the young Alexius and Marquis Boniface returned from Thrace. It had been successful, and Alexius was received with great joy on his return to the Blachernæ palace: the ladies of the town, as Villehardouin tells us, riding out in grand processions<sup>1</sup> to meet their friends. But there was a want of harmony at the Greek court, which Nicetas has described in great detail, and with an evident pleasure in censuring all parties equally. The old Emperor Isaac was displeased with his son for giving his confidence to the same party that had formerly brought about his deposition, and was jealous that the shouts of welcome on his son's return placed Alexius before Isaac, or omitted Isaac altogether. On the other hand Alexius aroused the anger of grave and patriotic Greeks by visiting without ceremony some of his boon-companions among the Crusaders, drinking and dicing in their tents, allowing them to try on his diadem, heavy with gold and jewels, and himself putting on their woollen head-gear.<sup>2</sup> But the same grave critics were no better pleased with Isaac, who had apparently sunk into second childhood, and, like the senile representative of the Athenian democracy in Aristophanes' play, was intent on prophecies and heavenly voices, foretelling the restoration of his sight, the shedding of his rheumatic limbs like the skin of a snake, and his

<sup>1</sup> "À grans chevauchiées" (ch. xcii.).

<sup>2</sup> Such as the doge had fastened his cross to (p. 360). A scholiast to the MS. B of Nicetas, p. 737 Bonn, adds *ὑπερ καπούτζιν κατονομάζεται*, referring, I suppose, to the French *capuchon*.

transformation to a godlike humanity. Those delusions were fostered by certain monks, against whose uncropped beards and religious garb, disguising their pursuit of the choice fish and rich wines of the royal table, Nicetas mercilessly inveighs. But his serious thoughts were all given to extorting a revenue from his subjects, especially from the rich citizens and the churches, to keep himself on the throne and satisfy as far as he could the demands of the Crusaders.

How little he succeeded in doing this Villehardouin, who knows nothing of the internal troubles of the palace, lets us know. His account is not altogether reconcilable with that of Nicetas. He says the young Emperor, elated by his successful expedition, made himself very proud<sup>1</sup> towards the barons, and did not go to see them as he had been wont. When they asked him for the money he had promised they met with postponement after postponement, and got only poor instalments and soon nothing at all, till at last they concluded that he wished them ill, and to bring matters to a crisis, sent an embassy to require him formally to fulfil his agreement. The envoys were three Frankish knights and a certain number of Venetians of rank. Villehardouin was again one of them, but not the spokesman this time. They rode to the palace of Blachernæ with their swords at their sides, and were conscious of the peril they incurred, knowing how little they could trust to Greek good faith. They were admitted to the presence of the Emperors, sitting on two chairs side by side, the Empress close by them. Conon of Béthune spoke for the envoys, and astonished the Greek courtiers by the boldness with which, in the very Imperial chamber and in face of all the Emperor's barons, he repeated the promises contained in Alexius' charters, and declared that if he did not now perform them, "they could hold him neither for lord nor friend." This was a "defiance" in due form of feudal law.

<sup>1</sup> "S'enorgneilli mout" (ch. xcii.).

Alexius showed his displeasure, and there was an ominous murmur amongst the Greeks in the presence chamber as the envoys turned to the door and remounted, right glad to be out of the gate, for they were well aware how narrowly they had escaped maltreatment. War followed at once: there were many skirmishes, in which the Greeks generally got the worst till the middle of the winter, when they filled seventeen great ships with combustibles; and on a night when there was a high wind setting towards the Crusaders' ships, set fire to them, and launched them with all sails set across the harbour. The danger for the pilgrims was great, for, their ships destroyed, their retreat would have been cut off and their supplies from home, and they would have been left helpless in the midst of enemies. But in this crisis the seafaring skill of the Venetians stood them in good stead. The sailors at once went on board their ships and exerted themselves to get them out of danger; while others, in small boats or barges, grappled the fire-ships with iron hooks and towed them out into the current that sets down the Bosphorus. Only one ship was burnt—a Pisan, and so probably friendly to the Greeks.

The failure of this stratagem, in Villehardouin's opinion, was fatal to Alexius. We have seen from Nicetas that he had lost the support of the best and gravest statesmen; now his ill-success deprived him of popular favour. The populace, encouraged by some successful skirmishes with the Franks on the shore of the harbour, called upon Alexius to lead them against the invaders, and taunted him with being a lip-servant of the Roman cause, but in his heart inclining to the Latins. But both the Emperors thought the popular clamour meant nothing, and decided rightly enough that their safest course was to lean on the crusading army, which had placed them on their thrones. This was the opinion of all about their court except one man, Alexius Ducas, surnamed Murtzuphlos from his conjoined and overhanging eyebrows, a kinsman of the Angeli

and a member of one of the noblest Byzantine families, who had displayed conspicuous bravery in the skirmish at the "Tunnelled Rock,"<sup>1</sup> where his horse had fallen and he had been left to his fate by the leaders, but saved by some young men of the archers. He saw in the discontent with the reigning Emperors a chance of winning the crown for himself, but the people do not seem to have turned their eyes to him. There was a tumultuous assembly in the church of St. Sophia on the 25th of January 1204, which the Senate and the principal clergy attended and endeavoured to control, fearing that any disturbance of the present Emperors would bring the Latin army into the city. Nicetas himself took part in these deliberations, being no doubt a senator, so that his evidence is of the first rank for these events. The common people were determined to get rid of the Angeli; but when they tried to find a successor, they met with refusals from their own ringleaders and from some of the senators, though they persuaded them with drawn swords to take the crown. At length, after three days, they found a reluctant recipient in one Nicolas Canabus, a young man of good family and some distinction as a soldier, who was anointed and enthroned in St. Sophia, which he made his headquarters. As soon as the Emperor Alexius heard of this he sent secretly to the marquis Boniface,<sup>2</sup> asking him to occupy the palace of Blachernæ with a Latin guard, but Murtzuphlos discovered what was going on, and at once took steps to stop it. The old

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 375, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> This is the account given by Nicetas, p. 744 Bonn, who was likely to know the truth, and is more probable in itself than the story in Count Baldwin's letter (apud *Gesta Innocentii*, ch. xci.), that Murtzuphlos himself was sent to the camp at Pera to invite Montferrat to occupy the palace. The accounts agree as to the secrecy of the mission and as to Montferrat's coming to occupy the palace of Blachernæ, and being deceived. Count Baldwin says that Murtzuphlos' proposal was that the Crusaders should occupy the palace as a security for the debt still owing them, not for the protection of Alexius against his subjects. The two objects would not be inconsistent.

Emperor Isaac, spite of the promises of the monks and astrologers, lay dying of his gout; so there was only Alexius to deal with. Murtzuphlos was Protovestiarus, and as such had access to the royal apartments. He secured as an accomplice the eunuch who was at the head of the treasury, and gained also the Varangian Guard; and then at the dead of night went to Alexius in his bedroom, frightened him with accounts of the fury of the mob and the Varangians, who were ready to tear him to pieces as a friend of the foreigners, and inducing him to escape by a secret door to his own quarters within the precincts, had him at once led to the prison and loaded with chains. He himself put on the scarlet buskins,<sup>1</sup> and the next day was crowned Emperor in St. Sophia; the old Emperor Isaac was at this time either dead or dying, and Alexius was in a few days strangled or poisoned in the prison. Murtzuphlos, known to be a man of resolution and with the Varangian Guards at his back, was able without trouble to seize and imprison Nicolas Canabus, who had been enthroned for a few hours in St. Sophia—a gentle and able man, according to Nicetas, who from the preference felt, especially at Constantinople, for the worse side, had to give place to Murtzuphlos, and vanish like the moon under eclipse.<sup>2</sup>

The usurper gave the murdered Alexius a magnificent funeral, and spread a report that he had died a natural

<sup>1</sup> So Villehardouin says: "chauça erramment les hueses vermeilles" (ch. xcvi.). Nicetas, p. 745 Bonn, says that he had, apparently by a special privilege as Protovestiarus, the right of wearing these: *τιμηθεὶς πρωτοβεστιάριος καὶ τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἑτερόχρωμα ὑποδύμενος πέδιλα*. Gibbon says that Alexius "trusted him with the office of Great Chamberlain, and tinged his buskins with the colours of royalty" (ch. lx. vii. p. 309, Smith).

<sup>2</sup> *ἀμυρουμένην εἶχε τὴν ἀγλὴν κατὰ σελήνην λειψίφωτον* (Nicetas, p. 746 Bonn). Hopf (*apud* Ersch und Gruber, lxxxv. p. 196), says he was put to death before the young Alexius, and this agrees with the account in Baldwin's letter to the Pope (*Gesta Innoc.*, § 91), in which it is said that Alexius was not murdered till after an interview that Murtzuphlos (there called Marculfus) had with the doge, who had urged strongly Alexius' restoration to liberty. (See *post*, p. 393).

death.<sup>1</sup> But "murder cannot long be concealed," says Villehardouin, and it was soon known to both Greeks and Franks that Murtzuphlos had committed the murder. The Crusaders made use of this knowledge at once: they called a parlement of all the chiefs, Venetian and French, especially the high clergy and those who had come to the host from the Pope.<sup>2</sup> These last, according to Villehardouin, took the lead in denouncing the murderers of Alexius and all who had shared the gain from it; the refusal of obedience to the Roman see was of itself a sufficient reason for attacking them. The murder so far reinforced this cause as to make the attack a meritorious act, warranting the expectation that those who died in it would receive absolution from their sins just as if they had died in battle with the infidel.<sup>3</sup>

Murtzuphlos, who was in a stronger position than his predecessor, because freed from the compromising patronage of the invaders, showed so much patriotic energy in defending his usurped crown that the Crusaders had not long to wait to put the Papal promises to the test. Henry, brother of Baldwin of Flanders, returning from a foraging expedition to the town of Phileæ or Aphilea, on the Black Sea coast north-west of Constantinople, with some 1000 men, had his rearguard attacked by a large force of Greeks. The Crusaders had sent their plunder back to the camp by sea, and so were unencumbered, and able to give so good an account of the enemy that, according to Count Baldwin, who apparently had disapproved his brother's expedition,

<sup>1</sup> "Que il estoit mort de sa mort" (Villeh., ch. xcvi.).

<sup>2</sup> "Cil qui de par l'Apostole estoient en l'ost" (*ib.*).

<sup>3</sup> Villeh. ch. xcvi. There is nothing said of this parlement in Count Baldwin's letter to the Pope, printed at ch. xci. of *Gesta Innocentii* (vol. i. pp. 52 *sqq.* of Baluzius' ed. of Innocent's letters). Villehardouin represents the views of the party in the host that adhered closely to Boniface of Montferrat, the party that had thrown itself heart and soul into the enterprise of the young Alexius. This party would no doubt make the most of any utterance in favour of that enterprise from any one who could be colourably held to speak the Pope's mind.



Murtzuphlos was put to flight, leaving in the hands of the Crusaders his Imperial standard and a famous icon of the Virgin Mother which he commonly had carried before him.<sup>1</sup> Nicetas, though no friend of Murtzuphlos, says that he fought bravely and was nearly killed before he lost his standard and the icon. He applied himself with zeal to the strengthening of the walls and gates, and was to be seen on the ramparts with his sword at his side and an iron mace in his hand, directing the work of fortification, or watching any parties of the enemy who might expose themselves to an attack from the gates. Like his predecessors, he was in sore want of money to reward his adherents, and one of the shifts he was put to in this distress has injured his reputation with posterity, for he made an enemy of Nicetas the historian by taking away from him the office of Logothete of the private treasury, in order to confer it on one Philocalius, his own father-in-law.

The deposition and murder of the young Alexius took place about Candlemas (February 2nd) 1204, and all through Lent, which began soon after this,<sup>2</sup> preparations went on within and without the walls; the besiegers got

<sup>1</sup> Villehardouin calls the icon an "ancona," the common Italian form of the Greek word. (See note at p. 260 *ante*). Count Baldwin (in *Gesta Innocentii*, ch. xci.) says the captured icon (he calls it icona) was dedicated by its captors to the Cistercian order. Nicetas (p. 751 Bonn) says the Emperors always carried this icon into battle as *συσπράτηγον*. It did not in the end come to the Cistercian order, but fell to the share of the doge in the division of the spoils, and was long kept as a wonder-working image in the chapel of the Madonna de' Mascoli in San Marco. (See an instructive note in Wilken, v. pp. 270, 271.) See also Ramnusio, *de bello Constantinopolitano*, p. 113, who says, "Nunc in Divi Marci, solennibus Deiparæ diebus, è sacrario collucentibus undique cereis, ad aram maximam salutatur." Ramnusio wrote about A. D. 1600. It is no doubt the same as the wonder-working icon of the Madonna that we now see on the east side of the north transept, to which it was moved from the less conspicuous Chapel de' Mascoli in 1618. It is always now surrounded by a crowd of devotees (see Grant Allen's "Venice," p. 65), and is the most revered object in the church.

<sup>2</sup> Ash Wednesday fell on the 10th of March this year (Wilken, v. p. 280, n. 97).

ready all their engines for battering walls, and erected on the tall masts of their ships *eschièles* or wooden platforms, from which they could throw missiles or let down ladders on to the walls when the ships were drawn close up to them. The besieged heightened all the circuit of the walls, even the highest towers, by two or three stories of *hourdes* or wooden overhanging structures, from which stones or burning missiles could be poured down, as through machicolations, on any force of the enemy coming under the wall.

Apparently while these preparations were going on, an attempt was made by the Venetians to come to terms with Murtzuphlos. Villehardouin does not mention this, and the accounts in Nicetas and in Count Baldwin's letter to the Pope differ considerably. Nicetas says that the doge sailed up the harbour to the Cosmidium, and the Emperor rode out to meet him there. They came to an agreement as to the payment of fifty centenaria of gold by the Greeks, terms mortifying to the pride of a nation who had been more used to dictate than to be dictated to, but tolerable for men in the position in which they found themselves. The negotiations, however, were interrupted by a violent attack of the Latin cavalry, from which the Emperor hardly escaped with the loss of some of the Greeks about him.<sup>1</sup> Count Baldwin's letter says nothing about this forcible interruption, and states that the overtures came from Murtzuphlos, and that the doge insisted that he would make no terms with a usurper; that a preliminary to any terms must be a restoration of the deposed Alexius (he supposes the death of Alexius to have not yet occurred at the time of these negotiations), and a promise to accept the supremacy of the Pope over the Greek Church, and that the mention of this submission made Murtzuphlos break off the conference.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever the cause may have been, whether Latin

<sup>1</sup> Nicetas, p. 365, A to C (751, 752 Bonn).

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Innocentii*, ch. xci.

treachery or Greek bigotry, the negotiation came to nothing, and by the Thursday after Mid-Lent the besiegers were ready for the attack. The account of this in Villehardouin is lifelike and spirited. The ships had all their wooden platforms ready, and were well provisioned; the knights and their horses were all embarked, each ship of war had transports assigned to it, and the ships were towed away from the Pera shore—a column of half a league, with a front of the same width.

The next day the ships were brought close up to the walls along the Golden Horn, and the fighting began. The length of wall attacked reached from the Blachernæ palace to the convent of Christ the Benefactor.<sup>1</sup> The part of the city behind it had been cleared of houses by the recent fire, and was bare and desolate.<sup>2</sup> The besiegers, on their platforms at the mastheads, were so close to the enemy on the wall towers that they could exchange sword-strokes. Many, also, of the knights landed and came close under the walls, and up to noon there was fighting in more than a hundred places. Nowhere did the assailants succeed, and in the evening, when the ships had drawn off, the chiefs met in a church<sup>3</sup> and discussed the situation. Many were in favour of renewing the attack on another side

<sup>1</sup> We have this on the authority of the *Novgorod Chronicle*, which couples the church of Christ the Benefactor with Ispigas. The site of the church is not known, but it must have been near the gate now called "Djubali Kapoussi," and formerly "Ispigas" (εἰς πηγὰς), because opposite Pegæ, a suburb on the north of the Golden Horn (Van Millingen, *Byzantine Const.*, p. 211, who quotes a deed in Tafel and Thomas, ii. 47-49, granting fishery rights, "ab ultima turri de Virgioti versus Wlacherneon," where Virgioti is probably a corruption of Euergetes).

<sup>2</sup> παντὸς ἐψιλωμένον ἡδεὸς θεάματος (Nicetas, p. 752 Bonn). This is difficult to reconcile with the same author's account of the extent of the fire, which I have quoted in note 1, p. 384, from which it would appear that the fire was on ground more to the east.

<sup>3</sup> Wilken says in a church on the south shore of the Golden Horn. But it is very unlikely they could have had any foothold on that shore. Baldwin's letter to the Emperor Otto (Pertz, xxi. p. 228) says of their retreat "adeo ut tracta in terram Græcis compelleremur bellica nostra

of the city, from the Bosphorus or the Propontis, where the walls might not be so strong. But the Venetian seamen made it clear that on those sides the current running down the straits would carry the ships away, and that they would not be able to keep them back or stop them. Many, as the Marshal says, would have been only too glad to let the current carry them away anywhere from so perilous an enterprise. But the majority were steadfast and courageous. They decided to rest for two days to refit their ships, and on the Monday to renew the attack. Murtzuphlos came down to a hill near the monastery of the Pantepoptes, or the All-seeing One,<sup>1</sup> and there pitched his tent of Imperial scarlet, that he might watch from a commanding point both the walls and the attacking ships.

On the Monday, the 12th of April,<sup>2</sup> the Crusaders attacked again, altering their tactics by lashing together two of the ships with the platforms and ladders, so that the force attacking each tower might be more equal in strength to the defenders. The walls and towers were thronged with troops, emboldened by their success of the previous week, and both they and the besiegers on the platforms made such a shout that it seemed as if earth and sea must melt together. The fight was maintained in more than a hundred places until midday; then it pleased the Lord to raise a wind called the *bise*, which drove the ships close up

*machinamenta relinquere, et infecto negotio ad ripam cogemur redire adversam.*" Ramnusio (*de bello Const.*, p. 119), who had MS. Venetian authorities, says it was held "in Divorum Cosmæ et Damiani templo," *i.e.* in the Cosmidium at Eyub.

<sup>1</sup> This was on the fourth hill of the ridge skirting the south side of the Golden Horn (Van Millingen, *Byz. Const.*, p. 211). It is just above the upper Galata Bridge.

<sup>2</sup> It was the day following Passion Sunday, also called "Judica," from the first word of the Introit. Similarly the preceding Sunday (the fourth in Lent) is called "Lætare." Villehardouin calls the day "le Lundi des Pasques Flories" (ch. cvi.). Pasques Flories, "the Flowery Easter," is said in Hampson's *Medii Ævi Kalendarium* to be a name for Palm Sunday, one of the antiphons for which began "Occurrunt turbæ cum palmis et floribus Redemptori obviam."

to the shore, and two of them which were lashed together, the *Pelerine* and the *Parevis* or *Paradis*,<sup>1</sup> came so close to a tower that the platform of the former touched the top of the tower, and a French knight and a Venetian were able to leap on to it, followed by several others, and the defenders fled. Andris d'Urbaise was the name of the French knight; that of the Venetian is said on somewhat doubtful authority<sup>2</sup> to have been Pietro Alberti. He was killed, and could not claim the reward promised to the first who entered the city.

As soon as a footing was gained on the wall, the knights in the huissiers landed on the bank under the wall and set up their scaling-ladders. Soon four towers were in possession of the besiegers, and the Crusaders swarmed out of their galleys and huissiers, some bringing out their horses for an advance upon the Emperor's camp within the city. Murtzuphlos had drawn up some troops there in order of battle; but he himself did not wait the attack, and fled to the palace of Bucoleon<sup>3</sup> (which Villehardouin transforms into "Bouche de Lion"), on the south-east side of the

<sup>1</sup> They belonged to the Bishops of Soissons and Troyes, as we are told in the Epistle to the Pope (Pertz, xxi. p. 228), the writers adding: "felici auspicio peregrinos pro Paradiso certantes hostibus ad-moverunt."

<sup>2</sup> Paolo Ramnusio, a Venetian writer, who early in the seventeenth century wrote in elegant Latin a history *de bello Constantinopolitano*, taken mostly from Villehardouin, whose chronicle, till then unknown in Italy, had been twice (in 1585 and 1601) printed in France; but also from other authorities, some MS., and not all known to us. He says that Alberti was killed accidentally by a French knight, who took him for a Greek, that the latter was so distressed at what he had done that he could hardly be restrained from suicide, and that the doge spoke a kind of funeral oration over Alberti (*de bello Const.*, p. 123).

<sup>3</sup> Nicetas, who had no reason to be friendly to Murtzuphlos, implies that he was anxious to make a resistance, but was deserted by his troops, against whom the patriotic historian is loud in contempt and imprecations. They were as if all gathered up in one ignoble soul, so that they were afraid to hold the strong position they occupied, but pulled down the outworks at the Golden Gate, that they might escape the easier—"would that it had been to take the road to the abyss of damnation" (p. 366 Bonn).

city abutting on the Bosphorus. His flight was followed by a panic of his soldiers, who seized the first horses or mules they could find, and either followed Murtzuphlos to Bucoleon or took the opposite direction towards Blachernæ. There was much fighting all the afternoon, and towards low vespers the chief Greeks retired from the combat, towards Blachernæ.

The Crusaders had no thought that their victory was so complete as it was : they sought shelter for the night near their ships and the walls and towers they had taken. Count Baldwin occupied the scarlet tent the Emperor had abandoned, his brother Henry spent the night close to the palace of Blachernæ, Montferrat and his followers near the town meadows<sup>1</sup> and the sea. Murtzuphlos, according to the report current in the Crusaders' camp, harangued his soldiers bravely and made a pretence of attacking the French, but, so far as action went, kept away from them in remote streets towards the Golden Gate,<sup>2</sup> by which he escaped during the night. He took with him Eudocia, whom he shortly after married, and her mother Euphrosyne, the wife of Alexius III. Other of the principal Greeks took refuge in the palace of Blachernæ, but without a leader and without an army they had no thoughts of resisting. This, however, could not be known to the victorious Crusaders when in the evening they assembled in an open place in the city and held a council of war. It was held prudent to pass the night near the part of the walls they had won, and some went so far in their precautions as to set light to the houses between them and the Greeks, and in the fire

<sup>1</sup> These were probably at Aivan Serai, just outside the north-western angle of the city walls on the road to the Cosmidium or Eyub.

<sup>2</sup> "Porte Oirée" (Villeh., ch. cvi.) He describes it as "vers autres rues le plus loing que il pot de l'ost." This agrees with the situation of the present Yedi Koulé Kapoussi, the modern representative of the Golden Gate, near the Seven Towers and the Sea of Marmora at the extreme south-western corner of the city, the gate by which Emperors had entered the city in triumph; Nicetas Choniates, the historian, escaped by the same gate.



thus caused and the two others since the siege began there were more houses burnt, Villehardouin tells us, than there are in the best three cities of France.<sup>1</sup> The next morning all the host, "knights and serjeants" armed and formed in order of battle, expecting many hard days of fighting before they, only 20,000 strong, could get possession of a city of 400,000 population, with so many churches and palaces that were defensible buildings.<sup>2</sup> Strict orders had been given against straggling or plundering during the night, but when in the morning Montferrat, riding along the edge of the sea as far as Bucoleon without meeting with any resistance, found in the palace there<sup>3</sup> no garrison, but only "the highest ladies in the world"—Agnes, sister of King Philip of France and widow of Andronicus, and Margaret, daughter of Bela, King of Hungary, the newly made widow of Isaac Angelus—and with them an infinite amount of treasure, it was clear that the city was taken, and the division of the spoil began. There was gold and silver, plate and precious stones, silk and samite and costly furs, and all precious goods ever found in any city in the world. Montferrat issued a proclamation, and the doge and the other leaders followed his example, ordering all the booty to be collected

<sup>1</sup> Villeh., ch. cvi.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph Coggeshall says, on the evidence of persons who knew Constantinople, that it contained more inhabitants than were in all the country between York and the Thames.

<sup>3</sup> Van Millingen ("Byzantine Constantinople," pp. 284, 285) has made it clear that by the palace of Bouchelyon Villehardouin means the great palace of the Emperors by St. Sophia and the Hippodrome. The harbour of Bucoleon adjoined this and was used for the Imperial yachts and barges, which were much used by the Emperors for moving about the city and suburbs. The harbour had a marble quay and a marble flight of steps to the water, adorned with sculptures, amongst which was a marble group of a Lion and Bull from which the name Bucoleon was derived. Two villas, of which remains can still be seen by the water-side, were built by the Emperors here, the palace of Hormisdas and the palace of Bucoleon (properly so called). But these and the harbour were contained in the walled enclosure of the Great Palace, and the latter seems in time to have usurped the name of its smaller neighbour. (See Van Millingen, *u.s.*, pp. 269, 274, 275.)

in three churches, and threatening excommunication against any one who should keep back ever so little.<sup>1</sup> But Villehardouin has to add sadly, "One brought in well what he had taken, another ill: for covetousness, which is the root of all evils, was not lacking to them: rather did the covetous from that time forward begin to keep back things. And our Lord began from this to love them less than he had done. Alas! how loyally had they borne themselves up to this day! and the Lord God had well shown them his love, for he had exalted them and honoured them above all other nations. But often the good lose for the fault of the bad." Many did not fear to incur the excommunication of the Apostolic See, or the fate of Ananias and Sapphira. But a great quantity of spoil was brought to "the Minsters," and divided equally between Venetians and pilgrims. The latter out of their share paid 50,000 silver marks to the Venetians in discharge of their debt, and had still 100,000 to divide among themselves, each knight receiving as much as two "serjants à cheval," and each "serjant à cheval" as much as two "serjants à pré." No one, the Marshal adds, for "high rank or prowess" got more than his share, "unless it was by theft."<sup>2</sup> A knight who was discovered to have taken more than his share was hung by the Count of St. Pol with his shield round his neck: but many were not discovered.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding all that was retained, the spoil reached the value of 800,000 silver marks, besides 10,000 horse-trappings.

While the conquerors were occupied with this business, on the day following the assault—the 13th of April—the conquered Greeks, as soon as they knew that Murtzuphlos had deserted them, endeavoured to find another Emperor to

<sup>1</sup> "Que fut fait escommuniement seur qui point en retenroit" (ch. cviii.).

<sup>2</sup> "Hautesce né proesce" . . . "sé ne fust emblé." "Emblé" is the Low Latin "involatum," a compound from the root of the French "voler" (*ib.*).

<sup>3</sup> "En retindrent coiment" (*ib.*).

lead them. Two candidates were willing to come forward, Theodorus Ducas and Theodorus Lascaris;<sup>1</sup> the latter, who had distinguished himself as the bravest of the defenders of the city ever since the first attack, when Alexius III. was still on the throne, was chosen at a hasty meeting of the clergy assembled in St. Sophia, and came out to the Milium hard by, with the patriarch at his side, to appeal to the people, and especially to the mercenaries of the guard, to continue the defence of the city. But he made no impression: the people were silent, and the soldiers only spoke to demand their arrears of pay. There was nothing left to the brave Lascaris but to flee like Murtzuphlos. He was destined still to play a distinguished part in the history of the world. His flight seems to have taken place early in the morning of the Tuesday, for we are told by Nicetas that, as Montferrat was advancing towards Bucoleon, still at an early hour, he was met by troops of suppliants, making the sign of the cross to show that they too were Christians, and greeting him as Emperor.<sup>2</sup> He took possession of this palace, and Count Henry of Flanders of that of Blachernæ.

A great city given up to plunder, even though the conquerors have not been embittered by an obstinate resistance, is pretty sure to be the scene of great cruelty and license; and, though Villehardouin and Count Baldwin, who took a rose-coloured view generally of the conquest, are silent on this subject, we have abundant evidence, both from Nicetas and from Latin writers representing the party

<sup>1</sup> Nicetas (p. 367 B) describes them as *νεανῶν ξυνορις νηφαλίων τε καὶ ἀρίστων τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον θεξιότητι (ὁ Δοῦκας οὗτοι καὶ ὁ Λάσκαρις, ἀμφοῖν δ' ἡ κλήσις ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς πίστεως βασιλεῖ)*. I cannot discover why St. Theodore, the soldier saint, who was martyred for setting fire to the temple of Cybele, should specially be called *ἀρχηγὸς τῆς πίστεως βασιλεὺς*.

<sup>2</sup> Nicetas, p. 367 D. (757 Bonn). Günther is more particular—"in occursa nostrorum digitorum digito in formam crucis implicantes, satis flebiliter, Aijos Phasileos marchio, decantabant quod Latiné Sanctur Rex Marchio interpretatur" (Günther, p. xvi.).

that regretted the diversion of the expedition from Syria to Constantinople, that many atrocities were committed. Nicetas, who asks which of the horrors that Christ had foretold would be the harbingers of the end of the world were not then seen, reproaches the Latins by exalting the clemency of Saladin's Saracens when they took Jerusalem, when no women were violated, no slaughtered men heaped on the sepulchre of Christ, no gates of hell opened where life was once brought to mankind.<sup>1</sup> The so-called Hugo Plagon,<sup>2</sup> says that the Crusaders, who before the conquest were the shield-bearers of God, after the conquest put on their arms the shield of the devil: Pope Innocent himself, whose information would no doubt come from the Crusaders disaffected to the enterprise against Constantinople, wrote to the cardinal legate Pietro Capuano asking how the Greeks could be reconciled to the apostolical see by the sight of deeds to make them abhor the Latin warriors as worse than dogs; he dwelt much upon the robbery of churches, the destruction of sacred vessels and relics. And Nicetas and other Greek writers tell us of the invasion of the most holy sanctuaries in St. Sophia, the desecration of holy pictures and treasures, of the consecrated elements

<sup>1</sup> Nicetas, pp. 760-762 Bonn. The rhetoric of the Byzantines is not in good taste, but the very laboured invective referred to has traces of genuine feeling, and is worth reading. He goes on (p. 763 Bonn), ὦ πόλις, πόλις, πόλεων πασῶν ὀφθαλμέ, ἀκουσμα παγκόσμιον θέαμα ὑπερκόσμιον ("heard of in all the world, spectacle for angels"), ἐκκλησιῶν γαλουχέ ("nursing mother of churches"), πιστεως ἀρχηγέ, ὀρθοδοξίας ποδηγέ, λόγων μέλημα, καλοῦ παντὸς ἐνδιαίτημα—and runs off into quotations from Isaiah and Jeremiah. In a pathetic passage a little further on he says his power of speech has gone with the city that was its nurse: καὶ τοῦ περαιτέρω ἀφεκτέον τῆς ιστορίας εἰρμού' τίς γὰρ ἀνάσχοιτ' ἂν ἐπὶ γῆς, ἀλλοτριωθείσης ἤδη τοῦ λόγου καὶ βαρβαρωθείσης τέλειον τὰ Μουσῶν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι κρούματα; οὐκ ἂν ἀσαίμην τὰ βαρβάρων αὐτὸς, οὐδ' ἐσοίμην παραπέμπων τοῖς ἔπειτα πράξεις πολεμικὰς ἐν αἷς μὴ νικῶσιν "Ἕλληνες . . . πῶς ἂν εἴην ἐγὼ τὸ βέλτιστον χρῆμα, τὴν ιστορίαν, καὶ κάλλιστον εὕρημα τῶν Ἑλλήνων βαρβαρικαῖς καθ' Ἑλλήνων πράξεσι χαριζόμενος (pp. 767, 768 Bonn).

<sup>2</sup> This is the name given, on the authority of Ducange, to the author of the twenty-fifth book of William of Tyre, as printed in Martene's *Amplissima Collectio*, tom. v. p. 581.

thrown on the ground, even the fragments of the loaf originally consecrated by the Saviour at His last supper, which were among the most precious treasures of the Church. These sacrileges were no doubt mainly due to the profanity of unbelief, which prevailed even in the ages of faith, and showed itself in such times of disorder as that we are describing. But some part of the responsibility for them must be set down to the rancour of sectarianism, which led Count Baldwin, in his letter to the Pope that I have quoted above, to speak of the Greek Church as "the filthiest of Gentiles, which had dared to aid the infidel by arms, ships, and provisions, which refused to honour Christ by statues as well as pictures, which allowed to lay monks, while denying to priests, the power to bind and loose, which had presumed to rebaptize Catholics, and by such mad impieties had provoked the loathing of Christ."<sup>1</sup>

Before the assault on the city, those of the host had come to an agreement as to the next steps to be taken in case of a victory. The booty taken in the assault was, as we have already seen, to be brought together and divided in due proportion. Then six Franks and six Venetians were to be elected, and sworn on the relics of saints to choose for Emperor the man whom they thought best for the land. The elected Emperor was to have a quarter of all that was won within the city or without, and in addition the palaces of Blachernæ and Bucoleon; the remaining three-quarters were to be divided equally between the host of Crusaders on the one side and the Venetians on the other. Afterwards twelve wise men from the host and twelve Venetians were to divide the fiefs and honours, and determine what service each of the recipients should do to the Emperor. For a year from the end of March 1204 all were bound to serve the elected Emperor; after that, any one who chose might

<sup>1</sup> See the whole passage at the end of the letter in Arnold of Lubeck, Pertz SS., xxi. pp. 229 *sqq.*

depart, but those who stayed must do the prescribed service to the Emperor under penalty of excommunication if they failed in any respect.<sup>1</sup>

The first article as to the booty taken in the assault had, as we have seen, been executed as strictly as the circumstances allowed. A part of this that in those days was of no inconsiderable importance, the relics of saints in which Constantinople was very rich, were the special care of the bishop and clergy in the host. One old chronicler mentions Venice and Halberstadt (the bishop of which last city was the principal German prelate on this Crusade) as having received a large share of this wealth. Among the relics that went to Venice were the bodies of St. Agatha and St. Lucia, which had originally been taken from Sicily, and which the Venetians with an unusual generosity gave back to their original owners. Among the treasures taken were, besides the fragments of the bread of the Last Supper already mentioned, the crown of thorns, some of the wood and a nail from the cross, the shoes and swaddling clothes of the Saviour: these seem to have remained with the Latin Emperors in Constantinople; but among those that came to the West were the head of St. Philip, an arm of St. Stephen, some of the flesh of St. Paul, a tooth of St. John Baptist, the dish of the Last Supper in which Judas dipped with his Master, and which had been used by the Eastern Emperors at table.<sup>2</sup> We have a curiously candid account of how Martin the Abbot of Paris in Wasgau (in Alsace) obtained a share of the spoil. He knew that

<sup>1</sup> Villeh., ch. ci. cii.

<sup>2</sup> The crown of thorns, as is well known, remained at Constantinople till the end of the Latin dynasty there, when Baldwin II. gave it to St. Louis (Wilken, v. p. 306, n. 60). The dish of the Last Supper is the subject of a curious legend in Benven. di S. Giorgio's Chron. of Montferrat in Murat. SS., xxiii. col. 348, who calls it "scutellam pretiosam smaragdinam in qua coenavit J. C. cum suis discipulis in Zobia sancta, quæ scutella dicitur Sangreal," and says it was found at Salonica and taken to Genoa. I am unable to explain "Zobia sancta."



there was a great store of relics in the church where Irene, the wife of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, was buried ; and in order that while others were being enriched he might not go away empty, "he proposed himself also to put forth his consecrated hands to plunder ; but inasmuch as it did not befit such hands to touch secular treasure, he considered how he might glean some portion of the relics in this church." So he went thither with one of his two chaplains, mingling in the crowd of unconsecrated robbers ; and in a hiding-place found an old grey-bearded priest whom, with feigned rage and threatening of death, he induced to show him an iron chest full of relics, from which he and his chaplain took as much as they could carry, which they concealed during the summer in the city and afterwards carried by sea to Ptolemais, and in the end to their home in Germany.<sup>1</sup> By this concealment the abbot transgressed the strict orders of Montferrat and the doge, who had required all relics, as well as more profane spoil, to be brought to a certain place for division between pilgrims and Venetians, and ran the risk of sharing the fate of the knight whom the Count of St. Pol, as we have seen, hung with his shield round his neck.

The division of the spoil and the rejoicings associated with it lasted through the Holy Week, and it was not till after Easter that the doge, with the principal counts and barons, met to consider the choice of the twelve electors. Nicetas tells us, though on such a matter his authority is not of the first rank, that a proposal was made to the meeting that an Emperor should be chosen by lot from four selected candidates, but that the doge insisted on the method formerly agreed upon—an election by six Franks and six Venetians. The chiefs who met had taken steps to ascertain the wishes of the generality of the knights ; indeed Villehardouin, who was no doubt present at the meeting,

<sup>1</sup> Wilken, v. 308, n. 62, quoting Günther, *Hist. Const. (apud Riant, Exuvie Sacrae Const., pp. 104 sqq.)*

speaks of the bulk of the host ("li comuns de l'ost") taking part in the choice of electors, and tells us that there was so much discussion that the meeting had to be adjourned to a second day. As to the Emperor to be chosen, there was a general impression that it must be either Baldwin of Flanders or Boniface of Montferrat, but there was much anxiety as to how either of them would submit to be passed over. When Godfrey of Bouillon, in the First Crusade, was chosen King of Jerusalem, the jealousy of Raymond de St. Gilles had nearly wrecked the whole undertaking. But both the candidates on the present occasion showed magnanimity, and agreed with great goodwill<sup>1</sup> that whichever was chosen should grant the other as a fief "all the lands across the arm of St. George towards Turkey and the Isle of Greece."<sup>2</sup> When this was settled, the twelve electors were chosen and the day fixed for the election. The six electors representing the Franks are differently named by different authorities: the Bishops of Soissons and Troyes, Bethlehem and Ptolemais, were certainly four of them. Count Baldwin's letter says that the other two were the German Bishop of Halberstadt and the Abbot of Lucedio or Looz in the Montferrat country; Ramnusio substitutes for the two last-named two Italian knights, Nicolò Picciolo and Giacomo Malvicino, of whom nothing is known.<sup>3</sup> Nor is more known of the six Venetian representatives — Vital Dandolo, the

<sup>1</sup> "Mout debonairement."

<sup>2</sup> The Isle of Greece would naturally be the Morea, "the island of Pelops" according to its ancient name. But it is strange that this should be mentioned with Turquie, *i.e.* the Seljukian territories in Asia Minor. A various reading of Crete does not help us at all. Ramnusio (p. 135) reads "Crete," and thinks that Asia Minor and Crete were together to be the share of the unsuccessful candidate. Hopf (Ersch und Gruber, vol. lxxxv. p. 200) reads "l'ille de Griesse," but does not attempt to explain it. The agreement, as we shall see, was not carried out, so that we have not the means of judging what it really meant.

<sup>3</sup> Ramnusio, *de bello Const.*, p. 136, who says he derived his information "memoriis et annalibus Venetis, quos admodum locupletes habemus." It is more probable that there were some Lombards among

admiral; Ottone Quirini, Bertucci Contarini, Niccolò Navajoso, Pantaleon Barbo, and Giovanni Baseggio or Giovanni Michiel.

The electors met in the church of the Apostles, according to the common tradition; but this may have been the scene of the long debates as to the choice of the electors, and Villehardouin be right in saying that the electors met in a palace, where the doge was quartered, "a rich palace, one of the fairest in the world."<sup>1</sup> Ramnusio calls this the Augusteon, and says it was close to St. Sophia. What passed among the electors is also differently related. Ramnusio's Venetian authorities said that the bishops of Soissons and Troyes proposed the doge as Emperor, and that the Venetian electors, except Pantaleon Barbo, the most influential amongst them, were also for the doge; but that Barbo convinced all that the election of a Venetian would be so displeasing to the feudal nobility of France and Belgium as to endanger the success of the whole enterprise, and that the choice of Baldwin was in the end unanimous. The Bishop of Soissons announced the result to the crowd assembled in the palace, "a marvellous great assembly," Villehardouin says, "for every one wished to know who would be elected." The twelve electors were "put into a very rich chapel within the palace,"<sup>2</sup> and one

the electors as neighbours and friends of the marquis Boniface. According to a story mentioned by Hopf (Ersch und Gruber, lxxxv. p. 199), Boniface had claimed that there should be six Lombard and six Frankish electors. This proposal was rejected, the Venetians preferring to increase the power and prestige of the Count of distant Flanders rather than those of the Marquis of neighbouring Montferrat; but it seems unlikely that all should have been Franks or Germans, and also that all should have been ecclesiastics.

<sup>1</sup> "Uns des biaux palais del monde." The church of the Holy Apostles was not near St. Sophia or the Great Palace, but in the centre of the city. The palace is no doubt the Great Imperial Palace, as to which see my note 3 at p. 398. The mosque of Mahomet II. now marks the site of the church of the Holy Apostles.

<sup>2</sup> The church that served as the private chapel of the Imperial palace was dedicated to St. Demetrius, but must not be confused with the church of St. Demetrius, near the Seraglio Point (Van Millingen,

shut the door on them outside, so that no one remained with them, and the barons and the knights remained in a great palace that was without." When they were agreed "they gave Nevelon, the Bishop of Soissons, the task of announcing their decision. He came out of the chapel to the hall where all the barons and the doge were, much looked at, to know who was elected. He said in the hearing of all, 'My lords, God be thanked, we are all agreed on the choice of an Emperor, and you have sworn to accept our choice. We name to you Count Baldwin of Flanders.'" On this Baldwin was hoisted on his friends' shoulders and carried into St. Sophia, the Marquis of Montferrat taking the lead in all the proceedings in his rival's honour.<sup>1</sup>

Nicetas, who was no longer in Constantinople at this time, attributes the choice of Baldwin to the craft of the old doge, and ascribes his preference partly to the more manageable and less ambitious character of Baldwin as opposed to Boniface, partly to the consideration that the increase of dignity of a remote feudal dignitary from the shores of the German Ocean would be less dangerous to Venice than that of a Lombard neighbour. He accounts for the doge not pressing his own claims by his blindness; but surely old Dandolo's bold spirit would have found his blindness no more an obstacle to governing an Empire than to leading his fleet into action. The arguments that Ramnusio puts into the mouth of Barbo begin with admitting to the fullest extent the advantage the Latin

*Byz. Const.*, p. 189, n. 2). The hall in which the announcement was made was probably the "Magnaura," as to which see Van Millingen, *Byz. Const.*, p. 336, n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Villeh. (lvii. 260 de Wailly). The words of the nomination were: "Vous le nomerons en l'eure que Diex fu nés," which is explained as meaning "at midnight" (Paulin Paris has a different reading): the discussion had lasted till late. The scene in the rich Byzantine architecture by torchlight must have been striking and memorable.

Empire at Constantinople would have derived from an Emperor coming from a state that could exercise sea power, and whose citizens were familiar with Eastern politics and Eastern trade, a state too that, compared with Flanders, was close at hand; but they go on to suggest that the proud feudal princes of the West would never accept an inferior position to the chief magistrate of a city of merchants, so that the election of the doge as Emperor could not fail to cause a dissolution of the crusading host. Ramnusio composed his speeches, no doubt, much as Thucydides did his, embodying in them the arguments that appeared to himself to be valid on any question. He is in this case following, but with more elaboration, the statements in the chronicle of Andrea Dandolo,<sup>1</sup> 250 years earlier than his own time, but the ducal historian was 150 years later than his great predecessor. Whether the arguments we are considering were really used or not, they are not of much force, for we know that the advocates of Baldwin would have preferred a Venetian Emperor to Boniface, and the advocates of Boniface would have preferred a Venetian to Baldwin.

Enrico Dandolo was undoubtedly the leading spirit of the Crusade; as doge of Venice his interest in the conquest of the Eastern Empire was far greater than that of any French or Italian prince. The Venetian naval power could have held Constantinople safely, and the Golden Horn would have been safer and more convenient than the lagoons as the headquarters of a great fleet of warships and merchantmen. Nay, in view of the large

<sup>1</sup> Or rather the annotator in the margin of the Ambrosian MS. of the chronicle (Muratori SS., xii. p. 330): "Quinque Veneti favebant Veneto Duci, unus Pantaleo Barbus dissentit, quod diceret Transalpinos non daturus auxilium Imperatori Latino, sicque omnia in perniciem ruitura. Transalpini mallebant post Comitem Flandriæ Principem Venetum, quàm Comitem Montisferrati; Lombardi Venetum quàm Transalpinum mallebant, demum suadente Barbo electus est Comes Balduinus."

Venetian population at Constantinople, and their vast commercial interests there, it might have appeared a practicable policy to transfer the seat of the government of the republic to Constantinople, just as Constantine had transferred that of the Roman Empire from Rome. But the Venetian spirit, with all its vaulting ambition, had always a strong admixture of conservatism, and old age may have infused some tincture of the same even into the bold intellect of the doge. He feared neither Pope nor Emperor, but he may have feared a conflict with old ingrained habits of his countrymen, and with the sentiment of local attachment that must have bound them so closely to their beautiful city, which their fathers had adorned with such goodly buildings and works of art.

The alternative of Dandolo continuing as doge to govern the city of the lagoons and its immediate dependencies, while at the same time reigning as Emperor at Constantinople, would at any time have been most unwelcome to Venetian sentiment. The jealousy of their doges was not so strong at this time as it became later; but there was nothing which the Venetians more disliked than anything which tended to make their rulers like feudal princes. For this reason the marriage of a doge with a lady belonging to any sovereign house had always been unpopular. The Crusaders in their settlements in Palestine had exaggerated all the characteristic features of the feudal system, and it was as certain as anything could be, that the Latin Empire now to be set up in Constantinople would be a highly feudalised state. A doge of Venice could not become the chief of such a state without seriously endangering his credit at home.

The coronation of Baldwin was to take place three weeks after Easter, and meanwhile his Imperial robes were to be got ready. In the interval another solemn ceremony took place—the marriage of the marquis Boniface to Margaret,



the widow of the old Emperor Isaac Angelus, and sister of the King of Hungary: apparently in consequence of this connexion, Boniface asked the Emperor Baldwin's consent to an alteration of the original agreement, so that instead of Asia Minor and Greece, he should receive as his fief the kingdom of Salonica, in which he would be the neighbour of his brother-in-law.<sup>1</sup> Baldwin, after full discussion, consented to this, and the marquis did homage for his new kingdom. Villehardouin says that there was great joy throughout the host at Boniface, who was highly valued for his prowess, and much loved for his free-handed liberality, being retained near Constantinople instead of going away into Anatolia.<sup>2</sup> But we can readily believe that the change was not altogether agreeable to Baldwin.

Nothing disturbed the harmony of the coronation. The Count of St. Pol acted as marshal, and carried the sword of state; Boniface, as chamberlain, the Imperial robes. Baldwin, we are told, wore the scarlet buskins, decorated with precious stones, that the Greek Emperors had worn. The crowds who were present, and testified their loyalty, included Christians from Palestine and Greeks.<sup>3</sup> It was held to be a good omen that the epistle for the day ended with St. Peter's charge to honour the king, and the gospel with the Saviour's words by St. John—"Your joy no man taketh from you."<sup>4</sup> Baldwin assumed as his full title, "Balduinus

<sup>1</sup> Comte Riant (in *Rev. des Questions Hist.*, tom. 18, p. 57) suggests that Boniface asked for this territory as formerly granted to his brother Reynier. The chronicle of Montferrat, by Benvenuto di S. Giorgio (Murat. SS., xxiii. col. 346) says that Manuel's daughter brought as her dowry to Reynier the city of Salonica and all the kingdom of Thessaly. In the same chronicle (*ib.*, col. 348) is a curious story from an unknown Latin writer as to a war waged by Reynier, with Venetians and Genoese as his allies, against a "regnum de Solonich."

<sup>2</sup> Villeh. ch. cxii. It must be remembered that Villehardouin was closely *lié* with Boniface.

<sup>3</sup> See Wilken, v. pp. 329, 330, n. 36; Nicetas, p. 790 Bonn.

<sup>4</sup> The epistle and gospel for the third Sunday after Easter are the same in our Anglican Liturgy.

Dei gratia fidelissimus Imperator in Christo Constantino-  
politanus a Deo coronatus Romanicæ moderator et semper  
Augustus, Flandrensis et Haynoensis Comes.”

The agreement between the French Crusaders and the Venetians had provided that the successor to the vacant patriarchate of Constantinople—which John Camaterus, the late patriarch, had abandoned—should be chosen from that party to the agreement from which the new Emperor had not been chosen. As the Emperor was a Frank, the new patriarch was to be a Venetian, and Venice was also empowered to nominate canons of the church of St. Sophia, with whom the choice of a patriarch should rest. Accordingly certain Venetian canons were appointed, who in December 1204 or January 1205 chose Thomas Morosini, the sub-deacon, a Venetian of noble birth and good repute for learning and piety, as patriarch.

The Venetian churchmen showed an unbecoming desire to monopolise the high Church offices in the conquered Empire: Venetian canons of St. Sophia, chosen in the years immediately following the conquest, were called upon to make oath in St. Mark's that they would not elect any one archpresbyter or archdeacon, or to any other post of dignity in the church of St. Sophia, who was not either a Venetian or one who had held a Venetian benefice for ten years, and that they would require a similar oath from any person chosen for any such dignity. The patriarch, when elected, was called upon to promise “salvo Apostolicæ sedis jure” that he would appoint none but Venetians to archbishoprics throughout Romania; but this extension of the original agreement was vetoed by the Pope.<sup>1</sup> Morosini, the new patriarch, was well known to the Pope and esteemed by him, and Baldwin lost no time in begging the cardinal legate, Peter Capuano, who was then in the Holy Land, to come to Constantinople to set the new Church in order, and with this request Peter and his

<sup>1</sup> See an interesting note in Wilken, v. pp. 330 ff. n. 37.

colleague Cardinal Suffried promptly complied — too promptly to please the Pope.

The rapid course of events had in fact carried Pope Innocent off his legs : the original diversion of the Crusade to Zara had been a defiance of the Pope, which had been visited by an excommunication directed against Venice only, as the seducer, and not against the Frankish Crusaders who had yielded to the temptation. The further deflection of the host to Constantinople had never been sanctioned nor liked by the Pope, though not formally condemned. In spite of the Papal disapproval, both enterprises had met with brilliant success, and the conquest of Constantinople promised to bring with it the highly desirable result of the restoration of the Eastern Church to Catholic unity, and the humiliation of the hated Greek schismatics. These mixed feelings naturally led to inconsistent action. The cardinal Peter received a very severe reprimand. Everything he had done had been wrong. He was wrong in leaving those few sheep in the Holy Land exposed to the attacks of the Saracens : he had been sent over the sea as legate not to help in seizing the Empire of Constantinople and its temporal riches, but to earn a heavenly treasure by restoring the Christian losses in Palestine. He was still more wrong in presuming to absolve from their vow of pilgrimage and the burden of the cross those who had been led astray from the holy enterprise they had undertaken to the pursuit of temporal advantage. In this letter occurred the indignant question I have before referred to,<sup>1</sup> asking would the Greek Church be encouraged to return to union with the Apostolic See, when the Latins had shown them nothing but instances of treachery and works of darkness? The legate is even made responsible for the cruelties and license of the capture of Constantinople. But to the Emperor Baldwin, Innocent wrote in a very different tone : the election of the new patriarch was, he said, bad, because

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 401.

secular princes had taken part in the preliminaries of the election, and some of the canons who elected had no right to a voice, but in consideration of the innocence of the patriarch elect and his loyalty to the Holy See, and from a desire to set in order the Latin Church in Constantinople and to show a favour to the Venetians, which might induce them more boldly to gird up their loins to the obedience of the cross, "we out of the plenitude of power conferred on us have *elected* and confirmed the said sub-deacon as patriarch." At the same time the Pope wrote both to Baldwin and to the Venetians a refusal to confirm the agreement between them, on the ground that it dealt partly with spiritual matters that were outside their competence. Thus Thomas Morosini was elected—no matter by whom—and was allowed to accumulate his orders with unusual rapidity, being ordained deacon on the Saturday of the Lent Ember-Days,<sup>1</sup> and priest on Saturday after Mid-Lent, and consecrated bishop on the following day by the Pope in St. Peter's. The pallium was granted when the patriarch had taken the oath of fealty and obedience,<sup>2</sup> and the Pope in granting it specified the feast days on which it was to be worn, and the places, viz. every place except Rome and the place in which the Pope should himself be. The same document conferred on the patriarch the right of riding, in solemn processions, on a white horse with a long white horse-cloth.

The patriarch had succeeded with the Pope better perhaps than the Venetians had hoped: but his troubles were not yet over; for the French clergy belonging to the pilgrim host protested, on his arrival at Constantinople, against his election as irregular, and got a decision in their favour from the legates Peter and Suffredus, who were apparently still

<sup>1</sup> The Ember Days are in the week following the first Sunday in Lent, Mid-Lent Sunday is the third Sunday in Lent. There was thus a fortnight between his ordinations as deacon and as priest. The days were in the year 1204, March 20th and April 3rd.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Innocentii*, chaps. xcvi.-xcviii.

there, notwithstanding the Papal censure that had visited them. Upon this the French clergy set the patriarch's sentence of excommunication at defiance. But the Pope upheld the patriarch: the Emperor Baldwin's letter announcing his election had begged the Pope to come himself to Constantinople, and hold a Council there to inaugurate the great conquest won for Western Christendom. In excusing himself from accepting this invitation, Innocent took occasion to say that, as the cardinals Peter and Suffredus had no jurisdiction committed to them in Constantinople, he would now send another legate, Cardinal Benedict of St. Susanna, to recognise the patriarch and bring his opponents to submission. Benedict found no difficulty in settling this dispute, and also succeeded in establishing a concordat between the civil and ecclesiastical powers in the new Empire: one provision of this got rid of the stipulation that the patriarch should always be a Venetian: in fact only one patriarch after Thomas Morosini during the whole period of the Latin Empire was a Venetian. This concordat was not settled till 1206. Before that, in the course of the correspondence with the Pope, the excommunication of the Venetians for their attack on Zara was in the amplest terms withdrawn.<sup>1</sup> The Venetians had already adopted a method of dealing with Papal pretensions that they generally in their after history found convenient. Until they had attained the object they had in view they simply disregarded Papal censures or excommunications that visited them for any action necessary for that object:<sup>2</sup> when the object was attained, they reasoned with the Papal court in the most respectful manner on the merits of the matter at issue. In the present case, for instance, they asserted, with plausible ground, that the King of Hungary had no right to the

<sup>1</sup> The letter is vii. 207 at pp. 625, 626, of Brequigny and Laporte Dutheil's *Diplomata*.

<sup>2</sup> In this case the doge says "patienter et humiliter sustinimus," a polite way of saying "we ignored it" (Epist. vii. 202, pp. 618, 619, of Brequigny and Laporte).

privileges of a Crusader, inasmuch as he had taken the cross only as a pretext for arming and plundering his neighbours.<sup>1</sup> The Pope's final letter to the doge confirmed his legate's action in releasing the Venetians from excommunication, and even sanctioned a postponement of their voyage to Syria till the establishment of the Latin Church at Constantinople was secured: he would not grant Dandolo the relief from his Crusader's vow that he had asked for in consideration of his age and infirmity, but consented to its indefinite postponement, only urging him to use for the service of God and not only of the world and himself, the high gifts that might be so useful for the recovery of the Holy Land.<sup>2</sup>

The narration of these ecclesiastical affairs has interrupted the order of the secular history, and I must now go back to the agreement between Baldwin and Boniface, by which the latter was allowed to establish himself at Salonica instead of in Anatolia. He seems to have gone at once to secure the city of Salonica: Baldwin and his brother Henry at the same time set to work to reduce the country between the capital and Adrianople, where the fugitive Murtzuphlos was still in arms, within four days' march from Constantinople. Alexius III. (Isaac's brother who had deposed and blinded him and usurped his throne, and who had fled from the first attack of the Crusaders) was also in a threatening position at Messinople (between Adrianople

<sup>1</sup> The doge put his argument ingeniously: "he could not believe the inhabitants of Zara to be under the special protection of the Holy See, not thinking it credible that the successor of St. Peter could think worthy of his favour men who had taken the cross merely to give a show of piety to their violent aggressions." The letter is quoted in Wilken, v. pp. 334, 335. It is vii. 202 at pp. 618, 619 of Brequigny and Laporte Dutheil's *Diplomata*.

<sup>2</sup> Epist. vii. 206, pp. 624, 625 in Brequigny and Laporte Dutheil's *Diplomata*. The Pope's refusal is couched in very complimentary terms, "quod tuæ circumspectio probitatis subtilitas vivacis ingenii et consilii maturitas sanioris [? senioris] exercitui Christiano multum sit imposterum profutura."



and Salonica), and, as Murtzuphlos was about to marry Eudocia, Alexius' daughter, it was thought likely they would make common cause against the invaders. Murtzuphlos in fact did join Alexius at Messinople, and was there married to Eudocia, but after a few days his father-in-law had him seized and blinded. This crime, which draws from Villehardouin a cry of horror at the atrocities inflicted by Greeks on one another, was so common an incident in the family relations of Byzantine dynasties, that its only result seems to have been the adhesion of many of Murtzuphlos' followers to Alexius. These did not, however, feel themselves strong enough to await the Emperor Baldwin's attack, but took flight, and the keys of the town were given up to the Emperor.

There was naturally enough a good deal of suspicious jealousy between Baldwin and Boniface, the rival candidates for a throne, and they were at one time very near coming to blows in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. But, to the disappointment of the Greek enemies of both, the diplomatic skill of the Marshal of Champagne, and the authority of the doge, succeeded in reconciling them. Boniface established himself at Thessalonica, twelve days' journey from Constantinople, and assumed the title of king. Baldwin, with the Imperial crown, undertook the difficult task of reducing Adrianople and the European country near the capital to submission.

Villehardouin gives us much information as to the efforts made by Boniface and the other pilgrims to extend their conquests. Boniface claimed authority over the Peloponnesus, but met with obstinate resistance from Leo Sgurus, who had been governor under the Greek Emperors, and who appears to have been Lord of Nauplia and Corinth, and to have acquired afterwards Athens for a time and Thebes.<sup>1</sup> He succeeded in stopping Boniface's progress

<sup>1</sup> For Leo Sgurus see Finlay, "Mediæval Greece and Trebizond," pp. 155, 156.

southwards. Theodore Lascaris, whose wife was a daughter of the usurper Alexius, one of the two Theodores whose valour in the general demoralisation at the time of the taking of the city Nicetas had praised, had established himself as Lord of Nicomedia, in Anatolia, across the arm of St. George, and there held his ground against the Latin forces that Henry of Flanders, the Emperor's brother, Louis de Blois, Pierre de Braieciel, and Macaires de Ste. Menehould led across the straits to establish themselves in the Eastern country which Villehardouin describes as "de vers la Turquie." We are told that the Armenians who lived there, from hatred of the Greeks, sided with the invaders, who however seem never to have got a permanent footing in this country.<sup>1</sup> To the west of the straits a number of lordships were formed under the empire or the kingdom of Salonica, most of them, Villehardouin says, very ill-governed. These had difficulty in maintaining themselves in face of King John of the Wallachs and Bulgarians, but they remained there, a little feudal world in the midst of Greeks and barbarians equally alien to them. Both the deposed Greek princes, Alexius the usurper and Murtzuphlus whom he had blinded, fell at this time into the hands of the invaders; Murtzuphlus, in punishment of his crime in murdering the young Alexius, was put to death by Baldwin, being flung down from a high marble column near the middle of the city, "voiant tout le monde." Villehardouin adds: "Car si haute justise devoit bien tout li mons véoir."<sup>2</sup> Alexius and his wife, who fell into the hands of King Boniface, were sent by him to his distant

<sup>1</sup> Villeh., ch. cxxv.-cxxx. Leo Sgurus is "Lasgur" with him, Theodore Lascaris "Thodres li Acres," Nauplia "Naples," Nicomedia "Nicomée," Nicæa "Nique," Abydos "Avie," Larissa apparently "Larche," Armenians "Hermins."

<sup>2</sup> The passage goes on: "Dont fu jus boutés li emperères Morchufles et chai de si haut que quant il vint à terre, il fu tout esmiés," where "esmiés" means, I take it, "reduced to crumbs," from "mie" (= mica), the word so commonly in use as a negative particle. Ch. cxxvii.

principality of Montferrat; their vermilion hose and their imperial robes were sent as a compliment to Baldwin "qui mout bon gré l'en sot."<sup>1</sup>

We are only indirectly concerned with the Crusaders' settlements in the East except those of the Venetians. We have a list of the places that fell to the share of the latter at the formal division in the autumn of 1204; but it is not easy to identify some of the places. Enough, however, can be traced to enable us to say that the three-eighths of the conquered lands assigned to them—the fourth part and half-fourth part of the empire—comprised most of the coast of the Euxine and Propontis, the Greek islands in both Ægean and Ionian Seas, the south of the Morea including Lacedæmon and Modon or Methone and the Gulf of Arta on the west coast of continental Greece. It soon came to include Adrianople and Thessalonica, the latter in virtue of an exchange with Boniface, who ceded his own royal city, with the island of Crete and some other lands his family had been granted in the time of the Emperor Manuel Comnenos, receiving in exchange a territory in Epirus,<sup>2</sup> which made his kingdom a compact block consisting generally of Macedonia, Thessaly, and

<sup>1</sup> There is an instructive note in Wilken, v. p. 389, n. 141, quoting from Molinari's *Storia d'Incisa*, i. pp. 195 *sqq.*, a document of 5th August 1204, describing the arrival at Casale, in the Montferrat territory, of two of Boniface's captains, in charge of the deposed Emperor Alexius and his wife and children. They were handed over to Henry, Marquis of Incisa, a kinsman of the house of Montferrat, and with them a jewelled silver cross and other presents, amongst them some grains of maize from Anatolia, a product never before seen in that part of Italy, which the marquis and his council deposited in the archives, to be planted at the proper time ("pro seminatione et collectione promissi fructus ad huius populi utilitatem, si terrae qualitas, aër et cultura favebunt"), and at the same time had the document we are considering drawn up and witnessed by a notary, in commemoration of so remarkable an event.

<sup>2</sup> Not in Thessaly as Finlay ("Mediæval Greece and Trebizond," p. 112) says. I can trace no places in Thessaly in the list of Venetian acquisitions in the Appendix to vol. v. of Wilken. But Durazzo,

Epirus.<sup>1</sup> Of the important territories thus assigned to Venice, which were no doubt chosen because eminently fitted for the commercial enterprise of the city, she showed herself in no hurry to take possession. They all required the exercise of some force to wrest them from the Greek population, who soon discovered the weakness of their conquerors and resisted them manfully. This resistance was successful at Adrianople and Cardiople (Arcadiopolis) and at other places not far from Constantinople, where the Greek inhabitants appealed for help to John the Wallachian king, and swore to make him their emperor and lord if he aided them in a massacre of the Franks.<sup>2</sup> The Emperor Baldwin, who with the doge and Geoffrey of Villehardouin stayed at the capital, were unable to make head at all points against the rising tide of insurrection, and at this time withdrew all the forces they had sent across the straits to Anatolia except a small garrison left at a place Villehardouin calls l'Espigat, a town on the seashore that was

Ochrida, Janina, Drino, all in Epirus, can be identified in that list. The places in Thessaly that are mentioned in the list are included in the seventh and last division "Pertinentia Imperatricis," *i.e.*, I presume, of the widowed Empress now the wife of Boniface.

<sup>1</sup> The list was printed in Appendix I., at the end of the 5th vol. of Wilken, pp. 3-8, from MSS. in Liber Albus and Liber Pactorum I. and II., then belonging to the Vienna archives. The exchange between Boniface and the Venetians is quoted at p. 358 of the same vol. of Wilken, n. 79. It is also referred to in a paper by Mr. J. B. Bury (in the "Journal of Hellenic Studies," vol. vii. p. 312), who calls it the Compact of Adrianople. See also Comte Riant in *Rev. des Quest. Hist.*, tom. xviii. p. 57. The document itself can be read in *Mon. Hist. Patr. Chartæ*, vol. i. pp. 1112 *sqq.*; and also in Tafel and Thomas (i. pp. 513 *sqq.*) who at i. pp. 452-501 discuss fully the whole question of the partition. It is dated 12th Aug. 1204, "in suburbio Andropolitanae civitatis": it hands over Crete which was given or promised to Boniface by Alexius son of Isaac, and the feudum granted by the Emperor Manuel "patri meo" (perhaps we should read "fratri"), together with 100,000 yperperi promised him; on condition of receiving 1000 silver marks down and lands "à parte occidentis" of the yearly value of 10,000 gold yperperi, "juxta extimationem unius mei amici et alterius vestri." The proctors by whom it was received on behalf of Venice were Marco Sanudo and Ravano of Verona, as to whom v. *post*, p. 423, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Villeh., cxxxv. and cxxxvii.

anciently called Pegæ.<sup>1</sup> This seems to have happened some time in the winter of 1204-5. As soon as he was reinforced by these troops from Asia Baldwin advanced to besiege Adrianople, which the Wallachian king<sup>2</sup> was holding with a far superior force, but was defeated in a great battle outside the walls on the Thursday after Easter (14th of April) 1205 and taken prisoner, while Count Louis of Blois and other leaders of note were killed.<sup>3</sup>

The Emperor soon died in prison, the best loved and most blameless of all the conquerors of Constantinople. The date of his death is not accurately known. On the 14th of June the old doge Enrico Dandolo died. He had been in the fighting at Adrianople in the terrible days about Easter, and had shown all his accustomed vigour in helping Villehardouin to bring back the broken and disheartened remains of the Latin army in good order to Constantinople: at Whitsuntide he died and was buried at St. Sophia. Villehardouin relates the fact with military brevity, "avint uns mout grans damages," he was "mout pleins et regretés de tos les barons communément." The passing away of the greatest Venetian we have yet met with, and one of whom, thanks to Villehardouin's graphic style, we are able to form some lively presentment in our minds, is almost unnoticed by history. His best epitaph

<sup>1</sup> Espigat from Pegæ is an instance of the same kind of change as Stamboul from *ἐς τὰν πόλιν*. Pegæ is naturally a common place name. There was a suburb of Pegæ or Ispigæ on the north shore of the Golden Horn west of Galata, where Cassim Pasha now is; and Pege (in the singular) at Balukli west of the city, named after the Holy Spring, famous still for its medicinal virtues.

<sup>2</sup> King John or Johannice was a Catholic, a convert of Innocent III., who had sent him a legate to crown and anoint him as king, and a consecrated banner to be used in war against the enemies of the Church. He threw this banner of St. Peter into the scale against the "false crosses on the shoulders" of the Crusaders at Constantinople, when summoned by Baldwin to submit to them. (*Gesta Innoc.*, c. 108.)

<sup>3</sup> There is a good account of the battle in Villehardouin, who was in it. See ch. cxlii.-cxlv. He and the doge escaped unhurt and kept a force together for three days' journey to Rodosto on the Propontis.

are the words of the Altino Chronicle, "quae voluit in vita sua nobilissime adimplevit."

As soon as the news of Dandolo's death reached Venice, forty electors were nominated, and on the 5th of August their choice of Pietro Ziani, son of the late distinguished Doge Sebastiano Ziani, was submitted to the people assembled in the Piazza of St. Mark, and approved with acclamation. The Venetians at Constantinople had in the meantime elected as their podestà Marino Zeno, and his election was confirmed at Venice with a proviso that it should not form a precedent, but that the podestà or rector should in future be sent out from Venice. His title was at the same time settled, "Dei gratia Venetorum potestas in Romania, ejusdemque imperii quartae partis et dimidiae dominator." He was to wear a stocking of red silk on his right foot and one of white silk on his left, with the imperial red buskins,<sup>1</sup> or boots reaching just above the ankles.

Count Henry, who had during Baldwin's captivity acted as Bajulus ("Bals" in Villehardouin) or administrator of the empire, succeeded his brother as Emperor. But his realm was much shrunken, nearly all the conquests beyond the straits had been reconquered by Theodore Lascaris, while in Europe, the Wallachs and Bulgarians of John, with their savage heathen allies, the Comans, from the Lower Danube, overran and plundered all the land up to the gates of Constantinople, and once occupied the gate of St. Romanus, but without attempting to reduce the city, a task for which their desultory mode of fighting made them unfit. In Constantinople itself the Venetians, with Villehardouin and other pilgrims, were still powerful—the Venetians having a quarter assigned to them under their own laws and their own magistrates—and some few places on the Propontis were still under Latin rule. In the course of the year 1205 we find the Venetians in possession of Rodosto

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, ii. p. 190.



and Eraclea (Erckli) on its north coast. Several other places in the part of the empire assigned to them were not occupied by the doge's government, but ceded to Venetian citizens as fiefs of the republic, on condition that they should conquer them at their own expense. Some of these feoffees of the republic sold their feudal rights to Greeks and went home to Venice with the money they received. In the Morea, the only places we find occupied by Venice from the first years of the conquest, were Modon and Coron, the former on the western, the latter on the eastern coast of the westernmost of the three peninsulas that terminate the Morea to the south.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the Morea was for a time nearly all united under Geoffrey Villehardouin (not the Marshal of Champagne, but his nephew), who with his two sons governed it as princes of Achaia, and rose to a very considerable height of power and splendour. After them, it was contended for by the houses of Aragon and Anjou, and involved in the strife that made the history of South Italy in this century so disastrous, till it was reconquered bit by bit by the Greek Emperors of Nicæa. In the midst of the constant changes that the Frankish fiefs in the conquered lands underwent, the Venetian settlements, by virtue of sea power and money power, attained to a considerable degree of stability.

If Venice was content to make good her claim to so small a portion of the Morea, the case was different with the islands and the coast-land of Epirus that came to her in the division. Candia, which, as we have seen, she acquired by exchange with the King of Thessalonica, was especially valuable in her eyes as a stepping-stone on the way to Egypt, where her commercial interests were very

<sup>1</sup> Modon and Coron the Venetians held only as military stations, under "castellani," "governors of forts." A writer of the fourteenth century speaks of these two stations as "*oculi capitales Communis.*" They were no doubt admirable points of observation (Heyd, i. pp. 272, 273).

great. A small garrison was sent there immediately on its cession, and occupied a fort at Spinalunga. But the Genoese were also covetous of Candia, and two petty princes, who perhaps should rather be called powerful corsairs, an Italian, Enrico Pescatore, Count of Malta,<sup>1</sup> and a Greek, Leo Gavallas, who called himself Tyrant of Rhodes, and Lord of the Cyclades, both claimed dominion over the whole "Island Sea," and were able to send fleets of twenty or thirty vessels to contest Candia with the Venetians.

In 1206 the new doge, Pietro Ziani, decided to use the whole force of the republic to reduce Candia to submission. The smaller islands in the Ægean he resolved to leave to be conquered by Venetian noblemen, and held by them as vassals of the republic. Some of these noblemen had, it is probable, settled in the islands immediately after the conquest.

The first of these feudal princes of whom we read were Marco Dandolo and Jacopo Viaro, who took possession of Gallipoli—not an island, but the town at the mouth of the Hellespont, on the Chersonese, of which Miltiades had been once tyrant, and which had been so important a possession of Athens in the time of her maritime power. But the most powerful of them was Marco Sanudo, sister's son to Enrico Dandolo, who, being originally judge of the Venetian colony in Constantinople, had first, with Ravano della Carceri,<sup>2</sup> arranged for the purchase of Candia, and then formed a company of knights who offered to conquer and occupy any islands they could. Sanudo was young and popular and rich enough to equip eight galleys, with which he easily conquered seventeen islands—Andros,

<sup>1</sup> Enrico was a subject or vassal of the Sicilian king, but by origin he was a Genoese (Heyd, i. p. 277, n. 5).

<sup>2</sup> He was of Verona, and acquired lands in Negropont, into which, in 1211, he was the means of introducing the Venetians by offering them tribute and a quarter in his towns, in exchange for protection against Henry, the Latin Emperor (Hopf, *apud* Ersch und Gruber, vol. lxxxv. p. 225, 226).

Paros, Melos, Santorini, Delos, and others. Naxos, the queen of the Cyclades, was his chief object, and the most difficult to win, for Genoese pirates held a castle in it, which was strong enough to stand a siege. For fear of his followers being wearied out by this, it is said that he burned his ships and then reduced the fort, after which he built new ships and continued his conquests on the coast of Asia Minor. He and his descendants, created Dukes of the Dodecanesos, or Twelve Islands, by the Latin Emperors, governed Naxos, Paros, Melos, Cythnos, Delos, Syros, Siphnos, Sicinos, Ios, and others, which they boasted to hold by as free a tenure as any baron in Romania.<sup>1</sup> Marco Sanudo himself built a great castle in Naxos, with a Latin cathedral and a palace for himself within its walls, on the ruins of which the arms of the Sanudi and their successors, the Crispi, are still to be seen.

Sanudo seems, by virtue of some delegated authority from the Emperor Henry, to have allotted to Marino Dandolo, Andros; to Giovanni Quirini, Astypalaea; to Jacopo Barozzi, Santorin and Therasia; to Leon Foscolo, Anaphe; while the Ghisi family, also kinsmen of the doge Dandolo, held Tinos, Myconos, Sciathos, Scopelos, Scyros, with a share in Ceos and Seriphos, from the Latin Emperor, to which they added Amorgos by a grant from Theodore Lascaris. Another member of Marco Sanudo's company of knights, Filocalo Navigajoso, won Lemnos, which was in the Emperor Baldwin's, not in the Venetians' division of the empire, and did homage for it to the Emperor Henry, who made him High Admiral of Romania. Patmos, from respect to the Apostle of the Apocalypse, remained independent, probably in the hands of one of the monastic

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo was particular in styling himself "citizen," not "vassal," of Venice. He was vassal only of the Emperor. He married a daughter of the Emperor of Nicæa. Venice imposed on all her citizens who accepted fiefs in the islands the obligation not to cede any part of their islands to aliens (Heyd, i. p. 273).

foundations in the islands that enjoyed exceptional privileges.

This curious and rapid conversion of Venetian merchant nobles into feudal princes in Greek islands did not last long. In sixty years most of the islands had fallen again into the hands of the Greeks; only the Sanudi of the Twelve Islands and the Dandoli of Andros were comparatively permanent. In Candia and in the southern waters of the Adriatic or the Ionian Sea the authority of the republic was more stubbornly upheld. In 1207 the Venetians drove Enrico of Malta from the Castle of Candia in which he had fortified himself. Enrico withdrew and went to Genoa, to offer to hold the island as vassal of that republic, and to grant the Genoese a quarter, as was the usual phrase, in the towns there. The Genoese made some attempt to contest the possession of the island with Venice, but in 1212 were obliged to make a three years' truce, one of the conditions of which was that Enrico should renounce his pretensions. After this the island became a Venetian colony and was parcelled out into fiefs.<sup>1</sup>

The possession of Candia was so important to Venice that for its sake she was willing to let the Ægean islands pass into the hands of private citizens of her own in nominal subjection to her, and to let most places allotted to her in Southern Greece—Eubœa, Salamis, and Ægina, Calavrita, and Patrae—slip through her fingers altogether. But as the great island of Corfu guarded the entrance to the Adriatic, it was important to her to make firm her footing there, and for similar reasons Durazzo was valuable. The expedition that took out the Venetian Patriarch Morosini to Constantinople in June 1205 took possession of Ragusa and Durazzo, and landed a small force in Corfu. In October of the same year, when Enrico Dandolo's death was known, Marino Zeno, the Venetian podestà of

<sup>1</sup> Heyd, i. pp. 276-8.

Constantinople, sent a Venetian named Valaresso to be governor of Durazzo, who held that place for ten years against all the enemies of Venice. The same expedition was intended to occupy Corfu, but effected little there, and the following spring, when a larger expedition on its way to Candia called to see how things were going on at Corfu, the seas round it were found swarming with pirates, Leone Vetrano supported by Genoa, the Palgrave Matteo Orsini, Lord of Cephalonia and Zante, and Enrico Pescatore of Malta, whom we have already met with. By partly conquering, partly winning over these, Venice was enabled, in July 1207 to partition Corfu amongst ten Venetian nobles as feudal tenants of the republic: these found their position precarious and did not venture to set up Latin clergy in the churches there. When Valaresso was established as Despot of Durazzo, surrounded by Greek or Albanian chieftains, such as Demetrius of Arbanon, Michael the Epirote, and Matteo Orsini<sup>1</sup> of Cephalonia, whom Venice recognised as her semi-independent vassals, Corfu seems to have become practically a dependency of Durazzo, as Durazzo became of the Despot of Epirus.

The conquest of Constantinople forms the most important epoch in the early history of Venice. Although her material forces were not sufficient to reduce into possession all the territory that fell to her share, and her moral prestige was impaired by the discredit she had incurred for having defied the Pope and hindered the success of a Holy War, there could be no mistake as to the commanding position in the Mediterranean of a naval power supreme in the Adriatic and firmly seated in the Golden Horn, and moreover represented in the great majority of the islands of the Ægean by Venetian citizens, who, if they were

<sup>1</sup> A. Dandolo calls him "nobilis gallicus," perhaps (as Heyd, i. p. 274, suggests) because of Norman origin. The Normans, not the Greek Empire, preceded Venice in the occupation of the Ionian islands.

vassals of the Latin Emperor<sup>1</sup> rather than of the republic, yet surrounded themselves with Italian colonists, more likely to become traders than pirates, and, even if they did take to piracy, easily restrained by their Venetian lords from preying upon Venetian commerce. All the islands were not fertile, but many of them produced articles valuable in commerce. Paros from this time began to export its marbles to Venice and elsewhere, Naxos its emery, Nisyris its sulphur, while Santorin already produced a famous wine and exported it and cotton, while all the islands abounded in honey and wax which found its way as far as Egypt.

The Latin Empire of Constantinople lasted less than sixty years, and probably did harm to the cause of Christianity and civilisation by weakening the power that was, from its situation, the natural guardian of Europe against the world of Islam; but Venice long retained her hold on Candia and Cyprus, and less firmly on Greece, and from those outposts was ever ready to fight the unbelievers, whom, though she could not prevent them from conquering Constantinople, she took a principal part in repelling, when their fleets spread terror over the Mediterranean. From this time it becomes one of her chief functions to serve as "Europe's bulwark 'gainst the Ottomite."

<sup>1</sup> The northern islands of the Archipelago were part of the Latin Emperor's share at the division. But his French and Flemish vassals preferred lands on the continent to islands, and were glad to give place in the latter to Venetian settlers (Heyd, i. p. 275).



## EXCURSUS ON THE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE

THE fact that we have in Villehardouin's "Conquest of Constantinople" a contemporary record of the events of the Fourth Crusade from one who was a principal actor in them from the first, who is an admirable writer in a beautiful style, and of a *naïveté* that is *primâ facie* conclusive as to his good faith, has made historians generally feel that, at least in this part of their task, they are on safe ground. I have no doubt myself that this confidence is warranted, and I believe that all the additional light obtained from recently published documents goes to strengthen our faith in Villehardouin. Most modern histories of this Crusade (of which the best, so far as I know, is that contained in the fifth volume of Wilken's *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, a learned and accurate book written in an agreeable style), agree in the traditional reliance on Villehardouin. But of recent years his authority has been questioned, and quite a library of controversial writings has been given to the world on the sources for the open and secret history of this Crusade.

The first modern writer to suggest that Villehardouin's account required to be supplemented, that he had been ignorant of or concealed certain things that went on behind the scenes at the time when the Crusade was in preparation, was Karl Hopf, the author of the admirable and elaborate history of "Medieval and Modern Greece" in the eighty-fifth volume of Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine*

*Encyclopédie.* Hopf, whose writings, in the words of M. Hanotaux, the distinguished living historian and diplomatist, had "une autorité quasi pareille à celle d'un document authentique," had contemplated a complete history of the Fourth Crusade,<sup>1</sup> but at his premature death left only remains, of which little has been published. Speaking of rumours that spread in the crusading host on the Lido that the Sultan of Egypt, Malek-el-adel, had bribed Dandolo and the Venetian merchants by presents and commercial concessions to apply to profane ambitions the arm that had been intended for a Holy War, he said:<sup>2</sup> "We are in a position at length to clear up this dark point. Soon after Venice had made the alliance with the French barons for the Crusade, Marino Dandolo and Domenico Michieli, perhaps in response to an invitation from the Sultan, had been sent on an embassy to Cairo, and come to an understanding with him; the doge had declared himself a loyal friend to the son of Eyub. While the Crusaders were waiting impatiently to advance against the infidels the ambassadors had, on the 13th of May 1202, really concluded a treaty of commerce, which guaranteed to Venetians many privileges, granted them a quarter in Alexandria, and promised safety in person and goods to all pilgrims going to the Holy Sepulchre with the Venetians. The Emir Sead-eddin was sent to Venice for ratification of this. The favourable conditions that Adel promised decided the fate of the Crusade."

The rumours referred to in this passage were well known. One of the early histories of the Crusade, the "Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard the Treasurer," which, almost indistinguishably joined together, form a valuable part of the mass of Crusading chronicles known from old times under the name of Continuations of William of Tyre, had mentioned that the Soldan of Egypt sent to the Duke of Venice and to the Venetians great presents, and let them know

<sup>1</sup> Ersch und Gruber, lxxxv. p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.

that if they could succeed in diverting the Christians from invading the land of Egypt, he would grant them great privileges (*frankise*) in the port of Alexander, and great wealth; and that his envoys went to Venice and did what he desired them to do, and then returned. Of the authors of this Chronicle Bernard is almost unknown to us. He was treasurer of the abbey of Corbie in Flanders, and probably spent much of his life, and wrote his Chronicle either in Syria or in Cyprus. Ernoul was connected with persons well known in the same regions: he was a squire ("valet") of Balian d'Ibelin, one of the chief barons of Syria, who was lieutenant of the kingdom of Jerusalem during the captivity of Guy of Lusignan in 1187: Ernoul himself had fought in the battle of Tiberias and been present at the surrender of the Holy City to Saladin. His Chronicle began with those melancholy events and is likely enough to express the gloomy and indignant feelings of those Christians of the East who had suffered so much and saw the Fourth Crusade, from which they had hoped for deliverance, degenerate into a conquest of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup>

The medieval chroniclers borrowed without scruple from their predecessors, and we find, in the *Chronicon Hannoniense* attributed to Baudoin d'Avesnes (a narrative of the Fourth Crusade, of which the greater part is almost a copy of Villehardouin), a reproduction nearly verbal of Ernoul's story of Malek-el-adel's embassy to Venice.<sup>2</sup> In a *Croisade de Constantinople*, reprinted by M. Buchon from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Royale, we meet with the same story again almost in the same words.<sup>3</sup> In a strange

<sup>1</sup> "The Chronicle of Ernoul and Bernard" has been edited with an instructive Introduction, and an essay on the Classification of Crusading Chronicles by de Mas Latrie, the well-known historian of Cyprus. For the facts as to Balian d'Ibelin and Ernoul, see pp. 491, 492; for the story of the Venetians and the Soldan of Egypt, pp. 345, 346.

<sup>2</sup> The extract from the Chronicle is given by Tafel and Thomas, i. 328 *sqq.* The account of the Soldan's embassy is at p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> Buchon, *Recherches Hist. sur la Principauté Française de Morée*, Appendix, p. 450. This is reprinted at i. pp. 322 *sqq.* of Tafel and

rhodomontade concocted in Flanders in honour of Count Baldwin's share in the Crusade, and full of obviously fabulous matter the same story occurs in a different verbal form, and with the addition of the precise amount (a thousand gold marks) of the bribe sent to Venice.<sup>1</sup>

De Mas Latrie, in writing his "History of Cyprus,"<sup>2</sup> found confirmation of the story of Venetian treachery in some of his Oriental authorities, and came to the conclusion that it was true, and that Villehardouin, in his inconsistent account of the diversion of the Crusade from Egypt, was the dupe of the Venetians. This conclusion was combated by M. Natalie de Wailly<sup>3</sup> in his *Éclaircissements* to the magnificent edition of Villehardouin that he brought out in 1874: in which he shows that it is paradoxical in a high degree to believe that Ernoul writing in Syria was better informed than Villehardouin in the Crusading host, a shrewd man of affairs and conversant with *la haute politique*, of whom it would have been very difficult for the craftiest Venetian to make a dupe. But the question need not be left to be decided by antecedent improbabilities. The theory of de Mas Latrie really rests upon the evidence of certain treaties between Venice and the Soldan of Egypt, assumed to be dated in either March or May 1202,<sup>4</sup> Latin copies of which

Thomas. This narrative bears a certain resemblance to that of the Continuation of William of Tyre, printed in vol. ii. of the *Recueil des Hist. des Croisades Occidentaux*, and commonly known as the "Eracles," because it begins with a sentence about Heraclius discovering the true Cross. Du Cange ascribed the Eracles, on what grounds is not known, to an unknown Hugo Plagon. It is the Western continuation of the Archbishop's history, as that of Ernoul and Bernard, which agrees with it for certain periods, but not for others, is the Eastern.

<sup>1</sup> This is printed under the title of *Baldwinus Constantinopolitanus* in Tafel and Thomas, i. 293 sqq. It is a sign of a certain want of critical power in Comte Paul de Riant that he treats this worthless production, which has no merit but that of early date (before 1214), as a valuable document (*Rev. des Questions Historiques*, xxiii. p. 96).

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. de Chypre*, i. 161, sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 430 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Ludwig Streit, the friend and literary executor of Hopf, whose *Venedig und die Wendung des 4ten Kreuzzuges gegen Konstantinopel* is

are printed in Tafel and Thomas' great collection<sup>1</sup> from the *Libri Pactorum* in the Venetian archives. These documents are six in number, but one of them is certainly of later date, as it is addressed to the doge Pietro Ziani, whom it calls Duke of Venice, Zara, and Constantinople, and is for the benefit of Constantinopolitan, as well as Venetian travellers, and another is unintelligible. The remaining four appear all to relate to the same transaction, and three of them to be of the same date: but the year is not given, and we have nothing to guide us but the day of the Mohammedan month, the 19th of Saben, with a doubtful reading between Martii and Maii, as to its Latin equivalent. These documents have been very carefully examined by M. Hanotaux in a paper to which I have before referred,<sup>2</sup> with a result that appears to be conclusive. They appear to be the evidence on which Hopf relied, when, in the passage I lately quoted, he claims to have cleared up all doubt as to the Venetian treachery. He, as we have seen gives the date of the treaty as the 13th of May, 1202, the time at which the Crusaders were waiting on the Lido. His history has no footnotes, and, as I have mentioned, his larger history of the Crusade was left unfinished and has not been published; so that we have no means of ascertaining how this date was determined. If he has no other data to go upon than the documents in Tafel and Thomas, M. Hanotaux has shown good reasons for thinking his date impossible. If the date of those documents can be fixed to May 1202, they are damning evidence against Venice: in M.

a model of learned and acute reasoning compressed into fifty pages, has no doubt that Hopf relied on the documents in Tafel and Thomas mentioned below. The 19th of the Mohammedan month Saben, which is the date of the first of those documents, fell in the year 1202 on the 13th May, according to Ideler's reckoning, which is not the same as that of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*.

<sup>1</sup> Tafel and Thomas, ii. pp. 184 *sqq.* (vol. xiii. of *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*). The documents are numbered ccxliii.-ccxlviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Historique*, iv. (1877) p. 74: "Les Venitiens ont-ils trahi la Chrestientè en 1202?"

Hanotaux's words, "la trahison est flagrante": for the first of them, the treaty to which the others are appendices, grants to the merchants of Venice a fundicus<sup>1</sup> or emporium in Alexandria, orders all collectors of customs to be moderate in their exactions from them, and to encourage their trade, and allows Venetians to travel where they please in all the land of Egypt. If these privileges had been granted in May 1202, at a time when Venice had engaged to provide the Crusaders with ships for a landing in Egypt, the consideration for them could only have been some failure to perform her contract such as Ernoul and others have supposed. But at any time of peace there would be nothing suspicious in such a treaty; there is in fact a series of treaties<sup>2</sup> of this kind, both with Christian and Mohammedan Powers running all through the Middle Ages: they were the foundations of most of the progress made by Venetian commerce. And M. Hanotaux points out that this treaty could not have been made when a Crusade was in progress or in active preparation: for the safe conduct or *securitas* to Venetian ships, which is granted by one of the appendices, extends not only to Venetians themselves, but to pilgrims proceeding to the Holy Sepulchre on board Venetian ships. If those pilgrims were peaceful devotees seeking the holy places, it would not be inconsistent with the feeling of Moslems to grant them facilities, but they could not be expected to extend their tolerance to pilgrims in arms. The calculations of Streit<sup>3</sup> and M. Hanotaux<sup>4</sup> leave it in the end a little doubtful what the

<sup>1</sup> The "fondaco" was to be situated at Sognediki, which is interpreted by Tafel and Thomas to be the poultry market.

<sup>2</sup> For one instance we may take the *privilegium* granted by Leo, King of Armenia, in 1201, by which Venetians obtained licence to travel and trade in Armenia, a general exemption from duties, special jurisdiction, and "in civitate Mamistri ecclesiam et victualia pro sacerdotibus et clerico ecclesiae servientibus"—in fact a church establishment—a fondaco for storing their goods and a site to build a house on (Tafel and Thomas, No. xciv. i. 373-385).

<sup>3</sup> *Venedig und die Wendung*, &c., u.s., p. 49, Beilage C.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue Historique*, u.s., p. 99.



years should be in which the 19th of Saben fell in March or May: but the remark of Streit that in the treaty the Soldan styles himself "rex regum" and "amicus miri Amamoni," "king of kings and friend of the Emir or Commander of the Faithful," titles which, as we know from Abulfeda were not conferred upon Malek-el-adel till the year 604 of the Hegira, corresponding with A.D. 1207-8, appears to be conclusive against Hopf's date. M. Hanotaux is inclined to date our treaty on the 9th March 1208.

No doubt the readiness of the Venetians to trade and make treaties with the Saracens rendered them unpopular in Christendom, and liable to be suspected of treason, especially by churchmen.<sup>1</sup> Pope Innocent III. was not unwilling to censure them for diverting the Crusade to Zara to fight against the King of Hungary, who was himself a Crusader.<sup>2</sup> He was not so clearly opposed to the attack on Constantinople, for the prospect of reuniting the Eastern to the Western Church under his authority was attractive: but this prospect was opened to him at an unpropitious moment, when he was in correspondence with Alexius the Usurper, and in good hopes of making him a convert to the cause of Reunion. About the same time that the Franks and Venetians applied to him to confirm the original agreement of the spring of 1201, which merely spoke generally of the hire of ships for Syria and Egypt, a letter came to him from Alexius urging him to stop the Crusaders from attacking his dominions. This letter seems to have set forth the Usurper's case, that the succession to the Eastern Empire went by election, not by hereditary

<sup>1</sup> Streit (*u.s.*, p. 29) remarks that the Venetian idea of a righteous political order of things unconnected with the Church made them suspected at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> See the Pope's letter "Duci et Populo Venetorum" of 3rd Dec. 1198 (Baluz., lib. i. ep. 539) printed in Tafel and Thomas, i. pp. 234 *sqq.*, in which he allows Venetians to trade with Saracens except in articles that might be used for purposes of war.

right, except in the case of a son "born in the purple," which the young Alexius was not. The Pope replied cautiously that he would consult with his brethren and endeavour to please the Emperor: but many told him that he ought to receive favourably such a demand as that of young Alexius, on the ground that the Greek Church was less obedient and devoted than it should be to the Apostolic See. At the same time he refused to confirm the Franco-Venetian agreement except on the express condition that they should not attack any Christian Power, unless in self-defence or for some necessary cause to be approved by the Pope's legate. To this condition the Venetians refused to consent, and further said plainly they would not admit Cardinal Peter to their camp, except as a preacher. If he came as a legate he must go back. In his next letter the Pope inhibited the Crusaders from attacking Zara by name, on the ground that the King of Hungary to whom it belonged was a Crusader.

The Papal Chancery was, as usual, well informed of what was going on behind the scenes. In this case we may suspect that one of the Pope's informants was Boniface of Montferrat, who came at this time from France to Italy by Germany, and had an interview with the Pope, in which he sounded him<sup>1</sup> on the subject of the young Alexius, but found him not well disposed to the proposal. Montferrat was a kinsman of the young Alexius and of his brother-in-law, Philip of Suabia, the elected King of the Romans, whose cause Innocent did not favour. The Pope was therefore drawn in different directions by the proposal to restore the young Alexius by the help of the Crusading army. On the one hand it seemed to him to endanger what was probably the dearest wish of his heart, the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and it was a scheme favoured by Philip of Suabia, whom he looked upon as an

<sup>1</sup> "Coêpit agere a remotis," *Gesta Innocentii*, ch. lxxxiii.

opponent :<sup>1</sup> on the other hand it held out a good hope of leading to the reunion of the Eastern Church ; it was believed also by many persons well affected to the Crusades that the conquest of the Eastern Empire would be a step towards the recovery of Jerusalem : and the restoration of a cruelly dethroned monarch and his innocent son appealed to moral sentiments that the Church could not altogether ignore. So Innocent did not condemn the enterprise of the young Alexius. As to the attack on Zara he was more peremptory, and Boniface was so moved by his prohibition, that, though he had recently accepted the offer of the French barons to be leader of the Crusade, he would not take part in the attack on Zara, and only took up his command when Zara had fallen. The Venetians who would not be diverted from their enterprise were excommunicated, the Pope saying of them that they are said “ not to grieve, but rather to rejoice at their sin.”<sup>2</sup> The question whether Baldwin and the other barons might continue on the Crusade, even by way of Zara, in company with the excommunicated Venetians, raised a point of casuistry, which the Pope was able, with certain reservations, to decide in favour of the barons.

The whole secret history of this Crusade, and the part played in it by the Venetians, the Pope, Philip of Suabia, the young Alexius, and, above all, Boniface of Montferrat, has been discussed by many writers of recent times with abundance of learning and ingenuity. I have referred already to Karl Hopf and Ludwig Streit, and M. Hanotaux, the late Foreign Minister of France. Besides these M.

<sup>1</sup> On Henry VI.'s death, his young son Frederic, a boy of four years old, had succeeded, in right of his mother, to the kingdom of Sicily, and had stayed with her in Sicily under the guardianship of the Pope, who looked upon him as the future Emperor. The German princes, preferring to have an Emperor in Germany, had chosen Philip of Suabia as King of the Romans, against whom Otto of Brunswick had been chosen by a rival party with the Pope's approval.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Innoc.*, ch. lxxxvii.

Norden in his *Der Vierte Kreuzzug* has given us a most learned and valuable investigation of the Crusade and its causes, dwelling much, as does Streit, on the secular antagonism between East and West, which made the Byzantine government, in spite of its Christianity, range itself practically on the Mohammedan side in the Crusades. Klinke's *Quellen zur Geschichte des 4ten Kreuzzugs* is an indispensable guide to the contemporary histories and documents, of perfect impartiality and conspicuous brevity and order.

Less impartial are three articles contributed to the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vols. xvii., xviii., and xxiii., by Comte Paul de Riant, of the Société pour l'Histoire de l'Orient Latin, who has a wide acquaintance with all the documentary history of this period. He holds a brief for Innocent III., not one against Venice, and the thesis he sets himself to prove is that the diversion of the Crusade to Constantinople was mainly the work of Philip of Suabia, who in this was following out the ideas of his brother Henry VI., and bent on making the Empire a great world-power having its centre in Rome and inevitably depressing the Papacy.

It will, I think, be generally agreed by readers of the voluminous literature that has grown up around this subject, that the young Alexius plotted with his brother-in-law, Philip of Suabia, to obtain his restoration to the Byzantine throne by means of the Crusading army, and that Boniface of Montferrat, who belonged to a family deeply involved in the intrigues of the court of Constantinople, was in the plot from an early date. As to the dates of Alexius' arrivals in Italy and in Germany, of his interviews with the Pope, with Philip, and with Boniface, we have contradictory evidence: but the question of dates does not seem to me to be very important.<sup>1</sup> Innocent did not

<sup>1</sup> On the history of this plot there is a valuable note at pp. 524-528 of vol. i. of Winkelmann's *Philipp von Schwaben und Otto IV. von Braunschweig*, Leipzig, 1873.

altogether reject the bait of reunion of the Churches that was held out to him: but he never cordially liked the expedition. His zeal for the recovery of Palestine cannot be questioned. But we have good evidence besides that of Villehardouin, that Dandolo also was zealous for the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>1</sup> But he, like all Venetians, knew well, and did not trust, the Greek government, and thought it really an obstacle in the way of the Crusade. He was also aggrieved at the delay of the Byzantine court in settling the Venetian claim for a pecuniary compensation for Manuel's outrage, and he was conscious of the gain that would come to the chief Venetian interest—an active trade with the East, if Constantinople was subject, or permanently friendly, to Venice.

<sup>1</sup> " Il avoit si grant talent de aidier à la besongne nostre signeur " are the words of the Chronicle of Baudoin d'Avesnes (v. *ante*, p. 430) given at p. 337 of vol. i. of Tafel and Thomas.