

VENICE  
IN THE THIRTEENTH AND  
FOURTEENTH CENTURIES





Lagoons of  
VENICE

ARSENALE

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# VENICE

## IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

A SKETCH OF VENETIAN HISTORY  
FROM THE CONQUEST OF CON-  
STANTINOPLE TO THE ACCESSION  
OF MICHELE STENO. A.D. 1204-1400

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## PREFACE

NINE years ago I published a volume on the Early History of Venice, which I brought down to the conquest of Constantinople in A.D. 1204. Very few copies of this have been sold, and some of the English reviews of it found it very dry. But, on the whole, I had no reason to complain of the treatment it received from the critics, which was indeed better than it deserved. Only one review was distinctly condemnatory: this was the work of a scholar well versed in Venetian and in general mediæval history, who was apparently an accomplished disciple of the late Professor Freeman, and had imbibed not only much of the learning of his master, but also a strong infusion of his literary manners. I was, on the other hand, much gratified by the very kind appreciation of my book that was contributed by an accomplished English student of Italian literature to the *Athenæum*. I was still more pleased, and not a little surprised, to receive from German scholars two notices of my book, which, while not sparing criticism, treated it as a work of interest to European learning. Of these reviews, one was contributed to the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* of the 24th of May 1902 by Dr. Ernst Gerland of Homburg, who is or was, I believe, editor of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* and author of a *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreichs von Konstantinopel*, the first volume of which has appeared since his review of my book; the other by Dr. H. Kretzschmayr to the *Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung in Wien*. I wish to thank both of these

gentlemen not only for their courteous treatment of my book, but for sending me their reviews, which have given me many hints and referred me to recent German authorities that have, I hope, been of use in my present book.

I have found some difficulty in deciding how far to extend my narrative over other fields than that of Venetian history proper. I have claimed in my twelfth chapter that the events that formed the sequel of the conquest of Constantinople may properly be included in Venetian history. Perhaps the quotations from Browning's "Sordello" in chap. iii. may be less justifiable, and I also may have gone into too many details in my fourth chapter as to Venetian legislation, and in my thirteenth as to merchants and missionaries in Cathay.

I am not at all confident that I have given a correct account of the famous "Serrata del Consiglio." I have read much about it in Venetian accounts written when the constitution that it established was still in working order, and in German monographs written since the archives at Venice and elsewhere have been opened to scientific examination. Neither Dr. Maximilian Claar's elaborate work, *Die Entwicklung der venezianischen Verfassung*; nor the chapter in Count Correr's *Venezia e le Sue Lagune*, which Italian writers look upon as of the highest authority on constitutional questions; nor the old Italian accounts given us by Donato Giannotti and Cardinal Contarini appear to me to explain satisfactorily the change that Gradenigo made in the election of the Great Council. I am not sure that Leuret's account, written (as I have remarked in the text) at a time when the aristocratic constitution was still in operation, is not the most satisfactory.

Of the original authorities for my present period I need not say much. Every one who has had occasion to consult the Chronicles contained in Muratori's great series of *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* knows how excellent many of them are. Of those whose works I have had to read,

Andrea Dandolo and his continuators are good, business-like writers, but do not possess any of the graces of style, the terseness, or the naïvete, or the picturesque detail that we find in such writers as Ramon Muntaner, whom I have called the Xenophon of the Catalonian Anabasis, or Rolandini of Padua, or Galeazzo Gataro, who wrote a Chronicle of Padua under the Carraras,<sup>1</sup> or still more in Martino da Canale (a writer not included in Muratori's collection), of whom I have made so much use in this volume. Rolandini of Padua<sup>2</sup> was town clerk, Gataro and his son and continuator Andrea were advocates. The Cortusii, Gulielmo and Alberghetto, were also distinguished citizens of Padua, an uncle and nephew, whose Annals, without any study of elegance, are authentic records of an interesting period.<sup>3</sup> Martino da Canale was a clerk, as we have seen,<sup>4</sup> in "the Board of the Sea," that is, of Customs, at Venice. Giorgio Stella was in the service of the Genoese republic, and his father had been chancellor;<sup>5</sup> the Villani—Giovanni, Matteo, and Philippo—had held high civil offices in Florence.<sup>6</sup> The chroniclers of these times seem to have been not so often in orders as notaries—that is, men of business of a good education, who were from their position familiar with current history and often behind the scenes. I have omitted to mention Laurentius de Monacis, Chancellor of Crete, a Venetian citizen, as the law required, a writer whom we have constantly met with in this volume, a grave man of high character, whose judgments on the

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon Patavinum Italica Lingua conscriptum auctore Andrea de Gataris, &c.*, in *R. I. S.*, xvii. cols. 7-904. This includes also the work of Andrea's father, Galeazzo.

<sup>2</sup> *Rolandini Patavini de Factis in Marchia Tarvisina, Libri xii.*, in *R. I. S.*, viii. cols. 157-360.

<sup>3</sup> *Cortusii Patavini Duo*, in *R. I. S.*, xii. cols. 767-988.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra*, p. 173.

<sup>5</sup> *Georgii Stellæ Annales Genuenses . . . per Johannem Stellam ejus Fratrem continuati*, in *R. I. S.*, xvii. cols. 951-1318.

<sup>6</sup> *Johannis Villani Florentini Hist. Universalis*, occupies cols. 9-1002 in *R. I. S.*, xiii. It is in Italian. *Matthæi Villanii ejusque filii Philippi Historia* (also in Italian) is in *R. I. S.*, xiv. cols. 9-770.

events he had seen passing are always of value.<sup>1</sup> The last of the chroniclers from Muratori's collection with whom I have been much concerned is Daniele di Chinasso, a good and apparently accurate writer, of whom nothing is known but that he was a native of Treviso, living at Venice during the war of Chioggia, which he relates; and that his history was thought so highly of by Andrea Gataro that he proposed to insert it bodily in his chronicle, and had copied it out at length for this purpose.<sup>2</sup> The only one of the chronicles in Muratori of which it has been necessary to express any doubts is the *Vita Caroli Zeni*, the authenticity of which I have discussed in a note on p. 509.<sup>3</sup>

In the view I have taken of the Venetian constitution I have relied much more on the old Italian writers—Donato Giannotti, a Florentine exile at Venice, Cardinal Contarini, and others—than on Daru, and modern French, German, and Italian writers. Daru wrote under instructions from his master, Napoleon, to make out a case in justification of the destruction of the venerable republic. Venice had been very far from a monarchy, and could not be vilified in the same way as the old monarchies of Europe. It had borne for centuries the name of republic, and in many ways had, it could not be denied, done honour to the name. But nothing could be farther from the ideals of Rousseau and Robespierre than such a republic as Venice. It was not founded on the doctrine of equality, the doctrine that every man's opinion on the political questions that had to be solved by governments was as good as his neighbour's. It held, on the contrary, that the art of governing

<sup>1</sup> Only a fragment of Laurentius de Monacis is to be found in *R. I. S.*, viii. (the part dealing with the career of Ecelino da Romano). The remainder was published separately by Flaminio Corner, the author of *Ecclesiæ Venetæ*, as an appendix to vol. viii. of Muratori.

<sup>2</sup> Danielis Chinatii Tarvisini belli apud Fossam Clodiam et alibi inter Venetos et Genuenses gesti anno MCCCLXXXVIII. et sequentibus Italico sermone accurata descriptio, in *R. I. S.*, xv. cols. 697-804.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita Caroli Zeni* . . . auctore Jacobo Zeno ejus nepote, in *R. I. S.*, xix. cols. 207-372.

one's fellow-creatures well was one that could be acquired best by apprenticeship to the work of government, that those whose wealth gave them leisure to work at this apprenticeship from their youth upwards were most likely to make progress in it, and that a capacity for doing the work of government was inherited from fathers who had learned to do it well, just as, to use Horace's words, in oxen and horses the virtues of sires were transmitted to their progeny. This was the fundamental principle of Venetian education and training, and was justified by the qualities of the grave patricians who commanded the fleets and armies of Venice, who managed her diplomacy, or who established and conducted the great mercantile undertakings that were so powerful an instrument in advancing the civilisation of the world. I have not therefore thought it necessary to apologise for the Venetians, who disbelieved in democracy and in the natural right of unskilled men to govern themselves and their fellows ill, and who did not hit upon the modern doctrine that justice requires every one to have some representative placed in power by his vote who will look after his interests for fear of losing his important and advantageous position as a representative. And yet the governing classes of Venice impressed such observers as Rudolph of Habsburg and Petrarch by their justice more than by any other quality; just as men of business in our own time, who have to obtain parliamentary powers for any great undertaking, find the hereditary upper house more just and more intelligent than the elected house of representatives.

Of modern helps for the study of Venetian history I have to a large extent had to rely on the same writers as in my former book. Ducange has not been so constantly referred to as for the earlier history, nor Tafel and Thomas. Carl Hopf's great "History of Mediæval Greece" has been a more constant guide, whose only weakness is that he is too thorough, too exhaustive, and too careless of the value of

arrangement and generalisation. Heyd's "History of the Levant Trade of the Middle Ages," which I have used, as every one does, in the improved and extended French translation, is as thorough a book as Hopf's, and far more attractive. In the affairs of Cyprus, which occupy much of the later chapters of my book, the Comte de Mas Latrie is an indispensable and most sufficient guide.

I ought to add that what I said in the Introduction to my former book did less than justice to the great work of Romanin, which I have learnt to trust more and more. He is not a master of style, but his *Storia Documentata* is an early model, and a very good one, of the kind of history founded on original documents that is becoming every year more and more the most useful and highly appreciated product of historical work.

It remains for me only to express my thanks: (1) To the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce Furlani's Plan of Constantinople, and several of the prints from Franco's *Habiti*. (2) To the Society for Promotion of Hellenic Studies, and particularly to Mr. John ff. Baker Penoyre, its Secretary, and Mr. F. W. Hasluck, for very courteously allowing me to use the Society's photograph of Famagusta Cathedral, and those of Cyzicus, the Euripus, Modone, and Monembasia by Mr. Hasluck.

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## ERRATA

- Page 32, line 28, for "βασιλείαν μου" read "βασιλείαν μου."  
,, 42, ,, 11, for "connection" read "connexion."  
,, 47, ,, 8, for "Roumania" read "Romania."  
,, 48, ,, 33, for "ferrens" read "ferreus."  
,, 56, ,, 30, for "connection" read "connexion."  
,, 148, ,, 22, for "Cancellaria" read "Cancelleria."  
,, 378, ,, 22, for "1373" read "1343."  
,, 436, ,, 35, for "vella" read "nella."  
,, 466, ,, 29, for "p. 467" read "pp. 467, 468."  
,, 468, ,, 21, for "1265" read "1365."  
,, 484, ,, 14, for "Machant" read "Machaut."  
,, 514, ,, 26, for "France" read "Hungary."  
,, 565, ,, 21, for "dit erra" read "di terra."  
,, 566, ,, 17, for "Marc" read "Mare."



# VENICE

## IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

### CHAPTER I

#### THE LATIN EMPIRE OF ROMANIA

WHEN Pietro Ziani, a rich and virtuous nobleman, who had been Podestà of Padua and Count of Arbe, and was at this time one of the doge's counsellors, was elected to succeed the great doge, Enrico Dandolo, who had died at Constantinople, it must have seemed doubtful to him and to those who elected him, whether the part he would be called upon to play would be that of an Italian prince, or that of a despot in the East. The conquest of Constantinople had necessarily complicated the position of Venice and doubled her rôle. She remained, as she had been in the struggle between Frederic Barbarossa and the Lombard republics, a powerful factor in the affairs of Italy, soon to be almost as disturbed as before the Peace of Venice; but she was also called upon to play a leading part in the affairs of the Latin East. We have seen that her policy was at first to minimise this part, that she took no steps to occupy much of the Byzantine territory that had come to her by the treaty of partition, and confined her energies in the main to the islands, and especially Crete. But she could not help being concerned with the troubled and

chequered fortunes of the Latin Empire and the lesser Frankish seigneuries—the Kingdom or Empire of Thessalonica, the Principality of Achaia, the Dukedom of Athens, and others that established themselves for a longer or shorter time on the ruins of the Byzantine dominion. The power of Venice in the Eastern Mediterranean was destined to last longer than any of these principalities, but at first it had much less hold on the land.

Henry of Flanders, who in 1206, was elected Emperor of Romania on the death of his brother Baldwin in captivity, and reigned till 1216, was a chivalrous and able ruler, who conciliated and employed the ablest of his Greek subjects,<sup>1</sup> and held his own in the very difficult circumstances in which he was placed. He kept on good terms with the Latin Church, his most powerful ally, but to do so he was obliged to resign all hopes of popularity with the Greek population, who were devoted to their own Church and bitterly hostile to Rome, and had close at hand, as powerful supporters in need, the Greek princes Theodore Lascaris and John Dukas, named Vatatzes, who were endeavouring to maintain the succession of Byzantine Emperors at Nicæa. But besides the hostility of his Greek subjects he had to contend with that of his brother's rival, Boniface of Montferrat, now calling himself King of Saloniki or Thessalonica, and claiming a superiority over the Frankish barons settled south of that city. Boniface indeed died in 1207, the year after Henry became Emperor, killed in battle against the Bulgarians; Villehardouin's chronicle ends with a lamentation over his death. "Halas! con dolorous damage ci ot à l'empereor Henri et à tos les Latins de la terre de Romenie, de tel homme perdre par tel mesaventure, un des meillors barons et des plus larges et des meillors chevaliers qui fust el remanant dou monde."<sup>2</sup> Demetrius, Boniface's son by the Empress Margaret, Isaac Angelus' widow, who

<sup>1</sup> Georg. Acrop., p. 31 Bonn, vol. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Villehard., cxvi. 298-300; Wailly., cclxxvii. p. 362 Bouchet.

succeeded on his father's death,<sup>1</sup> was a child of two years old ; but the regent or *bailo* for the young King, the Count of Biandrate, one of the chief nobles of North Italy, was ambitious on his own account and on that of the kingdom of Thessalonica, and refused to do homage to Henry, claiming feudal superiority over all Southern Greece, for that kingdom. Henry temporised, referring the question at issue between himself and Biandrate to the Court of the Barons of the Empire held at Ravenika in Macedonia,<sup>2</sup> at which it was decided that the southern feudatories were directly dependent on the Emperor, and Henry was allowed to enter Thebes, and apparently Salonika also, as suzerain. Biandrate did not resist, but retired to Italy.

While the Emperor Henry was still on the throne two Frankish barons established themselves in Southern Greece —Otho de la Roche, a Burgundian nobleman, at Athens and Thebes, William de Champlitte at Andravida in the Morea, which in those days was the name of only the western half of the Peloponnesus. Otho took the title of "Grand Sire" (*μέγας κύριος*) of Athens, which his nephew Guy afterwards exchanged for that of duke. William de Champlitte stayed only a few years in the East, and then returned to France, but Geoffrey de Villehardouin (the younger, nephew to his famous namesake, the Marshal of Champagne), who superseded Champlitte, had from the first the title of Prince of Achaia, and revived the claim to superiority over the South of Greece originally put forward by Boniface. Frankish dukes of Athens and Frankish princes of Achaia, frequently hostile to one another, maintained themselves in Greece long after the Frankish Empire in Constantinople had ceased to have any real existence.

That Empire, besides the disadvantage it suffered from

<sup>1</sup> An elder half-brother, William, succeeded to the Marquisate of Montferrat in Lombardy.

<sup>2</sup> Ravenika was situate between the Axios and the Strymon (Buchon, *Recherches Hist.* 1845, i. 70). But Tafel (*De Thessalonica ejusque Agro*, p. 488) thinks it was near Thermopylæ in Thessaly.

its unpopular alliance with the Popes, and its feudal constitution, that was alien to the customs of the Greeks, was singularly unfortunate in the failure of a regular succession. By what seems almost a malignant destiny, the succession to the Latin Empire, as to the crusading kingdom of Jerusalem, where above all things a warrior was needed to rule, was constantly falling to a woman or a minor. When Henry of Flanders died, the electors chose as his successor Peter de Courtenay, Count of Auxerre,<sup>1</sup> whose only claim to the office was that he was husband of Yolande of Flanders, the sister of Baldwin and Henry. And on Peter's murder by Theodore, despot of Epirus, before he had even taken possession of his throne, Yolande governed as regent for her son Philip, Count of Namur, who remained in Belgium. When Philip decided not to come to the East, his younger brother Robert was elected Emperor, and reigned for nine disastrous years (A.D. 1219-1228). He lost early in his reign Conon of Bethune, whom we have met with as one of the most brilliant leaders of the Fourth Crusade, who had stayed with the Emperors Baldwin and Henry and been their wisest counsellor. The young Emperor's own character was not such as to fit him for his difficult and dangerous position. The event that occupies most space in the accounts we have of his reign is an act of cruel and hideous vengeance perpetrated by a rival lover on the Emperor's mistress, which he had not the courage to resent or punish. So when, in 1228, he died in the Morea, when returning from a mission to the Pope, the electors would not run the risk of a long minority by electing his brother Baldwin, then ten years old, but appealed to John de Brienne, titular King of Jerusalem, an old man over eighty, but a Crusader, who had ten years before fought for the Cross under the walls of Damietta, to take the crown of Constantinople. It was agreed that

<sup>1</sup> A minority of the barons had been for calling Andrew, King of Hungary, to the throne (Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, vol. 85, p. 247).



the young Baldwin should marry John's daughter, and at the age of twenty have the government of the trans-Bosporine province of the Empire, and on John's death succeed to the whole Empire, John's heirs being compensated by the territory west of Adrianople or east of Nicomedia, if either could be conquered from Bulgarians or Greeks.

John of Brienne, we are told by Georgius Acropolita<sup>1</sup> who had seen him, was a man of magnificent physique, and his military reputation was high. He was indeed a soldier of fortune who had fought his way to a kingdom and an empire. But naturally, at the age of eighty, his energy was not what it had been, and he allowed himself to sink into indolent luxury in the palace of Constantinople. Acropolita says that John reproached himself for keeping out of the Empire one who could have governed it so well as his namesake John Vatatzes,<sup>2</sup> who had succeeded Theodore Lascaris at Nicæa. Under this brave and capable sovereign the bounds of the Empire of Nicæa were considerably extended, so that the Latin Emperors' territory in Asia had shrunk to a few places in the peninsula between Nicomedia and the Bosphorus. Nor did their European territories remain long unattacked. Adrianople had never been secure in their possession; the neighbourhood of the Bulgarian King, who, as much as themselves, enjoyed the favour of the Pope, constantly threatened them, and another power sprang up in the twenty years following the Latin conquest that for a time seemed

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 48, 49, in Bonn edition, vol. xviii. See also *Monachus Paduanus*, lib. ii. anno 1218 (*apud* Pertz, xix. p. 151). The chronicle is there called *Annales S. Justinae Patavini*. The monk's words are: "Johannes rex Jerosolimitanus, vir strenuus et forma pre filiis hominum speciosus." It is also in Murat., *R. I. S.*, viii. c. 660.

<sup>2</sup> Acropolita calls both rivals Ἰωάννης simply, but John of Brienne is ὁ ῥήξ, with the addition in one place (Bonn, vol. xviii. p. 50) ὁ καὶ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντινοῦ πόλεως φημιζόμενος, the title of βασιλεὺς unqualified being reserved for the legitimate Greek sovereign (see a learned note of Dousa on pp. 246-47, vol. xviii. of the Bonn ed.).

likely to put an end to the Latin dominion. This was the *despoteia* established in Epirus by Michael, the illegitimate son of an uncle of Isaac Angelos. He continued the old Byzantine government as an independent prince in all the country from Dyrrachium to Naupactus, the seat of his government being at Janina or Arta, but acknowledging a nominal subjection to Theodore Lascaris. He and his brother and successor, Theodore, who assumed the three royal surnames of Angelus, Comnenus, and Ducas, established a strong military force of Greeks, Wallachians, and Albanians. Michael was assassinated in A.D. 1214, but Theodore maintained himself in his brother's place, and in 1217 he took prisoner and killed, as we have seen, Peter Courtenay, the Latin Emperor. In 1222, he put an end to the reign of Demetrius, the son of Boniface of Montferrat, and proclaimed himself Emperor of Thessalonica.<sup>1</sup> He next made advances to the northward, towards Adrianople, till John Vatatzes, fearing he might get the start of himself in recovering Constantinople for the Greeks, stopped his further progress by forming a close alliance with Asan the Bulgarian King, in virtue of which in 1230 the latter defeated, took prisoner, and blinded Theodore. But Asan soon afterwards, marrying his prisoner's daughter, released his father-in-law, and helped him to recover Thessalonica, of which he refused to be Emperor on account of his blindness, but made his son John Emperor and governed in his name.<sup>2</sup> John Vatatzes was, however, able to stir up Theodore's two brothers, Manuel and Constantine, who invaded Thessaly, and some years of civil war between uncles and nephew followed, under which the

<sup>1</sup> See Finlay, iii. 301 (ed. 1877). Acropolita (pp. 36, 37 Bonn, vol. xviii.) speaks with great bitterness of Theodore's assuming the purple robe and red sandals and creating despots, sebastocrators, great domestics and protovestiaris. Dandolo (x. 4, 28), who calls him Theodorus Lascaris Comnenus, adds, "qui pro Græcorum Imperatore se gerebat" (Murat., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 340).

<sup>2</sup> Acrop., pp. 65, 66 Bonn, vol. xviii.

power created by Michael and Theodore crumbled away, till in 1234 Thessalonica was taken and John compelled to renounce his claim to empire and accept the position of despot under the Emperor of Nicæa.

The disappearance of the Empire of Thessalonica left no power but the Empire of Nicæa and the Kingdom of Bulgaria to try conclusions with the Latins. John of Brienne still held the capital, but had been driven out of all but one or two strongholds in Asia Minor, and now began to be straitened also on the European side of the Bosphorus. On the other hand, John Vatatzes and the Bulgarian King were firmly united and were daily increasing in power. A marriage took place between Theodore, the son of John Vatatzes, and Helen, Asan's daughter, both children under twelve; and an army of Greeks and Bulgarians carried on active operations against the Latins almost under the walls of Constantinople. It was agreed that when the imperial city was recovered a partition of the European dominions should be made, John taking the Chersonese and the Maritza valley, Asan the country north of Adrianople.

John of Brienne had been five or six years in Constantinople, when the course of his Greek rival was simplified and smoothed by the fall of the Empire of Thessalonica. During these years he had made more than one endeavour to bring about a *modus vivendi* between the Greek and Latin Churches, but had been frustrated by the Pope's objection to any compromise of his claims. He had some hopes that Leo Gavalas of Rhodes might cause a diversion by his rebellion against John Vatatzes; but the year 1235 found Gavalas, though still probably disaffected, commanding John Vatatzes' fleet and blockading the Golden Horn. A Venetian fleet came to the rescue of the Latin Emperor,<sup>1</sup> and Leonardo Querino and Marco

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be far the most probable account, though Ducange (*Hist. de C. P.*, pp. 98, 99) attributes the destruction of the Greek fleet

Gausono, its commanders, won a decisive victory over Gavalas under the eyes of the Emperor's army encamped on the shore, and took twenty-four galleys, thus restoring confidence to the Latins.<sup>1</sup>

In 1237 John of Brienne died. His successor, Baldwin II., was at the time abroad, soliciting from the princes of the West men and money to uphold the cause of the Latin Church in the East. He did not return to Constantinople till 1239. Pope Gregory IX. and St. Louis had given him money and troops that the Greek writers speak of as amounting to 60,000 men.<sup>2</sup> About the same time the Bulgarian King deserted the alliance of John Vatatzes and endeavoured to save the Latin Empire from destruction. He was a trimmer by nature, and at this time his position on the frontiers of civilisation, in face of the hordes of heathen Mongols, whose irruptions were among the most important historical events of the thirteenth century, made him disinclined to involve himself in an offensive alliance with the Empire of Nicæa. An indirect

to a handful of infantry left in the city by Brienne with no ships: his authority for this appears to be the rhymed chronicle of Philip Mouskès of Tournay, a writer of the thirteenth century, an extract from whose chronicle is printed in Ducange's *Villehardouin* (see pp. 223, 224). As to Philip's identity see Potthast, *s.v.*

<sup>1</sup> "Latinis incolis datâ fiduciâ," Dand., x. 5, 15 (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 349). In the next section (x. 5, 16) Dandolo says that the doge's legate, Marsilio Giorgio, made Leo Gavalas lord of Rhodes "sibi fidelem et tributarium"; but the Ambrosian annotator (see "Early History of Venice," Introduction, pp. xiii. and xiv.) says this is a mistake, that Rhodes was ceded not by Leo "Cæsar" but by his brother, and not to the Venetians, but to the Genoese. The naval defeat, admitted by Acropolita (p. 64 Bonn) appears to have been of a later date. Daru (i. 261, 262) gives a more detailed account, but apparently founded on Dandolo only.

<sup>2</sup> Acropolita, 62, 63 Bonn, vol. xviii. He says St. Louis was not only Baldwin's kinsman, but a bitter enemy of the Greeks, *i.e.* no doubt of the Greek Church. The troops he sent, starting from τῆς ἀνω Γαλλίας—διὰ τῶν ὑπωρειῶν τῶν Ἀλλέων εἰς τὸ Ὄστρικλον ἀφίκοντο, and after passing along Hungary, crossed the Danube into Bulgaria, where Ὄστρικλον is, I presume, an early instance of the use of Austria, as to which see "Early History of Venice," p. 54, n. 2.

result of the Mongolian advance westward was that the Comans, a horde of Pagan savages not unknown before in the neighbourhood of Constantinople,<sup>1</sup> were driven over the Danube, and, being allowed to pass by the Bulgarians, took service under Baldwin II., in whose army "one could see," in the words of Daru, "French, Venetians, Crusaders of different nations, Greeks, Mahometans and Barbarians, marching with the Pope's bull in their hands against the Emperor of Nicæa."<sup>2</sup>

The Bulgarian King was soon again on the side of the Greeks, but John Vatatzes did not live to see Constantinople in Greek hands. He died in 1254, and during the last fifteen years of his life he conquered Thessalonica and recovered most of Thrace from the Bulgarians. Nor did Theodore II., his son, in his reign of nearly four years, though an able administrator like his father, succeed in driving out the Latins. That achievement was reserved for the first prominent member of a family that played from this time till 1452 a leading part in the affairs of the Eastern Empire. We have already met with George Paleologus as commander of the garrison of Durazzo<sup>3</sup> in the war that Alexius, the first of the Comnenian Emperors, had to wage against Robert Guiscard: the family had continued to occupy a prominent position during the century and a half that had passed since that time. Michael Paleologus, the present head of the family, was the son of Andronicus Paleologus, by Irene, Alexius III.'s daughter, the elder sister of Anna, who had married Theodore Lascaris I. Irene had, after her first husband's death, married John Vatatzes, and her virtues and talents had contributed not a little to the successes of that Emperor's glorious reign. Michael had, therefore, been very near the throne ever since its removal to Nicæa,

<sup>1</sup> See "Early Hist. of Venice," p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> i. pp. 265, 266, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1826).

<sup>3</sup> "Early Hist. of Venice," p. 213.

and had more than once incurred the jealous suspicion of Theodore II., whose violent temper attacks of epilepsy sometimes excited, till it was beyond the control of his ordinarily excellent understanding. But Michael Paleologus, always cool and patient, was an adept at the soft answer that turns away wrath, and continued in favour throughout Theodore's reign, and was in high military employment when the Emperor's death placed John IV., a boy of eight, on the throne. The regent, Muzalon, was unpopular with the nobles and populace of the Empire, but Michael, instead of taking advantage of this to supplant him, had allowed him to continue in office until his unpopularity had brought to maturity a conspiracy against him. Only a few days after Theodore II.'s death Muzalon was assassinated in the church of the monastery of Sosander in Magnesia, where Theodore died and was buried, and Michael, supported by the army and the patriarch and clergy of Nicæa, was first made guardian to the young Emperor and despot, and, as soon as any danger from foreign enemies arose, was elected Emperor on the 1st of January 1259.

Meanwhile Baldwin II., the Latin Emperor, who eighteen years before had returned from the West to take possession of his uneasy throne, saw his dominions gradually narrowing and his treasury emptying. Few of the fental nobles, whose fathers had fought under the Counts of Flanders or the Marquis of Montferrat, remained, and many of the Latin clergy had abandoned their benefices and returned to the West, sometimes carrying with them the sacred vessels and relics of their Eastern churches. Baldwin was related to St. Louis, and his wife was niece to Blanche, the King's mother, and both King and Queen had given him encouragement and substantial help during his long sojourn in the West. The France of St. Louis was wealthy, and coveted relics, and the Latin Emperor of Constantinople still had many precious relics left from the spoil

taken in 1204. In particular there was the "inestimable pearl," the Crown of Thorns, which the Saviour, who had worn it as part of the shame endured for us, would surely wish to be reverently honoured by His subjects on earth "till, on His coming to judgment, He should again place it on His head in sight of the world assembled for judgment."<sup>1</sup> But the sale of so holy a treasure would have appeared a profanity to Louis: so it was agreed that Baldwin should present it to the King, who had already done so much, and would in the future do more, to sustain the falling Latin Church in the East. Circumstances enabled the King's bounty to assume almost the shape of a purchase: for when his envoys—two Friars Preachers, one of whom had been prior of their order at Constantinople and could identify the Crown—with an envoy from Baldwin, reached Constantinople, they found the Crown had already been pledged to some Venetian citizens,<sup>2</sup> who had advanced a large sum on its security, and was sealed up in a casket for despatch to Venice. The King's envoys accompanied the Crown to Venice, escaping both the storms of winter and the galleys that the Greek Emperor, John Vatatzes,<sup>3</sup> sent to intercept them; and leaving the Crown in the Treasury of St. Mark, in the keeping of one of their number, Friar Andrew, the other returned hastily to France, and came back with the money requisite to redeem the treasure, the Emperor Frederick II. giving them a safe conduct through his dominions. The Venetians were loth to part with it, but the Day of SS. Gervasius and Protasius,<sup>4</sup> on which the pledge was to be forfeited,

<sup>1</sup> See the Tract or Sermon of Walter Cornutus, Archbishop of Sens, "de susceptione Coronæ Spineæ Jesu Christi," in Bouquet, xxii. pp. 26 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Tafel and Thomas, ii. 346-49, where details are given. The Commune of Venice had lent about one-third of the whole sum and the Abbess of St. Mary, ἡ Περιβλέπτως, about the same. The remainder had come from two Venetian nobles and "certain noble Genoese."

<sup>3</sup> "Vastachius—pessimus Zelator Imperii" (Bouquet, xxii., *u.s.*, p. 30).

<sup>4</sup> The 19th of July.

had not come, and they did not venture to retain it. It was carried to France unhurt by heat or rain, and at Villeneuve l'Archevêque, five leagues from Sens, was met by the King. Seals were compared to make sure of the genuineness of the relic,<sup>1</sup> and on St. Laurence's Day, the 10th of August, it was carried to Sens and thence to Paris, where after being shown to the people near the church of St. Antoine, in that famous suburb, and afterwards in Notre Dame, "the pontifical church of the blessed Virgin," it found a resting-place in the chapel of St. Nicolas in the royal palace, on the site of which was erected the chapel built specially for the Holy Crown by St. Louis, the "Sainte Chapelle" we now all know, in the Palais de Justice, that has succeeded the Palace of St. Louis.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the subsidies sent by St. Louis, Baldwin negotiated a loan from the Venetian house of Capello,<sup>3</sup> giving his son Philip as a hostage for its payment. He stripped the copper from the domes of churches in Constantinople and sold it. But all these efforts were to no purpose. Money could not save an Empire lacking supporters and an Emperor lacking courage. The lands round the capital had passed from the feudal lords, who had mostly returned to Europe, to the cultivators of the soil, who were Greeks, as were also the farmers of the confiscated lands of the Greek Emperors. So when at last the Emperor Michael Paleologus and his able general, Alexis Strategopoulos, had overcome the obstinate power of Michael II., Theodore's nephew,

<sup>1</sup> "Consignatum vas ligneum reseratur, apparent circa vas argenteum sigilla baronum," i.e. of the barons of Constantinople. "Attulerunt autem præfati nuncii sigilla procerum cum litteris patentibus ad regem et Balduinum. Facta igitur collatione ipsorum cum sigillis quibus erat sacræ Coronæ vas signatum, iuveniunt vera esse." The seal of the doge had also been affixed "ad maiorem certitudinem" (Bouquet, xxii., u.s., p. 30).

<sup>2</sup> See *Paris sous Philippe le Bel* (Geraud) in *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Hist. de France* (Sér. Hist. Polit., 1837, pp. 400, 401).

<sup>3</sup> Marino Sanudo Torsello in his *Istoria di Romania* (Hopf's *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, p. 115) says the loan was from Ca Ferro, "the house of Ferro," for which Capello may be a mistake.



who was then despot of Epirus—the last hope of the Latin Empire—and were able to make a joint attack on the imperial city, they found a Greek party in its walls, willing to betray its Latin masters. Accident helped the assailants. The Venetians in Constantinople, unlike the Frank Crusaders, had never relaxed their hold on the city. Their colony still held the wharfs and landing-places on the Golden Horn, where they had settled under the Comneni.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Michael had allied himself with the Genoese against them, and a Genoese fleet was to arrive in 1261. To balance this, a new podestà sent from Venice in that year, Marco Gradenigo, brought with him some galleys, and Baldwin's advisers took advantage of this arrival to send an expedition to recover Daphnusia (now Sozopolis) a safe harbour in the Black Sea, near Bourgas, which would be useful in the probable event of a struggle with Genoa for the supremacy in those waters. This expedition stripped the city of troops, and the Greek partisans of the Emperor of Nicæa at once conveyed information of this to Strategopoulos, who was able that night to scale the walls and occupy the city without resistance. Baldwin might have held out in the palace till his allies came back from Daphnusia, but lost courage, embarked on a Venetian ship he found in the port, and fled to Eubœa.

A guard maintained by the Venetian merchants had been long the most efficient part of the garrison of Constantinople, and so much of this as had not gone on the expedition to Daphnusia was ready and willing to defend the Venetian houses and wharves on the Golden Horn. Even when the Greek general had burned the streets in which Franks and Venetians lived, and forced them to

<sup>1</sup> See, *e.g.*, the enumeration of places in the grant from the Venetian podestà in C. P. Marin Geno to the Patriarch of Grado in A.D. 1206 (Tafel and Thomas, ii. p. 4, No. clxiv. ; *Fontes rerum Austriac.*, abth. ii. bd. xiii.).

put their women and children and movable goods on ship-board, they presented so formidable a front that he was glad to make a truce, under which their non-combatants, with the most portable of their possessions, were removed to Eubœa, though not without very severe sufferings.<sup>1</sup>

The Latin Empire had lasted but fifty-seven years, and it seemed likely, so far as the royal city and the district round it were concerned, to leave not a rack behind. We have seen that the Frankish chiefs had been gradually quitting their fiefs and returning to the West, and that their places had been taken by Greek proprietors or farmers. The Latin Church in Romania had not been more flourishing; the Roman clergy had been unwilling to accept the position of missionaries in the midst of a hostile population of obstinate schismatics. As early as 1206, Innocent III. had written a long letter of instructions to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, authorising him first, after three citations, to deprive bishops who were contumacious to him, or had deserted their sees in Romania, and with less formality, priests who had absented themselves from their cures for an unreasonable time; secondly, to cumulate several sees on one bishop rather than to unite dioceses, where for any reason a sufficient number of bishops could not be found; thirdly, for dioceses where all the inhabitants were Greeks, to consecrate Greeks as bishops, if such could be found "devoted and faithful to thee and to us"; fourthly, to allow Greek priests to persist in their own ritual "as to sacrifices and sacraments" until the Holy See should decide on these questions.<sup>2</sup>

These concessions show how warily even so uncompromising an assertor of Papal supremacy as Innocent III. had to walk in dealing with a Church that had been

<sup>1</sup> The account in Finlay ("Byzantine and Greek Empires, 1057-1453," pp. 425-28) is clear and instructive.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is in Tafel and Thomas, ii. p. 19, No. clxx.

“inobediens et rebellis” before the Latin conquest, and in which there would seem to have been more local independence of individual churches than was in accordance with Papal ideas. In Cyprus, and other places, where before the conquest the churches had been exempt from the jurisdiction of Constantinople, the Latin patriarch’s authority was not to be pressed, “lest Pisans and Venetians and other foreigners having churches of this kind at Constantinople should be provoked against the Latin Empire, who ought to be rather attracted by indulgence, till the Empire is established on a solid and immovable basis.”<sup>1</sup>

The reference to the Pisans and Venetians in this passage is not friendly, and still less friendly is a passage that follows, ordering the patriarch to compel the Venetians to pay tithes to the persons and churches entitled to receive them at Constantinople, disregarding the custom of Venice, where a tenth was paid only at death on all the property acquired during life, so that the Church of Constantinople was defrauded of its rights in the case of every Venetian, who, after living and earning property there, returned to end his days at Venice.

Three days after the date of this letter to the patriarch, the long-threatened censure for the diversion of the Crusade to Zara was launched in a letter from the Pope to the doge and people of the Venetians.<sup>2</sup> The censure was milder than might have been expected. The Venetians were reminded that they had turned aside the army of the Lord, and carried it to attack a Christian people instead of faithless Saracens, that they had contemned the sentence of excommunication, and broken the vow of the Cross. They had at Constantinople plundered the treasures of churches, and taken forcible possession of Church property, and had

<sup>1</sup> “Donec illud soliditate immobili roboretur” (Tafel and Thomas, *u.s.*, p. 22).

<sup>2</sup> Tafel and Thomas, ii. p. 27, No. clxxii. It is dated 5th August 1206.

claimed Church offices as the hereditary right of Venetians.<sup>1</sup> How could they make good to the Holy Land the loss it had suffered by the diversion of so vast a host, raised at such cost, which had shown itself strong enough to subjugate Constantinople and Greece, and might as easily have recovered Jerusalem, and wrested Alexandria and Egypt from the hands of the infidel? Though it was pleasing to the Pope that Constantinople returned to the obedience of Holy Church, he would have been better pleased if Jerusalem had been replaced in the power of the people of Christ. And often the inflicter of a just punishment is displeasing to God.<sup>2</sup> But though the exposition of their sins is forcible, the penalty inflicted is small. The Pope suspends the sentence of excommunication, "which almost all the world thinks ought to be inflicted," waiting patiently for their correction. The only penalty actually inflicted is the withholding from the bishop elect of Zara of the pallium, that conferred the rank of metropolitan, a rank originally granted as a special favour to Venice.<sup>3</sup>

We can form some notion of the want of harmony between the Holy See and the Venetians from a letter of January 1207, from Innocent to the Patriarch of Constantinople, that is amusing in itself, and curious, as showing the Pope in the character of a Rationalist.<sup>4</sup> The Emperor Henry had bestowed on the church of St. Sophia an icon of the blessed Virgin Mary, painted by St. Luke, that was venerated throughout Greece, and some relics found in the chapel of the Great Palace. The Venetian podestà claimed that the icon had been previously given to him,

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the stipulation that the patriarch and canons of St. Sophia should always be Venetians (see "Early History of Venice," p. 411).

<sup>2</sup> "Sæpe placet Deo passio flagellati, quando displicet ei actio flagellantis."

<sup>3</sup> The censure is still suspended, and a nuncio is sent by the Pope to discuss the question of the pallium for Zara in July 1209. See the Pope's letter in Tafel and Thomas, ii. p. 100, No. ccviii.

<sup>4</sup> Tafel and Thomas, ii. pp. 45-47, No. clxxviii.

and demanded its surrender, which the patriarch refused, "adding ironically, that the podestà might take it, if he could find it in the church." The icon was in the sacarium under a triple lock, one of the locks being that of the church door. But by the podestà's order a man was let down from the roof by a rope, who, not finding the icon, forced one of the great doors of the church, so as to let in a crowd of Venetians. These were told by a worthless Greek ("per quendam Græculum") where the icon was, and began to break down the doors of the sacarium. The narrative is given us in the second person, the Pope describing to the patriarch his own action: "You then, getting on the roof of the *ala* or side gallery, and looking down on the church robbers, inhibited them by threat of interdict and excommunication from carrying their purpose into effect, and, this not stopping them, you publicly and solemnly, with lighted candles, knotted the chain of anathema round the aforesaid podestà with all his counselors and abettors. Notwithstanding this they broke open the doors of the sacarium, and carried off the icon by force to the church of the Pantocrator (*i.e.* of God Omnipotent), on which you went to the Cardinal of St. Susanna, the Pope's legate, who confirmed your sentence, subjecting to interdict all the churches which are in the quarters of the robbers." The Pope's letter confirms the legate's action, but adds the singular qualification, that he does so only to prevent the crime of sacrilege from going unpunished, "although the Holy See by no means approves the opinion of certain Greeks, that the spirit of the blessed Virgin abides in the said image, on which account they perhaps pay it undue veneration, and detests as unlawful the agreement entered into for sharing the relics taken in the city."<sup>1</sup>

The unfortunate Patriarch of Constantinople, Thomas

<sup>1</sup> I have referred to the Pope's scruples on this subject in my "Early History of Venice," p. 413.

Morosini, was in a position that deserves the sympathy of the most hard-hearted. While he was denounced by a grave Greek historian as better fed than a fatted pig, and ridiculed for his smooth-shaven chin, his gloves of leather and tight-fitting sleeves,<sup>1</sup> he was between hammer and anvil in the matter of the Venetian claims to all the ecclesiastical patronage in the Latin Church of Constantinople. Innocent sent him a letter censuring him for having sworn to institute no one to a canonry of St. Sophia who was not a Venetian by birth or beneficed for ten years in the Church of Venice, and ordering him peremptorily to abjure. We have the patriarch's reply in a letter to the Pope, written by three Latin bishops of sees in the neighbourhood of Constantinople; in this letter the bishops quote verbatim a speech the patriarch had made at a conference of clergy called at Constantinople to consider the Pope's letter. The speech told a cruel story of persecution. When he was returning from Rome to his patriarchate he had to pass through Venice, where he found, as soon as he touched the shore, a tumultuous crowd of the common people, led by a son of the doge and some counsellors,<sup>2</sup> waiting for him. A rumour had gone before him that he had the Pope's orders to administer his patronage in Romania without regard to nationality, and the Venetians held, truly enough, that this was an infringement of their rights under the agreement at the time of the partition of the Empire, which provided that, if the Emperor was a Frank, the patriarch and the canons should always be Venetians. They tried to induce Morosini to swear he would appoint none but Venetians,

<sup>1</sup> Nicetas's language is violent: ἵκετο ἐκ Βενετίας πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινου πόλεως Θωμάσιός τις ὄνομα, τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν μέσος τὴν δὲ σωματικὴν πλάσιν λακκεντοῦ συνὸς εὐτραφέστερος ἦν δὲ καὶ λείος ξυρῶ τὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἔδαφος, κ.τ.λ. (p. 854 Bonn, *De Signis Constantinopolitanis*). In Constantinople in the thirteenth century, as here in the twentieth, novelties in vesture or ritual aroused more animosity than those in doctrine or practice.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Members of the Lesser Council and of the Signoria.

and when he refused this, said he should not have a passage to Constantinople or stir out of the city. And there was worse to come; for creditors to whom he had sworn to repay a loan while in Venice, when they found that he was to be detained in Venice, would allow him no delay, and he could find no one who would lend him money to pay off the debt. He says that he feared that some Venetians, who were ready to start for Constantinople, would lay hands upon the funds in the treasury of St. Sophia, on which he and the clergy of his Church depended for their daily bread. In this strait he admits that, by the advice of the wisest friends he could find, he took the oath the Venetians required of him, but inserted a clause saving his obedience to the Apostolic See and the oath he had made to Innocent, and also any special order the Pope or his successors might send to him. Notwithstanding this careful hedging about of his oath, he professed his willingness to abjure it, and did so there and then, laying his hands on the book; he proceeded also to admit to their stalls in the choir all the canons desired by the Pope, one of them being Blasius, a priest of Piacenza.<sup>1</sup>

The claims of the Venetians to Church patronage in Romania gave trouble to the Papal Court again in 1211. We have a letter of Innocent III. dated in August of that year to the chapter of St. Sophia and the heads (*prælati*) of the conventual churches in Constantinople. The Pope appears to have issued some instructions to the chapter as to their action in view of a probable vacancy of the see. The patriarch was then grievously ill in Thessalonica,<sup>2</sup> and the chapter had met to discuss what they should do in anticipation of his death, but had adjourned for three days on account of the absence of some members of their body. At the end of the three days they found

<sup>1</sup> Tafel and Thomas, ii. pp. 101-107, No. ccix.

<sup>2</sup> He died at Thessalonica about June 1211 (*Epist. Innoc. III.*, xiv 97; Le Quien, iii. 799).

a mob of Venetians in the church, in arms, irreverently crowding into the stalls or round the altar, threatening loudly to murder and mutilate all who opposed the election of a Venetian. The Venetian party in the chapter, while the rest of that body were still waiting outside, nominated the dean, a Venetian, the excluded members being able to do nothing but sign, in the presence of witnesses, their appeal to the Pope, and choose three names<sup>1</sup> to submit to him, with a request that he would select one of them. The Pope's reply from which our knowledge of these facts is derived, refused to recognise the irregular election or to select a patriarch himself, and bade the chapter meet again and, with the aid of the Holy Spirit invoked, begin the proceedings *de novo*.<sup>2</sup>

But this did not settle the difficulty, and just a year afterwards, on the 17th August 1212, Innocent had the matter again before him. A double election had taken place, or rather one candidate had been elected, but the supporters of another alleged that the election had been by a minority, and called upon ("postulated") the Pope to declare their candidate to be lawful patriarch. The facts are not very clear to us, and appear to show that there was much confusion in the regulations of the Latin Church of Romania. The rival parties were not agreed as to who were the electors, or whether absent electors could vote by their proctors, or without formally appointing proctors, or whether the canons of St. Sophia and the *præpositi* and *prælati* of certain other churches stood on the same footing. The point that is most interesting to a historian of Venice is that both candidates were Venetians: the elected candidate the plebanus or parish priest of St. Paul<sup>3</sup> in Venice,

<sup>1</sup> One of the names selected was that of Sicardus, Bishop of Cremona, the author of the Chronicle printed in the seventh volume of Muratori's *R. I. S.*

<sup>2</sup> Tafel and Thomas, ii. p. 127, No. ccxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Not, of course, the great Dominican church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, which was not then founded, but the church known as San Polo, between the Frari and the Rialto Bridge.



his rival the Archbishop of Heraclea on the Propontis. The supporters of the latter asserted that they had chosen a Venetian "to avoid offence"; no doubt they feared a rising of the Venetian mob in the capital if the new patriarch had not been a Venetian: but they contended for the admission of a larger electing body than their opponents allowed, on the ground that the constitution of their Church had increased the number of electors to thwart the designs of those who wished to make God's sanctuary a hereditary estate; apparently wishing, by adopting the Pope's language as to the Venetian compact, to suggest that he should reject both candidates and choose one who was not a Venetian. Each party alleged that the candidate of the other party was unworthy, the supporters of the Venetian priest saying that the archbishop was immoral and illiterate, those of the archbishop that the priest had been ordained sub-deacon so recently that the canons must have believed, when they elected him, that he was only in minor orders and so ineligible. As to their own candidate they asserted that he was "*etsi non eminenter, competenter literatus*," and that, if his opponents were right as to his immorality—and it appears that a son "*in monachatu genitus*" was known in Constantinople—a long subsequent course of virtue had atoned for it. The archbishop was supported by the Emperor Henry, by the suffragan bishops, and by the desires of the people.<sup>1</sup>

The Pope did not decide the dispute in Rome: but sent Maximus, his notary, to go first to Venice to inquire into the past record of each candidate, and then to go on to Constantinople to report as to the character of the several electors and the conduct of the election. He had large powers to choose either candidate or reject both, and

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Archbishop of Heraclea is not given by any contemporary writer, but Paolo Ramnusio, the sixteenth-century historian of the Fourth Crusade, calls him Fantinus (*de Deliciis Italicis*, lib. iv., quoted by Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*, iii. col. 966).

refer the decision, either by agreement of the parties or of his own authority, to the Apostolic See.<sup>1</sup> We learn from a subsequent letter that Maximus held an inquiry at Venice, but was unable to get a passage from thence to Constantinople; on which the Pope committed the remaining part of the inquiry to the Cardinal Bishop of Albano, his legate at Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> The legate was not able to reconcile the opposing parties, and we learn from a contemporary annalist, the monk Godfrey, that in 1215, when the fourth Lateran Council was sitting, the Archbishop of Heraclea and the priest of San Polo arrived at Rome, both claiming to be recognised as lawful patriarch. Innocent laid the matter before the Council, by which the claims of both were rejected and a third candidate chosen. We do not know for certain the name of this candidate, some authorities calling him Gervasius and others Everardus; but it seems certain he was not a Venetian: Alberic of Trois Fontaines, a contemporary, says that he came from Tuscany.<sup>3</sup> In 1220 the see was again vacant, and the electors, not being able to agree, asked Honorius III. to nominate a patriarch, and he chose one Matthew or Matthias, who was a Venetian and had been Bishop of Equilium<sup>4</sup> in the Lagoons. Of this patriarch we know that he crowned the Emperor Robert in the year 1221. The Pope may have chosen a Venetian to avoid trouble with the Venetians at Constantinople; but this object does not seem to have been attained, as in the next year the Pope had to take the patriarch to task, upbraiding him in scriptural language with showing himself a hireling and not a shepherd, caring

<sup>1</sup> Tafel and Thomas, ii. p. 150, No. ccxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ii. p. 173, No. ccxxxix.

<sup>3</sup> See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, iii. col. 799 *sqq.*, with the authorities there quoted. The passage of Alberic referred to in the text is to be found under the year 1227 at p. 919 of Pertz, SS., vol. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Some of our authorities call him Bishop of Aquila, but there is no doubt that Aquilanus is a mistake for Equilinus (see Le Quien, iii. 802).

more for the milk and the wool of his sheep than for reclaiming those who strayed and supporting the weak; seldom celebrating mass, communicating with those whom the Pope's legate had excommunicated, and "entering into unlawful agreements with the Venetians against other nations." I presume that the last words reveal the true ground of the Pope's censure, and that the patriarch had endeavoured to gratify the Venetian clergy of his diocese by reviving the old rule that Venetians only should receive preferment in his Church. Or it may refer to a fact which we learn from Dandolo's Chronicle,<sup>1</sup> that Matthew at the request of the Patriarch of Grado consented to the churches of Venetians in Romania being exempt from the jurisdiction of Constantinople, as they had been in the time of the Greek emperors, an arrangement that would have contributed more to the ease of the patriarch than to the good discipline of his Church.

It is not improbable that Simon, the Archbishop of Tyre, who was chosen by the Pope in 1227 to succeed Matthew, was a Venetian,<sup>2</sup> but hardly anything is known of him. He was succeeded in 1234 by Nicolas, who had been Bishop of Spoleto. Nicolas fell on troublous times, and in 1236 Pope Gregory IX. had to appeal to the Latin bishops of the Morea to come to the relief of the necessities of the patriarch, who "from the fortune of war and the wickedness of the Greeks had lost nearly all his rents and other property, and had expended what was left to him in the defence of the Empire of Romania, so that there was not left to him sufficient to maintain himself." We do not know what response was made to the Pope's appeal; but in 1245 the Patriarch Nicolas, who two years before had been made Innocent IV.'s legate in the Crusading army,

<sup>1</sup> x. iv. 34; Mur., xii. col. 342.

<sup>2</sup> Spondanus, Bishop of Pamiers, a seventeenth-century continuer of Baronius, says that all the Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople were Venetians; but this is not strictly true, as we have seen.

was himself present at the Council of Lyons, and there set forth the calamities of his Church, whose suffragan bishops had been reduced from thirty to three. He died in 1251 at Milan.

His successor, Pantaleone Giustiniani, who lived to see the Greek re-conquest of his city, was certainly a Venetian patrician, and Innocent IV., by whom he was chosen (he had been one of the Pope's chaplains) went out of his way to celebrate the constant devotion of the Venetian people to the Apostolic See, "from their obedience to which nothing had been able to tear them away, whatever flood had beaten upon the foundation of the Catholic faith."<sup>1</sup> The shortness of the Pope's memory for the backslidings of the Venetians of the Fourth Crusade must no doubt be ascribed to his hope to stir up their successors to take the Cross and contribute their wealth for another Crusade. The patriarch was authorised to show them an example by mortgaging the property of his Church for 1000 marks, but we may doubt whether the security would have found favour in the eyes of Venetian money-lenders.

Alexander IV., the next Pope, again appealed to the bishops and abbots of Romania to provide a yearly income of 500 marks of silver for the patriarch: and the Franciscan friars, who had already become a power in the Church, were commissioned to preach through East and West the duty of coming to the rescue of the Latin Church in the East. But all was in vain, and in 1261 the patriarch Giustiniani fled with the Emperor Baldwin from Constantinople<sup>2</sup> and took refuge in Italy. Giustiniani lived till 1286, but seems never to have returned to the East. On his death, one Peter, of whom nothing is known, was elected by the dispersed canons; he lived partly at Venice, partly at Negropont till 1301. His successor was elected by one

<sup>1</sup> The Pope's letter is cited in Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*, iii. col. 808, and in Tafel and Thomas, ii. 482 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Dandolo, *apud* Murat. *R. I. S.*, xii. 369.

canon, the only survivor of the chapter. After him the right of election was taken, by Boniface VIII., into the hands of the Pope. The succession has been kept up to the present day, both of patriarchs and other Oriental bishops, but since the hope of restoring the authority of the Roman Church in lands inhabited by Christians of the Eastern Church or by Mohammedans has faded away, these dignitaries have been treated as bishops "*in partibus infidelium*," and have been generally employed as coadjutor Bishops in dioceses of the West.<sup>1</sup>

We find in other documents in the great collection of Tafel and Thomas, evidences of the position of independence enjoyed in the Latin Empire of Constantinople by the doge and his podestà. In 1217 the Emperor Peter and his wife Yolande, on the eve of their departure from Italy on the expedition against Theodore of Epirus that proved fatal to the Emperor, confirm to the doge, as ruler "*quartæ partis et dimidiæ*" of the Empire of Romania, the treaty of partition and all other agreements made by their predecessors Baldwin and Henry, and by Boniface of Montferrat with Enrico Dandolo, "*bone memorie inclito viro*," and with Marino Geno the podestà.<sup>2</sup> Their rights under the partition included, it was specially provided, the possession of three-eighths of the city as well as of the rest of the Empire,<sup>3</sup> and they were thus, in their factories on the Golden Horn, no longer privileged guests, but sovereign owners. The privileges they had formerly obtained by treaty with the Comneni, they now stipulated for with other powers in the Levant, with Theodore Lascar for example, and with the Seljukian Soldan at Iconium. In 1219 Jacopo Teupulo (or Tiepolo), the doge's podestà in Constantinople, made a treaty for five years with Theodore

<sup>1</sup> See Le Quien, *Oriens Chr.*, iii. col. 792. Many particulars as to titular patriarchs of Constantinople after Giustiniani's death are given by Ducange, *Hist. de Constantinople*, ii. pp. 157-60 (ed. Buchon).

<sup>2</sup> Tafel and Thomas, ii. pp. 194, 195, No. ccli.

<sup>3</sup> "*Dedenz la cite et defors*" (Villeh. p. 136).

Lascar, "Emperor faithful to God in Christ and Governor of the Romans, and ever Augustus": in this treaty trading privileges, protection of shipwrecked sailors, and of the goods of merchants dying in the Emperor's dominions are promised in similar words to those of so many treaties before the conquest, while the Emperor promises not to send galleys or corsairs<sup>1</sup> to Constantinopolitan waters without the Venetians' consent, and either party promises not to coin money of the same form as the coinage of the other.<sup>2</sup> In 1220 the same podestà makes a treaty with the Soldan of Turkey (*i.e.* of Iconium), Ala-eddin Kaikobad, stipulating for the protection of Venetian merchants and travellers in Syria and other parts of the Soldan's dominions.<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting to note in the first of these documents how the practical mind of the Venetian governor does not scruple to sign a treaty of commerce with Theodore Lascar, in which the latter calls himself Emperor of the Romans, although the Latin Emperor set up by the Venetians themselves claimed the exclusive right to that title. Such matters of ceremony were not to be weighed for a moment against the all-important questions of the security of Venetian merchants trading in foreign lands. The Venetians, like other Christians of that day, thought much of the duty of recovering the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, and of restoring the Greek Church to the obedience of the older Rome. But questions of trade interested their patriotism towards their own city, as we can now see that they also concerned the

<sup>1</sup> "*Currentia ligna.*"

<sup>2</sup> Tafel and Thomas, ii. 205-7, No. cclii. With reference to the last provision, there is reason to believe that the Latin Emperors had not, or did not exercise, the power of coining any money of gold or silver. Only bronze coins dating from the Latin Empire are found: those of higher value that were in use were either old Byzantine coins or Venetian ducats (De Saulcy, *Numism. des Croisades*, pp. 120 *sqq.*).

<sup>3</sup> Tafel and Thomas, ii. pp. 221-25, No. cclviii.; Heyd, i. 302 (Fr. trans.).

interests of the world present and future, which must not be deprived, for reasons of policy or sentiment, of its natural right to rectify, by free exchange of commodities, the hard condition, imposed, as Virgil says, at the time of Deucalion's flood, that different lands should produce different fruits. Any general admission that such a right as this existed, was far indeed from the thoughts of the men of the early thirteenth century: but the Venetians, acting on an instinctive belief in it, held on a consistent course through good report and evil report. At the time of the Fourth Crusade, and for some time afterwards, it was evil report: they were censured by Popes, and probably blamed by the general opinion of the Christian world, for taking Constantinople instead of Jerusalem, and for making treaties of commerce with unbelievers. In the next century, a great Venetian merchant and statesman, Marino Sanudo the elder, in his famous treatise, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, sketched out a plan by which the interests of this world and the next might be reconciled, the Holy Sepulchre might be recovered, and Venice obtain the control of the trade with India and China. He and his contemporaries clearly saw that Egypt was the head and centre of Mussulman power, and that her strength came from the wealth that the Indian trade poured into her lap; and he proposed an elaborate system (in default of the conquest of Egypt by Venice, which he looked on as the best solution of the problem) for destroying the wealth of Egypt by diverting the Indian trade to Syria and Greece; a system of prohibitory duties and blockades, that a recent French writer has aptly compared to Napoleon's scheme of a *blocus continental* against England. Had Sanudo's designs been reduced to practice, they would probably have failed, as did Napoleon's; for the routes taken by trade are determined by natural laws, and it is difficult or impossible, in the long run, for any government to stop an exchange of goods that is greatly to the advantage of both buyer

and seller. But Sanudo's treatise remains to show us how a Venetian of the beginning of the fourteenth century anticipated one of the most characteristic of the *Idées Napoléoniennes*, and how it was possible for a religious Venetian of that age to combine the Crusading spirit with a zeal for extending the trade of his city, modifying the former to something quite different from what it was to Innocent III., so that it might not interfere with, but rather subserve, the latter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* has been printed only once, so far as I know, in Bongar's *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tom. ii. The French writer referred to in the text is M. St. Marc Girardin in a brilliant paper on "*Les Origines de la Question d'Orient*" in *Rev. des deux Mondes* for 1st May 1864. There is an interesting tract by H. Simonsfeld on the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* (*Studien zu Marino Sanudo dem älteren*, Hanover, 1880). See also *Arch. Ven.*, xx. 401.



## CHAPTER II

### THE RESTORED GREEK EMPIRE AND GENOA— VENICE IN NEGROPONT AND CRETE

It was not to be expected that, when the Greek Emperors returned to Constantinople from Nicæa, they should be as friendly with Venice as their predecessors before the Latin conquest. Under Michael Paleologus and his successors Genoa, not Venice, was the greatest of the Italian republics in Levantine waters. Of this change, and the wars between Venice and Genoa, to which it led, I shall have much to say soon. In the present chapter I have to deal with the early relations between Genoa and the Eastern Empire. Genoese ships were not a new phenomenon in Syria or on the Bosphorus; they had taken part in the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon, and had won settlements in the Syrian ports. From these they traded with Constantinople, and as early as 1155, when Manuel Comnenus was reigning there, his envoy, Demetrius Macropolites, had come to Genoa, and in the church of St. Lawrence had signed a convention with the Genoese consuls. In return for the promise of the consuls not to injure Manuel's cities or lands unless it were necessary in defence of their own settlements in Syria, Demetrius promised the Genoese a factory<sup>1</sup> and landing-place in Constantinople, with all the trading privileges that the Pisans

<sup>1</sup> "Embolus" seems properly to mean a street lined with arcades, but it was extended so as to comprehend the area occupied by such a street or bazaar and the houses round it. See Heyd, i. pp. 248, 249, and the authorities referred to in his note 2, esp. Ducange, *C. P. Christiana*, i. 109 sqq.

already enjoyed there.<sup>1</sup> What these were we know from a charter of Isaac Angelus of later date (A.D. 1192), in which he confirmed treaties made by Alexius and Manuel Comnenus, granting the Pisans a factory and dwelling-houses and two churches (one of which they themselves had built); two landing-places, one in the district of Icanatissa, which we hear of frequently in documents connected with the Venetian colony, and, in addition, partial exemption from import duties.<sup>2</sup> Manuel promised the Genoese lands, houses, and privileges such as he and his predecessor had granted to the Pisans; but the fulfilment of this promise was, we are told, long delayed.<sup>3</sup> In 1174, the time at which Manuel's quarrel with Venice was at its worst, a Genoese of the famous family of Grimaldi was sent to Constantinople to demand the fulfilment of this and other promises; we have the instructions given him by the consuls and his oath to execute them faithfully;<sup>4</sup> but no result appears to have followed till October 1178, when a treaty was made by Amico da Morta, another ambassador from Genoa: by this the Emperor promised to the Genoese a factory, landing-place, and church beyond Constantinople in the place called Orcu,<sup>5</sup> in a good and pleasant situation.

<sup>1</sup> "Embolum et scalas cum commercio et omni iure in eis pertinentibus sicuti Pisani habent" (see the document in Sauli, *Colonia Genovese in Galata*, ii. p. 181). Caffaro, *Ann. Jan.*, sub anno 1155 (p. 42 of vol. i. of ed. of Caffaro and his Continuers in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*), says they were granted "*ruam et fundicum et ecclesiam in C.P., et per totam terram suam commercium diminutum de deceno in uiceno quinto*," i.e. a diminution of import duties from 10 to 4 per cent.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξκουσσελαν κομμερκίου, i.e. I presume "*excusationem commercii*." For the meaning of "commercium" see "Early History of Venice," p. 221, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Heyd (i. 204) thinks that from 1157 to 1162 the Genoese had a trading settlement in Constantinople, but that in the latter year it was destroyed and some of its inhabitants massacred by the Pisans. See Caffaro, *Ann. Jan.*, i. pp. 67, 68 *u.s.*

<sup>4</sup> These are given in No. III. of Documenti in Appendix to Sauli, *Col. Genov.*, ii. pp. 183-88. The instructions are dated a year later than the oath, but this is probably merely a clerical error.

<sup>5</sup> "Embolum et scalam et ecclesiam ultra Constantinopolim in loco qui dicitur orcu in loco bono et placabili." The place Orcu has not been identified. (Sauli, *Col. Genov.*, ii. p. 192; see also Heyd, i. 205.)



# COSTANTINOPOLI



- |   |  |                                   |
|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Castel nuovo doue tiene il tesoro di | 11. Porta della farina.                | 21. Teatro                        |
| 2. Porta del castello. gran Turco.      | 12. Porta delle pescarie.              | 22. Santo Pietro.                 |
| 3. Santo Andrea.                        | 13. Qui si pagano li grippi che uo.    | 23. Santo Sebastiano.             |
| 4. Tempio.                              | 14. Porta del sole. Ino in uer burzia. | 24. Scraglio doue habita el siff. |
| 5. Almiratyo.                           | 15. Porta liona della riuu.            | 25. Tenhu.                        |
| 6. Palazzo de Costantino imperador.     | 16. Arsenale.                          | 26. Santo demetri.                |
| 7. Porta costantina.                    | 17. La uulaca.                         | 27. Santo luca euangelista.       |
| 8. Porta del fiume.                     | 18. Santo Iezaro.                      | 28. Santa caterina.               |
| 9. Porta del chinico.                   | 19. Stalle da cavalli.                 | 29. Colisco di Spiritij.          |
| 10. Case de pescatori.                  | 20. Patriarchato.                      | 30. Colonna istoriaca.            |

## PLAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The "Palazzo de Costantino imperador" (No. 6 in Index) is the Palace of Constantine, the "Porta del Fiume" is the Golden Horn.

# INOPOLI



ara de Granizzeri  
 craglio uocchio  
 onte de costantino  
 anto tomaso  
 ania sophia  
 iazza colonna  
 alazzo ritondo di costantino  
 olonna serpentina  
 masaro di furmenti  
 oschee

41. Isole dete prinape habitate da  
 42. Turchia  
 43. Santa helena  
 44. Santo galatani  
 45. Chiramide cimatrom  
 46. Doue fra la maggior parte del  
 47. Sepulture d' ebrei  
 48. Porta de s.<sup>to</sup> antonio  
 49. Porta comoaa  
 50. Porta s.<sup>ta</sup> chiara

51. Porta dalle bombarde  
 52. Pozzi d' acqua dolce  
 53. Bombarde de pera  
 54. Ville de goncilla  
 55. Santa Veneranda  
 56. Sepulture de Turchi  
 57. Nigne di pera  
 In Venetia all' insegna della Colona  
 l' Anno M.D.LXVII.

CONSTANTINOPLE, 1567

Constantinople, often mentioned in the text. The Tower of Anema was near the No. 8 in Index)



Manuel had, probably at the same time, proposed to remove the Pisans from their original quarters on the south side of the Golden Horn to the farther side opposite the capital ;<sup>1</sup> but had withdrawn this proposal on their remonstrance, and allowed them to stay in the capital itself. The Pisan and Genoese settlements were near together, but not continuous, for in 1201 the Genoese consuls instructed their ambassador to obtain an extension of their embolus and scalæ so as to touch those of Pisa.<sup>2</sup> In October 1202 their request was granted, Isaac making over to Ottobono Delacroza (*i.e.* della Croce) an enlarged site very minutely described, with a second landing-place, in the city.<sup>3</sup> Two years after this came the Fourth Crusade, in which the Genoese took no part ; but, on the contrary, their countrymen in Constantinople, with the Pisans, fought bravely in the defence of the walls.<sup>4</sup> They do not seem to have been disturbed by the Latin Emperors ; but the Venetians had now, as we have seen, become a chief power in the capital, and the relations between them and the Genoese were far from friendly, though not openly hostile. The Venetian maritime power, firmly seated on the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmora, could control the navigation of the Black Sea, with its numerous Greek cities, through which some part of the trade with India and China had always passed. Before the conquest the Greek Emperors had had to complain of acts of piracy committed in the Levant by Genoese

<sup>1</sup> *ἐν τοῖς πέραν μέρεσιν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Μεγαλοπόλεως.* The Greek charter is printed in Miklosich und Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Græca*, iii. pp. 3-24. It contains a most elaborate description of the land and buildings granted near the gate of the dockyard and that of Icanatissa.

<sup>2</sup> Sauli, *u.s.*, ii. 195 *sqq.* The Pisan and Genoese settlements, as well as those of Venetians and Amalfitans, were between the Galata Bridge and the Seraglio Point. The Genoese was the most easterly, the Venetians most westerly (Van Millingen, "Byzantine Const.," p. 219). The Venetians after the Latin conquest had also a settlement at the head of the Golden Horn, near the Blachernæ Palace (Heyd, i. p. 285).

<sup>3</sup> Miklosich und Müller, iii. 49 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> "Early History," pp. 377, 378.

pirates. In 1192 certain Genoese ships had made a descent on Rhodes under a treacherous pretence of friendship, and plundered and slaughtered the peaceful subjects of the Emperor Isaac; the same pirates had cut off some Venetian ships coming from Palestine and Egypt with ambassadors of Isaac and of "the most noble Sultan of Egypt, Saladin," on board, had killed the ambassadors and Roman and Syrian merchants whom they found in the ships, and carried off the Arab horses, the mules, and the wild animals for the Emperor's preserves or menageries which the Sultan of Egypt was sending to Isaac.<sup>1</sup> The government at Constantinople endeavoured to use Genoese captains of ships to find out and punish corsairs from their own country; at other times they offered to take the corsairs themselves into their service.<sup>2</sup>

It is probable that the difference between a merchant and a pirate in Levantine waters was often slight. The jealousy between Genoa and Venice showed itself in actual hostilities between individual ship captains. Thus, after the conquest, we read of relics stolen from a Venetian ship coming from Constantinople, by the Genoese Dondalio Bo Fornaro; of Genoese sailors, with the permission of their government, helping Count Arrigo of Malta in

<sup>1</sup> We have two documents, Nos. VI. and VII. in vol. iii. of Miklosich und Müller, pp. 37-40 and 40-46, describing the outrage. At p. 38 the words are τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Σαλαχατίνου σταλέντα τῆ βασιλείᾳ μου φάρια τε καὶ μουλάρια καὶ ἄλλοια ζῶα κυνηγετικά, at p. 41 τῶν πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν μου σταλέντων φαριῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἀγριῶν τε καὶ τιθασσευμένων ζῶων. The first of these documents is the Emperor's remonstrance to the consuls and other rulers of Genoa; the second his acceptance of the security given by Genoa against any renewal of the outrage, and his consent to leave the colony and its privileges untouched. The list of the Sultan's presents is instructive: besides the φάρια or Arab horses there is mentioned ξυλαλῶν, βαλσαμελαίου, ἀμπάρτων, βλαττίων, σελοχαλίνων χρυσῶν μετὰ λιθαρίων καὶ μαργαριταρίων. ξυλαλόη is, I presume, the "lign-aloë" of Balaam; it seems to have been used for perfume or incense. "Oil of balsam" was used "*in conficiendo sacro Chrismate*" (Ducange, *Gloss. Græc.*, s.v.); ἀμπάρματα would be "ornaments of amber," βλαττία "purple silks," σελοχάλινα "saddles and bridles."

<sup>2</sup> Miklosich und Müller, iii. p. 48.



fomenting a Cretan rebellion against Venice; of the Venetians hanging at Corfu Leone Ventrano, a Genoese whom they caught in the act of helping Count Arrigo against them.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting light is thrown on the relations between Venice and Genoa during the Latin Empire by an agreement for a peace of four years, made by the Doge Pietro Ziani with an ambassador of the podestà and commune of Genoa. This is dated by the editors of the great collection of documents relating to Venetian trade with the Levant as belonging to the years 1217-19.<sup>2</sup> The agreement is expressly said to apply to Genoese subjects and Venetians abroad as well as at home, and by it the doge covenants that Genoese subjects in the Empire of Romania should be in the same position as in the time of the Emperor Alexius—*i.e.*, before the conquest—with the same right to trade and paying the same duties. In a part of Romania—“*quarta parte et dimidia*”—the doge had succeeded to the sovereign right of Alexius, and in virtue of these could grant to the Genoese privileges in matters of trade or litigation. The agreement, besides fixing the import duties to be paid on Genoese goods, has some curious provisions as to Venetian criminals (“*raptores seu raubatores*”) caught by the Genoese. If they had movable goods these could be seized by the Genoese Government to compensate the aggrieved party; if immovable property between Grado and Capo d’Argine (*i.e.* in what was afterwards called the Dogado), the dogé would pay the penalty

<sup>1</sup> See Sauli, *Col. Gen. in Gal.*, i. pp. 47, 48. Of Leone Ventrano (or Vetrano) and Count Arrigo (*alias* Enrico Pescatore) I have spoken in “Early History of Venice,” pp. 423, 425, 426.

<sup>2</sup> Tafel and Thomas, ii. pp. 197-205. The heads of this peace agreed to at Parma are also given under date of 11th May 1218 in *Lib. Jur. Reip. Gen.*, i. 609 (*Hist. Pat. Mon.*). These provide for a peace of ten years. At pp. 815-20 of the same volume we have the heads of a peace made in May 1228, when the former expired, to last for four years from the following Michaelmas. The contents of the two documents are substantially the same.

incurred up to the estimated value of such property and reimburse the State by confiscating the property. If the offender did not appear, or if he escaped from arrest into Venetian territory, the doge would give him up "in the city of Cremona or elsewhere by agreement," Cremona being chosen, I presume, as half-way between Genoa and Venice.

This treaty does not specially refer to any Genoese colony in the capital itself, and, though the evidence is a little conflicting on this point,<sup>1</sup> it seems probable that, at the beginning of the Latin Empire, when Venice was so powerful there, her rival was excluded from her old quarters. We know that, at this time or somewhat later, Genoa was extending her commercial relations with the Empire of Thessalonica that Boniface had founded as a rival to the Latin Empire of Romania. We hear of them both at Thessalonica itself, and at Thebes, where Guy de la Roche, lord of Athens, a vassal of Boniface, encouraged the silk manufacture. In this manufacture Genoese merchants were engaged, as we learn from a provision in the privilege granted them by de la Roche, who stipulated that their exemption from custom dues should not apply to silks from their own factories, so as to enable them to undersell the Greek manufacturers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Simoni (*Giorn. Ligust.*, 1874, p. 143) found in the archives of Genoa a grant from the Emperor Baldwin to the Genoese in 1204 (the year of the Latin conquest) of a site in Constantinople which they had held in the time of the Comneni "*ubi molendina sunt et remi fiunt.*" This was no doubt the site in Coparia (from κώπη, "an oar") which is mentioned in other passages (e.g. Miklosich und Müller, iii. 6). It was in the Neorion, the *παλαία ἐξάρτησις* (van Millingen, p. 221). But there is some doubt whether the grant was to Genoa or to Pisa. Pisa was after the conquest generally in alliance with Venice against Genoa. See Ogerii Panis, *Ann. Jan.*, s.a., 1206 (p. 103 of vol. ii. of Caffaro in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*).

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, i. 293. It seems that there had been also Venetian silk factories at Thebes. A Genoese ambassador to Constantinople is instructed to get from the Emperor the privilege of trading in *panni di seta apud Stivam sicut Veneti soliti erant*. "Stiva" for Thebes is parallel to Stamboul and Espigas (de Simoni in *Giorn. Ligust.*, 1874, p. 156).

When Michael Paleologus' forces were gradually closing in upon the Latins in Constantinople, and in 1261 were besieging the castle of Galata, which at that time seems to have been held by the Venetians, an embassy from Genoa came to him, with whom he made a treaty undertaking to grant to Genoa the palace and Church in Constantinople that the Venetians had had and the city of Smyrna, and to allow to the Genoese and Pisans, and to no other Latins, free navigation in the Black Sea in addition to the usual exemptions from duties, in return for the promise of Genoa to furnish a number of ships of war, the captains and crews of which were to be paid by the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> The treaty is an epoch in the history of Genoese trade with the Levant, marking the point at which Genoa took the leading position at Constantinople, which had till then been held by Venice.

Nicephorus Gregoras says that the concession of trading privileges to Genoa at the time of the restoration of the Greek Empire was in consideration of promised help in the reconquest, which was never actually given. It was believed in Italy that Genoese aid had counted for much in the recovery of the city, as we find in a passage of the Florentine chronicler, Giovanni Villani.<sup>2</sup> It was natural to think this in view of the favour shown to them by Michael Paleologus, and that there was some foundation for it we may infer even from the passage in which Nicephorus denies it. He says that the Emperor found after the expulsion of the Latins a mixed multitude of

<sup>1</sup> Murat., *R. I. S.*, vi. p. 528; Sauli, i. p. 60. The treaty can be best read in *Lib. Jur.*, i. pp. 1350 sqq. (*Hist. Patr. Monum.*). The Emperor grants lands and privileges in those cities he already possesses, and in Constantinople and others "which by the mercy of God he may acquire." Smyrna is apparently granted in fee—"jure proprietatis et dominii cum plena jurisdictione mera et mista . . . videlicet totum illud quod pertinet imperatorie maiestati." The Emperor will not allow "ire negotiatum intra majus mare aliquem latinum nisi januenses et pisanos," and those importing "pecuniam seu res nostri vestiarii."

<sup>2</sup> See the passage, lib. vi. c. 71 in Murat., *R. I. S.*, xiii. 202. Sauli quotes this as from Matteo Villani.

artisans and small tradesmen,<sup>1</sup> Venetians or Pisans, left behind in numbers large enough to be dangerous, and thought it would not conduce to peace or safety to settle side by side with them in the city the Genoese to whom he had promised exemption from duties if they helped him to recover the city, a promise that he now fulfilled, although he had got possession of the city without their aid.<sup>2</sup> So he set apart for them the place known as Galata, over against the city across the Golden Horn.<sup>3</sup> A concession evidently made with so much reluctance is not likely to have been gratuitous. This was the beginning of the famous Genoese colony at Galata, that played so important a part in the subsequent history of the Greek Empire.

It was no doubt as difficult to keep the peace between the sailors of the Italian republics whose ships were constantly passing through the Hellespont or Bosphorus in pursuit of more or less legitimate commerce, sometimes not easily distinguishable from piracy, as it was three centuries later to keep the peace between English and Spaniards in the Spanish Main. The Black Sea was less under the control of a regular government than the Straits or the Propontis; and it was lined with Greek cities, full of Greek or foreign merchants, having in their hands some of the trade with India and China and all of that with Russia and the Baltic. We read in Pachymeres how the Emperor Michael gave one Manuel, the son of Zacharias, a Genoese nobleman, a concession to work the alum mines in the mountains east of Phocœa in Asia Minor, and in order to give him a monopoly, forbade the export of alum from the Euxine. This interfered with the trade of the Genoese at home and of their colonies on the Bosphorus, both of whom had been engaged in this export, but the colonists

<sup>1</sup> χειρωνακτικὸν καὶ ἀγοραῖς ἀσχολούμενον πλῆθος (Nic. Greg., i. p. 97).

<sup>2</sup> ὃ δὴ καὶ πεπλήρωκε νῦν καὶ ταῦτα δίχα τῆς σφῶν βοηθείας γενόμενος αὐτῆς ἐγκρατῆς (Nic. Greg., iv. p. 5; i. p. 97 Bonn).

<sup>3</sup> ἀντιπέραν περὶ τὸν τοῦ Γαλάτου τόπον ἀπονέμει χώριον εἰς οἰκησιν (Nic. Greg., *ut sup.*).

found it advisable to submit to the Emperor's orders. Genoese ships, however, continued the trade, sailed through the Straits without the usual salutes to the Emperor's palace, and by their bold seamanship kept afloat through the winter in the Euxine and plundered the Greek merchantmen they fell in with, waiting to carry off their spoil till a north wind blew strong enough to carry them through the Bosphorus, and past the mouth of the Golden Horn, in defiance of the Greek ships at watch there to waylay them.<sup>1</sup>

The Genoese pirate would have found not only Greek merchantmen in the Euxine, but Venetians also. One of the chief entrepôts for the trade of the Far East was Soldaia or Sogdaia, now Novo-Shudak, on the south-east coast of the Crimea. There Syrian and Mesopotamian traders from Trebisond and Turkish merchants from Sinope brought silks, cottons, and spices to exchange for the furs of Russia, for which there was a great demand in the Mussulman world. This trade became more active when the Tartars in the first half of the thirteenth century conquered the Crimea. In 1260 Maffio and Nicolò Polo of Venice landed there with jewels for the Khan of the Kiptchak Tartars, and there, twenty years later, Marco, their brother, uncle of a more celebrated namesake, Marco, son of the above Nicolò, had a house that he left by his will, subject to a life interest in his son and daughter, to the Franciscan convent in the town, an interesting evidence of the ubiquity of that order less than a century after its founder's retirement from the world.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pachymeres, i. pp. 420 *sqq.* His amusing account of the stratagem by which the Emperor caught one of these pirate-ships is hardly credible. See Heyd, i. 43<sup>8</sup>, as to the concession to Manuel Zaccaria. Phocœa is called in Sauli (*Col. Gen. in Gal.*) "Foglie Vecchie." Its commercial importance was due to these beds of alum, which was much used in dying silk or wool (Heyd, ii. 570).

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, i. 298-300. The will can be read in Cicogna, *Inscriz. Venez.* iii. 489 *sqq.* He describes himself there as "*Marcus Paulo quondam de Costantinopoli.*" His son Nicolas was, at the date of the will (A.D. 1280), residing in Soldaia.

Venetian merchants were also engaged in the export of wheat from Bulgaria, and had a treaty right to carry it through the dominions of the Greek Emperor; but now that Venice was out of favour at Constantinople, the Government there kept her merchants strictly to the letter of their treaty, and would not allow them to sell their wheat in Greek markets.<sup>1</sup> In other ways the Venetians were made to feel their changed position since the reconquest. Their representative was no longer podestà, as he had been under the Latin Emperors, but bailo (Μπαίουλος, equal to *Bajulus*, as Μπυρων for Byron); the higher title of podestà, Grecised as ἐξουσιαστής, was reserved for the Genoese officer. The bailo was not invited to the imperial table on the great religious festivals, as the Genoese podestà was, and though he went every Sunday to the Emperor's court he was not treated as of the first rank. Though his dignity was less, his duties were not less onerous, for he was bound to be the champion of his countrymen throughout the Empire, an unpopular race, whom every petty official could venture to oppress, so that the bailo was constantly employed in remonstrating against injustice or infringement of treaty rights.<sup>2</sup> The Venetian colony occupied still its old home on the south shore of the Golden Horn, but probably straitened in extent by the enlargement of the great palace that adjoined it, and by some additional fortifications built, near what is now the Seraglio Point, after the return of the Greek Emperor.<sup>3</sup>

But though, on the Bosphorus, the star of Venice was no longer in the ascendant, there were many parts of the old Eastern Empire where the Lion of St. Mark still held his own. Negropont and Crete became important Venetian outposts, commanding the navigation of the Ægean Sea and the important trade with Egypt. In the original treaty of partition, Negropont had been part of the share of Venice; but from her inability to take possession of all

<sup>1</sup> Heyd, i. 467.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, i. 464.

<sup>3</sup> Paspates, *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται*, pp. 208, 209.





EURIPUS (NEGROPONT)

*From a photo supplied by the Hellenic Society*



her dominions at once, it had been left derelict, and an interloper had stepped in, in the person of Jacques d'Avesnes, a Flemish knight, who had followed Boniface of Montferrat in his march southwards into North and Central Greece. From 1204 till 1207 Boniface, as Emperor of Thessalonica, exercised supreme authority in Greece north of the Isthmus of Corinth.<sup>1</sup> Jacques d'Avesnes did not stay in the island, but, after accepting the surrender of the castle of Negropont, passed on to the Morea, leaving his conquest to the Marquis Boniface, who set up a feudal organisation in three baronies under *Terzieri*.<sup>2</sup> One of these was Ravano dalle Carceri of Verona, whose brother Henry was Bishop of Mantua. After Boniface's death in 1207 Ravano, in order to escape from the strict rule of the Emperor Henry, placed the island under Venice. We can read in Tafel and Thomas<sup>3</sup> the formal *privilegium* by which another brother of Ravano, Rodondello, with his uncle and one of his vassals, promise on behalf of Ravano that he will become the doge's faithful subject, having the same friends and enemies with him; that he will pay every year 200 gold hyperpera with a gold-edged robe of samite<sup>4</sup> for the doge, and an altar-cloth for St. Mark's Church; that he will grant the Venetians a church and a warehouse and exemption from customs, and that he will have *laudes* in honour of the Doge sung at the great festivals in the Cathedral of Negropont.<sup>5</sup> Lawsuits affecting Venetians are to be tried

<sup>1</sup> Hopf, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, in Ersch und Gruber, 85, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> The baronies were Oreus in the north, Carystus in the south, and Chalcis or Egripius, called sometimes Terziero di Verona, in the centre. Egripius was a corruption of Euripus, the ancient name of the strait; it was further corrupted into Negripo, which the Italians made significant as Negroponte, or in Latin Niger Pons, and this Italian name has superseded Euboea as the name of the whole island (L. Ross, *Wanderungen in Griechenland*, ii, pp. 29, 112). Ross found remains of the castle near the bridge from the mainland, with the Lion of St. Mark and Venetian coats of arms carved on the walls.

<sup>3</sup> ii. p. 89 sqq. No. cciv.

<sup>4</sup> "*Examitum auro textum.*"

<sup>5</sup> For "*laudes*" see "*Early History of Venice*," pp. 182, 183.

by Venetian judges, whose sentences they promise that Ravano will enforce. In the same collection<sup>1</sup> we have another deed of the year 1216, by which Pietro Barbo, the Bailo of Negropont appointed under the doge's seal, grants one-third of the island to the wife and daughter of Ravano, who no doubt had died in the interval, another third to the sons of Rodondello, Ravano's brother, and the remaining third to two other Veronese gentlemen. The bailo reserves to the Venetian Government certain churches and houses with a campus or piazza in Negropont. There he himself lived, and governed the Venetian colony with the assistance of two counsellors;<sup>2</sup> whenever a new owner came into possession of one of the baronies, he required investiture from the bailo, and did homage to him as the representative of the doge. But the Republic was not the only feudal superior of the *Terzieri*: they were also vassals of the Prince of Morea, Geoffrey or Godfrey de Villehardouin, nephew of the great Marshal of Champagne, who, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> had received the greater part of the Peloponnese as a fief from Boniface. This division of authority was probably due to the fact that Ravano's daughter and heiress, Carintana, had married William Villehardouin, the younger son of Godfrey, who succeeded on the death of an elder brother in 1245. The Princes of the Morea or Achaia were powerful people, not likely to acquiesce in the government of a distant Republic, and it is not surprising to find that in 1256 the tribute of 2100 hyperpera had been commuted into a customs duty (*comercium*) payable by foreign merchants, but not by Venetians or by the representatives of the *dalle Carceri*. We learn this from letters patent issued in that year by Narzoto

<sup>1</sup> ii. pp. 175 *sqq.*, No. ccxli.

<sup>2</sup> The deeds in Tafel and Thomas, iii. 1-12, are dated "*in majori domo comunis Venecie, que condam fuit domini Ravani de Carceribus de Verona.*" Ravano's dwelling-house had become the Government House.

<sup>3</sup> "Early History of Venice," p. 422.





MONEMBASIA

*From a photo supplied by the Hellenic Society*

dalle Carceri, dated from Thebes, in which he promises Marco Gradonico, the Bailo of Negropont, to make war upon the Prince of Achaia.<sup>1</sup> War, in fact, broke out in that year between Venice and the prince, in consequence of the claim of the prince, on the death of his wife, to the barony of Oreos, the northern third of Negropont. The lords of the two other baronies, Veronese adventurers, resisted William's claim, and undertook to make war upon the Prince of Achaia. Upon this William entered Negropont, summoned the recalcitrant *Terzieri* before him to his castle of Orobixæ or Rupo, at the northern end of the Euripus, and imprisoned them there. Their wives and kinsmen in the island appealed to the Venetian bailo, Paolo Gradenigo, for vengeance, and Venice was not unwilling to take up their cause. It was not only sympathy for the oppressed that moved her. The Principality of Achaia, under William and his predecessor Godfrey II., had grown wealthy and powerful, and its conquest of the pirate-nest of Monembasia, which had been held till 1249 by Greeks friendly to the Emperors at Nicæa, had put the prince in a position to exercise sea-power in the Eastern Mediterranean. That was sure to excite jealousy in Venice: whatever was the fate of the Latin Empire and Latin Church in Constantinople, the main object of Venice was naval and commercial supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Prince of Achaia had been for some time aiming at the same object, and now the dispute as to the succession in Oreos threatened the hold of Venice upon Negropont, one of her two chief strongholds in the Levant. The Prince of Achaia, in the feebleness of the later Latin Empire, had acquired a certain authority over Southern Greece and the Ægean, in which, however, Guy, the Lord or Megaskur of Athens, only reluctantly acquiesced. Otto,

<sup>1</sup> "*Item promittimus facere vivam guerram contra Principem Achaie et coadiutores suos per nos et nostros heredes in perpetuum*" (Tafel and Thomas, iii. 13-16).

the father of Guy, a Burgundian baron from La Roche sur Ougnon in Franche Comtè, had taken a considerable part in the Fourth Crusade, and been a principal adherent of the Marquis of Montferrat.<sup>1</sup> Guy became lord when Otto returned to France in 1225; he was lord not only of Athens, but of Thebes, and Argos and Nauplia, and had some claims to Negropont; he resided mostly at Thebes, in the Cadmea, a lieutenant or bailo of his own family occupying the Acropolis of Athens; at Thebes there had arisen, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> a flourishing manufacture of silk, in connection with which Guy in 1240 made a treaty with a Genoese colony established there under a consul at a time when they were excluded by Venetian influence from the rest of Romania.<sup>3</sup> This was another reason for Venice interfering in the dispute about Negropont.

Guy de la Roche, after some hesitation, decided to take the side of Venice against the Prince of Achaia, and there were other malcontents on the mainland. But at first the prince's army under Godfrey de Bruyères, Lord of Karytena,<sup>4</sup> in Arcadia, a *preux chevalier* among the barons of the Peloponnese, overran the island and took possession of the capital, Negropont, which the Venetian fleet could not till 1258 reduce to submission. The Venetians on their part won a victory in Eubœa over the feudal array of the

<sup>1</sup> For "Othes" de la Roche see Villeh. (ed. Wailly), 152, 284, 450, 669, 681-82; Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, 85, pp. 275, 276.

In Buchon (*Nouvelles Recherches Hist.*, vol. i. pt. 1, pp. lxxxiv. sqq.) is a "Généalogie de la Maison de la Roche." See also Schmitt's Introduction to the "Chronicle of the Morea" (Methuen, 1904), pp. lxxxviii.-ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Hopf, *u.s.*, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> Karytena or Karitena is in the upper valley of the Alpheus, from fifteen to twenty miles above Olympia. Godfrey was married to a daughter of Guy de la Roche. For Godfrey (or Geoffrey) and his home, Karitena, see Mr. H. F. Tozer's very instructive paper on the Franks in the Peloponnese ("Journal of Hellenic Studies," iv. pp. 219 sqq.).

Prince of Achaia, the foot-soldiers from the lagoons using great iron hooks<sup>1</sup> to pull down from their horses the Morean knights, whom St. Louis had seen in Cyprus, and had longed to have fighting in his ranks in Palestine instead of the Pullani or Syrian half-castes. Marino Sanudo the elder, the author of the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, whose history of Romania, that Hopf found in a MS. of the Library of St. Mark and included in his *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, is the most nearly contemporary account of these events that has come down to us, had seen and talked to many of these knights when prisoners at Venice.

The war spread from the island to the mainland, when the Lord of Athens took up arms against the Prince of Achaia. The prince invaded Attica, and at the same time Guy de la Roche attacked and occupied Corinth, but in advancing through the passes of Megara, near Mount Karydi,<sup>2</sup> suffered so complete a defeat that he had to shut himself up in his castle at Thebes, where the barons of Achaia induced him to surrender on condition that their feudal assembly should decide as to his punishment. The prince charged him with defiance of his feudal lord, and pressed for the forfeiture of his fief. The strict feudal customs of the Assize of Jerusalem had been made the law of the Latin Empire and its dependencies, but it was not quite clear whether Guy, who in respect of a few only of his possessions was William's vassal, had incurred forfeiture, and the barons, some of whom were no doubt his

<sup>1</sup> "Rampigoni." M. Sanudo in Hopf, *Chron. Gréco-Romanes*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Sanudo's words are, "*al passo del Moscro detto Cariddi*." Cariddi is the Italian form of Charybdis, and one is tempted to read "Mostro," "the pass of the monster called Charybdis." But Charybdis seems never to have been localised elsewhere than in the Straits of Messina. The "Scironian rocks," which are very likely the pass referred to, were connected with the legend of a robber Sciron: and the neighbourhood of Megara was associated with the legend of Scylla, daughter of Nisus, a namesake of the sea monster of the rock opposite Charybdis, and sometimes confounded with her.

kinsmen or friends, declared themselves incompetent to decide on his punishment. It is a curious illustration of the position of what Pope Honorius III. called the *Nova Francia* in the East that the barons suggested that the case of the Lord of Athens should be referred to the King of France. St. Louis, not only as the Mirror of Chivalry but as lord paramount over the French at home or abroad, was to decide whether Guy de la Roche should forfeit his fiefs. Prince William, who had known St. Louis in Cyprus in 1249, acquiesced in the reference; and Guy, in March 1259, sailed for Brindisi on his way to France to answer the charges against him. These were preferred not only by the prince against a rebellious vassal, but by "pilgrims and merchants" against the sovereign of the corsairs of Nauplia, whose depredations had long afflicted the Levant. He was detained at Paris for the investigation of those charges till events we shall soon come to recalled him to Greece.<sup>1</sup>

Prince William in 1259 married as his third wife a daughter of Michael, Prince of Epirus, the head of that illegitimate branch of the Comneni which, as we have seen, seemed likely at one time to anticipate the representatives of the Nicæan dynasty in the reconquest of Constantinople. At the date of this marriage the Latin Empire of Constantinople was on the eve of falling. Michael Paleologus, who had just accomplished his usurpation of the throne of the Lascars, and Alexius Strategopoulos were closing round the capital, while Georgius Acropolita, the historian, as representative of the Nicæan Government, was without much success opposing the Despot of Epirus. Another daughter of the latter had lately become the wife of Manfred, King of Apulia, the Emperor Frederic II.'s bastard son, and both sons-in-law were called upon to aid

<sup>1</sup> Marino Sanudo Torsello, fol. 3 r in Hopf's *Chron. Græco-Romanes*, pp. 105, 106; Hopf, *Gesch. Griech.*, in Ersch und Gruber, 85, pp. 279 sq.



the despot against Paleologus. Manfred sent four hundred German horsemen, while Villehardouin led in person the flower of his steel-clad knights, whom St. Louis had so highly valued. Both contingents succeeded in joining the despot at Kastoria, in Western Macedonia, but were completely defeated in an engagement with John Comnenus, the Sebastocrator, Michael Paleologus' half-brother.<sup>1</sup> The Prince of Achaia was taken prisoner, brought before Michael Paleologus at Lampsacus, and offered a free return to France and money to purchase lands there in place of those he had unjustly taken in Greece. He refused this offer as dishonourable, and stayed in prison nearly two years. During these two years the Latin Empire fell, and Baldwin II. fled to Negropont, conveyed thither on a Venetian ship belonging to the Pesaro family, and was entertained with great honour by the *Terzieri*, who, in alliance with Venice, were now governing the island. He went on to Athens and Thebes, where he had an equally loyal welcome from Guy de la Roche, who had lately returned from France, in compliance with the demand of the barons that he should be Bailo or Regent of Achaia during the Prince's captivity. He came back cleared of all the charges against him, and with the title of Duke of Athens in place of that of *Grand Sire* or *Megaskur*. His

<sup>1</sup> The battle was fought at Pelagonia in October 1259 (Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, 85, p. 283). Sanudo, who gives the Sebastocrator the name of "Sevasto Cratora," speaks of him as a kinsman of Villehardouin. He speculates as to Villehardouin's object in marching to the North, and suggests he may have wished either to punish the Venetians in Constantinople for their opposition to him in Negropont, or to give a helping hand to the falling Latin Empire. Ducange is the authority for calling the Sebastocrator a half-brother of Michael Paleologus; but from the same writer's *Familie Byzantinae*, p. 210, I think it is clear that he was Johannes Angelus Ducas Comnenus, a natural son of Michael II., Despot of Epirus, and brother-in-law of Villehardouin. He was Sebastocrator of Great Vlachia and Neopatras, a local officer, and has been confused with Michael Paleologus' half-brother Constantinus Paleologus (Ducange, *F. B.*, p. 232), who held the court office of Sebastocrator, the next in dignity after that of Basileus, whom I mention on p. 46. See a subsequent note on p. 265, n. 3.

first act as regent was to make peace between the Principality and Venice. Lorenzo Tiepolo, a Venetian, who, as sharing the lordship of two islands in the Ægean (Scyros and Scopelos) with one of the Ghisi family, was also a vassal of Villehardouin, negotiated the terms of peace, which were on the whole favourable to the prince, as they left him still feudal superior to the *Terzieri* of Negropont, whom Venice had claimed as her subjects exclusively. Venice was to have only the same position she had had in the lifetime of Carintana; her old trading quarters were restored to her, and the customs on goods coming into the Euripus either from north or south; the fort of Negropont was to be destroyed, but any buildings the *Terzieri* might put up on the site were to be subject to a right of pre-emption by Venice.

The Venetians were not pleased with the result of the war, and blamed the Bailo Gradenigo for having provoked it. Future baili were instructed to have no dealings in fiefs in the island, and above all, not to sequester lands in it for the Republic. In face of the revival of Byzantine energy under the Paleologi, while the Sebastocrator Constantine Paleologus, the Emperor's brother, was using the fortresses in the Morea, that had been surrendered to the Emperor as the price of Prince William's release from captivity, as a basis for the recovery of the rest of the peninsula, it behoved all the Latins in the East to hold together: "the questions of the continued existence of Frankish dominion in Greece and of Venetian hegemony on the Mediterranean resolved themselves into one."<sup>1</sup> The Bailo of the Republic at Negropont, the Duke of Athens, and the Prince of Achaia at Lacedæmon, Kalamata, or Andravida, kept up the last remains of the

<sup>1</sup> Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, 85, p. 286. The three fortresses given up to the Byzantines were Monembasia (Malvoisie), Misithra, and Maina, all in Laconia. The treaty with Venice is in Tafel and Thomas, iii. pp. 51-55, and also in Hopf's *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, p. 110.

Western power planted in the Levant by the leaders of the Fourth Crusade.

Venice had, however, a second stronghold in the Levant, which was not so closely involved with the varying destinies of Constantinople. Crete, sold to her in 1204 by Boniface of Montferrat,<sup>1</sup> and wrested in the next few years from Count Enrico of Malta and the Genoese, did not form part of the Latin Empire of Roumania. It was in 1212 made the subject of a systematic attempt at colonisation. The doge and his council ceded, by a document that can be read in Tafel and Thomas,<sup>2</sup> all the lands in the island, except a tract on the north coast near the capital and another round the fort of Temeno, which were reserved by the Government of the Republic, to volunteers from the six Sestieri of the city; a sixth part of the island being allotted, it would appear, to each Sestiere, so that the colonists would find themselves in a new home named after their old home, and surrounded by neighbours who had been their neighbours in Venice.<sup>3</sup> It is evidence of the energy of the Venetians of that day that, though the Republic had only for a few years held but one point in Crete (Spinalonga in the district of Mirabello), the Government was ready to undertake the task of dividing the whole island, and the colonists that of conquering and holding fast their allotments. The lands were divided into knights' fees, granted to nobles, and serjeants' fees, granted to burgesses; the latter each one-sixth of the former in size. The knights' fees were much more numerous than the serjeants', which would seem to show, as is indeed probable from all the other evidence, that the impulse towards

<sup>1</sup> See "Early History of Venice," p. 419, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 129-136, No. ccxxix.

<sup>3</sup> Thus the Sestiere *Sti. Apostoli* had the east of the island, *Sithia*, *Girapetra* (*Hierapetra*), *Lassithi*, and *Castel Mirabello*; that of *San Marco* the south-west, *Pediada*, *Castel Belvedere*; that of *Sta. Croce*, the *Mesarea* or interior of the island (*Hopf in Ersch und Gruber*, 85, p. 241).

emigration and conquest was stronger among the nobles than among the commons. The whole were under a governor called the duke, who provided them with houses in the capital, and homesteads for their horses or cattle in the country districts. These were their property, and could be sold, but only to Venetians, and with the doge's consent. Each knight was bound for himself and his heirs to maintain the island for Venice, and for this object to keep one war-horse for himself and two other horses for his two squires,<sup>1</sup> and a hauberk and complete suit of armour:<sup>2</sup> each serjeant was to be armed "sicut convenit." For four years the colony was to be free from tribute, afterwards to pay 500 hyperpera every September. The duke, who represented the Venetian Government, and generally held his office for two years, was assisted or controlled by two counsellors representing the doge, and a greater and lesser council selected from the colonists, besides *avvogadori*, *giudici*, *camerlinghi*, &c., all instituted on the model of Venice.<sup>3</sup> Giacomo Tiepolo, the first duke, was so much harassed by risings of the Greeks against the Venetian Government, that he had to appeal for help to Marco Sanudo, a Venetian noble and merchant, nephew of the Doge Enrico Dandolo, who had received from the Latin Emperor a grant of the Dodecannesos, or Cyclades, as a fief of Romania, and had established himself firmly in Naxos,<sup>4</sup> where he had built a strong castle that still exists,

<sup>1</sup> In some of the grants it was stipulated that the squires should not be Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> "*Equum unum de armis et alias duas equitaturas et scutiferos duos —obergum aut pancerium vel capironem et alia arma.*" For *obergum* ("hauberk") see Diez, s.v. *usbergo*. *Capiro* is equivalent to *Caparo* (q.v. *apud* Ducange), and is commonly the *chaperon* or hood of monks or friars, but we find "*capiro ferrens*" in Rolandini's "Chronicle of Padua." *Pancerium* is the German *Panzer*.

<sup>3</sup> Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, 85, p. 312.

<sup>4</sup> The name of Naxos was apparently obsolete at this time; Marino Sanudo calls the island Nicosia: Lorenzo de Monacis, a chronicler of the fifteenth century, calls it Nixia. Lorenzo says of Marco Sanudo and others like him: "*Excitantur animi aliquorum nobilium Venetorum,*

and a town on the sea-coast favourably situated for trade with Venice and Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> He answered Tiepolo's summons with great alacrity: but Tiepolo soon had reason to regret that he had called in a powerful and unscrupulous ally. When a dispute arose about the lands and castles Sanudo was to receive as a reward for his services, he made common cause with the Greek insurgents and the Count of Malta, and the Venetian garrison in Candia was so hard pressed that Tiepolo had to escape to Rettimo in woman's clothes. Sanudo seems to have nourished the ambition of adding Crete to his island dominion, and becoming a king: but Venetian reinforcements arrived at Kallilimena (the Fair Haven of St. Paul) just in time, and Tiepolo was put in possession of forces that the Duke of the Cyclades did not venture to meet. He had to evacuate the island, not without some money compensation for his trouble, and the Venetian Duke, Paolo Quirini, who succeeded Tiepolo in 1216, was left to try conclusions with his Greek subjects. The Greeks who, 250 years before, had under Nicephorus Phocas, the general of Romanus II., and afterwards himself Emperor, wrested Crete from the Saracens, had left a hardy and warlike progeny to hold their conquest, and these Greek immigrants, the *Archontes* as they are generally called, were now the leaders of the resistance to Venice. The family of Hagiostephanites were the most famous of them: and others named Scordili and Melissini constantly appear in our history. The island abounded in what Lorenzo de Monacis calls "difficult valleys and impervious places between them,"<sup>2</sup> in which the light-armed natives were no doubt more at home than Venetian horsemen could be. The raiding of cattle or horses, both by Venetian

*Lombardorum et aliorum Italarum, ad invadendum oppida et insulas olim subjectas imperio prædicto, quæ sine regimine fluctuabant*" (p. 143, ed. of Flam. Cornelius, 1758).

<sup>1</sup> Finlay, "Mediæval Greece and Trebizond," p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> De Monacis, *ut supra*, p. 154.

castellans and by Greek *Archontes*, went on constantly, as in the Highlands of Scotland in the time of Rob Roy. When the deadly feuds arising from these raids blazed up into armed rebellion, the duke had to send expeditions into the valleys. One of these under Pietro Tonisto and Giovanni Gritti, sent to quell a rising in the country west of the scala or landing-place of Milopotamo, was surprised in the mountains of Psicro by a multitude of Greeks, who killed Gritti and many other Venetian nobles.

Shortly after this, in 1219, the Duke Domenico Delfino had to purchase peace by granting certain knights' fees (*cavallariæ*) to Greeks in the neighbourhood of the river Mussela.<sup>1</sup> This looks like a well-meaning attempt to enlist the native inhabitants on the side of good order; but it did not succeed, for, when Giovanni Storlato was duke (1228–1230), the prevalence of disorder obliged him to call in the Duke of the Ægean again, and to allow him to build a fort at Suda on the north coast: on which the Greek rebels offered the island to the Emperor of Nicæa, John Vatatzes, who sent his Megaducha with thirty-three ships to take it. But Storlato was able to resist so successfully, though deserted by Sanudo—who, our authorities say, was bribed by the Greeks to return to his islands—that the Megaducha could not maintain his ground: and, on his voyage back to Constantinople, he was lost with all but three of his ships in a storm he met with off Cerigo.<sup>2</sup> Some of Vatatzes' troops, however, remained on the island, under one Gregorios Lopardas, and entrenched themselves in a fort called San Nicolò, and would not accept the offer of Angelo Gradenigo,

<sup>1</sup> De Monacis says: "*a flumine Musselæ versus occidentem.*" Hopf (*u.s.*, p. 312) says this river (which he calls Musella) was in the west of the island. The treaty granting these fees is in Tafel and Thomas, ii. 210–13, No. cclv.

<sup>2</sup> Our authorities, Lorenzo de Monacis (p. 156), followed by Flaminio Cornaro (*Creta Sacra*, ii. p. 263), call the Duke of the Twelve Islands Marco Sanudo, but Marco was dead in 1227, and the reigning duke at this time was his son Angelo.

who was duke in 1234, to grant them a safe conduct to Anatolia. It was not till 1236, when Stefano Giustiniani had succeeded to the dukedom, which he held for the unusually long period of five years, that the Nicæan troops finally evacuated the island. But so long as Vatatzes lived, a renewed invasion was always probable, and in 1252 a new colony from Venice was settled on lands near Punta di Spata, partly divided into knights' or serjeants' fees, partly reserved for the Republic. This settlement was the origin of the new town of Canea, the second capital after Candia, and now the most important town of Crete.

This was only nine years before Michael Paleologus recovered Constantinople. The Greek Emperors at Nicæa were growing in power; in 1250 Theodore Contostephanos, an admiral serving John Vatatzes, then near the end of his long and prosperous reign, had taken Rhodes from the Genoese, who, aided by some of Villehardouin's feudal levies from the Morea, had conquered it from the family of Leo Gabalas, an adventurer who, in the anarchy that followed the Crusaders' capture of Constantinople, had set up an almost independent dominion there, and called himself Lord of Rhodes and the Cyclades. Rhodes was a fertile island, and had long been enriched by trade, and the conquest of so important a place at their doors could not but threaten the Venetians in Crete. In 1264 the Doge Renier Geno wrote to Pope Urban IV. that Crete was overrun by Greek troops, and the subjects of the republic hard pressed. He spoke of the island as that on which all the strength of the Empire of Romania (that is, of Latin dominion in the East) rested.<sup>1</sup> And the Republic never relaxed its efforts to retain so important a possession. Every rebellion, whether of Greek Archontes or of Venetian colonists was put down by the dukes sent there. The

<sup>1</sup> Tafel and Thomas, iii. 56-59; Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, 85, p. 314.

colonists were conciliated with so much success that they were loyal to Venice for a century. The Greeks were driven into the mountains in the east of the island. If Venice could hold the seaports, the main use of Crete as a stepping-stone on the way to Egypt was secured to her.



## CHAPTER III

### THE EMPEROR FREDERIC II

BEFORE following the fortunes of the Venetian dominion in the Levant through the period that followed the reconquest of Constantinople by the Greeks, it will be well to trace the domestic events of the city in the lagoons during the fifty-seven years that the Latin Empire lasted, and the part that Venice took in the troubled affairs of Italy. For this part of my task the main authority is the Chronicle of Andrea Dandolo, which is, however, very far from confining itself to Venetian history, but ranges over the general history of the world, especially of Palestine, of Constantinople and Greece, and of Cyprus.

Pietro Ziani, the doge who succeeded Enrico Dandolo in 1205, was a son of the famous Doge Sebastiano Ziani, who had taken so prominent a part in reconciling Frederic Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III. in 1178. In those days Pietro had been captain of a galley under his father, and is said to have fought for the Pope in the very problematical engagement at Salvore in Istria in 1177, and to have afterwards commanded the six galleys that escorted the Emperor from Ravenna to Chioggia in the following year. The family was old and rich: an ancestor was said to have found a golden cow in a cellar at Altino, a relic of ancient heathendom, and the wealth of the house of Ziani had passed into a proverb.<sup>1</sup> Pietro is said to have sailed in the Venetian fleet that took Zara and Constantinople, but he appears, at the date of Dandolo's death, to have

<sup>1</sup> "L'haver da ca Ziani" (Cicogna, *Iscr.*, iv. 562, n. 1).

been count of the island of Arbe, and also one of the six counsellors of the doge: and the Altino Chronicle, which for this time is a document of high authority, tells us that he was one of those called together by Renier Dandolo, the vice-doge, when the news of his father's death reached Venice, that they might summon all the citizens from Capo d'Argine to Grado to choose the board of forty to whom the constitution committed the election of a doge.<sup>1</sup> The chronicler goes on to say that forty "*sapientes et legales viri*" were chosen, who by the grace of God came in one short hour to an almost unanimous decision, which was hailed and even anticipated by the popular feeling, so that when one Peter was put forward by his brother electors to announce their choice, a shout was raised by the people, "This election will fall from Peter on Peter."<sup>2</sup>

The new doge was welcome to the Church for his piety and his care for the clergy, and to all for his munificence: he was believed often to spend his nights in prayer, he had been zealous in providing for the promotion of poor deserving priests to better cures, and he had taken particular pleasure in relieving the distress of impoverished nobles. His intellectual powers must have been great, if it is true, as we read in Cicogna, that on one occasion he gave audience to five deputations from Lombardy, and twenty-two from the March of Ancona in succession, appearing to sleep while listening to them, but at the end answering them, one by one, without confusion or obscurity.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Ducum Venet.*, apud Pertz, SS., xiv. p. 94. For the high value of this part of the Altino Chron. see pp. 3 and 4 of Simonsfeld's Introduction in this volume of Pertz, and a longer discussion in Simonsfeld's *Venet. Studien*, pp. 131 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> "*Statim, antequam loqueretur, vox de populo facta est: 'De Petro in Petrum ibit electio ista'*" (*H. D. V.*, u.s., p. 95).

<sup>3</sup> Cicogna, *Iscriz. Ven.*, iv. 538. For his measures for relieving the poor clergy see Gallicciolli, *Memorie Venete*, iv. 355; Romanin, ii. p. 194. The original authority for all these anecdotes is the *Hist. Ducum Veneticorum* in book vi. of the Altino Chronicle (pp. 197, 198

Besides the constant disputes with Genoa to which I have had occasion to refer in the last chapters, Pietro Ziani became involved, in the year 1215, in a war with Padua. The Altino Chronicle tells us briefly that the quarrel was occasioned by certain sports held at Spineta, near Treviso, at which Paduans and Trevisans, moved only by jealousy, took up arms against Venice. This was embellished by details of the festa, and its consequences, which can be read in Romanin, who has apparently derived them from Rolandino of Padua, who was a boy at the time the events happened,<sup>1</sup> but of which neither the well-informed Altino chronicler, nor Da Canale, though the latter is a lover of picturesque detail, tells us anything. The account of Da Canale<sup>2</sup> is, that the Venetians had built between Chioggia and Adria, a tower, called "delle Bebbe," to be a check on any freebooters who might wish to commit outrages on peaceful travellers. The Paduans took umbrage at this, and sent to the doge to say that, if he did not pull down the tower, they would come and do so. When they attempted to carry out their threat, the doge sent a large force to repel them, including contingents from Chioggia and the neighbouring towns, who laid waste the Paduan fields, and kept the tower standing for the protection of the high roads.<sup>3</sup> For their services in this war, we are told, the people of Chioggia were relieved of an ancient tribute of three fowls for each family,<sup>4</sup> that they

of *A. S. I.*, i. 8, Pertz, SS., xiv. p. 96), which is very full in this place.

<sup>1</sup> *Apud* Pertz, SS., xix. p. 45. In his very curious account he calls the fête "*curia solacii et leticie.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 354 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Da Canale describes how the Venetian sailors "*porterent avec eux les cordes des nes, et enveloperent si bien la tor des cordes, que il ne dotoient li cos des manganiaus ne des perieres*" (c. lxxiii., *A. S. I.*, i. 8, p. 356).

<sup>4</sup> Dand., x. 4, 25; Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 339; Da Canale, c. lxxiv. (*A. S. I.*, i. 8, p. 356). The poultry of the marshes of Adria and the Polesina was famous, the hens being said to lay two eggs a day (*Filiati, Saggio*, i. 179).

had paid to the doge, and were placed under a podestà instead of an officer with the less honourable title of Gastaldo. A treaty between Venice and Padua was made by the mediation of Wolcher, Patriarch of Aquileia, under instructions from Pope Innocent III. This must have been one of the last acts of that vigorous pontificate; for Innocent died on the 16th of July in the same year, 1216.

For some years after this Venice seems to have been free from Italian entanglements, and men's minds were much turned towards the Holy Land. In 1216 Andrew, King of Hungary, the only sovereign of Europe who was then willing to strike a blow for the Holy Sepulchre, made a treaty with the Venetians, by which he had to pay 550 silver marks for each ship of 500,000 lbs. burden, and carrying a crew of fifty sailors, that they supplied for the passage to Palestine. We do not know how many ships were supplied. The King started for the Holy Land and landed at Acre, but had very soon to return in consequence of disturbances in his own kingdom.<sup>1</sup> By a clause in this treaty the Venetians obtained from Andrew a renunciation of his claims on Zara, and freedom of trade and travel throughout Hungary.

The ships that Venice supplied in this year did not apparently sail from Venice, but from Spalato. Innocent III., who had been a prime mover in the arrangements for this Fifth Crusade, had stipulated that its starting-place should not be Venice; no doubt he was determined not to risk a repetition of the annoyances and scandals of the Fourth. The expedition to Damietta, which was the form this Crusade ultimately took, has little connection with the history of Venice.

Nor did Venice supply ships for the expedition which in 1228 the Emperor Frederic II., after having been excommunicated by Pope Honorius IV. for delay in fulfilling the vow taken at his coronation, at length undertook in the

<sup>1</sup> He left Palestine soon after Epiphany 1218 (Wilken, vi. p. 156).

face of open opposition from the next Pope, Gregory IX., on the ground that he, an excommunicated man, had presumed to come forward as a soldier of the Cross, and which he accomplished successfully by means of a treaty with the infidel, for which he was still more bitterly denounced by the Pope, but as a result of which he was enabled to crown himself in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as King of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> the last Western sovereign who wore that uneasy crown.

Venice, indeed, was not much concerned with the Emperor Frederic and his Italian difficulties during the lifetime of Pietro Ziani. Her quarrel with Padua, which was revived after five years, and in connexion with which we first read in Dandolo the dreadful name of Ezelin da Romano, and have from the same chronicler a legendary explanation of the names of Ghibelline and Guelf, was again ended by a five years' truce. The doge, as we are told by the Altino chronicler, was so great a lover of peace that no war he was engaged in was due to his initiative. His voice in his council was always for peace. "War," he used to say, "we can always have, if we want it; peace you should zealously seek for, and keep when found." And therefore, the chronicler adds, the God of peace gave him victory over his enemies.<sup>2</sup>

When already an old man, he lost his first wife, of the Ca Baseggio, whom the chronicler describes as "*nobilis et decora nimis*," and as he was childless, by the advice of his counsellors married a second wife, "Constance, daughter of the illustrious Tancred, King of Sicily," the illegitimate descendant of the family of Robert Guiscard, who for a time maintained the independence of his country against the Emperor Henry VI.<sup>3</sup> By her he had a son and two

<sup>1</sup> His claim to the kingdom came from his wife, at this time dead, Yolande or Iolante, daughter of John of Brienne and Mary, the sister and heiress of Amaury, the last king of the house of Baldwin du Bourq.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. 6, *u.s.*, p. 196 (Pertz, SS., xiv. p. 96).

<sup>3</sup> See Gibbon, vii. 142-44 (Dr. Smith's ed.).

daughters, of whom we know little more than the names: the family, so rich and important for a short time, produced no later doge, and seems to have died out before the earliest *Libro d'Oro* or register of the Venetian nobility was compiled.

Dandolo tells us that, when the doge grew old and infirm, he had a chapel made in the ducal palace and dedicated to St. Nicolas, that he might hear mass without the fatigue of going down to San Marco. The palace both within and without has been entirely altered since Pietro Ziani's time; but we may conclude that this chapel of St. Nicolas is now represented by the Chiesetta of the Doge Pasquale Cicogna.<sup>1</sup> We can read in Flaminio Cornaro's "Churches of Venice"<sup>2</sup> a bull of Pope Urban V. granting indulgences to those who visited this chapel on the great Church festivals, and offered alms for the poor prisoners confined in the palace.<sup>3</sup>

At length, in the beginning of the year 1229, after a peaceful and glorious reign of twenty-three years, the doge, unable to bear any longer the burden of office, resigned, and retired with his family to his own house on the Ora, or Bank of Sta. Giustina, in the northern part of the city, near the later church of San Francesco della Vinea. Some accounts<sup>4</sup> say that he became a monk in

<sup>1</sup> He was doge at the end of the sixteenth century. He did much to beautify the ducal palace and built the present Rialto Bridge.

<sup>2</sup> x. 119.

<sup>3</sup> In the interesting collection of *Documenti intorno al Palazzo Ducale* by G. B. Loreazi (a handsome quarto dedicated to Ruskin) there are several documents relating to this church or chapel "Sti. Nicolai de Palatio." In 1319 the council orders that the goods of a lunatic that fell to the Commune should be expended in beautifying the chapel, that was then altogether bare of pictures, by painting on its walls "*hystoriam Pape quando fuit Venetiis cum domino Imperatore.*" In 1400 the Council of Ten ordered the necessary expenditure for repainting and restoring the pictures which were "*vetustate delete,*" "*considerato loco notabili et excellenti ubi sita est dicta Ecclesia.*" In 1506 we find expenditure sanctioned for decorating ("*per conzar*") the new Chapel of St. N. (*Doc.*, Nos. 36, 127, 278, 279).

<sup>4</sup> Cicogna (*Iscriz. Ven.*, iv. 533) gives all the authorities. The more ancient do not say that he became a monk.

the convent of San Giorgio Maggiore, and it is possible that, without quitting his home, he became associated in some way with that famous convent, for, when he died, in the first month after his retirement,<sup>1</sup> he was buried there in the grave of his father and predecessor, Sebastiano.<sup>2</sup> By his will he left houses and money and saltworks in Chioggia to the "opera," *i.e.* the fabric of San Marco, and to other churches and convents in Venice and abroad.

In his reign, it would appear, the city and lagoon suffered from more than one great convulsion of nature. The islands of Ammiana and Costanziaca, lying south of Torcello and Burano, are said to have been swallowed up by a wave of the sea. This is not mentioned by Dandolo, and the Chronicle that mentions it does so only incidentally in reporting a probably apocryphal speech<sup>3</sup> of the Doge Pietro Ziani proposing to remove the seat of government to Constantinople. The two islands, which were connected by a bridge, were populous, and contained many religious houses, one of them being the Convent of Sant' Adriano in Costanziaca, that was founded by Anna, the daughter of the Doge Vitale Michieli, whom her father gave in marriage to the monk of San Niccolo, the only member of the Giustiniani family who returned alive from the fatal expedition against Manuel Comnenus in 1174, in order that that great family might not perish from the city. For some reason or other the islands were deserted, but the better authorities say that this was from their unhealthiness, and the ruins of their churches and convents that are mentioned by writers of the sixteenth century or later as visible in their days, would be more consistent with a gradual

<sup>1</sup> Pompeo Litta, *Celebri Famiglie Italiane*, vol. v. tavola iv. (under *Normanni Re di Sicilia*) gives March 1230 as the date of his death.

<sup>2</sup> The grave was opened in 1611, and the remains of three bodies, no doubt those of Sebastiano and his two sons, were found in it (Cic., *I. V.*, iv. pp. 533, 534).

<sup>3</sup> This question is well argued in Cicogna, *I. V.*, iv. 534, 535.

desertion than with a sudden sinking into the sea.<sup>1</sup> But whether these two islands were overwhelmed or not, there is no doubt that a great earthquake visited the city on Christmas Day 1223, by which one side of the monastery of San Giorgio was thrown down.<sup>2</sup> It was probably the same earthquake that so ruined Malamocco, that its bishop's see was removed in 1225 to Chioggia.<sup>3</sup>

When, on 6th March 1229, the forty electors met in San Marco to choose a successor to Pietro Ziani, their votes were equally divided between Giacomo Tiepolo and Marino Dandolo.<sup>4</sup> The former we know to have been one of the foremost Venetians of that great age. He had been sent as the first duke to Crete after its acquisition, and had subsequently been podestà at Constantinople. A Marin Dandolo had, in 1307, like Marco Sanudo, who was probably his cousin, sought his fortune among the Greek islands, and had become ruler of Andros.<sup>5</sup> He died apparently while still Lord of Andros, shortly before 1243.

<sup>1</sup> Filliasi, *Saggio*, ii. pp. 212 *sqq.* Another story is that the houses in the islands were so infested by snakes that it was necessary to desert them.

<sup>2</sup> Dand., x. 4, 41; Murat., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 343 (marginal note in *Cod. Ambros.*); Sanudo, *Vite de' Dogi*, in Murat., *R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 542.

<sup>3</sup> This date is by no means certain. Dandolo says the change was made in A.D. 1110, when Ordelafo Faliero was doge (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 262).

<sup>4</sup> Pompeo Litta, vol. viii. tav. 1, under *Tiepolo* says that Tiepolo's competitor was Ranieri Dandolo. This cannot be the son of Enrico, who was vice-doge during his father's absence in the East, as he was killed in Crete in 1209 (Dand., x. iv. 12).

<sup>5</sup> We meet with the name of Marin Dandolo frequently: (1) as that of the commander of one of the ten galleys that escorted the Emperor and Pope home after the meeting at Venice in 1177 (see quotation from a seventeenth or eighteenth century MS. of additions to Dandolo in Simonsfeld's *Venet. Studien*, pp. 141, 142); (2) in Tafel and Thomas, ii. 49, a Marinus Dandalus witnesses a grant to San Giorgio of a fishery in Constantinople; this is dated in February 1207; (3) is recited as having witnessed the investiture of the Archbishop of Durazzo in September 1216 (*ib.* ii. p. 123); (4) a Marinus Dandalus is one of the Knights of the Sestiere San Marco sent to Crete in September 1211 (*ib.* ii. p. 134).



The election of a doge was regulated by an ordinance made in the interregnum after Sebastiano Ziani's abdication in 1178, which had made no provision for the case of an equal division of votes. Before the next election in 1249 the number of electors was increased by one to obviate this difficulty. But on the present occasion there was no legal way out of it. In the words of Andrea Dandolo: "The assembly approved a proposal that a perilous dissension should be set at rest by casting lots,"<sup>1</sup> and the lot decided for Tiepolo. That this cutting the knot was disliked by sticklers for legality is probable enough, and may explain the story which follows in Dandolo, that when Tiepolo, three days after, called upon his predecessor, then on his deathbed, Ziani would not see him, "contemning him either on account of his birth or because of the unusual manner of his elevation." The meaning of the passage is a little doubtful; but the former reason could hardly have been the true one, for Tiepolo's family was as noble as any in Venice. A Tiepolo had been among the six Tribunes, by whom the first doge, Pauluccio Anafesto, was held to have been elected. Pompeo Litta,<sup>2</sup> the genealogist, mentions a tradition that the Tiepoli were descended from a noble family of ancient Rome, and the form of the name used by early chroniclers—Teupulus or Theupulus—suggests, both by its beginning and its ending, a Byzantine origin. The offices which the new doge had held were the most important open to a Venetian of that age, and marked him out as a man who had dealt as an equal with Greek and Latin Emperors and Turkish Soldans. He, like his predecessor, married a daughter of Tancred, King of Sicily.

The *Promissione*, or long and detailed declaration as to

<sup>1</sup> " *A concione laudatur ut sortibus periculosa divisio sopiretur*" (Dand. x. 5; Murat., u.s., col. 346).

<sup>2</sup> *Celebri Famiglie Italiane*, vol. viii. tav. i., under *Tiepolo di Venezia*.

his future action as doge, to which he swore on the day of his election, has come down to us, and was adopted as a model by several of his successors. This is in part a general promise, similar to that in our King's coronation oath, to execute the duties of his office with diligence ; to administer justice impartially, whether in enforcing the sentences of the judges or in deciding by his own conscience cases in which the judges disagreed ; to study the honour and profit of Venice ; to keep all secrets of State ; to allow no grant of public property to be made without the sanction of a majority of both greater and lesser councils ; to let elections to the patriarchal see of Grado and the other bishoprics and abbeys in his duchy be made by the persons entitled to vote under the law of the Church, and not to exact any "service" or payment for investiture ; to send no letters to Pope, Emperor, or other sovereign, without the concurrence of a majority of his council, and to show to the council all such letters he received ; to treat all Venetians of whatever class alike. It also contains a strict undertaking not to appoint another person doge in his lifetime, the feeling at Venice being always strong against joint-doges as a step towards making the office hereditary. It binds the doge in concert with his council to see that 1000 bushels of corn should be imported by sea every year, with another 1000 unless both councils and the Quarantia sanctioned the omission of this. But it also contains a number of promises as to matters of detail, we might almost say parochial matters, such as the duties on imports from the Quarnero, that on apples from Lombardy, the stamp-duties on salt, the customary payments from Chioggia hitherto made to the doge, but in future to go to the Commune, the honoraria to be made to the Judges de Proprio, *i.e.*, those who decided cases affecting property. A good deal of the document is taken with engagements as to the partition between the doge and the Commune of the public income and expenditure. Thus the duty on

Lombard apples is to go two-thirds to the doge, one-third to the Vicedomini, or local financial agents of the Commune. The doge is to have no part of the dues on sealing packets of salt, or of the market-dues on fish and butchers' meat, except the complimentary presents to "our Court" that were made every year on the first Thursday in Lent,<sup>1</sup> nor of other fortieths except the import duty on crabs and cherries from Treviso, the former of which was to belong all to the doge, the latter two-thirds to him and one-third to the local collectors. The Commune was to have all payments from Chioggia, except customary offerings of a gondola, hay, and wine made to the doge when he went himself, or sent his servants, to hunt there, and was to have power to let the Chioggiotes themselves elect their *Gastaldio* and dispose of the *ripaticum* or landing dues and the fines for killing or wounding, which had formerly gone to the doge. In return for these concessions, the Commune was to bear the expense of sending embassies or armies, except that the doge was to continue to bear the cost of his own journeys in the Dogado, *i.e.*, between Grado on the north and Loreo and Capodargine (Cavarzere) on the south, and was to pay his share of any property-tax<sup>2</sup> or forced loan ordered by the council.

One or two provisions of the Promise have reference to the giving and receiving of presents. The Judges de Proprio of the palace,<sup>3</sup> whom the doge undertakes not to

<sup>1</sup> "*In die Jovis de carnis privio.*" Ducange, *s.v.* "*carnis privium*," explains that there were two "*carnis privia*," the old being the week beginning with Quinquagesima, the new that beginning with the first Sunday in Lent. "*Carnis privium*," I presume, is equivalent to "*carnis privatio*," a more prosaic expression than the "*Carni Vale*," which has survived.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to me the meaning of "*Averaticum*," *avere* or *averia* being common words for all kinds of property, though especially for horses and mules. We have *havere* in this document. Romanin's conjectural emendation, *adiutaticum* (ii. p. 214, n. 2), seems unnecessary, and I do not understand it.

<sup>3</sup> These were superior judges of first instance, and are distinguished as *judices majores* or *nobiliores* from the *gastaldi*, who were *judices*

appoint without election, are to enjoy their customary revenue, and the next paragraph gives us a pleasing glimpse of the ordinary life of that primitive time. "We are bound," the doge says, "to give each of them yearly four jars of wine from the vineyards of our duchy, those of Chioggia and of Camanso<sup>1</sup> by preference, but if our vineyards are wrecked by storms, we will cause them to have other wine of Chioggia." The doge was to receive no presents "in any manner or of any kind from any person"; but exceptions to this very rigid rule follow. Presents for the Commune might be received by the doge, if handed over at once to the chamberlain of the Commune, and the doge or his messengers might receive in general presents of cooked victuals or bottles of wine, and of game ("*in bestiis sylvestris*" and "*in volatilibus sylvestris*"), provided he did not receive more than one beast or ten brace of birds at a time from any donor; and it was particularly added that he must receive none of these gifts from any wishing to obtain any favour from the doge or Commune. From such a person the only presents allowed were "rose-water, leaves, and flowers, and scented herbs, and balsam." Customary gifts were allowed also at the wedding of a doge, his sons or daughters, grandsons or granddaughters, but they must be of victuals only.

We have in the Promise a good deal of interesting information as to the doge's official income. He was entitled to receive every year from the chamberlain of the Commune a sum of 2800 *libræ denariorum*, 700 being paid each quarter; besides he had 350 Romanates from the revenue of the county of Veglia, with 60 more for

*mediocres* or *minores*. The Quarantia or the Senate, according to the nature of the matter in dispute, was the Court of Appeal (Claar, *Entwicklung der Venez. Verf.*, pp. 81, 82; Hain, *Der Doge von Venedig*, pp. 62-65).

<sup>1</sup> In the list of *regalia* due to the doge, to which I refer in note on p. 65, we read: "*Deve avere il doge il vino delle Vigne di Cà Manso in Chioggia.*"

the regalia of the same county. He also was entitled to regalia from the islands of Cherso and Ossero, from the county of Arbe, from Ragusa and Sansego, and certain feudal dues (*honorificentiæ*) from Istria, and a moiety of the cloth of gold sent by the Lords of Negropont to the doge and St. Mark.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The payments from Veglia appear to have been fixed by *promissiones* or contracts made by Joannes Vido and Henricus, Counts of Veglia, with Enrico Dandolo. Veglia, Cherso or Ossero, Arbe and Sansego are all islands in the Quarnero or Gulf of Fiume. Our document speaks of Cherso and Ossero as two places, Cherso being in the north and Ossero in the south of one long island. *Romanati* were gold coins with the effigy of Romanus Diogenes, Emperor at Constantinople from 1067 to 1078, just before the beginning of the Comnenian dynasty. They were of the same value as the old *aureus* or gold *solidus*, and as the coin afterwards called *Manuelatus* or *manlatus* from the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. There is a curious list of the regalia to which the doge was entitled—*i.e.* annual gifts in money or goods—printed among the documents appended to Cecchetti's *Il Doge di Venezia* (pp. 233–36). It is of the year 1478, two centuries later than the time of Giac. Tiepolo, but it throws some light on that doge's *Promissione*. The gifts are redolent of the simplicity of early times. At Christmas, Arbe sent 10 lbs. of Chinese silk, Ossero 40 martens' skins, Veglia 30 fox-skins, the monks of Brondolo a pig of at least 70 lbs. weight, the gastaldo of San Niccolò de' Mendicoli 20 pair of good *classi* (?); Maggia and Trieste were to pay *ansore* of wine ("buona Robbola"). On the festa of the Madonna delle Scuole (*i.e.* of the Marie or Brides of Venice (see "Early History," pp. 113–16), the glass-makers of Murano paid by their gastaldo 100 large and 100 small bowls, and 200 flagons; the town of Fano, four *miri* of oil. Other payments were to be made on the *Sensa* or Feast of the Ascension, on *Giovedì grasso* and *Giovedì Santo* and Easter. The citizens of Poveglia, who had the reputation of being quarrelsome, were frequently fined, and 5½ of every 7 *piccoli* imposed on them for these fines were the doge's perquisite. A number of the dues were payable in services: thus, the Arte or Guild of Glovers had to dress the furs of the palace; that of the Furriers (*Varoteri*) to dress the sables, lambskins, and other furs of the doge, dogressa, and other inmates of the palace, the gastaldo of the barbers was to find "*un barbitonsore buono pei servizi di Palazzo*"; the gastaldi of the Carpenters and Caulkers (*Marangoni e Calafai*) were each to provide a master workman for the *Bucintoro* and other ships of the palace for three days in the year, the doge providing food for the workman: the *escusati* of the doge (whom Cecchetti, I think, calls his *guardia nobile*) were bound to carry home and stow in the palace all purchases made for the use of the palace. Dandolo says the "*Excusati Ducatus*" were the fishermen and fowlers of Dorsoduro, "*ad servitia Ducatus deputati*" (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. p. 188). See my "Early History," p. 96, n. 2.

There is always some difficulty in fixing the value of ancient money, and in the case of Venetian money additional ambiguity is introduced by the co-existence, from the reign of Enrico Dandolo (A.D. 1200) of two kinds of denario, the piccolo and the grosso, the latter being of the value of twenty-six of the former. But it seems to be certain that where we have, as in the document we are considering, *libræ denariorum* simply without the addition of *grossorum*, the sum specified is the lira of piccoli, which at the time we have reached, the first half of the thirteenth century, was of the intrinsic value, according to our best authorities, of a little more than four Italian lire of the present day. This would give us 11,200 lire, or about £450 in English money, as the doge's official salary from Venice, but this modest sum is considerably increased by the 410 Romanati or gold solidi (of which 72 went to the pound weight, each coin weighing 4.49 to 4.53 grammes, *i.e.*, about the value of 11s. 4d. of our money), amounting in all to £232, and by the unspecified regalia of Cherso and Ossero, Arbe, Ragusa, and Sansego, not to speak of his moiety of the cloth of gold from Negropont. If we estimate that these several items raised his total income to £850, this would, according to the careful calculation made by Hallam,<sup>1</sup> represent in purchasing power a sum nearly twenty times as large, so that the doge may be said to have had a civil list of from £16,000 to £17,000, an income that would have required to be supplemented by large private resources, such as we are told of in the case of Pietro Ziani, in order to make the Sovereign of the Lagoons a fit match, as he and Giacomo Tiepolo were both considered, for a daughter of a family that claimed to be royal.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Middle Ages," iii. pp. 445 *sqq.* (ed. of 1819).

<sup>2</sup> At the date of Amelot de la Houssaye's *Gouvernement de Venise*, 1676, the doge had a salary of 12,000 crowns (*écus*), half of which went for the four fêtes of the year, and a good deal more in largesses, scattering of coin in the Piazza of St. Mark on the day of his accession,

There are one or two other points worth notice in the Promissio. The doge claimed the right of bestowing on whom he pleases all rooms in his palace that have doors on the street, but acknowledges that he is bound, at his own expense, to have all the palace, including these rooms, roofed over; although if any persons to whom he granted rooms were displeasing to the majority of the council, the doge was bound to eject them,<sup>1</sup> and put in their place persons approved by the council: so that this patronage really belonged to the State as much as to the doge in person. He also undertakes to keep at least twenty servants, including the cooks employed in the kitchen, and to fill up within a month any vacancy occurring in this number.

The doge promises to expend nine silver marks on making three trumpets to be given to the Church of St. Mark at his death, and to give, within a year of his accession, to the same church cloth of gold to the value of at least 25 Venetian pounds. His benefactions to other churches can be withheld by the majority of his council; but their power to do this, as also their general power of overruling his actions, is guarded by a special clause excluding matters relating to St. Mark's. That church was the doge's private chapel, and the council had no authority there.<sup>2</sup>

The twenty years of the Doge Tiepolo's government (1229-49) coincided with the end of the reign of the

so that it was indispensable that a rich man should be elected (p. 162), and his income must arise from a strictly limited number of sources, as he was not allowed to trade, or to hold feudal property in foreign parts, or to own land in Venetian territory outside the Dogado, while his expenses out of pocket were heavy, for he paid war-taxes, and his travelling expenses in the Dogado, and had to pay for all goods he bought within eight days (Claar, *Entwicklung der Venez. Verfassung*, p. 124).

<sup>1</sup> "Eis tenemus dare comiatum (*congè*) in voluntate Consilii nostri."

<sup>2</sup> The Promissio is printed at pp. 430-38 of vol. ii. of Romanin. The original is in the Library of St. Mark. Cecchetti (*Il Doge di Venezia*, p. 111) says that Romanin's edition is "*con molte abbreviazioni.*"

Emperor Frederic II. That reign was long ; he had succeeded to the kingdom of Sicily when a child, three years old, in 1197. His mother, left a widow, had placed him under the guardianship of the great Pope, Innocent III. His kingdom of Sicily paid tribute to the Holy See, and Innocent claimed to be feudal lord paramount. But the marriage of the heiress of Sicily and Apulia with the son and heir of Frederic Barbarossa had from the first been alarming to the Popes ; and they felt, now that the crowns of Germany and Sicily were worn by a young and able prince, who in 1220 was elected Roman Emperor, that the territory they professed to have derived either from Constantine's donation or the Countess Matilda's bequest, was in danger of being crushed by its mighty neighbour, seated on both its northern and its southern frontiers. From his childhood Frederic had known too well the ambition and intrigue of the Papal Court, and during his youth causes of quarrel had accumulated. Besides the jealousy that had always subsisted between the Popes and the house of Suabia, and the impatience of the control of a priest sure to be felt by the young heir of so great an inheritance as the Sicilian kingdom, there were other causes of alienation, in particular the numbers and wealth of the Saracens in Sicily, which caused it to be looked on as hardly a Christian land, and the favour Frederic showed to his loyal Saracen subjects. He found it convenient to place Saracen garrisons, men who cared nothing for Papal anathemas, at Nocera and Capua, near the Papal frontiers. He was accused by the Pope of allowing, and himself practising, the vices of the Saracens in his luxurious court at Palermo. This suspicion of laxity was strengthened by the readiness with which, when forced reluctantly to undertake a Crusade, he had obtained the temporary surrender of Jerusalem by negotiation with the Sultan of Egypt rather than by the sword. His short-lived sojourn in the Holy City, warranting him in taking the title of the King of Jerusalem, which he had



assumed on his marriage, added to his prestige and increased the suspicion with which the Pope regarded him. Gregory IX., as saintly and austere as Innocent III., and with as overweening a sense of the claims of his office, found himself confronted by an Emperor brilliant and intelligent, loving the beautiful world in which he found himself, full of the joy of life, and believing in the high claims of the Empire, as fervently as the Pope did in those of the Church, of Rome. With Gregory IX. and Frederic II. began the long struggle between Christian tradition and the Renaissance; and as in the time of Frederic Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III., the contest of Emperor and Pope became the most significant feature in the aspect of the times.

As in those days too, the cities of Lombardy, keen in maintaining and extending their liberties and loyal to the Church, submitted reluctantly to the old and burdensome prerogatives of the Emperor, and their disaffection was secretly encouraged by the Pope. The factions of Pope and Emperor, Guelf and Ghibelline<sup>1</sup> could there be easily fanned into a flame. Venice could not but be affected by the civil strife of Lombardy: she was, as in the days of Frederic Barbarossa, not a violent partisan, but inclined to the Guelf side;<sup>2</sup> and at the time of the renewal of the strife under Frederic II., the chief representatives of the

<sup>1</sup> As to these names, first brought into Italy about the year 1200, though they had been known earlier in Germany, there is an excellent summary of our knowledge in Hallam's "Middle Ages," i. p. 366 (2nd ed. 1819).

<sup>2</sup> Dandolo says (x. iv. 39; Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 343), that "Frederic after his mother's death, led astray by unjust advisers, began to oppress the kingdom (*i.e.* Apulia and Sicily), and to reduce the Church into servitude, and collected in one city, Nocera, the Saracens who were dispersed through the kingdom." Da Canale (c. lxxxvi. p. 368, *A. S. I.*, i. viii.) says: "I would have you know that my lord the doge took the part of the Apostle; and for this reason there made war on Venice a great part of the Lombards, Cremona and Verona, the Paduans and Ferrarese and Trevisans." He goes on to speak of the fighting about Ferrara in 1240.

imperial cause were her near neighbours in Verona, Padua, and the March of Treviso, and eminently unquiet and dangerous neighbours.

The first mention in Dandolo's chronicle of a renewal of trouble on the Venetian frontier is dated in the seventeenth year of Pietro's Ziani's government, *i.e.* in 1222, two years after the Emperor Frederic had come to Italy to be crowned at Rome by Pope Honorius.<sup>1</sup> I have already referred to the events in Padua and Treviso that occurred at this time. There had been much fighting in those parts ever since. I will first quote the incidental references to this in Dandolo's chronicle: "In the nineteenth year of Doge Pietro Ziani (*i.e.* A.D. 1224), Azzo, Marquis of Este, with the Count of San Bonifacio and the Veronese and Mantuans, besiege Salinguerra in Ferrara, who persuaded the count to come in to the city and then detained him there. By this means the siege was raised, but the count remained in chains till peace was made."<sup>2</sup> In the next year (1225) "many nobles of the party of the Count of San Bonifacio are bribed by Salinguerra, and expel the count from Verona. Then Ezelin first began to be lord in Verona. The Mantuans received the count, and were at war with Ezelin till the Rectors of Lombardy mediated peace."<sup>3</sup> In the fourth year of Doge Giacomo Tiepolo (1233) "the Emperor Frederic comes to Venice: he reconciles the Patriarch of Aquileia with Ezelin and endeavours to obtain Treviso; but Pietro Tiepolo, the doge's son, who was podestà there, opposing him, he is unable to prevail, and retreats by Friuli into Germany."<sup>4</sup> In 1237 "the Marquis of Este and the Paduans prepare an army, and Ezelin and the Veronese send for the Emperor, who was in Lombardy. He comes suddenly to their help and burns Vicenza on All Saints'

<sup>1</sup> Dand., x. iv. 36.                   <sup>2</sup> x. 4, 38 (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 343).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, x. 4, 41 (Mur., *u.s.*, c. 344).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, x. 5, 7 (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 347).

Day.”<sup>1</sup> In 1239: “Frederic, coming to Padua, oppresses some partisans of the Church on the frontiers of the Venetians, who fortify and garrison wooden forts<sup>2</sup> in the lagoons. Vezelay da Camino and Alberic da Romano are persuaded by the Venetians to rout at Treviso Giacomo da Mora, who was for the Emperor and Ezelin. The Marquis of Este and his friends desert the Emperor, now that he is on Ezelin’s side. The Emperor, having to hurry into Apulia, leaves Tibaldo Francesco as Podestà of Padua and Vicar of the whole March, but under Ezelin’s orders. The marquis recovered the Tower of Este and other places, and a dangerous war breaks out over all the March.”<sup>3</sup> “In the twelfth year of Giacomo Tiepolo” (1240-41) “Gregory of Montelungo, the Pope’s legate in Lombardy, with a great army, chiefly consisting of Venetians under Stefano Baduario, attacks Ferrara, which was held by Salinguerra for the Emperor. He had failed in frequent attacks, and welcomed help from the doge. They renew the war in alliance, and strike terror into the inhabitants of Ferrara. Salinguerra is induced by the treachery of Hugo de Rambertis to come to the camp, and the legate won Ferrara under colour of a disgraceful peace. The doge, returning to Venice, took with him the octogenarian Salinguerra. Stefano Baduario is made Podestà of Ferrara, and many immunities there granted to the Venetians. Salinguerra, exhausted by sorrow, soon died, and is buried at San Nicolo on the Lido.”<sup>4</sup>

The above passages give us a succinct account of much of the warfare that went on in the reign of Frederic II. in the Eastern Marches of Lombardy, and a list of the *dramatis personæ*. Those wars and those persons are the

<sup>1</sup> Dand., x. 5, 15 (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 349).

<sup>2</sup> “Palatas,” which Ducange explains as “*loci in æstuariis Venetis palis inclusi*.”

<sup>3</sup> Dand., x. 5, 22 (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 351).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, x. 5, 25 (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. cc. 351, 352).

subject of a work of genius of our own day, which may be said to illustrate, but certainly not to elucidate them—Browning's "Sordello." It may be worth while to spend a little space in such descriptions of the persons mentioned by Dandolo as will throw light on this confused period of history, and at the same time solve some of the riddles that most people find in the poem of "Sordello."

Azzo VII., Marquis of Este, was the most considerable potentate in the north-east of Italy. His race boasted a legendary antiquity—"Atii at Rome, while free and consular; Este at Padua, who repulsed the Hun." His ancestor, Alberto Azzo II., who died at the age of 101 in 1097, had been instrumental, in conjunction with the great Countess Matilda, in bringing about a reconciliation between the Emperor Henry IV. and Pope Gregory VII.—that is, in inducing Henry to submit to the Pontiff. He is called Marquis of Italy, Marquis of Genoa, Marquis of Lombardy, and his lands were said to extend almost from the Tyrhenian Sea to the Adriatic.<sup>1</sup> His family was of German origin, and he had married as his first wife Cunigunda, of the great family of Guelf, who inherited from her brother the patrimony of the Dukes of Carinthia. The Dukes of Carinthia had been also rulers of the March of Verona or Treviso, and so neighbours of the Estes. A son of Alberto Azzo, named Guelf, became Duke of Bavaria, and ancestor of the Guelfs of Brunswick and Great Britain; and a grandson, also named Guelf, was married to the Countess Matilda. This marriage was soon dissolved; but though there was no issue from it, a clause in the marriage treaty caused some of the vast possessions of the lady eventually to pass to her husband's younger brother, Folco; and thus Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio began their long connection with the house of Este. The inheritance of the Dukes of Carinthia probably gave them the wide domains on either bank of the Po, the centre of which was the Castle of

<sup>1</sup> Leibnitz, *Script. Rerum Brunswic.*, vol. i., Intr., p. a. 2.

Rocca d'Este, on the site of the fourteenth-century tower that now dominates the town of Este. A family nearly allied to the Guelfs of Germany, and so closely connected with the Countess Matilda, was naturally the head of the Guelf faction in the circle of Verona, when that and the rival faction began to divide the Lombard cities. It was said that in those parts it was the same thing to say the party of the Marquis or the Guelf faction.<sup>1</sup> In 1215 Azzo VII., called Novello, *i.e.* the younger, succeeded his brother, Aldobrandino, as marquis. He was then quite a young man,<sup>2</sup> and for nearly fifty years he played a great part in North Italy.

The leader of the opposite faction in the March of Verona was not of so great a family as the Marquis of Este. He was one of the lesser feudatories whom Muratori calls "rural counts," who were often put in high office by the Emperors. His family derived their name from Romano,<sup>3</sup> near Bassano, lying on the lowest slopes of the Trentine Alps, "in that part of the wicked Italian land that lies between Rialto and the springs of Brenta and of Piava."<sup>4</sup> There the founder of the greatness of the family, Ecelo, son of Arpo, a soldier who came from Germany in the army of Conrad the Salian in 1036, established himself. His grandson,<sup>5</sup> Ecelino, surnamed Il Balbo, the Stammerer, married his son, Ecelino, to Agnes, sister of the then Marquis of Este, and his daughter, Cunizza, to a member

<sup>1</sup> Mur., *Antichità Estensi*, ii. p. 1. Este held the March of Ancona by a grant from Pope Honorius III., and was thus Marquis of Este and Ancona, and also the leading Guelf in the March of Treviso or Verona.

<sup>2</sup> "Adhuc etate juvenis, set prudentia et probitate maturus" (Roland, *Patav. ap. Pertz*, SS., xix. p. 48).

<sup>3</sup> Before the time of Ecelino II. (the Monk) they had taken their title from Onara or Honoria, a place in the Paduan territory, nine miles from Bassano.

<sup>4</sup> Dante, *Parad.*, ix. 25-27.

<sup>5</sup> For the proofs of this see Verci (*Storia degli Ecelini*, i. 12, ed. 1841). The contemporary authority he follows is the history of Gerardus Maurisius, a judge of Vicenza, when under the rule of Ecelin II. and III., and a panegyrist of the family (Mur., *R. I. S.*, viii. c. 9).

of the important Paduan family of Campo Sampiero. Ecelino the younger, after Agnes' death, married three other wives, the last of whom was Aledeita or Adelaide, "the Tuscan," from Mangona near Prato, by whom he had two sons, Ecelino III. and Alberico, and several daughters, of whom much may be read in the lively pages of Rolandino, the "notary of the common seal" of Padua, and something, not altogether authentic in its details, in "Sordello." Ecelino III. is the Eccelin, or Ezzelin, or Azzolino,<sup>1</sup> whose reputation for cruelty is so terrible in Italian history, and whom Dandolo states to have become Lord of Verona in 1225. His father, who had been almost as formidable in his time, "the grisliest nightmare of the Church's dreams," who had "filled with sadness the hamlets nestling on the Tyrol's brow, the Asolan and Euganean hills, the Rhætian and the Julian," building castles on all their ridges, had now retired sick of the world, in which he had prospered so greatly, and was lifting "writhen hands to pray, lost in Oliero's convent," from henceforth to be known in history as "Il Monaco."<sup>2</sup> Ecelino III. was about thirty years old in 1225.

The leaders of the two factions had each a lieutenant in

<sup>1</sup> This is the form of the name in Dante (*Inf.*, xii. 110). It is a diminutive of Azzo, and seems to point to some old connection with the Estes, with whom Azzo was a family name, cherished as a sign that they claimed descent from the Roman *gens Attia* or *Accia*. I do not know that the form Azzolino occurs elsewhere. The modes of spelling proper names in the Middle Ages are capricious. Here we have Ecelino or Eccelino (the usual forms in Italian writers); Ezzelino on a fine medal given by Pompeo Litta (s.v. *Ecelini*, tom. ii.); Ezelin and Ezzelin (common in French and English writers). Byron has an Ezzelin in "Lara." I suspect that Count Hecilinus, who accompanied Otto III. to Italy in 1001 (see my "Early History of Venice," p. 187, n. 3), was a namesake.

<sup>2</sup> See the eloquent passage in "Sordello," i. 239-91. Oliero is in the Val Sugana, on the carriage-road from Trent to Bassano. Ecelin the Monk was supposed to be a Paulician or Paterine, and Pope Gregory IX. is said to have suggested to his sons that they should deliver him over to the Inquisition. His monument at Solagna is described in "Sordello," vi. 688-90.

the March of Treviso, whose names occur in the passages I have quoted from Dandolo, and over and over again in "Sordello." Este's lieutenant was Richard, Count of San Bonifacio. His castle was situated on the Alpone, a mountain stream which flows into the Adige not far to the east of Verona,<sup>1</sup> and very near to Arcole, a village to be made famous five centuries later by a victory of Napoleon, and to hand on its name to a bridge in Paris. The Counts of St. Boniface had been leaders of the Guelfs in Verona, the Ghibellines there being led by the Monticuli or Montecchi—whose ruined castles may still be seen as one travels by railway from Verona to Padua—the originals of the Montagues of "Romeo and Juliet." A life of Count Richard, to be found in the eighth volume of Muratori's *Scriptores*, is a record of successive expulsions, first of one, then of the other, faction from Verona. We read in Dandolo, and in the Chronicle of Rolandino, of the count being lured into Ferrara by Salinguerra and detained there,<sup>2</sup> of his exile from Verona in 1225 through the treachery of some of his own party, which first made Ecelin Lord of Verona. Count Richard was the first husband of Cunizza, Ecelin the Monk's daughter, who deserted him for Sordello, the Mantuan troubadour, and who is admitted by Dante, in an unusually indulgent mood, and with an apology to his readers, into the Heaven of Venus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A recent English writer (Mr. Eugene Benson, "Sordello and Cunizza," Dent, 1903) who has visited San Bonifacio, says, "All vestiges of its ancient importance have been destroyed, and there is but the site upon which it stood to assure one of its place."

<sup>2</sup> "Richard, light-hearted as a plunging star,  
Agrees to enter for the kindest ends  
Ferrara, flanked with fifty chosen friends,  
No horse-boy more—

So jogged they on,  
Nor laughed their host too openly: once gone  
Into the trap!"

—"Sordello," i. 174 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Dante, *Parad.*, ix. 32 *sqq.* Cunizza is the prototype of Browning's Palma, her more innocent sister. Cesare de Lollis in his *Vita e Poesie*

The Ghibelline lieutenant was Torello Salinguerra or Salinwerre, of whom also much may be read in "Sordello"; he was an older man than the Marquis Azzo or Ecelino III., and in 1195, when the latter was one year old, was already Podestà of Ferrara; he signs a document of that year "Ego Saliens in guerra, Potestas Ferrarriæ." Though it was unusual for the office of podestà in an Italian town to be held by a citizen, there seems to be no doubt that the Salinguerra family belonged to Ferrara.<sup>1</sup> Torello's father was in 1164 a vassal of the church of Ravenna, but he was himself also a vassal of Este.<sup>2</sup> In 1213 an attempt was made to keep Ferrara at peace by installing the Marquis Aldobrandino and Salinguerra jointly in the office of podestà; but such an experiment was not likely to succeed, and in 1222 the marquis had to leave, and had failed to recover his authority in 1224, when, as we have seen, Count Richard was taken prisoner. Torello meanwhile, "as in wane dwelt at Ferrara,"<sup>3</sup> waiting the Kaiser's coming. Such a rôle did not suit his temper, which resembled that of his ancestor, who, from his dash in warlike enterprises, first earned the surname of "Saliens in Guerra." Torello Salinguerra is the second hero of Browning's poem, the man of action in contrast with Sordello, the man of imagination and brooding ambition, and is, next to his master,

*di Sordello di Goïto* (vol. xi. of Förster's *Romanische Bibliothek*, p. 13, n. 2) quotes from two Provençal lives of Sordello "entendet se in madompne Conisse" and "s'enamoret de la moiller del Comte a forma de solatz," and adds "son l'una e l'altra espressioni che nel linguaggio trovadorico escludono ogni principio di contravvenzione al più innocente platonismo." Dante may have read these lives, and would certainly have understood the delicate shade of meaning conveyed. (See also an article by Fr. Torraca in *Giornale Dantesco*, 1896, iv. p. 10.)

<sup>1</sup> "As his, few names in Mantua half so old;  
But at Ferrara, where his sires enrolled  
It latterly."

—"Sordello," iv. 470-72.

<sup>2</sup> "Vir sapiens et astutus de numero vassallorum Azonis Novelli, Marchionis Estensis" (Roland. *Patav.*).

<sup>3</sup> "Sordello," i. 127 *sqq.*



the Emperor Frederic, the most interesting figure in the history of this stirring time. He was married late in life to another daughter of Ecelino the Monk, who had before been the wife of Henry Count of Egna or Neumarkt in the Trentino, a place well known to modern travellers in the Italian Tirol. In his youth he had been betrothed to Marchesella, a daughter of the Adelardi, the rival family to the Torelli in Ferrara, chief of the Guelfs there as the Torelli of the Ghibellines; but in 1184 the Lord of Ravenna, Traversari, had carried her off from the house of the Torelli and married her by force to Obizzo, the then Marquis of Este. In the feud that followed this the young Salinguerra had had to leave Ferrara, and had spent many years in the Emperor Henry VI.'s court at Palermo,<sup>1</sup> and married there Retrude "of Heinrich's very blood."

The Emperor Frederic's arrival in Lombardy, for which Salinguerra waited, was long delayed. In 1228-29 he was engaged in his Crusade, and, for some time after his return to Europe, was occupied in putting down a revolt of his son Henry in Germany. At first all the nobles in North Italy, the Marquis of Este and the Count of St. Boniface, as much as the Romano family and Salinguerra, considered themselves his loyal subjects; but the saying I have quoted from Dandolo, that the Marquis of Este and his friends deserted the Emperor, when they found that he was on Ecelino's side, is very significant: the local feuds were what really moved men's passions, which were but moderately excited by the questions at issue between Pope and Emperor. And these feuds never ceased for long, though after Frederic's return from Palestine there was for three years (1230-33) peace between him and the Pope, and Rolandino of Padua in a remarkable passage<sup>2</sup> notices the unexampled

<sup>1</sup> There is a fine romantic account of all this in "Sordello," iv. 469 *sqq.* Browning invented, I think, the story that Sordello the troubadour was really a son of Salinguerra and Retrude (see "Sordello," vi. 673-81).

<sup>2</sup> *Apud* Pertz SS., xix. p. 55, "*Nulla fuit terrarum predacio, nulla hostium incurtio vel insultus—set bonorum omnium copia; tantum*

tranquillity that prevailed in the March of Verona in 1230. In 1233 a zealous effort to reconcile the factions was made by John of Vicenza, a Dominican friar, whose eloquence and reputation for sanctity gave him great influence in the March. We have several accounts of a meeting he assembled at Paquara, in a meadow by the Adige a few miles below Verona, at which the biographer of Richard of St. Boniface<sup>1</sup> tells us that even Ecelino was moved to tears by the friar's exhortations. The Rectors of Lombardy, that is, the governing body of the Lombard League, had also tried to mediate, and had succeeded in 1231 in inducing Ecelino and Salinguerra to release Richard of St. Boniface,<sup>2</sup> who had been taken prisoner more than a year before in a fight in the streets of Verona.

The Emperor, as we learn from Dandolo<sup>3</sup> and from the monk of Padua,<sup>4</sup> came in 1232 to Venice, being driven in by adverse winds on a voyage from Apulia to Istria; and at Venice brought about a treaty between Ecelino and the Patriarch of Aquileia, and endeavoured to gain over Treviso to the imperial cause, but was frustrated in this by Pietro Tiepolo, the doge's son, who was then podestà of that city. One important object for the Emperor was to keep open the communication between his German and Italian dominions through the March of Friuli, and for this the neutrality of Venice and Aquileia was essential. He was, therefore, at this time bent on conciliating Venice. He granted privileges to Venetian settlers in Sicily and

*gaudium et læticia inter gentes, ut a pluribus crederetur quod amodo nulle sediciones esse debeant in Marchia, nulle Werre."*

<sup>1</sup> Muratori, *R. I. S.*, viii. col. 128. Rolandino, who was also present, describes the friar standing on a heap of timber 60 cubits high, preaching on the text, "*Pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis*" (Muratori, *R. I. S.*, viii. c. 204).

<sup>2</sup> *Monachi Paduani Chron.* in Mur., *R. I. S.*, viii. c. 674. Count Richard was twice taken prisoner, once at Ferrara in 1224, as we have seen (*ante*, pp. 70, 75), and again at Verona in 1230. (See Roland., *Patav.*, *apud* Pertz SS., xix. p. 56.)

<sup>3</sup> Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 347.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, viii. c. 674.

exemption from customs duties to Venetian traders both there and in Apulia. But we are told that Venice grew less friendly to the Emperor after his visit. She suspected that the favours he granted were intended to alienate her from the Lombard cities, and her statesmen saw clearly, as did the Pope, that, if those cities were crushed, neither the Island Republic nor the Church would be safe. So Venice began gradually to help the Lombard cities in any unostentatious way open to her. One of these ways was the sending of able Venetian statesmen as *podestàs* to Lombard cities. A *podestà* was properly a foreigner, and as such impartial between native factions. And no foreigner in Lombardy was so likely to be impartial as a citizen of the Republic that had always belonged to the Eastern more than to the Western world, in which feudalism had never taken root, and Guelf and Ghibelline were unfamiliar names, and men's minds were more fixed on sea-trade than on the relations of Church and Empire.<sup>1</sup> Venice was also open as a place of refuge for subjects of Frederic who got into trouble with his government, and she readily undertook to make peace between Padua and Treviso in 1234.<sup>2</sup>

When the Emperor next returned to Lombardy in 1236, Venice openly joined the League, and Venetian troops took part in an attack on Verona made by the Guelf cities. Frederic avenged this by falling on Vicenza and burning it, a punishment that roused rather than intimidated the neighbouring cities. Renier Zeno, a Venetian, afterwards doge, who was at this time *Podestà* of Piacenza, was zealous in extending the League. Yet Frederic, though in the winter of 1236-37 his power was steadily increasing, would not be provoked to break with Venice. The cities of the March of Verona were still allowed to trade with her, and her breaches of neutrality were overlooked. In July 1237, when the Rectors of the League met Frederic's

<sup>1</sup> Baer, *Die Beziehungen Venedigs zum Kaiserreiche*, &c., pp. 86 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 96, n. 3.

ambassadors at Fiorenzuola and were prepared to submit, as the Marquis of Este, and Padua and Treviso had done, the Doge of Venice interfered. Frederic had insisted on the removal of Renier Zeno from Piacenza, but Zeno, by the express order of the doge, hurried back and made the citizens swear not to receive the Emperor's podestà, and demanded that no terms of peace between the Emperor and Lombards should be agreed to, to which the Venetians were not parties.<sup>1</sup>

There had been times in which a Roman Emperor, from his lofty position as God's vicegerent upon earth, could awe contending factions into peace; but the present was not such a time. Frederic was looked upon by both parties as merely a new partisan arrived to support Ecelin and the Ghibellines. The enmity of the Pope, who had invaded the lands of the Empire with fire and sword, the arms of this world, and had attacked the Emperor himself with the spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict, had done much to soil the religious vesture in which the piety of ages had clothed the earthly head of the Holy Roman Empire. No Guelf city scrupled at resisting him. Even though, in 1237, Frederic returned across the Alps, and summoned to him from Apulia 10,000 Saracens to operate in Lombardy, by whose aid he defeated the Milanese in a great battle at Corte-nuova on the Oglio, the resistance continued. After Corte-nuova only four cities—Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, and Bologna—remained in the League. Brescia stood a long siege, which the Emperor was forced to raise in October 1238. And about the same time both Venice and the Pope declared openly for the Lombards. Venice was provoked beyond endurance by the treatment that Pietro Tiepolo, a son of the doge, who was Podestà of Milan, received when taken prisoner at Corte-nuova. He was led in triumph on an elephant, bound to the captive Carroccio of Milan, and afterwards, it was said, put

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Placent. Ghib.* in Pertz SS., xviii. p. 476.

to death by the Emperor's orders.<sup>1</sup> The Pope also again excommunicated Frederic, and this had the effect of finally detaching powerful Guelfs, like Este and St. Boniface, from the imperial cause.

Pope Gregory died in 1241, but when in 1243 Innocent IV. was elected his successor, it was found that Frederic had a still more powerful enemy to contend with. Innocent belonged to the great Genoese family of Fieschi, and had powerful connexions on the northern side of the Apennines who could give the Emperor trouble in Lombardy. He also succeeded in assembling a council at Lyons under the protection of St. Louis, and obtaining from it a condemnation of the Emperor and a solemn decree releasing his subjects from their allegiance, and ordering the electors to choose another Emperor. These measures had their effect in alienating more of the Emperor's adherents, while his own temper grew suspicious and cruel, and the terrible cruelties of Ecelino, who was now omnipotent in the Marches, made the cause he supported hateful throughout Lombardy. In 1247 Parma, where some of the friends of the Pope were powerful, revolted against the Emperor, who besieged it with the troops of the Lombard Ghibellines, with Saracens from Apulia, and with Paduans, Vicentines, and Veronese, forced to fight under Ecelino's banners. The militia of Milan and the Guelf cities, with the Guelf exiles from Ghibelline cities, flocked into Parma, and the siege lasted till February 1248, when the Emperor's camp was stormed in a sortie of the garrison, and he was forced to abandon his enterprise. This great Guelf success encouraged the Pope's legate to call for a general muster of Guelf forces in Lombardy. Bologna, a rich and important city, became now the leader of the revolt; and Hensius, King of Sardinia, a natural son of Frederic, whom he had left behind as Imperial Vicar in Lombardy when he himself

<sup>1</sup> He was not hung till November 1240 at Trani, when Venice was openly at war with the Emperor (Baer, *u.s.*, p. 115).

retired to Sicily, was defeated and taken prisoner in a great battle at Fossalta in May 1249. Frederic did not lose courage, but struggled hard to maintain his son Conrad against enemies stirred up by the Pope in Germany, and to aid St. Louis in his Crusade. He succeeded in winning the confidence and affection of the royal saint, but whether, with his countenance, he could have held his ground against the organised enmity of the Church was never proved, for before the end of 1250 he died, worn-out at the age of fifty-six by a life of strenuous bodily and mental energy, and by repeated and increasing disappointments.

During the years between 1238 and 1245 the attitude of Venice towards the Emperor had gradually changed from benevolent neutrality to open hostility. The Pope had actively promoted this change. In the winter of 1238-39 he induced the two maritime Republics, Genoa and Venice, to join in a defensive alliance. So friendly did they become that the ships of each Republic carried the flags of both, one on the starboard, the other on the port side. The treaty was signed in a room of the Pope's Lateran Palace,<sup>1</sup> and Gregory was constant in his efforts to convert the defensive alliance into an offensive one, directed against Frederic's Sicilian and Apulian dominions. This he effected in September 1239, when Venice and Genoa promised each to fit out twenty-five galleys for an attack on Sicily, the Pope guaranteeing half the cost of the expedition, and promising to the Venetians Barletta and Salpi in Apulia, to the Genoese Syracuse, in the event of a conquest. Venice entered into these engagements with manifest reluctance, and their execution was delayed.<sup>2</sup> The Emperor showed his power to retaliate. He forbade his subjects to export their produce to Venice or receive imports from her; he had all the roads watched that led

<sup>1</sup> It is printed in Tafel and Thomas, ii. pp. 342 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Baer, *u.s.*, pp. 106, 108.

to Venice from the Marches of Treviso and Ancona ; but he had to make exceptions in the case of the export—most important to Venice—of corn and cattle from South Italy. He ordered his admiral, Spinola, to stop the Moslem ruler of Tunis from admitting Venetian or Genoese merchants to his ports, and to cut off Venetian merchantmen coming home from the Levant.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1240 a still more threatening attack on Venetian prosperity was made in the shape of an attempt to set up Ferrara as a commercial rival to her. The great fairs held on the banks of the Po under the walls of Ferrara at Easter and Martinmas had grown rapidly in importance, to the detriment of Venetian traders. When Venetian ships attempted to keep merchandise from coming to these fairs by blockading the mouths of the Po, Salinguerra, in the interests of the city he governed as well as in those of his kinsman, Ecelino, and the Emperor, drove them away. His power in the Marches was great ; but the revulsion of feeling in North Italy that arose on the Pope's excommunication of Frederic brought a host of enemies against him. Gregory of Montelungo, the Pope's legate, the cities of the League, Azzo of Este, Traversara of Ravenna, the Count of St. Boniface and Alberic da Romano, who had quarrelled with his brother Ecelino, were gathered together against Ferrara, and encamped under its walls in the meadow where the fairs were held and on the Po embankment. Salinguerra was able to lay the northern suburbs under water ; but a Venetian fleet under Stefano Baduario, which the doge afterwards joined in person, sailed up the Po, and cut off the besieged city from the sea. For four months Salinguerra held out, but, in too great security or magnanimity, let the bishop, who was disaffected to him as the Pope's enemy, leave the city and join the besiegers. He was the means of establishing

<sup>1</sup> Baer, *u.s.*, p. 109. In 1240 three richly laden Venetian ships from the East were taken.

communications between the besiegers and the Pope's friends in the city, and one of the latter, Ugo di Ramperti, persuaded Salinguerra to enter into negotiations and visit the enemy's camp under a promise of safety. The safe conduct was not openly violated, and Salinguerra, after swearing allegiance to the legate—a proceeding which, in view of the legate's religious character, may have been held not inconsistent with allegiance to the Emperor—returned to Ferrara with the leaders of the allies, whom he entertained at a banquet in his palace. At the banquet, Traversara of Ravenna made a speech, bitterly attacking Salinguerra, who defended himself, but was not listened to, was seized, taken on board the doge's state ship, and carried to Venice.<sup>1</sup> He was over eighty years old, but no way broken in mind or body, and he was treated with respect by his captors, who, when he died,<sup>2</sup> decreed him a public funeral, and erected, or allowed his friends to erect, a magnificent monument to him in San Niccolo on the Lido, of which some remains can still be seen.<sup>3</sup>

The Venetians imposed very severe terms on Ferrara; a Ferrarese chronicler laments bitterly the cruelties inflicted

<sup>1</sup> See Browning's "Sordello," vi. 727-55, a highly picturesque passage. Romanin (ii. 232) says Salinguerra was lodged in the Casa Bosio at San Tomà. I have followed the account given by Baer, *l.c.*, p. 112, on the authority of Ricobaldus' Chronicle in Mur., *R. I. S.*, ix. 130. Ricobaldus of Ferrara was a canon of Ravenna at the end of the thirteenth century; therefore very nearly a contemporary.

<sup>2</sup> Rolandino (Pertz, xix. p. 76) says, "*Ubi post aliquot annos debita naturæ persolvit.*" He lived five years after his capture, "*curiali modo et digna reverentia custoditus.*" His son Jacobus or Giacomo was long in the court of Ecelino his uncle at Padua. He had a son, a second Salinguerra, whose descendants separated into several branches at Forlì, Foligno, and other places. The Torelli family was not extinct when Pompeo Litta, in 1844, published their genealogy in his *Celebri Famiglie Italiane*, tom. viii., but was represented by the Poniatowski and other Polish families.

<sup>3</sup> "Sordello and Cunizza," by Eugene Benson, p. 32. The inscription as it was in the time of Emanuele Cicogna is given in his note to par. xcvi, of Martino da Canale's *Cronaca Veneta* in *A. St. Ital.*, i. 8, p. 723.



by the exiles who returned under the protection of Venice.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor was bent on recovering Ferrara, but had first to reduce Ravenna and Faenza; the latter place, under a Venetian podestà, Michele Morosini, made a long and heroic defence. To help in this, Venice was at last induced to undertake the invasion of Apulia, for which the Pope was so anxious, and a fleet under Giovanni Tiepolo, a son of the doge, took Termoli and some other places. It was at this time that the doge's other son, Pietro, was executed,<sup>2</sup> as we have seen, and the hostility between Venice and the Emperor was most embittered. But it diminished again as Frederic's fortunes sank. Ferrara was not reconquered by the imperialists, but passed into the hands of the Marquis of Este, who governed it in a manner friendly to Venice, granting her extensive trading privileges there. When the Council of Lyons met in 1245, and Innocent IV. induced it to depose the Emperor, Frederic again made advances to Venice, by obtaining the release of her ambassadors to the council, who had been taken prisoners by the Count of Savoy on their return. The Venetians, believing that Lombard independence was now secured, did not care to oppose the Emperor more, and made peace with him in August or September of that year. Till his death Venice took no active part in the war.<sup>3</sup> Her statesmen had held, throughout Frederic's reign, that his ideas of increasing his imperial power were dangerous to her. So long as there was a chance of making these effective, she was against him, neutral only when he was

<sup>1</sup> The exiles who returned and enjoyed the possessions of their enemies "*plus carnem defecturam quam animam inordinate amantes, omnia libidini et superbix Venetorum permiserunt injustè*" (*Chron. Parv. Ferrar.* in Mur., *R. I. S.*, viii. c. 485).

<sup>2</sup> According to a passage in Collenuccio's *Storia di Napoli* quoted by Tommaso Gar in a note to Mart. da Canale (*Arch. Stor. Ital.*, i. 8, pp. 723, 724), he was hung on a tower of Trani over the seashore in sight of a Venetian fleet, in revenge for the capture by the Venetians of a large ship with a crew of 1000 men belonging to the Emperor Frederic.

<sup>3</sup> Baer, *u.s.*, pp. 114-18.

held in check without her. This was the policy of all the doges throughout the Hohenstaufen era. The Emperors never claimed that Venice was *de jure* subject to them, never appealed to Venetians as *fideles*. Venetian coins bear the image of no Hohenstaufen Emperor, but from the time of Pietro Polani (1128-48) only that of the doge. And her conduct through Frederic's long struggle with his Italian subjects shows her *de facto* independent of the Empire.<sup>1</sup>

When the Venetians in 1240 did not persevere in their invasion of Apulia, it was partly because their attention was diverted by troubles that the Emperor had helped to stir up in Istria and Dalmatia. Zara in 1242 expelled the Venetian Count, Giovanni Michiel, and asked the King of Hungary for protection. The city was soon retaken by a fleet under Renier Zeno, but the rebels who escaped fitted out ships to plunder Venetian commerce in the Adriatic, and the new Count, Michele Morosini, had to call upon the islands of the Quarnero, Arbe, Cherso, and Veglia, to help him to hold his ground. Venice also sent colonists to Zara, as she had previously done to Crete, to settle on the confiscated lands of the rebels. In 1244 she made a treaty with Hungary, by which the latter undertook not to aid Venetian rebels. Then Zara made overtures for peace, and promised to submit to the count sent from Venice. To strengthen the position of the Republic in the Quarnero, two sons of the doge, Lorenzo and Giovanni, were sent as counts to Veglia and Ossero. Lorenzo was married to a niece of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, John of Brienne, a connexion which added much to his prestige, though it probably could have given him little material help.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baer, *u.s.*, pp. 119, 120.

<sup>2</sup> See Romanin, ii. pp. 235, 236. Pompeo Litta (tom. viii., *s.v.* *Tiepolo*) says that Lorenzo's wife was daughter of Bohemund de Brienne, King of Rascia, a Slavonic district in the south of Bosnia, and brother of the Emperor John de Brienne. The Fourth Crusade had sown all the Balkan Peninsula with petty Frankish princes.

## CHAPTER IV

### GIACOMO TIEPOLO AND VENETIAN LEGISLATION

GIACOMO TIEPOLO was looked back upon in after years as one of the chief Venetian legislators. His Statuto or Code was issued in 1242, and was still in force, Andrea Dandolo tells us, in his time, a hundred years later.<sup>1</sup> It was prepared by a body of four commissioners, one of whom was the Stefano Baduario, whose name has met us already in the account of the Lombard wars. He was chosen, we are told, for his knowledge of the *pratica del foro*, the practice of the courts, his colleagues for their skill in canon law, public law, and jurisprudence respectively.<sup>2</sup> They had a mass of material to work on, some of which has only lately come to light in a MS. discovered by Signor G. Geleich, that had once belonged to the library of the Counts Gozzi of Ragusa, and appears to have been a manual of law for the use of the Venetian governors of Dalmatia, prepared in the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The civil laws contained in this MS. have been printed *in extenso* in the *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* for 1901 and 1902, with a learned preface on ancient Venetian legislation by Signor Enrico Besta, and another specially on the *Statuti Marittimi* of Venice by Signor Adolfo Sacerdoti. It is supposed by the editors of this collection of laws, that the oldest part dates in its present form from the end of

<sup>1</sup> Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 353.

<sup>2</sup> Valsecchi, *Bibliogr. della legislazione della Rep. di V.* in *Archivio Veneto*, ii. pp. 56, 57.

<sup>3</sup> Signor Geleich's paper is reviewed in *Nuovo Arch. Ven.*, for 1892, tom. iv. pt. i.

the twelfth century, when the great Enrico Dandolo was doge. It was not a code drawn up at one date in systematic order, but a collection of decrees or orders made at different times by one or other of the several bodies that had legislative power. These were the Greater Council, the Senate or Pregadi, and probably the Quarantia. In later times the Council of Ten also had this power. The technical word for resolutions adopted by any of these bodies was "Parti" (*partes*).<sup>1</sup> Enrico Dandolo seems to have collected these "Parti," and classified them under the heads of criminal, civil, nautical, &c. We hear of a criminal code or digest drawn up in the time of Aurio Malipiero or Mastropiero, doge from 1178 till 1193, the immediate predecessor of Dandolo, under the name of *Promissione*<sup>2</sup> *del Maleficio*. We are told that Enrico Dandolo remodelled this (*reformavit*), and that his revision, with few additions or corrections, remained in force in the middle of the fourteenth century, when our informer Andrea Dandolo wrote.<sup>3</sup>

The five books of the Statuto of Giacomo Tiepolo relate only to civil matters, not to criminal. They begin with a definition of justice, taken from the first title of the "Institutes" of Justinian, and there are traces in their arrangement

<sup>1</sup> "Parti chiamavansi le deliberazioni prese dai vari Consigli, come il Maggiore, quello dei Pregadi, quello dei X, quello dei XL. Talvolta si diede questo nome anche a determinazioni di alcuni magistrati" (Valsecchi, *u.s.*, p. 393 n.).

<sup>2</sup> This use of *Promissione* is, I think, strictly analogous to that of *Promissione ducale*. The latter was a legal document, borrowed from the prætor's edict in Roman law, by which the prætor entering on office published the rules which he promised to observe in administering justice during his year of office. Each prætor corrected, by his own authority, the rules of his predecessors; at Venice public officers were appointed to revise the *Promissione* for each new doge (*correttori*). The doge's *Promissione* was a promise, to which he was sworn, to govern according to its tenor. The *Promissione del Maleficio* was a promise or intimation to all Venetians, that they would be punished, if they disregarded its rules. It is printed in the second part of *Statutorum ac Venetarum Legum Volumen*, 1729.

<sup>3</sup> Dandolo (*apud* Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 317).

and contents of the influence of that famous Code. Beginning with some provisions as to church property, the first book of the Statuto goes on to deal with the procedure of the courts, judgments and their execution, the dowries of wives and jointures of widows; the second book deals with minors and lunatics, their guardians and curators, in this part keeping close to the "Institutes"; the next book, the third, treats of contracts, partnerships, sale and letting of real property; the fourth of wills, which might be either in writing, and subscribed by a notary, or *per breviarario*, i.e. given *vivâ voce* before witnesses, and afterwards certified by the *Esaminatore*,<sup>1</sup> the magistrate whose duty it was to supervise and register all transfers of property; of intestacies, in which the Roman law was not followed in the case of landed property in the Dogado, which could not devolve on women, though personal property, and land outside the Dogado, might; the fifth book dealt with succession to property outside the Dogado, the duties of the bailo in connexion therewith, and with mortgages and other securities for debts. A curious provision, that savours of very early customs, prescribes that a debtor, who could not pay a judgment debt, should be confined for thirty days to the *Corte* (the "rules of the court"), which meant the *territorio*<sup>2</sup> of San Marco, and might not cross a bridge out of it on pain of imprisonment; at the end of the thirty days, if still unable to pay, the debtor was to be committed for thirty days—if a man, to prison, if a woman, to the palace

<sup>1</sup> The office of "Examiner" was established by a decree of Rainiero Dandolo, acting as doge in the absence of his father Enrico at Constantinople. And. Dandolo (x. iii. 44; Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 332) speaks of the "Examinatores" as a new class of judges appointed "*pro breviorum examinatione*."

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the famous contemporary account of the election of Domenico Silvio as doge in 1071 printed in Gallicciolli (vi. 124, 126, No. 1931), that each church in Venice, whether a *Parrocchia* or not, had a *territorio* or *contrada* attached to it. San Marco, as the doge's chapel, and San Zaccaria and San Lorenzo, as monastic, would not be parish churches, but would have each a *territorio*.

or to a cell in the monastery of San Zaccaria or San Lorenzo, to the precincts of which monasteries, instead of those of San Marco, she was confined during the first thirty days.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the imprisonment the debtor had to declare on oath the amount of his property, which was confiscated to the creditor, and, if this was not sufficient to discharge the debt, to give a lien on a third part of his or her future earnings, till the whole should be paid.

A great part of the Statuto of Giacomo Tiepolo is identical with what we find in that lately printed in the *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, which probably, as we have seen, is to be ascribed to Enrico Dandolo; other parts differ both in substance and in arrangement. A great part of the laws are concerned with technicalities of procedure, such as the service of the summons on the parties and on the witnesses, the places where a suit can be tried or a judgment given, the times and hours at which the judges have to attend,<sup>2</sup> for what functions the services of a notary are required, &c. We have fortunately an almost contemporary treatise on the customary law of Venice, Jacobus Bertaldus' *Splendor*

<sup>1</sup> "*Ipsa stabit in Territorio Sancti Zachariæ vel Sancti Laurentii, ita ut Pontem non transeat, et loco Carceris stabit in Camera dictorum Monasteriorum vel Palatii.*" *Nov. Ven. Stat.* (1729), lib. i. cap. 51, pp. 23, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Bertaldus (*v. infra*), pp. 117, 118, says of trials where the summons was by *bina contestatio*: "*Et nota termini harum binarum solebant antiquitus præfigi ad muduam, seu per muduam pasce domini, seu aliam muduam ymberni. Mudua pasce tenebat a kallendis Marcii usque ad kallendas iullii, et mudua ymberni a kallendis septembris usque ad kallendas ianuarii, ita quod iullius, augustus, ianuarus et februarius non erant in muduis, sed tantum reliqui octo menses.*" *Mudua*, of which I can find no explanation in any book of reference, would appear from this passage to mean "term-time." *Ymberni*, I have no doubt, is *hiberni*. If this is so, the Venetian lawyers will have had nearly as long a vacation as ours. It seems probable that there is some connexion between *mudua* and *muda*, which is not uncommonly used for "*le spedizioni delle flotte armate in mercanzia, unite in carovane (squadre) di otto o dieci galee*" (Molmenti, *St. di Ven. nella vita privata*, vol. i. p. 142). This *muda* may be the same word as *muta* (= French *meute*), a pack or flock of beasts or birds. I discuss the meaning of this mysterious word in an *Excursus*, p. 580, *post*.

*Venetorum civitatis consuetudinum*, written in 1311-12, which gives us in a graphic and lively style a description of the several courts in their actual operation in the doge's palace.<sup>1</sup> It deals principally with customs, which Bertaldus looks upon as the remnants of the customary law of the good old times of their forefathers, "who lived pure lives, full of charity and mutual affection," other parts of which had been enacted as statutes by the doge and his councils with the assent (*laudatio*) of the whole people. A custom could not prevail against a Statutum, nor against a resolution (*consilium captum*) of the Great Council; but Bertaldus evidently in his heart loves the customs, whose "splendour" he celebrates, better than any more formal instrument.<sup>2</sup>

A court could be held anywhere to try a lawsuit (*placitum*), but judgment could be given only in the doge's palace.<sup>3</sup> If the suit required to be heard by an ordinary (*in ordine*) customary court,<sup>4</sup> the plaintiff and defendant must be present with one advocate at least, but not more than two, for each party; there must be not fewer than two or more than three judges, and one or both of the sworn notaries of the court. For a *placitum* that did not require a court *in*

<sup>1</sup> It has been edited by Schupfer in a handsome folio form in vol. iii. of the *Bibliotheca Juridica Medii Ævi*, 1901. The author describes himself as having been formerly "Cancellarius ducalis Aulae," and since Bishop of Vegla (the island of Veglia in the Quarnero). He speaks of Marinus Georgio (Marin Zorzi) as reigning doge, which would make its date 1311 or 1312 and not 1245 as stated in the Prologue. We learn from Farlati (*Illyricum Sacrum*, v. p. 303, 1) that Jacobus Bertaldus was Bishop of Veglia from 1311 to 1315, so that there must be some mistake in the date 1245. Bertaldus died at Venice, and is buried in San Pantaleone, where there is an inscription to him in very bad hexameters.

<sup>2</sup> "*Via iustitiae habet in civitate tua Rivaltina duplicem tramitem: unum per Statutum, quod est ius scriptum, alterum per consuetudinem, quod est ius non scriptum*" (p. 100 in Schupfer).

<sup>3</sup> Bertaldus (ed. Schupfer) p. 107. The *Curia de proprio*, with which Bertaldus' treatise is mainly concerned, was so called, because it had jurisdiction in all cases affecting real property (*proprium* or *immobile*), but it had also criminal jurisdiction, and in the exercise of this was called *lex* (*ib.* p. 103).

<sup>4</sup> "*In ordine de consuetudine*" (*ib.* p. 106).

*ordine*, it was only necessary that the judges with one notary, or in some cases one chancellor, should be present. The judges were required to hear mass in St. Mark's at early morning (*summo mane*), and as soon as ever mass was over they were to go into court (no doubt usually in the palace), and take their seats on the lower bench, on which, so long as the "officer's bell" was ringing, they heard certain specified cases, especially any questions relating to the summons of parties or witnesses. In most cases the summons would have required these to be present "*ante terciam Sancti Marci*," at which time the court ordinarily adjourned for the day. I presume this means before nine o'clock struck by the bell of St. Mark's; but for those who had to come from the more distant parts of the Dogado any later time up to vespers at St. Mark's could be fixed in the summons. When the officer's bell ceased to ring,<sup>1</sup> the judges moved up to the upper bench, where they heard all causes that required the presence of the doge. The doge had in all cases to be present when judgment was given, but did not give judgment himself, and after sentence had been passed in a criminal case, no further business could be taken that day. The record of any decision, whether in a civil or criminal case, appears to have been called *breviarium*, and to have been made by the notary and confirmed by the oath of two witnesses, who heard the decision given.

The summons to the parties, and to witnesses, in all cases where they resided in the city, or any of the islands from Grado to Cavarzere, had to be served by one of the inferior officers<sup>2</sup> of the doge in person. If the person to

<sup>1</sup> In their oath on assuming office, the doge's counsellors promise not to fail to appear at the council room at the ringing of the bell of San Marco (Roman., ii. p. 218).

<sup>2</sup> The generic name of these officers seems to be *ministeriales*. For the particular duty of serving summonses, their title was *præcones*, or perhaps *riparii*, when they executed their office elsewhere than in Rialto. The term *gastaldi* or *gastaldiones* seems to have been usually restricted to the doge's representatives in the Communes of the Dogado. See *Nuovo Arch. Ven.* 1901, p. 32.



be summoned was in prison, he was brought out by the gaoler and, after service of the summons, was sent back to prison: if he was sick, the officer must still serve the summons upon him, but he could be exempted from appearing. The summoning officer was furnished by the doge with a baton thicker at one end than the other,<sup>1</sup> like a policeman's truncheon, but must not serve the summons noisily or violently, but courteously, and, if the person to be summoned was found in company with others, he was to be taken aside, and the service effected privately.<sup>2</sup>

All cases concerning the guardianship of minors, or where any one applied to take the place of an executor refusing to act,<sup>3</sup> were heard in the court of the procurators of St. Mark, who had a right to be summoned as if they had been parties. Most cases affecting the clergy were tried in the Church courts, but by a special privilege granted by the Church to Venice, the rights of churches or monasteries to real property on the islands, or those of any ecclesiastical person to his patrimony there, were tried by the secular courts, and this was believed to be founded on the consideration that the soil of the islands was no part of God's earth, but the creation of the original owner, who had built it up from under the water, and whose rights as creator had descended to his successors in title.<sup>4</sup> Bertaldus adds, that in these cases the secular courts were supposed to act as trustees for the interests of all parties.

Where a party or a witness could not be found, or where, as in the case of the court dividing the property of an intestate, it was uncertain what persons were interested, and more generally, after any alienation of property where it was necessary to warn any person, who might be interested, of

<sup>1</sup> "*Grossus ab uno capite et ab alio subtilis.*"

<sup>2</sup> Bertaldus, *u.s.*, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> The person who then took the place of executor was called *furnitor*.

<sup>4</sup> Bertaldus, *u.s.*, p. 112. He refers to the Statuto of Tiepolo, i. 70, but neither there nor elsewhere in the Statuto can I find any provision as to jurisdiction over churchmen.

what was being done, a public proclamation by the voice of the *præco* or crier took the place of individual service of the summons. This proclamation was called *stridor*, and was made, according to circumstances, at the porphyry column (*pietra del bando*) in the south-west front of St. Mark's, at the landing-place on the Molo (*ad scalas Sti. Marci*, or *Rivoalti*), or at the parish church, or the house of the person to be affected with notice (*stridandus*).<sup>1</sup>

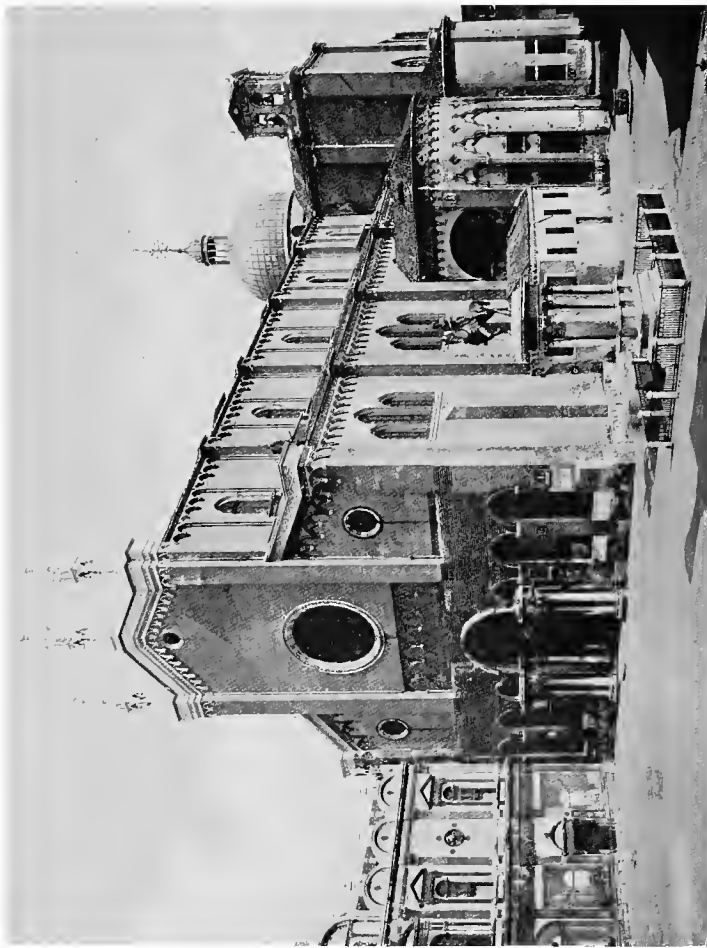
There is much also that is interesting in the Statuto of Giacomo Tiepolo, and in the treatise of Bertaldus, as throwing light on the daily life of the Venetians of the thirteenth century. But it hardly falls within the province of an historian of Venice to enter into the minutiae of the legal system prevailing there.<sup>2</sup>

One point that cannot but strike us in the Venetian laws, whether civil or criminal, is the weight that is allowed to the oaths of interested parties, where other evidence cannot be got. In the thirteenth century, men really believed that God intervened in the affairs of this world, and that the punishment of a perjurer could be left to Him. In the *Promissione del Maleficio*, provision is made for the punishment of a witness refusing to swear, and for a particular case of perjury—that of selling a ship that the owner

<sup>1</sup> Bertaldus, *u.s.*, pp. 112-15, for all senses of *stridor*. If a defendant did not appear in court on the day for which he was summoned, "*ante tertiam Sti. Marci*," he was "*stridatus publicè*" in court by an advocator qualified to plead before the court or by the plaintiff. For subjects of Venice living outside the Dogado, there was another mode of service provided called "*per binam contestationem*." In this case, if I understand the matter rightly, the bailo or consul representing Venice in the place in question gave the person to be summoned a *cedula* or statement of the claim made upon him and of the documents on which it rested. This in most places required to be sealed with the doge's "*bullæ plumbeæ*," but not in Padua, Ferrara, or Treviso.

<sup>2</sup> The Statuto of Giacomo Tiepolo is printed with many later laws in *Novissimum Statutorum Venetorum ac Venetarum Legum Volumen*, printed at Venice in 1729. The Statuto is given in Latin and (slightly Venetian) Italian, and in both is very incorrectly printed. The sixth book of the Statuto belongs to Andrea Dandolo's time, a century later.





*Photo : A. Inari*

SANTI GIOVANNI E PAOLO

had sworn that he would not sell—but there is no general provision for punishing perjury.<sup>1</sup>

The government of Giacomo Tiepolo was illustrated by the foundation of a church and monastery for each of the two great orders that were started at the beginning of the century by St. Dominic and St. Francis. An old Dominican tradition related that in 1217 St. Dominic came from Toulouse to Venice, and was granted the Oratory of San Daniele, which was afterwards called that of San Domenico, and in 1567 had become the Chapel of the Rosary. This is probably not authentic, as Andrea Dandolo, who frequently mentions St. Dominic in his Chronicle, says nothing of a visit to Venice. In 1221 the saint died at the convent of St. Maria del Monte, outside Bologna, the city in which he is buried, in one of the most magnificent of Dominican churches, under a glorious shrine, the work of Niccolò da Pisa, over the altar of which is now a fresco of the glories of Paradise, one of the finest works of Guido Reni. There was a Prior of the Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, at Venice in 1226; and in 1234 the doge granted to them a piece of marshy land<sup>2</sup> on the confines of the parishes of Sta. Maria Formosa and Sta. Martina, on which to build a church and convent. The Friars had already a small oratory on the site, and the present magnificent church was begun as soon as the land was granted them. The doge chose his place of burial there; many in those days desired their bones to be laid in the churches of the Friars, from the same feelings by which those were actuated who, “dying, put on the weeds of Dominic, or in Franciscan think to pass disguis’d.” The memorial to him now to be seen on the façade of the church, between the school of St. Mark and the statue of Colleoni, was not put up till the church was finished, well on in the fourteenth century, and the inscription on it

<sup>1</sup> *Promiss. de Malef.*, cc. xxi. and xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> “*Anplum terræ spaciū aquā superlabente.*”

commemorated not only the doge under whom the church was founded, but his son Lorenzo, who was elected doge in 1268, and died in 1273, celebrating in rather lame hexameters<sup>1</sup> the donation of the site by the father, his fixing of the laws of the city, his conquest of Zara, his dyeing of the waves with blood of Greeks, and the son's acceptance of the Istrians' submission, and subjection of Bologna and Cervia. A carving on the sarcophagus of birds flying and angels swinging censers refers to the legend, not mentioned by Dandolo or any earlier authority, that the doge was led to grant the site by a vision, in which he saw the little oratory of San Daniele full of flowers, and white doves with golden crosses on their heads flying to it, while two angels with thuribles incensed the area, and a voice proclaimed, "Here is the place I have chosen for my Preachers."

The church was dedicated not to St. Dominic, but to John and Paul, two obscure Christian soldiers, said to have suffered martyrdom under Julian the Apostate. In a church dedicated to them at Rome the Dominicans who came to Venice had first been settled. They were to have brought with them from Rome some of the relics of the two martyrs, but it was apparently not till more than 400 years later, in 1661, that the relics—the arm bones of the saints—were, through the friendship of the Venetian ambassador at Rome, with Cardinal Borromeo, titular of the church of SS. John and Paul, and the General of the Gesuati, to whom that church then belonged, brought to Venice, and enclosed in cases of crystal intersected with silver that two angels in Parian marble on either side of the altar held up.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The version of these given in Sanudo's *Vite de' Duchi* (Mur. xxii. c. 554) is better than that of Flaminio Cornaro.

<sup>2</sup> Flaminio Cornaro, *Eccl. Ven. Dec.*, xi. pt. i. pp. 235 *sqq.* and 263–66. There was another John the Martyr, who suffered in Diocletian's persecution at Cæsarea, whose body, according to Dandolo (x. 4, 27; Mur., *R. I. S.*, xiii. 339), was brought to Venice from Constantinople in 1216 by Roaldus, Prior of San Daniele.

The Franciscans, the other great order of Mendicant Friars, came to Venice soon after St. Francis' death in 1226. St. Francis had probably himself been in the neighbourhood, for Dandolo<sup>1</sup> mentions the famous incident of his preaching to the birds as having taken place in the Venetian marshes. His followers came to Venice, begging their bread from door to door, and preached in the lanes of the city, sleeping at night, some in the porch of the church of San Silvestro, some in that of San Lorenzo, others in the courts of the doge's palace. They were welcomed with enthusiasm, and in 1236 an old deserted abbey of St. Mary, on the confines of the parishes of San Toma and St. Stephen the Confessor, was given them as an habitation. Before the end of Giacomo Tiepolo's life the church of Santa Maria Gloriosa de' Frari was begun, and finished when Francesco Dandolo was doge (A.D. 1229-39). It is probably on the site of the old abbey, for the church of San Toma is not far from it. Like San Giovanni e Paolo, it became a favourite place of burial for distinguished persons, though not so much for doges as its great Dominican rival. The same reason—the desire men felt of laying their bones in the ground sanctified by the presence of such holy men as the Friars—made Santa Croce, the Franciscan church at Florence, and Santa Maria Novella, the Dominican, the favourite places of burial in that city.<sup>2</sup>

The site for the Church of the Frari may have been bought by the Franciscans themselves with the proceeds of their mendicity. But in 1235, when Giacomo Tiepolo was no longer doge, Marco Ziani, Count of Arbe, a son of the magnificent Doge Pietro Ziani, gave a part of a vineyard belonging to him in the parish of Sta. Giustina—where, as we have seen, the property of his family was situated—with

<sup>1</sup> x. 4, 38; Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. 343.

<sup>2</sup> It will be remembered that Dante's bones lie buried in the church of St. Francis at Ravenna.

a church already standing on it, to be used as a dwelling-place for six brothers with two servitors of either the Friars Minor or the Friars Preachers or of the Order of Cistellum (? Citeaux). This was the origin of the second great Franciscan church in Venice, San Francesco della Vigna. The old church standing in the vineyard of Ziani was traditionally held to have been built to commemorate the scene of St. Mark's landing when overtaken by a storm on his return from Aquileia, on which occasion he saw in a vision an angel, who greeted him with the words that were ever afterwards inscribed on the scroll held by the Lion of the Republic: "Pax tibi Marce Evangelista Meus."<sup>1</sup> This old church stood till 1810, side by side with a great church built for the Franciscans in the fourteenth century by the architect Marino da Pisa, which gave place in the sixteenth century to the Renaissance church, the work of Palladio, now on the site.

The two great churches of the Friars, the Santi Giovanni e Paolo and the Santa Maria de' Frari, are cited in the "Stones of Venice"<sup>2</sup> as examples of a foreign style of architecture, Lombardo-German, introduced by the aggressively Christian influence of the mendicant orders as more suitable for religious buildings than the Venetian-Arabic that had long prevailed in Venice for secular buildings, but had been generally avoided for churches. This Venetian-Gothic, which Ruskin considered the most characteristic architecture in Venice, is best seen, besides the two great churches I have mentioned, in San Stefano and the ducal palace. While most modern critics will value it less than the Gothic of France or England, or the Romanesque of North Italy, it is undoubtedly a beautiful and dignified style, worthy of the grandeur and wealth of the vast buildings in which it is embodied.

<sup>1</sup> Hare's "Venice," p. 116. See also *Selvatico e Lazari Guida Artistica*, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. pp. 21, 22 (ed. 1898).



These two churches were founded early in Giacomo Tiepolo's government, about the same time as his earlier laws, some seven years before his Statuto or Institutes came out. During the first half of his reign Venice was more or less actively engaged in the Lombard wars, but after the capture of Salinguerra at Ferrara, in 1240, her energies, if we may judge from the subjects most prominently mentioned in Dandolo's annals, were more concentrated on the affairs of Dalmatia.

In 1248, on the petition of exiles from Zara staying at Nona, the doge, "after the manner of a kind father,"<sup>1</sup> recalled the Venetian colonists, and allowed the exiles to return. But he was careful to retain all the rights of sovereignty,<sup>2</sup> and made a Venetian, Stefano Giustiniani, Count of Zara, who destroyed the walls towards the sea, which had no doubt been intended to resist Venice, and established himself in a castle there.<sup>3</sup> The establishment of Venetians as counts in foreign dependencies, as Giustiniani in Zara and the doge's two sons in the Quarnero, led to a resolution of the Great Council prohibiting such counts from receiving unlimited leave of absence from their counties, so that they might not be able to combine these distant employments with membership of the council or any other of the great governing bodies at home. No doubt the same measure was dealt to those who were podestàs in Lombard towns.

Early in the next year, 1249, when Tiepolo had been doge for twenty years, and was an old and weary man, he resigned his office, retiring, not to a monastery, but to his house in Sant Agostino,<sup>4</sup> where he died only four months afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> "*More pii patris.*"

<sup>2</sup> "*Dominium et merum et mixtum Imperium.*"

<sup>3</sup> Dand., *apud* Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 35<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The Campo Sant Agostino is near the Frari. The church, originally founded in the tenth century and rebuilt in the sixteenth, is now suppressed but still in existence.

To avoid the chance of an equal division of votes, as there had been at the last doge's election, forty-one electors instead of forty were elected. We have the oath that each of them took, to choose without partiality, without regard to prayers, gifts, fear or favour, the citizen he thought best for the Republic. The oath also prescribed the order of proceeding, the exclusion of all the kindred of any candidate who was proposed, their re-admission afterwards to defend him from any accusations that had been made against him. Each man swore to disclose any attempt that had been made to corrupt him, and not to canvass any other elector for any candidate.<sup>1</sup> On the 13th of June, twenty-four days after Tiepolo's death, a new doge was chosen, Marin Morosini, an old man of sixty-eight.<sup>2</sup>

The family of Morosini or Mauroceni is one of those mentioned in the Altino Chronicle as coming to Rialto from Eraclea, and as having taken part in the foundation of the church of St. Maurus, the little church of St. Gabriel, the church of St. Augustine, and the Schola of St. Magnus. These churches were probably founded in very early times, before the city was settled at Rialto, and that of St. Maurus is stated to have been at Burano.<sup>3</sup> In another passage, where the chronicler is speaking of the origin of the great Venetian families, he says that the Mauroceni came from Mantua.<sup>4</sup> In later, but still early, times we have met with Giovanni Morosini, the son-in-law of the sainted Doge Orseolo I., who was his companion in his flight from Venice to his Catalonian or Aquitanian monastery, and who afterwards founded the great monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore. A few years after the Saint's flight,

<sup>1</sup> The substance of the oath is given by Roman. (ii. p. 249) from a MS. in St. Mark's Library.

<sup>2</sup> Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi* (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 554).

<sup>3</sup> Book ii., p. 49. As to Maurus and his possible identity with Mauricius, Bishop of Torcello, see "Early History," p. 144, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Book iii., p. 84.

when Tribuno Memo was doge, the feuds of the Morosini, as heads of the Byzantine faction, with the Caloprini, whose faction leant upon the Emperor Otto, had caused bloodshed in the streets of Castello.<sup>1</sup> In 1148 Domenico Morosini had succeeded Pietro Polani as doge, and had ruled the city for seven not inglorious years of war with Roger, the Norman King of Sicily, and Manuel Comnenus, and had sent envoys to Frederic Barbarossa's first Diet of Roncaglia in 1154. The last member of the family we have met with was Thomas Morosini, the sorely tried Latin Patriarch of Constantinople. The family palace, now known as Palazzo Sagredo, is on the Grand Canal, not far above the Rialto Bridge, next door to the beautiful Ca Doro.

The new doge himself does not appear to have previously held any conspicuous position, except when he had been, in 1245, one of the three envoys from the Republic to the Council of Lyons who had been taken prisoners by the Count of Savoy on their return. We do not hear of him as bailo at Constantinople or Candia, nor as podestà of a Lombard town, nor as commanding a fleet in the Gulf. Marino Sanudo the younger says that "he wished to abide in peace with all men."<sup>2</sup> The three years that he was doge (1249 to 1252) were not without great events of European history—St. Louis' disastrous Crusade to Egypt and captivity there, the death of the Emperor Frederic II., and the beginning of the troubles in South Italy caused by the claim of the House of Anjou to succeed him. We read, not in the Venetian chronicles, but in the English history of Matthew Paris, that the Count of Bar and the

<sup>1</sup> "Early History of Venice," pp. 125, 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Vite de' Duchi*, Mur., *R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 555. Martin da Canale says of him, "*Fu sì gracios qu'il usa sa vie sans guerre. Nul ne l'osa assailir de guerre; sa navie aloit dela la mer et en tos leus sans garde de galies; il avoit pes a tos*" (*Cronaca Ven.*, c. cxxvii. apud *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, ser. i. tom. 8, p. 416). But Canale goes on to say that this peace could not have been obtained had it not been for the warlike prowess of the preceding Doge Tiepolo.

Lord of Beaujeu were sent by St. Louis to Venice, and obtained from the liberality of the Republic six great ships laden with corn and wine and other provisions, a guard of soldiers, and many Crusaders.<sup>1</sup> The Venetian writers confine themselves to relating acts that show the doge's moderation and his care for the morals and religion of his people. A clause in his *Promissione*, doubtless originating rather with the dominant spirits in the Greater and Lesser Council than with himself, prohibited the appointment of sons of the doge to governments outside Venice, as the late doge's sons had been sent to govern Veglia and Ossevo as counts:<sup>2</sup> he obtained the appointment of two police magistrates (*Domini de Nocte*), one for the *Citra Canale*, the other for the *Ultra Canale*, to relieve the *Capi di Contrada* from the duty of preserving order after dark in the *calli* and *campi* of the city. A more ominous part of his *Promissione* bound him to appoint good and wise and orthodox men to seek out heretics, and to cause all those who were declared such by the Patriarch of Grado, the Bishop of Castello, or any other bishop of the Dogado, to be burned by the judgment of the doge's counsellors, or a majority of them. The Albigensian heretics had not been effectually put down by the new tribunal set up by Innocent III. to suppress them, and the Church, in alarm, brought to bear on Venice the influence it could always exercise there, that it might be empowered to destroy, before it came to maturity, any seed of free thought that might find a favourable soil in the cosmopolitan society of a great commercial city. But the statesmen of the Republic were careful, as they always were in their dealings with the Church, to keep in their own hands the appointment of the agents who were to bring heretics to trial, and the decision whether any person accused should be sent to the stake. The Pope was not pleased

<sup>1</sup> *Apud Roman.*, ii. p. 250 n.

<sup>2</sup> Dandolo, *Mur.*, *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 359.

at these reservations, and continually pressed for the establishment of the Tribunal of the Holy Office in Venice.

Of minor religious events of this reign we are told of the decoration with mosaics, at the doge's expense, of the vault of the church of San Salvatore (a church that was succeeded in the sixteenth century by the present Renaissance church of Tullio Lombardo), of the privilege granted by the Pope to the Primicerio of St. Mark, at the doge's request, to wear on proper occasions the mitre and pastoral ring, and carry the pastoral staff, of a bishop.<sup>1</sup> The city was also enriched by the acquisition of the bodies of St. Saba, a monk and hermit of Cappadocia of the sixth century, and of John, Patriarch of Alexandria, called Eleemosinarius or the Almoner, of the seventh century.<sup>2</sup>

This gentle and pious doge died on New Year's Day, 1253. His body, we are told, lay in state, with his sword and spurs over his ducal robes, in the palace in the hall of the *Signori di Notte*, whom he had established, and was carried thence two days after, with a multitude of nobles and ladies following, and his shield carried before, to his grave in the atrium of St. Mark's, where he rests in an old Christian sarcophagus.<sup>3</sup>

The election of a successor to Morosini was not long delayed. On the 25th of January the forty-one electors appeared before the people assembled in San Marco, and announced, by the mouth of Pietro Foscarini, one of their number, that they had chosen Renier Zeno, Podestà of Fermo, in the March of Ancona. They had before this announcement required, by virtue of an ordinance in the new doge's *Promissione*, the doge's gastaldo to swear in

<sup>1</sup> This was the exploit commemorated in the *breve* or motto inscribed on the shield placed over Morosini's grave in San Marco, as was the custom with the doges after his time, "*Primiceriatum Baculo Mithraque ornavi*" (Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi*, in Mur., *R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 557).

<sup>2</sup> Dand. (from the annotator in the margin of the Ambrosian MS.), Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 360.

<sup>3</sup> Perkins' "Italian Sculptors," quoted in Hare's "Venice," p. 27.

the name of the people to recognise and obey as doge whoever should be chosen according to the rules legally ordered. On the 18th February the doge-elect arrived at Venice, and was met on the lagoon by a procession of boats, followed by a tournament in the Piazza of St. Mark,<sup>1</sup> to see which ladies filled all the windows and balconies of the Procurazie—as we see them in Gentile Bellini's picture in the Accademia di Belle Arti—draped with silk or cloth, while the people crowded round the lists. Marco Ziani, the son of the former doge, Pietro, who had commanded the four galleys sent to fetch the doge-elect to Venice, distinguished himself much in the jousting, as did the knights of Istria on one side, and those of Friuli, Treviso, and Lombardy on the other.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “*La place de Monseignor Saint Marc, qui est orendroit la plus bele place qui soit en tot li monde ; que de vers li soleil levant est la plus bele yglise qui soit el monde ; c'est l' Yglise de Monseignor Saint Marc. Et de les cele Yglise est li palais de Monseignor li Dus grant et biaux a mervoilles*” (Da Canale, *A. St. Ital.*, i. 8, p. 420).

<sup>2</sup> Roman. (ii. p. 256), quoting Canale, cxxxi., *A. St. Ital.*, i. 8, p. 422. Marco Ziani died when still young, before attaining to knighthood ; he was married to a daughter of the Marquis of Este, but left no heir ; and part of the great wealth of his family appears to have gone “*as Freres menors et as Precheors et as autres religions, et as veves dames et as orfenins et as autres povres.*”

## CHAPTER V

### ECELINO DA ROMANO

THE death of the Emperor Frederic II., followed in three years by that of his son, Conrad, who had been named as his successor in Naples and Sicily, left the rich and coveted inheritance of those kingdoms to a child, "little Conrad" (*Corradino*), who for the present was taken by his mother into Germany. The will of his father had placed the boy under the informal protection of the Pope. A situation was thus created something like that which existed when Frederic II. in his infancy had been committed to the care of Innocent III. Innocent IV., like his namesake, claimed to be lord paramount of the Kingdoms of Sicily and Apulia, and took active steps to maintain his claim. He crossed the Garigliano, entered Capua and Naples in triumph, and took advantage of the unpopularity of the Germans to set aside Berthold, Marquis of Homburg, the commander of the German troops, who was legally Regent. Manfred, the illegitimate son of Frederic by an Italian mother, who by his father's will was to succeed on the failure of legitimate heirs, was the foremost to welcome the Pope as the protector of the orphan Conradin and the assertor of Italian independence of the Germans. He met Innocent at the frontier, led his horse over the Garigliano Bridge, and was for a time high in Papal favour. But Innocent was not likely to be sincerely friendly with any prince of the Suabian house; and Manfred, having reason to fear treachery, left Naples<sup>1</sup> with a few companions, threw himself into Lucera in Apulia, where there

<sup>1</sup> October 1234.

was still a Saracen garrison, by whom and the Italian inhabitants he was received with joy as their Prince and the representative of his nephew, the rightful King.

In less than two months from Manfred's flight, Innocent died at Naples.<sup>1</sup> His successor, Alexander IV., a far less ambitious and formidable Pontiff, could not indeed abandon the policy of his predecessor, and was pledged to substitute some other ruler than a Suabian in the Sicilies; but he carried out his policy with less vigour, and Manfred gradually extended his power over all Apulia and Naples and Sicily, and was invited in 1258 to make himself King, and to make Conradino his heir. His great abilities as a soldier and a diplomatist caused the Ghibelline party to become predominant again over Italy. He was the ally of Ecelino in Lombardy, of the Ghibellines of Siena (who at this time crushed the Guelfs of Florence in the famous battle of Monte Aperto), of Venice and Genoa. His treaty with Venice bound him to allow, as had Frederic II. in 1232, the export of corn from South Italy to the lagoons: there was also a clause binding Manfred to exclude Genoese vessels from his ports.

Ecelino was not long to enjoy this return of Ghibelline prosperity. While Manfred was still laying the foundations of his power, in 1256 the new Pope had proclaimed a Crusade against Ecelino and his brother Alberico, who was now jointly with him upholding the Ghibelline cause in the March of Treviso. The Cardinal Philip Fontana, Archbishop of Ravenna, came to Venice, sang mass in St. Mark's before the doge, the Patriarch of Aquileia—the same Gregorio di Montelungo who had commanded the army that besieged Salinguerra in Ferrara—and all the bishops of the Dogado, each with his silver cross carried before him, and a crowd of clergy, Friars Minor and Friars Preachers, and ladies. Then they came out of the church, and from scaffolds put up in front of it, the cardinal and

<sup>1</sup> 7th December 1254.



the doge both spoke to the people, the former exhorting them to take the Cross and go out to Padua to fight against the enemy of Holy Church, the excommunicated Ecelino, of whom he said, with singular moderation, that he was not perfect in the law of God and the Church.<sup>1</sup> The doge did not himself take the Cross, as Enrico Dandolo had done fifty-two years before; but he promised to give the Crusaders ships and arms and victuals, and a skilled captain to lead them; he reminded them of the service they had lately done to Holy Church at Ferrara, and of their former crusading exploits at Tyre and at Constantinople.

The Crusade was to assemble at the Torre delle Bebbe, that I have mentioned before,<sup>2</sup> in the low alluvial ground through which the Brenta and Bacchiglione flowed south-eastwards into the Lagoon. The common way of getting from Venice to Padua in those days was by water, not along the modern canal by which the steamer now takes passengers from Fusina by Dolo and Stra, but by a longer route starting from the Lagoon at a point farther south, and following apparently the line of the present Canale di Pontelungo. Ansedisio da Guidotti, Ecelino's nephew,<sup>3</sup> who was in command at Padua, while Ecelino was wasting the lands of Mantua, had diverted the Brenta and Bacchiglione, and the legate found the waters so low that his ships could not carry him farther than Correzzola, below Pontelungo. There he was joined by many refugees from Padua, who were placed under Marco Quirini, a Venetian who was to be Podestà of Padua, if it should be taken. Tommasino Giustiniani was in command of the Venetian contingent, but the cardinal legate himself directed the operations. The troops that Ansedisio led out to oppose

<sup>1</sup> "*Que il n'estoit parfis en la loi de Dame Dieu et de Sainte Yglise*" (Canale, *u.s.*, p. 424).

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> He was the son of Cecilia, Ecelino's eldest sister, who married Giacomo di Guidotti.

their landing took to flight at Pontelungo, and the Crusaders, taking Buvolenta and Conselve, and from them making a feint at Padua, induced Ansedisio to abandon the post at Piove di Sacco, by which he cut off his enemy from the sea. The legate, occupying this post and reinforced by troops that the Marquis of Este brought up from Ferrara and Rovigo, was able to seize upon the suburbs of Padua,<sup>1</sup> and assault its gate of Altino, which accidentally caught fire. Ansedisio, who seems to have managed the affair badly—for which he was afterwards put to death by his uncle—was unnerved by this accident, and fled to Vicenza, and Padua was for eight days sacked by the Crusaders, who, though wearing the Cross and commanded by a prince of the Church, and having in their ranks, we are told, friars black, white, and grey, who advanced to the assault singing the hymn, “Vexilla Regis prodeunt,” committed almost as savage atrocities as Ecelino himself.<sup>2</sup>

Civil war always makes men cruel, and no doubt cruelties were inflicted ruthlessly on both sides in these Lombard wars; but Ecelino’s cruelties seem to have impressed his contemporaries more than those of any other leader. It was not only putting prisoners to the sword, but starving them deliberately in his dungeons and torturing them, that have obtained for him a bad eminence in inhumanity. Whether this had any influence in causing the Pope to order a Crusade against him we may doubt. The first letter of Innocent IV. to the Bishop of Treviso relating to the excommunication and Crusade, which is dated the 5th of May 1251,<sup>3</sup> alleges only the heresy of Ecelino and his father the Monk. Ecelino was a man of moral and ascetic

<sup>1</sup> Canale, it is interesting to note, measures the pace of the Crusaders’ march by English leagues: “*il avoient li ior erre x ligues engloiches, armes de lor armes*” (*u.s.*, p. 428).

<sup>2</sup> There is an excellent account of this fighting in Rolandinus, on whose narrative that in Verci (*Storia degli Ecelini*) is based. I am following here Verci, ii. pp. 206–208 (ed. 1841).

<sup>3</sup> It is one of the documents (No. 81) of the Codice Eceliniano in the third vol. of Verci (ed. 1841).

life—and this even may have savoured of heresy—but he had no scruples in seizing and appropriating to secular uses the revenue of churches and convents.

The legate left Giustiniani and his Venetians in Padua, where they managed to hold out and repulse Ecelino's attempt to reconquer it. They had with them the Marquis of Este and the warlike Patriarch of Aquileia. Dandolo notes this repulse of Ecelino as the deathblow to his hopes of restoring the imperial authority.<sup>1</sup> His oppression of North Italy lasted for two years more. His executions and mutilations went on faster than ever in Verona: Dandolo says the greater part of 12,000 Paduan prisoners were put to death; Canale puts the number at "six parts" of 11,000. He was rivalled in this work by his reconciled brother Alberico at Treviso, who having mutilated men and women and destroyed houses and towers there for seventeen years as a punishment for treason to the Church, now inflicted the same penalties for treason to the Empire.<sup>2</sup> Early in 1259 Ecelino made an incursion into Lombardy, and near Brescia succeeded in taking the Pope's legate prisoner.

The legate who succeeded him as leader of the Crusade, whom Da Canale calls Archbishop of Burgundy,<sup>3</sup> came to

<sup>1</sup> "*Perit proinde desiderium Imperii Ezelini, et vacuus rediit,*" x. vii. 7 (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 364). He may perhaps have dreamed of founding an empire of his own, becoming a second Julius Cæsar or Charlemagne. He said in the last year of his life that the conquest of Milan, which he nearly won, would have made him master of half Italy, and would have been the greatest enterprise since Charlemagne won the Empire (Verci, ii. p. 238).

<sup>2</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, p. 434. Rolandinus, our best authority for this time, who is not implacably hostile to the Romano family, speaks of Alberico as having been mild and gentle so long as he was the Church's champion (Verci, ii. p. 220). Canale's words are: "*Avoit fait si felenesse iustice en Teroise, com de faire trenchier testes et pies et mains, et de trenchier mamelles et nes a femes.*"

<sup>3</sup> He was really Archbishop of Embrun in Dauphiné on the Durance. Burgundy in old French writers is a term of very wide application, almost equivalent to the Kingdom of Arles. The archbishop was sovereign prince of a great part of Dauphiné. For the use of Burgoigne by Villehardouin, c. xxx., see note 2 on p. 357 of my "Early History of Venice."

Venice like his predecessor, and got similar encouragement from the doge, who inveighed against the Romano brothers as not men but enemies sent up from the bottomless pit, and as worse than Saracens. The legate at once started for Lombardy, which Ecelino was threatening, in conjunction with the Marquis Pallavicino of Cremona and Buoso, Lord of Dovara. This triumvirate had in April 1258 made themselves masters of Brescia, and in August or September of the same year had, as I have mentioned, taken prisoner the Pope's late legate. The legate was detained in Brescia, and courteously treated by Ecelino; his successor at Milan endeavoured in vain to keep the nobles and the burgesses at peace, but could not prevent the nobles being banished and throwing themselves into Ecelino's arms. Ecelino had meanwhile broken with the two other triumvirs. His design was to seize Milan and from it control Lombardy, with the object of ultimately becoming supreme in Italy. Pallavicino and Dovara were not prepared for so great a scheme, and came to an agreement with the Marquis of Este on the basis of supporting Manfred and opposing the Romano brothers, whose wide-reaching schemes would certainly not have suited Manfred's views. The brothers, with Verona, Vicenza, and Treviso added to the Pedemontani, as their own people from the Bassano and Asolo region "at the foot of the mountains" were called, and the German mercenaries that still remained in their service from the time of Frederic II., appeared able to hold their own against the legate and Este reinforced by the two dissentient triumvirs. In the spring or summer of 1259 Ecelino broke up from Brescia and made a dash with his knights, taking no infantry with him, for Milan, where a party was prepared to admit him. But the Marquis of Este and the triumvirs, with Ferrarese, Cremonese, and Mantuans, got the start of him, and he had to fight in what is called the Terra degli Orzi, an outlying part of the Brescian territory in the country south of Bergamo, where the ~~Olio~~ and Adda

approach one another. Trying to escape towards the west, he made for the bridge of Cassano over the Adda, which he found occupied, and there he was wounded in the leg by a bolt from a crossbow. However, he continued his flight in the direction of Brescia ; but was soon surrounded by enemies, wounded in the head, and taken prisoner. An astrologer had told him he should die at Bassano, the chief town of his native province, and he had been struck at once by the resemblance of the name Cassano. Carried to Este's castle of Soncino, he refused to listen to the Franciscans and Dominicans who were sent to hear his confession ; he said he repented of nothing but of his weakness in not taking vengeance on his enemies and in letting himself be out-generalled and taken.<sup>1</sup>

Martino da Canale gives us a lively picture of the rejoicings in Venice when the news came of the death of the tyrant Ecelino : how the bells rang throughout the city as they were wont to ring on the feasts of the saints ; how the night after the clergy went up the Campanile and lighted there candles and torches, so that the noise and glare were a marvel to hear and to see ; how the joy of the clergy was justified, because ever since 1236—for twenty years—he had kept back all the rents of the churches in Venice that came from lands in his government of Padua.<sup>2</sup>

The other tyrant, Alberico, still survived, and Marco Badoario, who was now made commander of the Venetian troops, was sent to Treviso to drive him out and become himself podestà of that city. Alberico did not await his attack, but fled from Treviso, which surrendered to the

<sup>1</sup> Da Canale is particular in his account of Ecelino's death. That given by Verci from Rolandinus and other contemporary writers is less charged with horror. He died excommunicate, and was buried in front of the Palazzo Publico of Soncino, in unconsecrated ground. But his wounds were properly tended by the best surgeons Este could find, and he did not die, as the common story goes, from tearing off his bandages in despair (Verci, *u.s.*, ii. pp. 239-40).

<sup>2</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, pp. 442, 444.

Venetians, and shut himself up in the castle of San Zenone,<sup>1</sup> taking with him his wife and children. The new podestà called on him to surrender, and on his refusal, blockaded the fort. The besieging force was increased by troops brought by the Marquis of Este, by Marco Quirino, Podestà of Padua, and by the Vicentines—and became so formidable that, after a siege of four months, the garrison surrendered on condition that all lives should be spared save those of Alberico, his wife and daughters, and his judge, Meta da Percilia. These were not left to be tried, but the soldiers, into whose hands they fell, tore to pieces with fiendish cruelty Alberico, his sons and his judge, and burned alive his wife and daughters.<sup>2</sup> So much, in those fierce struggles, was “pity chok’d with custom of fell deeds.”

The cruelty shown to Alberico and his family, for which one of the persons responsible was Azzo, Marquis of Este, whose character was high among his contemporaries, makes us able to realise in some degree the standard of morality in that respect of the thirteenth century. Public opinion was not universally callous to cruelty, as we see from the horror so generally expressed by the chroniclers at the barbarities of Ecelino. It was not only the wholesale slaughter of prisoners after a victory, but their starvation in prison, their blinding, their mutilation, that moved men’s minds. Da Canale says that the number of victims killed in battle, or after capture, or mutilated, or starved, amounted to 40,000 in the twenty years that the Ecelinian reign of terror prevailed in the March of Treviso and Verona, and modern commentators think this an underestimate. Rolandinus tells us that after Friola, a village near Padua, was retaken by Ecelino in 1259, the highways of Lombardy and the streets of her towns swarmed with

<sup>1</sup> The castle stood on a lofty hill a few miles from the mountains that lie between Bassano and Asolo, in the Romano country (Verci, *St. della Marca Trivigiana*, &c., i. p. 73).

<sup>2</sup> Dandolo (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 368).

beggars deprived of their eyes or their right hands by his orders. The same punishment now inflicted on Alberico and his sons had been the fate of Federigo and Bonifacio della Scala, of that famous Verona family, when they conspired against Ecelino and fell into his hands. The loss of an eye or a hand was a common punishment for ordinary petty crimes at Venice: both were well-known penalties for political offences at Constantinople. The Lower Empire and the Christian powers that had arisen from its ruins had lost the tradition of the Virgilian boast, *parcere subjectis*, and of the clemency of Julius Cæsar. The Albigensian Crusade at the opening of the century had not tended to soften men's minds; death without torture had come to be looked upon as too light a punishment for those who contemned God and the Church. The accounts we have of the heresy of Ecelino the Monk are somewhat vague, but they indicate suspicion of his being a Paulician, a denomination often given to the Albigensian Reformers; and we know that sects with similar opinions under the name of Waldensians, or Poor Men of Lyons, or Umiliati, remained for centuries afterwards in other valleys of the Alps, as they may well have remained in those about Bassano and Asolo.<sup>1</sup> Pope Gregory IX. was said to have endeavoured to persuade the two brothers, Ecelino and Alberico, to inform against their father, with a view to his being brought before the Inquisition. They refused indignantly to incur the guilt of parricide, and this no doubt embittered them against the Church, and at the same time made Churchmen suspect them of sympathising with their father's heresy. Ecelino in all his actions was guided much by the advice of astrologers; and his belief in astrology, though too common in those times to be unhesitatingly condemned by the Church, and certainly recognised by so orthodox a spirit as Dante, may have

<sup>1</sup> Peter Waldo, the founder of the Waldensians, lived at Lyons in the twelfth century.

made men more ready to attribute other recondite doctrines to him. It need not surprise us that enmity, grounded on points of theological difference, should be characterised by exceptional ferocity.

In spite of the cruelty of Ecelino, which, when all allowance has been made for prejudice in our authorities, most of them Churchmen or adherents of the Church, we must admit to have been terrible, I do not think we can altogether withhold our admiration from the stern warrior, austere in his life and conduct—unlike his brother Alberico in this—the man of high ambition, “the last infirmity of noble minds,” the consummate general, never greater than in his final disastrous fight, outnumbered and wounded at the bridge of Cassano; or avoid speculating with interest on what might have been, if he had been able to play the part of Julius Cæsar or Charlemagne, and to restore the old Roman Empire, that might even, by the favour of later Popes and clergy, have resumed the title of Holy.

The most important events of the government of Renier Zeno were those of his war with Genoa, which was so closely connected with the history of the Byzantine Empire and the Holy Land that it will be better to reserve my account of it till I return to the affairs of the Venetian Levant.

We have met with Renier Zeno before as Podestà of Piacenza in 1237, when he was looked upon as so zealous a supporter of the Lombard League that the Emperor had insisted on his removal, but the doge had sent him express orders to return to Piacenza.<sup>1</sup>

The chronicler, Martino da Canale, who is supposed not to have been a Venetian, but certainly lived there and began to write his chronicle there in the year 1267,<sup>2</sup> and was at

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> See the Preface to vol. viii. of series i. of *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, pp. xviii. sqq., and particularly the note of Emmanuele Cicogna, “*Sulla Persona*



that time or later employed as a clerk or collector of dues under the Visdomini of the *Tavola del Mare*, a Board that was afterwards merged in the *Dogana da Mar*, seems to have felt a peculiar interest in this doge, under whom he had served so long, whom he calls Messire Renier Gen. He has told us at some length of the service of the future doge in putting down the revolt of the Zaratines in 1242, when he broke down the chain that the citizens had drawn across the harbour of Zara, and scaled the walls from his ships.<sup>1</sup> After this, in 1245, he had been, like his predecessor Morosini, one of the envoys sent by the Republic to the Council of Lyons. On their return, the envoys were taken prisoners by the Count of Savoy, but released at the request of the Emperor Frederic: they afterwards went to the Emperor's court, and we have two accounts of what passed there—a detailed and dramatic account, in the style of Herodotus, from Da Canale, with the speeches of the Emperor on one side and Renier Zeno, as spokesman for Venice, on the other—and a short, business-like summary from Dandolo, agreeing very well in substance with the more elaborate account. Dandolo says<sup>2</sup> that the Emperor reproached the ambassadors for the ingratitude shown by Venice, in repaying the kindness he had always shown to her traders with hostility, when others with less claim upon them had requested their aid: "to which the envoys cleverly replied with fairly coloured but not just excuses." The Emperor listened to these, treated the envoys kindly, and sent them home with a warning not to make other people's wars their own in future. The long speech that Da Canale puts into Zeno's mouth enters into all the relations of the Republic with the Emperor

*e sull' opera di Martino da Canale,* pp. xxix. and xxx. of the same. The title *Maestro* Martin de C. is said to show that he was not a Venetian noble, and so did not belong to the noble family of Canale.

<sup>1</sup> Canale, *u. s.*, pp. 398, 400.

<sup>2</sup> *Apud* Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 356.

from his childhood upwards, begging that any hostility they had shown might not be remembered, "as now we wish, if it pleases you, that there may be peace between you and us." To which the Emperor only replied, "Be it so in God's name."<sup>1</sup> The chronicler goes on to say, with some confusion of metaphor, that for the rest of the time of Doge Giacomo Tiepolo the war between Pope and Emperor was deeply rooted, and by this root the Venetians were so entirely enveloped that, however much they wished, they could not free themselves from it (*ib.*, p. 410): and this, we have seen, was the case. Venice could not help being generally in sympathy with the Pope rather than the Emperor, and the strife between these powers was never more bitter than in those last days of the dominion of the House of Suabia in Italy.

Before returning to the affairs of the Eastern Empire and the wars between Venetians and Genoese, it will be well to record some of the minor events of the Doge Renier Zeno's time. Parenzo in Istria was annexed to the Venetian dominion, and a podestà, Giovanni Capello, sent there. The island of Curzola, or Black Corfu, was also annexed.<sup>2</sup> Commercial treaties were concluded with Vicenza, Treviso, Fermo, Milan, and the Patriarch of Aquileia. That with Treviso is interesting, from its stipulation that no transit duties should be levied in the districts of Feltre or Belluno on merchandise passing through them on the way to or from France or Germany.<sup>3</sup>

In the domestic affairs of Venice during this reign, as we learn from Dandolo, a third procurator of San Marco was added to the other two, and the officers called Justitiiarii were divided into two offices, known as the Old and the New

<sup>1</sup> Da Canale, *u.s.*, pp. 404-408.

<sup>2</sup> "*Marsilius Georgio Comes Ragusii Curzolanos absque regimine fluctuantes sub sua protectione suscepit, non tamen sine Ducalis honoris dispendio*" (Dand. in Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 362). I do not think we know more of the circumstances of this dishonourable conquest.

<sup>3</sup> Verzi, *St. della Marca Trivig.*, ii., *Documenti*, p. 93.

Justiciars.<sup>1</sup> As part of the process of diminishing the doge's independent power, a rule was made (*captum*) that he should not send away any foreign envoys sent to treat with the Republic without first giving notice to the Quarantia, while, if he appointed two or more Venetians to treat with such envoys, one at least of these must be a member of the Quarantia.

I have quoted above the description Canale gives us of the Piazza of St. Mark and the wonders of the Basilica. From the same passage we learn that the houses surrounding the Piazza were occupied by the chaplains of the Basilica, and by the Procurators (these are still known as the *Procuratie*). These latter adjoined the hospital built by Zeno's wife, the Dogaressa Luigia or Loicia da Prata,<sup>2</sup> under the shadow of the Campanile of St. Mark; we learn also that mosaics representing the Translation of the Relics of St. Mark were already to be seen on the beautiful façade of the church.<sup>3</sup> Neither Dandolo nor Canale mention, what was the accepted tradition of later times, that the porphyry column at the south-west corner of St. Mark's towards the Molo, known from this time as the *Pietra del Bando*, because laws and other public matters were proclaimed from it,<sup>4</sup> and the two square columns adorned with monograms that now stand in front of the

<sup>1</sup> For the Procurators see Dand. (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 368, 369). They were a kind of official trustees. The first dealt with the property of the church of St. Mark: the second and third with trusts for all purposes, one dealing with property on one side, the other with property on the other side of the canal—*Commissarie di quà e di là*. See Amelot de la Houssaye, *G. de V.*, p. 183 (ed. 1676). The same author tells us that Renier Zeno increased the number of *Signori di Notte* from two to six, and here again three were for one side of the canal and three for the other. They were judges of first instance dealing with criminal matters (*ib.* p. 226). As to the Justiciars, see *post*, p. 156, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> She came from the March of Friuli; there are some particulars about her and her hospital in Molmenti's *Dogaressa*, pp. 81, 82 of Eng. translation.

<sup>3</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, cc. cxxx. *sqq.*, pp. 420, 422.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bertaldus, *Splendor Venetorum*, &c., p. 112 (ed. Schupfer).

bronze gates of the Baptistery, came from Acre, and were trophies of some of the victories won by this doge over Genoese or Greeks.<sup>1</sup> The doge also built and endowed for the Templars the Church of Sta. Trinità, in Ossodoro.<sup>2</sup> On the 7th of July 1268 Renier Zeno died, and was buried the next day in the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, where his tomb is still to be seen under a bas-relief representing Christ enthroned between two angels.<sup>3</sup>

Renier Zeno was the last doge who really exercised power in Romania. Venetian authority there ceased when the last bailo, Marco Gradenigo, left the city soon after the Emperor Baldwin II. and the Latin Patriarch, Pantaleone Giustiniani; but the people still included in the style and title of their doge the proud boast of ruler over one quarter and a half of the Roman Empire.

Marino Sanudo tells us that a doubling of the tax on grinding corn made necessary by the cost of the doge's wars caused a riot in the city, which the doge appeased by gentle methods, but having done this, caused some of the *Capi di contrada*, who had been ringleaders of the mob, to be executed at "the columns near the church of St. Mark," I presume those of the Piazzetta. But these martyrs for the good of the community were justified by the reduction of the oppressive tax after their death. Sanudo, among a number of minor events of this time which he chronicles, includes one that, as we shall see, led to serious consequences, a bitter feud between the Tiepoli and Dandoli, both families of former doges, in the course of which

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps of the fighting at St. Saba mentioned p. 122, *post.* Murray's "North Italy," p. 288 (ed. 1891); Romanin, ii. p. 279. Sanudo (*Vite de' Duchi*, Mur., *R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 560) says these columns came from the Gates of Acre. There is an elaborate treatise on these columns and the monograms on them by J. D. Weber in Cicogna, *I. V.*, i. 369 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Sanudo (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 561).

<sup>3</sup> Sanudo says he was buried "*molto positivamente e seus' alcuno epitafio*" (*u.s.*, col. 565). "*Positivamente*" is explained by Rigutini as "*moderatamente, senza pompa.*"

Lorenzo Tiepolo was wounded in the Piazza. In consequence of this the doge forbade, under heavy penalties, the bearing of arms by any of the retainers in a nobleman's house. An event to which we have met with many parallels under other doges, was the taking from the church of St. Sophia at Mesetria, in the Black Sea,<sup>1</sup> of the body of St. Theodore, an old patron of Venice, as we have seen, which was placed in the church of San Salvatore, and was still there when Sanudo wrote. Renier Zeno was the first doge that wore a fringe of gold on the ducal berretta. His breve—that is, the short verse on a scroll that he holds in his hand in his picture in the hall of the Great Council—was: “Ex Acri pulsos Januenses dat Mare victos.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo (*Vite de' Duchi*) says, “la Città di Mesetria in Mare di Ponto” (*u.s.*, col. 564), but the place was no doubt Mistra or Misithra in Laconia, where there are still churches of St. Sophia and St. Theodore (see Murray's “Handbook to Greece,” cols. 136, 137). Sanudo probably confused it with Mesembria, on the Thracian coast of the Euxine. Dandolo calls the place Mesembria.

<sup>2</sup> Sanudo, *V. D.*, *u.s.*, col. 564, 565. In the case of Morosini the breve was under his shield in San Marco (*ib.*, col. 557).

## CHAPTER VI

### RIVALRY OF VENICE AND GENOA IN THE LEVANT

I NOW return to the history of the Venetians in the Levant after the reconquest of Constantinople by Michael Paleologus in 1261. That event reduced their power on the Bosphorus in a manner indicated by the loss of dignity of their representative there, who became bailo and not podestà. They had also a bailo at Negropont and a duke in Crete, and their galleys or ships of war and their merchantmen were to be met with in every part of the Levant. We must remember that, all through the period of history we are now considering, crusading States were still in existence in Syria, and carrying on a busy trade with the Western world. Since the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, Acre had been the first in importance of the Christian towns of Syria. There the King of Jerusalem or his viceroy generally resided, there the high court of justice sat, and there traders congregated, most of all those of Genoa and Pisa, but those of Venice not far short of them in numbers, and others from Ancona, Florence, Lucca, Piacenza in Italy, from Marseilles and Montpellier in Provence, even some from England.<sup>1</sup> A convoy of merchant ships from Venice (*carovana*) sailed for Acre at regular intervals, escorted by galleys often to the number of thirty or forty, touching at Negropont by the way. Next in wealth and importance to Acre came Tyre, more favoured indeed by Venice than even Acre, and after Tyre

<sup>1</sup> Heyd (French trans.), i. pp. 318 *sqq.*, and the authorities quoted in the notes.

Beyrout. The Venetian community throughout Syria was under the government of a bailo, who lived at Acre, but had a house also at Tyre, and apparently had a viscount under him. We meet with one Pantaleone Barbo in the last year of the twelfth century as Venetian bailo, and Marsilio Giorgio or Zorzi in the middle of the thirteenth century.

The Genoese were governed by two consuls—a title they always affected, and which no doubt carried prestige from its ancient usage at Rome—resident, like the Venetian bailo, at Acre. Tyre and Beyrout and other places had local officers subordinate to those at Acre.<sup>1</sup> These baili or consuls were independent of the government of the King of Jerusalem, their position resembling in some respects that of ambassadors, and still more closely that of consuls in Turkey under the Capitulations, administering their own foreign law in their own courts. The merchants and other colonists from the several Western cities occupied different regions of Acre, and through the first half of the thirteenth century there were constant feuds between these colonies. The much-disputed Crusade of Frederic II. had brought into the Syrian towns Guelf and Ghibelline factions, and we read of fights in the streets of Acre between Pisans on the imperial side, and Genoese on the Guelf side, in 1249, and about the same time between the colonists of Marseilles and Montpellier.<sup>2</sup> Venetians here, as in Italy, were inclined to be anti-Ghibelline, and, so long as the Hohenstaufens had any footing in Palestine, they and the Genoese lived together in amity, the Pisans representing the opposite party. But in 1249 or 1250 the murder of a Genoese by a Venetian in Acre led to an onslaught on the Venetian colony there by an angry Genoese mob.<sup>3</sup> This was the

<sup>1</sup> Heyd, *u.s.*, i. pp. 332 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, *u.s.*, i. pp. 343, 344.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, i. 344. This is the "outrage" referred to by Canale as having caused ominous grief to a "sage home" of Genoa (see his *Cron Ven.*, *u.s.*, p. 452).

beginning of ill-feeling, which, after smouldering for four or five years, broke out into flame in 1255. For the Venetians, when they heard of this outrage, sent a fleet to Acre under Lorenzo Tiepolo (son of the former doge, Giacomo Tiepolo), whom the Chronicle of Da Canale lauds for his *debonaireté* and courtesy and many other fine qualities, and gave him instructions to take vengeance for the outrage. He first broke down the chain<sup>1</sup> stretched across the mouth of the harbour between two towers by the Genoese, then brought his ships into the harbour and burned the Genoese ships there, and, in conjunction with the Venetian bailo, Marco Giustiniani, occupied St. Saba, a convent or some other religious building that the Genoese had fortified on the hill of Montjoie, separating the Venetian from the Genoese quarter.<sup>2</sup> After this the Genoese seem for a time to have withdrawn their ships to Tyre, and their flag was proscribed in Acre harbour. The Venetians held all the town from the sea and harbour on the south to Monmusato or Mont Musart, on the north slope of the rocky ridge on which the city stands. The next move made by the Venetians was to follow the Genoese ships to Tyre, where Philippe de Montfort, a Frenchman whom Da Canale calls "a rich official,"<sup>3</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> It was common in the East thus to close a harbour. We have met with a chain across the mouth of the Golden Horn ("Early History of Venice," p. 373). Import and export duties were taken at an office adjoining the chain, whence we have the expressions "introitus catenæ," "dricium cathaniæ" for the duty, "curia cathenæ" for the court that tried questions as to its payment. The name "catena" was extended to the street or district adjoining the chain: we have "in vico qui dicitur catena" in a deed quoted in note 3, p. 345, of vol. i. of Heyd.

<sup>2</sup> "Amozoja" is the name given it on the plan at the end of the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* in Bongars, on which it is shown between *Locus Venetorum* on east and *Locus Januæ* on west. Dandolo (*u.s.*, col. 367) calls it "Muzoja." In both words we have the Venetian *z* for the *gi* of "gioia."

<sup>3</sup> "Un riche Bailli." "Bailli" or "Bailif" is the title given by Canale to the bailo who represented Venice in her less important dependencies. It is, of course, derived from the Latin *bajulus*; but it is used in a general sense apparently for any feudal lord exercising authority over subjects or dependents.



a staunch friend of Genoa. Within sight of Tyre a great sea fight took place, in which the Venetians took three Genoese galleys, and would have taken more if a storm had not driven them back to Acre. The Genoese, however, still held a strong tower in Acre, with plenty of warlike engines, and the Syrians of the town and neighbourhood seem to have been better affected to them than to the Venetians. When the news of their defeat at Tyre reached Genoa there was a great outcry for vengeance upon Venice. Wives and maidens begged that their dowries might be taken to fit out another fleet for Syria.<sup>1</sup> So galleys and great ships were sent under Roberto or Rosso della Turca, but before they could reach Acre, two fleets had already been sent out from Venice, one under Andrea Zeno, the doge's nephew and best-loved kinsman, another under Paolo Faliero, and these had wrested from the Genoese Mont Musart and all they had held in the town, except their own *Ruga* or bazaar. But those in their strong tower still held out, and exulted at the expected arrival of "the flower of Christendom" to kill all the Venetians in Acre. They had a sad revulsion of feeling when Lorenzo Tiepolo and Andrea Zeno, leaving the bailo Giustiniani to guard Acre, sailed out, and, in sight of the town, engaged the fleet just arrived from Genoa, took twenty-five galleys, and slew or drowned 1000 men. Only a high wind springing up, that carried the rest of the Genoese ships towards Tyre, saved them from a ruinous defeat. While the fleets were in action, the Genoese garrison sallied out of their tower, and attacked the bailo with horse and foot, but seeing their fleet in evil plight, they lost heart, lowered the Genoese flag, which they had hoisted on their tower with those of their allied cities, and laid down their shields and their arms. Philippe de Montfort, who had advanced along the coast from Tyre to lend

<sup>1</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, p. 462.

aid to the Genoese, was disgusted at the sight of their drowning sailors, and gave up the enterprise, saying the Genoese were like fishing birds, who make a great clamour, but end by diving under the water.<sup>1</sup>

The great tower, probably that of Montjoie, called "Amozoia" in Marin Sanudo's plan, was pulled down by the Venetians, and its site handed over to the Pisans, who were at that time in alliance with Venice. The ships taken from the Genoese were sent to Venice, full of prisoners taken in the two sea actions, fettered in great rings of iron, but were soon released at the intercession of the Pope, "the Apostle, who, as the father of all Christians, took pity on them."<sup>2</sup> His intervention was avowedly made in the interest of "the Holy Land beyond the sea." With the same object he had summoned to Rome, shortly before, envoys from the two Republics and Pisa, and had induced them to send commissioners to the seat of war to order hostilities to cease. This was before the Genoese defeat at Tyre, and the news of that catastrophe made Genoa repent of her consent to peace, and make overtures to Paleologus<sup>3</sup> for his alliance against the Venetians. Accordingly, when the papal legate, Fra Tommaso, Bishop of Bethlehem, came to Acre to order all the fortresses in dispute to be placed in his hands, the Venetians and Pisans refused and the war went on. But, according to Canale, their countryman, the doge's counsellors were "piteous like gentlemen, and entreated the doge to release the prisoners, and so the doge gave them each a coat and shoes and

<sup>1</sup> "*Les Jenoes ne sont pas homes se de borde non, et ressemblent osiaus que mauvient poison; que il se ietent en mer, et se neient dedens*" (Canale, *u.s.*, p. 472).

<sup>2</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, p. 474. Dandolo's account, less graphic, agrees in all essentials (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 366, 367), and the Genoese accounts in Sauli's *Col. Gen. in Galata* (i. pp. 52 *sqq.*) do not differ materially.

<sup>3</sup> Canale adds, "*que novelement avoit eue la signorie dou Natuli,*" *i.e.* of Anatolia. Canale gives no dates, but it appears that this happened just before Paleologus' recovery of Constantinople. (See Canale, *u.s.*, p. 480.)

stockings, and set them free.”<sup>1</sup> It is pleasing to find such an instance of generosity in a rough age, and the high appreciation of it by a contemporary writer, who has, however, shortly afterwards, to lament the ingratitude of the recipients of these coats and shoes, when they prompted their ally, the Greek Emperor, to put out with hot irons the eyes of some Venetian prisoners taken at sea in a transport and brought to Constantinople.<sup>2</sup>

We read in Canale’s lively chronicle of fightings between Venetians and Genoese all over the Eastern Mediterranean, the recesses of which each party searched to find their enemies’ ships, at Salonica, at Scopelo to the east of Eubœa (an island owned by Lorenzo Tiepolo through his marriage with an heiress of the Ghisi family<sup>3</sup>), in the Bay of Nauplia, at Malvasia in Laconia. Both republics had trade interests in Syria and Egypt, in Greece and the Euxine. Venetian fleets with soldiers or administrators were for ever passing to and fro between the Adriatic and Negropont or Crete; and Genoese between the Gulf of the Lion and Galata. The Genoese colony at the latter place was established, as we have seen, immediately after the recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks. Up to that time it seems to have been a Venetian stronghold. The better fortune or better statecraft of the Genoese was shown in their courting the alliance of the restored Greek Government, and not pledging themselves, as the Venetians had done, to the support of an alien dynasty and an alien Church. The co-operation of Innocent III., unfriendly as it was, had done more harm to Venice in Romania than was done to Genoa by the excommunication and interdict which Urban IV., the Pope elected in 1261, who had been Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, and so was familiar with the

<sup>1</sup> “*Il furent piteus come gentis homes ; si loèrent a M. li Dus que il leur donast conie. Maintenant lor dona M. li Dus cote et chanches et soliers, et lor dona conie*” (Canale, *u.s.*, p. 474).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 486.

<sup>3</sup> Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, 85, p. 262.

affairs of the East, imposed upon Genoa for her alliance with the schismatic Paleologus against the fugitive Latin Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

The Genoese had also a footing in Sicily, where they had had free rights of trading since 1156.<sup>2</sup> Sicily was a convenient half-way house between Genoa and the Levant, as the Venetian, Andrea Barozzi, found in 1264, when he was sent with fifty-five galleys to intercept a Genoese fleet under Simone Grilli on its way to Acre. The Genoese concealed themselves in a Sicilian harbour, and sent out one ship to meet Barozzi in the mouth of the Adriatic and inform him that the Genoese fleet had sailed for Syria. Barozzi pursued them at full speed, believing that the coast was clear for the convoy of merchantmen that was following him to proceed on its way. A few days afterwards the convoy appeared with Michele Dauro, who was going out as bailo to Acre, on board, and was attacked at the mouth of the Adriatic by Simone Grilli with an overwhelming force. A Trevisan named Nicola, employed as a notary of the doge's court, had been bribed by the Comune of Genoa to keep them informed of all movements ordered. Dauro was able to get the crews of his merchantmen and their valuable cargoes into one large ship,<sup>3</sup> which he carried safely into Ragusa, leaving the Genoese only ten merchantmen, with nothing more valuable than oil and honey and other bulky goods left in them. The Venetian admiral, who had been deluded, found at Tyre only one Genoese merchantman laden with cotton, which

<sup>1</sup> See Sauli, *Col. Gen. in Gal.*, i. pp. 64, 65.

<sup>2</sup> The treaty is in *Liber Jurium, Reip. Gen.*, i. col. 190 (Pertz, *Mön. Hist. Patr.*).

<sup>3</sup> Canale calls the ship the *Roquefort*, i.e. *Roccaforte*. Our MSS. of Dandolo read *Buccaforte*. The account in Canale (*u.s.*, pp. 504-508) is very spirited; that of Dandolo (*Mur., R. I. S.*, xii. c. 371) agrees with it substantially. The Genoese account is to be found in Book VI. of the *Annales Genuensium*, written by Bartolommeo Scriba (*Mur., R. I. S.*, vi. c. 532): this, naturally enough, does not mention the treachery of the Trevisan notary.

he took to Acre and burned there. He was able to take home under his escort the convoy that was ready to start for Venice, and no doubt consoled himself with the reflection that, if he had been frustrated in his plans, those of the Genoese had not been brilliantly successful.

Canale boasts, and probably with truth, that the Venetians were always able to keep the seas open for their ships sailing to or from Crete, Acre, Romania or Alexandria; but it is certainly not equally true that the Genoese could only cross the sea by stealth like pirates.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, there is no doubt that at least in Romania and all the neighbourhood of Constantinople the Genoese held their heads higher than the Venetians.

Michael Paleologus was indeed quite ready and anxious to live at peace with the Venetians, and released one Enrico Trevisano, whom he had in prison at Constantinople, to sound the doge as to his goodwill towards the restored Empire, and the doge sent one Benedetto Grillone to Constantinople. Grillone returned to Venice without effecting anything, and a Greek sent afterwards to Venice was no more successful. Canale apologises for the length at which he relates the several embassies that passed to and fro. At length Marco Bembo and Piero Zeno, in concert with a Greek archbishop, when it was found that Baldwin's attempt to enlist a Western power in his favour had failed, agreed to a five years' truce.<sup>2</sup>

But Venice was at this time very sore at losing her pre-eminence in Romania, and still entertained hopes of making the proud title of ruler of five-eighths of the Roman Empire a reality.<sup>3</sup> Baldwin came to Venice first of all

<sup>1</sup> "*En repost, com laron de mer que von derobant et sa et la en larcin*" (u.s., p. 498).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 582 sqq. He says: "*A Monsignor li Dus ne fu pas bel, ne as Veneciens ne plot pas se que ses II. mesages firent.*" No doubt so long as there was any hope of a restoration of the Latin Empire, it was the policy of Venice not to be too friendly with the Greek.

<sup>3</sup> In the draft treaty sent to Venice from Michael Paleologus in June

places in Western Europe, and was received by the Venetians with as great honour as in their dependency of Negropont. The doge wrote letters on his behalf to the Pope, the King of France, and other kings of the West, probably among these to the Kings of Castile and England. From Venice Baldwin went to Manfred in Apulia, and thence to Rome, and afterwards into France. Manfred seemed a most hopeful ally, for he bade Baldwin tell the Pope that he knew he was no friend of his, but if the Pope would give him his countenance, or even a temporary truce, he would undertake to cross to Romania, and put Baldwin in possession of Constantinople. If the Pope would go so far as to recognise him as King of Apulia, he would go on to the Holy Land and reconquer Jerusalem. The Pope promised Baldwin "the Cross," that is, to proclaim a Crusade for his restoration, but said nothing as to Manfred's proposals. Envoys from the doge appeared with Baldwin before the Pope, and offered to furnish ships for the Crusade that was to restore the Latin Empire.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Apostle may have remembered that a similar arrangement sixty years before had not been altogether satisfactory in its result to his great predecessor. At any rate, he was not prepared to offer the right hand of fellowship to the last illegitimate representative of the hated Hohenstaufens, whose retention of Saracen troops in his service was still a scandal to Christendom.

The Pope had invited Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, and, by his marriage with the heiress of Provence, already a powerful and wealthy prince, to come to Naples, and take possession of Manfred's dominions: he was obliged reluctantly to approve his election as senator

1265, but not confirmed by Venice, the doge was styled "*Doge di Venezia, signore di Croazia, Dalmazia e degli altri paesi ed isole soggette al suo Dominio*" (Rom. ii. p. 275, n. 2), giving up, in favour of these vague, general terms, the claim to a definite fraction of the Eastern Empire.

<sup>1</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, pp. 498-502.

of Rome for five years. In 1264 a French army marched into Italy to secure the offered kingdom; a great comet, the greatest seen in that age, blazed over their heads, and might naturally be held to portend the fire and bloodshed their invasion was to bring upon Italy. The contemporary and less reasonable opinion interpreted it as portending the Pope's death, which happened on the 2nd of October, the night on which it disappeared.<sup>1</sup> The new Pope, Clement IV., who was elected in February 1265, came from Provence, and was a still more zealous supporter of Charles than Urban had been. He proclaimed a Crusade against Manfred and his Saracen guards, and was lavish in supplying money for the enterprise. Charles came to Rome by sea from Marseilles, in spite of the fleet of Pisa, which was, as ever, on the Ghibelline side, was inaugurated as senator, and by the end of the year was joined in Rome by a magnificent feudal army from France, that had been welcomed by the Guelfs of Lombardy. At the head of this he advanced at once towards Naples, forced the passage of the Garigliano, and at Benevento met and defeated Manfred, who died in the battle. All hopes from him for the fugitive Baldwin came to a tragical end.

The battle of Benevento, the death of Manfred, and the execution of Conradin after the battle of Tagliacozzo three years later in 1268, events full of the romance of history, and that find an echo in the *Divina Commedia*, have no direct bearing on the history of Venice. But indirectly the extinction of the House of Suabia, and the arrival in Italy of Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, the champion of the Holy See and the Guelfs, just at the time when the fate of the Latin Empire of Constantinople was hanging in the balance, raised the hopes of Baldwin, and the many Latin princes and knights still scattered over the East. Here was a champion of the Latin Church, rich and fortunate; might he not be induced to continue the Crusade

<sup>1</sup> Dand. in Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 371, 372.

that had crushed the excommunicated Manfred and Conrad, and by French swords place again a Latin Emperor on the throne of Constantine, and a Latin patriarch in St. Sophia? Whatever hope there might be of restoring a Latin Empire of Romania was so much in favour of Venetian predominance over Genoa in the Levant. Genoa's fortunes were bound up with those of Paleologus.

There is no doubt that Charles of Anjou had thoughts of a conquest of the Eastern Empire. By a treaty with Baldwin in 1267,<sup>1</sup> Charles promised to supply him with 2000 knights for a year's service against Paleologus, or to invade Romania himself, in return for which he was to have the sovereignty over Achaia (with the Prince Villehardouin as his vassal) for ever, and Epirus, and all the Greek islands except Lesbos, Samos, Chios and Cos, together with a third of any other lands he might conquer, Baldwin receiving the other two-thirds, with Constantinople and the four islands for himself. Charles also found it worth while to enter into close relations with the Villehardouins by the marriage of his son Philip to Isabella, the daughter and heiress of William, Prince of Achaia. And at this time Beatrice, Charles' infant daughter, was betrothed to another Philip, the son and heir of Baldwin, who in 1273, when he had become titular Emperor by his father's death, was married to her. All these events were evidence of Charles' ambition to play a great part in the Levant. The Church of Rome, too, still had hopes of subjecting the new Rome to her spiritual dominion, and Charles was her champion, moved partly by zeal for religion, partly by the feeling that the support of the Pope was indispensable to the success of his plans: these, like those of Ecelino da Romano, whom he resembled in his stern and relentless austerity, were far-reaching, aiming at a restoration of the universal Empire of the Cæsars. And in those days the

<sup>1</sup> This is printed in Del Giudice, *Cod. Diplom. del Regno di Carlo I. e II. d'Angiò*, ii. pp. 30 *sqq.*



conquest of the Holy Land, and recovery of the Sepulchre of Christ, was a vision that could not but float more or less vaguely before the eyes of any prince who wished, and felt he had the power, to play a great part in the Christian world.

His brother, the saintly King of France, now near the end of his life, is said not to have encouraged this ambition. St. Louis was zealous for the recovery of Palestine and for the union of the Eastern and Western Churches. He had fought bravely but unsuccessfully for the former object; but he was a gentle spirit and a lover of peace. When Michael Paleologus in 1264 entered into negotiations with the Pope, and in 1274, when he sent Germanus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Council of Lyons,<sup>1</sup> a peaceful reconciliation of the two Churches seemed possible. In 1265 Venice began to treat for a peace with Paleologus, promising explicitly not to help Charles of Anjou<sup>2</sup> in any enterprise against the Greeks, and to bind all pilgrims more in number than twenty sailing to the Holy Land in any Venetian ship to keep the peace with the Greek Empire. These negotiations were, with the help of the Pope, brought to a successful termination in 1268,<sup>3</sup> as we have seen, by the mission of Marco Bembo and Piero Zeno.<sup>4</sup> Canale says that the five years' truce they made reinstated the Venetians in all the possessions they had formerly had in Romania, and there is not much exaggeration in this. They recovered their former possessions in the islands of the Archipelago and in Negropont: Modon, Coron, and

<sup>1</sup> Sauli, *Col. Gen. di Galata*, i. p. 79. But see Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, 85, p. 262. The letter from Michael to the Pope in Bussi, *Ist. della Città di Viterbo*, p. 409, is stated by Hopf to be a forgery. Milman speaks of the "Latin patriarch" as having been present at the Council of Lyons; but it is evident from his account that Germanus was the orthodox patriarch ("Hist. of Latin Christ.," v. pp. 90, 91).

<sup>2</sup> He is mentioned as Count Charles, own brother of the King of France. Manfred is called King of Sicily in the same sentence (Tafel und Thomas, iii. p. 67).

<sup>3</sup> Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, 85, pp. 262, 263.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 127.

Crete, which they had never lost, but had retained with great difficulty, were confirmed to them. In the first preliminaries, agreed to in June 1265, with Jacopo Dolfino and Jacopo Contarini, Michael had promised them special quarters in Thessalonica, Smyrna, and other cities, and in the Stenon,<sup>1</sup> near Constantinople, in all of which their bailo should have supreme jurisdiction. If the Venetians continued to help the Emperor in his wars he had promised to repudiate the treaty of Nymphæum and expel the Genoese from his dominions.<sup>2</sup> But these last two promises were withdrawn in the ratification of 1268. Venetians were not to be confined to certain localities, but to be allowed to live and trade and rent land or houses in any part of Byzantine territory, only the Genoese were to share these rights with them, the Venetians being bound not to attack the Genoese within the Hellespont or in the Black Sea ("ab introitu Avedi nec intra Avedum . . . nec in Mari Majore"), where Avedus is Abydos. The Emperor bound himself to redress any injury done by one party to the other within these limits. A Venetian bailo, as in the days before the conquest of 1204, was to reside at the Byzantine Court in place of the podestà who had represented the Republic when mistress of three-eighths of the Roman Empire.<sup>3</sup> The treaty was ratified at Venice on the 30th of July 1268 by Lorenzo Tiepolo, who had just succeeded Renier Zeno as doge. Western Churches, such as that of San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice, resumed possession of their lands in Constantinople, Crete, or Negropont, and the Pope himself recognised the recovery of the

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the Bosphorus.

<sup>2</sup> *ἵνα ἀποδιώξῃ ἡ βασιλεία μου ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς Γενουίτας* (Tafel and Thomas, iii. p. 71). 'H Βασιλεία μου here does not mean "my Empire," but "my Imperial Majesty."

<sup>3</sup> Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, 85, pp. 262, 263. Besides the documents in Tafel and Thomas, iii. 62-89 (the preliminaries of 1265), Miklosich and Müller, iii. 76-84, and Tafel and Thomas, iii. 92-100 (the truce of 1268), Hopf has gathered much of great interest from the Angevine archives at Naples.

Eastern Empire by a schismatic dynasty. This was a death-blow to the hopes Baldwin had entertained of a restoration, but he continued till his death in the autumn of 1273, and after that his son Philip, who just before his father's death became Charles' son-in-law, to reside in a palace at Naples and receive a pension from Charles. He had a small court, and kept till his death the title of Emperor, but had not a foot of land in Romania.

This truce was one of the last acts of Renier Zeno, who died, as we have seen, in June 1268. The war with Genoa was still going on. In 1265 Guilberto Dandolo, who was then Bailo of Negropont, with a squadron of galleys from Zara, Crete, and Negropont, fought with Genoese ships among the islands about Stromboli to the north of Sicily.<sup>1</sup> He sailed thence to Tunis to dispose of a merchantman he had taken in the action, but was recalled to Ragusa by news of Genoese preparations to renew the war, as a result of which one Lanfranco Borborino was sent to Sicily with twenty-eight galleys. These were defeated off Trapani by Marco Gradenigo and Guilberto Dandolo, who succeeded in diverting a fire-ship that the Genoese sent against them. The Venetian accounts, with which those of the Genoese are not inconsistent,<sup>2</sup> say that the Genoese ships took to flight without making a serious fight. The defeat, whether dishonourable or not, was felt as a crushing blow at Genoa; according to Canale "men wept and beat the palms of their hands, matrons and maidens wept and took off the fringes and buttons of gold and silver from their robes,"<sup>3</sup> in order to contribute to the cost of sending another fleet to Sicilian waters. These, cruising about, fell in, off Modon in Messenia, with Marco Zeno, who was escorting the Venetian *carovana* or convoy to the East, but

<sup>1</sup> " *Inter Bulcanicum et Bulcanetum* " (Dand., *u.s.*, col. 372).

<sup>2</sup> The continuators of Caffaro in Mur., *R. I. S.*, vi. cc. 538, 539, speak with great severity of the Genoese admiral's misconduct. They do not mention the fire-ship.

<sup>3</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, p. 526.

as soon as he saw the enemy, left the convoy, in which he and his captains had much property, "to the keeping of Jesus Christ and Monsignor St. Mark," and fell upon the enemy. When these took to flight, the Venetian admiral called his ships back from pursuit, having strict orders from the doge not to leave the convoy unprotected: but one of his captains, we are told, Marin Giustiniani, surnamed Orsatto, remonstrated, saying, "Assuredly I have in the convoy great part of my fortune, and here my body; yet I wish to pursue the ships, for they cannot escape."<sup>1</sup> The Genoese, who had just before landed in Crete and plundered the town of Canea, only escaped now by throwing into the sea all they could spare of the rigging and decoration of their ships. The chronicler, Canale, seems to have thought Marco Zeno a little wanting in dash, as he kept close to his convoy, and so was not able to save a Venetian merchantman, with a very rich cargo, which was taken by Paschetto Mallone, a Genoese gentleman who had fitted out, apparently on his own account, three galleys, and was cruising on the coasts of Syria and Rumania, on the look-out for prizes.<sup>2</sup>

It was an essential object of Venetian policy to keep the seas open for their *carovane*, which were constantly sailing to or from Acre or Negropont, and brought merchandise for "French, Germans, Lombards, Tuscans, and those of the Marches and Romagna." That was one of the principal trade-routes by which the products of the East were brought to Western Europe; and French and Germans, and no doubt our ancestors in Britain, would have had to

<sup>1</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, pp. 528, 530.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, *u.s.*, p. 532. The Genoese ships were lurking in a port called "les Dragonaires." There is an island of Dragonera off the N.E. coast of Crete and a harbour of Dragonera in Cerigo. The latter is probably the place meant by Canale. Dandolo, in his account of this same incident (*u.s.*, c. 374), says that Marco Zeno pursued the Genoese ships "*à Sapiaientia usque ad Mothonum*," where Sapiaientia is the island of Sapienza off the harbour of Navarino.

go without silk and sugar and pepper and many other luxuries, if these sea dogs of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Dandolos and Zenos and Morosinis, had not watched and fought to keep the sea from Acre to Venice open, in spite of Genoese and Greeks. In page after page of Dandolo's and Canale's chronicles we read of the efforts of Genoese to stop, and the efforts of Venetians to conduct in safety, these *carovane*. If the efforts of the latter saved the Venetian markets from loss and panic, they at the same time conferred important benefits on all the Western world.

In 1266 the Pope, Clement IV., exerted himself to make peace between the two maritime Republics; he sent first to Venice one of his chaplains with a message that the King of France had begged him to make this attempt at a reconciliation, with a view to his crossing the sea himself for a Crusade. The Pope said that his envoy was to go to Genoa also; he ordered both Republics, as his own children, to make a peace or at least a truce, and threatened to excommunicate whichever of the two would not listen to his prayer. The doge was entreated to send an embassy to Viterbo to hear from the Pope's mouth the terms of peace. At the same time the Marshal of France and the Archdeacon of Paris appeared at Venice with a message from St. Louis, "the best King there is in the world,"<sup>1</sup> begging them not to reject the Pope's prayer and so make themselves the King's enemies. Their language threatened Venice with the wrath not only of their King, but of King Charles of Sicily, their King's brother (*i.e.* Charles of Anjou); and an envoy of Charles, who was in the company, also spoke to the same effect, urging them to comply with the Apostle's request. To all of these envoys the doge answered "*mult sagement, ensi con il est acoustumes a fere.*" The King of France asked for ships to take him to Africa at the next midsummer, and the doge agreed to stop

<sup>1</sup> "*Li meudres Rois que soit au Siècle.*"

the usual convoy to the East,<sup>1</sup> apparently in order that he might be able to supply enough ships for St. Louis' Crusade.

The doge next sent three envoys to the Pope to discuss the question of a truce; and the envoys of the two kings, and perhaps the Pope's legate with them, rode overland to Genoa. At Venice and in the places they passed on the way they had been treated with all the honour due to the high persons who had sent them; but when they came to Chiavari on the Genoese frontier, they were not treated as ambassadors, but were imprisoned for a day and a half by the Genoese guard. They were not detained longer, and were given proper quarters in the city; but when they were received by the podestà after waiting three days, he refused flatly to make peace with enemies who had so injured them both on sea and land as the Venetians had, until his countrymen had had their full measure of revenge. The ambassadors left Genoa, and we next hear of twenty-eight Genoese galleys putting to sea, to the great joy of Giacomo Dandolo and Marin Morosini, the Venetian admirals, who were at sea—we are not told where—on the look-out for enemies. The Genoese ships got past them and appeared before Acre, where Michele Dauro, the Venetian bailo, refused to admit them; on which they blockaded the town in concert with the Sultan of Egypt,<sup>2</sup> and forced all merchant ships arriving at Acre to carry their cargoes on to Tyre. There was much fleeing and pursuing at Acre and Tyre, and all along what our authorities call the Riviera of Syria from the Black Mountain or Tortosa to Jaffa. The Venetians were unable to catch the bulk of the Genoese

<sup>1</sup> "Por cestui fait remest que Monsignor li Dus n'envoia sa carevane selonc sa costume" (Canale, *u.s.*, pp. 538, 540).

<sup>2</sup> The rivalry of Venetians and Genoese was regarded as an advantage by Sultan Bibars, suggesting his attack on Acre (Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzz.*, vii. p. 464). This was probably the principal reason why St. Louis and Pope Clement IV. were anxious to reconcile the two Republics. It was, moreover, difficult to hire all the shipping required to take a Crusade over the sea so long as Venice and Genoa were at war (Wilken, *u.s.*, vii. p. 511).

ships, but returned to Venice with 440 prisoners, the crews of the galleys and *varchette* they had taken.

In the last days of the doge Renier Zeno, the Venetian admirals, Giovanni Storlato, Count of Ragusa, Eliodoro Vitale, and Tommaso Minotto, Count of Grado, are heard of at Ragusa, at Corfu, or on the coasts of Sicily, ever ready to fight. Minotto had been in the fights off Acre and Tyre that began the war, and again in the victory at Trapani. In 1268, the year of the doge's death, ten galleys were sent to sea in charge of the *carovana* under Piero Michele. At the same time Pope Clement had induced Venice and Genoa to send envoys to him at Viterbo, but was unable to bring them to terms, and in August had to adjourn the negotiations till St. Andrew's Day. Meantime Renier Zeno died, early in July. His successor during the first years of his power does not appear to have carried on active hostilities against Genoa. We read in Dandolo only of the safe passing of the *carovane* between Venice and Romania or Syria. The Republic suffered severely in these years from dearth, and her ships were fully employed in importing corn from foreign countries and keeping the Adriatic open and free from piracy, so that the corn-ships might pass safely.<sup>1</sup> At length, in 1270 or 1271, peace with Genoa came—a truce for five years; this was made at the instance of St. Louis, just before he started on the expedition to Tunis in which he lost his life. Venetian ambassadors were at Cremona settling the terms of the truce when, on the 25th of August, the royal saint died of dysentery in his camp near Tunis. The truce was no doubt agreed to reluctantly on both sides. Dandolo tells us that the prisoners were not exchanged, but remained in confinement.<sup>2</sup> Partly because they were still suspicious of Genoese hostility, but more in consequence of the large stake in ships and merchandise they had in the port of Alexandria, the Venetians refused to let Louis the ships he required

<sup>1</sup> Dand., *u.s.*, c. 378.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, *u.s.*, c. 380.

to take him across the sea, and his host was embarked on Genoese ships or ships of his own manned by Genoese sailors. Altogether more than 10,000 Genoese, we are told, took part in the Crusade,<sup>1</sup> so large a proportion of the total population of the Republic that they elected two of their leaders in the French camp as consuls for the year.

These Genoese Crusaders distinguished themselves in the taking of Carthage, the first and only success of St. Louis' unfortunate expedition. The colony of Genoese merchants resident in Tunis were imprisoned on the landing of their countrymen in St. Louis' army, but were kindly treated by the Moslems. The crusading zeal of the Genoese emphasised, as it perhaps helped to cause, the lukewarmness of the Venetians, which moved the wrath of Prince Edward of England, when, in May 1271, he arrived at Acre from Tunis, and found their merchants exporting arms and provisions to Alexandria. The Venetian bailo in Acre, Philip Beligno, was able to show that this trade was carried on under licence from the Kings of Jerusalem, and thereby silenced the English prince's remonstrance; but, as we have seen on former occasions, this willingness to trade with unbelievers prevented the Venetians from enjoying the credit of being entirely orthodox Catholics.<sup>2</sup> In the year 1275 the bailo, then Pietro Zeno, quarrelled with the authorities of Acre, because Jean de Montfort, the Lord of Tyre, who kept the Republic out of the rights to which she was entitled in that city, was admitted to Acre; his complaint was so far justified that Montfort was required to return to Tyre.<sup>3</sup> In 1277 these rights—the government of a third part of the town, and the possession of streets,

<sup>1</sup> *Annal. Gen.* in Mur., *R. I. S.*, vi. p. 549; quoted in Wilken, vii. p. 541, n. 50. The presence of these Genoese sailors got the Crusade into trouble at Cagliari with the Pisans, who at that time were masters of Sardinia (Wilken, *u.s.*, p. 544).

<sup>2</sup> See Dand. *apud* Mur., *u.s.*, c. 380, and *cf.* Wilken, vii. pp. 594, 595.

<sup>3</sup> Wilken, vii. p. 615.



VENUEMUS CAIRO, THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE PATRIARCH  
of Jerusalem and the Masters of the Templars and  
Hospitallers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo, *u.s.*, c. 393 ; Wilken, vii. p. 666.

## CHAPTER VII

### FORM OF ELECTION OF DOGE—HOMAGE OF THE ARTI

THE election of Lorenzo Tiepolo, who succeeded on the death of Renier Zeno, was remarkable for the first introduction of the elaborate and complicated combination of election by votes and election by lot that was maintained in the election of all doges down to the extinction of the Republic. The electoral law was submitted to the assembly of the people in San Marco on the 15th of July 1268, eight days after the death of Zeno, by the Signoria—that is, the six counsellors of the doge, known as the “Consiglio Minore,” with the three “Capi de’ Quaranta”—the body in which the government of the State, during the vacancy of the ducal throne, was vested. These elected as Vicar of the Dogado (or vice-doge) one of themselves, generally the eldest of the six counsellors. We do not know whether the *Capitulare* prescribing the mode of election had been long in preparation. The words of Dandolo, that the members of the Signoria “settled the form by very careful elaboration,”<sup>1</sup> may refer only to the work of eight days, during which time must apparently be found for its having been laid before and confirmed by the greater and lesser councils. We may conclude it was approved by the acclamation of the assembly in St. Mark’s on the same day on which it was laid before the councils. Eight days later, on the 23rd of July, the first of the chosen electors, Giacomo Baseggio,

<sup>1</sup> “*Subtilius eliminantes sanxerunt.*” It is not easy to bring out the full force of the adverb and participle (Dand. in Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 376).





### PROCESSION IN PIAZZA SAN MARCO

The Doge surrounded by Ambassadors, and followed by the Signoria, and preceded by the Ballottino, the Great Chancellor and Captain-General, the Cattedra or Chair of the Doge, and the Capella or Chaplains of the Church.

announced to the people again assembled in San Marco that Lorenzo Tiepolo had been chosen.

The form of election prescribed that the Great Council should be assembled, but that all members under thirty years of age should be excluded from the proceedings. They were to meet first in San Marco, and there offer up their prayers; the rest of the proceedings were to take place in the ducal palace, *après none*, as Canale says. The members left after the exclusion of the juniors were to be counted, and an equal number of ballots of chalk or wax placed in a hat. These appear to have been hollow, for in thirty of them was inserted a *cedula*, or ticket,<sup>1</sup> with the word *lector*, "elector," inscribed. The members of the council were to be led, in an order determined by lot, up to the hat, and for each a ballot was to be drawn out of the hat by a boy eleven years old, who, according to some accounts, was selected from the Orphanage, according to others was the first boy whom the youngest member of the Signoria, sent out of the Basilica for the purpose, met. The thirty members who received inscribed ballots passed into another room. These thirty ballots were again placed in the hat, nine of them containing inscribed tickets, and the counsellors who received these remained in the room while the others passed out. The nine then proceeded to choose forty "discreet men," who were not necessarily members of the Great Council,<sup>2</sup> by the votes of at least seven of their number. The forty were reduced to twelve by the ballot, and these twelve by eight "concordant votes" chose twenty-five. The twenty-five were reduced by ballot to nine, who by seven votes chose forty-five. These, reduced to eleven by the ballot, selected the forty-one by whom the doge was finally elected. No more than one member of

<sup>1</sup> Canale says: "*Un petit de parchemin escrit en chascune, que disoit Lector*" (*u.s.*, p. 588).

<sup>2</sup> Canale says they "*orent poestes à eslire et dou Consoil et fors dou Consoil*" (*u.s.*, p. 590).

any family could be among the forty-one electors, or indeed in any of the batches of electors, the thirty or the forty or the twenty-five or the forty-five, who gave a vote at any stage of the election. As soon as the name of any one who received an elector's ballot was called out by the notary who held the hat, all of the same name<sup>1</sup> rose and left the room, and a number of blank ballots equal to the number of the excluded counsellors was withdrawn from the hat.<sup>2</sup>

An ancient account of the election of a doge printed by Tommaso Gar in a note to Canale's Chronicle, from a MS. in the Venetian dialect in the collection of the Marchese Gino Capponi, gives us some other interesting particulars as to the procedure followed. This account begins: "As soon as the doge has been buried, the bell called *lo rengo* is rung, and all the nobles that are then in Venice assemble; the doors of the Great Council are locked, and at once the six counsellors and the three chiefs of the forty take their seats on the bench, and the Great Chancellor ascends the *renghiera*, or tribune,<sup>3</sup> and begins to read a certain old decree (*parte*), and afterwards that recently passed for the choosing and making of a doge." The electors are first assembled in the *Sala del Consiglio Maggiore*, and there, after the exclusion of counsellors under thirty, the boy fetched from the church of St. Mark by the junior counsellor

<sup>1</sup> In some of the lists of electors given us by Dandolo or Sanudo, we meet with two of the name of Dandolo. It is supposed there were two families of that name, not recognised as kinsmen.

<sup>2</sup> See *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, ser. i. tom. 8, pp. 747, 748.

<sup>3</sup> The *tribunale* on which the seats of the doge and his counsellors were placed was a movable wooden enclosure placed, according to the time of the year, at the north-east or south-west end of the hall. It had three sides, along which the seats were ranged, and the other side opened towards the hall. There were seats at the end of each wing towards the hall: and there was a flat platform along the top of each wing—something like that above the stalls in the choir of St. Paul's in London—on one of which an orator is represented making a *renga* in one of the contemporary engravings to Giannotti's treatise. This is probably the *renghiera*.

is brought. He appears to be the boy first found,<sup>1</sup> and is called by our chronicler "ballottin de Misser lo Doxe." After the first ballot, the thirty who were selected passed into another room, which the chronicler calls the *cancelleria*. When the thirty were collected there, by what must have been a long process of selection from the whole number of perhaps 400 or 500 counsellors, they were called back one by one into the council hall, and in presence of the Signoria were sworn according to a form prescribed in what Canale calls the *estabilissement* for the election, that is, the regulations that the Great Chancellor had read out at the beginning of the proceedings. The same process of swearing individually was followed with each of the selected bodies that took part in the subsequent stages of the election.

When each of the small electing bodies, the nine, twelve, nine or eleven had chosen the larger number they were required to choose, they handed the names of those they had chosen on a *zetola* (*cedula*) to the Signoria, by whom the bell of the *rengo* was again rung and the list of names read out: those of the chosen who were present passed into the *cancelleria*, those who were absent were sent for. When this had been done for the last list of elected, and the forty-one electors were assembled, the real business of the election began. They were strictly confined to the Sala, and no one from outside was allowed to speak to

<sup>1</sup> "*Uno putto piccholo de quelli che vien appresentadi.*" In the time of Donato Giannotti (the beginning of the sixteenth century) the boy was selected beforehand and placed in St. Mark's to be found by the counsellor (see *Repubblica di Venetia Del Cardinal Contarini, Giannotti et Altri Antori Venez.*, 1678, p. 279). The *ballottino*, Giannotti tells us, was privileged to walk before the doge-elect in the procession after his election, and was always, when he reached a proper age, appointed by the doge one of the secretaries of the Republic. Romanin (ii. p. 289) quotes from the MS. of Muazzo's *Governo della Repubblica*, the formal regulation: "*Quod consiliarius junior, antequam procedatur ad electionem, ire debeat in ecclesiam S. Marci et facta oratione, primus parvulus qui tunc obviaverit accipi debeat tro extrahendo ballottas, et sit Ballottinus futuri ducis.*"

them. First, a mass of the Holy Ghost was said to them with the prayer of St. Mark; then each had to swear on the body of Christ that he would elect the man who should appear to him "the most catholic and the best,"<sup>1</sup> and that he would keep secret for five years all that passed among the electors. The forty-one were then locked up, so that they could see no one, and no one see them, or speak, or make signs to them. The members of the Signoria, the six counsellors, and the three chiefs of the forty, never left the palace during the deliberations of the forty-one; and a body of Venetian sailors, that our chronicler calls "el forzo de' Marineri de Venexia," was on guard over them day and night. The electors chose three of their eldest members as "priors" and two of the youngest as "chancellors" or secretaries. The three priors took their seats at a large table placed before the *Majestade* of the palace, that is, a *tabernacolo* or niche, such as one still sees in the streets of Venice, with an image of God the Father, or Christ, or the Madonna. On a white cloth on the table were placed two *bossoli* or ballot-boxes, one white with a figure of St. Mark, the other green, and forty-one scarlet balls with a gilt cross. The order of voting was then settled by forty-one *zetole*, or parchment tickets, with a number on each, folded up and well shuffled and handed by the two chancellors to the electors, beginning with the eldest, who sat down in order according to the number of the ticket each had received. When they were all seated the holder of the first ticket was called upon to nominate some one as doge, and stood up and said: "In the name of the Holy Trinity I wish and elect such an one the son of such an one to be doge." Then the holder of the second ticket made his nomination, and the rest of the forty-one in succession, and when all had nominated the chancellors read out a list of the names proposed and of the nominators of each. Generally a

<sup>1</sup> "El più catholico, e il mior che a lor parerà" (Canale, u.s., p. 748).







*Photo: Alinari*

THE PERGAMO OR CAPITELLO IN SAN MARCO

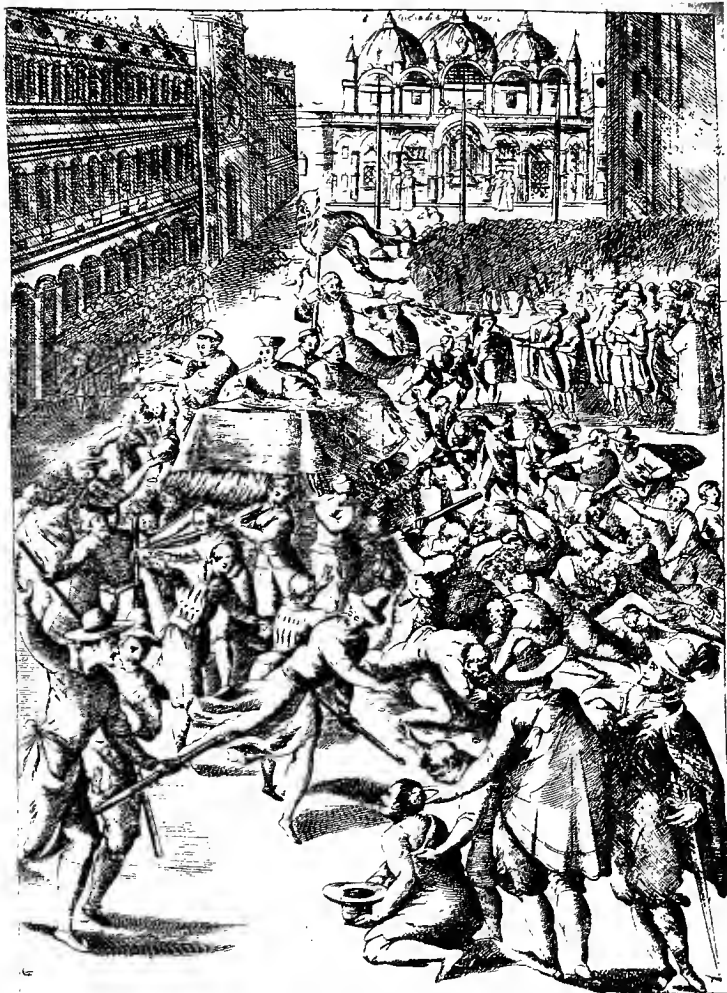
number of the nominations coincided ; we are told there were seldom more than six or eight names voted on. The holder of the first ticket then rose and said, "I vote for such an one to be doge," on which, if the candidate voted for was one of the forty-one, he was turned out of the room and confined between two locked doors in the Quarantia, while any one of the electors who had any objection to make was invited to make it. When all who wished had stated their objections, these were taken down in writing by the chancellors (whose office must have been no sinecure), and read out to the candidate, who was released from confinement for the purpose and allowed to make, if he chose, a *renga* or formal speech in reply to the objections. He was then again locked up, and any of his friends allowed to speak against the objections. Sometimes, it would appear, fresh objections might then be made, and fresh replies to them from the candidate and his friends called forth. At length the voting took place ; the proposer put his ball openly into the white ballot-box, which contained the votes for election ; the rest of the electors followed, but gave their votes secretly. When the forty-one had voted, the eldest of the priors counted the ballots in the white box and then those in the green, and if there were twenty-five or more in the former the candidate was elected. If there were not twenty-five the process of objection and replies was repeated for the second nominee, and so on, till one was found who had twenty-five votes. The senior prior thanked God and St. Mark, and then knocked at the door of the Hall of the Great Council and begged the Great Chancellor to come, whose duty it was to announce the result to the Signoria. If the election was settled at night further proceedings were put off till the next day ; but, if by day, the bell of San Marco, called the *rengo*, was again rung, and "all the people and gentlemen" went to the church, where the forty-one electors placed themselves

“suso el capitello,”<sup>1</sup> I presume in the gallery at a point over the pulpit, where the eldest of them made a “*bella renga*” to the people, telling them whom they had chosen in place of the late doge of blessed memory, on which the people lifted up their voices to praise God and confirm the election. This was the last survival of the old tumultuary popular election. If the doge-elect was present—he will often have been in some high employment abroad—he was laid hold of and carried to the altar, and the oath administered to him by the senior counsellor,<sup>2</sup> who till then had acted as vice-doge. From the altar he was carried out of the basilica to the palace, scattering gold and silver coins all the way “*in segno de magnanimitade*.” At the top of the staircase, at the second balcony looking towards the *Zudegado del Proprio*, that is, the highest Court of Justice, he made a speech to the people, after which he was carried into the hall of the *Signori di Notte*, and seated on the doge’s seat. In this hall, as a sign of his humility and clemency, the common people were allowed to tear off his hood and berretta and scramble for it,<sup>3</sup> so that he was

<sup>1</sup> Canale says: “*Monterent de sor li percle de l’Iglise*.” The *percle* is the *pergamum* or pulpit: it is said in the Italian accounts to be *a sinistra* of the altar, always an ambiguous term, unless it is stated which way the spectator is looking. *Capitello* suggests the smaller pulpit on the north side. In either case, I think, the forty-one electors must have been in the gallery above. Giannotti says that the confirmation of the doge took place “*quando gli elettori salgono in sul Pergamo di San Marco, e pronunciano chi eglino habbiano eletto doge*” (*u.s.*, p. 291).

<sup>2</sup> Canale says the oath was “*selone le chapitre que denotes li fu per li chapelains de Monsignor Saint Marc*.” The chaplains and the vice-doge between them handed him the *gonfalone* or banner of St. Mark “*trestot a or*,” which he carried up the staircase of the palace and held it in his hand while the chaplains sang the *Laudes* in the time-honoured words: “*Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat. Domino nostro Laurentio Theupulo, inclito Duci Venetiæ, Dalmatiæ atque Croatiæ, Dominatori quartæ partis et dimidiæ totius Imperii Romani, salus honor vita et victoria. Sancte Marce tu adjuva*.”

<sup>3</sup> Canale says that all his robes were torn off him, “*li fu straches tos les dras de dos*,” not in the palace, but in San Marco: and he says the same afterwards (*ib.*, p. 698) in his account of the election of Giacomo Contarini, “*Li furent debristes li pans de dos*.”



Il Principe Eletto, dopo l'haver fatto in Chiesa di S. M.<sup>co</sup> nel Pergolo l'orazione al Popolo  
 entra in un Palazzo con suoi Parenti et l'Armigaglio, due portato da gl' uomini dell' Arsenalè ma  
 levando dinari incorno la Piazza, poi entra in Palazzo et sopra le scalte de' Giganti usene incoronato  
 dal Consiglier più Giovane. Franco Formà con Privilegio

DOGE-ELECT CARRIED ROUND PIAZZA



carried bareheaded through the Hall of the Great Council to his private oratory, where he finds his official *berretta* as doge lying on the altar, and after he has knelt and prayed at the altar in the presence of the Signoria, the forty-one electors and other gentlemen, he has it solemnly placed on his head by the senior counsellor, and then the other counsellors and gentlemen make their reverences to him and depart.

The Capponi manuscript, from which I have taken the above interesting account, ends by saying that this was the procedure followed at the election of Marin Morosini, and that it was so observed until the writer's own time. He is apparently wrong in the former statement, for Dandolo and Marino Sanudo the younger both agree that this complicated mode of election was first adopted at the election of Lorenzo Tiepolo, and with this the account of Canale, certainly a contemporary, is quite consistent. The election of Marin Morosini was the first that was in the hands of forty-one electors: and it is possible that, when the number was raised from forty to forty-one to avoid the danger of an equal division of votes, the special method of nominations I have just described may also have been introduced, in the place of the natural way of leaving it to the electors to discover by trial and error the strength of the supporters of the several candidates. The complexity of the later method of election was greatest in the proceedings by which the forty-one electors were chosen: the mode of election by the forty-one was comparatively simple. But it had the defect that it did not preclude the possibility of a candidate being elected over the head of another who had more supporters among the electors, for the first candidate submitted to ballot might have secured his election by the minimum of twenty-five votes, while another who had thirty supporters might never come to the ballot. The device of determining by lot the order in which the candidates were submitted to the ballot

mitigated this evil, and there was no doubt some disposition to accept the result of the lot as the judgment of God. But the defect still remained; and Giannotti tells us that at the election of the doge who was reigning at the time his "Dialogue" was written,<sup>1</sup> the result was not proclaimed until all the candidates' names had been submitted to the ballot.<sup>2</sup>

The doge's palace stands on the site on which all its predecessors have stood: but the Hall of the Great Council, that we now know, was not begun till the year 1342; its humbler predecessor, which was in the front facing the Rio del Palazzo, the small canal crossed by the Bridge of Sighs, was begun only in 1301, so that in 1268, the year in which the first election was held in the manner I have just described, the palace in use was the old Byzantine building dating from Angelo Participazio in the ninth century, which had been inhabited by Pietro Orseolo II., who entertained there the Emperor Otto III., and had been much enlarged in the twelfth century by Sebastiano Ziani. No representation of that palace is in existence, and no description of the place occupied in it by the Hall of the Council or the Cancellaria. A Chronicle coming down to the year 1422, quoted in Ruskin's "Stones of Venice,"<sup>3</sup> speaks of half of the palace finished by Ziani as remaining at the time it was written, and it is probably the old palace spoken of more than once in the anonymous Capponi Chronicle.<sup>4</sup> The account

<sup>1</sup> Giannotti was born in 1494 and died in 1563 or 1572. His Dialogue is supposed to be held three years after the death of Lionardo Loredano. This occurred in 1521, and in 1523 Andrea Gritti was elected.

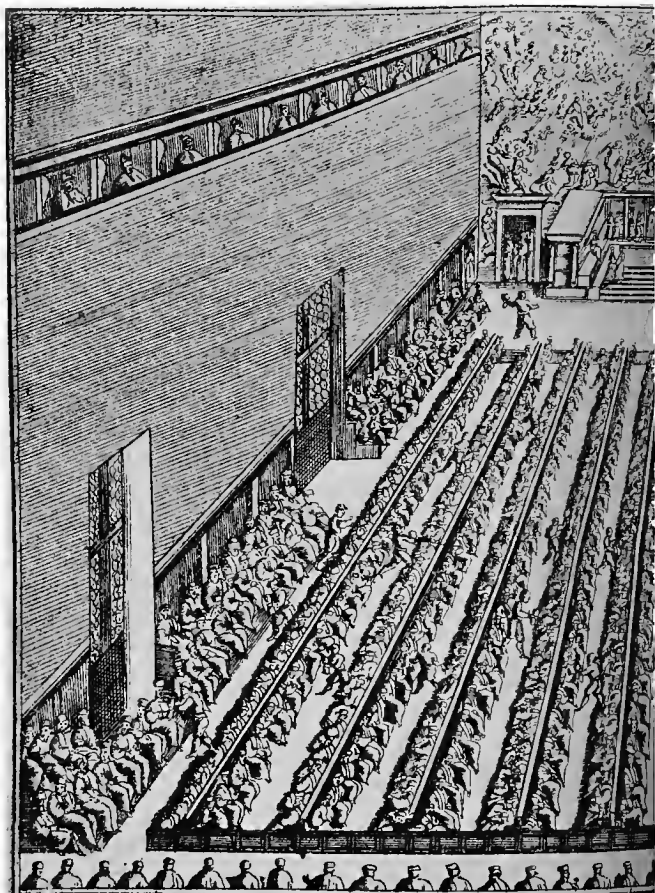
<sup>2</sup> "*Non fù dichiarato doge, se prima tutti gli altri nominati non furono andati al partito*" (p. 286 of the Italian ed. combined with Contarini's *Rep. Ven.*, 1678).

<sup>3</sup> ii. p. 290, ch. viii. § 11. This chapter contains a very instructive discussion of the several ducal palaces and their dates.

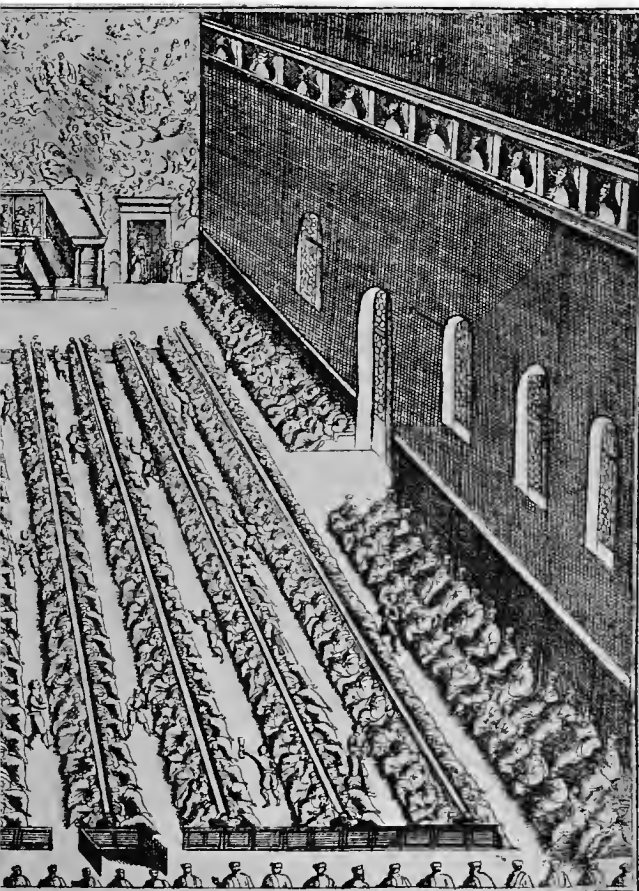
<sup>4</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, p. 749. We have "*i quarantauno vien serradi in lo palazzo vecchio,*" "*davanti la Majestade del palazzo vecchio,*" and







*Il gran Consiglio dell' Eccelsa Repubblica Veneta  
Creare i Magistrati, di bellissimo  
Giacomo Franco, forma con Privilegio*



el quale si riducono i Nobili ed Ser<sup>mo</sup> Principi a  
 futuro ornato



of the election of a doge in the "Dialogue" of Donato Giannotti, the Florentine, to which I have so frequently referred, dates from the first half of the sixteenth century, and refers to the *Sala del Consiglio Maggiore* and the *Sala dello Scrutinio*, as we know them now. But it is so probable that their internal arrangements, when used for an election, were the same as had been those of the older palace, that it will not be amiss to give some account in this place of the procedure described by Giannotti.

The length of the *Sala del Consiglio* was rather more than double its breadth: the tribunale of the doge and Signoria occupied sometimes one, sometimes the other of the shorter sides, filling the whole width except what was left for the passages to two doors. The tribunale was raised three steps above the body of the hall, and a row of seats raised to the same height ran along each of the larger sides of the hall. These seats were kept for some of the numerous officers of the Republic: <sup>1</sup> a row of seats ran at the foot of each of these, and parallel to them, and separated from them by gangways, were nine rows of double seats (*banche doppie*), ranged back to back along the length of the hall, on each of which twenty members of the council sat. No member had a fixed seat: every time the council met for elections—and this was its principal business, occupying it every Sunday, and on some other days also in the months of August and September—the seats were balloted for, so that no faction might get identified with any part of the hall, as was the case with the Mountain and the Plain in a later republican assembly, and is so in a less degree in every chamber that has a Government and an Opposition side or a Right and a Left.

just below "*dall' altro capo (capo) del conseio vecchio.*" These expressions would seem to show that when the Chronicle was written some of the new rooms were built but some of the old rooms still in use.

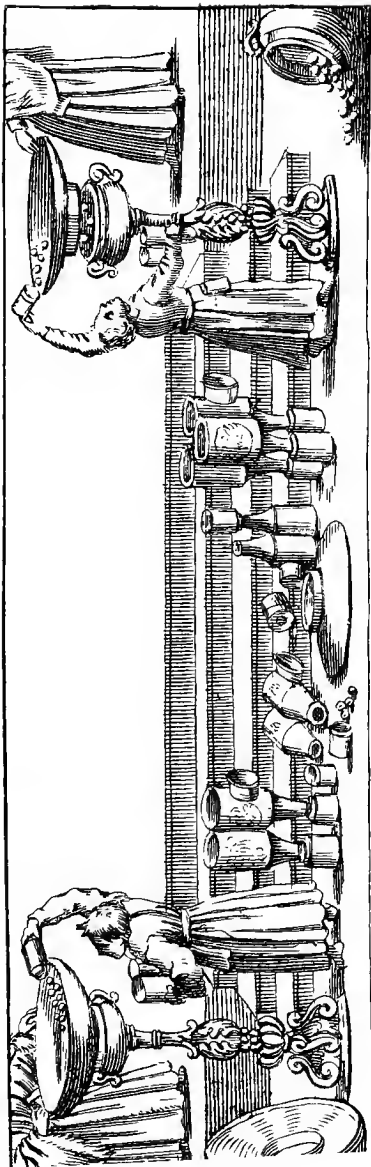
<sup>1</sup> But apparently no one had any particular seat except those entitled to seats in the doge's tribunale. Giannotti's account is not clear as to this. Cavalieri and doctors also had a right to these high seats.

The main object of all the regulations for the election was to prevent any concerted action. Except in the case of the nominator of each candidate, the voting was secret: those who sat together did not vote together; the lot determined in what order the several benches (*banchi*<sup>1</sup>) voted, and whether in each bench the side towards San Giorgio or that towards San Marco was to vote first, and whether its members were to begin from the end (*testa*) towards Broglio or that towards Castello. The urn was guarded by the junior of the doge's counsellors and the junior of the three heads of the Quarantia: but no one put his hand in it but the *ballottino*. In translating from the ancient accounts I have taken *Capello* to be literally a hat, because it is never spoken of as an urn or vase, and it was apparently not fixed in its position, but held by a "*noder*," the Venetian word for *notaro*, "a notary."<sup>2</sup> In the time of Giannotti it was an urn, still called *Capello*, of solid and handsome form, as represented in the contemporary engravings reproduced in Grævius, and so high as to make it impossible for any voter to see what was inside it; and this, as we can gather from the engravings, must have made it difficult for the *ballottino*, of eleven years of age, to take a ballot out. In all the ballotings by which the numbers were reduced, this was done, in Giannotti's time, by means of plated or gilt balls,<sup>3</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to distinguish between *banche* and *banchi*. The *banche doppie*, as explained above, were the rows of seats on which the members sat back to back; the south side (*verso San Giorgio*) of one of these with the north side (*verso San Marco*) of that next to it on the south formed together one *banco*. For many elections the voting was by five *banchi doppi*, the two central *banchi* forming one double *banco* and so on, one to the south being always brigaded with the corresponding one to the north. But in the election of doge the voting was by ten single benches (*banchi scempi*), there being only one urn or *capello* from which the lots were drawn, while in other elections there were two or three urns.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. account (*u.s.*, p. 747) mentions another "*noder*," who was "*suso la renga*" and counted the kinsmen of the electors as they passed out.

<sup>3</sup> Ivory plated or gilt according to Claar (*Die Entwicklung der*



BALLOTTINI WITH URNS AND BALLOTS





person for whom a plated ball was drawn being at once turned out of the hall, while, if a gilt ball were drawn, the chancellor read out at once the name of the elector, who was led by two secretaries into another room, while all of his family and connexions were required to leave the hall as being henceforth not eligible, and counted, an equal number of plated balls being taken out of the *Capello*. In the contemporary account of the election of 1268 by Martino da Canale, the balls are all of wax, only distinguished by some having and some not having a strip of parchment with the word *Lector* inscribed. Cecchetti<sup>1</sup> tells us that the balls were first of all made of chalk, and in later times, before gold and silver were used, of "*tela di Ormesin*," a light silk fabric from Ormuz in the Persian Gulf.

The notion that party spirit can be excluded from elections by complicating the process of election was in the air in the thirteenth century. Only seven years after the Venetian regulations of 1268, Pope Gregory X., at the Council of Lyons, established the rule by which Papal Conclaves have been governed ever since. In the case of these, the electors, the College of Cardinals, are a body known beforehand, not chosen *ad hoc*, as the forty-one at Venice were. But they are secluded from the outside world as strictly as the Venetian electors, and are restricted in their supplies of provisions and comforts<sup>2</sup> in a manner that does not seem to have been the rule at Venice. This restriction was not imposed on the Papal Conclave till they had been five days without coming to a decision. We are told<sup>3</sup> that the Venetian electors were never known to

*Venez. Verfassung*, pp. 18, 19). These were also in use at the date of the Capponi MS. above quoted.

<sup>1</sup> *Il Doge di Venezia*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> See a quotation from a Bull of Clement VI. in 1351, just seventy-six years after the ordinance of Gregory X., which considerably relaxes the strict rules, in Cartwright "On Papal Conclaves," p. 105, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Giannotti, *u.s.*, p. 289.

take more than six to eight days in discussion, so that there was not so much need of starving the electors into unanimity as there was in the Conclave of Cardinals.<sup>1</sup> At Venice, amongst the forty-one electors, all of high rank and many of great wealth and great age, the restriction to bread and wine would have been as effective as with the cardinals. The obligation of secrecy as to all that passes in the Conclave is another point of similarity with the election of a doge: it must have been more difficult to observe at Rome, where the number of functionaries admitted, *maggior-domos*, confessors, conclavists, barbers, carpenters, and sweepers,<sup>2</sup> was very much more numerous, and the time of seclusion often much longer. The "cells" or booths put up in the Vatican for the cardinals were divided among them by lot, so that no members should be able to arrange to sit together, and the cardinals were kept to the first floor of the Vatican by four locked doors, the keys of which were in the keeping of the Papal Chamberlain and Marshal and the Master of Ceremonies.

If the regulations for Papal Conclaves resemble in many respects those by which the forty-one chosen electors at Venice chose the doge, the regulations for another great historical election, those adopted in 1787 (when, as Mr. Bryce remarks, doges were still elected at Venice) for the election of the first President of the United States, were similar in motive to the far more complicated mode of choosing the forty-one electors at Venice. If we are apt to think, at first sight, that the Venetian method was needlessly complicated, the manner in which the simpler American

<sup>1</sup> The election of Gregory X. had only been accomplished after an interregnum of two years and nine months.

<sup>2</sup> See Cartwright "On Papal Conclaves," pp. 66 *sqq.* In 1829 a conclavist, *i.e.* the private secretary of a cardinal, was expelled and imprisoned for breaking the rule of secrecy. The conclavists (two for each cardinal) had the right, as a perquisite of their office, to sack the cell of the newly-elected Pope, another point of resemblance to Venetian practices. But licence and plunder prevailed much more, during the Middle Ages, in Rome than in Venice.

regulations have failed to answer their purpose, the exclusion of party spirit, may serve as a corrective. The results of party spirit that a Venetian of the thirteenth century saw all around him in the Italian cities, rent by the factions of Guelf and Ghibelline, may well have suggested to him the need of even *abundans cautela*. The framers of the American constitution had no examples quite so alarming before them, though English politics in the days of Walpole and Newcastle and North no doubt illustrated the virulence of party spirit. They trusted, however, to the simple expedient of a double election as a means of getting at the real wishes of honest and independent citizens; and the result has been that from the first contested election downwards, the electors chosen by the State have not been free to exercise their independent judgment, but strictly bound to vote for the candidate of their party, and almost as strictly bound in practice, if not in theory, to adopt as party candidate the person selected by the majority of the party delegates. The Venetian method succeeded in making it impossible to know beforehand who would be the electors, and so preventing them from being pledged to a particular candidate.

The chronicle of Martino da Canale, always full and graphic in its accounts of ceremonial functions, tells us much that is interesting about the homage done by the *Arti* or trade guilds of the city, and other deputations from the city and its adjacent districts, first to the doge, Lorenzo Tiepolo, at his palace, and then to the dogressa, the "Lady Marchioness"—who, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> was a daughter of the Frankish prince of Rascia in Bosnia, Bohemund de Brienne—in the palace of the Tiepolo family at Sant Agostino. This stood in the Sestiere San Polo, near the Frari, on a site that was long marked by a mural inscription to the effect that the land was once Bagiamonte Tiepolo's, but was now public property, that it might be a warning to every one for ever and

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 86.

ever. "In 1310, in the middle of the month of the cherries, Bagiamonte passed over the bridge, and from that deed was the Council of Ten created."<sup>1</sup> The first body to do homage was the navy, fifty in all, "galleys, ships, and tarides," under the command of Piero Michele the chief captain, which were just going to put to sea. These all passed before the palace, where their crews shouted out the *Laudes* to the new doge, and then made their way all through Venice to Sant Agostino, where the dogaressa received them as their lady with joyful countenance.<sup>2</sup> Next to them came the citizens of the *contrade*, or island communities of Torcello, Murano, and others, who were also on shipboard with their flags hoisted on their ships, those of Murano recognisable by the live cocks, which represented the bearings on the shield of their island. The guilds followed on foot, led by the smiths, with garlands on their heads, their banner in front, their trumpets and other instruments of music behind, the skimmers "of wild beasts,"<sup>3</sup> both masters and apprentices in rich cloaks of vair and ermine. We have descriptions of ten master tailors in white with vermilion stars, escorted by their band and singing to it "*chansonetes et cobles*";<sup>4</sup> of the master cloth-workers carrying boughs of olive and with

<sup>1</sup> "Del Mille Trecento e Diese  
A Mezo Il Mese Delle Ceriese  
Bagiamonte Passò Il Ponte,  
E Per Ezzo Fo Fatto Il Consegio Di Diese."

I take this from *Splendor Magnificentissima Urbis Venetiarum* in Grævius, *Antiq. Ital.*, v. ii. p. 172. The conspiracy of Bajamonte Tiepolo broke out on the 14th of June 1310. I have not found any evidence of June being called at Venice the "month of cherries," but the name would not be inappropriate. For Ceriese see Boerio, *Dizion. del Dial. Venez.*, s.v. *Zaresa*.

<sup>2</sup> "Come dame les resut a liee chiere."

<sup>3</sup> "De l'œuvre sauvage." The other skimmers Canale calls "*peletiers des ewores veille*," and describes as wearing rich robes of "*samit, sendals de scarlate*," and other materials, lined with "*vair et gris et autres penes sauvages*." The dealers in lambskins are also named as a separate "Art" (Can., *u.s.*, p. 606 *sqq.*).

<sup>4</sup> "Cobbole" in Italian are any lyrical compositions.

garlands of olive on their heads; of the workers in cotton or quilted cloth,<sup>1</sup> wearing cloth of gold; of the sandal-makers and mercers; and after them of the dealers in salt meat and cheese, in river-birds, and fish from sea or river, of whom the new doge had in past time bought sturgeons and trout and other great fish. The barbers came next, who, with the turn for burlesque appropriate to their profession, brought with them two men on horseback in armour, personifying knights-errant, with four captive damsels, two on horseback and two on foot, clad in very foreign fashion. At the top of the stairs of the palace one of the knights dismounted, and challenged any knight of the doge's court to try their prowess and win the foreign ladies from them: to whom the doge replied by bidding them welcome to his court, where no one should dispute with them the enjoyment of their conquest. After them we have described the workers in glass—already an important industry in Venice—the comb-makers, who brought with them a lantern full of birds that they let loose in the doge's presence, to the great enjoyment of the crowd (it seems rather unkind that this exhibition and that of the knights and damsels errant were not reserved for the dogress and her ladies, whose life was less full of *joie*

<sup>1</sup> "*Maistres que funt les contres et les jupes.*" The Italian translator has "*le coltri e le giubbe.*" The Latin in Monticolo's *Capit. delle Arti Veneziane*, p. 23, renders *giubbe* by *zupæ* and *coltri* by *coopertores*. The latter are "quilts" for covering beds, the former the "quilted doublets or tunics" commonly worn by men. In the *Habiti antichi e moderni* of Cesare Vecellio (a cousin of Titian), ed. Sessa, 1598, are many woodcuts of men wearing "*giubboni*" (then a more common word than *giubbe*), tunics reaching to the knees and fastened in front by a row of gold buttons. The illustration of the dress of "*meretrici publiche*" shows a coarse woman with a similar tunic, and the text explains that these ladies affected masculine clothing, which no woman of character would wear. The makers of *giubbe* and *coltri* formed one guild, because both articles were of cloth or silk padded with cotton and quilted. It is probable that *coltre*, *contre*, is the origin of "counter" in our English word "counterpane," *i.e.* a quilted and padded cloth. See the article "Counterpoint (2)" in the great Oxford Dictionary.

and *feste* than that of their lords and masters); and lastly the goldsmiths, with a list of whose precious stones the chronicler brings his catalogue to a close, not going on to describe the deputations of all the other trades, who were parading before the doge and dogaressa from the Monday to the following Sunday. His account, we must admit, is a little monotonous, but not more so than the catalogue of ships in the *Iliad*, and is full of interesting pictures of the life of Venice in the thirteenth century. Many of the deputations carried with them the plate belonging to the guild, "silver cups and goblets full of wine"; most of them had bands of music and a banner; the glass-workers carried some of the products of their trade—all seem to have made a brave show of gold and silver and jewels on their dresses.<sup>1</sup>

The *Arti* of Venice had evidently at this time reached a recognised position, and a wealth and importance that entitled them to take a leading part in such a public celebration as that just described. They were guilds or corporations, organised bodies governed each by a code of bye-laws (a *Capitolare* or *Mariegola*<sup>2</sup>), sworn to by every member on his admission before the board of judges known as the *Giustizia Vecchia*.<sup>3</sup> These *Capitolari* have

<sup>1</sup> The account in Canale occupies from p. 604 to p. 626 in vol. viii. ser. i. of *Archivio Storico Italiano*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Elenco* of the Museo Civico at Venice (which contains many beautiful illuminated *Mariegole*) derives this interesting word from "Madre Regola," but I believe it is merely the equivalent in Venetian patois of *matricula*. How *matricula* and *matrix* came originally to mean a catalogue or register is mysterious. The sense is found in Tertullian and in the Institutes. It may have been originally a military sense, but it became most frequent in the Middle Ages for the list of clergy and other ministers of a church, just as *schola*, with which it was always and is still closely connected, seems to have been originally a room attached to a church, in which the parish school was held (Monticolo on *Processio Scholarum* in *Rendiconti of Accad. de' Lincei* for 1900).

<sup>3</sup> The *Giustizieri* were a board first established early in the reign of Sebastiano Ziani, about A.D. 1175, to control the various tradesmen who sold provisions. Dandolo (col. 299) enumerates these, and says the new officers were created "to repress their wickedness." In 1261

been published from a MS. in the *Archivio di Stato* by the learned antiquary, Signor Giovanni Monticolo, who has added long and interesting notes, but not more interesting than the contents of the bye-laws themselves. The earliest *Capitolari* that have come down to us are of 1219, and many are much later. They are sometimes compiled by the members of the guild, sometimes by the Giustizieri, but generally at the request of the members rather than *proprio motu*. Romanin<sup>1</sup> and other writers have inferred, from the mention of many kinds of employment in the most archaic portions of the Altino Chronicle or that of Marco, that there were organised trade guilds in the earliest times before the seat of government had been moved from Eraclea or Equilio to Rialto; but the chief passage on which they rely,<sup>2</sup> so far as it is intelligible, appears to be an attempt to derive the names of old Venetian families from the occupations of a primitive society of herdsmen, hunters, falconers, and a few agriculturists, and contains no indication of anything of the nature of organisation, unless perhaps it may be of a division of employments by families or castes. There is a trace of primitive humour in the suggestion that the Ursi or Orsi came from a progenitor who enforced the payment of feudal services (*angaridia*) on reluctant tenants by the *argumentum baculi*.<sup>3</sup>

their business had so much increased that the one board gave place to two, the *Giustizia Vecchia* and *Giustizia Nuova*. The former of these retained the supervision of the Arti, which comprised many other trades besides those of victuallers and vintners. The most complete account of these officers is that by Giov. Monticolo, *L'Ufficio della Giustizia Vecchia* in *Monumenti Storici della Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria*, ser. iv. vol. xii.

<sup>1</sup> i. p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be found in Pertz SS., xiv. p. 42 (the best text), and also in a fragment of Marco in *Arch. St. Ital.*, ser. i., vol. viii. p. 779, which is substantially the same. An earlier passage in the Altino Chronicle (*u.s.*, pp. 30-32) mentions in the same connexion families that were artisans, merchants, architects, painters.

<sup>3</sup> "Ursi velud ursi fuerunt, domantes ad alapas et colaphis erunt cedentes pro quo angaridiis nolentes esse faciendos" (Pertz SS., xiv. p. 43).

There was a well-known case in the eleventh century, in which one Giovanni Sagornino, a blacksmith, contested the customary services that members of his trade were bound to render to the doge, and maintained his interpretation only by his oath, showing that there was then no written statement of the law or custom to which he could appeal.<sup>1</sup>

It appears from the *Capitolari* that some of the guilds had Gastaldi, holding office for a year, who had a copy of the *Capitolare* handed to them by the Giustizieri, and were bound not to let any addition be made to this without the sanction of the latter. The Gastaldo could summon two meetings of the guild in his year of office, but for more than two he required authorisation from the Giustizieri, and at each of the two regular meetings it was his duty to read the *Capitolare* and any additions made to it by authority. He was elected by the members and confirmed by the doge and a majority of his counsellors. Other guilds were presided over by a committee of three *soprastanti*, and the same guild was at different times governed in both manners.<sup>2</sup> The committee of three was elected, with the same preference for an indirect method that was shown in the election of all officers at Venice, by five electors chosen by the committee whose term was expiring. The *soprastanti* were the executive of the guild: they exacted the fines for contravention of the bye-laws, and were responsible for paying the proper proportion of these to the Giustizia. They had the power, but only up to a certain limit, to impose fines for offences, such as discourteous language<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. Monticolo, *Studi e Ricerche sulle Arti Veneziane in Bullettino dell' Istituto Stor. Ital.*, No. 13, p. 9. The case of Sagornino, which is remarkable as having long caused the oldest Venetian chronicle, that of John the Deacon, to be known as Sagornino's, is given in Gfrörer, *Byzant. Gesch.*, i. pp. 474-79. See also my "Early History of Venice," p. 204 and Introd. p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> See *Capitolare dei Sarti*, cc. iv. and v. at p. 17 of Monticolo's *Arti Veneziane in Fonti per la Storia d' Italia*, 1896, with the editor's note (2).

<sup>3</sup> "*Aliquam rusticitatem illis tribus suprastantibus aut suo nuntio*"



to themselves or their officers; it was their duty to visit sick members of the guild and relieve them from the funds of the guild.<sup>1</sup>

Great care is taken in the bye-laws to insist on fair dealing; in those of the guild of *Giubbettieri*, or makers of tunics or doublets, there are strict rules against using any kind of shoddy.<sup>2</sup> The physicians are bound, if they find any drugs sold by the apothecaries that are not made according to what "*fisica and the antidotarium*" prescribe, to bring the fact to the notice of the *Giustizieri*.<sup>3</sup> The physicians are also bidden to make no agreements with apothecaries for a share in their profits on the drugs prepared from their prescriptions. There are also rules against dismissing a workman or quitting a master's service without sufficient notice. In many *Capitolari* there is provision made for an annual banquet of the members.

Many provisions relate to religious matters. The doublet-makers and the timber merchants kept up at the expense of the guild an oil-lamp burning day and night in the church of St. Mary of the Templars,<sup>4</sup> where they had a burial-place; they also were required to contribute small sums for the saying of *pater nosters* for any deceased members, and at his funeral to attend his body from his house to his parish church and stand with lighted candles till the office was finished, under pain of a fine of five soldi. The first section of the *Capitolare* of the physicians orders

(Monticolo, *u.s.*, p. 39). Cf. paragraph xxv. of the *Capitolare de' Pescivendoli* at p. 68 of Monticolo.

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> There is a rich vocabulary of terms for expressing various kinds of shoddy: *garçatwva*, *pellamen* or *pelamen*, *cimadura*, *stupa*. These are explained in Monticolo, *u.s.*, pp. 28, 29, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> This stood between the Piazza of St. Mark and the church of San Moise, and was in old times known as Sta. Maria in Broglio (from the old name of the Piazza). On the suppression of the Templars it was given to the Confraternity of the Ascension, by whom it was rebuilt in 1598. It appears not to have been standing at the date of the maps in Grævius, v. pt. ii. (1722).

them to impress upon any patient, before undertaking his cure, the need of confession to a priest. Members were generally required to abstain from work on the four festivals of the Virgin Mary, on those of the Twelve Apostles, and on Good Friday, but not apparently on Sunday. The *Rivenditori*, however—*i.e.* the dealers in old clothes—by an order of the doge appended to their bye-laws, were prohibited from selling at any of the usual places<sup>1</sup> on Sunday or any principal feast observed by the Giustizia. The goldsmiths are prohibited also from working on Sundays as well as great holidays, and four festivals of St. Mark are mentioned in their bye-laws.<sup>2</sup>

The Venetian *Capitolari* are full of the economic and financial heresies of the Middle Ages; they make the tradesmen swear not to buy in order to sell again, from a natural fear of seeing the supply of any article engrossed by monopolists; in a few cases they fix prices, as for the tailors a maximum charge for making each kind of garment, plain or trimmed.<sup>3</sup> The guild of the measurers of oil, honey, &c., are allowed to charge a maximum for measuring, which is greater for a foreigner than for a Venetian; dealing in oil by foreigners seems to have been discouraged.<sup>4</sup> The guilds were of course close corporations, and members were bound to inform the Giustizieri of any interlopers. No one was to presume to cut cloth until he had entered

<sup>1</sup> These are enumerated: "*ni in Rialto ni in San Marco, ni su le banche, ni per le contrade ni in stazion ni sul ponte*" (Monticolo, *u.s.*, p. 137).

<sup>2</sup> The four festivals were the passion of St. Mark (25th April), his translation from Alexandria to Venice (31st January), his apparition (25th June), the dedication of his church (8th October). See Monticolo, *Capitolari*, &c., p. 128. The "apparition" was the discovery of his body after it was lost, as described by me in "Early History of Venice," pp. 227, 228.

<sup>3</sup> "*Cum frisatura;*" if this was of fur, there was a further augmentation of price (Monticolo, *u.s.*, pp. 14, 15). The woman's dress might cost twice as much as the man's, and its fur trimming 20 per cent. more.

<sup>4</sup> Monticolo, *u.s.*, p. 77, note 1.

the *scola* or guild of the tailors, under a penalty of ten soldi. Some of the trades seem to have been confined to certain streets or quarters, and the fishermen who sold their fish about the contrade of the city were not allowed to poach on the lands of other dealers, *i.e.* those who habitually sold in the Rialto market might not take their goods to San Marco or *vice versâ*, but the Poveglia fishermen, who at this time appear to have been settled at Santa Marta, at the west end of Dorsoduro opposite Mestre, were affiliated to Rialto.<sup>1</sup> The fishermen themselves who brought fish from Chioggia, Poveglia, or Mazzorbo, the chief sources of the Venetian supply, were not allowed to bring it farther than the *Palo*, a flagstaff or mast, at which the *dazio* or octroi was paid; there they sold it to the *compravendi* or retailers, who took it to the market of Rialto or San Marco, or sent it round the *calli* or canals by itinerant vendors.<sup>2</sup> Both the fishermen and the retailer were required to belong to the *scola* of fishmongers.

The *Capitolari* of the Arts frequently mention the *scola* and *arte* together, and Monticolo considers that there was not held to be a *scola* unless there was a regular body of officials and meetings on stated occasions. The earliest mention he has found of *scola* is in a will of A.D. 1213, by which legacies are left to the school of goldsmiths and the school of skimmers. I have referred in my "Early History of Venice"<sup>3</sup> to a regulation for the Feast of the *Marie* or Brides of Venice, dating from A.D. 1142, in which mention is made of a *Processio Scolarum* as taking part in it; but the better opinion is that the procession was not one of religious

<sup>1</sup> For the tailors' quarters at San Giacomo di Rialto, see passages quoted in note 1 at p. 19 of Monticolo, *u.s.* For the provisions as to fishmongers, see pp. 62, 63 of the same book. The Poveglia fishermen were, we may presume, the descendants of the servants of the Doge Pietro Tradonico, who were banished to that little island after his murder ("Early History of Venice," p. 96).

<sup>2</sup> Monticolo, *u.s.*, pp. 70 *sqq.* The *Palo* appears to have been at Rialto, I presume near where the fish-market still is.

<sup>3</sup> P. 113.

or trade guilds, but of boats (*scaulæ*), a word explained by Benvenuto of Imola (on Dante's *Purgatorio*, c. 31) as "*genus navigii longum et leve*," and found frequently in old legal documents for the ships or barges used in the inland trade of the lagoons.<sup>1</sup> Monticolo's belief is that *schola* (properly spelt with an *h*) was originally a room under the roof of the parish church appropriated to the parish school for children, and that these *scholæ* gradually came to be used for the teaching of apprentices to the various trades, so that these trades became identified with some saint, as (*e.g.*) the goldsmiths with San Salvatore or the skinners with Santa Maria Cruciferorum.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a paper by Monticolo on the *Processio Scholarum in Rendiconti di R. Accad. Lincei* 1900, noticed in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* for 1899. I borrow the reference to Benvenuto from a very kind review of my former book in the *Athenæum* for 23rd August 1902. A paper of Cecchetti in *Arch. Ven.*, xxx. 149-52, says that in Venetian documents of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries the words *scaula* and *scola* occur frequently of the *traghetti* on the Grand Canal, or of barges carrying goods; *e.g.* *Lib. Pleg.*, c. 42 A, "*Joh. Caneo de Clugia est in Padua cum duabus scolis cum IIII vegetibus vini—et Andreas est ibi cum scola I salis.*" *Ib.*, c. 81B, "*Vidit in Padua in ripa Omnium Sanctorum Petrum Rubeum de Clugia majori cum una scaula magna caricata salis.*" *Cronaca* of Trevisan, "*Il ditto mistro fese el primo ponte de Rialto, chè prima si passava con scolle,*" *i.e.* "in ferry boats."

<sup>2</sup> Monticolo, *Studi e Ricerche*, p. 19.

## CHAPTER VIII

### VENETIAN SUPREMACY IN ADRIATIC

THE new doge, Lorenzo Tiepolo, has often been mentioned before in this History. While his father, Giacomo Tiepolo, was doge (from 1229 till 1249) he had been made Count of the island of Veglia in the Quarnero, and had married a daughter of Bohemund de Brienne, King of Rascia, a niece of John de Brienne, Latin Emperor of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the government of Renier Zeno, when the Genoese attack on the Venetians at Acre raised such a storm at Venice that the doge refused to see the envoys sent from Genoa to explain and apologise, Lorenzo Tiepolo was chosen to command the fleet that was sent to take vengeance for the outrage. Canale, who is loud in his praise (writing probably when he was doge), describes how he broke through the chain into the harbour of Acre and burnt the ships there, and then took the castle of St. Saba and all the town as far as the sea on the northern side.<sup>2</sup> Again, in the year 1268, when Zeno, pitying, as Canale says, the sad plight to which the Genoese had been reduced by the war, sent an embassy to Pope Clement to negotiate a truce in the Pope's presence with ambassadors from Genoa, Lorenzo Tiepolo was the first ambassador chosen, but refused to serve,<sup>3</sup> perhaps because he did not share the doge's compassion for his country's enemies. At the end of the late doge's government, perhaps in connexion with a riot against the imposition of a *macina*, or tax on grinding

<sup>1</sup> See p. 86, *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, u.s., pp. 454-56.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 580-82.

corn, a family feud had sprung up between the Tiepoli and Dandoli, and in a fray in the Piazza Lorenzo Tiepolo had been wounded. It will be remembered that when his father had been elected doge in 1229 the votes of the forty electors had been equally divided between him and Marin Dandolo, and Tiepolo had owed his election to the lot. Thus the two families were still rivals in 1268, and we shall see that this rivalry continued, and had important consequences.

At the beginning of Lorenzo Tiepolo's government Venice suffered severely from famine. Marino Sanudo the younger, the biographer of the doges, attributes this to the Genoese fleets interrupting the supply of grain from Sicily and Apulia, but the accounts that have come down to us from contemporaries do not convey the impression that for any length of time the Genoese had the command of those seas. Anyhow, the Venetians did not attempt to supply themselves from these regions, but called upon their neighbours in Padua, Treviso, and Ferrara to let them buy corn in their markets. Martino da Canale is eloquent in his comments on the ingratitude of those cities, who forgot that Venice had saved Padua from the tyranny of Ecelino, and Treviso from the tyranny of Alberico, and refused to relieve her distress. Not only did they refuse to give Venetians special facilities for buying corn, but the Paduans stopped the corn-rents that were ordinarily paid to Venetian monasteries owning lands in Padua, and the Trevisans threatened to do the same.<sup>1</sup> Da Canale reproaches also the Marquis of Este for forgetting that his ancestor would never have seen Ferrara, if it had not been for his advantageous trade in supplying Venice with grain, and that the doge's father, Giacomo Tiepolo, had helped to deliver Ferrara from the Ghibelline Salinguerra, and hand

<sup>1</sup> "*Perchè per paura de' Genovesi niuno voleva mandare nè andare in Sicilia a coricare frumento, ovvero in Puglia*" (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 566). Dandolo describes the dearth as unforeseen (Mur. *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 378).

it over to the marquis. The doge was obliged to take vigorous measures to save his people from starvation. His fleets sailed 1500 leagues to get corn from Tartars, Russians, Armenians, Turks, and Greeks: <sup>1</sup> and he was equally vigorous in punitive measures against his ill neighbours. Venetians were not allowed to frequent Paduan markets, the privilege the Paduans had enjoyed of dealing with Venetians without paying market-dues was withdrawn, and the dues were increased by 50 per cent., if they bought the provisions of which Venice now stood in need. They were not allowed to come by a short and convenient road with their goods to Venice, but this road was blocked by a chain and Venetian troops, and only a longer and rougher road left open.

The doge took measures to distribute throughout his dominions the corn he got from distant lands, and from the ports of Friuli, which had never been closed, and which patriotic Venetians now secured as a permanent resource by buying up the harbours and harbour dues.<sup>2</sup> The doge also took measures to control the corn trade of the Adriatic. It seemed an indignity that Venice should be suffering from dearth, while the Adriatic, of which she claimed to be queen, was crowded with ships carrying corn up the Po to the markets of Bologna and Ferrara. "The Adriatic Sea is part of the duchy of Venice,"<sup>3</sup> was a maxim in all men's mouths at Venice. But it was not to be expected that the Bolognese should accept this claim. The Po in old times entered the sea not by its present mouth,<sup>4</sup> but by the two channels that

<sup>1</sup> He sent his ships "*parmi le monde usque as Tartars*," and in other places "*ou vive cori*" ("where water runs"), a phrase Da Canale loves to use of the ubiquity of Venetian trade.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, u.s., pp. 650-56.

<sup>3</sup> "*Voirs est que la mer Ariens est de le ducat de Venise*" (Can., u.s., p. 660).

<sup>4</sup> The present mouth is said to have been opened by the river in A.D. 1152: but a century later, at the time we have now reached, the old mouths of Volano and Primaro were still looked upon as the principal.

separate near Ferrara, the Po di Volano, flowing due east to the north of the Valli di Comacchio, and the Po di Primaro, that flows first south and then east and enters the sea to the south of the Valli. The Po di Primaro received the Reno and the other streams that water the plain of Bologna, and the Bolognese, who aspired to a predominant position in the Romagna and the March,<sup>1</sup> naturally resented the high-handed action of Venice, when her guard-ships, watching for pirates off the Cape of Ravenna, stopped grain-ships carrying the produce of Romagna or the March to Bologna, and forced them to take their cargoes into the lagoons to be sold in the Venetian markets.

We cannot be quite certain as to the order of the events that followed, for Martino da Canale, our best contemporary authority, seldom gives dates, and does not adhere to the order of time, but displays much anxiety not to weary his readers with too much of any subject, transporting them, at short intervals, from Genoa or Rome to Constantinople or Syria, and then back to Venice or Bologna. He does, however, give us a date, when he tells us that in August 1270, Bolognese envoys came to Venice, asking the doge for his "counsel and aid" in establishing a fort and a bridge on the Primaro channel.<sup>2</sup> The doge would not give them an answer at once, and when his council assembled to consider the proposal, great objection was taken to it, as not being to the advantage of Venice or

<sup>1</sup> The fourteen marches into which Italy was divided were the creation of Otto the Great. The two with which the history of Venice is most concerned are the March of Treviso to the north of the Romagna and the March of Ancona to the south. I am not clear whether Da Canale uses the term "the march" of the former or latter, or whether the territory of the Marquis of Este was a march. When Da Canale speaks of the "Contat" (*u.s.*, p. 634) he may mean the Este territory or the "Contat de Rudic" (Rovigo, *u.s.*, p. 644). In Spruner's Atlas the delta between the present main stream (Po di Goro) and the Po di Volano is called the county of Ficarole. Canale tells us (*u.s.*, p. 632) that at this time the Bolognese had the lordship of Ravenna.

<sup>2</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, p. 630.



her friends. The bridge, which the Bolognese had not specially asked for, but which was assumed to be their principal object, would make it easy for them to advance to Ferrara and the cities of the March and Treviso, or even as far as the frontiers of Hungary, and extend over all that territory the control they already exercised over the Romagna. The suspicion of Bologna's intentions was so great that the council decided to send at once ships and engines of war to the Primaro, and to call out the militia of two sestieri, Santa Croce and Dorsoduro, for an expedition to the same quarter under Marco Badoer. They had a fort near the Primaro mouth called Sant' Alberto di Marcampo. Besides the men of the two sestieri, a body of 200 Chioggiotes were sent, who distinguished themselves much. They found there, ready to oppose them, a large force of Bolognese and their allies, from all the cities of the Romagna except Rimini, and some mercenaries from Lombardy, the whole amounting to 40,000 men. The Venetian land force was probably much smaller, but as long as their galleys remained in the river, the engines on board of them kept the Bolognese in check. When bad weather drove the ships out of the river, the enemy were able to divert the course of the stream, and by this means to keep a tower they were building out of the reach of Marco Badoer's missiles. For some time the fighting went on, the Bolognese operations being carried on from their new tower, the Venetian from their fort of St. Alberto. The Venetian troops were relieved, those from the sestiere of San Marco taking the place of those of Santa Croce and Dorsoduro. Giacomo Dandolo, and after him, Ermolao Giusto, took the place of Badoer as commander, and a Genoese named Lanfranco Malucelli became Podestà of Bologna. Both sides seem to have become exasperated, and we read of the Venetians causing spies whom they caught to be shot from their *manguanias* into the Bolognese tower. Canale shows a ferocity quite unusual in him,

in describing how these unfortunate men were in this way "taught to fly." The rapid succession of Venetian commanders—for Giusto was soon replaced by Giacomo Tiepolo—and Canale's statement that one of them was not used to war, and that the few Venetians and more foreigners with him on the Primaro were suffering from sickness, prepare us for the result of the fighting, viz., that they had to withdraw their ships to the more northern channel of Volano, leaving the Bolognese in their new tower masters of the Primaro channel. Canale comments on the strangeness that the *bandegies*, which we may translate "trained bands," of Bologna, got the better of the *sodoiers*, the professional soldiers of Venice. Some of the latter seem to have been mercenaries from Lombardy, *condottieri*. But others were poor Venetians, who, for a money payment, took the place of the nobles or richer citizens of the sestieri, whose affairs made it inconvenient for them to serve abroad—an early instance of the *remplacement* that has been a conspicuous feature in many systems of compulsory service.<sup>1</sup>

The Venetians did not, however, altogether withdraw from the Primaro, and in 1272, when Andrea da Canale was captain there, they succeeded in erecting a stone tower on the wooden fort, which was all that had been left to them when they retreated, the year before, to the Volano. This enabled them to recover some of their prestige, and in the same year a mission of certain knights from Friuli, that had been the faithful ally of Venice through her troubles, led to jousting and other festivities in the Piazza of St. Mark, which afford a congenial subject for Canale's

<sup>1</sup> The passage in Canale is worth quoting: "*Si envoia la menue gent, et lor dona la sodee, selonc la costume des Venesiens; et ciaux qui ne vorent aler, envoierent autres homes por iaus; et tes i furent que donnerent de lor avoir; et autretel firent li gentis homes, que il donerent de lor mehailles as homes: si les envoierent el Pau por iaus*" (u.s., p. 636). *Mehaille* (for *medaille*), which is commonly used for money by Canale, is apparently peculiar to Italian French: it is derived from *metalleus*, "metallic."

pen. In the next year the Franciscans of Venice, who still looked upon the promotion of peace in Christendom as part of their mission in the world, after much difficulty from the pride and obstinacy of both parties, got envoys from Venice and Bologna to meet at Rome and elsewhere, by whom in August 1273 terms of peace were arranged; the Bolognese were to destroy the fort they had built near the Primaro, while the Venetians retained their stone tower at Sant' Alberto; <sup>1</sup> in return for these concessions, and a promise sworn on relics never to fight with Venice for themselves or their allies, the Bolognese were to be allowed the privilege of importing by sea salt from Cervia, <sup>2</sup> and grain from the March, without being obliged to carry it to the Venetian custom-house, but the export of grain was only allowed, if its price at the place of purchase was under a certain maximum. Export was forbidden when famine prices prevailed.

The mediation of the Friars in making this peace, and at the same time in effecting an exchange of Venetian and Genoese prisoners, is the occasion of what Canale calls, "an unusual preaching on his part." <sup>3</sup> "For such works," he says, "all the world should praise them, and hold them dear. Such works all ought to perform who have cure of souls; for when one neighbour is angry with another, the prelates of Holy Church ought to procure peace. For you know for certain that the prelates of Holy Church have to render account to our Lord Jesus Christ of the souls they have in keeping, and if by their defect, any fall into sin, our Lord will punish the prelates. The tithe, and the first-fruits, which belong to Holy Church, is

<sup>1</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, p. 662.

<sup>2</sup> Cervia, between Rimini and Ravenna, still has large salt-works. It seems to have been at this time subject to Bologna, like the rest of the Romagna: soon after this it was taken by Venice, the first place on the Terra Firma (according to Daru, i. 328) to submit to her. See also Da Canale, c. 327, p. 684.

<sup>3</sup> "*Tant de preechier, que ie n'en sui pas acostumes*" (*u.s.*, p. 664). The exchange of prisoners had been long delayed (see *ante*, p. 137).

a very large payment (*mult grant sodee*) given them for this keeping of souls."

The war with Bologna, as a beginning of the Venetian conquest of the Terra Ferma, is the most important event of the short reign of Lorenzo Tiepolo. He had also troubles in Crete, where a deadly feud between two Greeks, one of them named Giorgio Curtacio, a mountain chieftain in the interior of the island, led to a punitive expedition under the Duke Marin Zeno, a kinsman of the late Doge Renier Zeno, which advancing too far into the mountains after a defeat of Curtacio, was surprised, and the duke killed. The first expedition sent to avenge the duke's death was also unsuccessful, so that the Venetians in grief and mortification sent two galleys and a fleet of smaller ships under Marin Morosini with reinforcements. The business was not completed when the doge died.

The last year of the doge's life—he died on the 16th of August 1275—was the year of the Council of Lyons. Pope Gregory X., who had been Patriarch of Jerusalem, had summoned the council chiefly for the purpose of reviving the crusading spirit, and the Venetian envoys whom the doge sent to it were instructed to plead for the restoration of the Latin Empire of Romania, and to re-assert their claim to three-eighths of it. Very little came of this movement: the crusading spirit was nearly extinct, and the Christian settlements in the Holy Land were not to last much longer. More important for Venice was the result of a complaint made to the council by envoys from Ancona, that Venice robbed their merchants by exacting dues at the mouths of the rivers of Lombardy. Canale tells us that the Pope, being new to his office, and ignorant of the Venetian privileges, ordered them to let the Anconitans pass up the rivers wherever they pleased. When the Venetians disregarded this, the Anconitans renewed their complaint, but as the Venetian envoys had then left the council, the Pope ordered the Abbot of Nervesia in the Treviso country

to inquire into the rights of the two parties. The abbot heard the arguments on both sides as to right and privilege (*de droiture et de brivelige*), and decided that the Anconitans had no right to navigate any of the rivers that descend into the Adriatic without the leave of the Venetians, "as it is the sea of Venice, and the mouths of the rivers are hers." The letters sent to the Anconitans from the Pope on their *ex-parte* complaint were therefore declared of no avail.<sup>1</sup> This Papal recognition of her rule over the Adriatic was a valuable confirmation of the investiture granted to Venice by Alexander III., in commemoration of which the espousal of the sea had been celebrated every Ascension Day since the year 1177.<sup>2</sup>

In the last years of the Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo, Bologna had made vigorous attempts to establish her authority over Romagna and the March of Ancona, and attacked without any lasting success Forlì and Faenza. In connexion with this fighting we first meet with the names famous in subsequent Italian history, and mentioned in the "Divine Comedy," Malatesta of Rimini—whom Canale calls Mauvaise Teste—elected as a sort of podestà by the Bolognese, and Montefeltro of Urbino.<sup>3</sup> Venice does not seem to have been directly concerned in this affair; but her acquisition of Cervia was an incident connected with it.

The truce with Genoa for five years was to expire in 1275, but the efforts of the Friars Minors and Friars

<sup>1</sup> *Anoientrees*. The judgment was: "*Que Anconetans n'alasent par nul des flums que descent el mer Ariens, sans le congie des Veneciens; que il est li mer de Venise et les entrees de flums*" (Can., u.s., p. 682). Dand. in Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 389, says that the abbot found there was no evidence against "*longævam possessionem Venetorum in custodia Riperiæ*," i.e. of the Riviera or coast of the Adriatic.

<sup>2</sup> See "Early History of Venice," pp. 327, 328. Romanin, ii. p. 313, n. 1, insists strongly that this right of dominion in the Adriatic was *de facto*, but did not rest on any treaty. It was "*esercitato, non riconosciuto*."

<sup>3</sup> Canale, who shows great animus against Bologna, is enthusiastic in his praises of the Count of Montefeltro, "*Li faucons qui abat li orgueil*," u.s., p. 698.

Preachers succeeded with difficulty in obtaining an extension for two years. Just after this, on the 16th August, the morrow of the Assumption, the doge died. We have a full account of the election of his successor from Canale, who tells us that one of the Visdomini, his chiefs at the "Table of the Sea," brought him a parchment containing the *establisement* or programme of the election, as soon as it was made, and that he was pleased, and put it in his book. It differs little from that I have fully described on the occasion of Lorenzo Tiepolo's election. Instead of the wax ballots then used, we now find gilt and plated to distinguish the selected from the rejected, as I have already mentioned was the case in the time of Giannotti.<sup>1</sup> It is mentioned in the account of this election that, when the forty-one electors were locked up in the palace, the Bishop of Venice (*i.e.* of Castello) assembled all the clergy of the city with the friars and monks, the primicerio and chaplains of San Marco, to walk in procession with silver crosses before them to the Basilica, and there with the people to pray to our Lord, our Lady, and the precious Evangelist, whose body rests in the church, to grant the city a good doge, the Arch-priest of Castello singing the mass of St. Mark. The election began three days before the end of August, and on the 6th of September at tierce the forty-one electors agreed by twenty-five votes to choose Giacomo Contarini, the bells rang a peal, and the electors soon appeared in the gallery over the pulpit and announced whom they had chosen.<sup>2</sup>

The late doge was buried by the side of his father, the Doge Giacomo Tiepolo, and his brother Giovanni, who

<sup>1</sup> *V. ante*, p. 150. Dandolo (*u.s.*, col. 390) quotes the decree of the "Consilarii et Rectores Ducatus" (*i.e.* the Signoria holding authority during the vacancy), sanctioned by the Great Council and by public acclamation, which allowed ballots of brass (*de ramo*) instead of wax to be used. Claar, *Die Entwicklung der Venez. Verfassung*, p. 18, says the ballots were of ivory.

<sup>2</sup> Canale, *u.s.*, pp. 694-95.

had been Count of Cherso, in the Dominican church of *Sti. Giovanni e Paolo*.

At the election of Giacomo Contarini we lose the guidance of Martino da Canale, the chronicler who has been our chief contemporary authority since the days of Enrico Dandolo. He is not a man of the calibre of Andrea Dandolo, the doge of seventy years later, nor does he give us the impression of so much statesmanlike perception as we find in Rolandino, the town clerk of Padua. He tells us candidly what his position was, a clerk at the Board of the Sea, over which three Venetian *Visdomini* presided, which had the duty of receiving and accounting for the duties on all merchandise that came into Venice from the sea. He was thus in a position to see and hear what was going on, though not to exercise important influence upon affairs, and his tastes evidently lay more in the direction of the pomp and circumstance of war and peace than in that of serious politics. His chronicle leaves off abruptly, as if he had kept it on from day to day till death or illness cut his task short. His last entry refers to an incident in the long war between Venice and Genoa. Though it is doubtful whether he was a Venetian by birth, his sympathies are, in all that he relates, strong on the Venetian side. Indeed, it would not be too much to say that for him the Venetians could do no wrong and their enemies no right.

The new doge was an old man of eighty, a lineal descendant of the Domenico Contarini who had been doge in the middle of the eleventh century, and had then founded the office of Procurator of St. Mark, and whose warlike exploits are commemorated on the façade of St. Nicholas on the Lido.<sup>1</sup> He was himself at the time of his election one of the procurators, who were at this time four in number. In later times, when the number of procurators had grown to nine, they were divided into three *Ridotti* or chambers,

<sup>1</sup> See "Early History of Venice," p. 209, n. 2.

called *di supra*, *di citra*, and *di ultra*; and perhaps Dandolo's description of Contarini as *Procurator super commissariam* may imply that he belonged to the first chamber, *di supra*. The third and fourth procurators had been created only in 1259 and 1261, and we may perhaps conjecture that these were the public trustees *citra* and *ultra*, while the earlier two had joint charge of the Basilica, with its large treasure, and of the charitable and trust estates belonging to the part of the city immediately surrounding the Basilica and its Piazza.<sup>1</sup>

The *Correttori* of the doge's *Promissione*, a board of five members of the Great Council that had been elected at the time of the election of each doge since the middle of the eleventh century, made, on this occasion, some important alterations in the Promise to which the doge had to swear. It had been thought that the late doge's marriage with a princess of Rascia, and that of his son with another Slavonic princess, had brought to the Republic some risk of being involved in foreign wars or sharing in foreign ambitions. The new doge was therefore made to promise that he would not contract, nor allow to be contracted, without the consent of a majority of the Great Council, any such marriage, and also that neither he nor his sons would accept any feudal holding, but would renounce within a year any which they, or he, held at the time of election; nor might they buy land outside the duchy, nor take shares in Government loans. He was also to promise to adhere to no party contending in the State, nor to let his sons hold any government or have any employment under the State, except that of ambassador

<sup>1</sup> Dand., *apud* Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 391. We have abundance of lucid accounts of the procurators in Card. Contarini, *della Rep. di Venetia*, lib. 4, *sub fine*; Amelot de la Houssaye, pp. 182 *sqq.*; Yriarte, *Vie d'un Patricien*, pp. 189, 190; Howell "On the Republic and Signorie of Venice," p. 20. But all of these treat of the time when there were nine (or more) procurators. *Commissaria* is the regular word in Venetian law for a trust.



or captain of a ship. The comprehensiveness of a doge's *Promissione* is illustrated by the insertion, by the side of all these provisions aimed at reducing the power of his office, of a clause promising that all prisoners confined in the palace should be brought to trial within a month—an anticipation, in the interests of humanity and freedom, of our Habeas Corpus Act.

The contest with the Anconitans about the Venetian right to patrol the Adriatic and the mouths of the Lombard rivers went on, notwithstanding the Papal decision in favour of Venice, and led, in 1277, to war. Twenty-six galleys were sent to the coast near Ancona, half under Giovanni Tiepolo, half under Marco Michiel, and a *Giunta* or committee of the Great Council, consisting of six *Savii*, was elected to supervise the supply of machines and munitions of war. But at the end of June the fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, just as it was beginning an assault on Ancona, and such of the ships as were not wrecked on the harbourless coast about Sinigaglia had to take refuge in the ports of Dalmatia, across the Adriatic.<sup>1</sup> A further reinforcement from Venice, that started before news of the storm had come, was deceived by some ships of Ancona hoisting the Venetian flag, and lost two more galleys. Such a series of disasters made men's tempers at Venice severe, and a decree was passed branding the commanders of the fleets with ignominy, and imposing on them a heavy fine.

In the year after this naval disaster at Ancona (A.D. 1278), Rudolph of Habsburg, an Emperor who took little interest in his Italian possessions, and feared that the Pope, Nicholas III., whose ambition in Italy was far-reaching, might throw his influence into the scale of Charles of Anjou, Rudolph's most formidable rival for the Empire, endeavoured to propitiate Nicholas by ceding to him the Romagna, which comprised the old Exarchate of Ravenna, with Bologna,

<sup>1</sup> Dand., *apud* Mur., *u.s.*, col. 392, 393.

the Pentapolis, the Duchy of Spoleto, and the lands of the Countess Matilda. The Papal legates were instructed at once to enforce his claims; they appeared at the gates of the cities in the ceded territory and demanded their surrender. The Venetians, never disposed to give way to Papal aggressions, sent ambassadors to the Pope to compliment him on his election, who were instructed to maintain their claims to Ancona, and in consequence had a very cold reception. Encouraged by this rebuff to their enemies, the Anconitans held out, and were able to maintain their ground during all the time that Contarini was doge. His government was in other respects troubled. Capo d'Istria, followed by other towns on the coast, rebelled and placed themselves under the Patriarch of Aquileia, and the Count of Pisino endeavoured to take Montona, an inland town of Istria; but Capo d'Istria had, after holding out some time, to surrender to a besieging force, and the other places followed. Montona held out under a Venetian podestà. Fara, an island on the Dalmatian coast that had long been disaffected, submitted at the same time with Capo d'Istria. The insurrection in Crete was more obstinate. Giorgio Curtacio held out till the year 1278, when he was banished from the island, and after him one Alessio Calergi, who seems to have been a capable partisan chief, kept up an insurrection in the mountains from 1283 till 1305.

It fell to the lot of Contarini to send the customary embassy to Rudolf of Habsburg, who had become Emperor in 1273, to congratulate him on his elevation and pray that the usual privileges might be granted to the Republic. The Emperor's answer enlarged on his esteem for the doge and his fellow-citizens, for their civil government, the justice and uprightness of their life and manners, their zeal for peace and their patriotism, the benefit that all loyal subjects of the Roman Church and Empire derived

from their laborious industry, and the lustre shed upon the doge's government by the loyal submission to him of so discreet and reverent a people. The Emperor's words do not seem a mere matter of course, and we have seen enough of the policy of the great men who had governed Venice during this thirteenth century, to judge that they were not undeserved.<sup>1</sup>

In March 1280 the doge, worn out by age and infirmity, resigned his office, and was granted a pension of 1500 piccoli, equal to 500 ducats, for his life.<sup>2</sup> He had been incapable of active exercise of his functions for some time before his resignation, and his place had been taken by Niccolo Navigaioso, the senior member of the Lesser Council, whom Dandolo calls "Major Consiliarius," by whose orders a treaty for five years was made with the Syndics of Pisa, and a fleet was sent to Romania and another to Sicily to fight against the Anconitans. When the doge resigned he went to live in a magnificent house, which Dandolo calls "Domus Bocasia,"<sup>3</sup> situated in the parish of San Luca "by the side of the Canal near the Ferry on the left of those coming down from the Boats." The Domus Bocasia afterwards belonged to the family of Giovanna or Joanna. He was buried in the cloisters of the Friars Minor, *i.e.* I suppose in the Frari, in a tomb of gilt marble—which does not appear now to exist.<sup>4</sup> His

<sup>1</sup> The letter is quoted in Roman., ii. p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> He was provided "*decenti salario et familia*," *i.e.* a pension and a staff of servants on a scale befitting a retired doge. Dand. in Murat., *u.s.*, col. 398. An addition in the margin of the Ambrosian MS. says that the doge was compelled to resign.

<sup>3</sup> Dandolo in Murat., *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 394, mentions one Bocasius Aurio as commanding a fleet sent against Ancona in 1277, where Bocasius (there is a *v. l.* Locasius) would appear to be a Christian name.

<sup>4</sup> Dand., in Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 398 (note f., one of the additions from the margin of the Ambrosian MS.). In the absence of an annotated edition of Dandolo (a work to be much desired) it is difficult to identify the places in the city to which he constantly refers. The boats here are, I think, those of the "*Trajectus omnium ferme qui in urbe sunt frequentissimus*" mentioned in col. 18 D. of Sabellicus,

place of burial was no doubt chosen from the preference so common in those days of a grave among Franciscans or Dominicans, but it was not far from where his home must have been.

On the 31st of March 1280, Giovanni Dandolo was elected doge in the same manner as his predecessor. We know little or nothing of his previous history. Sanudo tells us that at the time of his election he was serving abroad, but does not know whether it was as an ambassador or as Count of Ossero. According to a genealogical tree of the Dandoli, which Simonsfeld found in the Museo Civico at Venice,<sup>1</sup> he was grandson of the eldest son of the great doge who conquered Constantinople, that Renier who was killed fighting in Crete a few years after his father's death. But Andrea Dandolo, the chronicler, speaking of one Domenico Dandolo who was commander of a ship when Otto Orsæoli was doge, says incidentally that he was the ancestor of two doges—the great Enrico and himself—but does not mention either our Giovanni or Francesco Dandolo, who was doge from 1329 to 1339, and who, according to Simonsfeld's tree, was great-grandson of Andrea, the great Enrico's brother.<sup>2</sup> The Dandolo family is not one of those dealt with in Pompeo Litta's great work, *Celebri Famiglie Italiane*. Daru says<sup>3</sup> that the election of Giovanni Dandolo was a triumph for the party opposed to aristocracy, but this does not altogether agree with what we know of party politics at Venice: for the contested election of doge in 1229, as we have seen, ended in an equality of votes for Marino Dandolo and

"*de Venetæ Urbis situ*" in Grævius, *Antiq. Ital.* v. pt. I, which was near San Samuele and San Luca, and probably not far from the present Iron Bridge.

<sup>1</sup> Simonsfeld's *Andrea Dandolo und seine Geschichtswerke*, München, 1876, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Murat., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 237 B. Andrea the Chronicler was a more distant relative of Enrico. He mentions that Francesco Dandolo the doge bore different arms from his own.

<sup>3</sup> i. p. 329, ed. Paris, 1826.

Giacomo Tiepolo; and the Tiepolo family at this time certainly had popular or democratic sympathies. We are approaching the great constitutional change, known as the *Serrata del Consiglio*, and populace and aristocracy were marshalling their forces for a struggle, a sign of which was the attempt made at the funeral of Giovanni Dandolo to place Giacomo Tiepolo, son of the Doge Lorenzo, on the ducal throne by popular acclamation. The elaborate regulations for electing a doge, that had been in force since 1268, were no doubt an advance towards a less democratic government.

Giovanni Dandolo was doge for nine years: he made peace with Ancona on terms that did not include a recognition of Venetian dominion over the Adriatic, but tacitly acquiesced in it. The war with Capo d'Istria and Trieste still went on, the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Count of Gorizia aiding the rebellious cities. These two potentates, with troops from Germany, obliged the Venetian, Marin Morosini, to raise the siege of Trieste, on which the Triestines were encouraged to send a piratical expedition to sea, which took prisoner the Podestà of Caorle and burnt his palace, and went on to waste the lands of Malamocco. This was bringing the horrors of war very near the Venetians' homes; and the Government felt that such an outrage could not be passed over. The Avogadori, or public prosecutors, were ordered to make an example of Morosini for his retreat from Trieste, and a proclamation was made for a gradual *levée en masse*, according as circumstances required. A new fleet soon forced Trieste to surrender, the other Istrian places followed its example, and after some delay, the patriarch and the count signed a treaty, by which they undertook to restore all they had taken from Venice, compensate the Venetian subjects who had suffered from their raids, and leave their roads free in future for Venetian traders. The Triestines had to send some of their citizens, selected by

the doge, to Venice, who were to bring with them their Venetian prisoners and to take an oath of allegiance to the Republic on behalf of their fellow-citizens, and to give up all the warlike instruments they had collected, of which a bonfire was made in the Piazza of St. Mark.<sup>1</sup>

An attempt was made to reconcile the claims of Venice and the Patriarch of Aquileia to the government of Istria by arbitration, but without success; and war in Istria went on all the time that Dandolo was doge (1280 to 1289), and for many years after, till in 1304 the Republic bought the patriarch's rights for a rent of 450 marks the year.

During the nine years of Dandolo's government important events were going on in Italy. In 1282 the Sicilian Vespers put an end to the undisputed domination of Charles of Anjou in Sicily, and began a long period of war, in which that island gradually passed from the control of France to that of Aragon. With the fall of the House of Anjou fell the last hopes of the restoration of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, in the person of the titular Emperor, Philip, son of Baldwin, who was betrothed to a daughter of Charles of Anjou. I shall have to return to these events in a later chapter. In July 1281, the year before the Vespers, Venice had made a treaty with Charles, binding herself to send a fleet of forty galleys, under the doge's command, to aid the great expedition Charles was meditating for the recovery of Constantinople, which was to sail from Brindisi in the spring of 1283. Before that time the Vespers had come, and Charles was too deeply involved in troubles at home to think of any distant enterprise, and the Venetians, to whom it was essential to be friendly with the *de facto* rulers of Constantinople, whether Latin or Greek, were negotiating for a truce with Andronicus Paleologus, who had succeeded his father, Michael, in 1282. So the Patriarch of Grado and the Bishop of Castello were ordered not to commit themselves

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, ii. 314, 315.

on the side of Charles by preaching in their dioceses the Crusade that Pope Martin IV., a vehement partisan of the House of Anjou, had proclaimed against the King of Aragon. For this the Pope ordered the Cardinal of Bologna to lay Venice under an interdict. It was the first time in her history that Venice had suffered this infliction, which to any mediæval people, especially to one so religious in many ways as was the Venetian, was a very serious one. The interdict was in 1284, and in the next year, 1285, came a bad earthquake and flood: the latter caused by a violent scirocco which, blowing up the Adriatic, carried away in many places the breakwaters of earth, wood, or stone, that protected the low-lying parts of the city. To relieve the distress caused by earthquake and flood, the Great Council sanctioned the purchase of 10,000 bushels of corn to sell at a low price to the poor, and a loan was raised on the security of the Commune for the relief of those monasteries that had suffered severely from their outlay in charity during the distress.

At the end of 1285 a new Pope, Honorius IV., was on the throne of St. Peter, who received favourably an embassy from Venice<sup>1</sup> that prayed him to remove the interdict, and granted their request on condition that their countrymen would not take any action in Sicily contrary to the interests of the Church or of the heirs of the House of Anjou.

Giovanni Dandolo was the first doge to coin the gold ducat or zecchino, which became famous throughout Europe, and especially throughout the Levant. The decree for issuing this coin is dated the 31st of October 1284, and

<sup>1</sup> The ambassadors sent were Franciscan and Dominican Friars. They were to explain that the decree of the Great Council, which had brought on them the interdict (I presume the refusal to allow a crusade against Aragon to be preached in Venice) "was not intended to injure the Roman Church, but to preserve the peaceful state of their communities and avoid war and scandal." See the document quoted in Roman., ii. p. 319, n. 3.

prescribes that the coin shall be "of the greatest fineness, like to, and better than, the florin," which had been first coined at Florence thirty-two years before. The coin can be seen in the Museo Civico, and is a beautiful one, having on the obverse the doge kneeling before St. Mark and receiving from him a banner: over St. Mark is inscribed along the edge of the coin, "S. M. Veneti" for "Sanctus Marcus Venetiæ," over the doge along the edge, "Io. Dandul." with "Dux" over the centre of the coin. On the reverse is the figure of the Saviour in an oval, between two semi-circular lines, similar to those on Byzantine coins of the same date, and round the edge is written in abbreviated form the rhyming Latin verse, "Sit tibi, Christe, datus quem tu regis iste ducatus," "To Thee, O Christ, be devoted this duchy (or ducat) which Thou dost govern."

Till this date the chief coin current in Venice, and spread throughout the world by Venetian traders, was the "grosso," which was afterwards called "ducato." It had been first coined by Enrico Dandolo in 1203, at the time the Fourth Crusade was starting.<sup>1</sup> The Venetians were proud of it; their chronicler, Martino da Canale, speaks of the "noble silver medals that are called ducats, and are current throughout the world for their goodness."<sup>2</sup> It was imitated by the Kings of Rascia (Servia) and Hungary, by Princes of Montferrat and Bishops of Mantua. Gold coins had also been in use, but of foreign origin, Byzantine Romanati, and Iperperi, and Manuelati;<sup>3</sup> and a "grosso" or "matapane" of gold of the Doge Jacopo Tiepolo, A.D. 1229, exists in a single specimen in the Marciana at

<sup>1</sup> Dand. in Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 316.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, u.s., p. 320. The early Venetian coinage is admirably described in Count Correr's *Venezia e le Sue Lagune*, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 1 *sqq.* For the gold ducat see p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Another foreign gold coin was the *redonda* (a corruption of *rotonda*): the *Osela* or gold coin given by the doge (after 1521) in December to each patrician in lieu of an ancient gift of two water-fowl from Marano, was equal to a *mezza redonda*, or 3 lire 18 soldi (Boerio, *Dizion. del dialetto Ven.*, s.v. *Redonda*).



Venice.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that, when the Florentines began to coin gold florins in 1252, these were commonly seen in circulation in Venice; and it may have been a consequence of this, that in 1275 a law was passed at Venice prohibiting the gilding of the silver grosso or matapane.

The gold ducat, as soon as it was issued, became popular, and it never lost its popularity. The financial honesty of the Government of Venice, during the five centuries that remained of her independence, kept the ducat, which after 1561 was called *zecchino* or *sequin*, "almost absolutely of the same weight, appearance, and composition."<sup>2</sup> The names of the doges, and from time to time the insignia of their office, were all that was changed; the doge continued to kneel before St. Mark, and the Saviour in glory to extend His hands in blessing, as long as the Republic lasted.

The word *zecchino* is derived from *zecca*,<sup>3</sup> the name of Arabic origin given to the mint at Venice and other Italian towns. The coining of money being a prerogative of the doge, the mint had always been in close proximity to his palace, and from the date we have now reached, seems to have been on the site where the present building for it was erected by Sansovino in 1545.<sup>4</sup> The immediate managers of it were called *Massari della Moneta* or *Massari all' oro e all' argento*,<sup>5</sup> who were elected by the Great Council, but acted at first under the Quarantia, and in

<sup>1</sup> I find this stated by A. Zon in *Correr's Venezia e le Sue Lagune*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 21; but it is not mentioned by Romanin, nor in Papadopoli's tract, *Sul Valore della Moneta Veneziana*, and was not known to Muratori at the time of his twenty-seventh Dissertation in *Antiq. Medii Ævi*, cols. 643-54. I can throw no light on the origin of the word *matapane*; it appears to be Venetian and not Greek; whether connected in any way with Cape Matapan I cannot say.

<sup>2</sup> N. Papadopoli, *Sul Valore della Moneta Veneziana*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> In *Venezia e le Sue Lagune*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 24, two sixteenth-century documents are quoted in which *ducato cecchino*, as it were "fresh from the mint," is opposed to *vecchio*.

<sup>4</sup> Romanin, ii. p. 322.

<sup>5</sup> *Massaro* or *Massaio* is equivalent to *custode*.

the times we have now reached under the Pregadi or Senate.

The Government of Giovanni Dandolo is said to have undertaken a systematic revision and digestion of the laws that had been made since the Statuto of Giacomo Tiepolo (A.D. 1242), omitting laws that had become obsolete, and re-arranging those that were maintained in force. They were not made into a regular code, but retained the form of *parti*, or decrees, carried in some council. The revision is contained in two volumes, now in the Archives at the Frari, with the titles *Comune I.* and *Comune II.* These are the only volumes as old as the time of Giovanni Dandolo, except one called *Fractus*, which contains laws dating from 1240 till 1282, many of them cancelled by the doge or other magistrates, and is thought to be possibly an older compilation, from which the revisers made their altered copies.<sup>1</sup> Connected with this revision are this doge's reforms in the province of the Archives. It appears that to him we owe the volumes of *Patti*, containing the treaties with other States, and of *Commemoriali*, containing all kinds of public documents bearing on the relations of the State with its subjects, or of the subjects among themselves. A decree of 1291, two years after this doge's death, established the rule on this subject by making it part of the *Capitolare* or bye-laws of the Signoria, that they should keep a book, in which all treaties and privileges and other legal decisions should be copied out.<sup>2</sup>

This doge was also responsible for some reforms in the administration of justice. At Venice, as elsewhere, an accused person denying a charge made against him by the local authority (*Capo di contrada*), or a private complainant, was, as a matter of course, put to the torture. It seems to have appeared to jurists of primitive times that the most

<sup>1</sup> See *Il Regio Archivio Generale di Venezia* (1875), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Pars* quoted in Predelli's Preface to *I Libri Commemoriali Regesti* (1876), p. vi.

obvious way of extracting the truth from any one whose sense of religion was not acute enough to make his oath credible was to see if he persisted in his story under severe pain. The Greeks and Romans, of an age when society was far more advanced and enlightened than in the thirteenth century, always put slaves to the torture, and nothing is more striking to us than the manner in which their orators appeal to the testimony of slaves obtained by torture, as the most conclusive of all evidence. Christianity in the Middle Ages did not exercise a very powerful influence on the side of humanity, but it no doubt had some influence in lessening the reliance on torture, and making it appear a shocking thing to inflict it unnecessarily or with excessive cruelty. This seems to have been the motive of a Venetian law of 1286, which required two members of the doge's lesser council, and one of the chiefs of the Quarantia, three of the *Signori di Notte* or police magistrates, and one of the *Avogadori del Comune*, who were the official guardians of the law, to be present whenever a prisoner was tortured.<sup>1</sup> A law somewhat earlier in date had given an accused person the right to be defended by an advocate, who was sworn on the gospels not to use any deceit or fraud in his defence, and whose fees were strictly limited by law. The relations and friends of the accused were allowed to give their evidence in his favour.

Giovanni Dandolo was also the creator of the *Cattaveri*,<sup>2</sup> or auditors of public accounts, a body of three nobles, who watched over the receipts and expenditure of the Commune. Boerio, in his "Dictionary of the Venetian Dialect," mentions particularly their duties with regard to treasure trove, to inheritances lapsing to the State, and to regulations

<sup>1</sup> See Romanin, ii. p. 358, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Cattaveri* is probably derived from *cattare* (= Lat. *captare*), "to seize," and *averi*, the plural of *avere* (= property generally). Their name implied that they were the graspers of any property that might be claimed as belonging to the State. (See Note added to the Errata at p. 462 of Romanin, vol. ii.)

affecting Jews. Another law laid upon the local authority (*Capo di contrada*) the task of investigating the title of monasteries to money and lands left to them, of seeing that the rights of the Commune had not been infringed by such legacies, and that the monasteries bore their fair share of the burdens imposed on property.

In 1289 Venice was busy in preparing a great expedition to be sent in conjunction with troops of Pope Nicolas IV. against the Sultan of Cairo, who had attacked Tripoli in Syria and destroyed it with many Venetian subjects who were settled there. While the expedition was preparing the doge died. He was buried in the cloister of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in a porphyry sarcophagus near the door of the church. His epitaph descanted in very tolerable Latin on his noble birth, his probity, his wisdom in council, his eloquence, and above all his love of his country. The breve or short inscription over his tomb spoke of his conquest of Pirano and Isola in Istria, and his coining of golden ducats.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi*, in Murat., *R. I. S.*, xxii. cols. 576, 577. The breve should read, "*Insula, Piranus subduntur. Cudo Ducatos.*"

## CHAPTER IX

### THE "SERRATA DEL CONSIGLIO," 1299

I HAVE already referred to the scene at the funeral of Giovanni Dandolo, when the mob raised tumultuous cries for the election of Giacomo Tiepolo as his successor. Giacomo was the son (or perhaps the nephew) of Lorenzo Tiepolo, the doge who had preceded Dandolo, and in either case the grandson of the Giacomo Tiepolo who had been doge from 1229 till 1249, the great legislator of Venice. He was of mature age, had distinguished himself in Syria twenty-one years before, and had since done good service against Ancona. The family, we have seen, had the reputation of being popular in its sympathies, and this no doubt contributed to the demand for his election by acclamation. If this had ever been the rule in ancient elections of doges, the share of the people in elections had long been limited to a shout of recognition after the election was settled. The successors of the statesmen who had guided the Republic so successfully through the troubled history of the last two centuries in Italy, could not be expected to give up the elaborate system that their fathers had devised for securing impartiality in the election of their chief magistrate, and commit the fortunes of their city to the arbitrament of a casually collected assembly, that might invidiously be called a mob. And their reluctance could only have been increased, when they observed that the favour of the multitude settled upon one whose father and grandfather had been doges, whose election would have been an

approximation towards hereditary monarchy, a development that traditional prejudice, derived from a long series of ancestors, taught them to dread as one of the worst of evils. They very likely may not have been familiar with the old Greek and Roman histories: but without a knowledge of these, their shrewdness could divine, that the affectation of democratic zeal, and courting the favour of the multitude, could easily be a first step to what the Greeks called Tyranny, the usurpation of supreme power by an adventurer. We do not know how hot party feeling was at the time, nor how great the danger that the aristocratic constitution incurred. Things did not come to a crisis: for Tiepolo, with rare disinterestedness, would not let himself be made a cause of dissension, and withdrew from the city to his villa at Marocco on the Dese not far from Mestre.<sup>1</sup> In his absence the electors met and went through all the regular process of election, and after waiting ten days to see how popular feeling would turn, chose Pietro or Pierazzo Gradenigo, who appears to have belonged to the party opposed to the increase of popular power.

He was thirty-eight years of age, had had much experience in public affairs, and was at this time Podestà at Capo d'Istria. A squadron of five galleys and one lignum was sent to fetch him to Venice with twelve solemn envoys,<sup>2</sup> among whom we notice a representative of the Tiepolo family. These announced to him his election on the 25th of November, the feast of St. Catherine, a saint to whom, both before and after his election, he showed special devotion. The voyage from Capo d'Istria to the Lagoon was not a long one, and on the 3rd of December he was able to enter on the government of the duchy.

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo in Mur., *R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 577, says "in Messina"; but this must be a mistake for "Mestrina."

<sup>2</sup> "Solennes nuntios" (Dand. in Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 401):

The continuation of the elaborate form of election after a short delay and full deliberation shows that constitutional questions were already exercising men's minds. One hundred and seventeen years before, in 1172, when a doge, unsuccessful in war against Byzantium, had been murdered by a popular uprising, men's minds had been turned to the contradiction that existed between the theory and the practice of the constitution. In theory the government had been in the hands of the doge, and the election of the doge in the hands of the *Concio* or *Arrengo* of all privileged citizens, a numerous body, though very likely much less than the whole adult male population. In practice the doge had governed in concert with a varying body of his friends and supporters, whose signatures, in which they describe themselves as *judices* or *nobiles*, are still to be read appended to charters or orders or judicial sentences: some of the closer friends and partisans of the doge we may suppose to have been specially summoned on occasions, particularly in reference to treaties or other dealings with foreign powers, and hence to have been called *Rogati* in Latin, *Pregadi* in Venetian, the name that clung to the Senators long after the simple times in which it originated. I shall have to return later to the Senate: my present concern is with the *nobiles*, *proceres* or *optimates*, who were the ordinary counsellors of the Doge. We have no contemporary account of what measures were taken in consequence of the disturbances of 1172: and a recent German writer<sup>1</sup> has maintained that that year ought not to be considered as an epoch. But the received opinion, founded on sixteenth-century manuscript chronicles,<sup>2</sup> which are reputed to have followed good earlier authorities, is that the formal organisation, if not

<sup>1</sup> Lenel, *Die Entstehung der Vorherrschaft Venedigs*, pp. 140 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The chronicles of Savina, Caroldo, and Giovanni Bembo are reckoned by Sandi, Foscarini (a very high authority), and Lebret as trustworthy, Savina's especially for constitutional questions.

the first establishment of the Great Council (*Maggior Consiglio* or *Consejo*) dates from that year. This was from the first a body elected annually, and the traditional account of its election is that twelve electors, two for each of the six sestieri, were empowered to choose a body of from 450 to 500 counsellors. How this body was chosen we are not told: we may assume that they were all required to belong to the class of *nobiles*, in which those known as *antiqui populares* had by this time merged, and we are told expressly that no one of the twelve electors could choose more than four members of his own family. Who chose the original twelve electors it is impossible to say; after the first year, there is no doubt that they were chosen by the Great Council, which throughout its history was specially concerned with elections.<sup>1</sup> The whole body was renewed annually, but from the first the re-election of retiring members was allowed.<sup>2</sup> In 1230 a complication was introduced into the process of renewal. Two elections took place, one on St. Michael's Day (29th of September), the other on the 29th of March. Seven were elected on the former day to be electors for the year, three on the latter day as electors for the half-year,<sup>3</sup> making ten in all instead of twelve: and the number of electors seems to have been on many occasions varied after the year 1230.

The process of election, though not so complicated as

<sup>1</sup> These were its main business. Legislation on constitutional questions, which was also in the province of the Great Council, seldom occurred, except when the office of doge was vacant and the *Promissio* of the new doge was being prepared. (See Contarini, lib. i. p. 35, ed. 1678.)

<sup>2</sup> This was expressed in technical language at Venice by saying there was no *contumacia* for the office of member of the Great Council. *Contumacia* was the interval fixed by law between a magistrate's going out of any office and his being qualified to reassume it. (See Boerio, *Diz. del Dial. Ven.*, and Ferro, *Diz. del Diritto Comune e Veneto*, s.v.)

<sup>3</sup> "1230, 6 Aug. *Capta fuit pars (in Majori Consilio) quod eligantur septem electores ad unum annum, et tres ad medium, qui renovent consilium*" (*Liber Fractus* of Avogaria di Comune).



that for electing the doge, was formal and precise, and must have taken a long time, when so many as 450 or 470 members had to be chosen. We know that a great number of days were spent by the Great Council in elections,<sup>1</sup> for it seems, from its first origin, to have taken from the doge the right of electing to all important offices as well as that of filling up its own numbers. The change of 1230 looks as if its object was to lighten the burden of one great election at Michaelmas by fixing another at the end of March. Whether the same object had anything to do with the important constitutional change, to which we are now coming, can only be matter of conjecture; we have no contemporary writings except the texts of the various *partes* or decrees which were proposed for effecting it, and either approved or rejected, and these texts are brief and business-like, without preamble explaining the objects of their promoters.<sup>2</sup> The change was not carried when first proposed or in the form first suggested. In the year 1286, when Giovanni Dandolo was still doge, the three chiefs of the Quarantia, who with the doge and his six counsellors formed the Signoria, proposed in the Great Council that no one should be allowed to sit on any council, though elected to it, if he or his father or his paternal ancestors had not been members of any council, unless his election was carried by a majority first of the doge and his counsellors, and secondly of the Great Council. The doge did not agree to this, and proposed that no change should be made; and for this

<sup>1</sup> In the time of Limojon de St. Didier (1672-74) it met every Sunday and Feast Day, except days sacred to the Virgin Mary or St. Mark, and its regular task was to get through nine elections in a day. He is speaking of the elections of officers of the executive. For elections of its own members, or those of the Senate or Quarantia, its pace must have been quickened, or it would never have got through its work. (See his *Ville et Rep. de Venise*, pp. 214 sqq., 3rd ed. Elzevir.)

<sup>2</sup> The Continuation of Dandolo's Chronicle (Murat. *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 409), which is about a century later than the *Serrata*, has only the following reference to it: "*Hic Dux cum suis consiliis ordinatis aliquos populares de majori consilio esse decrevit,*" as if the admission of *novi homines* was the principal feature of the change.

eighty-two voted, forty-two voices only supporting the chiefs of the Quarantia, and ten being doubtful (*non sincere*).<sup>1</sup>

This rejected proposal aimed undisguisedly at a restriction of the governing class to certain families; and this has been generally held to have been the object of the *Serrata del Consiglio*, the narrowing of the oligarchy. Only a fortnight later another proposal was made, that the Great Council should nominate before the next 1st of April a list of candidates to be approved, one by one, by a majority of the doge, his counsellors, and the Quarantia; that on the 1st of April again three electors should be named to submit a similar list before Michaelmas. But this proposal was also rejected, and the advocates of change waited nearly ten years, till March 1296, before making another move. This time they had the doge on their side, zealous for the desired change; but the proposal was again lost. However, at the Michaelmas following, the doge and his party were able to carry a proposal to nominate in the usual manner four electors, but only provisionally, who were to elect 150 members, to be increased—I presume by co-option—to 210, a number apparently thought just sufficient to secure the regular quorum of 200,<sup>2</sup> and to be superseded at the end of February by a body chosen by a reformed method. The decrees carried on the last day of February 1297—which at Venice was reckoned as still 1296—provided an elaborate scheme for the eighteen months till Michaelmas 1298. The names of all the present members of the Great Council, and all who had been members in the preceding four years, were to be submitted to the

<sup>1</sup> The words of the proposal are given by Romanin, ii. p. 342, n. 3. The reference to more than one council, *de aliquo Consilio, de Consiliis Venetiarum*, contemplates, we may presume, the doge's council, the Pregadi, and (perhaps) the Quarantia.

<sup>2</sup> This was the quorum in 1311 (see *parte* quoted in Claar, *Entwicklung der venezianischen Verfassung*, p. 36, n. 5). I take the figures—150 elected, 60 co-opted—from Romanin. But Claar (*u.s.*, p. 38, n. 5) gives them, apparently more exactly, as 100 elected, and afterwards, on three occasions, 60, 68, and 41 co-opted, making 269 altogether.

Quarantia one by one, and every one who received as many as twelve of the gilded ballots that signified election was to be on the council for the eighteen months. Any one who lost his seat by going abroad in the service of the State might on his return require the three chiefs of the Quarantia to submit a proposal to that body for his restoration to his seat, and if this proposal obtained twelve gilded ballots, he at once resumed his place on the Great Council. The decrees went on to provide for the choice of three electors, who, when instructed by the doge and his counsellors, were to draw up a list of others who had not been on the council during the last five years, and submit their names one by one to the Quarantia, to be elected if they received twelve gilded ballots, or rejected if they received less. The three electors were to hold office only till next Michaelmas, and till then were to be members of the council; after that three others were to be chosen, who were similarly to be members till the following Michaelmas. The decrees provided further, that they were not to be rescinded during the eighteen months, except by a concurrent vote of five of the doge's counsellors, twenty-five of the Quarantia, and two-thirds of the members of the Great Council. Fifteen days before the end of the year the Great Council was bound to decide whether the reformed procedure was to continue or not. A clause was to be added to the *Capitolare* or bye-laws of the doge's counsellors, who were the official presidents of the Great Council, obliging them to submit such a proposal under pain of a fine which the *Avogadori* were to exact. The Quarantia could not perform any of the functions assigned to it by these decrees unless at least thirty of its forty members were present. A somewhat obscure clause provided that no members should be admitted to the Great Council under the decrees who were "excluded by the ordinary councils."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "*Qui sunt prohibiti per Consilia ordinata.*" The decrees are given in the original Latin, and their substance in Italian in Romanin,

The decrees of the last day of February 1297 were acted upon when Michaelmas came: three electors were appointed, by whom all members of the Great Council of the last five years were submitted to the Quarantia and balloted for, and new members, on a list prepared under the direction of the doge and his counsellors, were also balloted for. At the next Michaelmas Day, that of 1298, the ordinance was again proposed in the Great Council, and was continued, and the same process took place in 1299. From that time it became established law in Venice. The decrees by which it was introduced have always been looked upon as an epoch in the history of the Republic, and from an early date have been known under the title of *Serrata* or *Serrar del Consiglio*. The name gave rise to a legend that the locking of the doors of the palace when proposals were being debated in the council originated at the same time: but Romanin has shown that this custom existed some years earlier, when Giovanni Dandolo was still doge. The word "Serrata," which is used in the Italian version of Donato Giannotti's Dialogue, to which I have so often referred, where the Latin has "Comitia interclusa," does not seem correctly to describe the design and immediate effect of the decrees. Giannotti, writing in the middle of the sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> says that the authors of the *Serrata*, "seeing that every day a vast number of foreigners were flocking into the city for the purposes of trade, entertained the design of establishing an elective body, in which all the flower of the city should be collected, lest the race of

ii. pp. 343-45. The "*Consilia ordinata*" would, I presume, be used in the same sense as in the passage from the continuator of Dandolo quoted at p. 191 n. *Ordinata* was a word much used in technical legal phraseology, and it is possible that the clause only excludes those who were under some judicial censure. But *consilia* frequently mean decrees, and our clause may possibly mean that no one should come on to the council who was specially kept off it by a decree voted in due form.

<sup>1</sup> He was born in 1496 and died in 1559. There is a mistake of a hundred years in the figures given in Grævius.

Venetians should be mixed up with alien races and its nobility contaminated.”<sup>1</sup> This may correctly enough describe the ultimate result, but a part at least of the original design was to get rid of the inconvenience of an annual renewal of so large a body. The decrees expressly contemplated the election every year of some who had not been members during the five qualifying years, and we are not told that this soon became obsolete, as Giannotti tells us was the fate of the provisions for balloting members of the qualified families in the Quarantia.<sup>2</sup> It seems, in fact, that a few *novi homines* were admitted every year.

The holders of many offices became entitled to seats on the council after the expiration of their term of office, the qualifying offices including those of counts, castellani, rettori and visdomini, some of which, it would appear, must have been held by foreigners; and Cardinal Contarini says that “some foreigners were admitted into the number of citizens either for eminent nobility or for their services to the State, or some illustrious action for its honour.”<sup>3</sup> This constant accretion of new members was one of the causes why the numbers of the Great Council went on steadily increasing after the *Serrata*. But a more potent cause was the custom, established by a decree of 1315, of inscribing in a book the names of all members of families represented in the Great Council, as soon as they passed their eighteenth year, with a view to their being balloted for in

<sup>1</sup> See col. 57 in the Latin edition in Grævius, *Thes. Antiq. Ital.*, v. pt. i., or pp. 225, 226, of the Italian version, printed in the same volume with Cardinal Contarini's *Rep. di Venetia* at Venice in 1678.

<sup>2</sup> “*Fiebat autem ut nullus unquam a Comitibus excluderetur, et ii qui semel delecti fuerant semper approbarentur: quâ re consuetudo suffragiorum tandem obsolevit*” (Grævius, *u.s.*, and p. 227 of the Italian version). He is referring, I think, to the admission without a fortunate ballot of all candidates who had reached the age of twenty-five.

<sup>3</sup> *Della Rep. e Magistrati di Venezia*, Book i. p. 31, of Italian translation, ed. 1678. Contarini calls the right of eligibility to the Great Council “la ragion di Cittadino” (p. 33). There are frequent records in the Commemoriali of the grant of *cittadinanza* for twenty-five, or some other term of years, by the *Provveditori di Comune*.

the Quarantia, and one-fifth elected in each year. There was so much competition among families to get their members elected at these ballots that in 1317 a heavy fine was imposed as a penalty for the inscription of an unqualified candidate, and in 1319, after an inquiry by the *Avogadori* into the validity of inscriptions, a procedure similar to that we have seen adopted in the election of doge was prescribed, the order of submitting the inscriptions to the Quarantia being determined by the method of one gilded ballot in every five, drawn from a box by a child.<sup>1</sup> The minimum age for a seat on the Great Council was twenty-five, so that candidates had seven years in which their names might come up for ballot: but late in 1319 a decree was passed that any qualified candidate who had been inscribed for two years, but had not been fortunate at a ballot, should, if over twenty-five, become a member of the Council without further delay. This important change lessened the advantage derived from success in the ballot, and is said to have been one of the causes that brought to an end the system of balloting before the Quarantia.

It would thus appear that, in twenty years after the *Serrata*, the members of certain families became entitled to seats on the Great Council without election. The privileged families were not few, and their privilege did not exclude members of other families, who could be elected as a matter of favour, either for services done to the State or for other reasons. But the privilege granted to the families who had been represented on the council during the five years, 1293 to 1297, though it did not make the Republic a narrow oligarchy, established a legal distinction between classes, and gave a definite sense to the word *Nobili* (or *Gentiluomini*), as distinguished from *Cittadini*, which had till then, as in most countries in Europe, been vague. From this time at Venice noble families were those whose members had an hereditary right to seats in

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, ii. p. 348.

the Great Council ; but this right belonged only to members born in lawful wedlock,<sup>1</sup> and of a mother belonging to a noble family and of good character. And thus it became the custom that marriages and births in these families were carefully registered at the office of the *Avogaria*, and from the registers there the famous *Libro d'Oro* of the Venetian nobility was, in later times, compiled.

A regulation that dated back to the time of the *Serrata* allowed members of noble families, on attaining the age of twenty—that is, five years before the legal age for becoming members of the Great Council—to attend the proceedings of the council without the right of speaking or voting. On St. Barbara's Day, the 4th of December, all the young nobles who had completed their twentieth year since that day in the previous year were assembled before the *Avogadori* in the Sacristy of San Marco, and the thirty in whose name gilded ballots were drawn by a child, obtained this privilege.<sup>2</sup> For the five years of their political nonage these *Barbarini*, as they were called, sat in the council, but their voices were not heard.

It appears that each member retained at the *Serrata* or in any subsequent year had the privilege of nominating not more than four members of his family to seats on the council. Giannotti expresses, but doubtfully, the opinion that these *aggiunti* were reckoned members of the council, arguing that if they had not been, there must have been more families than there were divided into *Gentiluomini* and

<sup>1</sup> The article on the *Serrata del Consiglio* in *Venezia e le Sue Lagune*, i. 60 *sqq.*, attributed to Agostino Sagredo, quotes Muazzo as an incontestable authority for his statement that the prime motive for the reform was “*che nelle elezioni del Maggior Consiglio vi si introdussero nomi spregievoli per illegittimità di Natali.*” This was probably enough the reason for the scrutiny by the Quarantia of the qualifications of members elected in the last four years, but it can hardly have been the cause of the whole change. Giannotti, writing 150 years before Muazzo, says, “*Io non ho letto mai, ne inteso che cagione e che occasione facesse il Consiglio serrare*” (p. 225 of Italian version).

<sup>2</sup> Yriarte, *Vie d'un Patricien de Venise*, p. 20. See also pp. 229, 230, of the Italian version of Giannotti's Dialogue.

*Cittadini*. He reckons that, assuming 450 to have been the number of members elected in each of the five qualifying years, and three-fifths of the whole contingent of any year to have previously served in one or other of the years, there would be 900 persons privileged each to nominate, say, four kinsmen, making up a total of 4500 members of the council, and attributed the decrease of its numbers to less than 3000 in his own time solely to the gradual dying out of noble families.<sup>1</sup> A century later Limojon de St. Didier estimated the total number of members of the Great Council at 1200.<sup>2</sup> The nobles whose names were in the *Libro d'Oro* were all of equal rank politically, but notes in that book were affixed to the names of those families, members of which had taken part in the election of the first doge. These families were Badoeri (who had been originally Partecipazii), Barozzi, Baseggio, Contarini, Dandolo, Gradenigo, Memmo, Michiel, Morosini, Polani, Sanudo, Tiepolo. A distinguishing mark was also added to those families from which doges had come, the mark being a number of ducal berrettas equal to the number of doges.

The Florentine stranger, to whom his two Venetian friends explain the constitution and government of Venice in Giannotti's Dialogue, asks the very pertinent question how those citizens who had before been eligible for the council, and thenceforward remained excluded from it, and also (as Giannotti thought probable) from most of the great public employments, civil and military, were induced to submit quietly to the revolution, and his Venetian interlocutor points to the conspiracy of Marin Bocconio, that followed close upon the *Serrata*, as evidence that there were malcontents. But if we reflect that the large body of

<sup>1</sup> Giannotti, *u.s.*, pp. 227, 228. See also p. 220, from which it appears that these *aggiunti* were an ancient part of the constitution existing before the *Serrata*. *Aggiunti* and *Giunta* are words one meets with elsewhere in Venetian constitutional history, e.g. in the Senate and the Council of Ten.

<sup>2</sup> *Ville et Rép. de Venise*, p. 216 (3rd ed.).



past and present members of the Great Council whose families became ennobled must have included the great majority of statesmen and soldiers who had any experience of affairs or authority among their fellow-citizens, we shall not wonder that the resistance to the change was not formidable.

We have also to remember that the last decade of the thirteenth century, in which the *Serrata del Consiglio* fell, was a time of great distress and anxiety for Christianity in general and for Venice in particular. Men's hearts were failing them for fear and for looking for those things that were coming on the earth, when in 1291 Acre, the last stronghold of the Crusaders in Palestine, fell into the hands of the infidel, and the one hundred and ninety years of Latin rule in Syria came to an end. I shall return to this subject in the next chapter. I need only observe now that the depression caused through Western Europe by the fall of Acre, and certain disasters suffered by Venice in the war with Genoa, may have inclined those classes of Venetians who were excluded from political power to acquiesce in their exclusion. A political career lost, for a Venetian, the attraction of possibly leading to a principality in Syria, and his chance of conquering and holding against Genoese rivals an island or promontory in the Levant was lessened. But commerce, which had always been the chief interest of Venetians and the main source of their wealth, was open to those who had no share in the government. And some very important offices—those of Chancellor and Secretary, for example—were never held by nobles, and these will have always been the principal objects of the ambition of notaries and other legal practitioners, whose special knowledge and practical experience in the work of government would have naturally led them to resent a total exclusion from political power. All men who had lately had seats in the Great Council were retained there, and those excluded members of the community, some of whom may have been

influential from their wealth,<sup>1</sup> were without the organisation required for enforcing political claims. At any rate, the conspiracy of Marin Bocconio, which was the only immediate attempt at resistance, seems to have been an unimportant affair. We know little of it; we are told that Bocconio was rich and popular, and that he plotted treason with certain adherents whose names are given, and that the murder of the doge was part of their design. The plot was betrayed to the doge, who had Bocconio and ten others arrested and "hung between the two marble columns which are near the great gate of the doge's palace," the usual place of public executions.<sup>2</sup> This was in the year 1300. It either had been preceded, or was immediately followed, by a decree of the Great Council, adding to the *Capitolare* or bye-laws of the doge's counsellors a clause prohibiting the admission of *novi homines* to the Great Council, unless with the consent of a majority of the Quarantia, given at a meeting at which not less than twenty were present. This was the beginning of a process that went on for some years, by which the willingness to admit new members shown in the original decrees of 1297 was gradually checked, a resolution of 1307 making the approval of five out of the six counsellors and of twenty-five out of the forty members of the Quarantia a condition of any new man's admission; while another resolution of 1316 raised the necessary number of

<sup>1</sup> One of Giannotti's Venetian interlocutors tells his Florentine friend (p. 343 of Italian version) that so many rich traders were without *beni stabili* (i.e., I presume, *immobili* or real property), that the *tansa* or assessed tax levied from them was "simile a quello che voi" (i.e. in Florence) "chiamate arbitrio," calculated on an assessment that was practically guesswork. Many of the richest merchants were, however, no doubt nobles, a class which by this change became co-extensive with that of members of the Great Council. But some were excluded, and Cardinal Contarini is emphatic in preferring birth to wealth as the foundation of political privilege, which should come "dalla nobiltà più tosto che dal numero delle facoltà" (*Rep. di Ven.*, p. 29, ed. 1678).

<sup>2</sup> See the passage quoted from Caresini in Romanin, iii. 5, n. 2. The two columns are, of course, those of the Piazzetta.

members of the Quarantia to thirty, and required in addition the consent of a majority of the Great Council. In the early years following the *Serrata* the custom grew up, which is said to have been recognised by law in 1322,<sup>1</sup> that the new men admitted must belong to families that had been represented in the Great Council at some time since 1172, which was assumed to be the year of its first creation.<sup>2</sup> This, in combination with the law of 1315, establishing a register of all male members of these families of the age of eighteen or over, and another law of 1319 (referred to above), prescribing a method of lot by which the selection should be made, and adding that any one on the register who had reached the age of twenty-five without the lot being favourable to him should forthwith become a member, had the effect of establishing a large and powerful aristocracy, the most powerful, perhaps, and the least invidious that the world has ever seen. Cardinal Contarini<sup>3</sup> is emphatic in claiming that it could not be called an

<sup>1</sup> Rom., ii. pp. 346, 347, note 5, who quotes a MS. work of Giov. Ant. Muazzo (d. 1702), *Storia del Governo della Rep. di V.*

<sup>2</sup> Le Bret, whose *Venezianische Staatsgeschichte* (1 theil, pp. 1665, 666) has given us one of the best and clearest accounts of the *Serrata*, written in 1769, when the Venetian aristocracy was still in existence, says that at Christmas 1298 a new decree was passed, impressing upon the Quarantia the necessity of being careful not to approve any candidate whose father or more remote paternal ancestor had not been a member of the Great Council: he thinks that, as long as the Doge Gradenigo lived, the three electors were careful to choose no members of a new family, but that afterwards they became less strict, and "new nobles" were chosen, and their names submitted to the Quarantia, but only to be rejected by "that lofty court, in which, *then, as now*, nobles of the oldest families had their seat and vote." He quotes as his authority Liber Pilosus in *Avog. ad Ann.*, 1298.

<sup>3</sup> *Rep. di Ven.*, lib. i. p. 48, ed. 1678. The passage is well worth reading. Both Contarini and Giannotti use language such as has been often used by English writers of the English constitution, ascribing to it a combination of the virtues of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. The Great Council they treat as representing democracy. Contarini generally confined the term *cittadini* (*cives*) to the nobles, but Giannotti gives the title to those who were not nobles, but also not plebeians (*populares*), and appears to assume an original difference of race, such as distinguished patricians and plebeians at Rome.

oligarchy, because the government was in the hands of a large number of families, the members of which were all equal among themselves, and had an equal right to be elected by their fellows to offices of State.

In fact, as Romanin has shown, the effect of the *Serrata* was rather to increase than to diminish the numbers of the Great Council. It had originally consisted of 450 to 470 members, but in 1311 had over 1000, and increased steadily till in 1510 it had 1671.<sup>1</sup> We have seen that the inclusion of the contingents of five years<sup>2</sup> would have at least doubled the aggregate number. This would account for the rise from 450 to 1000 in twelve or fourteen years. Both these numbers are certainly taken to be exclusive of the *aggiunti*. The admission of all members of the privileged families at twenty-five without election would have helped to raise the number. It is obvious that this decision made the electors almost useless, and other evidence points to their being regarded with suspicion. Le Bret explains the institution of a register of candidates qualified for election, as intended to guide and limit the electors in their choice, and connects with the same design of limiting the numbers admitted by the electors, the severe penalties imposed by laws of 1316 and 1319 on any one getting his name registered without the legal qualification. When the register could be accepted as satisfactory evidence of age and other qualifications, there was no need of either election by any special body or ballot in the Quarantia, except in the rare cases of admitting members of families not yet noble.

It is well worthy of remark that Caroldo, a diplomatist

<sup>1</sup> Limojon de St. Didier, who was in Venice from 1672 to 1674, tells us that seldom more than 600 members were present at a meeting of the Great Council, but he thought an equal number might often be absent from Venice on foreign service or on trading business (*u.s.*, p. 216).

<sup>2</sup> Giannotti speaks of these as "cinque mute," *mute* being the word for relays of horses or packs of hounds (Fr. *meute*).

and Secretary to the Council of Ten in the early part of the sixteenth century, in a chronicle that has not yet been printed, alleges as one of the causes of the discontent that led to the conspiracy of Querini and Tiepolo, the feeling that Gradenigo wished to admit to the Great Council "a greater number of families than had been recognised as noble and equal to the others," and did not think it right "that a few families should be the principal and most respected of the city."<sup>1</sup> This view is, it will be seen, consistent with that of the continuator of Dandolo, who looked upon the *Serrata* as mainly the admission of a democratic element into the Great Council, and with that of Cardinal Contarini, that the aristocratic constitution of 1297 could not be called an oligarchy, because it placed the power in the hands of a large number of families all equal among themselves.<sup>2</sup>

The view that modern writers cannot altogether shake off, that the *Serrata del Consiglio* was an invasion of popular rights by an ambitious "party of nobles,"<sup>3</sup> is, I think, nowhere found in old Venetian writers: it originated, I am disposed to believe, with French writers. Count Daru, a child of the French Revolution, nourished on the doctrines of Rousseau, and who, in writing his history, held a brief to justify the destruction of the venerable Republic by his master, Napoleon, has been taken as a guide by his fellow-countrymen. With him, the object of Gradenigo was "to concentrate and perpetuate the

<sup>1</sup> The passage is quoted by Romanin (iii. p. 29, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> I have quoted the passage of the Dandolo Chronicle at p. 191, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Adelspartei" in the German of Max Claar's *Die Entwicklung der Venez. Verfassung*. The view of this learned writer, set forth in his seventh chapter (pp. 129-32), seems to me to be very nearly the opposite of the true view. Romanin's intimate acquaintance with the records in the Venetian archives saved him from errors of this kind. Le Bret, though fully sensible of the weak points of the Abbé Laugier (a Jesuit *philosophe*, afterwards unfrocked), whose history gave occasion to his own, and of French writers on Venice generally, is disposed to agree with the common view of a party of nobles strangling liberty.

government in the hands of the principal families,"<sup>1</sup> the direct opposite of what Caroldo believed it to have been. In the account given by the chronicler, Marco Barbaro, of the discussions among the conspirators before the outbreak of the Querini-Tiepolo plot, all the speakers agree that the reform of Gradenigo had been fairly carried in the Great Council, because its members were generally sensible of the intrigues, the canvassing, the corruption, the manœuvres of all kinds, that had been due to the contests for places in the council, which the new system had effectually ended.<sup>2</sup> It is no doubt possible for us to argue that a democratic form of representative government, based on universal suffrage, would have better accorded with political justice than the aristocracy on a broad foundation established by Gradenigo; but such a kind of government was not dreamed of at Venice in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and bore little resemblance to the system superseded by the *Serrata*.

<sup>1</sup> Liv. vi. c. xi., vol. ii. p. 37 of edition of 1826. In 1797 the democratic municipality set up by the French in place of the Great Council decreed "funebri pompe e lagrime ufficiali" to Bajamonte Tiepolo, as a champion of liberty (*Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, No. 43, p. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iii. p. 31.

## CHAPTER X

### TROUBLES AT FERRARA—CONSPIRACY OF TIEPOLO AND CREATION OF COUNCIL OF TEN

ANDREA DANDOLO, or the chronicler who continued his work after the year 1280, whom Muratori supposed to be Raphayn or Raphael Caresini, Great Chancellor of Venice, relates the history of the two doges, Giovanni Dandolo and Pietro Gradenigo, in a form quite different from that adopted in the Chronicle, both before and after. It is more hurried, it contains no list of the electors of either doges which it was Dandolo's custom to give; and it is suspiciously reticent as to the most important events, the *Serrata del Consiglio*, the conspiracies of Bocconio and Bajamonte Tiepolo, and the war of Ferrara, leading to the excommunication and interdict imposed on the Republic by Clement V. The marginal additions of the Ambrosian MS. are numerous here, chiefly relating to the war with Genoa between 1291 and 1299; they also supplement the meagre notice in the received text, that the doge "accepted the lordship of the city of Ferrara, on account of which Pope Clement excommunicated the doge himself and the Venetians, which city the said doge at length released and placed under the lordship of the Church."

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Ferrara was governed by Azzo d'Este, known to history as Azzo VIII., a great-grandson of the Azzo Novello who had become ruler of Ferrara, and a great power in North Italy, as we have seen, on the fall of the Ghibelline Salinguerra Torelli. Azzo VIII. was son-in-law of Charles II. ("the lame"), the

Angevin King of Naples, and in virtue of this alliance, as well as of the hereditary policy of his House, a strong Guelf partisan. Venice had generally been friendly to the House of Este, and, though careful not to be an open partisan of either Guelfs or Ghibellines, had always treated the Holy See with respect. Ever since the bequest of the great Countess Matilda, the Popes had nourished a theoretical claim to be over-lords of Ferrara, but had not cared to press this claim against actual rulers so friendly to the cause of the Church as the Este princes.<sup>1</sup> But Azzo's marriage in 1305 to the daughter of Charles of Naples had displeased his own subjects, and caused the rise of a Ghibelline party in the Este territory, supported by the Ghibellines of several neighbouring cities, and by discontented members of the Este family. Venice was friendly at this time with the King of Naples, and had been induced by him to lend material aid to his son-in-law, Azzo, against his enemies from Bologna, Verona, and Mantua. When Azzo died in January 1308, and civil war broke out between Fresco, his natural son, and his brothers, Aldobrandino and Francesco, who had left the city in wrath at his Neapolitan marriage, Venice supported Fresco, while Clement V., taking the side of Aldobrandino and Francesco, asserted the dormant claims of the Holy See to suzerainty: Francesco, who acted for both brothers in this business, offered to hold Ferrara as a fief of the Church. Thus circumstances drove the Venetians reluctantly into hostility with the Pope; they had large interests in Ferrara, and the ambassadors who had been sent from Venice to condole with the late marquis on his illness, received instructions to inquire into

<sup>1</sup> Pope Clement's letter of remonstrance to the people of Ferrara, written in April 1308, admits that the Ferrarese had long been separated from their mother's embrace, "*sub diversorum eos subjugantium potentiâ.*" This would refer to Salinguerra as well as to the Estes. The people "*matris et dominæ ecclesiæ—id faciente malitiâ temporis, dulcedinem non gustarunt*" (see the letter in Raynaldus, tom. xxiii. p. 444).



the state of affairs, and the disposition of men's minds at Ferrara, and to report whether they were inclined to accept any other government.<sup>1</sup> Now, five months after Azzo's death, on the 8th of July, the Great Council decreed the despatch of troops to Ferrara, and on their arrival Fresco put them in possession of Castel Tedaldo, the stronghold in the south-west corner of the city that commanded the bridge over the Po, and finding himself very unpopular with his people, withdrew to Venice. His uncle, Francesco, entered Ferrara with Papal troops, and a legate, Cardinal Pelagrua, who sent an embassy to Venice, demanding the restitution of Castel Tedaldo, and the recall of the Venetian troops.

The answer to be given to the ambassadors was referred to a large commission of forty-five,<sup>2</sup> appointed by the Great Council, and these argued that since the expulsion of Salinguerra the Marquises of Este had governed Ferrara, and that Fresco, their lawful successor, had ceded his rights to Venice. This was, of course, no answer to the Pope, who claimed a right superior to that of his vassal, the marquis, which the latter had no power to cede. But the legate was willing to temporise, and offered, if the Venetians would give up the city to the Holy See, to grant it back to them as a fief held under the Pope, for a rent of 20,000 ducats. The Republic would not hear of fief or rent, and the Pope's envoys, when they left Venice without attaining their object, were insulted by the populace in the streets.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. (iii. p. 12), who quotes *Commemoriali*, i. 31.

<sup>2</sup> A *Giunta* or "addition" of twenty-five members was made to the twenty *Savii* elected in July for conducting the Ferrara war. *Savii* ("Sages") was the generic name for members of commissions for special purposes, appointed generally by the Senate. The *Savii del Collegio*, permanent officers who exercised great authority, were shortly after this time (in 1340) divided into three classes; *S. grandi*, *S. di Terra Ferma*, and *S. di Mare* or *Agli Ordini*. They were sixteen in number, and with the doge, his six counsellors, and the three chiefs of the *Quarantia* made up the *Collegio*, of which we shall hear much in the future.

They returned to Ferrara, and there, on the 25th of October 1308, issued a Bull<sup>1</sup> imposing the penalty of excommunication and interdict on the city of Venice, its doge, counsellors, and captains, and in particular on Giovanni Soranzo and Vitale Michiel, who had fought against Papal troops, and on the Podestà of Chioggia, whose boats had operated against those of the Church on the Po. The Bull made null and void all treaties or agreements made by other Governments with the Venetians, prohibited the import of provisions<sup>2</sup> to Venice or Chioggia, and revoked all privileges conceded in times past by Popes to the Republic.

This open breach with the Pope was not a thing to be treated lightly by any Government, least of all by one which had always been so careful as the Venetian to treat the Papal authority with deference. The Great Council was assembled, and the situation was very seriously discussed. Many voices were in favour of submission and departure from Ferrara. Jacopo Querini came forward as representative of the Guelf view, that reverence towards the clergy, and most of all towards the Vicar of Christ, was the first duty of secular Governments, and that the present time, when the Republic was exhausted by the long wars with Genoa, only lately ended, was most unsuitable for entering on an enterprise that was probably impious and certainly dangerous. But the Doge Gradenigo opposed this view as childish and cowardly, urging that their dominions needed expanding, and that so good an opportunity as now presented itself of getting command of the Po and its trade

<sup>1</sup> The Bull is printed as *Documento DI* in the fifth volume of Verci's *Storia della Marca Trivigiana*. The date is that given in my text, not the 16th of October, as Romanin says. It mentions particularly the insults the Pope's envoys had recently suffered.

<sup>2</sup> In a Papal Bull of 24th August 1309 (in Verci, *u.s.*, tom. v. doc. DVII. p. 117), Clement thanks his beloved sons, the podestà and other officers of Padua, for sending 200 knights and 1000 foot soldiers to Ferrara to aid him against "the detestable barbarity" (*savittia*) of the Venetians, and in particular for preventing provisions passing from their territory into Venice.

was not to be neglected by far-seeing statesmen; that the Pope, when he had fully considered the matter, would surely not interfere in a purely temporal dispute against such faithful sons of the Church as the Venetians had ever been.<sup>1</sup> The doge's opinion was supported by all Ghibelline partisans, and probably by the majority of the mercantile interest, and it prevailed. "The part was taken," in Venetian phrase, to hold Ferrara, but not until much violent language had been used and some blows struck in the *calli* and *piazze* of the city.

Meanwhile, in November 1308, opinion in Ferrara had become favourable to an agreement with Venice, whose garrison in Castel Tedaldo had been seriously annoying the city. An arrangement was proposed by which, without prejudice to the rights of the Roman Church, a Venetian podestà should be admitted, who should hold Castel Tedaldo and the suburb across the Po, and the banishment of Fresco and his adherents should be repealed, in return for which the Venetians were to grant to citizens of Ferrara rights of citizenship in Venice, and to remit a debt of 100,000 lire owing by the Government of Ferrara. This arrangement was approved in the Great Council in December, and Giovanni Soranzo was appointed podestà and Vitale Michiel captain of the Venetian troops in Ferrara; both of them were already serving in Ferrara, but apparently in no formally recognised position. Fresco was not recalled, but he was promised a grant of lands in Venice of the value of 200 *lire dei grossi* as an equivalent for Castel Tedaldo.<sup>2</sup> The doge and the party in power seem to have made up their minds to adopt a forward policy on the Terra

<sup>1</sup> The arguments are given by Romanin (iii. 15-17) from the MS. chronicle of Marco Barbaro in the library of St. Mark. Barbaro is a sixteenth-century writer, well informed and of special authority in matters of genealogy, but he probably composed his speeches, after the manner of Thucydides, from his own idea of the arguments available.

<sup>2</sup> In April 1310 the Great Council granted to Folco, the son of Fresco (who seems to have been then dead), property of this value in houses belonging to the Commune (see Romanin, iii. p. 18, n. 2).

Ferma. But the Ferrarese hung back; they did not recall Fresco's adherents, nor repay to Venice the costs incurred in garrisoning Castel Tedaldo, nor supply a guard to the Venetian podestà, and rumours reached Venice that the Pope was much angered, and about to launch a more formidable Bull against her. The Signoria, reinforced by a *Giunta* of thirty-five appointed specially to deal with the affairs of Ferrara, decided to send an embassy of three nobles to the Pope at Avignon, to explain the rights that the Republic claimed in Ferrara. The envoys had hardly started when on March 27, 1309,<sup>1</sup> the Bull was issued at Avignon. It excommunicated the doge, the members of the Signoria, and all the citizens of Venice, and all who should aid or abet them, confiscated all the property of Venetians in Ferrara or elsewhere, annulled all treaties or contracts with Venetians, forbade the supply of provisions or merchandise to them, absolved the doge's subjects from their oath of fidelity, allowed any one to deprive Venetians of their liberty, made them incapable of giving evidence or making a will, or succeeding to any ecclesiastical benefice.

<sup>1</sup> The Bull is printed in Lünig (*Codex Dipl.*, iv. p. 1590), where, apparently by a misprint, it is assigned to 1307. The Bull itself gives its date "die Cænæ Domini Pontificatus anno quarto." Clement became Pope on the Vigil of Pentecost (5th of June) 1305. It is explained in the Bull (Lünig, *u.s.*, p. 1600) that the day was chosen as the usual one for solemn Papal proclamations. Perhaps Lord Beaconsfield, who was always much interested in the solemnities of the Roman Church, may have had this fact in his mind when he dated an important political manifesto on "Maundy Thursday." The issue of a second Bull after the first issued by the legates, who had full power to bind and loose, is a little puzzling. The later Bull refers to the former, but asserts that the Pope was ignorant of its publication, when he again issued a monition, the non-compliance with which was the cause of the final excommunication (Lünig, *u.s.*, col. 1593). The Avignon Bull is a far more rhetorical and elegant composition, full of the scriptural allusions that generally figure in Papal documents. The chronology is not quite clear. The Pope says (col. 1591) that the Venetian aggression in Ferrara began in the beginning of April, "ab octo mensibus," which must apparently mean eight months before. But the 27th of March, when the Bull issued, was just twelve months after the beginning of April. The Bull may have been kept back for some months in hopes of a submission.

Finally, it ordered all prelates and clerks to depart from Venetian territory within ten days from the expiration of the month allowed the Government as a *locus pœnitentiæ*. The Bull was by no means a *brutum fulmen*. The Republic had many foreign enemies and Venetians many debtors in foreign countries far and near, much money deposited in foreign banks, many ships in foreign ports. The many persons who were interested in acting upon the Papal Bull lost no time in confiscating and plundering Venetian ships, merchandise, and banks in France, Apulia, and the March of Ancona, and even in distant England and Asia. For their escape from a total destruction of their commerce the Venetians had to thank their long-standing liberal policy of trading with Saracens, who cared nothing for the threats or promises of the Pope.

The doge and Signoria did not bend before the storm. On the day the news came of the Papal excommunication they wrote to Ferrara to Vitale Michiel, who had succeeded Soranzo as podestà, bidding him retire into Castel Tedaldo and there continue his service. And a few days afterwards they charged the commander of their troops to make a survey of his resources and let them know what he required, "for," they added, "we are firm in the will to do all we can, manfully and forcibly, to preserve our rights and our honour."<sup>1</sup> And the Pope was equally firm. The Bull of excommunication was in July followed by the proclamation by Cardinal Pelagrua of a Crusade against Venice. And there were zealous enemies of Venice, only too ready to take the field against her, from Florence, Lucca, and the towns of Lombardy and Romagna. From the first things went ill with her. A pestilence broke out amongst her troops, of which Michiel the Podestà died. Marco Querini della Ca Grande and Giovanni Soranzo, who came out with reinforcements, the latter breaking through a chain the

<sup>1</sup> The letter, dated 9th April, is quoted from Barbaro's *Genealogie* in Rom., iii. p. 21.

Ferrarese had drawn across the Po, could effect little against the besiegers, who kept them shut up in the castle, in which the pestilence raged unchecked; and at length on St. Augustine's Day, August 28, 1309, the castle was stormed and the bulk of its garrison put to the sword. Marco Querini was one of the few that escaped to Venice. Some were taken prisoners and blinded, according to the bad precedents of the days of the Romano brothers.<sup>1</sup>

The defeat suffered in this enterprise was a great blow to the Venetians, but it did not at once bring them to submission. All through 1310 the war went on, without any decisive action: the Pope and Francesco d'Este did not work well together. But at length, apparently in the spring of 1311, the Signoria decided to send a fresh embassy to Avignon. This embassy of Carlo Querini and Francesco Dandolo, surnamed *Cane*, "the Dog," is the occasion of a story, told in the Dandolo Chronicle, how Francesco appeared before the Pope with a chain round his neck, and thence obtained the nickname of the Dog. But that nickname was, we know, borne by his father and by other persons—for example, the great Can Grande della Scala of Verona; and may reasonably be derived either from some heraldic bearing or from a fancied resemblance of face or character. But whether the Venetian envoy wore the dog-collar or not, the Republic had to humble itself to the payment of 90,000 Florentine gold florins to the Pope, which the Great Council raised by a forced loan of 3 per cent. on incomes; and had to use both patience and threats to induce the Florentine bankers in Venice

<sup>1</sup> I am not sure that the account I have given has correctly explained the rather confused chronology of these Ferrara events. But it agrees in the main with the account in the *Chronicon de Rebus Venetis* of Laurentius de Monacis, a contemporary writer of good authority (but for a strong prejudice on the Venetian side), and certainly not led astray by any graces of style. His chronicle is to be found in the Appendix to vol. viii. of Muratori's *Scriptores*, a separate volume published in 1758. The Ferrara troubles are described in lib. xiv., pp. 266 sqq.

to change into florins the money produced by the loan.<sup>1</sup> The money was not forthcoming till September 1312.

The unsuccessful war with Ferrara, and the consequent upstirring of that rivalry of Church and State that made the conflicts of Guelf and Ghibelline so bitter, produced in Venice a formidable conspiracy, that nearly succeeded in wresting the government out of the hands of the Doge Gradenigo. This did not arise from the disappointed ambition of politicians excluded from influence on the government by the closing of the Great Council. Its chief leaders belonged to the great families of Tiepolo, Querini, and Badoer,<sup>2</sup> which were certainly not shut out from the council. The accounts of its origin that have come down to us, speak of petty personal grievances of members of those families; the small occasions, which Aristotle contrasts with the great deep-seated causes, of revolutions. Jacopo Querini had been aggrieved at the election of Doimo, Count of the island of Veglia in the Quarnero, to the office of Counsellor of the Doge. Querini's contention that this violated a law, allowing Dalmatian counts to become members of the Great Council or the Pregadi, but not to hold an executive office, had been overruled by a majority; but not till injurious words and even blows had been exchanged in the Great Council and in the Piazza. In the latter place one of the Tiepoli, surnamed Scopulo, from the island of that name in the archipelago of which he was lord,<sup>3</sup> was wounded by a Dandolo. After this the government ordered the *Signori di Notte* (chief police officers) to allow no one to carry arms in the city; and in the execution of this order one of those officers, Marco Morosini,

<sup>1</sup> Donato dei Peruzzi was the banker who found 20,000 of the florins (Rom., iii. p. 23, n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> All three families had ancestors among the twelve electors of the first doge. The Querini were in old times called Galbani, the Badoeri Partecipazii; the former claimed the Emperor Galba as an ancestor.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 46.

essaying to search Pietro Querini della Casa Grande, was knocked down. A riot in Rialto followed, and in the end the Quarantia took the matter up, and Querini was condemned and fined for the assault. Another Querini had been fined by Marco Dandolo, *Avogador di Comun*, for having, when Bailo of Negropont, left his son Niccolo unpunished for an assault on a Jew. Bajamonte or Boemondo<sup>1</sup> Tiepolo, son of that Giacomo or Jacopo Tiepolo who might have been chosen doge by acclamation on the late doge's death had he not withdrawn from the city, and so grandson of Lorenzo Tiepolo the doge, and who was also son-in-law of Marco Querini, a respected member of that great family, had been condemned as long ago as the year 1300, to restore a sum of money he had extorted over and above his proper salary from the inhabitants of Modone and Corone. Two years later, before this sum had been repaid, he had been elected on the Quarantia, but had retired in dudgeon to his villa at Marocco, and taken no part in public affairs. He was still there in 1310. His father-in-law, Marco Querini, had also his grievances: he had been censured for abandoning Castel Tedaldo in the war with Ferrara,<sup>2</sup> and surviving when most of the garrison under him were slain, and he took this to be a reflection on his loyalty or his courage, for which he held the doge responsible. He used to talk among his kinsmen and friends against the doge, on the ground of his innovations on the constitution, his attack on Ferrara, his provocation of the Pope, and all the troubles and disorders to which this had led. He found his son-in-law ready enough to return to Venice for any

<sup>1</sup> His grandfather, the Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo, had married a daughter of Bohemund de Brienne, Prince of Rascia in Bosnia (v. *ante*, pp. 86, 153). Hence, no doubt, his Christian name, which was softened in the Venetian dialect to Bajamonte or Bagiamonte. The name Bohemund is first met with, I think, in the son of Robert Guiscard the Norman. Miss Yonge ("Hist. of Christian Names," ii. 442) thought the name was Slavonic and equivalent to Theophilus.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 212.



enterprise that might give him his revenge against the doge. Bajamonte was a popular person in Venice, commonly known as *Il Gran Cavaliere*, a man evidently of vaulting ambition, of the same type as Matteo Visconti or Ecelino da Romano, or the founders of the families of Carrara or Della Scala. The ambition to become despots on the ruins of republican freedom was a marked feature in the character of the Italian noblemen of these centuries, when the imperial power had ceased to be formidable. It was mainly against the effects of this ambition, I think, that Gradenigo had devised his reform of the Venetian constitution, and for this reason men like Bajamonte Tiepolo resented his action. The uncertainty of the old regulations for the elections both of doge and of Great Council had made a *coup d'état* always possible, such as had nearly placed on the ducal throne Bajamonte's father, Jacopo. There were special reasons why the ambition to make himself a despot should possess the mind of a Venetian nobleman. Nowhere was so much wealth accumulated in the great families, many of whom had, since the conquest of Constantinople, been princes, all but independent, in the Levant. A Venetian Sanudo had, we have seen, been Prince of Naxos and the Twelve Islands; a Tiepolo was Prince of Scopulo; and nearer home, in the wild country of Dalmatia, Croatia, or Hungary, Venetian nobles had become allied to royal or princely families. Andrew III., who was King of Hungary from 1290 till 1301, was son of a Venetian mother, Tomasina Morosini, with whom his father Stephen had fallen in love when an exile staying in the house of her brother Albertino. When Andrew was recalled to Hungary to succeed to the throne of his uncle Ladislaus, his mother and her brother went with him, and Albertino Morosini was made by his grateful nephew Duke of Slavonia<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The continuator of Dandolo (cols. 402, 403 of Murat., *R. I. S.* xii.) says that Morosini was made Ban, as well as Duke, of Slavonia, and

Count of Possega, and was a powerful person in Hungary till his nephew died. He then returned to Venice, and lived in a house near the church of San Giuliano, in a place still called *Corte della Regina*, in memory of his sister Tomasina, who there ended her days. Michele Morosini, Albertino's son, had a daughter Costanza, who married Wladislas, King of Servia; thus bringing a second royal alliance to the Morosini family.

When Bajamonte Tiepolo returned to Venice, a meeting of the disaffected was held in the Casa Querini near the Rialto Bridge,<sup>1</sup> on the side of the Grand Canal, opposite to San Marco, known sometimes as the Rialto, sometimes simply as *di là*, as opposed to *di qua dal Canale*. The Tiepoli were neighbours of the Querini, their headquarters being in the Campo Sant' Agostino near the Frari. Marco Querini opened the meeting by an invective against the doge, on the ground of his exclusion of good citizens from the government, and of his quarrel with the Pope, and Bajamonte enlarged on the resources of the conspiracy, and the certainty of success, if their secret was kept. But another member of the Querini family, Jacopo, who was about to start for Constantinople on a mission, an old man of great authority, spoke against the two former speakers, and against the feeling of the meeting, which evidently went with them. He did not attempt to justify the doge's policy, but pointed out that his reform had been legally carried in the Great Council, which had also approved the war with Ferrara, and he entreated them not

that he added the insignia of the Banate to his arms. These were a cross argent over a ring of the same. As these hid the family *tressa azzurra*, his descendants changed the *tressa* into the *sbarra* (*Libro de' Nobili Veneti* (Firenze, 1866), s.v. Moresini). *Tressa* appears to be the Venetian equivalent for the *fascia* or horizontal band. *Sbarra* is the bend running obliquely from the chief sinister to the base dexter.

<sup>1</sup> The Palazzo Querini in the parish of Sta. Maria Formosa is still standing. The best-known branch of the family, called Q. Stampalia from the island of Stampalia near Rhodes, which was bought by Zuane Q., when exiled after the conspiracy of B. Tiepolo (Tassini, *Curiosità Venez.*, p. 597), became extinct in 1886.

stir up civil war, relying on the unstable populace, who had let Marin Bocconio perish. The old man's speech made an impression, but this only lasted till after his departure on his mission. Then a rising was fixed for the 15th of June, St. Vitus' Day. The conspirators were to assemble the night before in the Casa Querini, and at daybreak to cross the Rialto Bridge, and make a rush on the Piazza of St. Mark in two bodies—one, led by Marco Querini and his two sons, by the way of the Calle de' Fabbri, the other, led by Bajamonte, by the way of the Merceria. Badoero Badoer, who had much influence on the Terra Ferma, was to assemble his people in and about Padua, and come to Peraga, that had long been a possession of his family, on the night of the 14th, and from thence force his way into the city at daybreak on the 15th.

The conspirators were not favoured by fortune; in the first place they found the doge prepared. One Marco Donato of the contrada of the Magdalene, who had been at first in the conspiracy but had withdrawn from it, gave the doge information. The Signoria was assembled in the night at the ducal palace, with the *Signori di Notte*, and the Avogadori, the doge's legal advisers. All these dignitaries had armed their servants, and pressing messages had been sent to the Podestàs of Chioggia, Torcello, and Murano to come with their guards. The workmen of the arsenal, whose duty it was to act as the doge's bodyguard when necessary, were standing ready. Marco Giustinian of San Moisè, and the Dandolo family, always the enemies of the Tiepoli, had mustered their followers in the Piazza, when at the first dawn of the 15th the insurgents, led by Marco Querini and his son Benedetto, broke into it from the *Calle de' Fabbri* and the *Ponte de' Dai*. The fight here was sharp and short; the Querini were put to flight and Marco and his son killed. The other body of insurgents, led by Bajamonte Tiepolo, on its way to the Merceria arrived at the church of San Giuliano. A violent

thunderstorm had been raging in the night, with torrents of rain and a gale of wind, and this seems to have brought Tiepolo to a stand before he entered the Piazza from either the Merceria or the street of San Basso. Near the church of San Giuliano his standard-bearer, carrying a flag with *Libertà* inscribed on it, was struck down by a stone mortar thrown by a woman from a window; this, which is mentioned in all our accounts, seems to have discouraged Tiepolo, who fled across the wooden bridge at the Rialto and barricaded himself with his followers in that neighbourhood. There they were among friends, whereas the popular feeling had been against them across the canal, as it was against a few remains of the force of Marco Querini, which collected in the Campo di San Luca and were dispersed by members of the Guild of Painters and of the Scuola of the Carità. Those who were with Tiepolo prepared to hold out till Badoer brought up his reinforcements from Peraga. But Badoer had been seriously delayed by the storm, and Ugolino Giustinian, the Podestà of Chioggia, whom the doge sent to stop him, found him still on the other side of the lagoon, and there attacked and routed his band and took him and them prisoners. The disaster of Badoer took away the last serious chance of success from the conspirators, but Tiepolo was still strongly posted in his own quarter of the city, and men's minds were in so much agitation that the doge was anxious to induce him to surrender on conditions. His haughty spirit, however, refused to accept pardon or amnesty, and rejected the mediation of some Milanese merchants, and of Giovanni Soranzo and Matteo Manolesso, whom the doge deputed to treat with him. It was not till Filippo Belegno, one of the doge's counsellors, an old man of venerable age and persuasive eloquence, approached him, that he consented to go into exile with his followers for four years into the parts of Slavonia beyond Zara. In those parts he was told he might move about freely, but not

enter any part of Venetian territory or any place at war with Venice. So many of his followers as were members, or qualified to be members, of the Great Council were to be restricted to places assigned to them by the doge, but the cities of Padua, Treviso, or Vicenza and their territories were too near at hand to be safely left open to enemies of the Government, so that the doge could not make any of these their place of exile. The humbler conspirators were only required to make good any property they had plundered during the troubles.

The Great Council was nearly unanimous in agreeing to these merciful terms. Badoero Badoer met with severer treatment. He had been taken with arms in his hand, fighting against the Government of his country, and could expect no mercy. He was put to the torture till he confessed what of course he could not deny, his own high treason; but the council did not put him to further torture for the purpose of inculcating others, and on the 17th of June he was beheaded between the two columns on the Piazzetta.

The Signoria probably often regretted they had not been equally severe with Bajamonte Tiepolo. For many years after his exile he was a thorn in their side. He had many kinsmen and friends in Dalmatia and Slavonia; besides his grandmother's kindred, who were Voivodes of Rascia, in the neighbourhood of Novi Bazar, Mladino, a Ban of Croatia, was related to him, and the Lords of Brebir, who called themselves Counts of the Maritime Cities of Dalmatia, were his good friends. Before his rebellion he had been Podestà of Sebenico, and in that office had acquired influence in Slavonia. He had also as long ago as in 1300 been podestà at Ferrara,<sup>1</sup> a post which would have brought him into communication with the Papal Government. He and his friends had opposed the war with Ferrara and come into collision with their Government over this. We are

<sup>1</sup> *Commemoriali*, libro i. No. 35 (ed. Predelli).

not surprised to find among his adherents the priests of nine of the city parishes. We are told that his name was known and honoured in Guelf circles throughout Italy. He had property not only in Dalmatia, but in the March of Treviso about his villa at Marocco that we have already mentioned, and his influence with the rulers of Treviso was sufficient to make them break the promises they made to the doge to banish him and his followers from their territory; for early in 1311 we find that he and his principal adherents had left the places of exile assigned to them when their lives were spared, and had assembled near Marocco, on the very borders of the Venetian dominions. Here they were an ever-present danger, and the Government could not tell what support they had in the city. Spies were set to watch the movements of the exiles and of their friends in the city; and within a month of the outbreak the wives of the conspirators were sent after them into exile, and all communication with the exiles was forbidden under severe penalties.

The Government next proceeded to offer rewards or thanks to all who, in heaven or on earth, had signally helped it in its danger: first to San Vito, on whose day the conspiracy had been crushed. On that day the doge and other magistrates were every year to walk in procession to the Saint's church, as they did to San Marco on his day, and a dinner was to be given by the doge.<sup>1</sup> Then Marco Donato (or Donà in Venetian), the doge's informer, was rewarded by admission of himself and all his descendants to the Great Council. The woman who had thrown the stone mortar that broke the standard-bearer's head, Giustina or Lucia Rossi, was rewarded, at her own request, by permission to fly the banner of St. Mark from her window on San Vito's Day and other great festivals, and by a promise that the Procurators of St.

<sup>1</sup> "Et prandium per Dominum Ducem." See *Presbiter*, 25th June, 1310, quoted in *Roman.*, iii. 37, n. 1.

Mark, who were her landlords, should never raise the rent paid by herself or her successors. A descendant, Nicolò Rosso, maintained his right to this beneficial rent against the Procurators in 1468, and the house and shop "*della grazia del mortar*" in the Merceria at the corner of the *Calle del Cappello* is still known. The Scuola of the Carità and the Painters' Guild were granted the right to hoist their banners on a mast set up in the Campo of St. Luke in memory of the fight there with Querini's band.

At the same time confiscation or destruction of the chief conspirators' property went on; severe measures were threatened against all who sheltered them, even in monasteries, which were generally licensed to protect the unfortunate. Bajamonte's house at St. Agostino was pulled down, and many years after, in 1364, stone pillars were erected at the boundaries of its site, with an inscription carved on them to the effect that the ground was now the property of the Commune, and had once been that of Bajamonte Tiepolo the traitor.<sup>1</sup> The pilasters at its great gate were bestowed on the church of San Vito.<sup>2</sup> The Palazzo Querini seems, at the time of the conspiracy, to have belonged to three brothers, one of whom had not joined Marco and Pietro in the conspiracy; so with strict and formal justice one-third part was ordered to be left standing, while the rest was destroyed; but as difficulties not unnaturally arose in determining the exact limits of the part to be spared, the Commune bought the share of the

<sup>1</sup> I have given the interesting words of this inscription, from Grævius (*Antiq. Ital.*, tom. v. pt. ii. p. 172), in note 1 to p. 154, *ante*. In Cicogna's *Iscrizioni*, iii. 36, 37, the words I have quoted are qualified as "una giunta capricciosa di qualche scherzevol poeta." The "column of infamy" on which the inscription was carved was removed by its last owner, the nephew and heir of Duke Melzi, to his villa garden on the Lake of Como, where it is still to be seen (Tassini, *Curios. Venez.*, p. 608).

<sup>2</sup> Not the present church of S. Vito e Modesto in the Giudecca, but a small building near the Academia (see Grævius, *Antiq. Ital.*, tom. v. pt. ii. p. 208). It is in the Campo San Vio (Venetian for Vito) that the English church is situated.

innocent brother and converted the whole into public shambles. The arms of the Querini and Tiepolo families were also altered; the quarterly or and gules of Querini and the two-towered castle argent on azure field of Tiepolo were to disappear throughout the city, even from the portraits of the Doges Giacomo and Lorenzo Tiepolo in the Hall of the Great Council, and from the tombs of the same doges in the vestibule of Santi Giovanni e Paolo.<sup>1</sup>

Such measures as these might relieve the high-strung sentiment of indignation that prevailed in the city: the question what measures should be taken to prevent the success of any similar attempt was one that demanded and received more mature consideration. The proposal first made was not accepted. A commission or *Giunta* of fifteen was in existence, that had been elected, as other and larger bodies had previously been, to manage the war with Ferrara. It was proposed in July, the month after the outbreak, to entrust this Giunta, with the addition of the three heads of the Quarantia or Supreme Criminal Court, with the power of spending money and making any provisions or orders they thought necessary in respect of the recent disturbances,<sup>2</sup> and that their orders should have the same validity as decrees of the Great Council. This

<sup>1</sup> The Querini family in modern times have resumed the two-towered castle, which appears in *Tettoni e Saladini Teatro Araldico* (vol. ii. s.v.), surmounted by a doge's cap proper (*corno ducale*), which was gradually substituted for the buffalo's horn (*corno di bufalo*) given them after the conspiracy. In *Le Arme ovvero Insegne di tutti li Nobili, &c., Venezia, 1619*, the castle has disappeared, and we have a horn argent on azure field, which might serve either for a buffalo's horn or a doge's cap. In the same book we have three shields for Querini, all bearing three golden stars on azure, but variously arranged, and one with a B in the lower field to show that the branch that bore these had been *Buoni*, i.e. loyal, at the time of the conspiracy. See *Libro dei Nobili Veneti*, Firenze, 1866, pp. 71, 72, and 82, the author of which, writing in 1704, says that the buffalo's horn had by that time been "*quasi ridotto in una coda di lumaca*," a cochleare or spiral.

<sup>2</sup> "*Omnia negotia istarum novitatum*" (Rom., iii. p. 40, n. 1). "*Novitates*" are apparently analogous to the Greek *νεωτερισμὸς* for "revolutionary movements."



was not approved; a body of eighteen was thought too large, and it was thought better to appoint a new body *ad hoc*. Of two other proposals that were next made, the one that was carried provided that two lists of ten should be nominated, one list by one "*mano*" or division of the Great Council, the other by the Signoria, that each nominee should be separately submitted to the Great Council and ten selected by it, not more than one of any family to be included in the ten, nor any Procurator of St. Mark, but the holder of any other office to be eligible as one of the ten without resigning such office. The ten when elected were to have the same full powers in reference to recent events as were proposed to be given by the proposal before rejected, and to hold office till Michaelmas, that is, for less than three months.<sup>1</sup>

This decree, carried in the Great Council on the 12th of July 1310, created, as an exceptional and temporary body, the famous tribunal that was to last as long as the Republic, and to be looked on in future ages as the most characteristic institution of the Venetian aristocracy. The Council of Ten at once began to act: the decrees for demolishing the houses of Tiepoli and Querini, both passed before the

<sup>1</sup> In 1868 Bartolommeo Cecchetti, then Keeper of the Archives, published a memoir he had read in 1865 to the Ateneo Veneto, "Sull' Istituzione dei Magistrati della Repubblica Veneta fino al Secolo XIII.," in which he quoted from documents of 1288 and 1291 twenty mentions of a Council of Ten, as an existing body with its *Capitolare*, and having special knowledge of "*negocia guerra*." It is, however, clear from the words of the decrees of 1310 quoted in *Venezia e le Sue Lagune* (i. pp. 131 *sqq.*), "Che si eleggano X savi sopra questi negozi di queste novità," &c., that the council was a new body created for the purpose of dealing with the conspiracy. The most recent authority on the question, Signor Enrico Besta (*Il Senato Veneziano*, 1899, p. 39, n. 5) has shown that Cecchetti was mistaken, and that the Council of Ten, which was found mentioned before the end of the thirteenth century, was one of the temporary commissions that it was customary at Venice to appoint, *e.g.* the commission of fifteen mentioned in the text for the conduct of the war at Ferrara. Signor Besta mentions many other cases. I have not seen Cecchetti's Memoir, but there are extracts from it in A. Baschet, *Les Archives de Venise*, p. 515, note 2.

end of July, were its work. A series of measures carried in the same month show us the state of panic in which the city was plunged. The members of the Great Council were permitted to attend its meetings in arms, the doors of its hall were to be kept open during its meetings, 100 armed men in boats were to patrol the lagoons and canals, 200 selected by the *caposestieri* were to guard the Piazza, and thirty to be always on guard in the doge's palace. Every night at least ten men were to watch over each *contrada*,<sup>1</sup> and without their leave no one after the third bell had rung was to pass from one *contrada* to another. At the same time the *caposestieri* were ordered to levy 1500 good men and true to be ready to hasten to the side of the doge at the first alarm, each with his cuirass and other arms. As soon as the tocsin was rung from the campanile of San Marco all these were to assemble at their gathering-places and march half to the Piazza, half to guard their own *contrade*.

The public alarm had not subsided when Michaelmas arrived, the date at which the powers of the Council of Ten must end, if not prolonged, and the doge came before the Great Council and demanded a prolongation for two months more of these powers. His picture of the state of affairs was so alarming that his demand was readily complied with. Similar prolongations for two months at a time were sanctioned till July 1311,<sup>2</sup> when the council was prolonged, apparently, till 1315, after which two decennial prolongations carried it on to the 20th of July 1335, when it was made a permanent body, the members of which were elected annually in August or September, a few at

<sup>1</sup> The *contrada* at Venice was generally equivalent to the *parochia*.

<sup>2</sup> Leuret says that in January 1312 it was prolonged for five years, which would have carried it on till 1317. This he makes to agree with the statement that decennial extensions ended in 1335, by supposing the extensions to have been made in each case in the year before the term expired, *i.e.* in 1316 and 1325 (i. pp. 698, 699).

a time, and by two divisions<sup>1</sup> of the Great Council, no one being re-eligible.<sup>2</sup>

When the Council of Ten set to work, and the reports of the spies employed by it came in, it was evident that the alarm had not been unreasonable. On the 16th April 1311, a spy reported from Padua that on the day before, which was Good Friday, Bajamonte, who was staying in the house of Tiso da Camposampiero, had gone to a meeting convened at the house of Albertino da Carrara, which was numerously attended by nobles from Padua and the Marches, some exiles from Venice—two of the Querini, one a priest, are mentioned—and envoys from Rizzardo da Camino, the Vicar of the Emperor Henry VII. at Treviso. The lords of Camposampiero, a little town on the road from Padua to Bassano, had been long leading Guelf partisans in those parts—"Tiso Sampier" we meet with in "Sordello" as a power at Verona in the days of the Romanos and the Lombard League—and the house of Carrara was one of the chief Guelf families, shortly to rise to the lordship of Padua, and to figure much in Venetian history. At the Good Friday meeting Bajamonte explained his wrongs, and prayed the assembled nobles to aid him in getting his revenge, and the envoys of the Imperial Vicar supported his appeal. Enrico Scrovegno, a Paduan, promised for the Guelfs of his city to arm their followers in aid of Bajamonte's enterprise, and Filippo da Peraga, a kinsman of the Badoeri, testified that on the shores of the lagoon, at Marghera and San Giuliano, men's minds were in expectation of Bajamonte making an attempt, which he himself would support with 800 armed men. But the general feeling

<sup>1</sup> "*Per due mani*," i.e. two of the "Hands," which were somewhat analogous to the Bureaux of a continental Chamber, chose each a candidate, and the council decided between these two. In 1356 the law was altered and the election made "*per tre mani*," and finally it was made "*per quattro mani*." A *mano* consisted of nine members.

<sup>2</sup> That is, "immediately re-eligible." A year must elapse before he could be again elected. This compulsory interval was known in Venetian constitutional law as *contumacia*, as I have mentioned above.

of those assembled was less enthusiastic: it seemed an inopportune moment to strike a blow against the doge, when the Guelfs, the ruling party for fifty years past, had been weakened by the defection of the house of Este and the descent of the Emperor into Italy.<sup>1</sup>

The meeting separated without coming to any conclusion to support Bajamonte; but the efforts of Venice to get him and his adherents expelled from the Trevisan territory, in which, as we have seen, he had his villa of Marocco and other property, did not succeed for seven years. On the 18th April 1318, he and some others were banished from Trevisan territory; but he only removed to Dalmatia, where, as well as in the Trevisan, we have seen that he had much property and powerful family connexions. For the next seven years, till 1325, we find mention of him in different parts of Slavonia, active and apparently respected, appointed more than once, to the disgust of the Venetian Government, arbitrator in local disputes between Dalmatian cities or Slavonian tribes. In 1325 the Bolognese, wishing to elect a foreigner as their war captain (*capitano di guerra*), selected Bajamonte Tiepolo for the post. Bologna was a Guelf city, and he was everywhere known as a Guelf partisan of wealth and ability; and Venice, not wishing to be unfriendly to Bologna or to commit herself to the Ghibelline side, did not remonstrate with the Bolognese on account of what might pass as a natural choice; but the Council of Ten sent orders to the Counts<sup>2</sup> of Träù,

<sup>1</sup> The abstract given by Predelli (*Commemorati*, lib. i., No 476) runs: "che ora per la defezione di casa d'Este e la discesa dell' imperatore trovavasi indebolito." The Emperor Henry of Luxemburg was at the date of this meeting in Milan on his way to be crowned at Rome. He had come to Italy avowedly as a friend of the Pope, then at Avignon, but no doubt the Guelfs looked upon him with suspicion, even if the Pope did not. The fifty years would date from the fall of the Romano brothers.

<sup>2</sup> The Venetian governors of cities or districts in Dalmatia were styled *conti* (Ant. Battistella in *Nuovo Arch. Ven.*, No. 43, p. 17, n. 1).

Sebenico, Curzola, and Ragusa to watch the roads by which Bajamonte might endeavour to get out of their country, and seize him, if possible. He was, in all probability, somewhere near Zara at this time; but the messengers from Bologna, sent across the Adriatic from Ancona or Rimini to Spalato, to offer him the appointment, could not find him, nor could messengers whom they hired to follow him into "Possenia" (probably Bosnia) find him there. When he was found in the neighbourhood of Zara, just escaped from imprisonment in a Dalmatian castle, he was unwilling to attempt the perilous journey to Bologna, and declined the post offered him. He was no longer a young man, and after this his attempts to get back to Venice seem to have ceased; but till 1329 his name continues to appear as that of a dangerous enemy in the Venetian records. After that year he is no more heard of. Romanin suggests,<sup>1</sup> but has no evidence to produce in support of his suggestion, that he was put out of the way by some secret assassin in the employment of the Government. Romanin's appreciation of his character and of the object of his conspiracy seem to me undeniably correct. His attempt and its result impressed the Venetian imagination: the terror and indignation it inspired are seen in the language of the records, which seldom mention his name without the addition of *Il traditore* or *pessimo traditore*.

Another traitor whom the Council of Ten, when it was still a temporary body, punished was Francesco Fante of San Simone, who was reported by a spy to have said that with 200 men he could win the Piazza; that a cause was seldom successful the first time; the second time they would have better luck; but anyhow it was better to die than to live as they must now live. He was watched, and

<sup>1</sup> iii. p. 49. He quotes many interesting passages from MS. chronicles or public documents as to the conspiracy and the subsequent fortunes of the conspirators. I have derived also much of the information in the text from a paper of Ant. Battistella in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, No. 43, pp. 5-24.

was observed to go about the city at night, from house to house, and to ask men whether they were Guelfs or Ghibellines. He was seized, summarily judged, blinded, and exiled. Other nobles, a Barozzi, and a Querini who had escaped condemnation with the rest of his family, and some citizens of Chioggia, were detected in correspondence with the conspirators, and fled to join the exiles. These were ordered to return, and on their refusal sentenced to perpetual exile.<sup>1</sup>

This would seem to be the most suitable place to give a full account of the constitution and functions of the Council of Ten, though much that we know of it comes to us from much later times, and probably does not represent its original state. Venetian writers were fond of comparing it to the Roman dictatorship. As when a dictator was elected, or when the consuls were ordered "to see that the Republic suffered no injury," the ordinary magistrates and assemblies found their action suspended, the Council of Ten could give orders as to matters within its cognisance that were of the same force as decrees of the Great Council, and had power "*revocare consilia non ligata.*"<sup>2</sup> They were primarily an executive body, and their judicial powers, which fill the largest space in the conceptions generally formed of them, were, like those of the Star Chamber in our own country, only incidental to their executive powers. The elected ten did not act alone in any matters, but in conjunction with the doge and his councillors, making a body of seventeen. One of the *Avogadori del Comune* also had to be present as legal adviser, with power to stop any illegal proceeding and to call any member to order, but with no vote on the causes coming before them for judgment. The seventeen, who were called *Consiglio de' Dieci semplice*, were alone competent to act as judges:

<sup>1</sup> Lebret, i. p. 697.

<sup>2</sup> See Lebret, i. p. 697. *Consilia*, as I have remarked in a former note, is often used as equivalent to decrees, *partes*. "*Consilia non ligata*" would be decrees not confirmed by the Great Council.

twelve, with the doge, were a quorum in some urgent administrative matters,<sup>1</sup> but for sentencing an accused person it seems that the seventeen had all to be present, and to give their votes. For other matters than the actual trial of accused persons, an *Aggiunta* (*Zonta* in Venetian dialect) or "addition" of eminent citizens, varying in number,<sup>2</sup> took part in the business of the council.

The Council of Ten met every day of the week except Wednesday at the early hour usual in Venice, on Wednesday in the afternoon.<sup>3</sup> Its meetings, we are told, were often long. They were held in the ducal palace, and in after times a large and splendid room there, which we can still see, with its walls and ceiling painted by Paul Veronese<sup>4</sup> and some of the later Venetian masters, was appropriated to them. At the first meeting of the newly elected members the *Capitolare* or code of bye-laws was read, and the members sworn to faithful service of Venice and the Doge, to secrecy as to the proceedings of the Council, to diligent attendance and observance of the rules laid down in their *Capitolare*, and to scrupulous fidelity in the management of the public funds entrusted to them. The members were unpaid, and it was made a capital offence for any of them to accept any payment or gratification.

It is unsafe to make too sharp a distinction in these remote times between judicial and executive functions.

<sup>1</sup> Roman., iii. p. 57, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> In 1315 a *Zonta* of seventeen was appointed; in 1355, after the conspiracy of Marin Falier, a *Zonta* of twenty. From some accounts it would appear that in later times, besides a standing *Zonta* of fifteen, nine of the Procuratori of St. Mark, the six *Savii Grandi*, and five *Savii di Terma Ferma* sometimes took part in the proceedings of the council; but that only the Ten themselves, the doge and his six councillors, had the right to vote in the trial of a prisoner.

<sup>3</sup> See the order of 30 Dec. 1312 (quoted in note 3 to Romanin, iii. p. 56). In the time of Giannotti (*Dial. de Rep. Ven.*, pp. 303, 304, Ital. trans.), it met only once in eight days as a rule.

<sup>4</sup> An oval on the ceiling painted by Paul Veronese represents Jupiter banishing the Vices, with an angel at his side holding a book in which the decree instituting the council is written (A. Baschet, *Les Archives de Venise*, p. 527).

The Council of Ten was formed to investigate the circumstances of the Querini-Tiepolo conspiracy and to punish the conspirators; when this work was finished, it was continued in existence with power to try and punish persons charged with "violating the majesty of the State," that is, with high treason, but only, it would appear, when the persons accused were nobles. They had also a criminal jurisdiction against a few special crimes, such as forging of the currency, the employment of *bravi* or hired ruffians, and offences against nature. As an executive or legislative body, they were called into action where secrecy or despatch was necessary. A case in point is cited in Giannotti's Dialogue. When the war between Venice and Florence about the Casentino was drawing to an end, and Florentine ambassadors were already in Venice to treat for peace, news came to the doge that a Turkish armada was preparing to set sail, and the Government, for fear that this should make Florence unwilling to come to terms, had the matter discussed in secret by the Ten and the treaty signed by their authority, without having come before the Pregadi.<sup>1</sup> In the selection of "Criminal Laws of the Venetian Dominion," published in 1751 by order of the Superintendents of the Compilation of Laws, laws enacted by the Council of Ten first appear in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The advantages of a secret procedure and a system of espionage caused the extension of their jurisdiction to other matters than those originally referred to them, including a great part of the ordinary police of the city, a general supervision of theatres, masquerades, and other matters affecting public morals, and the supervision of a very miscellaneous collection of subjects, such as the great *Scuole* or religious confraternities, the Secret Service funds of the Republic, the Doge's Chancery, the woods and mines of the State, and the glass-works of

<sup>1</sup> Giannotti's Dialogue, *u.s.*, p. 300 of Ital. trans.



Murano.<sup>1</sup> The decisions of the Council of Ten on cases brought before them under any of these heads might be recorded as a rule to be followed in similar cases, just as judicial decisions in our English law. At Venice the rule was laid down in the same form—"Vadit pars" or "L'anderà Parte"—as a decree passed by the Great Council or the Pregadi.<sup>2</sup>

Like the Quarantia, the older and more august criminal court, the Council of Ten committed a great part of its power to three of its members, who held office as chiefs (*capi*), for each month in rotation. The rota was settled, at the beginning of the year of office of the Ten, by lot. Each of the three chiefs for the month acted as *preposto* for a week, by virtue of which he occupied the seat immediately opposite to the doge at meetings of the Great Council. The chiefs arranged the proceedings before the Ten, decided when it should be called, and all three, or at least two of them, had to propose any motion or *parte* in the council. They had to keep the council informed of the names of all prisoners detained by its orders, and of the progress of the proceedings against them. They received reports from the *caposestieri*, the district officers of police, signed all orders made by the council, and on three days in the week were to be found in their hall in the doge's palace to give audience to any one who called on public business. We are not surprised

<sup>1</sup> The list is given fully in Roman., iii. pp. 65, 66. The decree of 1468 settling the functions of the council is given there, and (partly) in Baschet, *Les Archives de Venise*, pp. 553, 554, note. "Tractatus terrarum et locorum subditorum" seem to mean negotiations for acquiring or giving up territory. There was frequent strife between the Ten and the Senate on account of alleged encroachments by the former; such a dispute was the occasion of this decree of 1468 and many others. It should be noted that in the decree of 1468 "dominium nostrum" means not "our dominions," but "our Signoria."

<sup>2</sup> In 1424 the council made an order "che siano raccolte in un libro tutte le Parti spettanti ad esso Consiglio" (*Il R. Archo. Genle. di Venesia*, p. 56).

to learn that they were overworked.<sup>1</sup> A few galleys in the arsenal that were at the disposal of the Council of Ten were marked with CX, standing for *Capi di Dieci*.

The three chiefs played a most important part in the trials for political offences that came before the Council of Ten. These trials, as we have seen, were the most important business of the council, and the detection of political crime was one of the gravest of their functions. For this purpose they employed secret agents (*confidenti*) in the city, especially in the inns where strangers lodged, in the islands of the Lagoons or the Adriatic, in Dalmatia and the Terra Ferma; <sup>2</sup> and for this purpose also the famous *Bocche del Leone*, one of which is still to be seen by the entrance to the *Sala della Bussola*, and one or two others in different parts of the city<sup>3</sup>—holes in the wall into which accusations, signed or unsigned, might be dropped—were intended. But we must not conclude from the existence of a very efficient detective machinery that the Government of Venice was careless of the liberty of its subjects or ready to punish them on suspicion. Whether the accusation (*denunzia*) found in the Lion's Mouth was signed or unsigned, the greatest care was taken before arresting the accused person or even considering the accusation. When the council met next after the accusation had been found, the secretary read it aloud to the seventeen members and the avogador; if it was signed the members at once voted by ballot whether it should be

<sup>1</sup> A document in the *Filze parti segrete* quoted by Baschet (*Les Archiv. de V.*, p. 530) complains "che il Tribunal dei Capi di esso Consiglio è giornalmente fastidito da infinite dimande de particolari indegne veramente della grandezza del detto Magistrato," where *dimande*, I think, are "matters delegated" to them by the council or other bodies.

<sup>2</sup> The correspondence with these *confidenti* (*nella città di V.*, *nelle provincie*, or *all' estero*) forms one or two sections of the documents of the Council of Ten in the Archives. See *Il R. Archivio Generale di V.*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> There is one in the façade of the church of St. Martin near the arsenal, another near San Trovaso.

received. If four-fifths of the members did not vote for its reception in any one of five ballots that were taken, it was dropped or the matter referred to another magistrate. An unsigned accusation was not read unless all the doge's counsellors and the three chiefs of the council decided that it concerned public matters of grave importance and five-sixths of the whole seventeen agreed with them. Even then it was not taken into consideration unless a further ballot showed four-fifths of the votes to be for accepting it. If it passed this ordeal the secretary entered it in a Register of Complaints, but it was not further proceeded with unless the council was of opinion that it touched the safety of the State or the citizens; if not, the accusation was burnt. If, on the other hand, the council decided to proceed, one of the Avogadori explained the legal aspect of the case and read the order for arrest, or, if the accused was absent from Venice, the proclamation that it was proposed to issue requiring him to appear. The members then all voted—openly, it would appear—on the question of issuing such order or proclamation, the votes of the Avogadori being taken first, that the others might have the advantage of their legal advice, those of the Ten and the doge last. If all the votes agreed, there were still the usual five secret ballots before action was taken; if they differed, the doge's opinion was put to the council as a *parte* or proposal, and balloted; then the other opinions were put as amendments (*scontri*) and balloted. If neither *parte* nor *scontro* got more than half the votes after several ballots, the accusation was dropped, and this, we are told, frequently happened. But if it was decided to proceed with the case, the accused was arrested, and his prosecution delegated to a committee or *Collegio Criminale*, composed of the avogador engaged in the case, one of the doge's counsellors, and two of the Ten, who were instructed to bring the case before the council within fifteen days. The Collegio had to examine the accused and the witnesses. The examination of the

accused was ordinarily conducted in the dark, but five-sixths of the council could allow it to be done in daylight, and sometimes allowed it, if the accused pleaded that the darkness confused him. There can be no doubt that this examination in darkness was a powerful means of inspiring the awe with which the tribunal was regarded. Witnesses could be cited both by the prosecutors and by the accused, but were never confronted with the accused; they were sworn to tell the truth and to keep their evidence secret. Their evidence was read to the accused, and his answers, given *vivâ voce*, were taken down, but he was not allowed to give his answers in writing. In later times official advocates for prisoners were instituted, and from the first one of the chiefs of the Ten had charge of the defence before the council.

When the Collegio had finished their examination the Council of Ten was assembled, and a secretary read to them all the documents in the case, the accusation, the evidence, and the verbal replies of the accused. If these filled more than 150 sheets, all had to be read over again on a second day, that it might be fresh in the judges' memory when they came to give sentence. The defence had to be read all on one day. When the reading of everything was finished the avogador asked each of the members whether he thought the accused should be convicted, and if a majority were in favour of conviction it was open to each one to submit a motion (*metter parte*) proposing a penalty. The avogador first proposed a penalty, then the capi, next the other members of the council, and last the doge. If the penalties proposed were different, each was voted on by a separate ballot, and the proposal that had the largest number of votes was balloted for four times more, and if it did not get a majority of the whole council on the last ballot no penalty was inflicted. If sentence was passed, there was no appeal to a higher court; but a proposal for a revision of the sentence could be made

and granted even after years had passed, but in the latter case only if a certain number of the judges voted for it. This was called *realdizione*, or re-hearing.

When the punishment to be inflicted was settled the avogador who had conducted the case, and who had examined the accused in darkness, had the duty of showing himself to him in daylight to inform him of the sentence. The tribunal had the power of life and death, and could inflict death either in public or in secret; if banishment was imposed, this carried with it the liability to death if the criminal returned. It could also punish with imprisonment, the galleys, or mutilation. The prisons under its control were in the ducal palace itself, and were not subterranean dungeons. We have a decree of 1321 providing that part of two houses under the palace should be made into a prison and the remainder let; and another of 1326 authorising the enlargement of the prisons for the relief of the prisoners (*pro elevatione carceratorum*) by throwing into them the houses of the doge's *gastaldi*, and the compensation of the latter for the loss of their quarters. There were some upper prisons in a part of the palace called the *Torresella*, which were removed to make room for the new Hall of the Great Council in the middle of the fourteenth century. These had been intended for prisoners of distinction, and an inscription on a window-sill, still to be seen in this part of the palace, commemorates the imprisonment here of a Count of Vegia Senia and Madrusa and his wife. A new prison was provided in 1441 for such prisoners, who seem to have been detained in them almost on parole.<sup>1</sup> At a later time a room in the roof over the chamber of the Capi of the Council of Ten was made into prisons chiefly, it would appear, for prisoners awaiting their trial; and these prisons were the original *Piombi* (or "leads"), of which so

<sup>1</sup> Roman., iii. p. 76, n. 5. Prisoners both in these and the lower prisons were let out at times, when the officers of the Ten were inspecting them, to walk in the corridors. They were not generally chained.

many horrors have been told. They were small, low rooms, but not too low to stand upright in, and a wooden ceiling under the roof protected them from extremes of heat and cold; there was in each room a window that admitted light, and a ventilator in the door. The lower rooms, the so-called *Pozzi* (or wells) were also lighted, and were well above the level of the water; they were, no doubt, not comfortable places to live in. One of the houses originally appropriated in 1315, called *Mosina* from the name of its former occupier, was in bad condition, and all were overcrowded at the date of the building of the new hall for the Great Council, and the decree for enlarging the prisons mentions as one of the reasons for this that those going up the stairs to the hall suffered much from the stench of the prisons.<sup>1</sup> But Brother Felix Faber or Schmidt, head preacher of the Dominican convent at Ulm, who made pilgrimages to the Holy Land in 1480 and again in 1483-84, both times passing through Venice, of which he has left us a most interesting account, was much struck by the humanity of the Venetian Government towards prisoners compared with the treatment accorded them in Germany. He describes the prisons "under the gallery of the doge's palace, looking out upon the public Piazza, bright with open windows, through the iron gratings of which the prisoners could look out, stretch out their hands, chat with their friends outside, and, if poor, ask alms of passers-by. He saw in some rooms mechanics sitting at work at their trades and earning money; in others, rich merchants playing at dice or chess, while their wives with servants and handmaids stood talking to them." These were probably debtors; but "those who were condemned to death for heinous crimes were kept in a confinement that was more rigorous, but yet not intolerable," very different from the cruelty of German prisons, "inhuman, terrible, dark, in the dungeons of towers, damp, cold, sometimes swarming

<sup>1</sup> Roman., iii. 74, n. 2.

with serpents and toads, far removed from men, approached by no one but cruel torturers to terrify, threaten, and torture them." Whereas at Venice pains were taken to shorten the pains of death, the executioner not leaving them to die slowly by strangulation, but letting himself down by a rope on their necks and tightening the noose with his feet.<sup>1</sup>

A common punishment at Venice was forced labour in rowing the galleys or ships of war of the Republic, which were constantly on active service all about the Mediterranean. The loss of a hand or a foot or an eye had been from old times a penalty frequently inflicted by the ordinary criminal law, and continued under the extraordinary jurisdiction of the Council of Ten.

Public executions were either by beheading or by hanging; the criminal was sometimes hung from the windows of the palace, more often on a gallows between the two columns of the Piazzetta. In some cases of crimes of great atrocity we hear of the criminal being taken along the canal in a boat, stripped on the way, and finally broken on the wheel, just as criminals in England were whipped at the cart's tail to Tyburn and there hung. There seems no doubt that death was often inflicted in secret; Romanin thinks that this was always a concession intended to spare the feelings of the survivors, where the criminal belonged to a distinguished family. In such cases death was by drowning in some desolate part of the lagoon, not, as mysterious legends have told, by means of a trap-door in the floor of the prison, which was, in fact, never situated directly over the water. The words of the sentence: "This night, let the condemned, N. N., be conducted to the Orfano Canal,<sup>2</sup> where, his hands bound and his body loaded with a weight, he shall be

<sup>1</sup> *Fratris Felicis Fabri, Evagatorium in T.S. Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. Hassler (Stuttgart, 1843), iii. pp. 409, 410 (or 214b of original paging). Part of the passage I have quoted is to be found in *Roman.*, iii. 75, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> So called, it was said, from a great slaughter there of Pepin's Franks, which made many orphans in France (*Roman.*, i. 148).

thrown in by an officer of justice. And let him die there," were known and were such as to inspire terror. All such deaths were entered in the registers of San Marco, those by drowning being more numerous in disturbed times, but never exceeding an average of ten in a year.<sup>1</sup>

The institution of the Council of Ten put the coping stone to the aristocratic régime established by the *Serrata del Consiglio*. The main object of that constitutional change was to diminish the influence of *broglio* or turbulent party spirit, and avert its probable result, the usurpation of some ambitious party leader. From this evil Venice, almost alone of Italian States, throughout the Middle Ages never suffered. The aristocracy that governed her was large in numbers. Old Venetian writers regard the Great Council as introducing an element of democracy into the Constitution, Giannotti contending with undoubted justice that a governing body of some thousands could not be called an oligarchy. The ancient world of Greece and Rome, with which those writers were familiar, had produced one great democracy at Athens, but a democracy resting on a vast body of slaves, who did most of the mechanical work that the unprivileged classes in Venice performed. Unmitigated democracy, government by, and in the exclusive interest of, the multitude of mechanical labourers, had not been seen in Greece or Rome, or in any of the contemporary Italian Republics.

The governing nobles of Venice at this time were not in the least an effete class, corrupted by many generations of wealth and luxury, but numbered among them many men of affairs who had managed great commercial undertakings, who had travelled in civilised and uncivilised lands; many sailors who had commanded ships of war and fought the Genoese in the Western or Eastern Mediterranean; many who had been on embassies to Constantinople or Rome, to Persia or Tartary. Such men had an acquired talent for

<sup>1</sup> Roman., iii. 78, 79; Baschet, *Les Archives de Venise*, p. 535.



the government of their fellow-men, whether at home or abroad. They must have given a statesmanlike tone to the discussions in the Great Council, where, however, more time was taken up in elections than in debate, and in the Pregadi or Senate, which has not up to this time taken a prominent part in our history, but which in the fourteenth century began to be a great administrative power, a large Privy Council with especial control over foreign affairs. The executive body proper was the Signoria, the doge with the six members of his lesser council, and the three chiefs of the Supreme Criminal Court or Quarantia; and this was immensely strengthened by the creation of the Council of Ten, with its unlimited powers, its freedom from forms, its rapidity of action, the secrecy of its meetings whenever this was necessary, its secret agents all over the world, observing and reporting. The four secretaries of this Council, who were permanent officials, formed with the secretaries of other bodies the higher civil service of the Republic, a body of men of high education, many of them with long experience of public life, and highly paid, from whom the great chancellor, the highest person after the doge and the procurators of St. Mark, and holding his office, like them, for life, was selected.<sup>1</sup> The Venetian Government at this time was probably the most efficient the world had yet seen, or in its then state could have furnished. A government chosen by the people and representing them was not then in any man's mind; but a government that its subjects could see to be honest and efficient, and that succeeded, was trusted and respected by them.

In 1311, just a year after the conspiracy of Bajamonte had broken out, the Doge Gradenigo died. As we have seen, he is one of the most notable figures in early

<sup>1</sup> The importance of these permanent officials is much insisted on in Howell's "Venice Looking-Glass," 1618, p. 15, the work of a very shrewd and well-informed English writer, who had "swum in a gondola," the author of the *Epistole Hoeliane*.

Venetian history, more than any one else the creator of the Venetian aristocracy, the most famous the world has yet seen. In two great events of his time—the closing of the Great Council, and the defiance of the Pope in the matter of Ferrara—he took himself the leading part, was firm in his resolve and uncompromising. His countrymen supported him against the Tiepolo-Querini conspirators, but they do not seem to have loved him. He was buried, not in San Marco, nor in either of the great Churches of the Mendicant Orders, but in the Monastery of St. Cyprian in Murano. Marino Sanudo the younger, in his “Lives of the Doges,” remarks that no sarcophagus in the church and no epitaph kept his memory fresh, only a gravestone without letters,<sup>1</sup> and there is an accent of scorn in his words that he died after having been doge twenty-two years and nine months “*in gran fastidio e in poca pace.*” His breve says nothing about the *Serrata del Consiglio* or the creation of the Council of Ten, mentioning only the great conspiracy and a war with Padua about some salt-works.

<sup>1</sup> “*Un avello senza lettere*” (Murat., *R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 588).

## CHAPTER XI

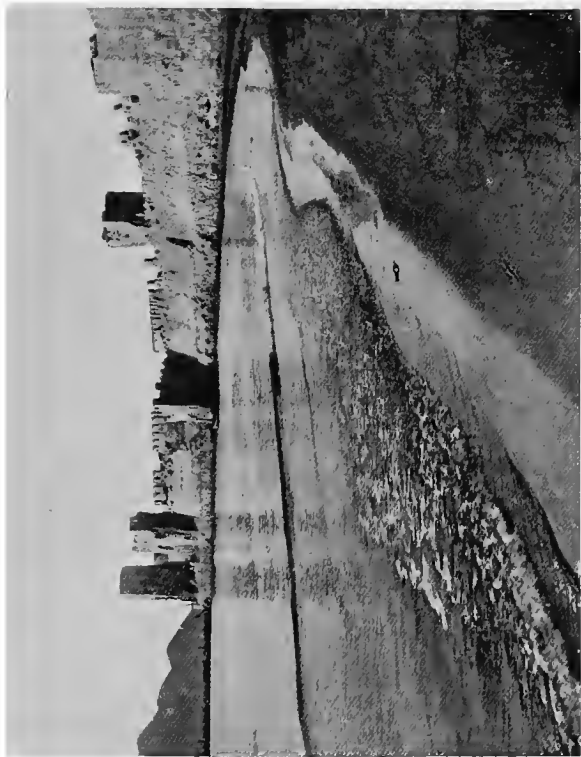
### RIVALRIES OF ANJOU AND ARAGON, AND OF VENICE AND GENOA

I RETURN in this chapter to the affairs of the Levant, in which Venice continued to be so largely interested. The Latin Empire set up eighty years before on the Bosphorus had fallen, and the Greek Michael Paleologus had the prestige of twenty years' undisturbed possession of a throne, which at his death in 1282 passed peaceably to his son Andronicus. The hopes of a Latin restoration had, it is true, not been renounced, and, in the year of Andronicus' succession, a great part of Western Europe was on the tip-toe of expectation to see what would come of the great expedition that Charles of Anjou, the King of Naples, was fitting out to reconquer Constantinople, an expedition on a vaster scale than that of the Fourth Crusade, having at its back, besides the sea power of Venice, the land army of Charles, the most powerful of Italian princes, and the zealous support of the Papacy. That enterprise was stopped by the outbreak of the revolution known as the Sicilian Vespers, which deprived Charles of Sicily, and involved him in a war of twenty years for his kingdom of Naples.

Charles of Anjou did not claim the Empire of Romania for himself, but by the treaty of Viterbo in 1267 had undertaken to reconquer it for Baldwin, the dispossessed Emperor and his heirs. In 1274 Baldwin died; his son Philip, who inherited his titular Empire, had married, the

year before, Charles' daughter Beatrice. He had not a foot of land in Romania, and lived at Naples in dependence on his father-in-law. But it was agreed in the treaty of Orvieto, which Charles and Philip made with Venice in 1281, that Philip, as Emperor, should command the great expedition against Constantinople. When Philip died—which was probably in 1285—the claim to the Latin Empire devolved on his daughter Catherine de Courtenay, who was Charles of Anjou's grand-daughter, and lived, like her father, at the Court of Naples. It was therefore natural that the restoration of the Latin Empire should form part of the mission of the house of Anjou. And this was not the only bond between Anjou and Romania. By the treaty of Viterbo, Charles had reserved for himself, when promising to reconquer the Empire for Baldwin, the feudal superiority over the Principality of Achaia,<sup>1</sup> which, unlike the Latin Empire, was an existing government, enjoying a certain vitality under the Villehardouin family. William de Villehardouin shortly after this came to Naples to do homage to Charles, and there a marriage was arranged between Philip, Charles' son, and Isabella Villehardouin. Thus Charles had a daughter married to the Latin Emperor of Romania, and a son married to the heiress, or one of the co-heiresses, of the Principality of Achaia. Philip of Anjou (who must not be confused with his brother-in-law, Philip of Courtenay or Flanders, and titular Emperor of Romania) died in 1277, leaving Isabella, his widow, under the protection of Charles of Anjou. Both the Empire and the Principality

<sup>1</sup> This included no part of Greece north of the isthmus, and only the western and central parts of the Peloponnesus. Of its three provinces, Kalamata was the ancient Messenia, in which the Venetian fortified posts of Modone and Corone formed *enclaves*; Skorta was Arcadia; while the Morea was properly the name of Elis and Achaia only, in which Andravida, the seat of government, and Clarentza, the chief port, were situated. The eastern side, with the busy port of Monemvasia or Malvoisie, and the stronghold of Misithra, in the Eurotas Valley, belonged to the Greeks (see Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, 85, pp. 268 *sqq.*).



MODONE

*From a photo supplied by the Hellenic Society*

p. 242 (and see p. 465)



had fallen to the spindle side, and Charles could offer the hand of the titular Empress Catherine de Courtenay to any knight of adventurous spirit who might be tempted to win an empire by his good sword, and the hand of the widowed Princess of Achaia, his vassal, to any one who was bold enough to assume the rule over a number of independent Frankish barons scattered over the valleys and hill-sides of the Peloponnesus, mingled with many wild chieftains of barely civilised Albanian or Slavonic clans, and some Turkish or Bulgarian mercenaries rewarded with grants of land.<sup>1</sup> For the rest of his life, after his son's death, Charles kept the Principality in his own hands, appointing *baillis* or viceroys, the most important of whom were William de la Roche, Duke of Athens, and Nicolas de St. Omer, who had married a princess of Antioch, and built himself a magnificent palace in the Cadmeia, the old citadel of Thebes; but in 1289 Charles the Lame, the second Angevin King of Naples, found a husband for Isabella in the person of Florence of Hainault, a descendant of Baldwin of Flanders, the first Latin Emperor of Romania, a brave and capable knight from the north of France, who had come to Italy in search of adventure and been made Constable of Sicily, and was now sent to Greece with his wife as Prince and Princess of Achaia, still under the suzerainty of Naples.

Besides their close connexion with the Empire and the Principality, the house of Anjou were in possession of Corfu, and of that considerable part of Epirus which had come to Manfred by his marriage with a princess of the Comneni, and was held to have passed to Charles by right of conquest. They were also recognised as having a kind

<sup>1</sup> The state of the Principality of Achaia at this time is vividly described by Karl Hopf in the 85th vol. of Ersch und Gruber's *Encyclopædia*: see, e.g., his account of the siege of the castle of St. George in Arachova at p. 346. Hopf had devoted prodigious industry to the study of the Angevin records at Naples: see what he says at p. 204, and his footnotes *passim*.

of feudal superiority over the wild clans of the Albanian coast. When the great expedition against Constantinople was being prepared by Charles, Epirus had been occupied by troops from Apulia, and the barons of Achaia and chieftains of Albania had been summoned to perform their feudal service in the war.

With all these pretensions to empires, kingdoms, and principalities in the Levant, it is no wonder that the Angevin princes appeared formidable to the Paleologi at Constantinople. Michael, the re-conqueror of the Empire, was at times disposed to temporise, and hold out hopes of adopting the dogmas of the double procession and Papal supremacy in order to propitiate the Popes, who were generally his rival's strongest supporters. Andronicus, his successor, was more entirely devoted to the orthodox Greek clergy, and did not talk of submission to Rome. But both sovereigns were drawn, by their suspicions of the Angevins, to ally themselves with Peter, King of Aragon, who had married Constance, the heiress of Manfred, and thus represented, in the eyes of the Pope and the Guelfs of Anjou, the hated house of Suabia. Peter had been at once called in by the revolutionists of Palermo to help drive out the Angevins from Sicily. It was suspected that his ally Michael Paleologus had been deeply involved in the conspiracy that had prepared, or perhaps been forestalled by, the Vespers.

Thus the plans for reinstating a Latin Empire at Constantinople became entangled with the rivalry of Anjou and Aragon, that caused civil war in Sicily, and threatened trouble in other kingdoms of the West. It was an extension over a wider area of the strife of Guelf and Ghibelline in Italy, which was never more bitter than at this time, when Dante denounced Charles the Lame (really a harmless person enough) as "the cripple of Jerusalem signed with one virtue and a thousand vices," who bargained for the sale of his young daughter to old Azzo of Este, "as



corsairs do for their female captives.”<sup>1</sup> Martin IV., Pope from 1281 till 1285, was a Frenchman, who sympathised with the Angevins as a French party, while as a Guelph he detested Peter of Aragon as the son-in-law of Manfred and heir of the Suabian traditions. He was ready to excommunicate Peter and all his allies and supporters, and to preach a Crusade in favour of Charles of Anjou. But his spiritual weapons seemed to have no effect in Sicily, where, in the two years that followed the Vespers, the Aragonese had the upper hand, and not only drove the French out of the island, but followed them into Calabria, while Roger Loria, the admiral of Sicily, the greatest seaman of his age, carried his fleet into the Bay of Naples, and there in a great engagement defeated and took prisoner the Prince of Salerno, who afterwards, as king, was Charles the Lamè, the same whom we have seen lashed by the great Ghibelline poet.

The Crusade preached by the Pope in favour of the Anjou princes, and the invasion of Aragon by Philip the Bold, King of France, in pursuance of it, brought a new actor on the scene, Charles of Valois, Philip's younger son. His father, with the sanction of the Pope and of the Parliament of his kingdom, claimed for him the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, and a great French army crossed the Pyrenees and invaded Catalonia (the county of Barcelona)

<sup>1</sup> *Purgatorio*, xx. 79-81:—

“L'altro che già uscì, preso di nave  
Veggio vender sua figlia, e patteggiarne,  
Come fan li corsar dell' altre schiave.”

The whole passage from v. 67 to v. 81 is instructive as to the several Charles's of Anjou and Naples. The other passage I have quoted is in *Paradiso*, xix. 127-29:—

“Vedrassi al Ciotto di Gerusalemme  
Segnata con un I la sua bontade  
Quando 'l contrario segnerà un Emme” (M.).

I shall have to refer later to the more famous invective against the third Charles.

in 1284, but was foiled by the difficulties of the country, the undaunted courage of Peter and his subjects, and the skill of Roger Loria and his Sicilian sailors, who won a great victory over the invaders' fleet in the Gulf of Rosas.

Charles of Valois was left a king without a kingdom, as other crusading kings before him had been left. The Pope's Legate, before the French expedition started, had at Paris solemnly invested Charles with the kingdoms, and in token thereof placed a hat on his head. This was now the only royalty he possessed, and his enemies in mockery called him in Catalonian dialect *Rey del Xapeu*,<sup>1</sup> "King of the Hat," as the Italians called him *Carlo senza Terra*, or "Charles Lackland." He is the third Charles of the prophecy Dante puts into the mouth of Hugh Capet, "who came out from France without arms save the lance of treachery with which Judas jousted, and who was to win, not land, but sin and shame from his enterprise."<sup>2</sup>

It was necessary to do something for Charles of Valois, an instrument of the Pope and the French party, left on their hands as an unsuccessful pretender. At first a daughter of Charles II. of Naples, with the county of Anjou, the original patrimony of her family, as her dower, was given him, and for some years he governed this and

<sup>1</sup> Muntaner, c. ciii. Buchon, in his French translation of Muntaner's Chronicle, implies that the Legate used his own Cardinal's hat for the coronation of Charles. In the same chapter Muntaner speaks of Charles inheriting the wind.

<sup>2</sup> *Purgatorio*, xx. 70:—

"Tempo vegg' io, non molto dopo ancoi,  
Che tragge un' altro Carlo fuor di Francia,  
Per far conoscer meglio e sè e i suoi.  
Senz' arme n' esce, e solo con la lancia,  
Con la qual giostrò Giuda: e quella punta  
Sì ch' a Fiorenza fa scoppiar la pancia.  
Quindi non terra, ma peccato ed onta  
Guadagnerà."

Charles came to the south in 1302, and on his way to Naples expelled the White faction, and Dante amongst them, from Florence. Hence the bitter scorn of the reference to his action at Florence.

did good service to the King of France, so that when his Angevin wife died in 1299 he was looked upon by Pope Boniface and the King of Naples as likely to be useful in the enterprise that was very near their hearts of recovering Sicily from the house of Aragon. If he would undertake this, he was offered the hand of Catherine de Courtenay, with the Empire of Romania, if he could recover it from the Greeks, and possibly, in the future, the Empire of the West also, which the Italians were unwilling to regard as permanently vested in a Transalpine prince. The titular Empress Catherine had been kept in reserve in the hands of the King of Naples, who had trafficked with her as Dante accused him of trafficking with his own daughter, "in the way corsairs treated captive women." Her hand had been offered to two princes of Aragon, and once at least to a son of the Emperor Andronicus. The marriage to Charles of Valois actually took place early in 1301, before his descent on Florence and Naples. His brother, Philip the Fair, who needed his services in France, made him promise to return there from Naples, and not go on to the East without his special leave, but at the same time gave him 40,000 livres of Tours for the expenses of his expedition. This was postponed till Sicily had been reconquered from the Aragonese, which, it was hoped, might be effected in the summer of 1302. Before Charles entered upon this task, the King of Naples confirmed in his favour all promises of aid in the recovery of Romania made to Baldwin and Philip. The campaign in Sicily was not successful, and Charles patched up hastily a peace with Frederic of Aragon, who had succeeded to the kingdom of Sicily when his elder brother James had become King of Aragon. Frederic promised a small contingent of ships and troops for the Romanian expedition should it come off.<sup>1</sup> But it was now practically certain that the expedition

<sup>1</sup> Ducange, *Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople*, ii. p. 45 (ed. Buchon).

would not come off. When Charles, in November 1302, returned to France, he made up his mind not to push any more his wife's claims to her inheritance. When he was in Flanders fighting for his brother, the empress, his wife, gave birth to a daughter, by whom the claim to Romania was passed on to Philip, Prince of Tarentum, Charles the Lamé's younger son, and in due course to other princes of Tarentum, in whom also the Principality of Achaia, the chief fief of the Empire, became vested. The last of these princes who assumed the title of emperor seems to have been Jacques des Baux, who succeeded his uncles Robert and Philip, the sons of Charles of Valois' daughter. It would be interesting to investigate the question who, at the present day, is entitled by descent to claim this visionary dignity.

Ten years before Charles' return to France the Crusading spirit, which had been the original root of all these schemes for a conquest of the East by the West, had been almost quenched by the fall of Acre, to which, as seriously affecting the position of Venice and Genoa in the Levant, I must now for a time return.

Acre was a large and populous city, enriched by the trade that brought the products of Europe to the isolated European communities in Syria, and also the treasures of the Eastern world to the rich and luxurious communities springing up in the West.<sup>1</sup> But it was not, like Jerusalem of the Psalmist's days, "built as a city that is at unity in

<sup>1</sup> The most lively description of the wealth and splendour of Acre is given us in the Chronicle of Herman Corner, who is particularly impressed by the glass windows and the silken awnings that shielded the streets from the fierce sun of Syria (Eccard., *Corpus Hist. Medii Aevi*, tom. ii. col. 942). The King of Jerusalem, the Princes of Galilee and Antioch, and many of the Latin Barons, who had been dispossessed of their estates in Palestine since Saladin's conquest, had their palaces or fortified houses in Acre, and, according to Corner, were to be seen in their crowns of gold walking in the streets. But hyperbole prevails in the chroniclers' descriptions of Acre (see Wilken, vii. 737 sqq.). A German chronicler compares its aspect to that of "*Colen of den Ryn*,"

itself." It had its separate quarters for Genoese, Pisans, Venetians, Amalfitans, and its streets were constantly disturbed by conflicts between Venetians and Genoese, Guelfs and Ghibellines. When in the spring of 1291 the enemy appeared before the walls, the Templars and Hospitallers exerted themselves to persuade the various hostile elements to unite in defending the walls, and an heroic defence was made; but on the 18th of May a vigorous assault of the Moslems succeeded in forcing an entry through a breach near the "Accursed Tower"<sup>1</sup> while a great storm was raging, and the inhabitants who escaped the sword had no resource but to take refuge on board the ships that might convey them to Cyprus or other parts of the Christian world.<sup>2</sup>

The best authorities we have for the history of these events agree with the opinion of the Military Orders that, if an armistice could have been obtained when the Soldan was advancing against the city, and time given for reinforcements to come from the West, the Latin kingdom might have been saved. The Master of the Temple, who was a *persona grata* with the Sultan Malek-al-Aschraf, went to the Saracen camp and ascertained that a truce could be obtained by the payment of a Venetian denarius for each Christian in the town. But when he reported this he was cried down by the citizens, and the Patriarch Nicolas, full of the high-strung enthusiasm of a Crusader, made a spirit-stirring speech, appealing to the feudal instincts of knights and serjeants not to desert Christ their Lord.

<sup>1</sup> This part of the walls was guarded by Henry, King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, who despaired of the cause and went home to Cyprus in the night after the 15th of May. His conduct is painted in dark colours by some contemporary writers (e.g. *Anon. de Excidio Acconis* in Martene and Durand's *Collectio Amplissima*, tom. v. col. 770). There is an interesting old plan of Acre to illustrate the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* in Bongars' *Gesta Dei per Francos*. It is reproduced in Spruner's great atlas, and in many histories of the Crusades, e.g. Archer and Kingsford's volume in the "Story of the Nations," p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> Dandolo (or his continuator) in Murat., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 403.

The patriarch fought bravely to the end, and when forced by his friends to go on board ship to escape, insisted on staying to take on board other fugitives, till the crowd that flowed in sank the ship and all on board. But the citizens, who joined him in advocating resistance to the last, are accused by the chronicler of the Teutonic order of having shown cowardice in the defence. The Venetians and Pisans in the city refused to obey the orders of the Templars and Hospitallers, and these, though they fought at the breach and in the streets till only ten Templars and seven Hospitallers survived, were in discord with one another, and in the general opinion deeply tainted with the luxury and vice that were believed to have called down the vengeance of Heaven on the city.<sup>1</sup>

The garrison of Tyre surrendered on the same day that Acre was stormed, and though the few surviving Templars offered to defend Sidon, they found the task hopeless, and retired to Tortosa and thence to Cyprus. The Soldan's victorious army returned to Damascus and Cairo in triumph : none of his predecessors had achieved so signal a victory over the forces of Christendom.

When the news of this crushing blow reached Western Christendom, there seems to have been a general desire to blame King Philip of France, Edward I. of England, who had a second time taken the Cross, but delayed his start, the Venetians and Genoese, but, most of all, the Pope and

<sup>1</sup> The strongest testimony is that of the Greek monk Arsenius in his speech to Pope Nicolas IV., given in the one hundred and twentieth chapter of Barth. de Neocastro's *Historia Sicula* (Murat., *R. I. S.*, xiii. cols. 1182-84). He says: "*Jam oriuntur in Urbe dissidia; Pisanus quidem populus, et adstantes Veneti Religiosorum non patiebantur imperia. Crucesignati tui, dum crederemus pro victoria Crucis animas tradere, Baccho vacabant; et cum tuba ad arma populum excitaret, illi circa mollia dediti, Marte postposito, ab amplexibus Veneris pectus et brachia non solvebant. Et quod deterius fuit, Fratres Hospitalis Sti. Joannis, ac Domorum Militiæ Templi dedignabantur alter alterius uti consiliis et sustinere vices ac pondera præliorum.*" He excepts from his censure Henry, King of Cyprus; but other authorities are severe on his premature desertion (see *ante*, p. 249, n. 1).

the clergy. Arsenius, the Greek monk, who had been on a pilgrimage in Syria, and had apparently been an eye-witness of the horrors of the siege of Acre, appeared before the Pope and openly reproached him for caring more for the strife of factions in Sicily than for the recovery of the Sepulchre of Christ.<sup>1</sup> The reproaches to Nicolas IV. were indeed undeserved. His zeal for the Holy Land was unflagging. He now wrote urgent letters to Philip the Fair, to the Prelates of France—who sent an answer that what had lost the Holy Land was the discord of Greeks and Latins, and the civil war of Angevins and Aragonese in Sicily, and that if the Pope could put an end to this, there might be some hope of success for the preaching of a Crusade;—to the Genoese and Venetians, urging them to send fleets at once to the East, and, as a first step towards that, to negotiate for a peace, or at least a truce, and pointing out that they were incurring grievous guilt by supplying the Saracen enemy, in the ordinary course of trade, with iron for arms and timber for shipbuilding, an old-standing scandal to Christendom that had lately been condemned under heavy penalties by the Council of Lyons of 1274.<sup>2</sup> The Pope even wrote to the Khan of the Tartars, who had made some overtures to him and to Edward, King of England, with a view to common action against the Soldan of Egypt, urging him to be baptized<sup>3</sup> as a preliminary to vigorous action in Syria;—and to the Kings of Armenia, Georgia, and Iberia, and the schismatic

<sup>1</sup> "*Mentem tuam,*" he said, "*adeo cura Siciliæ torpuit, circa cujus recuperationem toto cordis affectu anhelabas quod licet hæc sciveris, circa mundi totius discrimina singula dormitabas*" (Murat., *R. I. S.*, xiii. col. 1183, quoted in Wilken, vii. p. 776).

<sup>2</sup> The letter to Philip is to be found in Raynaldus, ann. 1291, §§ 20–22, those to the Genoese and Venetians, *ib.*, §§ 23–29. The reply of the French clergy is in the Chronicle of William de Nangis (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 49).

<sup>3</sup> The Khan does not appear to have been himself baptized; but his son, by the influence of a pious mother, had already received baptism, and exchanged his barbarous name of Carbagunda for the Pope's name of Nicolas (Raynaldus, *u.s.*, § 33).

Andronicus Paleologus at Constantinople. He had, moreover, sent twenty galleys to the Levant, which, in conjunction with fifteen of the King of Cyprus, effected landings at Candelor<sup>1</sup> in Asia Minor and near Alexandria, but produced no permanent effect. Though, after the Council of Vienne in 1312, the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg, Philip the Fair, and Edward II. of England all took the Cross; though about the beginning of the fourteenth century some noble Genoese ladies sold their jewels and fine clothes to fit out a fleet which Benedetto Zacharias, a famous Genoese corsair, was to have taken to the coast of Syria if an opportunity had offered; though in 1308 a horde of poor enthusiasts from France and the Netherlands marched down to Avignon begging or robbing, demanding of the Pope ships to take them over the sea; though, as I have before mentioned, the Venetian Marino Sanudo, in 1321, submitted to the Pope a most interesting and serious proposal for recovering the Holy Land by an attack on Egypt, and the encouragement of trade with the subjects of the Soldan; and though, in the middle of the fourteenth century, Petrarch expressed his joyful hope that the land where the Redeemer was crucified would be restored to Christendom,<sup>2</sup> no great or combined effort to effect this was made after that which came to an end in 1291.

The fervour of Christian zeal for the recovery of the

<sup>1</sup> Candelor or Anaia is on modern maps Scala Nova, on the coast south of Smyrna (Heyd, French trans., i. p. 537).

<sup>2</sup> "Ma quel benigno Rè che 'l ciel governa,  
Al sacro loco ove fu posto in Croce,  
Gli occhi per grazia gira;  
Onde nel petto al novo Carlo spira  
La vendetta ch' a noi tardata noce,  
Sì che molt' anni Europa ne sospira."

—*Rime*, pte. 4a. canzone i. 5, vv. 22-7.

The new Charles is supposed to be the Emperor Charles IV., the older Charles with whom he is compared not, I think, any of the three whom Dante scorned, but Charles the Great.



Holy Sepulchre had in fact died out, and the commercial and colonising enterprise which Marino Sanudo hoped to see reinforcing it was found by Venetian and Genoese merchants to be equally attainable without the accompaniment of war. The Saracen princes, enlightened and tolerant, were ready to grant privileges and immunities to Western traders, which were more attractive than the Papal indulgences, the value of which could not be felt till after death. In 1297, Naser Mohammed, the Soldan who succeeded Malek-al-Aschraf, made a treaty with Venice, which, in addition to the usual promises of protection to their traders, and permission to them to visit the Holy Sepulchre under escort, contained a remarkable provision that Venetians bringing to Egypt "objects prohibited by the Christians," that is to say, slaves and arms or munitions of war, should be exempt from duty on the products they took in exchange.<sup>1</sup> In 1304 Pope Benedict XI. renewed the prohibition of this class of exports; but the Venetians were of old skilled in the art of evading the orders of Popes, while treating their persons with the highest respect.

In the year 1291 the peace between Venice and Genoa, which had lasted, with some intervals, for twenty-one years, by means of truces several times renewed, came to an end. Both Republics resumed the war with alacrity. The Genoese, favoured, as we have seen, by the Paleologi, were established firmly at Galata, and had lately founded a new colony at Caffa in the Crimea. The destruction of the Christian stronghold at Acre, and the disturbance of the old channels of trade through Syria, increased greatly the importance of the Black Sea ports in connexion with Eastern commerce. The Genoese aimed at monopolising the trade of Constantinople, of Trebizond, and of Tana, the modern Azof, a great entrepôt for the merchandise that came down the Don to the Palus Mæotis. To resist this

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, ii. p. 329.

attempt Venice entered into alliance with Pisa, with the object of wresting Galata and Caffa from the Genoese. Great preparations for war were made. The *capi di contrada* drew up a schedule of all the arms owned by citizens of their districts, and a register of all the residents between seventeen and sixty, from which the authorities could call out, at a moment's notice, the crews of any galleys that might be required to put to sea. This was in the summer of 1294. On the 13th of July a decree called upon some of the richest families of the city to provide crews and armaments for one, two, or three galleys.<sup>1</sup> By the 7th of October sixty-eight *sopracomiti* were appointed, and the fleet sailed.<sup>2</sup> At Lajazzo (the modern Alaia), on the south coast of Asia Minor, it met and engaged the Genoese fleet. The latter was not strong either in numbers or in quality of ships, but Nicolò Spinola, their commander, occupied the harbour of Lajazzo before the Venetians arrived, and lashed a number of his ships together so as to make a great floating fortress. The wiser Venetians proposed to send fire-ships against this fortress; but this seemed an ignoble proceeding to the majority of their officers, and, having the wind in their favour, they entered the harbour, and bore down on the enemy. They were defeated, and lost twenty-five ships and a number of their men, including Marco Basegio, their commander.

The war which was thus begun lasted till 1299, and ranged over the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Venetians at first got the worst in the fighting. The flower of their seamen were taken prisoners at Lajazzo, and when they fitted out sixty more galleys under Nicolò Querino, these were sent to Sicily on a false report spread by the Genoese, whose fleet meanwhile made a descent on Crete,

<sup>1</sup> The richest families called on to equip three galleys each were but four in number—Querini, Morosini, Contarini, Dandolo.

<sup>2</sup> The decree ordering them to sail ran "vadant in nomine Dei ad sanctum Nicolaum," *i.e.* to San Nicola di Lido (Roman., ii. 332, n. 3).

and took and burnt Canea. The Venetians continued to send their annual *carovana*, with an escort of ships of war, to the Levant; but the Syrian ports were no longer open, and the Black Sea was difficult of access for them with the Genoese established at Galata and Caffa. So in 1294 they seem to have landed their merchandise somewhere on the coast of Lesser Armenia (the ancient Cilicia), and in 1295 Andrea Dandolo, in command of the escort, had got no farther than Modone, when he was beguiled into leaving the *carovana* and going in pursuit of a Genoese fleet, which eluded him and, returning, surprised and totally destroyed the *carovana* in the harbour of Modone. The Genoese made so great an effort in this year, putting 200 galleys to sea, that the Venetians had to order all their governors in Mediterranean ports to act strictly on the defensive. The Greek Emperor Andronicus was the bitter enemy of Venice, and was easily persuaded by the Genoese in 1296 to seize and imprison Marco Bembo, the newly appointed *bailo* at Constantinople, with all the Venetian residents. These were subsequently handed over to the Genoese, who put them to death.

At length the fortune of the war changed. There were only twenty Venetian ships of war in the waters of Romania when the *bailo* was seized; but when the news reached Venice, forty more ships were sent out in all haste under Rogerio Morosini, known by the significant surname of Malabranca,<sup>1</sup> a commander of great vigour. He collected the scattered Venetian ships in the Eastern Mediterranean, and leaving twenty under Marco Michaeli, his predecessor in command, to guard the Ægean Sea from Negropont, sailed with forty that remained to him to the Bosphorus, where he burned Genoese and Greek ships, destroyed the town of Pera, and anchoring in the Golden

<sup>1</sup> "Malebranche," it will be remembered by readers of the "Divine Comedy," is the name of a tribe of devils, whose business it is to punish *barattieri* or traffickers in public offices (*Inf.*, xxi. 37).

Horn under the Palace of Blachernæ, cut out and burnt a large ship, laid up on the shore, under the eyes of the Emperor. He then sailed to Foglie Vecchie (the ancient Phocæa), near Smyrna, where the Genoese family of Zaccaria had great alum works, took possession of these, and returned triumphantly to Venice. In the same year Giovanni Soranzo took twenty-five Venetian galleys into the Euxine and conquered Caffa, the Genoese stronghold in the Crimea, burning the Genoese ships he found there.<sup>1</sup> I have taken this account from the continuator of Dandolo, whose narrative has an air of truthfulness, as concealing none of the Venetian disasters. We have little said of these events in Genoese chronicles; but Pachymeres and Nicephorus Gregoras, the Byzantine historians, dwell much on the ravages and cruelties of Morosini of the Cruel Claw, and attribute to the indignation roused by these in the breasts of Greeks and Genoese the massacre of Bembo and his companions, which, from our Venetian authorities, we should have supposed to have come before the arrival of Malabranca in the Levant.

In 1297 there was desultory fighting on the coasts of Sicily and Cyprus, and in 1298 both Republics made a great effort to send a large fleet to sea. Genoa at this time had for its archbishop Jacopo de Voragine, who, by the influence that his saintly life gave him, was enabled to appease for a time the feuds of Guelfs and Ghibellines, who in Genoa went by the names of *Rampini* and *Mascherati*, and induce them to unite in sending out a fleet of sixty galleys under Lambo Doria. This fleet, in the archipelago off the coast of Dalmatia, near Curzola or Black Corcyra, came upon the Venetian fleet under Andrea Dandolo, surnamed Collonato, which was much superior in numbers, amounting to more than a hundred ships. Doria was a brave and skilful sailor, and seems to have out-manceuvred his opponent, and the wind also favoured him: when the fleets

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo, contin. *apud* Murat., *R. I. S.*, xii. cols. 403-7.

were engaged, he detached fifteen ships under the eyes of the Venetians, who thought they were taking to flight, with orders to put to sea far enough to catch the wind, and then bear down upon the flank of the Venetians. This stratagem was successful; the Venetians were thrown into confusion, and some of their ships driven on shore; and sixty-five ships were lost or taken with 5000 prisoners, among them Marco Polo, the travelling merchant, to whose long confinement in a Genoese prison we owe the record of his travels in the East, dictated in the old French, which, as we have seen in the case of Da Canale, was the current language of educated society in North Italy, to a fellow-prisoner, Rustichelli of Pisa, who, having been taken at the battle of Meloria, had already spent thirteen years in prison.<sup>1</sup> The Venetian commander, Andrea Dandolo, not able to bear the disgrace of so ruinous a defeat, inflicted by an inferior force, is said to have thrown himself into the sea from his mast-head and perished.<sup>2</sup>

Venice was not crushed by this great defeat. In the next year she fitted out a fleet of 100 ships, and to man them engaged cross-bowmen from Catalonia, a province that at this time began to take a part in naval enterprise and mercenary service on the Mediterranean coasts. This large fleet seems not to have put to sea, for by May 1299 a treaty between the two republics had been agreed upon by the mediation of Matteo Visconti, Captain-General of Milan, who had assumed the title of Vicar of the Roman Empire,<sup>3</sup> reviving the old Ghibelline party that had been so long depressed in Lombardy, and

<sup>1</sup> The decisive battle of Meloria, fought in August 1284 between Genoese and Pisans, was a blow to the power of Pisa in the Mediterranean from which she never recovered.

<sup>2</sup> This Andrea Dandolo was not father or grandfather of the doge and annalist, his namesake, as appears from the genealogy printed in Simonsfeld's *Andreas Dandolo und seine Geschichtswerke*, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> He was nephew to Otho, the archbishop of Milan, who by a large payment, it is said, obtained for him the title "*Dei gratia Sacri Imperii Vicarius in Lombardia.*"

had taken upon him the Imperial duty of establishing the *Pax Romana*. But before this was accomplished, a small squadron under Dominico Schiavo had boldly entered the harbour of Genoa, and, to commemorate the humiliation of his enemies, had caused Venetian money to be coined there. At the same time a Genoese squadron had made a descent on Malamocco.

The terms of the treaty, signed on the 25th of May 1299, are given by Romanin from the *Pacta*: they are curious as showing the irregular kind of warfare they were intended to end. Every captain of a Venetian ship, before leaving Venice, was to swear not to attack the Genoese; every captain of a Genoese ship was to swear not to attack the Venetians. But if the Venetians occupied any part of the Greek Empire, it was to be no breach of the treaty for the Genoese to go to the defence of the territory attacked. It was provided that, if Genoa and Pisa were at war, Venetian vessels were not to sail to any place between Nice and Cività Vecchia, except to Genoa, nor to Corsica or Sardinia; and if war of any kind arose in the Adriatic, Genoese vessels were to sail to no place in the Adriatic except Venice—no doubt, in both cases, a salutary precaution against the temptation to some covert aggression. The treaty was to be ratified not only by the communes of Venice and Genoa, but by those of Padua and Verona on the part of Venice, and by those of Asti and Tortona on the part of Genoa; and these communes were to guarantee the observance of the treaty by the principals, and, if they evaded giving the guarantee, might be forced by the Imperial Vicar to give it. Any Genoese or Venetian subject having any claim arising out of the war was required to establish it within forty days. It will be seen from this account that the treaty established little more than a truce: it gave no decisive advantage to either side.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, ii. 337, 338.

Three years later, in October 1302, a truce for ten years was agreed to between Venice and the Emperor Andronicus, who at this time was suffering much oppression from a power from which he had hoped for salvation.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE CATALONIAN COMPANY AT CONSTANTINOPLE AND ATHENS

IN the early years of the fourteenth century the overthrow of the Greek Empire re-established at Constantinople was nearly accomplished, not by a great international Crusade, such as Charles of Anjou had contemplated, but by a band of freebooters from the Pyrenees, the famous Catalonian Company.<sup>1</sup> The use of hired foreigners (*condottieri*), soldiers by profession, serving either on foot or on horseback, had become common in Italy through a great part of the thirteenth century; because, while the introduction of more scientific modes of warfare had made campaigns

<sup>1</sup> I hope I shall not be held to have travelled out of my province by dwelling at some length on the exploits of the Catalonian Company. I hold that these were a part of the consequences of the Fourth Crusade, and so not alien from the history of Venice. Our sources of information on the subject of this famous expedition are unusually full and authentic, beginning with the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner, one of the leaders of the Company, a writer whose picturesque naïveté often reminds us of Geoffrey de Villehardouin. His Chronicle, written in the old Catalonian dialect, has been long well known in Spain from a famous Castilian classic, Francisco de Moncada's *Expedicion de los Catalanes y Aragoneses contra Turcos y Griegos*, published in 1623, and has been translated into modern French—a labour hardly necessary, for the Old Catalonian is not difficult to any one who can read Old French—by J. A. Buchon (*Panthéon Littéraire Chron.*, Paris, 1840), who also edited Ducange's *Hist. de Constantinople sous les Français*, a book containing a full account of the same expedition. Of more modern authorities I may mention C. Hopf's *Gesch. Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters*, &c., in vol. 85, pp. 380 *sqq.* of Ersch und Gruber's *Encyclopédie*, which gives a full bibliography; Finlay's "Byzantine and Greek Empires," vol. ii. pp. 482 *sqq.*, and the recent learned and elegant French work of M. Gustave Schlumberger, *Expedition des "Almugavares," ou Routiers Catalans en Orient*, Paris, 1902.



longer and more costly, the citizens of rich and free cities, who had formed the armies that resisted Frederic Barbarossa in the twelfth century, had been unable to spare from their trades or businesses the time and training required for such campaigns. A few years later than the time at which we have now arrived, Germans (*Oltramontani*) became the chief of these condottieri: the most famous perhaps of all of them was an Englishman, Sir John Hawkwood.<sup>1</sup> The particular band with which we have to deal came, as I have said, from the mountains of Catalonia, and were subjects of the King of Aragon. The conquest of Spain by the Saracens in the eighth century, and the long process by which the petty Christian princes of Castille, Leon, Aragon, and Navarre gradually drove back the invaders to the south, gave Spanish history its most distinctive colour. It may have been one of the results of this long warfare that at the end of the thirteenth century an almost inexhaustible supply of excellent soldiers was to be found in Northern Spain. These were called by an Arabic name, *Almugavares*, which appears to mean “Westerns;”<sup>2</sup> a word that constantly occurs in contemporary accounts of the wars between Anjou and Aragon that followed the Sicilian Vespers. The name may have been given originally to Saracens of Morocco before they crossed into Spain, and was probably not at first, if ever, limited to Catalonian mountaineers; but it was as applied to these that it first became a household word in Italy.

<sup>1</sup> See Hallam's "Middle Ages," i. pp. 490 *sqq.* (ed. 1819).

<sup>2</sup> This is Buchon's interpretation. My friend Mr. Harold A. Perry, who, as a judge in the Court of Appeal at Cairo, has a practical acquaintance with Arabic and is also a Spanish scholar, writes to me: "The word comes from Maghrib, the 'West.' You will remember Hayraddin Maugrabin in Walter Scott, and Maghrib el Aksa—or 'the Extreme West'—is the Arabic name for Morocco. My dictionary gives two forms, *almogárabe* and *almogavar*, differentiated by metathesis only, for Arabic has no *v*, which is replaced by *b*, just as in Spanish also *b* and *v* are interchangeable. Without the vowels, 'mgyrb' and 'mgvr' are literally the Arabic 'mghrb.' The *gh* is the peculiar letter *gham*, a ghost of the letter *g*."

When the kings of Aragon undertook to conquer Sicily from Charles of Anjou, they flooded the island with these light-armed foot-soldiers, who had also formed the bulk of the militia with which Peter had repelled the French invasion of Aragon. They were probably equally ready to fight on land or on ship-board. Muntaner<sup>1</sup> speaks of Roger de Loria's fleets as manned by "Cathalans"; and it seems to have been in service at sea that they first met with their great leader, Roger de Flor. He was not a Spaniard, but the son of a German father and an Italian mother. His father, Richard Blum—de Flor was taken by the son as an Italian translation of his patronymic—had come to South Italy as a falconer in the service of the Emperor Frederic II., who had given him as wife the daughter of a rich citizen of Brindisi. When Roger, who was the younger of his two sons, was but a year old, his father, who had taken up arms for his old master's family, lost his life at the battle of Tagliacozzo, where the young Conradino was taken.

The confiscations that followed Conradino's discomfiture reduced his mother to poverty, and the boy Roger grew up playing on the quays of Brindisi, then one of the busiest scenes of maritime life in Europe, where ships of Crusaders or merchants were ever coming from the East or returning thither, or were docked for repairs.<sup>2</sup> His aptitude in climbing masts or navigating boats attracted the notice of

<sup>1</sup> See *Cronica de Ramon Muntaner*, cc. lxxxiii.—iv. The most convenient edition of the original Catalan text is that edited by Dr. Karl Lanz in 1844 for the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart.

<sup>2</sup> Muntaner, c. cxciv.: "Les naus de les Matzones (Messinese) feyen cap a Brandis, e aqui venien a exivernar aquelles de Pola<sup>3</sup> qui vollen trer del regne (Regno di Puglia) pelegrins ne viandes: e axi les naus qui exivernaven a la primavera començauen de carregar per anar en Acra, e carregauen de pelegrins ò doli o de vi o de tota graxa o de forment. E segurament que es lo pus aparellat lloch per lo passatge doltra mar, que negu que chrestians hajen, e en pus abundosa terra de totes gracies, e es assats prop de Roma; e bay lo millor port del mon, que les cases son entro dius la mar."

<sup>3</sup> Pola here is not the port in Istria, but Puglia.

one Vassayll, a serving brother (*frare sargant*) of the Temple, who commanded a ship belonging to his order, and took Roger, when only eight years old, into the service of the Temple. By the time he was twenty he was a skilled mariner, and so useful that the master of the Temple "gave him the cloak" of a serving brother and put him in charge of a ship bought from the Genoese, the largest the Templars had, called the *Falcon*. The young man had genius for earning and spending money, and made himself very popular by his lavish gifts to the servants of the Temple and the knights themselves. He was in the harbour of Acre when the town was taken by the Saracens in 1291, and made great sums of money<sup>1</sup> by saving Christian ladies and Christian treasure from the conquerors and carrying them to Monte Pellegrino. He was accused, however, before the authorities of his order, with the cognisance of the Pope, apparently of having plundered on his own account, and did not face their inquiry into his conduct, but brought his ship home to Marseilles, paid it off, and withdrew to Genoa, where he had friends who lent him money to buy a ship of his own, called the *Olivette*. With this he sailed first to Catania in Sicily, and offered his ship and service to Robert, Duke of Calabria, son of Charles II. of Naples, and on his refusal made the same offer to Frederic (Fadrique), King of Sicily, who was then at Messina, and gladly accepted his service. He thus became enlisted on the Aragonese side in the war that was raging in Sicily and beyond it, and became, in the words of Pachymeres, the Byzantine historian—who is not disposed to judge him indulgently—a most audacious pirate,<sup>2</sup> robbing

<sup>1</sup> "Guanya en aquell viatge sens fi" are the words of Muntaner, *l.c.* Muntaner, as loyal a comrade as ever was, is unwilling to speak evil of Roger; but we cannot doubt that in this transaction, as in many others, Roger let no scruples interfere with the advancement of his own interests.

<sup>2</sup> πείρατης βιαύτατος, Pachym., *Andron.*, v. 12, part xiii. (2) of Bonn ed., p. 394.

both Saracens and Christians, and ranging over all the coasts of the Western Mediterranean, from the Principato of Naples to Gibraltar and Barbary. His ships, his Catalan sailors, and, above all, the money he seized rapaciously and expended royally, made him a valuable partisan. King Fadrique made him vice-admiral of Sicily under Roger de Loria, gave him two castles and the revenues of Malta, and he was at the head of a band of some thousand seasoned warriors, when the war in Sicily was ended by the peace of Caltabellotta in 1302. Such a band was not likely to be long in finding a new employer, and Roger at once offered it to the Emperor of Constantinople, Andronicus Paleologus, whose Asiatic provinces were overrun by Turks, both Seljukians, who had been long settled at Iconium, and Ottomans,<sup>1</sup> who had lately become formidable in Bithynia, within easy striking distance of the Sea of Marmora and the capital. It had an inconsistent appearance in the King of Sicily to let these formidable troops go to Constantinople at the very time that he was binding himself by treaty<sup>2</sup> to aid Charles of Valois in establishing his claim to the Latin Empire of Romania; but it was essential to him and to his Sicilian subjects to be rid of the hordes of mercenaries who were eating up the island like locusts, and it was, moreover, doubtful if he had the power to induce Roger de Flor to stay in a country where he could never feel himself safe from his old enemies, the Templars and the Pope. On the Bosphorus, in the service of Andronicus, who neither loved nor feared the Pope, Roger could feel secure, and the terms the Byzantine Court were ready to grant him, when he asked for them, were such as might have dazzled any adventurer, even after the examples of Rollo and Robert

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Othman, the original founder of the Ottoman Empire, who received the government of a province in Asia Minor in 1289, see Finlay's "Byzantine and Greek Empires," ii. p. 480; Von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, i. pp. 55-108 (Fr. translation).

<sup>2</sup> See Ducange, *Empire de Constantinople*, ed. Buchon, ii. p. 335, *Recueil des Chartes*, xv.

Guiscard, or the chiefs of the First and Fourth Crusades. The two Spanish knights, who appeared at Constantinople in the summer of 1302 as Roger's ambassadors, asked for him the hand of a Byzantine princess, the title of *Megadux* or Grand Duke, and pay at a high rate for four months in advance for every horse or foot soldier he should bring with him, the money to be ready for him at Monemvasie or Malvoisie, on the east coast of the Peloponnesus. The terms were granted without question. Roger de Flor was not unknown at Constantinople, where he had been often seen when commanding the *Falcon*, and we are told that he spoke Greek fluently.<sup>1</sup> Pachymeres, who regretted his admission, and represents the Conservative party, who probably opposed it at first, speaks of his flashing eye and his noble temper full of martial spirit.<sup>2</sup> Whatever was the magic that he used, he won without resistance the hand of the Princess Maria, daughter of Azan, King of Bulgaria (which Muntaner calls Lantzaura), and Irene, the Emperor Andronicus' sister. We are reminded how a Moorish adventurer, starting with more disadvantages than the cabin-boy of Brindisi, won the hand of a gentle lady of Cyprus, or how a Corsican adventurer, five centuries afterwards, won the hand of an Austrian archduchess.

The elevation of Roger to the office of *Megadux*, the fourth in rank of all the great Court dignities<sup>3</sup> at Constantinople, was granted as easily as his marriage. It carried with it the command of the fleet. The promises of pay were no doubt more difficult to fulfil; for though the gold coinage of Constantinople was current over a great part of Europe and created a general belief in the wealth of the Empire, the Government was in fact short of money.

<sup>1</sup> "E sabia de gregesch assats cominalement."—Muntaner, c. cxix. p. 358 (Lanz); Schlumberger, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> γόργωπος—λήμα ἔχων γένναιον καὶ πλέως Ἀρεικοῦ φρονήματος.—Pachym., *Andr.*, v. 12, pp. 393, 395 (Bonn).

<sup>3</sup> Muntaner arranges them (after the Basileus) 1. Sebastocrator; 2. Cæsar; 3. Protovestiarius; 4. Megadux.

But no trouble on this head arose as yet. Two matters only disturbed the relations between Andronicus and his guests: first, the Emperor's son Michael, who had been made Emperor jointly with his father, and was in command of an army of several thousand Alan mercenaries in Asia Minor, was jealous of the newly arrived troops so favoured by his father; he was a capable general, but a gloomy zealot for the Orthodox Church, and was soon able to prejudice his father against the Western schismatics; and secondly, the Genoese, who had, since the restoration of the Greek Empire, been so powerful in their stronghold of Galata, were jealous of the newcomers, who were their debtors for money advanced to Roger before he left the West on the security of the Byzantine Emperor—an obligation that the Emperor was very unwilling to meet. He was also alarmed at the numbers of his formidable allies—thirty-six shiploads, of six or eight thousand fighting men in all, with a host of wives and children and followers. He reflected that they had come to drive the Turks out of Asia Minor, and would be better employed in this work across the Straits rather than in ruffling about the streets of the capital. The Genoese trouble was the first to come to a head. On the day of the Grand Duke's marriage bands of Genoese in the streets derided the outlandish garb of Pyrenean mountaineers in which the Almugavars appeared, and fighting began in the narrow alleys of Galata. The Catalans, from their quarters in the monastery of St. Cosmas, near the palace of Blachernæ, sallied out upon a procession of Genoese with a banner, who came to show themselves before the palace, apparently with the object of reminding the Emperor and the Grand Duke of their debt. The drungarius or vice-admiral of the fleet, endeavouring to quell the tumult, was cut to pieces in the streets, and the banner of the Genoese was trampled under foot by men fighting under the pennon of Aragon. The strangers got the better of their enemies, and left more than 3000





CYZICUS

*From a photo supplied by the Hellenic Society*



dead bodies encumbering the streets. It was with great difficulty that the Grand Duke stopped his men from sacking the banks and counting-houses of Galata and Pera.

The Grand Duke was now prepared to agree with the Emperor that the sooner his troops quitted the city the better. The peninsula of Cyzicus, or Artaki, on the south coast of the Sea of Marmora, with a strong wall across the isthmus protecting it from the Turks, who held the mainland up to the sea-coast, was assigned to them as a fortified outpost against the Turks. As soon as they had landed there they were attacked by the Turks, but repulsed them with the greatest vigour and at terrible cost to the assailants, so that the Emperor and the inhabitants of the capital were relieved from the most pressing danger that had threatened them. The peninsula of Artaki was fertile and populous, with 20,000 families scattered about its farms or country houses; here the Catalans lived through their first winter practically at free quarters, laying up a store of hostility from the inhabitants by extortion and violence.<sup>1</sup>

The next spring, in April 1303, there was a serious fight in the streets of Cyzicus between the Catalans and the Alan mercenaries, which added further to the stores of enmity against the former. But in the following month they started on a more important enterprise, the relief of Philadelphia in the centre of Asia Minor, one of the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse, "a noble city, and one of the great ones of the world," which Ali Shir, one of the Turkish Emirs, with an army of 20,000 men, was pressing hard. The Grand Duke, with 6000 Catalans and 1000 Alans,

<sup>1</sup> A graphic passage of Muntaner (c. cciv.) tells us of the system of tallies, by which the value of the provisions allowed to the Catalans day by day was recorded, to be deducted from their pay when they next received it; how the Grand Duke, on his return from a visit to Constantinople, found that the debts of nearly all largely exceeded the pay due to them; and how, to relieve them from such a burden, he burned all the tallies, and took the whole debt upon the treasury of the Company, for which he was himself responsible.

and a small force of Greeks, met and routed this great army, and entered Philadelphia, which however his troops plundered as cruelly as the Turks could have done. The stories of plunder and atrocities told of Roger and his troops are never referred to by Muntaner, but rest on the testimony of the Byzantine historians, and we have seen reason to believe, in Anna Comnena's accounts of the First Crusade, and in Nicetas' accounts of the Fourth, that *Græcia mendax* had not become an altogether inapplicable expression since the days of Juvenal. But the stories are not improbable in themselves, and are confirmed by the evidence which can be derived from Muntaner, of the state of desolation in which the rich lands of Asia Minor were left after the Catalans had occupied them. The land was like the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness. After the relief of Philadelphia the Grand Duke could not pursue the Saracens far eastward, but had to march down the Hermus valley to the rich and as yet unwasted lands on the coast, belonging to Nymphæum, Magnesia, Ephesus, and Anæa.<sup>1</sup> Magnesia he contemplated making the capital of the kingdom that we cannot doubt he thought of establishing for himself in Asia. Thither he now sent all the rich plunder he appropriated from his conquests. We shall see that soon an even more brilliant prospect, farther to the east, opened before his eyes. The Byzantine governor of Magnesia, one Attaliotes, professed devotion to Roger, and was left in charge of the city, when the Grand Duke, reinforced by some new bands, who joined him at Anæa, made a march to the eastward as far as the pass of Mount Taurus, known as the Iron Gates of Cilicia.

<sup>1</sup> Nymphæum, one of the chief residences of the Byzantine Emperors, is called by Muntaner "*Nif*," Magnesia "*Magnexia*," Anæa "*Daner*," Ephesus "*Altolloch*." Alto Luogo, the common Italian name of Ephesus, was really a corruption of the Turkish *Ayasolouk*, itself a corruption of *Ἅγιος Θεόλογος*; the "Holy Divine" of the Apocalypse having by this time driven out the memory of the great goddess Diana (see an instructive passage in Heyd, i. p. 540, 541, Fr. trans.).

There they again defeated the Turks, with greater slaughter than ever before, in August 1303, and for a time they dreamed of pressing on to the Euphrates and Tigris. But the wasted condition of the land, as we have seen, caused them to return to the more fertile districts on the coasts of Ionia, where a great disappointment awaited them. Attalotes had played them false, kept Magnesia and its treasure in his hands, and would not admit Roger and his Catalans into the town. The Alan mercenaries had joined Attalotes, and more than one attempt of the Catalans to retake Magnesia failed.

While threatened with this great reverse, the Grand Duke received peremptory orders from Andronicus to return to Europe, where a revolt of Bulgarians had forced the young Emperor Michael to retire from Adrianople, and was threatening the capital itself. He slowly and reluctantly obeyed the orders, bringing back all his troops, and taking them across the Hellespont to the Chersonese once ruled by Miltiades, a larger and richer peninsula than that of Cyzicus, with the strong fortress of Gallipoli commanding the Hellespont, and able to stop any ships coming from the Mediterranean to Constantinople. Leaving his troops there, Roger rode with 100 horsemen to the capital, was entertained royally at the Blachernæ Palace, and learned that the Bulgarians at the mere news of his approach had hastened to make peace. Then a question arose about the pay due to the Catalans, and Muntaner accuses the Emperor of trying to palm off on Roger coins called Vincilions, specially made to resemble Venetian ducats, that were equivalent to eight deniers of Barcelona, though the Vincilions themselves were worth but three.<sup>1</sup> This could not have tended to cordial relations, but no open breach came yet, and at Christmas 1304, which the Grand Duke

<sup>1</sup> Muntaner, c. ccx. p. 376 (Lanz). Schlumberger (p. 124, note 1) gives the inconsistent accounts of this transaction found in Muntaner and Pachymeres.

spent at court with his wife, he received his greatest honour, being raised to the office of Cæsar, the second after that of Emperor,<sup>1</sup> generally confined to members of the imperial family, and that no one had held for the last four hundred years. This elevation was connected with the arrival at Gallipoli of a reinforcement of more than 1000 Almogavars, led by Berengar d'Entença, not an adventurer like Roger, but a Spanish nobleman of high rank, who, at Roger's suggestion, was made *Megadux* in his place.

It was a great elevation for the boy who, less than thirty years before, had been taken on board the Templars' ship as a cabin boy, to be the third person in what was still called the Roman Empire. He had been reckless, as we have seen, in making enemies, and now these were gathering against him. The Genoese were pressing the Emperor to get rid of the Cæsar and his brigands, and offered their fleet and their wealth to aid in their expulsion. The Emperor Michael, his most resolute enemy, held himself aloof at Adrianople, and there surrounded himself with Greek and Alan troops, who also hated the Catalans. The elder Emperor, though irresolute and unwilling to break with the Cæsar, was uneasy at his ever-increasing demands for money and anxious to get him across the Straits with some sort of principality in Anatolia, and his Catalan army divided. This the other Spanish officers would not consent to, and it was settled that all should cross the Straits and unite their fortunes with those of their great leader. But before they abandoned their quarters in Gallipoli, Roger, whether from bravado or from a loyalty that suspected no evil, or, as seems more probable, from a desire to crush his chief enemy before he left Europe for

<sup>1</sup> The passage in Muntaner is interesting: "E Cesar es aytal offici, que seu en una cadira qui es prop daquella del Emperador, que no es mas mig palm pus baixa. E l'emperador porta capell vermell e totes ses robes vermelles, e el cesar porta capell blau e totes ses robes blaves ab fres dor estret" (c. ccxii. p. 377, Lanz). The whole passage is worth reading.

good, left Gallipoli with 300 horse and 1000 foot. He had often defeated great hosts with far inferior numbers, but this time he miscalculated the strength and cunning of his enemies. At Constantinople he was received with great honour by the Emperor Michael and his Armenian wife, and feasted sumptuously in the palace. Meanwhile troops of all kinds, 9000 in number, Greeks, Alans, Turkopules (*i.e.* Turkish prisoners trained to service in the Byzantine army), were ominously drawn in from the Bulgarian frontiers. Roger, from the fearlessness of a loyal heart, as Muntaner says, or from the reckless security of a spoiled child of fortune, went on the day these troops arrived, the 28th of March 1305, to a banquet that Michael gave to him and his officers in the palace. During the feast the Alan mercenaries rushed in in hundreds, and George, their commander, who was a mortal enemy of the Cæsar, ran him through with his sword. All the Catalan officers present were also killed, and the Alans and Turcopules then sallied out into the streets and despatched all the Almagavares they could find, so that only three escaped with their lives of the 1300 Roger had brought with him.

With the assassination of Roger de Flor, at the age of thirty-seven—surely one of the most wonderful of the men of genius who have died about that age—the strangest part of the adventures of the Catalonian Company came to an end; but its romance did not end. For several years after this the Company played a great part in the history of Romania. Its history has been called an Odyssey and an Anabasis, and its comparison to that of the retreat of the famous Ten Thousand is singularly appropriate. If Roger de Flor is a more heroic Cyrus, Ramon Muntaner, its trustiest leader and faithful and charming chronicler, is quite worthy to be called its Xenophon. He had been left in command at Gallipoli when the Cæsar left on his ill-fated journey to Adrianople, and circumstances obliged him to take the lead, for at the same time that Roger was

killed, Berengar d'Entença, the noble Spaniard who had just succeeded Roger as Grand Duke, was away on a cruise at the mouth of the Black Sea, on his return from which he fell in with a Genoese fleet under Eduardo Doria, was taken prisoner and sent first to Trebizond and then to Genoa. Berengar de Rocafort, the other chief of the Catalans, who was superior in rank to Muntaner, and who had but recently arrived in Asia Minor with a large reinforcement, was also absent from Gallipoli. So Muntaner had to take upon himself the defence of the fertile peninsula now occupied by the Company, which was immediately attacked by troops sent by Michael from Adrianople. The position of the Catalans did not appear to themselves quite clear: they had come over from the West to engage in the service of the Greek Emperor, had received his pay, and owed homage to him. He had treacherously put to death their leader, and was threatening to drive them out of his dominions. But in the eyes of men so deeply imbued with the principles of feudal law as were the Crusaders, who had settled in Syria after the First Crusade<sup>1</sup> or in Greece after the Fourth, the disloyalty of the lord did not relieve the vassals from their duties so that they might take up arms for resistance, until they had formally, according to feudal law, renounced their allegiance and "defied" their lord. So an embassy of six, one knight, one *adalil* or guide (which was the name given to the leaders chosen by the Almugavares from among themselves), with two Almugavares from the ranks and two *comites* or petty officers of the ships, were sent with a small escort in a boat of twenty oars to Constantinople, and in the presence of the Venetian community there, as impartial witnesses,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Guizot says (*Civilisation en France*, iii. pp. 9, 10): "Les Assises du royaume franc de Jerusalem, rédigées par ordre de Godefroy de Bouillon, . . . reproduisent, plus complètement et plus fidèlement que tout autre document, l'image de la société féodale."

<sup>2</sup> Lebeau (*Bas Empire*, ed. St. Martin, xix. p. 100) says that the podestà of Genoa and the consuls of Ancona and Pisa were also present.

defied the Emperor in the name of the Grand Duke Entença and all the Company of the Franks, accused him of breach of faith in killing the Cæsar and attacking the Company without warning, and declared their readiness to prove this in combat, ten against ten, or a hundred against a hundred; of all which they had drawn up a statement in letters patent, and left an authentic copy with the Venetian Commune. This enabled them with a safe conscience to detach themselves from the Emperor's service and fight against him.<sup>1</sup>

The scrupulous observance of these formalities gave some advantage to the enemy. Not only were the six envoys, spite of a safe-conduct given them, massacred at Rodosto, as well as all the Catalans that could be found at Constantinople; but Greek troops swooped down upon Gallipoli and carried off all the horses of the Company that were at pasture there. But as soon as their feudal conscience was at rest, the Company showed no lack of vigour. Gallipoli was eminently defensible, and the work of fortifying and entrenching it was carried on with promptitude. All the Greek inhabitants, as possible enemies, were killed or removed. Entença, in the short interval before his capture, formed the design of conquering from Gallipoli the kingdom of Anatolia, which had been offered to Roger just before his murder. In a letter to the Venetian Republic he called himself, "by Grace of God, Grand Duke of the Empire of Romania, Lord of Natolia and the Isles."<sup>2</sup>

He explains the words of Muntaner, "*cartes publiques partides per A.B.C.*," as a primitive kind of indenture. The original which the envoys kept and the duplicate they left with the Venetian bailo had the letters A.B.C. written across the line of division between them, so that it could be seen on placing them side by side, whether the duplicate was that made at the same time as the original or one substituted for it. We have also in c. cciv. of the tallies or accounts (*ante*, p. 267), *dos albaraus partits per A, B, C, e quen tengues la hu lost, e l'altre lo soldau.*

<sup>1</sup> Schlumberger, pp. 164, 165, from Muntaner, c. ccxvi. (p. 383, Lanz).

<sup>2</sup> The document is printed (or an abstract of it) in *I Libri Comemorativi*, tomo i., Venezia, 1876, p. 51. It is dated 10th May 1305,

But he effected no more than some forays in the neighbourhood of the capital, and when he was taken prisoner and the Genoese would not be bribed to release him, for a time the courage of the Company flagged, and they talked of sailing away to Lesbos and trusting to being helped by Turks or Aragonese. But these counsels of dishonour were rejected.<sup>1</sup> They dismantled their ships and made it a capital offence to propose surrender. Rocafort, now made their chief, had a great seal with an image of St. George made for the army of the Franks who reign over the kingdom of Macedonia.<sup>2</sup> The Company were not inclined to lower their claims, and talked of kingdoms and empires as baubles at their own disposal. They had four banners made, each with a figure of a saint; the banner of St. Peter to show their loyalty to the Pope, another of St. George, the patron saint of the crusading kingdoms, and other two for the kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily.

They had some hopes of support from the house of Aragon, but Don Sancho, a half-brother of King Fadrique of Sicily, who appeared at this time with ten galleys in the Archipelago, disappointed them, and sailed back to the West. Some time later Ferrand, or Fernan, the youngest son of the King of Majorca,<sup>3</sup> and cousin of

and relates to a corn ship of Angelo Pesaro, which Entença had taken "nel porto de le Quayle in Romania" as a forced loan, that he was not yet able to discharge, being engaged in war with the Emperor (see *ib.*, p. 42).

<sup>1</sup> "L'altre consell era aquest que gran vergonya seria nostra, que haguessen perduts dos senyors—et que nols venjatssem o murissem ab ells; que no havia gent el mon que nons degues alapidar, e majormen que fossem gents de aytal fama com erem, et quel dret fos de la nostra part."—Munt., c. ccxix. (p. 386, Lanz).

<sup>2</sup> "Sagell de la host dels Franchs que regnen lo regne de Macedonia" (Munt., c. ccxv. p. 397, Lanz). Macedonia was, I presume, a recollection of Alexander the Great.

<sup>3</sup> Majorca and the other Balearic Isles were taken from the Moors in 1228 by James or Jacme the Conqueror, King of Aragon. Of his sons, Peter III. was King of Aragon, Valencia, and Murcia; James II. of Roussillon, Cerdagne, Montpellier, and the Balearic Isles, with Perpignan for his capital, and his title King of Majorca. James the



Fadrigue of Sicily, came out to take the command of the Company and maintain the interests of Aragon against those of Anjou in the Eastern Empire. His coming had an important influence on events, though he did not succeed in founding a Latin kingdom or Empire in the East.

Before he arrived the Catalans, though victorious in almost all their engagements, had made the Thracian coast untenable by themselves or their enemies. They were in some senses the most barbarous of conquerors. It was not in their nature to settle on the conquered lands, make their homesteads there, and surround them with sown fields or pasturing herds. The wealth and abundance they found in the country round Constantinople seemed to them inexhaustible; all they had to do was to seize and enjoy and waste. Their bands of spoilers, Catalans reinforced by Turkopule condottieri, 3000 of whom they engaged, slaughtered the men and drove in the women and children to Gallipoli, which became a great reservoir of human flesh and blood, supplying the harems and slave markets of the Mussulman world. This merciless policy, carried on for some years,<sup>1</sup> had reduced the country within ten days' journey of their camp to a desert;<sup>2</sup> the population

Conqueror's ancestors had been since the ninth century Counts of Barcelona, and had gradually accumulated lands on either side of the Pyrenees, Provence and Montpellier amongst them. A later Pedro of Aragon, in the middle of the fourteenth century, reunited to Aragon Majorca and all its dependencies on the French side of the mountains, except Montpellier, which was sold to the King of France.

<sup>1</sup> Muntaner (c. ccxxx.) says seven, but precision in chronology is not one of his virtues, and he wrote his Chronicle twenty-five years after the events. It is fairly certain that Roger de Flor was murdered in April 1305 or (as Finlay thinks) 1306, and that the Company left Gallipoli in 1308. The battle of Lake Copais (see *post*, p. 284) was fought in March 1311. So two or three years would be the length of the Company's stay at Gallipoli.

<sup>2</sup> Muntaner's words are expressive: "Haviem *desabitada* tota aquella enconrada a X jornades de totes parts" (c. ccxxx. p. 411, Lanz). Not only was the land wasted, but the air was polluted by the multitude of dead bodies lying unburied.

had been consumed, and nothing was gathered. Famine threatened the spoilers themselves, and it was imperative they should leave Gallipoli, and seek for less exhausted lands in Macedonia or Greece.

The discipline that had been firmly kept up under the Cæsar had been much relaxed since his death; the two Spanish nobles, d'Entença, released from his Genoese prison, and Ximénès were in almost open hostility with the plebeian Rocafort, with whom they shared the chief command. Muntaner had endeavoured to act as moderator, and had kept his three colleagues in cantonments many miles from one another, and he now, with the important support given him by the Infante Fernan, who brought the prestige of royal birth to aid the counsels of prudence and necessity, had to arrange for their march along the Thracian coast to Macedonia in bodies as widely separated from one another as was safe. Muntaner took the ships with the women and children on board, the rest marched along the shore. It was the autumn of the year 1308. For some days they kept a safe distance, but on the day they reached Christopolis (the Neapolis of the Acts of the Apostles), the troop of Rocafort, which led the way, was overtaken by that of d'Entença, with which the Infante was marching, and a fight at once began, in which d'Entença, striving, without his armour, to separate the combatants, was killed. After this, Rocafort, who seems to have aimed at establishing himself as a king at Salonica, and who, though a subject of Aragon, owed no allegiance to King Fadrique of Sicily, cast off all respect for the Infante, and induced the Company to refuse to recognise his authority as representative of the King of Sicily. On this the Infante, who was loyal to his cousin of Sicily and to the designs of his father's house against their rivals of Anjou in the East, but scorned to become the leader of a band of freebooters, quitted the Company and sailed to the island of Thasos, lying a few miles off the coast, and at this time

held by one of the great Genoese mercantile family of Zaccaria. There he was joined by Muntaner, and thus we lose the guidance of the latter as to the subsequent fortunes of the Company. We know that at this time Ximénès made his peace with the Emperor Andronicus and took service under the Greek Government. Rocafort was thus, when Muntaner had joined the Infante at Thasos, the only leader left with the Company. He continued to lead it along the coast lands to the west and south, with the avowed intention of eating up the country round Salonica, as the Company had already eaten up that round the Sea of Marmora.

The Infante had a warm welcome in Thasos, especially after the arrival of Muntaner, who during his long stay at Gallipoli had found occasion to send a detachment of Almugavares to help Benedetto Zaccaria conquer Phocæa on the coast of Asia Minor. The alum mines of that region had given the Zaccaria family fabulous wealth; Benedetto had also acquired the isle of Chios, the only place where mastic was produced, another product highly valued in those days. He was at this time an old man, and his nephew, Tedisio or Ticino, whom Muntaner found governing Thasos, was the acting head of the family. He had a strong fortress, and could offer the travellers a tempting prospect of adventure and booty. They were not caught by this, but pressed on to the Thessalian coast to attack Almyros or Armiro, and after that Skopelos and Negropont.

Skopelos and Negropont were both Venetian possessions, and Venice was at this time closely allied with Charles of Valois, the Angevin pretender to the throne of Romania, so that the Aragonese prince was not unwilling to injure her territory. Pietro Querini, the Venetian podestà at Negropont, was at this time receiving Thibaut de Chepoy, a nobleman of Picardy, who had held high military rank<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He was "*maitre arbalétrier*."

under Philip the Fair, and had now come to the East in the service of Valois, apparently for the express purpose of engaging for Valois the Catalonian Company, the fame of whose exploits had reached France. The Infante felt he had fallen amongst enemies, but, determined to face the danger, accepted a safe-conduct from the captains of the Venetian ships lent to Chepoy and from the Terzieri of Negropont, that he might be entertained at a banquet in the castle of Egripos on the Euripus,<sup>1</sup> the narrow strait separating the island from the mainland. At the banquet he was seized by Chepoy's sailors, who also fell upon and plundered the Catalonian ships; the Infante was handed over in chains to Guy de la Roche, the Duke (or Megaskyr) of Athens, whose palace at Thebes was hard by, and imprisoned by him till the pleasure of Charles of Valois should be known. Muntaner was separated from the Infante, to whom he had been so faithful a servant, and put in the hands of his old colleague Rocafort, supposed to be his enemy, and of the Company, for whose treasure, taken from him by Chepoy, he might be called to account.

But if Chepoy and the Venetians hoped that the Company would revenge themselves on Muntaner, they were disappointed: when he came to them at Cassandria, in the westernmost of the three arms of the peninsula of Chalcidice, near the site of Potidæa, he was warmly received: the Turks and Turcopules, allies it was impossible to ignore, looked upon him as their friend. He might, if he had stayed, have been able to assert himself against Rocafort, a man of selfish and vulgar ambition, who was tempted by the idea of making himself King of Salonica. But Muntaner was devoted to the Infante, and insisted on going back to him in his prison. Chepoy now set to work in earnest on enlisting the Company in the service of

<sup>1</sup> Egripos is a broken-down form of Euripus, and Negroponte a further corruption of Egripos into a significant Italian form.

Charles of Valois ; but Rocafort, agreeing to this, took no steps to make the arrangement effective, wishing to keep the Company at his own disposition, ready to support his views of conquest in any direction he might choose. The direction they next took was that of a marriage with Jeannette de Brienne, half-sister<sup>1</sup> of Guy de la Roche, Duke of Athens, a noble and chivalrous prince, but now dying ; and Rocafort hoped that the marriage might lead to his inheriting the duchy. But he had other schemes, one of which proved his ruin. He cast his eyes upon Negropont, the government of which was inconveniently divided between the Venetian bailo and the Terzieri, feudal nobles of French or Italian blood. Discord between them might at any time open the way for a bold interloper. The possession of Negropont might be a help to him in acquiring a duchy of Athens or a kingdom of Salonica. Venice was warned of his designs, and was ably effectually to stop his marriage with Jeannette, who became in the end the wife of Nicolas Sanudo, Duke of Naxos. Venice also willingly listened to an appeal from Chepoy and the Council of Twelve Chiefs that now commanded the Company, whom Rocafort had alienated by his arrogance, calling upon her to send out to the East a force sufficient to control the Company. When this arrived, Rocafort and his brother were arrested, put on their trial for the murder of Berengar d'Entença, found guilty, and sent to Robert, King of Naples, by whom they were starved to death in the castle of Aversa. This was the tragic fate of the last survivor and ablest of the lieutenants who came to the East under Roger de Flor.

The Company had more history yet to make. In 1309 we find it scattered about among the high valleys round Olympus and Pelion, hard pressed there by Chandrenos,

<sup>1</sup> The mother of both was Helena Angela Comnena, a daughter of the Sebastocrator of Great Wallachia, John I., a natural son of the Despot of Epirus.

an able general in the service of the Greek Emperor. It had, as at Gallipoli, eaten up the Macedonian coast-lands, and it was a necessity for it to pass on to a new country. Chepoy, a gentleman and a scholar, a friend of Marco Polo the traveller,<sup>1</sup> was, as we have seen, out of his element as leader of a band of brigands. In the spring of 1310, when the Company were encamped in Thessaly, he suddenly quitted them and returned to France. The Company, furious at this desertion, fell upon and massacred all their own officers who had acted with him, and elected by universal suffrage, as they had done at the time of Roger de Flor's death, two knights, an *Adalil* or guide and an *Almugavare* to govern them. Under these new commanders they entered upon the last, and not least surprising, stage of their career.

They were now in contact, no longer with the Byzantine Empire, but with three potentates, the Despot of Epirus, and Sebastocrator of Great Wallachia,<sup>2</sup> Greeks belonging to a collateral branch of the Comneni, and the Latin Duke of Athens. The Despot or rather Despoina of Epirus—for the throne was at this time occupied by a lady, dwelling at Arta—was an ally of the Byzantine Emperor, and inclined to persecute the Sebastocrator, a young man in weak health, who had been the ward of his cousin, Guy de la Roche, the Duke of Athens, and was left helpless at his guardian's death. Guy's inheritance had fallen to his half-brother, Gautier or Walter de Brienne, whose ancestor had been one of those

<sup>1</sup> See Yule's "Marco Polo," i. p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> We must not confuse this prince with the Sebastocrator at Constantinople, who, as we have seen (*ante*, p. 265, note 3) was next in rank at that court to the Emperor. The court office, as we learn from Anna Comnena, was a creation of her father, Alexius Comnenus. But there was a local Sebastocrator in Thessaly or Vlachia, as far back as the time of Constantine the Great. See *Codinus de officiis Pal. Const.*, p. 7 (Bonn), and the commentators on that passage.

originally concerned in the Fourth Crusade,<sup>1</sup> whose kinsman, John de Brienne, had, as we have seen, been King of Jerusalem and Emperor of Romania. No Frank family had been more distinguished in the wars that had resulted from the Fourth Crusade. The new Duke of Athens had been as a child detained as a hostage in the castle of Agosta, in Sicily; there he had seen much of the Catalonian soldiery and had learned to speak their language. When the Company was, after Chepoy's departure, advancing southward from Thessaly into Bœotia, Walter, who had the same enemies as they, was able without difficulty to engage them in his service. By this engagement, it may be worth remarking, they quitted the alliance of Aragon, to which they had till now been steadily faithful, and became connected with the Angevins of Naples, Walter's chief supporters.<sup>2</sup>

The Dukes of Athens of the family of De la Roche, to which Walter of Brienne was allied on his mother's side, had been the most successful and brilliant of all the Frank conquerors of the Eastern Empire. They had been settled in continuous possession of Athens and almost continuous possession of Thebes ever since their first ancestor, Otto, had followed Boniface of Montferrat in his march to the south from Salonica. They had at first borne the title of Megaskyr (*Grand Sire* in French), but St. Louis had conferred on Guy, the nephew and successor of Otto, that of Duke. Guy's quarrels with William of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia, I have referred to in a former chapter.<sup>3</sup> The second Guy, the immediate predecessor of Walter de

<sup>1</sup> See my "Early History of Venice," pp. 356, 368. He had proved something of a broken reed. Another of the family had, in still earlier times, been Constable of Apulia, and had fought under Bohemund the Norman in Robert Guiscard's invasion of Romania, A.D. 1084 (Finlay, "Byz. and Greek Emp.," ii. p. 99).

<sup>2</sup> Hugues de Brienne, the father of Duke Walter, was Count of Lecce in the kingdom of Naples, an Angevin subject.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 42.

Brienne, was a grandson of the first Guy. He had been a leading personage amongst the Frank Barons of Greece, and his duchy, which comprised Attica and Bœotia, was at that time fertile and rich, populous and well-governed. Muntaner says that the Duke of Athens was "one of the noble men that are in the Empire of Romania after the king and of the most rich,"<sup>1</sup> and gives us a description of the splendours of his court on the occasion when Duke Walter received knighthood from Boniface of Verona, one of the Terzieri of Negropont. The same chronicler tells us that "it was commonly said that the most gentle chivalry in the world was that of the Morea, and they spoke as good French as those in Paris."<sup>2</sup> Finlay says, "The city (of Athens) was large and wealthy, the country thickly covered with villages, of which the ruins may still be traced in spots affording no indication of Hellenic sites. Aqueducts and cisterns then gave fertility to lands now unproductive; olive, almond, and fig trees were intermingled with vineyards, and orchards covered grounds now reduced, by the want of irrigation, to yield only scanty pasturage to the flocks of nomad shepherds. The valonia, the cotton, the silk, and the leather of Attica then supplied native manufactories, and the surplus commanded a high price in the European markets. The trade of Athens was considerable, and the luxury of the Athenian ducal court was celebrated in all the regions of the West where chivalry flourished."<sup>3</sup>

The government of the Frank dukes had not been harsh or unjust to the Greeks, who lived in peace and

<sup>1</sup> "Veritat es, quel duch de Tenes era hu dels nobles homens qui sien en limperi de Romania apres rey, e dels pus richs" (c. ccxlv. p. 435 Lanz). Duke of Athens is in Muntaner's words, "duch de Tenes," and the Archbishop is "larquebisbe Destines," *i.e.* de Setines, which, according to Gregorovius, was the Bulgarian name for Athens.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, c. cclxi. pp. 468, 469 (Lanz).

<sup>3</sup> Finlay, "Medieval Greece and Trebizond," p. 167. Gregorovius (*Gesch. der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, ii. pp. 37-49) is inclined to doubt the flourishing state of Attica under its Frank dukes.



comfort, and prospered. The Parthenon, then almost in its original perfection, had long been a Christian Church, the Panaghia, dedicated to another Virgin divinity. The chief grief that the Frank conquest caused to the conquered race was that felt by the priests of the Orthodox Greek Church, who saw the Latin rites celebrated in this august temple.<sup>1</sup>

All this prosperity and civilisation was destined to come to an end, swallowed up by the barbarism that had wasted Thrace and Macedonia and Thessaly, and every other land over which the Company had passed. The first fruits of their engagement with Walter of Brienne were his complete defeat of the Epirot and Vlachian troops in the campaign of 1310. The Catalonians who had won his battles were a body of 8000 men in all, half cavalry and half infantry, the latter the Almugavares proper, light-armed and active mountaineers, the best infantry in the world, as the Spaniards for long after this time continued to be. Such troops, in short coats, gaiters, and hempen sandals, with no baggage but a scrip for their bread slung over their shoulders, with no shield, but abundantly equipped with weapons of offence—a short sword, a lance, and two javelins for each man—no doubt seemed unlikely to be a match for the mail-clad knights and their retainers whom Walter of Brienne was able to gather under his banners,<sup>2</sup> to the number of 14,000 or 15,000, including many French feudal levies from Naples and the Morea, and many Turkish and other barbarous mercenaries.<sup>3</sup>

When Duke Walter saw himself surrounded by so

<sup>1</sup> Finlay, *u.s.*, p. 158, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> As to the equipment of the Almugavares there is an interesting note of the editor (Lord Ellesmere) of the English translation of Amari's "War of the Sicilian Vespers," vol. ii. pp. 27-29.

<sup>3</sup> Fallmerayer, *Gesch. v. Morea*, ii. 179, 180. Muntaner (c. ccxl.) says he had 700 Frank knights from the country of King Robert (*i.e.* Naples) and the principality of Morea, and 24,000 Greek infantry, belonging to the duchy.

gallant a body of French knights and so large a number of infantry, he thought he could dispense with the Catalonians, and, when they had been in his service six months, brought on a crisis by refusing to pay them the sums he had promised. He was willing to retain 500 picked men of them, but these, with fidelity to their brothers-in-arms which was throughout a conspicuous feature of the Catalonian character, refused to separate from their comrades, and all of them advanced in threatening attitude towards Thebes, where the ducal palace, a magnificent building of Nicolas de St. Omer, crowned the height of the Cadmeia, the ancient citadel. A last appeal to the duke to fulfil his promise, received only the answer that he would hang them up on his gallows. It was March 1311, and the plains of Bœotia were covered with green corn. Into the fields in front of their position at Skripou, the ancient Orchomenus, the Catalonian leaders diverted the stream of the river Cephissus, so that they became a network of muddy channels, hidden by the rank vegetation of spring. The Frank chivalry, not perceiving the stratagem, or despising their enemy too much to take precautions, charged headlong into the morass, and unable to force their horses through it, were despatched by the swords or knives of the Catalans. Walter of Brienne was among the first to die, and it was said that of the 700 Frank knights only two, Boniface of Verona, whom I have mentioned above, and Roger Deslaur of Roussillon, both of whom were spared by friends in the Catalonian ranks, escaped with their lives.<sup>1</sup>

This battle of Lake Copais or the Cephissus, an early

<sup>1</sup> There is a good account of the battle in Finlay's "Medieval Greece and Trebizond," pp. 174-76. Finlay was well acquainted with the site, and remarks that it was near that of Philip's victory of Chæronea and that of Sylla's defeat of Mithridates' generals. The latest and best account of the battle is in Gregorovius' *Gesch. der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, ii. pp. 15 sqq. In contemporary accounts the battle is known as that of Almyro; but where this Almyro was is unknown.

instance of the victory of infantry over heavily armed and mail-clad cavalry, brought to an end the rule of Frankish dukes at Athens. The captains of the Great Company, as the Catalan leaders called themselves, took the government into their own hands, divided among themselves the lands of the feudal nobility who had fallen with Duke Walter, and married their widows or heiresses—ladies by whom, as Muntaner says, they would have before thought themselves honoured if permitted to hold the basin in which they washed their hands.<sup>1</sup> The son of the slain duke, another Walter of Brienne, assumed the title of Duke of Athens, and retained the lordship of Nauplia and Argos in the principality of Achaia. His nominal title passed to kinsmen of the Enghien family, whose last heiress sold her rights in Nauplia and Argos to the Venetians.

But the Catalonians continued to be the actual lords of Attica and Bœotia for some eighty years, and for the first part of that time a disturbing and embittering element in Greek politics. They burned down the great palace of the St. Omers at Thebes, they are accused of having also burned the grove of the Nymphs at Colonos, associated with that of Plato at Academus, and that of the Eumenides, where the old Œdipus was fabled to have ended his long troubles.<sup>2</sup> They annexed Neopatras in Thessaly and Salona, the ancient Amphissa, on the northern shore of the Gulf of Corinth; they invaded the Greek states of Epirus and Vlachia, and the Angevin principality of Achaia, so that Pope John XXII., appealed to to make peace between Latin communities amongst Greek schismatics, authorised the Latin Archbishops of Corinth, Patras, and Otranto, to preach a Crusade against the Catalonians. This was in 1330, after the death of Roger Deslaur, when Frederic II., the

<sup>1</sup> "E donaren a tal tant hourada dona, que no li tanguera que li donas aygua mans" (Munt., ccxl. p. 431, Lanz).

<sup>2</sup> Fallmerayer, ii. p. 182, on the authority of a fragmentary MS. at Athens.

Aragonese King of Sicily, was the absentee Duke of Athens and Neopatras,<sup>1</sup> as regent for his infant son Manfred, and his lieutenant was Berengar d'Estañol or d'Estafiol, a Spanish knight from Ampurias in the Eastern Pyrenees. The Company was in the midst of enemies—the Angeli of Epiros and Arta, Zaccaria the Genoese, Marquis of Bodonitza, the Paleologi at Constantinople, the Prince of Achaia, resenting the slaughter of his knights at the Cephissus, and anxious to help the young Walter of Brienne, whose family had always been allies of Anjou. Against all these, and the spiritual thunders of Clement V. from Avignon, and the naval power of Venice, fearful of an attack upon Eubœa, Estafiol held his own: Bonifacio of Verona, the Lord of Karystos, anxious to free Eubœa from the Prince of Achaia, was his ally: the King of Aragon, asked to lead the Crusade, replied to Pope Clement that the Catalonians were at least Catholics, not schismatics like the Greeks; Fulk de Villaret, the Grand Master of St. John, who was at this time establishing his Order in the stronghold of Rhodes,<sup>2</sup> that they were destined to hold for 200 years, refused also to be leader, and the Crusade fell through.

But the Company, settled in the delightful climate of Greece, and amid the refinement and luxury of the Franks of Morea, whose homes and wives they had won for themselves, gradually lost their warlike ardour and ferocity. No leader of the calibre of Roger de Flor rose from their ranks, and they came to depend on legitimate or illegitimate members of the family of the Aragonese kings for leading. They were stirred up to help their former leader, the Infante Fernan of Majorca, when in June 1315 he landed at Clarentza to endeavour to conquer the principality of Achaia. But before his Catalonian allies arrived on the

<sup>1</sup> Finlay says (*u.s.*, pp. 178, 179): "Neopatras from its strong position, important military situation, and delightful climate, divided with Athens the honour of being the capital of the Catalan principality which was styled the duchy of Athens and Neopatras."

<sup>2</sup> Hopf in *Ersch und Gruber*, 85, p. 394.

scene, the Infante was defeated and slain. His claims ultimately devolved on the House of Aragon.

Another prince of that house, Don Alfonso Fadrique, an illegitimate son of Frederick II. of Sicily, succeeded, on Berengar d'Estañol's death in 1316, as Captain-General of the Catalonian Company, and Regent of the duchy of Athens.<sup>1</sup> He established himself in a palace on the Acropolis, surrounded by Spanish knights and hidalgos. Under d'Estañol the Company had strengthened its position in Greece; it was protected by the Kings of Aragon and Sicily, and recognised, though in an unfriendly way, by Venice. It had proved its strength against the Angeli of Thessaly and Arta, and was now disposed to try conclusions with the most formidable power in those seas, the great maritime Republic, whose bailo, in conjunction with some or all of the Terzieri, held his head high in the castle of Negroponte. Boniface of Verona, whom Muntaner praises as the "richest, wisest, and most knightly man of his day," was one of the Terzieri; he was persuaded to break with the Venetians, marry his daughter to Alfonso Fadrique, and become the ally of the Catalonians. War soon broke out, and Venetian ships sailed into the Piræus, and captured some of those of the Catalonians. But the Catalonian captain with 2000 men forced his way over the Euripus bridge, and took possession of the castle of Negroponte. This brought the principality of Achaia into the quarrel; for the Terzieri of Eubœa, as we have seen, were feudal dependants of Achaia, as well as of Venice. The Regent Maud of Hainault, who was in power at Andravida, appealed urgently to the Doge Giovanni Soranzo, praying him to forbid his bailo to make peace with the Spaniards,<sup>2</sup> and to join her in driving the intruders out of the island.

<sup>1</sup> His title is given, "Alfonsus Frederici dei gratia seren. Regis Siciliae filius in ducatu Athenarum et in aliis partibus Imp. Romaniae Presidens" (Gregorovius, ii. p. 94, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Her letter calls the Catalans "*la Compaigne de Castellains*,"

The doge sent out Paolo Morosini as bailo, with orders to reconquer the island, and the King of Sicily, anxious to be on good terms with Venice, persuaded his son to restore Negroponte, but Venice winked at Alfonso Fadrique retaining Carystos, which had come to him as part of the dowry of Bonifacio's daughter. In 1319 Venice made peace with him, stipulating chiefly that the Company should not acquire sea power or ally themselves with Turks.<sup>1</sup> This left them at liberty to extend their authority north of Thermopylæ, and consequently, when the Sebastocrator died and his dominions were divided, Phthiotis, Neopatras, and other places fell to them; they soon possessed all the lands the Dukes of Athens had held except Argolis. The nobles of Morea, who cared little for their Angevin rulers and were hard pressed by Greeks and Catalonians, asked Venice to annex the principality of Achaia, but this the Signoria prudently declined.

While the Company was strengthening its position in the East, its enemies were gathering in the West. The young Walter of Brienne had not renounced the hope of recovering what his father had lost in the battle of the Lake Copais. His maternal grandfather, by whom he had been brought up, Gauthier de Chatillon, was head of a great French family and Constable of France. De Brienne himself was Count of Lecce in the kingdom of Naples, and owned large territories both in Champagne and in Cyprus; he was married to a daughter of Philip of Tarentum and his wife, Catherine de Valois, the titular Empress of Romania. For some years he was detained in Italy by

though they were certainly not Castilians. Her letter is quoted (it is in French) in Gregorovius, *Gesch. der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, ii. p. 97, n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> They had been plundering in the Greek islands and carrying off slaves for the Soldan of Egypt's slave market. This raiding for slaves was common. In 1310, a Sicilian corsair having landed a cargo of slaves in Eubœa, the inhabitants rose and freed them (Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, ii. pp. 103, 104).

troubles connected with the Emperor Louis the Bavarian's progress to Rome, which excited the Ghibellines to activity: as one consequence of this, De Brienne in 1326 became Vicar of Charles of Calabria in Florence, and achieved some distinction there. By 1329 these troubles were quieted, and he was able to prosecute his attack on the Company. It was part of a general movement of Anjou against Aragon. For it he sold some of his French estates; Robert, King of Naples, called out his vassals to aid him; and Guelf nobles not only from Apulia, but from France and Tuscany, flocked to his standards. In June 1330 the Pope issued a Bull, calling on the Emperor and all princes of the West to help the rightful Duke of Athens to recover his inheritance from "certain schismatics, sons of perdition and nurslings of iniquity," who had occupied and were holding it. At the same time the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, now a refugee in Negropont, and the Archbishops of Patras and Otranto, as I have before mentioned, were ordered to proclaim a Crusade against the Company.

On the other side, Alfonso Fadrique fortified Athens, Thebes, and Livadia. The Cadmea at Thebes was still a strong place, and was put in the hands of his allies, the Venetian noble family of Ghisi, lords of the islands of Tinos and Myconos, who had inherited a district of Euboea from the Dalle Carceri of Verona. They and the Sanudi of Naxos, representing the many Venetian nobles who had become independent princes in the Greek islands, were inclined to side with the Catalonians. The Company was bent on propitiating Venice and preventing her from supporting De Brienne. For this purpose they got a Venetian made Archbishop of Athens, and allowed Pteleon, a port on the Gulf of Volo that had belonged to the Sebastocrator, to be occupied by Venice.

But it was not Alfonso Fadrique who settled the terms of a treaty between Venice and the Company. Early in

1331 he suddenly resigned his office of Governor or Vicar-General under the absent Duke of Athens. We do not know the reasons for this step. He was not recalled by the King of Sicily, but stayed on in Greece, the most powerful leader among the Catalonian adventurers, and one of the richest feudal lords in Morea, where his family, under the name of "De Aragonia," was influential for fifty years.<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded as Vicar-General by Nicolas Lancia, Lord of Giarrantana. In August of the same year, 1331, Walter de Brienne at last set sail from Brindisi with 800 French knights from France or Naples; but instead of directing his course to the Piræus, landed in Epirus and marched upon Arta. His father-in-law, Philip of Tarentum, persuaded him to combine an attempt on Constantinople with the Crusade against the Catalonian Company. John of Gravina, a brother of Philip,<sup>2</sup> had made a similar attempt on Constantinople six years before, but without success. Walter de Brienne took Arta, and made its despot, Orsini, Count of Cephalonia, acknowledge the King of Naples as his sovereign; but though the Archbishop of Patras again published the Pope's excommunication of the Company, the expedition made no way against them. The Venetian bailo would not admit De Brienne's ships to Eubœan harbours, and the Company kept close in their fortresses and would not meet the French in the field. In 1332 De Brienne returned to Lecce, his home in Apulia.

When he gave up the attempt to recover Attica from the Company he went back to the West, and was again chosen to govern Florence, the leading Guelf city of Italy, in the interest of the House of Anjou. He finally died fighting as Constable of France against the English.<sup>3</sup> In about the

<sup>1</sup> Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, ii. pp. 129, 130.

<sup>2</sup> See Geneal. Table No. I. in Buchon, *N. R.*, ii. pt. i., "Maison d'Anjou Tarente."

<sup>3</sup> At Poitiers in 1356. He was the last of his family (Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, ii. p. 137). Boccaccio and Villani express the Florentine hatred against him. His mother, widow of the duke who fell at the



same year as his expedition, Abulfeda, Prince of Hamath, the Arabian geographer, wrote his account of Greece, in which he describes the country east of the Adriatic over against Apulia as the land of the Queen, that is, the Empress Catherine de Valois (Philip her husband was just dead); el Mara, *i.e.* the Morea including Attica, as divided between the Byzantine Emperor and the Company, "a Frankish tribe that men call ol Kithalan"; and names also the Vlachians, the people of Malfaguth (Malvasia), who were subjects of Constantinople, speaking a dialect of their own; westward of them Iklereus (Clarentza), subject also to the Empress Catherine; Nakrapant (Negroponte), belonging to Venice; and the kingdom of Astib or Thebes, famous for its silks embroidered with gold and silver.<sup>1</sup>

This notice of an impartial traveller and scholar, an alien in blood and religion, gives us a view of the state—perhaps only momentary—of the Levantine world at the time of the failure of Walter de Brienne's attack on the Company. After that time the Company was not molested by the Western powers: the Pope, it is true, again excommunicated it and its leaders by name<sup>2</sup> in 1335, but no champion appeared ready to attack a band of seasoned warriors, who were powerful in the support of the Kings of Sicily and Aragon. So the excommunication had no secular effect, and ere long the Pope himself, alarmed at the progress the Greeks were making in the Peloponnesus and the Turks in Anatolia, came to a conviction that the existence of a powerful band of mercenaries at Athens, who were at any rate Christians and Catholics, was an advantage not to be despised. When Benedict XII., who in 1334 succeeded John XXII., endeavoured to form a

Lake Copais, died in 1354 and is buried at Troyes, where all her style and titles can be read on her tomb in the Jacobins' Church.

<sup>1</sup> Hopf in Ersch und Gruber, 85, pp. 431, 432.

<sup>2</sup> The names are given in Ducange (*L'Empire de Constantinople*, ii. 205, ed. Buchon). They begin with the two sons of Frederic, King of Sicily, William the Duke, and Alfonso his vicar.

League of Christian Princes against the Turks, the Catalonians, asked by the Latin Patriarch in Negropont to join the League, begged him to mediate for them with the Pope, and Clement VI., who succeeded to the Papacy in the next year, received their ambassadors. Their excommunication was, however, not removed till 1346, when the Dauphin Humbert of Vienne, Captain-General of the fleet of the Pope's League,<sup>1</sup> whose uncle, Guy of Vienne, had been an old friend of the Company, induced the Pope to absolve them for three years. This temporary release from spiritual penalties, and a reconciliation about the same time with the Bailo of Negropont, made the Dauphin's expedition an important event for the Company. Its success against the Turk was confined to the burning of a Turkish fleet in the harbour of Smyrna.

But the family which was to succeed the Company and its Aragonese princes was that of the Acciajoli, armourers and bankers of Florence, by this time rising to a prominent position in Naples. Its founder had come, in the middle of the twelfth century, from Brescia to Florence, already a chief seat of manufacturing industry, whence goods were sent to the Levant in Venetian or Genoese ships hired for the purpose. The Brescian stranger established a steel factory, and flourished in a trade that was not likely to suffer depression in the days of the Ecelini. He was of plebeian origin, and his descendants took from their trade the surname of *Acciajoli*, "men of steel." With that trade they combined another—that in the more precious metals, of which also Florence was a chief seat. In that trade the Acciajoli soon ranked with the great bankers, the Bardi and Peruzzi. All princes of that age who took up any adventurous policy needed the services of the money-lender, and could pawn to him lands or movable goods that it was well worth his while

<sup>1</sup> The League included both Venice and Genoa, and also Cyprus and the Knights of Rhodes.

to speculate in. Florence being a Guelf city, it was natural that her bankers should welcome a close connexion with the Angevin Kings of Naples, the adventurers originally brought out of France by the Popes to crush Ghibellinism in Italy, and sure to be involved sooner or later in every ambitious scheme that the Church promoted or favoured. Early in the fourteenth century, one of the Acciajoli was made a counsellor of Robert, King of Naples. In 1325 their bank lent money to Robert's brother, John of Gravina, for his expedition to the Morea, on the security of lands in that country; thus beginning a connexion which Niccolo, the son of King Robert's counsellor, improved and extended. A young man of twenty-one, when Philip of Tarentum died in 1331 he became the confidential adviser, and perhaps the lover, of his widow, the Empress Catherine de Valois, an ambitious and masculine woman. By his own adroitness and the money of his bank, he was able to get from John of Gravina the principality of Achaia in exchange for the duchy of Durazzo. Young Robert, the Empress' eldest son, became Prince of Achaia, his mother exercising the sovereignty in his name. We have seen that Abulfeda looked upon her as *de facto* ruler of Epirus and Achaia. In 1334 Niccolo, by obtaining the transfer to himself of the lands on which his bank had foreclosed, and receiving others by purchase or grant from the Empress, became a powerful feudatory in the Morea. As bailo there under the Empress from 1338 to 1340, and on his own account after her return to Italy, till July 1341, he governed the principality vigorously and strictly, put down anarchical or factious barons, and held his ground against Greeks at Misithra, and Turkish pirates and Catalans. After 1341 he returned to Florence, took an active part in settling the city finances that had been disorganised under the Duke of Athens, and did valuable service to the Angevin princes of the branch of Tarentum. Robert, the eldest of the three sons of the Empress

Catherine de Valois, obtained, as we have seen, the principality of Achaia : after his mother's death he assumed the title of Emperor of Romania ; while Louis, the second son, by his marriage with Johanna his cousin, the granddaughter and heiress of Robert, King of Naples, became " King of Jerusalem and Sicily, Duke of Calabria and the duchy of Apulia and principality of Capua, Count of Provence, Forcalquier and Piedmont,"<sup>1</sup> the head of the Italian branch of the House of Anjou. When Johanna, for being concerned in the murder of her former husband, was attacked by his Hungarian kindred and deserted by her subjects, Niccolo clung to her and her second husband Louis, shared their flight to Avignon, and there pleaded her cause before the Pope, and obtained her restoration to Naples. For this, he was made Seneschal of Sicily and Lord of Melfi, Malta, and Gozzo. To the Pope Clement VI., who restored Johanna to her kingdom, she sold the territory of Avignon, which belonged to her as part of Provence.<sup>2</sup>

Two of Niccolo's sons, Angelo and Robert, succeeded him in turn as hereditary governors of the fortress of Corinth : they probably stayed in Greece when he returned to Florence, where he died in 1365, and was buried in a magnificent tomb in the monastery of San Lorenzo. One of his sons appointed Nerio Acciajoli, a kinsman, his deputy at Corinth, and mortgaged the estate to him. Nerio was wealthy and powerful, and holding the strong fortress of Corinth on the frontier of the duchy of Athens, was in a position to uphold the claim of the Angevin Prince of Achaia to superiority over the duchy ; though in fact the dukes, from the De la Roche family

<sup>1</sup> These are his titles in a grant of lands to Niccolo Acciajoli printed in Buchon, *N. R.*, ii. p. 116. We must remember that Louis' kingdom of Sicily was as much a fiction as his kingdom of Jerusalem. Sicily was really at this time governed by princes of the House of Aragon, one of whom also was named Louis.

<sup>2</sup> Milman's " Latin Christianity," v. 508.

downwards, had always been independent of Achaia. The rivals in possession were the absentee Princes of Aragon, the younger sons of Frederic II. of Sicily, and Frederic of Randazzo, the son of the last survivor of them, on whose death their right reverted to Frederic III., King of Sicily. These absentee dukes were represented on the spot by the few remaining descendants of the Catalonian Company, less warlike than their forefathers, and led by Spanish or Sicilian nobles, the most famous of whom belonged either to an illegitimate branch of the House of Aragon or to the descendants of Roger de Loria, the famous admiral of Sicily. When, towards the end of the fourteenth century, Louis, Count of Salona, representing the illegitimate branch of Aragon, died, leaving a daughter heiress to very large possessions, Nerio put in a claim on behalf of his master, the Prince of Achaia, to dispose of her hand, and give her in marriage to a kinsman of the Acciajoli. This claim led to a war, in which Nerio defeated the Catalans and gained possession of Athens, Thebes, and Livadia, the three chief places of the duchy. In 1394 Ladislas, King of Naples, as feudal superior of the principality of Achaia, conferred on Nerio the title of Duke of Athens, which was not a fiction, as so many titles with which we have lately met, but represented a very real authority exercised by himself and several of his descendants. The Acciajoli, the armourers and bankers of Florence, were thus admitted into the ranks of the reigning families of Europe, very much as the Medici, another powerful financial family of Florence, were in the next century. The remnant of the Catalans, after their defeat, continued to fight the Angevin troops for a time with the help of some Navarrese mercenaries (from whom some say the name of the Bay of Navarino is derived); but in the end many of them fled the country, others probably were merged in the Greek population, among whom their name has passed into a proverb and a

reproach.<sup>1</sup> The government of the Acciajoli at Athens may, if I live, be related in a later chapter of this History. It may be looked upon as the last act of the great drama begun by the Venetian conquest of Constantinople.

<sup>1</sup> The end of the Catalonian dominion is very well told in Finlay's "Medieval Greece and Trebizond," pp. 179-85. See also Gregorovius' *Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, ii. pp. 122-30. Schlumberger, (p. 391, n. 1) quoting from Don Ant. Rubió y Lluch, says: "Encore de nos jours, dans certaines contrées de la Grèce, en Eubée par exemple, pour reprocher à quelqu'un un acte illicite et injuste on dit: 'Les Catalans eux-mêmes n'eussent pas agi de la sorte.' En Acarnanie, encore aujourd'hui le nom de Catalan est synonyme de 'sauvage,' 'larron,' 'malfaiteur.' . . . Le nom de Catalan est aujourd'hui considéré à Athènes comme la plus sanglante insulte appliquée à un homme barbare et cruel. 'Catalane,' Κατιλάνη, est en Morée la pire injure qu'on puisse adresser à une mégère, à quelque virago grossière et malfaisante." "May the vengeance of the Catalans find you out" is a common malediction in many parts of Greece, just as the "Curse of Cromwell" is in Ireland.

## CHAPTER XIII

### MARCO POLO AND HIS SUCCESSORS

THE thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century are, as I have already remarked, a very interesting period in the history of the Middle Ages, and especially in its Italian history. It begins with the greatest of mediæval Popes, Innocent III., and the founders of the two great Mendicant Orders, St. Dominic and St. Francis. In the next generation the same aspect of humanity, that of the lofty Christian ideal of the City of God, is illustrated by St. Louis and the poet of the "Divine Comedy." The opposite aspect, with its ideal of culture and worldly prosperity, had its representative in the Emperor Frederic II., the forerunner of the Renaissance, and the poet of the revival of letters, Francis Petrarch. Venice might have been expected, from the very decided bent of her national character towards the acquisition of the good things of this world, to have sympathised with the Emperor Frederic. But in fact, as we have seen, she did not; while holding herself generally aloof from party strife, she was always more Guelf than Ghibelline. But her great men of this great age were not saints or religious poets, but statesmen, warriors, and merchants. The great doge who conquered Constantinople, Enrico Dandolo, belongs almost entirely to the twelfth century, though his great exploit and his death fall in the first lustrum of the thirteenth. The reconquest of Constantinople by the Greeks produced no great man, but I think that the history recorded in my last chapter may justify the claim of Roger de Flor, who almost won it back for the

Latins, to that title. The doges of Venice of this century, except old Dandolo, do not rise above the average of ability, but Piero Gradenigo, if in no way of conspicuous merit as statesman or soldier, cannot be denied the credit of founding, by his closing of the Great Council, the sage and powerful aristocracy that lasted with little change till the great cataclysm of the French Revolution, 500 years later.

But perhaps the greatest Venetian of this time, and of a greatness peculiarly characteristic of Venice, was Marco Polo, the travelling merchant and geographical discoverer of the Middle Ages. We really know a good deal about his history and that of his book, for the progress of discovery since his time has so far confirmed his narrative, that many things appear more credible to us than they did to his contemporaries or immediate successors. Like Herodotus, he mixes up much that is fabulous with his record, but the fabulous part is that which rests on hearsay evidence, while what he himself vouches for is generally credible, and, so far as we can test it, accurate. Yet posterity has not done him justice; the reputation that has attached to his memory for most of the centuries that have passed since his body was buried in the vestibule of the church of San Lorenzo has been that of a Baron Munchausen. The nickname of Milioni, which was attached to him not altogether kindly, is said to have become that of the typical romancer and boaster on the comic stage of Venice, and a French savant of the nineteenth century, used to the strict methods of historical investigation now in vogue, M. Paulin Paris, is unwilling to state as fact one of the best-supported incidents of his life.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His being taken prisoner by the Genoese in the battle of Curzola. M. Paulin Paris will only say that he was imprisoned by the Genoese for reasons unknown (*Les MS. Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, ii. p. 355). The prologue to Polo's own book says simply, "demorant en le charthre de Jene." Our traveller's capture at Curzola in 1298 rests on the authority of a writer three hundred years after his time—



The facts of Marco Polo's life, as related in his own book and in Ramusio's preface to it, are simple enough. The Polo family was noble, and said to have come from Sebenico in Dalmatia. Polo was the Venetian way of spelling the name of the Apostle of the Gentiles, whose church, one of the old parish churches of Rialto, far older than the better known church Santi Giovanni e Paolo (named after a more obscure saint and martyr), was always called San Polo;<sup>1</sup> but the family did not, like some other Venetian families, claim descent from Rome—either from Æmilius or from Sergius Paullus. One branch of the family settled in the parish of San Felice, and Andrea of this branch had in 1250 three sons all engaged in the Eastern trade, probably in partnership, having a mercantile house at Constantinople and another at Soldaia or Súdák, in the Crimea. In 1260 two of the brothers—Nicola, the father of our traveller, and Maffeo—started from Constantinople and crossed the Greater Sea<sup>2</sup> (as they call the Euxine) to the Crimea with a store of jewels, intended for sale to some of the Tartar princes, whose courts were at this time scattered over a great part of Asia. The prince to whom they first went, Barca Khan, kept his court at Sara and Bolgara, both on the Volga; Sara, not far from where it enters the Caspian at Astracan; Bolgara, some 500 miles higher up the river, not far from the modern Kazan.

This Tartar kingdom, known both as Kiptchak and as the Golden Horde, was the westernmost of those founded

Gianbattista Ramusio, author of a collection of *Navigazioni e Viaggi* published in 1553, a careful man of affairs and a scientific geographer, who tells us he had the aid of several copies of Polo's MS. more than two hundred years old, and who certainly had access to accurate sources of information not available for us.

<sup>1</sup> The arms of the Ca Polo were, however, three "Pole" or "Jack-daws" sable on a bend or, birds that appear in a simile of Dante's *Paradiso*, xxi. 34.

<sup>2</sup> "Mormaïour": it was greater in comparison with the Propontis. "Mare Maurum," the original form of *Black Sea*, is used by Friar Jordanus and Mandeville (Yule's "Cathay," i. p. 44, n. 3).

by the great Zinghis Khan, whose numberless hordes spread over almost the whole of Northern Asia and North-eastern Europe in 1222 and the following years, one of the most cruel and destructive incursions that history records. Zinghis left four sons when he died in 1227, of whom the eldest was the founder of the kingdom of Kiptchak, but a younger brother, Octai, had been proclaimed his father's successor as Great Khan or Kaan,<sup>1</sup> and had occupied as his seat of government, in the country south of Lake Baikal, the village or permanent camp of Karakorum, 600 miles to the north-west of Pekin. Starting from this, the four rulers who succeeded Zinghis, of whom his grandson, Kublai Khan, was the last and the greatest, conquered nearly the whole of that great Empire, which, even then of immemorial antiquity, still exists in the hands of the same inexhaustible and indefatigable race, and with the same capital city, Pekin. Another grandson of Zinghis, Holagou,<sup>2</sup> advanced to the south-west, overthrew in 1258 the Abbaside Caliph at Bagdad, and ruled in Persia, sending out flying columns to waste and plunder as far as Aleppo and Damascus, till they were met and checked by the Mamelukes of Syria and Egypt: and yet a fourth Mongol empire was founded by Chagatai, another son of Zinghis, the centre of which was in Turkestan, at a city called Almaligh or Armalec, on the Ili river, not very far from Samarcand.

The Mongol invasion naturally caused lively interest and indeed consternation in both Christian and Mohammedan worlds. The barbarous tribes of the North, Scythian or

<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo always preserves the distinction between Kaan and Khan. Kaan is said to mean King of Kings, Khan "king." I give the personal names Zinghis, Octai, &c., as Gibbon gives them; modern authorities adopt all kinds of varieties, e.g. Gengis, Tchinghiz, Djinghis or Dchinghis, varieties that, when they occur in initial letters, work havoc in an index.

<sup>2</sup> Marco Polo calls Holagou *Alaou*, showing the soft sound of the *h* and *g* in the Tartar language. He gives him the title of Lord of the East (*Seigneur du Levant*), the Khan of Kiptchak being *Seigneur du Ponent* (see Yule, i. p. 8, 2nd ed., 1875).

Tartar or Mongolian, in their swarming multitudes and their gloomy isolation, had impressed the imagination of Jews and Arabs. They figure under the names of Gog and Magog in the prophecies of Ezekiel and St. John of the Apocalypse, and about the year 200 A.D. an entirely unhistorical history of Alexander the Great, known by the name of the Pseudo Callisthenes (which has had perhaps the most singular fate of any romance ever invented, having been early translated into several Eastern languages, supplied Persian poets with material, and travelled as far as Siam and the Malay countries, returning again to Europe through Constantinople in the tenth century), made it one of its hero's exploits that he had walled up Gog and Magog in a defile near the Caspian and the Caucasus.<sup>1</sup> Among other Eastern readers or hearers, the legend had reached Mohammed, who, brooding on the passages in Ezekiel and the Apocalypse in connection with it, had in two chapters of the Koran proclaimed as one of the signs of the end of the world the breaking loose of Gog and Magog from their prison. When the flood of Mongol invasion burst in the thirteenth century on Asia and Europe, it was inevitable that Christian and Moslem alike should see in it the release of Gog and Magog, and the coming of the end of the world.

It is characteristic of the Christian Church in that great age, when the great Pope Innocent III. was but recently dead, when St. Francis was still living, and the earliest followers of him and St. Dominic were spreading over the world in their first overpowering zeal,<sup>2</sup> that, far from

<sup>1</sup> Gog and Magog figure in many mediæval maps, sometimes far away in the north-east of Asia, near Kamschatka.

<sup>2</sup> The contrast between the Mongol temporal, and the Dominican and Franciscan spiritual, incursions was not lost upon contemporaries. See the passage from Ricold of Montecroce quoted in Yule's "Cathay," p. cxxii. Ricold's Itinerary is printed in *Peregrinatores Medii Ævi quatuor* (ed. J. C. Laurent, Lipsiæ, 1864). His words are (p. 118): "Et est memoria et gratitudine dignum omni populo Christiano. quod eodem tempore quo misit Deus Tartaros ad partes Orientales, ut

breathing out slaughter and extermination, as the Koran had done, against the invading hosts, her leaders had at once begun measures for converting them to Christianity. Two Franciscans, John da Plano Carpini, from the country of Perugia, one of the first disciples of St. Francis, and William Ruysbroek or De Rubruquis, a Fleming, visited the Great Khan's country about 1250. The former started from Lyons in 1245 with a mission from the Council held there and Pope Innocent IV., picked up at Breslau another Franciscan, Father Benedict, the Pole, as a companion, reached the capital of Batu, the Lord of the Ponent, on the Volga, and from thence, after a journey of three months and a half, came to Karakorum, the standing camp of the Great Khan Kuyuk, the son of Octai, by whom he was dismissed with a haughty reply to the Pope's mission, in November 1246. Rubruquis, who had some unavowed commission from St. Louis, started in 1253, went by the Black Sea to Batu's court, and was passed on to Karakorum to the Great Khan (who was then Mangku, the son of Tuli, another of Zinghis' sons and brother of the great Kublai Khan), returning to Antioch in the middle of 1255.<sup>1</sup>

In 1278 three Franciscans were sent by Pope Nicolas III. to Cathay with a long letter to Kublai Khan, but it is probable they did not reach their destination. In 1291 another Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino, went alone from Tabriz, by way of India, to Cathay, to preach the gospel, and was after some years joined by other neighbours and recognised by the Pope, who made him Archbishop of Khanbaligh (Pekin), with authority over other bishops and churches in Cathay. His letters, printed by Sir H. Yule in his "Cathay and the Way Thither,"<sup>2</sup> are most interesting. John stayed at

*occiderent et occiderentur, misit Deus ad Occidentales servos suos fidelissimos, beatos Dominicum et Franciscum ut illuminarent, instruerent et edificarent."*

<sup>1</sup> Yule's "Cathay," pp. cxxii.-cxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 197-209. The letters are dated in 1305 and 1306, when Kublai

Pekin till his death, and was buried there. He was over eighty years of age when he died in 1328, and had been thirty-seven years in the East—a most devoted and courageous missionary, if perhaps a little lacking in charity towards the Nestorians. One Friar Nicolas was appointed by the Pope to succeed him in 1333, and started for the East, but there is reason to think that he did not reach Cathay.<sup>1</sup> Andrew of Perugia, also a Franciscan, went out with Monte Corvino to be made Bishop of Zaiton, which was in the province of Fokien, in South China. A letter of his, written from Zaiton in 1326 to the warden of his convent at Perugia, mentions that an Armenian lady had built a church at Zaiton which would serve for his cathedral, and he was adding in a grove a quarter of a mile outside the city a convent for twenty-two friars. He speaks of the generosity of the Great Khan's government in supplying Christian missionaries with money and provisions, though the good man cannot approve the tolerance and religious indifference which this generosity shows.<sup>2</sup> At a little later time Friar Odoric, a Franciscan of Pordenone, in Friuli, whose account of his travels, dictated by him on his death-bed, in the convent of St. Antony, in Padua,<sup>3</sup> has come down to us in a rather puzzling variety of forms, started in 1318 "with the galleys from Venice," no doubt the "carovana" I have so often mentioned,<sup>4</sup> and made his

was dead and his grandson Temur (who must not be confused with Timur or Tamerlane) was Grand Khan. Temur is more often called Shunti.

<sup>1</sup> See the letter of the Alan chiefs to Pope Benedict XII. in 1336, printed in Yule's "Cathay," pp. 314, 315.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is translated in Yule's "Cathay," pp. 222-25.

<sup>3</sup> Besides Marco Polo and Odoric, Joinville, Ibn Batuta, Hayton the Armenian, and Nicolas Conti dictated their works. Yule was inclined to attribute this to "that intense dislike which is still seen on the shores of the Mediterranean to the use of pen and ink" (p. 87 of Intro., ed. 1875).

<sup>4</sup> Odoric uses the Latin "caravana" in the sense in which we use "caravan" in reference to eastern travelling (Yule's "Cathay," App. i. § 3). "The galleys" started from Venice for Cyprus and Layas at a

way to the Franciscan convent built by Andrew of Perugia at Zaiton, travelling, not by the northern route of the Volga and the Caspian, but by Persia, and sailing from Ormuz, on the Persian Gulf, to India, and so by Sumatra and Java to "that noble province Manzi, which we call Upper India"—*i.e.*, to South China. "Fourteen years and a half," he says, "in the habit of Francis, that blessed confessor of Christ, I sojourned in these parts of the world."<sup>1</sup> At Tabriz and its suburb, Soldania, he found Franciscan convents existing, and at Tana, on the Malabar coast, he witnessed the martyrdom of four of his brother Franciscans, who had been entertained in the houses of the Nestorians settled there, till seized and put to death by the heathen governor. If the travelling friar had to carry his life in his hand among Pagan or Moslem persecutors, he could at any rate never have suffered long from solitude, even in these remote regions of the East.

And, generally speaking, the inhabitants of the Far East, especially its Mongol rulers, were well disposed to Christian missionaries—so friendly, indeed, that we constantly find statements that such and such a prince was a Christian. There is reason to suppose that the Nestorian Church, which, in the words of Sir H. Yule, "was at this time and in the preceding centuries diffused over Asia to an extent of which little conception is generally entertained, having a chain of bishops and metropolitans from Jerusalem to Peking,"<sup>2</sup> had made many converts among the Mongolian tribes. The famous and mysterious sovereign called Prester John, who reigned over a pastoral people in the country known in those times as Tangut or Tenduc, to the west of Peking, seems to have been a convert of the

fixed time. The regularity of this service was so great, that "pour les affaires traitées à Lajazzo; les échéances avaient pour terme l'arrivée des galères" (Heyd, ii. p. 82).

<sup>1</sup> Yule's "Cathay," pp. 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Yule's "Marco Polo," bk. i., c. v. vol. i. p. 58, 2nd edition.

Nestorians; but of him and other princes Rubruquis, the Flemish Franciscan I have mentioned, says that the Nestorians from those parts of the world will, "out of mere nothing spin the most wonderful stories, just as they have spread about that Sartach is a Christian, and have told the same of Mangu Cham and of Ken Cham; the fact being merely that they treat Christians with more respect than other folk, but all the while are not Christians a bit."<sup>1</sup> The Western missionaries were unwilling to recognise the Nestorians as fellow-Christians, but there can be no doubt that familiarity with Nestorians and Mongolian tribes converted by them was one of the causes of the Great Khan and his subjects tolerating and even favouring the Franciscan missionaries. Another cause was common enmity to Mohammedan Turks, especially the Mamalukes of Syria and Egypt, which led Ghazan, the Mongol Khan of Persia, when himself a convert to Islam, to be ready to accept the alliance of any Crusading power that would attempt to take Syria from the Sultan of Egypt, and undertake to hand over to such power the Holy Land.<sup>2</sup>

With the Franciscan missionaries were mingled from the first other Western travellers, the merchants of the Italian commercial cities. Zinghiz Khan and his descendants amassed fabulous wealth by their conquests in China and other seats of old civilisation in the Far East. They were themselves quite capable of appreciating the advantages of civilisation, and took care to spare the industrious artisans they found in conquered places. Rubruquis, the missionary, found German miners and smiths at work at Talas and Bohat.<sup>3</sup> A goldsmith of Paris, Guillaume l'Orfèvre,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Yule's "Cathay," p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Yule's "Marco Polo," ii. p. 409, ed. 1871. See also Heyd (Fr. trans.), ii. p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> See d'Avezac's ed. in *Recueil de Voyages*, tom. iv. pp. 279 and 350. Talas, on a river of the same name, is to be found in modern maps in the country north-west of Kashgar and the Thian Shan.

appears to have been found working at Karakorum, when Rubruquis visited that place.<sup>1</sup>

Traders from the West had long abounded in the Christian towns on the Syrian coast and at Layas on the coast of Cilicia, then called Lesser Armenia, or Trebizond on the south shore of the Black Sea, or Caffa on the Sea of Azoff. These places had all been used as entrepôts for merchandise coming to Europe from India or China, or going from Europe to the East. When the Mongol conquests had extended to the south of Russia in the north-west and to Persia and Mesopotamia on the south of west, it was but a short land journey from these entrepôts to the Mongol outposts. And this overland route became the more usual one for articles of large value in proportion to their weight, such as jewels or spices, because transit dues in the Mongol Empire were lower than in Egypt, while the cost of the longer journey was not important for articles of small weight.

The Polo brothers in 1260 seem to have been the first Italian merchants to penetrate to the court of the Great Khan. When I last mentioned them, I traced their progress from Soldaia as far as the strongholds on the Volga,

<sup>1</sup> See Yule, i. 230 (bk. i. ch. xlvi. note 1). The passage in Rubroek's Latin, c. 34 (*Recueil de Voyages*, iv. p. 309), in French (Bergeron's *Recueil*, vol. i. col. 74) tells first of a Christian woman of Metz in Lorraine, named Pascha or Paquette, who had been taken prisoner by the Mongols in Hungary and suffered unheard-of hardships on her way to Karakorum, but was then well off, married to a young Russian husband, a house-builder ("qui sciebat facere domos"). "Insuper narravit nobis quod apud Carecarum esset quidam magister aurifaber, Willelmus nomine, oriundus Parisius : cognomen ejus est Buchier, et nomen patris ejus Laurentius Buchier. Et adhuc credit se habere fratrem super Magnum Pontem nomine Rogerus Buchier." This same Master William made for Rubroek and his companions an iron for making wafers, and also a silver box to put the body of Christ in, with relics in little cavities made in the sides of the box. M. Marcel Mounier, who lately visited the large Buddhist temple at Erdeni Tso, the site of Karakorum, saw there an iron box with a Latin cross and a silver box which may very likely be the objects made for Rubroek (see Dr. Cordier's note at i. p. 230 of the 3rd ed. of Yule's "Marco Polo").



where Barka, the Khan of the Kiptchaks, had his headquarters. They stayed there for a year and made a good profit, and would then have returned, had not a war between Barka, "the Lord of the Ponent," and "the Lord of the Levant," as Holagou or Olau, the Khan of Persia, was called, made the roads so unsafe that they preferred to travel further eastward, where the country was at peace. So they crossed the Volga and entered upon steppes occupied by Tartar herdsmen, and passed in due time into the dominions of Borrak Khan, a descendant of Chagatai, the son of Zinghis, who at the division of his father's empire had received Turkestan. Bokhara was one of the chief cities of this khanate, and, in a three years' stay there, our merchants fell in with a caravan of ambassadors from the Khan of Persia on their way to the Court of the Great Khan Kublai, "the Lord of all the Tartars in the world." The ambassadors told them that the Great Khan was much interested in Latins, and would treat them with great honour and liberality, if they would join their company and travel with them. The spirit of adventure was strong in the Polo family, and the two brothers accepted the offer of the ambassadors and launched out into the unknown north-east of the world. It took them a year to reach Kublai's court: we are not told where it was held, perhaps still at Karakorum, as Kublai, who moved it to Khanbaligh or Peking, had only lately succeeded his brother Mangku on the throne. Kublai received them with high honour, and showed an intelligent curiosity about the Western world: he naturally wished to know about the Emperors of the East and West, whose position corresponded with his own. But it is more surprising to find that he made inquiries about the "Apostle," *i.e.* the Pope and the Church; and still stranger that he wrote a letter to the Pope, praying him to send out a hundred intelligent men of the Christian faith, acquainted with the Seven Arts, that is, the Trivium and Quadrivium of

the schools, able to argue, and to prove to idolaters and others that the law of Christ was best and other religions false and naught. This was a conditional promise to become a Christian himself, and as he did not become one, it is to be feared that the missionaries sent to his Empire were not sufficiently accomplished in the Trivium and Quadrivium. His letter also asked for some oil from the lamp burning on the Holy Sepulchre. The proficiency of the two brothers in the Tartar language suggested to the Kaan that they would be the best envoys to carry his letter to the Pope, and accordingly they started on their return to Europe, taking with them one of the Kaan's barons, who, however, soon fell ill and was left behind.

A *païza* or golden tablet given them by Kublai secured them safe conduct and provisions throughout the Mongol dominions; but notwithstanding this it took them three years to travel to Layas (Lajazzo), whence they came by sea to Acre in April 1269. Their long journey had been made slow by snow and rain and inundations, and now they were further delayed by finding that Pope Clement IV. was dead. But at Acre they met with Theobald of Piacenza, the Papal legate in Egypt, who, after a delay of two years, which the brothers spent in a voyage to Negropont and Venice and back again, was himself elected Pope and took the name of Gregory X. The vacancy had lasted nearly three years, from November 1268 till September 1271, and the Venetians had finished their journey to Venice and another to Jerusalem, where they obtained the oil from the sacred lamp—by which the Kaan set great store<sup>1</sup>—and had already proceeded as far as Layas on their return, when their friend the legate, now himself Pope, summoned them to Acre, to give them his credentials and his reply to the Kaan's letter, and also two Friars Preachers as companions,

<sup>1</sup> See Yule's "Marco Polo," i. p. 27, Prologue, c. xiv. ("l'ot moult chier," Pauthier, i. 22).

who, however, were frightened when they found war was going on in Hermenia, and refused to go farther. But they had brought with them a much better companion, Nicola's son, Marco, a lad of seventeen years old, whose pen has described to us the rest of their adventures among the Mongols and also the various lands of the East, over which the Great Khan was supreme Lord.

Their journey back took them three years and a half, being lengthened by bad weather, and severe cold. The Great Khan sent a mission forty days' journey to meet them and bring them to his summer palace at Kemenfu, known to the Chinese as Shangtu, between 300 and 400 miles north of Peking. He was much pleased with their credentials from the Pope, and the oil from the holy lamp, and took particular notice of the young Marco,<sup>1</sup> his esteem for whom increased when he found how well he knew the Tartar languages and customs, so that he very soon entrusted him with an important mission to a country six months distant. Kublai was much pleased with the young man's report of this mission, which did not confine itself to the official business on which he had been sent, but told of all the remarkable things he had seen in the strange countries, and the manners and customs of the people. In fact Marco gave the Great Khan such a *relazione* of his mission as the Venetian ambassadors used to send home from the European courts to which they were accredited. This habit of reporting to please the Great Khan was the occasion, Marco tells us, of his "knowing and seeing more of the divers countries of the world than any other man: and more than all others he set his mind to know, to observe, and to inquire, in order to relate to the Great Khan what he learned."<sup>2</sup> His book contains his observations in all the countries he saw, set forth in great detail; but the

<sup>1</sup> "Le Joenne Bachelier" in Polo's original French (Pauthier, i. p. 22).

<sup>2</sup> Prologue, c. xvi. (Yule, i. pp. 29, 30; Pauthier, vol. i. p. 25).

account of his actual sojourn at Kublai's court is compressed into very few pages.

He stayed there seventeen years, from 1274 till 1291, but he was all this time not stationary, but "going and coming, here and there on missions through divers countries, whither the Lord sent him."<sup>1</sup> His high favour with Kublai caused the Mongol barons to be jealous, and, perhaps for this reason, the Venetian travellers thought seriously of bringing their long stay to an end, and returning to Venice. But the Great Khan was unwilling to part with them, and their eventual departure, early in 1292, was due to the accident that some envoys from Argon, the Lord of the East, who had been sent to the headquarters of their race to find a lady of royal Tartar blood to succeed his wife, who had lately died, had been provided by Kublai with a young princess, whom they wished to spare the fatigue of a long land journey. It was not easy to find a Mongol baron who knew the world so well as to be able to assure the lady a safe journey by sea,<sup>2</sup> but the envoys had been impressed by the ability of the Latin strangers, of whom Marco had just returned from a journey to Indo-China, Ceylon, and the south of India, and they pressed Kublai to allow the Venetians to guide them and the princess to Persia. He consented unwillingly, and sent them off equipped magnificently for their long journey,<sup>3</sup> entrusting them, moreover, with messages to the Kings of France and England, and other kings of Christendom, but not apparently to the Apostle. They started for Zaiton in the province of Fokien, then an important place, where half a century later, as we have seen,<sup>4</sup> there was a Latin bishop and a Franciscan convent, and went by sea, first to Sumatra, then to Ceylon

<sup>1</sup> Pauthier, i. p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Cantacuzenus, the Byzantine historian, says that the Tartars were ἀθάλαττοι παντελῶς (iii. p. 192 Bonn, quoted in Heyd, ii. p. 73).

<sup>3</sup> By means of "golden tablets of authority" or *paizas*, as to which see Yule's note on "Marco Polo," ii. ch. 7, and *ante*, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, p. 303.

and Southern and Western India, landing at Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, two years after leaving China. Travelling by sea, with a sufficient escort to save the travellers from capture or death, was a slow and toilsome process. The thirteen ships which the Great Khan gave them, with their four masts, "often spreading twelve sails," were probably of the pattern of the Chinese junks we know, and required prudent navigation, and rest in port during the monsoons. They were large, with crews of 200 or 300, and each had fifty or sixty cabins for the merchants who travelled by them. Ibn Batuta, the Moor of Tangier, whose travels in China date from 1342, fifty years after Marco Polo's return, speaks of crews of 1000 men. They had an admirable system of water-tight compartments, such as was not in use in any Western country till quite recent times: they had large sweeps or oars worked by several men (Ibn Batuta says as many as fifteen or even thirty), when the wind was not favourable, and small boats or tenders to tow them, if necessary.<sup>1</sup> In those "spacious days" there was ample leisure for long voyages, and a visitor to a far country was in no hurry to return home. A mission sent by Ghazan Khan from Persia to Cathay was absent from home seven years, and spent four in Cathay, and the three Polos were away from Venice more than thirty years; in fact, this one journey made up the main business of their lives. The princess they escorted, when she reached Persia, found that Argon, whose wife she was to have been, was dead; but there was no difficulty in transferring her to his son Ghazan, who was, it is probable, of a more suitable age.

The Venetians got great credit from the Khan of Persia and the lady they had brought to him, for their care of her and the ladies of her train during the long voyage, and

<sup>1</sup> Yule's "Marco Polo," book iii. ch. i. The passage from Ibn Batuta is quoted at vol. ii. p. 198 (ed. of 1871). See also Yule's "Cathay," p. 418.

were here, too, enabled to travel without expense till they left the Persian kingdom. After that they appear to have travelled by land to Trebizond and Constantinople, and thence by sea to Negropont and Venice. They had not neglected their trading interests during their long stay in the East, and returned very wealthy. The reputation of this, and perhaps a certain disposition to boast of the vast extent and riches of the Great Khan's dominions, were the cause of the nickname of "Milioni" being given to Marco,<sup>1</sup> and to the palace built by the three travellers near the church of San Giovanni Crisostomo, which was known as "Corte del Milioni" in the time of Giambattista Ramusio (A.D. 1483 to 1557), whose account of our travellers in his *Navigazioni e Viaggi* contains, with much that is mythical, much also that has, in all probability, come down from authentic sources. His account of the return of the travellers may possibly belong to the mythical part; it is traditional, certainly, for, writing 250 years after, he appeals to the authority of an illustrious Senator, Messer Gasparo Malipiero, who was an old man when he was a lad, and had lived all his life near the Corte del Milioni and had heard the same story from his father and grandfather. This would not carry us back within a hundred years of the event, but notwithstanding this imperfect evidence, and the flavour of the "Arabian Nights" that clings to the story, I think it may find a place in a sober history. It begins with an inaccuracy, for it makes the travellers return to their palace in the contrada of San Giovanni Crisostomo, which was not built till after their return. They found their palace, we are told, occupied by some of their kindred, who believed them to be long dead.

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that in a Register of the Great Council of the 18th of April 1305, one of the sureties for payments to be made by one Bonocio of Mestre as a penalty for smuggling wine is the nobleman Marcus Paulus Milioni. There was a contemporary Marco Polo from whom the nickname served to distinguish our traveller (Yule's "Marco Polo," *Introd.* i. pp. 65, 66; see *ib.*, p. 78).

They were in the position of Ulysses returning to Ithaca after twenty years' absence, except that they had been away six years longer. But their kinsmen did not wish to keep them out of their property, and allowed them to give a great banquet in it to their friends and relations. At this they appeared in robes of crimson satin in place of the coarse and gloomy clothes of Tartar make which they were wearing on their arrival, and after the feast exchanged the satin for other crimson robes of damask and velvet, at each change ordering the discarded finery to be given to the servants. At the last change they put on the ordinary dress of Venetian gentlemen, and the feast went on to its conclusion. Then, when the servants had been sent away, Marco, as the youngest of the travellers, went out of the room and brought in the old shabby Tartar raiment they had put off, on which all three set to work with sharp knives to rip up the seams, and disclosed a multitude of rubies, emeralds, diamonds, and other stones that had been skilfully hidden in them. They had, before leaving the Great Khan's dominions, changed all their gold into this portable shape, that it might pass safely by sea or desert in the many months' journeyings that separated them from their home.<sup>1</sup>

Ramusio goes on to tell in his preface how, not many months after the return of the travellers, Marco Polo was put in charge of one of the ninety galleys that the Signoria fitted out to engage a Genoese fleet that was attacking Curzola. I have related in a previous chapter<sup>2</sup> the great defeat the Venetians suffered there in 1298, and how Marco Polo was taken prisoner, and in his prison dictated the account of his travels in Tartary to a fellow-prisoner from Pisa named Rustichelli, which, as a common Pisan name, is more probably correct than Rusticians or Rustacians, or

<sup>1</sup> Ramusio's account is in the preface to the sections of his *Navigazioni e Viaggi* containing Marco Polo's book (vol. ii. p. 5).

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, pp. 256, 257.

any other of the variations that appear in MSS. of our author.<sup>1</sup>

Some Venetian accounts say that the prisoners were cruelly treated and starved in their Genoese prison; but other accounts differ from these, and say the Genoese treated them with courtesy. At any rate, we know that Marco Polo lived to be released in 1299, when peace between the two Republics was made by the mediation of Matteo Visconti. He lived some time after this, and married, early in the fourteenth century, a lady whose name is supposed to have been Donata Loredano. One or two notices of him are found in legal documents extant, one of which refers to a lawsuit with another merchant about a speculation in musk, another to a dispute as to the boundaries of his house property in the parish of Giovanni Crisostomo, the palace in the Corte del Milion; of which Ramusio tells us. His will is extant, dated in January 1323, *i.e.* 1324 in the ordinary reckoning, and dictated to a priest and notary, in which he speaks of himself as growing daily feebler, through bodily ailment, and we know that in June 1325 he was dead. By his will he left, besides the tithe or death duty, that went to the Bishop of Castello, sums of money to all the monasteries from Capo d'Argine to Grado, a special legacy to the church of San Lorenzo, where he was to be buried, and to the Dominicans of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, and small sums to every congregation in Rialto, and every Schola or

<sup>1</sup> A Rustician de Pise is known as a writer of prose abridgments of old metrical romances, whom Paulin Paris supposes to have been attached to the Angevin court in Sicily. In his abridgment of the Romance of Lancelot, he omitted the episode of the loves of Lancelot and Queen Guinevere, on which M. Paulin Paris remarks, "Alas! that the copy of the Lancelot that fell into the hands of poor Francesca of Rimini was not one of those expurgated by Rustician!" It is probable, from striking similarities between this Rustician's preamble to one of his collections of romances and the prologue to Marco Polo's book, that the romancer and Marco Polo's amanuensis are one and the same person.



Confraternity of which he was a member. Such bequests were common in Venetian, as indeed in all mediæval, wills. A less usual provision ordered the release from bondage of a Tartar slave named Pietro, "as completely as I pray God to release my own soul from all sin and guilt."<sup>1</sup>

Sir H. Yule has remarked on the few notices from contemporaries of Marco Polo's book that have come down to us. The most curious of these is contained in a note found in two of the best French MSS. of the book, that of the Paris Library and that of Berne, and mentions a personage we have met with in connection with the Catalan Company, Sieur Thiebault de Chepoy. From this we learn that the first copy made of the book was given by Marco Polo to Chepoy, when the latter was at Venice, as Vicar-General for Charles of Valois and the Empress his wife in all the territories of the Empire of Constantinople, in August 1307.<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that a copy of this made for Charles of Valois is the very copy now in the Paris Library. The same note describes Marco Polo as a very honourable person of high character and respect in many countries, who was anxious that his geographical discoveries should be widely known, and was glad of the opportunity of having his book carried to the noble country of France.<sup>3</sup>

His book does not, in fact, appear to have attained any great notoriety either in his own day or in the later Middle Ages. The MSS. of it are not numerous—not nearly so numerous, it is said, as those of the certainly apocryphal travels of Sir John Maundevile—but among the earliest of them are translations into Latin and Italian, the Latin by Francesco Pipino, a Dominican of Bologna, who also wrote

<sup>1</sup> The will is translated in Yule's "Marco Polo," i. pp. 69-72, 2nd ed., 1875. The pagination of the introduction in this edition is neither in Roman nor in the ordinary Arabic character, but in a sloping variety of the latter. This very inconvenient peculiarity is repeated in the 3rd edition (1903).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 280, *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> Yule's "Marco Polo," i. p. 67 (2nd ed., 1875).

a chronicle, part of which is printed by Muratori.<sup>1</sup> He was a contemporary of Polo. There is no evidence that the name either of the traveller himself, or of the Empire of Cathay he has made famous, was known to the encyclopædic learning of Dante. The book was translated into Portuguese about the year 1500, and there is a curious and very free translation into Irish in the Duke of Devonshire's library. The Portuguese translation is said to have been embellished by a map of the traveller's own drawing.<sup>2</sup> Columbus had a second-hand knowledge of Polo's travels, and had no doubt some notion of reaching Cathay or Chipangu, if he sailed far enough to the West. But so little was known in Spain of the person of Marco Polo, that Mariana, the Spanish historian, speaks of Columbus' conviction of the existence of a new world having arisen from the information of "one Marco Polo, a Florentine physician."<sup>3</sup> Giovanni Villani, the Florentine chronicler, writing soon after 1300 about the Tartars, mentions the book called "Milione," made by Messer Marco Polo of Venice, who spent a long time among them; and Pietro of Abano, a professor of medicine at Padua, who died in 1316, gives a remarkable account of what is known to astronomers as the Magellanic cloud, "a star as large as a sack," of which and other matters he had been told by "Marco, the Venetian, the most extensive traveller and the most diligent inquirer whom I have ever known," and reproduces a sketch that the traveller had made of this star "under the Antarctic."<sup>4</sup> Lastly John of Ypres, the Abbot of St. Bertin, who wrote after 1350, speaks in his chronicle of the long stay of the three Polos in Tartary, the

<sup>1</sup> *R. I. S.*, ix. col. 587 *sqq.* Muratori's extract begins with the Peace of Venice in 1176 and ends, as the chronicle itself does, with the death of Pope Clement V. in 1314.

<sup>2</sup> Major's "Prince Henry," pp. 61-63.

<sup>3</sup> Yule, i. Introduction, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 116.

employment of Marco by the Great Khan, and his "Book of Marvels written in the French vernacular."<sup>1</sup>

The main part of Marco Polo's book is accurately described as a book of marvels; the short prologue alone is concerned with his own and his kinsmen's adventures, which it relates with business-like brevity; the rest is a sort of encyclopædia of all kinds of knowledge, geographical, historical, and physical, relating to the immense countries over which he had travelled.

Of all this encyclopædic information there is little that directly concerns the history of Venice, and there are few direct notices of merchants or travellers from Venice, or any part of Europe, met with on his travels. There are more such notices in the writings of some subsequent travellers relating to other Italian merchants in Mongolia: John of Monte Corvino, the Archbishop of Khanbaligh or Peking, speaks of Messer Pietro of Lucolongo, a faithful Christian man and great merchant, who had been his fellow-traveller, and given him the ground for his church and convent there.<sup>2</sup> And when Giovanni di Marignolli, a Franciscan from Santa Croce at Florence, was going out as the Pope's legate to the Great Khan's court in 1338, he found at Almaligh in Turkestan, the capital of the Middle Kingdom of the Tartars, a merchant named Gillott,<sup>3</sup> who ought to have been an Englishman, it would seem. The same prelate tells us that at Zaiton, the great port of China, there was a *fondaco* which served as a warehouse (*depositorium*) for all the merchants, but he does not specially mention Italian merchants.<sup>4</sup> And Andrew, Bishop

<sup>1</sup> Yule, i. Introduction, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Yule's "Cathay," p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 338. There is an account of his martyrdom (for he was put to death with some Christian missionaries at Almaligh in 1339) in Heyd, ii. p. 235, on the authority of Marignolli and Wadding's *Ann. Ord. Min.*, Nos. 7 and 8. He is there described as Gillotus or Guillelmus Mutinensis, a Genoese merchant.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 355. Yule notes that a *fondaco* would now be called a *caravanseraï*.

of Zaiton, writing in 1326, mentions Genoese merchants there.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Batuta some years later found a number of Mohammedan merchants in the same city, of whose kindness to their co-religionists "in a land of unbelievers" he speaks with gratitude.<sup>2</sup>

The few notices I have collected above show, I think, that Marco Polo, his father, and his uncle, stood very much alone in their generation, and had no rivals or superiors in the generations that followed. And their courage and enterprise, and the sound judgment and powers of government that Marco displays, are characteristic of his countrymen generally. Marco Polo is as much a part of the glory of Venice as his prototype, Herodotus, is of Ionian Greece. The courage that was required for plunging into a vast unknown country, among people of unknown language, passing through countries where wars were frequently raging and brigandage never ceased,<sup>3</sup> is fairly comparable to that which took Columbus across the unexplored Atlantic. When the three Polos started on their second journey, which was Marco's first, in 1271, Armenia, the first country they passed through, was so disturbed by war between the Sultan of Egypt and the King of the Lesser Armenia, that their life and liberty were imperilled, and two Dominican friars and the Master of the Temple, whom the Pope had sent with them as his envoys, turned back in fear; but the intrepid travellers persevered, continued their journey eastward through three years and a half, much of it in bad

<sup>1</sup> Yule's "Cathay," p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 487. Ibn Batuta did not himself visit China as a merchant but as ambassador from the ruler of Delhi.

<sup>3</sup> As in the country of the Caraonas in the south of Persia, who nearly captured our travellers (Book i. ch. xviii.; Yule, i. pp. 98-101). The country between Tana (Azov) and Saraï, the capital of the Golden Horde, was overrun with brigands. This was not under the Great Khan's authority: wherever that extended, peace and prosperity generally prevailed (Heyd, ii. 241). Pegolotti makes a liberal allowance for blackmail to the *Moccoli* or brigands of Kurdistan in his estimate of the expense of carrying a mule's load of goods from Lajazzo to Tabriz (*ib.*, ii. p. 119).

weather and severe cold; and, when they arrived at the Great Khan's dominions, cut themselves off for seventeen years (1274 to 1291) from their home and all news of their home: for in those days news travelled slowly and with difficulty from Europe to any place farther off than the lands surrounding the Mediterranean.

And the intelligence of the great traveller was in no way inferior to his courage. He made himself master of four languages spoken amongst the Mongols, which had four different written characters.<sup>1</sup> Of these four Sir H. Yule was convinced that Chinese was not one, though it is difficult to believe that Marco could, as he himself tells us, have held a government office in Yang-chau, a purely Chinese city, for three years without knowing the language. No doubt Chinese is a very difficult language, and the mistakes found in Marco's writings, as to the meaning of Chinese expressions, may only show that his knowledge of it was imperfect.<sup>2</sup> It has long ago been remarked that his omission to mention the Chinese Wall or such characteristic Chinese customs as tea-drinking, compression of women's feet, fishing by means of cormorants, artificial hatching of eggs, and above all, printing, is strange, as he certainly travelled through much of China, and must have seen the Wall, and these customs all prevailed in his day.<sup>3</sup> The contrast between this omission and the very remarkable power of observation and intelligent curiosity shown in his accounts of other countries he passed through, may be explained by the disadvantage experienced by even the most observant traveller in a country, with the language of which he is not familiar. His use of the Tartar or Persian

<sup>1</sup> Prologue, c. xv. (i. p. 27 Yule's 3rd ed.).

<sup>2</sup> See M. Henri Cordier's note on Prol. c. xv. (i. p. 29 of Yule's 3rd ed.) and also Yule's note 3 to ii. c. lxix. (ii. p. 157 of Yule's 3rd ed.). There is a curious various reading in the best MSS. of Polo's book, one reading "ot seigneurie Marc Pol en ceste cité," another "sejourna en ceste cité."

<sup>3</sup> See Yule's Introduction, p. 111 (3rd ed.).

names of places in China that had such foreign names is consistent, and may show that these languages were the common medium of communication with foreigners at the court of Cathay.

I am not sure that Sir H. Yule is justified in his remark that Marco Polo has not the scientific spirit. His extraordinary accuracy of observation is surely, if not an instance of that spirit, a most useful assistant to it. As to the absence of humour, we may, I think, admit that his gravity in noticing the very strange custom of the *Couvade*, that he found prevailing in the province he calls Zardandan, on the frontiers of China and Thibet, a custom that seems to have caused merriment to the epic solemnity of the Alexandrian poet Apollonius Rhodius,<sup>1</sup> is evidence of a deficiency of that sense. He shows his soundness of judgment in not ridiculing an institution like paper money, in which the Chinese were greatly in advance of their time, or the asceticism and scrupulous morality of the Buddhist monks in Thibet; and still more in the wise and noble tolerance with which he speaks of the virtues of Sagamoni Borcan, that is, Sakya-muni the Divine, who, "had he been a Christian, would have been a great saint of our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>2</sup>

Sir H. Yule summed up, in an admirable passage, the impression of Marco Polo's personality, left on his mind after the years he had given to the study of his book: "A practical man, brave, shrewd, prudent, keen in affairs, and never losing his interest in mercantile details, very fond of the chase, sparing of speech; with a deep wondering respect for saints, even though they be Pagan saints, and their asceticism, but a contempt for Patarins and such like,

<sup>1</sup> Argon., ii. 1011-14:—

ἐνθ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ κε τέκωνται ὑπ' ἀνδράσι τέκνα γύναικες,  
αὐτοὶ μὲν στενάχουσιν ἐνὶ λέχέεσσι πεσόντες,  
κράατα δησάμενοι.

<sup>2</sup> Bk. iii. c. xv. (ii. p. 318 of Yule's 3rd ed.). The whole chapter, with Yule's notes, is very well worth reading.

whose consciences would not run in customary grooves, and on his own part a keen appreciation of the world's pomps and vanities. See, on the one hand, his undisguised admiration of the hard life and long fastings of Sakya-muni; and on the other how enthusiastic he gets in speaking of the Great Khan's command of the good things of the world, but above all of his matchless opportunities of sport."<sup>1</sup>

The trade of the Italian Republics with the Mongols, which the Polos may be said to have begun, went on prosperously notwithstanding the conversion of the Khans to Islam, which began at the end of the thirteenth century and was completed early in the fourteenth. It introduced them to parts of Asia from which they had been excluded by the Mohammedan fanaticism that had prevailed in Central Asia, and even at Bagdad and on the Persian Gulf, when the rulers of Egypt and Syria and Iconium were quite ready to trade with Christians. The objections to trade with these latter countries came from the Christian side. After the fall of Acre the Popes endeavoured to put a stop to all trade with infidels, not only that which supplied them with weapons and timber for shipbuilding—which had always been forbidden, and which public opinion generally disapproved—but all exchange of commodities that might enrich the infidel powers. A Bull of Clement V. in 1308, when he was planning a new Crusade, prohibited under the severest temporal and spiritual penalties all trade with the infidel. This went far beyond what the conscience of Western merchants generally was ready to submit to. Venice and Genoa, Marseilles and Barcelona disregarded the Bull; they did not withdraw their consuls nor their trading settlements from Egypt, and their merchant ships

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, p. 108 (3rd ed.). Marco's words referred to are: "Si que je vous di bien en verité que onques ne fu ne ne sera, je croi, qui si grant soulaz ne deduit puisse avoir en cest monde comme cestui ci" (Pauthier, p. 308, ch. xcii.).

continued as before to frequent Alexandria and Damietta and the Syrian ports. An earlier Bull of Nicolas IV., who was Pope at the time of the fall of Acre, had ordered the Knights of the Temple and the Hospital to keep twenty galleys always in the waters of Cyprus to stop Christians trading with Saracens, and the two Orders—after the suppression of the Templars the Hospitallers alone—were zealous in this patrolling of the seas.<sup>1</sup> Their position at Rhodes enabled them to watch the approaches to Alexandria, and the Kings of Cyprus, who were at times willing to take part in this police work, had a similar commanding situation in regard to the coasts of Syria and the Lesser Armenia. We know from the famous treatise of Marino Sanudo, the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, that this Papal policy had much to be said for it from a secular point of view; but commercial interests prevented the Italian merchants from acquiescing in it, and Venice and Genoa and the King of Aragon ignored or openly resisted the attempts to stop their ships. Thus in the winter of 1311-12 the Knights Hospitallers seized a Genoese ship coming out of Alexandria with a cargo of spices, and would not release it, on the demand of a Genoese ambassador, without the authorisation of the Pope. The ambassador, enraged at their refusal, endeavoured to persuade a petty Turkish prince in Caria to imprison the Rhodian merchants and other subjects of the Order who were in his territory, and offered him a large subsidy if he would fit out an expedition to drive the knights out of Rhodes. He proceeded to take prisoners any knights he found on ships he met with, and these were kept in Genoese prisons till the Pope ordered their release.

Venice was at first not so much disposed as Genoa to

<sup>1</sup> A case, in which four Venetian galleys guarding Cyprus in the service of the Templars engage a Genoese fleet off Corone ("in partibus de Coronexi") is related in Jacobi Aurie, *Ann. Jan.*, anno 1293 (Pertz SS., xviii. p. 352).



trade with Saracens in spite of the Pope's prohibition. For ten years after the fall of Acre she was not on good terms with the Soldan of Egypt, partly because he had seized at Gaza a richly laden Venetian ship, probably carrying away fugitives from Acre, and would not release it or its crew. Venetian subjects, also taken at Acre, were kept for long years imprisoned in Egypt. At length, in 1302, Guido dei Canali was sent on an embassy to the Soldan, and obtained a commercial treaty granting unusual exemptions from duties on import and export. With their usual indifference to the Pope's wishes, the Venetians agreed to sell to Egypt articles contraband of war, on condition of the permission to export without duty Egyptian goods of the same value. By the same treaty a Venetian consul was admitted to Alexandria, Francesco dei Canali, a nephew of the ambassador. Two years later, in 1304, we find Guido Duke of Crete, and detaining there a Genoese ship carrying a cargo of slaves from Constantinople to Egypt. This kind of trade was, we have seen, highly offensive Christian sentiment, and the Duke of Crete would not listen to the Soldan's reclamations, on which the Emir of Alexandria arrested his nephew, the consul, and cut off the salary of his successor. But this quarrel did not last, and Venice and Egypt continued at peace, and in 1317 were so friendly that the Emir released all his Venetian prisoners and sent to the doge presents of silk, aloes, and ginger, some of the choicest products of the East that still found their way to Europe through Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

A good deal of light is thrown on the relations, both political and commercial, between Italy and the East, in the first third of the fourteenth century, by the letters of Marino Sanudo, surnamed Torsello,<sup>2</sup> some of which were

<sup>1</sup> Heyd, ii. pp. 35-42 (Fr. translation).

<sup>2</sup> Bongars says that "Torsello" was the name of a musical instrument, an anticipation of the "*organa pneumatica quæ nunc usurpantur*," that was introduced at Venice by a German under the patronage

given to the world in 1611 by the French Huguenot scholar Jacques Bongars, in an appendix to his edition of the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis in Gesta Dei per Francos*, and others recently, by Dr. Friedrich Kunstmann.<sup>1</sup> Marino Sanudo, to whose views as to Crusades I have referred in my first chapter,<sup>2</sup> was a nobleman of Venice, a kinsman of several Sanudi who, after the Fourth Crusade, had established themselves at Naxos and elsewhere in the Greek islands. Either in their service, or in that of Venice, he had spent, he himself tells us, the greater part of his life in Romania, and claimed to have accurate knowledge of its condition, particularly of the principality of Morea or Achaia.<sup>3</sup> In 1304 he published at Venice the first part of his famous treatise, to which, when completed by second and third parts, he gave the title of *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*. While writing his book he took five voyages to Cyprus, Armenia, Alexandria, and Rhodes. Before this he had been many times at Acre and Alexandria, probably engaged in trade, but, he is careful to tell us, never in prohibited trade; that is, in the sale of slaves or timber or munitions of war to the infidel. When his book was finished, he went by sea from Venice to Bruges, and thence made his way overland to Avignon, where he stayed some time<sup>4</sup> at the Papal court, and met the King of Jerusalem and Sicily, that is, Robert II. of the House of Anjou. This King, like others of his family, professed much zeal for another Crusade. About the same time Philip VII. of France, the first King of the House of Valois, coquetted with the idea of leading an army of

of our Sanudo. But in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (s.v.) the surname is said to have been common in the Sanudo family long before.

<sup>1</sup> *Abhandlungen der Münchener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, cl. ii. vol. vii. pp. 697-819.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, pp. 27, 28.

<sup>3</sup> The passage is in his "Petition to Pope John XXII.," written in 1321, prefixed to the *Secreta*, p. 3 (Bongars). It is quoted by Kunstmann in a footnote to p. 700 of his paper, as above.

<sup>4</sup> He presented his "Petition to Pope John XXII." in 1321, and he was back at Venice in 1324.

Christendom to the Holy Land, and was made by the Pope Captain-General of "the Passage of God and of the Holy Land."<sup>1</sup> Marino Sanudo, now settled in Venice, an old man in great but not uncomplaining poverty, wrote a letter to the King of France in October 1334, urging the importance of reconciling the Latin and Greek Churches which had very nearly been accomplished in the days of Michael Paleologus.<sup>2</sup> In his argument he recounts all the nearer countries of the East as far as Tabriz and Bagdad to show how Greeks, all following the ritual of the Greek Church, were widely spread over all these lands.<sup>3</sup> He makes no doubt, from his recollection of conversations at Constantinople in the previous year with abbots and priests, and especially with the former patriarch, Niphon, that the Greek Church was prepared to submit to Rome. He is himself no advocate of concession, treating the schismatic Greeks as almost on the same footing as Moslems or Pagans. If they would not submit, he was prepared to advise the Crusaders to do as their predecessors had done in 1204, elect a chief to conquer, with the help of the Venetians, the city of Constantinople and all the lands of the Greek Emperor.

The King of France may have smiled at the inextinguishable hopes of this Crusader born out of due time. He had himself probably no hope and very little desire for the restoration of the Latin Empire of Romania. The real antagonism was now not between Greeks and Latins, but between the Pope and the Knights of Rhodes, who wished to stop all intercourse with the Saracens, and the merchants

<sup>1</sup> "Capitaneo generali illustrissimo passagii dei et terrae sanctae" (Ep. vi. in Kunstmann's paper, *u.s.*, p. 799). "Passagium" (see Ducange, *s.v.*) is commonly used for both a pilgrimage and a Crusade.

<sup>2</sup> Sanudo calls that Emperor "Chiermicali Paleolore." The *Chier* stands for *Kύριος*, as we have seen in the case of *Kirsak* for Isaac Angelus in Villehardouin. In this same letter *Chernuf*, the former patriarch, is *Kύριος Νίφων*.

<sup>3</sup> I think he includes Nestorians and Jacobites, whom the orthodox Greeks would have abhorred as much as he did himself.

of Venice and Genoa, who lived by that intercourse. Another letter of Marino Sanudo, written in the same month (October 1334) to William, Count of Holland, gives us an interesting account of an expedition into the country of Mongols and Saracens, undertaken, it would seem, more for the sake of seeing the world than for any political or commercial object, by a person of uncertain name and nationality,<sup>1</sup> a member of the household of Louis, Duke of Bourbon, for whom Sanudo claims the good offices of the Count of Holland in reconciling him to Edward III. of England, to whose father he had been a loyal servant. The traveller had gone from Venice to Clarentza and Modone, thence to Constantinople and Pera, Trebisond and Tabriz and Bagdad, returning to Lajazzo in Cilicia or Lesser Armenia, from whence he sailed to Crete and Cyprus. From Cyprus he went, with a recommendation from the King, to Alexandria, and to the Soldan of Babylon (Cairo), who supplied him with a horse and money for his travelling expenses (just as the Tartar princes had done for the Polos). After Cairo he visited the kingdom of Jerusalem and Damascus, and returning to Beyrut, sailed to Cyprus. There he stayed some time, entered the service of the King, and went to sea with the galleys of the Venetians and Hospitallers—those, no doubt, that we have read of as enforcing the police of the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup> In this service he went to Greece, and returned to Cyprus, then to Venice. Sanudo says that in both visits to Venice, at about two years' distance, the traveller lived on intimate terms with him. The letter seems at first

<sup>1</sup> He is called, in one place, "Guilielmus Fernandi de Furvo dictus Badin," in another, "Guilielmus Bernardi de Fumo dictus Badin." He appears to have some connection with Count John of Armagnac and Rodez, who was then a prisoner at Ferrara. A Bernard, Count of Armagnac, married in 1302 the heiress of Henry, Count of Rodez, and this traveller may have been their son. Badin meant then, as now, a jester or trifer.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 322.

sight to be written with the object of showing the fitness of this William to be employed on the Crusade, but it ends with nothing more than a request for the good offices of the Count of Holland in reconciling him to the King of England. Probably the old Venetian statesman had some hopes that a gallant young prince like Edward III. could be easily persuaded to raise again the banner of the Cross.<sup>1</sup>

If the design of the travelling merchants and missionaries who visited the Tartar countries in the early fourteenth century was to make trade with friendly Tartars supply the place of failing trade with unfriendly Saracens, there is abundant evidence to show that this was unnecessary. The trade with Saracen countries went on in spite of Papal prohibitions, though possibly in diminished volume. In the early years of the fourteenth century we meet with laws of Genoa, of Pera, of Caffa, relating to trade with the infidel, but prohibiting nothing but the export of iron, timber, arms or slaves (*mumulicos sive mumulichas*, i.e. "Mamelukes"). And there is abundant evidence that there existed at this time at Alexandria *fondaci* and consuls, and therefore a colony of merchants, of Genoa, Pisa, Barcelona, Marseilles, and Venice. Simon Simeonis, an Irish Franciscan, going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1322, was hospitably entertained at the *fondaco* of the Marseillais at Alexandria, and heard of the reopening of a church of St. Mary of the Cave at Old Cairo. The colony of Pisa at Alexandria had a public bakery, the profits of which were devoted to the maintenance of a candle at the shrine of the Madonna in their cathedral at home. In a deed of October 1304 we have a mention of nine Venetian merchants at Alexandria acting as joint-sureties with the consul Pangrazio Venier,<sup>2</sup> and the registers of the decrees of the Senate of 1293-1320 show that not only the flax and

<sup>1</sup> Epist. ix. in *Abhandlungen der Münchener Akad.*, u.s.

<sup>2</sup> Tafel and Thomas, iv. 32. The deed in question seems to relate to the case of the Genoese slave-ship mentioned at p. 323.

dates of Egypt, but pepper and ginger and cinnamon from the farther East were regularly exported from Alexandria to Venice, and regulations made for the times of the *carovane* sailing and returning.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable, I think, that the trade with Egypt for the products of the far East continued, in spite of the Papal prohibitions, to be more active than that with the Tartar countries. When Bagdad, the capital of the empire of the Khalifs, was destroyed by Holagou, no goods from the East came to Europe by that great city, whose vast extent Marco Polo had described with enthusiasm. But Tabriz, the Tartar capital of Persia, continued to be a great trading centre. The district of Yezd, which was not far from it, became under the Tartars an important place for the manufacture of silk,<sup>2</sup> and goods from India and China could reach its markets without passing through any Mohammedan countries. Argoun, one of Holagou's successors, was particularly friendly with European merchants, especially with the Genoese, one of whom, of the Ghisolfi family, was in the Khan's body-guard. Gulielmus Adæ, Bishop of Sultanieh, which was a suburb of Tabriz, the author of a book with the ruthless title *De modo extirpandi Saracenos*, tells us of a Genoese plan for making a port on the Persian Gulf and stopping at Aden merchantmen from India or China bound for Egypt.<sup>3</sup> But this plan was not effected, and Alexandria continued to be a great entrepôt of Eastern trade. It was more accessible from Italian ports than the Crimea or Azov, or even than Cyprus, and the sea route from India and China to the Red Sea was easier than the caravan route across the inhospitable deserts and steppes of Central Asia, and had been familiar through many ages to the merchants of Pekin or Canton or the coasts of India and Ceylon. Still we have satisfactory evidence that an

<sup>1</sup> *Archivio Veneto*, xviii. 315, xix. 103 s., III s.

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, ii. p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. III.

active trade with Cathay was carried on by way of Central Asia in the first half of the fourteenth century. One of the most curious documents that have come down to us from that age is the handbook of Asiatic trade and travel compiled by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, an agent of the great Florentine bankers the Bardi, who was in Cyprus in 1324 and in the Lesser Armenia in 1335. Amongst all manner of instructive information as to money and weights and measures and the fiscal system, police, and administration of the countries of Asia, we have a particular account of the course of the great northern commercial road to China, which started from Tana or Azov, and went by Tabriz and Bokhara and Kashgar and across the desert of Gobi to the Chinese frontier, and thence by some of the great Chinese waterways to Cassai or Kinsay (Hangchow), which it seems to have been found advisable to take on the way to Khanbaligh or Peking.<sup>1</sup> In Cathay or Northern China, the Government of the Great Khan had facilitated travel by a very perfect system of posts and post-houses, at intervals of twenty-five or thirty miles, at which good accommodation for the night was provided, and a vast number of horses were kept, intended primarily for the Khan's messengers, but available also for private travellers. These had been an institution in China long before the Tartar conquest, but the Tartars extended it to other parts of their Empire, and even in Siberia the traveller found sledges with teams of dogs (of whose intelligence Marco Polo tells us wonderful stories), in whatever parts of the road were impassable for horses.<sup>2</sup> Outside the Great Khan's dominions, on the Persian and Armenian border, there was brigandage in many places, but at Tabriz (Tauris) there was a brisk trade for Eastern goods, some of which probably came northward from the Persian Gulf, some by the northern route from

<sup>1</sup> Heyd, ii. 225-40.

<sup>2</sup> Pages 480-83 of Yule's 3rd ed. His account of the posts in China is at i. pp. 433 *seqq.* of the same edition.

Cathay; and there seems to have been a community of European merchants settled there. We know that as early as 1264, a quarter of a century before the fall of Acre, a Venetian merchant, Pietro Viglioni or Vioni, was living there, and perhaps (as M. Heyd thinks) acting as agent for a company that exported woollen goods from North Italy, Germany, or Flanders, and imported pearls and sugar and manufactured articles of costly materials, cups and candlesticks, and, it is interesting to note, chessmen and a double chessboard, one side for chess, the other for *marelle*.<sup>1</sup> We owe this knowledge to a copy of his will, which has found its way into the Archives of Venice, having been deposited in the first instance with the Venetian bailo at Acre, and has been printed in the *Archivio Veneto* for 1883.<sup>2</sup>

In 1320 a Venetian ambassador, Michele Delfino, made his way by Trebizond to Tabriz, and there signed on behalf of the doge a commercial treaty with Abou Said, Khan or Sultan of Persia, whose name is corrupted in the copy of the treaty we possess to Monsait. This deals with a great variety of the everyday incidents of travel, the demands of postmasters or tax-gatherers, the plunderings of brigands, the places where travellers had a right to encamp their caravans, their right to buy and sell where they pleased, the right of Venetian friars to build churches.<sup>3</sup>

One of the evils against which this treaty secures Venetian travellers was the liability to seizure of their persons and goods for the debts of their fellow-countrymen. An

<sup>1</sup> For *marelle* see Godefroi, s.v. *merelles*. The game was played with discs like our draughts, and was looked upon as the most innocent of games.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Ven.*, xxvi. 161-65. It forms part of the series called *Misti*, and was deposited in the Public Archives by the Administration of the *Pii Istituti riuniti*.

<sup>3</sup> "Se li nostri frari Latini volese far in alguna citade o luogo del so Imperio, luogo per soa oration, che li lo possa far" (Thomas, *Dipl. Veneto Levantinum*, p. 173, No. 85). There is a full account of this treaty in Heyd, ii. pp. 124-27.



incident of this kind caused great trouble in the year 1324, to Marco de Molino, consul or *Maçor* of the Venetian community at Tabriz, inducing him to write a despatch to the doge suggesting that it might become necessary to abandon the settlement. The doge in 1328 sent out a special commissioner, Marco Cornaro, to arrange for the payment of the debt in this case, but we do not know whether he succeeded in this; we do know that in the course of his negotiations he was himself arrested. In 1332, again, we find that the Venetian Senate had to authorise the levy of a special tax on every beast of burden leaving Tabriz or Trebizond with goods owned by Venetians, to provide for a payment due to one Hadji Soliman Taibi. Abou Saïd died in 1336, and his khanate was split into small independent principalities, at war among themselves, and the roads became unsafe. About the year 1370 the petty chieftain who ruled at Tabriz and Aderbaïdjân wrote a letter to the Venetian bailo and merchants at Trebizond, begging the latter to return to Tabriz, as in the time of Abou Saïd, and promising to guarantee the safety of the road. The reply of the merchants, which has come down to us, shows that, when they wrote, no caravans had for some time been able to get through from Tabriz to Trebizond.<sup>1</sup>

At this very time events were preparing far away in the north-east, which were soon to put an end to the enlightened Tartar government in Persia. Timour, a kinsman of the house of Zinghis, the son of a petty chieftain in the territory south of Samarcand, that had originally fallen to the lot of the Khans of Zagatai or Transoxiana, but, on the dying out of their line, had been invaded by Kalmuck hordes from Kashgar, had risen to distinction, when still a young man, in fighting against the invaders. He professed to be merely an Emir, or commander in the army of a nominal Khan of the family of Zinghis, but his ambition

<sup>1</sup> Heyd, ii. pp. 128, 129.

knew no bounds, and during the thirty years from 1370 till 1400 he overran first his own country of Samarcand, next that of the Golden Horde or Kiptchak, then Persia, and then India. In the course of his conquest of Kiptchak, which included a good part of South Russia, he besieged Tana or Azov, where, as we have seen, there was always a numerous colony of Italian traders. In a chronicle of Treviso written by Andreas de Redusiis de Quero, a nobleman of the family of the Counts of Collalto in the service of the Venetian Republic, we have a contemporary account, on the authority of Pietro Miani, a Venetian merchant at Azov, of an embassy sent to the camp of the great Timour (whom he calls Tamberlam) by the merchants of Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, and Biscay living at Azov, who found the great conqueror in his camp that occupied eighty miles, and were admitted to his tent, a city of silk and gold,<sup>1</sup> three miles in extent, and enclosing in its circuit a river with a ford. There they were allowed, after removing their shoes and their berrettas, to have an interview with the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and present to him, as he sat on his golden throne, the offerings sent him by the merchants, entreating his permission to continue their buying and selling at Azov, when it surrendered. Two Franciscan friars<sup>2</sup> were at his side, whom he gladly heard (as Herod did John Baptist), and his reply was gracious; he invited the envoys to a banquet, and pledged them in his jewelled cup; he seems to have perhaps exceeded the limits of good taste in the display of his magnificence; but he sent one of his nobles to Azov, who examined with interest their ships

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat similar tent is described in Clavijo's "Embassy to the Court of Timour," pp. 142-44 (Hakluyt Society).

<sup>2</sup> The chronicler is particular in describing them as Friars Minor; but the Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, were more in evidence at Timour's court, as appears from the correspondence between Charles VI. of France and Timour printed by Silvestre de Sacy in *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscr.*, vi. (1822), pp. 470 *sqq.* It appears that the Archbishop of Sultanieh was always a Dominican.

and warehouses, and traded with them, before returning to his master. But in a few days Timour came to Azov, seized all their merchandise, and made prisoners all the merchants who did not escape by sea.<sup>1</sup>

Timour, it must be remembered, was the enemy of the Turks, and his decisive victory at Ancyra over the Sultan Bajazet in 1402 was hailed as a deliverance by the Regent of Constantinople (the Emperor Manuel was absent at this time for four years, seeking aid from the Franks), the Genoese of Galata, the Knights of Rhodes, and all other champions of the Cross against the Crescent. All of these powers had done what they could to facilitate the advance of the Mongol conqueror on Europe. He was the enemy of their most formidable enemy; and so the Government of Constantinople was found ready to promise tribute, and accept the aid of 5000 Mongol auxiliaries against the Turk. The Knights of Rhodes resisted him for a time at Smyrna, but had to submit, as was the fate also of the "Mahons," the directors of the Genoese trading company that governed Chios and Phocœa: so that Timour's power reached the shores of the Ægean Sea. He had no ships, and his people, like the other Tartars, had no taste for the sea, and in fact his progress westward came to an end at Smyrna. The conquest of Asia Minor, and of the matchless position of Constantinople, was to be the work not of the Mongol but of the Osmanli.

Timour died in April 1405, in the heart of Central Asia, on his march to attack China. He did not found a stable dynasty in any part of his vast dominions; for the Mogul dynasty that reigned in India was founded by a descendant of one of his younger sons in the fifth generation, and was not a continuation of any of the former Tartar dynasties. Timour, though a great warrior, and apparently a man of genius, was not of the calibre of Kublai Khan, not the builder of an Empire. He did much to make his capital,

<sup>1</sup> Muratori, *R. I. S.*, xix. cols. 802-4.

Samarcand, a magnificent city, and a centre of trade and manufactures. Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who was sent there in 1403 on an embassy from King Henry III. of Castile, tells us that Timour brought skilled artisans there from all the countries he conquered: silk-weavers, and makers of bows, glass, and earthenware, from Damascus; masons and silversmiths from Turkey (*i.e.* Asia Minor); that he introduced the cultivation of hemp and flax, and that under his government the bazaars of Samarcand were full of the silks and musks, the precious stones, pearls, and rhubarb of China, whose people were "the most skilful workmen in the world"; of linen and furs from Russia and Tartary; nutmegs, cloves, ginger, and other spices, "which do not reach Alexandria," from India.<sup>1</sup> But the Spanish ambassadors do not seem to have met with any Italian merchants on their journey from Trebizond to Samarcand, though in the Armenian country between Trebizond and Erzingan the robber chieftains they met with explained to them that they had nothing to live on but the dues they levied from passing travellers, and required to be satisfied that the goods the Spaniards carried were not their own property, but presents to Timour from their king, and that they were not concerned with trade, but with the forming of an alliance to fight the Turk.<sup>2</sup> The decay of the strong and honest government of the Tartar Khans will have not only deprived these interesting feudal robbers of their living, but compelled trade to resort to other than its hitherto frequented roads. And accordingly we find, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, that an active trade had been established between Tabriz and Brusa, the original capital of the Osmanli in the north-west of Asia Minor, a trade entirely in Mussulman hands, and passing through a country exclusively Mussulman. Caravans from Syria also travelled to Brusa, where Florentine and Genoese merchants were to be found, who carried the spices brought

<sup>1</sup> Clavijo, *u.s.*, pp. 170, 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 66, 67.

by these caravans to Pera or Constantinople, whence they were distributed throughout the Christian markets of Europe.<sup>1</sup> But the relations of Venetian and other Italian traders with the Ottomans, who were now on the eve of establishing themselves on the Bosphorus, are concerned with a later chapter of Venetian history.

<sup>1</sup> Heyd, ii. pp. 351, 352.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE BEGINNINGS OF THE TERRA FERMA AND THE NEW PALACE

I RETURN from the long digression on the affairs of the East, which has occupied my last two chapters, to the domestic affairs of the lagoon city, and the events that stirred men's minds in Italy at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The remarkable man who had laid such firm foundations for the aristocracy of Venice, the Doge Pietro Gradenigo, died in 1311. Marino Giorgi (or in Venetian dialect Zorzi) was chosen to succeed him on the 13th of August by the forty-one electors, after Stephen Giustiniani, a distinguished member of a famous family, had declined nomination, and retired into the convent of San Giorgio Maggiore.<sup>1</sup> There seems to have been no contest, no party feeling called forth. The words of the later Marino Sanudo, the biographer of the doges, "Era chiamato Santo, tant' era buona e Cattolica persona, ed era ricco,"<sup>2</sup> show the calm and reasonable spirit in which he was chosen. "He was seen to pass through the court of the palace going towards Castello, and was made doge," the biographer continues. A later chronicler adds that he was seen to pass with a sack of bread to distribute to poor prisoners, and that afterwards, to guard against the effect produced by such a visible act of charity or piety—that might not always be fortuitous—it was made a rule that all windows and *poggiuoli* opening on the street should be

<sup>1</sup> Cicogna, *Iscrizioni*, iv. 109.

<sup>2</sup> M. Sanudo, *Vite de Duchi di Venezia*, in Muratori, *R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 592.

kept shut during an election. A city under excommunication, that had suffered severely from spiritual penalties, might have sound reason for choosing an old man of saintly reputation, as likely to be a *persona grata* at Rome. Any such object was frustrated, for after being doge for ten months and ten days, with the excommunication still unremoved, the old man was carried to his grave in Santi Giovanni e Paolo. He directed some of his riches to be applied to the foundation of a Dominican convent for twelve friars, for which a site was chosen on the Fondamenta, on the way to Castello. He also endowed the Friars' Church, and a hospital for poor children, with a revenue sufficient to provide for their maintenance. These munificent charities kept his memory alive without a sumptuous tomb and an epitaph.

War seems to have been going on through Zorzi's short reign. Zara was in rebellion, and supported by the King of Hungary, whose general, called by our Venetian authorities "il Banno,"<sup>1</sup> fought many battles with the Venetian commander, Belletto Giustiniani. A more questionable person employed in the service of Venice was "a Spaniard or Catalan,"<sup>2</sup> a condottiere named Damaso, or Dalmasio, de' Banoli, who was suspected of double-dealing, making overtures to the Zaratines to enter their service against his Venetian employers. The Zaratines distrusted him, and preferred to make peace with Venice. Dalmasio was allowed to take ship with his band to Apulia, and Sanudo relates with some satisfaction that he was drowned on his way there: but this appears to be not the truth; his ship was wrecked on the voyage, and his plunder lost, but he escaped with his life, and we hear of him again in 1317 in command of a band of Catalans, whom Robert, King of Naples, sent to hold Ferrara for the Pope. The Zaratines had to promise to choose as their governor one of three

<sup>1</sup> He was no doubt the Ban of Croatia, Mladino.

<sup>2</sup> He was a native of the Balearic Isles (Romanin, iii. p. 91).

Venetian nobles named in the treaty, the Ban of Croatia was granted, in compensation for giving up the title of Count of Zara, the privilege of citizenship of Venice.<sup>1</sup> This treaty was made after the death of the doge.

The short reign of Marino Zorzi covered part of the time of the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg's journey to Rome to be crowned, which was hailed with so much enthusiasm by the serious members of the Ghibelline party, amongst whom Dante was conspicuous. Ambassadors had been sent by the late Doge Gradenigo in 1310 to congratulate the Emperor on his coronation as King of Italy at Milan: the new doge in the following year appointed four, one of them being Belletto Giustinian, who had commanded the troops before Zara,<sup>2</sup> to be present at his coronation as Emperor at Rome. But the Genoese and Venetians separated themselves from the other Italian deputies by refusing to take an oath of allegiance. They no doubt had good reasons both of policy and of precedent for this refusal; but the legal and historical arguments they used did not impress Nicolas, the Bishop of Butrinto, the Emperor's favourite counsellor, whose *Iter Italicum* gives us a lively contemporary account of these events. "They (the Venetians) said many things," he writes, "to excuse themselves from swearing, which I do not recollect, excepting that they are a quintessence, and will belong neither to the Church nor to the Emperor, nor to the sea nor to the land."<sup>3</sup> The detachment of Venetian interests from those of both the Western and the Eastern world was a situation that was

<sup>1</sup> The terms are given in full from the *Pacta* by Romanin, iii. 92-94.

<sup>2</sup> He was afterwards taken prisoner by the Zaratines and put to death.

<sup>3</sup> Milman's "Latin Christianity," v. p. 387, note *i*, Romanin, iii. p. 86. The *Iter Italicum* is printed in Böhmer's *Fontes rerum Germ.*, tom. i. pp. 69-137, and in Muratori, *R. I. S.*, tom. ix. col. 887 *sqq.* The passage quoted is on p. 80 Böhmer, col. 895 Muratori. "Quinta essentia" was the fifth element, not earth, air, fire, or water.



puzzling and sometimes provoking to the ordinary Guef or Ghibelline politician.

Notwithstanding their refusal of the oath, the Venetians allowed Henry to enlist 1400 cross-bowmen in their territory to accompany him on his march to Rome. He had to force his way into the city against the resistance of the Guefs under John, the brother of Robert, King of Naples, whom he could not dislodge from the Vatican and St. Peter's, so that the cardinals sent from Avignon (for there was no Pope in Rome at this time) to crown Henry, had to fulfil their duty by a ceremony, shorn of much of its splendour, in St. John Lateran. After his coronation the Emperor had to retire from Rome to Pisa, always a Ghibelline city, and from there direct the siege of Florence. Dante, from his exile in the Casentino, wrote a letter to Henry to stir him up to vengeance against the rebellious and disloyal city. This was written in 1311. In June 1312 the Emperor was crowned at Rome; in February 1313 Florence was placed under the ban of the Empire; in August 1313 Henry died at Buonconvento near Pisa.

Marino Zorzi died in July 1312, just a year before the Emperor. His successor was another old man, Giovanni Soranzo, who was seventy-two years old, and had done distinguished service to the city as a soldier and an administrator. His father, Antonio, had been one of the Procurators of St. Mark, the only officers, except the doge and the Grand Chancellor, who held their office for life, and had belonged to the highest class of procurators, who were distinguished as *Procuratores de supra*, and had charge of the Basilica and its endowments. The doge had himself been Podestà of Chioggia, and in 1296 had been sent in command of twenty-five galleys to fight against the Genoese in the Black Sea, and while there had taken Caffa and held it against a host of Tartars sent to reconquer it. He had also fought in the war of Ferrara, and had been Podestà of

Ferrara. In 1309 he, like his father, had become Procurator of St. Mark *de supra*, and held this office when he was elected doge in July 1312.

I have already mentioned the war with Zara and the terms of peace agreed to in September 1313. In the church of Sta. Maria de' Servi is an inscription marking the grave of Baldovin Delfino, "a man of courage and prudence, who recovered the city of Zara for the most serene Signory."<sup>1</sup> He was the commander of the last detachment of ships that was sent out in the spring of 1313 and received the submission of the rebellious city;<sup>2</sup> he had previously done good service against the Tiepolo conspirators. In February of the same year the excommunication of Venice for her seizure of Ferrara was at length removed, and the Pope confirmed a Bull of Clement IV. prohibiting any legate or other agent of the Holy See from laying Venice under an interdict "without a special order from the See itself, making mention of this particular concession."<sup>3</sup> Ferrara herself was not let off so easily. Her citizens rose against Dalmasio and his Catalans, whom Robert, King of Naples, the Pope's champion, put into the city, and recalled Rinaldo and Obizzo of the House of Este, who were friendly to Venice, and received rights of citizenship there in the year 1331, the same year in which the interdict was at length taken off Ferrara and the Este princes recognised as vicars of the Holy See.

The Estes were one of many families who at this time were coming to the surface in the seething politics of Italy as Signori, "lords," or what the Greeks would have called "tyrants." Their prevalence was the best justification for the reformed constitution lately given to Venice by

<sup>1</sup> Cicogna, *Iscrizioni*, i. p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> His election as Count of Zara is presented to the doge by the Proctor of the Commune on 20th Jan. 1326. See this document in *Commemoriali*, lib. ii. No. 466 (p. 273 of the first volume of *Comm.* edited by Predelli in *Monumenti Storici*, series i.).

<sup>3</sup> Roman., iii. 95, n. 1.

Gradenigo. They were specially abundant in the Lombard cities, that had championed the cause of republican freedom against the German Emperors. Milan was now under the Visconti, Verona under the Scaligers, who were gradually subjecting to themselves a great part of North Italy. Several of the cities acknowledging the supremacy of the Scaligers had lords of their own: Carraras at Padua, Castruccio Castracani at Lucca, Pietro de Rossi at Parma. Near the Scaligers' borders were Guido da Polenta at Ravenna and the Gonzagas at Mantua. The first of these with whom Venice came into conflict was Guido da Polenta, who is memorable to us as the kind host with whom the exiled Dante ended his days, and as the kinsman of the Francesca of Rimini whose figure is the most pathetic that has come down to us from the Middle Ages. Guido had difficulties with Venice about merchandise imported by Venetian traders that passed up the Po through the territory of Ravenna. Among the ambassadors sent to Venice to state the case of Ravenna was Dante Alighieri,<sup>1</sup> but unfortunately the MS. volumes of the records (*Misti*)<sup>2</sup> for the five years (1317-21), which include the year of the embassy, have perished, and we have only the Index, which tells us no details about it.

The next Signori with whom Venice came into relations were the Carraras of Padua. These, like most others of their class, rose to power by making themselves leaders of the popular party. Jacopo da Carrara in 1318 was recognised as Lord of Padua. He made a friend of Can Grande

<sup>1</sup> Toynbee's "Life of Dante," p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> The term *Misti*, "Miscellaneous," is that which was given in the Registers of the Venetian archives to the records of deliberations of the Senate. The classification of documents in the archives is far from scientific or logical, reminding us sometimes of Mill's description of the Categories of Aristotle. "*Commemoriali*," from which I shall have frequently to quote, were in theory the register of the documents selected as most memorable in all classes. In practice they contain a little of everything, matters of diplomacy, matters of internal administration, &c. (Baschet, *Arch. de Venise*, pp. 225-32).

della Scala, the Lord of Verona, who, after inducing Vicenza to transfer her allegiance from Padua to Verona, was proceeding to take Padua also, when Carrara induced him to leave her her independence. Carrara was also closely allied with Venice, having married Anna, a daughter of the Doge Gradenigo, and been admitted with his nephew, Marsilio, to the roll of the Venetian nobility. Taddea, the daughter of Jacopo by Anna Gradenigo, was married at San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice to Mastino, the nephew and successor of Can Grande della Scala. When Jacopo da Carrara died in 1324 his successor Marsilio continued the friend and ally of Venice, but in 1328 he had to submit to the great Scaliger, and this brought Venice into relations with the Scaliger family. Before I begin the account of those relations there are one or two other matters in the history of the Doges Zorzi and Soranzo that demand our attention.

The war with Zara, that lasted all through the time of the former, seems to have strained the financial resources of Venice. In July 1311 and in March and May 1312 forced loans of one per cent. were raised, an old tax called *Messetaria*, apparently a stamp duty on contracts,<sup>1</sup> was doubled in amount, and it was expressly provided that the whole increase should accrue to the State, and that no clerk or other official should have a larger commission in consequence of the raising of the duty.

In April 1312 an agreement was come to on certain questions that had arisen between Venice and Padua in regard to the course of the Brenta, where it formed the frontier between the two cities. The streams in that region were ever shifting their beds, and by the agreement now made arbiters were appointed to settle what compensation was due to either party in consequence of such changes. No toll for passage over the Adige was to be charged to

<sup>1</sup> *Messeto* was an old word for *mezzano*, a mediator or broker in a contract.

Venetian traders, and no duty on the transport of timber—no doubt by raft on the Brenta—from Bassano. Padua was allowed in return free access to the salt deposits of Chioggia.<sup>1</sup>

In the time of Doge Soranzo some fugitives from Lucca, where Castruccio Castracani, an able Ghibelline partisan, had usurped the lordship, came to Venice. Among them were skilled manufacturers of silk, and the establishment of that industry was welcome to the Venetian Government, who granted the workers a settlement in the *Calle della Bissa* (the Passage of the Snake), in the parish of San Bartolomeo. They afterwards moved to those of St. John Chrysostom (where they were neighbours of Marco Polo), San Canciano, and Santi Apostoli, and in them founded some convents and chapels.<sup>2</sup>

Another industry that became characteristic of Venice was introduced when Soranzo was doge, that of the making of mirrors. Three Venetian citizens brought a German artisan, we are told, in February 1317-18, and made him work at the same craft in Venice. This seems to have been at this time established in Murano, but in later times the manufacture was transferred to other parts of the city.

Some important public works in the city dated from the time of Doge Soranzo. New houses were built for the Procurators of St. Mark, the chapel of St. Nicolas in the doge's palace was enlarged, the arsenal was extended by the purchase from the Abbot of San Daniele of a lake<sup>3</sup> that could

<sup>1</sup> Roman., iii. pp. 87, 88.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription in Cicogna, i. 94, 95, records the consecration of a "Chapela del Centurione detta de' Lucchesi, posta sulla Fondamenta de' Servi," dedicated, I suppose, to the centurion of the Crucifixion, or the centurion whose servant was healed and faith commended. Romanin mentions that the words "Provisores Sirici," *i.e.* "Superintendents of the Silk Trade," were to be read fifty years ago over the door where tickets for the Teatro Malibran were distributed (iii. p. 102, n. 1). There is a great deal about the Lucchese silk-workers in Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, s.v. Bissa.

<sup>3</sup> This addition was known as the *Arsenale Nuovo*: the *Nuovissimo*, to the north of it, extending as far as the line of the *Fondamenta*

serve as a basin and docks. The purchase was completed in June 1324, and about the same time a German engineer was allowed to build windmills in the lake.

A paved road was made from San Marco to Castello, which probably took the same line as is taken by the present broad pavement along the Riva dei Schiavoni, as far as San Biagio, and after that point by the broad Strada Nuova de' Giardini. There was great activity under Doge Soranzo in improving the material condition of the city: wells were sunk, provision was made for extinguishing fires by supplying buckets of water and implements for pulling down burning buildings. At the same time the morals of the people were looked after, the police force was increased, and the number of hostleries diminished, and the presence in the city of unemployed poor, natives or foreigners, discouraged. The years of his government were a time of great abundance, the necessaries of life were cheap, and the population increased rapidly, amounting, according to a probable estimate, to more than 200,000 souls.<sup>1</sup>

On the last day of the year 1328, the Doge Soranzo died. He had been an old man when elected in 1312, and was eighty-eight at his death. He was buried with all the honours usual at Venice for distinguished servants of the State who had attained the highest office. His body was carried to the Hall of the Signori di Notte, in golden shoes,

Nuove, was added in 1473. The grant from the Prior of San Daniele of the lake, with the *argine* and *fondamenta* belonging to it, in exchange for more than 2500 lire in *impresiti* of the public debt, together with the consent of the chapter of the convent, and of the abbot and chapter of the Benedictine convent of San Benigno di Fruttuaria in the diocese of Ivrea, from which the priory of San Daniele was dependent, is printed in *Commém.*, lib. ii. Nos. 454, 439, 440 (pp. 269 and 266 of vol. i. of series i. of *Monumenti Storici Ven.*, 1876), and in Cornaro, *Eccl. Ven.*, dec. vi. p. 199. The consent of the Bishop of Castello and the canons of his church is in the same vol. of *Monum. Storici*, Nos. 462, 463, p. 272. All these ecclesiastics state that they had been satisfied that the convent would not suffer in income by the alienation. The laws of the Republic took care that the private interests of religious communities should not be injured in the public interest.

<sup>1</sup> Roman., iii. p. 103, n. 10.

with his sword at his side, his escutcheon, that was to remain as a memorial of him in the Basilica, carried before him by a servant. There he lay in state, till carried by the nobles chosen for this office down the staircase of the palace and into the church of St. Mark by the principal western door. The dogressa and her ladies were awaiting the body in the church. When the funeral rites were ended, the body was deposited in the chapel of the Baptistery, in a sarcophagus that can still be seen there, with no name and no inscription—only the coat-of-arms of the Soranzo family. When he was left there, the bell that called the Great Council together was rung, and on its assembly in the palace, the senior counsellor of the doge spoke some words in praise of the dead and in lamentation for his death, and exhorted those present to pray to the Lord for the election of a good successor.

The prosperity that prevailed under the Doge Soranzo is illustrated by the numerous documents that have come down from that time relative to the foreign trade of the Republic. We have seen something in my last chapter of the Eastern trade of these days passing through Trebizond and Tabriz. The documents printed in the volumes of *Commemoriali* show us that trade with the West was also active. We read of one Tommaso Loredano, who exported a large quantity of sugar to England by the hands of one Nicoletto Basadonna. The sugar was exchanged in London for wool coming from *San Bitolfo*, that is, St. Botolph's town or Boston; and this wool was put on two *cocche* or merchant ships to be carried to Flanders, the headquarters of the weaving trade, from whence the Venetian trader was to carry manufactured cloth or linen back to Dalmatia or the Levant. The *cocche* laden with the wool were taken by English ships, and Basadonna, their captain, slain, for which the doge claimed redress.<sup>1</sup> From

<sup>1</sup> Marin, *St. del Commercio Venez.*, v. p. 306; *Comm.*, lib. ii. No. 191.

another document, of the date of December 1325, we hear of a fight that took place in Southampton between the crews of five Venetian galleys and men of Southampton and Wight, and of a proclamation by King Edward II., with the consent of his Parliament assembled in Westminster, in the octave of Martinmas, pardoning all the offence committed by the Venetians.<sup>1</sup>

Among the documents of about the same date is a letter from the Duke of Lorraine, Brabant, and Limburg, and another from the *echevins*, consuls, and citizens of Antwerp, praying the doge to allow merchants and travellers from Venice to frequent Antwerp. In 1319 the doge had prayed the Count of Flanders and the *echevins* of Bruges to lower the market dues and to allow Venetian traders to sell silk on any day—that is, I presume, not to be limited to certain market days.<sup>2</sup> In 1322 we are told of trading adventurers sending ships to Seville, Cadiz, and Lisbon, and it was worth while for the Venetian Government in 1320 to pay 2000 Florentine florins to Charles of Valois as the price of a patent of the French King relieving their traders from arbitrary imposts in France.

All the historians tell us, among the remarkable events of Doge Soranzo's time, of the birth in the year 1316 of three lion cubs. A lion and lioness had been given to the doge by Frederic, King of Sicily, and were kept in a cage or chamber in the courtyard of the palace under the portico, near the houses of the doge's *gastaldi*. Wild beasts had occasionally been kept in confinement here, occasionally in what was called the Terra Nuova, where the public granaries (*Magazzini per le biade*) afterwards were, next door to the Zecca or Mint, in the spot where the gardens of the royal palace now are. The notary of the duchy of Venice, Giovanni Marchesini, made a protocol of it in the register known as *Pacta*, that was kept generally for treaties or records of other dealings with

<sup>1</sup> *Comment.*, lib. ii. No. 453.

<sup>2</sup> *Roman.*, iii. 100, 101.



foreign powers. Marino Sanudo, in his "Lives of the Doges," has given us a copy of the entry in the register, which is amusing from its naïveté and humour. "In the said year and month, on Sunday the 12th of September, about the hour of matins at San Marco, just about sunrise, the said lioness brought forth naturally, as animals do, three lion cubs, living and hairy, who as soon as born began to move and to run about their mother in the chamber, as was seen by the said Lord Doge and almost all the inhabitants of Venice and elsewhere, who were at Venice the said day, who ran to see this almost miraculous sight. And one of the animals born is male, and the other two are female. I Giovanni Marchesini, notary of the duchy of Venice, as on the faith of my eyesight I saw the nativity of the said animals, so by order of the said Lord Doge have I written and registered the aforesaid statement."<sup>1</sup> He had previously recorded how many Venetians had witnessed three months before, in the cage, the performance, "naturally as animals do," of the proper antecedent of the birth. This curious record is, I imagine, one of the earliest notices in the history of zoological gardens.

The board of *correttori* who were appointed on the death of a doge to propose alterations in the Promissione of the new doge advised the increase of his stipend from 4000 to 5200 lire, the provision of plate worth 600 sequins for his use, and of a larger number of liveried servants. He was also to have for the initial expenses of his office a loan of 3000 lire from the Commune, to be repaid in full, if he lived for three years, and to the amount of 1000 lire, if he died in the third year. The Commune was also to provide the *zoja* or cap of state for the doge's use and the Bucintoro or state barge, which were to be kept by the Procuratori.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Apud* Muratori, *R. I. S.*, xxii. cols. 594, 595.

<sup>2</sup> The latter correction had been proposed for the Promissione of Marin Zorzi, but had been rejected. "Item cum poneretur pars quod

The Promissione prohibited the sacking of houses in honour of the election of a new doge, that had been a relic of old-fashioned roughness. Perhaps this and the increase of the doge's stipend may be taken as kindred provisions, evidence of the increased dignity that was thought to be due to the chief magistrate of a powerful State, who had been accustomed for some generations to be treated as an equal by kings and emperors and the new-fangled but powerful Signori of Milan or Verona. But if the doge's dignity was increased, there was no thought of increasing his power. This same Promissione took from him the power of summoning on his own authority the *arengo* or general assembly of citizens even for matters relating to the church of St. Mark, which was in theory the chapel of his palace.

Soranzo's successor, elected on the 4th of January 1329, was that Francesco Dandolo surnamed, like his contemporary, the great Scaliger, *Cane* ("the dog"), whom we met with, some chapters back, as ambassador from the Republic to the Pope, in 1311.<sup>1</sup> One of his first acts as doge was to receive from the inhabitants the surrender of Pola and Valle, in Istria, which had rebelled against the lieutenants of the Patriarch of Aquileia, and were saved from reconquest by Giustinian Giustiniani. The Venetians agreed to pay the patriarch for them an annual rent, which they were well worth, as they gave Venice a convenient outpost for the purposes of trade with Istria and Dalmatia.

The new doge was at once involved in negotiation with other Christian powers in contemplation of a new Crusade. The occasion for this action was the rapid progress made by the Ottoman Turks in Asia Minor, which had brought them

*Zoja Domini Ducis et Bucentaurus fierent per Comune, et staret ipsa Zoja in Procuratia et Bucentaurus in Arsenatu, captum fuit de stare firmi*" (Rom. iii. 82, n. 8), *i.e.* it was decided to leave things unaltered. As to Zoja see my "Early History," p. 360, n. 1. Zoja is the Venetian form of *gioia*, of which *gioiello*, "a jewel," is a derivative.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 212.

very near to the Bosphorus and the gates of Constantinople. In 1326, during the civil war between the grandfather and grandson, the elder and younger Andronicus, the Ottoman Turks had taken Prusa. The next places to be attacked were Nicæa and Nicomedia. Finlay has pointed out how the Turks, under their great Sultan Orkhan, discovered the secret of reducing to impotence by their own light-armed, irregular levies the Byzantine armies, that were still perhaps the best armed and best instructed in the world. This was by establishing fortified posts on all sides of the Byzantine cities, and from these wasting the lands, and stopping traffic on the high roads, till the citizens behind their walls felt the pressure of famine. Nicæa was forced to surrender in 1330, Nicomedia in 1339, and the Turkish strategy began to be employed with the same harassing effect on the capital itself. One method of defending themselves against Orkhan, to which Andronicus III., who was undisputed ruler of the Eastern Empire after his grandfather's death in 1322, resorted, was to take into the imperial service against the Ottomans some of the petty Turkish chiefs of the Seldjukian race, who were still numerous in Asia Minor, and bitterly jealous of the rising Ottoman power. It had been previously a Byzantine custom to engage these chiefs against the Genoese merchants or pirates, who were constantly attacking the coastland or islands of the Archipelago. These bands in the imperial service were brought over in the Emperor's ships to Europe, and began to set up Turkish settlements in Thrace or Macedonia. One of their objects was to capture Greek slaves for the markets of Asia Minor. In 1329 or 1330 Turkish bands plundered in the valley of the Hebrus as far as Trajanopolis; in 1331 another band wasted the country round Redestos; in 1332 there was a landing of Turks in the bay of Thessalonica; in 1334 many Greek islands were plundered and Greek merchant-ships taken by Turkish corsairs; and in 1340 a large force of 8000 Turks

penetrated as far as the foot of Mount Hæmus, bringing with them a long train of pack-horses, on which they packed the plunder of the country invaded, and carried it away to their ships.<sup>1</sup> In 1346 Orkhan induced John Cantacuzene, who had usurped the Empire from the weak hands of John Paleologus, to give his daughter, Theodora, in marriage to him, a Turkish Emir, and had received his bride with great splendour in his camp at Selymbria on the Propontis, in a European province, and not many miles from the capital. No one observing the state of Eastern Europe could doubt that the Turkish advance was a danger to the Greek Empire and to Christianity. A stipulation in a treaty Orkhan made with the Empress Anne of Savoy, as Regent for her son, John Paleologus, empowered the Turkish Emir to sell Christian captives at Constantinople, and the conscience of Christendom was shocked at the spectacle of "a naked crowd of Christians of both sexes and every age, of priests and monks, of matrons and virgins, exposed in the public market."<sup>2</sup> John Cantacuzene, who was a zealous Christian and theologian, felt shame at the alliance with the unbeliever, into which he had been driven by the exigencies of civil war, and sent an embassy to Pope Clement VI., who was still at Avignon, where he kept a splendid and profligate court, to pray for help from the West; and the talk of a Crusade and the union of the Churches that had gone so far in the time of Michael Paleologus was revived.

More than twenty years before this, in 1331, towards the end of the long pontificate of John XXII., an attempt to organise Christian resistance to the Turkish advance was being made. Philip of Valois, King of France, had written to the Doge Francesco Dandolo to say he had decided to send an expedition to the Holy Land, and to beg that envoys might be sent to him from Venice before

<sup>1</sup> Finlay, "Byz. and Greek Emp.," ii. pp. 527-34.

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon, c. lxiv. viii. p. 27, ed. of Dr. Smith.

Christmas Eve, with power to fix the number of ships the Republic would supply for the expedition, and to inform him of the cost of passages on Venetian ships, the price of victuals and wines of Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> In May 1332 the Venetian envoys handed in their answer in writing, imposing stringent conditions, such as the consent of the Holy See; peace with Christian powers—that is to say, no attack on the Greek Empire or Hungary; the provision of a sufficient force to ensure success, viz., 20,000 horse and 50,000 foot, with a corresponding number of machines and materials of war; and the immediate despatch to the Levant of twenty or thirty galleys to check the Turkish fleet, and to contract for the supply of provisions in the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, Romania, Candia, and the Black Sea. If these conditions were satisfied, Venice would supply ships for the passage to Asia of 5000 horses and 10,000 foot-soldiers, with their baggage, and provisions for a year. If the King himself took part in the enterprise, she would provide in addition 4000 sailors for six months. The place of landing in Syria was not disclosed in the written instructions, but the envoys were empowered to state it verbally. In September of the same year a treaty of alliance for five years, between the Greek Emperor, Venice, and the Knights of St. John, was made at Rhodes, binding the contingents of the three powers to meet at Negropont in April 1333. But the unreadiness of Andronicus prevented the execution of this treaty and of a modification of it agreed to at Avignon in 1334.<sup>2</sup> The death of Pope John XXII. in that year made a postponement of the Crusade necessary, but Venice ordered Pietro Zeno, who about the same time was sent to put down a revolt in Candia, to begin the execution of the agreement with France by taking Turkish ships in the Archipelago.

<sup>1</sup> *Commem.*, iii. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iii. 252, 264, and 321. See also Romanin, iii. p. 112. The treaty of 1334 joined the King of France, the Pope, and the King of Cyprus to the other contracting powers.

In 1342, Henry, Patriarch of Constantinople, came to Venice with a Bull of Pope Clement VI., announcing that in consequence of the losses suffered by the Venetians and other Christians in the East at the hands of the Turks, he had made an agreement with the King of Cyprus and "the Priors and Masters of the Religion of Rhodes" for an expedition to the East, and asking the doge to inform the cardinal-legate, accredited as ambassador to the Italian Governments, what galleys Venice would contribute. The doge, having promised to furnish one-fourth of the armada to be sent against the Turks, was informed by another Papal Bull in August 1343 that the Pope had agreed with the King of Cyprus and the Knights of Rhodes to send a fleet of twenty galleys to Negropont by next All Saints' Day, and was invited to send six galleys—one more than the promised fourth part—and not counting one that the people of Negropont were themselves arming.<sup>1</sup> In the next month, the Patriarch of Grado and his suffragans were informed by the Pope of the alliance he had formed, and instructed to preach a Crusade in all the churches subject to them, with the offer of indulgences usually granted to those who fought for the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>2</sup> In December another Bull was issued, empowering the same prelates to raise from their churches the tithe that the Pope had ordered to be levied on all ecclesiastical revenues in England, France, and Spain, and all other countries of the world, excepting only the revenues of the religion of Rhodes.<sup>3</sup> In December 1344, the Pope formally congratulated the Knights of Rhodes and the Venetians on their success in taking Smyrna from the Turks;<sup>4</sup> and in December 1345 he prolonged for two more years the special tax on ecclesiastical property.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Commém.*, iv. Nos. 18, 22, 24, 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iv. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, iv. 100.

<sup>4</sup> For a fuller account of this expedition see *post*, p. 379.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, iv. 185.

If the Venetians were not very sincere in their desire of a Crusade, they were probably no more insincere than most of the sovereigns of Europe who took up the idea at this time. Philip of France had the ambition to strike a blow for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre and also to drive the Moors out of Spain : but such projects were, and had been since the time of the first Charles of Anjou, a part of the necessary equipment of any prince who aspired to be the champion of the Church. As the champion of the Church, it was also one of his aims to wrest the imperial crown from Louis the Bavarian, whose long contest with the Papacy was the most characteristic feature of the history of the early years of the fourteenth century. When, in July 1346, three months before the death of Louis, the electors met at Rhense and filled the place of the excommunicated Emperor by the choice of a rival German prince, Charles of Moravia, son and heir of John, the blind King of Bohemia, who fell at Crecy in August of that year, it was part of the programme of the new King of the Romans that he should take the Cross and lead an expedition against the Turks. I have quoted in a former chapter the lines in which Petrarch hailed the new Charlemagne, who was at length to deliver the Holy City from the infidel.<sup>1</sup>

But the Crusade never came off, and Venice was not called upon to undertake its passage to Syria. And about the same time that Pope John XXII. began to negotiate about the Crusade, Venice became involved in a serious dispute with the Scaligers of Verona. When Can Grande della Scala died suddenly in 1329, his power had grown so as to reach nearly across Italy from sea to sea. He was Lord of Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Feltre, and Belluno, and had just possessed himself of Treviso. His two nephews, who succeeded him, extended these dominions still further : Alberto was, indeed, an indolent man of

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 252.

pleasure, but Mastino was able and ambitious. John of Luxemburg (the blind King of Bohemia) had endeavoured at this time with some success to pacify the Lombard cities, but both Guelfs and Ghibellines united their forces to check the foreigner from beyond the Alps, and Mastino della Scala and Azzo Visconti took advantage of this to extend their own power: while Visconti seized Cremona, the Scaligers added Parma and eventually Lucca to their lordship.

The addition of Padua and Treviso to Mastino's lordship made him the immediate neighbour of Venice, and the inheritor of more than one quarrel with the Republic. He claimed the right to levy transit dues on Venetian merchandise passing up the Po or the other rivers, and export duties on the produce of the Terra Ferma that Venice required to feed her swarming population, much of which produce came from lands belonging to Venetian convents; he resented the monopoly of salt, which was the source of so much Venetian wealth, and endeavoured to produce salt in his own dominions or to import it from Germany; and to protect his own salt-works he rebuilt a fort, formerly belonging to the Paduans, at a place called Petadebò.<sup>1</sup> Negotiations went on, embassies were sent from both sides; Mastino, impatient of the numerous documents sent him under the leaden seal of the doge, bade the Venetians keep their lead for roofing the campanile of St. Mark. His refusal to dismantle Petadebò brought matters to a crisis, and war was declared. The doge had been for peace, but was in a minority, the whole people being zealous for resisting the overgrown power of the Scaligers, and ready to volunteer for military service. It was necessary, however, to hire mercenary troops: and the aggressions

<sup>1</sup> Petadebò or Petta di Bò is shown on the map of the lagoons executed by the Hydrographic Expedition of 1868 as an isolated spot between the Valle dei Sette Morti and the Palude di Fondello, some five or six miles NNW. of Chioggia.



of Mastino on his neighbours had caused the exile of many of the party leaders in other cities, who could be made into capable and willing condottieri. Laurentius de Monacis<sup>1</sup> describes how troops from Italy, France, Germany, and Burgundy assembled at Ravenna, and from thence were taken in ships to the Lido of St. Nicolas, and there encamped, and provided with all the supplies required for men and horses. Pietro de' Rossi of Parma, the most accomplished general in Italy, was holding out his castle of Pontremolo to the last extremity against Mastino, and gladly engaged to lead the Venetian troops.<sup>2</sup> Florence, whom the Scaligers had deprived of Lucca, was ready to furnish money for the campaign.

The army of Venice and her allies lost no time in striking a decisive blow. War was declared on the 14th of July 1336, and on the 10th of October Pietro de' Rossi, after a successful incursion into the territory of Lucca, came to Venice, and received from the doge in San Marco the banner of the Republic, and without delay crossed the Brenta into Paduan territory, and on St. Cecilia's Day<sup>3</sup>—the 22nd of November—was in possession of the fort built by Scaliger to protect his salt-works, which had been one of the chief causes of the quarrel with Venice. The men of Chioggia had joined in the attack from their ships, and now pulled down the fort and with its stones built another

<sup>1</sup> Lib. xv. p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> There is a pretty account in Laur. de Monacis, *l.c.*, of his parting with his wife and daughters at Pontremolo and escape in disguise to Florence.

<sup>3</sup> See in Verci (*Storia della Marca Trivigiana*, tom. xi., *Documenti*, p. 79), the decree of the Great Council of Chioggia, ordering a solemn feast yearly on St. Cecilia's Day, with a provision of 100 soldi from the treasury of the Commune for "*dopleria*" (torches with a wick of doubled cord) to illuminate the statue of the Madonna during the whole of the mass, because on that day "*Salvator mundi qui superbis resistit, humilibusque dat gratiam, dedit et castrum Salinarum, et hostes qui in eo erant, in manibus dominationis Venetiarum.*" Verci's account of this war in the text of the same volume (pp. 52 *sqq.*) is interesting. Lorenzo de Monacis (lib. xv.) is also a contemporary authority for these events.

fort at Stalimbeco, called Torre dell' Aggere. This unfortunate beginning of the war, in consequence of which Padua was already hard pressed by the allies, and De' Rossi was able to take some of the suburbs of Treviso, encouraged the numerous enemies of the Scaligers to join the league against them. Ambassadors came to Venice from Visconti, Lord of Milan, Este of Ferrara, and Gonzaga of Mantua, to endeavour to form a league for the destruction and ruin of the two brothers Della Scala. Charles, Prince of Bohemia, and his brother, the Count of Carinthia,<sup>1</sup> who had pretensions to Feltre, Belluno, and Cadore, also joined the confederacy against the Scaligers.

In January 1337 a large embassy from Azzo Visconti, the Estes, and Gonzagas, came to Venice to attempt mediation between the Scaligers and their enemies. With them came Marsilio da Carrara, apparently as an informal envoy from the two brothers Della Scala. In this capacity he was naturally an object of suspicion, and the mob of Venice stoned and insulted him. He returned to Padua and complained of this treatment, saying that he could not go again on a similar embassy with safety. But while at Venice he had found an opportunity of secret negotiation with the doge, who, while walking up and down among the ambassadors in the portico of the palace, had exchanged a few words with each of them in private. The bargain had been soon struck. Marsilio had said, "What if I were to give you Padua?" "You should be its lord," was the doge's reply. Details were left to be settled in writing.<sup>2</sup>

It had probably been imprudent of the brothers to

<sup>1</sup> Romanin (iii. p. 124) says, "Prince Charles of Bohemia and John of Carinthia, his brother." I gather from Hopf's *Hist. Geneal. Atlas*, abth. i. pp. 358, 359, and 366, that these were Charles, Margrave of Moravia and King of the Romans, who became in 1346 King of Bohemia, on the death of his father, and in the same year Emperor as Charles IV., and his brother John Henry, Count of Tyrol, the first husband of Margaret Maultasche.

<sup>2</sup> Laurentius de Monacis, xv. p. 298.

entrust their interests to one who had once been Lord of Padua, and had been compelled to exchange his independent rule for dependence on their family. Marsilio's cousin, Ubertino da Carrara, had suffered at the hands of Alberto della Scala the most poignant dishonour that a husband can suffer.<sup>1</sup> Marsilio and Ubertino became both zealous allies of Venice, and at the same time the armies of the allies were successful. They missed, indeed, the opportunity of taking Verona through the treachery or bad strategy of Luchino Visconti; but Pietro de' Rossi got possession of Treviso, and, Mastino having failed to relieve Padua, that city also fell into the hands of the Venetians. The division of the places taken from the Scaligers was settled by an arrangement made before the city was taken, and ratified, after its fall, at a conference in Marsilio's house at Padua. Padua, Monselice, Este, with Castelbaldo, Cittadella, and Bassano, were to be governed by Marsilio, and after him by Ubertino, Venice and her allies pledging themselves to make no peace with the Scaligers that did not secure to the Carrara family their property in Padua, even if the government of the city could not be obtained. In return for this promise the Carraras guaranteed to Venice all the trading privileges they had possessed in Paduan territory, and the right to bring to the lagoons without hindrance, the produce of the lands on the Terra Firma belonging to Venetian monasteries or private owners.

When Padua at length was taken in August 1337, Alberto della Scala was brought a prisoner to Venice, and Venetian commissioners were sent to hand over the city to the Carraras. Fortune had declared everywhere against

<sup>1</sup> Daru adds, "il avait fait surmonter de deux cornes d'or le cimier qui couronnait ses armes, pour éterniser le souvenir de son injure." Characteristically, he makes Marsilio the outraged husband and Mastino the seducer (ii. p. 91, ed. 1826). The contemporary authority for this story is the *Istoria Padovana* of Galeazzo and Andrea Gataro (Muratori, *R. I. S.*, xvii. cols. 21 and 22). See also a curious extract from an anonymous chronicle in Paduan dialect in Cittadella (*Storia della Dominazione Carrarese in Padova*, i. p. 456).

the Scaligers. Brescia and Bergamo had been won by Visconti, Feltre and Belluno by Charles of Bohemia. Rolando de' Rossi, who succeeded to the chief command of the Venetian army, when his brother Pietro was killed at the storming of Monselice, carried his victorious arms nearly up to the walls of Verona, and afterwards threatened Lucca. The agreement with the Carraras had enabled Venice and her allies to gain a decided advantage over the lords of Verona, and the capture of Alberto della Scala had no doubt a powerful influence in inclining his brother to peace. Ubertino da Carrara, who succeeded Marsilio in 1338, Obizzo d'Este, and ambassadors from Florence met Francesco da Rugolino, the representative of Mastino, at Venice in the winter of 1338-39, and on the 24th of January 1339 (1338 according to Venetian reckoning) a treaty was signed. By this Lucca, which had proved the chief difficulty in the negotiations, remained in the hands of Mastino; but the fortresses and lands belonging to it, that had been subject to Florence before the war, were to revert to her. Parma also was retained by the Scaligers, subject to a moderate money payment to the De' Rossi family. The Scaligers ceded Treviso, Castelbaldo, and Bassano to the Venetians, who retained Treviso, while handing over Castelbaldo and Bassano to Ubertino da Carrara. Detailed provisions as to other places established the general rule of restoring the *status quo* before the growth of the Scaligers' power. The princes of Bohemia, the Count of Carinthia, the Visconti, the Estes, and the Gonzagas, and many smaller princes of North Italy were parties to this treaty, which was celebrated by the admission of many of the chief allies of Venice, such as the Estes, Gonzagas, and Carraras, and the Scaligers themselves, as those who were to be friends for the future, to the ranks of the Venetian nobility, and by a grand tournament in the Piazza of St. Mark.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The terms of this peace are given in the *Historia Cortusiorum*,

The treaty that ended the war with the Scaligers forms an epoch in Venetian history, as it was the first occasion of a large and important province of the Terra Ferma being placed under the government of the Republic. The March of Treviso, which was ceded to Venice, reached northward as far as the Pedemonte we have met with in the history of Ecelino, the country of Asolo and Bassano. This part, with Castelbaldo, Venice gave up to the Carraras, lords of Padua: the districts of Treviso, Conegliano, Castelfranco, Sacile, and Oderzo, she kept under her own government, appointing a podestà for Treviso, another for Conegliano, and officers of less dignity for the other places. The Podestà of Treviso had a lesser and a greater council to advise and control him, and was required not to be a citizen of Treviso or of any of the towns in its immediate neighbourhood. This was the general rule in all the cities of North Italy, where in the last two centuries podestàs had sprung up. In future years, as the extent of the Terra Ferma under the government of Venice increased, it was the rule to set up a podestà in all the principal places, a capitano or provveditore in the less important, and to surround the podestà with counsellors and other officials, under regulations very much on the model of the constitutional arrangements of the *Dominante* or Ruling City, as Venice came to be called. The Podestà of Treviso was to be elected by a complicated series of indirect elections, very much as was the case in the election of a doge; these indirect elections resulted in the choice of three candidates, who were balloted for in the council of 300, the one who received most votes being podestà for the first six months of the year, the second for the last six months, while the third was called third podestà. The podestà administered

vii. 18 (Muratori, *R. I. S.*, tom. xii. cols. 896, 897). Romanin's account of them (iii. pp. 126, 127, and 129, 130) is a little confused: the treaty with the Carraras (Sept. 1337) and with Florence and the Scaligers (Jan. 1339) made up together the complete settlement.

justice in a court, of which the Anziani of the several Arti or trade guilds were to be members.<sup>1</sup>

We have an account, written in 1787, in the last years of the Republic, of the constitution of Chioggia, where there were two councils, a greater one composed of citizens of Venetian origin, a lesser of six members elected by the greater council, which also elected the magistrates, judges, and more important officers, including a Grand Chancellor, who, as at Venice, was at the head of all the secretaries (members of the Civil Service in modern phraseology), who were appointed by the lesser council. In the election of the Grand Chancellor, the Grand Council of Chioggia was subject to the control of the Collegio of Venice.<sup>2</sup>

The first Podestà of Treviso, who was transferred from Padua, where he had been appointed to the same office for the year from 1st March 1338 to 28th of February 1339, bore a name long well known in Venetian history, and destined to a melancholy immortality from his time, Marin Faliero. He was already sixty years old, and had done much service to his country at home and abroad; he had been on the Council of Ten in 1315 and 1320, and had taken an active part in the proceedings against Bajamonte Tiepolo; in 1327 he had been sent on an embassy to Bologna; in 1333 he had commanded some galleys sent to the Black Sea and Constantinople to guard the fleet of merchantmen sailing to Tana: he had been podestà at Farra and Brazzo in Dalmatia, at Chioggia until his removal to Padua in 1338, and in the war against the Scaligers

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iii. pp. 132, 133.

<sup>2</sup> *Topografia Veneta*, iii. pp. 285, 286. Treviso, according to the same account, was governed by a Venetian noble with the title of podestà and capitano, but apparently without any council. Another podestà resided at Castelfranco, the pretty little walled town between Treviso and Vicenza, famous for a great picture by Giorgione in the Duomo. Conegliano, which had not been in Venetian possession uninterruptedly since the time of the Scaligers, was in 1787 under the government of a Venetian noble, whom the author of the *Topografia* calls merely *Rappresentante* (*ib.*, iv. 154 *sqq.*, 169 *sqq.*).

had served with the army sent to La Motta. Besides this he had held minor offices, beginning with that of *savio agli Ordini*, or *alli Ordigni*, the gate by which young nobles at Venice generally entered on public life, an office which admitted them, but without a vote, to the full Collegio or Executive Council, which met every day, and enabled them to become acquainted at an early age, from twenty-three to twenty-five, with secret and confidential business of State.<sup>1</sup>

The early age at which Venetian nobles could be appointed<sup>2</sup> to office, and the short time for which offices were held—in many cases not more than six months—facilitated the accumulation of experience, and made the Republic an admirable training school for statesmen: we have already remarked one evidence of this in the frequent employment of Venetians as podestàs in other cities. Besides his repeated service as *savio*, Marin Faliero had been in 1327 one of the *Anziani alla Pace*, who were police officers for the city, and had served on many commissions appointed to advise on special matters—*e.g.* as to the reply to be given to a letter from the captain of the league against the Turks in November 1333.<sup>3</sup>

I shall have occasion in a later chapter to go more fully into the history of the administration of the Terra Ferma. Venice had long had subject islands or fortresses—Candia, Negropont, Modone and Corone in the Morea, besides the islands of the Quarnero, and those on the coast of Dalmatia, and the maritime cities of the Dalmatian mainland.

<sup>1</sup> Yriarte, *Vie d'un Patricien*, pp. 23, 24 (4to ed.). They were not always young men, for in 1335, when Marin Faliero was one of them, he was fifty-seven.

<sup>2</sup> Those who had served as *savii agli Ordini* were made special exceptions to the rule that made thirty-five the minimum age for the Pregadi, being allowed to enter that council at twenty-eight (Besta, *Il Senato Venez.*, p. 84).

<sup>3</sup> See Lazzarini's paper, *Marino Faliero avanti il Dogado in Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, v. pt. i. (1893), pp. 106-16.

A narrow fringe of the mainland of Italy had also long formed part of the Dogado or duchy of Venice. The traditional boundary of the Dogado reached inland from the seashore<sup>1</sup> only one mile: but the rivers flowing into the Adriatic, and constantly depositing fresh soil, gradually converted what had been lagoon into Terra Ferma, so that not only islands like Murano and Torcello, more than a mile from the sea, but continental places like Chioggia and Brondolo, and Caorle and Cavarzere, in olden times known as Caput Aggeris or Capodargine, from its situation at the end of the embankment that kept the Adige from overflowing the low country near it,<sup>2</sup> belonged to the Dogado. In later times the cities or districts of the Dogado were under magistrates with the titles of Podestà, Proveditor, Capitano, but in the times we are now dealing with they were subject in both administrative and judicial matters to the magistrates and courts of the city, the *Dominante*. The Greek or Dalmatian dependencies were under Rettori or Conti, the former always sent from Venice, the latter sometimes Venetians and sometimes natives. But the whole of Dalmatia was in later times governed by a Venetian senator with the title of Proveditor-General of Dalmatia and Albania, an officer of co-ordinate rank with the Captain-General of the Gulf, *i.e.* of the Adriatic.

In the same year that the treaty with the Scaligers was signed, on October 31, 1339, the old Doge Francesco Dandolo died. He had been the instrument of conferring two signal benefits on his country. In 1313 he had induced the Pope to remove the excommunication, and in 1339 he had conquered for her the first province of Terra Ferma. The *Breve* over his coat of arms commemorated this conquest in the lines "Marchia tota diu mecum bellando

<sup>1</sup> "From the point where the salt waters met the fresh."

<sup>2</sup> *Mestre*, though so near the city of Venice, was never part of the Dogado, but belonged to the Trevisano and formed part of the Terra Ferma (*Topog. Ven.*, iv. p. 160).



subacta Tarvisium tandem sub mea jura dedit," where "the March" represents the whole territory of the Scaligers. He was buried among the Franciscans in the chapter-house of Sta. Maria de' Frari, in one of the most beautiful of Venetian tombs, now removed to the cloister of the Seminario Patriarchale, as to which there is an eloquent lament in Ruskin's "Stones of Venice."<sup>1</sup>

Before the election of his successor, the Correttori appointed, as usual, to revise the Promissione imposed some further restrictions on the doge's power, requiring the consent of greater and lesser council to his abdication, and prohibiting his answering any communication on public affairs without consulting the lesser council. On the 7th November his successor was elected, Bartolomeo Gradenigo, Procurator of St. Mark *de supra*, an old man of seventy-six. He governed the Republic only three years, and then died on the 28th of December 1342, and was buried in San Marco. He appears to have upheld the dignity of his city-Republic and its chief magistrate, for Edward III. of England, going to war with the French King, made to the doge a statement of his case against France, prayed for the aid of forty Venetian galleys, or, if this could not be granted, at least that Venice would be neutral, and keep Genoa neutral, offering in return to grant advantages to Venetian trade, and to receive at his court, a famous school of knightly prowess,<sup>2</sup> two sons of the doge. The doge replied with gratitude, but pointed to the constantly increasing power of the Turkish fleets in the Mediterranean, as a conclusive reason against sending Venetian

<sup>1</sup> iii. ii. 74, ed. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> "Quos præ ceteris suæ curiæ honorare intendit et tribuere præmium honoris militiæ, ipsos ad majora prosequendo, unde tota civitas Venetiarum merito habebit contentari" (Lor. de Mon., xv. p. 308, in the Appendix to vol. viii. of Muratori's *R. I. S.*, 1758). The answer of the doge given by the chronicler is very dignified. The letters are calendared in Predelli's *Commemoriali*, iii. 487-89 (Mon., *Storici*, u.s., iii. p. 85).

galleys to attack a Christian power in the West.<sup>1</sup> The duty of keeping the Turks at bay was coming to be recognised as incumbent on Venice: John Paleologus, the Emperor of Constantinople, looked to Venetian or Genoese capitalists to lend him the money with which he bought off the attacks of the unbelievers now firmly established at Brusa. We can read in Predelli's *Commemoriali* an abstract of the deed<sup>2</sup> by which that unfortunate sovereign pawns his crown jewels to the Venetian bailo and his counsellors at Constantinople for a loan of 30,000 gold ducats required to pay off another loan due to certain Venetians of Constantinople, Negropont, and other places. I have in a former chapter referred to the repeated attempts made in these years by the Avignon Popes to set on foot a great Crusade against Syria or Egypt under the Venetians, the King of France, the Emperor of Constantinople, the King of Cyprus, and the Knights of Rhodes. It was very likely in connexion with these efforts to save the Eastern Empire from imminent destruction that in the summer of 1342 the Genoese and Venetians attempted through their representatives at Tana in the Black Sea to settle all differences between the two Republics.<sup>3</sup>

The government of Bartolomeo Gradenigo was distinguished by several new buildings in the city: the church of the Servi,<sup>4</sup> one of the most beautiful in Venice, which

<sup>1</sup> "Respondit quod notorium est toti mundo in quantum sancta fides Christiana assidue opprimitur per Turchos hostes nefarios Sanctæ Crucis, qui terras insulas et homines partium Romanie crudelissime delent. . . . Armant etiam ligna et galeas ducentas et trecentas, cum quis proficiscuntur, quo volunt contra Christianos non reperientes obstaculum nisi a galeis Venetorum" (Lor. de Monacis, *u.s.*, p. 309).

<sup>2</sup> In Predelli, *Commem.*, *u.s.*, iv. 56, p. 124. It was executed in the palace of Blachernæ, under the golden bolla, and signed by the Emperor's hand in red ink.

<sup>3</sup> Predelli, *Commem.*, *u.s.*, iii. 575 and 580, pp. 102, 103.

<sup>4</sup> The order of Servi B. M. Virginis was founded at Florence early in the fourteenth century. Pietro da Todi, the eighth prior-general of the order, came to Venice in 1316, and one Giov. Avanzo, who had

was demolished by an act of vandalism in 1812,<sup>1</sup> but had been in its time one of the favourite burying-places for Venetian families of distinction,<sup>2</sup> was begun in 1330, and was by this time slowly rising to its full height, though it was not finished till 1474. Thus it was strictly contemporary with the doge's palace, in the Gothic style most peculiar to Venice. It seems to have had some peculiar connexion with the silk weavers from Lucca, who had a Guild of the Sacred Face (*Sodalitium Vultus Sancti*) in this church, and used at Easter to eat the paschal lamb with adjuncts and ceremonies derived from Lucca in the refectory of the monks.<sup>3</sup>

About the same time a Foundling Hospital was founded by a Franciscan, Pietro d'Assisi, near the church of San Francesco della Vigna, a great public granary was established on what was called the Terra Nova, on the site of the present garden of the royal palace, and a new hall for the meetings of the Great Council was added to the doge's palace. As this addition marks the acme of Gothic architecture in Venice, and was the beginning of the palace we now know, and as the history of the building is not altogether clear, a few pages may be devoted here to a building of so singular a charm, that has impressed the imagination of so many generations. Probably no building has called forth so much enthusiasm in Venetians and foreigners. From Guardi and Canaletti to Turner and Bonington, artists have never been tired of painting it, and writers on

apparently received a patent of nobility at Venice for some service to the State, granted a site for the monastery (Corner., *E. V.*, tom. ii. p. 3).

<sup>1</sup> Ruskin's "Stones of Venice" ("Venetian Index," *s.v.*, iii. p. 359, ed. 1898).

<sup>2</sup> Verde della Scala, who was buried there (Flam. Corn., *E. V.*, ii. p. 23), was daughter of Mastino and wife of Nicold d'Este. Miss Yonge says the name Viridis was not uncommon in the fourteenth century ("Hist. of Christian Names," i. 423). Fra Paoli Sarpi was a monk of the Servite convent, and is buried there.

<sup>3</sup> Flam. Corn., *E. V.*, ii. pp. 54 *sqq.*

architecture from Sansovino to Ruskin have studied and described its details with loving care. The old palace that preceded it was spoken of by the chroniclers who described the visits of Otto III. and Henry V. to Venice as of a beauty that claimed the admiration of those emperors. From the fact that the Basilica of St. Mark was primarily the chapel of the doge's palace, we may assume that the palace was not unworthy of its chapel: but the Venetians of that day did not express their admiration by painting or drawing it; we have no plan or drawing of it,<sup>1</sup> and must form an image of it in our minds from the few remains of Byzantine architecture still standing in Venice, the most notable of which are the *Fondaco de' Turchi*, once a palace of the Dukes of Ferrara, now forming part of the Museo Civico, and the *Casa Loredan* and *Casa Farsetti*, on the Grand Canal below the Rialto, both now occupied by the Municipio.<sup>2</sup> But though we must trust to our imaginations for the outward presentment of the doge's palace that had been the seat of government since the time of Sebastiano Ziani, and probably had not been much changed since the time of Partecipazii and Orseoli, when the first dwelling-place of the prince rose on the Rialto shore side by side with the still standing palace chapel dedicated to the Evangelist Patron Saint, we know a great deal about its

<sup>1</sup> The oldest picture of the city appears to be one in an illuminated MS. in the Bodleian dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century (Molmenti, *St. di V. nella Vita privata*, i. p. 42). Others are in existence about a century later. None of these make any pretence to accuracy. The valuable map that Tomaso Temanza found in the Marcian Library is much older (of the middle of the twelfth century); but it is a bare map, without any pictorial illustrations except a few conventional church towers. It was published with very instructive notes in 1781, and is reproduced by Molmenti opposite p. 37 of vol. i. In my "Early History" (p. 107, n. 1) I have expressed the opinion (differing from that of Molmenti) that this map is of the fourteenth century. Temanza (pp. 53, 54) thinks the outline of the map is of the twelfth century, but that many of the names were inserted in the fourteenth.

<sup>2</sup> They are illustrated at page 32 of Molmenti's *Venezia* in the series *Italia Artistica* (Bergamo, 1903).

internal arrangements. In 1838 the Abate Cadorin published the opinions of fifteen eminent architects, that were obtained by the Signoria after a fire in 1577 had seriously damaged the palace, as to the propriety of restoring or pulling down and rebuilding it.<sup>1</sup> All the opinions are sworn to: the Venetian laws ever placed great reliance on the sanctity of an oath. The great Palladio, who was one of the fifteen, advised pulling down and rebuilding in the classical style then most in fashion, which had been adopted in the many buildings with which he had beautified his own city of Vicenza, and in the three great churches, San Giorgio Maggiore, the Redentore, and San Francesco della Vigna, that he had designed or was shortly to design in Venice. The most valuable part of Cadorin's treatise is, however, not the opinions of the sixteenth-century architects, but the extracts he made in his notes from old documents in the archives illustrating the long history of the palace. A similar line has been taken by two learned antiquaries of late years—Francesco Zanotto, who in four solid and handsome quarto volumes,<sup>2</sup> published between 1841 and 1861, has collected a vast number of published and unpublished notices of every part of the doge's palace and of the series of events associated with each; and Giambattista Lorenzi, Assistant Librarian of the Marciana, who in his *Monumenti per servire alla Storia del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia* (1869) has collected from the archives and published, with only dates and the words relating to the palace, every record of work done on the building or public event that took place there. Ruskin, in the second and third volumes of his "Stones of Venice," has made much use of the Abate Cadorin's book<sup>3</sup>—the other books I have mentioned, the

<sup>1</sup> *Pareri di XV. Architetti, &c.*, per l'Abate Giuseppe Cadorin.

<sup>2</sup> *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, per F. Zanotto.

<sup>3</sup> He says ("Stones of Venice," ii. viii. 303), "I cannot help feeling some childish pleasure in the accidental resemblance to my own name in that of the architect whose opinion was first given in favour of the ancient fabric, Giovanni Rusconi."

latter of which is dedicated to him, have been published since the "Stones of Venice"—and has added much, from his own intimate acquaintance with the details of the building, to increase our knowledge of its history.

The original palace, and the original chapel, of the doge (*cappella Ducale*) were built about the year 810 A.D., near the old church of St. Theodore and Ponte della Paglia, so called from the hay and straw which barges from the mainland landed there.<sup>1</sup> Both palace and chapel were burned in 976 in the riot in which the Doge Candiano IV. was murdered, but the destruction of the palace was not so complete as to prevent John the Deacon, a contemporary writing after the fire, from describing Agnello Partecipazio as the builder of the palace still remaining.<sup>2</sup> San Marco was rebuilt by Pietro Orseolo I., the Saint, who succeeded Candiano, but the palace was probably left for his son, the next doge, Pietro Orseolo II., to restore. That great doge was, as will be remembered, visited by the Emperor Otto III., whom he lodged "in the Eastern Tower," which must have stood by the Rio del Palazzo, the canal over which the *Ponte della Paglia*, and at a later date the Bridge of Sighs, were thrown. In 1105-6 there were again two great fires in the palace within two months, but ten years after the later of these, Ordelafo Falier, the doge, was again able to entertain in his palace another imperial guest, Henry V., who, we are told, admired not only the site of the city and the beauty of its buildings, but the equity of its government.<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of the twelfth century, it was repaired and enlarged by the Doge Sebastiano Ziani, who, while leaving it practically on the same site as before,

<sup>1</sup> Ruskin's "Stones of Venice," ii. viii. p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Qui Palatii huc usque manentis fuerit fabricator*, quoted by Ruskin ("Stones of Venice," ii. viii. 289). The passage of John the Deacon is to be found at vol. i. p. 106 of Monticolo's *Cronache Veneziane Antichissime*.

<sup>3</sup> This is from a Dandolo Chronicle quoted in Cadorin (Ruskin, "Stones of Venice," ii. viii. p. 289, n. 5).

made some changes, which were facilitated by his pulling down of the wall that had been built during the panic of an Hungarian invasion at the beginning of the tenth century, reaching "from the head of the canal of Castello to the church of St. Maria Zobenigo."<sup>1</sup> This wall, as we can see from Temanza's map, ran round the group of buildings formed by San Marco and the palace, passing between the latter and the canal (opposite San Giorgio), and separating both church and palace from the Piazzetta. The removal<sup>2</sup> of this enabled Ziani to extend his palace on the south to the water's edge, leaving only a narrow strip of dry land (*un poco di fondamenta*),<sup>3</sup> and to advance its front towards the Piazzetta to its present position, nearly in line with the western façade of San Marco. The Piazzetta was in Ziani's time (1173 to 1178) and till 1264 unpaved: it had been part of an orchard or garden belonging to the nuns of San Zaccaria, and was known as the *Brolio*, *Bruolo*, or *Brojo*<sup>4</sup> of San Zaccaria. Old chronicles quoted by Gallicciolli<sup>5</sup> and by Zanotto<sup>6</sup> speak of the palace as built "*in lo luogo detto Brojo*," "*in brolio in el confin di San Moise*," and describe its site, before it was paved, as "*tutta erba, perciò detta Brolio*." Another old writer says that "in the open

<sup>1</sup> See my "Early History of Venice," pp. 106 and 107, n. 1. The canal of Castello was far away to the east, the canal that passes in front of San Pietro. Temanza's map shows the wall beginning near this by San Daniele, the lake of which was not yet included in the arsenal. No more of it is shown except the part round the old arsenal, and that round the precincts of San Marco and the palace.

<sup>2</sup> See Zanotto, *Il Palazzo Ducale*, vol. i. (*Storia della Fabbrica*, cap. vi. p. 23).

<sup>3</sup> Chronicle quoted by Gallicciolli, lib. i. cap. viii., n. 250 (Zanotto, *u.s.*, p. 25).

<sup>4</sup> For the meaning of these words see p. 79, n. 1 of my "Early History of Venice." The word Broglio was still in use in the time of Giannotti. One of the ends of the Hall of the Great Council was the "Testa di verso Broglio," the opposite "Testa di verso Castello." The sides of the hall were "di verso San Marco" (north), "di verso San Giorgio" (south). Contarini and Giannotti, 1678, p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> *Memorie Venete*, lib. 1, cap. v. n. 92.

<sup>6</sup> *Il Palazzo Ducale*, vol. i., Introd., p. 27.

space where the well<sup>1</sup> now is there was a *Bruolo* with the church of San Geminiano."<sup>2</sup> When this extension of the site became available, Ziani appears to have pulled down the wing facing the Piazzetta, or perhaps only its façade, and to have carried the opposite (eastern) front up to the Rio del Palazzo. What change he made in the Grand Canal front it is not so easy to say; but Sansovino tells us that "he not only renewed or repaired the old palace, but enlarged it in every direction."<sup>3</sup>

The Byzantine building that Sebastiano Ziani took in hand in the last quarter of the twelfth century and enlarged and beautified was the palace in which the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa was lodged for two months in 1177. No doubt his rooms were in the part of the palace towards San Marco or towards the Rio, in which the doge's apartments were situated at that time, and indeed ever afterwards, till the end of the Republic, the part which Sansovino calls *Palazzo Ducale* and distinguishes from *Palazzo Pubblico*, the part facing the Grand Canal or the Piazzetta. The latter contained the offices of the chancellor and his clerks, who presided over the State archives, and of the other magistrates, the principal courts of law, and the halls in which the Great Council and the Senate or Pregadi and other smaller bodies sat. The only part of the doge's residence that faced the Piazzetta seems to have been the stables. The horses were kept behind the arches of the ground floor (*loggia terrena*) on that side, from which there were doors leading out on

<sup>1</sup> There was a well in the Piazzetta, as would appear from a picture of Lazzaro Sebastiani in the Museo Civico, reproduced in Molmenti (i. p. 41).

<sup>2</sup> "In piazza dove al presante è il pozzo, lì era un bruolo con la glexia (chiesa) de S. Ziminian" (L'Erizzo, quoted by Zanotto, *u.s.*). The church of San Geminiano is supposed to have stood in what is now the north-western portion of the Great Piazza, that of St. Theodore in the open space to the north of San Marco, where the *Patriarcato* now stands.

<sup>3</sup> *Venezia Descritta*, p. 319.



to the Piazzetta ; and besides those for the use of the doge himself and his attendants, we read of six "beautiful coursers," kept for the use of any one who had done conspicuous service to the State. For in those days, horses, though comparatively seldom seen, were not so unknown in Venice as they afterwards became. Until the hundreds of bridges over the canals were arched, the city could not be traversed in a gondola so easily as now, and the unpaved *calli* of those days were more convenient for riding and less convenient for walking than those we know. They were always, however, narrow and crowded, and so in early times restrictions were put upon riding. No one, after the third hour had struck by the bell of San Marco—*i.e.* after nine o'clock in the morning, when the courts were sitting and business was active—might ride to the Piazza of St. Mark by the Merceria ; when he came to the fig-tree that grew in the midst of the Campo San Salvatore he must dismount from his horse or mule. This was ordered by a law of 1291 ; another of 1359 forbade riding fast (*correre a cavallo*) over the Rialto bridge, but allowed riding at a foot pace (*andare*).<sup>1</sup> Jousting in the city, as we have seen, was not unknown, but neither this nor other feats of horsemanship<sup>2</sup> were allowed without special licence from eight of the Council of Ten. But that riding was usual for the grave and reverend signiors of the Pregadi or the Collegio we may infer from the name (*trottera*) given to the bell rung just before the sittings began, to warn the members coming to the palace to put their horses or mules to a trot.<sup>3</sup> When they dismounted to cross the Piazza they tied their

<sup>1</sup> Sansovino, *V. D.*, p. 455 (Zanotto, i. pp. 28, 32, 33).

<sup>2</sup> *Bagordari*, of uncertain origin, "to joust with spears" (Gallicciolli, i. viii., n. 26, quoted by Zanotto, *u.s.*). See Diez, *s.v.* Bagordo.

<sup>3</sup> Gallicciolli, *Mem. Ven.*, i. p. 244 and 247 ; Marion Crawford, "Gleanings from Venetian History," i. p. 177. Before 1365 notice of meetings was given not by a bell, but by the voice of a Comandador proclaiming it at the *scale* or landing-places at San Marco and the Rialto. See also Mutinelli, *Lessico*, pp. 79 *sqq.* ; Temanza, *Pianta Antica*, pp. 68, 69.

steeds to some of the elder bushes that grew in a thick grove, where the clock-tower of the Merceria now stands.

Though our authorities do not always give a certain account or a consistent one, and the absence of any plans earlier than 1580 makes it difficult to come to a conclusion, I think we can form some idea of the palace that was in existence in 1339, when Bartolomeo Gradenigo was elected doge, and of the alterations he made in it. The doge's apartments were on the north side, against the south side of San Marco and of some other building between it and the Rio, known as the *fabbrica* of the canons of the Basilica.<sup>1</sup> The accommodation for the doge was but small, and in 1618, when a banqueting hall was added, it was placed on the upper floor of this *fabbrica*, and access to it obtained by a *cavalcavia*, a covered gallery upon arches (something, we may imagine, like the long gallery crossing the Arno, that forms part of the Uffizi at Florence), passing "by a very bold arch from the wall of the palace to that of the Sacristy."<sup>2</sup> The doge's banquets, which formed an important part of the ceremonial of public life in earlier days, were probably held in some of the rooms devoted to public business. There was another covered passage leading to San Marco from the doge's apartments for his use in wet weather.<sup>3</sup> The doge's apartments had not been altered at the date I am speaking of; they were part of the Byzantine building finished by Sebastiano Ziani; and a good deal of the east front, towards the Rio, was also Byzantine. Ruskin was able to

<sup>1</sup> Martino da Canale, whom I have so often quoted, in his description of San Marco says, "da lato a quella (Chiesa) è il palazzo di Monsignor il Doge . . . e dall' altro lato sono i *Maestri Capellani*"; this was their proper title in old times.

<sup>2</sup> "Un vòlto arditissimo dalla muraglia del Palazzo fino a quella della Sagrestia" (Zanotto, vol. ii. pt. viii. p. 3).

<sup>3</sup> The doge's apartments are now devoted to the *Museo Archeologico*. The covered staircase is shown in tavola x. in Zanotto's first volume, which is a facsimile of a plan drawn in 1580, when the question of moving the prisons was under discussion.

trace a certain amount of Byzantine work in this front at the present time.<sup>1</sup> I doubt if there is conclusive evidence that any considerable addition had been made to the palace since Sebastiano Ziani's enlargement. The Hall of the Great Council in this Byzantine palace has been thought, perhaps on insufficient grounds, to have been on the ground floor. It was certainly on a lower level than the room in which the doge sat with his counsellors, and that in which the secretaries wrote their minutes, for a document cited by Lorenzi permits the members of a committee sitting in one of these rooms to go downstairs into the "Cortesella," or into the Hall of the Great Council.<sup>2</sup> But this is consistent with the committee having sat in a room on the second floor and the hall having been on the first floor; and there is some evidence that the ground floor in early times contained, besides the doge's stables, little but the prisons and some houses occupied by the *gastaldi* or let to private tenants.<sup>3</sup>

Sansovino uses language suggesting that a new hall for the Great Council was built between 1301 and 1309, but there is no support for this suggestion in any of the extracts from records of votes (*parti*) given by Lorenzi, though these begin as early as 1255.<sup>4</sup> On the 14th of July 1301 a vote was passed that "because the Hall of the Great Council was not sufficient for the members of the council" (an incidental confirmation of the view that the effect of the Serrata was not to restrict, but to increase, the number or the attendance of members) "it be enlarged up to the room over the curia."<sup>5</sup> This enlargement, which was to be paid

<sup>1</sup> "Stones of Venice," Appendix i., iii. 212 (ed. 1898).

<sup>2</sup> Lorenzi, *Monumenti per servire*, &c., Nos. 14, 25, and 76.

<sup>3</sup> Lorenzi, *u.s.*, No. 7, note.

<sup>4</sup> There are, however, none between 1303 and 1311, and this may be due to the records for those years being lost.

<sup>5</sup> "Usque super curiam," where "curia" is probably the "Curia de Proprio," the most important law-court in Venice (Lorenzi, *u.s.*, No. 21). There was an order in 1339 for shutting up a window "in the Curia over the altar of St. Mark," and pulling down a building "like a tabernacle" lately erected there (Lorenzi, No. 77).

for from rents belonging to the Commune, either was not carried out or soon became insufficient, for in 1340 the question whether the hall should be again enlarged or a new hall built was referred to a Commission of Three.<sup>1</sup> These soon sent in their report (*consilium*) in favour of a new hall, going into details, which make it pretty clear that the hall of the *Signori di Notte*, over which the new hall was to be built, was on the south side of the palace towards the Grand Canal. The opinion of the experts whom the Commission consulted was that the columns of the open arcade that existed already on that side of the palace, with a walk on the roof over them,<sup>2</sup> were strong enough to support the new hall, but the Commission *ex abundanti cautela* advised that as many new columns as were necessary should be added. The report of the Commission was adopted, not unanimously, but by a large majority of the council, and in carrying out the project it would appear that new columns were not added, but some of the existing columns (Zanotto tells us which<sup>3</sup>) thickened and strengthened. That the hall then built is that still known as the Hall of the Great Council, as Ruskin says,<sup>4</sup> I think we need not doubt: the old hall, which, whether enlarged or not in 1301, had been till now used by the Great Council, became henceforth

<sup>1</sup> I quote the words of the reference as illustrating Venetian procedure: "Cum super facto Sale nove pro Majori Consilio varie opinionones dicantur, quia aliqui dicunt de faciendo eam super sala Dominorum de nocte, et alii dicunt quod posset ampliari sala presens, removendo hospitia cancellarie et cortesellam, et veniendo cum sala usque ad hospicia Domini" (*i.e.* to the doge's apartments): "ita quod sala bene cresceret per tertium et ultra, quod esset ad plenum sufficiens pro omni tempore, et quilibet debet velle quod sit melius in hoc facto . . . vadit pars" (*i.e.* "the resolution is passed") "quod eligantur iii. sapientes (*savii*) per electionem" (Lorenzi, *u.s.*, No. 79).

<sup>2</sup> "Ambulum existens super colonis versus canale respicientibus" (Lorenzi, No. 80).

<sup>3</sup> *Palazzo Ducale*, vol. i. tavola xii. p. 38. The report of the Commission went into many details as to doors and staircases, and recommended the expenditure of 9500 sequins for the construction and 2000 more for paintings and gilding (Roman., iii. pp. 144, 145).

<sup>4</sup> "Stones of Venice," ii. viii. 295.

either the *Sala dello Scrutinio* (not the room we now know by that name) or the *Sala dei Pregadi*, the same as is now known by that name, so far as the identity can be said to be preserved of any building that has been more than once burnt down and rebuilt. There is concurrent testimony that makes it practically certain that the new hall was not used till the year 1423, eighty-three years from the decision come to in 1340 to build a new hall instead of enlarging the existing one, as proposed in 1301. The hall had been so far finished by 1365 as to allow of a great fresco of Paradise being painted on its eastern wall by Guariento. But the elaborate finishing and decoration, hindered no doubt by the constant shortness of funds, delayed the actual use of the room for fifty-eight years more. It was first used for a sitting of the Great Council on the 23rd April 1423, the first day on which Francesco Foscari presided as doge.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Ruskin, "Stones of Venice," ii. viii. 295-301. Ruskin's account is a little confused by his constant omission to distinguish between the Great Council and the Senate.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE AGE OF ANDREA DANDOLO

THE Gothic palace, designed and partly realised in stone during Bartolomeo Gradenigo's government, is sufficient to make its three years remarkable. I have shown that it was also signalised by events of some importance in foreign policy. Another event that fell in those years was the terrible storm and flood of the 15th February 1340, that gave rise to a striking legend, illustrated by two famous pictures—one by Giorgione, now much blackened by age and rough wear, the other by Paris Bordone—in the Venetian Academy. The men of those days believed firmly that in such outbursts of natural forces evil spirits were riding abroad and could sometimes be seen by mortal eyes, but controlled only by saints from heaven; and the story passed current that a poor fisherman sheltering in his boat by the *scala* of St. Mark was hailed by a stranger, who with an authority that could not be resisted bade him row him across to San Giorgio Maggiore. There another stranger, a young man, joined him, and the two ordered the fisherman to take them on board and venture on the more difficult passage to St. Nicolas of the Lido. There a third stranger came out to join them, and the order was given to row out to the open Adriatic through the Porto di Lido. The fisherman's courage and faith did not fail, though in the narrow Porto they saw coming towards them, running before the wind, a boat full of demons.<sup>1</sup> Then the three strangers

<sup>1</sup> *Una galera piena di diavoli* (M. Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi*, in Mur., *R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 608).

stood up and exorcised the evil spirits, and the phantom ship disappeared. The fisherman took back his three passengers, and landed each where he had embarked him. The last, when put ashore at the Molo, gave him in payment a ring from his finger, and bade him take it to the doge and the Procurators of St. Mark, who would find it had been taken from the treasure of the sanctuary of the saint, and to tell them that he was St. Mark, and that he and his two companions, the youthful St. George and St. Nicolas of Bari, had stopped the crew of demons who were sailing in to sink the whole city under the waves. The very fine picture of Paris Bordone represents the fisherman bringing the ring into the doge's presence. Giorgione attempted the more arduous task of depicting the shipload of devils in the darkness stayed by the three saints. It gives a sort of reality to the legend, that one of the procurators, to whom the missing ring was restored, was Andrea Dandolo, who was to succeed Gradenigo as doge, the chronicler on whom the historian of the early ages of Venice has so much to depend.<sup>1</sup>

On the 28th of December 1342 Bartolomeo Gradenigo died. He was buried in St. Mark's at the north end of the vestibule, where his marble sarcophagus is still to be seen. It was described in a contemporary record as behind the door, "near the image of St. Alypius."<sup>2</sup> There was no doubt whatever as to who was the fittest man to succeed him. Andrea Dandolo, one of the Procurators of St. Mark since 1331, belonged to one of the most distinguished families among the nobles, was rich and universally popular. He had been Podestà of Trieste nine years before, and in the war with the Scaligers had served as *Proveditore al campo*, that is, as chief commissariat and financial officer in the field. But his services in war had been less notable than in peace. He had been the first among the nobles of

<sup>1</sup> The story is told in Murray and Hare, and in Mrs. Jameson's "Sacred and Legendary Art."

<sup>2</sup> Roman., iii. 146, n. 4.

Venice to take the degree of doctor in the University of Padua, and he had for some years been professor of law in that famous seat of learning, that had been in existence for more than one hundred years. His legislation for Venice belongs to a later period of his life, and his historical writings also probably date from the time that he was doge, but there is still a good deal of uncertainty as to what these historical works were.<sup>1</sup>

Three years before, when the death of Francesco Dandolo, who belonged to a different branch of this great family, bearing different arms, had left the office of doge vacant, Andrea Dandolo was already the most conspicuous personage in the city and universally popular, having won the surname of *il Cortese*,<sup>2</sup> "the courteous," so that there had been a strong wish to choose him. But he was still a young man—thirty-three, or according to other accounts thirty-six years old—and recent doges had almost always been old men. The electors did not venture to break the precedent. But in only three years the office was again vacant, and this time the feeling for Andrea Dandolo was too strong to be resisted,<sup>3</sup> and he was elected on the 4th January 1373, only a week after Gradenigo's death.

The first events of his government were brilliantly successful. The League that had been so long projected for a combined Crusade against the Turks was at length brought to pass. Pope Clement VI., the Emperor of

<sup>1</sup> I have discussed this question briefly at pp. xi.-xiv. of the Introduction to my "Early History of Venice."

<sup>2</sup> There is much variety in our authorities as to this surname. Muratori thinks it was properly *Cortesino*, an affectionate diminutive of *Cortese*. Sansovino and Pietro Giustiniano thought the name was *Comisino*, from *Comis*=*affabile*. But this is a very doubtful word. Other authorities have *Certosin*, which may easily be a corruption of *Cortesin*. See Muratori's Preface to the Chronicle in *R. I. S.*, vol. xii. p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The "History of the Cortusii" (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xii. 909) says: "Cum Veneti de aliquo annoso eligendo non possent convenire, post certamen elegerunt Andream Dandulum annorum xxxviii." There is a v.l. of xxxiii.



Constantinople, the King of Cyprus, and the Grand Master of Rhodes, formed with Venice the original League; the King of France afterwards joined it, and the Dauphin of Vienne,<sup>1</sup> a near neighbour of the Avignon Pope, was to sail as commander of the Papal troops on the expedition, for which Venice furnished fifteen galleys and a number of transports, and Genoa added four galleys. Pietro Zeno was the Venetian captain, who took many places in Anatolia from the Turks, and finally Smyrna. Being besieged in the castle of Smyrna by the Turks he had expelled, Zeno was defeated in a sortie he made, and lost his life, with Martino Zaccaria, the Pope's admiral; <sup>2</sup> but Venice held the town and castle for the present. Morbassan, as our Venetian authorities call the Turkish commander—Amur or Amir Pasha—who had so nearly wrested Smyrna from them, was a chivalrous person, and a warm friend of John Cantacuzenus, one of the rival Emperors of Constantinople, who had shown his philosophic indifference by marrying his daughter to Orkhan, the Ottoman Sultan. Amur's father, Aidin, a petty Seldjukian prince, had achieved great power in Anatolia forty years before, at the time of Roger de Flor's invasion. Amur, a bitter enemy as well as a warm friend, bore a deadly hatred to the Venetians, and flayed or burnt all of them who fell into his hands. But no cruelties prevented them from keeping a firm hold on a place so important for

<sup>1</sup> Marino Sanudo (*Vite de' Dogi*, u.s., col. 610) says "il Delfino di Vienna, figliuolo del Re di Francia": but this is a mistake due to an anticipation of the future. The Dauphin in question was Humbert, the last Count of the Albon family, a feudatory of the Emperor and independent of France, who sold his dominions in 1349 to Charles of Valois, stipulating that the old title of Dauphin should always be borne by the inheritor of the province. From this date the eldest son of the King of France bore the title of Dauphin, which seems at first to have been a baptismal name. Delfino was a surname at Venice.

<sup>2</sup> According to the account in Caresini and Lorenzo de Monacis they were killed in a church outside the walls, where they had gone to hear mass, and from having met their deaths while performing their religious services under difficulties, were held to be martyrs.

their Eastern trade as was Smyrna.<sup>1</sup> The chief command of the allied force in the town now fell to the Dauphin Humbert, as the Pope's representative, but he did not show himself capable as a soldier or a diplomatist, and was in 1347 absolved from his Crusader's vow by the Pope, and sailed to Cilicia to aid the Christian King of Armenia against the Sultan of Babylon (*i.e.* Cairo). A Venetian commander remained in Smyrna till the next year, when the Crusaders' League was dissolved, but Smyrna remained in Christian hands for half a century longer.

At the same time that the Venetians were fighting as Crusaders for Smyrna, they were exerting themselves to get the Pope's permission to renew their trade with the infidel in Egypt and the Syrian ports. This was an important object for them, as in 1343 a quarrel with the Tartar prince of the Golden Horde led to the expulsion of all Italian traders—Venetians, Genoese, and Florentines alike—from Tana or Azov, and the blockade of Caffa in the Crimea, where the Genoese were established in great strength and were able to maintain themselves. But the destruction of the Italian colonies at Azov caused no little distress to parts of the West that depended on them for their supplies of corn and salt fish, and we are told that the price of silk and spices in Italy was suddenly doubled through the interruption of the Eastern trade that, by the way of Trebizond and Lajazzo, arrived at the entrepôts on the Black Sea or the Bosphorus.<sup>2</sup> It became at once an urgent necessity for the Italian trading towns to have free trade with the ports of Egypt and Syria, instead of the intercourse, restricted and hampered, which, as we have seen, had gone on, in spite of the Pope's prohibition. That prohibition had imposed heavy fines, equal to the value of the goods exported, against all who contravened

<sup>1</sup> Le Bret, ii. i. pp. 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> There is a very instructive notice of these events in Heyd, ii. p. 188 (French trans.).

it, and had made the fines recoverable from the executors if the offender was dead. The executors of wills at Venice were very often the procurators, so that persons of high influence in the State were injuriously affected. In 1322 some such persons were excommunicated by an envoy of Pope John XXII., and in the following year the Pregadi and the Quarantia had issued an edict absolutely prohibiting all trade with the Sultan's dominions. This was so far effective that in 1345 the Sultan could say that for twenty-three years not a single Venetian ship had been seen in his dominions.<sup>1</sup> The breach with the Tartars made this prohibition intolerable. Before the end of the year 1343 the doge sent two ambassadors, Marin Faliero and Andrea Cornaro, to Avignon to pray for the removal of the prohibition, and on the 27th of April of the following year the Pope granted their request so far as to allow, for five years, four merchantmen and six galleys to be sent to Alexandria or other ports subject to the Soldan of Egypt. The Papal rescript addressed to the doge and Commune of Venice took into consideration the condition of Venice, dependent for its daily food on sea-trade,<sup>2</sup> and the zeal its Government had shown for the business of the holy faith, and waived the prohibitions to the extent demanded, excepting only the export of the usual prohibited articles, viz., arms, iron, ship-timber, and slaves, and requiring the doge or the exporting merchant to make oath before the diocesan of the place from which any cargo was exported that it included no such prohibited article.<sup>3</sup> By August of the next year (1345) it was discovered that the six galleys were not enough to protect the four

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *Diplom. Veneto-Levant.*, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> "Attentis manifestis conditionibus dicte terre ac necessitatibus vestris, qui aliunde non habetis unde possitis quarere victum vestrum."

<sup>3</sup> We have in *Commemoriali*, iii. p. 76, a declaration on oath by the procurator of the doge and Commune before a canon and other priests of Castello, the bishop being absent. This refers to four galleys sailing for Egypt under the command of Marco Giustiniani.

merchantmen from pirates and other dangers, and the Pope allowed each of the four merchantmen to be replaced by seven galleys, stipulating that not more than six galleys should sail in company, and renewing the requirement of the oath that no prohibited articles formed part of the cargo. The same rescript extended both concessions for five years, reckoned from the end of the first five.<sup>1</sup>

The Venetian Government lost no time in taking advantage of the Papal concessions. Nicolò Zeno was sent at once to Egypt, and in February 1344 the Soldan had granted his request and sent him back to Venice with a Latin translation of the Arabic decree, by which all Venetian subjects sojourning in Egypt or travelling through it, whether merchants or others, were promised honourable treatment and protection.<sup>2</sup> The decree fixes the import duties, and makes a number of detailed provisions to secure the freedom and comfort of Venetian traders.<sup>3</sup>

The regulation prohibiting contraband of war was reasonable enough as long as a Crusade was in contemplation and active preparations for it were going on. But it was maintained long after this had ceased to be the case, and the prohibition of all trade might certainly have been withdrawn. But this was continued (there is no doubt, as a means of Papal extortion), when even so strong an advocate of Crusades as Marino Sanudo thought it might be given up.<sup>4</sup> At Avignon, as at Rome in Juvenal's time, all

<sup>1</sup> The two documents are printed in Thomas' *Diplom. Veneto-Levant.* (in *Moni. Storici*, &c., ser. i. vol. v. pp. 277-306).

<sup>2</sup> They were to be "honorati et custoditi."

<sup>3</sup> It is printed in Thomas' *Diplom. Veneto-Levant.* (u.s.), pp. 290-96. Like other Oriental documents, it is scrupulous and munificent in titles and compliments. Andrea Dandolo is "mazor honor de tuta cristentade, luxe de li adhoradori del Crucifixo . . . ornamento del santo batesemo, amigo de re et de soldani" (p. 291).

<sup>4</sup> See his letter appended to *Sec. Fid. Crucis* (ed. Bongars), p. 297. The letter is a circular addressed to many prelates in 1326. He advises a truce with the Soldan "hâc conditione, quod noster dominus" (the Pope) "dimitteret, quod Christiani possent ire et redire cum omnibus mercibus in terras Soldano subjectas, præter cum ferro armis, &c."

things had their price, licences to trade with the infidel as well as other privileges. We know that a kinsman of Clement VI., William Roger, Count of Beaufort and Viscount of Turenne, a great magnate of the south of France, had a grant, in his own and his wife's name, of a licence to send to Egypt thirty galleys and ten merchantmen. The count's dominions had no seaboard, and he owned no ships, but the concession authorised him to transfer the licence, and he sold it to one Stefano de Batuto, a chamberlain of one of the cardinals, who transferred it to the doge in 1359 for 12,000 golden florins of Florence.<sup>1</sup> The licences had, it is clear, become negotiable. The Popes claimed the right to revoke them, and in the same year (1359) Innocent VI., to punish some infraction of the conditions committed at Venice, actually revoked all issued by himself or his predecessors.<sup>2</sup>

In 1345, the year after trade with Egypt was resumed, the Republic was hard hit by a revolt of Zara, always a reluctant subject. Its discontent with Venetian rule was studiously encouraged by the King of Hungary, whose dominions reached to its very walls, and by the lesser Slavonian potentates, known as the Bans of Croatia, Slavonia, Servia, and Bossine or Bosnia. The kingdom of Hungary was at this time much involved in Italian politics through the marriage of Andrew, King Louis' younger brother, with Joanna, the heiress of the Angevin line,<sup>3</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> The ratification of the transfer to the doge is printed in *Archivio Veneto*, xvii. p. 114 in a paper by G. M. Thomas. See also Heyd, ii. p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Predelli, *Commém.*, ii. p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> The Hungarian crown had fallen to a branch of the House of Anjou by the marriage of Mary, the sister of King Ladislas, who died without issue in 1290, to Charles II. (the Lame), King of Naples. By the Pope's favour Charles Martel, the eldest son of Charles II., was crowned King of Hungary, but when he died before his father, leaving a son, Charles Robert, not yet of age, Robert, the second son of Charles II., who succeeded his father at Naples, usurped the throne of Hungary and held it for his life. On his death Charles Robert's eldest son, Louis, became King of Hungary. Andrew, a younger son, married, and

on her grandfather Robert's death in 1343 became Queen of Naples. I have referred in a former chapter<sup>1</sup> to this marriage and its tragical end in Andrew's murder, in connexion with the fortunes of the Acciajoli family. The murder took place in September 1345,<sup>2</sup> and Louis, Andrew's brother, was after that time eager to avenge it on the guilty wife and her second husband, Louis of Tarentum. But both before and after his brother's murder, the possession of harbours on the coast of Dalmatia was important, for the ambitious views of the King of Hungary, as a base of operations against the coast of Apulia. He encouraged the Zaratines to rebel against Venice, and was ready to put forth all his strength to help them.<sup>3</sup>

Zara was as well fitted as any place on the Dalmatian coast to serve as starting-place for an expedition against Apulia. The town, strongly fortified, was on a peninsula joining the land to the eastward, washed by the Adriatic on the south and west. On the north it had a commodious harbour, protected by the fortifications of the town, on the shores of which the plain stretching to the eastward offered room for a large force to encamp. The possibility of the Hungarians getting a footing in Dalmatia as a stepping-stone on the road to Apulia was alarming to Venice,<sup>4</sup> for whose maritime power her Dalmatian subjects were indispensable. So on the first news of a Hungarian invasion that had occupied some forts near Zara, the Venetian Government sent five galleys, under Pietro da Canale as Captain-General, to watch the invaders, who thereupon retired into their own country,

was murdered by his cousin, Joanna, grand-daughter of Robert of Naples. The whole story, which is rather complicated, is explained in Lucius, *De Reg. Dalm.*, lib. iv. cap. x. and xvi.

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Lucius, *De Regno Dalmatiæ*, lib. iv. cap. xv. p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> An embassy from Zara, asking for aid against Venice, was in Apulia at the time of Andrew's murder (Lucius, *l.c.*).

<sup>4</sup> This is well brought out in Lucius, *De Regno Dalmatiæ*, lib. iv. cap. xv. p. 210.



*Photo : A. Beer*

HARBOUR OF ZARA





leaving garrisons in the forts they had occupied, whose presence there caused the people of Zara to persevere in their revolt. So in August 1345 it was decided at Venice that Zara must be punished. The count who was its governor,<sup>1</sup> not a native at this time, but a Venetian, Andrea Cornaro, was recalled, and the city placed under two officers, a Capitano-Generale di Mare and a Capitano-Generale di Terra. It was, we may presume, placed under martial law, but it does not appear that the Venetian officers were able to enter the city. The contemporary accounts we have of these events throw a good deal of light on the administration of the army and navy of Venice. Besides the two Captains-General now appointed, there was the Captain of the Gulf, and the Captain-General (simply), both apparently permanent officers, and two Governatori, who appear to have been commanders or *Sopracomiti* of galleys, with some authority over the captains of other ships.<sup>2</sup> To these six, with five *savii* or commissioners sent out from Venice with the title of Proveditori, who were all nobles of distinction and must have been analogous to the members of the Convention sent out as commissioners with the revolutionary armies of France, was entrusted the power to decide, with an authority equal to that of the doge and Pregadi, all questions of fighting or advancing or retiring.<sup>3</sup> This body of eleven nobles is, I think, that which our best contemporary authority<sup>4</sup> calls *il Collegio*.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 362. It appears from Lucius (*De Regno Dalmatiz*, lib. iv. cap. xv. p. 211) that the Zaratines by agreement with Venice were entitled to be governed by a count a member of the great Council of Venice.

<sup>2</sup> They must have been important officers, for one of the two first appointed was Simeone Dandolo, the doge's brother. and the other a Morosini, who was a Procurator of St. Mark (Morelli, *Mon. Ven. di var. Letter.*, p. vii.).

<sup>3</sup> See a paper of Sign. Lazzarini on "Marino Faliero avanti il Dogado" in *Nuovo Arch. Ven.*, v. pt. i. 1893, p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> The anonymous "Chronicle of the Siege and Recovery of Zara," published in 1796 by Morelli, Custode of the Library of St. Mark, from

There seems to have been a good deal of vacillation as to the choice of commanders in the siege of Zara. In 1345, Piero da Canale, whom I have before mentioned, was made Captain-General of Sea Forces, and shortly afterwards Marco Giustiniani was made Captain-General of Land Forces, and went out to Nona, eight miles from Zara, where he built a great *bastia* or fortified camp, with twenty-eight lofty wooden towers. In September Marin Faliero, of whom we have already heard, and shall hear much more, was relieved of his office as Podestà of Treviso, on the ground that he was about to go out as Captain-General of the Fleet.<sup>1</sup> On the 30th of November it was proposed to make him also Captain-General of the Land Forces for six months. But the legality of this proposal was questioned by the Avogadori, who were upheld by the Quarantia, on which another officer, Pietro Civran, was given the sea command. Faliero, however, was not sent out in command of the land forces, but stayed at Venice and was made first *savio agli ordini*<sup>2</sup>—an office of hardly sufficient dignity for a man no longer young, who had held important posts—and in January 1346 a special commissioner (*savio*) for the affairs of Zara and Slavonia till the end of March. He was probably one of the Proveditori just mentioned, if he served before Zara at all. But he was certainly not the chief commander who recovered Zara, as Byron makes him.

He evidently was already a man who had warm friends a MS. in that library. It forms part of a complimentary publication in honour of "the Entry of his Excellency the Cavaliere Alvisè Pisani on the Dignity of Procurator of St. Mark," the title of which is *Monumenti Veneziani di varia Letteratura*.

<sup>1</sup> "Iturus in Capitaneum maris" (Lazzarini in *Nuo. Arch. Ven.*, u.s., p. 128).

<sup>2</sup> The *savi agli ordini* were specially concerned with navigation, merchants, and merchandise, and the Adriatic fleet (*Armata del Golfo*). In a decree of 1332 their full Latin title is "sapientes super ordinibus navigandi." They were the original Board (*Collegio*) of Savi, those known as *S. Grandi* and *S. della Terra Ferma* being later creations (Le Bret, ii. i. pp. 50 *sqq.*).

and bitter enemies; but we have no clue to the secret causes of the vacillation I have indicated. For this period we have no diary such as that kept in later times by Marino Sanudo, the biographer of the doges;<sup>1</sup> only the meagre record of proposals voted or not voted in the Great Council or the Pregadi or the Council of Ten. The chronicle published by Morelli confines itself for the most part to military details. These are interesting, as are all accounts of mediæval sieges. The Venetian force sent out was strengthened by contingents from the cities and islands of the Dalmatian coast, and from the Riviere of Ancona and Romagna, whose inhabitants were rivals and enemies of the Zaratines. But their forces, when united, were small compared with those the King of Hungary and the Slavonian princes could pour in from the land side. These were marched to a place the chronicle calls Luca, described, like Nona, as eight miles from Zara. The Zaratines had before this closed the mouth of their harbour with a chain and trunks of trees, but this barrier Civran's galleys broke through, and erected another bastia on the shore of the harbour. Civran was now commander-in-chief, and he invited the rebels to surrender, promising to spare their lives if they surrendered within three days. At the end of the three days, as they still held out, he assaulted the walls, bringing up ships with bridges attached

<sup>1</sup> For Marino Sanudo's *Diarii* see the preface to Rawdon Brown's "Calendar of Venetian State Papers relating to English History," pp. xviii. *sqq.* He was a poor nobleman who had held some offices, and who devoted himself to the work of collecting and noting all the events of each day as it passed. He was daily on the Broglio (the colonnades of the Piazza), where news was discussed, or on the Exchange at the Rialto. He was specially allowed access to all public records and despatches. From the year 1495, when he was twenty-nine years old, till 1533, he wrote out his diaries in fifty-eight folio volumes, each of 500 pages, receiving (but only for the last few years) a stipend of 150 gold ducats. Till 1863 these remained in MS. In that year a selection of papers relating to South Slavonia was published at the expense of the Historical Society of Agram. In quite recent years the whole has been published in Italy in forty-five large volumes.

to be thrown out from the masts to towers on the walls; but some of the bridges were too short to reach the walls, one collapsed, and one tower that had been built to be wheeled up close to the walls was too heavy to be moved. Civran, having forced his way into the harbour, formed his heavy ships, less fitted for fighting, which the common people at Venice called *peatte mantovane*,<sup>1</sup> into a solid mass, a floating fort, round which the lighter galleys manœuvred. This floating fort and the *bastia* at Nona seem to have been the chief strength of the Venetians; from them they made, on the 26th May 1346, the unsuccessful assault on the town which I have just described.

The King of Hungary arrived the day after the repulse of the Venetian attack; his headquarters were at Semelnich. His forces amounted, according to the MS. history quoted by Lucius, which he ascribes to an anonymous monk or friar, who was an eye-witness on the Zaratine side, to 100,000, all cavalry, and of many Slavonic and Teutonic nationalities. The besieged citizens received him with a procession of clergy and laity, and presented to him two richly-caparisoned horses. On the 15th June, St. Vitus' Day—a fortunate anniversary for the Venetian Government, as on that day the conspiracy of Bajamonte Tiepolo had come to a calamitous explosion—he pitched his tent within

<sup>1</sup> *Peatta* is explained in the Venetian Dictionaries of Mutinelli and Boerio as a large flat-bottomed barge used for the carriage of goods into the interior of Venice. "Chiatta cioè piatta barcaccia da carico assai forte e di molta capacità." *Chiatta*, a word still in use, may possibly be connected etymologically with the German "jacht" and its Dutch equivalent from which the English "yacht" comes. *Peatoni* or large *Peate* were three large barges used by the doge and the Signoria for their visits to churches and other solemn occasions, magnificently decorated and gilded, and rowed each by eight *arsenalotti* in splendid liveries (Martinelli, *s.v.*). The word *piatta* is used also in the Sanudo Chronicle quoted by Romanin, iii. p. 155, n. 2, for the barges sent round in the time of the great pestilence to collect bodies for burial. "E fu proveduto di mandar attorno pei sestieri piatte girdando *Corpi morti* e che coloro che aveano morti in casa, li dovesero buttar nelle piatte sotto grandi pene."

a bowshot of the *bastia*. For about a fortnight he lay before the fort, endeavouring to cut off the supply of water from its defenders, who were, however, kept well supplied by ship from springs on the neighbouring islands or from the Brenta across the Adriatic. The King, having his own country at his command, could keep his troops well supplied with provisions. There was, therefore, considerable risk of the Venetians being overpowered by numbers, and there were rumours of Genoese ships near the Adriatic, threatening to cut them off from their base. They had been willing before this to accept the mediation of Albert of Austria, and had sent ambassadors to Vienna to submit their case; but the Hungarian King would not treat unless the siege of Zara was first raised. They had also offered to let the King and his army embark peaceably and cross the sea to avenge his brother's death if he would undertake not to interfere with their siege operations before Zara;<sup>1</sup> but he was too deeply pledged to help the Zaratines to be able to make this promise. On the 1st of July, the day of St. Martialis, which the Venetians afterwards kept as a national feast, he assaulted the *bastia*; but the garrison, having warning from a spy that it was intended to throw fire into the fort, took care to remove all combustibles from it, and repelled the assault with such vigour that they killed 7000 Hungarians with the loss of only 500 or 600 on their own side. This was, in fact, the end of the siege. The King's forces were so much weakened that he gave up all idea of relieving Zara, and apparently of establishing direct communication across the Adriatic between Hungary and Apulia. There is some doubt as to when Zara surrendered; Romanin thinks it was in November 1346. Marino Sanudo, in his "Lives of the Doges," postpones it, but with evident misgivings,<sup>2</sup> till the following year, on

<sup>1</sup> Lucius, *u.s.*, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> He says: "che mi pare stesse assai dopo la vittoria" (*apud* Mur., *R. I. S.*, xxii. c. 613).

St. Thomas' Day, December 21, 1347.<sup>1</sup> Marco Giustiniani, whom we have seen in command at Nona in the previous year, was now left at Zara as count.

I have mentioned that during the siege the Venetians had been in apprehension of hostilities from some Genoese ships that were in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic. These were thirty galleys that had been got ready for sea to watch thirty others maintained by exiles from Genoa at Monaco, which latter had eventually been taken into the French King's service, and were used by him in his war with England.<sup>2</sup> When the fear of these exiles was past, the Genoese ships, it was thought at Venice, might be used to help Zara. But they sailed away to the Levant to besiege the isle of Scio, and afterwards to Foglia Vecchia and Foglia Nuova, the centres of the alum trade, in Asia Minor, a trade which (like that in the mastic of Scio) had always been largely in Genoese hands. At this time they were also much occupied with the affairs, both political and mercantile, of the Crimea and the Sea of Azov. Both Genoese and Venetian merchants had lately, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> been expelled from Tana or Azov by Zanibek or Janibech, a Tartar prince whom the Venetians call Emperor of Gazaria or the Crimea.<sup>4</sup>

The rivalry of Genoa and Venice was by this time so threatening to the peace of the Mediterranean and the interests of the Christian world, that it will be well to take a survey of the recent history of Genoa and her colonies in the Levant. One of these, Caffa, on

<sup>1</sup> There is a succinct notice of this siege of Zara in the Neuburg (Styria) continuation of the *Annales Mellicenses* (of Melk in Austria), to be found in Pertz xi. (SS. ix.) p. 673. The same paragraph chronicles the English victory at Crecy in the same year.

<sup>2</sup> The Genoese cross-bowmen played an important part in the battle of Crecy. The Genoese were as famous archers as the English: all their ships of war had a body of cross-bowmen on board.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, p. 380.

<sup>4</sup> He was really Khan of Kiptchak or of the Golden Horde, in which dignity he had succeeded his father, Uzbek Khan, in 1340.

the south-eastern coast of the Crimea, near the old Greek city of Theodosia, which was a Milesian colony, had risen into importance since the restoration of the Greek Empire under Michael Paleologus in 1261; it was from the first mainly a Genoese settlement—the Genoese, as I have before had occasion to remark, occupied a privileged position at Constantinople after the destruction of the Latin Empire set up by Venetian power—and the Genoese through the early part of the fourteenth century had favoured its growth and prosperity in every way; it was the spoiled child of Genoa. All Genoese ships sailing to the Sea of Azov or the east coast of the Black Sea, or returning thence to Constantinople or Galata, were bound to make two days' stay at Caffa and pay an *ad valorem* transit duty on their cargoes. Venice naturally looked with jealousy on the Genoese town, and when she resumed her trade with the Black Sea, sent her merchantmen to Soldaia, the neighbour and rival port in the Crimea, in spite of prohibitions contained in her treaties with Constantinople. In 1296, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> a Venetian admiral besieged and took Caffa and spent a winter there, but was not able to maintain his conquest, which was restored to Genoa at the peace of 1299, if not before.<sup>2</sup>

If Genoa had a recognised predominance at Caffa, at Tana, founded in the first years of the fourteenth century, at the head of the Sea of Azov, where the Don flows into it, Venice obtained from Uzbek Khan the concession of a quarter in the new town, distinct from that occupied by the Genoese. The concession to Venice was made in 1332; but before that time Venetian fleets, sailing to Trebizond, had habitually detached one or two ships to the Sea of Azov, through the shallow waters of which Italian sailors only gradually learned to feel their way up to the river mouth. When the Venetian and Genoese seamen were able to moor their vessels over against the quays

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> See Heyd, ii. pp. 156–69.

and wharves of the new town of Tana, that place, as the best starting-point from the Black Sea to the Volga, on which the Khan of Kiptchak had his headquarters and his court, became the object of the rival ambitions of the Italian trading towns. Venice and Genoa had settlements side by side there, from which the subjects of both were summarily ejected, as we have seen, in 1343.<sup>1</sup> This was the punishment of a riot, in which a Venetian had killed a Tartar, in consequence of which there seems to have been a good deal of bloodshed, and the Italian warehouses and dwellings in those parts were plundered or destroyed, Florentines, as well as Venetians and Genoese, suffering heavy losses.<sup>2</sup> But they did not long remain passive under the exclusion. By the end of October 1343 the expediency of sending an embassy to renew the interrupted intercourse with Zanibek was being discussed at Venice. Travellers were sent to Tana to see if the Khan would grant a safe-conduct to ambassadors, and to open communications with the Italian merchants who had stayed there through the troubles. The report of these travellers, when at length received in April 1344, was hopeful: the merchants at Tana had been allowed to resume their trading, and the feeling of the Khan was in favour of a reconciliation. In June a proposal was received from Genoa that ambassadors from the two Republics should travel to Kiptchak together, with strict injunctions to insist on the same terms, as regarded compensation for the past and security for the future, being granted to both. The two Venetian ambassadors, Marco Ruzzini and Giovanni Steno (the latter belonging to a family of which we shall soon hear more) started at once for Caffa, where they met four Genoese ambassadors, and a treaty of alliance for a year was made between the

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> Giov. Villani, the Florentine chronicler, mentions this trouble at Tana and the rise in prices of silk and spices and other goods of the Levant in consequence (*lib. xii. cap. 27*).



two Republics. But when the six ambassadors reached Caffa, things did not proceed quickly nor altogether favourably. Not only were the ambassadors detained at Caffa, but a Tartar army appeared before the town and threatened again to besiege it. Pope Clement VI., who took great interest in Caffa as a centre of missionary enterprise, made zealous efforts to save it. He exhorted the Dauphin of Vienne, who was still in command of a crusading fleet in the waters of the Levant, and the Genoese authorities, to send help to Caffa. It appears even, from an inscription coming from Caffa, now in the Museum at Theodosia, that the fortifications of the town were repaired by money from the Papal treasury.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the strength of its fortifications and the brave stand made by its Genoese defenders, Caffa was saved, and the Khan returned to his capital. But no progress towards restoring trade was made by the Venetian ambassadors, who in the spring of 1346 were recalled to Venice, and the Senate did not attempt to renew the negotiations till in June 1347 a rumour came that the Genoese had made a separate peace with Zanibek. A second embassy was at once sent to the north to oppose the cession of Tana to Genoa, and at the same time, or perhaps as an alternative, to apply for leave to establish a Venetian settlement at Vosporo, the ancient Bosphorus, the modern Kertch. This embassy found the feeling at the Khan's court much more conciliatory: the punishment of the murderer of the Tartar, who was responsible for the original quarrel, was accepted as a satisfaction, and the Khan promised not to visit his offence upon the first Venetian trader found in his dominions, as he had threatened to do. He ordered the governor of Tana to assign to the Venetian traders a sufficient tract of land for their magazines on the banks of the Don, and he re-established the old trading privileges, except that the market dues were raised from 3 to 5 per cent. No promise was

<sup>1</sup> See Heyd, ii. pp. 192-95, esp. note 4 on p. 195.

made as to Vosporo ; but probably, with a footing secured at Tana, the Venetians did not care for this. In this year (1347) they thus recovered the right of trading with the Empire of Kiptchak. But the Genoese were displeased at this, which was, it would seem, an infraction of a clause of the treaty between the two Republics, binding both to trade with no part of Kiptchak east of Caffa, and proceeded to overt acts of hostility, confiscating the cargoes of Venetian ships, and taking possession of the narrowest part of the Bosphorus, a few miles north of Constantinople<sup>1</sup> (where the Turks have now two forts, known as the Roumelian and Anatolian castles), with a view to stopping Venetian ships from entering the Black Sea.

The feeling of hostility between the two maritime Republics was becoming embittered. The squadron of twenty-nine galleys, which had been got ready to oppose those that the *fuorusciti* had assembled at Monaco, had, as we have seen, when the latter had entered the French King's service, sailed for the Levant.<sup>2</sup> When off Negropont, the Venetian headquarters in the Levant, they fell in with a nearly equal force of Venetian and Rhodian ships under the command of the Pope's crusading general, Imbert, Dauphin of Vienne. These were bound for Asia Minor, to keep Smyrna, which was still feebly held by the Greek Emperor, from falling into the hands of the Turks. The Genoese had some claim to Smyrna, and at any rate a Venetian enterprise in these parts was likely to interfere with their own designs on Scio and the Phocæas, to which I have before adverted. Genoese authorities say that the Dauphin tried to bribe the captains of some of their ships to join with his squadron in a plan for establishing

<sup>1</sup> This was called in antiquity the Straits of Hieron, from a temple that claimed to have been built by the Argonauts. The name had in the Middle Ages become corrupted into Giro or Guirol, and the two castles already standing there were known as Guirol de la Grecia and Guirol de la Turquia (Heyd, ii. p. 199).

<sup>2</sup> They sailed on St. George's Day, the 23rd of April 1346.

Venetian posts at Scio and the Phocæas,<sup>1</sup> which would be able to command the Hellespont and neutralise the advantage Genoa got from her occupation of the Bosporus. The Genoese captains refused to betray their country, and the Genoese commander-in-chief, Simone Vignoso, succeeded, after some loss, in starving the Greek garrison of Scio into surrender. This was effected in September 1346. The admiral also forced the two Phocæas—Foglia Vecchia and Nuova—to submit, and returned to Genoa by November.

The position of Genoa in the Levant was stronger than ever now that she held Scio in addition to Galata and the Bosporus and Caffa. Seven years before, in 1339, her home government had gone through a revolution. For some time before this the city had been practically governed by a podestà sent by Robert, King of Naples, the head of the Guelf party in Italy—who, both from his position and from his character, exercised great influence throughout the Peninsula. But in theory there was rather a complicated scheme of government, and *consoli*, *capitani del popolo*, and an officer (or perhaps several officers) with the strange title of Abate,<sup>2</sup> who was certainly not an ecclesiastic, but an elected representative of the commons, were regularly set up and exercised certain functions.<sup>3</sup> The feudal nobles, whose castles were in the mountain valleys or along the Riviera di Levante and the Riviera di Ponente as far as Monaco, were also Genoese subjects: the principal noble

<sup>1</sup> Canale, *Nuova Istoria della Rep. di Genova*, iv. p. 10, Heyd, i. p. 492 (Fr. tr.).

<sup>2</sup> We read of Abati of three suburbs of Genoa—Polcevera, Bisagno, and Voltri. These suburbs were generally the headquarters of the nobles excluded from the city.

<sup>3</sup> Stella says (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xvii. col. 1002c) of the Genoese Government, “*dum Urbis essent præsides . . . capitanei nuncupati, essetque super maleficiis et jure reddendo . . . Potestas, insuper et Populus unum haberet Rectorem, qui super quibusdam sibi ministrans justitiam, Abbas Populi dicebatur,*” where *sibi* = *populo*. And again, col. 1002A, “*Erat enim tunc Laicus unus Januensis, qui populo jus reddebat, et Abbas titulo vocabatur.*”

families, Dorias, Spinolas, Grimaldis, Fieschis, we constantly find in command of Genoese fleets, and also helping to govern the city as *capitani del popolo* or *presidi*. They were frequently at feud with one another, some being Guelfs and some Ghibellines. The commons were, it would appear, generally Ghibelline: but party spirit at Genoa did not run in the ordinary channels of Guelf and Ghibelline so much as in those of nobles and commons; and the feeling of the commons against the nobles was very bitter. In 1338 a dispute arose between the captains (*præceptores*) and the crews of some galleys sailing to Flanders off the coast of France; and one Capurro, a seaman who had been a ringleader of the mutinous crews, was seized and imprisoned by the King of France. This caused a great ferment when known at Genoa, and all manner of constitutional changes to allay the popular discontent were proposed. At a meeting in the Palazzo degli Abati,<sup>1</sup> a man of the people, a gold-beater by trade, sprang into the pulpito or tribune and nominated Simone Boccanegra, a much-respected citizen of the trading class, as Abate. The proposal was carried by acclamation, but Boccanegra would not accept that office, which he considered derogatory to his family;<sup>2</sup> nor that of Signore, which, like the other, being known to the law, and existing side by side with that of the *capitani del popolo*, would have given its holder only an authority co-ordinate with theirs: and the object of Boccanegra's supporters was to make him sole ruler. So the title of doge was proposed

<sup>1</sup> "In thalamo Palatii Regiminis Januæ, quod dicitur Palatium Abbatis (nam Capitanei habitabant domibus propriis)" (Stella *apud* Murat., *R. I. S.*, xvii. col. 1072). The chronicler goes on: "tantum differebatur per ipsos viginti" (*i.e.* the twenty citizens chosen to elect an abbot) "quod Populo tædium reddebatur. Sed quidam Mechanicus, aequaliter stolidus, de Arte argenti folium præparantium, ascendens pulpitem, non de licentia Capitaneorum ait: Domini, vultis dicam salutem vestram?" &c. The whole account is well worth reading.

<sup>2</sup> "Cum illi de Domo sua majoris essent gradus, quam hi qui statuebantur Abbates" (Stella, *u.s.*, col. 1073).

and at once adopted, with a rider that there should be no capitani: and Boccanegra was carried to his house with acclamations.<sup>1</sup> The title was, of course, adopted from Venice, and a decree was soon passed, making the office, as at Venice, one for life.

Boccanegra seems to have been a just and a strong ruler: he suppressed disorder in the city; mounting his horse and riding through the streets, he ordered one who was caught carrying away stolen goods to be beheaded on the spot. The "Mariners,"<sup>2</sup> however, succeeded in plundering the palace of some of the Dorias. The capitani, a Spinola and a Doria, left the city and withdrew to their castles at Polcevera and Albenga. For some time there was much violence in the city and suburbs: the books of the creditors of the State and the account books at the Dogana were burned in a lane near the church of San Lorenzo. It was ordered that no one but a Ghibelline should be elected to any public office, but nobles, except a few Spinolas and Dorias, were allowed to remain in the city, and those who were merchants to continue their business.<sup>3</sup> The 23rd of September, the day of St. Thecla, was kept in after years as the anniversary of this revolution. The doge before the end of the year made himself master of the whole of both the Eastern and Western Riviera except Monaco and Ventimiglia, where an army of 12,000 infantry and 25 galleys were collected by some of the exiled nobles. Luchino Visconti, the Lord of Milan, intrigued with the disaffected nobles in the city, and caused violent faction fights in the streets, in the course

<sup>1</sup> The cry in the streets was "Vivat Populus et mercatores et vivat Dux" (Stella, *u.s.*, col. 1073).

<sup>2</sup> Stella notes the use of *Marinari* as colloquial, "quos vocat Marinarios vulgaris lingua præsens" (*u.s.*, col. 1071).

<sup>3</sup> Stella, *u.s.*, col. 1074. He quotes as his authority the letters of one of the doge's counsellors who was in the city at the time. He could hardly have been himself a contemporary, as he finished his chronicle in 1409, and lived after that till 1420, when he was carried off by the plague" (Murat., *R. I. S.*, xvii. col. 1287).

of which the doge's life was attempted. Neither the *balia*, the committee of 18, who had been elected for a short time at the date of the doge's election, nor the 12 *constabili*, the local officers of the city, could bring about peace. When in 1345 Boccanegra, wearied by the fruitless struggle of six years, resigned his office and retired to Pisa,<sup>1</sup> there was difficulty in finding a successor, but on Christmas Day of that year a noble, generally respected, Giovanni di Murta, was prevailed upon to accept the post. He magnanimously refused to accept a salary larger than his necessary expenses as doge would require,<sup>2</sup> and endeavoured to reconcile *nobili* and *popolani*, but with no better success than his predecessor. The houses of the Squarciafichi and other nobles in the city were burned, and their owners driven out of city and suburbs; but these established themselves on Monte San Bernardo, and there inflicted a defeat on the doge's troops, while other nobles at Albenga held out in the castle there against the forces of the city. It was not till the Bishop of Padua, the Pope's Legate, and Luchino Visconti, supporting the efforts of a new podestà from Bergamo, imposed terms on the combatants, that harmony was restored. It was after this that the fleet, which, as we have seen, took Scio and the Foglias, was fitted out by a number of patriotic

<sup>1</sup> Stella, *u.s.*, col. 1082: "Die siquidem vigesima tertia Decembris in sero præmissus Dux Simon Buccanigra, cernens, ut dicebat, sibi rupta promissa, linquens Dominium, de Palatio publico cum fratribus, et ipsius familia discessit." The "broken promises" refer to a long and intricate course of negotiations between the *populus* and the *intrinseci* and *extrinseci* (*nobiles*). The council of twelve, six of the nobles and six of the people, who had been of late acting loyally with the doge, endeavoured to bring all parties to the cry "Vivat Dux et bonus Status" instead of "Vivat Dux et Populus," *populus* having become a party watchword.

<sup>2</sup> "Nec a Republica regiminis mercedem volebat, nisi solum id quod in Ducatu pro se et sua familia præsidem decet expendere." This is vague enough, but he appealed at the same time to the example of Venice: he probably meant to promise that he would accept a fixed salary and not make what he could out of the public revenue (Stella, *u.s.*, col. 1083).

Genoese, forming a *Maone*<sup>1</sup> or joint-stock company of shareholders, to whom the Republic guaranteed interest on their money, reserving the right of repurchasing the shares.

The civil strife that prevailed at this time, which the annalist Giorgio Stella pathetically laments,<sup>2</sup> as making it doubtful whether a place could be properly called *civitas*, where *unitas civium* and *civilitas* were so conspicuously wanting, did not prevent the Genoese from playing an active part in foreign lands and seas. In 1340 the fleets of merchantmen bound for Caffa and Trebizond were sent out with all their ships equipped and munitioned for war, and the commander of the ships sent to Caffa, hearing there that a Turkish fleet was cruising on the way to Tana to waylay the Genoese and other Italian merchantmen found in those waters, landed the cargoes from seven galleys at Caffa, and sent the ships with twenty smaller boats (*barchas*), manned by Genoese settlers at Caffa and fully armed, towards Pera, where they fell in with and destroyed the Turkish fleet, recovering much spoil that had been taken from Christian ships. At the same time Egidio Buccanegra, the doge's brother, was put in command of a fleet and army raised by the King of Castile to defend his dominions against a threatened invasion of Saracens from Morocco.

The events in the domestic history of Genoa, that I have last related, came in order of time before the expulsion of Italian traders from Tana (A.D. 1343), the siege of Caffa by Zanibek (A.D. 1345) and the conquest of Scio

<sup>1</sup> For this word (no doubt of Arabic origin) see Heyd, i. p. 494, n. 1 (French trans.). The members of the *Maone*, mostly Genoese resident in Scio, were called *Giustiniani*, from their headquarters in the Palazzo Giustiniani at Genoa. The chief authority for their status and history is Hopf's article "Giustiniani" in Ersch und Gruber, vol. lxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> *u.s.*, col. 1076. He is, moreover, shocked at the savage punishments inflicted on pirates or Venetians, contrasting these with the magnanimity of the ancient Romans, who would not allow a triumph over enemies belonging to their own country. Giorgio Stella, who was a notary, is a man of education and good feeling, and writes tolerable Latin.

and the Foglias by Genoa (A.D. 1346), which I have related out of the order of time. The last of this series of events was the establishment of a fortified post by the Genoese in the Bosphorus at the point where the castles of Roumelia and Anatolia are now placed. This marked the highest point of the ambition of the newly restored democracy at Genoa. It took effect in 1347.<sup>1</sup>

The siege of Caffa in 1345 is said to have been the means of bringing into Europe one of the greatest scourges that have ever afflicted humanity, the "Black Death" of the fourteenth century. A pestilence was raging in the besieging Tartar army, and Zanibek, as one means of overcoming the obstinacy of the defence, was believed to have shot into the city from his machines the infected bodies of the dead.<sup>2</sup> The besieged threw out these bodies into the sea, but the plague notwithstanding broke out in the town and was conveyed to the Italian ports by the merchant ships that were constantly sailing to Europe. The "Eastern tempest," as Petrarch calls it,<sup>3</sup> carried off in the spring of

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 394. There is a good account of this encroachment of the Genoese in Niceph. Gregoras, lib. xviii. c. ii. (vol. ii. p. 877 Bonn).

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, ii. p. 196. The contemporary authority from which Heyd derived his account of the origin of the black death is a Latin MS. found in 1841 in the Rhediger Library at Breslau, purporting to be compiled by Gabriele de' Mussi, entitled *Ystoria de Morbo sive mortalitate que fuit anno Domini MCCCXLVIII*. Dr. A. W. Henschel of Breslau, who first published it in the *Archiv für Gesammte Medizin*, ii. pp. 26-59, understood the author of the account to assert that he was at Caffa at the time of the siege, and came to Genoa in the vessel that first brought the infection there. Signor A. G. Tononi in a paper in the *Giornale Ligustico* for 1884 objects to this theory that Gab. de' Mussi, who is well known to have been a notary at Piacenza, was certainly at Piacenza in 1346 and all the years immediately preceding or following it. I think there can be no doubt that the writer of the account, who may not have been the compiler, claims to speak as an eye-witness.

<sup>3</sup> "Poi repente tempesta  
 Oriental turbò sì l'aere e l'onde  
 Che la nave percosse ad uno scoglio."  
 —*Sonnetti e Canzoni*, Pte. IIA, canz. iii. (p. 306).

Laura died on 6th April 1348. The tales of the Decameron began



1348 at Avignon Laura de Sade, the "virentissima laurus" of the poet, who has made her name famous in the history of literature; at Florence about the same time it drove the gay company whom Boccaccio describes into their villa garden to avoid the danger and the sad sights and sounds of the stricken city. The pestilence appeared in the same year at Genoa, and the chronicler Giorgio Stella notes that to his day, though other epidemics had since occurred, this year 1348 was still known among the common people as that of "the great mortality."<sup>1</sup> The contemporary account of Gabriele de' Mussi gives a terrible picture of the ravages of the plague on shipboard, "scarce ten of a thousand" surviving to the end of the voyage, and those who did survive and landed at Genoa or Venice or in Sicily or the Islands of the Sea,<sup>2</sup> infecting the friends who came to visit and embrace them. The narrator is bent on improving the occasion, and inveighs against the wicked Italian cities in rhetoric borrowed from Ezekiel or the Apocalypse: but through all the rhetoric the pathos of real horror can be read.

Early in the spring of 1348 the plague appeared at Venice, preceded on the 25th of January by a severe earthquake, the shocks of which continued several days, and shook down houses and campanili and dried up canals. The pestilence followed soon after, and was accompanied by the same physical suffering and moral degradation that Boccaccio has described at Florence. The Venetian government did not lose its presence of mind, and took prudent steps to diminish the danger of infection, appointing a special commission of three to enforce sanitary improvement and prohibit infected persons from passing the frontiers. They required the victims of the plague to

"nel principio della primavera" of that year (Introd. p. 14, ed. 1861, 12mo).

<sup>1</sup> "Magna mortalitas" (*apud* Muratori, *R. I. S.*, xvii. col. 1090). He wrote in the years 1396 to 1405.

<sup>2</sup> De Mussi, *apud* Haeser, *Archiv. f. d. G. M.*, ii. p. 50.

be buried in one of four cemeteries, those of St. George of the Sea-weed, San Marco Boccalame, San Leonardo di Fossaruola and Sant Erasmo near the Lido, four remote and solitary churches,<sup>1</sup> and sent round barges to collect bodies to the cry of *Corpi Morti*, imposing large penalties on those who failed to throw the corpses in their houses into the death-boats.<sup>2</sup> Three doctors of special experience were brought into the city by the Senate. The pestilence raged furiously: it was believed that three-fifths of the population died, that fifty families of the nobility became extinct, the forty members of the Quarantia were so reduced in number that new elections had to be held, and meanwhile the number of such members required to be present in the Great Council on certain occasions was reduced from thirty to twenty.<sup>3</sup>

Some of the unfriendly neighbours of Venice took advantage of her depopulation to attack her. In September 1348 Capo d'Istria revolted, expelled the Venetian podestà and burned his palace, and in the same or the following year Count Albert of Görz, whose territories were in the mountains north-west of Trieste, invaded Venetian lands. Both were punished and forced to submit, and the count was sent prisoner to Venice and had to promise to destroy some of his fortresses. The terms of peace granted to the

<sup>1</sup> Laur. de Monacis says: "Ad insulam St. Marci Bochalami, St. Leonardi de Fossa Mala, St. Herasmi et ad alias insulas sitas extra corpus civitatis" (lib. xvi. p. 314). His account of the Plague is the most terrible I have read. He says that it had never ceased entirely till the year 1428, in which he was writing (*ib.* p. 315). The churches of St. Mark and St. Leonard are both mentioned under the name of *di Bocca Lama* in Flam. Cornaro, *Notizie Storiche*, &c., the Italian version of his *Ecclesiæ Venetæ*, p. 505. They were on a large island between San Giorgio in Alga (see p. 59 of vol. i. of Traveller's Edition of "Stones of Venice") and the mainland. The island has long ago been added to the low coast-line near Fusina, and the names of Bocca Lama and Lama have vanished from maps and from memory.

<sup>2</sup> Roman., iii. p. 155. Laur. de Monacis, lib. xvi. p. 314, speaks of these death-boats "quæ *plate* dicuntur," *i.e.* *Piate* (see *ante*, p. 388, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Roman., iii. p. 156.

count were not liked at Venice, and the Proveditori who agreed to them were fined.<sup>1</sup>

In 1350 Giovanni di Murta, the Doge of Genoa, died. The Genoese annalist Stella is loud in praise of his prudence and patriotism, his devotion to goodness and righteousness, the preference of public to private ends that he showed in leaving his money to the poor. As his successor, the citizens, after some hesitation, chose Giovanni di Valente, the candidate proposed by the merchants, who was impartial in the distribution of honours and offices between the nobles and the commons.<sup>2</sup> But he appears not to have been trusted, as his predecessor had been, by the Venetians: for there was no more talk of common action between the two Republics against the Turks, but on the contrary, before the end of the year 1350 there was fighting in the Greek waters, where a fleet of thirty-five Venetian galleys under Marco Ruzzini fell in with fourteen Genoese armed merchantmen and took ten of them.<sup>3</sup> The remaining four under Nicola de Magnerri escaped to Scio, where they were joined by nine more galleys, and the whole thirteen placed, by the votes of Simone Vignoso, the podestà, and other Genoese living in Scio, under Filippo Doria, who sailed with them to Negropont, and took the city there, the seat of the Venetian government, and twenty-three Venetian ships.<sup>4</sup>

The defeat of the Venetians was signal, and their losses great, and Thomas Viaro, their *bailo* at Negropont, was put

<sup>1</sup> Roman., iii. p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> "Nam consilia et Urbis beneficia inter Nobiles et de Populo pari largitione dabantur" (Stella *apud* Mur. *u.s.*, col. 1091B).

<sup>3</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras (ii. p. 878) says this engagement took place ἐν Ἀθλιδι καὶ Ὀρέῳ τοῖς κόλποις τοῖς ἑγγυς Εὐβόλας. Caresini (contin. Dandolo *apud* Murat., *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 420) says "in portu Castri." There is a Paleocastro on the west coast of Eubœa, and another on the opposite coast of Attica. I do not think Castri is a mistake for Carysti.

<sup>4</sup> Stella (*u.s.*, col. 1091) puts this taking of Negropont in November 1350, and the Bonn editor of Nicephorus Gregoras, ii. p. 878, appears to agree. Stella says, and the Byzantine historian agrees, that in 1351 no event of importance occurred.

on his trial for allowing the Genoese fleet to surprise the town: but he was acquitted, and the blame for the disaster laid upon Ruzzini, who had, it appears, withdrawn to Candia for reinforcements, and returned too late. The loss of the city was serious, and before renewing the struggle in these parts Venice looked out for allies. Giovanni Steno was sent to Perpignan to seek aid from the King of Aragon, and returned not only with a treaty of alliance,<sup>1</sup> but with a knight's belt conferred on him by the king. Soon after, early in 1351, Nicola Pisani went with twenty-five galleys to Pera, where he took some Genoese galleys with which Giovanni Delfino sailed to Constantinople and concluded an alliance with the Emperor Joannes Cantacuzenus. The Emperor promised to keep twelve galleys at sea, to operate chiefly in the Black Sea, the Venetians paying for eight of them a sum of 10,776 *perperi* each month. The Genoese were to be treated as enemies, the Venetians welcomed in every part of the Greek Empire. If Pera should be taken it was to be razed to the ground, Scio and Phocæa were to be restored to the Emperor. The Venetians were to pay half the cost of the machines used by the Emperor in the siege of Pera. Any booty taken from the enemy was to be divided into equal thirds for the Emperor, the Venetians, and the fleet. The Emperor was already heavily in debt to Venice, which held jewels of his crown as security. These were to be returned as soon as Pera was taken—a sign of the great value set by Venice on the destruction of that hostile post.<sup>2</sup>

The war, in contemplation of which these alliances were

<sup>1</sup> The heads of the treaty, dated 16th January 1351, are given in *Commemoriali*, iv. 368, vol. ii. p. 187. The king promised to keep eighteen galleys in the Tyrrhenian Sea, with crews paid, as regards one-third of the amount by himself, two-thirds by Venice, the share of the latter to amount to 12,000 gold florins a month to be paid in Avignon. The king was to appoint the admiral, Venice two commissioners to advise him. Raffaino de Caresini, the continuator of Dandolo, is one of the witnesses to the signatures at Perpignan.

<sup>2</sup> *Commem.*, iv. 402 in vol. ii. p. 196.

sought by Venice, broke out more fiercely in 1351. A commission of twenty-five savii was appointed to devise warlike measures in secret, and increased duties were laid upon salt, oil, wine, and meat to supply funds for the war. Nicola Pisani was put in command of an armada sent towards Pera. He could make no impression on the strong walls of the Genoese fortifications, but he laid waste the country round and stationed fourteen ships at the mouth of the Black Sea to intercept the Genoese ships coming home from the Sea of Azov. He had, however, to leave this advantageous position and return to the Archipelago, when Negropont was threatened by the enemy. Paganino Doria, the Genoese admiral at Pera, followed Pisani to the south, but finding that the Aragonese fleet had joined the Venetian, he retreated hastily to Pera. This was the end of the campaign of 1351. The Venetian fleet appears to have wintered at Modone in the Morea,<sup>1</sup> and in February 1352 appeared near Constantinople in company with the Greek and Aragonese (Catalonian) fleets. The Genoese fleet, still under Paganino Doria, evaded their attack by retreating into a narrow part of the Bosphorus near Pera, where the enemy had no room to bring all their line into action or to pass the flank of the Genoese ships and take them in rear. Ponzio di Santa Paola, the Catalonian admiral, rashly followed the retreating enemy into this Strait. A furious combat at close quarters followed, ships grappling with ships, or being swept with missiles, or stones from machines, or boarded by the enemy. A violent storm that arose as night fell increased the horrors of the scene. The Venetians found their allies untrustworthy, the Greeks are said not to have fought at all,<sup>2</sup> and the Aragonese were

<sup>1</sup> Folleta, *Storia Gen.*, lib. vii., *apud* Grævium, i. col. 449, quoted in Roman., iii. p. 166, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> "Græci verò non pugnantes sospites abierunt" (Stella *apud* Murat., *R. I. S.*, xvii. col. 1091). Cantacuzenus prefers to say that their knowledge of the waters enabled them to avoid the sunken rocks and do great execution on the enemy (iii. p. 221 Bonn).

soon discouraged. Their own loss in killed, wounded, and missing was fifteen hundred. The Genoese lost nearly as many, and were in no condition to pursue the retreating Venetians: it is remarked by their annalist that he heard of no annual commemoration of their triumph, no visit of their doge to any church to make a thank-offering, perhaps because the victory of a day in which so many Genoese worthies were lost was not thought worthy to be remembered.<sup>1</sup>

Pisani continued to keep the sea and plunder Genoese ships, as did also the *Rettori* of the Venetian possessions in Greece and its islands; but his conduct of the battle was not approved in Venice, and the Avogadore, Andrea Gradenigo, was sent out to hold an inquiry into the conduct of any officers who had failed of their duty in the battle. If the Avogadore's mission amounted to a trial of Pisani, he was acquitted and not deprived of his command. We learn from Cantacuzenus that both Venetians and Catalonians put much trust in his knowledge of the islands and seaboard of the Ægean and the Black Sea:<sup>2</sup> the imperial historian himself accuses him roundly of cowardice. The Aragonese admiral who succeeded Santa Paula (killed in the battle), in a letter to the doge bears witness to the loyalty and skill of Pisani.<sup>3</sup>

The Greek Empire was in a miserable state of dissolution at this time. Civil war was imminent between John V., the young representative of the imperial family of the

<sup>1</sup> "De hoc enim triumpho non vidi per annum agi memoriam, nec ex eo Januæ præsidem, ut moris est, Templo alicui aliqualem oblationem impendere; forsàn quod deficientibus hoc prælio Januensibus tot probis, hujus diei minimè palma recolitur" (Stella, *u.s.*, col. 1092). This battle was known as the battle of the Bosphorus. Finlay, on the authority of Cantacuzenus (iv. 30, tom. iii. p. 221 Bonn), says that it was fought near the island of Prote and some sunken rocks called Vrachophagos ("Byzantine and Greek Empires," ii. p. 570). Uberto Foglietta (*Gen. Hist.*, lib. vii. p. 141, *apud* Grævium, *u.s.*, col. 449) remarks also on the fact that the Genoese had no joyful celebration of the victory.

<sup>2</sup> Cantacuz., iv. 30 (tom. iii. p. 219 Bonn).

<sup>3</sup> *Commem.*, iv. 434 (ii. p. 203 Predelli).

Paleologi, and John Cantacuzenus, the historian, who, from being grand domestic or prime minister to the Regent Anna, John V.'s mother, had usurped the imperial throne.<sup>1</sup> The Empire was one of shreds and patches. Finlay has shown, in a remarkable passage,<sup>2</sup> how it consisted of a number of isolated fragments separated from one another by large tracts, in which Turks or Servians or Bulgarians or Catalonians or Italians bore rule. The Venetians and the Knights Hospitallers held some islands, the Genoese were formidable throughout the Levant, and most of all in the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople. So formidable were they after the failure of the Venetian and Aragonese attack on them, in which the Greek contingent had taken but an inglorious part, that Cantacuzenus was only anxious to make his peace with them behind the backs of his late allies. By a treaty agreed to in May 1352 he granted them two things which they had long desired, an extension of the bounds of their colony of Galata and the right to exclude his Greek subjects from the trade with the Sea of Azov, except in company with Genoese ships or by special permission obtained from the Genoese government.<sup>3</sup> He had no love for either Genoa or Venice, just as neither Italian Republic had any wish to aid him to rid his Empire of the other. He was anxious to destroy Galata, which was an eyesore to the Golden Horn, as Ægina had been to the Piræus: but he had no wish whatever to see it in Venetian hands. It was, moreover, clearly to his advantage that the two Republics should fight out their quarrels in the West rather than at the doors of his palace.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Regent Anna was a princess of Savoy, belonging to a house that had been generally friendly to their neighbours, the Genoese. This may have helped to bring about the alliance of Cantacuzenus with the Venetians.

<sup>2</sup> "Byzantine and Greek Empire," ii. pp. 557-59.

<sup>3</sup> Canale, *Nuova Ist.*, iv. p. 27. The treaty can be read in Sauli (*Col. de' Genov. in Galata*, ii. pp. 216-22, esp. p. 219).

<sup>4</sup> This is well traced by Parisot (*Cantacuzène homme d'état et Historien*, pp. 261, 262).

Accordingly in August 1353, when Cantacuzenus was no longer an enemy of the Genoese, the Venetian and Catalan fleets had drawn off to the westward. The King of Aragon had some claims to govern Sardinia, several towns in which the Genoese had occupied. Venice in the previous autumn had seen her position in the Levant strengthened by the cession to Marino Faliero, now Count of Valmarena in the hills north of Conegliano, as a representative of the Proveditori of the Venetian fleet, of the island of Tenedos,<sup>1</sup> a post of observation of the Hellespont as it had been of Troy in the mythical days of the second Æneid. She was therefore at liberty to despatch her fleet still under Pisani to assist the Catalonians, who under Bernardo di Cabrera were besieging the town of Alghero in Sardinia, and were threatened by a Genoese fleet under Antonio Grimaldi sent to relieve the place. Pisani's tactics, lashing the bulk of his ships together to make what the Venetian historian calls a "campo di battaglia," kept ten galleys loose under Giovanni Sanuto to challenge the enemy. The Genoese, who thought they had only the Catalans to deal with, were struck with panic at the number and vigour of their assailants and were driven against the shore. This signal defeat, which avenged the Venetians for their defeat on the Bosphorus, is known as the battle of La Lojera.<sup>2</sup>

Genoa was humbled and crushed by this defeat. Her enemies had the control of the sea, the Catalan fleet supreme in the Western, the Venetian in the Eastern Mediterranean. She was not only cut off from the Black Sea and Constantinople, she who lately had been able to

<sup>1</sup> It was ceded as security for a loan of 20,000 gold ducats made by the commune of Venice (*Commemoriali*, v. 5; Predelli, tom. ii. p. 214). The date of the cession was 10th October 1352.

<sup>2</sup> Roman., iii. 169. The defeat is honestly admitted by Stella (*u.s.*, col. 1092), who says, "Licet ductore prudenti astutisve Consiliariis nostratum esset munitus exercitus tamen quia numero impares, aut quia fortuna variat morem ejus, conculcati et devicti Januenses fuerunt . . . Angustia flebili ipsa Januensis civitas fuit repleta."



dictate what ships should show themselves in those waters, but her loss of the command of the sea cut off most of her supplies of food. The populous city and its narrow territory, shut in between the mountains and the sea, was dependent for its food either on over-sea trade or on the fertile plains of Lombardy. The latter resource had been imperilled since 1348, when at the crisis caused by the great mortality, Luchino Visconti, the Lord of Milan, had intervened in the domestic feuds of the Republic, had invaded her territory in conjunction with some of her exiled nobles, taken some of her subject cities, and threatened to assault her walls. This disaster had been averted by the death of Luchino, but his successor Giovanni, the Archbishop of Milan, was still her watchful enemy, and occupied with his troops all the passes leading from Lombardy into Liguria. Famine knows no law, and in September 1353, just a month after the defeat of Lojera, the Doge Valente and his Council had to make terms with the Lord of Milan, the great potentate whose rule extended over the greater part of North Italy from the Apennines to the Adige. Submission to a foreign power was not so unknown at Genoa as at Venice. Not so many years before she had been governed by the podestàs of Robert of Naples, and she had submitted to the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg and to Pope John XXII. In return for the opening of the roads by which provisions could come from Lombardy, and the aid of the troops of the archbishop against Venice and Aragon, she granted him the same submission she had granted to King Robert, but stipulated that she should be governed by her own laws and that the Red Cross of St. George should still appear on the flags of her ships above the Viper of the Visconti.<sup>1</sup> Lorenzo de Monacis, the Venetian chronicler, bitterly remarks of the humbled enemies of his country, "So they permit the blessed Martyr St. George, the Knight of Christ, to appear by the

<sup>1</sup> Canale, *Nuova Istoria*, iv. 31-33.

side of his enemy the Serpent, to the perpetual infamy and disgrace of their posterity.”<sup>1</sup>

The archbishop had before this haughtily called upon the Venetians to show what rights they had in some forts and territory near the city of Brescia, which itself belonged to the Visconti, and Andrea Dandolo had replied that he would send a captain with 15,000 men-at-arms into the Milanese to say what right the Venetians had to their Brescian lands.<sup>2</sup> The archbishop let the matter rest for a time, but when he saw the Venetians involved in war with the Genoese, he revived his demand, and the doge found it expedient to agree to let him occupy the territory on condition that he promised not to help the Genoese. Shortly after this came the Genoese surrender to the archbishop, and he then maintained that to fight the battles of Genoa now she was his subject was no breach of his promise not to help her while she was independent. Venice then took measures to form a league against the Visconti. The Marquises of Montferrat and Ferrara, with the Lords of Verona, Padua, Mantua, and Faenza, joined her; she hired a band of condottieri and prevailed upon Charles, King of Bohemia and King-elect of the Romans, who became at this time the Emperor Charles IV., to be captain-general of the League—all this, in the words of Lorenzo de Monacis, at great and incredible cost,<sup>3</sup> but with little result; for the Visconti bribed the captains of the condottieri, sowed discord among the allied cities, and sent an embassy to Venice, which by the eloquent mouth of the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Lib. xii. p. 217, ed. Flam. Corn., Venice, 1758. The viper on the Visconti shield was “anguis evomens puerum.”

<sup>2</sup> “Quod mitteret unum Capitaneum cum  $\frac{M}{XV}$  galeatis ad partes Mediolani qui diceret quo jure Veneti dictam Ripariam possidebant” (Laur. de Mon., *u.s.*, p. 217). “Riparia Bresciæ” is perhaps the Brescian territory bordering on the Lago di Garda, and had been ceded to them by the Scaligers after the war with Mastino.

<sup>3</sup> “Hæc omnia maximis et incredibilibus pecuniarum profusionibus” (Laur. de Mon., *u.s.*, p. 217).

scholar of that age, the poet Francesco Petrarca, offered them very favourable terms. But the Venetians were too much bent on humbling Genoa to listen to the persuasions or reproaches of Petrarch, and twice refused the terms offered by the archbishop. They were at the same time deserted by the King of Bohemia, who, enriched by 100,000 ducats which they had paid for his services, and bribed also by the brothers Matteo and Bernabo Visconti, who in 1354 succeeded their uncle the archbishop at Milan, accomplished his progress to Rome, was there crowned and blessed by the Cardinal of Ostia, and returned into Bohemia<sup>1</sup> without striking a blow against the Visconti.

Meanwhile the war between Venice and Genoa went on. In 1354 the campaign was begun by a small Genoese squadron of light ships running up the Adriatic and burning Lesina and Curzola in the islands off the Dalmatian coast. Nicola Pisani, who was still in command of the Venetian fleet, having tried in vain to overtake the four Genoese galleys that had done this damage, reported to the doge that the Republic needed a large force of light and swift-sailing vessels that could venture into shallow water: the large Venetian ships were powerful in a regular action or in the open sea, but were no match for lighter vessels in coast warfare;<sup>2</sup> he called upon the government to build a class of vessels that could follow the enemy everywhere and so secure victory. Good advice of this kind could not bear fruit immediately, and the year 1354 was disastrous to Venice, partly from this want of mobility in her fleets, partly from the heavy hand of the Lords of Milan

<sup>1</sup> The scornful words of Lorenzo de Monacis are worth quoting: "Carolus etiam more suo corruptus pecunia a nepotibus Archiepiscopi . . . auctus pecunia Venetorum et Vice-comitum accessit Romam, et corona Imperii, ac solita benedictione suscepta pecuniosus quam gloriosus rediit in Bohemiam (*u.s.*, p. 218). The coronation was on Easter Sunday, April 5, 1355.

<sup>2</sup> Laur. de Mon., *u.s.*, p. 218. The Genoese ships were biremes, the Venetian triremes he describes as "corpulentia sua tardas."

supporting her enemy. In March Nicola Pisani with thirty-three galleys, part fitted out in Venice, part called in from Dalmatia and Crete, sailed to Sardinia to join the King of Aragon, who was still besieging Alghero, but lost many men without bringing the town to surrender, and could not persuade the King to let him have the eighteen ships he was entitled by treaty to demand, for operations in the Levant. Paganino Doria, the Genoese admiral, hearing that Pisani's fleet had passed Sicily bound for Sardinia, took advantage of his absence to run up the Adriatic, burning towns on both its coasts, and finally swooping down upon Parenzo in Istria, which he took, as well as two ships and the bodies of two saints, Maurus and Cyrillus. On this adventurous voyage he sailed by the Venetian Lido, and caused so much alarm in the city that the Port of St. Nicolas, the principal outlet from the Lagoon, was hastily blocked up by boats and chains and felled trees. The city was not attacked, but the Genoese fleet with many ships they had taken sailed away to Scio, and continued its depredations in the Archipelago and Cyprus and what the Venetian chronicler calls Upper Romania. Parenzo was taken in August 1354, and three weeks afterwards the great Doge Andrea Dandolo died, at the early age of forty-five, after governing the Republic for eleven years and nine months of strenuous bodily and mental exertion, in the words of Lorenzo de Monacis, "of a disease contracted by grief, happy in that he did not live to hear of the fatal disaster of Porto Lungo." This disaster happened on the 4th of November. Pisani had, after the loss of Parenzo, withdrawn to the eastward, probably in fear that the Genoese might carry everything before them in the Archipelago and the Black Sea. Doria was in the harbour of Scio and could not be lured out to either a general engagement or a combat of twelve galleys on either side. He was expecting reinforcements from home. The Venetian admiral, after watching some time

about Samos and the approaches to Theologus (Ephesus), withdrew to Cytherea and thence to the fortress of Corone, where he had reason to believe that important despatches were waiting for him. Close by Corone, at the southwestern extremity of the Peloponnesus, are the island of Sapienza and the harbour of Porto Lungo, between it and the fortress, which is some miles to the south of the Bay of Navarino. In the harbour Paganino Doria attacked the Venetian fleet, having first sent forward a very fast-sailing galley under a nephew of his who was experienced in naval warfare, who reported that it could be easily beaten. The defeat was overwhelming. Nicola Quirino, who with twenty galleys was stationed as an advanced guard at the entrance of the harbour, lost his head and ran his ships ashore. One Venetian ship of the main body ran aground on a spit of sand, and others following it, shared its fate. Doria had only to take possession of these and then to advance farther into the harbour and take the others without stroke of sword. "He routed them without a struggle and overcame them without a victory. You would have thought there were on one side armed men, on the other unarmed women." The Venetian chronicler goes on to say that such a catastrophe could have come only from the judgment of God upon a city elated beyond measure, and from the weighty mass of her sins.<sup>1</sup> But what he had just before told us of the slowness and want of mobility of the Venetian ships, and the patience of Doria in refusing to fight until his enemy was in a dangerous position, seems sufficient to account for the Venetian disaster, without having recourse to the portents he proceeds, in the manner of Livy, to recount.

Peace could not but follow such a collapse. When it was concluded it was between the Republic of Venice and the three brothers Visconti, Lords of Milan. The Republic of Genoa was no longer an independent power,

<sup>1</sup> Laur. de Monacis, *u.s.*, p. 221.

able to declare war or make a treaty. And her rival, though still proudly maintaining her independence, was humbled and crippled. The result of their long contest, and still more of their unwillingness to co-operate with the Greek Empire, was seen in the steady growth of the Turkish power, which was destined in a hundred years to establish itself firmly at Constantinople. For this hostility to the Greek government, or at least for a consistent policy of weakening it, Genoa was more to blame than Venice, and the Popes were more relentless enemies than either. Religious fanaticism was not carried to mischievous lengths either at Venice or at Genoa, but commercial rivalry blinded them as much as fanatical intolerance could have done, to the inevitable consequences of their policy.

They were not left without warning. I have mentioned the embassy on which Petrarch was sent by Giovanni Visconti in 1353 to attempt to reconcile the two Republics. It is difficult for us in these days to realise the position to which a man like Petrarch had attained. It was much that a man of no nobility of birth and no wealth, the son of a notary of Florence, who had been banished and ruined in the violent party conflicts that raged in the age of Dante in that turbulent city, a man who in early life had taken the minor orders, but had postponed indefinitely the priesthood, which in those days was the recognised road by which low-born talent might advance to honour and power, should, only in recognition of some sonnets and odes in the vulgar tongue,<sup>1</sup> not then regarded as a worthy rival of the Latin, have been solemnly crowned with laurel in the Capitol by the Senator of Rome, and should have been allowed to offer his laurel crown on the altar of St. Peter's. But it is more surprising to find the scholar and poet, who had never concealed his aversion for the solid legal studies, to which he might have been thought to have an

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch's Latin poetry was all or almost all subsequent to this date.

hereditary vocation, in close and confidential relations with popes and cardinals and princes, and employed by them in dignified posts on questions of *haute politique*. In 1351, when the Venetians were seeking the alliance of the King of Aragon and the Emperor John Cantacuzenus against Genoa, Petrarch wrote to the doge, who was his contemporary and an old friend, and whom, after his death, he spoke of as a man "good and honest, a great lover of his country, and moreover learned, eloquent, and prudent and courteous and gentle."<sup>1</sup> His letter of the 18th of March 1351 laments that the stout and obstinate enemy with whom his Republic was at war was of Italian race, not from Damascus, Susa or Memphis or Smyrna, but from Genoa, an enemy, war with whom must result in the extinction or darkening of one of the two eyes of Italy. If a barbarian invasion were again to come, the two Republics would certainly stand side by side to repel it. Would the doge stain the ancient honour of the Venetian people and of his own office by asking the aid of a barbarous king (it was thus he characterised the King of Aragon) for the overthrow of Italians? He quotes the magnanimous declaration of the Spartan commander, when urged to destroy the hostile city of Athens, that he would not put out one of the eyes of Greece. No one could justly blame an unwarlike patriot like himself, if while others were hewing timber in their woods to build ships, were sharpening swords and arrows and strengthening walls and docks, he had recourse to the only weapon he could use, his pen.<sup>2</sup>

Petrarch had also an intimate friend and correspondent on the Genoese side. Guidone Settimo, who, as a child, had been one of the company that migrated with Petrarch, then eight years old, from Pisa to Avignon, who had been his companion on his first visit to Vaucluse in 1316, and his warm friend ever since, was now Archdeacon of Genoa,

<sup>1</sup> *Epist. Fam.*, xix. 9, vol. ii. p. 537 in Fracassetti's Latin ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, xi. 8, vol. ii. pp. 124-34 in Fracassetti's Lat. ed.

of which he became Archbishop in 1359. To him Petrarch wrote a long letter when news reached him of the crushing defeat the Genoese fleet suffered at La Lojera from the united forces of Venice and Aragon. His sympathy with the misfortunes of Genoa has all the marks of sincerity. "If I were to say what I feared has happened, I should lie. Rather what I thought scarcely possible has happened. The sea has seen and shuddered at the rout of the Genoese fleet. The battle was not a fair contest of equal forces, but an irruption of foreign allies had made the enemy's numbers far greater, and the winds and waves had helped the stronger side." He consoles his friend by ancient and modern instances of the inconstancy of fortune, and the salutary lessons that the Genoese were not, after all, gods of the sea. He hears the stranger news that the courage of the vanquished was broken, of those Genoese whom he had thought a world in ruin would have found fearless. "When the messenger came with the news, it was night, and black night seemed to have gathered greater darkness. I shuddered in all my body and soul. As soon as I recovered, I seized my pen." As he had dissuaded from an Italian war, and applauded the victory won over the foreigner (*i.e.* at the Bosphorus), so now it was his duty to strengthen the failing spirit of the conquered. But the tone of his letter shows that he thought the blow was a final one, that Genoa had fallen not to rise again. His last words are, "We cannot hope for peace, we can for victory, if our courage does not give way to false opinions. It is folly for man to hope anything eternal for himself, when he sees kingdoms themselves to be mortal."<sup>1</sup>

This letter was written in September 1353. Eight months after, in May 1354, Petrarch had again had to take up his pen to write his condolences to Dandolo on the great defeat of the Venetians at Porto Lungo, so soon had his warnings of the inconstancy of fortune come true. In

<sup>1</sup> *Epist. Fam.*, xvii. 3, vol. ii. pp. 422-35, Fracassetti's ed.



the interval between La Lojera and Porto Lungo, Petrarch had come to Venice on a mission of peace, sent by Giovanni Visconti, the archbishop and lord of Milan,<sup>1</sup> and he refers in this letter to the arguments he had used in public to the doge's council and in private to the doge's own ear. He had been then a faithful but ineffective persuader of peace. No ruler was better advised than the doge, no people more calm and dignified; but at that time the war fever and the clash of arms had made the hearts of the doge and his nobles deaf to wholesome counsel and just entreaties. A light breath of rumour from the north (I presume the hope that the Emperor Charles IV. would intervene against the new lord of Genoa) was sufficient to frustrate the object of Petrarch's mission. The horror he felt at Italians hiring foreign soldiers to waste their fair country and slaughter their brethren he again loudly expresses. He feared his own incapacity had been the cause of the failure of his embassy to secure peace. "When many words had been wasted, I returned as full of sorrow, shame, and terror as I had come full of hope. To open to reason ears that were stopped and hearts that were obstinate was a task beyond my eloquence, as it would have been beyond that of Cicero." What remained for him was to see now if his pen could move more than his voice had done the hardened mind of the doge and his counsellors. His exposition of the horrors of war and the blessings of peace is a noble piece of eloquence. He paints in the liveliest colours the foreign soldiers of fortune, who like wolves and vultures delight in blood and carnage, fear and starve in peace, whose thirst for blood and for gold is equal. He appeals to the doge not to let the flourishing Republic committed to his guard and all the rich and lovely part of Italy that lies between the

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch's words are: "ab hoc nuper Itatorum maximo," as if the archbishop were already dead; but he died in October 1354, after the Doge Dandolo, and certainly after this letter was written.

Apennine and the Alps become the prey of these foreign and hungry wolves. He must not think that, if Italy perish, Venice could be safe. What he had seen at Venice had convinced him that a warlike policy was popular there. "Nature has made thee," he urges, "gentle and a lover of peace, and your people one whose unbounded prosperity rests not on the foundation of war but on peace and justice. Beware you do not fall under the condemnation the Psalmist pronounces on those 'who pondered unrighteousness in their heart, and stirred up strife all the day long,' or incur the malediction 'Scatter the peoples that delight in war.' If by chance thou hast let the popular breath drive thee on a dangerous course, draw back thy foot from the precipice whilst thou canst, whilst the armies have not yet engaged, whilst Mars thunders but has not yet launched his thunderbolt, whilst the sweet name of peace can yet be heard amid the bitter and dreadful threats of war. Seize the last chance, that thou mayst be called the author of peace in Italy, and hand down to posterity a name already glorious in many ways, with this glory above the rest. What will thy literary distinction advantage thee, thy study in the liberal arts, in which fame proclaims with truth thy great achievements above all other rulers of this age, if, having seen what is better, thou pursuest the worse course? I beseech and adjure thee by the zealous love for virtue, in which thou art behind none, by the love for country in which thou surpassest all, lastly, by the five wounds of Christ, from which his most sacred and most innocent blood flowed, if thou thinkest I have spoken with piety and fidelity do not refuse to hear and attend to me, and if the counsel pleases, contemn not its author."<sup>1</sup>

This letter was written in May 1354. In April of the next year, writing to the Archdeacon of Genoa,<sup>2</sup> he returns to the subject of Venice and her doge. He had foretold

<sup>1</sup> *Epist. Fam.*, xviii. 16 (vol. ii. pp. 505-12, ed. Fracassetti).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, xix. 9 (vol. ii. pp. 534-38, ed. Fracassetti).

the rapid reverse in the fortunes of the Venetians, not by the stars or any other form of divination, but by mental foresight. "And would that their doge Andrew," he goes on, "were still living, that I might stir him up by letters, and sting him to the quick with my free speech. For I knew him to be a good man, though more ardent in the pursuit of war than was consistent with his nature and character. I did not spare him in his lifetime; he bore my reproaches patiently, but, elated by recent victory, he rejected my counsel. Death was kind to him in sparing him the sight of his country's bitter sorrow, and the still more cutting letters I would have sent him." The letter goes on in a more serious tone. The great doge, as he had heard from those who were present, had received a few days before his death the affectionate, if reproachful, letter Petrarch had sent him, and was anxious to answer it, but hesitated; not that so practised and elegant a writer could not find words, but because the facts could not be got over. From whatever cause, he sent Petrarch's messenger back without a reply, saying he would send an answer by his own messenger, "but this he never sent, prevented by disease, whether of body or mind, for within a few days, contrary to his expectation and that of all the world, the same Genoese fleet he had thought utterly conquered and panic-stricken sailed boldly up to the Venetian coast and brought on a conflict, in which the doge himself in armour, contrary to his custom, took part. And after that day he did scarcely anything, as though he were hastening by an opportune death to withdraw his head from the impending evils."

It is evident, I think, that Petrarch was not impartial in the contest of Venice with Genoa, but was disposed always to put Venice in the wrong, notwithstanding his affection, which probably was genuine enough, for its learned doge. A Florentine was likely to be prejudiced against Venice to begin with, and it is evident that the poet had no conception of the real causes of the rivalry of

Venice and Genoa, the importance to them and to the world of the trade with Constantinople and the Sea of Azov. He was an enthusiastic lover of Italy, and it was the dearest desire of his heart to see the Pope restored to Rome, and, if possible, governing the Church from the Vatican, while an Emperor, his friend and protector, governed the world from the Capitol. In default of an Emperor, he had been ready to welcome a tribune in the person of Rienzi. A Roman Emperor in France or Germany, or a Pope at Avignon, was an abomination. The thought of Italy, the beautiful queen of the world, her fertile plains, her *amœna rura*, shut in and protected by the rugged and frozen Alps from the rude world beyond, the long list of her cities that he runs through, this was what stirred his enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup> The French clergy with whom he was obliged to associate at Avignon might pardonably admire the arches of the little bridges of Paris and the murmur of the Seine as it flowed under them, and imagine there was nothing grand or delectable outside Paris—this reproach of Petrarch has a strangely modern sound—but to Petrarch Avignon was as hateful a place of banishment as Tomi on the Euxine was to Ovid.<sup>2</sup>

This exclusive love for Italy, and the feeling, for which there was some ground, that Venice was too cosmopolitan to be purely Italian, furnish a reasonable and creditable ground for the preference for Genoa that Petrarch shows. But I think we may assume that he was influenced by other considerations also. In the year 1353 he had come to

<sup>1</sup> See amongst other instances the letter (*Fam.*, ix. 13, vol. ii. p. 41, Fracass.) addressed to Philippe de Vitry, afterwards Bishop of Meaux, who had condoled with one of the Avignon cardinals on his "exile" to Italy: "peregrinationem sanctissimam et qua gloriosior nulla esse potest, exilii cognomine decoloras. Esse in Italia miserum exilium reris, extra quam esse, nisi quia omne solum forti patria est, potius videri posset exilium?" His catalogue of the glories of Italy is to be found in pp. 48-51. There is another pretty description of Italian scenery round San Colombano in *Fam.*, xvii. 5 (ii. 442, 443).

<sup>2</sup> See the letter to Ph. de Vitry, pp. 44, 45.

live at Milan on the invitation of the Archbishop and Lord of the city, Giovanni Visconti, who had given him a house in a remote and quiet part of the city near the venerable church of St. Ambrose.<sup>1</sup> The archbishop, like his brother and predecessor Luchino, was a humanist and a student. Petrarch was friendly with both brothers, and on public grounds valued their services to Italy. The Visconti were Italians and not foreign condottieri, the wolves and vultures whose presence in Italy he so deplored. And the influence of powerful lords like the della Scalas, the Estes, or the Visconti was also a check on the furious party spirit that had wrought so much mischief. In October 1353, about a month after the defeat of the Genoese at La Lojera and their surrender of their independence to the lord of Milan, Petrarch wrote another letter to Guido Settimo, the Archdeacon of Genoa, describing the reception of the Genoese envoys in "the hall of the royal palace." Those of the envoys with whom he had talked had been ready to blame the conduct of their admiral, but had been less dejected at the defeat than at the intestine discord that was raging at Genoa, and the temper of the nobles who were for taking advantage of the misfortunes of their country as a means of recovering power. The fear of civil discord had driven the people to take refuge in the protection "of this most just prince." Some of the prince's council had wished Petrarch to reply to the formal tender of their submission. In those days and at the court of a learned prince the elegance of the Latin of such an oration was much thought of. But Petrarch excused himself on the ground of lack of time for preparation, and the archbishop replied himself "in words that another might perhaps have made more ornate, but not more effective." The poet was moved to tears by the reply, though there is a touch of criticism in his remark that the long list of saints to whom the prince appealed

<sup>1</sup> *Fam.*, xix. 16, ii. p. 556 of Fracassetti's edition.

took up no small part of the whole speech. He is unwilling to disclose what he thinks likely to be the result ; but he trusts in the maxim of the philosophers that the best condition for a state is to be under the just government of one person,<sup>1</sup> that is, under a monarchy. We have seen how he in his letter to Andrea Dandolo spoke of the archbishop as the greatest of Italians. In his account of the reception of the Genoese envoys, he speaks of the home of the Visconti as “*regia domus.*”<sup>2</sup>

The Visconti were not quite of the type of the ordinary despot who came to power in a city wearied out by the strife of its factions, of one of which he had generally been the leader. Their family was so ancient that its name had disappeared in the mists of antiquity ; only their title Vice-Comes, Vice-Count, remained to them for a surname, and the meaning and history of this were forgotten. Muratori's eighth Dissertation in his *Antiquities* on the titles Comes and Vice-Comes, from the times of the old Roman Empire downwards, discusses amongst other questions that now before us, and comes to no definite conclusion. “As some Vice-Comites began to transmit this title to their descendants,” he says, “such an appellation gradually passed into a family surname.” And again : “It would be an arduous business to wish to define whence this title, that afterwards became the family name of the Milanese Visconti, came. Perhaps they may have been the Vicarii or Deputies of the Imperial Count in the city of Milan or have governed some district on the Lago Maggiore, of which the Archbishop of Milan was Count.”<sup>3</sup>

The Archbishop of Milan, who, by virtue of his privilege of crowning the emperor-elect with the Iron Crown of Lombardy, was a high officer of the Imperial Court, had a

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Fam.*, xvii. 4, vol. ii. pp. 436-39, Fracassetti.

<sup>2</sup> Giov. Villano (ix. 107). Muratori, *R. I. S.*, xiii. c. 496, says of the first Matteo, “Il quale era come uno grande Ré in Lombardia.”

<sup>3</sup> Murat., *Antiquitates*, Diss. viii. in tom. i. col. 441 *sqq.*

*maggioranza* or feudal superiority in Milan,<sup>1</sup> and his hereditary deputy would naturally be a person of great importance in the city. In the first half of the eleventh century we meet with an Eriprandus Vice-Comes playing a part in Milanese history, and the historians of the Crusades mention an Otto Vice-Comes, a Milanese knight, who in the end of the same century won in combat with a Saracen, whom he killed, the cognisance of the viper that was ever after associated with the family. Muratori suspects that the accounts of this knight are not free from fable. But in the thirteenth century an Archbishop Otto Visconti is certainly an historical person; in his time the Visconti family was the head of the Ghibellines in Milan as the della Torre family was the head of the Guelfs, and the office of Imperial Vicar is found in the hands sometimes of one of these families and sometimes of the other. Matteo Visconti, as we have seen, had in 1299, as Imperial Vicar, imposed terms of peace upon Genoa and Venice;<sup>2</sup> and when his three grandsons, Matteo II., Bernabo, and Galeazzo, who shared the lordship on the death of their uncle Archbishop Giovanni, again intervened as arbitrators between the two cities after the battle of Porto Lungo, they appeal to their grandfather's action as a precedent.<sup>3</sup> The subjection of their city to a person of pretensions so vague and mysterious as those of an Imperial Vicar might well have appeared not altogether dishonourable to an independent Republic.

The award of the three brothers, which deals with all the points at issue between Genoese and Venetians in all their wars, the trade with Azov (which they ordered to be suspended for three years), the exchange of prisoners (of

<sup>1</sup> Cambiano della Ruffia, *Historico Discorso*, lib. i. in vol. iii., Script. of *Hist. Patr. Monum.*, col. 987.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, pp. 257, 258.

<sup>3</sup> See *Liber Jurium Genuensium*, ii. col. 618 in *Hist. Patr. Monum.* They describe themselves as "pro sacra imperatoria majestate Vicarii generales."

whom great numbers had been made in the fifty-six years since the treaty dictated by Matteo Visconti in 1299), the restraint of private war or piracy by either of the contracting parties,<sup>1</sup> is dated June 1, 1355. Giovanni Gradenigo was then doge of Venice, and very important events had happened at Venice since the death of Andrea Dandolo. These I must relate in the next chapter.

<sup>1</sup> No armed Genoese ship was to enter the Adriatic, which the lords of Milan call "the gulf of the Lord Doge and the Commune of Venice," and no armed Venetian ship was to appear between the harbour of Pisa and Marseilles (*Liber-Jur. Gen.*, ii. c. 624).



## CHAPTER XVI

### MARIN FALIERO

THE correctors of the doge's promissione appointed on Andrea Dandolo's death made some of the usual unimportant alterations in the way of strengthening the control exercised over the doge by his counsellors and the councils of the citizens, the Great Council, the Pregadi, and the Forty. The electors who were then nominated chose for his successor the man whose name has been frequently mentioned before in this history, Marin Faliero. He was already an old man, seventy-six years of age, according to Marin Sanudo, the biographer of the doges, twenty-nine years older than his predecessor, who was only forty-seven at his death. The new doge was of one of the oldest noble families in Venice. The Altino Chronicle speaks of them under the name of Frauduni or Faletri, and suggests that their name had been originally Fanestris, from the old maritime town of Fano, near Ancona; it says that their family came to Rialto from Equilio. The Falieri did not belong to the first and most select of the noble families, those who had taken part in the election of the first doge; but they had given two doges to the Republic—Vitale at the end of the eleventh, and Ordelafo at the beginning of the twelfth century. In those days the family was divided into three branches, Anafesti, Ordelafo, and Dodoni, to the last of which those two doges belonged. At the date we have now reached we do not know whether these branches still existed, but there were still branches named after the *contrade* or parishes in which they lived; the new doge

belonged to the Falieri of Santi Apostoli. His grandfather was one Marco,<sup>1</sup> who seems to have died before 1310; his father, Marco's younger son, was named Jacopo; his uncle and namesake, his father's elder brother, was an important person, who was several times a counsellor of the doge; was in 1322 a Procurator of Saint Mark; in 1328 was elected captain of the Pisanatico in Istria; and in 1329, shortly before his death, was sent on an embassy to King Robert of Naples.

His nephew, who was now elected doge, is first heard of as one of the Council of Ten from 1315 to 1320, when Bajamonte Tiepolo and his fellow-conspirators were being tried. In 1320 he was one of two members of that Council who were empowered to spend 10,000 *lire di piccoli*, with the object of working zealously and carefully to bring about the death<sup>2</sup> of Bajamonte. In 1327 he ceased to be on the Council of Ten, after an embassy to Bologna, on being elected one of the *Anziani alla Pace*. In 1333 he had been given the command of a fleet in the Black Sea to protect Venetian merchant vessels sailing to Tana, and had been called upon to advise upon letters received from the captains appointed by the Pope to command the troops of the league against the Turks. At this time he was an elected *savio* or commissioner, an officer of a class coming more and more into use, elected generally in bodies of four or five, to deal with some defined business, and holding office only for a few months.<sup>3</sup>

He was at this time fifty-six years of age, and had been for eighteen years in high employment in the State.

<sup>1</sup> Cecchetti in *Nuovo Archivio Ven.*, iii. pt. i. p. 183; Lazzarini in *N. A. V.*, v. pt. i., 1893, pp. 95 *sqq.* A genealogist of the Trecento says of the Falieri: "inter ipsos nobilitate plurimum interest, quamvis unam gerant armaturam et se expelant de consilio." The last words, I think, mean that they exclude one another from the Great Council, on which only one of a family could sit.

<sup>2</sup> They were to bring about "sollicité et attente mortem et desolationem" of Bajamonte (*N. A. V.*, v. pt. i. p. 106).

<sup>3</sup> Of these *Savi* see *ante*, p. 386, II. 2.

From this year he began to be employed as podestà, sometimes in places tributary to Venice, such as the islands of Lesina and Brazza on the Dalmatian coast, or Chioggia, sometimes in foreign cities or districts of Italy, Padua, Treviso, Serravalle. The latter place is on the lower slopes of the Venetian Alps, north of Conegliano, in the Val Mareno, which had been the seat of a count belonging to the important family of Camino, holding it under the Bishop of Ceneda. In 1349 the valley, with its castle of Coste, was ceded by Rizzardo da Camino to Marin Faliero, as guarantor of a loan to the Camini made by the Procurators of St. Mark;<sup>1</sup> and Faliero henceforth appears in Venetian documents as Comes Vallis Mareni, to which title that of *Miles* was added, after he was knighted in March 1353 by the Emperor Charles IV. in his ducal castle of Vienna. Thither Faliero had gone with Marco Corner (or Cornaro) on an embassy in reference to a claim made by the King of Hungary for the cession of Dalmatia, as wrongfully taken from him. The claim was referred to the Emperor, and the king and the two Venetians were heard by Charles in Vienna in presence of four of the electors, the three Rhenish archbishops, and the Marquis of Brandenburg. The Emperor's decision had been that Venice should keep Dalmatia, but pay a money compensation to the king.

Thus Marin Faliero, before he became doge, had been conversant with the highest political questions and in intimate relations with the greatest personages of the Christian world. We do not know what was the connexion between his service as Podestà of Serravalle and his acquisition of the dignity of Count of Val Mareno; there would have been nothing strange in a rich Venetian official lending money to a family of landowners resident near the seat of his government. We know, from other instances,

<sup>1</sup> Lazzarini in *N. A. V.*, xiii. pt. ii. pp. 322-24. Falier received between 2000 and 3000 *lire di piccoli* from the *feudo*, and kept in the fort at his own expense a sufficient garrison of nine men.

that ambition of feudal rank would be regarded with suspicion at Venice, and this may explain the curious vacillation as to Faliero's appointment to the command against Zara, to which I have referred on a previous page.<sup>1</sup> His services to his country in the quarrel with the Scaligers, in the long struggle with Genoa in Romania and the Black Sea, and in the subjugation of Zara (though the chief command here was denied him) show that he was not seriously distrusted. But the evidence we have of "the last infirmity of noble minds" in his character throws a lurid light on the tragical *dénouement* of his career.<sup>2</sup>

At the time of his election he was away from Venice on an embassy to the Pope at Avignon.<sup>3</sup> In order to reach Venice in the shortest possible time, he had to pass through the Milanese territory, and the republic was now at war with the lord of Milan, who had become lord paramount and protector of Genoa. The Archbishop Giovanni, however, who was just at the end of his long life, made no difficulty about a safe-conduct, which was sent to the doge-elect by the hand of Stefanello, one of the secretaries. It found him at Verona, from whence he came, apparently down the Adige by boat, to Chioggia. There the *Bucintoro* awaited him, but a thick fog prevailing—it was the 5th of October—made it dangerous to take the large ship through the shallow and tortuous channels leading to the city. So the doge and his suite got into *piatte*, the flat-bottomed boats we read of in the time of the Plague, in

<sup>1</sup> *v. ante*, pp. 386, 387.

<sup>2</sup> The impatience of his disposition is also shown by the fact of his having boxed the ears of the Bishop of Treviso for being late at a procession. This was in 1339, when he was podestà at Treviso (Roman., iii. 178).

<sup>3</sup> Petrarch tells us that he had gone to Avignon on a mission of peace, I presume to get the Pope to mediate between Venice and the lord of Milan "dum ad ripam Rhodani pro negotio pacis, per me primum et mox per eum frustra tentato apud Romanum Pontificem legationis officio fungitur, Ducatus honor non petenti, imo quidem ignaro sibi obtigit" (*Epist. Fam.*, xix. 9, pp. 539, 540, Fracassetti, vol. ii.).

order to land on the Riva by the Ponte della Paglia. But in the fog they missed the proper landing-place and were put on shore at the Molo, opposite the two columns of the Piazzetta. The tragedy that followed made men observe it as an evil omen that the new doge walked to his palace over the space between the columns that had an ill repute as the haunt of gamblers and the place to which the heads of malefactors, on which a price had been set, were required to be brought.<sup>1</sup> But this evil omen may be apocryphal, as some of the detailed story I give below almost certainly is.

At the time of his accession the old doge, it has been said, had been recently married to a young second wife,<sup>2</sup> a lady named Lodovica or Aloica Gradenigo, of the great family that had given two doges to the republic in the last seventy years. Her grandfather, Bertuccio, had been brother to Bartolomeo Gradenigo, doge from 1339 to 1342, but was not a son of Pietro, the founder of the aristocratic constitution.<sup>3</sup> Nothing is known to the discredit of either the

<sup>1</sup> Laurentius de Monacis, p. 315; Romanin, iii. p. 177. Petrarch refers to this circumstance in his often-quoted words: "sinistro pede Palatium ingressus" (*Epist. Fam.*, xix. 9 *ut supra*).

<sup>2</sup> The story implies that she was young and beautiful; but the pitiless accuracy of documents in the hands of Venetian antiquaries has been held to show that she was certainly over forty and probably over fifty, having been married to Marin before the year 1335, and probably born very early in the fourteenth century (Cecchetti in *Arch. Ven.*, xxix. 202; Lazzarini in *N. A. V.*, xiii. pt. i., 1897, pp. 68 *sqq.*). The popular version of the story is given in few words by the Abbé de Sade in his *Mém. de François Petrarque*, iii. p. 415: "Le vieux doge avait une jolie femme qui ne lui était pas fidèle."

<sup>3</sup> Almost every statement in this paragraph has been disputed. It has been said of Aloica Gradenigo that she was grand-daughter of Piero Gradenigo, the doge; that she was no near relation of his. Every one familiar with genealogical studies knows how much confusion is caused by aunts and nieces or cousins having the same Christian name. We may be certain that after her husband's death she lived in the *contrada* of San Severo, and there made a will in 1384, in which she styled herself "da qua indiedro Dogaressa de Venexia"; but this will is not now to be found in the *Archivio Notarile*—only another later will that was declared invalid, but which also describes her as *olim ducissa*. The official note of the punishment of Michele

doge or his wife in their conjugal relations; but an old husband of a young wife has in all times been exposed to the criticism and ribaldry of profligate and thoughtless young people, such as must have been numerous amongst the wealthy aristocracy of Venice. We have no contemporary account of the details of the offence given; but we are told by Lorenzo de Monacis, a writer of authority, who held the high office of Chancellor of Crete and died in 1429, only seventy-five years after Marin Faliero's accession, that "certain young nobles wrote up some offensive words in corners of the interior of the palace, and (which more angered the doge) were punished by a slight censure."<sup>1</sup> Later chroniclers connected the offensive words with his young wife, and ascribed them to Michele Steno, a young man of twenty-three, who lived to do good service to his country in many capacities, was in 1386 a distinguished Procurator of St. Mark, and at length in 1400 doge. He was present at the doge's ball given in the palace on the last day of the carnival after the bull-baiting (*caccia dei tori*) in the Piazza, and on account of some rudeness towards one of the ladies in attendance on the dogaressa, had been turned out of the ballroom by the doge. In revenge for this he was said to have fastened on the back of the doge's chair, or on the wall of one of the rooms, a placard decorated with a pair of horns and, according to one account,<sup>2</sup> a grossly

Steno and the others for the "foul and slanderous words" written *in camino domini ducis* makes no mention of the doge's wife. Another note does refer to the doge's nephew (or niece, if *nepote* can mean niece, as Ducange says). The most instructive document on this whole subject is R. Fulin's article in *Arch. Ven.*, vii. 99-109. The questions involved are also well discussed in Molmenti's *Dogaressa di Venezia*, pp. 134-50. This book should not be consulted in the English translation. Molmenti is inclined to think the placard contained a calumny on the doge's niece, *i.e.* his nephew's wife, a lady of the Contarini family; and, though not conclusive, his reasons for this are very strong.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. xvi. p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> This account from the MS. Chronicle of Sivos appears to Stefani, the author of the article on the Steno family in Litta's *Famiglie Celebri Italiane*, vol. ii. tavola ii. "tener più d'ogn' altra la proprietà del dialetto."

indecent inscription ; but, according to the common version, one not going beyond the licence allowed in those days, and which we could easily credit in the mouth of the young rufflers or the fine ladies of "Romeo and Juliet." "*Marin Falier Doxe, de la bela moier, altri la galde* (i.e. *gode*) *e lu la mantien.*" Such placards (*polizzini*) were not an unparalleled insult—eleven years later, in 1366, we have a record of one accused before the Council of Ten for having spoken a song or a sonnet (*cantionem vel sonetum*) libellous to the nobles of Venice—and might even be looked upon as a recognised vehicle of popular criticism on those in authority, like the verses hung on Pasquin at Rome.<sup>1</sup> On this occasion proceedings were taken for the punishment of the offender, who was known, but the lightness of the penalty imposed appeared to the doge to add insult to injury.<sup>2</sup>

Lorenzo de Monacis<sup>3</sup> has some weighty remarks on the astonishing fact that a man full of days and reputed so grave a statesman should have been so cruel as to plot so great a wickedness as the betrayal of his country. "The grave wisdom of a doge was bound to disregard the levity of youth and acquiesce in the decision of the government of his city, from which it is clear enough that he had no just cause, but sought an occasion, for doing ill. Elated by the greatness of his honours, and not content with the venerated place of supreme Magistrate of his country, a place honoured by all the princes of the world, he forgot the great benefits he had received from his country, and, driven by merciless ambition, plotted by the aid of some citizens of the populace to overthrow the constitution of the state and, having destroyed the Nobility, to exchange

<sup>1</sup> Instances are given by Cecchetti in an article in *Archivio Veneto*, i. p. 364, one from the records of the Council of Ten in the time of Andrea Dandolo, the other dating from the time when Michele Steno was himself doge.

<sup>2</sup> See R. Fulin's article, *ut supra*, in *Arch. Ven.*, vii. 99-109.

<sup>3</sup> *u.s.*, lib. xvi. p. 315.

the dignity of the ancient Dukedom, that had come to him by unbroken succession, for a new and violent usurpation."

Raphayn Caresini, the Great Chancellor, one of the continuators of Dandolo, who was also a contemporary,<sup>1</sup> expresses the same astonishment: "It is distressing to remember that a man in so excellent a city, in so righteous and splendid a dignity, sprung from so glorious and most loyal a family as the Faledri, one made illustrious by the belt of imperial knighthood, rich and in himself certainly virtuous, should have been unwilling to practise virtue," and attributes his degeneracy to the instigation of a malignant spirit. The malignant spirit may have been the desire of vengeance for an outrageous insult to himself and his wife, allowed to go unpunished, as the popular story of later chroniclers goes. We must, however, always remember that the aristocratic government was naturally held answerable for the miserable defeat of Porto Lungo, in which some nobles among the commanders of ships had been found wanting in skill and courage. And this would also naturally anger in particular the seafaring population of Castello.

The story vouched for by existing records begins with a quarrel between Marco Barbaro, a patrician, *i.e.* a member of the Great Council, and the authorities of the Arsenal, in the course of which the Admiral Stefano Ghiazza, surnamed Gisello, a man very popular in the city, was struck in the face by Barbaro. The Admiral (*Ammiraglio* or *Amiraglio*) at Venice was not, as we might suppose, the supreme commander of the fleet, the *Capitan General da Mar*, but the head of the *Arsenalotti* or Workmen of the Arsenal, who were, as we have seen, a body of highly paid and highly trusted artisans, with a military organisation, who had amongst other privileges that of guarding the ducal palace during an interregnum, and their Admiral was

<sup>1</sup> *Apud* Muratori, *R. I. S.*, xii. col. 424. Caresini speaks as one who knew personally Andrea Dandolo (*ib.* col. 417).



merely one of themselves, an artisan of special and acknowledged ability,<sup>1</sup> but the subordinate of the *Proveditor dell' Arsenal*e, and not a nobleman. Gisello complained to the doge of the treatment he had received and of similar ill-treatment that the master of a ship, Bertucci Isarello, had experienced from Giovanni Dandolo at the *Camera dell' Armamento*,<sup>2</sup> and inveighed against the insolence of the nobles of the Great Council, and, when the doge warmly sympathised, and referred to the difficulty that he, though doge, had to get redress for insult, muttered, "But one ties up mischievous beasts, or, if one cannot tie them up, knocks them on the head." This speech, if it did not first suggest a conspiracy against the aristocracy, seems to have brought it about. We hear of Gisello and Bertucci Isarello, and the father-in-law of the latter, Filippo Calendario the stonemason<sup>3</sup> (whom tradition has very consistently maintained to be the architect of the Gothic part of the doge's palace), being sent for by the doge and closeted with him, and of a kinsman of the doge, Bertuccio Falier, being one of the conspirators.

Petrarch, writing from Milan in April 1355 to Guidone

<sup>1</sup> Yriarte, *Vie d'un Patricien*, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> The Camera dell' Armamento is shown on the plan of the doge's palace, tavole x. and x. bis in Zanotto. It appears to have been on the ground floor, at the south-west corner, near the prisons, and the offices of the Gastaldi Ducali, Sopragastaldo, and others—possibly of the Ammiraglio also. The room No. 8 is called on tavola x. bis, as I read it, "*Chamerin del' Armamento*"; but Zanotti's text calls it *Magazzino*. This is, no doubt, the Camera dell' Armamento mentioned in our account. Armamento meant not only the arms for the ships, but their whole equipment.

<sup>3</sup> The best account of Calendario is in Cadorin (*Pareri di xv. Architetti*, pp. 122-25), who quotes from Giov. Battista Egnazio a statement that he designed the colonnade round the Piazza of St. Mark ("forum ipsum columnis intercolumnisque ornavit"), and also added to the palace the "*comitium majus*" for the counsellors to meet in for the election of magistrates. He is sometimes called "*Tajapiera*," "stone-cutter," sometimes *marinaio*. Pietro Baseggio, whose daughter married a son of Calendario, was "protus" of the ducal palace, which appears to be equivalent to chief architect or builder. See also Lazzarini in *N. A. V.*, xiii. pt. i. p. 76.

Settimo, Archdeacon of Genoa, gives an account of the execution of the doge, but confesses that he does not know the cause of it or the details of his treason, of which various accounts were in circulation.<sup>1</sup> The Council of Ten, which took the leading part in detecting and punishing the conspiracy, was always secret in its methods and would doubtless not publish the evidence. The Quarantia Criminale, the highest court for such a matter, may have taken part in the investigation, but, whether by accident or intentionally, its registers for the years 1355 to 1367 have disappeared.<sup>2</sup> The particulars of the conspiracy given by the chroniclers are to the effect that it was agreed that a rising should take place on the 15th April, that disturbances should be provoked in different parts of the city, to quell which Bertuccio Falier should occupy the Piazza of St. Mark with a body of armed men strong enough to assassinate the nobles who resisted, and proclaim Marin Falier prince. Till the fixed day arrived the conspirators busied themselves to stir up the people against the nobles, and are said to have secretly committed outrages on quiet citizens in many parts of the city, calling out to one another in the dark the names of nobles, that those assaulted might think that their assailants bore noble names.

The conspiracy was widespread, but we are told that many of those involved in it did not know that the doge was one of the conspirators. He sharply reprovved Gisello, who had assembled a crowd one evening in the Piazza to

<sup>1</sup> "Causas rerum ut poetæ solent in primordiis suorum operum explicare, si comperta loqui velim, nequeo: tam ambigue et tam varie referuntur" (*Epist. Fam.*, xix. 9, p. 539 of Fracassetti).

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iii. p. 183, n. 2. For the significance of the entry "non scribatur" in the Register (*Misti del Cons. dei x.*), where the note of the doge's trial would naturally have come, see Lazzarini's article on Marin Faliero in *N. A. V.*, xiii. pt. i. pp. 5-7. He thinks the reference is to a special book kept for "*processi*" or trials, and now lost, in which, and not in the register for the date, the minute of the trial was to be entered.

air his grievances against the nobles. On the 8th of April a few arrests were made, probably of those who had taken part in Gisello's demonstration; but till the 14th, the eve of the day fixed for the revolution, no suspicion of the serious state of affairs seems to have been entertained. On the 14th, however, grave information came to the government from two quarters.<sup>1</sup> One of the conspirators, a furrier of Bergamo, named Beltrame or Bertram, called on a friend and protector Nicolò Lioni, and entreated him not to leave his house next day, and when pressed to give his reasons told all he knew, which did not include the complicity of the doge. Lioni went at once to the doge, who made light of the information, but Lioni, not satisfied with this, called on Giovanni Gradenigo of San Polo and Marco Cornaro of Santi Apostoli—both of them future doges—and brought them to his house to join in the examination of Beltrame. Both were convinced of the truth of his story, which was confirmed by information brought to the heads of the Council of Ten at the same time, by one Marco Nigro of Castello.<sup>2</sup> The Ten had other information in their possession that made them suspect the doge. This made things look so serious that the Ten were called together at once in the Monastery of San Salvatore, and immediately afterwards a larger body, composed of the doge's counsellors, the Avogadori, the Quarantia Criminale, the Signori di Notte (the Chiefs of the

<sup>1</sup> Matteo Villani (v. 13) makes the doge himself reveal the plot to a friend whom he wished to spare, Nicolò Zucnol, a rich banker and merchant, not a noble, and the friend prevail on the doge to order the affair to stop. But, meanwhile, the *pellicciaio* had made his discovery to a gentleman of the Council, by whom the doge was persuaded, to his own destruction, to summon the Council and lay the information before them. (See also V. Lazzarini in *N. A. V.*, xiii. pt. i. pp. 87-9.)

<sup>2</sup> Romanin remarks that the centre of the conspiracy seems to have been among the seafaring population of Castello (iii. p. 185, n. 2). This is borne out by the detailed account of the conspirators given by V. Lazzarini in *N. A. V.*, *u.s.*, pp. 75-9.

Police), the Heads of the Sestieri (*i.e.* the local municipal officers), and the Cinque della Pace (or Justices of the Peace) was assembled at the doge's palace to confer with the Ten. The belief in the doge's complicity was so strong that two members of the Falier family—one of the Avogadori and one of the Ten—were not summoned, as if the doge was on his trial. This meeting—no doubt in the night between the 14th and 15th of April—ordered the arrest of Calendario and another of the conspirators, both of whom confessed, and Calendario implicated the doge. Other arrests followed: all nobles were ordered to arm themselves and come into the streets, and there to collect and arm the men of their several contrade. In this way from the city and from Chioggia, a force of six to eight thousand men was collected under Marco Cornaro in the Piazza, while a body of eighty to a hundred horsemen patrolled the streets. As at the time of Bajamonte Tiepolo, guards were placed everywhere, on land and on water, and no one between fifteen and sixty years of age was allowed to absent himself from his service unless ill or absent from Venice.<sup>1</sup> The conspirators arrested were tried summarily, and Calendario and nine others hung from the windows of the palace, beginning, we are told, with that having an arcade supported by two red marble columns, from which the doge used to watch the bull-baiting in the Piazzetta on the first Thursday in Lent (*Giovedì Grasso*).<sup>2</sup> Others of the accused received lesser punishment: Bertuccio Falier, the doge's kinsman, was imprisoned for life, as was Nicoletto, the son of Calendario. It was creditable to the government that

<sup>1</sup> This order remained in force till the 10th of June (*N. A. V.*, xiii. ii. p. 299).

<sup>2</sup> The large window in the centre of the upper story of the Piazzetta front. The doge can be seen sitting at this window in the print of the *Caccia* or *Cazza del Toro* at p. 217 of vol. i. of Molmenti's *Storia di Venezia nella Vita Privata*. The loggia of red marble of this window no longer exists; it was destroyed in the fifteenth-century restoration of the palace (V. Lazzarini in *N. A. V.*, xiii. i. p. 102, II. 2).



*Il giovedì grasso p memoria di certa vittoria ouenuta d.<sup>la</sup> Rep<sup>ca</sup> nel fruli si fa pub.<sup>ca</sup> festa  
 nella piazza di S. m.<sup>ca</sup> doue assiste il Doge et la Sig.<sup>ria</sup> p non derogare all'antica gstituz.<sup>ne</sup>*

DOGE VIEWING BULL-BAIT FROM BALCONY OF PALACE



they spared Bertuccio's life, for they evidently feared him, as they showed by making all belonging to him incapable of election on the Council of Ten so long as he lived.<sup>1</sup> Many were acquitted and set free.<sup>2</sup> A singular punishment was imposed on some whose guilt was not proved nor their innocence established. Their names were inscribed in letters of gold on a special register, in order that they might never be put in command of a ship, and, if they were again found guilty of political crime, might be put to death.<sup>3</sup>

The case of the doge required more mature consideration. The Council of Ten, after consultation with the six counsellors of the doge, applied to have their tribunal strengthened by the appointment of a *Zonta* (*Aggiunta*, or "Augmentation") of twenty of the principal nobles. Their examination of the accused did not take long, for he confessed everything, and declared himself worthy of the extreme penalty. When his sentence was put to the vote, five of the six counsellors and nine of the Council of Ten (the tenth being absent from illness) approved a decree that he should be stripped of the ducal insignia and beheaded on the platform<sup>4</sup> at the head of the stone staircase of the palace leading up from the courtyard, the spot where doges on their election were sworn to observe their *promissione*. The sentence was passed on the 17th April, only two days after that fixed for the outbreak of the revolution, and on the next morning, the 18th, it was executed. The doge was ushered from his own apartments to the hall of the Great Council, where the body that judged him, led by Giovanni Mocenigo, the senior of the six counsellors, met

<sup>1</sup> He was still living in 1378. In 1358 his sister made him trustee under her will, "si cum voluntate Domini de carceribus exiverit" (*N. A. V.*, xiii. ii. p. 282). He had influential friends on the Terra Ferma and at Genoa.

<sup>2</sup> "Molti ne fo lassadi" (see the Chronicles quoted by Romanin, iii. p. 188, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Cronaca Barba, quoted by Romanin, iii. p. 189, n. 1; *N. A. V.*, xiii. ii. pp. 286, 287, n. 2.

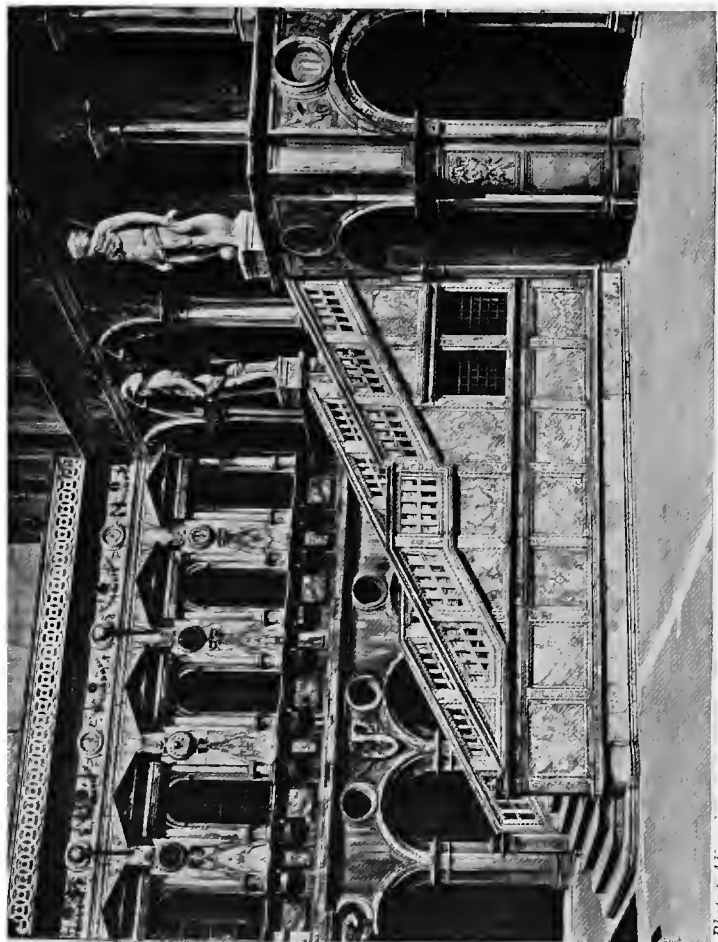
<sup>4</sup> "Sul pato della scala di pietra."

him, and led the way to the staircase that descended from the hall to the gallery over the courtyard. At the head of this staircase the ducal berretta was taken off with the other insignia of his office, and, in a plain round cap and a black close-fitting robe, he was led down the stairs and along the gallery to the platform at the head of the next staircase that led from the gallery down into the courtyard. He spoke a few words to the assembled people, asking their pardon and acknowledging the justice of his punishment, and then his head was struck off by a single blow. The doors of the palace were kept shut during the execution, but when the headsman had come out on the loggia and shown his blood-stained sword to the people outside, the doors were thrown open, and the people rushed in to see the punishment that had been inflicted on treason. His body and the severed head were laid on a mat in the Sala del Piovego, and next morning were sent in a chest to Santi Giovanni e Paolo, where they were buried at the back of the monastery by the side of the entry to the cloister. There they were found early in the last century, the head lying between the knees, in a chapel of the *Scuola di San Marco*, the building adjoining Santi Giovanni e Paolo on the north.

The scene must have been a striking one, and we can realise it without difficulty; for though the architecture of the courtyard of the palace has been much altered since the fourteenth century, sumptuous Renaissance details having been substituted for the simple and beautiful Gothic of those days, the general arrangement of the building seems not to have been altered, and the relative situation of the two staircases, the *Scala dei Censori*, where the doge was stripped of his insignia, and the *Scala dei Giganti*, at the head of which he was executed, must have been nearly the same then as now.<sup>1</sup> The ceremony seems to have been

<sup>1</sup> Vittorio Lazzarini, in his article on Marin Faliero in *N. A. V.*, xiii. pt. i. p. 37, n. 4, thinks that the staircase at the head of which





*Photo: Alinari*

SCALA DEI GIGANTI



grave and solemn, befitting the act of a great people, that regretfully but firmly punished its unfaithful chief, without a trace of the ribald exultation with which the Paris mob wreaked its vengeance on Louis XVI., or the sullen fanaticism with which England executed Charles I. How it impressed a contemporary, the man best qualified to put into language the feelings of his age, we can fortunately learn from the letter of Petrarch that I have already quoted : "This doge, a magistrate, inviolate through all the ages of their history, whom in that city antiquity ever honoured as some Divinity, the Venetians, after a few days' reign, beheaded in the vestibule of his own palace. . . . No one excuses him, all say that he wished to make some change in the ancient constitution of the Republic." And after referring to the dramatic circumstance of his election when absent from Venice, he goes on : "Returned to his country he designed what, as I think, no one had ever designed, and suffered what no one had ever suffered. In a most famous place, the most illustrious and fairest of all those I have seen, to which his ancestors often had brought home in triumphal procession the most joyful honours, he, dragged in servile fashion by a concourse of people, and stripped of the insignia of a doge, fell down a headless corpse, and stained with his blood the doors of the church and the entrance of his palace, and the marble stairs often made glorious by solemn feasts or the spoils of enemies. The sensation caused by this event is so great that, if one considers the form of government and the customs of that city, and what a revolutionary change the death of one man portends, a greater has hardly shown itself in our days in Italy. Should you ask my judgment, I acquit the people, if what is said is true, although they might have been gentler in their wrath and less cruel in their vengeance ;

the doge was beheaded "stava nella stessa direzione della scala dei Giganti, precisamente all' estremità opposta" ; that is, I presume, at the side of the Cortile nearest to the Molo.

but anger that is both just and very great is not easily restrained, especially in a large population, when a rash and capricious mob with hasty and ill-considered clamour sharpens the stings of passion. As regards the unhappy man, I am both compassionate and indignant; honoured as he was, I know not what he could have desired at the end of a long life: his misfortune is aggravated by the fact that, according to the traditional rule of public judgment, he will be held to have been not only miserable, but mad, and to have for so many years obtained by vain arts an undeserved reputation for wisdom. Those who are for a time doges I would warn to study the mirror set before their eyes, that they may see in it that they are leaders not lords, nay not even leaders, but honoured servants of the State.”<sup>1</sup>

The last words show that Petrarch rightly appreciated the position of a Doge of Venice under the fetters that the ruling aristocracy were ever piling in increased weight upon him. It was not to be expected that one who was only too willing to wear the livery of the Visconti at Milan should be severe in his condemnation of an old friend like Falier, for wishing to make himself Lord of Venice, and he is careful to say that he acquits the Venetian people; but his hinting that they might have spared the doge's life, though it does credit to his clemency, is unreasonable. Falier had consciously staked his life; he was convicted by clear evidence, and, by his own confession, of treason, and there was no ground for contending that a Doge of Venice, like an anointed king, was above the law.

Marco Corner, who had been elected *capitano generale* for an expedition against the Genoese, was put in command of all the bands assembled under arms in the Piazza, with two *sopracomiti*, a Morosini and a Dandolo, under him, and hoisted his gilded pennon (he was a *cavaliere*) on the roof of the palace, till a new doge should be elected. Armed

<sup>1</sup> Petr., *Epist. Fam.*, xix. 9; ii. 539-41 of Fracassetti's edition.



*Photo: Alinari*

SCALA D'ORO



ships (*ganzaruoli*) were brought in from Chioggia, and a body of eighty or ninety horsemen, all nobles or rich commoners, patrolled the Piazza and the streets all the night after the execution. The *maestranze* or bands of master workmen from the arsenal were called to guard the palace.

As San Vito's day was made a day of solemn festival in thanksgiving for the discovery of the Tiepolo-Querini conspiracy, so the day of St. Isidore, the 16th of April, was now made a public holiday, in which the doge, with the Signoria and the heads of the Council of Ten, walked in procession round the Piazza and heard mass in San Marco. When the Saint had been solemnly thanked, the informers to whom the discovery was due, under Heaven, were rewarded—Marco Nigro of Castello with an annual pension of one hundred gold ducats for his life, Beltrame (or Vendrame) Polizzari, the furrier of Bergamo, with one thousand ducats a year, Roberto Trevisan and Marco Fava, the caulker, with other payments. Nicolò Lioni, whose wise caution had more than anything else frustrated the plans of the conspirators, was at once made one of the doge's counsellors, and, on the first vacancy, a Procurator of St. Mark. These and all who had taken part, as doge's counsellors, *avogadori*, members of the Council of Ten or of the Zonta, in the condemnation of the conspirators, and even some of their servants, were granted a licence to carry arms in the city to defend themselves against possible assassins, a sign that a good deal of alarm and uncertainty as to the extent of the conspiracy was felt. Beltrame was not content with the liberal pension granted him, and demanded in addition the confiscated houses of Falier at Santi Apostoli, and admission to the Great Council for himself and his descendants. These extravagant claims were not at once rejected, but were referred to three of the most eminent of the nobles for examination. When their decision was long delayed, Beltrame seems to have lost patience. He made himself ridiculous by vapouring at

public places in the city about the part he had taken in discovering the plot. He stood at the foot of the stone staircase, when the members of the Great Council were passing up to their hall, cursing his folly in not letting them be "cut to pieces like dogs," and boasting that he wanted none of their Council or their money. He was known as a reckless fellow, never half-sober, and when he was brought before the Ten for these words, Nicolò Lioni, who was friendly to him, got him off with his life and ten years' exile at Ragusa. It is said that he broke his parole and attempted to take refuge in Hungary, but was assassinated there or on his way there by one of the conspirators in revenge for his betrayal of them.<sup>1</sup>

The Council was at once called together to choose the correctors of the *promissione* and the electors of a new doge. The circumstances were unprecedented, and would not brook delay, and only three days after the execution of Falier, Giovanni Gradenigo was elected his successor. He was of the contrada of San Polo and was distinguished from others of his name as Nasone, no doubt from a peculiarity of feature. He was seventy years of age, and is said to have been a second cousin of the late doge's wife.

The first achievement of Giovanni Gradenigo's government was the conclusion of peace with Genoa by the intervention of the three Visconti brothers, Lords of Milan, to which reference was made at the end of my last chapter.<sup>2</sup> The treaty was signed on the 1st of June 1355. By it each party was required to deposit at Pesaro, Florence, Perugia, or Siena 100,000 gold florins as security against any breach of its terms. On the same day peace was made between Venice and the Lords of Milan, who

<sup>1</sup> See V. Lazzarini in *N. A. V.*, xiii. ii. pp. 302-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, pp. 423, 424. The terms of the treaty, which is a very voluminous document, can be read in *Liber Jurium Reip. Genuensis*, ii. col. 617 *sqq.*, in Pertz, *Hist. Patr. Monum.*



guaranteed the observance by Genoa of the terms she had agreed to. The allies of Milan, the Lords of Padua, Verona, Mantua, Ferrara, and Faenza, were made parties to the Milanese treaty with Venice. A mission was sent from Venice to explain to the King of Aragon the reasons that had moved the Signoria to make peace with Genoa and Milan, amongst which was included, but without any querulous complaint, the King's slackness in sending his contingents.

Genoa, we are told, was disappointed at not obtaining more signal advantages from her great victory at Porto Lungo, and in the next year (1356) withdrew from her subjection to the Visconti, and by a popular election chose Simone Boccanegra again to be doge. Nor was Venice in any way discouraged by her great defeat: she soon put a new fleet to sea, her merchantmen were again in all Mediterranean ports, her statesmen were busy making treaties of commerce with Egypt and Morocco, with the Flemings and the Grand Khan of Tartary, and, as soon as her agreement with Genoa to abstain for three years from trade with Tana had expired, two ambassadors, Giovanni Querini and Francesco Bon, were sent to the court of Bardibek, the successor of Zanibek, on the Volga, to arrange for the re-establishment of the old trading privileges in Kiptchak.<sup>1</sup> They succeeded in making an agreement in September 1358. Genoa, by not objecting to this agreement, practically gave up her attempt to destroy the trade of Tana in the interests of Caffa.<sup>2</sup> The Venetian merchants, now allowed by Bardibek to settle in three ports on the south coast of the Crimea, and trade there on very favourable terms, became independent of Caffa, and had no need to submit to any restrictions placed upon them there by the Genoese. The Genoese acquiesced in this advancement of Venetian privileges, and were for a time on unusually friendly terms with Venice; but at the same

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iii. pp. 193-96.

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, ii. 200.

time they were energetic in completing the fortifications of Caffa,<sup>1</sup> and added Soldaia (now Novo Shudak), on the south-east of the Crimea and very near Caffa, to their dominions. At the time of the treaty of 1380 between Genoa and the Tartars, the whole of Gothia, *i.e.* the south-east coast of the Crimea between Soldaia and Balaclava, which was inhabited by Christian Goths, was recognised as lawfully subject to Genoa.

The Republic was hardly out of the war with Genoa when it became involved in a quarrel with the King of Hungary, who was always unwilling to recognise the conquest of Dalmatia by Venice. In 1353 he demanded the surrender of Dalmatia, and in 1356 he took occasion from some losses inflicted on his subjects by Sicilian ships that had entered the Adriatic, to complain of the Venetians' remissness in allowing armed vessels to plunder in waters over which they asserted their dominion, as a breach of the treaty existing between them, under which they were entitled to such protection as the comity of nations guaranteed. This evidence of unfriendliness caused the Venetians to send *Proveditori* into Istria, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, and the parts of the Terra Ferma, such as Treviso, bordering on the Hungarian frontier, and so exposed to a sudden attack. I have explained in a former chapter<sup>2</sup> the position of these *Proveditori*, members of the Great Council sent out to represent the government of the Republic in the camps or fleets, the commander of which was likely, to an increasing extent as time went on, to be not of Venetian blood. On this occasion three *Proveditori* were sent to each frontier.

The King of Hungary, who was at this time declared the

<sup>1</sup> Oderico *Lettere Ligustiche*, pp. 118 and 178; Giorgio Stella (Murat., *R. I. S.*, xvii. c. 1095).

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 385. There is an instructive account of the relations in the seventeenth century between the Captain-General and Proveditor-General for the sea in Amelot de la Houssaie's *Gouvernement de Venise*, pp. 264-72.

standard-bearer of the Church by the Pope, and Imperial Vicar by Charles VI. for the war against Venice,<sup>1</sup> found zealous allies in the Count of Görz and the Patriarch of Aquileia; and when the doge's government called upon Francesco da Carrara, the Lord of Padua, to aid her in resisting the Hungarian invasion, his answer raised doubts as to his loyalty. He said that the advance of so powerful an army as the Hungarian to the neighbourhood of his frontiers was alarming to him, and he demanded that Venice should, besides securing him against attack from the Scaligers at Verona and the Estes at Ferrara, grant him a subvention of 8000 ducats a month. This the Signoria would not consent to, and so they entered upon the contest with Hungary with Carrara probably an enemy instead of a friend. The King of Hungary lost no time in pouring one army into Dalmatia, and another into the March of Friuli, where, after taking Sacile and Conegliano, he arrived, apparently before the end of June, under the walls of Treviso. The Hungarian nobles who owned large tracts of pasture-land, could furnish their feudal lord with hosts of horsemen, so that the King, though not a wealthy prince as compared with others, could put a formidable force of cavalry in the field. On the 23rd of June the Great Council, according to their custom, when matters requiring secrecy were in hand, appointed a *Zonta* of twenty-five nobles of distinction to deal with them.

Before the war had progressed far, and while Treviso was still holding out, the Doge Giovanni Gradenigo died; and on the 14th of August, Giovanni Delfino, who was one of the three *Proveditori* in Treviso assisting the Podestà Fantin Morosini in its defence, was chosen to succeed him. The King of Hungary was asked to give him a safe-conduct that he might come out of the besieged city to take possession of his new office, but refused;

<sup>1</sup> Matteo Villani, vi. 60 (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xiv. 390); Verci, xiii. 231, 232.

and then Delfino headed a sortie out of the besieged city and cut his way to Mestre, where he was received by twelve nobles, who accompanied him to Venice. There he made his solemn entry, and took possession of his office on the 25th of August.<sup>1</sup>

The King of Hungary, in this invasion, was much helped by the zealous support of Carrara, who supplied his troops with provisions and took measures to stop reinforcements coming to the Venetians from Romagna. At Venice his conduct was looked on as tainted with ingratitude and disloyalty, and was remembered against him when the opportunity for a long-deferred punishment occurred.

The Carrara family, since the days of Marsilio and Ubertino, had continued with little intermission to hold the chief authority in Padua. They had had their full share of assassinations and depositions. Ubertino, a morose and unpopular man, had endeavoured to bequeath his principality to a distant relative—Marsilio Pappafava—who after two months was assassinated by Giacomo, apparently a first cousin of Marsilio, Ubertino's uncle and predecessor. Giacomo, after ruling well for five years, was in turn assassinated by a bastard nephew, Guglielmo.<sup>2</sup> The assassin did not succeed in usurping his uncle's throne, but Giacomo's brother, Giacomino, succeeded, and associated with himself a nephew named Francesco, who showed himself a man of courage and resource; and in 1355, when he found his uncle plotting against him, arrested him and was now keeping him in prison. Francesco joined the league that was formed against the Visconti by Gonzaga of Mantua, the Marquis of Este, and the Scaligers of Verona. He became

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iii. 199. He quotes the Chronicle of Trevisan: "Il predito messer Zuane eletto doxe con homeni C de cavalli e CC pedoni, fo accompagniado a Venezia." The Cortusii say that the King of Hungary courteously granted a safe-conduct for Delfino.

<sup>2</sup> There is an account of this in *Historia Cortusiorum*, x. 4 (Murat., R. I. S., xii. 933, 934).

commander of the League's army, and heart and soul of its operations against the ruler of Milan. Venice had organised the League, but gave no assistance in the operations against the Visconti, and it was perhaps in retaliation for this that Carrara showed an unwillingness to aid Venice in repelling the Hungarian invasion. So far from aiding her, he supplied the Hungarian army with provisions, and promised the King to intercept the reinforcements that were coming to the Venetians from Romagna.

Before the autumn of 1356 Venice had lost Serravalle and Asolo, the Bishop of Ceneda had rebelled, and a conspiracy was discovered in Treviso itself. About the same time Pope Innocent VI., as a necessary preliminary to a crusade against the Turks, which he had much at heart,<sup>1</sup> exerted himself to bring about peace in Italy, and in response to his persuasions the King of Hungary in November consented to a truce till next Easter. By this the King retained all the castella he had taken in the March of Treviso, and the Count of Görz, the Patriarch of Aquileia, and his other allies in Italy, except Carrara, were included in the truce. The only stipulation in favour of Venice was that hostilities should cease, and that her prohibition of trade with Padua should continue.

When the truce expired in April 1357, the war went on more vigorously than before; Treviso still held out, but its fall appeared so imminent that the Bishop withdrew to Venice, where, in the house of the priest of San Polo, he died in the same year. The Hungarian cavalry overran all the Trivigiana, and, though they failed to take Castelfranco, Oderzo, and Mestre, penetrated to the shore of the Lagoon and stopped boats engaged in the coasting trade, so that the Venetian government prohibited navigation by

<sup>1</sup> As to this see *Comment.*, v. 225 and 228 at pp. 261, 262 of *Mon. Storici*, Series i. vol. iii.

closing the dykes.<sup>1</sup> In Dalmatia also the Venetians were unfortunate, losing Trau and Spalato and Zara to the Hungarians. These losses induced the Venetian senate to send the Great Chancellor, Benintendi de' Ravegnani, with two other ambassadors, to ascertain from the King, who was then encamped before Zara, on what terms he would make peace.

The terms he offered were hard. Venice must cede to him all the places they held from the middle of the Quarnero southward, and half of those in the northern or Croatian half of the same coast, and the doge was to renounce the title of Duke of Dalmatia and Croatia. The only conditions favourable to Venice were that she should retain Istria, and the King restore the places he had taken in the Trevigiano, and undertake to put a stop to the piracies committed by Dalmatians and islanders on Venetian shipping, an undertaking that it was tolerably certain he would be neither able nor willing to make good.

The terms proposed were discussed in the body specially appointed to conduct the war,<sup>2</sup> which was for this discussion further augmented by the addition of fifty more nobles. It was difficult for any patriotic Venetian to bring himself to vote for terms that would amount to the abandonment of Dalmatia with its forests clothing the slopes of the Alps, from which inexhaustible supplies of ship-timber could be obtained, and its hardy maritime population, on which they chiefly relied for manning those ships. Even the loss of the doge's titles would be a

<sup>1</sup> "Hungari auxilio bannitorum Tarvisii in palatis Venetorum multoties ceperunt navigantes unde palatæ clauduntur a Venetis" (Cortusii *op. Murat.*, *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 951). Ducange quotes this passage and some others parallel to it, *s.v.* Palata, but is very doubtful as to the meaning of the word. For "clauduntur" there are *vv. ll.* of "diruntur" and "dicuntur." See also Verci, *St. della Marca Trivigiana*, xiii. p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 445.

blow to the pride of a people, who still clung to the shadow of a dominion over one-fourth and a half of the Roman Empire. Many urged these considerations and advised that they should, rather than accept these mortifications, go on with the war, trusting to the chapter of accidents. But the more prudent counsels prevailed: the danger of a Genoese attack was ever present, and, if it came now, when the Hungarian armies were victorious in Dalmatia and the Terra Ferma, might well lead to the loss of more than King Louis threatened to take, and even to the destruction of their city.

And so it was decided to authorise the Venetian representatives to agree to the King's terms, and on the 18th of February 1358 the treaty was made at Zara. By it the Venetians renounced all claims to Dalmatia and Croatia, and the titles asserting those claims; they promised within twenty-two days to give up all the places they still held in either province, and to withdraw the *rettori* and other officers and the troops stationed in them. They agreed that Francesco da Carrara and the Patriarch of Aquileia and others who had sided with the Hungarians in the war should not be punished for this,<sup>1</sup> and that the Republic would not in future encourage Dalmatian subjects of the King to rebel. The King in like manner bound himself to restore in twenty-two days all the places he had conquered in the Treviso country, and not to receive into his harbours any pirates or suffer them to attack Venetian shipping from them, and to allow Venetian merchants freedom of trade in his lands and harbours.

<sup>1</sup> Rambaldo of Collalto, who was a favourite of King Louis, on being restored to his county, was warned by the King not in future to let his house catch fire, relying on a distant supply of water to put it out. Collalto, in the bishopric of Ceneda, not far from the frontiers of Friuli, was no doubt more easily accessible to the Hungarian horsemen than to Venetian ships (*Cortusii*, xiii. 11, 12; *R. I. S.*, xii. c. 952). A list of the adherents of King Louis comprised in the peace is given in the proclamation of the peace of Zara made at Treviso. This is printed as Doc. MDLXVIII. in *Verci*, *u.s.*, vol. xiii.

The Republic shortly afterwards, on the 7th of June 1358, came to terms with Francesco da Carrara, who came to carry on the peace negotiations to a palace he owned in Venice, near the church of San Polo, and was received with as much honour as could have been given to a doge. But disputes broke out again almost immediately. Carrara built a fort at Castelcaro on the channel cut to take the waters of the Bacchiglione, the river of Padua, down to Chioggia, and another called Porto Nuovo, near Oriago, on the similar channel cut for the Brenta to Venice. These were threats to Venice, and the Venetians replied by building a fort at Sant Ilario di Lizza Fusina.<sup>1</sup> Carrara then built another fortress at Montagnana; these movements of a close ally of the King of Hungary caused apprehensions at Venice, as did a proposal Louis made about the same time to send troops to Bologna, where the Pope's legate was in danger of being besieged by Bernabò de' Visconti. All these proceedings were a part of the great movement against the Visconti, of which, as I have said, Carrara was the heart and soul, and which had the warm sympathy of the Pope. In May 1360 news came to Padua that the Emperor, the Duke of Austria, and King Louis had met, and the Emperor had ceded to Louis the two cities of Belluno and Feltre, which, before the end of the year, Louis in his turn handed over to Carrara in gratitude for all the services he had rendered.

In the year 1358 Carrara had engaged in his service against the Visconti a band of foreign mercenaries, chiefly Germans, known as the Great Company. This body of troops, amounting to 2000 men-at-arms, with a much larger number of irregular troops and camp followers, had conceived the idea of maintaining themselves in existence as a movable army, ready to engage in the service of any

<sup>1</sup> *Lizza* seems to mean a trench or creek. *Fusina* is at the mouth of the Brenta channel just mentioned. For Sant Ilario see pp. 77, 121, and 126 of my "Early History."



prince or state offering them pay, and, if no war was going on that required their services, living at free quarters on the country and levying contributions on their own account. The leaders at this time were Fra Moriale and Conrad Lando. We have seen more than fifty years before this time how a similar company of Catalonians had conquered and plundered in both the Asiatic and the European provinces of the Eastern Empire. That company had, it will be remembered, taken its origin from the wars of Anjou and Aragon in Sicily or Naples, and the Great Company was composed, to a great extent, of troops who had served in the French wars of Edward III. of England. Italy, as a land full of contending princes or republics, with a climate and wealth that made campaigning an agreeable as well as profitable pursuit, was the chief scene of their achievements. About this time Sir John Hawkwood, a distinguished English soldier who had been knighted by Edward III., had a long and brilliant career in the service of the Marquis of Montferrat, the Visconti or the Pope, or Florence or Pisa. The demand for bodies of skilled fighting men was so great that they multiplied rapidly. The Great Company, when it endeavoured unsuccessfully to levy blackmail from Florence,<sup>1</sup> amounted to 20,000 in all, including 5000 cuirassiers. No State was more ready to employ mercenary soldiers than Venice, whose native militia were mostly seamen, and who had already embarked on a career of conquest on the mainland of Italy.<sup>2</sup>

For the present Carrara thought it prudent to be on

<sup>1</sup> M. Villani, p. 539 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> "The Visconti might perhaps have extended their conquests over Lombardy with the militia of Milan; but without a Jacopo del Verme or a Carmagnola, the banner of St. Mark would never have floated at Verona and Bergamo" (Hallam's "Middle Ages," i. 504, ed. 1819). The whole account of the condottieri, foreign and Italian, in the same volume (pp. 490-508) is most instructive. Two of the most imposing works of art on Venetian soil are the equestrian statues of Colleoni at Venice and of Gattamelata at Padua, both erected in honour of fifteenth-century condottieri.

good terms with Venice, and the Venetians took advantage of the interval of peace to send an embassy to the Emperor Charles IV. to obtain his supreme sanction to the conquests they had made in the Trevigiana. The title of Imperial Vicar, which we have seen acquired by the Visconti, carried with it in North Italy, besides certain rather shadowy rights, a prestige that was not without value in any lands that had once been imperial, and mere recognition of a conquest by the Emperor might in such lands improve the title of a conqueror. The three ambassadors, Lorenzo Celsi, Marco Cornaro, and Giovanni Gradenigo, had a safe-conduct<sup>1</sup> from the Emperor, dated from Ratisbon, but were unable to obtain "infeudation," that is, recognition by the Emperor, as his vassals in Treviso, on terms that the Republic could accept. Negotiations being protracted, one of the three, Lorenzo Celsi, was left behind to continue them, while his two companions attempted to return to Venice. On their way through the lands of the Duke of Austria they were detained in a castle of "the Schenken of Osterwitz."<sup>2</sup> The lords of the castle were also vassals of

<sup>1</sup> In *Commemoriali*, vi. 94 and 100, where this safe-conduct is registered, the two ambassadors joined with Celsi are called Paolo Loredano and Andrea Contarini. Public employments at Venice were often bestowed on only a few months' tenure, so that a change of persons in the same embassy need not surprise us. Romanin, who is my authority for the names in the text, quotes *Misti Senato, 26 Gennaio 1359, m.v.*, p. 42 t<sup>o</sup>. On April 27, 1362, the petition of Marco Cornaro and Giov. Gradenigo for their salary during twenty-two and a half months that they were kept in prison was rejected by the doge and his counsellors (*Commem.*, vi. 312, ii. p. 332, Predelli). This document shows that Romanin (and Marino Sanudo, *Vite in R. I. S.*, xxii. col. 643) is right as to the names of the imprisoned ambassadors. The transaction is satisfactorily explained by an extract from the MS. chronicle of Caroldo printed as App. i. to Jos. von Zahn's *Zur Gesch.*, Herzog's "Rudolf IV." (Wien, 1877).

<sup>2</sup> The Italian authorities have taken the name of the office held by the chiefs, "Schenken or Seneschals of Osterwitz," for their family name. Zahn (*ut supra*, pp. 5 and 26) identifies the castle as one near St. Veit in Carinthia. Murray's "Guide to South Germany," p. 419 (1858) says: "The surrounding district" (of St. Veit) "abounds in old castles, the family seats of the Carinthian chivalry. The most interesting

the King of Hungary, and had had a castle belonging to him in Hungary destroyed by the Venetians in the late war, in revenge for which he now detained their ambassadors.<sup>1</sup> The Republic complained of this to Rudolf, Duke of Austria, who about this time<sup>2</sup> had his dignity and power much increased by the gift from his aunt Margaret, surnamed Maultasche, of the county of Tirol, and had great possessions in Carinthia and Carniola and the Eastern Alps generally, in addition to the lands in Switzerland, which he inherited from his Habsburg ancestors, two of whom had already worn the imperial crown. Besides this remonstrance addressed to the Archduke, the ambassadors sent to him were instructed to complain of the injury the Republic had suffered to the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Count of Görz, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and even to the corporation of Vienna, all of whom were bound to resent an injury done to a foreign power having such intimate trading relations with them as the Republic of Venice had. The Emperor Charles added his representations to those of the Venetian senate, being anxious to stand well with Venice; but all the efforts made did not succeed in obtaining the release of the ambassadors until they had been twenty-two months in prison.

Before they were released, on the 12th July 1361, the doge, Giovanni Delfin, was laid to his rest in Santi Giovanni

among them is the imposing and well-preserved hill-fort of Hohen Osterwitz, belonging to the noble race of Khevenhüller, tamers of the Turk in olden times. It is perched on a pointed rock 900 feet high, and is approached by a very steep ascent through fifteen turreted gateways and over three drawbridges."

<sup>1</sup> See note 2 at foot of page 6 of J. von Zahn's pamphlet, *u.s.* But Von Zahn makes it probable that the ambassadors were detained, as rich merchants often were, by brigands, in hopes of a large ransom, the Seneschals being at the time hard pressed by Jewish creditors.

<sup>2</sup> In a document of Michaelmas 1363, granting privileges to the town of Meran, Rudolf IV., Archduke of Austria, speaks of the "*Grafschaft* *ze Tyrol die newlich an uns gevallen*," *i.e.* to himself and his two brothers, Albert and Leopold (Stampfer, *Chronik von Meran*, p. 246). Margaret Maultasche died in 1366.

e Paolo. There was some difference of opinion as to his successor; one who had been thought to have a good claim to the office was Marco Cornaro, who, as we have seen, was one of the ambassadors in prison at Osterwitz. He was apparently the same who had been put in chief command of the forces of the Republic at the time of the treason of Marin Faliero.<sup>1</sup> The choice actually fell on Lorenzo Celsi, the ambassador who had been left behind at the Emperor's court and so had escaped imprisonment, and before this time had returned to Venice.<sup>2</sup> He had done much distinguished service as podestà at Treviso and as Captain of the Gulf, *i.e.* commander of the home fleet in the Adriatic; but the choice of him was said to be due to an unfounded report of his having taken some Genoese privateers. As a matter of fact he was at the time in Candia, and it was necessary till his return to have a regency composed of the doge's counsellors and the heads of the Quarantia, Marco Soranzo being made vice-doge. The story of his election being due to a mistake, which was possibly put in circulation to account for the election of one not much more than forty years old and of a family not among the most distinguished, is amplified by some chroniclers so as to suggest that he had himself spread the false news, and is said to have been the cause of an increased strictness in the seclusion of future electors.<sup>3</sup>

However this may have been, it is clear that no one questioned his election. Twelve nobles were sent to bring him into the city on the 21st August. He showed himself to be a proud and magnificent prince, who prided himself

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> He came by sea from Segna (Zengg) on the Croatian coast, south of Fiume (Caroldo, *apud* Zahn, *u.s.*, p. 7, n. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Cicogna, *Inscr. Venez.*, iii. pp. 200 *sqq.*, and the passages from the Chronicles of Caroldo and Magno there quoted. Cicogna also gives the elegant Latin epitaph on Celsi's tomb in the *Celestia* or convent of S. Maria de Coelestibus. Marino Sanudo, *Vite* (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xxii. 653) says of the mistake, "si dice (tamen non l'ho trovato scritto nelle Chroniche)."

on his fine stud of horses and his collection of stuffed<sup>1</sup> birds and animals. It was noted as a sign of the same disposition that, in order to remove the scruples that his father, who was still living, felt at doing reverence to him, he had a cross placed on his ducal berretta, to which the old man could not refuse to do reverence.

Among the first official duties of Celsi were two that must have been very congenial to his love of splendour, the reception of two princes, the Archduke Rudolf and the King of Cyprus. The former was, as we have seen, becoming a very important person in the districts to the north of Lombardy and Venice. About 1358 we learn from Matteo Villani that rumours were current in Italy that the Emperor intended to make him King of Lombardy.<sup>2</sup> He was now, in 1361, meditating an attack on the Patriarch of Aquileia, the ruler of the march of Friuli, and in this the alliance or benevolent neutrality of Venice would be important to him. He was therefore anxious to comply with her demand for the liberation of the ambassadors and to pay her the additional honour of bringing them back himself in state. He first sent an envoy to obtain a safe-conduct from the senate that he might come by Portogruaro and Oderzo to Treviso, from which he embarked in a boat and descended the Sile to the Lagoon. At the little island of San Giacomo del Palude, between Murano and Burano, where there had been, since the eleventh century, a hospice for pilgrims, he found the doge awaiting him on board the *Bucintoro* with a brilliant array of noblemen. The archduke had in his train, besides the two long-imprisoned ambassadors, two notables of Friuli, hostages for the submission of the patriarch, whose army he had just before defeated in a battle at Fagagna. The archduke was put

<sup>1</sup> Roman., iii. p. 212, "imbalsamati" or "embalmed." These stuffed animals were contemporary with the stuffed cat of Petrarch that we have all seen at Arqua.

<sup>2</sup> See Murat., *R. I. S.*, xiv. cols. 527 and 667.

up in a palace on the Grand Canal, perhaps in one belonging to the Cornaro family, on the site now occupied by the Palazzo Cornaro-Spinelli.<sup>1</sup> Another palace of the same family was given up to his suite, and we are told that no doge was ever allowed so free a hand with the public purse, as was Celsi on this occasion for the entertainment of the archduke during the seven or nine days of his stay. The doge rode with him on horseback to show him all the wonders of the city, already famous throughout Europe.<sup>2</sup> When the archduke left, the doge accompanied him as far as Malghera on his way to Treviso.

<sup>1</sup> "La Casa grande de Marco Corner a San Lucha" (chronicle quoted in Von Zahn, *u.s.*, p. 23).

<sup>2</sup> The sights of Venice of 1361 are described by a chronicle in the Marciana as "le giogie, le reliquie, l'arsenale et tutto quel di più cospicuo che si potera vedere" (Von Zahn, *u.s.*, p. 14, n. 2). It is characteristic of the age that the jewels and relics take precedence of the arsenal.

## CHAPTER XVII

### PETER I. OF CYPRUS

SOON after the archduke had left, the doge received a visit from Peter of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, who started in October 1362 for a journey through Europe to see if it were possible to set in motion a league of Christian powers against the Turks in the Holy Land. Cyprus, from its situation, was eminently fitted to be the starting-place of any crusading expedition, and the House of Lusignan, who claimed to be Kings of Jerusalem as well as Cyprus, were bound to take a prominent part in any Crusade. The island, conquered by Richard of England from the Byzantine governor in 1191, was sold by him to the Templars. When the Greeks of Cyprus rose in insurrection against their purchasers, Richard reconquered it from the Templars, and handed it over to Guy of Lusignan, who had been once recognised as King of Jerusalem in the right of his deceased wife, Sibylla, the sister of the last King of the race of Bouillon. Richard now wished the kingdom of Jerusalem to be conferred on his nephew, Henry of Champagne, and was glad to compensate Guy with the island of Cyprus. Guy was willing and able to buy it back from the Templars and King Richard, and since the date of this transaction (1192) the House of Lusignan, originally descended from a race of petty barons in Poitou, had reigned as Kings of Cyprus.

The new order of government that they established, strictly feudal, and generally on a French model, lasted

nearly three centuries. It is doubtful if Guy ever called himself King of Cyprus. He was King by virtue of his anointing as King of Jerusalem, but his style was probably King Guy of Lusignan, Lord of Cyprus, formerly King of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The Latin Church from this time seems to have claimed the ecclesiastical rights and duties in the island. There was an archbishop at Nicosia and bishops at Paphos, Limassol, and Famagosta, in communion with Rome, though Greek bishops and clergy still maintained themselves in reluctant and contemptuous subordination.<sup>2</sup>

Amaury, who succeeded his brother Guy in 1194, offered in the following year his homage to Henry VI., the son of Frederic Barbarossa, and demanded the title of King of Cyprus, which the Emperor granted, and would have himself crowned him, had not he been prevented by illness. Shortly afterwards, on the death of Henry of Champagne, who had never been crowned King of Jerusalem, Amaury, having married his widow, who though only twenty-six years old, had already been the wife of two titular Kings of Jerusalem (Conrad of Montferrat before Henry of Champagne), was chosen King by the barons of Palestine, and crowned with his bride. Again, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, Hugh III. united the kingdom of Jerusalem to that of Cyprus. When both kingdoms were in the same hands, the King generally resided on the mainland, and appointed a deputy in Cyprus.

<sup>1</sup> "Rex Guido de Lizinaco, dominus Cypri, olim Hierosolymitanus Rex" (Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, i. p. 53).

<sup>2</sup> Willebrand of Oldenburg, a canon of Hildesheim, who visited Cyprus in 1211, says the towns of Cyprus inhabited by a rich and refined population were the strongholds of the Latin Church: the adherents of the Greek Church were the rural population, miserably poor and degraded by the drunkenness that was a result of the strong wines of the country (*ap.* Mas Latrie, ii. 35, n. 1). The greatest wine of Cyprus was that of the "Commandery," grown on an estate of the Knights Hospitallers at Colossi near Limassol, which continued to be the property of the Knights at Rhodes and Malta till the Turkish conquest (*ib.* i. 191). The wine still preserves its reputation.



When, at the end of the thirteenth century, Acre fell, and the other cities established by the Crusaders on the Syrian coast were abandoned, Cyprus became a much more important entrepôt for the trade between Europe and the East; it was safe from Moslem attack for the present, while the voyage from Lajazzo in Lesser Armenia or from the coast towns of Syria, to which caravans from India or China still came, to Famagosta, on the east coast of Cyprus, or Kerynia (Cerines) on the north,<sup>1</sup> was short.

The original conception in the mind of Richard Cœur de Lion, the founder of the kingdom of Cyprus, and of the great Popes of the thirteenth century, who always regarded it with interest, was that it should be an advanced post of Christendom against Syria and Asia Minor, that were now mainly Turkish countries.<sup>2</sup> The same circumstances of situation that made it naturally a crusading power tended to make it also a great centre of trade. It became, in the course of the thirteenth century, a resort of merchants and seamen and bankers from all the trading cities of the West—Genoa first, as then paramount in Constantinople and the Levant, but afterwards Venice and Pisa, Ancona, Narbonne and Montpellier, Barcelona and Saragossa. Pegolotti, who was agent in Cyprus for the great mercantile and banking house of the Bardi at Florence, and who is one of our best authorities on the Oriental trade of the Middle Ages, visited Cyprus twice in the first half of the fourteenth century, and got Florence included with Genoa and Venice among the most favoured States in respect of exemption from duties. Western travellers are eloquent in their descriptions of the spices, the aloe wood, the precious stones and the cloth of

<sup>1</sup> From the mountains near Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, the coast of Asia Minor as far west as Cape Anamur can be seen in clear weather (Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, iii. p. 48, n. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Asia Minor began to be called Turchia before the end of the twelfth century, when the Seldjukian Turks—Sultans of Roum, as they liked to call themselves from the great part of the Roman Empire they had conquered—established themselves at Iconium (Conieh).

gold,<sup>1</sup> that loaded the warehouses of Famagosta. These were products of the Far East, but the fertile soil and genial climate of Cyprus itself yielded many articles for which there was a demand in the West—sugar, which was largely cultivated in the neighbourhood of Limisso (Limasol) and Baffo (Paphos), the famous wines I have already mentioned, the cotton, the indigo, the fabrics of silk or camlet<sup>2</sup> made in Cyprian factories, the produce often of silkworms bred in Asia Minor. The Venetians were chiefly interested in the salt (always a favourite object of Venetian trade) from the Cyprian saltworks; but they also imported large quantities of Cyprian sugar. One of the estates that produced most sugar was, in the time of Pegolotti, owned by a branch of the great Venetian family of Cornaro, a beautiful lady of which, Catarina Cornaro, who became Queen of Cyprus, is well known to us in both the history and the art of Venice.

It must not be supposed that this growth of Cyprian commerce made the kingdom less zealous in crusading ardour. Amaury, King of Cyprus from 1194 to 1205, was ready to take part in the Fourth Crusade, and disappointed at its diversion to Constantinople. When Andrew, King of Hungary, led a Crusade in 1217, Hugh I., King of Cyprus, was in his camp. If the Cyprians took no part in the Crusade of Frederic II., this was no more than was to be expected from a people so devoted to the Pope and so committed to hostility with Frederic. But the island kingdom was ever ready for war with the infidel. The whole constitution of the kingdom was based on the Assizes of

<sup>1</sup> See Ludolf von Sutteim, quoted in Heyd, *Comm. du Levant*, ii. p. 9. "Drap d'or de Chypre" is found for cloth of gold (Francisque Michel, *Recherches sur les étoffes de Soie*, i. 255, 307, ii. 189). For "sable stole of Cipres lawn" in Milton's *Il Penseroso*, l. 35, and "Cyprus black as e'er was crow" in Shakespeare's "Winter's Tale," iv. 4 (3), see Masson's "Milton," iii. p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> Camlet or camelot is a mixture of silk and cloth, so called from the cloth being properly made of fine camel's hair.

Jerusalem, the strictest model of feudal and crusading law: the land was parcelled out into knights' fees, and could send into the field 1000 knights, with three or four sergeants following each. The two great military orders of the Temple and the Hospital owned broad lands and exercised great influence on the government. When the Emperor Frederic II., who was King of Jerusalem, though he had but small power in that diminished kingdom, endeavoured to press the rights of suzerainty founded on the homage that the Kings of Cyprus had from the first been willing to do to the Emperor, so as to exercise jurisdiction in the island in criminal and financial matters, Jean d'Ibelin, the Lord of Beyrout, on the Syrian coast, and regent during the minority of his kinsman, King Henry,<sup>1</sup> refused persistently to give account of his actions to any tribunal but the Court of Knights sitting at Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus.<sup>2</sup>

The kingdom of Cyprus showed the same tendency that I have noticed in the other crusading kingdoms, to fall to the female line. Hugh III., who came to the throne in 1267, was a Lusignan only on his mother's side: his father belonged to the royal race of Antioch, descended from Bohemund the Norman, and the Cyprian royal family from this time is known as the house of Lusignan-Antioch. Henry II., his descendant, was the King of Cyprus whom we have seen taking part in the last defence of Acre,<sup>3</sup> but not persevering to the end. His successor, Hugh IV., took part in the expedition undertaken<sup>4</sup> in 1344 by the fleets of the Holy See, Venice, Cyprus, and Rhodes, which conquered Smyrna from the Turkish emirs of Aidin and Saroukhan, districts in the ancient Lydia, a conquest which was held as a Christian outpost for more than fifty years.

<sup>1</sup> Jean d'Ibelin was uncle to the Emperor also.

<sup>2</sup> Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, i. 238-42.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 249, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 379.

Before this, in 1310, the Knights of St. John had migrated from Cyprus to Rhodes,<sup>1</sup> that was so long to be held gloriously by them; but had been censured in 1343 by Pope Clement VI. for preferring the rich commanderies of Europe and the courts of Western princes to the outposts against the infidel in Asia.<sup>2</sup>

The league that had been formed for the expedition against Smyrna was again active in 1346, when the Dauphin Humbert, the Pope's admiral, had, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> led another force to the Levant. It was renewed in 1350,<sup>4</sup> and again in 1357, the parties agreeing to send eight galleys, three belonging to the Knights of Rhodes, three to Venice, and two to the King of Cyprus, to keep constantly cruising on the coasts of Turkey (*i.e.* Asia Minor), with their headquarters at Negropont. King Hugh IV. was apparently thought to be lukewarm in the enterprise, for his ambassador at the court of Avignon, the Archbishop of Nicosia, was required to use his utmost endeavours, but without any compulsion that the King did not himself desire, to induce him to ratify the treaty.<sup>5</sup> In 1343 Hugh had been appealed to by the Pope, when censuring the Knights of St. John, as the chief champion of the Christian faith.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Finlay, "Byzantine and Greek Empires," ii. p. 509, who says: "The memory of the chivalrous youth who for successive ages found an early tomb at this verge of the Christian world, will long shed a romantic colouring on the history of Rhodes." The knights took the island not from the Moslem, but from the Greek Empire.

<sup>2</sup> Mas Latrie, *L'Île de Chypre*, p. 249. This small octavo volume must be distinguished from the same author's *Histoire de Chypre*, in three quarto vols. with one or two other volumes of appendices.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, p. 380. There is a wonderful account of the prowess and miraculous power of the Captain-General of the Holy See in an article of M. de Petigny in *Biblioth. de l'École des Chartes*, I. i. pp. 276 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 217.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, ii. 219.

<sup>6</sup> "Tanquam princeps Christianissimus et ejusdem fidei athleta præcipuus" (Rainaldi, *Annal. Eccles.*, xxv. p. 311 ann. 1343). The letter written at the same time to the Master of the Hospital hints that the abolition of the rival Order of the Temple had made the Hospitallers careless, and threatens the establishment of another Order.

Hugh IV. died in November 1359, having caused his eldest son, Peter, Count of Tripoli, to be crowned King of Jerusalem and Cyprus at Famagosta and Nicosia nearly a year before.<sup>1</sup> Peter I. was the King whose coming to Venice in the winter of 1362-63 has been the occasion of this digression into the history of Cyprus. He had been from his accession, when quite a young man, ardent in the cause of the Holy Sepulchre, and as a first step to its recovery he had been anxious to establish one or more fortified posts on the south coast of Asia Minor, a short sail from the northern shore of his island, where the Christian kingdom of Lesser Armenia had long held its own against the Turkish hordes that surrounded it, but had now sunk to a very low level: only two or three isolated ports in or near the Gulf of Alexandretta remained in Christian hands. The King of Armenia had himself gone to Europe to seek for aid from thence. Peter, in January 1361, was able, with two of his warships brought from Smyrna, to recover from the Turks one of these ports, Gorhigos, the ancient Corycus, an old inhabitant of which had been celebrated in a famous passage of Virgil,<sup>2</sup> and had placed it again in Christian hands. By this conquest he had won an important position on the flank of the Turkish power in Caramania and the Saracens in Syria; but Satalie, the ancient Attalia in Pamphylia, the modern Adalia, was a more important place, better fortified and better fitted for a centre of trade. To attack this, King Peter collected in his harbour of Famagosta a fleet of 119 ships, including twenty-four galleys of his own and three sent by the Knights of the Hospital, and conquered it easily in July 1361.<sup>3</sup>

But though Satalie had been easily taken, King Peter

<sup>1</sup> Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 224, 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Geo.*, iv. 127.

<sup>3</sup> There is an account of this siege in Matteo Villani, *l.* 62 (c. 662 of vol. xiv. of Muratori). The Florentine is anxious to ascribe the credit

found it by no means easy to hold it. The Turks were too powerful throughout Asia Minor to acquiesce in the loss of so important a position, and from their command of the whole adjacent country, were able to force it to depend on Cyprus for its supplies of food, which in the storms of winter, or when Mohammedan cruisers were in force off the coast, became very precarious.

By the autumn of 1362 the state of things in Asia Minor was so serious, that Peter found it necessary to appeal to the Western powers for aid. He had incurred the hostility of Venice and Genoa by inducing the Pope, in the interests of Cyprian traders, to renew his prohibition of trade with Egypt. Towards the end of October 1362 he started himself for Europe, and early in December he landed at Venice. Pierre Thomas, the Bishop of Corone, who accompanied him as the Pope's legate, and the Cyprian chancellor, Philippe de Maizières,<sup>1</sup> were zealous in negotiating for a new League of Crusaders. But the young King, who had from his boyhood had a passionate desire of seeing the world and taking part in the pomp and circumstance of war and its mimicry in tournament and pageant, hurried on to the westward, leaving his two mentors behind him at Venice. We can trace his progress in the pages of Froissart,<sup>2</sup> who tells us how about Candlemas (it was really

of this feat of arms to the Knights, the "franchi e valorosi Frieri." There is a fuller account, from Cyprian chroniclers, in Mas Latrie's *L'Île de Chypre*, pp. 262 *sqq.*, who says it was taken on the 24th of August. Some Papal ships under a nephew of Pope Innocent VI. and some Genoese took part in this enterprise.

<sup>1</sup> We learn from a letter of the doge to the Pope of February 26, 1364, that Pierre Thomas, who by that time had become Archbishop of Crete, with the Chancellor of Cyprus, had, before coming to Venice, re-established peace in Lombardy, "pace Lombardie prius per eos feliciter consumata." The document is printed in Mas Latrie, iii. p. 746. The pacification of Lombardy was effected by inducing Bernabò Visconti, Lord of Milan, to submit to the Pope. The envoys of Peter of Cyprus and the King of France met Bernabò at Bologna, which he had to surrender to the Pope (Mas Latrie, ii. pp. 282, 283).

<sup>2</sup> Froissart, *Suite du 1er livre*, chap. 474 (tom. iv. 155, ed. Buchon).

towards the end of March) he rode into Avignon: how several cardinals met him and brought him to the Pope's palace, where he was gladly received by the Pope (Urban V.), as he was afterwards by King John of France, who was staying at Villeneuve, hard by: how Peter represented to the Pope, in the presence of the King of France and the cardinals, that it would be a noble thing for Christendom, and worthy, to make the holy passage over the sea: how the King of France listened gladly, being rejoiced, as the Chronicler naïvely tells us, to lead out of his country on so good a pretext all kinds of men-at-arms called Companies, who were robbing and destroying his kingdom without just cause, and thereby to save their souls. On Good Friday Urban preached in his chapel before the two Kings, and the King of France and a number of his nobles there fastened the red cross on their garments,<sup>1</sup> the King resolving in his own mind to start on his Crusade within three years. Accordingly the Pope sent letters<sup>2</sup> to the Doge of Venice amongst others, to announce that at the request of Peter, King of Cyprus, who, having conquered from the Turks Satalie and other places, had resolved to cut down their desires of conquest and liberate the Holy Land, he had proclaimed a general Crusade, to begin from March 1, 1365.

Some time after Easter (really on May 31), the King of Cyprus left Avignon, and went first to Prague to see the Emperor Charles IV., and after staying three weeks there to the Duchy of Juliers, and to Brabant and Flanders. At

<sup>1</sup> "Enchagèrent dessus leur derrain vêtement la vermeille croix" (*l.c.*, p. 157). King Peter had no doubt already taken the Cross.

<sup>2</sup> The Bull to the Emperor Charles IV. is in Rainaldi, vii. pp. 88, 89 (= vol. xxvi. of *Annales Eccles.*). An abstract of the similar letter to the doge is in *Libri Commem.*, iii. p. 14 (= lib. vii. 60). There is also in Rain., *l.c.*, p. 90, a Bull exhorting the Venetians to get ready ships and provisions for the Crusade. A Bull of the same time addressed to the King of Cyprus (Rain., *l.c.*, p. 91) urges Peter to return at once to Cyprus, and mentions the complaint of Philippe de Maizières, that the Crusaders assembled at Venice were tired of waiting for their leader.

Bruges he met the King of Denmark, whom he had also seen at Avignon.<sup>1</sup> Wherever he went, he was received with fêtes and banquets, and great zeal for the Crusade was displayed. He then returned to France, and at Paris held long conferences with King John as to the date of the Crusade.<sup>2</sup> From Paris he went on to England, which, under Edward III., was perhaps the headquarters of chivalry. He arrived there in October 1363, and soon after All Saints' Day, took part in a tournament in Smithfield, for which he was equipped with a pair of gauntlets of plate armour covered with cloth, and decorated with ribbons, from King Edward's wardrobe.<sup>3</sup> In the printed series of *Commemoriali* from the Venetian archives we have the abstracts of two letters from the King, relating to the rebellion in Candia that very soon followed, one of them dated from London on November 24, 1363.<sup>4</sup> He was in England through December, and was robbed of his baggage there.

<sup>1</sup> This is the account Froissart gives of the King's travels. It is certainly not correct in details, and M. de Mas Latrie has made from original documents an elaborate Itinerary, according to which Peter left Venice on January 2, 1363, and after staying at Milan and Pavia arrived at Genoa about the end of January, where he made a long stay till about the middle of March, and from thence reached Avignon on the 29th of March. He stayed there till the 31st of May, and then went to Paris and probably to other French cities. Four or five months might well be spent in France. In October it is certain that he went to England, where he stayed till February 1364. The rest of his journey I have dated at p. 467 (Mas Latrie. ii. pp. 239 *sqq.*, n. 1).

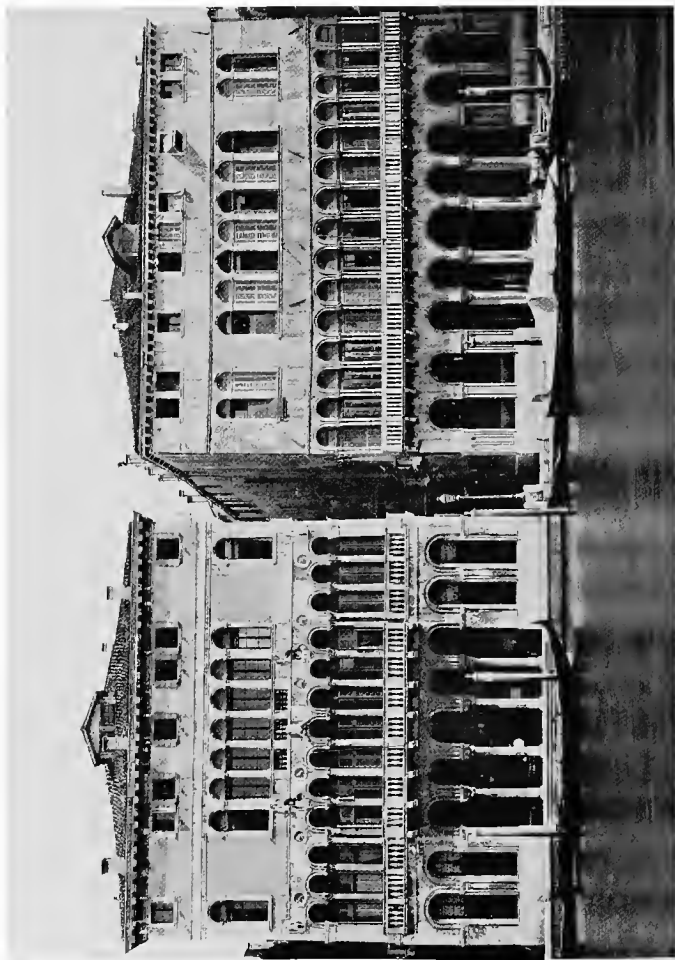
<sup>2</sup> Froissart, *l.c.*, iii. pp. 162, 163.

<sup>3</sup> The minute of the keeper of the great wardrobe is given in Mas Latrie (*Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 247). The material is given "pro hastiludiis factis in Smethfeld." The visit of the King of Cyprus, and the robbery of his baggage, are mentioned in Walsingham (*apud* Camden, *Angl. Norm.*, p. 179).

<sup>4</sup> It is given, in the original Latin, in Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 250-52. The King offers to go himself with his Western knights to Candia: he says, "Quanquam nobis et omnibus planè constat egregiam vestram potentiam in expeditione maris et terræ per se sufficere ad tantam et longè majorem insolentiam in brevi tempore conculcandam, quum tamen nostra res agitur dum de vestris comodis providetur,







*Photo: Alinari*

PALAZZI FARSETTI E LOREDAN (CORNARO DALLA PISCOPIA)

At the end of February 1364 he seems to have been again in Paris, and to have stayed there or at places in the north and west of France through the spring, for he was present at the funeral of King John at St. Denis (May 7), and the coronation of Charles V. at Rheims (May 12). In the summer he travelled in Germany, moving eastward from Bavaria and Saxony to Bohemia, Poland, and Austria, and in the autumn made his way southward, through Carinthia and the Patriarchate of Aquileia, to the Adriatic. On the 11th of November<sup>1</sup> he arrived at Venice, where he stayed six or seven months, being housed, as he had been on his visit in 1362,<sup>2</sup> in the Palazzo Corner in the parish of San Luca, belonging to that branch of the great Corner family, which I have mentioned as the possessors of large sugar plantations at Piscopi, near Paphos. The palace has since many times changed hands, and the Corner family is now extinct. But the name of Corner dalla Piscopia still clings to the palace,<sup>3</sup> and the arms of Lusignan, with the Cornaro shield and the badge of the Order of the Sword of Cyprus,

proposuimus Venetias accedere et exinde cum electa manu nobilium belatorum" (*i.e.* the knights from the West) "ad eandem Cretæ insulam transfrectare," &c. The Venetian chronicler Caroldo (*apud* Mas Latrie in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, tom. xxxiv. pp. 69 *sqq.*) says that Peter tried to persuade Edward III. to take the red cross "ma quel Re prudentemente s'escusava non poterlo fare."

<sup>1</sup> The date is given in Machaut's rhyming chronicle (cited in Mas Latrie, *Chypre*, ii. p. 243). Caroldo (*apud* *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xxxiv. p. 73) gives a document of 26th October, ordering ten nobles to go to Conegliano to meet the King. The *Bucentaur* was to be ready to take the doge to San Secundo, and three nobles to have ready there "aliquos quartarellos boni vini diversarum maneriarum."

<sup>2</sup> Romanin (iii. 213) says that the King on his first visit was put up by Andrea Zane, whom in return he created a knight; but he gives no authority for this. His creation in San Marco is mentioned by Caroldo, *l.c.*, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> In the guide-book and views of Venice it is better known as Palazzo Loredan. It now forms, with the adjoining Palazzo Farsetti, the Municipio. See the illustration at p. 32 of Pompeo Molmenti's *Venezia* in the series of *Italia Artistica* (Bergamo, 1903).

may still be seen carved over the door in the Calle Memmo on the frieze of the façade.<sup>1</sup>

In 1364, while King Peter was still in France, a quarrel arose in Syria about an Arab merchant, a subject of the Sultan of Egypt, who had been taken prisoner when the Cyprians took Satalie, and was kept in prison at Keryneia. The Emir of Damascus, holding this to be a violation of the peace then existing between Egypt and Cyprus, retaliated by arresting all the Cyprian merchants he could lay hands on in Damascus. This high-handed action he emphasised by violent and insulting letters to the Prince of Antioch, Jean de Lusignan, the King's brother, who was governing Cyprus during the King's absence. The Prince sent these letters to Peter, who carried them to Avignon to show them to the Pope, and, in great anger, hurried back to Venice with the knights he had enlisted in the West for his Crusade. They found some galleys that Philippe de Maizières had got ready for the King's return, and, embarking on these, reinforced by three that the Venetian government sent with them, sailed in June 1265 for Rhodes, where the whole Cyprian fleet of 108 sail was assembled. The King found that this great force had frightened the Turkish Emirs on the West and South coasts of Asia Minor into making peace, and had thus relieved the pressure on Satalie.<sup>2</sup> When ten more galleys,

<sup>1</sup> Tassini, *Alcuni Palazzi, &c., di Venezia*, pp. 60 sqq. The Cornari dalla Piscopia seem to have acted as consuls or representatives of the Kings of Cyprus at Venice: they entertained in the same palace Valentina Visconti, when she passed through Venice in 1378 on her way to Cyprus to be married to King Peter's son, and a daughter of the Marquis of Montferrat, who was in 1435 sent to Cyprus to be the bride of King John II. The blazon of the arms of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia with those of Lusignan is given in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* (series i. tom. v. pp. 421, 422) by Mas Latrie, with an account of Peter's foundation of the Confraternity of the Sword.

<sup>2</sup> When it was uncertain what part of Turkey or Egypt the King was going to attack, the Venetian Government instructed the Captain of the Gulf to follow the King's progress and keep the Senate informed of his whereabouts. This despatch (printed in Mas Latrie, iii. p. 752) shows

sent by the Knights of Rhodes, joined him, he sailed at once for Egypt, and on the 3rd of October of the same year (1365) took Alexandria by storm.<sup>1</sup> He was only able to plunder it for three days and then to abandon it. The knights he had brought from France, England, and Germany were not willing to face the perils of an advance on Cairo, and the Venetians, who stayed in Egypt when the rest of the host departed, and soon succeeded in making peace with the Sultan, were shrewdly suspected, as they had been at the time of the Fourth Crusade, of having negotiated independently with the Moslem to secure their own trade-privileges in his territory. The Syrian Christians in the power of the Sultan had to pay, by their sufferings, for the short triumph of the Christians at Alexandria.

This feat of arms was the only result of the long preparations of the Pope and the Western princes for a Crusade. A letter to the doge from King Peter, dated 27th of February, without mention of the year, but probably in 1364, and, if so, written from Paris, regrets that, in consequence of a revolt in Candia, the Venetians found themselves unable to have the galleys they had promised ready to carry over the Crusade to the Holy Land by the time fixed; the Count of Savoy, and other lords, the letter adds, would also not be ready, but the King prayed that peace might be restored in Candia in time to allow of the expedition starting in August.<sup>2</sup>

The revolt in Candia, that thus came to put a finishing stroke to the Crusade that had been so long in preparation—for a Crusade on a great scale was impossible without Venetian ships to carry it to the Levant—was the outcome

that the King left Venice on June 27th. On the 3rd July they sent to the Proveditori in Crete instructions to send an envoy to any lord or lords of Turkey to protest that any attack on them made by the King was without their knowledge or consent (Mas Latrie, *u. s.*).

<sup>1</sup> Mas Latrie, *L'Isle de Chypre*, pp. 276-78.

<sup>2</sup> Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. p. 252, note 1. The letter quoted in my note on p. 465 was of a date three months earlier.

of a discontent that had been long smouldering; the original Greek inhabitants, who naturally regretted the loss of their independence, found a capable leader in one Giovanni Calergi, and had the sympathy of many of the Venetian colonists settled there, the *feudatarii*. The harbour of Candia was in need of expensive repairs, and to pay for these the Venetian Government imposed a *dazio* or custom duty on imports. There was no doubt, Lorenzo de Monacis tells us,<sup>1</sup> that the repairs were necessary for the trade of the place; but the natural objection to new taxation, especially if imposed by a foreign Government on a conquered dependency, will explain the discontent caused. The government of the island was vested, as we have seen, in a duke and two counsellors. The duke at this time was Leonardo Dandolo, a son of the great doge and historian Andrea,<sup>2</sup> and the counsellors Jacopo Diedo and Stefano Gradenigo. These endeavoured to pacify the complainants by advice and warnings, but seventy of the leaders of the malcontents assembled in the church of St. Titus, the patron saint of the island, and sent three of their number to the Government to say they refused to obey the orders given them, or to pay the *dazio*, unless twenty commissioners (*savi*) elected by them were allowed to travel to Venice to represent their grievances. The duke now ordered them to disperse and obey his instructions, and the decree imposing the new duty was published. The next morning the city was in an uproar; the *feudatarii*, or feudal landowners, came in from their estates with their sergeants or armed retainers, and joined the townspeople assembled in the Piazza, from which they forced their way into the Government House. The duke showed a bold front, and threatened all who resisted him with death, and confiscation of goods. A cry was raised in the crowd, "Death to the traitor." Dandolo was seized, and would have been sacrificed to the fury of the mob if he had not been saved by

<sup>1</sup> P. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Lebret, ii. 1, p. 73.

two or three Venetian nobles—a Cornaro, a Falier, and others—who persuaded the leaders of the revolt to hand over him and his two counsellors to kinsmen or friends of their own, probably among the *feudatarii*, who were to give security for their safe custody.

Venetian residents in Candia and Venetian sailors, whose ships were in the harbour, were first refused admission to the town, and then imprisoned, and deprived of their property. The other towns and forts in the island followed the example of Candia, and the rebels elected an old man, Marco Gradenigo, to be governor of the island, with four counsellors; the standard of St. Mark was lowered, and that of St. Titus hoisted in its place. The new Government set to work at once to raise troops, and accepted as recruits brigands and pirates and murderers from the prisons, if they would promise to serve without pay for six months. To conciliate the Greek inhabitants, the Greek religion was granted equality of rights with the Latin.

The Republic kept three Cretan galleys with Venetian commanders in the Ægean. Two of these commanders were arrested by their crews and sent off to Venice; the third, Leonardo Gradenigo, a kinsman of the governor, after some hesitation threw in his lot with the rebels.

The Senate, as soon as news of the revolt reached Venice, sent three nobles to attempt a pacification, but the Cretans refused to hear them. Then five Proveditori were sent, Andrea Contarini being the chief, with instructions, dated the 12th of September 1363, to remind the Cretans of the good treatment they had always received from Venice, and to explain to them that the repair of the harbour for which the duties were imposed would benefit them more than Venice: he was also to ascertain the whereabouts of the Venetian galleys sent to Cyprus and Alexandria,<sup>1</sup> and of some Catalonian ships that were reported to be cruising in the same waters; he was empowered, if he wanted

<sup>1</sup> These were, I suppose, the winter *carovana*, "*mudua ymberno*."

assistance, to accept any that was offered him, even from the Turk.

When the Proveditori arrived at Candia they were taken under a safe-conduct to the Palazzo or Government House, the mob that crowded the streets insulting and threatening them: no violence was done to them, but the only answer of the rebels to their remonstrances was that they would hold out till the bitter end. The Venetians then returned to their ships, but these, in accordance with orders from home, remained in Cretan waters till reinforcements should arrive. Meanwhile at Venice the Senate acted with energy: letters were written to the Pope, to the Emperor, to the King of Hungary, to Queen Joanna of Naples, and to the Doge of Genoa, begging them to give no support to the rebels; the condottiere Luchino dal Verme, a Veronese, was engaged with 1000 horsemen and 2000 infantry; a fleet of thirty-three galleys, eighteen of which could carry horses, was hired to convey the troops to Crete. Besides the hired troops, we are told that some mining experts from Bohemia were engaged. Domenico Michiel was elected Captain of the Gulf (October 16, 1363),<sup>1</sup> and five Proveditori to assist him (January 15, 1364).

On the news of these serious preparations, several of the *feudatarii*, who had probably joined the movement unwillingly from the first, made up their minds to abandon the rebels. But Tito Venier, the most violent of the patriots, who had been the first to raise the cry of "Death to the traitor" against the deposed duke, and whom the revolutionary Government had made Governor of Canea, professed to have seen a list of Cretans proscribed by the Venetian Senate, and made a number of the leading men

<sup>1</sup> Corfu was generally the headquarters of the Levant fleet. The Captain of the Gulf was a permanent officer, a Captain-General was appointed only when war broke out. The "General" of the Gulf, as Amelot de la Houssaye calls him, had under him a squadron of six galleys and some smaller ships, which were employed to keep enemies or pirates out of the Adriatic and to prevent smuggling.



in the island believe that their names were in it, so that their only safe course was to persevere in the rebellion. By his advice the rebels fitted out a small fleet, which was put under the command of the leader of the Greek party, Calergi, with a view of bringing racial and religious animosity into action. Leonardo Gradenigo, the captain of the galley, who had gone over to the side of the rebels, apostatised from the Latin Church, and in alliance with a Greek monk or *calogero* named Miletus took active steps to bring over the whole island to the Greek faith and the government of Calergi. His partisans devised, and in part executed, a plot to murder in one night, on their estates (*casali*) all the Venetian *feudatarii*.

But these symptoms that the rebellion was likely to pass into a war of races had the effect of causing the Venetian colonists, who had taken part with the disloyal party, and indeed been its first leaders, to reconsider their position. The Greeks in the island far outnumbered the Venetians. They now claimed that ten of their nation should be members of every council. If this were carried, their next move might well have been to divide the colonists' lands amongst themselves. Some of the colonists had been loyal to Venice from the first, amongst whom Domenico Grimani, the Chancellor of Crete, and Giacomo Mudazzo are mentioned. The former was so much respected that the rebels had not deprived him of his office, and he had reluctantly retained it, after consulting the deposed Duke Leonardo Dandolo, in order that he might, from his official position, be more useful in effecting a pacification, which it was known that the home government would be glad to bring about by gentle means. The latter was brother of Francesco Mudazzo, one of the most violent of the rebels, and had openly rebuked him for his disloyalty, by which Giacomo had become so unpopular that his son was assassinated in the street. When the colonists who had taken part with

the rebels had become alarmed at the prospect of a Greek supremacy, most of them seem to have despaired of a reconciliation with Venice, and thought of inviting the Genoese to take possession of the island; but others, who had been among the most disloyal, Francesco Mudazzo among them, and Marco Gradenigo, apparently the same who had been at first appointed governor by the rebels, preferred to throw themselves on the mercy of the Venetians. Leonardo Gradenigo, who from his violent partisanship for the Greeks, was nicknamed *Calogero*, "Greek Monk," inveighed against his kinsman as a traitor in the council room, and caused him to be assassinated by some bravos on his way home.<sup>1</sup> The island was passing into a state of anarchy; loyalists were imprisoned without trial; there was, in fact, a reign of terror. But the number of those who kept up secret communication with the home government was only increased by this violence. The Bishop of Corone, in the Morea, who had come to Candia on a mission of peace, and been made Archbishop of Crete, was active in keeping the home government informed of what was going on.

Meanwhile the Venetian fleet, with their land forces on board, was assembled at San Nicolò del Lido, and on the 10th of April 1364 set sail for Candia. On the 6th or 7th of May it came to anchor in the harbour of Frascia, on the north side of the island,<sup>2</sup> seven miles from Candia. No Captain-General seems to have been appointed. Michiel, the Captain of the Gulf, commanded the fleet, while the army was under Luchino dal Verme,

<sup>1</sup> The assassins, twenty-five in number, were concealed in the chapel of St. Bernard in the Government House (Lebret, ii. 1, p. 83).

<sup>2</sup> It was near Cape Stauros, the northernmost point of Crete. Pashley (ii. pp. 281, 282) thinks the battle was fought near Armyro, which lies close under Mt. Stromboli. The name Frascia (or Frosia, as Fracassetti on Petrarch, S. i. 225 calls it) is not on modern maps, but I have found it on a seventeenth-century map in B. M. 46270-21.

who had been solemnly dedicated to the work in San Marco and fortified with a letter from Petrarch,<sup>1</sup> at this time, as we shall see, resident in Venice. The expedition, we are told, was watched with interest in all parts of Italy. Between the harbour of Frascia and Candia the army had to advance by a narrow path through a gorge on the east side of Mount Stromboli. A spring of salt water, flowing from a cavern by the side of the path, found its way northward to the sea. In May the melting of the snow in the mountains made it a wild rushing torrent, which was utilised for turning some mill-wheels. These mills some of the soldiers of Dal Verme, before he was ready to start, attacked without orders and plundered, and were all taken prisoners and cruelly massacred. This tended to embitter the minds of the combatants, but the struggle did not last long, for the concealed loyalists in the town of Candia contrived that the defence of the pass should be entrusted to Francesco Mudazzo, who gave it up without striking a blow, and allowed the Venetian troops to advance to the gates of the town. The Venetian fleet also was brought round to the mouth of the harbour of Candia. The inhabitants were not unwilling to return to their allegiance, and Andrea Cornaro della Ca Grande, a member of that branch of the Cornaro family from which Catherine, Queen of Cyprus, was to

<sup>1</sup> *Lettere Senili*, iv. 1. In this letter Petrarch describes himself as an old friend of Luchino: they had probably met at the court of Galeazzo Visconti, in whose service Luchino had fought. The letter is full of learning and eloquence, quoting the examples of the great generals of Greece and Rome and of sacred history, for whose successors he claims not that they should study philosophy or poetry, but that they should have such a tincture of letters as would enable them to master the maxims of the art of war and the details of history. He is eloquent on the kindness of Venice to the Cretans, and indicts the whole of the Cretan race, bringing up the authority of St. Paul and their own poet. The next letter (iv. 2) is a congratulation to Luchino on his victory "without iron or blood." Two other of the *Lettere Senili* (viii. 4, 5) are: one dissuading Luchino from an expedition against the Turks in 1367, the other to his son, condoling with him on Luchino's death.

spring a century later,<sup>1</sup> and a loyal adherent of Venice, was sent to negotiate for terms. Dal Verme carried out faithfully the instructions of the home government to deal gently with the rebels, and almost the only blood shed was that of some mutinous members of his company, who were disappointed at his exempting the town from plunder. On the 10th May, only three or four days after his landing at Frascia, he occupied the town and hoisted the banner of St. Mark on its castle. Some of the ringleaders of the rebellion lost their heads. Calergi, Tito Venier, and others took refuge in the mountains about Stromboli or in Sithia, the farthest town to the eastward in the island, but finding no chance of safety there, escaped first to Rhodes and then to Scio, which the Genoese held. Leonardo Gradenigo the Calogero, with some others, tried to maintain themselves in the small island of Gaidaronissa, off the south coast of Crete, but were taken off by a galley sent by the Venetian Proveditori, and tried and beheaded at Candia.<sup>2</sup>

Lesser punishments were inflicted on many of the rebels: the families of Gradenigo and Venier had been conspicuous in the conspiracy, and all members of these, whose lives were not taken, were banished from the island and not permitted to move to any Venetian territory outside the Adriatic, or to the dominions of the Greek Emperor, the Duke of the Archipelago, the Knights of Rhodes, or the Turks: all native-born Venetians who had taken part in the rebellion, were banished for life from all parts of the dominions of the Republic. The *feudatarii* in Crete were deprived of their feudal organisation, their assemblies, and their elected officers.

Their success in suppressing the rebellion in so short

<sup>1</sup> For the Cornaro family there is an instructive note in Mas Latrie's *Hist. de Chypre*, iii. 814-22. It is interesting to find the same family established in each of the great Levantine islands.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iii. 220-24; Lebret, ii. 1, 81-6.

a time and with so little bloodshed must have surprised the Venetian Government. The galley of Pietro Soranzo, that with green boughs decking its masts and its rowers crowned with laurel, rowing to the sound of martial music, first brought to Venice the news of Dal Verme's victory and the submission of the island, arrived on the 4th of June 1364. We have an account of its arrival and of the fêtes that followed upon it, in a letter of Petrarch,<sup>1</sup> written to Pietro, the Rettore of Bologna. "It was perhaps," he says, "the sixth hour on the 4th of June. I was standing at my window looking at the expanse of sea that stretches from before me—and with me was he whom once I called brother, but now call most loving father, the Archbishop of Patras, who, about to resort to his see at the beginning of autumn, is now staying with me in this house, which I have been most glad to place at his disposal; and here, please God, he will pass all the summer—when behold of a sudden one of these long ships they call galleys, garlanded with green boughs, draws near, and being rowed at full speed, enters the harbour. At this unexpected sight we cut short our discourse, and felt springing in our hearts the sure hope that the ship came to bring tidings of a glad event. Advancing so fast, with sails swollen by the wind, it showed us the joyful faces of its sailors, and a band of youths crowned with green leaves, with smiling faces, waving over their heads their banners, saluted from their prow their victorious country, as yet ignorant of her triumph." The sentinel on the highest tower having signalled the arrival of a strange ship, the people flocked to the bank in curiosity. "As the ship came in, we saw the enemies' flags hung at the prow, and felt certain of the victory. It was thought some battle had been won or some city taken: no one dared to hope the war was ended, till the messengers had landed and told all the news to the council. When he heard the tidings the Doge Lorenzo—to whose

<sup>1</sup> *Senili* iv. 3.

grandeur the name of Celso well corresponds for his magnanimity, his courtesy, and every noble virtue, but, above all, for his religious piety and memorable love to his country—wished to offer solemn thanks to God, with all his people, by a splendid ceremony, especially in the basilica of St. Mark the Evangelist, than which there is nothing, I believe, on earth more beautiful.” He describes at great length, notwithstanding his protestations of being overwhelmed with business, the rejoicings that followed, especially the jousting and feats of horsemanship in the Piazza, which he viewed from a seat given him by the doge at his own right hand, “on the marble loggia that rises on the façade of the temple over the vestibule, with a view over all the Piazza at its foot, on which loggia one sees the four gilded horses of bronze, to whom the unknown artist of old time gave such a semblance of life that one seems almost to hear their stamping and neighing.” It is interesting to note that among the distinguished visitors to the doge were some very noble personages from England, by office and kindred very near to the King. The King of Cyprus, who happened to be in Venice, took part in the tournament, where he josted with a son of Dal Verme.

The ease with which the rebellion had been put down must have made King Peter feel, with some bitterness, that the Crusade, on which his heart had been set, need not have been abandoned. He was one of the keenest and sincerest Crusaders that Europe had seen since the preaching of Peter the Hermit.<sup>1</sup> We have seen how in October 1365, a year and four months after his jousting at Venice, his

<sup>1</sup> Guillaume de Machaut in his rhyming chronicle (*apud* Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. p. 337) says: “Car je ne truis pas en escript Que depuis le tans Godefroy de Buillon, qui fist maint effroy Aux Sarrasins, fust home né Par qui si mal fussent mené, Ne qui tant leur feist contraire. Car de Chypre jusques au Quaire Les faisait trambler et fremir.” Froissart also compares him to Godfrey of Bouillon. See *post*, p. 484.

long-delayed blow at the Moslem had been struck, and Alexandria had been three days in his hands. When he could not induce his followers to penetrate further into Egypt, he returned to Cyprus, to which also commissioners from Cairo came to discuss terms of peace between the Sultan and Cyprus. The negotiations were protracted, and pending the conclusion of peace, Peter employed himself in desultory warfare by land and sea against the emirs of the south of Asia Minor, who were gradually eating up the Christian kingdom of Lesser Armenia. Gorhigos (Corycus) was saved by the Prince of Antioch, Peter's brother; Lajazzo was recovered from the Turks. Though Leo V., King of Armenia, was still living, his throne was offered, apparently with his consent, to Peter, as the only person capable of holding it for Christendom.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of 1367, after much fighting with Egyptian ships off Tripoli and the other coast towns of Northern Syria, Peter again undertook the voyage to Europe, to bring up, if it were still possible, recruits for the crusading army. In the spring of 1368 he was at Rome,<sup>2</sup> to which Pope Urban had now returned, for two or three months. In June he was at Florence, where we again hear of his jousting<sup>3</sup> in a tournament, and where the monks of St. Maria Novella afterwards showed his lance, and a mantle with his portrait and that of his son embroidered on it. In July and August he was at Venice, where he got leave from the Pregadi to export 250 horses, and to buy from the arsenal 2000 poles

<sup>1</sup> Mas Latrie, *L'Île de Chypre*, p. 304, n. 1. The Kings of Lesser Armenia belonged to a branch of the Lusignan family. The connexion is explained in detail in *Les Lignages d'Outre Mer* in vol. ii. of Count Beugnot's *Assises de Jerusalem*.

<sup>2</sup> He met there Queen Joanna of Naples, and it is rather sad to read that that questionable lady was preferred by Pope Urban V. to the zealous Crusader, as recipient of the golden rose given every year on the Sunday Lætare to a Catholic sovereign (Baluze, *Vit. Pap. Avén.*, i. pp. 381 and 408).

<sup>3</sup> See extract from Stefani's *Historia Fiorentina* in Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. p. 313.

for oars.<sup>1</sup> He was also allowed to stay with his suite at Treviso and Ceneda. On the 28th of September he embarked at Venice for Cyprus, which he will have reached in a few days. There he found domestic troubles of an aggravated kind. The nobles holding fiefs in the land, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> clung with enthusiasm to the Assize of Jerusalem as the fundamental law of their kingdom, and were zealous to maintain it against their own King, as they had been against the Emperor King of Jerusalem. A dispute had arisen, during Peter's absence, on a subject that was fruitful in quarrels under the feudal law, the remarriage of the widow of a feudatory, who was the daughter of Henri de Gibelet,<sup>3</sup> Viscount of Nicosia, one of the chief nobles of Cyprus. The romantic and naïve accounts of these affairs that we have from Strambaldi's chronicle (a translation from the Greek), from the rhyming chronicle of Guillaume de Machaut, and from Philippe de Maizières, King Peter's chancellor (from whom we might have expected a sober and business-like narrative, but get an allegorical rodomontade under the title of "The Old Pilgrim's Dream," in which the story of the King's murder is put into the mouth of "Queen Truth," replying to "Despairing Devotion"), are not wanting in detail, and probably contain

<sup>1</sup> "*Stellas remorum*" (Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 212). On the 22nd August 1366 the Pregadi, with a special Zonta added to them, had forbidden the export of arms and horses to Cyprus so strictly, that the Venetian bailo, who at that time was starting for Cyprus, had to obtain a declaration from the Signoria that this prohibition would not prevent him from taking horses and arms for his suite (Mas Latrie, *ib.*, ii. 285). The prohibition was in accordance with the wish generally prevalent in Venice and Genoa, that trade with the Sultan's dominions should not be impeded, as no doubt Cyprian merchants would have wished. On the 15th of October 1367, Urban V. from Avignon had launched a prohibition to the doge against putting any obstacle in the way of knights from the West with their arms and horses being sent to Rhodes and Cyprus (*ib.*, ii. 288).

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 460.

<sup>3</sup> The Cyprian chronicles, whose French is corrupted by Oriental influences, calls him "Charin or Charris de Ziblet." He was Lord of Gibelet on the Syrian coast,



the real facts highly coloured and embroidered. Strambaldi says that the King proposed to marry the lady to a tailor,<sup>1</sup> and when her father objected, threw him into prison on his own authority. The usage of the island allowed the King to choose, with the help of his council, three persons of suitable condition for the lady to select from; and it absolutely forbade any knight being imprisoned without his cause being heard and decided by his peers.

When the King was back in Cyprus he asked his council, Strambaldi tells us, what he should do with Don Charin, and the counsellors asked for time to consider their answer. Then they went to the King's brothers, the Prince of Antioch, and the Constable, protested their loyalty to the King, but pointed out that he was acting against the Assize, to which he had sworn obedience, and begged them to remonstrate with him. When his brothers did so, he flew into a passion, but controlled himself, and assented to their proposal that they should fetch the book of the Assize, and show him what it said. Before they returned, Jean Munstri, the admiral of Cyprus, a loyal friend of the King, induced him to send for his brothers and be reconciled to them. The admiral himself went to the brothers, and found them in conference with the disaffected knights. These taunted the brothers with being made tools by the King, and persuaded them to reject the admiral's mediation. He still tried to bring them round, but all to no purpose, and the knights and gentlemen then adjourned to the house of the Prince of Antioch, and consulted there all the night. They proposed, and the King's brothers agreed, to beset (*assediare*) the King, and not leave him till he promised to govern according to the

<sup>1</sup> Florio Bustron, a later Cyprian writer (as to whom see *post*, p. 484) says "to a groom employed in the royal stables." Bustron accuses Queen Eleonora of adultery and the King of profligacy and gross oppression.

Assize and the good customs of the kings, his predecessors. But the other conspirators, when they had left the King's brothers, reflected that they could not trust the promises of a King who had broken his coronation oath. So they hardened their hearts and decided to enter the King's palace, and without telling his brothers of their change of plan, to murder him in his sleep. The brothers, who accompanied the conspirators to the palace, understood that the latter intended, if the King would not listen to their demands, to leave the kingdom and seek their fortune abroad.

On the 17th of January 1369, as the Ave Maria rang at dawn, the whole body of conspirators entered the King's palace and dismounted at the foot of the stairs, which they ascended to the loggia or gallery, on which the door of the King's apartments opened. The Prince of Antioch knocked at the door, which was opened, and the King's brothers entered, followed by the knights and by some men they released from the prison of the palace.<sup>1</sup> The noise of this crowd of men entering awoke the King, who rose from his bed in his shirt, and asked them who they were. The Prince of Antioch was unwilling to take the lead, but being pressed forward by the crowd, told the King they had worked all the night at the Assize, and had brought him in writing their opinion as to the law. The King begged them to leave the room till he was dressed, and he would then look at their writing. On this the Prince left the room, and apparently the most eager of the conspirators rushed in with daggers drawn, and each of them gave the King three or four wounds. They would not listen to his cries for mercy. One of them, Don Zuan Gorab, who appears to have been a judge of the Court of Assize, seized a knife and cut off the head

<sup>1</sup> According to Florio Bustron the released prisoners were Henri de Gibelet, his son Giacometto, and his daughter, the contumacious lady who had refused to give her hand to the King's nominee.

of the King, with the taunt: "You would have cut off my head, but I have cut off yours. What you threatened all of us has fallen on your own head."

This butchery, in which, besides the Judge of the High Court, the Viscount of Nicosia, and the Lord of Arzuf, a member of the great family of Ybelin, took part, seems to show that Peter must have incurred some more personal hatred than attaches ordinarily to violations of constitutional rights. Some expressions in the chronicle of Diomedes Strambaldi, from which the account I have given above is taken,<sup>1</sup> may imply that the King had outraged the domestic honour of some of his nobles. The chivalry of the Franks of Cyprus and Palestine would hardly have resorted to such barbarities without great provocation. The chronicle is probably the work of two authors, the later of whom lived near the middle of the fifteenth century, so that the earlier writer's part must have been nearly contemporary.<sup>2</sup> Strambaldi's account is careful to note the fact that the King's brothers were forced by others to take a leading part in the conspiracy, that the murder did not begin till they had left the room at the King's request, and that the infant son of the murdered King, and not his brother, was at once proclaimed King; but notwithstanding this, the accounts of the matter first published in Cyprus, and repeated in many parts of the world, are loud on the enormity of his being murdered by his own brothers. "The Old Pilgrim," Philippe de Maizières, says: "It is said in the proverb—'He is a fool who cuts off his own nose'; they did worse, for they cut their own throat, and made themselves infamous as long as their memory shall last, to wit when they killed by treason their protector, their saviour, their most valiant King and their liege lord, the noble lion called Peter, the

<sup>1</sup> *Apud* Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 338-42.

<sup>2</sup> See Mas Latrie, *L'Isle de Chypre* (1879) p. 257, n. 2. The least imperfect MS. of Strambaldi is at Rome.

King of the vineyards of Angady ;<sup>1</sup> the lamentable memory of which will never be effaced from the mind of all good men. If he had died in battle with the enemies of the faith, like the valiant Judas Maccabeus, or Jonathan, or Eleazar, it might pass. But to be killed sleeping in his bed by his own brothers and barons whom he trusted as himself!"<sup>2</sup> Strambaldi is severe in his censure of them, quoting the proverb that he who holds the foot of the kid deserves no less punishment than he who flays it. Christine de Pisan, in her *Livre de mutacion de fortune*, refers to the King who did so much damage to the Saracens, done to death by the treachery of his lineage, "for his brother slew him with his own hand."<sup>3</sup> Guillaume de Machant's account makes the Prince of Antioch, in leaving the King's room, bid his confederates go in and do their will.<sup>4</sup> The first life of Pope Urban V. in Baluze's "Lives of the Avignon Popes," speaks with horror of the King, "altogether good and virtuous and brave, who more than all the kings and princes of his time had aspired to the recovery of the Holy Land, cruelly slain like another righteous Abel or innocent Joseph, by the work and machination of his brothers."<sup>5</sup>

Florio Bustron, who wrote in the sixteenth century a History or Commentaries of Cyprus, in which he gives a romantic account of the misdoings of King Peter, the conspiracy against him and his murder, is shocked at the part taken by the King's brothers, but says expressly that the

<sup>1</sup> Nearly all medieval writers who quote "Botrus Cypri dilectus meus in vinea Engadi" (Cant., i. 14) take Cyprus to mean the island, not the shrub better known as henné, which is undoubtedly the correct meaning. Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 212, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Apud* Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 332, 333. This passage was not written till Jacques de Lusignan, the Constable at the time of the murder, had succeeded his nephew as King in 1382.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted from Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits français*, t. v. p. 145 in Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. p. 343.

<sup>4</sup> "Seigneurs, or sus, or sus, Il est à point, laiens alez, Et faictes ce que vous volez" (*apud* Mas Latrie, *u.s.*, ii. p. 334).

<sup>5</sup> Baluzius, i. c. 386.

actual murderers, the Lords of Sur and Gibelet, and Giacomo de Gabriele, kept the prince and the constable out of the room, because they feared these might help the King, not thinking that he ought to be put to death.<sup>1</sup>

Petrarch, writing from Padua on November 4, 1369, to Philippe de Maizières, the Chancellor of Cyprus ("The Old Pilgrim," whose account of his King's death I have just quoted), dwells on the glorious memory of King Peter, who, if he had not been thwarted when anxious to press on from Alexandria, might have recovered Memphis, Antioch, Damascus, and Babylon, and laments his sad end by the plots of his malignant enemies, and their treacherous assaults, but says nothing of the perfidious brothers.<sup>2</sup>

Frøissart, writing of later events, mentions incidentally the death of Peter, and makes the most odious charge against his brothers, saying, that the Turks and the Tartars bribed<sup>3</sup> his brother Jacques to kill and murder the King, who, had he lived, would have given the Turks as much to do as any one since Godfrey de Bouillon had done.

About a year after Petrarch had watched the arrival of the galley crowned with laurel that brought news of the submission of Candia, the Doge Lorenzo Celsi died. It appears that some serious charge of ambitious designs had been brought forward before his death, for on the 30th of July 1365, the Council of Ten made an order that all the written accusations made against the late doge should be destroyed, and that his successor should be required at the first meeting of the Great Council to declare publicly that Celsi had been unjustly accused of actions against the honour of the State, which accusations had on inquiry been found to be false.

His successor was Marco Corner or Cornaro, the same

<sup>1</sup> In *Collection de Documents Inédits ; Melanges Historiques*, v. p. 276 (Par., 1886).

<sup>2</sup> *Lettere Senili*, xiii. 2 (ii. p. 277 ed. Fracassetti).

<sup>3</sup> "Marchandèrent," ii. 450 (anno 1385), ed. Buchon, 3 vols., 4to, Paris, 1835.

who had been sent on an embassy to the Emperor Charles IV., and imprisoned by the Seneschal of Osterwitz<sup>1</sup> in Carinthia. He was, as we have seen, a knight and a Procurator of St. Mark, and had been appointed to a kind of dictatorship in the panic that followed the discovery of Marin Faliero's treason on St. Isidore's Day ten years before;<sup>2</sup> he was now an octogenarian. On this ground, and on the other grounds that he was poor, that he was connected with foreign princes (I presume his knighthood had been granted by the Emperor), and that his wife was a plebeian, and had many poor relations, formal objection was taken to him when the electors met. I have explained in my account of a doge's election,<sup>3</sup> how an opportunity for such objections was given in the regulations for the election, how they were made in the absence of the accused, but submitted to him in writing afterwards, that he might reply to them. Romanin has given us<sup>4</sup> from a MS., once belonging to Count Leonardo Manin, a report of Cornaro's answer in Venetian dialect, which may well be authentic, and disposes of the objections taken in a candid and spirited manner. He was elected on the 21st of July 1365. The correctors of the Promissione made him promise to resign his office and quit the palace within three days, if called upon to do so by his six counsellors, and the majority of the Great Council, and not to resign unless with the consent of the same authorities. They made some minor requirements, such as that he should keep in the palace the prescribed number of servants, that he should take no public action nor decide any suit by himself, and that he should not spend more than a moderate sum (*cento lire de' piccoli*) of public money on the embellishment of the palace.

After the pacification of Crete, the Republic enjoyed a period of peace, and the chief anxiety of her rulers was to

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 452, n.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 440.

<sup>4</sup> iii. pp. 229 sq.

obtain from the Pope a relaxation of his prohibition of trade with the Soldan of Egypt. We have seen<sup>1</sup> how, in the autumn of 1365, Venice had been driven by provocations in Syria to join the King of Cyprus in the expedition that took Alexandria by storm, but was unwilling to extend her conquests to Cairo or Syria, and so to risk interference with her Eastern trade. In the summer of 1366 she sent Marin Venier and Giovanni Foscari on an embassy to Urban V. at Avignon; in the instructions to them, the doge urgently insisted on their convincing the Pope that the resumption of trade with Alexandria was a matter of life and death to Venice, any delay in which would "prejudice their conditions by causing them to lose the year's expedition to Egypt, to the notable damage of all our land, which the Pope and cardinals could not desire should happen to us, the most devoted servants of Holy Church."<sup>2</sup> Foreseeing that the Pope would be unwilling to sanction withdrawal from a projected Crusade, if the King of Cyprus and the Knights of Rhodes were willing to persevere, the ambassadors were to use their best endeavours to induce those powers to make peace with the Soldan. There was some doubt as to the feeling of the Cyprians on this subject, for their mercantile interests were opposed to a reconciliation between Venice and the Soldan, which would open the ports of Egypt to Western trade, and injure the trade which came by way of Armenia and Cyprus to the Mediterranean.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> "Dicere quod [si?] nos deberemus præstolari, et tali modo sinistrare statum nostrum, non esset aliud dicendum nisi quod perderemus navigare ad illas partes pro anno præsentis," &c. (Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Ch.*, iii. 754, from a MS. in the Capponi Library at Florence). The reference is of course to the *carovana*.

<sup>3</sup> In *Libri Commem.*, vii. 425, 426, in *Mon. Storici*, series i., tom. vii. p. 72, we have the summary of King Peter I.'s despatches from Rome of 19th and 20th May 1368 as to the terms he would accept from the Soldan, if the Venetians and Genoese undertook the mediation. The first condition he imposes is the maintenance of his rights to the kingdom of Jerusalem.

It is interesting to note how, in the years we have now reached, not only the Venetians, but the Genoese and the King of Aragon also were striving to reconcile the King of Cyprus with the Soldan of Egypt. The merchants of Genoa and Barcelona were as anxious as those of Venice that trade with Egypt should be resumed, and, as a means to this, that the King of Cyprus, whose interests might lead him to keep the Egyptian ports shut, should make peace with the Soldan. In May 1368, the last year of King Peter I.'s life, he empowered the Venetian and Genoese ambassadors at Rome to act as his mediators with the Sultan. His instructions to them, printed by Mas Latrie in his "History of Cyprus,"<sup>1</sup> were published at Rome evidently with the sanction of the Pope, whom he had gone to consult after his attack on Alexandria. We are driven to the conclusion that the failure of the last crusading King to penetrate farther into the Saracen dominions after the brilliant feat of arms at Alexandria, had convinced both King and Pope, that the time was no longer propitious for a Crusade, and that their best course was to fall in line with Venice, and Genoa, and Aragon, and secure for Christendom, at any rate, the advantage of a double route for the trade with the East.

At some time during the government of Doge Cornaro, probably in 1367, the Count of Savoy with the Count of Virtù, a son of Galeazzo Visconti, came to Venice to beg for aid in a campaign against the Turks. The Count of Savoy was a nephew of the princess of that house who had come to Constantinople in 1326 as the bride of Andronicus III., and had been regent for her son, John V., who reigned alone or with a rival till the year 1391. It was natural that the head of the Empress's family should strive zealously to protect the dominions of her son in the extreme peril to which the restless Turkish

<sup>1</sup> Tom. ii. pp. 302-308.



advance had exposed them.<sup>1</sup> The son of Galeazzo Visconti had also a Princess of Savoy for his mother. The Republic sent two galleys under Saracin Dandolo and Luchino dal Verme to help them, and advanced a sum of money on the security of the island of Tenedos, which John V. was ready to mortgage to Venice. The expedition on which the two galleys sailed must have been that on which Petrarch warned Dal Verme not to go,<sup>2</sup> and on which the condottiere in fact lost his life.

Marco Cornaro died on the 13th of January 1368. He left Venice at peace with her neighbours—he had made commercial treaties with the Dukes of Austria, the Count of Görz, and the Patriarch of Aquileia—and his diplomacy secured him a constant influence at the Papal court by retaining, at the cost of yearly salaries of 200 ducats each, the services of two cardinals.

He was one of the doges who spent much money on the decoration of the ducal palace. In his time the columns of the façade towards the Grand Canal were carved, and Guariento's great fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin in Paradise was painted on the wall of the Hall of the Great Council, and a series of frescoes of the meeting of Pope Alexander with the Emperor Frederic at Venice was put up in the same room, as well as the medallions of the doges round the cornice. His own portrait occupied the place immediately over the doge's throne.<sup>3</sup> He built also the original houses for the Procurators of St. Mark, not either

<sup>1</sup> The count (Amedeo VI., surnamed "il Verde") sailed from Venice in 1366, took Gallipoli and entered Constantinople, where he found that the Emperor John V. was a prisoner of the King of Bulgaria at Widdin. He pressed on and released the Emperor and brought him back to his capital, but could not drive the Turks out of Adrianople nor persuade the Greek clergy of those parts, who hated Latins nearly as much as Turks, to submit to the Pope (Litta, *Famiglie Celebri*, vol. vii. tavola vii.).

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 475, note 1, and Petrarch, *Lettere Senili*, viii. 4 and 5, with Fracassetti's notes.

<sup>3</sup> Romanin, iii. 234.

the Vecchie or Nuove Procurazie that we now see, the earliest of which are a century later, but on the same or nearly the same site as the Vecchie, extending from the clock tower (*Orologio*) westward along the north side of the Piazza to the church of San Geminiano.<sup>1</sup>

I have already more than once referred to the fact that in the year 1362 Venice became the residence of the most famous Italian of his day, the great Francis Petrarch. In the year before he left Milan, where he had lived since 1353 as the friend and protégé of the Visconti, and settled for a time at Padua, intending, it would appear, to pass on soon to his old home at Vaucluse : but the disturbed state of the country prevented his journey thither, and he had to stay in Padua, till an outbreak of plague there in the late summer of 1362 drove him to take refuge in Venice. He travelled there, as on other of his journeys, with a long train of pack-horses : for he carried his library about with him. He was growing old, and the thought how he might best dispose of this precious treasure after his death was exercising his mind. His original design, he had told Boccaccio, was to bequeath it to some religious community, but shortly after his arrival at Venice, it occurred to him to offer it to the Republic, "to make the blessed Evangelist, St. Mark, heir of his books." So he wrote on the 4th September to the Signoria, offering them on condition that they should not be sold nor separated, but lodged in some place safe from fire and rain, and preserved for ever for his honour and the benefit of the noble and lettered persons of the city. He hoped that his books would become, as they have become, the nucleus of a great collection that other persons, both natives and strangers, might be willing

<sup>1</sup> Gallicciolli (i. § 301, p. 267) tells us that the Procurators of St. Mark lived originally at the Rialto or at San Silvestro, perhaps those known as *Citra* and *Ultra* at different places. The site in the piazza was obtained in 1365 by exchange with Domenico Gaffaro, Bishop of Città Nova, to whom, as parish priest of San Basso, it belonged.

to supplement till it became a library comparable to those of the ancients. For his lifetime he proposed to keep his library in his own hands, and he begged the Signoria to grant an honourable lodging for himself and his books.<sup>1</sup> The Procurators of St. Mark offered to bear the expense of housing and preserving the books, and a palace belonging to the Molina family on the Riva degli Schiavoni, was assigned to Petrarch. It was called the Palace of the Two Towers, and was occupied, when the Abbé de Sade wrote in the latter half of the eighteenth century, by the nuns of the Holy Sepulchre. It is now the Barrack of San Sepolcro, and can still be distinguished by the corner towers mentioned by the Abbé.<sup>2</sup> From the windows of this house he could look out over the broad lagoon beyond San Giorgio, towards Malamocco and Chioggia, and watch the shipping "that crowded its surface even in the gloom of winter or the roughest storms of spring. The vessels that he saw below him were bound some to the East, some to the West, some southward to the Libyan quicksands, some to the two Bospori, Colchis and the Phasis from which Jason had brought back the golden fleece, impelled by the same lust after gold that now drove the Venetians to sail over every sea." He reflected that their spirit of adventure was the cause "that the wines of Italy foamed in

<sup>1</sup> "Il voudrait une maison honnête où il pût se loger avec ses livres" (De Sade, *Mém.*, iii. 614 *sqq.*). See also Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, s.v. Sepolcro.

<sup>2</sup> A letter of Dr. Tassini (quoted in *Archivio Venet.*, xvii. p. 295) suggests, from documentary evidence, that Petrarch's house was not the house with the towers now to be seen, but one on the Riva degli Schiavoni at the corner of the *Calle del Dose* in the parish of S. Giovanni di Bragora. We know from Sanudo's *Diario* for 18th October 1523 that the *ca Molin dalle due Torri* was at that date sold to the nuns of San Sepolcro and thrown into their monastery. The passage is quoted in Tassini (2nd ed., 1872), p. 671. The fourth edition of Tassini's book (1879) at p. 667 explains that the house which has long been called that of Petrarch is now known to have been a Palazzo of the Navagero, and not of the Molina family. But I do not know that this evidence ought to outweigh the constant tradition as to the House of the Two Towers.

the goblets of the Britons, and her honey pleased the palates of the Scythians :<sup>1</sup> that, if the Don was the farthest limit reached by these ships, those who sailed in them would pursue their way over land till they reached the Ganges and the Caucasus, India and China, and the farthest Eastern Ocean."<sup>2</sup>

In another letter, written to Boccaccio, he gives us a charming picture of his friendship with the Great Chancellor of Venice, Benintendi dei Ravagnani, "who, fulfilling in deed all that his name promises, since all the day long he has been well employed (*ben inteso*) on his public duties, his private friendships, or his humane studies, comes, on the fall of the day, in his gondola, with cheerful and kindly face, to refresh himself with peaceful converse after the fatigues of the day. You know by experience how delightful are these nightly excursions on the sea."<sup>3</sup>

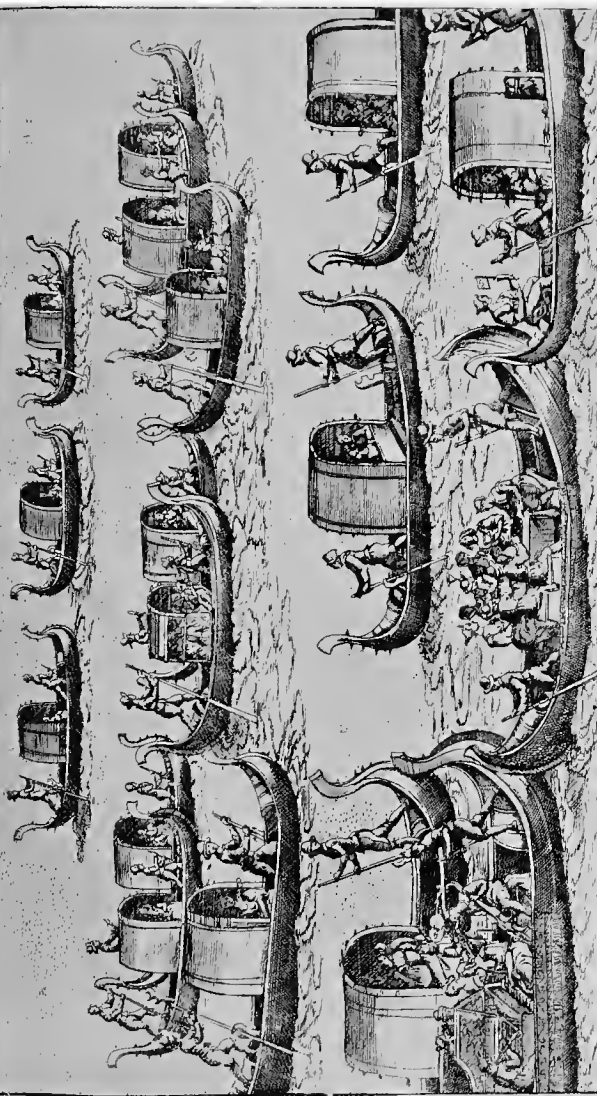
It must be confessed, that Petrarch's opinions on the merits of the different Italian cities are not rigidly consistent, and that his judgment was apt to be biassed in favour of any city whose hospitality he was enjoying. When he was living in the court of the Visconti, and Genoa voluntarily submitted her independence to that family, Petrarch writes as a strong partisan of Genoa against Venice. He lived always a wandering life. Vaucluse was his most usual home in his early days, but he was frequently away from it at Rome, at Naples, at Parma (where he bought a house<sup>4</sup> but did not stay permanently), at Modena, Bologna, Verona, Ferrara, then at Padua, where, and at Milan and Pavia, he spent a good deal of his time, the Visconti and Carrara families taking a pride in

<sup>1</sup> *Lettere Senili*, ii. 3 (vol. i. pp. 109 *sqq.*, ed. Fracassetti).

<sup>2</sup> Petrarch rises to enthusiasm when speaking of the civilising effects of sea-commerce: "La nautica, alla quale, *dopo la giustizia*, va debitrice della mirabile sua prosperità questa città famosa" (*u.s.*). His appreciation of the justice of Venice should be noted.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, iii. 1 (vol. i. p. 156, Fracassetti).

<sup>4</sup> He was made Archdeacon of Parma in 1350.



In questa maniera la Stato ne Gran Caldi si va ai feste per li canali della Città la sera fino a meza notte con musico di noc.  
 e diversi strumenti con grandissimo diletto, con le fignose cortegiane e sfofo amo si Crux in barca con mirabil piacere  
 sono ferma con privilegio

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entertaining the greatest poet and scholar of that day. Though in 1362 he brought his books to Venice and was granted a house there, he did not make this his permanent home, but early in 1368 left, at the invitation of Galeazzo Visconti, for Pavia. In 1369 he went for his *villeggiatura* to Arquà, which, and Vacluse, are the two places best known as his homes ; and Arquà he made his abode during the last few years of his life, dying there on the 20th July 1374, in the little house most of us have seen on a slope of the Euganean Hills, looking over the lagoons and the Adriatic. He was not there on Venetian territory. Arquà belonged to Francesco Carrara, the Lord of Padua, and Petrarch's feelings towards Venice were probably not then so favourable, as when he was looking out from his window on the Riva degli Schiavoni over the broad lagoon, or sitting by the side of the doge on the gallery of the Horses of St. Mark.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE CARRARAS AT PADUA

I RESUME my narrative from the death of the Doge Marco Cornaro in January 1368. The thirteen years since the treason and the execution of Faliero had been, on the whole, years of prosperity for Venice. In the first year of the thirteen, 1355, the Doge Giovanni Gradenigo had made peace with Genoa, and this had not been seriously disturbed since, though it would be too much to suppose that the feelings of the two Republics had been friendly, or that no isolated acts of hostility between Venetian and Genoese ships in the Black Sea or in Greek waters had occurred. Venice had suppressed with greater ease than could have been expected the very formidable revolt of Candia. Her relations with the heroic King of Cyprus and the Duke of Austria had been not only friendly, but had enabled the city to show to the world the splendour and wealth and beauty of the home she had created for herself on the lagoons. In 1367 she had sent five galleys to join with others sent by Genoa and Pisa and Queen Joanna of Naples in escorting Pope Urban V. from Marseilles to Genoa, when he endeavoured to end the Babylonish captivity and return to Rome. Her prosperity must have been greatly increased by the consent at length wrested from the Pope to her trade with the Soldan of Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Commens.*, vii. 587. A *bullata piccola* of Urban V. on 3rd September 1370 removes the suspension of the concession for this trade (*ib.*, 510). The suspension was in July 1369, and was based on the offensive alliance against the Soldan concluded between Venice and Genoa in that



In two quarters only had she lost ground in these years : the King of Hungary had taken from her the Dalmatian coast with its large and flourishing ports, and made it more difficult for Venice to maintain her claim to the Adriatic as a *mare clausum* ; and her wars with Francesco Carrara had not been terminated by an honourable peace, but were still going on with increasing exasperation on both sides.

The doge elected to succeed Cornaro was Andrea Contarini, a man already advanced in life. We have met with him before as one of the five Proveditori sent out to Candia on the first news of its revolt reaching Venice, whose attempt to conciliate the rebels by kindness did not succeed. He had at this time retired from Venice, to live, like another Cincinnatus, on his estate in the territory of Padua and devote himself to country pursuits, and refused to leave his retirement and come back to the labour and strife of public life, when twelve of the leading gentlemen of the city came to summon him to accept the office of doge. He was so obstinate in his refusal that it was only by threatening him with banishment and confiscation of his property that the electors prevailed upon him to accept the high position. He must many times have regretted his retired agricultural life during the fourteen anxious and melancholy years of his government.

The first trouble that befell the new doge was the rebellion of Trieste. That city, which, from its commanding situation at the head of the Adriatic, was the natural rival of Venice, had submitted to the Doge Enrico Dandolo in the year 1202, when, at the head of the great armament that took Constantinople, he reduced Zara to submission. The treaty signed by a number of the citizens, not by any prince or potentate claiming sovereignty over them, promised

month. The suspension was removed for two years, which were extended to five years by Pope Gregory XI. in May 1371, and again without limitation of time, but a limitation of the number of ships for Beirut and Alexandria, in July 1372.

loyal allegiance to the doge and his successors;<sup>1</sup> but the Triestines had never altogether fulfilled that promise. They were rivals of Venice in trade, and they were near neighbours of the Kings of Hungary on the East and the Dukes of Austria and Patriarchs of Aquileia on the West, who were constantly on unfriendly terms with Venice. In 1368 a Triestine merchantman caught smuggling on the coast of Istria was taken by a Venetian galley, and its captain killed with some of his crew. The Triestines at first were inclined to apologise and submit, promising to fulfil all the promises they had made to Enrico Dandolo; but when Venice required them to receive a banner of St. Mark to hoist on their Palazzo Publico on great festivals, the people refused to comply, and the Government preferred the alternative of war. Venice at once sent a fleet and hired land troops, and all the winter of 1368-69 the city was closely besieged. The citizens sent an envoy to Leopold, Duke of Austria, promising to be his subjects if he would send them help. Austrian troops advanced to Pontebba to stir up the Patriarch of Aquileia, and Venice had to send other troops to defend the frontiers of Treviso and Ceneda. The troops originally sent to besiege Trieste laid all the country round the city waste, and reinforcements under Taddeo Giustinian, that had been sent out when the Austrians reached the neighbourhood of Trieste, were landed, and completely defeated the duke's troops, driving them back to their own country. This was probably at the end of the summer of 1369, and on the 28th of November of that year the garrison of Trieste was forced by hunger to surrender; the city had to submit to the full control of Venice, was placed under the government of the Governor-General of Istria, with a Venetian governor (Domenico Michiel, the conqueror of Candia) in the city. Venice took in hand the building of the castle of San Giusto, that still stands by the cathedral in the centre of the city. The Republic, in negotiation

<sup>1</sup> The document is printed in Romanin, ii. pp. 423 *sqq.*

with the Dukes of Austria, bought all rights claimed by them in Trieste for a sum of 75,000 ducats.

Troubles arose next with Carrara as to the low-lying lands near the Brenta between Padua and the lagoon, where he had fortified Castelcaro and Oriago, and opened a free market, *i.e.* one at which no dues were paid, at Oriago, with the object of drawing traders away from Venetian markets. He had also made canals and embankments in connexion with the Brenta, and was suspected of intending to establish salt-works—a matter as to which Venetians were always sensitive. In reply to the Venetian demands for an explanation Carrara replied that the land near the Brenta was his, and that he could make what canals he pleased on it; that those he had made were made in self-defence, to prevent some other canals made by the Venetians from flooding the lands of Oriago. He at the same time applied to King Louis of Hungary for help; but Louis, with the Papal legate in Bologna and other neighbouring dignitaries, ecclesiastical and secular, offered their mediation, and got five representatives of each side to meet and discuss terms of accommodation. But after two months spent in fruitless negotiations<sup>1</sup> war was declared.

The Venetians engaged, as was now their usual practice, a leading condottiere, Renier dei Guaschi, who came from the Maremma of Siena to command their land forces, sending to meet him at Mestre Andrea Zeno and Taddeo Giustinian as *Proveditori*, with Venetian levies. These troops, I presume, cut off the communications of Padua with the sea, for we hear that, before the troops advanced to the walls, the town was suffering from famine. It was believed in Venice, and proceedings were taken before the Council of Ten in consequence, that by means of one Friar Benedetto

<sup>1</sup> These negotiations are told in a very confused manner in Cittadella's *Dominazione de' Carraresi in Padova*, i. 304 *sqq.* The differences of opinion between the representatives in conference were so obstinate that on one occasion swords were drawn.

of the Eremitani, Carrara had entered into correspondence with two traitors among the Venetian senators, Leonardo Morosini and Luigi Molin, with the object of compassing the death of the principal enemies of Carrara, and had sent assassins under the guidance of two men of Mestre. Two *meretrici* were, as usual in such cases, taken into the confidence of the conspirators and betrayed it.<sup>1</sup> The assassins were torn in pieces by the mob; the two senators were condemned to a long imprisonment; one of the guides from Mestre, who turned informer, was pardoned.

When the plot was discovered, panic reigned in Venice, as we have seen it did after the conspiracies of Tiepolo and Marin Faliero. It was rumoured that Carrara had poisoned the wells and sent incendiaries to set fire to the arsenal. The Council of Ten obtained power for the Collegio to put suspected and accused persons to the torture, to have the streets and canals patrolled, and all strangers entering Venice searched. The feeling against Carrara became very bitter.

When the war began, the Venetian arms were at first everywhere successful; the fortifications Carrara had built in the low country near the lagoons were destroyed, and far away to the north-east, in the Bassano country at the foot of the mountains—the Piè di Monte<sup>2</sup> that we hear so much of in the history of Ecelino da Romano—a Venetian army encamped and burned and wasted the country. But dissensions between Reniero de' Guaschi and the Venetian Proveditori enabled Carrara's commander, Simone Lovo, to burn the Venetian tents and plunder up to the walls of Treviso. This brought the King of Hungary into the field, who, crossing the Livenza, joined Carrara, and with him inflicted a defeat on the Venetians at Narvesa sul Piave,

<sup>1</sup> See Roman., iii. 242 and the notes 1, 2, 3. Cittadella (i. 310, 311) does not deny the plot.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, quoting from the Paduan Cittadella, says, "Posto campo appiè di Monte nel Bassanese" (iii. p. 243).

in which Taddeo Giustinian, one of their Proveditori, who had now taken the chief command from De' Guaschi, was taken prisoner, and their banners also fell into the hands of the enemy, and were sent to Padua, and hung up in the great church of St. Anthony there. Duke Albert of Austria, when asked by the Venetians to stop Hungarian troops from passing through his land, refused, preferring to ally himself with Carrara, who offered to cede to him, with other lands and castles, Feltre and Belluno,<sup>1</sup> as a consideration for his services in lending 1000 lancers during the war, stopping Venetian trade with his country, and allowing the Hungarian and other allies of Padua to pass freely through it. Venice, though anxious to make peace, was determined not to make it on terms that would leave Carrara still powerful; she fortified places in the Trevigiano and Istria, and engaged two more companies of condottieri in March 1373. Though she suffered another defeat in the summer at Fossa Nuova, Pietro della Fontana, the Governatore dell' Esercito, was able at the end of June to advance against the Hungarians commanded by the Voivode of Transylvania, the King's nephew, who were attacking a Venetian fort. On the day of St. Martialis, the 30th of June, he won a great victory, and took the Voivode and other leaders of the army prisoners, with the banners of the King of Hungary and Carrara. The Voivode was detained in the doge's palace, the other chiefs in the monastery of San Biagio. In honour of this great victory St. Martialis' Day, which had been distinguished by Venetian triumphs on former occasions, was made a public holiday and day of thanksgiving.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These cities formed part of the county of Tirol, which the Duke of Austria, as we have seen, had lately inherited. Carrara seems to have been in possession of them by some right of conquest, and his cession of them to the duke was a restoration of them to their rightful owner (Cittadella, *u.s.*, i. pp. 322, 323).

<sup>2</sup> I have followed Romanin as to the details of this war. The account of it in Cittadella, from the Paduan point of view, and based on documents in the archives of Padua, differs very considerably.

It was another sign of the exasperation against Carrara, that the Senate entertained proposals for his assassination made by two of his brothers, Marsilio and Nicolò. The plot was discovered, and Nicolò was taken and shut up in the castle of Monselice, but Marsilio escaped to Venice. In the negotiations for peace that shortly followed—in September 1373—it was stipulated that the rents of his lands at Padua should be sent to him in Venice, and the produce of them admitted to Venetian markets. These negotiations for peace were brought about by Pope Gregory, with the concurrence of Louis of Hungary, who was anxious for the release of his nephew, the Voivode. The terms agreed upon required Carrara to pay a large sum (40,000 ducats down and 250,000 in fifteen years) for the expenses of Venice in the war, to come to Venice himself or send his son to pray for pardon, to pull down most of the forts he had built, those in the lowlands towards Venice and Chioggia not to be built again. Some of the forts in the territory of Feltre and Belluno,<sup>1</sup> now in the hands of the Dukes of Austria, Carrara was to hand over to Venice, when they were restored to him.

The stipulation that Carrara or his son should come to Venice to ask for pardon was fulfilled by Francesco il Novello, the eldest son of his father, who, kneeling before the doge, swore to observe the terms and to keep the peace as established. Amongst the gentlemen who came in his suite was Petrarch, who made an eloquent and much-admired oration on the subject of peace.<sup>2</sup> He had many times in his life served the prince under whose rule he lived, on diplomatic missions. This was his last service, for on the 18th of July 1374 he died suddenly at Arquà. The date of his arrival at Venice appears to have been

<sup>1</sup> These are the Chiusa del Quer (Clusum Querri), Casamatta, and the tower of San Boldo. The terms of peace are given by Romanin, iii. 245, 246 (from the Pacta), and in Verzi, tom. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> The speech is not preserved.

near the end of September 1373, ten months before his death.

The advantageous treaty made with Padua was followed by another, by which the district of Ceneda was taken under the protection of Venice. In 1374 embassies were sent to Portugal and to England to negotiate commercial treaties. Treaties with Egypt and Verona were renewed. The Republic asserted her claim to suzerainty over the Adriatic by forcing the Anconitans to restore some ships they had plundered, and by preventing Fermo and Ascoli from keeping ships there. Fermo and Ascoli were in the Pope's dominions, and Pope Gregory XI. protested against his subjects being deprived of the free use of the sea that washed their shores. The Venetian Government replied, as it always did when similar complaints were made, that they claimed the "Gulf" as their own, and held themselves bound to maintain freedom of navigation in it; that this they could only do by putting a stop to piracy, in which they could not succeed, if every maritime city, like Fermo and Ascoli, was allowed to send its ships into the Adriatic to trade on its own account or interfere with the trade of others. They added that, as they had no fields or vineyards, they depended for their existence on the food that came to them over the sea. It was the interest of all parts of Italy which depended on the produce of foreign lands, that the seas washing her shores should be not only free to merchant ships, but should be safe for them, and Venice was the power best able to make them safe.

Although Venice had made peace with the Lord of Padua, she was still at war with the Duke of Austria, who, with 3000 cavalry, invaded the Trevigiano. His road to Treviso led down the valley of the Piave, past Belluno and Feltre, and to the south of the latter town ran through a defile, the Chiusa di Quer or Quero. Marin Soranzo, in command of a Venetian force, with some *bombardelle* or

small cannon, the first seen in Italy,<sup>1</sup> occupied this, and advanced to a position under the walls of Feltre, but when attacked surrendered the pass to the duke, for which he was punished by a fine and made ineligible for any military office for five years. Treviso, a few miles south of the pass, was bravely defended by Pietro Emo, and this gave the Venetian Government time to appeal to Carrara, to the Marquis of Este, to the Della Scalas at Verona, and to Bernabò Visconti for help. Carrara was bound by treaty to aid Venice if attacked by the Austrians, but he showed no zeal to fulfil his obligations, nor were the Lords of Verona and Milan more forward. The Republic took stringent measures in her own defence, laying an embargo on Austrian goods and detaining Austrian subjects as hostages, while the fortifications at Malghera were repaired and the sluices drawn up in the lowlands near the lagoon. An agent was sent to Faenza to endeavour to engage the famous English condottiere, Sir John Hawkwood, who was at this time serving sometimes the Pope, sometimes Bernabò Visconti, to whose illegitimate daughter he was married. The terms asked by Hawkwood were too high for the finances of Venice, and they engaged instead the band of Jacopo de' Cavalli for a payment of seven hundred gold ducats the month. But their efforts in the field were still unsuccessful. Carrara allowed Austrian troops to force their way by the pass of La Scala<sup>2</sup> into Paduan territory. Being blamed for this, and fearing that Venice would attack his territory, he promised in August 1376 to furnish a contingent of horse and foot and to guard this pass, in return for which he was to have the Val Sugana and the castle of Primiero, if taken from the Austrians, and to be admitted to the peace, when made, as an ally of Venice.

<sup>1</sup> Caroldo, *apud* Roman., iii. p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> This was, I presume, by the Val d'Astico, leading into the valley of the Bacchiglione from the mountains about the Sette Comuni. There is a village in this valley, mentioned by Murray and Baedeker, called Pedescala.



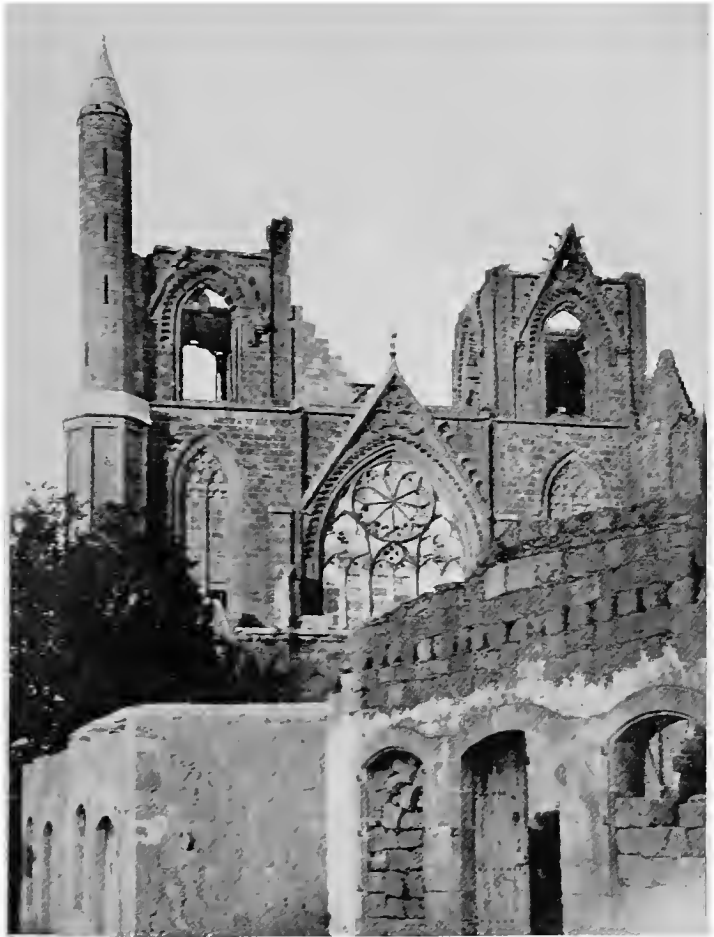
It would appear that Venice, though she had obtained no brilliant victories, left off the war in a prosperous condition. When peace was made, by the mediation of the King of Hungary, in November 1376, the Chiusa di Quer was restored to her.

## CHAPTER XIX

### WAR OF CHIOGGIA

ANOTHER effect of the increased prosperity of Venice was the revival of the long-standing jealousy of Genoa, that had never died out, though there had been no open war since 1355, when, in the gloomy days after the battle of Sapienza and the treason of Marin Faliero, Giovanni Gradenigo had made a treaty that was not altogether inglorious. Both parties had bound themselves to give up for three years trade with Tana, and if from 1358 till 1369 that trade had gone on without leading to a quarrel, this may probably be ascribed to internal dissensions at Genoa, which had occupied men's minds to the exclusion of questions of foreign trade.

The first quarrel between the two Republics broke out at Cyprus. At the coronation of Peter II., which was delayed till he had completed his fifteenth year, in November 1371, a great uproar took place. The young King was entitled to two crowns: that of Cyprus, with which he was crowned at Nicosia on the 12th of January 1372, and that of Jerusalem, which was placed on his head at Famagosta in the following October. On this latter occasion, when the young King left the palace and mounted his horse to ride to the cathedral of St. Nicolas, the Venetians, under their consul, Malipiero, rushed forward to lead the horse by the right rein, leaving the left to the Genoese consul, Paganino Doria. We have conflicting accounts as to precedent in this matter, but the Cyprian chroniclers, who may perhaps be impartial, say that the custom of the place gave the



FAMAGOSTA CATHEDRAL

*From a photo supplied by the Hellenic Society*



Genoese the precedence, and suggest that the fact of a number of Venetian ships being in the harbour led the Venetian consul to assert his claim.<sup>1</sup> There were many Venetians and many Genoese in the crowd that was looking on in the Piazza, and on both sides words were followed by shouts, till the Prince of Antioch, the young King's uncle, who till now had been regent, cleared a space round the King and took himself the right-hand rein, while the Lord of Sur (Arzuf), who had been one of the chief conspirators who murdered the King's father, took the left-hand rein, and so the King was brought back to the palace, where he feasted with all the nobles, Cyprians or foreigners, who were invited, but Venetians and Genoese were placed at separate tables.<sup>2</sup>

But when the banquet was finished, the strong Cyprian wine no doubt lending its aid, the dispute was renewed and swords drawn on both sides, but our accounts seem to show that more of the Genoese had weapons concealed in their dress, so that the Cyprians were more indignant with them than with the Venetians, and killed some and threw others down from the balconies, while a mob rushed to the Genoese loggia and sacked their warehouses. The King sent for the Genoese podestà and reproached him for the outrage committed by his countrymen in going to a solemn royal ceremony with concealed arms, and the podestà

<sup>1</sup> Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 353, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> There is a full and lively account in Florio Bustron's Chronicle of Cyprus in *Collection de Documents Inédits Melanges Historiques*, tom. v. p. 288. The prince carried off the King to the banquet "senza pregiudizio delle raggion dei Baiuli," and so, it appears, secured harmony at the banquet. The same chronicle (pp. 282-87) gives a full account of the ceremonies both of the King's being sworn in and of his coronation, with all the Latin prayers used on the occasion. Amongst other ceremonies the King was clothed in a deacon's vestments, as the Roman Emperor was ordained a subdeacon at his coronation (Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," p. 112, 3rd ed.). The ceremonies at the Emperor's coronation, mentioned by Mr. Bryce in the passage referred to, all had their analogies in the Cyprian ceremonial; the sword, the globe, and the ring were all given in both cases.

complained of the prejudice conceived against them. Some of the Genoese found using their weapons in the disturbance were summarily executed. One story says that there was a general flight of Genoese residents from Cyprus in two ships, in which Cyprian goods worth two million of ducats had been stowed. The King, indignant at the loss of wealthy and prosperous subjects, complained to the Pope, to whom at the same time an appeal was made by Eleanor or Leonora of Aragon, the Queen Mother, to avenge her of the disloyal Cyprian subjects who had murdered her husband. Her father, Peter, King of Aragon, laid letters he had received from her before the Pope, and begged him to allow the Genoese, who were already indignant at their own treatment, to send an armada to the Levant to punish the Cyprians. The Pope agreed to this, and ordered the Grand Master of Rhodes to aid in the enterprise.<sup>1</sup>

Two Genoese expeditions, in fact, were sent to Cyprus. One of seven ships commanded by Damiano Cataneo, a juriconsult, which landed parties in several places, took possession of the suburbs of Nicosia and Baffo (Paphos), and carried off much plunder and many women and children as hostages. A much larger fleet of thirty-six fighting ships, with others laden with horses and engines of war, followed, but was a long time reaching its destination, for though its commander hoisted the standard of St. George at Genoa on the 5th of June, it did not sail till the middle of July nor reach Cyprus till the 3rd of October. But when it arrived off Famagosta its commander, Pietro di Campo Fregoso, the doge's brother, acted with vigour and promptitude, for on the seventh day after his arrival, which happened to be the first anniversary of the disturbance at the coronation, the Queen Mother, who was in the town, surrendered it, and soon after the whole of the island submitted to the Genoese admiral; the King, Peter II., with his uncle Jacopo, known as the

<sup>1</sup> Florio Bustron, *u.s.*, pp. 291, 292.

Constable, was taken off to Genoa. The uncle who had been regent, the Prince of Antioch, for a time escaped from Famagosta, but his two sons were sent to a Genoese prison.<sup>1</sup> For two years the Genoese governor was left in charge of Famagosta, but in October 1374 the government was restored to King Peter II. on condition of the payment of a yearly tribute of 40,000 gold florins to Genoa and a very large sum in twelve years to the Maona or Bank of Genoa.<sup>2</sup> The Genoese were to continue to enjoy all the privileges granted them by former kings, and as a security their officers were to hold for twelve years the city and harbour of Famagosta, which was to revert to them in full possession in case of any contravention of these terms. Prince Jacopo and his wife and the sons of the Prince of Antioch were to be kept in the tower of Genoa as hostages.<sup>3</sup> Giorgio Stella, the Genoese chronicler, is eloquent as to the mercy shown by his fellow-citizens to the city that

<sup>1</sup> Uberti Folietæ, lib. viii. col. 460-62 of Grævius, *Ant. Ital.*, i. 1. It appears from Cyprian chroniclers quoted in Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 365, n. 3, that the Prince of Antioch escaped from prison at Famagosta towards the end of 1373, by the aid (as the Genoese supposed) of the Venetian bailo. In 1375 he was poniarded by the order of the Queen Mother, Eleonora, in the presence of his nephew, King Peter II.

<sup>2</sup> It is anticipating future events to speak of a Bank of Genoa. *Maona* or *Mahone* had been, ever since the days of the First Crusade, a familiar institution to the Genoese. It was a primitive method of providing for the expense of a war, borrowed apparently from the practice of corsairs or privateers. When Genoa decided to send out a naval expedition, she appealed to the patriotism of her sailors for personal service on her fleets, and to that of her capitalists of all kinds, primarily ship-builders or provision merchants, but also to any owners of spare capital, trustees, monasteries, incumbents of benefices, &c., to advance sums of money, which were inscribed in a register. The inscriptions, carrying with them the right to a proportional share of the booty or lands won in the war, were bought and sold like shares in a joint-stock company. The bank or office of St. George, established in 1407 to farm the taxes of the Republic, took over the obligation to the Mahones. See Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. p. 366 *sqq.*; Heyd, i. 493 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Serra, ii. 403, 404. The princess, Jacopo's wife, bore him a son in their prison, who was named Giano from his birthplace ("Janua"), (*ib.*, ii. p. 405). He afterwards became King of Cyprus 1398-1432.

had fallen into their hands. Some of the chief people, as we have seen, were sent to Genoa as hostages to be kept there; but only a few of the nobles, who were clearly proved to have shed Genoese blood at the time of the coronation riot, and some of the assassins of Peter I., were executed.<sup>1</sup>

The conquest of so rich and powerful a city as Famagosta by the Republic that was already firmly established in Galata at the doors of the capital of the Eastern Empire and in Caffa, from which it aspired to control the northern trade routes to India and China, must have caused anxiety, if not consternation, to all the mercantile cities of the Mediterranean coasts, and most of all to Venice; and to increase the alarm about Famagosta, other Genoese projects soon came to light. The Eastern Empire, ever more and more overrun by the Turks, had besides sunk into a chronic state of civil war. Andronicus II., the son and successor of Michael Paleologus, who overthrew the Latin dynasty, had towards the end of his long reign to fight against his grandson and successor, Andronicus III. Three civil wars ended in 1328 with the abdication of the elder Emperor. The thirteen years (1328-41) of the younger Andronicus' reign were free from civil war, though not at all from Turkish aggression. But when he died, leaving a son and heir nine years old under the guardianship of his mother, Anne of Savoy, the Empire was rent by the ambition of pretenders, lay and clerical, to govern in the name of the

<sup>1</sup> Stella mentions "the Lord of Zuf, Henri de Gibelet, and Jean de Gravilla" amongst those executed. The Lord of Arzuf (who is no doubt the same as Stella's Lord of Zuf) and Henri de Gibelet had been two of the ringleaders in the assassination of King Peter. This agrees with the story of Florio Bustron, that the widow of Peter was instrumental in bringing the Genoese on her disloyal subjects (see Stella, *u.s.*, col. 1105, and *ante*, p. 505). The Genoese were disposed to be conciliatory also towards the Venetians, who complained of injuries suffered by their bailo and other Venetian subjects (about whose nationality, however, there was some doubt) in the riots. The Doge of Genoa's reply is abstracted in *Comm.*, viii. 22.



boy or his mother. The strife that arose ended in the elevation of the Prime Minister, the grand domestic John Cantacuzene, who had been the confidential friend and servant of the boy's father, to share the imperial throne. John Cantacuzene was a member of one of the greatest Byzantine families, a brave soldier, a capable administrator, and an excellent historian. But when he was placed by the side of John Paleologus, who became his son-in-law, on the imperial throne, and it was settled that he should vacate it in ten years, his ambition was excited and grew during his years of power, and he shrank from a voluntary abdication and retirement to the repose of a cloister when his term was up. Another civil war between Cantacuzene and his son-in-law, Paleologus, ensued. The former was victorious, and nearly succeeded in placing his son by his side on the throne, and thus inaugurating a new dynasty of Cantacuzenes. But the capital and the Genoese declared for Paleologus, and the old dynasty was restored. This was in 1355, when Cantacuzene retired to a cell on Mount Athos;<sup>1</sup> but civil discord soon sprang up among the Paleologi. In the year 1369, shortly after the murder of King Peter of Cyprus, the restored Emperor John, in order to obtain aid from the Western powers against the Ottoman Sultan Murad, travelled to Rome, and there left with Pope Urban V. a confession of faith agreeing with Roman doctrine in the points in which Rome differed from the Eastern Church. This journey not only ended calamitously in his arrest at Venice for debt, but made him suspected and hated by his fanatical subjects at Constantinople; and his eldest son, Andronicus, who had been left at home as regent when John went westward, was encouraged to retain his power and oust his father. The

<sup>1</sup> See Matteo Villani, iv. c. 46 (Murat., *R. I. S.*, xiv. col. 268), "per paura si rendè Calogo, cioè Eremita." Calogo is Villani's equivalent for Calogero (καλὸς γέρων, "pretty old man"), the common name for a Greek monk.

Emperor was imprisoned by his rebellious son in the tower of Anema that stood on the bank of the Golden Horn, near the palace of Blachernæ, and to his imprisonment there is attached one of the most famous incidents of Venetian history or legend.<sup>1</sup>

Carlo Zeno or Zen was of a noble Venetian family that had in 1253 given a doge to the State in the person of Renier Zen, a distinguished naval officer. The father of Carlo was Pietro Zeno, who, after being Podestà of Padua, went on the expedition against Smyrna in 1343, and was one of those who would not leave the church outside the walls before the end of the mass, and in consequence was killed by the Turks, but obtained the glory of a martyr's crown.<sup>2</sup> His son, named Carlo after his godfather, the

<sup>1</sup> The account, "Vita Karoli Zeni," is printed in Latin in Muratori, *R. I. S.*, tom. 19. It had been published in 1544 and again in 1605 in an Italian translation, but Muratori in 1741 was the first to print the Latin original from a transcript made for him by Cardinal Barbado. Its author, Jacopo Zeno, Bishop of Feltre and Belluno (1447) and afterwards of Padua (1459-60) was a grandson of Carlo. He was a man of letters who lived a life devoted to study, first at Padua and afterwards at Florence. He writes in good classical Latin, which is in some respects a drawback from the historical value of his work, as e.g. when he calls Carlo "prætor" of Chalcis in Eubœa instead of "Bajulus" or "Potestas" of Negropont. Heyd, i. 518, n. 4 (Fr. trans.), following Romanin, iii. 258-61, qualifies the Life as "un tissu peu véridique d'histoires romanesques," and could find no authority for the incident of the tower of Anema in contemporary Venetian chronicles or in the Byzantine historians: and it is not mentioned in Leonardo Giustiniani's Funeral Oration on Carlo. I should be inclined to argue that a grandson writing only sixty or seventy years after the event may have had family documents of authenticity that were not accessible to historians. But one must bear in mind that Niebuhr considered such family memoirs to have been a chief source of the fables of early Roman history. Romanin quotes from Serra (*St. della Liguria, &c.*, ii. pp. 424, 425) a strange story of a "ciurmadore" ("snake-charmer" or "mountebank") in Constantinople surnamed "*il Diavolangelo*" on account of his strange inventions, who delivered the Emperor John and his son Manuel from the prison of Anema. Carlo Zeno and his exploit at the tower has been made the subject of a romantic story, "Arethusa," by the late F. Marion Crawford, the news of whose lamented death reached me while I was writing this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 379.

Emperor Charles IV., one of a family of ten children left poorly off, was sent to Avignon to Pope Clement V., put on the clerical garb, and was given a canonry in the cathedral of Patras, which, though in a Greek land, and soon to become *in partibus infidelium*, still retained a Latin archbishop and chapter. He did not yet go to his canonical prebend; but after staying sixteen months at the Papal court, returned to Venice, and for three years studied civil law at Padua. He did not prosper there, for he was first nearly murdered on a journey from Padua to Venice, and then fell into gambling and evil ways, lost his money, and sold his books, till he was constrained to take service as a condottiere. This proved to be his true calling; for five years he served in many parts of Italy, and at the end of them went out to his prebend at Patras, which was a very fit place for a soldier, as there was much war with Turks in the neighbourhood, and the sentiments of his age, in the country of the Knights of Rhodes, saw in his clerical character no obstacle to his taking part in it. Here, like his father, he narrowly escaped martyrdom, being all but mortally wounded by Turks, and afterwards nearly buried alive. Having escaped to Venice, he there fell in with King Peter of Cyprus, was taken into his service, and passed into that of his godfather, the Emperor Charles, with whom he travelled over France, Germany, and England. When he returned to Patras he was still only twenty-two years old. His clerical profession sat so lightly upon him that he took the command of a troop of cavalry raised by the archbishop, and while serving with this at Clarentza, in Achaia, challenged to a duel an officer with whom he had a quarrel. For this he was deprived of his prebend, and held himself thereby so far released from his vows as to marry a Greek lady, and on her death a Venetian lady of the Giustiniani family. For seven years after this he was engaged in commerce at Constantinople or the Sea of Azov. He was at Constantinople in 1376, when the

Emperor John was imprisoned in the tower of Anema. While he was there a letter was brought to him by the wife of the gaoler of the tower, who had, it is said, been formerly a mistress of the Emperor, begging him to undertake the enterprize of freeing the Emperor and restoring him to the throne. Zeno was ready for any hazardous enterprize, and on a dark and stormy night rowed in a light boat (*palischermo*) up the Golden Horn to a landing-place under the window of the room in which John was confined. The Emperor let down a ladder of ropes, by which Zeno climbed up into the room; but as there was no means of releasing three persons—the Emperor and two of his sons, who were imprisoned with him—the Emperor refused to escape without them, and Zeno had to get away as he best could, without setting in motion the means he had provided for a rising in the city. As he was escaping over the Sea of Marmora, he fell in with a Venetian fleet that was cruising there under his father-in-law, Marco Giustinian. Zeno had carried off from the Emperor John a signed deed, granting the island of Tenedos to the Venetian Republic, and this Giustinian at once presented to the Greek commander of the castle there, and received from him the government. He was only just in time: for the rival Emperor, Andronicus, had promised the island to the Genoese, to whom it would have already been given up, but for the opposition of the governor.<sup>1</sup>

The island of Tenedos, famous in ancient legend as an outpost for observing Troy,<sup>2</sup> was almost equally suited for watching over the Hellespont. With Tenedos guarding the southern straits and Galata guarding the northern, the Genoese would have had the control of Constantinople,

<sup>1</sup> The charter of Andronicus (dated 25th August 1376), confirming a previous grant of the island to "the commune of Genoa and Peyra," is printed in *Liber Jurium* (Pertz, *Hist. Pat. Monuma.*), vol. ii. pp. 819-21. The grantees are called "agiriotti," a word not to be found in Ducange.

<sup>2</sup> Virg., *Æn.*, ii. 21 sqq. See Heyd, i. p. 517 (French trans.).

the Sea of Marmora would have been a Genoese lake, and the Black Sea would have been almost as much so, as soon as the Venetians, shut off from the Mediterranean, were left to maintain themselves as well as they could at Azov or in the Crimea against the Genoese stronghold at Caffa. We can realise how important was the service that the good fortune of Zeno was able to render to his country. Venice had long coveted the island, and in 1352 had received it in pledge for a loan of 20,000 ducats she had advanced to the same Emperor John,<sup>1</sup> but had given it back on repayment of the debt. The fleet that Marco Giustinian took to the East in 1375 had instructions to get Tenedos from whichever of the Greek Emperors seemed most amenable to pressure : its commander was authorised to promise that the Greek flag should continue to fly on the castle, and the Greek bishop and clergy be left in possession of their places and dignities.

Andronicus, having committed himself to the Genoese side, and being in authority at the capital, while apparently his father was still detained at Venice by his creditors, had the Venetian bailo at Constantinople, and other Venetian merchants, arrested. On this it was decided at Venice that war with Genoa was inevitable, and a fleet was sent to the westward, and another under the Captain-General, Pietro Mocenigo, to Constantinople, with instructions, if the bailo was not released, to effect Andronicus' dethronement, and the substitution for him of either his father or Matthew Cantacuzene, the son of the deposed Emperor. For these purposes he was empowered, if necessary, to concert measures with the Ottoman Sultan, Amurath or Murad, who from his Asiatic seat of government at Brusa, or his European seat of government at Adrianople, watched

<sup>1</sup> Roman., iii. 255, n. 2, and Heyd, i. 517, n. 4, where Romanin's date is corrected. The original authority is to be found in *Commem.*, v. 5 (Oct. 10, 1352) and in Thomas, *Diplom. Veneto-Levanticum*, ii. p. 17.

the feeble struggles of the successors of Constantine and Justinian. John Paleologus and his son Andronicus both served as vassals in the armies of the Turkish Sultan.<sup>1</sup>

It is not easy to disentangle the confused narrative of these last years of Byzantine history. John Paleologus and his son Andronicus and his grandson John, all in turns, were in the palace of Blachernæ or prisoners in the adjoining tower of Anema. When Tenedos was handed over to the Venetian commander Giustinian, John was in the tower and Andronicus in the palace, and when in 1377 a Genoese ambassador appeared at Venice and demanded the surrender of Tenedos to Andronicus, he received the answer that the question could not be discussed till the rightful Emperor, John, was restored to his throne. In November of the same year the Genoese attacked the island in force, but were repulsed by Antonio Venier, the Venetian bailo. The war which had originated with the disputes about Cyprus and Tenedos was not at first fought in the Levant, and is known to history, not as the war of Tenedos, though the possession of that island was the most important object at stake, but as the war of Chioggia.

The Genoese, who foresaw the war as clearly as the Venetians, could rely on the bitter enemy of Venice, Francesco da Carrara, and his former ally, the King of France. Venice had the King of Cyprus on her side, but the young Peter II. was not an ally of so much consequence as his father had been, and Peter IV. of Aragon, whom they sounded in 1377, was not willing to help. Bernabò Visconti, however, the Lord of Milan, was persuaded by Pietro Cornaro to make an offensive and defensive alliance for four years, on condition that he should provide 400 lances, *i.e.* 1200 men-at-arms, and 2000 foot soldiers and cross-bowmen, and the Venetians twenty galleys; that each party should have as its share of the profits of the

<sup>1</sup> Finlay's "Byzantine and Greek Empire," ii. pp. 580-83.

alliance, the conquests it made; but that Genoa itself, and any place formerly subject to the Visconti, if now conquered by the Venetians, should be given up to Bernabò.<sup>1</sup> As usual, a committee of five *savi* was elected to deal with the affairs of Romania, Genoa, Istria, Padua, and Treviso, and another of five to provide for the expenses of the war. By the advice of these committees orders were given to hire condottieri in the Terra Ferma, to fortify the strongholds in the Trevigiano, and to levy a force from the citizens capable of service, *i.e.* from sixteen years old till seventy,<sup>2</sup> who were arranged in groups of twelve, from each of which three were to be chosen by lot to serve in the first, second, and third divisions to be sent to sea. Those chosen were registered at the *Camera dell' Armamento*, where they could write down the name of the galley on which they wished, if possible, to serve. A loan and increased duties on meat and wine were at the same time decreed.

Carlo Zeno was sent as bailo and capitano to Negropont to look after the strongholds in the Levant, and Vettor (or Victor) Pisani, who had served under his uncle Nicolò at the disastrous battle of Sapienza (or Porto Lungo) in 1355, was appointed to the chief command, and on April 22, 1378,

<sup>1</sup> An abstract of the terms is given in Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. pp. 370, 371. The treaty was signed at Venice on 14th November 1377. The parts relating to Cyprus are printed in full by Mas Latrie; these include a provision that Venetian galleys should take Bernabò's daughter and her whole suite to Cyprus "*secure et sine aliquo nabulo.*" The Cyprian marriage (another of a sister of King Peter II. with a son of Bernabò was contemplated, but did not come off), and the hostility between Cyprus and Genoa, explains why the Visconti family, which had formerly been on Genoa's side, was now an ally of Venice. The terms are more fully set forth in *Commém.*, viii. 42. Bernabò hoped to conquer the lordship of Verona, which his wife, Regina della Scala, claimed on the plea that her brothers, who were in possession, were illegitimate (*Rom.*, iii. p. 266).

<sup>2</sup> See the document quoted in Romanin, ii. 393, n. 4, from a MS. relating to the years 1363-66. The text of this passage, a *locus classicus* as to Venetian military and naval service, gives twenty and sixty as the usual limits of age.

received in San Marco the banner of the Republic from the hands of the doge. He sailed, with only an advanced guard of fourteen galleys, some time in May, intending to intercept the Genoese commander, Luigi de' Fieschi, who was sailing along the coast to the eastward.<sup>1</sup> Near Porto Pisano he sighted Fieschi's ships, and gave them chase as far as the Cape of Anzio<sup>2</sup> to the south-east of the mouths of the Tiber. There he overtook them on the 30th of May, a dark and stormy day, and engaged them. The violence of the storm made it difficult to grapple the enemy's galleys, and four of those of the Venetians could not take part in the battle. But with their remaining ten they took five of the enemy's galleys, one of them with Fieschi himself on board, and drove another on the rocks. The remaining four—there had been ten in all—made their way to Famagosta, their original destination. Fieschi and others of noble rank among the prisoners were brought to Venice and confined, some in the warehouses of Terra Nuova (where the gardens of the royal palace now are), others in those of San Biagio; they were treated with humanity, Venetian ladies of rank being zealous in their care of them. Many, no doubt, were wounded.

At Genoa itself there had been great alarm. The Marquis dal Carretto, Lord of Finale, on the Riviera di Ponente, a bad neighbour of the Genoese, and as such ready to be an ally of Venice, invaded the Genoese territory and laid it waste, causing so much distress and alarm in the city that the populace, rushing to the palace of the Doge Domenico da Campofregoso, deposed him, and placed one Nicolò di Guarco in his place.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He was carrying stores and reinforcements for the Genoese ships at Constantinople (Dan. di Chinazzo in Mur., *R. I. S.*, xv. c. 714).

<sup>2</sup> "Ad locum qui caput Anzæ dicitur." "Ad Romana littora" are the expressions of Stella (Murat., *R. I. S.*, xvii. c. 1108).

<sup>3</sup> Stella, who speaks highly of Domenico, says that Nicolò di Guarco was elected by ten citizens duly appointed as electors. He dates the revolution as on the 16th of June 1378 (Stella, *u.s.*, c. 1109). The report spread among the insurgents was that Bernabò Visconti was



Pisani was not strong enough to attempt an attack on Genoa, but sailed to the eastward, where he was joined at Modone by six galleys from Candia, and with them made his way to Constantinople, where he hoped to fall in with ten Genoese ships; but finding that these had retired, he employed his squadron in escorting to Cyprus Valentina, the daughter whom Bernabò Visconti had given in marriage to Peter II. of Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> That King wished him to drive the Genoese out of Famagosta, but failing in this, he swept across the Greek waters to the Adriatic.

Carlo Zeno, after taking Tenedos, had, when war seemed imminent, been made governor<sup>2</sup> (? bailo) of Negropont. But, when war actually broke out, and a land commander was wanted to oppose the Hungarians, he was sent into the Trevigiano, which the Hungarian troops, under the Voivode of Transylvania, whom his biographer qualifies as barbarians, were overrunning and wasting. He found it an easy task to drive them out of Venetian territory in about three weeks,<sup>3</sup> and was then available to be sent as one of two *Proveditori* to advise Pisani in his command of the fleet. Zeno's contribution to the war was apparently confined to privateering off the coast of Dalmatia and Sicily, and he was not present at the great disaster that befell Pisani's fleet in the harbour of Pola.

levying men-at-arms "in Terris Januæ ultra jugum," and that a number of Venetian galleys were assembled in the bay of Spezia ("circa portum Veneris").

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 515, n. 1. The queen was to be taken in "una cocha de stima botarum Ve," a vessel of 500 tons, I presume. After landing the lady and her belongings at Cerines, the *cocha* was to take no other cargo on board, but sail to Liça (Latakia) direct, and there take on board cotton (*gotones*) enough for its whole stowage ("ad totam stivam"), freight not to exceed 15,000 ducats, and return "ad mudas solitas," *i.e.* (as I believe) at the time of the ordinary spring or autumn *carovane* (Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, ii. 373).

<sup>2</sup> "Prætor est designatus" (*Vita C. Z.*, ap. Mur. *R. I. S.*, xix. col. 218).

<sup>3</sup> They were discouraged by the stubborn resistance of Mestre under its commander, Francesco Dolfin, which obliged the Voivode to raise the siege (Rom. iii. 265, 266). This was in June or July 1378.

This disaster came as a sequel to a series of successful operations in the Adriatic, where Pisani had put a stop to the ravages of Genoese corsairs, and taken Cattaro, Sebenico, Arbe, Traù, and Zara: towards the middle of the winter he had been recalled to Istria to protect the Gulf, leaving Zeno to continue the pursuit of the Genoese ships. The winter spent by Pisani in the harbour of Pola was trying from bad weather and sickness, and an expedition in February to fetch a convoy of grain-ships from Apulia only succeeded in its object after losing two ships that were driven by weather into Ancona, and there taken by the Genoese. In the spring, on the 7th of May 1379, a large Genoese armada of twenty-three galleys and two galeots, under Luciano Doria, appeared unexpectedly before Pola. Pisani, with his ships unready for fighting, and his crews sickly, was unwilling to risk a battle with an enemy superior in number, and wished to wait in harbour till the ships under Zeno had returned: but he had not the moral courage to resist his own officers, who loudly demanded to be led against the Genoese, and clamoured against the cowardice of skulking in harbour. When the Venetian ships sailed out of harbour, they were at first encouraged by finding the enemy's ships fewer than they had thought, and by the success with which Doria's ship was attacked and himself killed—as some say, by Pisani's own hand. But though the Genoese at first gave way, the Venetian ships soon fell into confusion in the pursuit; some of the captains—probably those whose crews were weakened by sickness—failing to bring their ships into action. The defeat was complete; only six galleys escaped, and were taken by Pisani into Parenzo. With him was Michele Steno, Carlo Zeno's colleague as *Proveditore*—the same who, as a young man, had been so discreditably connected with the destiny of Marin Faliero. He had still an honourable career before him, and was to be doge before his death: but for his share in this disaster

he was punished by a year's forfeiture of all public employment. Pisani was incapacitated for all offices for five years, and in addition had six months' imprisonment.

Pietro Doria, who succeeded Luciano in the command of the Genoese fleet, applied himself first to the reconquest of the places in Istria and Dalmatia lately taken by the Venetians; he then appeared off the Porto<sup>1</sup> of St. Nicolas of the Lido, and there captured a merchantman returning from Syria. Venice had no fleet at home: it was the first time for some centuries that an enemy's ships had been able to enter the lagoons, and it was felt necessary to take immediate steps to meet the crisis. A "General over the Lido," Leonardo Dandolo, was appointed, with two *Proveditori*—Leonardo Mocenigo and Ermolao Venier. Condottieri had already been engaged in Italy and elsewhere. The Company of St. George, commanded by Count Alberico di Barbiano, was hired for 25,000 gold ducats: Embernardo and others of Valenza (*i.e.*, I presume, of Valencia in Spain) let to the Signoria two galleys with thirty cross-bowmen on each for four months, at the rate of 1200 gold ducats per month, the galleys to be employed against the King of Hungary, the Genoese, or any other enemy of Venice, and in any part of the sea between the Straits of Messina and the Riviera of Genoa: the Viscount Rode—also, I think, a Spaniard—let a galley to Venice at the rate of 1200 ducats a month. We read also in the *Commemoriali* of a number of English soldiers serving in the siege of Chioggia who came to blows with Italians on the Lido of Pelestrina, and on the 4th of February 1380 were reconciled with their antagonists on terms set forth in a document executed on the poop of the doge's galley in the port of Chioggia.<sup>2</sup>

The chief command on land was committed to Giacomo

<sup>1</sup> The breaks in the *Lidi* by which the lagoon is entered are called *Porti*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Libri Commemoriali*, u.s., viii. 57, 61, 64, 68.

Cavalli, the condottiere who had been engaged three years before against Carrara, when the Government had failed to secure the services of Sir John Hawkwood.<sup>1</sup> He had under him 4000 men-at-arms, 2000 infantry, and a good number of cross-bowmen. The convent of St. Nicolas on the Lido was fortified, and the Porto was closed by three heavy ships called *cocche*, firmly anchored and chained together: the rows of piles that marked out then, as now, the channel into the lagoon were taken up; troops and artillery were stationed along the banks of the city and the Lido, while a fleet of armed boats cruised constantly in the lagoon to prevent communications between the Genoese at the Porto del Lido and Carrara, who had his posts coming down nearly to the water's edge opposite Venice and Chioggia.

By the side of Cavalli were two Venetian nobles with the usual title of *Proveditori*—one, Ludovico Loredan, to be responsible for the guard of the Piazza; the other, Federico Cornaro, for that of the Rialto: *Proveditori* were also sent to Murano, Torcello, and Mazzorbo. A committee of seven—two of the doge's counsellors, one of the heads of the Quarantia, and four of the Savii—were to sit permanently, day and night, in the doge's palace, being relieved every eight days. The contingent of every *contrada*, or parish, was to be ready to march into the Piazza under arms at the first alarm given by the bell in the tower of St. Nicolas; this was to be taken up by the great bell of St. Mark's, and repeated from all the bell-towers in the city. At the same time, Enrico Dandolo was ordered to sail with all speed to carry to the Rettori of the several ports in the Levant orders to look out for their own safety; he was also to find Carlo Zeno, who was ranging over the whole Mediterranean—from the Riviera of Genoa to Pera—and order him home to protect the city.

The Venetian Government had some hopes of detaching

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 502.

the King of Hungary from the Genoese alliance, and in June 1379 Zaccaria Contarini and Jacopo Priuli appeared at Buda as ambassadors, though the King had not agreed to receive them, and now sent to them a long string of angry complaints of their conduct towards his subjects and towards his ally, the Lord of Padua; of the expense to which he had been put in helping Carrara, because the Venetians had attacked him, instead of applying to the Pope to arbitrate, as provided by treaty. Behind the King were ranged the bitter enemies of the Venetians, the ambassadors from Padua and Genoa, who persuaded him that in a few days Venice would be taken. Their urgency caused the King to refuse to see the Venetian envoys; but his nephew, Charles of Durazzo,<sup>1</sup> to whom he delegated the task of negotiating with them, travelled to Sacile in the Trevigiano, by the orders of the Queen and the council, there to meet the ambassadors lately sent to Buda, and three other noblemen. The envoys from Padua and Genoa were here also at the side of Charles, and the two months' negotiations disclosed no disposition on the part of the King to mitigate any of his demands. He asked for an annual payment of 100,000 ducats; or in lieu of this, free passage of salt by all the rivers flowing into the Adriatic through Venetian territory: he said he would take half a million of florins paid at once in place of the million of ducats claimed as an indemnity, saying in mockery, that if Venice could not find the money, he would take the doge's cap of state and the jewels of the Commune. The King demanded further the absolute cession of Trieste, to be handed over, it was supposed, to Leopold, Duke of Austria; and the surrender, as security till the indemnity was paid, of the towns of Treviso, Conegliano, Castelfranco, Mestre, and Noale. The Venetian ambassadors wrote to their Government that they saw no hope of making

<sup>1</sup> The Hungarian crown was at this time worn by a branch of the Angevin royal family of Naples, as I have explained *ante*, p. 383.

reasonable terms, and advised negotiation with the Genoese and Carrara direct. The Government decided that the negotiations must be broken off, as all the dangers and losses that war could bring were preferable to the terms offered.

Taddeo Giustinian, who was in command of all that was left of the fleet defeated at Pola, sailed with six of his best ships to look out for some Genoese galleys that had appeared off the Lido, but was warned by a man swimming (who proved to be a prisoner taken by the Genoese at Pola, who had escaped by swimming out at the approach of Venetian ships), that the whole Genoese fleet was near at hand to support the few ships in advance. On receiving this news, Giustinian took his six ships back, and on the 6th of August, Pietro Doria with forty-seven Genoese galleys, after a cruise in the Adriatic, in which he had burned Umago, Grado, and Caorle to the north of Venice, and Pelestrina to the south,<sup>1</sup> but failed in an attack on Malamocco, occupied the lesser Chioggia, and sat down before the greater Chioggia, which was held by a garrison of 3000 Venetian foot-soldiers under its podestà, Pietro Emo. Emo's task was not an easy one, for the Paduan and Hungarian armies advanced down the valley of the Brenta from Cittadella and Bassano, threatening the communications of Chioggia with the mainland.

Chioggia stands on a narrow ridge jutting out northwards towards the Adriatic from the marshy grounds about the mouths of the Brenta and Adige. Its Porto between the Lidi of Pelestrina and Brondolo was defended by a strong tower called Lupa. To the south, towards Brondolo, was the island of lesser Chioggia,<sup>2</sup> joined to the larger

<sup>1</sup> Stella, *u.s.*, col. IIII, enumerates the places taken: "Rubino, Boraya, Magro ac Grado, Calvulo quoque, omnibus bonis et puleris hostium locis," where *Magro* probably represents Umago, and *Calvulo* Caorle; *Rubino* is Rovigno.

<sup>2</sup> There is no place now known as Chioggia Piccola. Some authorities think it was the same as Sottomarina, the sandy Lido protecting the ridge, on which Chioggia stands, from the sea, and continuing the long line of Lidi from Pelestrina to Brondolo.



*Photo: Alinari*





by a bridge a quarter of a mile long, and now occupied by the Genoese. The Venetians had built bastions at the bridge-head towards Chioggia and in the centre of the bridge, and had also built fortifications, and stationed a ship full of soldiers and artillery in the navigable channel that ran across the lagoon connecting Venice with Chioggia. These formed advanced posts to the bridge connecting the lesser Chioggia with the greater, which was the key to the Venetian position.

The Genoese held the lesser Chioggia; and Carrara, by laboriously digging channels, building forts, and removing the barriers placed in the lagoon, or the Fiume Vecchio, for the defence of the islands, had succeeded in bringing up troops and supplies to his allies, with whom he was now in touch. They formed together a sufficient force to attack on the 11th of August the bridge-head on the lesser Chioggia. The Venetians, after a brave resistance, were forced to retire, first burning the fort and the ships in the channel; the enemy's pursuit was stopped by a sortie of the garrison, commanded by Pietro Emo the podestà, but he could gain no ground against the besiegers, and was obliged to send to Venice for help. Fifty boats were sent from Venice under Leonardo Dandolo and Domenico Michiel, who did not arrive in time to save the city. For on the 16th of August the Genoese attacked the bridge with a concentrated fire from cannons and mortars (which were used for almost the first time in this war), and probably also from the older fashioned siphons of Greek fire. The bridge and adjoining houses were set on fire.<sup>1</sup> Suffocated by the smoke, the defenders dispersed, except fifty of the bravest, who surrounded Emo, and cut their way through fire into the city. But they could not raise the portcullis, and the Genoese forced their way in with the retreating defenders,<sup>2</sup> pulled down the

<sup>1</sup> Dan. di Chinazzo says: "Un Genovese ardito con una barca carica di frasche, e canne e di pegola e polvere venne sotto esso ponte," &c. (*u.s.*, col. 726).

<sup>2</sup> Dan. di Chinazzo, *apud* Murat., *R. I. S.*, xv. col. 726.

banner of St. Mark, hoisted those of St. George of Genoa, of the King of Hungary, and the Lord of Padua.<sup>1</sup> Emo, shut up in the citadel, had to surrender, and was made a prisoner. Both sides lost many killed and wounded, the Genoese more than the Venetians: but the gain of a fortified city commanding the access over the lagoon to Venice was a very great triumph for the city of St. George.

The loss of Chioggia was felt at Venice as a crushing blow. Chioggia was the nearest and dearest of the places subject to Venice, the first-born daughter of the Republic.<sup>2</sup> The connexion of the two places had lasted ever since the fugitives from Attila, or the Lombards, took refuge in the lagoons; indeed, Chioggia claimed a Roman origin, and derived its name from the Fossa Clodia or Clugiensis, a canal that commemorated by its name the great Claudian family. Citizens of Chioggia had from their birth the right to rank as original citizens of Venice. Its cathedral church, which was held to have been built in the fifth century, was made an episcopal see when Malamocco was destroyed by the sea in the year 1102.<sup>3</sup> Its constitution and government were a curiously exact reproduction of that of Venice. It had a greater and lesser council, a council of Pregadi, a Great Chancellor who was always a Chioggiote, elected in the island,<sup>4</sup> not a Venetian sent from home, as the other Great Chancellors (of Candia and Cyprus) in the Venetian dominions were. There was at Chioggia a *Collegio* of twenty-three, who elected to all important offices;

<sup>1</sup> The Genoese flag was hoisted in the Piazza, Carrara's over the palace, and the Hungarian on another tower.

<sup>2</sup> "Città primogenita della Repubblica" (C. Bullo, "Della cittadinanza di Chioggia," in *Arch. Ven.*, x. p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See my "Early History of Venice," p. 31, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> A document of 1685 speaks of the ancient privilege "che gode la fedelissima nostra Città di Chioggia, di eleggere uno de' suoi cittadini" to the office of chancellor. The chancellor kept the seal of the Comune, and the *Libro d'Oro* or register of sworn citizens (*Nuovo Arch. Ven., Nuova Serie* (1904, viii. pt. i. pp. 7 and 9). The first chancellor we read of was one Marco Buffo, a canon of the cathedral in 1247, but the office was in existence at least fifty years earlier.

*Giudici del Proprio* as at Venice; *Avogadori, Giustizieri, Signori di Notte*, answering to officers of the same name at Venice; while to correspond with the Procurators of St. Mark there were Procurators *della Beata Vergine della Navicella*, whose church, now desecrated, stood on the Lido of Sottomarina,<sup>1</sup> and possessed a gigantic image of the Madonna. Not long after the time we have reached—in 1401—there was a *Serrata del Consiglio* at Chioggia, as there had been in 1299 at Venice, by which the hereditary right to sit in the Great Council was restricted to the families of those at that time members. Others could be admitted, as at Venice, for services to the Republic, but only on proof that the new member, his father and grandfather, had lived in the city for fifty continuous years, and with the consent of five of the six members of the lesser council, two of the three *Giudici del Proprio*, and five-sixths of the greater council.<sup>2</sup>

Carrara came at once to Chioggia from his headquarters at Castelcaro, and Doria handed over the city to him, and the Genoese sailors carried him into the Piazza on their shoulders to shouts of “Carro, Carro, Osanna, and Benedictus qui venit.” In sign of joy at the victory, we are told, he created several knights, and set free all the prisoners who belonged to Chioggia, and had by the conquest become his subjects.

Immediately after the fall of Chioggia, while the tocsin was still pealing from the campanile of St. Mark, and the people flocking to the Piazza and the Rialto, the doge and the Senate prepared to meet the emergency. They wrote to Carrara asking for a safe-conduct for the ambassadors they were sending to discuss terms of peace, but so bitter was the hostility felt at Padua that this was refused,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Venezia e le sue Lagune*, ii. 2, p. 513.

<sup>2</sup> Carlo Bullo in *Arch. Ven.*, x. p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> Romanin, iii. 276, who quotes Cod. clxix. cl. vii. it. “Ambasciatori a Principi.” Dan. di Chinazzo says that Carrara sent a safe

the three ambassadors appointed to go to him had to stay at home. The Genoese, whose fleet under Pietro Doria lay at Malamocco, were as implacable as Carrara; their admiral was the Doria whose "menace" that he would bridle the horses of St. Mark—those horses whose semblance of life had filled Petrarch with enthusiasm<sup>1</sup>—is celebrated in a famous passage of "Childe Harold."<sup>2</sup>

All that the Venetians could do was to keep good guard at the Lido, which on the 24th of August was attacked by a fleet of twenty-two Genoese galleys and forty Paduan *ganzaruoli*. The Genoese and Paduan forces, though not on the best terms, for Doria was not content with his share of the booty, worked steadily during the autumn at the reduction of the forts around Venice, taking Cavarzere on the frontiers of the territories of Padua and Ferrara, of which Carrara well knew the value, and Loredo and Torre delle Bebbe and Montalbano. Malamocco was abandoned, so that Castello delle Saline, near Chioggia,<sup>3</sup> was the only fort that was still in Venetian hands at the end of the war. By the occupation of these the enemy were able to stop all supplies coming to Venice either from Lombardy or from the sea, the road from Trent only remaining open,<sup>4</sup>

conduct and was anxious to make peace, but the Genoese would not consent, though the Venetian ambassadors handed in a blank sheet of paper and offered to agree to any terms that left them their independence (*u.s.*, col. 727). Stella (*u.s.*, col. 1112) says the Venetians buried their treasures and "innuebant Januensibus, quemadmodum subire volebant quæcunque ipsi Januenses mandarent."

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> Canto iv. st. 13. Doria's words were: "Alla fè di Dio, Signori Veneziani, non haverete mai pace dal signore di Padova, nè dal nostro Comune di Genova, si primieramente non mettemo le briglie a quelli vostri cavalli sfrenati, che sono su la Reza del vostro Evangelista San Marco" (Chinazzo, *Mur.*, *R. I. S.*, xv., c. 727, where "Reza" = "Regia").

<sup>3</sup> Chinazzo (*u.s.*, col. 724) speaks of "molti canaletti che erano verso il Castello delle Saline," by which small boats at night ran between Venice and Chioggia, "portando lettere ed avvisi."

<sup>4</sup> Dan. di Chinazzo (*u.s.*, col. 731) says the road from Ferrara was kept open by the scrupulous neutrality of the Marquis of Este, though a kinsman of Carrara.

whence there was great scarcity and famine prices in Venice.

On the 19th of August the authorities in Venice, in compliance with loud popular demands, released from prison Vettore Pisani, who with some of his *sopracomiti* had been arrested on charges of misconduct in the fighting at Pola, and appointed him to a command by the side of Cavalli at San Nicolò di Lido. He had been, as we learn from Daniele di Chinazzo,<sup>1</sup> much disliked by the nobles, "because all the people and the sailors loved him, and were displeased at his punishment." The same authority tells us that, on his release, to let it be known that he forgave all his enemies, he confessed himself and received the communion, and having presented himself to the doge, was exhorted by the Signoria to forget his injuries and to consider as entrusted to him his country so greatly distressed, and so, having thanked them for his release, he promised to do all that became a good citizen.<sup>2</sup> He was not put in command of the fleet, but was associated with Giacomo de' Cavalli in the command at the Lido. This was not understood by the common people, who were anxious to serve under him, especially those of Murano, Mazzorbo, and Burano, and a deputation from these places and another from Venice went to him and offered to fit out six galleys for him. He referred them to the Signoria, who bade them, if they wished to furnish ships, to go to the arsenal, and ask for small vessels, *palischermi* and *ganzaruoli*,<sup>3</sup> and present themselves with these vessels to Taddeo Giustinian, who was Capitano da Mare. This by no means satisfied them, and some of their leaders went to the doge and represented to him the grief that was felt at

<sup>1</sup> *U.s.*, col. 721.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, col. 728, 729.

<sup>3</sup> *Ganzaruolo*, a diminutive of *ganzaro*, derived from *ganzo* or *gancio*, "a hook or grappling iron": it was a boat with grappling irons used for boarding an enemy's ship (Molmenti, *St. di Ven. nella vita privata*, i. pp. 139-40).

Pisani not being made Capitano.<sup>1</sup> The Signoria, anxious to meet the popular wish half-way, established a separate command of the side of the city towards Santa Marta, where it faces the territory of Padua, and gave this to Pisani,<sup>2</sup> with six galleys to be stationed off San Marco, and supported by all the small vessels in the city. Pisani and Cavalli then inspected the port of Lido and its defences, and reported to the Signoria that the wooden fence that protected the Lido, which was insufficient on the side of Malamocco, should be replaced by a thick wall of masonry with a strong tower both towards Malamocco and at the other end towards Sant Antonio.<sup>3</sup> The two towers were built in four days, and in fifteen days the wall was finished, with a deep ditch on either side, and many small towers. Nor was this the only defence that Pisani supplied; he made a chain of great yards of ships, connecting piles in the water along the Grand Canal front of Santa Marta, where the western end of the Giudecca Canal faces Padua. Behind this chain he stationed four gunboats with cannon and many smaller boats with cross-bowmen and archers. And to prevent the enemy from setting fire to the city he had a line of piles set up in the water, beginning at San Nicolò di Lido, behind San Servolo, crossing the canal that runs to Chioggia, and passing behind the Giudecca till it reached the mainland at the middle of San Martino di Strà. This kept the enemy's ships from coming close

<sup>1</sup> The answer of the Tre Comuni, which he says were *Torcello*, *Mazzorbo*, and *Burano*, is given by Romanin (iii. 279) in the Venetian dialect from a chronicle quoted by Filiasi.

<sup>2</sup> He is called by Dan. di Chinazzo (*u.s.*, col. 732) "ammiraglio dell' Armata," where "ammiraglio" seems used in our modern English sense rather than in the Venetian sense referred to above (p. 432). But he was not in supreme command of the fleet, the doge having been named "Capitano Generale di tutta l'Armata."

<sup>3</sup> The church and monastery of Sant Antonio di Vienna in Francia were built in 1346 "nell' Angolo della Città che l'isola di Sant Elena riguarda" (Cicogna, *Inscr. Ven.*, i. p. 157), on ground now forming part of the public gardens. The buildings were pulled down in 1807.

to the shore, and this barrier was watched all night by boats.<sup>1</sup>

The city was closely beset, and suffering severely from famine, but the people, as soon as their favourite was put in command, showed great enthusiasm. A forced loan of 5 per cent. was raised, producing over six million lire, for the purpose of equipping galleys, forty of which were brought down from the arsenal to the Riva San Marco. Besides this, men and women offered gold and silver and jewels for the service of their country. Each *contrada* had lists made out of its citizens fit to bear arms, and of these two-thirds were called out to serve under the Captain-General, the remaining third being kept for the defence of their homes; but in the districts most exposed, San Nicolò, Santa Croce, Santa Lucia, Cannareggio, San Biagio, and the Giudecca, the whole contingent was kept at home. Of the two-thirds called out, those who were not required for service on the galleys were sent to the Lido for eight days' training under Pietro Emo, the late governor of Chioggia. Some of the more active spirits made good use of the advantage small vessels of light draught had, in the narrow creeks of the coast and the islands, over the heavier Genoese ships. Giovanni Barbarigo collected a small squadron, manned by sailors familiar with the shallow waters, took a galley and two other ships that were guarding the fort of Montalbano,<sup>2</sup> and burned them, carrying their crews prisoners to Venice.

Pisani's plan of campaign was to prevent the enemy's ships from leaving the lagoons and to stop supplies and reinforcements coming to them from outside. There were two passages into the southern part of the lagoon—the

<sup>1</sup> Dan. di Chinazzo, *u.s.*, col. 728-30, and Zandrini, *Memorie Storiche*, i. 59-62.

<sup>2</sup> Montalbano appears to have been a fort, planted at the edge of the lagoon at the nearest point of the mainland to Chioggia. It does not appear on modern maps, and has very likely disappeared in the sea. It can be seen on tavola xviii. in Zandrini's *Memorie Storiche*.

so-called *Porti* or harbours of Chioggia and Brondolo. The Channel (*Canale*) of Lombardy led from the Paduan country into the Brondolo harbour, and these three channels it was Pisani's design to block by sinking in them large boats laden with stone.<sup>1</sup> On the night between the 21st and 22nd of December 1379, the longest night of the winter, a squadron, with the octogenarian doge and many representatives of the noblest families of Venice on board, rowed out from the city with two such large boats in tow. About daybreak a force of four or five thousand men was landed on the northern headland of Brondolo, on the right hand of the passage leading between Pelestrina and Brondolo to the harbour of Chioggia. These were attacked and repulsed by the Genoese, but they had attained their object by diverting the enemy's attention from their main purpose, that of sinking the boatloads of stones in the passages through the Lidi. Those of Chioggia and Brondolo were first blocked, the latter not without sharp fighting, and when the Lombardy channel was also filled by a sunken ship, the Venetian galleys under Pisani sailed out of the lagoon through the still open passage of the Porto del Lido and stationed themselves in the open sea outside the chain of Lidi.<sup>2</sup> The attack on Brondolo was led by the

<sup>1</sup> Pietro Emo, before the fall of Chioggia, had sunk a boatload of stones on the Fiume Vecchio, the branch of the Bacchiglione that passes by Castelcaro on its way to the lagoon. But the Genoese had overcome this obstacle and built a bastia at the mouth of the river, and Carrara's easy access by this channel to the lagoon had contributed largely to the reduction of Chioggia (Dan. di Chinazzo, *u.s.*, col. 723, 724).

<sup>2</sup> Dan. di Chinazzo is full in his details as to these operations. But many of the localities he mentions I have not been able to identify. There is a detailed map of the lagoons in the seventh volume of Filiasi's *Storia de' Veneti primi e secondi*, of which Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt gives a copy. But I think this map is founded merely on Filiasi's own conjectures (he wrote about 1800), and not on any ancient authority. Chinazzo speaks (col. 741, 742) of the "canale da dietro che va in Lombardia," which gave a narrow passage into the Adriatic by way of the Porto di Brondolo. If this is the Canale di Lombardia, it would be some channel communicating with the Brenta, and serving



doge in person, and a chief part in it was borne by Federico Corner, the head of the Cyprian branch of that family known as Cornaro Piscopia.

The main design of Pisani was accomplished when the three passages were stopped; but the blockade thus established was incomplete and precarious, and the storms of winter made it very difficult to keep the Venetian ships on guard off the Lidi. So long as the ships were there the Genoese could not pass out by the Porto del Lido, nor could provisions come in that way, without being exposed to the cannons (*bombarde*) and the cross-bowmen on the bastions or gunboats of the Venetians. But it was not only the Genoese who were in danger of being starved out by the stoppage of the passes. The Venetians encamped before Chioggia and at San Nicolò di Lido were under so hot a fire from the Genoese ships and batteries that the boats bringing them provisions could not pass without great difficulty, so that the Venetians were also suffering hunger, and some of those about the doge<sup>1</sup> suggested that they should depart with the light vessels after burning the large ones. But the old doge and Pisani were stout and valiant men, and saw that this faintness of heart would make the sack of Venice and the loss of her independence inevitable.

At length, on the first day of the year 1380, news came that eighteen sails were to be seen on the horizon. These proved to be the fleet of Carlo Zeno that had been so anxiously expected. The messengers sent by the Senate had found him off Famagosta in Cyprus, from which he

to bring supplies and troops from the interior of Lombardy. This channel seems to be distinguished from the "Canal Maestro che va alla Torre della Bebe," which stood on the edge of the lagoon near the point where the Brenta enters it. The Canal Maestro would be the main Brondolo Channel. In tavola xiv. at the end of Zendrini's *Memorie Storiche*, the Canal Lombardo is marked as running into the Porto di Brondolo from north-west past the Torre delle Bebbe, and connected with the Adige by the Canal delle Bebbe.

<sup>1</sup> "Il campo del Doge" (Chin., *u.s.*, col. 744).

had crossed the narrow sea to the Syrian coast and taken all the ships and stores he could lay hands on in the harbour of Beyrout. With these he had taken at Rhodes a large Genoese<sup>1</sup> ship, called the *Bichignana*, on its way home from Syria with a very precious cargo. Zeno took the most perilous station in the Venetian position, that outside the Lido of Brondolo, where he was twice nearly shipwrecked, and the Genoese galleys, taking advantage of the storm, nearly succeeded in breaking down the barriers and escaping; but his admirable seamanship saved his ships, and he next succeeded in recovering the tower of Loredo, and thereby opening the way for the reinforcements and supplies that the Marquis of Este sent to the Venetians by the lower Adige. On the 13th of February 1380, after a furious battle in which Pietro Doria, their commander, was killed,<sup>2</sup> the castle of Brondolo was lost by the Genoese.

The extreme need of Venice called into action all her enemies. The King of Hungary heard from Carrara of the surrender of Chioggia, and rejoiced in the thought that an end might be made of the Republic. He sent his nephew, Charles of Durazzo, into the Trevigiano, where he was joined by Francesco Novello (the elder Francesco Carrara being ill at Padua), and with him began hostile measures against the besieged city; but these did not satisfy the more bitter enemies of Venice, for Charles of Durazzo showed himself ready to make peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*, which the Venetians were willing to accept on condition that Chioggia and Loredo and Cavarzere and the fortresses on the sea-shore<sup>3</sup> were restored to them. The time given to these negotiations enabled the Venetians to send reinforcements and convoys to Treviso, which held

<sup>1</sup> Chinazzo says it was "la maggiore e la più ricca che in quel tempo andasse per mare" (*u.s.*, col. 750).

<sup>2</sup> He was killed by a fragment of the campanile brought down by a ball from a great cannon.

<sup>3</sup> "Le fortezze che mettono capo nell'acque salse" (Dan. di Chin., *u.s.*, col. 730).

out, though in almost famishing condition, against Hungarians and Paduans, while the fighting I have described went on in the lagoons.

Pisani and Zeno were agreed as to the policy of keeping up a strict blockade of Chioggia, and this was kept up notwithstanding that the Genoese were reinforced by twenty galleys under Matteo Maruffo, who sailed from Genoa on the 18th of January, while Gasparo Spinola was sent by land to Padua, with orders to force his way with a convoy into Chioggia and stay there, taking command of the garrison. Maruffo, on his voyage up the Adriatic, fell in, not far from Manfredonia, with Taddeo Giustinian, who was on his way to Sicily with twelve galleys to fetch corn to Venice, and had recovered Grado on his way. Maruffo was able to force the Venetians to accept battle, defeated them, and took Giustinian prisoner. He then continued his voyage, and on the 14th of May appeared before the Porto di Lido. He challenged the Venetian fleets to battle, but their commanders would not fight, but contented themselves with sending their light boats into the shallows to cut off the boatloads of provisions which Carrara was constantly despatching to Chioggia. Zeno's seamanship was useful at this work, by which the efforts of the Genoese (who were so short of timber that they had to pull down many houses to build boats) for getting their boats in afloat, or lifting them over the barriers by hand,<sup>1</sup> were frustrated. Pisani's galleys, which had lately returned from a victorious expedition to the coast of Istria against Maruffo, aided in the work by showering cannon balls on the Genoese boats, sinking some and driving others back into Chioggia, where the extremities of famine began to be felt. On 22nd June envoys from the besieged came on board the doge's ship, but were sent back with the answer that they must surrender at discretion. Zeno had amongst his troops faithless and licentious mercenaries, whom the

<sup>1</sup> Roman., iii. 290, 291.

Genoese persuaded to mutiny, and whom he could only bring back to their duty by promising them double pay and permission to sack the town. After one more attempt at a sortie to join Carrara, which the besiegers repulsed, the garrison of more than 4000 Genoese and 200 Paduans surrendered on the 24th June with seventeen galleys, which were carried into Venice in triumphal procession, when the *Bucentaur*, with the doge's counsellors and the heads of the Quarantia, came out to meet the doge, surrounded by a vast number of gondolas in festive array.

The recapture of Chioggia was a great deliverance for Venice, but she was not yet safe. Maruffo's fleet was still in being on the coasts of Dalmatia, and had detached twelve galleys to the opposite coast of Apulia, which Pisani followed but could not take. In an engagement with them he was wounded, and returned to Manfredonia to die on the 13th of August; his country lost in him her best-beloved son and a most noble and high-minded statesman and general.<sup>1</sup> But his place was well filled by Zeno, who, like him, was so popular and so fully trusted by the people, that the Senate found it expedient to give him *carte blanche* for his operations in the Gulf of Trieste. But not much was done there, the Venetian fleet being called away to Modone to resist Genoese attacks in the Levant, and afterwards brought back to the Genoese Riviera and Leghorn.

The result of the war of Chioggia was not so much a success for Venice as an escape from imminent disaster.

<sup>1</sup> There is an eloquent tribute to him in Dan. di Chinazzo (*u.s.*, col. 772): "Perchè egli era Padre di tutti i marinari ed era molto amato da tutti . . . nè mai morì Gentiluomo di Venezia che apportasse tanto dolore al popolo." Pisani was buried in the monastery of Sant Antonio in Castello (*ante*, p. 528, n. 3), which owed some of its endowment to the Pisani family (Cicogna, *Inscr. Ven.*, i. 157). The inscription on his tomb, now in the Sala delle Armi of the Arsenal, is given by Cicogna (i. pp. 180 *sqq.*). His statue is one of those in the Prato della Valle at Padua. The inscription refers to his imprisonment, "Hunc Patria claudit," and his delivery of the city from blockade, "At ille Egreditur, clausam reserans." Paolo Veronese in the Hall of the Great Council painted a fresco of his victory over the Genoese.

She was not more successful on the mainland than in the lagoons. At the beginning of 1381 Treviso was being hard pressed by Carrara, Castelfranco and Noale had surrendered, and Serravalle was seriously threatened. The Senate, despairing of keeping these, preferred to cede them to the Duke of Austria rather than to the detested Carrara. So Pantaleone Barbo was sent to offer Treviso to the duke on condition that he would descend into Italy with an army. He willingly complied, and on the 2nd of May his troops entered Treviso and undertook to protect the other dominions of Venice on the Terra Ferma.

At this conjuncture Amadeo, Count of Savoy, offered his mediation between the two Republics; both of which were so weary that they welcomed it, and representatives of all the powers that had been engaged in hostilities assembled at Turin. The Count of Savoy was Amadeo VI., who held a very high position in Italy as Imperial Viceroy.<sup>1</sup> He was the same whom we have seen in 1366 leading a crusade to Constantinople to help his kinsman, John Paleologus. Besides the two Republics there were represented at Turin the King of Hungary, the Lord of Padua, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Commune of Florence, and that of Ancona. The first Venetian envoy, Zaccaria Contarini, claimed (and the congress did not oppose his claim) that as Venice asked for peace as a conqueror, not as compelled by necessity to crave it, her representatives should propose the terms. These were proposed and agreed to. The King of

<sup>1</sup> Dan. di Chinazzo says the interposition of the count was due to Divine inspiration: "Per metter fine a tanti travagli volle la Maestà d'Iddio ispirare al Duca di Savoia" (*u.s.*, col. 787). The chronicler calls him *Duke* of Savoy by an anachronism, as the higher title was only granted to his son, Amadeo VIII., in 1415. The Bishop of Torcello, who was a Savoyard (Savoino) made the first suggestion of the Count's mediation. The Count of Savoy was a prince and duke: "Princeps Dux Chablaysi et Auguste et Marchio Italic." The treaty recites the assembly of the numerous plenipotentiaries at Turin: "non sine variis sudoribus et expensis." The treaty takes up forty-two very closely printed pages in Verci's *Storia della Marca Trivigiana*, &c., Tom. xv. Documenti, pp. 71-112.

Hungary was recognised as having the right to sail up the mouths of the rivers flowing into the Adriatic from Rimini northwards, and to import and export there all goods, including salt; but he renounced this right to Venice in exchange for a rent of 7000 ducats a year, reserving his absolute right if the rent was not forthcoming. Venice confirmed her renunciation of all claims to Dalmatia, and allowed the King's subjects, and in particular the Zaratines, freedom of trade in the Venetian dominions, Venetians having corresponding rights in the King's dominions. Venice was to restore Cattaro, and the King to restore the territory of Treviso and Ceneda to Venice.

The terms agreed upon between Venice and Genoa were that the Venetians were to hand over Tenedos to the Count of Savoy, who was to dispose of it as he pleased and demolish its fortifications. The King of Cyprus was not a party to the treaty, but the Venetians promised that they would not interfere in any quarrel of his with the Genoese, but would trade peacefully in the island side by side with the latter. The Venetians were to have freedom of trade with Constantinople, and promised to strive in concert with the Genoese to effect Calojanni's conversion to the Catholic Church, and if he refused this, would both support the Count of Savoy in any proposal he might make for effecting the conversion by force. The Genoese were to be allowed to navigate the Adriatic, but both they and the Venetians promised to abstain for two years from all trade with Tana.

Carrara bound himself to restore to Venice Capodargine and some other places he had fortified in the low grounds towards Chioggia, but retained the Chiusa di Quer and some other places north of Treviso.

The Patriarch of Aquileia obtained from Venice a renunciation of her claims to Trieste, Muco, and Mucolano; but those places were to continue to pay certain customary offerings (*regalie*) of wine and oil to the doge, and there was

to be free trade between Venetian and Aquileian territory. Both parties pledged themselves to accept the mediation of the Pope in any disputes that had arisen or might arise, especially as to jurisdictions in Istria.

Bernabò Visconti was not a party to the Treaty of Turin, although only four years before, in 1377, the Venetians had bound themselves by treaty not to make peace with Genoa without his consent.<sup>1</sup> He was father-in-law to Peter II., King of Cyprus; and from respect to him Peter also sent no formal representative to the Turin negotiations, though Frederic Cornaro, the owner of the sugar plantations at Piscopia, was at Genoa, and perhaps at Turin, at this time, and in communication with the Count of Savoy as to the interests of Cyprus, and more particularly as to those of the Cornari and other Venetians having lands and factories in Cyprus. The treaty contains a clause empowering such Venetian subjects to carry merchandise or rents out of the island without interference from the Genoese; but there is nothing in it as to the grievances the King had against Genoa on account of the occupation of Famagosta.<sup>2</sup>

The war of Chioggia, that had lasted more than six years, had not annihilated Venice, as her enemies had hoped. The establishment of a permanent Genoese post at Chioggia would not, perhaps, have done that; but it would have been a ready means of effecting a diversion in case of Venice being involved in a struggle with any neighbouring power—Hungary, Padua, or Austria. Chioggia would have been the eyesore of Rialto, as Ægina had been of Athens. In the actual struggle it can hardly be doubted that any serious sedition or conspiracy in the city, at the time of the fall of Chioggia, would have been fraught with extreme peril. Venice owed her salvation from this to her strong and wise

<sup>1</sup> See Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 370.

<sup>2</sup> The clause of the treaty relating to Cyprus is in Mas Latrie, ii. 379–81 (with notes). The treaty is said to be printed in full only in Verci, *Storia della Marca Trivigiana*, xv. p. 71. See note 2 at p. 272 of *Archives des Missions Sci. et. Litt.*, tom. ii. 1851.

aristocracy, firmly seated in authority, commanding the unquestioning loyalty of such men as Pisani and Zeno, and guarded by the constant vigilance of her Council of Ten and its agents.

There was some difficulty in executing the clause of the treaty that required Tenedos to be handed over to the Count of Savoy. Giovanni Mudazzo, the Venetian bailo, who held the castle there, refused to give it up, and was supported by his garrison; there was a general feeling, not only in the Levant but throughout Christendom, that a fortified post at Tenedos was necessary as a protection against the Turks. But the Venetians had bound themselves to destroy the fortifications, and Carlo Zeno, who was now again Bailo of Negroponte, and Giovanni Civrano, his successor, with some difficulty compelled Mudazzo to allow this to be done.<sup>1</sup> A small body of 200 cross-bowmen was left there. In 1397 Pietro Emo with Antoniotto Adorno, the governor of Genoa appointed by the King of France (as we shall see), were sent to obtain permission (I presume from the Count of Savoy) for rebuilding the fortifications as a means of defence for Christendom against the Turks.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Comment.*, viii. 120-25 (pp. 155-57 Predelli). The Venetian Government informed all its neighbours, Francesco da Carrara, Philip of Alençon, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Priors and Gonfaloniere of Florence, the Doge of Genoa, and the King of Hungary, of the "rebellion" of Mudazzo, the Bailo of Tenedos (*Comment.*, u.s., 127-31).

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iii. p. 302.



## CHAPTER XX

### VENICE AND THE VISCONTI

THE Peace of Turin did not restore peace to Italy, partly because the death of Pope Gregory XI. in 1378 and the great Papal schism which the disputed election of Urban VI., an Italian, as his successor caused, brought about discord in every part of Europe. The French cardinals, who had so long been governed at Avignon by Popes of their own nation, would not accept Urban, and elected against him Robert of Geneva, who took the title of Clement VII. Joanna, the powerful Queen of Naples, sided with France and Spain in support of Clement, while the rest of the Italians, with Hungary, the State so closely connected with Naples, were on the side of Urban. The rival Popes had each engaged bodies of mercenary troops, and Urban, having hunted his rival, Clement, out of Naples into France, followed up his success by stirring up Charles, Duke of Durazzo, the heir of Queen Joanna and also of the King of Hungary, to claim the crown of Naples. Charles was at this time fighting in the March of Treviso on the side of Carrara against the Venetians, and gladly came to Rome, where Urban crowned him as Charles III. of Naples, and advancing into the kingdom of Naples, easily reduced it to submission. Joanna, maintaining the right of Louis of Anjou, her adopted successor, was taken and put to death by Charles, who, on the death of Louis, reigned without a rival, but became involved in a dispute with the Pope.

Charles III., in 1381, the year of his accession, granted

to the Venetians various trading privileges in the ports of his new kingdom,<sup>1</sup> with which they were in most constant intercourse—Bari, Trani, and Manfredonia. Four years afterwards, in 1385, Charles was called in, as the nearest male heir of his family,<sup>2</sup> to appease a civil war in Hungary, where, on the death of Louis, his uncle, leaving a daughter, Maria, under age and unmarried as heiress to the kingdom, her mother's government as regent had become very unpopular. Charles was elected King of Hungary by a diet assembled at Albareale, and the young Queen and her mother appeared to acquiesce in this revolution, but secretly raised a party against Charles, and in February 1386 procured his seizure, and assassination in the Queen's apartment. The crime brought both kingdoms to anarchy. The Queen Mother's unpopular favourite was murdered in her presence, and she herself drowned in the river Bozotta, while her daughter, the Queen, was imprisoned in a castle, the insurgent subjects intending to send her out of the kingdom. At this crisis, Sigismund, Marquis of Brandenburg, son of the Emperor Charles IV., and brother of the reigning Emperor Wenceslaus, arrived in Hungary to claim the hand of the young Queen, who had been betrothed to him. He was met there by Pantaleone Barbo as a special ambassador from Venice, who was sent to form a maritime league with Hungary. Barbo's secretary or chancellor was Lorenzo de Monacis (whose chronicle I have so often had occasion to quote), whose account of his mission (*Relazione*) is one of the earliest of those famous documents that has come down to us. The league was effected, and in pursuance of one of its terms, a Venetian fleet under Giovanni Barbarigo was sent to cruise off Dalmatia, to prevent the Queen and her mother (if still alive, as Sigismund thought possible<sup>3</sup>) from being conveyed out of the country.

<sup>1</sup> *Commem.*, viii. 109, p. 153 (Predelli) and 115 (p. 154).

<sup>2</sup> For the House of Anjou see *ante*, p. 383, note.

<sup>3</sup> A letter from the Count of Veglia in the Quarnero was, Lorenzo de Monacis tells us, the source of this belief.

Barbarigo succeeded in releasing the Queen, who was brought to Albareale on the 4th of June 1387, and there married to Sigismund. Sigismund was recognised by Venice as King of Hungary, but civil war continued, and the chief cities of Dalmatia, the possession of which had made Hungary a formidable neighbour to Venice, were wrested from him by a petty prince, the Ban of Bosnia, who revived in his own favour the title of King of Rascia.<sup>1</sup>

Venice also obtained an increase of power and territory through the troubles in which the kingdom of Naples was involved after the death of Charles III. The island of Corfu had been a Venetian possession for some few years after the conquest of Constantinople, but in 1221 fell away from the Republic to the Despot of Epirus. The daughter of one of his successors brought it as part of her dowry to Manfred, the natural son of the Emperor Frederic II., and it had since remained part of the kingdom of Apulia or Naples. In that kingdom, since Charles' murder, the throne was disputed by two princes under age, each under the regency of his mother—Ladislaus, the son of Margherita, Charles' widow, and Louis II., son of that Louis of Anjou who was adopted by Joanna and died in 1384. The Government of Ladislaus, being in financial difficulties, accepted an offer made by Venice to purchase or rent the island or lend money on a mortgage of it, and in May 1386 it was placed in Venetian hands, though the formal cession by Ladislaus in return for a payment of 30,000 ducats did not take effect till 1402.<sup>2</sup>

In 1388 Venice bought from Maria, daughter of Guy d'Enghien, a nobleman of Hainault, the territory of Argos and Nauplia, which her father had inherited from his uncle, Walter of Brienne, Duke of Athens, and had held, with the

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iii. pp. 311-15.

<sup>2</sup> The dates come from *Commemoriali*, viii. 220-223 and ix. 235. For all these events see a paper by Mr. W. Miller in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xviii. (1893) pp. 209 *sqq.*

isthmus of Corinth, against the Catalan Company and the House of Anjou.<sup>1</sup> She had been the wife and was now the widow of Pietro Corner, another member of that great Venetian family who had sought fortune and found it in the Levant. Scutari and Durazzo on the east coast of the Adriatic also passed into the hands of Venice in the last years of the fourteenth century. In 1383 the dynasty of the Sanudi, Dukes of Naxos, came to an end through the assassination of Nicolò II. by a Lombard adventurer named Crispo, who seized upon the government for himself. He was glad to appeal to Venice for protection against Turks and Calatans and Genoese pirates; and for the first time the Duchy of the Twelve Islands with its dependencies came under the suzerainty of Venice.<sup>2</sup> About the same time Myconos and Tenos, two of the Cyclades, that since the Latin conquest had been under lords of the Ghisi family, were bequeathed to Venice by Giorgio III., the last of his race, and with them passed the sacred island, which the Cyclades surrounded, Delos, known in the Levantine French of the Middle Ages as *le Sdiles*.<sup>3</sup>

All these changes bore witness to the general feeling in Greek lands that the support of a strong Christian power was needed against the Turks, and to the readiness of Venice to place herself in the forefront and make good her position as "Europe's bulwark 'gainst the Ottomite."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen. in Mittelalter*, ii. 137, 138. The contract of sale and purchase is in *Comm.*, viii. 301 (Predelli, iii. p. 195). Maria promises in an appendix to this deed to marry no one but a Venetian citizen (*Comm.*, u.s., viii. 303). She had a house in San Luca at Venice.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin says (iii. p. 316): "Un doppio matrimonio di una figlia del doge con un figlio di Frangulo Crispo ed un figlio con una figlia di D. Petronilla, vedova del duca dell' Egeopelago apriva la via ai Veneziani al possesso di altre isole." The words "aprive la via" are vague. Of course intermarriages with the doge's family could not have transferred the islands to Venetian sovereignty. The account given in my text is taken from an article by Mr. W. Miller in the *Gentleman's Mag.* for November 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. W. Miller in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xxii. (1907), p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> "Childe Harold," iv. 14.

To return to the domestic history of Venice. On the 5th of June 1382, in the year after the Peace of Turin, the Doge Andrea Contarini died. He had been for fourteen years a firm and vigorous governor. His successor, Michele Morosini, a rich man and of very high character, was chosen rather than Carlo Zeno, who, it is said, was passed over as being more wanted on the fleet, though the late Doge Contarini had commanded the fleet, when doge. If Zeno was proposed and rejected, it was probably because he had at the end of the war failed in an attack on Marano, a town in the low-lying coastland near Grado and Aquileia, near which the Genoese had established a fortified post. For this he had been censured by the Senate, and had thought scorn to defend himself, but bowed to the decision of superior authority. Morosini, who was chosen by a majority of votes over Leonardo Dandolo, was popular and respected, and the contemporary chroniclers have nothing but good to say of him. But it has been his fate to be the victim of a misprint in Marino Sanudo's "Lives of the Doges," which has given him an ill name with posterity. When the city was in extreme distress from famine during the war of Chioggia, he was said to have spent much money in buying up lands and houses (*stabilì*) that came into the market, and when his friends asked him why he was so mad as to buy up real property in a city that was in danger of destruction, to have replied: "If this land is to fare ill, I wish to fare well thereby."<sup>1</sup> But other and more contemporary authorities, the chronicles of Magno and Sivos, give his reply differently: "I do *not* wish to fare well."<sup>2</sup> And this was a much more reasonable and more pointed answer to give, for the possession of large estates in a city fated to destruction could have done him no good,

<sup>1</sup> "Se questa terra starà male, io ne voglio aver ben."

<sup>2</sup> "No voglio" instead of "ne voglio."<sup>3</sup> The story is well told by Romanin, iii. p. 309. Ruskin ("Stones of Venice," iii. pp. 80 *sqq.*) was at pains to discredit the calumny, but was not aware of the other version of the story.

while the confidence in his country's fortune shown by his investments in its lands and houses might, and no doubt did, encourage its rulers to continue the struggle, since he did not despair of its future. His act was as patriotic as that of the Roman who bought the land on which Hannibal's camp was pitched in the crisis of the Punic War.

One MS. of Sanudo, the Estense, has what is no doubt the correct reading, and as Sanudo's "Lives" were not published till long after Morosini's death, we may confidently believe that the posthumous calumny did not disturb the short remainder of Morosini's life. He died on the 16th of October, only four months after his election, of a pestilence that was prevailing in Venice, and was buried in Santi Giovanni e Paolo. His tomb there is called by Ruskin "the richest monument of the Gothic period in Venice"<sup>1</sup>—"the sarcophagus with a most noble recumbent figure of the doge, his face meagre and severe and sharp in its lines, but exquisite in the form of its small and princely features."

Morosini's successor, elected on the 21st of October 1382, was Antonio Venier, a member of one of the noblest families of Venice, but which had never before given the Republic a doge. He was serving as captain in Candia, and so, according to custom, the senior counsellor, Nicolò Valaresso, with the three heads of the Quarantia, carried on the government till his return. He did not arrive till the 13th January 1383. The first work of his government was to be the rebuilding of Chioggia, with a fort at the farthest point of its harbour. At the same time the island of Sant' Andrea, adjoining the Lido of San Nicolò, was given to some Carthusian monks, who built there a monastery with a fine church, the Certosa, which stands near the fort of St. Andrew, on the island to the right of the entrance into the harbour of Lido.

<sup>1</sup> "Stones of Venice," iii. ii. 79. There is an illustration of this monument in Pierre Gusman's *Venise (Les Villes d'Art célèbres)*, p. 65).



*Photo: Alinari*

TOMB OF DOGE MICHELE MOROSINI





Antonio Venier's government lasted till 1400—eighteen years. His first duty was, as we have seen, to rebuild and fortify Chioggia. It was also necessary to punish Francesco Carrara, who had shown himself in the war the bitterest and most dangerous enemy of the Republic. In 1382 he had laid siege to Treviso, and Duke Leopold of Austria, who had lately acquired Trieste, being appealed to by the Trevisans for help, and being unable to save their city, had come to terms with Carrara, and ceded to him not only Treviso, but also Ceneda, Feltre, and Belluno. This extended his dominions to the frontier of the March of Friuli: they now covered the whole of the northern boundaries of Venice, and restricted the Terra Ferma of the Republic to the coastlands of the Adriatic. And about the same time Carrara found an opportunity of intervening in the affairs of Friuli. When Marquard, Patriarch of Aquileia, died in 1381, Pope Urban VI., without consulting the wishes of the flock, which by old custom had been held to have weight, had chosen as patriarch Philip of Alençon, a Frenchman and a protégé of the French King of Hungary.<sup>1</sup> The new patriarch came to Sacile and received the homage of some of the local lords: but the people of Udine stoutly maintained the rights of the laity, and Federigo Savorgnano, whom they put at their head, was active in getting a league formed among the few towns of that region and the country lords, for the defence of their rights.<sup>2</sup> Venice and Hungary offered their mediation to avert the war that seemed imminent, but Carrara threw in

<sup>1</sup> He was a nephew of Philip of Valois, King of France. He had been Archbishop of Rouen and Patriarch of Jerusalem, and had lately been elected Cardinal of Santa Maria Trastevere (Palladio degli Olivi, *Hist. del Friuli*, i. p. 395).

<sup>2</sup> The original breve appointing Philip had specified that he was to hold the patriarchate *in commendam* with his cardinalate. This clause was cancelled by the Pope, but nothing was added to oblige Philip to reside on his see, and the people of Udine, which was at this time the place of residence of the patriarch, were unwilling to have a non-resident (Palladio degli Olivi, *u.s.*, i. pp. 397-98).

his influence on the side of the patriarch, whom he received with great honours at Padua, and got him to promise that the dispute should be referred to him as arbitrator, and that, if it was decided in the patriarch's favour, he should cede to Carrara Sacile, Portogruaro, Monfalcone, and the Chiusa of Quer,<sup>1</sup> thus bringing the Paduan territory almost down to the Adriatic. The dispute was referred to Carrara, and he decided, in the summer of 1384, that the people of Udine and other malcontents should submit to the patriarch within six days, that the lands and fortresses of the league should be given up to the patriarch, that his revenue should be paid as in the past, that all actions at law begun on either side should be stopped, and that any disputes that might arise in the future should be referred to Carrara.

It could not be expected that the league would accept this award, and the Venetians sent to Udine, encouraging them to reject it, and offering them a subsidy of 20,000 ducats on the security of Marano, a fortified place in the coastland near Aquileia. Savorgnano, who was elected Captain-General of the league, was admitted to the Venetian nobility, and promised an annual income in case his lands should be lost by his action against Carrara. The members of the league bound themselves to defend their liberties and those of the State against any one who assailed them, except the Pope, the Emperor, and a long list of other excepted persons, which made the league in fact one against Carrara only. The members tried in vain to get the Pope to persuade the patriarch to join them, and the patriarch replied by nominating Carrara as Advocate of the Church of Aquileia. The war at once began, and Venice gained an ally in Antonio della Scala, the Lord of Verona,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Palladio degli Olivi, *u.s.*, i. p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> He was engaged as a condottiere by Venice—or rather his captain, Benedetto da Malcesine, contracted (“*per consiglio ed ordine di Antonio della Scala assente a servire*”) to provide 300 lances (*i.e.* 900

to whom, no doubt, the growing power of Carrara was alarming. This was in 1385, and in a few months things had gone so ill with the patriarch that he proposed to come to Venice to negotiate for peace. The Republic made it a condition that the award of Carrara should be annulled and commissioners appointed by the league should be put in charge of the fortresses and the courts of law. But the quarrel was not to be pacified so easily; it showed signs rather of spreading. Cividale and Feltre joined Udine, and a provisional Government was established in Friuli in opposition to the patriarch. The new Government appealed to the Pope to prevent the election of a son of Carrara to the patriarchate,<sup>1</sup> and at the same time attempted to detach Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Lord of Milan, from the side of Carrara, while the Venetians sent an ambassador to persuade the Duke of Austria to ally himself with them and the Friuli insurgents. Thus the chief powers of North Italy were involved in the quarrel, and in 1387 Gian Galeazzo and Carrara came to an agreement to overrun the Scaligers' territory, Gian Galeazzo taking from him Verona and Carrara Vicenza. Verona opened its gates to Visconti, and Antonio della Scala fled, first to Venice and then to the Pope and Florence, in hopes to find some one who would restore him. But he was left to his fate, and died by poison between Faenza and Forlì, while

mounted soldiers) for seventeen *ducats di camera di Verona*, equal to sixteen gold ducats, each for the month. Malcesine was to be paid one hundred ducats a month from Venice, and sixty more from the Scaliger himself; he was to carry "*il bastone del comando*," and "*innalzare il vessillo proprio*" (*Commem.*, viii. 207, 208; Predelli, iii. pp. 175, 176).

<sup>1</sup> This was in 1387. A document in *Commemoriali*, viii. 273 (Predelli, iii. 189) recites that the Pope "per liberare il Friuli, mandò a lontana legazione il cardinale d'Alençon." He was willing to recall him and substitute for him "altro non sospetto," in order to restore peace and get out of the hands of Carrara the lands he had occupied in Friuli. He was anxious that nothing should be done to injure Sigismund, King of the Romans and Hungary, a friend of whom, a great prince, was disposed to undertake a Crusade.

endeavouring again to find a refuge in Venice. His death brought to an end the 126 years of his family's dominion in Verona. Vicenza also had to surrender, not to Carrara, but to a captain in the service of Visconti. This opened the eyes of Carrara to the fact that he was being made a tool of by Visconti, and he endeavoured to make his peace with Venice, representing to her that the overgrown power of the Viper of Milan would soon be dangerous to her. But Venice, who could not bear to be balked of her vengeance on Carrara, rejected his offers and came to an agreement with Visconti, consenting to the transfer of Padua and all its territory to him, in return for the cession to her of Treviso and Ceneda, with some of the fortresses she had so long disputed with Carrara in the low grounds towards the lagoon.<sup>1</sup> Visconti proceeded without delay to take possession of the territory ceded to him. His general, the condottiere Jacopo dal Verme, advanced to the walls of Padua and besieged it, while Venetian ships under Jacopo Delfino sailed up the Brenta and Bacchiglione to join in the attack. The attack began in July 1388, and in November Francesco Novello, the son to whom Francesco the elder, broken by age and sickness, had given up his power, was forced by his malcontent subjects to enter into negotiations with Dal Verme, and cede to Gian Galeazzo all his cities, with their territories, and then to appear before Visconti and go wherever he ordered him. He was ordered to Monselice and thence went to Verona, and thence to Milan, where Gian Galeazzo would not see him.

The fall of Carrara's power had been rapid and complete :

<sup>1</sup> The treaty of 21st November 1388 is printed in Verci, tom. xvii., *Doc.*, pp. 18-21. Visconti promises not to give up to any person any place in the jurisdiction of Padua, except the towers of Curan and St. Ilario. These were the frontier strongholds that Venice had required to be given up to her. The oaths of fidelity to Venice sworn by the plenipotentiaries of Treviso and Ceneda are in *Comm.*, viii. 302, 304 (Predelli, iii. 195).

he was left stripped of all his most valuable territories, and with no foreign ally, for the Duke of Austria, from whom the older Carrara had hoped for assistance, was bribed by the promise of 60,000 florins, to be paid three months after the conquest of Padua by Visconti, on condition that the duke stopped all the roads by which succour could come to Carrara, and forbade his subjects to enter Carrara's service.<sup>1</sup>

The elder Carrara, who on his abdication had retired to Treviso, moved from thence to Cremona in Visconti's territory, when Treviso was surrendered to Venice, and the younger (*il Novello*) was detained at Milan as an honoured guest, but in fact a prisoner. Having got leave to stay a while, with his wife and two of his brothers, at Asti,<sup>2</sup> he fled with them in the direction of Florence, the place at which he, as a Guelf, was most likely to find protection from the Ghibelline Visconti.<sup>3</sup> He believed that Visconti was intending his assassination. He seems to have made some attempt to go to Florence, where he had friends among the merchants; but took pains to let it be known to Gian Galeazzo that he was going on a pilgrimage to a shrine of St. Antony at Vienne. In the end he gave up the design of going to Florence, perhaps from fear of the hostility of Adorno, Doge of Genoa, who was an ally of Visconti. He travelled at once into Savoyard territory,

<sup>1</sup> The agreement is to be found in *Commém.*, viii. 294 (Predelli, iii. p. 193), and in Verci, xvii. *Doc.*, pp. 16, 17. It was made in Botzen on Oct. 24, 1388. The ambassador of Gian Galeazzo had authority to pay 50,000 florins; the remaining 10,000, Johann v. Lichtenstein, the Duke of Austria's ambassador, took upon himself the responsibility of finding "de ipso Domino Comite" (Gian Galeazzo) "plene confidens." The version given in *Commemorali* makes the total sum 65,000 florins.

<sup>2</sup> Asti had been given by Gian Galeazzo as part of the dowry of his daughter Valentina, when she married Louis of Valois, Duke of Touraine, the French King's brother, and was practically French territory.

<sup>3</sup> Galeazzo Gataro, the contemporary chronicler of Padua, says that Carrara started in March 1390 (Mur., *R. I. S.*, xvii. col. 722).

and we next hear of him crossing Mont Cenis in snow-storms, and actually going to Vienne, from whence he descended the Rhone to Avignon, and saw Clement, the Anti-Pope. Clement received him hospitably and promised aid, but Carrara reverted to his plan of taking refuge at Florence, and continued his voyage down the Rhone to Marseilles, though suffering privations from his poverty, intending to sail thence to Genoa. But a storm overtook him at sea, and the sufferings of his wife, Taddea d'Este, who was far advanced in pregnancy, obliged him to land near Fréjus, where letters of the King of France, which he carried, procured him kind treatment. From Fréjus the fugitives travelled on foot for a day or two, and were stopped at Grimaldo; but there they got a horse for Taddea to ride, and made their way to the sea near Ventimiglia. As soon as embarked, they encountered a worse storm than the former; but got safe through this, and passing Nice and Monaco, landed at Turbia, where Nicolò Spinola, Carrara's friend, received him hospitably, and would have sent him on from Savona to Genoa, had not an envoy of Gian Galeazzo warned the Doge Adorno not to receive him. Gambacorta, the Lord of Pisa, was similarly influenced to refuse him shelter. Any one who showed him kindness would be looked upon as an enemy of the great Visconti, the most powerful prince in Italy, perhaps in Europe. These disappointments, prolonging the privations and exposures she had suffered since leaving Asti, almost wore out the strength of the unfortunate Taddea. But Gambacorta, who had received many benefits from Carrara in his prosperity, was ashamed of the ingratitude he was now showing him, and sent him horses and provisions to enable him to reach Florence, where he arrived at the end of April 1389, and was kindly received.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The authority for these adventures of Francesco Novello is the contemporary chronicle of Galeazzo Gatario, a history of transparent sincerity and written in a style of charming naïveté. It was completed

This journey from Marseilles to Florence marked the lowest point in the fortunes of Francesco Novello. Although the Florentines did not yet venture to make an enemy of Visconti, he was allowed to stay there, and received money and supplies from Asti, and these enabled him to travel about stirring up enemies to Visconti at Bologna and Ancona, and even as far off as Croatia and Bavaria; but he made little progress till Gian Galeazzo declared war against Florence; this gave hope to all the enemies of Visconti. Francesco Novello was the heart and soul of the confederacy against Gian Galeazzo, and he brought Florence and Bologna into line with the Duke of Bavaria. He then applied to his old enemies, the Venetians, to allow him to pass through the country of Treviso against Padua and Milan.

The Venetians by this time saw that the fall of Carrara had raised up a more formidable enemy to them in Visconti, and were ready to join Florence and Bologna in resisting him. Gonzaga, the Lord of Mantua, and Can Francesco della Scala, the son of that Antonio whose death I lately mentioned, joined the confederacy, as well as the Duke of Bavaria. Then the people of Padua repented of the change of masters they had brought about, and Francesco Novello, obtaining leave from Venice to pass through the country of Treviso, advanced from Friuli, where he had been joined by the young Della Scala, in the direction of their city. On the 18th of June he forced his way into the city by the dry bed of the Brenta, where a wooden stockade was the only defence, and was received with great joy. The Veronese were less successful in an attempt to rise against the Visconti. But the tide had turned against Gian Galeazzo. The coalition that Francesco the elder had been striving to raise against his family during

by his son Andrea in a more regular and ornate manner. Both chronicles, which are in Italian, are to be found in the seventeenth volume of Muratori.

all his life had now spread widely: Venice, Florence, Bologna, and Ferrara united to demand the restoration of Carrara. The Florentines invaded Lombardy with French troops under Armagnac, and the band of Hawkwood, the Englishman, who had quitted Visconti's service for that of Florence, and conquered as far as the Adda, obliging Gian Galeazzo to withdraw his troops from the Florentine frontier. The Visconti was still formidable, and Armagnac found he could not maintain his ground in Lombardy; but all parties were getting weary of the war, and at a congress held at Genoa in the winter of 1391-92, under the presidency of Antoniotto Adorno, the doge, with the Grand Master of Rhodes as assessor, it was agreed that Carrara should be restored to all his former dominions, on condition of paying a yearly tribute of 10,000 golden florins for fifty years to the Lord of Milan, Gian Galeazzo being also left in possession of all he then held; that the latter should interfere no more in the affairs of Florence, nor the Florentines in those of Lombardy. Carrara was satisfied with these terms, and came to Venice, with his son, to thank the doge for the service done him, and was on this occasion admitted to the Venetian nobility. His festive return to Padua was clouded over by the news of his father's death in the Visconti's prison at Monza. The greatest of the Carrara family died in a time of failure and humiliation, but when brighter prospects were opening before his son. About the same time in 1395 the fortunes of Gian Galeazzo reached their highest point by his creation as Duke of Milan by the feeble and worthless Emperor Wenceslaus.

Only six years after the peace made by Adorno, the war broke out again. Gian Galeazzo invaded the territory of Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua, whom Carrara joined with the Florentines, Bolognese, and Venetians to protect. Carlo Malatesta, the Lord of Rimini, in command of the army of the confederates, won a decisive victory over the Milanese



at Governolo, near Mantua, in the spring of 1398. Venetian galleys under Francesco Bembo were sent up the Po to co-operate with Malatesta's army. After the victory a league against the Visconti was formed by Venice, Florence, and the Lords of Mantua, Padua, and Ferrara, and attempts were made to induce William and Leopold, Dukes of Austria, to descend into Italy. This great coalition<sup>1</sup> alarmed Gian Galeazzo; and the Venetians, aware of this, and anxious to preserve the balance of power between the Visconti and their enemies, brought about a truce in May 1398. A general peace followed in March 1400, the chief conditions of which were that each party should restore the lands it had conquered, release its prisoners, and promise not to grant harbour to the exiles nor help to the enemies of the other. Venice was now deeply involved in the affairs of the Terra Ferma, and her power in regard to them was increased at this time (1393) by the protection she afforded to Nicolò d'Este, the natural son of the Marquis Alberto, whose legitimate rival Azzo she allowed to be detained in Candia, while as security for a loan made to Nicolò she took possession of the Polesine of Rovigo, the low marshy ground lying between the Adige and the Po.<sup>2</sup>

Antonio Venier died on the 23rd November 1400. The last years of the fourteenth century, which his government covered, saw Venice in a very different position from that she had occupied in earlier times. She was still primarily a maritime power, contending with Genoa, the only rival left among the trading republics, for supremacy especially in the Levant. But her conquests on the Terra Ferma had given her subject lands in Italy, governed by Venetian

<sup>1</sup> The interposition of the Austrian dukes was especially alarming. At this time, as we learn from Dan. di Chinazzo, *u.s.*, col. 789, they could bring into the field 10,000 good mercenary soldiers, including 400 knights with gold spurs and 400 squires eager to be knighted.

<sup>2</sup> *Topografia Veneta*, iv. 26-40.

nobles as podestàs or rectors, and guarded by garrisons of condottieri. She had been brought into relations, hostile or friendly, with great powers like the Visconti at Milan, the Kings of Naples and Hungary, the Dukes of Austria. The House of France, through the Dukes of Anjou, had long been interested in the affairs of Naples and Sicily, and was now connected by more than one marriage with the Visconti: in 1396 Italy had been surprised by Antoniotto Adorno, Doge of Genoa, surrendering his country into the hands of Charles VI., and it was in 1401 under the vigorous and severe government of the Marshal Jean de Meingle, surnamed Boucicault, who made them feel that a master's hand was governing them.<sup>1</sup> He was conscious of the great position in the Levant that his master acquired by governing the city that was looked up to as mistress in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, the isle of Scio, the cities of Caffa, Pera, and Famagosta.<sup>2</sup>

Venice had been in co-operation with France under more melancholy circumstances in 1396, when the brilliant and confident French army of Crusaders under the Count of Nevers, King Charles VI.'s cousin, and other princes of the blood, that had come to the help of Sigismund, King of Hungary, against the Turkish Sultan Bajazet, dashed itself to pieces on the fatal field of Nicopolis, and some of the few French and Hungarian soldiers, who escaped death or captivity, took refuge on the Venetian fleet, and were

<sup>1</sup> "Or peurent à ceste fois Congnoistre les Genevois que main de Maistre les gouvernoit" (*Livre des Faicts*, ii. c. vi. in Petitot, vii. p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> His words are: "Et tiennent les dicts Genevois très grandes et notables seigneuries ès parties du Levant, sur la Mer Majour, et en autres parties. Comme Capha en Tartarie, qui est une grosse ville marchande. Et en Grece tiennent la cité de Pera, qui est moult belle ville et sied coste Constantinople. Item l'isle de Scio, où croist le mastic, au droit coste Turquie. En Chypre tiennent Famagouste. Et tirant à la Tane en la Mer Majour, outre Capha, et pardelà Constantinople quatorze cent milles, tiennent grand pays et foison de forteresses" (*Livre des Faicts*, ii. c. ix., Petitot, vii. 23).

carried to Dalmatia.<sup>1</sup> Marshal Boucicault was one of the French captives taken in this battle, and had, by his own account, a great part in effecting the ransom of the Comte de Nevers and himself. When they were released by Bajazet, they came in due course to Venice,<sup>2</sup> and were detained there or at Treviso, to which they were removed, when a pestilence broke out at Venice, for four months. The Marshal had also on one of his earlier travels been at Venice both on his way to the Holy Land and on his return.<sup>3</sup> He does not appear to have been well disposed to the Venetians, for when he was made governor of Genoa, he fell willingly into the hatred and rancour against Venice which he found abiding there, and recognised as the natural result of a long series of wars.<sup>4</sup>

I have already pointed out how Venice was now becoming the recognised champion of Christianity in the Levant. The Turk was daily increasing in power, the Greek Empire under the later Paleologi was growing feebler, and the efforts its statesmen made to be reconciled to the Latin Church, so as to obtain help from the Western powers, did not have so much effect in getting this help, as in weakening the loyalty of the orthodox subjects of the

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, viii. pp. 30-34 (ed. Smith) in one of his most brilliant passages, gives us an account of this great catastrophe. Nicopolis, where this battle was fought, is Nicopoli on the Danube in Bulgaria, not the better-known place in Epirus named after the victory of Actium. There is much interesting discussion as to the exact situation of this Nicopolis in the notes to the English translation of Schiltberger's "Bondage and Travels" (Hakluyt Society, 1879).

<sup>2</sup> A Venetian squadron under Giovanni Mocenigo was in the Danube besieging the Turks in Nicopolis at the time of the battle. These ships were those that saved King Sigismund and the Grand Master of Rhodes after the battle. Schiltberger, who calls Boucicault "Hanns Putzokardo," does not say much of his help in releasing the prisoners (*u.s.*, p. 4).

<sup>3</sup> *Livre des Faicts*, i. ch. xvi.

<sup>4</sup> "Quand par quelque bon moyen cessoit leur guerre par forme de paix, non mie toutesfois [fut] ostée de leurs couraiges la haine ou rancune, laquelle, comme j'ay dict, est et demeure comme naturelle entre eux" (*u.s.*, ii. c. xii.).

Empire. When, fifty years after the period we have now reached, the final Turkish attack came, the Venetian and Genoese ships did more than the land forces of the Greeks to second the heroic efforts of the last Emperor. The apprehension of Turkish conquest already in 1400 cast a deep shadow over the future in the eyes of every nation that had important interests in the Levant.

## CHAPTER XXI

### THE SENATE OF VENICE

THE government of Michele Steno,<sup>1</sup> who succeeded Antonio Venier as doge, the same man who as a youth had been so lamentably connected with the fall of Marin Faliero, but who had since distinguished himself much on shipboard in the war of Chioggia, gave signs also of another characteristic of the Venice of later times, when she was not only a bulwark of Christendom against the Turks, but also the chief home of splendour and gaiety, fine arts and fine clothes, the virtues and the vices of civilisation, so that to have "swum in a gondola" and to have seen life became convertible terms. His accession was inaugurated by splendid joustings in the Piazza and processions of the Arti.<sup>2</sup> In connexion with these an institution had its origin, which was very famous in Venice, and lasted for two centuries, the Compagnia della Calza. The Calza was the tight-fitting trouser that we are familiar with in the pictures of Carpaccio, or Pinturicchio, or Perugino, sometimes of a patchwork of different colours, sometimes embroidered in gold or silver with a device, something like those of heraldry, after which the different sections of the Company

<sup>1</sup> There is a very full account of Michele Steno in Cicogna, *Iscrizioni Venete*, vi. 69 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> The Arte of the Makers of Velvet held a tournament in the Piazza of St. Mark on St. James' Day (25th of July) 1401, in honour of the new doge's election. The notice of this *zostra* sent to Treviso on the 30th of April, with an invitation to any sufficient persons wishing to take part in the jousting and compete for the prizes offered, is printed in Verci, *St. della Marca Trivigiana*, xviii.; *Docum.*, pp. 28, 29.

were named *Floridi*, *Pavoni*, *Giardinieri*, *Ortolani*, &c. Over these trousers the members of the Company wore a doublet of velvet or cloth of gold with open sleeves laced by silken cords so as to let the shirt show through. Over the doublet was a cloak of cloth of gold or crimson damask or taffeta with a pointed hood, which when allowed to hang down from the shoulders showed on its inner face the device of the section.<sup>1</sup> There were ladies also in the Companies who wore sleeves embroidered with the device of their section in gold, silver, or precious stones. Such a sleeve is depicted in an illustration to Molmenti's book (i. p. 236), and is worn also by one of the young men, whose portrait by Carpaccio is reproduced at p. 238 of the same volume.

It was under Michele Steno that the doge's palace was finished, by the completion of the magnificent Hall of the Great Council, the same which we now see, though the original decorations of its interior were destroyed by fire in 1577. Its site and proportions and exterior elevation are as they were in Steno's time, and the blue *quadretti* of the ceiling with gold stars were added in 1400, and are said by Sansovino<sup>2</sup> to represent the doge's armorial bearings (*insegna*). The balcony in front of the great window of the same hall, looking over the canal, is also adorned with the stars of Doge Steno, and two square tablets inlaid on each side of the same window contain an inscription

<sup>1</sup> The hanging hood with its device is shown in the engraving at vol. i. p. 56 of the *Abiti Antichi e Moderni* (Fr. trans.) of Cesare Vecellio, Titian's son. That engraving does not show the parti-coloured trousers, but these are shown in the very pretty engravings (at pp. 53 and 54 of the same volume) of the dresses of young men of old times. The dress of the Company is more fully shown in the illustration after Carpaccio, in Pompeo Molmenti's *Storia di V. della vita privata*, i. pp. 235 *sqq.* There is a full account of the Compagnia in Morelli's *Operette*, i. pp. 137 *sqq.* But the *locus classicus* as to them is in Sansovino, *Venezia descritta*, pp. 406, 407, ed. 1663.

<sup>2</sup> "L'an poi 1400 vi fece il ciclo compartita a quadretti d'oro ripieni di stelle ch'era la insegna del Doge Steno" (*Venezia descritta*, lib. viii. p. 125, ed. 1604).

saying that the illustrious doge Michael "*Stellifer*" enlarged the work of the room<sup>1</sup> in 1404.

The canal and Piazzetta fronts of the doge's palace were therefore in the time of Michele Steno very much what they are now, and the front of San Marco to the Piazza was, as it had been ever since the eleventh century, exactly as at present, except a few of the mosaics that are later; the three flagstuffs in front of it were already there, and had been beautified.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the best-known palaces on the Grand Canal were in existence in 1400, the Contarini Fasan, the Ferro (now part of the Grand Hotel), the Barbaro, Farsetti, Loredan, and Bembo, the lower part of the Michaeli delle Colonne, the Sagredo, formerly Morosini, the Donato, one of the oldest in Venice, and the still older Fondaco de' Turchi, once the palace of the House of Este, now the home of the Museo Civico.<sup>3</sup> But the great majority of these palaces are later, the work of Sansovino, Sammiceli, Scamozzo, or Longhena, in the times of the Renaissance; the most beautiful and characteristic specimen of Venetian Gothic, the Cà d'Oro, belongs to the fifteenth century. In other parts of the city four or five palaces are still left which were standing in the year 1400, one of them, the Palazzo Falier, being all that remains of the confiscated palace of Marin Faliero. Of the churches we know in

<sup>1</sup> "Mille quadringenti currebant quatuor anni  
Hoc opus illustris Michael Dux Stellifer auxit."

Ruskin, "Stones of Venice," ii. viii. 296 (ed. 1898), remarks that "almost all ceilings and vaults were at this time, in Venice, covered with stars without any reference to armorial bearings, but Steno claims, under the noble title of *Stellifer*, an important share in completing the chamber."

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iii., p. 348, *n.* 4, quotes as authority for this a Sanudo MS., p. 299, "Fu terminà per la signoria li stendardi della piazza di S. Marco siano fatti belli," and remarks that it shows the common opinion, that the three standards commemorated the conquests of Candia, Cyprus, and Morea, to be wrong.

<sup>3</sup> A list of the other Gothic palaces in Venice, containing some I have not named, is given in Zanotto's *Palazzo Ducale*, i. pp. 26, 27.

Venice, a still smaller proportion were standing in 1400. Besides San Marco, there were the two great churches of the friars, St. Giovanni e Paolo and the Frari, Santo Stefano, built by the Augustinian friars about 1300, San Giacomo dell' Orto, I Carmini, and the ruined San Gregorio. If one wants to see older churches one must go to the outlying islands, Murano, Torcello, or Pomposa. Those of the city have had the fate that befalls the churches of wealthy communities when wealth increases, and the community is able and anxious to rebuild them in the fashionable style of the day.

If Venice had become by 1400 a power on the Terra Ferma, with her own hired troops and inland dependencies, it must not be concluded that her interest in commerce had in any way ceased. The Piazza of Rialto, on which the merchants were in the habit of congregating to transact their business, was enlarged by the demolition of small houses or stands of fruiterers and other shopkeepers, and convenient porticoes were provided to shelter those frequenting the market from bad weather, for whose use also a great and costly clock was put up on the campanile of San Giacomo di Rialto, and in 1393 this was replaced by a better and more handy one. We have a number of records, dating from the fourteenth century, as to enlargements and alterations of the Fondaco<sup>1</sup> de' Tedeschi, the factory of the German merchants trading in Venice. The old building which was burned down in 1505 had stood for 300 years,<sup>2</sup> where its successor now stands, near the Rialto Bridge, with its north and west fronts washed by

<sup>1</sup> Fondaco (Latin, *fonticus*) is said to be derived from the Greek *πάνδοκος*. For a general account of the Levantine Fondachi see Heyd, ii. 732, 733 (French trans.), Simonsfeld, ii. 3 sqq. As to the origin of the word, there is a useful note in Thomas (*Capitolar des Deutschen Hauses in Venedig*, p. v., note 2).

<sup>2</sup> It had suffered from fire also in 1318, and when rebuilt had been enlarged (Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, i. doc. 62 and 99).



the Grand Canal, where the parishes of St. John Chrysostom and St. Bartholomew meet. Milesio, an Italian archivist of the eighteenth century, speaks of "that little but rich factory, of only two floors." It contained, besides a kitchen and a room for salting fish,<sup>1</sup> rooms for German merchants to live in while they stayed in Venice, which were on the upper story and looked out over the inner courtyard where their merchandise was stored. The merchants were locked into the Fondaco at night,<sup>2</sup> and their consul, who regulated their trade, and settled their disputes, lived there amongst them; but the building was the property not of the traders but of the Venetian Government, which received a rent from the members of the factory. In the fourteenth century the Venetian Government received complaints from the German merchants of the confined accommodation of their Fondaco, in which it was difficult to move about, and even to see across the courtyard, for the piles of merchandise with which it was cumbered.<sup>3</sup> It is clear from this and from other evidence that the Levantine trade was still one of the greatest of Venetian interests. The South German towns, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and Ulm in particular, sent their minerals and manufactures to Venice for transport to the Levant, and received in exchange spices and incense and silk and pearls. Nürnberg was the entrepôt of all Germany for spices. The maritime trade between Venice and the Levant was carried on, as we have seen, in great measure by the *carovane*, convoys of merchantmen owned by the

<sup>1</sup> See document 34 in Simonsfeld, i. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> In the Fondachi in Mussulman countries, e.g. at Alexandria or Beyrut, the Franks were locked up in their quarters also on Friday, the day of Moslem worship.

<sup>3</sup> Simonsfeld, *u.s.*, i. doc. 102, 657, ii. pp. 4, 9, 10. A MS. letter of Paolo Morosini quoted by Thomas (*l.c.*, p. vi.) says of the Fondaco, "Est namque illustris et præclara mansio, in qua singulis annis ad decies centena millia aureorum aut ad eorum valorem commutatio pertractatur," where *aurei* are, I presume, Florentine gold florins.

State, and let out annually by auction,<sup>1</sup> but many private firms also traded with the East: that of the brothers Morosini having a dependant house in Aleppo, from which its goods were dispersed all over Syria and Cyprus, being bought by other Venetian houses established in those parts as well as by native houses. Their own establishment at Aleppo employed dragomans, and brokers and a chaplain, some of whom did business on their own account. In Pardessus' *Lois Maritimes*, quoted by Romanin,<sup>2</sup> it is stated that almost all the trade of Aleppo in metals, precious stones, glass, and textiles was either in Mussulman or in Venetian hands: the dues charged were so heavy that the other European States that had a less volume of trade could not afford to pay them.<sup>3</sup>

Foreign trade was no doubt the main source of the great wealth of which chronicles and State papers tell us. A census taken in 1367 gave 204 as the number of houses of nobles in Venice, and a valuation of these houses taken under Doge Andrea Contarini (1368-82) showed a total of 2,882,818 ducats. The regulations frequently made in the fourteenth century for restricting the expenditure on furniture and clothing, and the number of servants or dependents to be employed, especially at wedding festivities, are evidence of the splendour and luxury displayed in private society. Similar sumptuary ordinances show us how great an expense was caused to the parishes to whose lot it fell to furnish the *Marie* for the annual festival; and the expenditure from public funds for tournaments was as great as that of any foreign prince.

The commercial wealth of merchants belonging to Venice, or of foreigners trading with Venice, contributed to the income

<sup>1</sup> A print reproduced from Franco's *Habiti* in Molmenti, *St. di V. nella vita privata* (ii. p. 50), shows the officers of the State sitting in the Piazza, letting out the contracts for the galleys of the *carovane*.

<sup>2</sup> iii. p. 342, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pardessus, *l.c.*, iii. p. 23. He says that in India all imports from Europe were known as Aleppo goods.

of the Government by export and import duties, which the Venetians of those days, ignorant of the doctrines that Adam Smith was to inculcate four centuries afterwards, had no scruple in regulating so as to promote the import, and prevent the export, of the most useful commodities. From these duties, from the sums paid by merchants for freight on goods carried by the State *carovane*, from the rent of warehouses at home and abroad, from profits on coinage and the National Bank, large sums came into the Treasury, from which a sum (or *monte* = "amount") of 6700 lire per month was kept in hand by the doge and his counsellors for their own salaries and those of other officials at home and abroad, and generally for all the current expenses of the Government. The officials who received taxes were allowed, by a very questionable practice, to retain part of these for their own salaries, and so lessen the demands on the *monte*. What remained after paying all these expenses was deposited in the *Procuratia*, *i.e.* with the Procurators of St. Mark, the treasurers of the State, whose business it was to pay the five per cent. interest on the *imprestiti*—*i.e.* on the national debt—and half or, if possible, one per cent. for a sinking fund.

As illustrating one of the chief expenses of the Government, we have in the *Libri Commemoriali*<sup>1</sup> a document of the year 1336 prescribing the terms of the contracts to be made with condottieri for the service of men-at-arms. Every horse-soldier engaged brought with him his war-horse and his hack (*ronzino*), and was paid nine gold ducats a month; if he brought only one horse, he received seven. The horses were valued by public officers, and two-thirds of the valuation was to be their price if the Government wished to buy them. The constable<sup>2</sup> had also to

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iii. 390 (Predelli, ii. p. 68). Romanin (iii. 339) quotes this ordinance, but appears to me to have misunderstood its purport.

<sup>2</sup> *Constabularius castri* is not uncommon in mediæval documents, and is used as variously as "captain," which is sometimes its equivalent. In a statute of John, King of France, quoted in Ducange, the foot

provide a war-horse for his standard-bearer, and a hack for his trumpeter, and for his and their services was to be paid twenty-six ducats a month. Every man-at-arms was to have the prescribed armour, and one of every two a helmet with a crest. The pay was to run from their appearance on parade. Their raids (*fazioni*) might be either on account of the Government (*ad postam communis*) or on their own account (*ad postam stipendiariorum*). In the former case the Government replaced horses lost or injured, and had the lands or prisoners taken; in the latter the Government could purchase prisoners at the rate of three ducats for each foot or horse soldier, fifty for a constable or a captain (*capo*):<sup>1</sup> in both cases the booty went to the soldiers. The soldiers could not undertake skirmishes or forays without orders from their captains, under pain of making good the damage done. In the absence of their own captain, the soldiers were to obey the Venetian captains and officers, and the former had the power to punish them. The soldiers had to pay for their victuals and other necessaries, but the Government undertook to supply these at cost price, if they had them, and it also fixed the rent they were to pay for stabling. The constables and men-at-arms had to swear allegiance for the term of their service. The employment of mercenary soldiers of this class was, in 1336, a novelty in Italian history. The achievements of the Almugavari in all countries of the Levant were but recently past: the dreaded Catalans were still ruling in Athens. The feudal system had never taken root throughout Italy: the citizen militia, with which the Lombard free communes had withstood Frederic Barbarossa, had not been so successful against Frederic II. His son Manfred, and the

soldiers are ordered to be put in "connestables ou compagnies" of twenty-five or thirty, and every connestable was to receive double wages. The word is an interesting one, with a complicated history, and occupies many columns in Ducange.

<sup>1</sup> "Eccetto gli oltromontani o Tedeschi." These, I presume, had to make their own terms with their captors.

Angevins who fought against him, had both employed mercenaries, and the use of them had gradually spread. Giannotti in 1510 or 1511 speaks of "this mercenary soldiery which is now used throughout Italy."

The cost of a large force of such mercenaries—and Bartolomeo Colleoni had under him in the service of Venice, in 1439, 300 "lances," *i.e.* 900 men<sup>1</sup>—was very great. An Englishman named Gold, who had done valuable service to the Republic in the war of Chioggia, was rewarded with a yearly pension of 500 ducats. About the same time as Bartolomeo Colleoni was in her service she kept up in time of peace 10,000 cavalry and 7000 infantry, who were at least doubled in time of war. Her engineers in later times became very famous for their forts, and the chief factory in Europe for manufacture of arms and gunpowder was that kept up by the Venetian Government at Brescia.<sup>2</sup> The expense of the army and navy, and, generally, the raising of the revenue and its expenditure, was part of the business of the Senate, who acted in the affairs of the army under the five savii of the second order, those *dit erra ferma*; in those of the navy under the savii of the third order, called *agli ordini*. When war

<sup>1</sup> Facino Cane of Casale Monferrato engaged in 1395 to supply for the service of Genoa 1000 horse and 100 foot, at the rate of five gold florins a month for every horseman and four for every foot-soldier (see the contract in Riscotti, *Compagnie di Ventura*, iii. p. 350). Samples of the money spent on mercenary soldiers during the war of Chioggia may be found in the *Libri Commemorativi*. The Company of St. George, commanded by Count Alberico di Barbiano, was hired for 25,000 gold ducats; in April 1379 Embernardo of Valenza let to the Signoria two galleys with thirty cross-bowmen on each for 1200 gold ducats a month; the Viscount Rode, in May 1379, let one galley for 1200 gold ducats a month (*Commem.*, viii. 57, 61, 64). Carlo Malatesta of Rimini, a condottiere on a much larger scale, in February 1412, being Captain-General of horse and foot in the service of the Signoria, undertook to enrol 500 lances (*i.e.* 1500 horsemen) and 300 foot soldiers, each man to have a liberal monthly payment, besides a *stipendio* for Malatesta himself of 1000 gold ducats the month (*Com.*, x. 148).

<sup>2</sup> Molmenti, *St. di Ven. nella vita privata*, ii. pp. 52, 53. The revenue derived from Brescia, which was annexed by Venice in 1426, was applied to the maintenance of the arsenal (*Topog. Ven.*, iv. 96).

was imminent, the Senate elected, in a more summary manner than was the practice in other elections, the *Capitano dell' Armata*, if the war was to be on the sea, or the *Proveditor del Campo*, if it was to be on land.<sup>1</sup> The Commander-in-chief (*Capitan-Generale*) was, it appears, not elected in the same way. At the time that Giannotti's "Dialogue" was written,<sup>2</sup> the Captain-General was Francesco Maria di Rovere, Duke of Urbino. Giannotti speaks of his "*provisione et condotta*" (rations and pay) as sufficiently honourable, which, I presume, shows that they were a secret of State, and their amount not accurately known. The Senate kept constantly in its pay 1000 men-at-arms, *i.e.* mounted soldiers, and a sufficient number of foot-soldiers (*fanti*) to guard the fortresses permanently. There were also *cadres* always ready, fencible men to form a nucleus in case of war.<sup>3</sup> The territory of the Republic included, besides the city, the *Stato di Marc* and the *Terra Ferma*. The former consisted of the three large islands of Cyprus, Candia, and Corfu, and several smaller islands, and also of the Riviera of Slavonia (*i.e.*, the east coast of the Adriatic from Trieste to Zara) and of Dalmatia. These were protected by several armed galleys, each with 150 rowers and about 80 or 100 fighting men. The rowers, coming from the simple and primitive populations of the Adriatic Riviera, were content with small pay; but the fighting men received the same as the mercenaries that served on foot in the Terra Ferma. Each galley was estimated to cost 700 ducats a month for pay and rations and ammunition, besides the value of

<sup>1</sup> Giannotti, *Dialogo*, p. 265, ed. 1678.

<sup>2</sup> Giannotti gives us more than one indication of this. He says here that "non sono ancora due anni" since the duke was made Captain-General, which was apparently in 1509. This would put the "Dialogue" as late as 1510 or 1511, and other indications (see note 1 on p. 148) would make it as late as 1524. But Giannotti, we are told, was made a knight by Pope Nicolas V., 1447-53, fifty-eight years before the "Dialogue," which would make it the work of a very old man.

<sup>3</sup> "Molti uomini valenti per opera e favore de' quali gli eserciti nostri congreghiamo" (*u.s.*, p. 344). The Latin in Grævius, tom. v. pt. i. col. 118, has "*multis quoque strenuis hominibus merces tribui solet.*"

the hulls, the fittings, and apparatus produced in the arsenal.

Giannotti's "Dialogue" tells us also a good deal about the sources of income from which these expenses and the interest on the *monti*<sup>1</sup> or loans were met: the *dazii* or import and export duties, the most important of the latter being on salt, the manufacture of which was a Government monopoly; the *decima* or tithe, an income tax based originally on a sworn declaration of the taxpayer as to the amount of his income<sup>2</sup> from *beni stabili*; the *tansa* (Venetian for *tassa*), a sum assessed on nobles and citizens who, though having no property on which the *decima* was paid, were enriched by trade. We are not told whether the taxpayer had any appeal against his assessment to the *tansa*.

In the fourteenth century the Senate had become a much more important factor in Venetian politics than it had been in earlier times. I have frequently had occasion to mention this body under its Latin name of *rogati* or its Venetian name of *pregadi*. There is still some doubt as to the origin and meaning of this name. The traditional account of the origin of this council was that the Doge Domenico Flabanigo had invited a certain number of the more distinguished and capable citizens to consult with him on any affair of moment that occurred: these "invited" counsellors

<sup>1</sup> There were, early in the sixteenth century, three *monti*; the *Vecchio*, established in the year 1141 to provide funds for the war with Manuel Comnenus (see my "Early History," pp. 294, 295); the *Nuovo*, established in the time of Doge *Giov. Mocenigo*, for a war with Ferrara; and the *Novissimo*, dating from the war with the League of Cambray in 1509. The *monte vecchio* was also known as *gli impres-titi*—as we say "the Funds." The third, the *Novissimo*, regularly paid 5 per cent. interest, and its bonds therefore retained their value and were every day bought and sold. The two earlier had so often been used by the State in emergencies that their funds were exhausted and they could no more pay interest (Giannotti, *u.s.*, pp. 345, 346). These *monti* must not be confused with the *monte* kept by the Procurators (see p. 563). The word simply means "amount" (a word of the same origin).

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, i. 253.

(*pregadi*) gradually developed into a standing council with definite functions and powers. But there is no authority for this story older than a chronicle of Daniele Barbaro of the end of the fifteenth century; and the fact that we have parallel names of councils in other places—*vocati* or *rogati* at Genoa, *richiesti* at Florence (where the full title was *Pratica de' Richiesti*), *chiamati* at Orvieto—leads us to look for a Roman origin, and we know that at Rome the members of assemblies were asked (*rogati*) for their opinion, and *rogatio* was the technical name for a motion carried by vote. Whichever of these explanations of the name is correct, the Senate was probably originally established to relieve the Great Council of some of its burden of work. It was naturally, therefore, set up by the Great Council, and though the decree establishing it is not extant, there is no reason to question the traditional date of 1229.<sup>1</sup> This was fifty-seven years after the establishment of the Great Council, fifty years after that of the Quarantia, and twenty or thirty years after the definite organisation of the Signoria. It was composed of sixty members, probably at its origin ten from each of the six *sestieri* of the city. Enrico Besta, whose exhaustive essay on the Venetian Senate, published in 1899, is our best authority on the subject, is inclined to think it was originally merely one of the *collegi* or commissions of *savii*, that were constantly appointed by the Great Council to consider particular questions where legislative or administrative measures were called for; and that it, like the Council of Ten, which, as we have seen, had a similar origin, achieved greater importance and permanence than its fellows. Its numbers were increased from time to time by the addition of a *collegio* of *adjuncti* or *Giunta*—*Zonta* in Venetian. The first *Zonta*, elected in 1279, was of twenty members, elected only for the year; and the number of the Senate continued

<sup>1</sup> Besta, *Il Senato Veneziano*, p. 38; Claar, *Entwick. der Venezianischen Verfassung*, p. 59.



to be sixty from that year, with few exceptions, till 1297, the year of the *Serrata*, after which a *Zonta* of forty, and somewhat later<sup>1</sup> of sixty, was pretty regularly elected every year, so that the Senate became from this time a body of 120 members. The sixty original members were elected by the Great Council annually in the same way as all other officials were elected; the sixty of the *Zonta* were elected, but not in the same elaborate manner, by the senators, and their election confirmed by the Great Council. The office of senator had no *contumacia* or *vacatione*, as Cardinal Contarini calls it, and most often the same senators were elected year after year. In this form it gradually became the most important organ of the executive—"the soul of the Republic," in the words of Amelot de la Houssaie,<sup>2</sup> "as the Great Council is its body." It was specially concerned with foreign affairs, and one of the reasons for adding the first *Zonta* of forty was that in certain dealings with the Papal Government a body of 100 was necessary.<sup>3</sup> The *Zonta* was originally an independent commission, but soon came to sit as part of one body with the Senate.

The Senate had both judicial and political functions. The former it discharged only in appeals, and only in cases that had come before the *Avogaria*, that is, cases in which the State was interested, especially those in which an official was prosecuted for misconduct in his office.<sup>4</sup>

But the political functions of the Senate were far more important than its judicial functions. Besides the 120 elected members it had a great number of *ex-officio* members: the doge and his counsellors, the Council of Ten,

<sup>1</sup> In 1435. Besta says 1450 (p. 44). Amelot de la Houssaie calls it "*le Pregadi extraordinaire*." "*Pregadi*" came to be treated, in Italian also, as a substantive singular.

<sup>2</sup> *Gouv. de Venise*, ed. 1676, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Besta quotes a Parte of 1414 to this effect: "*Maximè quia in casibus certis occurrentibus ipsi Concilio Rogatorum, sicut est pro factis Pape et aliis requiratur habere numerum de C*" (*u.s.*, p. 45).

<sup>4</sup> Thus, before the Council of Ten was set up, the Senate had jurisdiction in cases of high treason (Besta, *l.c.*, pp. 121, 122).

the Procurators of St. Mark, the Chiefs of the Quarantia or Supreme Criminal Court, the six Savii Grandi, and a great number of members of executive boards under the title of Proveditori, Camerlenghi, Cattaveri, Avogadori. In most cases not the actual holders of these offices, who were supposed not to be able to spare the time for attending the Senate,<sup>1</sup> but those who had held them, were admitted for a year, and these raised the number of the whole body to about three hundred.<sup>2</sup> All of these, except the elected members and the holders of the most important offices, were known as Sotto-pregadi, and were in an inferior position. Amelot de la Houssaie says they had no right to speak and no vote, but it seems more probable that, whether they voted or not, their opinion was asked and given, but only upon questions affecting the department of government in which they had served,<sup>3</sup> as, e.g., the Camerlenghi and Cattaveri and Proveditori alle Ragioni on questions of finance; the Avogadori on judicial questions; the Captain-General, the Captain of the Gulf, and the Savii agli Ordini on naval matters: the Senate had thus the advantage of the best expert advice on every matter that came before it. It represented, in fact, the high bureaucracy of Venice. Being a large body, it required a small committee to prepare subjects for its discussion, and such a committee was found in the six Savii Grandi,<sup>4</sup> who, through one of their number, the Savio di Settimana, received correspondence and reports from ambassadors

<sup>1</sup> The exclusion of these dated only from 1506.

<sup>2</sup> Amelot de la Houssaie, p. 46. A number of offices of a purely executive character did not give their holders a seat on the Senate. These are enumerated by Besta, pp. 75-77. These ex-officials were also unable to sit in that capacity on the Great Council, a privilege confined to those who were members of the Senate.

<sup>3</sup> See Claar, *u.s.*, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> These were called, when acting as a body, *La Consulta* (Besta, *Il Senato Veneziano*, p. 68), and Cardinal Contarini, thinking the name of Savii (*sapientes*) arrogant, is inclined to call them *Preconsultori* from the Greek *προβούλοι* (*Rep. di V.*, lib. iii. p. 88).

and other officers, submitted any important questions arising on them to the Senate, and then dealt with the business or answered the despatches as the Senate directed. The Savii Grandi formed, with the Signoria, *i.e.* the doge and counsellors and heads of the Quarantia and Council of Ten, the Collegio, the nearest parallel to the Cabinet of a modern State.<sup>1</sup>

There was no formal division between the functions of the Great Council and those of the Senate before 1260. In that year the Great Council ordered that no decision of the Senate should be final except in matters of trade and navigation.<sup>2</sup> This makes it probable that before this it could make binding regulations on all subjects. And notwithstanding the order of 1260, the Senate continued to exercise general legislative and administrative power, especially in regard to foreign affairs. These were in later times the special province of the Senate; it was the Senate that sent out embassies and instructed them; that saw that the ambassadors were not formally disqualified by owning land in the country they were sent to; that fixed their pay, granted them leave of absence, or leave to marry a foreigner. To the Senate the ambassador had to account for the cost of his embassy, and within fourteen days of his return to hand in his *relazione*, the account of the events and result of his mission, which in later times, when the Republic had resident ambassadors in foreign courts,<sup>3</sup> became an epitome of contemporary history. In the fourteenth century, owing to its acquisitions on the Terra Ferma, the Republic was

<sup>1</sup> A law of 1412 ordered that by the Collegio: "*Intelligentur Dominus Consiliarii, Capita, Sapientes Consilii guerre et ordinum*" (Besta, p. 68). I imagine the genitives *consilii, guerre et ordinum* denote the three orders of *savii*. Only the *savii grandi* or *di consiglio* had a right to attend all meetings. The *savii di terra ferma* (*continentis oræ sapientes*), and those *agli ordini* were only summoned on particular occasions (Sabellicus, *De Ven. Magist.*, apud Grævium, v. i. col. 40).

<sup>2</sup> Claar, *u.s.*, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, *u.s.*, pp. 70, 71.

brought into contact, and often into conflict, with neighbouring Governments. All these relations brought the Senate into prominent action and increased its attributes. The fact that it had access, through its *ex-officio* members, to the best expert advice on all subjects added to its importance. For affairs of the Levant they could summon to their meetings those among the Pregadi or Sotto-pregadi who had been baili of Negropont or Crete, castellani of Modone or Corone, or rettori of the Dalmatian towns, or ambassadors to Romania, the last only for the interval between the date of their return to Venice and the following Michaelmas. And the attendance of Senators was compulsory,<sup>1</sup> the enforcement of attendance being in the hands of the Quarantia, the council which was in some respects a rival of the Senate. It was the duty of the chiefs of the Quarantia to inquire into the cause of two consecutive absences of any member, and no excuse but illness would save the offender from a fine. Absentees also had a mark (*punctum*) set against their names, and eight such marks excluded from the Senate for at least a year.<sup>2</sup>

Writers on the Venetian constitution have expressed surprise at two facts in connexion with the Senate; first, that two such large and important bodies as the Great Council and the Senate, with the same powers and very vague, if any, boundaries between their respective provinces, should have worked together with so little friction; and secondly, that the obligation to keep secret matters discussed in the Senate should have been so strictly observed by so large a body, composed of elements so various, and dealing with matters of high importance and affecting the private interests of so many members. Amelot de la Houssaie concludes from this that silence is no less venerated at Venice than with the Persians, who thought

<sup>1</sup> They were obliged to be punctual, to arrive "antequam ultima campana dicti consilii cesset sonare" (Besta, *u.s.*, p. 97, n. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Besta, *u.s.*, p. 100.

her a divinity.<sup>1</sup> As to the absence of friction in the relations between the Great Council and the Senate, Dr. Claar observes<sup>2</sup> that both were bodies of the same political and social complexion; there are some signs of the Great Council being jealous of the Senate, and more of unfriendliness between the Senate and Quarantia, whose censorial functions were invidious and irritating.

Cardinal Contarini<sup>3</sup> tells us that all matters within the competence of the Senate that arose in the daily course of business were first discussed by the sixteen Savii amongst themselves. If they agreed, they could settle the matter by a direction to the executive officer concerned; if they did not agree, their opinions were read, in order of their seniority, to the doge and his counsellors, who voted upon each, and then all the opinions were put in writing by the chancellors, who acted as secretaries of the Senate, and the Senate was assembled to hear and decide upon them. No one except one of the Savii could refer a matter to the Senate, and for this reason the Savii were called *Preconsultori*. The Senators, when the matter was referred to them, spoke upon one side or the other of each proposal, from a tribune (*pergamo*). Speeches in the Senate were made, Contarini tells us, *modestamente e con gravità sì come si conviene à un huomo dell' ordine Senatorio*.<sup>4</sup> When all who wished to speak had spoken, the Senators decided by ballot on each alternative proposal laid before them. When a matter had to be referred to the Senate, messengers (*viatores*) were sent round to the houses of all Senators to summon them. No business could be done if a quorum of seventy were not present, but generally, we are told, double that number attended.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *U.s.*, p. 47. Sabellicus, *De Ven. Magist.*, apud Grævium, v. i. col. 39 says: "Majora negotia perpetuo silentio sancuntur. Capitale est, si quis volens secretum ullum Curixæ retexerit."

<sup>2</sup> Claar, *Die Entwicklung*, &c., *u.s.*, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> *U.s.*, pp. 87-94.

<sup>4</sup> Contarini, *u.s.*, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Sabellicus, *De Ven. Magist.*, apud Grævium, v. i. col. 40.

In taking a general survey of the government of the Venetian Republic at the end of the fourteenth century, we have to bear constantly in mind that all the treatises and discussions on the constitution that have come down to us are of more than a century later. The "Dialogue" of Donato Giannotti, as we have seen, was written not before 1510; Cardinal Contarini's treatise about 1565.<sup>1</sup> The French critics, Amelot de la Houssaie and Limojon de St. Didier, belong to the latter part of the seventeenth century, the reign of Louis XIV.; the Diaries of Marin Sanudo the younger, which show us the constitution working from day to day, do not begin till 1496. For contemporary authorities we are confined to one or two chronicles and memoirs, and often to the registers of the State Papers preserved in the Frari at Venice or in the archives of other Italian States and cities. The Venetian registers set forth the words of the decree passed, with the introduction "*c.f.p.*" (for "*capta fuit pars*") and the addition "*in majori consilio*," or "*in Rogatis*." The decrees are on all subjects; we can discover no absolute rule as to what was the province of the Great Council, and what of the Senate, except that the Great Council elected all officials<sup>2</sup> as well as its own members, the Senators, the Council of Ten, and the Quarantia. Elections at Venice were not got through expeditiously, and the Great Council, that only sat on Sundays and festivals,<sup>3</sup> and generally for not more than four hours a day, must have had a very great number of its sittings occupied with elections. But there is no doubt that it did discuss and

<sup>1</sup> He says (p. 98) that he was writing 210 years after the conspiracy of Marin Faliero.

<sup>2</sup> There were exceptions. Giannotti says: "*Extant quædam munera, quæ mandare et committere spectat ad Senatam.*"

<sup>3</sup> This was because the tribunals never sat while the Great Council was sitting, so that more frequent meetings of the latter would have seriously interfered with the administration of justice (Amelot de la Houssaie, p. 9).

pass decrees, apparently on any subject, and it also had to confirm certain decrees of the Senate. We should otherwise be inclined to think that the Great Council were merely concerned with elections—were, in fact, the *Comitia*, as Giannotti calls them. These decrees or *partes*, the legislation of Venice, were abundant, and proverbially short-lived. “*Parte Venetiana dura una settimana*” was, Amelot de la Houssaie tells us, a common saying. It was also the common opinion in his time, that in the Great Council everything, elections and legislation, went often according to the caprice and ignorance of the young people of whom it was full.<sup>1</sup>

There was always a large number of young men in the Great Council, for the Barberini—the nobles between twenty and twenty-five—who sat there, though they had not the right of speech or voting, must have helped to give the prevailing tone, and reinforced the levity and irresponsibility of the younger among those who had the vote; and this levity, and the hurry with which the business of the council must often have been got through, will have been among the causes of the greater prominence assumed by the Pregadi in the government of the State.<sup>2</sup>

In the Pregadi, as we have seen, attendance was compulsory, illness alone being allowed as an excuse for absence. There was a meeting every day. Though not nearly so large a body as the Great Council, yet, if all the *ex-officio* members were counted, it could muster 300 members; though not formally divided into committees or sections, it is clear that some selection must have been made as to the members summoned to any meeting, and that especially the *ex-officio* members' attendance at

<sup>1</sup> *Gouv. de Venise*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Contarini (p. 111) says of the senators, “i quali le più volte sogliono essere vecchi.” The heads of the *Quarantia criminale* brought into the Senate a leaven of youth and of poverty, consisting of men who, if *bisognosi Cittadini*, were yet *huomini da bene* (*ib.*, p. 112).

discussions concerning their own provinces was in some way secured. There was no undue hurry in their legislation; every proposal was discussed twice if it related to private affairs, four times if to public, in accordance with a rule analogous to that of our Houses of Parliament, that requires a bill to be read three times.<sup>1</sup> If we doubt as to how the Pregadi could have found time for all the work they had the right to do, we must remember that much business was not referred to them, but settled in the Collegio by the Signoria and the Savii. The right both to propose a motion and to vote in the Senate (*por parte* and *por ballotta*) belonged only to some holders of high offices.<sup>2</sup> The sixty elected members of the original Pregadi, and the sixty of the Zonta, had the right of proposing a *parte*, but not of voting upon it. These privileges of ex-officials, together with the rule that there was no *contumacia* in the office of senator, but the same person could be, and was in fact, elected year after year, contributed to make the Senate a far more efficient instrument of government than the Great Council. It gradually, but steadily, increased its influence in the State, and towards the end of the fifteenth century had become, as Amelot afterwards said, the soul of the Republic, the institution in which its idea and character were most clearly expressed.

The Great Council met in the large room on the first floor of the doge's palace, now distinguished by Tintoretto's large picture of "Paradise." The other large room on that floor was the Sala dello Scrutinio, set apart for elections, according to the elaborate programme prescribed in particular for the election of doge. On the floor above, one of the larger rooms was the Hall of the Senate,<sup>3</sup> the room

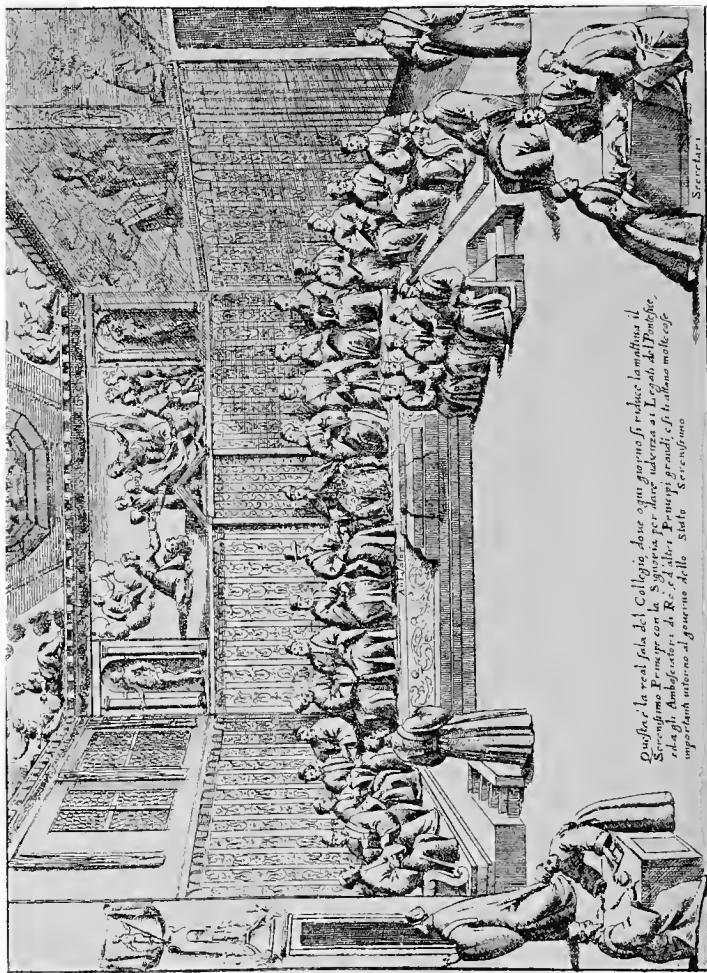
<sup>1</sup> Claar, *u.s.*, pp. 64, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Besta, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> This room appears to have belonged to the old Gothic palace, and to have been that built for the Great Council in 1340 (Zanotto, *Il. Pal. Ducale*, i. p. 30).







Questa è la real sala del Collegio dove o que governo si reduce la mattina il  
 Serenissimo Principe con la Signoria per dare udienza ai Legati del Pontefice,  
 e ha gli Ambasciatori di Re, e d'altri Principi grandi, e si li attenda molte cose  
 importanti intorno al governo dello Stato. *Stefano Serenissimo*

Secretaria

HALL OF COLLEGIO: DOGE AND SIGNORIA GIVING AUDIENCE TO LEGATE

that now has Tintoretto's picture of “Venice, Queen of the Sea,” on the ceiling. A smaller room by the side of this is the Sala del Collegio, with the seats along three of its walls for the doge, his counsellors, and the *Savi Grandi*, the room in which audience was given to ambassadors—a ceremony frequently represented in pictures, amongst others in an interesting picture sent to Charles I. from Venice by Sir Henry Wotton, now to be found, if searched for, at Hampton Court. The ante-room to this, the *anti-collegio*, in which we may conceive the ambassadors to have waited for their audiences, is known to us as holding two of the most beautiful pictures in the palace—Tintoretto's “Bacchus and Ariadne,” and Paolo Veronese's “Rape of Europa”—both, of course, painted long after the date we have now reached.

In the year 1400 the Republic was about shortly to enter upon its period of greatest wealth and power. In the first decade of the fifteenth century several events occurred that altered the distribution of power in Lombardy. On the 3rd of September 1402, the great Visconti, Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, died at the age of forty-nine, leaving his large possessions to be divided between two legitimate sons, the eldest only thirteen years old, and one illegitimate. His widow was to be regent, but she was without power to control the fierce and able soldiers who had been in the pay of her husband, and the mad wickedness of her elder son combined with her own weakness to ruin the chances of the Visconti family, which, had Gian Galeazzo lived a few years longer, might have given Italy a race of kings. The Pope, the Florentines, and Francesco Carrara, the Lord of Padua, leagued themselves to despoil the widow and her sons. Carrara was early in the field, and allying himself with an illegitimate Della Scala, who then governed Verona, and Nicolò d'Este, the Marquis of Ferrara, so frightened the Duchess of Milan that she applied to Venice for help, offering at first to cede Verona and Vicenza,

though Verona had for a time to be left in the hands of Della Scala. Vicenza also could not be held by the Duchess, and refusing to submit to Carrara, offered itself to Venice: when peace was made in the summer of 1405, not only it, but Verona, and many places in the neighbourhood of Padua, came into the hands of the Republic. An assault on Padua was repulsed by Carrara, but pestilence and famine, and the failure of his attempts to get treasonable help from the Venetian camp, obliged him to surrender the town, and he and his sons, Francesco and Jacopo, were imprisoned in Venice and strangled.<sup>1</sup> The details of this war are complicated, and will have to be related, and the treatment of the Carraras investigated, if I should live to continue this history. At present I have only to summarise the events as a part of the growth of Venetian dominion in the Terra Ferma.

In the years 1404-1406, several important cities and districts in Lombardy came under the Venetian Government, and had *Statuti* or constitutions voted by the places themselves, and confirmed by the doge. At the head of the government was a Podestà or Rettor, a Venetian appointed by Venice, as was also the captain of the troops. Under the Podestà or Rettor were elective councils and boards, to whom the municipal government was entrusted, and in forming these bodies great variety was allowed, so that little change in these matters from their condition before the conquest was required. Vicenza, and the mountain district known as the *Sette Comuni*, inhabited by simple pastoral people, supposed to have been in ancient times immigrants from Germany, were the first to submit. Verona followed in July 1405, and in January 1406 Padua sent ambassadors to make her submission at a solemn gathering in the Piazza, where there was much display of gay clothes, and banners and jousting in the afternoon. Venice made liberal provision for the *Studio* or

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iv. 15-23.

University of Padua, setting apart 4000 ducats a year, with the produce of a special tax imposed for this purpose, for payment of stipends to the doctors of that school, who were already famous throughout Europe.

The next acquisition of Venice in North Italy was that of the reversion of Ravenna on the failure of heirs male of the Polenta family: in 1409 Ladislaus, King of Naples and Hungary, hard pressed by his rival Sigismund, who in 1411 became Emperor, sold to her Zara and his other Dalmatian cities. A war with Sigismund followed, which lasted with intermissions more than ten years, in the course of which Venice conquered Sacile, Cividale, Belluno, Feltre, and Udine. These places were in the territory of the Patriarch of Aquileia, an ally of the King of Hungary, who was now also Emperor. When Udine surrendered in June 1420, the Venetians sent a lieutenant (*luogotenente*) there, and established a constitution, and the patriarch in the same summer ceded his rights in the March of Friuli to the Republic, and had to content himself for the future with the three districts of San Vito, San Daniele, and Aquileia.<sup>1</sup>

The conquest of Friuli was the beginning of the establishment of the Terra Ferma as a recognised part of the Venetian territory. Friuli from the days of Theodoric and Justinian had been important, as occupying the most convenient pass from Germany into the Adriatic coastlands. Louis the Debonair set up twelve counts in it, and Otto I. made it one of the fourteen marches into which he divided Italy, and encouraged the growth of its cities by placing them under consoli, capitani, or gastaldi of their own. His successor, Otto II., was the first to grant Udine with some adjoining castles as a fief to the Patriarch of Aquileia, who about the same time transferred his see to Udine. Later Emperors granted at various times the whole of the duchy of Friuli to the patriarchs, who became powerful princes, with spiritual and temporal authority

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iv. pp. 80, 81.

united in their hands.<sup>1</sup> They had often been unquiet and dangerous neighbours to Venice. When they ceded the bulk of their lands to her, the Republic, controlling the Adriatic and the passes of Friuli, commanded the approaches both by sea and by land to Eastern Italy.

The increase of importance gained by Venice had been shown in 1409, when ambassadors from France, England, and Burgundy came to press her to recognise as Pope Alexander V., who had been elected by a meeting of prelates at Pisa, in the hope that he might supersede the two rival Popes, and end the schism that had lasted nearly twenty-five years. One of the rivals, Gregory XII., was a Venetian, Angelo Correr, a feeble octogenarian, and there was a hot discussion in the Senate between his partisans and those, among whom was the Doge Steno, who advised compliance with the wishes of the ambassadors. The schism was not ended at this time, and in 1415 the Council of Constance was assembled to end it. To this Venice sent an embassy, and was represented by three Venetian cardinals in the conclave. On Gregory XII.'s resignation, she sent an embassy of four nobles to the new Pope, Ottone Colonna, elected by the council, who took the name of Martin V., and succeeded by his virtues and moderation in bringing the schism of forty-two years to an end.

All through the fifteenth century Venice, often allied with Florence, strove to prevent the Visconti and the Sforzas, with their hordes of mercenaries, from becoming sovereigns of Italy, and Venice even more than Florence set an example of domestic peace and settled government under a free constitution, which roused the anger of the despotic governments beyond the Alps, and brought about in 1509 the famous league of Cambray, in which the Emperor, the Pope, the Kings of France and Spain, and other smaller powers were allied "to quench the conflagration that

<sup>1</sup> See an instructive passage in Romanin, iv. p. 82.

threatened them all from the insatiable cupidity of Venice, and her thirst for dominion.”<sup>1</sup> But the complicated history of this century, and the great European struggle in which it ended, I must reserve for another volume, if my life should be spared to continue my task.

<sup>1</sup> See the passage from Rainaldus, t. xx. p. 64, quoted in Romanin, v. p. 188.

## EXCURSUS (see p. 90 and p. 134).

I have referred again to the "*carovana*" for Cyprus and Layas and the regularity with which it started from Venice in note 4 to p. 303. Since this book has been in type I have found the explanation of the word *mudua* in connexion with this and other *carovane* in Mr. Walter Ashburner's learned and interesting edition of the "Rhodian Sea-Law." Referring to the dangers incurred by merchant ships from pirates and corsairs ("*propter timorem cursariorum et malorum hominum*"), he says: "Another result of these dangers was that the ships which went from Italian ports on commercial expeditions went generally in batches. At Venice the agglomeration of ships was called a *mudua*. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were two *mudue* every year from Venice to Syria and Egypt. One, '*mudua pasche de resurrectione*,' . . . left in spring and got back in September; the other, '*mudua de mense Augusti*,' . . . left in August, wintered abroad, and returned in May of next year. . . . There were three *mudue* every year to Romania. The first to start left in the spring and got back in September; the second, '*mudua Sancti Petri*,' left at the end of June and got back in the late autumn; the third left in August, wintered abroad, and was back by Easter. The pilgrim traffic from Venice also went in *mudue*."

He mentions that there was also one caravan from Genoa each year to Syria and Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

The two *mudue* to Syria and Egypt are commonly spoken of in legal documents as *mudua pasce* and *mudua hiemis* (*yemis*) or *hiberni* (*yuberni*). The *mudua Sancti Petri* is also sometimes spoken of as that of St. Andrew; it started in June about St. Peter's Day, and had to be back by the end of November (St. Andrew's Day). A deed of Ravano dalle Carceri in Tafel and Thomas, No. cciv., undertakes to send his tribute and a robe for the doge and an altar-cloth for St. Mark's at his own risk from Negropont, in time to arrive by St. Andrew's Day. If these are lost by the way, he promises to send the value of them *per muduam pasce majoris*.

The Rubriche of the lost books of Misti (Decrees of the Senate), which have been printed in *Archivio Veneto*,<sup>2</sup> are full of regulations as to the time of starting and return of the Galeæ. These were, I think, ships of war that went primarily as an escort for the merchant-men, and also probably carried merchandise of light weight. See the quotation from Molmenti in my note on p. 90. Mr. Ashburner refers to Schaube's *Handelgeschichte*, which is not in the British Museum Library.

<sup>1</sup> Ashburner's "Rhodian Sea-Law," p. cxlvii. sq.

<sup>2</sup> xix. 105 sqq. See *ib.*, xvii. pp. 251-75, and xviii. 315.