CIHM
Microfiche
Series
(Monographs)

ICMH
Collection de
microfiches
(monographies)

Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

©1998

Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming are checked below.

- [ ] Coloured covers / Couverture de couleur
- [ ] Covers damaged / Couverture endommagée
- [ ] Covers restored and/or laminated / Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- [ ] Cover title missing / Le titre de couverture manque
- [ ] Coloured maps / Cartes géographiques en couleur
- [ ] Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black) / Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- [ ] Coloured plates and/or illustrations / Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- [ ] Bound with other material / Relié avec d'autres documents
- [ ] Only edition available / Seule édition disponible
- [x] Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin / La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure.
- [ ] Blank leaves added during restorations may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming / Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- [ ] Additional comments / Commentaires supplémentaires:

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- [ ] Coloured pages / Pages de couleur
- [ ] Pages damaged / Pages endommagées
- [ ] Pages restored and/or laminated / Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- [x] Pages discoloured, stained or foxed / Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- [ ] Pages detached / Pages détachées
- [x] Showthrough / Transparence
- [ ] Quality of print varies / Qualité inégale de l'impression
- [ ] Includes supplementary material / Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- [ ] Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image / Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.
- [ ] Opposing pages with varying colouration or discolourations are filmed twice to ensure the best possible image / Les pages s'opposant ayant des colorations variables ou des décolorations sont filmées deux fois afin d'obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below /
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10x	12x	14x	16x	18x	20x	22x	24x	26x	28x	30x	32x
					✓						

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

National Library of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol —► (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ▼ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:

L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

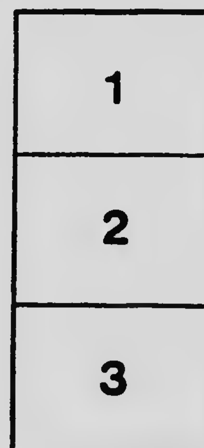
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

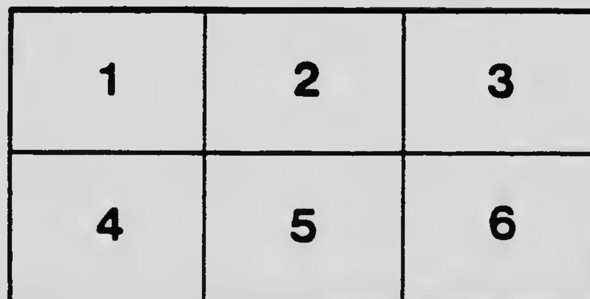
Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole —► signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ▼ signifie "FIN".

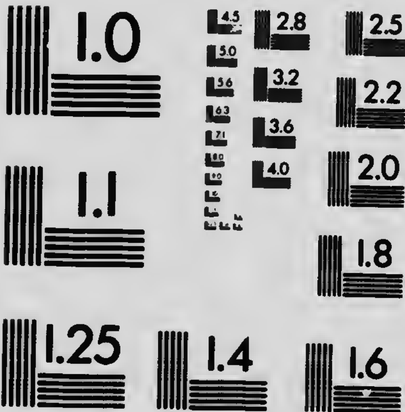
Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

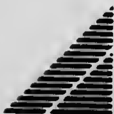




MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



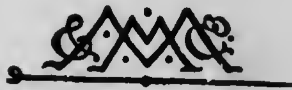


APPLIED IMAGE Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

GLEANINGS

FROM

VENETIAN HISTORY



MACMILLAN AND CO., Limited
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO
ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, Ltd.
TORONTO

GLEANINGS

FROM

VENETIAN HISTORY

BY

FRANCIS MARION CRAWFORD

WITH ILL[illegible]TIONS BY JOSEPH PENNELL

London
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1907

All rights reserved

DG676
C8
1907

154154

First Edition (2 vols. Ex. Crown 8vo)
Second Edition (1 vol. Ex. Crown 8vo), 1907

v

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	Salve Venetia!	1
I.	The Beginnings	8
II.	The Little Golden Age	22
III.	The Republic of Saint Mark	32
IV.	Venice under the Families of Partecipazio, Candiano, and Orseolo	49
V.	Venice and the First Crusades	83
VI.	Venice and Constantinople	110
VII.	The Fourteenth Century in Venice	141
VIII.	On Manners and Certain Customs in the Fourteenth Century	226
IX.	The Feast of the Maries	244
X.	The Doges in the Early Part of the Fourteenth Century	252
XI.	Conspiracy of Marino Faliero	271
XII.	The Successors of Marino Faliero	300
XIII.	Carlo Zeno	310
XIV.	The War of Chioggia	324
XV.	Venice in the Fifteenth Century	365
XVI.	The Aristocratic Magistracies at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century	434
XVII.	Gleanings from Venetian Criminal History	477
XVIII.	Venetian Diplomacy	500
XIX.	The Arsenal, the Glass-Works, and the Lace-Makers	516

		PAGE
XX.	Concerning some Ladies of the Sixteenth Century	536
XXI.	A few Painters, Men of Letters, and Scholars	549
XXII.	The Triumphant City	580
XXIII.	The Hose Club—Venetian Legends	599
XXIV.	The Decadence	614
XXV.	The Last Homes—The Last Great Ladies	636
XXVI.	The Last Carnivals—The Last Fairs—The Last Feasts	665
XXVII.	The Last Magistrates	684
XXVIII.	The Last Sbirri	703
XXIX.	The Last Doges	724
XXX.	The Last Soldiers	737
XXXI.	The Last Diplomatists	748
XXXII.	The Last Hour	765
XXXIII.	Conclusion	793
	The Doges of Venice	801
	Table of the Principal Dates in Venetian History	805
	Books consulted	809
Index		817

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
From outside the Lido	1
Rio della Pace	2
The Mists gather on the Lagoons	3
Looking towards St. George's	7
The Custom-House, Venice	8
The Lights of the Lido	9
Chioggia	11
Bridge at Chioggia	13
The Cathedral at Murano	15
The Islands	20
The Approach from Mestre	22
Fish Baskets	30
Venice from the Lido	32
Shops near the Rialto	34
Grand Canal, near Rialto	35
A Water Door near S. Benedetto	41
Narrow Water Lane	43
On the Giudecca	45
The Steps of the Salute	47
The Riva at Night	49
St. Mark's	51
A Chapel, St. Mark's	52
The Porch, St. Mark's	53
St. Mark's	57
Door of St. Mark's	59
From the Gallery, St. Mark's	61
The Great Doorway, St. Mark's	63

PAGE

The Christ of St. Mark's 67
A Shrine, St. Mark's 69
The Great Window, St. Mark's 73
Fishing Boats at the Riva 81
The Grand Canal from the Ca d' Oro 83
The Post Office 87
Off the Public Gardens 91
The Clock Tower 95
The Dogana and the Salute 101
Chioggia 105
S. Pietro in Castello 108
Ponte Malcantone 110
The Salute 116
Fondamenta S. Girolamo 121
Venice from the Lagoon 126
Campiello S. Giovanni 129
Campo, Santa Ternita 137
The House of Faliero, Ponte dei S. S. Apostoli . . . 141
The Tiepolo Palace 143
Boats off the Public Garden 147
Court of Appeals, Grand Canal 148
The Flags flying in the Piazza 155
The Campanile 157
St. Theodore 159
S. Severo 165
S. Pietro in Castello 167
The Great Lamp, St. Mark's 171
The Canarreggio 173
The House of the Spirits 174
S. Paolo 175
The Little Fish Market 179
Off the Public Gardens 183
Rio della Pieta 189
Rio S. Agostin 195
Rio Jena Seconda 199
Calle del Spezier 207
Rio di S. Pantoleone 217

PAGE
The Abbazzia 226
A Campo 231
Rio della Panada 237
Fondamenta Marcotta 244
The Abbazzia 252
Campo S. Maria 253
S. Lorenzo 263
Rio S. Stin 267
Zattere, the Morning Mist 271
Calle Occhialera 275
Campo S. Maria Novà 281
Ponte e Fondamenta di Donna Onesta 287
Ramo della Scuola 289
Campo S. Agnello 300
The Three Bridges 310
Rio della Guerra 315
Rio Pertrin 319
Bridge at Chioggia 324
Street in Chioggia 325
The Shrine at Chioggia 327
The Salute, Night 329
Calle Casalli 335
Calle della Donazella 339
Campo S. Benedetto 341
The Horses over the Great Door, St. Mark's 349
On the Giudecca 351
Rio S. Polo 353
Moonlight Night, S. M. dell' Orto 359
The Carmine 365
Rio de S. Pantaleone 369
The Church of the Frari 371
Ponte Fiorenzola 381
Land Gateway, Palazzo Foscari 385
Palazzo Regina di Cipro 391
Ramo Corte della Vida, S. Francesco della Vida . . . 399
The Frari 401
The Choir Screen, Frari 403

	PAGE
S. Rocco	405
Grand Canal looking to Canarreggio	409
Tombs in the Frari	417
Ca d' Oro	421
Entrance to S. Zaccharia	427
The Piazzetta, Misty Morning	431
S. Maria degli Scalzi, Grand Canal	434
Hall of the Great Clocks, Ducal Palace	439
Hall of the Pictures, Ducal Palace	441
The Stair of Gold, Ducal Palace	445
Rio S. Atanasio	449
S. Samuele	459
On the Zattere	467
Rio del Rimedio	469
Mouth of the Grand Canal	477
The Rialto at Night	479
From the Balcony of the Ducal Palace	481
The Columns, Piazzetta	483
The Salute from the Giudecca	485
A Garden Wall	493
Palazzo Dario	505
Calle Beccheria	507
Ponte del Cristo	516
S. Michele	519
Venice from Murano	520
The Duomo Campanile, Murano	521
Murano, looking towards Venice	523
Murano	524
The House of Beroviero, Murano	525
The Palaces	527
The Rialto Steps	531
Noon on the Rialto	533
At the Rialto	534
Evening off S. Georgio	536
Casa Weidermann	543
The Grand Canal in Summer	549
Euganean Hills from the Lagoon, Low Tide	551

PAGE

House of Tintoretto 561
House of Aldus 563
S. Giacomo in Orio 571
Doorway of the Sacristy, S. Giacomo in Orio 573
Fondamenta Sanudo 575
A Holiday on the Riva 580
Door of the Carmine 585
Interior of the Carmine 589
Campo behind S. Giacomo in Orio 591
The Piazza 595
Pigeons in the Piazza 597
Sotto Portico della Guerra 599
Ponte S. Antonio 603
S. Zobenigo 605
Ponte dell' Angelo, Giudecca, old Wooden Bridge . . . 610
Rio S. Sofia, Night 614
Santa Maria Formosa 617
Grand Canal looking towards Mocenigo Palace 623
The Fondamenta S. Giorgio, Redentore in Distance . . 627
Steps of the Redentore 629
The Nave of S. Stefano 633
The Riva from the Dogana 636
Campo S. Bartolomeo, Statue of Goldoni 637
SS. Giovanni e Paolo 645
Night on the Riva 647
Rio della Toresela 655
A Narrow Street, near the Academy 659
Grand Canal 665
Church of the Miracle 669
The Procession of the Redentore 675
Near the Fenice 681
Grand Canal from the Fish Market 684
S. Barnabò 685
Instituto Bon, Grand Canal 687
When the Alps show themselves, Fondamenta Nuove . . . 693
Café on the Zattere 695
The Dogana . . . . 6[illegible]

PAGE

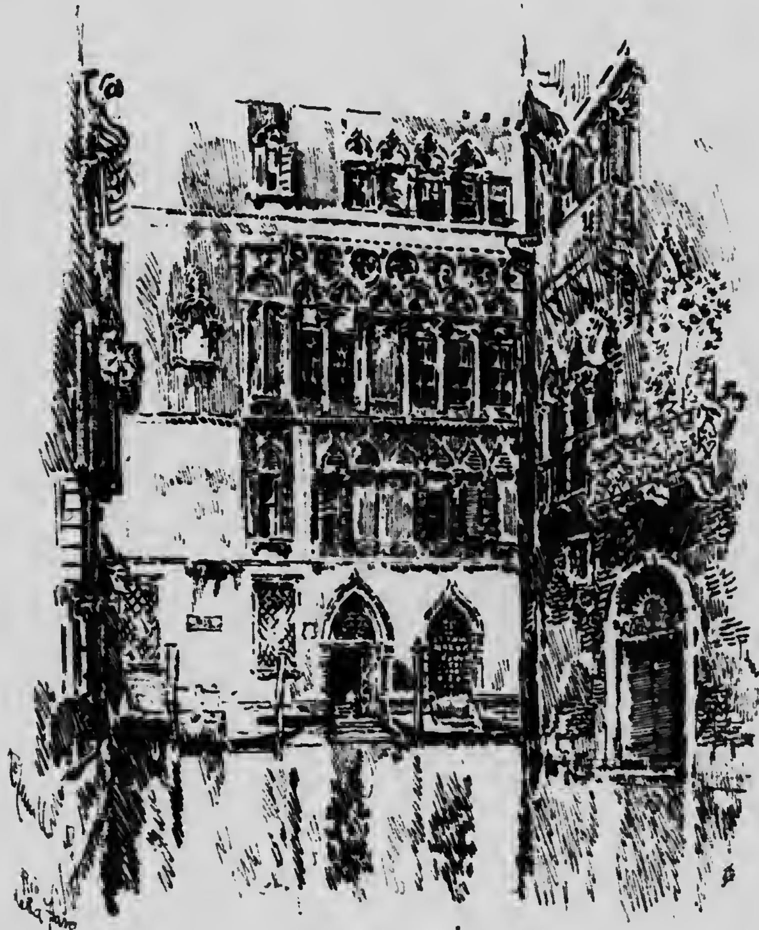
Rio della Sensa 703
Rio S. Stin 707
Rio della Guerra 710
Via Garibaldi 715
The Pesaro Palace, Grand Canal 724
Marco Polo's Court 729
Ponte della Pietà 731
From the Public Garden at Sunset 737
Boat-Builders 742
The Vegetable Market 743
Fondamenta Weidermann 745
The Salute from S. Giorgio 748
From the Ponte della Pietà 751
On the Way to Fusina, from the Mouth of the Brenta . . 755
A Lonely Canal 759
Evening 765
The Salute from the Lagoon 769
From the Ponte S. Rocco 779
Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo 785
So-called House of Desdemona 787
Sails 793
A Gateway 794

FROM OUTSIDE THE LIDO

SALVE VENETIA!

VENICE is the most personal of all cities in the world, the most feminine, the most comparable to a woman, the least dependent, for her individuality, upon her inhabitants, ancient or modern. What would Rome be without the memory of the Cæsars? What would Paris be without the Parisians? What was Constantinople like before it was Turkish? The imagination can hardly picture a Venice different from her present self at any time in her history. Where all is colour, the more brilliant costumes of earlier times could add but little; a general exodus of all her inhabitants to-day would leave almost as much of it behind. In the still canals the gorgeous palaces continually gaze down upon their own reflected images with placid satisfaction, and look with calm indifference upon the changing generations of men and women that glide upon the waters. The mists gather upon the mysterious lagoons and sink away again before the devouring light, day after day,

year after year, century after century; and Venice is always there herself, sleeping or waking, laughing, weeping, dreaming, singing or sighing, living her own life through ages, with an intensely vital personality



RIO DELLA PACE

which time has hardly modified, and is altogether powerless to destroy. Somehow it would not surprise those who know her, to come suddenly upon her and find that all human life was extinct within her, while her

own went on, strong as ever; nor yet, in the other extreme, would it seem astonishing if all that has been should begin again, as though it had never ceased to be, if the Bucentaur swept down the Grand Canal to the beat of its two hundred oars, bearing the Doge out to wed the sea with gorgeous train; if the Great Council began to sit again in all its splendour; if the

THE MISTS GATHER ON THE LAGOONS

Piazza were thronged once more with men and women from the pictures of Paris Bordone, Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, and Titian; if Eastern shipping crowded the entrance to the Giudecca, and Eastern merchants filled the shady ways of the Merceria. What miracle could seem miraculous in Venice, the city of wonders?

It is hard indeed to recall the beginnings of the city, and the time when a few sand-ridges just rose above the surface of the motionless lagoon, like the backs

of dozing whales in a summer sea. The fishermen from the mainland saw the resemblance too, and called them 'backs'—'dorsi'—giving some of them names which like 'Dorso duro' have clung to them until our own time, and will perhaps live on, years hence, among other generations of fishermen, when Venice shall have disappeared into the waste of sand and water, out of which her astonishing personality grew into being, and in which it has flourished and survived nearly fifteen centuries.

Mut. Less.

We are not concerned scientifically with the origin of the Venetian people or of their name; we need not go back with Romanin to the legendary days of the first great struggle between Asia and Europe, in the hope of proving that the Venetians were of the great Scythian race and took the side of Troy against the injured Atrides; it matters not at all whether the Venetians were the same as the Eneti, whether Eneti was a Greek name signifying those that 'went in,' the 'Intruders,' or whether it came from the Syriac Hanida, meaning a 'Pilgrim.' Venice did not begin under the walls of Troy, nor even in the great Roman consular province of the mainland that bore the name and handed it down. Venice began to exist when Europe rang with the cry of fear—'The Huns are upon us!'—on the day when the first fugitives, blind with terror, stumbled ashore upon the back of one of the sand whales in the lagoon, and dared not go back.

Venice was Venice from the first, and is Venice still, a person in our imagination, almost more than a place. To most people her name does not instantly suggest names of great Venetians, as 'Florence' suggests the Medici, as 'Rome' suggests the Cæsars and the Popes, as 'Paris' suggests Louis XIV. and Bonaparte, as 'Constantinople' suggests the Sultan, and 'Bagdad' the Caliphs.

'Venice' calls up a dream of colour, of rich palaces and of still water, and at the name there are more men who will think of Shylock and Othello than of Enrico Dandolo, or Titian, or Carlo Zeno, or Vittor Pisani. Without much reading and some study it is almost impossible to realise that Venice was once a great European power and a weighty element in the alternating equilibrium and unrest of nations; Venice seems to-day a capital without a country, an empress without an empire, and one thinks of her as having always existed simply in order to be always herself, a Venice for Venice's sake, as it were, and not for the purpose of exercising any power, nor as the product of extraneous forces concentrated at a point and working towards a result.

These considerations may explain the charm felt by all those who know her, and the attraction, also, which is in most books that treat her as an artistic and romantic whole, complete in herself, to be studied, admired, and perhaps worshipped, with only an occasional allusion to her political history. So, too, one may account for the dry dulness and uncharming prosiness of most books that profess to tell the history of Venice impartially and justly. There is no such thing as impartial history, and impartial justice is an empty phrase, as every lawyer knows. It is only the second-rate historian, or the compiler of school primers, who does not take one side or the other in the struggles he describes; and a judge who feels no instinctive sympathy for right against wrong, while as yet but half proved, can never be anything but a judicial hack and a legal machine.

Who seeks true poetry, said Rossi, writing on Venice, will find it most abundantly in the early memories of a Christian nation; and indeed the old

chronicles are full of it, of idyls, of legends, and of heroic tales. Only dream a while over the yellow pages of Muratori, and presently you will scent the spring flowers of a thousand years ago, and hear the ripple of the blue waves that lent young Venice their purity, their brilliancy, and their fresh young music. You may even enjoy a pagan vision of maiden Aphrodite rising suddenly out of the sea into the sunshine, but the dream dissolves only too soon, grace turns into strength, the lovely smile of the girl-goddess fades from the commanding features of the reigning queen, and heavenly Venus is already earthly Cleopatra.

Preface Chron. Alt.

It is better to open our arms gladly to the beautiful when she comes to us, than to prepare our dissecting instruments as soon as we are aware of her presence. Phidias and Praxiteles were ignorant of medical anatomy; Thucydides knew nothing of 'scientific' methods in history; the Rhapsodists were not grammarians. No man need be a grammarian to love Homer, nor a scientific historian if he would be thrilled with interest over the siege of Syracuse, nor an anatomist when he elects to dream before the Hermes of Olympia.

And so with Venice; she is a form of beauty, and must be looked upon as that and nothing else; not critically, for criticism means comparison, and Venice is too personal and individual, and too unlike other cities to be fairly compared with them; not coldly, for she appeals to the senses and to the human heart, and craves a little warmth of sympathy; above all, not in a spirit of righteous severity, for he who would follow her story must learn to forgive her almost at every step.

She has paid for her mistakes with all save her inextinguishable life; she has expiated her sins of ill-

faith, of injustice and ingratitude, by the loss of everything but her imperishable charm; the power and the will to do evil are gone from her with her empire, and her name stands on the subject-roll of another's kingdom; she is a widowed and dethroned queen, she is a lonely and lovely princess; she is the Andromeda of Europe, chained fast to her island and trembling in fear of the monster Modern Progress, whose terrible roar is heard already from the near mainland of Italy, across the protecting water. Will any Perseus come down in time to save her?

LOOKING TOWARDS ST. GEORGE'S

THE CUSTOM-HOUSE, VENICE

I

THE BEGINNINGS

In the beginning the river washed sand and mud out through the shallow water at the two mouths of the Brenta; and the tide fought against the streams at flood, so that the silt rose up in bars, but at ebb the salt water rushed out again, mingled with the fresh, and strong turbid currents hollowed channels between the banks, leading out to seaward, until the islands and bars took permanent shape and the currents acquired regular directions, in and out, between and amongst them. In the beginning the spirit of unborn Venice

seemed to say, more truly than Archimedes, 'Give me a place whereon to stand, and I will move the world'; and the rivers and the tides heaped up the sand and made a dry place for her in the midst of the sea.

The lagoon is a shallow basin, roughly shaped like a crescent, its convexity making a bay in the mainland,

THE LIGHTS OF THE LIDO

its concave side bounded against the open sea by the curving banks, called 'Lidi,' beaches, which are long and narrow islands, to distinguish them from the islets of less regular shape that rise above the surface here and there within the confines of the lagoon, those on which Venice stands, and Torcello and Murano, and others which make a miniature archipelago, ending with Chioggia, at the southern point of the crescent.

This archipelago contains twelve principal islands, some of which were inhabited by families that got a living by trading, by hunting and by fishing, selling both fish and game to the ships that plied between Ravenna and Aquileia.

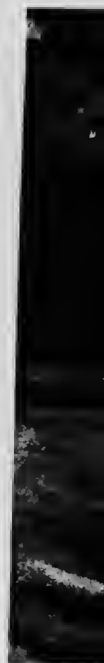
Very early the people of the latter city had made a harbour for their vessels on the island of Grado, which was nearest to them, and the Paduans made small commercial stations on the islands of Rialto and Olivolo. Now and then some rich man from the mainland built himself a small villa on one of the wooded islets, and came thither for his pleasure and for sport. For some of these islands were covered with pine-trees and cane-brakes, while some were muddy, naturally sterile, and inhospitable ; but the early settlers had soon solidified and modified the soil, and reduced it to the cultivation of fodder for cattle, and of vines.

The archipelago was therefore not so much a barren solitude as a quiet corner in very troubled times, and while the small farmers and fishermen knew nothing of Italy's miserable condition, the rich sportsmen who spent a little time there were glad to forget the terrible state of things in their own great world.

For since the capital of the Empire had been transferred to Constantinople, Italy had fallen a prey to the greed of barbarians, and the province of Venetia had been left under the very intermittent protection of a few paid troops supposed to be commanded by a Count or 'Corrector' appointed by the Emperor.

Rom. i. 26.

On the rich mainland stood the cities of Venetia, Aquileia, Altinum, Padua, and many more ; and the wealthy citizens built villas by the sea, with groves of noble trees, trim gardens and wide fishponds, and marble steps leading down to the water's edge ; and



they hunted the wild boar and the stag in the near forests, all the way to the foot of the Julian hills. The land was rich, and far removed from turbulent Rome and intriguing Constantinople, and many a Roman noble took sanctuary from politics on the enchanting shore, to dream away his last years in a luxurious philosophy

CHIOGGIA

hat was based on wealth but was fed on every requirement of culture, and was made sweet by the past experience of danger and unrest.

Then came the first Goths, with fire and sword— more fell than anguish, hunger, or the sea'—and then score of years later fair-haired Alaric, the Achilles of the North, and, like Pelides, untiring, wrathful, inexorable, bold, yet just, according to

About 406 A.D.

his lights, and high-souled if not high-minded, destined first to terrible defeat at Pollentia, but next to still more awful victory, and soon to death and a mysterious grave.

Before the Goths men scattered and fled, the rich to what seemed safety, in Rome, the poor to the woods, to the hills, to the wretched islets of the lagoon. Back they came to their villas, their sea-baths, and their groves when it was surely known that great Alaric was dead and laid to his royal rest in the bed of the southern river.

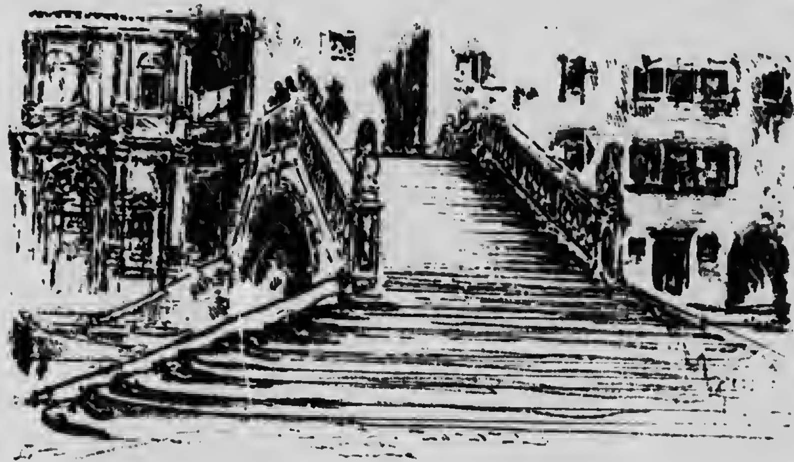
They came back, the poor and the rich, while the world-worn, luxurious, highly-cultivated men of the last days of the Empire enjoyed their hunting and fishing in peace; and over their elaborate dishes and their cups of spiced Greek wine they quoted to each other Martial's lines:—

'Ye shores of Altinum, ye that vie with Baiae's villas—thou grove, that sawest Phæthon's fiery end—and Maiden Sola, fairest of wood-nymphs thou, espoused beside the Euganean lakes with Faunus of Antenor's Paduan land—and thou, Aquileia, that rejoicest in Tamavus, thine own river, sought by Leda's sons where Castor's steed drank of the seven waters—Ye shall be unto mine old age a haven and resting-place, if but mine ease may have the right to choose.'

But while they repeated the fluent elegiacs they remembered the Goths uneasily, for the Empire was in its last years and weak, and Venetia was protected against the barbarians north and east by a handful of Sarmatian mercenaries. What had happened once might happen again, and as the years slipped by each one seemed to bring it nearer; and in half a century after Alaric's first descent, there came another conqueror more terrible than the first, whom men called Attila, the Scourge of God; but he told the Christians that he was the dreadful Antichrist, and the people cried out,

'The Huns are upon us,' and they fled for their lives into the cities. Aquileia, at that time the second city of Italy, and Padua, Altinum, and others, defended themselves and fell, and the people who could not escape perished miserably.

This is history, single and clear. But here springs up legend and says that Attila, who never crossed the



BRIDGE AT CHIOGGIA

Po, laid waste all Tuscany, and his name is a byword of terror, for blood and massacre, and destruction and all bestial ferocity. Legend says, too, that while he was besieging Aquileia, the Hun king saw the need of a fort on high ground, where there was none; and that in three days his hordes piled up the hill on which Udine stands, bringing earth in their helmets and shields, and stones on their backs. Then the Aquileians attempted to flood the country and drown out their besiegers, and they broke through the dykes that kept out the waters of the Piave; but the Huns cut down the grove of Phaëthon and made a vast dam of the trees.

D'Ancona.

It is also told by Paul the Deacon how on a certain day Attila came too near the walls, spying for a weak point, and a party of the besieged folk fell upon him unawares ; but he escaped, with his bow in his hand and his crooked sword, the sword of a Scythian war-god, between his teeth, 'dire flame flashing from his eyes,' and all that his enemies had of him was his crest.

So Aquileia resisted him long, and the Huns were discouraged, until Attila saw a flight of storks flying from the walls and knew thereby that there was famine within.

Then, says the legend, the king of the Aquileians, Menappus, who seems to be quite mythical, took counsel with his brother Antiochus, how the people might escape over the lagoon before the city fell. So they set up wooden images as soldiers with helmet and shield on the ramparts, to represent sentinels, and the Huns were deceived. But one of Attila's chief warriors flew his hawk at the walls, and it settled upon the head of one of the wooden soldiers. So, when the Huns saw that the sentinel was an image and not a man, they scaled the battlements and sacked the almost deserted city and burned it.

It is t 'd also, and the fishermen of those waters still believe the tale, that before they escaped the Aquileians dug a deep well and hid their treasures in it ; and deeds of sale of land are extant, dated as late as the year 1800, in which the seller of the property reserved his right to the legendary treasure well, if it should ever be found. The truth is, however, that after the destruction of the great city and the disappearance of the Huns, many of the fugitives went back and recovered what they had hidden.

The tide of legend sweeps down the coast with the wild riders to Altinum, where mythical King Janus

fights, like a Roland, on a steed that has human understanding and that bears him out of Attila's reach, half dead of his wounds. And inland, then, towards Padua,

THE CATHEDRAL AT MURANO

nd up to its very walls, the heroes fight; this time ttila is wounded, and is saved only by his horse's arvellous speed but on the next day the two kings

meet again in the presence of their armies to decide the war in single combat.

Janus unhorses Attila, and strikes off his ear, and would cut off his head too, but five hundred Hunnish knights rush to the rescue of their king, and Janus is prisoner. But Attila's anger is roused against them. They have broken the laws of knightly combat. His honour is tarnished because his life is saved. To clear it, he sets King Janus free and hangs his five hundred knights as a vast sacrifice for atonement. Then Padua is overpowered and sacked and burned.

The myth goes on to the end in a blaze of impossibilities. Before Rimini Attila disguises himself as a French pilgrim, hides a poisoned knife under his robe, and steals into the besieged city to murder Janus. He finds him playing at dice with one of his knights, and armed from head to foot. He interrupts the game, asks questions, forgets himself, shows his wolfish teeth, and Janus recognises him by the absence of the one ear lopped off at Padua. In an instant the king and the knight overpower the great Hun and slay him on the spot; and so ends Attila, and the myth.

. . . . . .

Of all this legend little enough remains, and that is best summed up in the now almost forgotten line quoted by Professor d'Ancona in his *Leggende* :—

> . . . nata ella sola
> Di serve madri libera figluola.

'The only daughter — among many — of enslaved mothers that was ever born free.' Truly well said of Venice.

The chronicles tell the true story of the first beginnings, and how the people of the pillaged cities found a precarious refuge in the little archipelago.

They crossed in their light boats and landed safely, and forthwith made huts and tabernacles of branches to shelter the relics of the saints which they had saved as possessions more precious than their household goods or little hoards of gold and silver. But the people themselves beached their boats high and dry and lived in them, sheltered from the weather only by awnings, just as the last of the sailor traders still live wherever they find a market on the Calabrian shore; for they hoped to go back to their homes. And so indeed they did, when the Huns departed at last; they returned to their cities and rebuilt the battered walls of Aquileia and Altinum, trusting to dwell in peace. But the second destruction was not far off: the Ostrogoths came, and the Lombards, and the people fled once more, never to return.

Rom. i. 56-57.

544-564 A.D.

568 A.D.

The unknown author of the Chronicle of Altinum carries on the tale in a most amazing compound of history, fiction, poetry, and statistics. More than one scholar has indeed been tempted to surmise that this document is the work of several writers.

From them, or from the one, we learn something of the circumstances which drove the inhabitants of Altinum to take to their boats and seek a final refuge in the lagoons; and the story of the second flight, like that of the first, is fantastically illuminated by the writer's poetic imagination.

'In the days of the Bishop Paul' is the only date the Chronicle gives, and doubtless that was very clear to the first monk who took down the manuscript from its place in the convent library and first pored over its contents. In the days, therefore, when Paul was bishop in Altinum, there came out of the west a pestilence of cruel pagans, fierce

Chron. Altin.

Lombards, who destroyed cities in their path as the flame licks up dry grass, and who would surely have made an end of the peaceful people of Altinum if Heaven had not sent signs warning them to escape.

For one day Bishop Paul looked up to the towers and turrets of the city and saw that the birds which had their nests therein were flying round and round in agitation, and were chirping and chattering and cawing, each after his kind, as if they were gathered together in consultation. But suddenly, as Paul looked, the birds all took their flight southwards; and those that had young which could not yet fly, carried them in their beaks.

The good Bishop knew at once that this portent was a warning, and he called his flock together and told what he had seen. Then many of the people, never doubting but that he was right, fled at once towards Ravenna, and to Istria, and to the cities of the Pentapolis; but the rest fasted three days and prayed that God, by another sign, would show them the path of safety.

On the third day, therefore, a strong and clear voice was heard, saying, 'Go up into the great tower and look towards the stars.' And they went up; and the stars' reflections made paths upon the water towards the islands of the lagoons. Then the people who had remained filled their boats with their possessions; and the good Bishop Paul led them, and the two holy priests Geminianus and Maurus, and two noble knights, Arius and Arator; and they came safely to the island of Grado, and landed there, and were saved. But soon afterwards they spread over some of the other islands and gave names to these, which recalled memories of their old home.

Now, as has been pointed out already in speaking of the first flight, the little archipelago was by no means uninhabited. Fishermen lived on the islands, and small

farmers and some herdsmen, none of whom, it may be supposed, were inclined to give the newcomers a warm welcome. In plain fact the people of the mainland, well provided and well armed, made an easy conquest of the islands; but in the fiction of the Chronicle it seemed necessary to account for the high-handed deed on grounds of virtue and religion, and the author forthwith launches into legend, showing us how Arius and Arator set at rest the scruples of the conquerors, if peradventure they had any.

God and the saints intervened. One day the holy Maurus looked towards one of the islands, and behold, two bright stars stood together above it, and a great voice was heard saying, 'I am the Lord, the Master and the Saviour of the world. Raise thou here a temple to my glory.' But from the other star came a soft, clear voice which said, 'I am Mary, the mother of God. Build unto me a church.'

There was no possibility of questioning such a form of investiture, or of disputing the right of invaders who received their orders audibly from Heaven.

A little farther on there was a very beautiful island, covered with grass, whereon pastured great flocks of cattle and sheep; and Maurus asked whether perchance these herds belonged to any man, and received answer immediately. For suddenly there appeared in a rosy brightness like the dawn two figures of divine beauty; and one was that of an old man, but the other was young, and little more than a lad. Then spake the old man and said, 'I am Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, who am set over all flocks, and have power to forgive all sins. I give unto thee this island, and thou shalt build a temple in honour of my name.' Also the youth spake, saying, 'I am the servant of God. I am called Autonus, and I gave my life for Christ's sake. Build me

a little church. My name is nowhere spoken in the liturgy with those of the martyrs; I enjoin upon thee to name me in thy prayers, both night and day, and I will pray God to grant all that thou shalt ask for thee and thine.' Moreover, the two saints, before they vanished, traced on the ground the plans of the churches they desired for themselves.

Again, a little white cloud appeared to the holy Maurus, and it was the footstool under the feet of a

THE ISLANDS

most fair maiden, who spake and said, 'I am Justina, whom they put to death in Padua because I confessed the name of Christ. I beseech thee, thou priest of the Lord, that thou wilt raise upon this island a little church, to honour me, wherein thou shalt sing praises to me every day and every night, as a Martyr and a Virgin, and I will grant whatsoever thou askest of me.'

Afterwards many other heavenly visions came to comfort the people of Altinum, and, amongst other saints, Saint John the Baptist also received the promise of a fair temple.

By heavenly or earthly means, therefore, the fugitives had now obtained for themselves a home, and they began to consider how they should establish themselves in it conveniently, so that it should not be taken from them. Then, such of the people as had occupied a high position in Altino were charged by the leaders to take each the command of one island—here a Marcello, there a Faliero, and farther on a Calciamiro ; all names which appear again and again throughout the history of the maritime state which was then and there founded and began to live, while the Lombards were tearing down the walls of the old homes on the mainland and burning what could not be destroyed in any other way.

THE APPROACH FROM MESTRE

II

THE LITTLE GOLDEN AGE

As soon as the fugitives had given up all hope of returning to the mainland, they began that tremendous struggle with nature which built up the Venice we still see, and which, in some degree, will end only when it shall have finally disappeared again in the course of ages. The beginners displayed an almost incredible activity, which their descendants sustained without a break for centuries.

They strengthened the muddy islands with dykes and rows of driven piles; they dug canals and lined them

first with timber and then with stone; they straightened the courses of the currents, lest these should wash away the least fragment of land, where there was so little; they worked like beavers to win a few poor yards of earth from the restless flood.

The different tribes led strangely independent existences, though living so near together in the islands they had seized. Each one endeavoured to model the new home as much as possible upon the old, celebrating the same feasts in honour of the same saints, upon altars that enshrined the same long-treasured relics, and clinging with the affection and tenacity of unwilling exiles to the traditions and customs of the fatherland.

Though living almost within a stone's throw the one from the other, the people of Aquileia, of Altinum, and of Padua held at first hardly any communication, and had little in common; but they all clung to the patriarchal life, as is easily proved by very ancient documents. It is quite certain that each group had a chief, chosen to govern the little colony on account of his superior experience, riches, and authority. He was the guardian of the old home traditions, and strove to preserve them ever young, and to him appeal was made in all questions of justice and equity.

Rom. i. 73.

It is most important to remember that all these early settlers were descended from people who had been subject for centuries to Roman influence, as well as to Roman government; and it was only natural that they should long afterwards show traces of such early national raining, if I may use the expression. Their society lmost instinctively sifted itself into castes: here were nobles—that is, the rich; there vere the burghers, and there were the 'little people,' s they were called—'minori.' It was the duty of the obles to provide all the rest with the means of living,

Rom. i. 95.

as well as to govern and protect them. Custom required that every rich man should entertain under his protection a certain number of families of lower rank, who were called the 'convicini,' that is, 'fellow-neighbours,' a usage which recalled the Roman system of patron and client. The father of the family, as in Rome, had almost unlimited power over his children. All meetings of importance were presided over by the clergy.

Rom. i. 60.

It was, in fact, an assembly of the clergy and of fathers of families which, in each group of emigrants, had given the leader of the expedition the Roman title of Tribune; and after a leader's death his successor was elected in the same way, very generally from amongst his direct descendants. If this occurred during three or four successive generations his family became naturally invested with a real hereditary authority. The relation between the head of the family and the 'fellow-neighbours' consisted of generosity on the one hand and of gratitude on the other, a species of exchange of sentiments not likely to produce undue tension. But where the head of the colony was concerned, an ambitious tribune, who showed signs of trying to turn himself into an autocrat, was held in check by the necessity of being re-elected to his office every year. For in each island, on the feast of its particular patron saint, the people met together, either in the church or on the shore, to choose the chief for the next twelve months, and they often elected the same tribune again and again; but if he had done the slightest thing to displease them, they had it in their power to choose a better man in his place.

Rom. i. 76.

Chron. Altin.

During his term of office the tribune took for himself tithes on game that was killed, fish that was caught, and crops that were harvested.

Properly speaking, there were neither magistrates nor tribunals at that time, for the tribune himself judged all causes in public, most often in the church. A few fragments of written law existed, no doubt, but they were wholly inadequate; and though it was attempted to supply their deficiencies by adding some articles from the Lombard code, the real law was tradition. Such was the good faith of that little golden age, that the sworn evidence of two respectable persons was enough to convict any misdoer without any further form of trial, and condign punishment followed directly upon conviction.

According to the accounts they have left of themselves, these primitive Venetians were a simple and devout people, who divided their time between honest labour, the singing of psalms and devout hymns, and the narration to each other of beatific visions of Apostles and Virgin Martyrs, who appeared for the purpose of ordering themselves churches. The churches were undoubtedly built in great numbers, largely out of the better fragments which could still be gathered amidst the ruins of the old forsaken cities on the mainland. The nobles of Padua, who were probably the best of the colonists, brought enough old material to build themselves the whole town of Heraclea, on the island of that name; but even there the best and most artistic pieces of stone and marble were used in the construction of the churches and monasteries.

The people worked in the fields, cultivated the vine, bred cattle, and dealt in salt, which latter was one of their chief resources. They were not yet rich, but they were already economical, and their gains more than sufficed for their needs, so that the slow accumulation of wealth began at a very early period.

The ancient Venetian type, described in Roman

times, continued to dominate even beyond the fourteenth century. The men were large, fair-haired, and strong; the women were rather inclined to be stout, and it was noticed that their hair turned grey comparatively early.

Rom. i. 67.

Both sexes dressed with great simplicity, and for a long time clung to the old Roman fashions. They had always shown a remarkable liking for blue clothes; during many centuries the inhabitants of Venetia had been known as the 'Blues,' and long after the division of the Empire one faction in the games of the circus went by that name.

Vecellio.

Their speech was still Latin at that early time, but soon afterwards the influence of the Greeks and Lombards began to make itself felt in their language, as well as in their dress and ornaments, and even in their architecture.

Dalmedico.

They lived in a certain abundance, and ate much meat, after the manner of all young nations. One may dig almost anywhere and come upon layers of the bones of wild boar and other game, as well as of cattle and sheep. Among fish they are known to have thought the turbot the best, and they preferred wild ducks to all other birds. The vine throve also, and produced good wines which soon gained a reputation on the mainland.

Mut. Costumi.

At first the emigrants needed no occupations beyond husbandry, fishing, and the preparation of salt; but as the population increased and prices rose accordingly, since saving had begun, the need of a wider field of activity was felt, and the Venetians rapidly developed the seafaring instincts of all healthy and active island peoples. Two hundred years had not elapsed since the raid of the Huns before the small archipelago at the

head of the Adriatic was in possession of the finest fleet of vessels that Italy could yet boast.

Such a golden age as the chroniclers describe could not last long. In every newly-peopled country the rule is good faith, mutual help and charity between man and man, so long as there is a common adversary to be overcome, whether in the shape of natural difficulties, as was the case in the Venetian islands, or of wild beasts, or of human enemies, as in North America. So long as the settlers in the archipelago had to fight against the elements to win a stable foundation for their towns against the changeful, hungry currents; so long as they had to work hard to break and plough the land, to plant the vine, to build habitations for themselves and temples for their protecting saints, just so long did they abstain from coveting their neighbours' goods. There was even a sort of rough-and-ready federation between the islands for the joint protection of their commerce and their ships, and now and then, in exceptional circumstances, the tribunes of the different isles had met together in debate for the common welfare. Their improvised parliament even received a name; it was called the Maritime University.

Rom. i. 68.

But as the general wealth increased, and the energetic struggle with nature settled into a steady and not excessive effort, the people of each island very naturally began to think less about themselves and more about their neighbours. Leisure bred vanity, vanity bred envy, and envy brought forth violence of all sorts.

The evil began at the top of the communities and spread downwards. The families of the tribunes became jealous one of another, and tried to outdo each other in wealth and display and power; and the poorer sort of the people took sides with their leaders and vied with

each other, island with island, so that before the end of the seventh century much blood had dyed the lagoons.

Naturally enough, such internal discord laid the communities open to attacks from without; and the Slav pirates came sailing in their swift vessels from the Dalmatian coast, and gathered rich booty in the archipelago. In the face of a common danger home quarrels were once more forgotten, and the people of the islands met to consider the general safety.

It was soon decided that internal peace could only be maintained by electing a single leader over all, a Dux, a Duke, a Doge, and the first choice fell on Paulus Lucas Anafestus, of Heraclea. Each island was to preserve its own tribune, its own laws, and its own judges, if it had any, and the Doge was to meddle with nothing that did not concern the common welfare of the whole federation. Moreover, no measure proposed by him was to become law until the people had voted upon it in general assembly called the Arengo.

697-717 A.D.

Such was the remedy proposed, and in it lay the germ of the future form of government. But at first it produced a result the contrary of what was expected. The families of the different tribunes had envied and hated one another; they united to envy and hate the family of which the head was in power as Doge.

A violent dispute between the partisans of Anafestus and those of the tribune of Equilio brought about the first conflict. Equilio was in part overgrown with pine-trees, and the angry adversaries met in the dusky grove and fought to the death; and it is recorded that the small canal, which drained the land under the trees, ran red that day, wherefore it was afterwards called 'Archimicidium,'

Rom. i. 107.

which I take to mean 'the beginning of killing'; but it is now the Canal Orfano, in which criminals were drowned during many centuries.

That day was indeed the beginning of murder between the people of Equilio and those of Heraclea, and their hatred for each other was handed down afterwards from generation to generation, to our own times, so that even when the two islands were both included in the city of Venice, and both governed by the same municipal laws, the people still formed two hostile factions, of which more will be said hereafter.

After having elected three doges, the people concluded from the result that they had been mistaken in choosing such a form of government, and by common agreement the power was placed in the hands of a military head, who was called the Chief of Militia; but as this experiment proved a failure after a trial of five years, the federation went back to the election of a Doge.

737-742 A.D.

During all this period, and up to the ninth century, the islands were nominally under the protection of the Eastern Empire, if not under its domination; but a little study of the subject shows that the actors more than once changed parts, and that the protected were as often as not besought to become the protectors. For instance, the Exarch Paul, the viceroy of the Emperor, could never have re-entered his city of Ravenna, after the Lombards had taken it, unless the Venetians had helped him; and when the Doge Orso received of the Emperor the title of 'Hypatos,' it must have been given to him rather as the acknowledgment of a debt of gratitude to an ally than as a recompense granted to a faithful subject.

In such a difference there is something more than a shade that distinguishes two similar formalities; and

historians have interpreted the Emperor's brief, and other acts of the Court of Constantinople, according to their varying pleasure. Yet the truth is clear enough. The new-born Republic possessed a real independence, based on the good relations she maintained with her neighbours in general. She was satisfied with her power of governing herself, and was not inclined to quarrel with the Court of Constantinople, or with her nearer neighbours on the peninsula, about such trifles as words and forms. Her early policy was rather to

FISH BASKETS

escape notice than to boast of her liberty; yet it cannot be denied that during the seventh and eighth centuries the Greek influence predominated, both in the spirit of the laws and in the commercial activity of the Republic.

Meanwhile the more discontented citizens, and notably the more powerful families, which were jealous of each other, did their best to stir up faction and to bring about a revolutionary change which would have been ruinous. In the hope of internal quiet, the capital was transferred from Heraclea to Malamocco, of which the inhabitants were considered the most

peaceful and law-abiding in all the lagoons; but the remedy was not a serious one, and the doges were successively murdered, or exiled, or forced to abdicate.

The Republic was on the point of perishing in these inglorious struggles when an unforeseen danger from abroad saved it from ruin by forcing all the Venetians to forget their differences and unite against a common enemy.

The year 810 marks the beginning of a new era.

VENICE FROM THE LIDO

III

THE REPUBLIC OF SAINT MARK

DURING some time the influence of the Franks had been felt in the islands, and was beginning to counterbalance that of the Greeks. The great families now separated into two distinct parties, one of which favoured the rising Empire of the West, while the sympathies of the other remained firmly attached to the Court of Constantinople. These opposite leanings, however, were caused by questions of trade and money-making much more than by any political tendency, and neither side had any inclination to accept a master.

Yet one man seems to have seriously meditated betraying the Republic to Pepin, the son of Charlemagne, who had received the Kingdom of Italy as his portion, and desired to extend his dominions by wrest-

ing Dalmatia and Istria from Nicephoros, the Emperor of the East. The traitor was the Doge Obelerio, who had spent a part of his youth at Pepin's court, and is said to have married his daughter.

Rom. i. 140.

The army of the Franks appeared on the mainland, by a secret agreement with the Doge, and before preparations could be made for opposing it. But the common danger became at once a bond of union; the Venetians forgot their discords and their quarrels, and rose as one man to defend their liberty. Almost from the first the Doge was suspected of treachery; he was watched, he was convicted by his own acts, he was taken, and he paid for his treason with his life. His severed head was set up on a pike on the beach of Malamocco, where the enemy could watch how the carrion birds came daily and picked it to a skull.

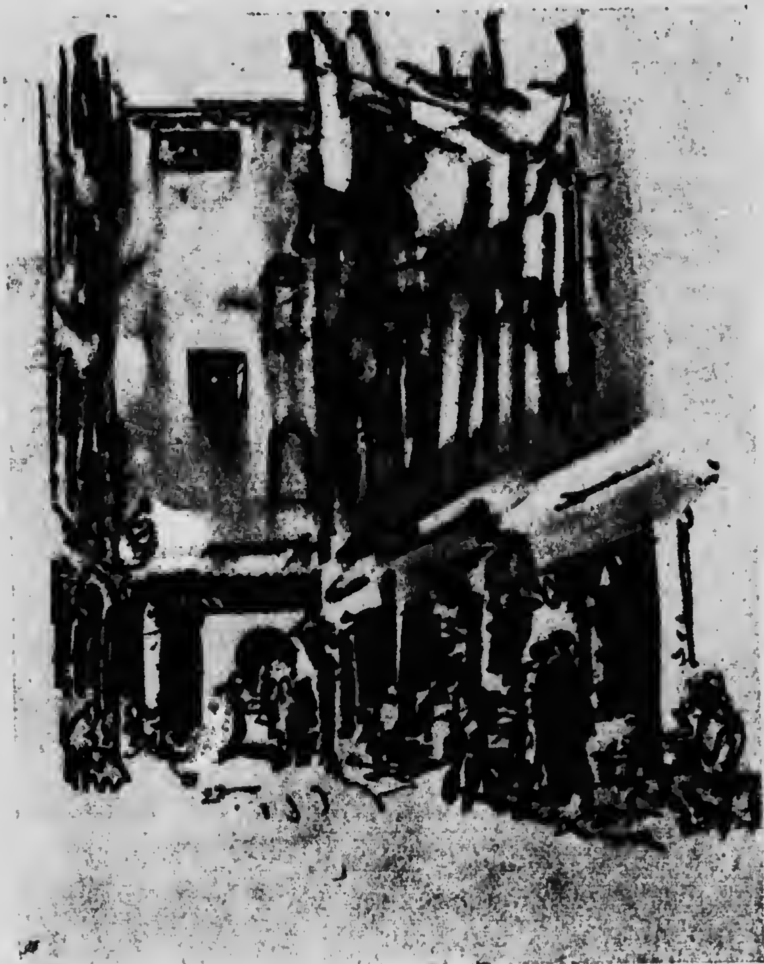
But the Franks took the nearer islands one by one, till at last the Venetians left Malamocco and sought refuge on the Rialto and Olivolo, which were the more easy to defend, as it was harder for the enemy to reach them. A legend says that one poor old woman stayed behind, resolved to save Venice or perish in the attempt, and we are told that she went to meet Pepin and counselled him to build a wooden bridge that should extend all the way from Malamocco to Rialto, and that Pepin followed her advice; but the horses of his army were scared by the dancing lights on the water, and by the swaying of the light bridge, and they plunged and reared and fell off into the lagoon, and they and their riders were drowned by thousands, like Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea.

Mol. Dogaressa, 29.

809 A.D.

Pepin at the siege of Rialto, A. Vicentino; Pepin's defeat, by the same; Ducal Palace, Sala dello Scrutinio.

A more likely story tells us that the Franks had no light boats of shallow draft, and that in pursuing the Venetians their heavier vessels got aground in the



SHOPS NEAR THE RIALTO

intricate channel, so that the Venetians surrounded them, ship by ship, and did them to death conveniently and at leisure.

Be that as it may, Pepin was defeated and forced to

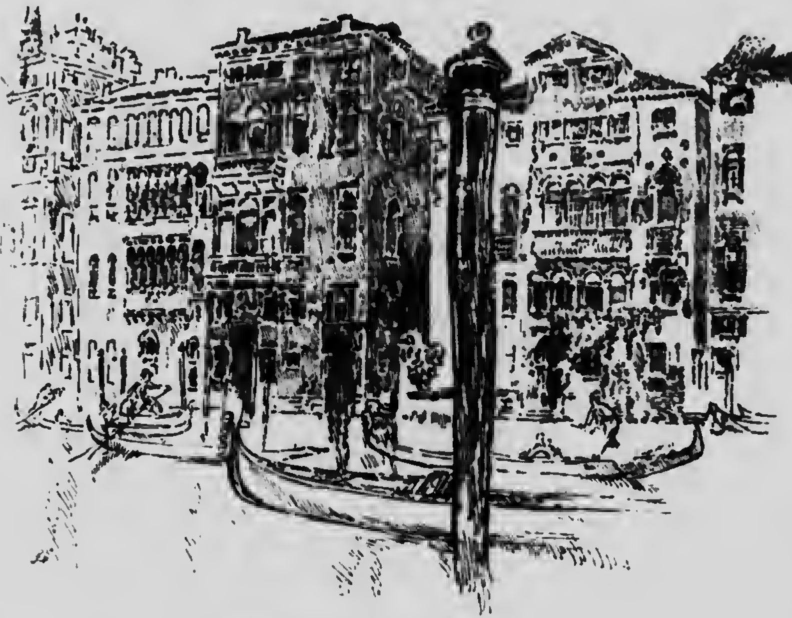
give up
on the
humilia
was ma
was rec

Am
during

Partecipa
families
cannot
house c
or eleven
It was
retire to
defeated,
elected D

give up the attempt, and when he had burned everything on the islands he had taken, he went away, in anger and humiliation, towards Ravenna. Thereafter, when peace was made between him and the Eastern Empire, Venice was reckoned with the East.

Among those who most distinguished themselves during the short struggle was Agnello, or Angiolo



GRAND CANAL, NEAR RIALTO

Partecipazio, a member of one of the most renowned families of the former tribunes. Sismondi says, I cannot find with what authority, that this noble house changed its name to Badoer, in the tenth or eleventh century, under which name it still lives. It was this Angiolo who persuaded the people to retire to Rialto, by which measure Pepin was defeated, and when the war was over he was soon elected Doge.

His first step was to fortify Rialto, which from that day became the seat of government, and the small neighbouring islands were soon united to it. Upon them grew up what was the beginning of modern Venice, eleven hundred years ago, and the waste land was covered with dwellings, towers, churches, and religious houses in a wonderfully short time.

The devout tendencies of the people had changed little since the first fugitives had placed the islands under the protection of those several tutelary saints whose relics they had saved, and the descendants of those early emigrants now cast about for a holy patron who should, as it were, guarantee to them the blessing of Heaven. They then remembered the ancient legend: how Saint Mark the Evangelist was shipwrecked and cast upon the shores of Rialto, and how he heard a mysterious voice saying, 'Pax tibi Marce, Evangelista meus'; that is, 'Peace be with thee, O Mark, my Evangelist.' And the words became the motto of the Republic.

The devotion to Saint Mark grew at an amazing rate after the revival of this old tradition, and it became the dream of every Venetian to obtain relics of the Evangelist's body. This precious treasure was at that time preserved in Alexandria, and was therefore in the power of the Mussulmans; but a strict ordinance of the Emperor Leo, to which the Doge had been obliged to agree on behalf of the Venetians, forbade all intercourse with the unbelievers, even for purposes of commerce.

Two Venetian merchants and navigators, Buono da Malamocco and Rustico da Torcello, determined to risk their lives and fortunes in disobeying the imperial decree. They fitted out a very fast vessel and freighted her with merchandise for

Rom. i. 168.

III

the Eastern market, and set sail without declaring their real destination. Reaching Alexandria with a fair wind, they proceeded at once to the basilica in which the body of the saint was kept, and obtained possession of it by the simple process of bribing the men in charge of the church. Here the story says that they placed their treasure in the bottom of a cart, and heaped salt pork upon it, as much as the mules could draw, sure that no Mussulman would touch the unclean meat ; and so they passed through the city and got on board of their ship, and put to sea that very night.

When they came near home, sailing with a fair wind and the blessing of Heaven and Saint Mark, they sent a light boat into the lagoons to inform the Doge that they were bringing the Evangelist's body ; for they were sure that he and their fellow-citizens would gladly forgive them for having disobeyed the imperial decree. Then all the people gathered on the shore as the ship came in ; and the noblest of Venice took the priceless burden upon their shoulders and bore it to the private chapel of the ducal palace, where it was to remain in state until a church could be built for it ; and a great cry of 'Viva San Marco' rang from street to street, and from island to island, even up to Grado and down to Malamocco, and it was ever afterwards the war-cry of Venice. Thus was Saint Mark proclaimed protector of the Republic, and the words which he himself had heard became the nation's motto ; and Saint Theodore took the second rank, though he had been patron of the lagoons ever since the days of Narses and Justinian.

About 828 A.D. Translation of the body of St. Mark, mosaic of the XIIIth century on the façade of the Basilica.

It was clear to those simple believers that Saint Mark had not come among them against his will. Had he been displeased with the change from Alexandria to

Venice a storm would surely have arisen in the night, and the holy relics would have disappeared in thunder, lightning, and rain, to return to their former resting-place or to be miraculously transported to another; for such was the pleasure of the saints in the dark ages. But Saint Mark remained where he was, pleased, no doubt, with the homage of that glad young people, and rejoicing already in the glories they should attain under his patronage; and from this complaisance the Venetians naturally concluded that a divine blessing had descended upon them, and they became once more a single family, bonded as brothers to stand and win together.

But before pursuing the great story of what came afterwards, let us stand awhile on the threshold of the tenth century and look at Venice as she was a few years after Saint Mark had taken her under his special protection.

In the first place, the alternate currents caused by the tide and the rivers were not yet completely controlled by stone-faced canals, and in many places the soil still consisted of long stretches of unstable mud, upon which the tide threw up masses of seaweed that lay rotting in the sun. The only means of obtaining a firm foundation for a stone building on such ground lay in laboriously driving piles, side by side, and so close that each one touched the next, and the whole formed a solid surface. It was a slow method, it was costly and required considerable skill; but the result was good, and has stood the test of a thousand years, for there are buildings standing to-day on piles driven in the year 900.

It follows that in the tenth century the majority of dwelling-houses were still only light constructions of wood, which could stand upon the mud without danger

of sinking. There were many stone buildings already, however, but like their humbler neighbours they mostly had only one story above the ground floor, with small windows on the outside, and larger ones on the inner court, and all alike were roofed with thatch. It is hard to imagine Venice a thatched city, of all cities in the world; yet the reason of the peculiarity is plain enough. Neither brick nor tiles could be made from the soft mud of the lagoons, a wooden house cannot have a flat roof, and the construction of a vaulted roof upon a stone house requires a greater skill in building than the Venetians then possessed.

In building ordinary dwellings, Sagredo tells us that the usual method was to lay down a floor of heavy planks, upon which a thick layer of mortar and small pebbles was spread out and beaten down to a hard surface; upon this again a second layer of cement mixed with pounded bricks was spread, and this was beaten with heavy wooden beaters till it was perfectly hard and even. Precisely the same method is employed to-day in southern Italy; and it was from this beginning that the so-called 'Venetian pavement' soon developed. For rich people caused small pieces of coloured marbles, and even of mother-of-pearl, to be set into the cement of the second layer, which was then no longer beaten, but rolled with a ponderous stone roller and then rubbed down with a smooth stone and sand and water, and at last polished to a brilliant surface. To this day the 'Venetian pavement' is made in this way in all parts of the world. The Venetians had probably inherited the art directly from the Romans, together with some knowledge of mosaic, which it roughly resembles. The polished floor of the main room was an especial object of pride in the eyes of good housekeepers.

Sagredo.

The Venetian houses resembled those of the Romans

in many respects. A covered portico, surrounding a closed court, gave access to the 'hall of the fireplace,' as the principal place of gathering for the family was named, and to the kitchens and offices. The upper story consisted entirely of bedrooms, and had a wide balcony called the 'liago'—a word corrupted from the Greek *heliacon*, 'a place of sunshine.' Here in warm weather the family spent the evening. Higher still, a rustic wooden platform was built over a part of the gabled and thatched roof, and was called the 'altana.' It was here that the linen was dried after washing, and later, in Titian's day, it was here that the Venetian ladies exposed their hair to the sun after moistening it with the fashionable dye.

Mut. Costumi.

The 'hall of the fireplace' was more than any other part of the house a special feature of Venetian dwellings, and was as necessary to them as the balcony that ran round the inner court. To this day the Venetians boast that their ancestors invented the modern chimney flue, and that while King Egbert still warmed himself like a savage before a fire of which the smoke escaped through a hole in the roof, the poorest Venetian fisherman had a civilised fireplace before which he could warm his toes as comfortably, and with as little annoyance from smoke, as any fine lady of the twentieth century.

Another peculiarity of the early Venetian house which has come down to our day was that it almost always had two entrances, the one opening upon the water, and the other, at the back, upon land. In those days this back door almost always gave access to a bit of garden, in which flowers and a few kitchen vegetables were carefully cultivated, but these gardens were soon crowded out of existence by the necessity for larger and more numerous houses.

The palace of the Doge differed from other Venetian dwellings chiefly by its size and its battlemented walls, and was very far from resembling what we see to-day

A WATER DOOR NEAR S. BENEDETTO

ı its place. It was destroyed by fire again and again, and nly here and there some fragment of the original walls :as incorporated in the new buildings which the doges ere so often obliged to construct for themselves. A

high battlemented wall joined the island of Olivolo with Rialto and enclosed the ducal palace.

The churches were out of all proportion richer and better cared for than the private dwellings, and were generally built after the model of the Roman basilica, with an apse and a portico for worshippers, which frequently served as a shelter for all sorts of little shops and money-changers' booths, very much like the temple in Jerusalem. These churches have been rebuilt and repaired again and again till there is little left of the originals; but many fragments of them have been used again, here a light column, there a bit of mosaic, a carved capital, a piece of early sculpture or a delicate marble tracery—all of them, more often than not, of better workmanship and in purer taste than the later buildings they now help to adorn.

The centre and focus of Venetian life was Saint Mark's Square, but it was altogether a different place in those days. It was, indeed, nothing but an irregular open space, a field of mud in winter, a field of dust in summer, divided throughout its length by a small dyked canal called the Rivo Battario. On opposite sides of the latter, and opposite to each other, there were then still standing the chapels dedicated by Narses to Saint Theodore and to the holy martyrs Geminianus and Menus.

Monumenti artistici ecc. 1859.

Furthermore, the foundations of the Campanile, which fell in 1902, were already laid, but the work was not advancing quickly, and the surrounding space was obstructed by the heaps of materials which had been prepared for the construction. As for the church of Saint Mark, the one that was then standing must have strongly resembled the next, which was built on its ruins by the Doge Pietro Orseolo after it had been burnt down in 975. It was in the shape of a Greek

cross, and was approached by a portico like almost all

NARROW WATER LANE

churches of that time. We know also that it was roofed with thatch.

There were as yet no bridges across the canals, though we may perhaps suppose that there was a single one, built of wood, between Rialto and Olivolo, and at that time there was no great number of boats, and there were none that resembled the gondola for its lightness and speed. Many of the smaller canals were afterwards dug for the convenience of getting about by water, where in the tenth century there were narrow lanes, dark and muddy, and the receptacles of whatever people chose to throw out of their windows. Then, and long afterwards, men went about on foot if they were poor, or on horses and mules if they were rich. When water had to be crossed there were flat-bottomed ferry-boats for man and beast. The word 'gondola' seems to have been applied indiscriminately to several kinds of boats, at least by writers, and even included the heavy barges, manned by many oars, which towed sea-going vessels in and out of the harbour, through the intricate channels of the lagoons.

There were trees in Venice in those days, both scattered here and there, and also growing in little groves, where young people gathered in the fine season to pass an hour in singing and dancing and story-telling, and in making music on stringed instruments of fashions and shapes now long forgotten. The most common trees were the oak, the cypress, and the 'umbrella' pine, which latter is believed to be indigenous in Italy; but there were cork-trees, too, and one of them afterwards played a part in the tragedy of Bajamonte Tiepolo, the great conspirator.

Mut. Costumi.

Venice had charm even then, in spite of her narrow and unsavoury lanes, her winter's mud, and the dust of her summer heat. The pretty little thatched houses, side by side along the water's edge; the handsome churches gleaming with mosaic fronts; the dark cypress-

trees and stone pines, and the vividly green oaks; the battlemented towers reared here and there against the clear blue sky; the rippling waters of the lagoon; the vessels great and small, with sails pure white or dyed a rich madder brown — there was colour everywhere, then as now, there was air, there was sunshine; and there was then, what now there is no more, the move-

ON THE GIUDECCA

ent, the elastic youth, the gladness of a people's life st ready to bloom for the first time.

They led easy lives, those early Venetians, com- red with the existence of the Italians on the peninsula, sy and even luxurious, and their constant intercourse d given them the love of jewels and silk and all rich d rare things. Even in the days of Charlemagne, the mes of Venice wore robes and mantles and veils which empress would not have disdained.

Charlemagne himself, on his way to Friuli, once halted at Pavia just when the great fair was held which best of all others displayed the wealth and industry of all Italy; and the Venetians had brought thither the rich merchandise with which they had loaded their ships in the East, and had spread out their splendid stuffs, their soft Persian carpets, and their costly furs.

Mut. Costumi.

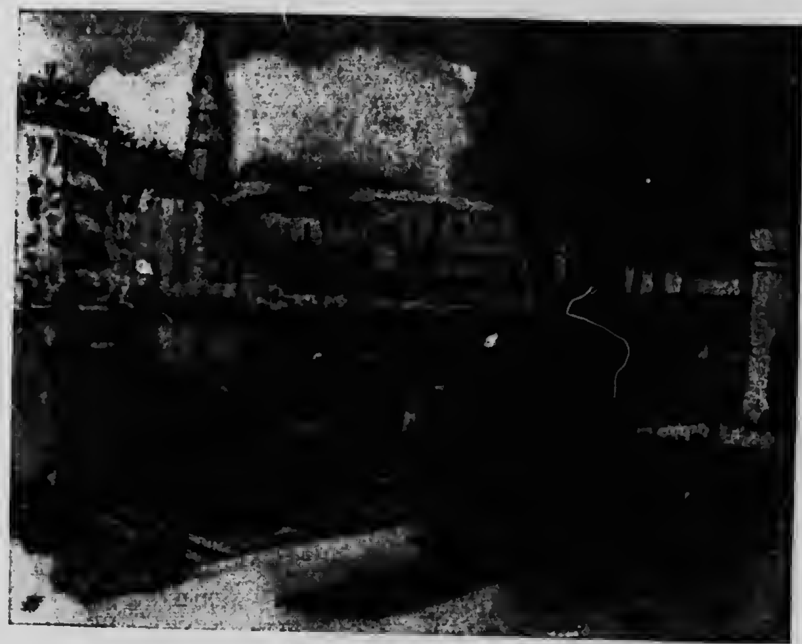
Then the rough Franks were ashamed of their coarse garments, and began to buy all manner of fine woven materials to take the place of their woollen tunics and their leathern coats. But not long afterwards, when they were all hunting in the deep forest, a great storm came up and broke upon them, and the rain beat through their silks and the thorns tore their finery to shreds, and they were in a sad plight. Then the giant Emperor laughed aloud at their mishap, and asked them whether the goatskin jerkin he wore was not worth ten of their soft Venetian dresses when the rain was pelting down and the winter wind was howling through the wild-boar's lair.

The old paintings leave us in no doubt as to the Venetian fashions of the tenth century. The nobles wore a long tunic tightened to the waist by a belt or girdle, and over this they threw a mantle of rich material which in winter was lined with fur, and which was fastened on one shoulder with a golden pin, like the fibula of the Romans or the brooch of the Highlander. On his head the noble wore a cap oddly adorned with two ribbands which made a Saint Andrew's cross in front.

The dress of the matrons was not very different, but the cloak was pinned together on the breast instead of on one shoulder, and was cut with a train. The ladies, moreover, wore tunics cut low at the neck, even in

winter and out of doors, which seems strange enough, though it accounts for the quantities of rich fur they used. Their splendid hair fell loose upon their shoulders from beneath a little gold-embroidered cap, instead of which young girls often wore a very fine gauze veil.

The labouring people seem to have confined their taste for variety to the selection of colours suitable to



THE STEPS OF THE SALUTE

he occupations they followed, and therefore least likely o show wear and tear and stain.

Every one worked hard in those young days, from the)oge downwards, at the administration of the Republic, t beautifying the city, at commerce and the evelopment of navigation; and as for play, hey were passionate lovers of the chase and of grebe- hooting. The latter sport was the delight of rich and oor alike, apparently without much regard to the time of

Mut. Costumi.

year, but its strict rules hindered any wholesale slaughter. The sportsman dressed himself in green in order that his figure might not scare the grebes, as he poled his narrow punt—the 'fisolara'—amongst the sedge and reeds at the mouths of the rivers. If he had boatmen to help him, they wore green too. Now it seems to have been the rule that no weapon should be used in this sort of shooting but the cross-bow, charged with clay bullets or with small bolts, and it would have been thought as unsportsmanlike to snare the birds as it is nowadays to catch trout with worms; and as the grebe is a great diver when in danger, and is by no means easy to hit with a good shot-gun, it must have required remarkable skill to shoot him with such a poor weapon as the cross-bow of the tenth century. The Venetians used to fasten the heads of the birds they killed upon doors and windows as trophies, just as a Bavarian gentleman or a Black Forester of our own time mounts the horns of every roebuck he shoots and hangs them in his hall.

If I have dwelt too long upon these details it is because I am inclined to think that a sportsmanlike spirit has characterised all young nations; and the spirit of the true sportsman is not to kill wantonly, but to measure himself in strength, or skill, or speed, against his fellow-man, and against wild things, and often against nature herself, with fairplay on both sides; and the true delight of his sport lies in doing for pleasure what his ancestors were forced to do in the original struggle for life.

And so after this brief glance at early Venice, I go on to speak of the circumstances and the men that presently directed the young state to a form of development which was without example in the past history of nations, and was destined to have no imitators in the future.

THE RIVA AT NIGHT

IV

VENICE UNDER THE FAMILIES OF PARTECIPAZIO, CANDIANO, AND ORSEOLO

FOR historical purposes it is best to consider that Venice was really founded in the year 811. From that date till 1032 the ducal throne was occupied, with only three exceptions, by a Partecipazio, a Candiano, or an Orseolo. It is true that every Doge was elected, but the great families would hardly have been human if they had not done their best to make the dignity hereditary.

They were not afflicted by that strange fatality under which the Roman Cæsars almost always died without male issue, and which led the Emperors to adopt their successors and to make them coadjutors in their government, generally with tribunitian powers; and four centuries were to elapse before the race of Hapsburg was to fasten itself at last upon the Holy Roman Empire, never to be shaken off so long as it could beget sons, or even daughters. The great Venetian races were vital and fortunate, and reared generation after generation for ages, with hardly any diminution of strength or wit.

But the principle on which they attempted to secure to themselves the succession to a power which was hereditary was the same which the Romans followed before them and which the Hapsburgs were to adopt long afterwards. They chose their own successors amongst those nearest to them, educated them to government, made them helpers in their rule, and designated them in their wills to succeed in their places.

There was always discontent after each election, and there were often serious riots; several doges of this period were forced to abdicate, or were even exiled, and one of them, at least, was assassinated; but the thirst of the great families for hereditary power was not diminished, and each revolutionary rising was directed by an aristocratic faction which had everything to gain by overthrowing the one in office.

Yet, strange to say, this disturbed condition of things neither hindered nor retarded the growth of national prosperity. The three factions quarrelled about the ducal throne for two hundred years, but their commercial activity was not in the least diminished by their differences. They and the less powerful nobles possessed the financial instinct in the highest degree, the

citizen class vied with them as trader [illegible]d usurers, and though they could not outdo th[illegible], having started behind them in the race for wealth, they often rivalled them ; and as for the people, they were the ready and willing instruments of their masters, they w[illegible]re i[illegible]epid sailors, they were patriotic soldiers, they were hard-working labourers, and th[illegible] seem to hav[illegible]ared very

ST. M[illegible]

[illegible]le who was Do[illegible]e, s[illegible] long [illegible] every effort they made [illegible]ntrib[illegible]ted directly to their own well-being. And this [illegible]s alw[illegible]ys the case, as in every young and successful state. Nevertheless, the continual state of discord between [illegible] stronges[illegible] families of the aristocracy was not without [illegible] bad result[illegible] and enemies abroad found it easy to [illegible]e[illegible] [illegible]ed blows at the Republic, when she was [illegible] pr[illegible]ar[illegible]d [illegible]o retaliate. Chief among these enemies

were the Dalmatian pirates, whose principal stronghold was the city of Narenta, situated at the head of the gulf of that name, almost over against Ancona. The

A CHAPEL, ST. MARK'S

Venetians seem to have been more than a match for the corsairs when actually at sea, for their merchant vessels were fast sailers and were well armed; but the Dalmatians lost no opportunity of descending upon any

corner c
to be l
waste th

One
day of
striking
turning
that wh

corner of the Republic's island territory which chanced to be left unprotected, and they plundered and laid waste the land, and carried off the people into slavery.

THE PORCH, ST. MARK'S

One of these sudden descents of the corsairs on the day of the yearly marriage ceremonies was not only strikingly dramatic in itself, but became one of the turning-points in the history of the Republic. In order that what happened may be clearly understood, I must

in the first place briefly explain how marriages were made, and how they were always celebrated in Venice on the thirty-first of January at that time; for I cannot remember that a similar custom ever obtained in any other city ancient or modern. I may add, however, that in their claims to an extravagantly ancient descent the Venetians pretended to have inherited the usage directly from the Babylonians.

Molmenti, Vita Privata.

However that may be, it is quite certain that in those days the brides of Venice were all married on the thirty-first of January, the anniversary of the translation of Saint Mark's body, in the church of San Pietro d'Olivolo, which was always the cathedral, and which now became the scene of one of the strangest and most romantic events in the history of any nation, rivalled, but certainly not surpassed, by the half-mythic rape of the Sabines in the Forum.

In old Venice the women were treated very much as they have always been in the East. They were naturally dignified and reserved, or enjoyed that reputation, but the men were jealous, and would not trust in anything so inward and spiritual as good qualities. They held that the equilibrium of feminine virtue, though always admirable, is generally of the kind described in mechanics as unstable; in other words, that it resembles the balance of a pyramid when poised on its apex rather than its security when established on its base. They therefore watched their wives and daughters and kept them at home a great deal, insisting that they should veil themselves when they went to church, and on the rare occasions when they were allowed to go elsewhere. The maidens wore veils of pure white, but the married women were allowed colours. The only

De Gubernatis e Bernoni.

exception to the rule of the veil was made on the days of the 'Sagre,' the feasts of the patron saints in the different parishes of the city; then even the girls were allowed to wear their beautiful hair floating on their shoulders, and confined only by chaplets of flowers. Those were the only times when the men had a chance of seeing them to judge of their beauty, and perhaps to choose a wife amongst them, and they made the most of it; we may even suppose that the custom had been originally introduced as a necessary one if young men and maidens were ever to be betrothed at all.

One sight sufficed, perhaps, and a glance or two exchanged as the long processions of men and women went up into the churches or came out again; and after that, when the nights were fine, the youth took his lute and went and made music under the chosen one's window. But she never looked out, nor showed him so much as the tips of her white fingers in the moonlight; that would have been unmaidenly and bold. If her heart softened to his appealing song, a single ray of light from between the close-drawn shutters was answer enough; if not, all remained dark, while the unhappy lover sang his heart out to the silent lagoon. But being reassured by the friendly ray, not once but many times, the aspirant went to the girl's father and begged permission to make her his 'novice'—that meant his betrothed—until the next feast of blessed Saint Mark.

When the youth and maid were secretly agreed, the course of love generally ran smooth, and the real courtship began. Manners were simple still, dowries were small, the only conditions to be considered were those of rank and faction; and few lovers would have been bold enough to play a Romeo's part in Venice, while the lines of caste were even then so closely drawn that

still fewer would have thought of overstepping them. Therefore, if the young man was of as good a family as the young girl, and if he did not belong to some rival faction, the betrothal was announced at a great dinner, at which the families of both met in the house of the maiden's parents. Then the youth renewed his request before them all, and the maid was brought to him dressed all in white, and he slipped upon her finger a very plain gold ring, then called the 'pegno,' which is to say, the pledge. Sometimes the engagement was presided over by a priest, and became thereby more solemn and unbreakable.

The time of betrothal was called the noviciate, as if marriage were one of the holy orders to enter which a term of trial is exacted; and while it lasted small gifts were exchanged. So, at Easter, the young man brought a special sort of cake; at Christmas, preserves of fruit; on Lady Day, a posy of rosebuds. On her side the young girl gave him a silk scarf, or something made with her own hands. It is told that the daughter of a Doge spent three years in embroidering with silk and gold a shirt which she meant to give to the unknown youth whom she expected to love some day.

When the young people came of rich families they gave each other also small trinkets, notably those little chains of gold called 'entrecosei,' which were specially made by Venetian goldsmiths. Moreover, whether the presents were trinkets or silk scarfs, cakes or rosebuds, they all had reference to good luck much more than to anything else, and it would not have been safe for either party to send a gift not included in the old-fashioned list. For the Venetians were superstitious. Like all young races whose fortune lies before them, they saw signs of success or failure in small things at every turn. They judged of the immediate future by the pictures

they saw in the coals of their great wood fires, especially in cases of approaching marriage, by the accidental spilling of red wine on the cloth, by the passing of a

ST. MARK'S

unchback on the right or the left. To upset red wine vas lucky, to upset olive oil presaged death; it was hought to indicate a great misfortune if a man going

out of his own house came first upon an old woman. Similarly, when young people were betrothed, there were objects which they could on no account give each other as presents. The forbidden things were chiefly such as magicians were supposed to use in their incantations, and among these, strangely enough, nothing was reckoned more certainly fatal to happiness than a comb. If any youth had dared to offer one, however beautiful, to his future bride, she would have unhesitatingly returned his ring.

At that time the Church did not require the publication of banns, a regulation which became necessary in order to put a stop to abuses of a less simple age. Instead, a second festive meeting was held at the house of the bride a few days before the marriage; and this time, besides the near relations of both families, the 'convicini,' the 'fellow-neighbours,' were bidden, as the ancient Romans entertained their clients on great occasions.

The bride now waited in her own room, which was always upstairs, until all the guests were assembled in the 'hall of the fireplace' on the ground floor. When the time came, the oldest man of the family went up to fetch her, and she appeared leaning on his arm. She stood still a moment on the threshold of the hall and then made a step and half—neither more nor less—towards the assembly. Next, and leaving her companion's arm, she made a 'modest little leap' forwards, which she followed with a deep courtesy, and then, without saying a single word, she went upstairs to her room and stayed there while the feast proceeded. The only variation in the ceremony occurred in cases where the family was of such high rank that the bride and bridegroom, with their friends and near relations, were expected to visit the Doge.

When the long-expected day, the thirty-first of

DOOR OF ST. MARK'S

[Ja]nuary, came at last, every house in which there was

a novice was astir hours before daybreak, and the friends of each were waiting under the windows in their boats long before the sun was up. Meanwhile the bride was dressed for the day, more or less richly according to her fortune, but always in a long white gown, and with fine threads of gold twined amongst her flowing hair.

She then came down from her own room to the hall of the fireplace, where her father awaited her, and she knelt meekly before him and her mother to receive their solemn blessing and her dowry, which it was customary that the bride should carry to the church herself, enclosed in a casket called the 'arcella'—the 'little ark.' The historians tell us that it was never a very heavy burden in those days.

This little ceremony took place at early dawn in every house where there was to be a wedding, and before the sun was up the brides were all gathered in the cathedral, where they ranged themselves round the altar, holding their caskets in their hands. Then at last the bridegrooms made their appearance, arrayed in the richest of their clothes, and accompanied by their best men, as we should say—their 'sponsors of the ring' in their own phrase. But I find no mention of any bridesmaids.

The bishop blessed all the young couples, and each bridegroom slipped upon his lady's finger the symbolic ring, which was the same for all. After that, gifts of virgin wax were left for the candles of the cathedral, and each newly-married man was expected to give a sum of money 'in proportion with his opinion of his wife's beauty'—probably the most elastic measure ever ordained for the giving of alms. This money formed a fund out of which poor brides of the people received a dowry in the following year. A malicious writer even hints that this secret fund was sometimes misapplied to

compensate for such ugliness as would otherwise have been a bar to marriage altogether.

The Doge himself was invariably present in state

FROM THE GALLERY, ST. MARK'S

during the ceremony, which therefore had a distinctly official character.

On leaving the cathedral sweetmeats and small cakes were showered upon the crowd that waited without, and

the respective wedding parties returned to the homes of the brides to spend the rest of the day in the rather noisy gaiety and uproarious feasting that belonged to those times, and to which each bridegroom's best man was expected to contribute with a present of rare liquors and rich old wines.

When evening came at last the brides were led to their new homes with song and playing of many instruments; and on the next morning each young couple received from the best man a symbolical gift of fresh eggs and of certain aromatic pastilles of which the composition is unfortunately forgotten. Last of all, the bride was given a work-basket, containing a needle-case, a thimble, and similar useful objects, to symbolise the industry she was expected to display in her household duties.

Now it came to pass, in the reign of the Doge Pietro Candiano III., about the year 959, that a gang of Istrian pirates conceived the bold idea of descending upon the cathedral on the marriage morning, and of carrying off bodily the brides and their dowries.

Rom. i. 234.

At that time the Arsenal was not built, and the little island on which it stands, and which lies close to Olivolo, was still uninhabited. During the night between the thirtieth and the thirty-first of January the corsairs ran their light vessels under the shelter of this island, and stole ashore while it was yet dark, to lie in wait in the shadow near the cathedral.

As usual the brides came first, with their families, and ranged themselves round the high altar, with their caskets in their hands, to wait for their affianced husbands. At that moment the pirates rushed into the church, armed to the teeth and brandishing their drawn swords in the dim light of the lamps and candles. There was no struggle, no resistance; the unarmed

men, most of them elderly and at best no match for the daring robbers, were paralysed and rooted to the spot, the women screamed, the children fled in terror to

THE GREAT DOORWAY, ST. MARK'S

the dark corners of the church, and in a moment the daring deed was done. It had been so well planned, and was executed with such marvellous rapidity, that the robbers reached their vessels, carrying the girls and

their caskets in their arms, and succeeded in pushing off almost without striking a blow; and doubtless they laughed grimly as the light breeze filled their sails and bore them swiftly out through the channels of the lagoons.

One may guess at the faces of the cheated bridegrooms when they reached the cathedral and came upon the hysterical confusion that followed upon the robbery. There was no loss of time then, and there was little waste of words. The Doge headed them, dressed as he was in his robe of state, men found weapons where they could, and all made for the nearest boats, and sprang in and rowed like demons; for the pirates were still in sight. Then the breeze that had sprung up at sunrise failed all at once, and the Istrians tugged at their long sweeps with might and main; but the men of Venice gained on them and crept up nearer and nearer, and nearer still, and overtook them, and boarded them in the Caorle lagoon, and slew them to a man, themselves almost unhurt. Also the chronicler says, that of all those fair and frightened girls not one received so much as a scratch in that awful carnage; but the men's hands were red with the blood, and they could not wash them clean in the sea because it was red too; and so, red-handed and victorious, they brought their brides back to land and married them before the sun marked noon, and the rejoicing was great.

These things happened as I have told, and though the chroniclers do not all agree precisely as to the year, the differences between their dates are not important, and all tell how the event was commemorated down to the last days of the Republic. For it appears that a great number of those men who so bravely pursued the pirates were box-makers, 'casseleri,' of the parish of Santa Maria Formosa, and when that famous day was

over the Doge asked them what reward they desired. But they, being simple men, asked only that the Doge of Venice should come every year to their church on the second day of February, which is the Feast of the Purification. 'But what if it rains?' asked the Doge, for that is the rainy season. 'We will give you a hat to cover you,' they answered. 'And what if I am thirsty?' the Doge asked, jesting. 'We will give you drink,' said the box-makers. So it was agreed, and so it was done, and the feast that was kept thereafter was called the Feast of the Maries, and it was one of the most graceful festivities of all the many that the Venetian imagination invented and kept. I shall describe elsewhere more fully how the Doge came to Santa Maria Formosa every year on the appointed day, and how, in memory of the bargain, the people of that quarter made him each year a present of straw hats and Malmsey wine. It was a sort of public homage to the women of Venice until the war of Chioggia, towards the end of the fourteenth century, and it is only fair to say that the lovely objects of such a splendid tribute did much to deserve it. But after that time many things were changed, and there remained of the beautiful Feast of the Maries nothing more than the Doge's annual visit to the church, instituted by Pietro Candiano III.

Rom. i. 240.

The immediate result of the bold attempt and condign punishment of the Istrian pirates was a series of punitive expeditions against them which laid the foundation of Venice's power on the mainland, and in this struggle, if in nothing else, the Doge was fortunate in his last years. But an evil destiny was upon him at home.

In his old age he associated one of his sons with him in the ducal authority, also called Pietro, 'at the suggestion of the people,' says Dandolo in his chronicle.

As I have said, this was the usual plan followed by the families that sought to make the dogeship hereditary. The younger Pietro was wild, ambitious, turbulent, and wholly without scruple, and he at once took advantage of his position to plot against his father, in the hope of reigning alone. But he was found out and hindered by the people, who rose suddenly in stormy anger and laid violent hands upon him, to kill him without trial. Yet his father was generous and succeeded in saving him from death, and tried him for his deeds, and sent him into exile.

Then Pietro the younger turned pirate himself, and armed six fast vessels and harassed the Venetian traders all down the Adriatic. But meanwhile he still had a strong party of friends for him in Venice, and their influence grew quickly, even with the people, and many secret influences which we can no longer trace were brought to bear for him; until at last the Venetians themselves, who had tried to murder him, decreed him the ducal crown and the supreme power, and recalled him and deposed his aged father. The old man died within a few weeks, and all he could bequeath to his wife was 'a vineyard surrounded by walls' on the shore of San Pietro; and Pietro Candiano IV. ruled alone.

Mol. Dogaressa.

He did outrageous deeds to strengthen his power. To win the protection of the Emperor Otho he forced his wife to take the veil in the convent of Saint Zacharias, and obliged his only son by her, Vitale, to become a monk. Having thus disposed of them, he took to wife Gualdrada, the sister of the Marquis of Tuscany, a princess of German origin, of great wealth, a subject and a relative of the Emperor himself.

Trusting in this great alliance, Pietro no longer concealed the designs he entertained for himself and his family, branches of which were established in Padua and

Vicenza, where they enjoyed, and certainly exacted, the highest consideration. Indeed, most of the Candiano men seem to have married women allied to reigning princes.

THE CHRIST OF ST. MARK'S

The Doge, their head, now garrisoned with German diers a number of fortresses in the neighbourhood of rrara, which had come to him with his wife; lastly, did what every tyrant has done since history began,

he surrounded himself with a mercenary bodyguard of desperate men who had everything to gain by his success, and everything to lose if he fell. After this he showed plainly enough that he meant to emancipate himself altogether from those counsellors which the Republic imposed upon him in all the important affairs of state.

He might have succeeded in any other state, but in Venice his was not the only family that aspired to the supreme power. His deeds had been violent, high-handed, outrageous, such as would condemn the chief of any community that called itself free ; the Orseolo watched him, lay in wait for him, trapped him, and compassed his end. Following their lead, the people formed themselves into a vast conspiracy, and at a signal the ducal palace was surrounded on all sides.

The Doge would have fled, but it was too late, for every door was watched and strongly guarded. In his despair he attempted to take sanctuary in Saint Mark's church, which was connected with the palace by a dark and narrow entry. Thither he hastened, with his wife, their little child, and a few of his faithful bodyguard ; but the conspirators had remembered the secret corridor and were there, and they hewed him down, him and the child and every man of his attendants. The women they suffered to go unhurt.

976 A.D.

Then they dragged out the dead bodies, even the child's, and gave them over to the rage of the furious populace to be spurned and insulted, until one just man, Giovanni Gradenigo, stood forth and claimed them, by what right I know not except that of decency, and buried them in the convent of Saint Hilary. Meanwhile the rabble had fired the palace, and the flames devoured it and spread to the church of Saint Mark ; and further, a great number of houses were burnt down

on that day, whereby the chiefs of the conspiracy were brought into discredit with those whose property was destroyed. But Pietro Orseolo was chosen to be Doge.

A SHRINE, ST. MARK'S

Now the dogess Gualdrada, breathing vengeance on them that had murdered her husband and her little son, took refuge on the mainland and came to Piacenza, to the court of the Empress Adelaide, who was the widow

of Otho I. and the mother of Otho II., then reigning. There Gualdrada cast herself at Adelaide's feet and told her grief, imploring justice and righteous vengeance; and her cry was heard, for soon the young Emperor summoned Venice to account, not for the assassination of the Doge, but for violence done against Gualdrada and for the murder of her son.

Venice was in no state to face the Holy Roman Empire alone, and she obeyed the summons by sending the patrician Antonio Grimani to Piacenza, with orders to explain to the Empress that the Republic was not altogether responsible for the cruel deeds done by a handful of her citizens. The ambassador spoke long and well, setting forth the iniquities of the Doge Pietro Candiano, and promising to make full reparation to Gualdrada.

There they sat, in the hall of the castle of Piacenza, the old Empress in her robes, surrounded by the flower of her northern knights, and before them Antonio Grimani, the ambassador, representing the person of the Doge Orseolo; and Gualdrada was not there, but the envoy of her brother, the Marquis of Tuscany, came to speak for her, appealing to the just sense of the court.

Rom. i. 252. Mol. Dogaressa.

At a gesture from the Empress this personage came forward, bearing a sealed letter as his brief, written with Gualdrada's own hand, and he broke the seal, and presented to the ambassador of Venice the note of her demands. Then and there an inventory was made out of all the property, both personal and real estate, which had either composed her dowry, or which had been promised to her by her husband, or which should have been hers as the heiress of her murdered child; and Antonio Grimani did not hesitate, but promised for the Republic that everything should be restored.

On her side Gualdrada then declared that she gave up all thoughts of vengeance against the state of Venice, the reigning Doge or his successors, and she signed with her own hand the solemn act which the imperial notary drew up, and by which the mutual engagement was ratified. So the grim business ended; and Gualdrada took lands and gold for her child's blood and her husband's, as was the manner in the Middle Ages, and went back to her Tuscan home, and lived finely, and married, for aught I know, and was happy for ever afterwards.

Here, on the heels of tragedy, follows romance, in the same family of Candiano; or perhaps it is only legend, of the kind the old chroniclers loved so well.

Elena, the lovely daughter of a Pietro, we know not which, fell deep in love with Gherardo Guoro; and this love of hers was a great secret, for he was neither rich nor noble, and had small hope of being accepted as a son-in-law by a Doge who was always intriguing to make brilliant marriages for his family. But Elena had a nurse who loved her dearly and pitied the pair, and helped them to meet again and again, till at last they were married, and none but the old nurse knew it. Now, therefore, Gherardo sought fortune and set out on a voyage to the East; and while he was away, Pietro Candiano told his daughter that he would betroth her to Vittor Belegno. In her terror the girl's heart stood still, and she fell into a trance so death-like that it was mistaken for death itself, and on the same day, according to the immemorial custom of Italy, she lay in her coffin in the cathedral. But within a few hours, as love and fate would have it, Gherardo Guoro came sailing back, only to learn of her sudden death. Wild with grief he rushed to the cathedral, and by prayers,

entreaties, and bribes, prevailed upon the sacristan to open the tomb, and help him to wrench off the lid of the coffin. When he saw her face his passionate tears broke out, and, lifting the beloved head, he kissed her again and again; and his kisses brought the colour to her cheek, for she was not dead, and he held her in his arms, and she grew warm, and he took her alive out of the place of death, in a dream of wonder and joy. So when Pietro the Doge saw that his daughter was alive again, he was glad, and forgave them both and blessed them; and afterwards they lived happily.

In point of age I think this is the oldest existing version of the story of Romeo and Juliet, and the one from which all the other forms of the legend were afterwards derived. It would be interesting to pursue the inquiry further, to find out how many different shapes the tale has assumed in the course of ages, and in how many instances it has been founded on fact; for that some of the stories are more than half-true I have not the slightest doubt.

The power of the Candiano family was broken when Pietro IV. and his little son were murdered, and the strong race of the Orseolo now seized the ducal throne, and tried to make it hereditary with themselves. They had cleared the way by violence, and they pursued their way to power without scruple. It was Pietro Orseolo who had been the soul of the revolution against the last Candiano, and it might have been expected that his supporters would set him up as Doge; but it seemed wiser to proceed more cautiously, and with singular foresight they put forward another member of the family, also called Pietro, a man of the most profound religious convictions, and who had led such a holy life that he was regarded as a saint on earth.

976 A.D.

The family were not mistaken in proposing his candidacy, a parallel to which may be found in the election of the saintly hermit, Pietro da Morrone, to

THE GREAT WINDOW, ST. MARK'S

be pope, by way of solving the difficulties which had produced a long vacancy of the papal see. Pietro Orseolo was acclaimed Doge without opposition.

But piety is not always energy, and virtue has little

or nothing to do with the greatness of princes. The holy man felt himself weak in the face of the troubles caused by the hatred of his own family for that of its predecessors in power, and when he saw what great responsibilities were accumulating upon his shoulders, and what dangers menaced the state, he quietly made up his mind to leave the world behind him and to end his life in a Camaldolese monastery in Aquitaine. I find the best account of this extraordinary vocation in Mr. Hazlitt's recent work (published in 1900); and incidentally I feel bound to say that this writer, whose original book has now developed to very solid dimensions, has searched the chronicles and later authorities upon Venetian history with a care and a conscientious thoroughness quite unequalled by any other historian who has treated of the same subject. We are free to differ with Mr. Hazlitt as to some of his conclusions, and as to the particular stories he has preferred to follow where the legends are many and contradictory; but for thorough and detailed accounts, according to the different chronicles, the English reader must go to him.

In the late summer of the year 977 the good Doge Orseolo received the visit of a learned and holy Frenchman, Warin, who was the Superior of the Abbey of Saint Michel de Cuxac in Aquitaine, and who had come to Venice to see for himself the place where the Evangelist was laid. The Doge received him as became his rank in the Church, and the two good men were drawn to each other by that profound though instantaneous sympathy which most of us have felt at least once in life. Of the two Warin had the stronger nature, and recognising the true monk in the devout Doge, he bade him give up the world, to which he had never really belonged, and follow his manifest vocation.

Rom. i. 256.

Hazlitt, i. 90.

Pietro Orseolo had been married at the age of eighteen to a maiden as virtuous as himself, and when one son had been born to the pair they had exchanged vows of chastity, and had afterwards given up their lives to the care of the poor, and to visiting the hospices and hospitals.

And now, long after that, Warin argued with Pietro and urged him more and more to renounce the world altogether; but Pietro was as wise as he was good, and he knew that it was his duty to leave everything in order for his successor, and he accordingly claimed a year in which to prepare for his retirement.

The monk Warin had to admit that he was right, and they parted on the first of September. On that same day, one year later, Warin returned and waited for the Doge in the monastery of Sant' Ilario. Pietro left his house alone in the night and joined him, dressed as a pilgrim; at midnight they mounted swift horses and set out upon their long journey westwards, and the fugitive was not missed till late on the following morning. Some accounts say that Orseolo's wife had already taken the veil in the nunnery of Saint Zacharias; others assure us that she was dead. It matters little, for the one fact stands undenied, that Pietro Orseolo fled from the dogeship of Venice to be a novice in France, in one of the most rigid religious orders of that time. There he lived in peace for nineteen years till he died in the odour of sanctity; but over seven hundred years passed before he was officially canonised and took his place in the calendar, after which the French king returned his bones to Venice. There is a picture in the Museo Civico representing him and his wife dressed as monk and nun, and kneeling before a Madonna.

The policy of the Orseolo family in putting forward

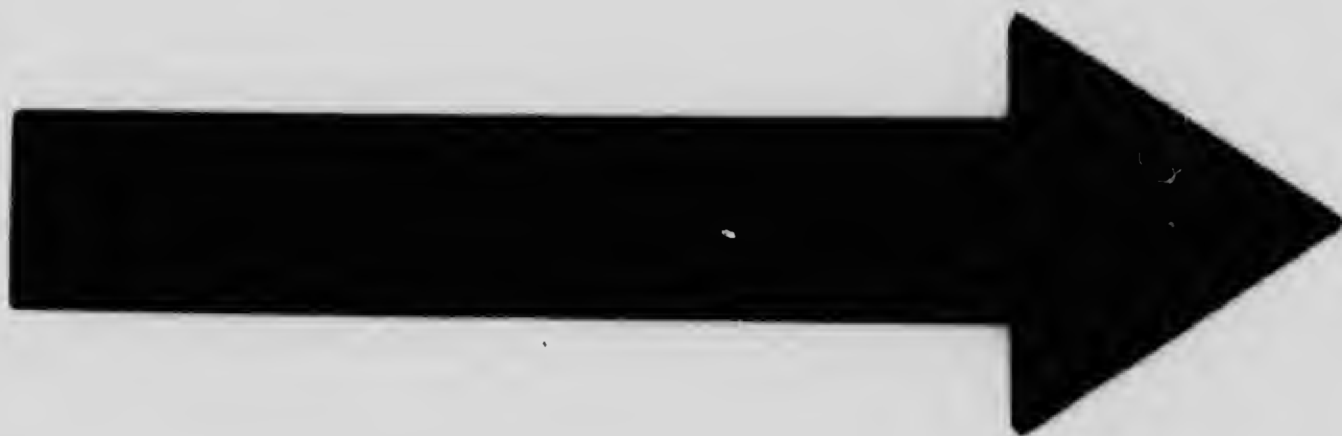
a saint to represent them had not been very successful, for after Pietro's flight they found themselves deserted by the factions they had led against Pietro Candiano IV.; and in the election which followed the holy man's sudden abdication, one more Candiano was chosen Doge in the person of Vitale, of that name. At the same time two powerful alliances were formed, the one between the Candiano and the Caloprini, of which the object seems to have been to set up some sort of despotic government under the protection of the Holy Roman Empire; the other between the Orseolo and the Morosini, who held to the old alliance with Byzantium and the East. Sismondi and others seriously derive the names of these two families from Greek words signifying, for Morosini, the 'Friends of Fools,' and for Caloprini, the 'People who bow themselves skilfully'—in other words, perhaps, the dupes and their flatterers. Of the two it was the flatterers that came to grief, however, whereas the Morosini have continued to flourish even to our own time. I know not whether these derivations have any value. Victor Hugo, who did not know Greek, once suggested that the French word 'ironie' might be derived from the English word 'iron.'

Many bloody encounters took place, in which the nobles of Venice took sides with one party or the other, as their personal interests suggested, and at last the Caloprini, who were hated by the people, were forced to leave Venice. Yet trusting to the support of the Empress Adelheid, or Adelaide, in an evil hour they ventured to come back a few years later; but the Morosini, who had grown stronger in the meantime, fell upon them and put them all cruelly to death, so that of that great house only three widowed women remained alive to mourn the dead.

It was time that some strong hand should grasp the reins and drive the car of state through the slough of chaos and blood in which it was stuck fast, out upon the broad highway of fame. The hand was ready, and the time had come; in the year 991 Pietro Orseolo II. mounted the ducal throne.

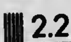
From the first he threw all his energy into a systematic campaign against the pirates of the Adriatic, whose fathers had carried off the Venetian brides. They had paid for their rashness with their lives, and their descendants had never again come so near the city, yet the affront was not forgotten, and an expedition which had their destruction for its object appealed to the men of Venice as few other incentives could.

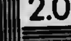
With a strong fleet the Doge set sail, and visited the coast cities of Istria and Dalmatia one by one. They hailed him as a liberator, for they were especially exposed to the attacks of the corsairs, and in return for the protection of the Republic they placed their liberty in Pietro Orseolo's hands. He wisely received them as federal allies rather than as subjects of Venice, though they, in their haste to be protected, would not have refused to submit themselves to him as conquered cities. He received them indeed under the shadow of the standard of Saint Mark, but he left to each one full and unhampered liberty to govern itself as it should see fit, requiring only a small yearly tribute in acknowledgment of what was to be a feudal supremacy. The town of Arbo was to pay ten pounds of silk, for instance, while Pola paid two thousand pounds' weight of olive oil yearly to feed the lamps of Saint Mark's church, and so on, through a long list; and so, by token of a few skins of oil, of a handful of silk, Venice first got supremacy over the eastern Adriatic cities, with all the vast advantage to her commerce that lay in owning



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)





APPLIED IMAGE Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

harbours and warehouses all along the coast almost as far as Greece. From that time Trieste, Capo d'Istria, Rovigno, and all the sea-coast cities of Istria became Venetian, and Zara, long an ally, and Salone, and Spalatro and Ragusa; and the islands too, Coronota, Brazza, and many others, down to the islets of Corsola and Lazina, which stood firm for the pirates, guarding the approach to Narenta, their chief city. But there, as all the chronicles agree, the Doge put forth his strength, and he took those places in hard-fought battle and smote them, and utterly wasted them with fire and the sword, so that from that day their strength was gone, and the Adriatic was for many centuries freed from the terror of their deeds.

Then, turning homeward, Pietro Orseolo visited the vast provinces he had annexed to Venice, and because he had destroyed the corsairs the people everywhere received him with great joy, and acclaimed him Duke of Dalmatia by common consent; and the doges who came after him bore the well-earned title during many hundreds of years.

Now it came to pass that when the young Emperor Otho III., mystic, fiery, enthusiastic, heard of all this success, he felt a very great longing to visit Pietro Orseolo and to see the wonderful water-city of which all the world was beginning to talk; and he secretly told his wishes to his privy councillors, but they would not hear of such a thing, and he, being very young, would not act openly against their advice. Yet he persisted in his intention, while he held his peace.

998 A.D.
Rom. i. 284.
Zanetti.

So at last, on a warm and moonlight night in the year 998, a boat manned by eight men silently approached the little island of San Servolo, not far from the city; and two men stepped out upon the shore and went up

and knocked at the door of a half-ruined building, once a monastery of Benedictines. A man of imposing stature opened and let them in; but soon three fishermen came out by the same way and got into a skiff that lay waiting hard by, with two of their companions, for the larger boat had disappeared; and they pulled over to the city.

Then in the moonlight the skiff was quietly rowed all about the city, stopping here and there, wherever there was something worthy to be seen; and if any of the belated townsfolk noticed the little boat and its crew, no one guessed that it bore the young Emperor Otho himself, and the Doge, and the Secretary, Paul the Deacon, who himself tells the tale of the nocturnal visit. Having succeeded once, the Emperor came again, less secretly, and spent days in the Doge's palace, but still he preferred not to be openly known, so that he might be the more free to go about the city. There was a romantic strain in his short life, in his intense enthusiasm, in his profound belief in a divine right to reign; there was a faint foreshadowing of a stronger Emperor who is come in our own day to claim what he claimed, and to do, perhaps, what he could not do. With the strenuous reaching out after higher things Otho felt youth's longing to know, in an age when it was possible for one man to master all the knowledge of his time, and it was surely this desire that most of all brought him over to Venice that first time. Doubtless, too, because Venice was counted with the East, his advisers foresaw trouble in a too open friendship between him and the Doge. But his early death ended such danger, if it ever existed, and all that remains is the story of his wanderings by night, in fisherman's dress, through the still and moonlit waterways of the young city.

Like the Partecipazio and the Candiano houses

which had ruled before him, Pietro Orseolo now took measures to make the sovereignty hereditary in his family, by associating his own son Giovanni in the ducal honour, and further by marrying him to a Princess Mary, who was the daughter of one of the joint Emperors of the East and the niece of the other. The pair were united in Constantinople according to the Greek rite, and with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and Giovanni was given the rank of an imperial patrician. On their return to Venice, he and his beautiful bride were received by the people with demonstrations of enthusiastic joy, and, according to Sansovino, it was on this occasion, and at the express request of the Venetians themselves, that Giovanni was invited by his father to share in the power. It may well be, and it matters little.

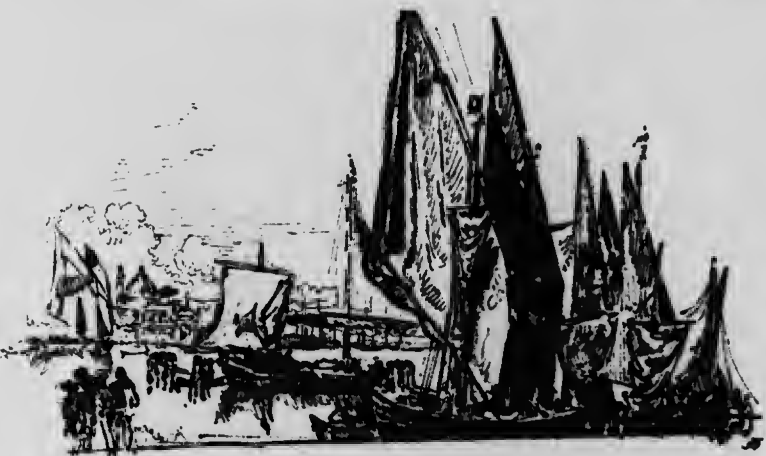
Orseolo was much preoccupied by the still smouldering hatred of the Candiano family, and he sought to satisfy their ambition by marrying his second son, Domenico, to Imelda, grand-daughter of Pietro Candiano IV. and Richelda. His third son, Ottone, when still very young, he married to Geiza, sister of Saint Stephen, King of Hungary; and his daughter Hicela was given to the King of Croatia.

Mol. Dogaressa.

Strong in these alliances, still young in years, and richly endowed with the health and beauty that were hereditary in his family, Orseolo II. might well have looked forward to a long and happy career, and to the certainty of leaving the sovereignty to his descendants throughout centuries to come. Then, about the year 1009, a comet suddenly appeared in the sky, and famine and plague ravaged Venice and the world. Amongst the very first victims were Giovanni and his young wife, and Orseolo himself did not long survive them. The mortality was such, according to old Dandolo, that

there was not time to dig graves for all who died, and such tombs as were not full were opened and crammed with dead.

Ottone Orseolo succeeded his father, when the power of the name seemed at its height; but under him came the fall and exile of his family, and the end of the period during which the dogeship was more or less hereditary in the houses of Partecipazio, Candiano, and Orseolo. That period is a labyrinth of uncertainties and a maze



FISHING BOATS AT THE RIVA

of conflicting anachronisms. Scarcely two chroniclers place the same events in the same year, and they are [illegible]ly agreed as to matters even more important. Unmistakable history does not make its appearance in Venice till the eleventh century, and not till the descendants of Pietro Orseolo II., the greatest Doge who had yet reigned, were exiled from Venice, and excluded for ever, by a special law, from holding office under the Republic. They may have found some consolation in the fact that one of their house inherited the throne of Saint Stephen.

A few years later, the Doge Domenico Flabianico, or Flobenigo, sustained by an assembly of the clergy and the people, introduced a law by which the chief of the Republic was forbidden to associate any one with himself in the power, and by which he was constrained to accept the 'assistance' of two counsellors. The nomination of these was the first step towards the creation of those many offices by which the Doge's action was limited little by little, till he became the mere figure-head, if not the scapegoat, of the Republic he was supposed to govern.

About 1032.

THE GRAND CANAL FROM THE CA D' ORO

V

VENICE AND THE FIRST CRUSADES

It is not my intention to attempt in these pages an
unbroken narrative of early Venetian history. Such
attempts have been made by men of great and thorough
earning, but they have failed in part or altogether
because it is quite impossible to trust the only sources
of information which have come down to us. These
gree, indeed, more or less; that is, they agree just
early enough to make it sure that something like the
vent they narrate in such widely different ways
ctually took place, in some year to be chosen at will

from the several dates they give. But that is all, until nearly the end of the Middle Ages.

One thing must not be forgotten: Venice was not the only maritime republic in Italy, even in the ninth and tenth centuries. There were at least three others, Amalfi, Genoa, and Pisa, which at that time were as prosperous, and seemed likely to be as long-lived, and of which the commerce in the eastern Mediterranean was already much more important than that of Venice. In the end Venice outdid them because she was isolated from Italy—literally 'isolated,' since she was built on islands in the sea.

England owes her independence, and the British Empire therefore owes its existence, to twenty-one miles of salt water. A much less formidable water barrier gave Venice a thousand years of self-government. The vast advantage of protection by water was perhaps not evident to the Venetians more than two or three times in their history, any more than the same advantage has been actually felt by Englishmen more than twice or thrice, but those few occasions were most critical; it has been present all the time, and the enemies of Venice, as of England, have always realised with dismay the difficulty of attacking a nation to whose country men cannot walk dry-shod.

The other three great maritime republics did not possess this prime permanent advantage of isolation by water. Amalfi was taken and retaken by land powers; Pisa was ultimately subjugated by the Florentines, the landsmen who lived nearest to her; and Genoa, with a surviving semblance of freedom, became tributary to the House of Savoy in the eighteenth century. Venice alone of the four held her own till the days of Napoleon, protected to some extent, perhaps, by a sort of tacit but general European agreement to consider her a city

of pleasure, but also, and always, by that water barrier, which multiplies the strength of a city's defenders tenfold, and divides to dangerously small fractions the powers of those that assail her.

It may seem fruitless to try to recall in a few words how Pisa and Genoa rose to maritime power; but it is not possible to pass over in silence the period during which Genoa, Venice's great rival, was growing up on the opposite side of the peninsula, nor the time in which Amalfi and Pisa were becoming powers in the Mediterranean.

Amalfi, most strange to say, though she was the first to disappear, left to the civilised world at large the [illegible]test legacy. To one of her citizens, Flavio Gioia, we owe the mariner's compass; to her we owe the manuscript of the Pandects of Justinian, by which, as Sismondi justly says, all western Europe came back to the study and practice of Roman law; to Amalfi we owe those laws regulating maritime traffic, which are the foundation of the modern sea-law of civilised nations. And as if [illegible]re not enough for her glory, it is to Am[illegible] the order of Knights Hospitallers of Saint [illegible] of Jerusalem owes its existence, the oldest order of knighthood that still survives, now known as the Sovereign Order of Malta.

At its greatest, the Republic of Amalfi embraced not more than fifteen or sixteen villages besides the little capital itself, scattered along the southern side of the Sorrentine peninsula, some perched on the inaccessible flanks and spurs of a mountain that rises out of the sea to a height of nearly five thousand feet, some built where wild gorges widen at the water's edge. That breakwaters were built out into the sea before Amalfi and Positano against the terrific south-westerly gales, we partly know and partly guess; that the

capital and the dependent villages were strongly fortified may easily be proved. But what is left, though beautiful beyond description, is so little, and that little is so exiguous, that the thoughtful traveller asks with a sort of unbelieving wonder how the Amalfitans can ever have disputed the lordship of the sea with the greatest, and possessed their own rich quarter in every thriving harbour of the East; and how they can have given the maritime world its first rules of the road, or sent out rich and splendid trains of knights to one crusade after another. Yet they did all these things before they sank from power and disappeared and were lost in the turmoil of South Italian history.

Next greater in strength to survive came Pisa, a contrast to Amalfi in almost every condition, and a power which, when at its height, was of more importance in history because history was then less chaotic. Not backed against steep mountains like Amalfi and Genoa, but built in the rich alluvial soil of the delta of the Arno, where the widening stream afforded a safe harbour for ships; not isolated in a natural fortress of rocks, but easy of access by land as well as by sea, and therefore easy to quarrel with and often in danger, Pisa possessed the natural advantages of a modern capital like London or Paris rather than the natural defences of a strong city of the Middle Ages. But the times were not ripe, and Florence was too near, jealous, turbulent, commercial and usurious, a dangerous enemy in war, and a terrible competitor in peace. No country has produced simultaneously so many cities as Italy, any of which might have become the capital of a nation. I can only compare the tremendous vigour of her growth at many points at once to that of a strong oak-tree broken off near the ground by a tornado, and sending up shoots from the stump, so tall, so straight, so vital

that each one, if the others were cut away, would grow in a few years to be a tree as tall and robust as the parent. Venice, Palermo, Naples, Pisa, Genoa, Florence,

THE POST OFFICE

Milan—might not any one of these have grown to be a nation's capital? And can any other nation of Europe show as much?

The tenth century was not far advanced when Pisa

possessed an immense fleet and was already governing herself as a republic. A proof of her importance lies in the fact that when Otho the Second was at war with the South, and meditated annexing to his Empire what remained of the old Greek colonies, he applied to Pisa to lend him ships wherewith to transport his troops to Calabria. His sudden death, however, put an end to the negotiations, and the seven nobles whom he had sent to Pisa to represent him were so much delighted with all they saw, as well as with their reception, that they asked to be made citizens themselves, were granted the privilege, and became the founders of that great Ghibelline party by which the destinies of the Pisan Republic were guided so long as she maintained her independence.

Amalfi sent out traders to the East and knights to fight for the Holy Sepulchre; but her knights did not fight to win land for her, nor did her traders ever become colonists. Pisa, like Venice, sought to extend her territory. At that time the daring Saracen chief named Mousa—Moses—settled himself on the eastern and southern coast of Sardinia, and carried his depredations far and wide on the Italian shore and through the Tuscan archipelago. Seizing his opportunity when the Pisan fleet had sailed southwards to help the Calabrian Greeks against the Saracens of Sicily, Mousa and his pirates entered the mouth of the Arno by night and landed in the suburbs of Pisa. The terrified citizens were waked by the yells of their assailants amidst the flames of their own dwellings, and if the corsairs had possessed any local knowledge of the city its history might have gone no further than that night. But in their ignorance they had landed on the wrong bank of the river, and had fired the suburb instead of the city itself; a woman, and some say that she was a noble

lady, made her way through the confusion across the bridge to the Consul's dwelling, the church bells were rung backwards and roused the sleeping garrison to arms, and the Saracens, surprised by the prospect of energetic resistance, withdrew hastily to their ships and dropped down the river. The peril was past.

But when the fleet came back from the South vengeance was sworn upon Mousa and his pirates, and the conquest of Sardinia was a foregone conclusion. So Pisa rose to power, and Genoa envied her and Florence too, and those long wars began which ended in her destruction and her absorption. While Venice had been distracted by internal factions, by the feuds of Candiano and Orseolo, Morosini and Caloprini, the 'Dupes and the Flatterers,' Pisa had at least enjoyed the honour of fighting and vanquishing a horde of unbelievers. And meanwhile Genoa had risen also to much the same degree of prosperity and strength, so that when Peter the Hermit's cry rang through the Christian world, rousing the faithful to win back the Holy Land, the four great Italian maritime republics were almost equals in wealth and influence, and in the fleets of which they could dispose.

In what is by no means to be considered a complete history of Venice, my readers will be grateful if I spare them the too untrustworthy details with which the chroniclers fill up their accounts of the eleventh century. In addition to what I have said about the growth of the rival republics, however, it may be mentioned that before the great movement of the first crusade, the Venetians had more than once measured themselves with the Normans in the Levant, and perfectly well understood the position of affairs in the south of Italy and Sicily, where the sons of Tancred of Hauteville had carried everything before them.

Venice, Genoa, and Pisa played almost equal parts in the general European movement that followed, and the Venetians need not be greatly blamed if they derived profit from a source that should have yielded only honour to those who sought it. The Venetians combined glory with business, it is true, but, on the other hand, no one expected them to transport men and horses to the East for nothing; and, since they were the best provided with vessels suitable for that purpose, it was a foregone conclusion that a large part of the transportation should be done by them. Moreover, when all is told, there were few indeed amongst all those hundreds of thousands who wore the cross who had the right to reproach their fellows and companions for hoping to combine the salvation of their souls with some improvement in their earthly fortunes.

It was, of course, natural that the Italians, who are the least sentimental people in Europe, should understand the worldly advantages which were sure to follow in the wake of that great tidal wave of sentiment which rose from the depths of Europe at Peter the Hermit's cry, advanced, tremendous and irresistible, over land and sea to the most eastern limits of Christian civilisation, to topple and break at last upon Jerusalem itself in a thunderous chaos of disaster and success.

The confused history of the wars in which Venice was engaged during the twelfth century is intimately connected with that of the first and second crusades, though it cannot be said that the Venetians played a very great part in either as fighting crusaders. It is hard to follow exactly what took place when the whole world that surrounded the Mediterranean was in a state of ferment and wild confusion; but it cannot be denied

that the Venetians made the most of the new opportunities presented to them, and they never neglected a chance of enriching themselves at a time when a vast amount of money was brought into circulation to pay for the transportation and victualling of armed hosts. The Republic, even at the outset, was in possession of a fleet that elicited the admiration of Europe. No other

OFF THE PUBLIC GARDENS

nation owned ships of such varied types well suited to different purposes. They had vessels called 'hippogogi,' intended, as the name indicates, for the transportation of horses, of which each was able to carry a considerable number. They had fast vessels called also by a Greek name, 'dromi,' some of which are stated to have been a hundred and seventy-five feet over all; and though of light draught, such ships can hardly

have been of less than three hundred tons register and over. They had a main deck and an upper deck, which the chronicler, who was totally ignorant of nautical matters, presumes to have been assigned respectively to the fighting men and the seamen who worked the ship. Several of these vessels carried timber, so fitted as to be rapidly built up into a turret, reaching to the battlements of sea-girt fortresses and towns, and they were provided with engines for throwing stones, heavy wooden bolts with iron heads, and boiling pitch.

It was undoubtedly at this time that the great rivalry rose between Venice and Genoa, when both were supposed to be helping the Christian cause in the East. It happened more than once that a convenient pretext for these quarrels presented itself in the shape of sacred relics of saints, coveted alike by Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians; and to obtain such precious spoil they slew each other without hesitation or remorse. They not only trusted that the saint, when bodily in their possession, would bestow his richest blessings upon those who had fought for him, but they were also well aware that his shrine would without doubt attract numerous pilgrims to their city, and thereby prove a permanent source of gain. It was in this way that the Venetians succeeded in carrying off from the island of Rhodes the body of Saint Nicolas, in order to exhibit it to the veneration of the faithful in the church they had already built to him on the Lido; not many years passed before they succeeded in stealing from Constantinople the body of Saint Stephen the martyr, and in the course of the century they possessed themselves of numerous treasures of the same kind.

1099. Defeat of the Pisans off Rhodes, A. Vicentino; ceiling of Sala dello Scrutinio, Ducal Palace.

It must not be supposed, however, that they con-

fined themselves to the discovery and seizure of such pious plunder. The end they pursued was of a more practical nature, and the whole result of their activity during their first wars in the East is found in the establishment of flourishing colonies throughout the Levant, and in the gradual, but in the end surprising subjection of the Byzantine Empire to their commercial interests. They made enormous sacrifices, they shed blood like water and spent money without stint, in order to establish themselves as the masters of the Ionian islands.

Though they hardly fought at all as crusaders, they derived immense advantages from the conquest of the Holy Land. In the kingdom of Jerusalem they acquired the right to own a street, a square, a bakery, and a public bath in every city; in the cities of Sidon and Acre, the ancient Ptolemais, they obtained even more ample privileges; finally, in the year 1123, they had made themselves masters of one-third of the city of Tyre, while leaving the other two-thirds in the possession of the king. They immediately established there an ambassador to represent the Republic, with the title of Bailo, and a consul to protect their financial interests.

Rom. ii. 42.

1123. Defeat of the Turks at Jaffa, Sante Peranda; same ceiling.

The taking of Tyre was largely due to the personal courage and firmness of the Doge Domenico Michiel. Under apparently hopeless conditions, and when his troops were thoroughly discouraged, without money to pay their wages or supplies to feed them, he succeeded in maintaining his influence over them, and ultimately led them to victory. One of the most extraordinary devices to which he had recourse in the absence of coin was the creation of a leather currency. He actually had vast quantities of leather cut into tokens and

1123. Fall of Tyre, Aliense; same ceiling.

stamped with a sign that promised redemption, if they were presented to the treasury in Venice when the expedition reached home; and these tokens circulated as notes do nowadays, and were ultimately redeemed in gold. It is to this circumstance that the arms of the Michiel family make allusion, displaying one-and-twenty pieces of money upon alternate bends, azure and argent.

The influence which the Venetians acquired in Constantinople during the first half of the twelfth century showed itself in the construction of churches and convents in the city itself, and in the establishment of great commercial storehouses and markets, where they used their own Venetian weights, measures, and money, as if they were in Venice itself. Their wares paid no duty on entering the Greek Empire; they required the Greeks to speak of the Doge under the title of Protospartos, or august prince, and the patriarch of Venice was designated as 'Hypertimos,' and derived considerable fees from the Eastern capital, while the basilica of Saint Mark enjoyed a tribute from the Byzantine Empire. In fact, during a certain length of time, the importance of the Republic was almost as great in Constantinople as in Venice itself, and was a source of considerable anxiety to the emperors. They did their best to oppose the growing power of the Venetians, but the assistance of the latter was absolutely necessary to them in order to repulse the attacks of the Normans of Sicily, who even succeeded in penetrating into the suburbs of Constantinople; and for some time the Greeks were obliged to bear with the official pretensions of the Republic, as well as with the insults and humiliations suffered by the Greek soldiers at the hands of their foreign allies.

Rom. ii. 61.

Rom. ii. 49, 61.

1148.
Defeat of Roger, Marco Vecellio; same ceiling.

Under the reign of the Emperor Manuel, however, the affairs of the Republic in the East suffered a severe check. During an expedition, of which the real object

THE CLOCK TOWER

was nothing less than the conquest of Greece, an outbreak of the plague brought terror and confusion upon the Venetian fleet. The attacking force consisted largely of volunteers, who

Rom. ii. 82-87.

lost heart as the terrible sickness spread amongst them. A mere remnant of what had seemed a brilliant army reached Venice with the remains of the fleet, and the arrival of these few spread mourning and desolation amongst the citizens. Outraged at the weakness and lack of wisdom displayed by the Doge during the expedition, the people united to wreak their vengeance upon him, and he was promptly assassinated. Amongst the many families whose youngest and bravest were victims of this fruitless expedition, none was more nearly exterminated than the Giustiniani. One hundred men of their name and race had sailed away to Greece; not one came back. The Venetians felt that the city itself was bereaved by their loss. One man of marriageable age alone survived in Venice to stand between the name of Giustiniani and its extinction, and he was a monk in the monastery of Saint Nicolas. Thither the people proceeded in a body, they claimed him from the order, they brought him home to his ancestral palace, they besought the Pope to free him from his vows. Alexander III. readily acceded to a request so unanimous; at the same time, as if to provide him with a wife whose position should be somewhat similar to his own, the pontiff liberated also from her nunnery the daughter of the former Doge, Vital Michiel II. The former monk and the former nun were united in bonds of matrimony, and became the parents of no less than twelve children, nine of whom were sons. When the twelve were all grown up, Giustiniani founded in the island of Amiano a convent, to which his wife and their three daughters retired, while he returned to his monastery of Saint Nicolas on the Lido.

Rom. ii. 89.

Lazzarini, Guida, 270.

Mol. Dogaressa, 75.

The immediate result of the disastrous expedition to

Greece seems to have been that Venice momentarily lost her hold upon the Levant, and was obliged to retire from the strong commercial position she had acquired in Constantinople; but an alliance with William, the king of Sicily and the son of Roger, soon turned the scale in favour of the Republic. The Emperor Manuel Comnenos, terrified at the thought of a coalition between Sicily and Venice, paid the latter a large sum of money by way of indemnity.

Rom. ii. 118.

Such, on the whole, were the principal events in the foreign history of Venice, which were more or less connected with the First Crusade and its consequences. But it must not be supposed that while Venice was doing everything in her power to extend her commerce and influence in eastern Europe and in Asia, she was neglecting to improve her opportunities in Italy. As early as 1101 the Venetians had installed themselves as masters in the city of Ferrara, which they had helped the great Countess Matilda to recover from her imperial enemy At the same time the Republic required all its prodigious energy to maintain its hold upon Dalmatia, the possession of which was contested by the king of Hungary. One of the numerous expeditions to the Dalmatian coasts cost the life of the Doge Ordelafo Falier; this was in 1116, and fifty years elapsed before the Republic recovered possession of all the fortresses on that coast. Stephen III. of Hungary now thought only of winning the good graces of his country's former rivals, and married two princesses of his family, the one to Niccolò, a son of the Doge Michiel, who had been created Count of the island of Arbo in Dalmatia, and the other to the Count of Ossero. Venice had become a European power, and foreign sovereigns sought alliance with her by marriage.

Rom. ii. 77.

Much interest attaches to the relations between the Doges, the Emperors, and the Popes in the twelfth century, more especially as the long quarrel ended in the institution of the memorable feast of the Ascension, which was kept in Venice to the very last year of the Republic.

The Emperor Conrad died in the year 1152, leaving an only son who was a mere boy. The electors of the Empire, judging that the times required a strong hand and a sovereign who should not be under the control of any regency, elected the late Emperor's nephew, Frederick of Hohenstaufen, surnamed Barbarossa. Brave, ambitious, and energetic, Frederick's object from the first was to bring all Italy under the direct rule of the Empire. By a piece of good fortune which rarely befell any of the Emperors, he found himself supported by the Pope, who, according to the amiable traditions of those times, should have been his natural enemy. Nicholas Brakespeare, the Englishman who reigned under the name of Pope Hadrian IV., was at that time in considerable anxiety owing to the progress made in Rome by the revolutionary teachings of Arnold of Brescia, and viewed with satisfaction the Emperor's intention of descending into Italy at the head of an imposing army. For such an expedition a pretext was soon found. Frederick convoked a general diet of the Empire at Roncaglia, not far from Piacenza, which had generally been the official residence of his predecessors when they visited the peninsula.

The Venetian Republic does not appear to have been at all alarmed by what was known of the Emperor's intentions, and sent three patricians to represent her at the diet. The Emperor was indeed chiefly opposed by the Lombards, who entirely refused to acknowledge the claims he now made, and he was accordingly obliged

more than once to resort to arms to enforce them, even after his coronation in Rome.

A dangerous epidemic which broke out in Italy obliged him to return to Germany for a short time, but he soon came back and convoked a second diet at Roncaglia, the prime object of which was to define exactly what the situation of the Italian states ought to be with regard to the Empire. The Diet fully supported the Emperor in the claims he made upon Lombardy, and that province, having been placed under the ban of the Imperial Diet, broke out in open revolt. In the war which followed immediately a number of the Lombard cities were besieged, including Milan and Crema. When the latter place was starved to a surrender, and was obliged to open its gates to the Germans, it is recorded that the whole population emigrated in a body, preferring exile to submission.

Rom. ii. 73.

At this time Hadrian IV., Frederick's friend and ally, died, and the conclave elected as his successor Cardinal Bandinelli, who assumed the name of Alexander III., and became one of the Emperor's bitterest enemies. Even before his election this Pope had been well known for his strong Guelph sympathies, and his election was a source of profound displeasure to the Emperor. The latter could not easily accomplish his purpose in Italy during the reign of a Pope whose patriotic object it was to liberate his country from all foreign influence. Following the astonishing custom which prevailed in those times, Barbarossa immediately proclaimed a Pope of his own, known to us as the Antipope Victor IV., who united the suffrages and enjoyed the support of that very numerous party which desired to see the Germanic influence of the Empire prevalent south of the Alps.

There was therefore throughout Italy a condition of

schism in which the Pope and the patriotic party were opposed to the Antipope and the Imperialists. The Venetians with their patriarch did not hesitate to espouse the cause of Alexander III. At that time the patriarch was still the Bishop of Grado, and as it chanced that he was at odds with the Archbishop of Aquileia about certain questions connected with the Dalmatian bishoprics since that province had passed into the hands of the Venetians, Aquileia very naturally joined the Imperial standard, and proceeded to sack the diocese of the rival bishop. The Doge interfered in person, and with the help of a few faithful troops succeeded in capturing the hot-headed Bishop of Aquileia, a dozen of his canons, and a number of Friulese country gentlemen who had joined the quarrel in the hope of plunder. These prisoners were all brought to Venice, but were set at liberty when the bishop and his canons had signed a treaty or perpetual agreement, whereby they bound themselves and their successors for ever to pay a yearly tribute consisting of twelve loaves of white bread and twelve fat pigs. The Republic judged that the memory of this victory of the rightful Pope's party over his adversaries should be preserved, and as a means of doing so decreed that the aforesaid fattened swine should be handed over to the populace on the Thursday before Lent to be hunted to death in the piazza of Saint Mark. This carnival diversion was so highly appreciated by the people that when in the year 1420 the Pope abolished the two patriarchates of Grado and Aquileia, and created instead the patriarchate of Venice, the Government was obliged to provide the pigs at its own expense.

Rom. ii. 75.

It is only fair to say here that the patriarch of Aquileia made act of submission to Pope Alexander III. himself.

Meanwhile, in the year 1162, that Pope was forced to take refuge in France to escape from the dangers that beset him in Rome; and the bishops and cardinals who were faithful to him, and who now found themselves fugitives, received a hospitable welcome with promises of protection in Venice. It was but natural that this should irritate the Emperor, and foreseeing

THE DOGANA AND THE SALUTE

that there was to be trouble the Republic hastened to conclude alliances with the Greek Emperor and the king of Naples, whose interest it was to check the growth of German influence in Italy.

On his side Barbarossa assured himself of the support of Genoa, and returned to Germany to raise fresh troops, while Alexander III. took advantage of his enemy's absence to come back to Rome. It was in the

midst of these party struggles that the Lombard League first took shape and began to grow; in 1167 a congress was held at which were present deputies from the cities of Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, Mantua, Cremona, Milan, Lodi, Parma, Modena, Bologna, Novara, Vercelli, Reggio, Asti and Tortona. The representatives of these powerful towns met together and swore a solemn oath in a great fortress which they had built for the common defence, and around which a city had already sprung up. The city and fortress were named Alessandria, in honour of Pope Alexander III., who was the soul of the patriotic Italian 'Concordia.' It is worth noting that the city of Piacenza, which up to this time had been considered the central focus of Germanic influence in Italy, sent representatives to the congress of Alessandria, and afterwards took an active part in the alliance which was formed there.

Rom. ii. 81.

The Emperor spared no effort to obtain possession of the stronghold of the League; but while the garrison opposed the most determined resistance from within, the citie[illegible] the League harassed the Germans from without, and [illegible]ed them to raise the siege within four months. Not very much later, though too late, the Imperial army received considerable reinforcements; but during that time the army of the League had been able to make every preparation for a decisive battle. The armies met at Legnano on May 19, 1176, and the encounter resulted in a disastrous defeat for Frederick. He himself was thrown from his horse, the great standard of the Empire was captured, and the Imperialists were driven to ignominious flight. The Venetians had no troops in this battle, which was fought at a considerable distance from their territory, but

Rom. ii. 100.

they had contributed large sums of money as well as munitions of war to the cause.

During the six years which had preceded this decisive battle Alexander III. had led a life of hardship and danger. Beset and pursued by his enemies, he wandered and sometimes fled from Benevento to Veroli, and thence to Anagni, feeling himself safer anywhere than in Rome, where party feeling ran high and took the side of Frederick. But the latter's signal defeat at Legnano convinced Barbarossa at last that his true interest lay in making peace with the sovereign pontiff, in spite of the great difficulty which must attend any negotiations towards such an end; for Frederick dreamt of nothing less than reconciling himself with Alexander III. without abandoning the Antipope whom he had set up in opposition. The first point agreed upon was that a meeting should take place in some city of northern Italy, and that the Pope should attend it in person.

1177. Departure of the Doge's ambassadors and Papal legates for Pavia, school of Paolo Veronese; arrival of the envoys before Barbarossa, Tintoretto; Hall of the Great Council.

As a preliminary step the Pope proceeded to Venice, being conveyed thither by the galleys of the king of Sicily, and visiting on his way the principal cities of Dalmatia. He was received in Venice with the most profound respect and with demonstrations of the greatest joy by the Doge, the clergy, and the people. During his stay in the city there was a constant exchange of messages between him and the Emperor regarding the city to be chosen for a congress to discuss the peace. Then the Pope himself was obliged to travel to Ferrara, a town which the cities of the League would have preferred, though it was too small to lodge the great number of persons who would have to be present. The Pope returned to Venice after discussing the question

with the envoys of Milan, and called together the ambassadors of the Empire, the legates of Sicily, and the principal Lombard chiefs. All these personages presented themselves in answer to the pontifical summons, and proceeded to discuss the situation at great length. The result of the congress was that the Emperor agreed to recognise the legitimate election of Alexander III., to renounce his own Antipope, to sign a truce of six years with the Lombard League, and of fifteen years with the king of Sicily.

These preliminaries having been properly and minutely established, the Emperor was invited to meet the Pope in Venice. It was his Canossa. He arrived in Chioggia in 1177, and was met at the entrance of the lagoons by a deputation of bishops, who exhorted him to abjure his schism before entering upon Venetian territory. Barbarossa complied with good grace and was forthwith freed from the ban of excommunication. On the following day he proceeded to the capital. The Doge, the patriarch of Grado, and all the bishops of the Venetian State went out to meet him in their barges. The whole company landed at the Piazzetta amidst the acclamations of the crowd, and the Emperor was at once conducted to the Basilica. Here the Pope, in full pontificals, awaited him under the porch, surrounded by his cardinals and numerous representatives of the Venetian clergy. When he saw before him the august pontiff whom he had so long and so cruelly persecuted, the Emperor seems to have felt a sudden impulse of penitence, for he threw himself upon his knees and bowed down to kiss the Pope's feet; but Alexander would not allow him to go so far, and raising him to his feet bestowed upon him the kiss of peace. Side by side the temporal and the spiritual sovereigns of

Barbarossa kneeling before Alexander III., Federigo Zuccaro; Hall of the Great Council.

the world went up the ancient aisle together to the steps of the high altar, and with the clergy and people intoned the 'Te Deum Laudamus.'

CHIOGGIA

On the first of August of that year the truce with the Lombard League was signed, and at the same time the Venetians obtained for themselves certain especial promises from the Emperor, one of which was that no

imperial ships should navigate the waters of the Adriatic Gulf, which Venice now looked upon as her exclusive property, without the consent of the Republic. On his side the Pope accorded numerous privileges to the city which had given him such abundant proof of its fidelity.

A great part of the importance which was attached to the Doge's annual visit to the Lido on Ascension Day had its origin in the fact that Alexander III. was present in Venice at that feast. It is true that the custom of the visit dated from the days of Pietro Orseolo II., but the ceremony of espousing the sea was first performed in 1177, when the Pope, on presenting the Doge Sebastian Ziani with a magnificent ring, accompanied the gift with the words: 'Take this as a token of the sovereignty which you and your successors shall exercise over this sea for ever.' In memory of this speech the Doge afterwards dropped a golden wedding-ring into the sea every year with imposing ceremonies.

These are the simple facts upon which is founded the amazing legend of Alexander's arrival in Venice. Tracked and pursued, the story says, by his imperial enemies, the fugitive Pope reached Venice in disguise and at night. After wandering for hours through the dark and winding ways of the city, he sank down at last upon the steps of a church, worn out with fatigue and sleep, to wait for the day. At dawn he took up his staff again, and on seeing a building which was evidently a monastery, he knocked at the door and asked for shelter. The house was that of Santa Maria della Carità. He was admitted, and, according to at least one chronicler, was installed in the kitchen as a scullion. In this humble office he lived uncomplaining for six months, until a French traveller, who had often

seen him in France, recognised him, and hastened to inform the Doge of his presence. The emotion created by the intelligence may easily be imagined. The ducal palace and the whole city were in a ferment of excitement, and a vast procession proceeded at once to fetch the sovereign pontiff from the convent kitchen and conduct him to the palace of the patriarch of Grado.

Alexander III. recognised in the monastery of the Carità, school of P. Veronese; Hall of the Great Council.

Strong in the support of the Venetians, the Pope now sent ambassadors to Frederick requiring him to restore peace to Church and State. The Emperor, according to the story, sent an arrogant reply, and swore that he would plant his victorious standard before the very door of Saint Mark's. The natural result of such a reply could only be a war, and the legend did not fail to invent one of the most dramatic nature. Sixty galleys from the Empire, from Genoa, and from Pisa, entered the Adriatic under the command of the young Otho, the Emperor's son, a boy of eighteen years, endowed with superhuman strength, courage, and experience. Against this powerful fleet the Venetians could only send a force of thirty ships. But right was on their side, and especially the right of legend to give the victory to its favourites. The Doge knelt before the Pope, the Pope blessed him, presented him with a golden sword and promised him the victory.

Alexander III. presents the Doge with the sword, Francesco Bassano; same Hall.

On Ascension Day a great and bloody sea-fight was fought off Salvore, not far from Parenzo, and the Venetians utterly discomfited their enemies, taking from them forty-eight galleys and a vast number of prisoners, including the Prince Otho himself. Like all legendary people, these legendary Venetians were noble and generous beyond words, and at once sent the Prince back to his father

Battle of Salvore, Domenico Tintoretto; same Hall.

with twelve ambassadors. Touched by so much kindness, the Emperor requested a safe-conduct for himself to visit Venice, and having arrived there he was kept waiting an unconscionable time while the terms of a treaty of peace were drawn up. When he was at last admitted to the presence of Alexander III. Frederick was made to lay aside all the insignia of royalty, and was forced to lie down flat upon his face while the Pope placed one foot

The Venetians present Prince Otho to the Pope, A. Vicentino; and other pictures representing scenes from the same legend, in the same Hall.

S. PIETRO IN CASTELLO

upon the back of his neck and recited from Psalm xci. verse 13, 'The young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.' Frederick answered, 'I bow not before thee, but before Peter.' 'Both before Peter and before me,' insisted the Pope.

The historian Romanin is justified in declaring that it would be hard to accumulate a greater number of absurdities in a single tale, and the most elementary historical criticism has sufficed to destroy all such fables. They are, indeed, so manifestly imaginary that the so-called proofs of the dramatic events they describe have been allowed to remain untouched, and they exist to

the present day. They consist of an inscription cut in marble, which recalls to the inhabitants of Salvore the victory of the Doge Sebastian Ziani over the fleet of Otho of Hohenstaufen; of an inscription on the outside of the church of Sant' Apollinare informing the public that Pope Alexander III. passed a bad night on the steps of that church; and of similar inscriptions upon the churches of Santa Sofia, San Salvatore, San Giacomo, and some other churches, which dispute with Sant' Apollinare the honour of having offered the pontiff the hospitality of the doorstep.

PONTE MALCANTONE

VI

VENICE AND CONSTANTINOPLE

The most conflicting judgments have been formed upon the action of the Venetian Republic at the decisive moments of her career, as well as upon the true sources of her wealth and importance. One writer, for instance, gravely tells us that Venice, like England, grew rich by usury and the slave trade ; another, whose good faith cannot be doubted, assures the world that the two great mistakes which led to the final downfall of the Republic were the 'Serrata del Gran Consiglio,'

which excluded the people from the government, and the unjustifiable sack and seizure of Constantinople. It would be hard indeed to produce any satisfactory proof of the former statement; for though the Venetians undoubtedly supplied themselves and one part of Italy with white slaves from the East, and although the Republic at times lent money at interest to poorer Governments in distress, yet I do not think that these sources of income were ever to be compared with that derived from a great and legitimate commerce, and from less justifiable but not less lucrative conquest.

As for the second statement, it is enough to consider the length of time which elapsed between the taking of Constantinople and the closure of the Great Council about a hundred years later, say in 1300, on the one hand, and the final destruction of Venetian independence in 1797 on the other. When, in history, an effect is separated from its supposed cause by an interval of five hundred years or more, I do not hesitate to assert that the connection is a little more than doubtful. As for the exclusion of the people from the government having been a source of danger to the Republic, it is interesting to note that almost in the same year the Republic of Florence adopted precisely the opposite course, that it led directly to internal discord and the wars of the Blacks and Whites, and that in less than two hundred years the city which had adopted the democratic view was under the dominion of tyrants —a striking instance of the truth of some of the most important conclusions reached by Plato in the *Republic*.

In the year 1198 Pope Innocent III. called upon Christendom to undertake a fourth crusade, and the voice of Fulk of Neuilly preached the delivery of the

Holy Sepulchre, and roused to arms the most valiant barons and gentlemen of France.

It was not till 1201 that the new army of crusaders was sufficiently organised to consider the means of reaching Palestine, and they then decided that they must make the journey by sea. Accordingly they sent an embassy to Venice, the only maritime power then able to furnish the ships and transports required.

Enrico Dandolo, the Doge, entertained their request, and, speaking in the name of the Republic, offered to convey to Palestine four thousand five hundred horses and nine thousand squires and grooms on large transports, and to take four thousand five hundred knights and twenty thousand men-at-arms on other vessels, and to furnish provisions for men and horses for nine months; and, further, to send fifty armed galleys to convoy the transports to 'the shores whither Christianity and the service of God called them.'

For this transportation the Republic required the payment of 85,000 marks of silver before the army embarked, and the promise of an equal division of all conquests and of all spoil, Venice to receive one-half of everything.

To these terms the ambassadors agreed, and they obtained from the Pope a solemn approval of the agreement, which the Republic fulfilled with great exactness, but which many of the crusaders violated in a manner far from honourable; for a large number, deeming that they could make the journey more cheaply on their own account, embarked from other European ports without any regard to the engagements made in their names by the ambassadors they themselves had chosen.

The consequence was that at the time agreed upon for meeting in Venice, the crusaders found their

numbers much inferior to those provided for in the contract; and, as was natural, those who presented themselves were not able to produce the sum of money agreed upon for the whole number.

But, according to the agreement signed, if the whole sum was not paid before embarking, whatever was paid in was forfeited to the Republic, which had been put to great expense and trouble in fitting out so large a fleet.

In this extremity Enrico Dandolo pointed out to his countrymen that Venice should play a generous part, rather than exact the letter of the contract; that a compromise should be made on some sound basis; and that the most obvious way of settling the matter was to ask of the crusaders some service, during the voyage to Palestine, which should be accepted instead of the balance of the money still unpaid, amounting to no less than 30,000 marks of silver (about £60,000 sterling). To this proposal the crusaders agreed, though not without considerable opposition on the part of some of their number.

Let it be observed here, in defence of what the Venetians afterwards did, that they were connected with the Fourth Crusade in two totally distinct characters. In the first place, they themselves took the cross in great numbers, and were therefore crusaders in the true sense; secondly, they were a company for the transportation of a great number of other crusaders at stated rates, under a guarantee. Moreover, they did not, as some have supposed, include their own forces amongst those for whom the French were to pay.

According to Sismondi, the estimate they made for the transportation of the French was as follows :—

For	4,500 horses, at 4 marks of silver each	18,000 marks
"	4,500 knights, at 2 marks of silver each	9,000 "
"	9,000 squires and grooms, at 2 marks of silver each	18,000 "
"	20,000 men-at-arms, at 2 marks of silver each	40,000 "
	For 4,500 horses and 33,500 men, total	85,000 marks
	Equal to about	£170,000 sterling.

This represented what may be called the business side of the transaction. As crusaders, the Venetians who accompanied the expedition appeared not as business men but as allies, and provided for themselves in every way; and it was as allies that they claimed an equal share of conquest and spoil.

The weakness of the Pope's subsequent position lay in the fact that while he could, and did, excommunicate the crusaders for going out of their way, he could not possibly have excommunicated them if the Venetians, as business men, had insisted on the performance of the contract and had refused to start at all.

In giving a brief account of the taking of Constantinople, I shall not offer any criticism of a deed which has been generally condemned, and which it is certainly not easy to excuse, but I shall present it very nearly as it appeared to Romanin, himself a Venetian, and one of the greatest and most just of the Venetian historians.

It was on a Sunday, and in the year 1201, that the decision was reached which sent a Venetian fleet and army to the East under the aged Doge Enrico Dandolo. A vast crowd filled the basilica of Saint Mark, and was swelled by the foreign knights and their attendants, who had descended from the ducal palace after being received by the Doge.

Rom. ii. 154.

Moreover, there were many pilgrims in the throng, wearing upon their coats and cloaks the emblem of the cross. High mass was to be celebrated, and the high altar was already prepared for the solemn function. Before it began, however, a very old man of venerable aspect, but still preserving something of his earlier energy, appeared in the pulpit of the cathedral. He was almost sightless—so blind, indeed, that he had to be led when he walked. But, in spite of age and infirmity, Enrico Dandolo was still one of the most remarkable men living in an age which produced many characters of wonderful individuality and strength. Even his blindness was not the consequence of weakness or old age, but of the fiendish cruelty of the Emperor Manuel Comnenos, who had almost destroyed his sight when he had been ambassador in Constantinople nearly a quarter of a century earlier. He had now reached the age of ninety-four, and had been Doge already eight years.

1201. Dandolo takes the cross, Giovanni Le Clerc; Hall of the Great Council.

Rom. ii. 97.

He stood up in the pulpit and spoke to the people, not long but earnestly, and though he was nearly a hundred years old his voice rang clear and distinct through the vast church, and the words he spoke were heard and long remembered.

'You are allied,' he said, 'with the bravest of living men for the greatest purpose which man can embrace; and I am old and weak and my body has sore need of rest, yet I clearly see that no one can lead you in this enterprise with the authority which is mine as chief of the Republic. I pray you give me leave to take the cross that I may lead you and watch over you, and let my son take my place here to guard the territories of Venice while I go forth to live or die with you and with these pilgrims.'

Rom. ii. 154.

A great cry went up from all the people, 'So be it for God's sake! Take the cross also and come with us.' And therewith a great wave of enthusiasm moved

THE SALUTE

the whole host—strangers, pilgrims, and Venetians alike; and one who stood in the crowd has recorded that there was something in the bearing of the ancient

Doge, in his prayer for permission to take the cross, in the sacrifice he offered of the last strength that was in him, that brought tears to the eyes of them that saw and heard.

Then Enrico Dandolo, laying one hand upon the shoulder of him who went before to lead him, came down and knelt before the high altar; and he asked that the cross should be sewn upon his great cotton bonnet that all might see it, and a great number of Venetians followed his example and took the cross also.

The fleet sailed out of the harbour of Venice on the eighth day of October 1202, a fleet of three hundred sail, the noblest and best equipped that had yet been seen. Three huge vessels led the line—the *Aquila*, the *Paradiso*, and the *Pellegrina*. Above the broad sails the standard of the Republic floated from the masthead, while the flags of other nations that were sending crusaders with the fleet were displayed below it and at the yard-arms. The three hundred vessels were manned by a force of forty thousand men in the bloom of their youth and strength.

The crusade that followed has been too often described for me to describe it. I shall merely endeavour to present a short statement of the main facts and their consequences.

Pope Innocent III. had strictly enjoined upon the crusaders to stop nowhere by the way, but to proceed directly to the Holy Land without turning aside to pursue any purpose or undertaking foreign to the end for which they had bound themselves together by solemn oath. The Pope's command was peremptory; it is hardly necessary to say that it was also prudent, since the first three crusades had shown clearly to what extent the interests of commerce and

Rom. ii. 155.

the desire for gain could thwart the true purpose of the Holy War. Nevertheless the Venetians considered that the Pope's words could be interpreted with a breadth convenient to their own ends, and in spite of the resistance of the French knights, who wished to obey the Pope to the letter, the fleet anchored off the coast of Dalmatia in order to retake the strongholds which had fallen under the domination of Hungary. Enrico Dandolo's argument in favour of this was by no means illogical, whatever his real motives may have been, for he pointed out that it was absolutely necessary to take possession of all harbours on the way to the East from which pirates might sail out to harass the fleet.

No sooner had he taken the city of Zara, however, than the French knights were perplexed and terrified by a message from the Pope, who threatened to excommunicate all who had fought in this incidental war unless they made honourable amends. Ambassadors were at once sent to Rome to explain Dandolo's specious argument to the Pope and humbly to implore the latter's pardon. Innocent granted his absolution readily enough, on condition that the crusaders should not turn aside again on their way to the Holy Land.

1202. Zara attacked by the crusaders, A. Vicentino; Hall of the Great Council.

But meanwhile a still greater temptation presented itself to attract the crusaders out of their straight course. For a long time past the Empire of the East had been distracted by civil wars. At the time when the crusaders set sail from Venice the Emperor Isaac had been dethroned and blinded by his brother Alexis, who had seized the power. But Isaac's son, the younger Alexis, had succeeded in eluding his uncle's vigilance, and had escaped from Constantinople. He had visited Rome with the intention

Rom. ii. 160-1.

of obtaining assistance from Pope Innocent III., but only to find that his purpose had been forestalled by his uncle, the reigning Emperor. *Quadri, 117.* The latter, fearing the Pope's interference, had already sent an embassy to him with instructions to beguile him with promises of a reconciliation between the Greek and Latin Churches. As this reconciliation, or submission, was the principal inducement which the younger Alexis had to offer in return for help, the Pope considered that it would be wiser to treat with the uncle, who was in possession, rather than with the nephew who was a fugitive. Deceived in his hopes, the younger Alexis proceeded to Germany, to the court of King Philip of Swabia, who had set himself up as Emperor against Otho IV., and had married a sister of the young Prince. It is not clear whether it was Philip himself who suggested to Alexis the possibility of attracting the crusaders to Constantinople, but he appears to have recommended the plan and to have strongly urged the Venetians to agree to it. At all events Alexis now proceeded to Zara and soon interested the aged Dandolo in his cause. He made great promises if the crusaders would help him to get back the throne; he would bear the whole expenses of the crusade for one year; he would divide amongst the crusaders a sum of two hundred thousand silver marks; he would guarantee for all future time that five hundred knights should be supported by the Greek Empire in the Holy Land to guard it from the attacks of unbelievers; and finally, he promised to bring the Eastern Church back to the spiritual dominion of the popes. These magnificent offers on the one hand, and the moving picture which, on the other, he drew of his father Isaac's sufferings, produced a profound impression upon his hearers, and

Alexis Comnenos asks help of the Venetians, A. Vicentino; same Hall.

especially, perhaps, upon those who had already been in Constantinople and had formed an opinion as to the value of such a prize. In the eyes of the Venetians, too, there was even another object to be accomplished, namely, the destruction of the power of Pisa and of her commerce in the East.

It was in vain that the Pope, who wished to manage matters himself, and who was more than half pledged to the usurper of the throne, raised his voice in threats and protestations; it was in vain that he insisted on the wretched condition of the Christians in Palestine and the extremities to which they were reduced, pointing out that their welfare was to be considered rather than a blind prisoner's claims to the throne from which he had been ousted, no matter how unjustly. Nothing that the Pope could say had the slightest effect upon men whose conscience agreed to an act of justice in which their ruling passion for gain anticipated an opportunity for almost unbounded plunder. Those who feared to displease the Pope, or were terrified by the menace of excommunication, were told that they were free to leave the ranks if they chose. A few French knights took advantage of this alternative and left the army; amongst these was Simon de Montfort. But the principal French nobles espoused the cause of the younger Alexis, including Boniface of Montferrat, Baldwin of Flanders, Louis of Blois, and Hugh the Count of Saint Paul. These and the great majority, with their followers, threw in their lot with Enrico Dandolo, and looked on with indifference when the Pope's cardinal legates left the crusade and proceeded to the East by themselves.

Rom. ii. 162.

Sismondi considers that the subsequent attitude of Venice towards the Holy See throughout her history had its origin at this time; for when, before the ex-

pedition sailed, Cardinal San Marcello arrived in Venice, as the Pope's legate, to take command of the crusading fleet, he was informed that if he shipped as a Christian

FONDAMENTA S. GIROLAMO

preacher he should be treated with the highest honours, but that if he came with the slightest idea of giving orders he could not be allowed on board ; whereupon,

having thoroughly understood the situation, he returned to Rome.

As the fleet proceeded eastwards it was very naturally obliged to put in at a number of Greek harbours, not only to obtain provisions, but because it was absolutely necessary to land the crusaders' horses from time to time for exercise; and when we consider the conditions of navigation and the dimensions of vessels in those days, we are surprised that such a body of cavalry could have been successfully transported at all from the Venetian islands to the very walls of Constantinople. It was generally considered at that period that Constantinople shared the dominion of the sea with Venice, but it appears that the Emperor's brother-in-law, who was high admiral of the fleet, had deliberately sold for his own advantage the sails, rigging, cables, and even anchors of the ships of war, and that the vessels themselves had been allowed to rot in the Bosphorus till even the hulks were unfit for sea. It is easy to understand why the magnificently-equipped fleet of the Venetians could proceed from one imperial harbour to another without meeting even a show of opposition. Moreover, wherever the crusaders went they found the cities they visited well disposed towards the younger Alexis. In this way they touched at Durazzo, Corfu, Cape Malea, Negroponte, Andros and Abydos, and came at last, on the eve of Saint John's day (twenty-third of June), to the town and abbey of San Stefano, famous in many a later war, to our own times, and well within sight of the city. Here, says Geoffrey de Villehardouin, the Marshal of Champagne, and the eyewitness and chronicler of the whole expedition, the masters of the ships, galleys, and transports took harbour and anchored their vessels: 'Now you may know that long they looked upon Constantinople who had never seen

it yet, and they could not believe that so rich a city could be in all the world. When they saw those lofty walls and those rich towers which close it in all round about, and those rich palaces and tall churches of which there were so many as no one could have believed if he had not seen them with his eyes, through all the length and breadth of that city, which among all others was sovereign; know ye well that then there was none so brave but that his heart trembled, and this was no wonder, for never was so great a matter undertaken . . . then each looked to his arms, considering that in them soldiers must trust when they shall soon have need of them.'

I shall not attempt to describe the memorable events which followed. Here, as in many passages of his history, it may be said of Gibbon, as of Titian by Taine, that 'he absorbed his forerunners and ruined his successors.' It is enough to say that the city was fortified with double walls and four hundred towers, and that the garrison was estimated by Villehardouin at no less than four hundred thousand men. The resistance was obstinate, but the attack was irresistible. The French, judging at first that they could fight better on land, concentrated their strength against the northern wall; the Venetians, from their ships, scaled the fortifications that rose from the edge of the sea. The aged Dandolo led the general assault himself, twenty-five of the towers were captured, and the fall of Constantinople was a foregone conclusion. But the whole siege, with intermissions, lasted from June until the following April. During that time the deposed and imprisoned Emperor Isaac, surnamed Angelos, succeeded through his friends in organising a revolution in his favour, in regaining the throne, which he divided with his son Alexis, and finally in quarrelling with his liberators, the

Rom. ii. 170.

Attack on Constantinople, Palma Giovane, Hall of the Great Council.

Venetians and the French crusaders, after considerable demonstrations of friendship, because he could not carry out the clause in the agreement relative to the subjection of the Greek Church to the popes. He, and even his son, the younger Alexis, though not to blame for this, seem to have been very little better than his brother, the elder Alexis, who had fled for safety, and the student is not sorry to learn that they were put to death by such patriots as remained in the corrupt capital before the final assault.

The besiegers, on their side, had made a treaty among themselves for the division of the spoil, with the following conditions :—

First, after the taking of Constantinople, a new emperor was to be elected from among the crusaders by a body consisting of six Venetians and six of the French barons.

Rom. ii. 177. Quadri, 122.

Secondly, whichever nation should be the one from which the emperor was chosen was to leave to the other the church of Saint Sophia, with the right of designating the Patriarch.

Thirdly, the other churches of the city were to be equally divided between Venice and the French.

Fourthly, all future conquests, including the city itself, were to be so divided that the elected emperor should receive one-quarter of the whole, while the remaining three-quarters were to be divided equally between the French and the Venetians. It was, however, provided that Venice was to receive the balance of the sum due for transporting the crusaders before any division of the spoil took place.

Rom. ii. 182.

The city was finally taken on the twelfth of April 1204, the final assault having lasted three days, but as it was late in the day when the allies got possession of the fortifications they did not venture into the

interior of the city until the following morning. It has been estimated that nearly one-half of the city with all the treasures it contained had been destroyed by the three great fires which had taken place during the preceding months, yet the spoil that remained far exceeded anything recorded in history, and it is not to be denied that both the French and the Venetians committed frightful excesses in the first intoxication of their immense triumph.

1204. Storming of Constantinople. Domenico Tintoretto; Hall of the Great Council.

The articles of the treaty the victors had made among themselves were strictly observed. The spoil was divided in the manner and proportions stipulated, electors were chosen, and they proceeded to the choice of an emperor. It was but natural that the majority should agree at once upon the Doge Enrico Dandolo, to whose judgment, determination, and personal courage the success of an apparently impossible enterprise was largely due. A force of between thirty and forty thousand men, coming in ships from a distant country and facing every possible strategic disadvantage, had destroyed the Eastern Empire in a few months, and had captured the most strongly fortified city in the world against odds of more than ten to one. From first to last they had been counselled, directed, and led by the aged Doge; assuredly no one was more worthy than he to receive the highest reward and the greatest share of honour. One Frenchman and one Venetian, however, dissented, and it was the Venetian who argued convincingly against Dandolo's election. He pointed out clearly that the chief magistrate of a free republic could not in conscience be at the same time the despot of an empire, and he advised that Baldwin of Flanders

Election of Baldwin, A. Vicentino; same Hall.

Dandolo crowns Baldwin, Aliense; same Hall.

should be chosen instead. The Venetians themselves were easily persuaded of the justice and good sense of this view, and it was forthwith unanimously adopted.

The conquerors proceeded next without delay to the dismemberment of the Empire, dividing amongst themselves provinces and cities of which they barely

VENICE FROM THE LAGOON

knew, and could not correctly write the names, and omitting many of the very existence of which they were in ignorance. Amongst the lands and strongholds which fell to the share of the Venetians may be mentioned Lacedaemon, Durazzo, the islands of the Cyclades and Sporades, and the Island of Crete, or Candia, taken over in a friendly exchange from the Marquis of Montferrat, and all the eastern coast of the Adriatic. The

Doge of Venice added to his titles the one of 'Lord and Master of a quarter and a half-quarter of the Roman Empire,' and in official acts the new Emperor was to address him as 'Carissimus Socius nostri Imperii.'

Quadri, 127.

This vast and sudden extension of territory, while it at once placed the Republic on an equal footing with the greatest European powers, had many disadvantages, and was fraught with dangers. Venice consisted properly of nothing more than the city and the duchy, with a population which Sismondi estimates at two hundred thousand souls; the partition of the Empire conferred upon Venice, by a stroke of the pen, many thousand square miles of land and seven or eight millions of subjects, and Venice, as the author I am quoting very pithily says, though not able to annex Padua, only twenty miles from the lagoons, was now undertaking to subdue what constituted a powerful kingdom, and to defend it against Turks, Bulgarians, Wallachians, and possibly even against the Latins of Constantinople.

It was clear that though the commerce of the Republic might gain immensely by this extension of her dominions, the responsibility assumed by the Republic was far beyond that which so limited a population could bear, and that the expenses of administering and defending the distant provinces would be enormous. Nor could the Venetians afford to overlook the fact that their great rivals, Genoa and Pisa, would spare no effort to drive them from their new possessions by fair means or foul. Before the taking of Constantinople the rich citizens either lived at home altogether, or returned after each voyage to fit their ships for another; but so soon as the Republic became the possessor of important colonies in the East, it was manifestly necessary that a considerable number of the

Rom. ii. 183.

most experienced and bravest Venetians should remain constantly abroad to administer and defend those new possessions.

The position of Venice at this time may be not inaptly compared with that of Rome when, after the annexation of Sicily, she found herself obliged to inaugurate that system of provincial government which she ever afterwards followed. But Venice was not Rome, and even if the Venetians had possessed the qualities of the Romans in addition to their own, they could not have succeeded as the Romans did, since in Genoa and Pisa they had competitors as civilised and as wealthy as themselves and far more numerous. Rome went on and conquered the world; Venice drew back in the face of a manifest impossibility, retiring, with much common sense and not a little dignity, from a career of successful conquest to the less brilliant but more stable condition of a commercial people.

The Venetian Senate after due deliberation gave up all idea of retaining possession of the new conquests, and in the year 1207 issued an edict authorising all Venetian citizens to fit out at their own expense armed expeditions to seize anything they could in the Greek archipelago or on the Greek coast; the Republic bound itself to leave each individual adventurer the lands or cities he was able to take, as his property in perpetual fee, reserving itself only the right of sovereign protection. It is true that the coast and the islands named in this edict formed a part of Venice's share in the division of the Eastern Empire, yet I doubt whether at any time in the history of nations any government has ventured to issue such a wholesale charter to piracy, and none was ever more literally interpreted.

As for the short-lived Empire of the Latins in Constantinople, it was brought to an end by the family of the Paleologi with the assistance of the Genoese, whose

principal object was to procure the expulsion of the Venetians from the East. But Michael Paleologos had the good sense to understand that the ruin of Venetian

CAMPIELLO S. GIOVANNI

commerce would entail serious damage to his own, and he did his utmost to maintain good relations between the two Italian republics. In this he did not altogether

succeed, as he found himself under the necessity of irritating Genoa by confirming many of the ancient privileges of Venice. On these conditions the Venetians consented to turn a deaf ear to the complaints and entreaties of Baldwin II., the dethroned Latin emperor, who wandered about Europe in the vain hope of obtaining help.

By the end of the thirteenth century the political influence of Venice in the Greek Empire had dwindled to insignificance compared with her great commercial importance. As the latter increased, the jealousy of Genoa grew more and more dangerous, and the colonies held by Venetian vassals were in constant peril.

It was the misfortune of Venice that her last development had been too sudden. The slightest matter might compromise the safety of her colonies, and through them her own.

Yet her position was brilliant, and her strength was not fictitious. The terms of the treaty concluded with Michael Paleologos were such as might well flatter even the pride and vanity of a Venetian, and the Doge continued to call himself Lord and Master of a quarter and a half-quarter of the Roman Empire, while the permanent ambassador of Venice at Constantinople continued to be treated by the Paleologi as an ally and a friend.

Rom. ii. 186.

Before leaving the thirteenth century I shall say a few words about the early laws and those who made them, as an appropriate introduction to the story of the great conspirators who attempted to grasp the supreme power in spite of them.

From what has gone before, it must be clear that the Venetian Republic, as it was when it first took its place among the European powers, was the result of circumstances rather than of the growth of a race; and it is much easier to trace a result to its cause than a growth

to its primitive type. Having got so far, the student will naturally be curious as to the internal mechanism of a government which began so early, lasted so long, and worked, on the whole, with such wonderful precision and certainty.

It will not be necessary to recapitulate the attempts and experiments of the first fugitives after they reached the islands. I need only recall to my reader the 'University of the Tribunes,' by which the different tribes were represented and were respectively governed, the first doges, the short return to the system of tribunes, and the second and final establishment of a doge as head of the Republic. At this point in history two main facts stand out at once: on the one hand, the unlimited power of the doges, whose authority was not restrained by any positive law, still less by any body of men in the shape of senate or council, whose chief aim was generally to make their dignity hereditary, and who were to all intents and purposes the absolute masters of their country's destiny while they lived; on the other hand, we find an assembly of the clergy and people, generally very far from exacting as to the doge's conduct, but ready and able to wrest the sovereignty from him if he pushed his absolutism too far for their taste. In those days a great simplicity prevailed. The chosen chief used his position unhesitatingly for his own advantage; the clergy were simple-minded; the people were very busy with their own affairs.

When these reactions led to bloodshed, it was usually because one or more of the great families had interests at stake and aimed at the supreme power; and one of the most common causes of discord was removed when the Doge Domenico Flabianico caused the popular assembly to pass a law forbidding the doges to associate

any one with them in the sovereignty. This reform checked the tendency of the government to turn into an hereditary monarchy, and another law passed at the same time gave the Doge two permanent counsellors, with power to add to their number others, chosen from the prominent citizens, when any very important matter presented itself. The latter measures had no practical result, for the Doge was left free to call in these 'notabili pregadi,' or 'invited notables,' or not to do so at his pleasure, and he invariably forgot their existence. As for the two counsellors, they might as well not have existed for any mention of them that is to be found in the documents of the twelfth century.

It gradually became clear that the rights and powers of the Doge must be more exactly defined, and that some means must be found for subjecting him to the will of the people without constantly calling together a General Assembly, which was not a slight matter. This need seems to have found expression for the first time about the year 1172.

Six months were spent in deliberations before an institution was agreed upon which should represent the nation. The General Assembly then determined upon the election of a certain number of councillors, who were to serve only for one year, and were to have the management of all affairs of state. They were to be eighty in number for each of the six 'sestieri' of the city, and therefore in all four hundred and eighty.

This was the origin of the 'Great Council,' of which the duties were to distribute the offices of government amongst those who were best able to fill them honourably and to the advantage of the state; to frame laws, which were submitted to the approval of the General Assembly; and to examine all

1172.

proposals that came from the Pregadi, with the consent and collaboration of the Doge and the six counsellors whose assistance, or guidance, was now imposed upon him without consulting his wishes.

In order to lighten the labours of the Great Council, another assembly of forty citizens was created, whose business it was to prepare the material for the Council's sessions. Little by little this assembly acquired more and more importance, till it shared with the Pregadi an authority which weighed perceptibly upon the decisions of the Great Council. The Pregadi, who became the Senate, and the Quarantie, or Council of Forty, were two similar and parallel powers, which it might have been to the advantage of the Republic to turn into one.

Rom. ii. 137.

The position of the Doge was now clearly defined. Under no circumstances could he any longer exercise absolute authority; and if he desired any reform, or had any law to propose, he was constrained to obtain, before acting, the approbation of his counsellors and of the Pregadi in the first place, and afterwards to get his measure accepted by the Forty, which then had to obtain the sanction of the Great Council, which, in its turn, if the matter were important, was bound to bring the bill before the General Assembly, to be voted on by the clergy and the people.

In time the custom was introduced according to which the Doge took an oath before the people on the day of his coronation, called the 'promission ducale,' the 'ducal promise.' At first this oath was simply a promise to obey scrupulously the laws of the Republic, but little by little clauses were added to it which went so far as to deprive the Doge even of certain rights common to all other citizens of Venice. In the fourteenth and

Rom. ii. 244.

fifteenth centuries the 'ducal promise' reached a stage of development at which it destroyed the liberty of the chief of the state, and became almost an insult to his dignity. During the interregnum between the death of each Doge and the coronation of his successor, three grave magistrates were chosen by the Great Council, called the 'Inquisitors upon the deceased Doge,' who held a solemn trial of the dead man's actions and of his whole life; at the same time five other personages studied the wording of the next 'ducal promise,' of which they were termed the 'Correctors,' their business being to examine the situation, and to ascertain how it might be possible for the future sovereign to advance his own fortunes at the expense of the public interests; to judge, or merely guess, what matters he might be able to influence too much, and thereby to decide in what way his actions and powers could be still further restrained and limited by introducing new clauses into the promise.

The first law which was elaborated and passed by the Great Council was one which reformed the election of the doges. The Council wished to reserve the electoral right to eleven of its own members, but the people protested against this encroachment on ancient traditions. The legislators then went to work to prove, with all the eloquence at their command, that the law they wished to pass did not in any way infringe the rights of the national Assembly, but that it was simply a wise and paternal effort on the part of the Council to help the people in their choice; for the law provided that eleven electors were to appear before the Assembly and present their candidate with the words, 'Here is your Doge, if this choice pleases you.'

Incredible as it seems, the people were prevailed upon to accept this proposal, not seeing that in so doing they

were forfeiting their most valuable privilege. They even acclaimed with enthusiasm the first Doge who was elected under the new law in 1172. He was Sebastian Ziani. 'Long life to the Doge,' the people cried, 'and may he bring us peace!'

Rom. ii. 95.

On this occasion, it is true, the popular enthusiasm was justified, for the rule of Ziani was just and honourable. But, in spite of the success of the experiment, the Great Council introduced a further change in the law, and at the next election the number of electors was increased to forty, and later still to forty-one, in order to prevent a tie.

Rom. ii. 123.

Looking back on the labours of the Great Council in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one cannot help being struck by the unchangeable purpose which runs through all the laws it passed, from the time it came into existence till it shut its doors in the face of the people, never to open them during the five hundred years of history which then lay before the Republic. One cannot but acquire the conviction that the aristocracy set to work very early to get possession of the supreme power, to the exclusion even of the Doge himself, and that they worked out their plan in the course of a hundred and fifty years—say, five generations—without ever hesitating or turning aside after new ideas; and, moreover, that during that time the eyes of the people were never once really open to what was going on.

As soon as the relations between the Doge and the Government were established, the Great Council, always paternally 'guiding' the popular assembly, set to work upon laws affecting the administration and the conditions and relations of commerce. And here it must be said that several of the doges who reigned in the thirteenth century exhibited remarkable talents for

legislation; the names of Orio Mastropiero, Enrico Dandolo, and Jacopo Tiepolo mark so many stages in Venetian progress and civilisation.

The first of these, Orio Mastropiero, the successor of Sebastian Ziani, occupied himself actively in drawing up a criminal code, which should render less arbitrary the sentences of judges who were often incompetent and were always elected provisionally. This code received the name of 'Promission del Maleficio,' the 'promise to, or with regard to, crime,' and it was frequently improved upon during the years that followed its promulgation. It provided for almost all possible crimes, and established for each one a punishment which seemed just according to the spirit of the times. These penalties in many cases seem barbarous to us, though it was not the Venetians who invented strangulation, or the cutting off of the hand, or torture by red-hot iron, or the tearing out of the eyes and the tongue. The tribunals of all nations had long ago adopted these punishments, and it is certain that there was no country where fuller proofs were required than in Venice before any severe penalties could be inflicted on a citizen. One of the chief merits of the Venetian code of that period, as compared with the codes of other countries, is that it points out to the judge the causes of crime, and the small misdeeds which may lead to great ones, as distinguished from those which are not likely to leave any results. Thus, for instance, the smallest act of disrespect to a respectable woman was punished almost as severely as an assault upon her.

Rom. ii. 241.

For a long time the only permanent tribunal in Venice had been the 'Magistrato del Proprio,' which dealt with civil questions. The quarrels of the common people were judged by

Rom. ii. 137.

five 'wise men'—'savii.' Orio Mastropiero succeeded in passing a law for the institution of a court to deal with differences arising between Venetians and foreigners, or amongst the latter, and this was named

CAMPO, SANTA TERNITA

'Magistrato del Forestiero,' the 'foreigners' court,' so to say. In addition to these courts, which were subject to the authority of the Great Council, there were the 'Avogadori del Comun,' the municipal advocates, as we should probably say, who had authority in fiscal questions, and the list is complete. The State

of Venice was directed and judged by the bodies I have enumerated.

In matters of commerce all Europe recognised the superiority of Venice at that time, and long afterwards. A single illustration of the practical sense of Venetian merchants will suffice: they invented percentage, and the word that expresses it. Before them, the world had always said, 'so many pence in the pound,' or 'four-fifths,' or 'seven-eighths.' The Venetians first conceived the idea, and introduced the practice, of reducing all commercial fractions to the common denominator, one hundred.

Orio Mastropiero further enriched the State with a permanent source of income by giving it a regular monopoly of salt and the salt trade.

Jacopo Tiepolo, elected Doge in 1229, was undoubtedly one of the most enlightened and intellectually well-balanced men of his age, and he seems to have embraced at a glance all those questions which his predecessors had examined one by one, and often only from a single side. He conceived the idea of compiling a complete code which should be a sort of permanent charter for the Republic, and he entrusted the execution of his plan to four 'learned, noble, and discreet persons,' for that is all that is to be learned of them through the note that precedes the original text of their work. That text consisted of five books destined to become famous in the history of European legislation.

This is no place to discuss a legal code, but no one who glances at Tiepolo's body of laws can fail to be struck by the many provisions it contains for the protection of women and their property. I do not know whether we ought to think that this speaks well or ill for the condition of Venetian ethics at a time when the slave trade was already thriving, and when there were a

great number of Eastern female slaves in the capital. On the whole, the laws may have been made with a view to protecting honest matrons from being plundered, directly or indirectly, by their handsome and perfectly unscrupulous rivals, whose influence was already becoming great, and was destined to be portentous.

At any rate, the honour and the lives of honourable women were not more carefully protected than their material interests. Every husband was obliged to render an account to his wife of the dowry she had brought him, and she could dispose of it by will as she pleased. A widow enjoyed the whole income left by her husband during a year and a day from his death, and during that time no one could by any means drive her from his house. If she declared her intention of not marrying again she preserved her right of residence all her life. Nevertheless, an unfaithful wife, if proved guilty, forfeited her dowry to her husband, and he could turn her out of his home.

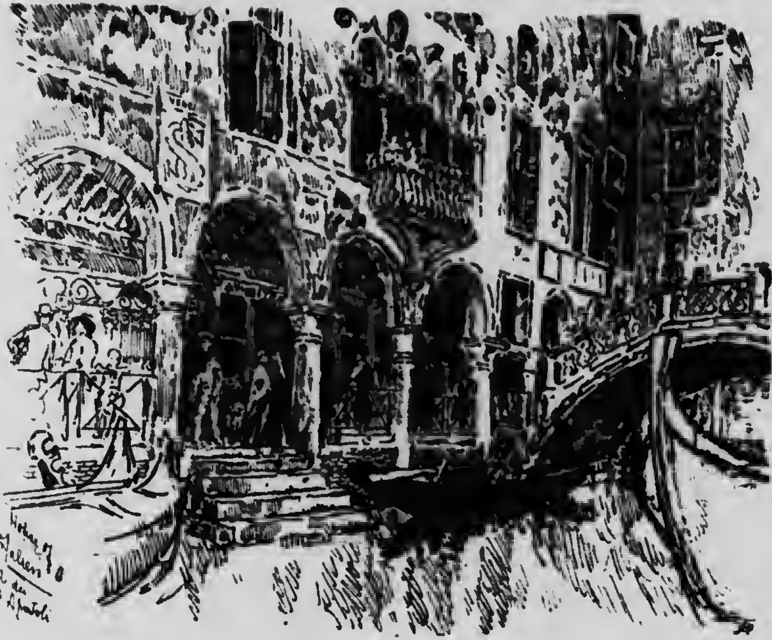
Tiepolo's civil code provided also for a case which seems to have been not uncommon—namely, that in which a married couple, like the Doge Pietro Orseolo and his wife, agreed to take vows and part, each entering a religious order. The law here introduced the form of a separation of goods, leaving each party free thereafter to administer his or her fortune at will.

In addition to the immense labour connected with his body of laws, Tiepolo also occupied himself with the nautical regulations which had obtained authority by long use. I have no doubt that in so doing he used the Amalfi marine code, as in his laws he made use of the Pandects of Justinian, discovered in Amalfi about a hundred years earlier.

Some of the clauses are curious. Captains and owners of ships are forbidden, for instance, to delegate

their authority 'to a pilgrim, a soldier, or a servant.' In case of shipwreck, the whole crew was bound to work fifteen full days, but no more, at saving the cargo, of which they could then claim three per cent. Every ordinary vessel was to carry two trumpets, presumably as foghorns. Very large ships were to carry a sort of orchestra, consisting of two bass drums, one drum and one trumpet. The marine code has some interest also, as indicating the general nature of the merchandise carried by Venetian vessels: woven stuffs, pepper, incense, indigo, sugar in the loaf, myrrh, gum arabic, aloes, camphor, rice, almonds, apples, wine and oil are to be found mentioned, with many more articles of commerce.

Tiepolo's code bears the stamp of a sort of generous but not foolish simplicity, which really survived in the Republic until dreams of foreign conquest brought her into danger, and she awoke to find that dangerous enemies had wormed their way even into the ducal palace. It was then that she began to multiply magistracies and to frame innumerable laws that interfered with and neutralised each other; and so she lost in strength what her system gained in details. There was far more wisdom in the five books of Jacopo Tiepolo's 'Statuto' than in the innumerable volumes of laws that were put together from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth. It may be asked whether Tiepolo's code sufficed because the people in his time were virtuous and law-abiding, or whether virtue and the love of law declined as the number of laws increased. The latter hypothesis can certainly be defended.



THE HOUSE OF FALIERO, PONTE DEI S. S. APOSTOLI

VII

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY IN VENICE

To the majority of people the fourteenth century in the history of Venice is memorable only for the great conspiracies which took place in that period, and which, even in the minds of cultivated Italians, seem to fill it completely, though only two, or at most three, are recorded, and the action of each in turn was of short duration. These three great conspiracies were those of Marino Faliero, of Tiepolo, who was at the head of a

vast movement, and the third may be described as that of Marino Bocconio, whose history is not yet known in all its bearings. Bocconio, in lack of trustworthy details, has been crowned the martyr of the aristocracy; Tiepolo has been exalted as one who nobly and generously sacrificed the interests of his caste for the general good; as for Faliero, he is almost universally looked upon simply as the jealous husband of a young and beautiful wife. Thanks to the efforts of innumerable novelists and playwrights, these three figures represent to the average reader of history a synthetic picture of the whole century, and stand out gigantic, dark, and blood-stained against a gloomy background of barbarism, imploring pity or crying out for vengeance to all future ages.

The most striking pictures are not always the best portraits, as we all know, though we are often inclined to forget it. Most of us at one time or another have stood before a painting by Caravaggio or Gherardo delle Notti, in which men are seen in the act to move, half lighted by a flaring torch, and we have felt a strange and strong desire to know where they are supposed to be and whither they are supposed to be going. Our eyes search the black depths of the picture as if we were peering out into the darkness of a starless night, with an instinctive wish to distinguish some detail that may explain the figures in the foreground; and, failing to find anything, we turn away as from a vision seen in a bad dream. We shall not forget the strong features, the tremendous muscles, the mysterious, anxious eyes, and when we think of them we shall still wonder where those men were, in a cavern or out of doors, in the crypt of a church or in the forest, and whether they were alone or were followed by a crowd in the darkness. Who saw them pass? Who

heard their low and anxious voices? Upon what nameless errand were they bound?

THE TIEPOLO PALACE

I have often thought that impressions much like these are produced on most minds by the names Bocconio, Tiepolo, Faliero. Yet each of them, in true

history, had his companions, his friends, his enemies; and if each stood alone as a type, yet all were the result of their own times, and every one of the three was in himself the cause of a separate train of events.

Hitherto the story of Venice has been that of her growth; she has risen from the waves in the clear breath of the northern Adriatic, at once gentle and full of life; she has grown up into the light, full of a sweetness of her own, but burning with youthful courage, and suddenly, in the period of which we now have to treat, she has changed from a child to a full-grown woman. Pursuing, or pursued by, the impression of her strong personality as a living creature, rather than as the capital city of a great power and the scene of action in the lives of great men, we may compare her to a woman of divine beauty, yet almost tragically jealous of her own freedom, fierce to her enemies, dangerous to those who trust her, a loving mother to her children so long as they are obedient, but a ruthless and cruel queen towards her rebellious subjects. A woman, in short, possessing a sort of dual nature, aspiring to the dignity of being feared yet moved by the desire of love; so unwilling to submit to the slightest influence of another that she would willingly despoil herself of all her riches and of every possession, and shed even the last drop of her blood, rather than forgo the smallest shred of her proud independence.

It is true that the figures of the great conspirators are very prominent in the picture we evoke of those times; yet beside them stand great captains, law-givers, and artists, and the background is filled with a most interesting population devoted in turn to labour and pleasure, to commerce and to war, and full of the pride of a life of its own. The germs of corruption are

already manifest, but they will not develop until a later time, when the beautiful lady, Venice, less young indeed, but imbued with a charm more subtle, descends to the slow enjoyment of the fruits of her victories, and loses herself in the intoxication of a perpetual carnival.

Historically speaking, the fourteenth century in Venice begins two or three years before 1300, since the year 1297 is separated from those which preceded it by a far greater distance than it is from the beginning of the fifteenth century, owing to the profound changes brought about in the government and life of the city by the closure of the Great Council.

The history of the century in which the Republic reached the culminating point of her strength and development begins quite naturally with a glance at this memorable law and its consequence. The famous measure which, officially at least, changed the already ancient commonwealth of Venice into a government which, though aristocratic, still proposed to be republican, was not the work of a day any more than it was the creation of any one [illegible]. It was not a revolution, but rather the result of [illegible], inevitable evolution, peaceful in character, of which the first beginnings can be traced, far back in history, in the struggles of [illegible] factions of the aristocracy.

[illegible] factions [illegible] concerned, none but those of the [illegible] had any influence on Venetian history, for the parties that existed amongst the people never engaged in politics, and while they bore one another [illegible] a traditional grudge that had its origin in the early jealousies of the settlers, we never find them mixing in conspiracies against the Government or breaking out in sedition and rioting. Even the mutual hatred of Niccolotti and Castellani disappeared com-

pletely as soon as the need of public defence called out the genuine patriotism of both.

In brief, the following is the story of the 'Serrata,' the closing of the Great Council for the exclusion of the people, a measure without parallel, except, perhaps, in the legislation of Rome.

According to a statute which regulated the election and the offices of the Great Council in 1172, and which was perhaps instituted in that year, the Council was composed of a variable number of members, originally four hundred and eighty, and never more than five hundred, who were elected every year without any distinction of class from the principal citizens, and undoubtedly, in the great majority, from the aristocracy.

Rom. ii. 90, 341.

The position it occupied in the Republic has, I think, no example elsewhere. In one shape or another it had always existed, and there was an aristocracy amongst the first fugitives from the mainland; from that time on, the nobles and the people, the tribunes and the artisans, had fought like comrades against the barbarians, as well as against the elements of nature. Like shipwrecked men of one country, speaking one language, they had been as brothers; the noble families had been the chief defenders of the new home, and its earliest law-givers, and they transmitted to their descendants a traditional influence which was rarely misused in earlier times. The people did not hate them, as the populace has always hated the aristocracy in agricultural countries; for agriculture, where the poor work on the estates of the rich, seems to degrade both alike, or at least to brutalise them, whereas men who till their own lands almost always grow in character and independence. In Venice, while the people looked up to the nobles as their intellectual and

social betters, they did not cease for a long time to regard them as their allies and helpers.

The nobles, therefore, had taken the lead from the beginning, and they kept it without difficulty and almost without opposition; in politics the people effaced themselves, trusting to the ruling class to maintain the liberties of the maritime state abroad,

BOATS OFF THE PUBLIC GARDEN

both in the east and the west, and confident that the commerce and art of Venice would continue to develop under its influence. The nobles were ambitious, it is true, but they had nothing to gain by oppressing the people, for they were themselves the principal creators of the public wealth. They dominated the people, which is quite another matter; until the fifteenth century they cannot fairly be said to have abused their

power, and the privileges they kept for themselves involved the heaviest responsibilities. If they held control of the tribunals, yet were these as ready to try

COURT OF APPEALS, GRAND CANAL

the nobles, and even the Doge himself, as to judge the poorest fishermen of the lagoons; and though the Doge could only be a noble, his head might fall under the axe of the common executioner, the lowest of the

low. Unlike the aristocracies of other countries, that of Venice never claimed for itself exemption from justice.

These facts, which cannot be denied with truth, seem to me to show that the closure of the Great Council was not such a violation of the rights of man as it has often been represented to be. Soon after the middle of the thirteenth century the nobles seem to have judged the times ripe for the great change, and a sort of preliminary weeding of the Council began.

In 1277, apparently in order to lend dignity to an assembly performing such high duties, a measure was passed which rigidly excluded from the Council all persons who were not of legitimate birth. In 1286 the Council of Forty, in order to assure to the nobles a constant and legal supremacy, proposed to limit eligibility for their own number to the members of the Grand Council, and to those only whose fathers and paternal grandfathers had already sat there. This attempt failed, and the bill was rejected, principally owing to the opposition of the Doge, Giovanni Dandolo, who was an honest man, free from the prejudices and passions of caste, and who wished the aristocracy to maintain its position by sheer superiority of intelligence and judgment without any legalised privileges.

Rom. ii. 342.

At that time, as has been shown in a separate chapter, the families of Partecipazio, Candiano, and Orseolo, and most of all the Tiepolo, had assumed the position of princes in the Republic. Each of them could boast of several doges, and all hoped to make the dignity hereditary for themselves. The Tiepolo cherished the most ambitious designs, and were always doing their best to win over the people. In 1289, on the death of Dandolo, the electors within the palace

Mol. Dogaressa.

heard the populace under the windows acclaiming Jacopo Tiepolo. To have submitted to the people's dictation would then have meant a step towards an hereditary monarchy, and the electors paid no attention to the cries from the street. Amongst the candidates was Pietro Gradenigo, a man who, though ambitious, was highly gifted and sincerely devoted to his country, and had always endeavoured to guide the Great Council towards an ideal aristocratic form of government which alone, in his judgment, could save the State from a selfish monarchy on the one hand and a feeble democracy on the other. The electors chose Pietro Gradenigo.

In 1296 he brought forward a measure which, it must be admitted, would have been an act of vengeance upon the people for attempting to proclaim Jacopo Tiepolo as Doge, and for receiving the announcement of Gradenigo's regular election in silence and ill-concealed discontent. The Doge now proposed to reform the process of election, as had been contemplated by the bill of 1286, but at the first attempt the measure failed, owing to the determined opposition of the Tiepolo family and their friends, who formed themselves into a party, which they called conservative. It was brought forward again in the following year, however, and passed by a majority of votes. It restricted the right of eligibility at each annual election to those who had sat in the Great Council during one of the four preceding years, and it required that they should receive at least twelve votes from the Council of Forty which elected them. This was a successful stroke, for the Council of Forty consisted wholly of nobles, who would use their elective power altogether in accordance with Gradenigo's intention.

Rom. i. 344.

In order not to rouse the opposition of the people by giving the law an absolute form, it was declared to be only provisional, and to be in force from one Saint Michael's Day to the next, that being the date of the election.

A year passed. So great was the prestige of the aristocracy and its power, and so completely accustomed were the people to be guided by it and to be despoiled by it of their rights, that the resentment aroused by this so-called provisional law was not enough to prevent its becoming a lasting one, though its general form was still subject to possible variations.

Grave dissensions, however, appeared in the caste of patricians. Gradenigo found himself opposed on the one hand by the Tiepolo faction, on the other by certain families which, although descended from the ancient tribunes of the island, and consequently of most ancient and respected race, were excluded from the Great Council merely because they had not been represented in it during the last four years. It became necessary, therefore, to modify the law in the following manner :—

Gallicciolo, i. 330.

It was decreed that all who had sat in the Council themselves, and all who, though they had not had a place there themselves, could prove at least one ancestor a member of the Council since 1172, should be eligible for the Council, by the vote of the Forty. It is a remarkable fact that the word 'nobles' is not to be found in any of these decrees ; but it was clearly useless to insist upon a mere word when the whole aristocracy, which had proposed and passed the law, was to profit by it. The nobles never lost sight of a possible danger to themselves in the resentment of the people.

Last of all, it was decreed that those who had never

themselves sat in the Council, nor had any ancestors who had been members, should be considered as 'eligible by grace.' This was done in order to leave a shadow of hope to ambitious men of other classes, an idea that they might some day be admitted as 'new men' into an assembly which was shutting its gates for ever. As a matter of fact, in the beginning a limited number of councillors 'by grace' were created, and some were chosen for their own personal merits, or to quiet the ambition of certain turbulent citizens. In order to be admitted in this manner, it was necessary in the first place to receive twenty-five votes from the Forty, and the votes of five out of six of the Doge's counsellors. A few years later, admission was made still more difficult by requiring thirty votes from the Forty, and it is likely that under this law very few 'new men' were ever elected. Venice was still far from the days when the first comer would be able to buy a seat in the Great Council at auction, in order that the proceeds might help to pay the interest on the public debt. The exclusion of illegitimate sons, which was already in force, was maintained, and it was further ordained that no one under twenty-five years of age should enter the Council. The latter measure, however, was soon followed by a palliative one. Each year, on the fourth of December, the feast of Saint Barbara, the Doge placed in an urn the names of all young nobles twenty years of age, who at twenty-five would have the right to a place in the Council, and thirty of these were drawn by lot, and received permission to be present at the assemblies of the Council from that day, but without the right of voting; this constituted a sort of novitiate in those duties to which, at the regular established age, the young men would be called. The process of admission was called 'coming to the Barbarella.'

It appears to me that the last word contains a play on words; for it may mean 'the little Barbara,' the saint on whose feast the lots were drawn, or it may mean the down on the chin of a youth of twenty, 'the little beard,' for though an improperly formed diminutive, it is quite a possible one in dialect.

As may be imagined, the nobles showed the utmost haste and anxiety to prove their rights before the 'avogadori,' or counsel to the commonwealth, whose duty it was to decide upon them. In some cases there was evidence that an ancestor had sat in the Council at the end of the twelfth century, but it might be that there were no documents to prove it, and the most extraordinary means were resorted to, to persuade the judges of the truth of the assertion. Some families, in order to prove that they were nobles, which of course was the real object of the inquiry, adduced the fact that they possessed great quantities of arms in their houses. The number of persons who, without the slightest chance of proving their rights, inscribed their names on the books of the avogadori, beginning in 1315, was so great that it was found necessary to impose a fine upon those who had done so without any chance of establishing their claim, and all titles whatsoever were carefully examined before being allowed. It is almost needless to say that the families about whose right there was no doubt possible did their very best to exclude all the rest.

Galliccioli, i. 331.

As soon as the first list of members by right, and members who were eligible, was made out, it was decreed that they required to be elected, if they had attained the age of twenty-five years, in order to sit at the Council. It appears that no matter what the precise number of the members under this category might be, a certain number were always elected from

among the 'eligibles,' a fact which explains the changing number of councillors in each year. There is reason to believe that the Assembly had never consisted of more than five hundred members before 1297, but that after the law passed in that year it reached (1340) the number of twelve hundred.

It is clear from all this that the measure known as the Closure of the Great Council did not consist so much in any regular elections yearly as in a close limitation of the class of candidates, and the fact that it was necessary that they should be elected by the Council of Forty; whereas in former times they were elected by the people, represented in their turn by one or two electors in each of the six regions of the city, or else by two electors from the regions on one side of the canal, and two from the regions on the other.

Little attention has been paid to the law of 1298, which at the time appeared to be of secondary importance, but which had close connection with the others that had been framed by the aristocracy. The law of 1298 established that no one should belong to the Forty who had not already sat in the Grand Council, or whose father or grandfather had not sat there. By this law each Assembly was strictly dependent on the other, and the right to sit in the one, like the possibility of sitting in the other, became a privilege of noble birth.

The aristocracy had now completely got the upper hand, almost without a struggle, by skill, persuasion, and tact. Henceforth the history of Venice is that of the nobility, who had monopolised the power, and, with it, all responsibility. If Venice was great, healthy, and vigorous in the fourteenth century, she owed it to the nobles, who still treated the people generously and kindly. And later on, when the people allowed them-

selves to be intoxicated with the amusements provided them while their last rights were trodden under foot, the nobles were to blame. So they were, too, in the end, when the Lion of Saint Mark was torn down from its column in the Piazzetta and broken upon a soil no longer free. The people were not oppressed at any time, but they suffered what was morally worse, for

THE FLAGS FLYING IN THE PIAZZA

they were systematically hypnotised into a state of utter indifference to real liberty.

The assemblage of so many nobles in the hall of the Great Council must have presented a splendid spectacle. It was rigidly required that all should wear the cloak, or toga, of violet cloth, with its wide sleeves and hood lined with warm fur in winter and with ermine in the milder seasons. Here and there a few red mantles

made points of colour, those of the High Chancellor and of the avogadori of the commonwealth, though the latter appear to have worn only a red stole over the cloak of violet. There were black cloaks, too, and they marked the ecclesiastics who belonged to the Council, for until 1498 priests who proved that they were nobles were eligible like the other members of their family.

When the Council was to meet, an official called the 'comandatore,' a sort of public crier, proclaimed the summons from a fragment of a porphyry column, which stood upside down on its capital at the corner of the Piazza of Saint Mark towards the ducal palace, and another issued the proclamation from the steps of the Rialto, these being the two most frequented points of the city; at the same time full notice was given of the offices which were to be distributed at the coming Council by the High Chancellor. At the appointed hour the cavaliers appeared in the neighbourhood of Saint Mark's, spurring their comely mules; but it was forbidden to cross the Piazza itself, except on foot, because it was paved, so that the riders left their mules tied up to the elder-bushes which formed a thick growth, exactly on the spot where now stands the Clock Tower at the entrance to the Merceria.

Rom. ii. 263.

About 1356 the public crier's office was abolished, his place being supplied by the ringing of a bell in the tower of Saint Mark, in the evening after vespers, when the Council was to meet on the following morning, and at the hour of tierce (half-way between dawn and noon), if it was to meet in the afternoon. At the time of assembling in council this bell was rung again, and the people nicknamed it the 'trotter,' because councillors who came late always

Galliccioli, i. 245.

reached the entrance to the Piazza at a sharp trot before the last strokes had rung.

By this time the appearance of the Piazza and the Piazzetta had been considerably modified. The 'Rivo Battario,' which formerly ran through the length of the square, had been filled up; the little church of Saint Gemignano had been demolished, and the great

THE CAMPANILE

Campanile had been built. The nobles used to meet before the Council upon the old platform, which was turned into a convenient place for walking, and here also there was built a covered loggia as a protection in bad weather. The first time that a young patrician came to the Council, either on his election by lot after the manner of the 'Barbarella,' or because he had reached his twenty-fifth birthday, a little ceremony took

place on the platform or under the loggia, in which he was presented to his older colleagues, and a sort of civil bond began here between the man who was introduced and the person or persons who introduced him, which lasted through life, and received the general name of 'sponsorship.' I may remind the reader here that all bonds of sponsorship, called generally 'comparatico' throughout Italy, are under the special protection of Saint John the Baptist, and even now have an importance which foreigners find it hard to understand.

Rom. ii. 361.

Before the meeting of the Council the throng on the platform was swelled by those who came to solicit the councillors on private matters of their own, or were seeking offices or dignities which it lay with the Great Council to bestow, such as judgeships and magistracies. The 'private matters' might include anything connected with taxation, money loans, laws in general, pardons, and even the public peace and national alliances.

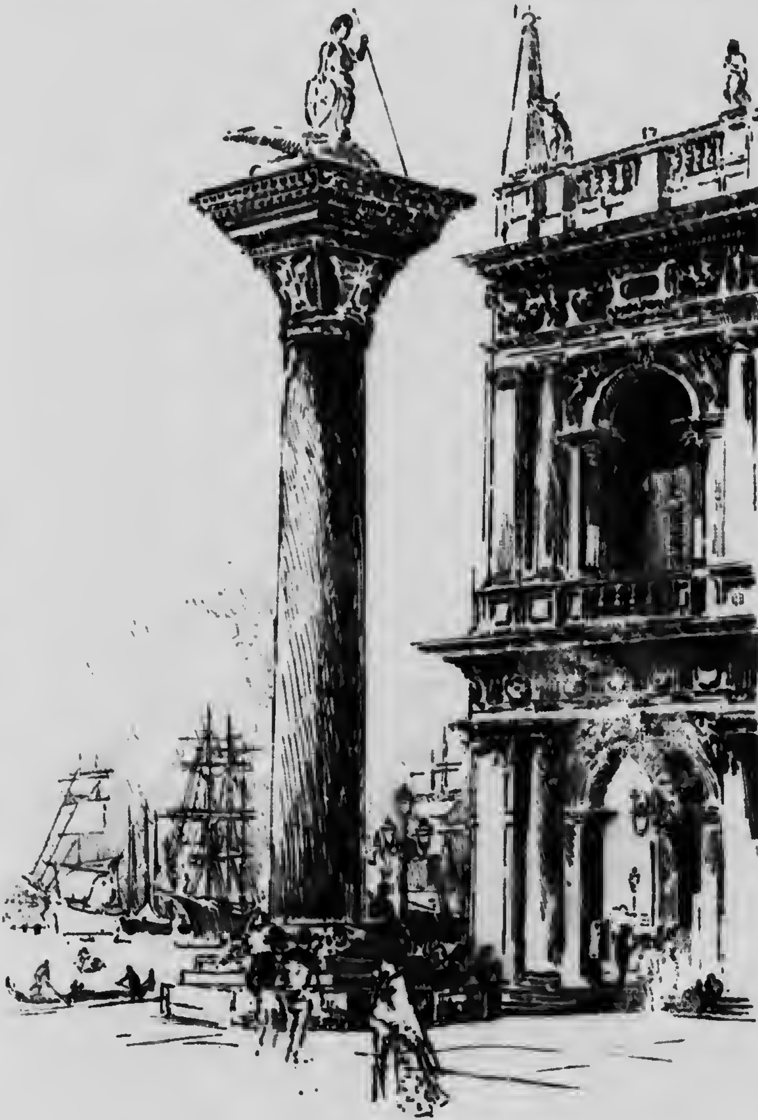
A curious custom was connected with such interviews. Those who had favours to ask of the Great Council were accustomed to show their respect by taking the strip of cloth that hung down from their shoulder to the ground on the right side, and tying it or rolling it upon the arm, and this action was called 'calar stola,' and appears to have been the equivalent of the later custom by which the inferior takes off his hat to speak with his superior.

Gallicciolí, i. 355.

Mut. Costumi.

If any member of the Great Council had recently been bereaved of a near relation, it was upon the platform or under the loggia that he received the condolences of his peers, being himself wrapped in a black mantle with a train, of which the length diminished

little by little as his time of mourning came to an end,



ST. THEODORE

until at last it was only a short black cloak; this in its turn was replaced by a simple leathern belt worn

over the ordinary clothes instead of the usual girdle, which was made of velvet.

This meeting of the nobles in the Square was naturally the occasion for carrying on all sorts of intrigues; and in Venice, as in the early days of ancient Rome, the relations of client and patron played a large part in public affairs, and were productive of no small evil, especially in the creation of great numbers of minor offices merely for the purpose of satisfying the claims of dependants.

So the nobles loitered and talked between the Campanile and the two columns, one of red and the other of grey stone, which stand near the Grand Canal. These two columns, which had been brought to Venice from the archipelago in 1127, under the Doge Domenico Michiel, had been set up about fifty years later by the skill of a certain Lombard named Nicola Barattiere. A chronicler tells in Venetian dialect that this engineer went to the Signoria, asked for ropes, timber, and beams, and then set to work with eight men, and no more. He drove down piles for the foundations, and having completed these in seven days he set up the columns on the eighth by means of ropes and capstans. When he was asked what reward he wished for his work, he only requested that so long as Venice should exist his descendants should be enfranchised and be free to keep gaming-tables between the two columns he had set up—contrary to the law which forbade all games of chance in Venice—and he asked for a decent lodging for himself and a small stipend. It may be noted that his name, 'Barattiere,' means at once a money-changer and a dishonest gambler, and it may have been given to him as a nickname after the fact. At all events his requests

Lazzari, Guida.

Gall. i. 271.

were granted, and he set up gaming establishments, with tables, between the columns for his own profit. At a later time this privilege became a monopoly of other speculators, and it only ceased to exist in 1529, nearly three hundred and fifty years later, when the destruction of all gaming-tables and booths, which marred the beauty of the Square, was commanded by the Government.

This story recalls the action of Charles II., who, in order to reward certain Cavaliers who had sacrificed their fortunes in his interest, and finding himself insufficiently supplied with funds, conceded to a number of them the right to keep gambling-tables between the columns and under the arches of Covent Garden. These persons were known as 'lottery Cavaliers.'

At the end of the thirteenth century the Lion of Saint Mark had been placed upon one of the two columns in the Piazzetta, while upon the other was set up the statue of Saint Theodore, the co-patron of the city; so that the common people of Venice, by way of expressing that a man was driven to the last extremity, used to say, 'He is between Mark and Theodore.' In connection with the column of Saint Mark it is worth while to quote the answer given not many years ago by a gondolier to a lady in regard to the emblem of Saint Mark. All the other winged lions visible in Venice hold an open book under their paw, and the book is placed in such a way that one may read the usual motto—'Pax tibi, Marce.' But though the book of the lion on the column is really open, it lies down, so that from below it appears to be shut; and the lady in question inquired of her gondolier what the cause of this difference might be. 'It is because,' replied the gondolier, 'when a man got between these columns his account was closed'! The story shows how vividly the people still remember that

Dalmedico.

the gallows were sometimes erected there. It seems strange, however, that the young patricians, while waiting for the first hour of the Council, should have patronised gaming-tables set up so close to the place of public execution, and it is now generally considered that executions originally took place between the red columns in the high first story of the ducal palace, overlooking the Square, and that the object of transferring them to the spot between the columns of the Piazzetta was to drive people away from gambling there.

After this brief glance at the development of the aristocracy and its legal institution as the ruling caste, it is necessary to consider the nature of that body which lay between it and the working people, and which included all well-to-do Venetian citizens in general.

For in Venice, as in most countries where the social equilibrium of large numbers of mankind is natural and not artificial, the population had long separated spontaneously into three classes. As long as the work of organising the new republic was going on the three fraternised, for the law granted no privilege to any one, and the men who imposed their opinions and their will upon the rest, without any sort of violence, were without doubt the most gifted members of the community. Nothing, as Daru justly observes, assured to the nobles, up to the end of the thirteenth century, any right not possessed by all the other citizens. Nevertheless, as he adds, the important office of High Chancellor had been especially reserved for non-nobles several years before the closing of the Great Council, which shows that custom, if not law, accorded other privileges to the descendants of the early tribunes.

Daru, i. 314.

It was not to be expected that after the final closure of the Great Council all the rest of the people should remain in a condition of thoroughly legal equality.

There were, for instance, artists of great merit, magistrates whose families throughout many generations had commanded the general respect, and were by no means willing to be thus forced down to the level of the fishermen of the lagoons. The nobles considered that this high middle class constituted a danger to themselves by its wealth and solidarity, and special measures were taken to propitiate it. As early as 1298, and while the noble class was acquiring its legal existence, we find mention of the citizen class, and of the manner in which it was divided. To belong to it certain requisites became necessary; he who aspired to its privileges must have been born in Venice of parents properly married, and without any taint of criminality; he was to owe nothing to the State, to have been exact in the duties of standing guard, etc., and he was obliged to prove that during three generations none of his ascendants had followed any mechanical or vulgar trade.

Rom. ix. 8.

In the same way in which the so-called 'Golden Book' of the aristocracy was compiled little by little under the supervision of the avogadori of the commonwealth, who were themselves chosen from the citizen class, at least in the beginning, so also under their authority another book was begun, called the 'Silver Book,' in which were inscribed the names of citizens 'de jure,' afterwards called 'original citizens.' After the closure of the Great Council the office of High Chancellor continued to be strictly reserved to this class, as when the office itself had been created some years earlier. It was of a nature to satisfy any reasonable and justifiable ambition. The High Chancellor was the head of the ducal chancery; he signed all public acts, all nominations to any important office, and was present at

A. Baschet, Archives, 133.

A. Baschet, Archives, 138.

all the most secret meetings of the Councils, though only as a witness, and never with the right to vote. He was elected by the Great Council, and took office with a ceremony almost as solemn as that accorded to the Doge himself, and like the latter he held his position for life; he received a generous salary, and had precedence over all nobles, both in meetings and processions, both over the nobility of the Great Council and over the sons and brothers of the Doge, and was preceded only by the procurators of Saint Mark and by the six counsellors of the Doge. He wore the ducal purple with scarlet stockings, was forbidden to dress in black in public, and like the Doge he was privileged to wear his hat on all occasions. The form of address used to the head of the Republic was 'Domino, Domino'; that used in addressing the Chancellor was 'Domino,' without repetition; whereas all other patricians were addressed as 'Messer,' the usual prefix to the names of knights throughout Italy.

Mutinelli, Lessico.

When the High Chancellor died his funeral took place in Saint Mark's with a pomp equal to that accorded to a dead doge.

Very valuable privileges were attached to the condition of a citizen 'de jure'; all chancellors were taken from those included in the 'Silver Book,' so that in the course of time, in the fourteenth century, a special course of study was prescribed for young men destined for that career; and those who embraced it were frequently sent to the smaller courts of Europe as 'ministers resident,' but not as ambassadors, and they could aspire to the highest commands in the army.

From all this it is clear that the position of the 'original citizen' class in Venice had a strong resemblance to that of the 'magistrate' class in France, for

instance; and on the whole it had enough privileges to ensure its not being hostile to the nobility.

The art of glass-making contributed in such a degree

S. SEVERO

to the wealth of Venice that glass-makers were regarded as benefactors of the State, and all the glass-makers of Murano were inscribed from their birth in the class of citizens 'de jure.' Another very wise measure of the

Venetian Government with regard to this intermediate class between the aristocracy and the people was the concession of its privileges to foreign persons of respectable origin established in Venice. It was only in the middle of the fourteenth century that citizenship 'by grace' was regularly admitted, and it was of two kinds: the one 'de intus,' and the other 'de intus et de extra.' The first conferred only a certain number of privileges, as that of engaging in commerce, and of holding some office of secondary importance in the public administration; the second conferred the full privileges enjoyed by the citizens 'de jure,' including those of sending vessels to sea under the flag of Saint Mark, and of carrying on business in the cities and ports where Venetian commerce was established, with the full rights of a Venetian.

Although it was only in 1450 that the law regularised the admission to citizenship, a number of admissions took place before the time of the foundation of the caste.

The miserable conditions of navigation in the fourteenth century, and the depredations of pirates, caused many to request the privilege of navigating under the protection of the Venetian Republic. Those who asked this were generally noble and rich persons. For instance, in 1301 we find the favour asked by the Scrovegni of Padua, by Azzone, Marquis of Este and Ancona, in 1304 by the lords of Camino, mentioned by Dante, by Ludovico Gonzaga, lord of Mantua, and many others. Venice not infrequently offered the title of citizen, with all rights belonging to it, to persons who had exhibited special marks of talent in other parts of Italy; it was offered to Messer Ravagnino, a student of physical science in Belluno, and to Petrarch. It was frequently given to foreigners who had lived as

long as twenty-five years in the city, and to others who

S. PIETRO IN CASTELLO

had voluntarily submitted during a certain number of

years to standing guard, paying taxes, and the like; and further, to those who, having married Venetian women of the citizen class, desired to fix their residence in the island of Rialto. Among the foreigners who were thus generally adopted, some of the most interesting in the fourteenth century were the inhabitants of Lucca, who between 1310 and 1340 fled before the tyranny of Castruccio Castracane. These were about thirty families, almost all of which had been in their own country spinners and weavers of silk, and they had brought a numerous retinue of weavers and spinners with them. The Venetians at once understood the advantage to be derived from this immigration of an industrious people. Until then the richest stuffs had been imported from the East, but from this time forward Venice began to develop a new industry. The fugitive families were received not only with courtesy, but with something like enthusiasm. The Senate assigned them a quarter in the Calle della Bissa, between the square of the Rialto and the church of Saint John Chrysostom, allowing them to govern themselves with their own magistrates, on condition that they should teach their art to the Venetians. The same courtesies were extended in the case of German and Armenian colonies. The race of Venetian citizens in this way received a new element, with new prospects of life and industry, by the introduction of the best element that could possibly have come to Venice from without. The Jews, however, attempted in vain at the same time to obtain the same liberty of existence in Venice. After being barely tolerated during fifty years, and kept under the closest supervision, they were at the end of the fourteenth century ignominiously expelled from the city, and obliged to keep within the confines of Mestre. I have not been

Molmenti, Vita Privata, 48.

Gallicciolli, ii. 274.

able to discover the date at which they were again allowed to reside within the city in the quarter which is still pointed out as theirs.

A singular circumstance, already noticed in passing, presents itself in connection with all the conspiracies of the fourteenth century. The people continually sided with the nobles who had deprived them of their power, and they outnumbered them and were superior to them in strength and moral force. They never lent any important help to any one who attempted to rouse rebellion against the existing civil order. It can hardly be supposed that this was the result of indolence, or of a lack of patriotism, since the Venetians were naturally very proud and extremely energetic. They seem to have considered themselves as bound to the aristocracy by the bond of gratitude, of common memories, and of common hopes ; and while they led an existence of generous comfort and ease, it satisfied them to be joint possessors of a country which had grown glorious in Europe. They looked upon the Venetian nobility as the first in the world, and Molmenti says, with truth, that the surnames of certain great Venetian families not yet extinct existed before the names of even reigning families were known in the rest of Europe. Until quite modern times, the 'people' very rarely gave any trouble unless they were hungry.

It has already been noticed here that in the other Italian republics the great houses had nothing in common with the people they ruled—neither their origin, nor their traditional points of view, nor even as a rule their interests ; and more than once they showed themselves ready to sell their country to the highest bidder, regarding it as their adoptive rather than their real home, and the population as property that went with the fields.

Sagredo.

But the nobles of Venice were true Venetians, and their ancestors had led those of their own people, by sheer superiority, before Venice had been founded; and the government of the islands had in reality been always aristocratic. The people had really never had much to say beyond confirming by a sort of acclamation the result of elections held by the nobles. The individual elected was sure to be one of the latter, chosen for his courage in war, or for his pious generosity in founding a church or a monastery in time of peace.

The Serrata only made a law of a practice which had existed a long time; and this sufficiently explains why the people did not rebel against it, accepting laws which only affected formalities, without in any way threatening the true sources of the Republic's vitality. The nobles legally monopolised a power which they had always succeeded in reserving for themselves; but the State did not monopolise commerce, nor industry, except as regards the salt trade and shipbuilding, and in these occupations the workmen received such compensation that many of them grew rich.

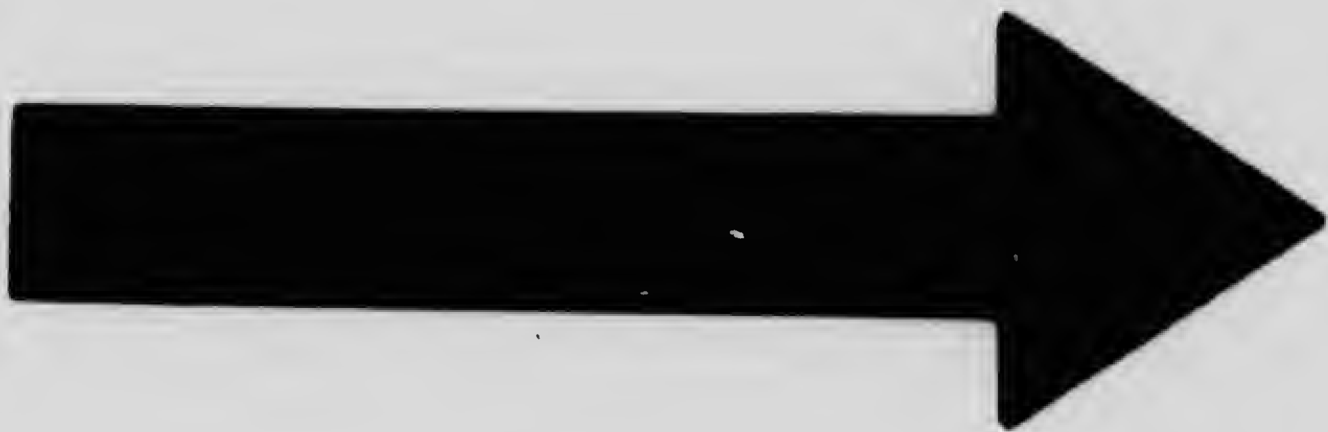
Furthermore, the Government supported all persons not able to work for themselves. Men and women who had reached an age at which heavy manual labour was no longer possible, but who were not helpless enough to do nothing, were licensed to sell vegetables and fruit in the public squares; but the State and the guilds supported regular asylums for the aged and infirm, for cripples, for widows, and for old sailors. Every one felt that the State could be relied upon, and no one feared to die of hunger.

The closing of the Great Council might affect the ambitious designs of a few men who had recently grown rich, and whose fathers had never sat there, but it could not possibly have any immediate effect on the lives of

fishermen, seamen, salt-refiners, shipbuilders, and artisans, to none of whom it had ever occurred that the Council was meant for them. When a conspirator made a

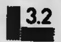
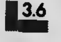
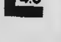
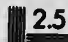
THE GREAT LAMP, ST. MARK'S

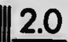
pretext of vindicating the rights of the people, the people laughed at him, and the motive which in all other countries has been the mainstay of revolutionaries was

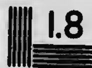


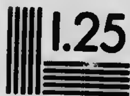
MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

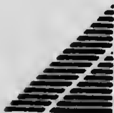
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)









APPLIED IMAGE Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

found not to exist. The people of Venice were, on the whole, honest, contented, and happy, and both laws and traditions combined to preserve them in that enviable state ; and the Government itself provided wise alternations of work and rest, which greatly contributed to the same end. For every Venetian, whatever his condition might be, was expected to be a good sailor and a good soldier, and the regattas, public archery matches, and gymnastic exercises, which I shall presently describe, helped to make men both. In 1332 these competitions were made obligatory for all youths who had reached their eighteenth birthday. But another matter must be briefly explained before proceeding further.

In the story of the Venetian conspiracies no mention is ever found of the two famous factions, the Castellani and the Niccolotti, although the most bitter hatred was alive between them at the very time when Tiepolo was conspiring against Gradenigo. It is interesting to follow the rough and strong threads of those famous popular factions through the woof and warp of Venetian history ; and it is curious to find oneself convinced that they never did the slightest harm to the government of the Republic, for the reason that both of them loved their country sincerely.

The reader may remember that in the days of Paulus Anafestus, the first Doge elected by the popular assembly, a violent dispute arose between the inhabitants of the islands of Heraclea and Jesolo, which turned into a pitched battle in the woods of Equilio, so that the stream which became the Canal Orfano was red with blood.

The former combatants, finding themselves shut up within the walls of one city, cherished their ancient grudges from generation to generation, and for more than five hundred years they gave vent to their hatred

as best they could, keeping themselves divided, first as separate parties, then as separate wards, and finally both

THE CANARREGGIO

in wards and districts, according to the later divisions of the city ; and fighting freely with one another whenever the public games brought them into conflict, under

the names of Castellani and Cannaruoli, taken from the parts of Venice they inhabited—the one in the three districts of Castello, Saint Mark, and Dorsoduro, the other in those of Santa Croce, San Paolo, and Canarreggio at the other end of the city. They had continued their separate existence about three hundred years without seriously disturbing the public peace,

THE HOUSE OF THE SPIRITS

never intermarrying, never even enterir _, the cathedral by the same door. But in the year 1307 a certain Ramberto Polo was the bishop of Castello, and the bishop of Castello was ex officio the bishop of Venice, and depended from the patriarch of Grado. Now this Ramberto attempted to exact certain tithes which his predecessor had considered it right to renounce. Five districts of Venice, and among them that of Saint Nicolas,

refused to pay these tithes. The bishop insisted, and in spite of the threats of the people, who had grown riotous, he determined to visit the church of Saint

S. PAOLO

Nicolas, situated in that quarter, and to go on foot. At the turn of the street, being accompanied only by a few persons, he was attacked and cruelly put to death. That part bears to this day the name of 'Malcantone,'

the 'Evil Corner.' Those of the Castellani who were held responsible for this murder were promptly excommunicated; and the others, who had submitted to the bishop, refused to hold any communication with them, or to have any interest in common with them, even after the removal of the interdict. The consequence was that, by way of spite, they now joined the party of the Cannaruoli, thus forming a numerous faction, which from that time forth was called that of the 'Niccolotti,' and maintained as its device the black banner and costume of the Cannaruoli, whereas the faction of the Castellani kept the red. The murderers repented and obtained pardon, but the new hatred, which had grown upon the old grudge, was relentless.

Up to this time the custom of fighting only with reed-canes had been maintained by both sides; but having heard of the celebrated pugilistic encounters which were practised at Siena, they now determined to introduce a custom which offered such excellent opportunities for fighting. From September to Christmas regular encounters took place every Sunday upon the bridges, mostly built without parapets, where the two factions met, each endeavouring to knock and throw as many of their adversaries as possible into the canal. The bridge which was preferred for this form of exercise was that of Saint Barnabas, which soon got the name of 'Ponte dei Pugni,' the 'Bridge of Fisticuffs.' A less dangerous form of competition was also practised by the factions, under the name of 'Forze d'Ercole,' literally the 'Strength of Hercules.' A platform was erected upon empty hogsheads, if the game was to be played on land; or on punts, if it was to be tried on the canal, as more usually happened; and upon this foundation the men built themselves up into a sort of human pyramid. The base was formed by a number of

Mutinelli, Costumi.

individuals standing close together, and linking themselves still more firmly by means of light joists which they held upon their shoulders; on these joists other men stood, and others again above them, until the pyramid came to its point in a small boy at the top. The prize belonged to that faction which could set up the highest pyramid in this way, and keep perfectly steady while the unenviable little boy at the apex performed acrobatic feats. This lad received the name of the 'crest,' as if the whole were a coat of arms.

The popular songs of that time exhibit the deep hatred that smouldered between these divisions of the people; and they have come down through the centuries to the Venice of to-day, with such little changes of speech as give new life to a thought without changing its substance.

The Castellani and Niccolotti, being constantly opposed to each other, systematically abused each other in verse during the days that preceded the encounters. Here is one from the side of the Niccolotti, for instance:—

Dalmedico.

> O thou great Devil, Lord of Hell!
> Grant me this I ask of thee.
> I recommend to thee the Niccolotti!
> I pray thee carry all the Castellani off to hell!
> Give the winning flag to the Niccolotti.

The following is a fine example of party pride:—

> When a Niccolotto is born, a god is born!
> When a Castellano is born, a brigand is born!
> When a Niccolotto is born, a count is born!
> When a Castellano is born, he turns out a gallows-builder!

And here is another:—

> We are the Niccolotti, that is enough!
> We will march with the black scarf, and with the flower in our hat; and there are knife-wounds for the pigs of Castellani!

On the other hand, the Castellani sang as follows :—

> Swine of ill-born Niccolotti, how can you expect the girls to love you?
> All night you wallow in the mud, you ill-born swine of Niccolotti.

The mud is that of the lagoons, the Niccolotti being fishermen.

In spite of this constant exchange of amenities, and in spite of their love of fighting each other, neither Bocconio nor Tiepolo nor Faliero ever got any advantage from the popular factions. I can recall no other case nor similar instance in history. They abused each other, but they all felt that they were sons of Saint Mark, a sentiment which strongly appears in another song of more generous type which was sung by the two factions together on occasions of common peril :—

> Are we not all of one nation?
> Sons of Saint Mark, and of his state?
> May God preserve it, and make it grow,
> For all the good we have we get from Him!

The Niccolotti had a species of constitution ; they had special customs of their own, and a head who was officially called their 'gastaldo,' but who by an old tradition bore the title of the 'fishermen's Doge'; and who on all public occasions arrayed himself in red like the High Chancellor, with wide skirts lined with fur in the winter, and, like the real Doge, wore red stockings and shoes of red morocco. He held so much to the right of wearing these red hose that he never appeared without them, even in ordinary life, and when fishing in his boat.

Mutinelli, Less.

Cecchetti, Corte.

Sagredo.

Little by little this chief of the people obtained the right to follow the Doge to the 'Espousal of the Sea' in a beautifully decorated boat towed by the Bucentaur ;

he was granted the privilege of dining with the Doge

THE LITTLE FISH MARKET

on solemn occasions of the year, and he received the more material benefits of levying a duty on the fishing-

boats of his district, and of keeping two counters for selling his fish, one at Saint Mark's and the other at Rialto; for all the Niccolotti were fishermen by profession, and they were associated together by their common interests like members of one numerous family. These fishermen elected their head by a complicated system, in a solemn assembly held in the church of Saint Nicolas of the Mendicoli, in the presence of their parish priest and of the real Doge's doorkeeper, who acted as ducal ambassador, and regularly presided over these assemblies in the name of the sovereign, in order to put down any disturbance which might arise out of differences of opinion between the voters. At a later time, instead of the porter, the Doge sent one of the secretaries of the Senate for this purpose. After the election was decided the Doge's representative stood forth, carrying the standard of the Niccolotti, and the new 'gastaldo' knelt down before him, and received the flag with the following words of investiture: 'I confide to you this standard in the name of the Most Serene Prince, in token that you are head and chief of the people of Saint Nicolas, Saint Raphael, etc.'

The bells of the church were then rung out; and on the following day, or within two or three days at the latest, the elected man, accompanied by the parish priests, and preceded by drums, trumpets, and one halberdier, who carried the standard with the image of Saint Nicolas, went to present himself to the Doge, in order to receive confirmation of his office. The Doge received him in one of the great halls, and exhorted him to be 'a good father to that family (of the Niccolotti), and to be careful of the public dignity'; assuring him that if he did so the Doge himself would constantly be his protector, and assist him on every

occasion. Then the head of the fishermen came near to the Doge, and knelt down before him and kissed his hand and the border of his mantle.

The chronicles are inclined to explain the conflicts between the two factions as the result of exaggerated rivalry in everything resembling public games. The latter were very common, as the Government took every occasion to provide amusements for the people; and as Signor Molmenti justly says, 'the extreme frequency of popular festivals in Venice might seem surprising, if one did not take into consideration the enormous energy continually expended in business and work, which brought with it the necessity of frequent interruptions and amusements.' After all, there was a great deal of hard work connected with the Venetian manner of conducting such diversions. As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century there were rowing matches for small boats and skiffs on all important occasions, and, moreover, races for vessels of fifty oars. These boats were a species of outrigger canoes, each capable of carrying fifty rowers, who stood to their oars. Similar boats, if they may be dignified by that name, were rowed by the Castellani and the Niccolotti, all wearing their red and black costumes or badges, and their emulation was shown as much in the manner of adorning their craft as in the race itself. These rowing matches became celebrated throughout the world, and first received the name of 'regatta.' The Government encouraged them as being useful for a people that depended chiefly upon navigation for its livelihood, and offered large prizes to the winners. The first prize was a red purse full of gold; the second purse was green and filled with silver; the third blue, containing small change; the fourth was empty, and of a yellow colour, and the figure of a little pig was embroidered upon it,

Mutinelli, Costumi.

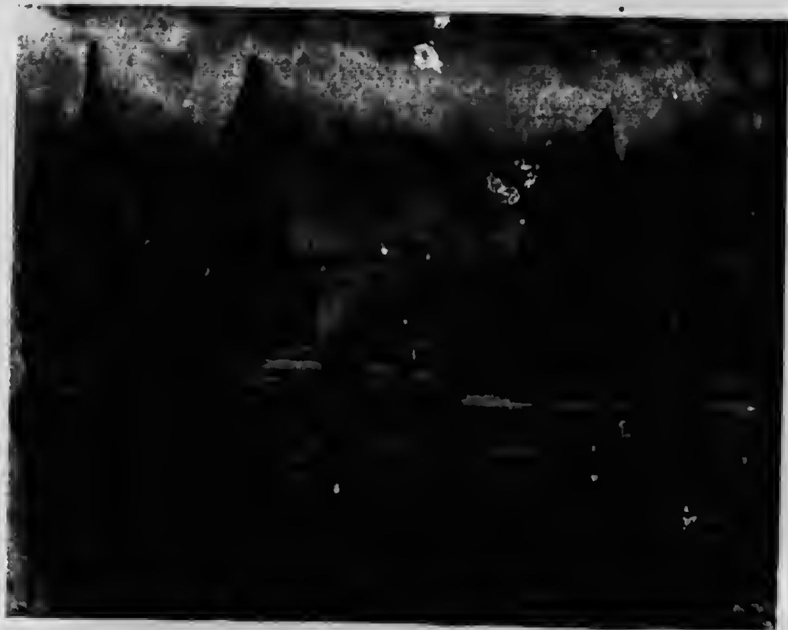
which denoted that the winner was to receive the live animal for his share.

The practice of shooting at the mark was also very popular in Venice, and as usual the Government managed to derive advantage from it. All men were obliged to take part in it after the age of eighteen—nobles, citizens, and plebeians; and during the competition, a fact not overlooked by the wise administrators of the Republic, the young fisherman was in all respects the equal of the son or nephew of the Doge himself, and if he won a prize over him was practically his superior. The weapon most commonly used in those times was a cross-bow, which was made entirely of walnut until 1352, and after that was constructed of wood and steel. It was so cleverly made, we are told, that eight bolts could be shot from it in quick succession—this being accomplished in some way not clearly explained, by means of a wheel with eight cogs.

Bows and arrows were also used for shooting at the mark, the arrows being made in a place which received, and still retains, the name of the 'arrow manufactory,' the Frezzeria. They were of pine or poplar, about thirty inches long, thicker at the point than at the butt, and provided with three feathers, like most of the arrows used in the Middle Ages.

Great magnificence was shown in these shooting matches, both in regard to the cross-bows and the quivers. We still have specimens of quivers of that period, made to hold from fifty to a hundred bolts, of red leather embossed under heavy pressure and carved with a sharp tool, being ornamented at the top with double lions of Saint Mark. The targets were set up at different points of the city, but the most famous was on the Lido. On the appointed days, boats manned by thirty oars were in readiness at the entrance to the Grand

Canal, near the Piazzetta, and it was the rule that these were to be rowed only by competitors in the shooting. At twelve o'clock the heads of the 'duodene,' which seem to have been sub-districts, arrived with detachments of from ten to twelve men each, recruited in all classes of the city; they made their way to the scene of the competition, followed and encouraged by the



OFF THE PUBLIC GARDENS

multitudes that came to look on. Lots were drawn to determine the order in which the young men were to shoot. At the meeting held at Christmas, whoever hit the bull's-eye first received ten yards of scarlet cloth; the second received six yards; the third won a cross-bow and quiver. At the meeting held in March, the prizes were of another stuff called 'borsella'; and in May, a third kind of material was given, called 'tintilana.'

Among other popular festivals of the Venetians, the free fair held at the Ascension was of great importance. Until 1357 this lasted eight days, but, after that, it was prolonged during a fortnight. It was at this time, as I have said elsewhere, that the famous function of the 'Espousal of the Sea' was held. During the fair every kind of merchandise was allowed free entrance to the port, and was sold in the Square of Saint Mark's, in booths and on improvised counters, which gave that enormous space the air of a market. About the beginning of the fourteenth century it began to be the custom to wear masks during this period of mingled business and amusement. It is needless to say that the fair became a source of large wealth to the treasury, and an opportunity for making money for many, since at that time an immense number of foreigners came to Venice from all parts of the world. It has been estimated that at times as many as two hundred thousand strangers were present in the city for this occasion, which I shall hereafter take an opportunity of describing with more detail in the form it had acquired in a later age.

Cecchetti, Mercato.

Strangers who visit Venice often wonder idly whether there is any meaning in the half-cabalistic signs coarsely painted on the dyed sails of the fishing-boats that glide in towards evening, one after the other, and take their places for the night, like weary live things coming home to sleep. There shines the roughly-drawn presentment of a cock, apparently in an attitude of ecstasy before a rising sun that bears a strong resemblance to an omelet; and there a mystic beast that may be meant for a donkey, unless it stands for a grasshopper. You may wonder which, unless you ask of some superannuated old fisherman loitering on the quay at sunset with his pipe for company. But he will tell you that the cock and the

rising sun are the hereditary emblems of all the descendants of ancient Josaphat, a fisherman of Padua who adopted them long ago; and that the monster grasshopper-donkey is really a horse, and belongs to another family of fishers, the Cavallarin; and so on, through as many as you can point out. It is the heraldry of the fisher people, begun long ago by the Niccolotti and preserved religiously by their descendants to this present time; and though heraldry is ancient in Venice, there may be stone coats of arms on walls of time-worn palaces that look down upon the Grand Canal, less old than some of these rude ancestral bearings of the sea, that have been handed down from generation to generation through uncounted centuries.

Possibly, though no one would be bold enough to call it certain, the fishermen who were the Niccolotti formed the first and oldest guild in Venice; at all events the others bear a strong resemblance to theirs when we first hear of them.

They grew up in Venice, as they did in Florence and other cities of Italy, close corporations of arts and trades, which were protected by the State, and assured many privileges to those who belonged to them, chief of which was a sort of monopoly of each branch of industry, which enriched the workmen without injuring the State. Under laws by which no new object could be sold except in properly authorised shops, there was no fear of foreign competition nor of home depression. Each guild was a little republic in itself, thriving in the heart of the great maritime Republic, occupied in administering its own affairs, and never making itself a source of anxiety to the Government by meddling in politics.

Molmenti, Vita Privata.

Cecchetti, Corte.

Sagredo.

It thus appears that on the whole the people not only

entertained a sort of natural devotion and a feeling of gratitude towards the nobility, and lived a life of tranquillity and contentment, with plenty of holidays and public feasts, with ample means of earning a livelihood, and under such provisions of public charity as made anything like pauperism next to impossible; but also that their true strength consisted in the institution of the arts and guilds, which were recognised and protected by the laws. I have already said, in respect of the eleventh century, that each art existed like a small republic in the midst of the great one; and in the fourteenth century more than one hundred of these so-called arts had their individual constitutions. One of these constitutions contained a statute which forbade the members of the arts and guilds from doing anything which might interfere with or oppose the ordinances of the Government, and most expressly forbade anything which could be looked upon as conspiracy. Each art had its own 'gastaldo,' or judge, and a certain number of elders, who ruled it according to its constitution, and as connecting links between their own tribunal, which might be called a family court, and the central government of the State. There were also three judges called 'justiciaries,' who were elected by the Great Council. It was morally impossible for any one to exercise even the simplest and humblest of these arts until he had been admitted by the council of the one in which he wished to work. It would have been as dangerous as to introduce into Venice any sort of merchandise that was already manufactured there, and by that means bring about competition between Venetian and foreign products. So far as the higher arts and trades were concerned, such as, for instance, glass-making, it was strictly forbidden to allow any workman to leave Venice who was in a position to take abroad the secrets of an industry

of which it was intended to keep the monopoly at home.

Every sort of guild comprised many degrees and a number of officers, so that the liveliest competition went on between the members, the apprentice constantly striving to become a craftsman, while the craftsman thought of nothing but the moment at which he should be able to stand the test, which was a real examination, by which he might obtain a right to the title of 'master,' not only because the latter represented the highest degree to which he could aspire, but because it conferred upon the sons of whoever obtained it the right to become masters without being required to stand the test. The test examination for the 'degree' of master consisted in executing a difficult piece of work within a certain number of hours or days. For instance, a man became a master of mosaic paving when he could lay out and finish the pavement of a large room, so that not the smallest crack or crevice or flaw could be detected in it, and so that the level of the whole surface should nowhere vary by more than the thickness of a ducat.

In some of the arts apprentices were not admitted under the age of twelve; in others, such as shipbuilding, where the work was done in the open air, they could begin from the time when they were eight years old. Glass-workers were forbidden to make use of children's labour in such work as grinding glass, or in any kind of occupation that could injure their health, such as tending the furnaces during the hot season.

The workmen of the arsenal also formed several guilds of a superior order, and had special rules, which I shall notice in another place, for the arsenal did not reach the height of its importance and activity till the sixteenth century.

Each corporation or guild elected its 'gastaldo' by a

majority of votes, and his authority may be described as partaking of the paternal, and of that of a justice of the peace. When any conflict arose between two or more members of the guild he was appealed to, and his verdict was perfectly legal. In grave cases, where it became absolutely necessary to appeal to the public tribunals, the latter were bound to take into consideration the rules of the charter of that guild to which the parties belonged ; those rules were called the 'mariegole,' and no sentence was lawful which was in contradiction with them.

Within the guilds brotherhoods were formed, the aims of which were both religious and co-operative; and these took the name of 'schools,' which vied with each other in building churches and hospitals, and in making pompous appearances in public during the religious or civil festivals. The number of artisans inscribed in a guild was not determined, but the number of brethren in each school was limited by its statutes. Each school was directed by a 'gastaldo' and a number of elders, who were generally the senior members of the guild from which it was derived. This council of management was to admonish with grave words any brother who led an immoral life, to punish blasphemers, and to be vigilant lest any of the brethren should play at games of chance, even dice being prohibited. The 'gastaldo' himself might be admonished by the elders, and required to perform 'great and good' penance, according to the terms of some of the charters. The brethren paid a tax of admission, and in many schools bound themselves to flagellation at Lent. A certain number of priests were admitted without any obligations, and from four to six physicians—both 'doctors of physic,' as they were then called, and 'doctors of wounds,' as surgeons were designated. No brethren were admitted under the age of sixteen years.

The brethren had a right to receive assistance from the schools in the form of money and of medicine, if they were ill, either at home or in the hospitals which were annexed to the abodes of some brotherhoods. We

RIO DELLA PIETA

find it stated that in some cases the schools assisted a brother with a sum as large as three hundred of the 'small lire,' which was a very considerable sum for that time, being equal to about fifty pounds sterling. Among the advantages enjoyed by those who belonged

to a school was that even when absent from the city they could claim succour from the brethren. The following words, translated from the statutes of the School of the Holy Apostles, framed in Venetian dialect of the thirteenth century, well express the general purpose of these institutions: 'Let the brethren be twelve good and honest men, who for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ are to live holily, in peace and charity, without fraud, pride, or murmuring, having ever before their eyes the example of the apostles and the command of Christ, to wit, Love peace and charity, and love your neighbour as yourself.'

The worst of the misdeeds for which one of the brethren could be subjected to the dishonour of being expelled from the school was openly leading a bad life. The head of the brotherhood, upon the information of other brethren and by his own knowledge, then warned the culprit to correct his ways. 'Let him be told to amend his life openly, for charity's sake; and if it be amended within fifteen days, then praise be to God, and let him go in peace.'

It sometimes happened that a brother, of his own accord, rather than be expelled, wished to quit a school, in entering which he had perhaps experienced some difficulty. To this end the statutes of some schools laid down that he should pay a considerable fine, that in the presence of his companions he should be placed upon a bier, and that while the bells tolled as for a dead man he should be carried round the church. After the passage of this law such cases grew much less frequent.

In the end the schools became very rich institutions, for the members not only contributed money, but they and their families, and doubtless many members of the guilds, worked for nothing on their churches, their

hospitals, and their asylums for the old. The competition between different schools was keen, and led to their beautifying their oratories and their places of meeting with magnificent works of art, so that almost all the great painters of Venice first acquired fame under their protection.

In the fourteenth century such men as Carpaccio and Bellini, and later, Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto, were all humble brethren of the Guild of Painters and Varnishers, and they all, without exception, submitted in their schools to the authority of men who were very likely nothing better than house-painters by profession, though they were undoubtedly men of high morality and probably of considerable cultivation.

As for the treasure that accumulated in the name of the guild, it was not only used for the sick and in aiding young artists, but it was also not unusual to give dowries to the daughters of poor brethren, and sometimes considerable sums were sent to members of the guild whom some urgent matter detained abroad without sufficient means of livelihood.

It is a singular fact, mentioned only by Cecchetti, that a number of nobles, possibly in the hope of obtaining influence over the guilds, but pretexting religious devotion, requested and were permitted to be inscribed as brethren. It appears that some of the brotherhoods attempted at the very first to defend themselves from this invasion, but were afterwards obliged to yield to the will of the Great Council, though they limited the number of nobles to be admitted so as to make it very small compared with that of the citizens. Later, however, in 1407, the Great Council, considering that this was a slight upon the aristocracy, required that all nobles should be admitted to the schools who wished it, provided

Cecchetti, Corte.

that they were of good repute. But the nobility were not satisfied with this; they wished to join the schools and yet be exempt from the usual dues. A few of the guilds yielded, but we find among the papers of the school of Santa Maria della Val Verde, of the year 1320, that all nobles who joined it must submit to all the requirements of the statute, and that for them the admission fees should be even larger than for ordinary citizens—'and let him be what he pleases,' concludes the article of the statute with some disdain. In other statutes we find that nobles could be admitted for nothing, but that if they chose to pay something as conscience-money, of their own free will, their offering would not be refused. Another right that the nobles arrogated to themselves was that of refusing to submit to flagellation in Lent, and the only schools where this custom was kept up decided that the nobles, by way of compensation, should pay a considerable increase of dues, and that the same immunity should be accorded for nothing to all brethren over sixty years.

On the whole, the effect of the guilds was to keep alive in the people a sense of their own dignity, and to distract them from hankering after the offices of state, for which quite another education, different studies, and an altogether different point of view would have been required. For the equilibrium of a permanent state one prime condition is that people should soberly, consistently, and, if possible, intelligently mind their own business.

In the fourteenth century Venice was unlike all other cities, both as regards her external and internal administration, and the singularly divers elements of which her strength was made up. In order to gain a clear idea of the city's condition at that time, a word must be said concerning the numerous strangers who, though

not taking up their abode permanently in the city, passed through it or came to it on their way to the East, and during the great fairs. I have spoken already of those who established themselves in Venice, and who sometimes became citizens 'de intus et de extra'; I speak now only of that constant stream of travellers, merchants, and men of business—Italians, Frenchmen, Germans, and Orientals—who came and stayed a few weeks, or even months, where people would now stay as many days, who transacted their business, bartered their merchandise, and made acquaintance with the city, visiting its monuments, its churches, and even its war-galleys in times of peace. Venice showed them the most unbounded courtesy, and frequently offered them the most magnificent hospitality. Their presence never created the least disorder, and the manner in which the Government provided for their welfare is one of the most surprising things in the internal economy of the city.

When a stranger arrived in Venice and took up his lodging in one of the many inns, some of which, like the 'Luna,' the 'Selvatico,' and the 'Leon Bianco,' are still flourishing in our own time, and were famous in the fourteenth century, he found provided for him a tariff of prices, which protected him against any possible imposition on the part of the landlord; and he could hire a licensed guide to serve him lest he should lose his way in the streets, or be cheated in the shops. The authorities exercised a direct supervision over the rooms of the inns, requiring the most perfect cleanliness of beds and linen and blankets, and they forbade the crowding of strangers beyond a reasonable limit. For the sum of fourteen soldi horses were provided with sufficient oats, hay, and straw.

Mut. Costumi.

At times, when many strangers visited Venice, the

population of the city was almost doubled; and as the inns could not suffice to receive such a number, the municipality placed at the disposal of visitors such empty houses as it owned, and allowed private citizens to let rooms to strangers; but severe penalties were imposed upon any who should venture to let lodgings without a proper licence, or who should in any way impose upon lodgers.

Pilgrims were received in hospices built for the purpose, and were there served with reverence by the most distinguished persons in Venice; and if they chanced to arrive at the time of any solemn festival they were invited to join in the procession, walking on the right of the patricians with wax torches.

There was a special court for deciding questions between strangers, or between strangers and Venetians; and it was the duty of this tribunal to punish citizens who wronged any foreigner, or, if the latter was proved to be the offender, to expel him from the city. Moreover, an express law of 1317 required that the judges should 'gently instruct' persons who did not present their passports in order, instead of sending them away roughly or imposing a fine for an irregularity arising from ignorance of the Venetian law.

Mut. Commercio.

When any very noble guest was in Venice, the State spared nothing that could make his visit memorable to him as a time of wonder and delight. The Duke of Austria never forgot the reception he met with, at a time when he had little expectation of being so hospitably treated, for the relations between the Duke and the Republic had been strained during some time past. One of the Duke's great vassals, the lord of Sench, who was devoted to the king of Hungary, had stopped and imprisoned three Venetian senators when they were on their way to the court of the

Emperor Charles IV. to request, in the name of the Republic, the investiture of certain lands to which the king of Hungary laid claim. The Duke of Austria had at first tolerated this high-handed act, but had at

RIO S. AGOSTIN

last yielded to the reiterated instances of the Republic, delivered the prisoners, and sent word that he would bring them to Venice himself.

Though surprised, and a little uneasy at this proposal, the Council determined to receive him with lavish

hospitality, and several senators were sent to Treviso with richly-adorned vessels to meet him. He embarked, accordingly, with the restored captives, thirty knights, and a train of two hundred young nobles and squires. Not far from Venice he was met by the Doge with the famous barge, the Bucentaur, and the two sovereigns met with every demonstration of friendship. The noble Austrians were lodged at the charge of the State in the Dandolo and Ziani palaces on the Grand Canal, and so magnificent were the entertainments offered them that the expenses of their visit—for Venice always knew precisely what she was spending—amounted to ten thousand ducats—say, seven or eight thousand pounds sterling, when money was worth three times what it is now.

My chronicler remarks that the money was well invested, as the Duke was made a firm friend of the Republic, and himself proposed a treaty by which he abandoned his claims to Trieste for seventy-five thousand ducats—about fifty-six thousand pounds.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century Petrarch was received with a hospitality as open-handed, and much less interested. The great poet and famous ambassador was treated like a king; the palace of the Quattro Torri on the Grand Canal was fitted up for him and placed at his disposal for as long a time as he would stay in Venice, and at every public function or festivity he appeared on the right hand of the Doge.

Touched by such consideration, Petrarch bequeathed a part of his priceless library to the Republic, and Venice, on her side, refusing to be outdone in generosity, presented him as a gift with the palace in which he had been living.

The palace had originally belonged to the Molina family, and ultimately became a religious house under the Sisters of the Holy Sepulchre. As for the poet's

books, they came to a melancholy end. They are sometimes said to have been the beginning of the library of Saint Mark. The authority from which I quote says that amongst them were a manuscript of Homer, given to Petrarch by Nicolas Sigeros, ambassador of the Emperor of the East, a beautiful copy of Sophocles, a translation of the whole of the *Iliad* and of a part of the *Odyssey*, copied by Boccaccio himself, he having learned Greek from the translator, Leontio Pilato, an imperfect Quinctilian, and most of the works of Cicero transcribed by Petrarch himself. Such treasures would make even a modern millionaire look grave; yet it is said that when the celebrated Tomasini asked to be allowed to see the books towards the end of the seventeenth century, he found them stowed away in an attic under the roof of Saint Mark's, 'partly reduced to dust, partly petrified'—'in saxa mutatos'—a phenomenon of which I never heard, and which I am at a loss to explain.

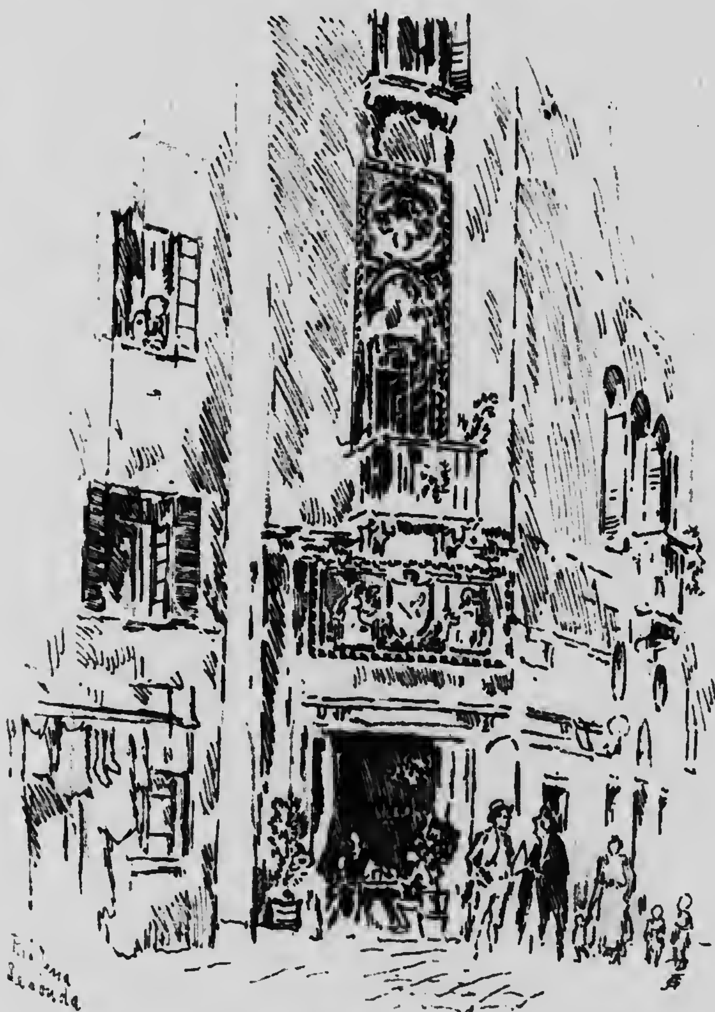
The tendency of Anglo-Saxons to extol and help conspiracy against every government but their own has led Englishmen to waste sympathy on Bocconio and Tiepolo, of whom it is now time to speak. The system of laws and government which became defined after the closure of the Great Council, though it already existed in great part so far as practice was concerned, was designed to check every impulse of personal political ambition in all classes of Venetians, beginning with the Doge himself. Indeed his life, both public and private, was so hampered and hedged in that his position at ordinary times seems to us far from enviable. Yet in spite of this, and it is a singular reflection, it was quite possible for a great man like Enrico Dandolo or Andrea Contarini to exercise tremendous personal influence at decisive moments and to perform acts of the highest heroism. Is there anything

more heroic in all romantic history than the aged Dandolo kneeling to receive the cross of the crusader, and then leading a great allied host to one of the most astounding conquests ever recorded? Was ever a man more of a hero than old Contarini, swearing on his sword, when all seemed lost at Chioggia, that he would never go back to Venice till the enemy was beaten—and gloriously keeping his word? It seems to me that the heroism of both those men grows when one considers that if either of them had been even suspected of any personal interest or ambitious design he would have been ruthlessly put out of the way by the men who had elected him.

The whole system was created to make anything like self-aggrandisement impossible, and it worked so infallibly that during something near six hundred years not one attempt to break it down was successful; and when at last it fell, in its extreme old age, of weakness and corruption, it was not finally destroyed by any inherent defect except old age, when it was attacked by the greatest conqueror since Charlemagne.

It may not be possible to bring it under any philosophical theory, and it bore but a small resemblance to Plato's ideal State; but it had the merit of being the most practical plan ever tested for maintaining the balance between public and private forces, public welfare and private wealth, national dignity and individual social importance. Of the three great conspiracies only one was the work of an ambitious aristocrat; another was a disappointed rich burgher's ineffectual effort at revenge; the third was headed by the Doge himself, partly out of private resentment. None of them had any great chance of success, yet so great was the apprehension they created that they were the source and origin of all that terrible machinery of secret tribunals,

spies, anonymous accusations, and private executions which darken the later history of Venice ; a machinery



RIO JENA SECONDA

which was almost always at work against the very nobles who had constructed it, who feared it, but who never even thought of doing away with it, though they could

have voted it out of existence at any meeting of their Council; a machinery which hardly affected the masses of the people at all, and which powerfully protected the merchant burghers, but at the mere mention of which the greatest noble became silent and looked grave.

Elsewhere in Italy the nobles of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, iron-clad, hard-riding, and hard-hitting, were the natural enemies of the people, whom they could kill like flies when they liked. In sea-girt Venice they wore no armour, the people mostly loved them, and the burghers needed their protection and shared in all the sources of their wealth. The nobles' only possible enemies at home were among themselves.

History has not left a very clear account of the conspiracy of Marin Bocconio against the aristocratic Republic in 1300. We know that he was a man who had a great following, chiefly on account of his immense wealth, and Romanin remarks that his intelligence was not equal to the arduous undertaking he had planned. We know that on the discovery of the plot he was taken, that he was first confined in the prison of the ducal palace, and afterwards hanged with ten of his principal accomplices between the two columns, probably those of the Piazzetta, and we have a list of those executed, showing that none of them were noble; but a few noble names appear among those of persons exiled as having been favourable to a revolution. Bocconio was certainly one of those malcontents who were not satisfied with the position and privileges of a Venetian burgher, and he was desirous of opening himself a way into the Great Council by means of his fortune. The story that he knocked at the door of the council chamber with the hilt of his sword, and armed to the teeth, is an empty fable. He plotted,

Rom. iii. 5.

like the other conspirators, in the dark, and he was betrayed by an accomplice.

The facts as well as the details of the conspiracy of the Tiepolo and the Quirini are better known, and it was this attempt at revolution which first gave the Government of the Republic that suspicious and inquisitorial character which it never afterwards wholly lost. Mention has already been made of that popular movement in 1296, which attempted to seat upon the ducal throne Jacopo Tiepolo, son of the former Doge Lorenzo, a man distinguished in the career of arms, and who was therefore thought fit to take charge of affairs at the beginning of the great struggle with Genoa. It will be remembered that the Government opposed the popular choice, partly in order not to yield an inch to the popular demand, but also, on the other hand, because it was already suspected that the Tiepolo family, which had previously given Venice two doges, was desirous of making that dignity hereditary.

Rom. ii. 323.

The Doge chosen by the Government was Gradenigo, and against him the Tiepolo family and their friends, such as the Quirini, the Badoer, and the Doro, continued afterwards to nourish resentment, and showed themselves sternly opposed to the law of the closure of the Great Council, which they looked upon as the triumph of Gradenigo's policy. The Tiepolo were very numerous, and so also were the Quirini. They possessed many houses, were provided with vast stores of arms, and had many servants and slaves. The two families were not united by friendship only, for Bajamonte Tiepolo had married a daughter of the Quirini. Her father, Marco, was of that branch which inhabited the palace situated on the island of Rialto, in a little square beyond the Ruga degli Speziali.

Both families belonged by right to the Great

Council, and during its meetings they took advantage of the smallest incidents to give vent to their wrath against the Doge and his policy. Sometimes they raised such tumults during the sittings that the meetings had to be adjourned, and on the following days they fanned the embers of disturbance into flame in the public streets. The Government showed its anxiety by renewing the prohibition to wear arms abroad, and the greatest vigilance was exercised by the 'Lords of the Night,' who were six magistrates, generally nobles, charged with the duty of superintendents of police in the city after dark, and were in command of the armed watch. Orders were issued that no one was to keep fire burning, except in barbers' shops, after the ringing of the third hour of the night, *i.e.* three and a half hours after sunset. At that time the streets were only lighted by means of lamps that burned here and there before shrines set up by pious persons, but the Government now greatly increased this illumination. In a word, every precaution was taken lest the discontent fostered by the great families should suddenly break out into open revolt.

One evening the brother of Marco Quirini, Pietro surnamed 'Pizzagallo,' was met in the street by Marco Morosini, one of the Lords of the Night, who was goin his rounds. The magistrate's suspicions were at once aroused; he stopped Quirini, and insisted upon searching him to see whether he were armed or not. Pietro Quirini, by way of showing his displeasure at what he considered an offence, promptly kicked Morosini off his feet, and left him lying on the ground. An action was of course brought against the offender, who was condemned to pay a heavy fine for his irascibility in thus gravely insulting an officer of the State. Nevertheless a number of similar incidents took place,

for prudence was not among the virtues of the Quirini and Tiepolo families, and they appear to have given themselves infinite trouble in seeking occasions for disturbing the public peace. Nor was it difficult at that time to stir up the elements of discord, for Venice was involved in a disastrous war with the lords of Ferrara, a conflict which we must now briefly explain.

In the eleventh century, during the War of the Investitures, the Church under Gregory VII., Hildebrand, made common cause with the party of Italian independence against the German Empire, and was vigorously sustained by Matilda, Countess of Tuscany. She, on her side, naturally found allies among those powers which desired to obtain the goodwill of the Holy See. When the Countess wished to get back Ferrara, which she had lost some years previously, the Venetians lent their help, both with vessels and with armed forces; and in return they obtained many privileges for their commerce in the city of Ferrara, and, among others, that of placing there a 'Visdomino,' a sort of consul-general, to watch their interests.

It will be remembered that the Countess Matilda left all her vast estates to the Church. Ferrara, therefore, remained under the supremacy of the Holy See, and when the city was seized by the Ghibelline Salinguerra the Venetians drove him out, and the city came under the domination of the family of Este, with the consent of the Pope. By the end of the thirteenth century this family had already reached such a high position that the Marquis Azzone had married the daughter of Charles II., king of Naples. Venice remained on excellent terms with this Marquis Azzone, and constantly lent him assistance in his struggles with his neighbours who threatened his liberty. He, however, fell dangerously ill in the year 1307, and

Rom. ii. 19.

Rom. iii. 12.

Venice, being well aware of the discord which was brewing between his sons, seized the opportunity of furthering her own interests. During his illness three Venetian envoys remained constantly at Ferrara on pretence of sending information regarding the health of the sick man, but in reality to watch the condition of affairs and the disposition of the people. The old prince died, and left a will so worded that one of his illegitimate sons, named Fresco, attempted to have his own son, Folco, proclaimed lord of Ferrara, and to this end asked help of Venice. Azzone's two legitimate sons, Francesco and Aldobrandino, however, turned to the Pope and obtained his support, renewing their oaths of allegiance as feudatories of the Church.

A hot contest now ensued, and Fresco, realising the weakness of his own cause, made over his rights, such as they were, to Venice. The troops of the Pope and of the Marquis Francesco now entered Ferrara, and the city was declared under the dominion of the Pope in 1308. But Venice protested, and refused to surrender the fortresses she had taken over from Fresco. It was in vain that the Pope attempted every means of conciliation. The Republic had long coveted Ferrara as a possession, and now refused to give up the part of the principality which she held, or her claim to the rest. The negotiations therefore came to grief, and ended in a solemn Bull of Excommunication against the Doge, his counsellors, all the citizens of Venice, and all persons whatsoever who had helped them; declaring, further, that Venice was dispossessed of all she held in the principality of Ferrara and elsewhere; all men were forbidden to engage in commerce with her; all men were permitted thenceforth to make slaves of Venetians —if they could; the wills of all Venetians were declared null and void; and all clergy were ordered to quit the

Rom. iii. 20.

Venetian territories ten days after the expiration of the thirty days which were allowed the Republic to consider whether she would repent or not.

Venice, however, obstinately resisted; and in this place it should be noted that the Venetians, though very devout, and always ready to decree new festivities in honour of their saints, besides being extremely generous in building churches and endowing religious institutions, continuously showed themselves averse to all intervention of the Church where their political or material interests were concerned. Though they respected the clergy, the latter never had any privileges in Venice beyond those of ordinary citizens, and both priests and monks were constrained to mount guard at night, and to appear before civil tribunals in civil suits, like ordinary citizens.

Venice was still under the papal excommunication when the quarrel between the Quirini and the followers of the Doge Gradenigo had reached its climax, and when the anti-papal party, which we may fairly call the Ghibellines, and which had the support of the Doge, overcame the resistance of its opponents. Marco Quirini determined to take advantage of the discontent of the greater part of the citizens in order to set on foot an immense conspiracy. He was indeed the soul of this attempt, but his son-in-law, Bajamonte Tiepolo, was the visible mover in it, for he was beloved by the people, who called him the 'Great Cavalier'; and he was inspired by a profound hatred of the person of the Doge, who, according to him, had usurped the dignity which had been conferred upon the Tiepolo by the will of the people.

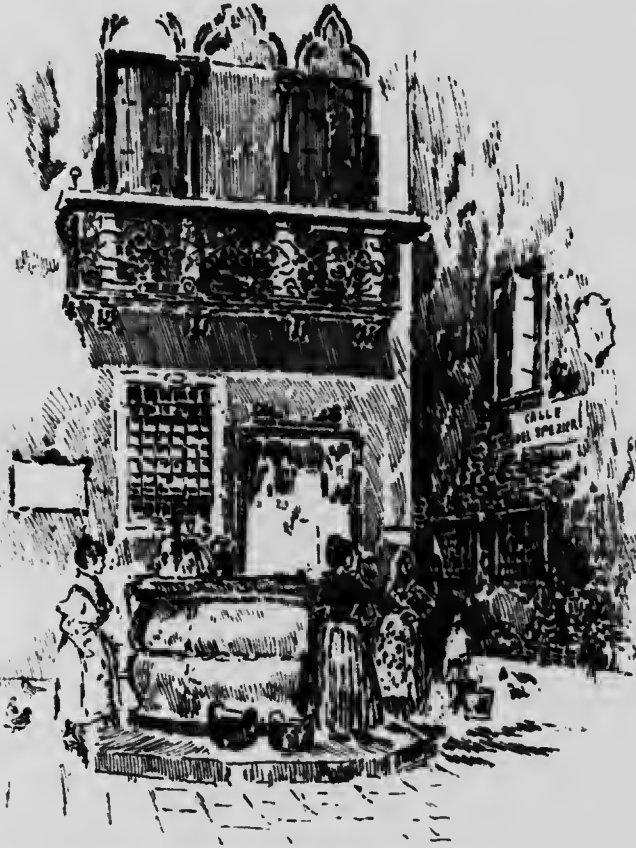
Friends of the two great families began to meet in the Cà Grande, which was the palace of the Quirini. Marco made a speech, which to modern democrats

might seem a model of justice and patriotism, in which he did not fail to prove that he was not impelled to take arms against the head of the Republic by any motive of personal grudge or private ambition, but that he was driven to extremities by the unwise policy of the Government and the extremely unjust laws which were being promulgated to the destruction of the public liberties. A sort of report of this speech is still preserved in the library of Saint Mark.

Tiepolo, at once more frank and more persuasive, replied to the words of his father-in-law, explaining clearly that it was their joint design to give the Republic a doge acceptable to the people and capable of restoring to the latter their original and ancient rights. It is possible that the meeting might have determined to take arms openly at once, if old Jacopo, another of the Quirini, a man of wise counsel and of little personal ambition, had not replied to these first two speeches by attempting to persuade his hearers that they ought to desist from what was a criminal attempt, and from bringing about the calamities of bloodshed. This Jacopo was about to leave Venice as ambassador to Constantinople. The conspirators, who respected him, but had not the slightest intention of accepting his advice, pretended to yield, putting off the moment for action until after his departure. When he had left the city they made every arrangement for carrying out their revolutionary plans at dawn on Sunday, June 14, 1310.

During the night the conspirators were to meet in the Cà Grande in small detachments. In the palace arms sufficient for all were hidden, with a flag upon which was inscribed the word 'Liberty.' Marco Quirini and his sons, Niccolò and Benedetto, were to go to Saint Mark's by the Calle dei Fabbri and the Bridge

dei Dai, with a number of armed men; the other conspirators were to enter the Piazza from the Merceria, under the leadership of Bajamonte. For some time past Badoero Badoer had been in Padua and its neigh-



CALLE DEL SPEZIER

bourhood gathering a desperate band, and on the appointed day he and his men were to be ready at the palace of the Quirini. The plan was boldly conceived, and there was no small likelihood of its success. But one of the conspirators, a burgher named Marco Donà,

lost courage at the last, or suffered himself to be seduced by promises of rich reward from the Doge, including his admission to the nobility. Early in the night he entered Gradenigo's apartment, and revealed everything to him. The Doge did not lose his presence of mind for an instant, but gathered round him his counsellors, the Lords of the Night, the heads of the Forty, and all his friends; every man then quietly armed his servants, thereby gathering together a large number of defenders. At no great distance from the palace was the Arsenal, where there were a great number of artisans of every kind employed in the construction of ships, and these men, both from their intelligence and honesty, represented the pick of the Venetian lower class. They composed the bodyguard of the Doge, and had the right to assist at all public ceremonies, their chiefs having the privilege of entering the palace freely. These men slept in the shipyard by turns, and were always ready at the call of their 'provveditori,' who were three nobles elected at intervals of thirty-two months for the direction and administration of the Arsenal. With such forces at his command, it is perhaps not surprising that the Doge was not intimidated by the conspiracy. As soon as he was assured of being defended by his servants and the workmen, he sent messages to the Mayors of Chioggia, Torcello, and Murano, with orders to arrest the conspirators who were to enter Venice under the guidance of Badoer. At the same time the members of the School of Charity and many of the guild of painters took arms to watch the entrance to the Piazza.

Meanwhile the conspirators made their way through a tempest of rain and wind to the Quirini palace, and arms were distributed to them; Badoer, however, did not come, and his absence was attributed by his friends

to the storm. Without waiting for him they went out at dawn, during a terrific thunderstorm, crying 'Death to the Doge Gradenigo!' The Quirini, following the direction agreed upon, came out at Saint Mark's by the Bridge dei Dai, which thereafter received the name of 'Ponte del Malpasso' (the Bridge of Evil Crossing). But instead of finding the Square deserted, as they had expected, they were assailed by a strong contingent of armed men. Marco and his son Benedetto were soon killed; the other son, Niccolò, was wounded, and he probably obtained on that day the surname of 'the Lame,' which he ever afterwards bore. The remaining conspirators now scattered, to meet again soon afterwards in the Square of Saint Luke, where they were again defeated by the guild of painters. Meanwhile Bajamonte was coming down towards Saint Mark's from the Merceria, and in order to gather his followers together he halted at the knot of elder-trees, where it was the custom to tie up the horses of the councillors on the days of assembling. Here, by chance or by intention, a woman of the people, who lived in a little house overlooking the trees, dropped from her window a stone mortar, or the stone of a hand-mill, which killed Bajamonte's standard-bearer. The banner inscribed with the word 'Liberty' was dashed to the ground, and Tiepolo's men fell into such confusion that he had great difficulty in taking them back to the island of Rialto, burning behind him the bridge which connected the island with the rest of the city. A regular siege now followed, the insurgents defending themselves with the courage of despair; and they might even then have been victorious if Badoer had been able to reach Venice and to take the Doge's forces in the flank, but Badoer, with a great number of his rebellious companions, had been taken and thrown into prison early in the morning,

having been caught on his way to Venice by the Mayor of Chioggia, who was a Giustiniani. Tiepolo now held his own upon the island of Rialto, where he had entrenched himself; but the Doge, in order not to prolong the bloodshed of a conflict between citizens, wished to prevail by some gentler means, and promised all the rebels their lives, provided they would submit, throw down their arms, and quit the territory of the Republic. The negotiations were first attempted by some Milanese merchants, and then by Giovanni Soranzo, who, as the father-in-law of Niccolò Quirini, the latter having married his daughter Soranza, seemed to have a better chance of being heard; but it was in vain. Tiepolo continued to resist with mad obstinacy, and preferred anything rather than submission; until at last one of the counsellors of the Doge, a certain Filippo Belegno, succeeded in bringing about an understanding. Tiepolo consented to retire from the island of Rialto, and to go into an exile which was to last four years 'in the Slavonic countries beyond the island of Zara,' but not in any country that was hostile to Venice; his noble followers were also to be exiled during four years, and might reside in any part of Italy that was outside the Venetian territories, but not within the territories of Padua, Treviso, or Vicenza. They were informed that if they were found beyond the limits to which they were assigned they should pay for the indiscretion with their lives. By a decree of the Great Council their wives were ordered to follow them into exile, and were instructed to leave Venice within eight days. The other conspirators, *i.e.* the servants of the nobles, and those who were considered less responsible, were pardoned on condition that they would submit and lead quiet lives. Thus of all those who had taken part in the revolutionary movement, only Badoer

and his friends were in the hands of justice on the evening of the fatal day. When, according to the custom of the times, they had confessed their crime under torture, Badoer was beheaded, and the rest were all hanged between the columns. One-third of the Quirini family property having been claimed by Giovanni, who had taken no part in the conspiracy, the remaining two-thirds of the Quirini palace on the Rialto were demolished, the share in the Cà Grande being allowed to stand which had been Giovanni's; but lest it should remind posterity of the greatness of the family, the Republic bought out his third part and turned it into a place for raising and killing poultry.

It is a singular circumstance, but quite authentically recorded, that the Government was just then without sufficient funds to pay Giovanni for his share in the house, and it was actually proposed to pawn the city's silver trumpets, which were used in all public solemnities. The Government, however, succeeded in raising the sum in a more dignified way.

The house of Bajamonte Tiepolo, at Sant' Agostino, was levelled to the ground, and on the spot a column recorded the traitor's infamy. This space is still open and desolate in our own time, after a lapse of six hundred years.

Lazzari Guida, 171.

The column was set up in 1314, and it bore the following inscription, which is one of the most ancient specimens of Venetian dialect. It is in the form of a rhymed quatrain: 'This ground belonged to Bajamonte, and now for his infamous treachery it has been turned common, that all may look upon it now and ever, and be afraid.'

It is not long since writers of democratic tendency still attempted to make Tiepolo seem a martyr to liberty. The Provisional Government of Venice, on

July 13, 1797, invited the citizens to restore to honour the memory of those heroes, born in times of tyranny, who had fallen victims to their own generous efforts, and much more in the same manner. It was proposed to set up a statue to Tiepolo, as well as to the proto-martyr, Marin Bocconio; but in the end, even the democratic Government was obliged to concede that its hero had been nothing but a seditious egotist, and the name of Bajamonte has not lost the odium it deserves even to our own time; for in spite of his standard blazoned with the word 'Liberty,' he had really meant to seize the government of his country and to make the dogeship hereditary in his family. After the conspiracy the public feeling against the Tiepolo and Quirini families was so strong that those branches of the Tiepolo which had remained faithful to the Republic changed their coats-of-arms. The innocent branches of the Quirini, however, resorted to an expedient which is quite unique in heraldry, so far as I know. In Italian 'bono' means 'good'; the Quirini simply charged their coat with a capital B, to show how good they had been!

Cecchetti, Dubbii.

Rom. iii. 39, note 2.

Marco Donà, the man who had revealed the plot, was rewarded by being admitted to the Great Council, and his name was inscribed in the 'Golden Book,' making the honour hereditary. The woman who had killed Bajamonte's standard-bearer, and whose name was Rossi, on being asked what reward she would prefer, requested to be allowed to fly the standard of Saint Mark from her window on the day of Saint Vitus (June 15), and on the other solemn festivals of the year; and that neither she nor her descendants should ever be required to pay a higher rent for the house in which she lived, and which belonged to the patrimony

of the Basilica of Saint Mark. There exists under date of the year 1468 the protest of a certain Rossi, her descendant, whose rent had been raised from fifteen ducats to twenty-eight. He won his case. The house is called in our own time the 'House of the Miracle of the Mortar.' It is in the Merceria at the corner of the Calle del Cappello. The standard which Lucia Rossi used to display at her window is preserved in the Correr Museum.

Fulin, Arch. Ven. (1876), and Soranza Soranzo.

Molmenti, Dogaressa.

The Rector of the guild of painters also received special honours, as well as the brethren of the Carità, who had lent armed assistance.

One might be surprised at the lenity with which the Republic judged the ringleaders of the Tiepolo-Quirini conspiracy; but it must not be forgotten that the conspirators, entrenched on the Rialto, were beyond the Doge's power, and still threatened the safety of the city and of the Republic, which was no doubt glad to be rid of them at any price. Moreover, we have record of a pitiful episode, which shows that the Venetian Government could be severe to cruelty without necessarily employing the executioner.

Among the nobles who went into exile beyond Zara after the affair at Rialto was Niccolò Quirini, Marco's son, surnamed 'the Lame.' His wife, who was, as we have said, the daughter of Giovanni Soranzo, joined him in his exile. At the end of four years, says Molmenti, she felt an irresistible longing to see her family again, and asked permission to return home, but it was not granted to her. Her father, however, had been made Doge in 1311, and she began the journey, trusting to his influence. No sooner had she reached Venice than she was arrested and condemned to perpetual confinement in the convent of Sta. Maria delle

Vergini, in one of the most distant districts of the city.

In connection with this story it should be noted that the convent in which she was imprisoned was not one of cloistered nuns. Until the end of the fifteenth century they bore the title of 'canonesses'; they were under the government of an abbess, but took no solemn vows, wore no veils, and could even leave the convent and marry. The convent itself was under a sort of tutelage of the Doge. It had been founded and endowed at the beginning of the thirteenth century by the Doge Pietro Ziani, together with a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and became the common residence of many noble ladies, and of many noble girls who were educated there. The Doge conferred the investiture upon the abbess, according to the custom of those times, by means of a golden ring, and once a year he went to visit the convent. This was in the month of May; and after hearing mass the Doge went into the parlour, where the abbess received him, being dressed in a magnificent white mantle, with two veils upon her head, one white and the other black. She presented the Doge with a small bunch of flowers, set in a golden handle, for which the Doge expressed his thanks in a set form. The Doge Soranzo must have gone through this function many times while his own daughter was a prisoner in the nunnery, and not allowed to assist in the ceremony. The old building of the Vergini was destroyed by fire in 1375, but was restored with greater splendour than before as a place for educating noble Venetian girls.

Gallicciolí, vi. 58.

Giustina Renier Michiel, Origini, ii. 73.

It must not be supposed that the convent had barred windows, nor that there were gratings at the parlour door, from behind which the novice never returned

again to the outer world. Gratings and bars and the strict cloister were not introduced into the rules of Italian nuns until much later, when the Church was obliged to check the grave abuses which had gradually crept into convent life. In the time of Soranza, and particularly in the convent of the Vergini, there was much freedom, and any reasonable excuse was admitted for allowing the canonesses to go out into the city; they not infrequently visited their relations, and even stopped with them in the country.

Soranza had been placed in custody in a little house that was built against the wall of the convent; its door had two different keys, one of which was given to the abbess, and the other to the housekeeper sister, so that the two were obliged to enter together, and while guarding their prisoner they watched each other. Soranza was allowed one woman servant, who was allowed to go out in order to wash linen, but she was warned that she would be condemned to a heavy fine if the smallest bit of writing were ever found upon her.

Four years Soranza languished uncomplaining in her narrow dwelling. Then she appealed to the Council of Ten for permission to walk in the convent garden. The Council allowed her this liberty for only four months. Fearing that it would not be continued to her she wrote again before the term expired, to beg that it might be extended, representing that she could not live without a little air; and the Council made the permission permanent.

At last it was known that Niccolò was dead, stabbed by an unknown hand, and Soranza was a widow; nevertheless, for the sake of the name she yet bore, the Republic still treated her as a prisoner. Amongst the archives of the Council of Ten are found more than sixty documents concerning her, and there are letters

from her entreating to be allowed to visit her father, the Doge, at the ducal palace, or to go and take care of a sick friend. Sometimes she obtained what she asked, sometimes the most innocent indulgences were refused her, and it is clear that the Republic did not mean her to think that she could have anything otherwise than as a special favour.

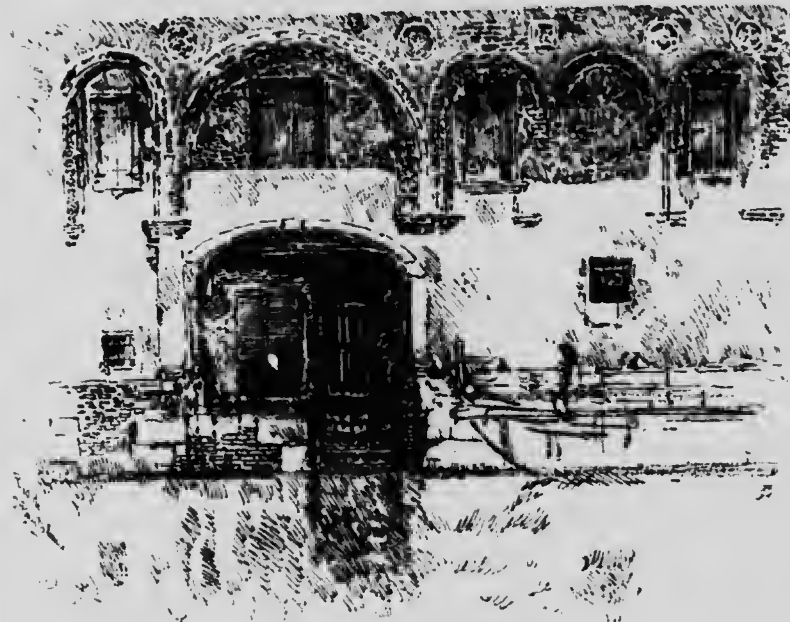
When Soranza breathed her last in the little house that had been her prison, she had occupied it for twenty-five years. During the last ten years, however, the wife of Andreolo Quirini was confined with her.

She was not the last of those unhappy ladies who had been exiled with their husbands. In 1320 a man called Riccio arrived in Venice, bringing the head of Pietro Quirini who had been treacherously assassinated by an 'unknown' hand—possibly the hand of Riccio himself, who brought the victim's head in order to claim his fee. Pietro left a widow, still young, who at once asked permission to come home to Venice. She was told plainly that if she had no children and expected none she might return, but that otherwise she must remain in exile 'at the disposal of the Ten.'

In the following year another Niccolò Quirini died abroad, and his widow was allowed to return on condition of living in a convent, never to go out without permission of the Council of Ten. She had in Venice a devoted admirer, one Angelo Bembo, who obtained permission to have her placed in the convent of Santa Maria di Valverde, on the island of Mazzorbo, a lovely and retired spot, where seclusion would be more bearable than in the city. The young widow seems to have made good use of her stay there, for the papers in the archives of the Ten which concern her contain the information that she soon afterwards married her friend, and was allowed to return to the world. She

had recovered all her liberty by the mere change of name.

As some justification for this excessive rigour on the part of the Government, it should be remembered that the exiled Tiepolo and Quirini families had never ceased to plot against the Republic after their defeat, both in the countries where they were allowed to live and in Venice itself by means of agents. A letter of the



RIO DI S. PANTOLEONE

Council of Ten confers upon Federigo Dandolo and Marin Falier full powers to get rid of the obnoxious Bajamonte, in any way they might, for the good of the country. The note is dated in 1328. From that time forward his name was never pronounced in Council, nor mentioned in any document; and it may be supposed that he, like Niccolò Quirini, came to his end, murdered by some emissary of the Republic. The fact that we find

no allusion in the subsequent history of Marin Falier to the part he possibly played in that side tragedy is not evidence that he failed to carry out his instructions.

Armand Baschet, Archives, 514.

Rom. iii. 39 sqq., 52.

A careful examination of early documents seems to show that the Council of Ten existed before the Tiepolo - Quirini conspiracy, which is generally held to be the circumstance which called it into existence. It is certain, however, that in earlier times the Council had not such great importance, and it was always more or less a temporary affair until the year 1335. Ten magistrates, who were called together on the occasion of the conspiracy to form a sort of court-martial, gave their judgments, but by no means in an arbitrary manner. They were elected for a period not much longer than three months, which was to expire on Saint Michael's Day, September 29, a day always kept as a great festival in Venice. But when that date was reached, it appeared necessary to prolong the time of their power, as their task was not yet finished; for it consisted not only in punishing the guilty, but also in closely watching the immediate consequences of the conspiracy. The same extension was granted again and again, until the following year, when it was determined to establish the tribunal for a term of five years, appointing its members anew, however, on every successive Saint Michael's Day. These five years being passed, a further decree prolonged the tribunal's existence ten years more, and so on. Finally, in 1335, it was decreed to be permanent, under an extremely strict code of rules called the 'Rite,' well devised for a body which was to treat of the very important affairs that came before it. On election, every member of the Ten took an oath, which included the following clauses: 'I, as one of the Council

A. Baschet, Archives, 531.

of Ten, do swear upon the holy Gospels of God to act for the advantage and honour of Venice ; and in good faith and conscience to advise our Lord the Doge and his counsellors such things as I shall believe useful to the honour and preservation of our country ; and I swear to obey our Lord the Doge, and to do what the heads of the Ten shall command me. . . . I bind myself to keep secret whatever is said or commanded to me concerning all matters which may be proposed by the said Council, communicated or discussed in the sittings, and concerning any letters or reports which may be communicated to us, etc. etc.'

The ordinary meetings of the Ten were held by day in the ducal palace ; not in a room hung with black and feebly lighted, as some have written and believed, but in a hall appointed for that purpose by the Doge, until one should be properly furnished and decorated for the tribunal. Under extraordinary circumstances the Council also met by night. All sittings began with an invocation to the Holy Spirit. These sittings were never attended by the Ten only ; from the time of the institution of the tribunal, the Doge and his counsellors, one avogador of the commonwealth and the High Chancellor, who, it should be remembered, was not a noble, were also obliged to be present. The imagination of posterity, amused by fantastic tales which have no historic basis, has lent this tribunal a character of mystery and arbitrary authority which it never possessed, as is proved by documents still in existence. In all trials, after the accusation had been read, the defence was heard immediately, and when the defendant was not able to conduct his own case, a law of 1443 allowed him to be represented by a lawyer. The avogador put the following question to the Ten : 'According to what has been read and said, is

Rom. iii. 35 sqq.

it your opinion that the accused should be condemned?' Sometimes the following question was asked: 'Is it your opinion that the accused, in consequence of what has been already heard, should be put to the torture, in order to obtain from him the whole truth, and further details; or that the court should proceed, as having already sufficient proof of his guilt?' The Council of Ten could not impose fines; their sentences necessarily affected the body of the condemned person. When a vote had decided that the accused was convicted, each member of the Council could propose the punishment which he thought fit, but it was not usual to propose any more severe penalty than that asked for by the avogador. He was the first to make the proposition, then came the heads of the Ten, then the Doge's counsellors, and last of all the Doge himself. Each proposal was balloted for, every member of the Council retaining the right to propose a diminution or commutation of the sentence, or to ask for a new trial.

Rom. iii. 66, 68.

We know that the Council of Ten had a fund for secret service ever since the fourteenth century. It also possessed a small armoury.

It cannot be denied that on more than one occasion the execution of the verdicts of the Ten was performed quickly and in a secret manner; yet it does not appear that this was done because the sentence had been passed from any motive of private hatred or vengeance, but only because prudence required that the public should not be allowed to express an opinion on the matter. It may be remarked that in European countries the procedure nowadays is often similar in courts-martial. If we take away the right of torture, the violet cloaks and hoods of the seven, and the red hoods of the three chiefs—in a word, if we erase from the picture the mediæval setting of the Council of Ten which looks

theatrical to us, we may find that after all there is not such grave cause for accusing the famous Venetian tribunal of arbitrary cruelty. The proceedings of a military court-martial in our own times are often quite as secret and expeditious, and much more summary.

The manner in which the members of the Council were elected shows clearly enough that the abuse of authority was always feared on their part. In the year 1310 it was decreed that no two persons who were relatives might sit together in the Council, and that when a relative of any member was to be tried, that member should be excluded from the sitting. The members soon ceased to be elected on Saint Michael's Day; and in order that greater prudence might be exercised in choosing them, they were elected one at a time at the meetings of the Great Council as each one's term expired. Until 1356, when a place was to be filled, two candidates were proposed, and sometimes there were even three nominations. No member of the Council of Ten might receive gifts under pain of immediate death, nor was any salary attached to the office. At the end of their term they went back into private life, and were not protected in any way from such accusations as might be brought against them for their actions during their administration.

Nearly fifty years after the date of the Tiepolo-Quirini conspiracy, August 9, 1356, a number of rules were introduced, to increase the severity with which the powers of the Council of Ten might be exercised, and at the same time to ensure justice in their dealings with criminal cases. It is amply proved by documents of the fourteenth century that in the majority of cases, though possibly in those which were considered of minor importance, there was neither mystery nor secrecy about the meetings of the

Rom. iii. 57.

Ten, and that, on the contrary, the door of their place of meeting was sometimes open to the public. No other meaning can be attached to the law of 1575, which was passed in order to limit the too great facility of ingress to the hall of their meetings, on the ground that the proceedings might be prejudiced by too much publicity, as they were constantly interrupted by the persons present, so that practically any one might watch the trials, as Romanin says, even in cases of the highest importance. There was never at any time the least tendency to diminish the legal character of the tribunal in order to confer upon it an arbitrary power, since it disposed of weapons so powerful as to place it above the need of intrigue. As has been said, although the Ten were all chosen from the nobility, the High Chancellor was present at the sittings, albeit he had no right of voting, and his presence al[illegible]e sufficed to remind the councillors that the citizens [illegible]hose chief representative he was, were all witnesses of whatsoever the Ten accomplished. On the whole, M. Baschet is right in saying that the Council's activity was chiefly exercised against the nobles themselves for the p[illegible]otection of the people.

It undoubt[illegible]ly disposed of great powers, and no one could expect a tribunal to be infallible in those times, or perhaps in any other ; but though the Ten were no doubt sometimes guilty of grave mistakes, they were never at any time the instrument of a tyrannical government for oppressing the poor and innocent.

Rom. iii. 54, note 3.

They elected three heads every month, whose duty it was to conduct the affairs of the Council, to study the cases it was to try, and to see to the execution of its judgments. The Council had under its immediate control the executives of its justice, which consisted of a large force of

A. Baschet, Archives, 536. Rom. ii. 359.

police, controlled by six principal officers, and by the so-called 'Missier Grande,' who was the head of the whole body.

The criminal and political prisons were under the special supervision of the Doge himself during the first half of the fourteenth century, and it was the duty of two of his counsellors to visit them once every month, and to make inquiry of the prisoners confined there concerning their wants and wishes. During the second half of the century this supervision and the duty of visiting became a part of the office of the heads of the Ten. I shall attempt to describe in passing the state of the prisons in which criminals and persons accused of grave crimes were confined in the fourteenth century, these only having been under the supervision of the Ten.

Rom. ii. 359.

In the first place, there were certain narrow but not unhealthy prisons in the tower which formerly existed at the east end of the ducal palace, and these were on the same floor as the hall where the Council of Ten met, and were called the 'upper' prisons. Accused persons were generally kept here during their trial. In 1321 an order was issued for the construction of the so-called 'lower' prisons, which the common people afterwards called 'pozzi,' wells; and these were undoubtedly hideous and narrow cells, though probably not worse than those in use at that time in other countries. They are not below the level of the ground, or rather of the water, as novelists have described them; but the fact that criminals descended to them from the hall of the tribunal by means of a little staircase less than a yard wide, which soon became quite dark, and the sound of the lapping water outside, helped to give the prisoner the impression that he was being

Rom. iii. 74.

Mutinelli, Less.

taken down alive into a tomb dug deep in the earth, although he was actually on the level of the courtyard. A small door in the wall of the courtyard was opened in 1407, in order that the family of Vittor Pisani might enter the prison when he was lying there ill, and it was afterwards closed at his expense. On the side of the canal was a corridor, little more than a yard wide, and faced with marble, through which escape was impossible. Upon this opened the doors of certain very small cells, marked with Roman numerals, in which, for some reason now impossible to explain, the 'V' was always turned upside down. The cells were completely lined with deal, but received air only from the dark corridor through an aperture in the door about eight inches square. The prisons on the other side, towards the harbour, had various names, among which we may mention that of 'Mosina' and 'Liona'; then such names as 'The Refreshing Joy,' 'The Vulcan,' 'The Strong,' 'The Lightless,' and other similar epithets, probably suggested by the grim humour of the gaolers. Until 1357 the counsellers of the Doge went down into these places every month; and at that time the heads of the Ten inquired into the state of each individual prisoner, and gave an account thereof to the Doge and to the Council. There also the prisoner was allowed to speak, probably through the little aperture in the door, with his attorney, if he feared lest he should be unable to defend himself when called to justice. To this place came also at night the monk whose duty it was to comfort the last hours of such unfortunates as had received sentence of death, either by hanging between the columns of the Piazzetta, or, as frequently happened, at the place where the crime was committed, or in the cell, if the tribunal had decreed that the

Rom. iii. 77.

Rom. iii. 75.

prisoner should be strangled. Sometimes, though more rarely, the sentence was this, 'that to-night So-and-so be conducted to the Orfano Canal, with his hands tied behind his back and weights fastened to his body, and let him be drowned, and let him die.'

I shall have occasion to speak further of the prisons as they were in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

THE ABBAZZIA

VIII

ON MANNERS AND CERTAIN CUSTOMS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

In the natural order of things it is now time to say a few words about the manners and customs of the Venetians in the fourteenth century. Owing to lack of documents the subject is by no means an easy one. An ideal history would be a careful account of the daily doings and habits of a nation, concisely told and not out of proportion with the greater events of which an account is due. Such a history would be a fascinating tale, though it might be an almost interminable one.

As in an endless gallery, the writer would show his readers an unbroken series of pictures, and the mind would be led without surprise, but without a moment's dulness or boredom, from the beginning to the end of a people's career.

Unhappily no such method can ever be even attempted where the remote past is concerned. The men and women of those times lived their own daily lives, found them not always interesting, and passed away without leaving us a single true record of twenty-four hours in the life of a man or a woman. Yet how intensely interesting even one such record would be! How the weary historian, seeking for the simple details of some simple life six hundred years ago, longs to discover a Horace Walpole, a Madame de Sévigné, or most of all a Paston family, amongst the yellow and dusty archives! Something, however, may still be got together to give an idea of what the non-political, non-historical Venice was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

To begin with, though the Republic never showed much inclination to submit to any dictation from the popes, the Venetians were a practically religious people and extremely charitable. With the possible exceptions of Rome and Florence, no city of Italy possessed at that time so many hospices for the poor and hospitals for the sick; and considering the necessary limitations of all philanthropy at that early period, those institutions were managed and kept up with astonishing intelligence and care. I have no intention of compiling a catalogue of the buildings in which old people, invalids, widows, and pilgrims found a temporary or a permanent refuge, as the case might be; but it is worth while to notice here and there the sensitive delicacy with which charity was often exercised, and which seems so

little in harmony with the nature of the more important historical events of the period.

There is something very touching, for instance, in the origin of the Ca' di Dio—literally, 'The House of God,' as the old building is called to this day. In the year 1272, one of those pious souls that feel the true and natural intuitions of charity came across that saddest sort of misery which exists here and there in the world, hiding itself as far as possible from every eye, and preferring actual starvation and death to the humiliation of asking alms. These poor people were ladies of good birth, reduced to a condition in which they positively had neither a crust to eat nor a place to lay their heads. The charitable person who found them here and there gathered them at first into a refuge with other poor women, where they could at least live and die in peace, but, even in the simplicity of those days, he soon understood that it was moral torture for a starving patrician woman, or the widow of some high magistrate of the Republic, to share bed and board with the poor widows of sailors, fishermen, and artisans, and he created for them, out of sheer delicacy and kindness of heart, a separate refuge in the Ca' di Dio, where they could enjoy something more than the illusion of a home, and where they were at least blessed with that privacy which is almost the first and last necessity of the well-born.

Molmenti, Calli e Canali.

One is reminded of the rules of that Florentine Confraternity for the relief of the 'poor who felt shame,' a body to which Dante belonged. By those rules the brethren were bound to give assistance without lifting the hood that covered their faces, or giving their names, or in any way betraying their individuality, lest the poor person whom they helped should be in some degree humiliated. This really exquisite delicacy of

feeling showed itself in the very midst of the worst and fiercest quarrels of Guelph and Ghibelline, and the rule of the Confraternity expressly commanded the brothers to help their foes as freely as their friends, and to be especially careful never to do anything which could humiliate an enemy in distress.

The chronicles of Florence say nothing of that, and if the Venetian historians mention the Ca' di Dio at all, it is only in the most passing way. But the historical writers of both cities carefully record the murders, poisonings, and stabbings which brought disaster on their citizens. Should not a true history of civilisation sometimes count also the tears that charity has dried and the anguish she has helped to soothe? The chroniclers abound in accounts of the trials, the sentences, and the executions of the fourteenth century. they can scarcely spare a line to tell us how the Doge and many other devout persons heard mass daily at dawn and recited the Office for the Dead in Saint Mark's. We know with the utmost exactness the precise number of light ladies who were living in Venice just then: there were eleven thousand six hundred and fifty —a respectable, or rather a disreputable, number for a city of two hundred thousand inhabitants. The quarter of the Castelletto, which had originally been given over to them, no longer sufficed for their needs, and they lived very much where they pleased.

Gallicciolì, vi. 150.

We know these things, but few remember that at that very time a gentle, beseeching voice was heard every evening in the streets and squares of Venice, crying out 'Pity, pity!' It was the voice of a poor monk slowly pursuing his way under the balconies of the great palaces, and through the narrower ways where the rich middle class had chosen its abode, for ever asking alms for the poor little children whom he

Bembo, Beneficenza.

found nightly thrust out, new-born to die in the streets before morning, even as is done to this day in China. And though it was Venice that cast her children out to perish thus, yet Venice poured alms into the poor monk's hands so abundantly that his labours prospered beyond his highest hopes. A lady of the Dolfini family gave him no less than seventeen houses for his foundlings, and yet these were not enough; he appealed to the Government for more room; and this same Government, which seems in our view of its history to be for ever deep in politics, in commerce, and above all in spying upon its own citizens, answered Fra Pieruzzo della Pietà, as the monk was called, with a decree that has a very human and tender note in it. It was declared therein that the little foundlings should bring blessings and fortune to all honest people who would offer them a home; and whosoever adopted one of the children was thereby freely licensed to open a shop, or to exchange a mean and vulgar occupation for one of the nobler arts. Besides this, the State settled upon the Hospice of the Pietà one-half of the fines imposed upon blasphemers, which amounted to a very large sum.

The religious spirit of Venice in the thirteenth century is reflected not only in the public charities of the times, but also in the legends that have come down to us, founded on some small original basis of truth, concrete or abstract. There is one in particular which it is impossible to overlook, though it has been told by many writers of all nations during many hundred years. I mean the story of the little Countess Tagliapietra.

Vita della Contessa Tagliapietra, Anonymous.

In the year 1288 a noble couple dwelt in their palace, not far from the home of Bajamonte Tiepolo, the great conspirator, in the central parish of Saint Agostino, which is one of those most cut up by the numberless lanes and canals

which cross it in all directions. It pleased Heaven to send a little girl child to Count Pier Nicola Tagliapietra and his wife Elena, one only, but she was of such exquisite beauty and rare loveliness of character that her parents esteemed themselves more blessed than those who could boast of ten stalwart sons. From her earliest years the child seemed destined to saintliness, and her chiefest pleasure was to follow her mother to church, for

A CAMPO

in the thirteenth century it had not yet become the custom to keep girls closely shut up at home from year's end to year's end.

The title of Countess was unheard of in Venice at that time, and yet every account of the legend assigns it to the little saint. Her favourite church was that of San Maurizio, and the little Countess seized every possible occasion for going there; sometimes she even went alone, for every one knew her, and she was

perfectly safe in the streets; but in order to get there she was obliged to cross the canal in a boat—gondolas did not exist in that day. Now her father entertained ambitious projects for the marriage of his only daughter; and from having been at first merely surprised by her extreme devoutness, he now became seriously anxious for her future, and forbade the child to go to church except on feast-days and with her mother. She replied with quiet decision that he had no right to impose such a sacrifice upon her, and she continued going to San Maurizio every day. Her father did not wish to seem harsh or unkind, and he imagined that he could gain his end by simply forbidding the boatmen to take her across the canal. Having done so, and having doubtless enforced his wishes by giving the men money, Pier Nicola felt perfectly at ease, for he could not see that the girl had any chance of getting to San Maurizio without a boat.

On the following morning she went down to the 'traghetto' as usual, and called to one of the boatmen. One after the other they all refused to take her over, explaining that they were acting under her father's orders. The little girl looked at them all sweetly with deep and innocent eyes; then, without the least hesitation, she took off her little apron, spread it upon the smooth water of the canal, and stepped upon it securely as if it had been the largest of the boats.

It not only carried her weight, but began to move of its own accord, and bore her swiftly across to the opposite bank; and when the boatmen and those who passed by saw what was done they raised a loud cry and praised God for the miracle they had seen, and it was noised abroad throughout all the city.

The first consequence seems to have been that a vast number of very eligible noble youths asked for

the young saint in marriage, and her father had only to choose amongst so many brilliant matches the one best suited to his taste; but the child steadfastly refused matrimony, and declared that she would never live in the world. As she grew older it became harder and harder to sustain the struggle, and at the age of twenty she daily implored God to deliver her from this wicked world. And so, indeed, it pleased Heaven, for she departed this life on the Feast of All Saints, in the year 1308. The whole city followed her to the grave, numberless wax candles were lit before her tomb, and no man dared to extinguish them. Is not the voice of the people the voice of God? The clergy would not interfere, and from the day of her death the little Countess received the title of Beata, and the church of San Vito, where she was buried, became the goal of constant pilgrimages. It was not until the sixteenth century that the Church interfered to put limits to a veneration which had degenerated to a superstition. It was no longer enough to invoke the prayers and aid of the blessed little Countess; it had become the custom to open her coffin at stated intervals, and mothers laid their infant children upon her bones to preserve them from the danger of drowning.

But now the sepulchre was sealed, the little Countess was officially admitted to be a saint, and those who should dare to profane her relics with any superstitious practice were threatened with immediate excommunication.

Another legend, of a slightly later date, has been gloriously handed down to us by the genius of Paris Bordone. On the fifteenth of February 1340 a terrific storm burst upon the lagoons, lashing the shallow water into foam and howling through the narrow canals and dark byways of the city. It was

Rom. iii. 143.

late at night when a poor fisherman, who had narrowly escaped destruction, ran in and began to moor his boat. He had not finished when three venerable old men, of majestic countenance, suddenly appeared out of the darkness and earnestly begged him to take them across the lagoon in the teeth of the gale. The fisherman hesitated, and was on the point of refusing a request which seemed most unreasonable; but there was something in the faces, in the manner, gestures, and tone of the three which imposed itself upon him in spite of himself.. They entered the stern of the fishing boat, and he shoved off into the rough water, which was close at hand. The wind howled, the frail skiff rocked as if she would capsize, the salt spray blinded the poor man as he stood up and bent to his oars in the Italian fashion, but the presence of the three venerable strangers gave him superhuman strength to go on.

They were already far out upon the seething water when an appalling vision burst upon his sight. In the heart of a black squall a great barge full of fire came flying towards the city, and the fire was full of demons, and fiery fiends swung red-hot oars that hissed each time they dipped into the water. The poor fisherman gave himself up for lost and fell upon his knees, but behind him in the stern of the boat the three majestic passengers stood upright and made the sign of the cross with wide and potent gestures; and suddenly the fiery barge stood still as if she had struck a rock and was thrown into the air, and turning upside down fell with all her fiery crew hissing into the raging sea, and all was dark, and suddenly the storm subsided, and the moon shone out between the clouds as on a summer's night.

Then said the oldest of the three old men to the fisherman, 'Take me to the island of Saint George, for

there I dwell.' And the fisherman put him ashore there. The second of the old men then said, 'I am Saint Nicolas, take me over to the Lido.' The fisherman set him ashore there, wondering at his own strength, for it is far. Then said the last, 'I am Saint Mark, set me ashore at the Piazza.' When they were there the fisherman fell upon his face before the saint, who raised him up and gave him his blessing, and, moreover, bade him go at once to the Doge, though it was late, and tell him what he had seen, and to prove that it was truth and not a dream the saint drew from his finger a ring and gave it to the fisherman as a token.

About 1340.

The fisherman gives the ring to the Doge Gradenigo, Paris Bordone; Accademia.

The legend has been too often told for me to dwell upon what followed, but it contrasts characteristically with the tale of the little Countess Tagliapietra, which is only forty years older, but which still retains that subtle perfume, that air of peace and light, which belong to the earlier Venetian legends. The story of the fisherman belongs already to those nightmare tales of terror which became so very common in Venice, that in the sixteenth century all the popular tales represent devils and fiends struggling against the supernatural powers of saints. Last of all, even the saints and demons disappeared, and the degenerate eighteenth century expressed its love of fiction in a set of ghost stories as terrifying as any that the human imagination has ever evolved out of darkness.

Next to all that is connected with religion, that which would do the most to give a clear idea of the fourteenth century would be the study of women and their position at that time, but an almost total lack of documents makes this absolutely impossible. We can learn from old family papers and carefully preserved

accounts what women were, and we may even to some extent reconstruct the frame of their outward existence; but the soul of it all escapes us. The story I have told of the little patrician girl alone stands out to give us some idea of what a spotless child's thoughts could be in a city which was even then one of the most perverse in Europe. But of the many other Venetian ladies whom history mentions by name we know absolutely nothing, so far as their private lives are concerned. One dogess after another appears in magnificent garments; but we feel no more interest in them than if they were so many gorgeous wax figures, for no one has taken the trouble to tell us whether this one was beloved or that one hated; whether one was a woman of heart, or another proud, ambitious, and vain. In most cases we do not even know their ages. Why should any one care? Each one was 'the dogess of her day,' and that was enough; she was the companion and consort of the doge, but beyond that, in a State in which the supreme dignity was not hereditary, her value was purely decorative.

The fourteenth century was not remarkable for much luxury or feminine display. Among the most characteristic objects used in those times were the extraordinary clogs, with double heels and enormously high, on which women went about in order to keep their skirts out of the mud. For the streets and lanes were not even paved, and there seems to have been no great effort made to clean them. The principal scavengers seem to have been the little pigs of the monastery of Saint Anthony of Padua, which had an official right-of-way about the city, and devoured greedily whatever the good wives of Venice chose to throw into the streets when they cleaned out their kitchens. It will easily be understood that clogs might be useful in such

a town. As another illustration of the times, here is a list of the exiguous outfit provided for a young lady

RIO DELLA PANADA

of great family on her marriage in the year 1300: One bed, two down quilts, two pillows, four sheets, one coverlet, six silver spoons, one copper pail; one piece

of scarlet stuff long enough to make a bodice, one skirt of the same material; one skirt of striped stuff, and one trimming for the said skirt of the price of nine soldi grossi; one skin of a fox; seven amber beads, one ornament made of pearls, an ornament of gold, a silver belt and some silver beads.

The display of jewellery on that occasion was certainly not magnificent, but the list of clothes leaves even more to be desired. The document explains further, and determines precisely how the wedding is to be conducted, and what it is to cost the family of the bride. The bride, when she reaches Padua, is to receive twelve soldi grossi for her pocket money, a like sum to pay for the drums, and the same again for the cook; but only half as much for the duenna who is to accompany her, and who rejoices in the high-sounding name of Richadonor, 'rich in honour'! Furthermore, forty soldi grossi were to be spent on beef, pork, poultry, biscuits, apples, birds, eggs, bread, torches, wax candles, and the hire of boats.

Living was certainly not dear in those days, and we have no means of calculating the value of the coins used, about which learned men have fruitlessly quarrelled for generations; we cannot by any means establish the value of such an outfit, but we can affirm most positively that the outfit itself bore no resemblance whatever to those provided two centuries later for brides of the very same family.

In this connection it is as well to say that the marriage customs of Venice had changed considerably during the thirteenth century. It had become altogether impossible to celebrate all marriages on the same day of the year in the same church, as was formerly done, and weddings now took place throughout the year in the different parishes.

Gallicciolo, vi. 18.

An edict of the year 1255 recommends the publication of marriage banns in Venice, but very little attention was paid to this regulation, and clandestine marriages became one of the great evils of the day. If, for instance, an unmarried woman of any condition found herself hopelessly in debt, she had only to marry in order to be safe from any legal action on the part of her creditors. It was so easy to get the ceremony performed, if one wished to keep the affair quiet, that it was not even necessary to go to church. A priest could be sent for to a private house, or even to an inn, the witnesses heard the necessary words pronounced, the priest blessed the couple, and the union was irrevocable.

The Government took cognisance of the innumerable abuses which resulted from this manner of proceeding, and a law was passed which would have introduced a real reform if it had been rigorously enforced. But instead it was so completely overlooked and forgotten that the archives of the law-courts a century later teem with amusing anecdotes of such marriages. The following is a specimen taken from the case of a certain Dame Caterina of the parish of Saint Gervasio.

One evening, as this [illegible] lady was lingering on the threshold of her own [illegible] a certain Pierin da Trento came by, selling b[illegible]. Having greeted Dame Caterina, who appears to have been an acquaintance, the man said 'Good madam, I pray you find me out [illegible].' Thereupon the good lady was immediately very angry, and loaded Pierin with the choicest [illegible] in the Venetian language, all of which are scrupulously quoted in the report of the case. Pierin, however, protested, 'No, no, Dame Caterina, I did not mean what you think! I am asking you to find me a nice little wife to whom I will be a model husband.' She answered, 'Well, well, on my faith I

will try and find one for you. Come back to-morrow.' She immediately thought of a young girl called Maria who waited upon herself and her daughter. On the morrow the parties met in the house of Dame Caterina, and one Menego Moisè, who was there, asked, 'Maria, does Pietro suit you as a husband according to the commandments of God and Holy Church?' She answered, 'Yes.' So they took each other by the hand, and all the company sat down to table with great joy.

This was apparently all that was necessary to make a marriage binding. It is not even explicitly stated that the man Menego who asked the ritual question was a priest; but unless we suppose that something like common-law marriage was legal in Venice, we may take it for granted that he was.

Of course, in the absence of a divorce law, the chief object of such summary marriages was that they might be denied, and such cases led to some lively fencing between the civil and religious authorities.

In spite of these abuses, however, and in spite of the numerous regular and proper marriages that took place in the parish churches, the old custom of marrying wholesale on the thirty-first of January had not fallen wholly into disuse. I shall describe in another place the Feast of the Maries, instituted to recall the one which had been disturbed long ago by the Dalmatian pirates, and which was celebrated every year with the same mixture of simplicity, display, and jollity.

One might get married quietly, with closed doors and without sound of drum or trumpet, but it was quite impossible to be buried with the same simplicity and privacy. All the chroniclers of those times have left accounts of funerals, which remind one very strongly of the East, and even of ancient Egyptian and Assyrian

rites. It was absolutely indispensable that a husband on the death of his wife, or a wife on the death of her husband, should exhibit in public the most extravagant grief. The bereaved widow or widower was expected to scream, to roll upon the ground, to tear out his or her hair by the handful, to howl and moan with scarcely a moment's intermission.

When at last the friends of the dead came to carry away the body, the frenzied relict was always found stretched upon the threshold of the house, to prevent the funeral from passing, and had to be dragged out of the way by main force. The body having been carried out of the house at last, the whole family followed it to the parish church with screams and howls, and kept up the same terrific noise during the chanting of the whole funeral service. This insane custom was so deeply rooted amongst the people that centuries elapsed before the Church could put it down, and only threats of excommunication sufficed to prevent the unseemly interruption of the Office for the Dead. Those who have lived in the far East, and especially in India, are familiar with such sights. No one who has heard the lamentations of hired mourners at an Asiatic funeral is likely to forget the impression he received; but it is hard to understand such doings amongst the Venetians of the fourteenth century, and that the poor sometimes even went so far as to expose their dead in the streets during several days, in order to excite the compassion and solicit the alms of those who passed by.

It is quite certain that slavery was not only common but almost universal in Venice until the fifteenth century at least. The custom of keeping household slaves was indeed general throughout Italy in the Middle Ages, but it was nowhere so deep-rooted as in Venice. Church and State laboured in vain to put

down the traffic and to discourage the purchase of slaves. In the year 960 the Doge Pier Candiano IV. threatened with very severe punishments all those who should either engage in or encourage the slave trade. And at the same time the Patriarch declared himself as follows: 'Moreover, we and our brother bishops will excommunicate all those who shall be proved guilty before the tribunals of the State; they shall be deprived of the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist; they shall not be allowed to enter any church: and if they do not repent, they shall burn everlastingly with Judas, who sold our Lord Jesus Christ.'

Schupper, Manuale della Storia del Diritto.

The civil and ecclesiastic authorities could not have expressed themselves in stronger language, but it is clear that their edicts could not be enforced, for slavery continued to flourish during four centuries after that time. We have not even the satisfaction of telling ourselves that it was at last put down by a noble impulse of humanity, since the most superficial examination proves to us that slavery did not begin to diminish in Venice until the general depravity of women had brought them down to the moral level of slaves. That very depravity was itself in great part produced by the presence of an immense number of Eastern female slaves, absolutely without any moral sense, and having no object whatever in life except to extract favours from their masters by making themselves the willing instruments of every passion and of every vice. They possessed many means of accomplishing this end, and in particular a great many of them claimed the secret knowledge of philtres, which would not only heal every malady, but which could instantly satisfy their masters' thirst for love or revenge. They pretended, by means of incantations, to destroy by degrees the life of an enemy who could

not be safely stabbed or otherwise violently put to death; and in a vast number of cases the victim actually died, if not by supernatural means, by subtle poisons administered to him by some slave of his own in collusion with the witch. Often, too, men and women went suddenly raving mad from poison thus secretly administered, and remained permanently insane. This crime was so common that it had a name of its own, and was called 'Erbaria.'

The whole of Venice was undermined by these slave intrigues. The Eastern woman possesses beyond all others the secret of secrecy. The thousands of them who lived in Venice were in communication with each other, helped each other, and could accomplish for their respective masters almost anything they desired. There was a certain number of male slaves also, who, though far less astute than the women, often rendered their owners great services, sometimes to their own destruction; for there are records of their having been imprisoned, tortured, and hanged instead of their masters, and sometimes with the latter, for having committed crimes of which their owners did not wish to take the responsibility.

Mutinelli, Costumi.

FONDAMENTA MARCOTTA

IX

THE FEAST OF THE MARIES

THE reader will not have forgotten how the Venetian brides were carried off by pirates of Narenta towards the middle of the tenth century, in the reign of Pier Candiano III. When, at a later date, the custom of celebrating all marriages on the same day of the year and in the same church was abandoned, the ceremony called 'the Maries' was continued each year in memory of the romantic event.

The brides were replaced by twelve young girls, who were chosen among the most well-behaved in the city, so that the choice became a sort of prize of virtue—

a 'Prix Montyon'—and the selection was made with the utmost care. At that time the city was divided into six wards, each of which contained thirty 'contrade,' or districts. Two of the latter were named each year to furnish the 'twelve Maries.' The headmen of the districts, who were like police magistrates, called together the people in the principal open place of the district, and the election began. The chroniclers do not agree upon the qualities which were required in candidates; some say that they were all to be noble, some that they were to be poor, another says that they were the most beautiful. There is only one point upon which all agree: their behaviour was required to be perfect.

The twelve Maries having been chosen, the meeting proceeded to elect the twelve nobles at whose houses the young girls were to be entertained. These personages were to be of the same district, or were at least to live in the immediate vicinity; and it was no sinecure to fulfil this office of hospitality. The district spent from eight hundred to a thousand ducats in decorating the streets and houses, and the boats that conveyed the Maries; and the patrician whose ill-luck had designated him as one of the patrons was obliged to make such a display and to furnish such a magnificent banquet in honour of the girl he was supposed to protect, and such a reception for the inhabitants of the whole district, that his pocket suffered severely, and he was obliged to economise for some time afterwards. It often happened that there were not so many as twelve rich nobles living in the district, and in that case matters were arranged by giving two Maries to one, who was thus condemned to a double expenditure, if not to actual ruin, for the greater glory of patriotic institutions. However, as time went on, the State was moved by such misfortunes, which were not really

justified by any serious necessity, and the Great Council voted that the Doge should exercise a certain control over the election of the Maries and their official protectors. By this means it became possible for a noble in poor circumstances to pass on the burden of the feast to some richer man. It was further decided that the procurators of Saint Mark should be authorised to lend on security, to the districts and to the patrons chosen, all the jewels from the treasure of the Basilica, with which to adorn the attire of the twelve young girls. These jewels consisted of numerous necklaces and diadems of immense value, and the fact that they were lent for such an occasion proves the great importance which the Venetians attached to the festivity. For the time being the Republic behaved as if it had fallen in love with the maidens whose part was to recall to memory the stolen brides of old. On one occasion it is recorded that no less than 72,000 d· :ts were expended on the feast.

By far the most interesting and charmingly simple account of the feast is that left by a certain Martin da Canal, written in a dialect half French and half Provençal. It describes the Feast of the Maries in the second half of the twelfth century, when Ranier Zeno was Doge ; and though a few modifications were afterwards introduced in the ceremonial, this account continues to be quite the most accurate that has come down to us. The only way of accounting for its having been written in the Provençal tongue is that the latter was the language of polished society in that age. Here is an attempt to translate it as simply and accurately as possible :—

Arch. Stor. Ital. Series I., vol. viii.

I shall now tell you about the festival which the Venetians hold on the last day of January, to wit, in remembrance of how our Lord St. Mark came to Venice ; and of the beautiful

festival which the Venetians hold in reverence of our Lady St. Mary. You must know that the Lord Doge has divided the districts of Venice into thirty parts, two districts to each part. Now on the eve of our Lord St. Mark a company of young gentles come by water, and when they have reached the palace they land and hand their banners to little boys, and go two by two before the church of our Lord St. Mark; and after them come trumpeters, and after them again young gentles who carry silver dishes loaded with confectionery, and with them are brought vessels of silver, full of wine, and cups of gold and silver carried by more young nobles, and last of all come clerks singing, dressed in their copes of velvet and gold, and they all together go as far as the church of St. Mary, which is called Formosa; and they find women and maidens in great numbers, and present them with the confectionery and with wine to drink. . . .

So far I have told you of the eve, and now I shall tell you of the day of our Lord St. Mark.

You must know, sirs, that on the last day of January is the feast and double procession, when come youths and men of age to the palace of our Lord the Doge by water; and they get out upon the dry land, and give more than one thousand banners to little children, and send them before them two and two to the church of our Lord St. Mark; and after them come the older children carrying in their hands more than a hundred crosses of silver; and afterwards come the clergy, all dressed in copes of velvet and gold; and trumpets and cymbals; and a clerk comes in the midst of the company, dressed in a cloth all of gold damask, after the manner of the Virgin, our Lady St. Mary; and that clerk is placed upon a very richly ornamented chair, which is carried by four men on their shoulders; and before him, and on each side, the standards of gold, and the clerks go singing in the procession. While they are thus going, three clerks come out of the procession, and where they see our Lord the Doge at the windows of his palace, in company with noble Venetians, they go up to a platform singing with a loud voice, and they all sing as follows:—'Christ is King. Christ reigns!' 'To our Lord Ranier Zeno, by the grace of God Doge of Venice, Dalmatia, and Croatia, and ruler of the fourth part and one-half a fourth part

of all the empire of the Romans, health, long life, and victory!' 'St. Mark, help thou him!' When the praises are finished they come down from the platform, and our Lord the Doge causes to be thrown down to them a quantity of his medals, and they return into the procession with the rest who have meanwhile been waiting for them; and then comes forward a clerk who wears a crown of gold, and is richly attired after the manner of the Holy Virgin, as I have told you; and when he is very near our Lord the Doge he greets him, who returns his greeting, and then those who carry him on their shoulders go forward, and the procession follows them, and they go their way into the church of our Lady St. Mary, and wait there until those of the other district have also entered. Now these others come in the manner which I have explained, with banners, crosses, and priests, and cause three clerks to sing the same praises of our Lord the Doge as did the others, and our Lord the Doge causes medals to be thrown down to them. You must know our Lord the Doge is dressed in cloth of gold, and has a crown of gold upon his head; and in order to see the procession, which is made in honour of our Lady, there are present the nobles of Venice, all the people, and a great number of ladies and maidens, and there are many of them both in the streets and at the windows of the palaces.

When the three clerks have sung the praises of the Lord Doge, in the same manner in which those who came first had done, they go on in procession again, and another clerk comes forward, who sits upon a seat most richly adorned, in the dress of an angel, and he is carried on the shoulders of four men. When he is near our Lord Doge he salutes him, and the Lord Doge returns his salute; and then they go on in the procession, and the clerks go on singing. [It is amusing to note that until 1328 the priests who figured as the Madonna and the angel rose in the presence of the Doge, but this was discontinued from that date as improper.] You must know that both clerks and laymen have good 'ramarri' (?) and they go until they enter the church of our Lady St. Mary. When the priest who is arrayed to resemble the angel has entered into the church and sees the other who is arrayed to resemble the Virgin Mary, he stands up and says as follows: 'Hail, Mary, full of grace! The Lord is with thee. Blessed art

thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. Thus saith the Lord.' And the priest who is arrayed to resemble our Lady answers and says, 'How can this be, oh thou angel of God, since I know not a man?' And the angel answers, 'The Holy Spirit descends in thee. Oh, Mary, fear nothing, thou shalt conceive the Son of God.' And she answers and says, 'Behold the handmaiden of the Lord. Let it be with me according to Thy word.'

What shall I tell you? After these words they leave the church and go to their own houses, and after they have eaten, the people, men and women, go into the districts that have made these processions, and they find in twelve houses the twelve Maries, so beautifully arrayed as is a wonder to see. Each one has a crown of gold with precious stones upon her head, and they are dressed in cloth of gold, and on their robes there are precious stones and pearls without number. The ladies and maidens sit around them, very richly dressed, and the men present their friends with confectionery to eat and with wine to drink. And on the following day they make other feasts in their twelve houses. And our Lord the Doge wears the crown of gold on the eve of our Lady, as he wears it at Pentecost, and after vespers he returns to the palace in the same manner in which he came. On our Lady's day, the second of February, each of the two districts which give the beautiful and rich festival, as I have narrated, prepare six great barges, and have them rowed to the head of the city, exactly where the Bishop of Venice lives; these six barges are very richly draped with cloth of gold and carpets. And then ladies and maidens are taken on board four of them, very richly habited, and they put the Maries in the midst, and in another barge go forty men well armed, with their drawn swords in their hands; and in another go the clerks arrayed with the richest treasures of the church. Then comes the Bishop, and gives his benediction, and when he has blessed them they all return into their barges, and the Bishop goes with them, with two abbots in their great barges, so richly dressed, and they are all arrayed in copes of cloth of gold. The Lord Bishop has his canons in his company, and the two abbots have their monks. Then the barges set forth from the palace of the Lord Bishop, adorned as I told you, and they meet upon their

way two magnificent barges, which are to be for the same festival next year. They all go thus before the church of our Lord St. Mark, and there they drop anchor, and lie to wait for the coming of our Lord the Doge. When the Bishop and the two abbots have come to the shore they go out upon dry land with all their company, and go together into the church of our Lord St. Mark, and find our Lord the Doge at mass; and after mass they come back to the barges. The Lord Doge comes under the umbrella, with the Bishop by him on one side and the senior canon on his other side, and both the abbots before them. The Doge is crowned with gold, and the Bishop wears his mitre, and the abbots, the chaplains, and the canons go singing in procession; the trumpets and the cymbals go before every one, and the crosses afterwards. In this manner the Lord Doge goes as far as his great barge, and enters it with the nobility of Venice, and his Judge is beside him, and behind him is placed in the ship he who carries the Doge's sword. When our Lord Doge has entered the great ship in company with the nobility of Venice, and of many honourable men, he sits down between the senior canon and his Judge, and they sit down upon the barge; and the Bishop and the two abbots enter their barges; then the men of the barges weigh anchor, and they go to the other end of the city, and you must know that the city is very long, a league and a half, or more. But if you were there, sirs, you might well see the water covered with boats, full of men and women who follow, of whom you must know that you could never tell the number. And in the windows of the palaces and on the banks there is a throng of ladies and maidens, as many as there are in all the city, and so richly dressed that you could see none finer. With such joy and festivity they go to the other end of the city, and then return to their own districts, and the Lord Doge with all his company returns to his palace, and finds the tables set, and he eats with all those who have been with him.

It is worth noting that in the fourteenth century the Doge's vessel was no longer called the principal barge, but the Bucentaur, the name being probably, as some say, derived from 'Buzeus aureus,' and so called in some documents. It was a rich vessel, adorned with

carvings, stuffs, carpets, and paintings. Up to 1311 it was not rowed, but was towed by another boat, which was draped and rowed by men of Murano; but after that year it had its own rowers.

It is easy to understand that such a festival as Martin da Canal describes might be the ruin of more than one great house, and it cost even the State enormous sums, which is one reason why it was not always celebrated with equal magnificence. In 1350, when the plague had greatly reduced the budget, it was decided to substitute painted wooden statues for the twelve young girls, but the public strongly opposed this innovation. The recollection of these wooden dolls has never been wholly effaced; it is still common in Venice to call a woman who is thin, cold, stupid, and pretentious, 'a wooden Mary.'

G. R. Michiel, Origini.

The feast was given up at the end of the fourteenth century, at the time of the final struggle with Genoa. The treasury was empty, and excessive anxiety kept the public spirits in a state of nervous tension; moreover, the age of the ideal Venetian woman was past, and she no longer inspired profound and chivalrous devotion as in the old days when she had been more modest, more retiring, and more gentle.

Of all that splendid show and pageant nothing remained but the Doge's visit to the church of Santa Maria Formosa, and his largess of small coins to the street boys at the moment of loosing the line with which the rector of the church pretended to bar the way to the bridge.

THE ABBAZZIA

X

THE DOGES IN THE EARLY PART OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

PIETRO GRADENIGO reigned twenty-two years, during a very eventful period. In 1298 he had placed the aristocratic supremacy on a permanent basis, and a few months later he crushed the sedition of Marin Bocconio; eight years afterwards he put down the much more dangerous insurrection of Tiepolo and the Quirini; but he was less fortunate abroad than at home, and his foreign policy resulted in the wholesale excommunication of the Venetian people and Government, as the direct consequence of the attempt to annex Ferrara, a step which had also led to the organisation of the Tiepolo

conspiracy. When Gradenigo died the papal interdict was still in full force.

The forty-one patricians who were to elect his successor were duly chosen and shut up in the ducal

CAMPO S. MARIA

palace, though not yet with any great precautions to prevent them from communicating with their friends. They understood well enough that the interests of the State required a Doge whose genuine piety should move the Pope to forgiveness ; such a man was found in the

senator Stefano Giustiniani, and in a short time the majority of votes was in his favour. He was not only a man of irreproachable life, but also a first-rate statesman, and he was personally well known and liked in Rome, where he had once resided as Venetian ambassador. The choice was a good one, but the patrician was too virtuous, or too wise, or both, to accept the supreme office at such a moment, foreseeing clearly that his conscience and reputation would be simultaneously at stake, and in such a way that to save the one would probably have been to imperil the other.

He had long nourished the hope of retiring from the world, and when he knew that he was elected he lost no time in carrying out his pious design. Instead of going from his house to the ducal palace, he disappeared within the doors of the monastery of Saint George, and on the same day put on the habit and took the obligations of a novice.

The stupefaction and embarrassment of the electors may be imagined ; it was perhaps within the powers of the all-powerful Government to drag Giustiniani from the refuge of his cell, and to place him by force upon the ducal throne, but such a course would certainly not have improved the relations of the Republic with the Pope, a result which had been the sole object of the election. On the other hand, it seemed impossible even to agree upon the names of candidates in order to proceed to an election. The electors fell into a state of apathy of which there is probably no example in history ; they moved about in an objectless way, talking listlessly of anything that occurred to them ; they even lingered at the open windows of the palace, to watch the people passing in the street.

As they looked down they saw an aged nobleman slowly walking toward the postern gate of the prisons,

followed by a servant who carried a big sack of bread, so full that the loaves protruded from the open mouth. It was Marin Zorzi, a charitable and devout person, on his way to distribute food to the poor prisoners. He was the very man. Before he had left the prisons he was elected Doge.

Rom. iii. 83.

Unhappily this hasty choice did not improve matters. An old chronicler sums up in a few words the short reign that followed: Zorzi lived ten months, during which he never saw the sea calm nor the sun without clouds. All that remained to mark his reign was an asylum for poor children, the earliest foundation of the kind in the world.

In less than a year, therefore, another election took place, and as the experiment of looking out of the palace windows in the hope of seeing the right man pass in the street had been a failure, the electors were shut up, windows and balcony doors were closely sealed, and the forty-one were driven to look at each other. In a short time they elected Giovanni Soranzo by a considerable majority.

So far as I can ascertain, he was born in 1240, and was therefore about seventy-one years old in 1311; but the longevity of the Venetian nobles was always remarkable, and he was destined to reign seventeen years. He had rendered the Republic very eminent service on more than one occasion, and was a man of astounding activity. To mention only a few incidents of his busy life, in its later years, he had commanded a fleet of twenty-five galleys against the Genoese when already fifty-six years old, had taken possession of the port of Caffa, and had defended it during a whole winter against the combined attacks of the Genoese and the Tartars, and had captured a goodly number of richly laden Genoese vessels. On his return

Rom. iii. 89, 103, and notes.

to Venice he had been received with honours resembling those of a triumph, and had soon found himself in arms again, but on land this time, against Padua first, and then against Ferrara, which he had already governed as Podestà. When at last recalled to Venice he had occupied the important position of a procurator of Saint Mark, from which post he was elected Doge to succeed Marin Zorzi.

Soranzo was undeniably one of the most illustrious men elected to the dogeship in the course of its existence of exactly eleven hundred years. It is enough to say that he reconciled the Republic with the Pope, and reconquered Dalmatia; and that, in spite of the vast sums of money which both these undertakings cost, he protected and developed Venetian manufacture and commerce so diligently as to increase the public wealth instead of diminishing it. It was during his reign that the weaving of silk stuffs in Venice reached a perfection hitherto undreamt of, surpassing, according to the taste of the day, the fabrics of the Levant and driving them out of the market. Under Soranzo the glass-works of Murano produced mirrors that outdid the very best that could be made in Germany for clearness and brilliancy. At the same time, the Arsenal of Venice was greatly extended by the addition of new basins, windmills were set up all over the islands, many like improvements, then modern, were introduced, a general condition of ease and well-being extended through all classes, and the population increased more quickly than ever before. The State could count forty thousand men between the ages of twenty and sixty years who were able to bear arms. For a silver ducat a man could buy enough meat and flour to support him for a week, with as much wine as he needed, and wood to cook with and to warm him.

So Giovanni Soranzo reigned in success and plenty

and honour to the very end of his long life. Yet in all those seventeen years he cannot have counted one day truly happy, and many must have been profoundly saddened by the knowledge of his own daughter's sufferings in her captivity at the convent of the Vergini. Time and again she poured out her heart to him, in letters which he was not even allowed to answer without permission of his counsellors, and probably of the recently elected Council of Ten; and the old captain, whose commanding voice had been heard above many storms at sea and many a fight on land, had to humble himself before the Power, and humbly beg a little sunshine, an hour's liberty, for the daughter he adored.

They saw each other rarely enough for a long time. It was not till the great old man's strength was breaking down beneath the weight of nearly ninety years that his daughter was allowed to leave her prison more frequently that she might tend him and cheer his declining days. He died in her arms in the end, on the last day of December in the year 1328, eighty-eight years old; and the unhappy woman must have found some small comfort in the universal grief that rose to meet her own. She went back to her cell; but the body of the great Doge was laid out in a hall of the palace, dressed in the mantle of state and the ducal cap. He was borne thence to Saint Mark's, whither the Dogess had gone before with her ladies, and when the last requiem had been sung Giovanni Soranzo was laid in the chapel of the baptistery. His simple tomb bears the arms of his family and little else that tells of his glory, as all may see to this day.

The great bell had scarcely ceased to toll for him when it rang out the summons to elect his successor, and the Council met to this end. But Soranzo's reign

had made changes, which, as they came gradually, were not noticed, but which were plain enough now that a new Doge was to be chosen. Prosperity had increased vastly, and with it luxury and the magnificence of all that represented the Republic's power. Soranzo had been very rich, but his successor might be poor. Soranzo had filled the ducal palace with his own plate, his own array of servants and footmen, and all his rich belongings. Ambassadors had come and gone, and had seen how the Doge lived ; it might not be that they should come again, and find a poor man living under the same roof, dining off earthenware dishes and served by a few threadbare retainers. Venice had many faults, and Venice, as a city, loved money, but Venice, the Republic, was never sordid, nor miserly, nor mean. Before the Council elected the next Doge a large provision was settled upon his office for ever ; his salary was increased from four thousand ducats to five thousand two hundred, which is far more, considering the value of money, than the President of the United States receives to-day ; the ducal palace was amply furnished with vessels of gold and silver ; it was made a rule that the Doge was henceforth to keep five-and-twenty servants, neither more nor less, and that each should have two new liveries every year. In case the new sovereign should not have ready means at hand to defray the expenses of his coronation and of his change of domicile, it was decreed that a loan (for business was business) of three thousand lire should be placed at his disposal out of State funds ; and, finally, a jeweller was ordered to make a very rich crown, which the Doge was to wear on great occasions, and which was to be in the keeping of the procurators of Saint Mark.

When Soranzo had been elected, an ancient custom still prevailed by which the population was allowed to

joyously plunder the house of the new Doge of all it contained that was movable, precisely as the populace of Rome plundered the house of the cardinal who was elected Pope, until a much later date. This half-civilised practice was now forbidden in Venice under heavy penalties.

All this was agreed upon, set down and made law, before beginning the process of balloting by which the forty-one electors of the Doge were chosen.

Their choice fell upon Francesco Dandolo, the skilful diplomatist by whose efforts Clement V. had been induced to remove the excommunication of Venice, and the enthusiasm of the people on learning the result was in proportion to what they had suffered during the period of the interdict, not yet forgotten. The multitude moved with one will towards his dwelling, and were for carrying him in triumph to the ducal palace; but he strongly protested against any such show, though the throng pressed upon him on his way to Saint Mark's. There he knelt before the high altar and received the investiture of his high dignity, and took the oath of fidelity before the headmen of the districts as representatives of the people of the city and of all the Venetian territory. Himself bearing the standard of Saint Mark in his right hand, he entered the ducal palace, ascended the great staircase—not yet the 'Giants' Staircase' of our time—and on the highest step took oath to observe all the obligations contained in the 'Ducal Promise.' The senior member of his own Council made a solemn acknowledgment of this oath, and the people listened in breathless silence to Dandolo's short but brilliant speech, breaking out in renewed and yet more enthusiastic applause when he had finished.

During the following days festivities were organised

for the coronation of the Dogess, much more various and of longer duration than those which greeted her husband's elevation to the throne. In older times, when the head of the Republic still possessed real power, his wife played no official part in State ceremonies. She lived as before, and the Doge could retire to her apartments and be in his home as if he were a private person, much as the modern Turk takes refuge in his harem. At most, the Dogess, as the first matron of the city, might outdo other patrician women in assisting public and private charities; but when the Doge's personal authority was almost gone, and he was required, in a degree, to compensate its loss by a certain amount of display and ceremony, intended to please the people and impose upon the representatives of foreign powers, the presence and influence of a woman became temporarily necessary. The Dogess then received a court of her own, and was required to wear a special dress, and for her a complete ceremonial was devised, from which she could not withdraw herself without incurring the displeasure of her husband and of the State itself.

Rom. iii. 109.

From the moment when the joyful multitude pressed to the doors of Dandolo's palace, his wife remained within, according to the new laws of conduct laid down for her. Then came the High Chancellor, as representative of the people, and the Doge's six counsellors, to present their congratulations and to 'request'—or require—her strict observance of such clauses in the Ducal Promise as directly concerned herself. When these personages withdrew she presented each with a magnificent gold-embroidered purse.

A few days later, when all was ready for the ceremony, they came to fetch her with the Bucentaur, and in her honour was renewed the spectacle which had been given half a century earlier

Molmenti, Dogaressa, 123.

for the wife of Lorenzo Tiepolo. The vast and splendid barge had but a few times its own length to move from Dandolo's palace to the landing of the Piazzetta. An immense crowd was gathered there, from the borders of the canal to the door of the Basilica, a sufficient space being kept open in its midst for the display of the Dogess's pageant.

Rom. iii. 109 sqq.

The guilds of the arts and trades had been privileged to escort the wife of Lorenzo Tiepolo to the church: first the blacksmiths with flying banner; then the merchants of fur, dressed in their richest garments and most priceless sables, and wearing ermines fit for an emperor; the weavers next, singing at the top of their voices to the music of trumpets and cymbals, and bearing both silver cups and flagons full of wine. After the weavers the tailors came in the dress of their trade guild, white robes embroidered with red stars; and the wool-merchants bore olive branches in their hands and had crowns of olive leaves on their heads; also the makers of quilts and coverlets were crowned with gold beads, and wore on their shoulders white cloaks embroidered with fleur-de-lis; and there were the sellers of cloth of gold, and the shoemakers, the mercers, the pork-butchers, the glass-blowers, the jewellers, and the barbers, all displaying the rich and fantastic costumes of their guilds in the great procession, a very splendid sight.

Thus escorted the Dogess entered Saint Mark's, and knelt at the high altar, and before she went away she deposited thereon an offering of ten ducats. Then she was led to the throne-room of the palace and took her seat beneath a canopy beside her husband the Doge. The ceremony ended with a huge and sumptuous banquet, to which were invited all the heads of the guilds who had appeared in the procession.

Francesco Dandolo was a man of wit and of many resources. It is related, though without serious proof, that he had moved Clement V. to pity by appearing, as ambassador, in a penitent's dress, and wearing an iron collar, weeping and moaning, and remaining prostrate at the pontiff's feet. It has even been said that one or more of the cardinals kicked him as he lay there, called him a dog, and otherwise insulted him, but that he bore all patiently for his country's sake. One authority explains, however, that the nickname of 'dog,' or 'watch-dog,' had been bestowed upon his family long before that time, as 'Cane,' dog, and 'Mastino,' mastiff, were actually used as baptismal names in the great family of Scala.

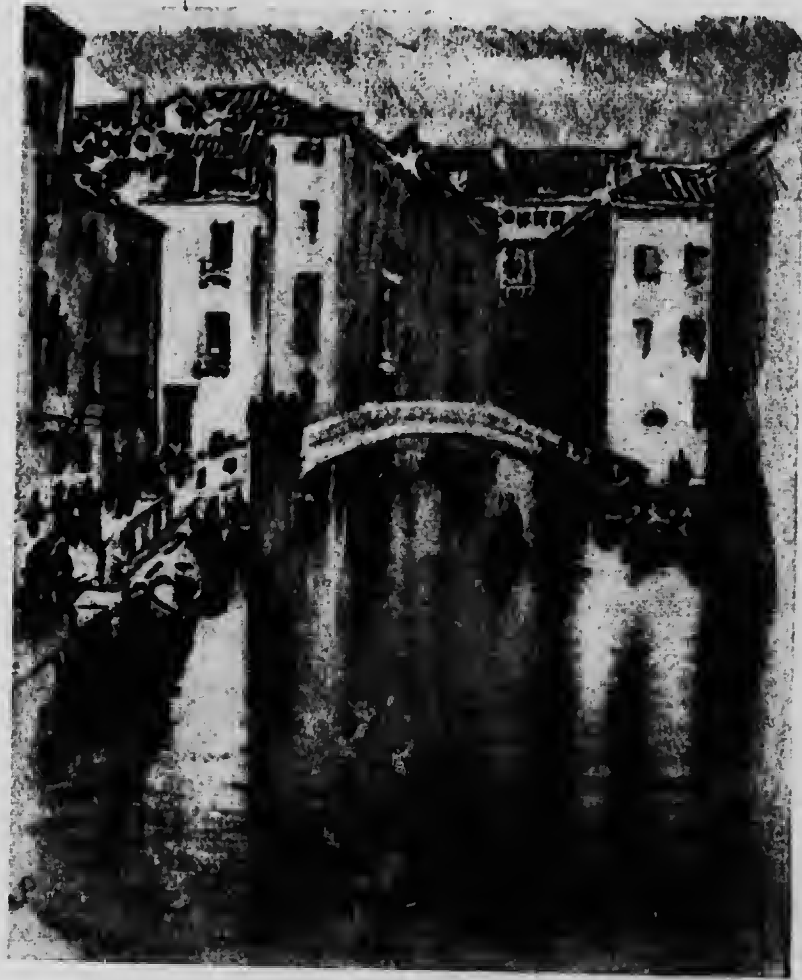
He reigned ten years, with fortune good and evil, but chiefly good. More than once, in his time, the safety of the State was gravely menaced, but all ended well, and the sum of his administration was a gain to Venice.

Since the beginning of the fourteenth century the city of Padua had been a prey to faction and internal strife. The aristocratic party fought for the family of the Scala, while the citizens and people were devoted to the house of Carrara. By turns the two families got the advantage and held the power, but the Carrara were really the stronger, for the Venetians helped them, on the ground that one of them, Jacopo, had married a daughter of the Doge Pietro Gradenigo.

Rom. iii. 115.

At last Cane della Scala made a sort of alliance with his rivals, and having got the mastery in several other cities, installed Marsilio Carrara in Padua as his lieutenant and representative. Had Cane della Scala lived this might have worked well enough; on his unexpected death his sons began to contrive how they

should get rid of Marsilio; but they lacked skill and decision, and could neither conceal their intentions nor agree upon definite action. To make matters worse,



S. LORENZO

one of them, Alberto della Scala, became madly enamoured of the wife of Albertino Carrara, and when every means failed to seduce her, took her to himself by brutal violence. After this outrage the thirst

for vengeance drove the Carrara farther than mere ambition could have done.

The crimes of the Scala, no less than their miserable weakness in all political matters, had excited the profound resentment of Venice, of Florence, of Lucca, and of the Gonzaga and Este families; war was declared, and it was not long before the lords of Padua were reduced to extremities. Though they had always maintained a haughty bearing towards Venice, they now attempted a reconciliation, and chose as their intermediary Marsilio di Carrara, whom they believed to be a traitor to his own family and devoted to their interests, and for whom the Republic had always shown a certain partiality, appreciating him, no doubt, at his true value, and anticipating the time when he might be useful.

But Marsilio, like every other Carrara, dreamt only of revenge upon the Scala. At a great public spectacle he was seated by the Doge. 'What will you give,' he asked in a quick whisper, 'to him who places Padua in your hands?' 'The city itself,' answered Francesco Dandolo without the slightest hesitation. The unsigned treaty of betrayal was agreed upon in those few whispered words, and was executed to the letter and at once. Padua was taken by the Venetians and handed over to the Carrara under a sort of agreement from which each of the allies derived some advantage, and there was an exchange of high-flown speeches, amongst which that of the Venetian Loredano recommended the most serene Republic's new favourites to behave with great goodness to her subjects, and to exhibit much gratitude towards her. On his side Marsilio begged that her 'kind offices' might be continued to him and his.

The consequences of this treaty were soon clear. Venice nominally gave Padua over to the Carrara in order to obtain the annexation of Treviso, which was

much more important to her, and Alberto della Scala was not set at liberty till he had ceded the latter city to the Republic.

At the death of Francesco Dandolo, one naval battle lost to the Genoese represented Venice's loss during the reign; her gain was an extension of territory of immense value; the whole result was to involve the Republic in intrigues which very nearly led to her destruction.

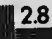
At the very end of Dandolo's reign, according to a strange story told by Gabaro, a half-comic, half-dramatic incident occurred which showed well enough that the 'kind offices' of the Republic and the 'goodness' of the Carrara were not destined to last for ever. Marsilio was dead and Ubertino Carrara held Padua as his successor. Before long he was denounced by certain Venetian senators as a traitor and a secret enemy to the Republic. The words were reported to him, and he resolved to make sure, at any hazard, that they should not be repeated. Incredible as it may seem, he caused the senators who had accused him to be seized by night in Venice itself, gagged and bound, and at once brought before him in Padua.

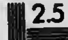
Muratori Scrip. xvii. 32.

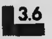
He threatened them at first with instant death, then allowed himself to be mollified by their entreaties, and finally dismissed them with a warning. If they ever raised their voices against him in the Senate again, or if they breathed one word of their nocturnal adventure, he would have them stabbed without mercy. They promised, and they kept their word; from that time forward no attack was made upon Ubertino Carrara in the Senate, the story of their forcible abduction remained a profound secret, which was not revealed until many years afterwards, when one of the Carrara's henchmen, who had helped to carry off the senators, lay dying and confessed his share in the bold deed.

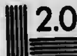
MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)









APPLIED IMAGE Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

Dandolo was succeeded by Bartolommeo Gradenigo, during whose reign there were constant relations between the Republic and England, the latter continually soliciting the aid of Venice against Philip VI. of France, who was helped by the Genoese. Gradenigo did not fail to express gratitude to King Edward III. for the thankful anticipation of an assistance which was never forthcoming, and took no steps to induce the Senate to listen to England's tempting proposals. The king hoped to obtain from Venice forty ships of war, fully manned and equipped; but Venice either doubted his ability to pay, or was scared by the triumphant progress of the Turks in the Levant, which required her to act sentinel to Europe against the Mohammedan advance, and therefore to keep all her naval resources well in hand and ready for war; and, moreover, she was engaged in continual fighting in Candia (Crete), which was an unceasing drain upon her resources.

Rom. iii. 142.

At this critical time, when the position of Venice was by slow and sure degrees becoming one of great danger, the Doge died, and the great Andrea Dandolo was elected in his stead. Under the leadership of a less gifted and brave man, the ship of the Republic might well have foundered in the storm that broke over her. The King of Hungary disputed with Venice for Zara and the territory that belonged to it; the Genoese were exasperated in the highest degree by the commercial success of the Venetians in the East; the Pope was angry with the Republic because its Government would not make obligatory the payment of tithes to the bishops. These were but a few of the half-grown troubles that were rapidly growing to maturity when the plague broke out in 1348 and devastated Italy

1346. Zara taken back from the Hungarians. Tintoretto; Sala dello Scrutinio.

from Genoa in the north, where forty thousand persons died, to Sicilian Trapani, where not one soul survived

RIO S. STIN

the universal death. In six months Venice lost more than half her population.

Boccaccio has left a description of the pest in Florence which is the greatest masterpiece of the kind ever pro-

duced by a great writer's pen; for his story fills us with horror, with pity, with sadness, but never arouses our disgust. The sufferings of Venice in those same six months have found neither poet nor novelist to describe them, but her careful chroniclers have left us the details of the defence she made against the ravages of the sickness, and of the medicines used in the attempt to save life.

As soon as the first cases of the plague had proved beyond doubt that it had crossed the lagoons and reached the city, the Council appointed three nobles, designated as 'Wise Men of the Plague,' with power to take all possible measures to stop the spreading of the contagion. Their first decree forbade the poor to expose the bodies of their dead in the street in order to obtain alms. A separate burial-place was marked out and consecrated for the free burial of the victims of the disease. The port was closed, and sentinels were placed all along the outer shore of the islands to hinder all outsiders from landing or from introducing suspicious merchandise.

Rom. iii. 156.

The physicians were at that time already organised in a guild of their own, and received from the State a modest yearly stipend of three hundred lire of 'piccoli,' about £50. They were now ordered to visit diligently both the hospitals and private houses, and a formal inquiry was made into the resources of the public apothecary, whose place was near the Rialto at the sign of the Golden Head. It was most important to ascertain whether there was a sufficient supply of 'Teriaca,' a medicine which, in the opinion of all Venetians, could not fail to cure the plague or any other sickness. The recipe for it, they believed, had come down from a Greek called Andro-

Cecchetti, Medicina.

A. Baschet, Souvenirs.

Mutinelli, Less.

machos, and required a mixture of aromatic herbs, amber, and other ingredients, which were imported at great expense from distant Eastern countries. The State itself superintended the concoction of this universal panacea, lest its quality should in the least deteriorate, and lest the great reputation acquired for it throughout Europe should suffer. No stranger who could afford to buy it left Venice without taking at least a small supply, and so great were, or are, its virtues that it is made to this day, and sold at the same sign.

But, to the stupefaction of the three 'Wise Men of the Plague,' Teriaca would not cure the malady, and even the sensible precautions of quarantine which they had taken came too late to be of any use. The malady was raging, and ran its fearful course to the terrible end. Fifty noble families were completely destroyed, not leaving one of the name. It was only with difficulty that a meeting of the Great Council could be got together, and the Council of Forty was reduced to twenty members. In a few weeks Venice presented the aspect of a pestilent desert; and when at last the pest wore itself out, it was necessary to bring in from neighbouring provinces a great number of families, upon whom all those privileges were bestowed at once which were generally accorded only in consideration of some service to the Republic, or after a prolonged residence in Venetian territory.

The selection of the immigrants was conducted with the greatest prudence, and it may easily be believed that the great influx of new and energetic blood, of the same descent, was of vast benefit to the city and the Republic. It may even be asked whether, without this wholesome sifting and renewing of her people, Venice could have performed the prodigies of courage and endurance which not long afterwards turned the tide of the Chioggia war.

Andrea Dandolo did not long survive these events. Worn out with facing the storm, with fighting enemies by land and sea abroad, and pestilence at home, he died when barely fifty years of age, leaving to posterity the precious manuscript of his history, which has even now not been entirely published. His Chronicle is one of the richest sources of information for the history of the fourteenth century.

Dandolo was succeeded by Marino Faliero.

ZATTERE, THE MORNING MIST

XI

CONSPIRACY OF MARINO FALIERO

THE conspiracy of Bocconio has no very distinct character; it was neither an attempt at popular revolution, nor an effort on the part of the burghers against the people on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other. The outbreak under the leadership of Tiepolo and the Quirini, although they succeeded in giving it the appearance of a democratic movement, was in reality an attempt on the part of an ambitious noble to seize the power wielded by the Doge Pietro Gradenigo, a man perhaps as ambitious as Tiepolo himself, but

who at all events had been regularly elected to be the head of the Republic. The third conspiracy of which we find an account during the fourteenth century was undoubtedly meant to overthrow the Government, and to gather into one hand the whole of that authority which belonged equally to all members of the same class. The conspiracy of the Doge Marino Faliero has been related in many ways—as a romance, as a poem, as an instance of political passion, but very generally without a careful consideration of the facts. Most writers represent the old Doge as driven to betray his country by outrageous calumnies against his wife, invented by some youths of the aristocracy. Others, like Byron, believe that he wished to free his country from the petty tyranny and real oppression it suffered under the complicated system of councils :—

> We will renew the times of truth and justice,
> Condensing in a fair, free commonwealth,
> Not rash equality, but equal rights.

In his dramatic upholding of what he believed the truth, Byron was so far carried away as to cause the Doge to be decapitated in 1355 on the steps of the 'Giants' Staircase,' which was not constructed until 1485, between the two colossal statues set up there by Jacopo Sansovino in 1554. A careful examination of historical documents would seem to destroy almost altogether the common version of the tragedy.

Marino Faliero was born between 1280 and 1285, the son of Marco Faliero and Beriola Loredan. He belonged to the Falieri of the Santi Apostoli, so called from the name of the district in which they lived, to distinguish them from the Falieri who lived in other parts of the city, some of whom did not belong to the same

Lazzarini, Marin Falier in Arch. Veneto.

family, and were not even nobles. He was called Marino Junior, in order not to confuse him with an uncle of the same name, who was known as Marino Senior.

Very little is recorded concerning his youth, but Lazzarini finds that his education was not very different from that of his peers, and was probably conducted by the sort of tutor then called a Master of Grammar; and that the young man must have become familiar from his earliest years with navigation, commerce, and the public affairs of the Republic.

At twenty years of age, by the privilege of the Barbarella, he was present at the assemblies of the Great Council; and when little more than thirty we find him one of the heads of the Ten, and he constantly appears in that capacity, and by alternation in the office of 'Inquisitor.' When exercising the functions of the latter, which may seem strange for one who in later time was to betray his country, he was charged, with another of the Ten, Andrea Michiel, to bring about, 'rapidly and diligently,' the ruin and death of Bajamonte Tiepolo and Pietro Quirini, who had already been in exile ten years; and he was [illegible]sed to spend ten thousand lire of the 'piccoli,' [illegible] about £1600 sterling, in order to kill the first, and two thousand for killing the second.

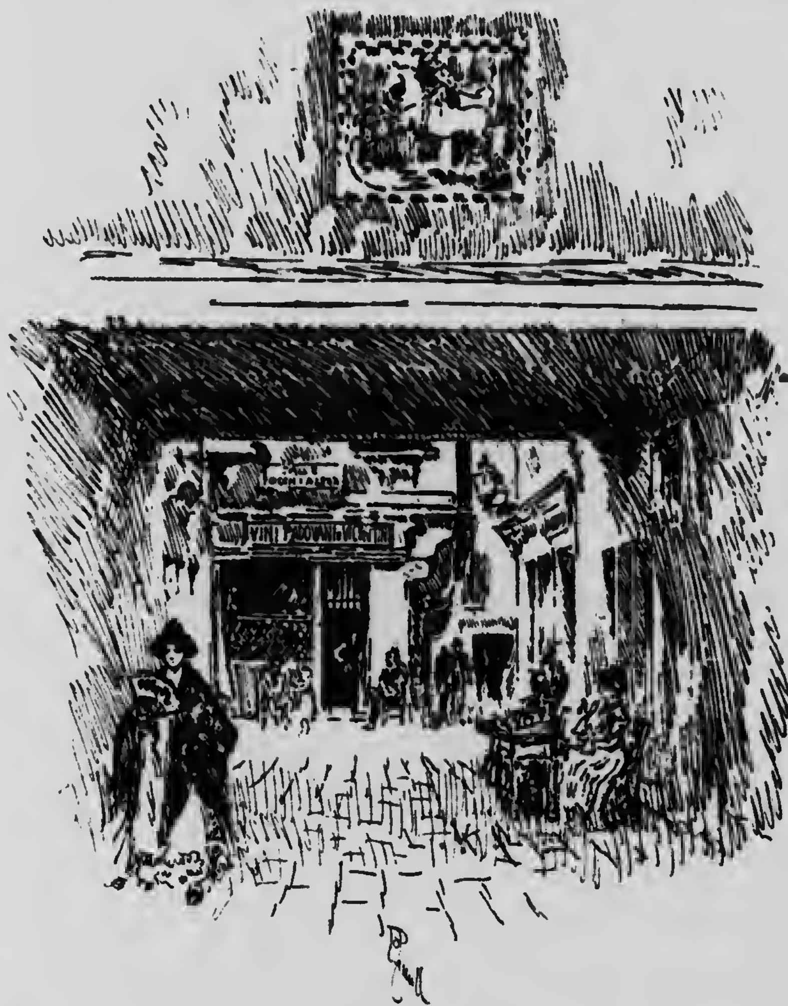
Marino Faliero was a man of uncommon intelligence and resistless energy, as may be seen from the fact that the Republic, which certainly had a considerable choice of such men, constantly made use of him, sometimes giving him important posts at home, and sometimes as ambassador to the Pope or to foreign sovereigns; sometimes, again, as military governor or podestà of cities under the Venetian dominion, once at least commissioning him as commander-in-chief of the fleet. He was

the first podestà of Treviso after that city became subject to Venice in 1339. A podestà was a sort of foreign governor, whom the independent commonwealths chose for themselves in order to assure the peaceable execution of their own laws without party prejudice; but conquered towns were required by their conquerors to submit to this officer. He was generally named for two years; he was not allowed to bring his wife or children with him; he could not absent himself for one day without special permission from the Senate; he was never to form any close friendship among the citizens, lest his impartial authority should be compromised by his surroundings. There was a podestà in almost every city of central and northern Italy, and Venice imposed one on each city she conquered. But he had no power to change the statutes of the city in his charge; his office was to see that those statutes were approved by the Most Serene Republic and were properly enforced.

When it seemed likely that an understanding might be brought about between the Venetians and the Genoese, the former sent Marino Faliero, being well aware that the result of the mission would depend largely upon the character and gifts of the ambassador; but, owing to quarrels which broke out in the East between merchants of the rival Republics, the embassy was abandoned in 1350, and Faliero turned back before reaching the end of his journey. At the siege of Zara he distinguished himself so much that a contemporary chronicler attached to his name the epithet Audax, the Brave; and when in 1352 the fleet commanded by Niccolò Pisani left Venice to sail against the Genoese, Marino Faliero was designated beforehand to succeed the admiral in case the latter should fall ill. He was in no less esteem abroad than in the Republic itself.

The Carrara, who were lords of Padua, chose him twice, in 1338 and 1350, as podestà of their city.

A chronicler of Treviso in the fifteenth century



CALLE OCCHIALERA

accuses Faliero of having been exceedingly overbearing and violent, and most historians have followed this writer. The latter narrates that when Faliero was

podestà of Treviso in 1346, it was his duty on one occasion to assist at a procession of the 'Corpus Domini.' The Bishop came to the ceremony, carrying the sacrament and accompanied by the clergy, but kept the procession waiting so long that Faliero, losing his temper, gave the astonished prelate a resounding box on the ear, which was heard to the end of the church. No contemporary documents can be found to prove or disprove this tale, which may be historical or legendary, yet the chroniclers of the fourteenth century constantly reported such anecdotes, although the Venetians were ardent in their faith and generous in the endowment of churches and convents. There is much evidence to prove that Faliero ruled his own family with despotic authority, as may be seen from many documents. He made marriages and distributed inheritances as he pleased, though it does not necessarily follow that he did so in an unlawful manner. On the contrary, in spite of his overbearing character, he seems to have enjoyed the esteem and affection of all the members of his house.

Petrarch, who, if not his friend, was at least an intimate acquaintance of his, wrote not long after his death that he had enjoyed during many years the reputation of a wise man, and Matteo Villani says that he was a man of high character, wise and magnanimous. The Giustiniani chronicle, which judged his conspiracy very harshly, admits that as a man he was generous, wise, and brave. The chronicler Caresini regrets that a man so virtuous by nature should have so far departed from virtue.

From evidence recently discovered, it appears that Marino Faliero had two wives, and some have even said that he had three. Of the two whose names we know, the first was Tommasina Contarini, and the other, who

was afterwards the Dogess, was Ludovica Gradenigo. He had a daughter, Lucia, by the first wife, and no children by the second. Some of the later chroniclers, who may be said to have constructed the fable of Marino Faliero, say that the Dogess belonged to the house of Contarini, and it is not hard to understand how a superficial examination of the papers of that time should either have confused the first wife with the second, or have confused the Doge Marino with Marino Ordelafo, who was his nephew, and dear to him as his own son. This confusion resulted in mistaking Cristina Contarini, who at the time of the conspiracy must have been young and beautiful, with the Dogess, who was then undoubtedly nearly forty-five years of age.

Andrea Dandolo died on the night of the seventh of September 1354; and on the day following steps were taken to begin the election of his successor, and to introduce as usual a number of corrections and improvements in the ducal oath of allegiance. The five correctors elected for the latter purpose, in a meeting of the Great Council from which all members under the age of thirty were excluded, presented on the next day the list of their proposed amendments. These were numerous, and were all intended to restrict the authority of the Doge, which was already sufficiently reduced. The yet unchosen successor of Dandolo was to be forbidden to receive an ambassador, or any foreign emissary, or to give any answer to such an one, except in the presence and with the approval of his counsellors and the heads of the Forty. On the same day, the ninth of September, at the ninth hour, the 'Arengo' was summoned, which was the General Assembly of the people, and which still gave the lower classes the illusion of participating in the affairs of state. This Assembly was now called upon

to ratify the proposed changes in the ducal oath of allegiance.

Even before the commencement of the election there was talk of Marino Faliero for the office; and he was at that time Venetian ambassador to Pope Innocent VI. in Avignon, being there to treat for peace with Genoa and the Visconti, lords of Milan. On the eleventh of September his name was pronounced before another assembly of the people, and contemporary historians say that his election was extremely well received by all classes of Venetians. Until the Doge-elect should reach the capital, it was decreed that the government should remain in the hands of the ducal counsellors and the heads of the Forty; two counsellors and one of the heads of the Forty remaining by turn constantly in the ducal palace. Faliero had left Avignon before he received notice of his election, so that he was in the neighbourhood sooner than was expected. On the twenty-eighth of September twelve ambassadors, chosen for each of the offices of the city, went out to meet him. Each one of these was accompanied by a noble and three young gentlemen, who altogether received daily a salary of forty ducats of gold. The actual value in gold of a Venetian ducat is now usually estimated at about fifteen shillings English money, rather less than the equivalent of the French twenty-franc piece. The purchasing power of the coin was, however, very much larger than at the present day.

The delegates met the Doge at Verona, and accompanied him thence to Padua, where the Carrara received them all with great honour. Taddeo Giustiniani, son of the podestà of Chioggia, met the whole company there with fifteen of the small barges called 'ganzaruoli,' splendidly decorated, in which the Doge embarked with all his company. On

Rom. iii. 181.

the fifth of October, at a small distance from Venice itself, he was met by the famous Bucentaur, which bore the ducal counsellors and a great number of nobles. A remarkable circumstance which accompanied this journey is narrated by Lorenzo dei Monaci, whom Lazzarini calls a grave and contemporary historian. The Doge, on reaching Venice, landed at the pier of Saint Mark's, instead of going to the other side, to the Riva della Paglia, according to former custom; and in order to reach the ducal palace he passed between the two columns where malefactors were often executed. At the time no one paid any attention to this, but after his tragic death the incident was reputed to have been a presage of the evil future; so that Petrarch, writing from Milan on the twenty-fourth of April 1355, a few days after the Doge had been decapitated, alludes to the fact in these words: 'Sinistro pede palatium ingressus,' *i.e.* 'Having entered the palace with ill-omened step.'

In the church of Saint Mark's he was presented to the people, and received the usual threefold laudation and salutation. It is worth noticing that Faliero was the last Doge who was saluted by the pompous title of 'Lord of a quarter and an eighth of the Roman Empire.' Then, according to the regular ceremonial, he was carried round the square amid the acclamations of the multitude, to whom he threw money, and at last he was crowned upon the landing of the staircase that descended into the courtyard of the palace. This staircase was of stone, and led down from the hall of the Great Council to the story where was the covered loggia, and thence continued downwards in the open air, entering the courtyard, and following the same direction as the modern 'Giants' Staircase,' but at the opposite extremity. It was demolished in the

fifteenth century. Upon the same landing of the staircase the Doge took the oath of allegiance, with the amendments of which we have already spoken, and we may well believe that the new restrictions contained in the 'Ducal Promise' were unwelcome to his despotic nature.

During the reign of Marino Faliero Venice continued the struggle with Genoa, and remained on the side of the Lombard League against the Visconti. The defeat of the Venetian fleet at Porto Longo, November 4, 1354, almost caused a panic in Venice, where it was expected that at any moment the Genoese would appear again before the Lido. The Doge and the Government, however, met the danger with energetic measures, obtained help from the neighbouring principalities, and vigilantly watched the more exposed outlying districts, such as Cape d'Istria and Zara; but the agitation in Venice was not wholly allayed, and the need of peace was felt more than ever. Charles IV., king of Bohemia and king of the Romans, who had recently descended into Italy in order to assume the imperial title, found it no easy matter to make terms between the parties. From Avignon also Pope Innocent VI. was using every means to pacify the divers Italian states; but neither the Emperor nor the Pope were wholly successful, and in the winter of 1355 the condition of affairs in Venice was such as to favour a conspiracy. It was not long, in fact, before the plot of Marino Faliero was discovered, and it turned out to be the most important of those which darken the history of the fourteenth century.

Almost every one is acquainted with the legend of this conspiracy, and may compare it with the truth so far as a recent examination of the facts has made it known.

A grudge of long standing existed at that time between the houses of Faliero and Steno. In the summer of 1343 a certain Paolo Steno approached the house of Piero Faliero at San Maurizio late in the

CAMPO S. MARIA NOVA

evening, and calling out a German serving-woman, called Elizabeth or Beta, with whom he seems to have been acquainted, he persuaded her with specious arguments, or with the promise of reward, to let him enter

the room of Saray, who some say was the beautiful daughter of the master of the house, but who, Romanin says, was a slave, as her name would seem to indicate. A recent authority, Lazzarini, says that Romanin was mistaken ; but however this may have been, Saray, who was taken by surprise, defended herself desperately, but could not escape the embraces of Paolo Steno. A regular action was brought against the latter, and a number of documents in the criminal archives of the Forty, dated in August and September 1343, prove that the culprit was condemned to be imprisoned a year in the lower dungeons called pozzi, and to pay a fine of three hundred lire. The German serving-woman, who had escaped beyond the frontier, was condemned in default to have her nose and her lips cut off, and was perpetually banished ; an accomplice, a servant in the house of Faliero, was imprisoned six months in the lower dungeons, and then banished. Three years later the mother of Saray, on her death, named 'Saray Steno' among her children in her will, and it would appear from this that Steno had satisfied justice and repaired his fault by marrying the girl ; but in this case it is certain that he did not long survive the date of the deed, for before the conditions of the will could be fulfilled we find that Saray was already the wife of a certain Niccoletto Callencerio of Oderzo. It is impossible to say how far this incident was the cause of the hatred between the families of Faliero and Steno, but we may be sure that when Michel Steno insulted the Doge eleven years later he was already influenced by the existence of the family grudge.

On the tenth of November 1354 a request came before the Council of Forty to proceed against the authors of certain words written in the Hall of the Hearth in the ducal palace against the Doge's nephew. There is

no mention of the Dogess. Amongst those cited to appear before the tribunal within eight days we find the name of a Steno called Micheletto, the diminutive of Michel, and son of the late Giovanni, coupled with that of Piero Bollani, as the principal authors of the insulting lines, and a certain Rizzardo Marioni is accused of having scrawled obscene symbols beside what his companions had written. Besides these, certain other noble youths were cited to appear, but were acquitted for lack of proof that they had taken part in the deed. It must be taken for granted that Romanin was not acquainted with the document cited by Lazzarini, since he says that no proofs exist that Steno was either accused or punished.

Micheletto Steno was condemned to be imprisoned during a few days in the lower dungeons; Piero Bollani and Rizzardo Marioni got off with less than a week's confinement.

Tradition, as corroborated by the Doge's own words afterwards, justifies us in believing that Faliero complained of the lenity shown to the culprits; but though he might have been displeased, it would have been impossible that he should be astonished. Since the insult was directed against the Doge or his nephew as private individuals, and not against the head of the Republic, a discriminating tribunal of Venice could only treat the affair as if it had happened between any other members of the nobility. Venice never incarnated any 'divine right' in the person of her Doge, and Faliero must have known that though a single word of slight against the honour of the 'Lord Duke' might cost him who uttered it both his eyes and his tongue, as happened in the same year to a certain Niccolò Cestello and to another Micheletto of Murano, even a grave insult against the person of the

Doge was never legally punished by more than two months' imprisonment, and generally by a shorter term and a small fine. The legend built up upon the later accounts says that Micheletto Steno was the head of the Forty, *i.e.* President of the Senate, when he wrote the insult of which he was convicted; but we have clear proof that at the time he was hardly more than twenty years of age, so that he had not even the right to vote at the meetings of the Great Council; and no one could belong to the Senate who was under thirty, much less be the head of that formidable body. So far as the Dogess is concerned, chroniclers and novelists have described her as taking part in a dance at the time, whereas she was a woman already of middle age, and her name is never mentioned in any of the numerous documents regarding the famous trial. There is one more argument against the fable that the insult was directed against her. The Venetian tribunals were extremely severe in all cases where the honour of a woman was touched. The mere fact of laying a hand on the shoulder of a woman not the man's own wife or relative might be punished with a very heavy fine and many months of imprisonment, and a libellous writing against a noble lady was punished with two months in the pozzi and a fine of one hundred ducats. It would seem to follow that if Steno's offence had been committed against the first matron in Venice, the tribunal would not have treated the matter with that indulgence of which the Doge complained on his own account. Moreover, it should be noted that Marino Faliero was elected on the eleventh of September 1354, and that the date of the trial was the tenth of November of the same year; but the legendary account says it was on the Thursday before Lent, which cannot come earlier than February and may be as late as March, that

the insulting words were written. The scandal must have taken place very early in November, and probably happened during the festival held in the ducal palace on the occasion of the marriage of Santino Faliero and Regina Dandolo, a nephew and niece of the Doge, a marriage, consequently, for which the papal dispensation would have been necessary. This hypothesis would in some measure explain the fact that the writing was directed against the Doge and one of his nephews.

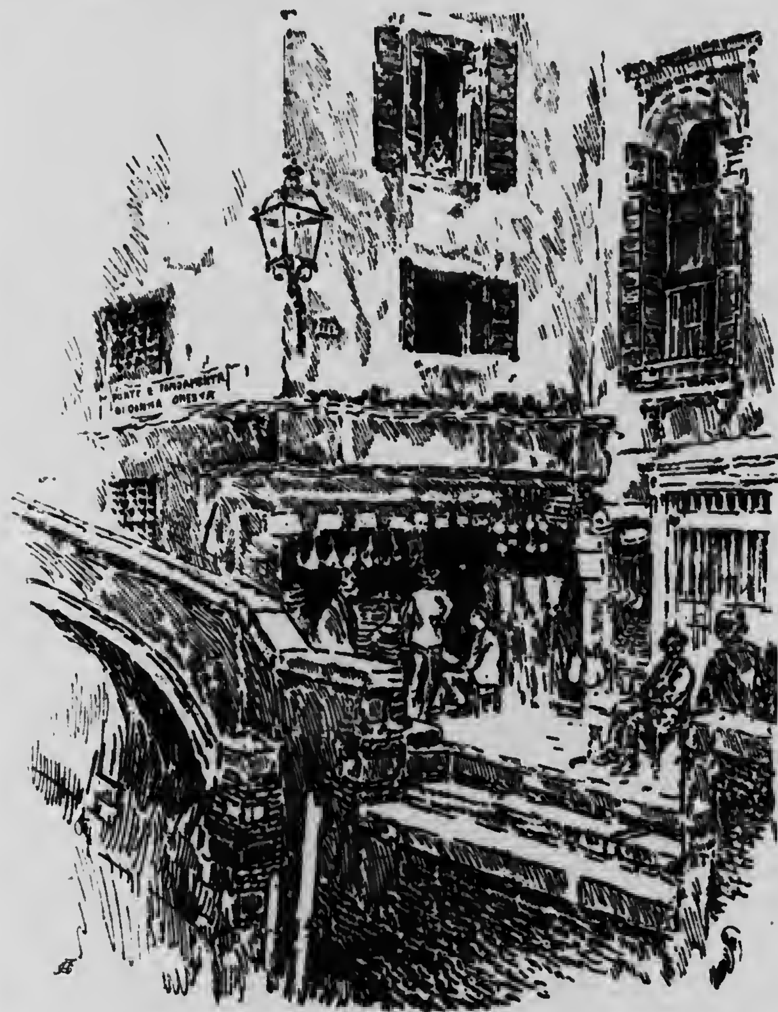
Whatever the true facts were in the Steno-Faliero trials, it is certain that the Doge entertained feelings of the strongest resentment against the aristocracy, against the judges, and, on the whole, against all the decrees of the Government. There is no doubt but that the young nobles of that day deserved the indignation they excited in the minds of sensible people, for during several years past their insolence had become boundless, and they went to all lengths of violence, and worse, sometimes even making use of false keys to get into houses that were closed against them, and sparing neither matron nor maid. The lower classes especially suffered by their outrageous conduct in word and deed, and when the Doge conceived the idea of breaking down the power of the aristocrats, he fully believed he might count upon the sympathy and help of the people.

Now when the war with the Genoese was still raging, a certain Bertuccio Isarello, a sea-captain, and Giovanni Dandolo, a patrician, who was one of the superintendents charged with getting war-vessels ready for sea, got into a violent discussion. To be a sea-captain in those days not only indicated great energy and personal courage, but also implied a certain amount of consideration. Isarello had reached his present

position after a life of many labours and adventures. He had been a merchant in the Rialto for a year; he had then been the navigating officer of a vessel trading to the East, belonging to a certain Jacopello Lombardo, and after that he had been promoted to be captain, or 'patrono,' of a galley, the property of Marin Michiel, with a salary of five lire of grossi monthly (about twenty-five shillings), and permission to take with him on his voyages three families as passengers. Like most other sea-captains of whom we have any account in the archives, Isarello owned several houses in Venice, and possessed considerable prestige among the seafaring class. The account of the incident here given is taken from the contemporary chronicle of de' Monaci. It happened that in the course of manning a number of ships of war Dandolo had business with this Captain Isarello, and, finding him unexpectedly obstinate upon some point of which we have no account, proceeded to enforce his arguments with a box on the ear. The offended captain left the office where this took place, and told his friends what had happened. They promised at once to support him if he wished to be avenged. Accompanied by them, Isarello thereupon went at once to the square before the ducal palace, and walked up and down nursing his wrath until Dandolo himself should pass. The Doge and his counsellors, being apprised of the matter, sent for the captain and had from his own lips an account of the injury he had suffered; but while they promised him every satisfaction which the law would allow, they severely reproved him for having dared to think of taking vengeance in person.

The Doge, however, on hearing Isarello's story, recognised in him an instrument that might be useful against the aristocracy; and sending for him privately

on the following night, received him in his own apartment, and laid before him the plan which he had been maturing for some time.



PONTE E FONDAMENTA DI DONNA ONESTA

The most reliable accounts say that within a few hours Isarello gathered twenty conspirators, each of whom promised to furnish forty armed men; but of

these twenty heads, only Isarello himself, Filippo Calendario, his father-in-law, erroneously stated to have been the architect who restored the ducal palace, but who was in reality only a master stone-cutter in the work, and two or three other trusty friends, were aware that the Doge himself was the prime mover in the conspiracy, the others supposing that the only object of the movement was to punish the nobles for their overbearing conduct, and to force the Government to the better administration of justice. During a few days the principal conspirators came by night to the ducal palace in order to prepare their plan of action. Meanwhile, in order to increase the unpopularity of the aristocracy, they practised a singular deceit. Two or three of them wandered about the city in the evening, apparently disguised as nobles, insulting the plebeians whom they met, and singing low songs under the windows of honest artisans' wives; then separating, they loudly bade each other good-night, calling each other by the names of the most illustrious Venetian houses, so that the offended persons supposed they had been annoyed by the fashionable young good-for-nothings of the highest nobility. Meanwhile the conspirators discussed various means for getting possession of the city, and it was finally agreed that they should all meet, fully armed, on the night of the fifteenth of April 1355, in the Square of Saint Mark, before the ducal palace, when the Doge would cause the great bell to ring the alarm, and news would be bruited abroad among the people that the Genoese were at the mouth of the harbour with fifty galleys. Thereupon it was expected that the nobles would flock to the palace, as they always did in cases of danger, to meet in council, and the conspirators would be able to kill them without difficulty as they arrived. After the massacre, they intended to proclaim

the absolute sovereignty of the Doge, who bound

RAMO DELLA SCUOLA

himself to confer all the important offices of the State

upon men belonging to the working-classes. The plan failed, apparently for two reasons.

In the first place, it appears that among those whom the Doge invited to take part in the conspiracy was a certain Niccolò Zucuol, a close friend of the house of Faliero, a rich citizen of burgher origin, who was allied by marriage with the most noble families in Venice. The Doge, knowing that he could trust this man, revealed to him the whole plan, but Zucuol was opposed to it, and by prayers and arguments caused Marino Faliero to waver in his intention. Some chroniclers say that this honest Niccolò Zucuol obtained authority from the Doge to dissolve the conspiracy, and to induce the conspirators, if he could, to give up all idea of vengeance; others say that his arguments only frightened the Doge for the time, without really shaking his resolution.

Secondly, we find that a certain Vendramin, who was in the fur trade, made revelations to a sponsor of his, Niccolò Lion, a noble, in order to save him from the general massacre of the nobles, which was a part of the conspiracy. The Lion, who was a senator, heard the story late at night in his own house, and lost no time in acting on the information. He dressed in haste, and with no companion save the fur-merchant, boldly entered the Doge's apartment, told him that he knew the truth, and threatened to bring him to account before his counsellors.

Marino Faliero did not lose his self-possession in this sudden turn of affairs, but coolly pretended to pity the credulity of the old senator. He even had the audacity to say that this was not the first he had heard of what he called an egregious calumny; that he himself had made most careful inquiry into the conspiracy, and had assured himself that there was not a word of truth

in the story. Lion, however, placed no faith in the Doge's statements, and insisted so forcibly that the ducal counsellors should be called in that the Doge was obliged to yield.

The chronicler Matteo Villani observes that it was here that the Doge lost his head, because he might easily have locked up Lion and Vendramin, or might even have murdered them, and thus gained the time necessary for putting his plans into execution. It soon became known that the Privy Council had been summoned at that unusual hour, and this alone spread alarm through Venice. A number of nobles accompanied the six counsellors to the palace, and groups of curious and inquisitive persons gathered in the neighbourhood of Saint Mark's. It was known that during the last few days, and under various pretexts, there had been frequent gatherings of seafaring men, and many of the nobles had noticed the threatening attitude of the working-men they passed in the street, and had even heard menacing speeches indistinctly spoken when they had gone by, though they had paid little attention to such matters at the time. But now, while the Privy Council was sitting within the palace, the whole population felt a sort of premonition of a terrible mystery, and of some great event that was not far off. Meanwhile two gentlemen of the house of Contarini requested to be immediately admitted to the presence of the Council. They said that a friend of theirs had been asked only a few hours previously by a friend of Filippo Calendario to take part in a conspiracy which was about to break out. The person they referred to was immediately called, and turned out to be a seafaring man named Marco Negro, who was able to give chapter and verse for all he stated. His story at once exhibited the conduct of the Doge in the strongest

light. Following the example of the two Contarini, many more persons presented to the ducal counsellors very grave accusations against the Doge. Without losing time, and before daybreak, officers were sent out to arrest all persons suspected of having joined in the conspiracy. Amongst the first that were brought to the palace was Calendario himself and one of his accomplices, named Zuan da Corso. The latter, having been put to the torture, confessed everything, and Calendario, without waiting until similar pressure had been brought upon him, disclosed everything he knew, without the least attempt to hide the responsibility of the Doge. As soon as the Doge's guilt was clear, the Council decided to proceed with its deliberations without regard to him, and immediately called in the Council of Ten in order to divide with the latter the responsibilities of government and justice. Niccolò Faliero, who was a near relative of the Doge's, was not allowed to take part in the deliberations, that being the rule in such cases.

Word was immediately sent to all the nobles then in Venice to arm themselves, and to bring their servants and retainers armed to the squares near their habitations. During the whole day and the following night these armed men remained constantly on the watch, ready to act under the orders of the Privy Council at a moment's notice. Eighty or ninety nobles and trusty citizens continually rode through the city from post to post to preserve order and unity.

After the first hours of agitation arrangements were made for a regular succession of watches at all the principal points. Meanwhile some of the conspirators sought safety in flight, while some were arrested in their houses. Isarello was taken in a garden immediately after the first revelations of the conspiracy. Some of

the other chiefs were chased as far as Chioggia and brought back. On the same day Filippo Calendario and Isarello were hanged between the red columns of the loggia of the old palace, from which the Doge usually assisted at the Carnival festivities. Others suffered the same sentence, and as their bodies were not taken down directly after they were dead, there was soon a row of eleven corpses hanging from the balcony, beginning with those of the chief conspirators, who had been hanged with gags in their mouths lest they should cry out to the people. The minor conspirators were spared this indignity.

The Doge during this time was under guard in his own apartments, until at last one counsellor, Giovanni Mocenigo, one inquisitor, Luca da Lezze, and one avogador, Orio Pasqualigo, entered together to examine him. As the Council was not willing to accept the sole responsibility of the trial, a committee was chosen, consisting of twenty nobles of the most ancient and illustrious families of Venice; these, however, were only to have a vote in consultation, but not upon the final sentence. It was in this way that the 'Zonta,' or supplementary committee of the Council of Ten, was constituted, and its usefulness was so readily recognised that from that time on it was always called to assist in cases of unusual importance. It followed that the court, before which the Doge was to be tried, consisted of thirty-seven persons, *i.e.* nine of the Council of Ten, since Niccolò Faliero could not sit, six ducal counsellors, twenty of the committee of nobles, and two avogadori of the Commonwealth. The High Chancellor, I presume, however, must also have been present; in which case the court consisted of thirty-eight. Contemporary documents give us the names of all these judges except the last.

On the seventeenth the three individuals who had been with Marino Faliero by night opened the case. The accusations having been heard, examined, and discussed by the court, the following proposal was made:—'Does it seem to you that from what has been said and read, proceedings should be taken against Marino Faliero, the Doge, for attempting to betray the State and Commonwealth of Venice?' Following the so-called Rite of the Council of Ten, the heads and the avogadori of the Commune proposed the sentence, and this was discussed until evening. It was finally decided that Marino Faliero should be beheaded on the landing of the stone staircase, where he had sworn the ducal oath of allegiance. It was further decreed by the sentence that all his goods should be confiscated, with the exception of two thousand lire of grossi, equal to five hundred pounds, which he was to be allowed to leave as he would by will. All that now remained was to announce to the Doge the sentence of death, and to strip him of the ducal insignia. Giovanni Gradenigo was charged with this duty, the same man who was presently to take his place upon the ducal throne. He was of the family of the Dogess; and it is possible, though I think extremely improbable, that the Council intended to send to the condemned man a person who might in some measure show him sympathy in his last moments. If the tribunal really had any such intention, it must be admitted that the manner in which it was carried out left much to be desired. A chronicler of a later time says that he heard the story told as follows:—'Messer Zuan Gradenigo was the person who received the orders of the chiefs of the Ten to go to the Doge; and he found him walking up and down in the hall of his house (the palace). At once he said to him, "Give me that cap." And he, the Doge, with his hands, gave

it up, not suspecting a sentence of death. And he (Gradenigo) said to him, "You are condemned to have your head cut off within the hour." Having heard which he (the Doge) was in great anguish, and could not answer anything.'

It is certain that Marino Faliero immediately made his will by the hand of a notary. This document is still wholly preserved, and is the best argument that could be produced of the honour of the Dogess. By it the Doge, who was about to die, leaves his wife sole executrix of his last will; leaving it also to her to do for his soul what she could with what he left her, in the way of pious services and charities.

About sunset the condemned man, deprived of all his ducal insignia, came down from his apartment to the landing of the staircase, and on the same spot where he had sworn, *bona fide*, *sine fraude*, to uphold the constitution of the State, his head was cut off.

The bloody sword with which the execution was performed was shown to the people from the loggia of the palace.

The following quotation is taken from an anonymous chronicler of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, quoted by Lazzarini, and gives some further details of the end of Marino Faliero, though it is impossible to guarantee them as wholly trustworthy:—

'You must know that when this Marino Faliero was condemned to death, the tocsin was sounded; and that bell which rang for him was never rung again. It was put away by the Council of Ten, who ordained that if any one should propose that it should ever be rung again hereafter, his head should be cut off. And wit ye that the said bell was not at that time in the bell-tower of Saint Mark, but was in the palace; and its

use was to give a signal to the "pregadi"; and afterwards it was put out of use, and taken away and hidden. However, not very long after that, it was hung in the bell-tower of Saint Mark's, and it is the bell which has no tongue, no rope, and no lever; and the said bell is in the shape of a hat, as may be seen to the present day; and is reserved for some like princely occasion.'

The body of the unfortunate man was laid upon a matting, with the head at the feet, in one of the halls of the ducal palace, and remained there during twenty-four hours, during which time the people were freely admitted to gaze on the mournful spectacle. On the evening of the eighteenth, without honours and without any procession, it was laid in a coffin, and taken by boat as far as San Giovanni e Paolo, to be laid in the tomb of the Faliero family. This was an enormous sarcophagus of Istria stone, of truly huge dimensions, upon which were carved the arms of the Falieri.

In 1812 Giovanni Casoni, a student who was collecting all possible information regarding the Arsenal and other principal points in Venice, was in the church of San Giovanni e Paolo when this sarcophagus was opened. It was quite full of human skeletons, placed in layers, which were very carefully taken out and laid upon the pavement of the court, in order to be transported elsewhere. When almost at the end of the operation, a decapitated skeleton was found, with the skull between the legs. Casoni says that he felt instantly, with intimate certainty, that the remains were those of the Doge, Marino Faliero. 'At that moment,' he says, 'I was far from recalling memories of the Doge, and did not in the least suspect that I should ever have found his ashes, or held his skull in my hands.' With admirable simplicity the writer remarks that it was only his regard

for the regulations of the Health Office, and his reluctance to get into trouble with the representatives of the city government, which prevented him from immediately taking possession of the skull and carrying it off.

Lord Byron, in 1819, knew nothing of this discovery, and making inquiries about the tomb of the beheaded Doge in San Giovanni e Paolo, a priest showed him a small tomb built into the wall, and tried to persuade him that this was Marino Faliero's last resting-place—a matter concerning which the poet expressed considerable doubt.

The great stone sarcophagus spoken of by Giovanni Casoni was used afterwards during many years as a reservoir by the apothecary of the Civil Hospital, and is to-day in the outer loggia of the Correr Museum, bearing no trace of inscription or arms. The latter were probably chipped off.

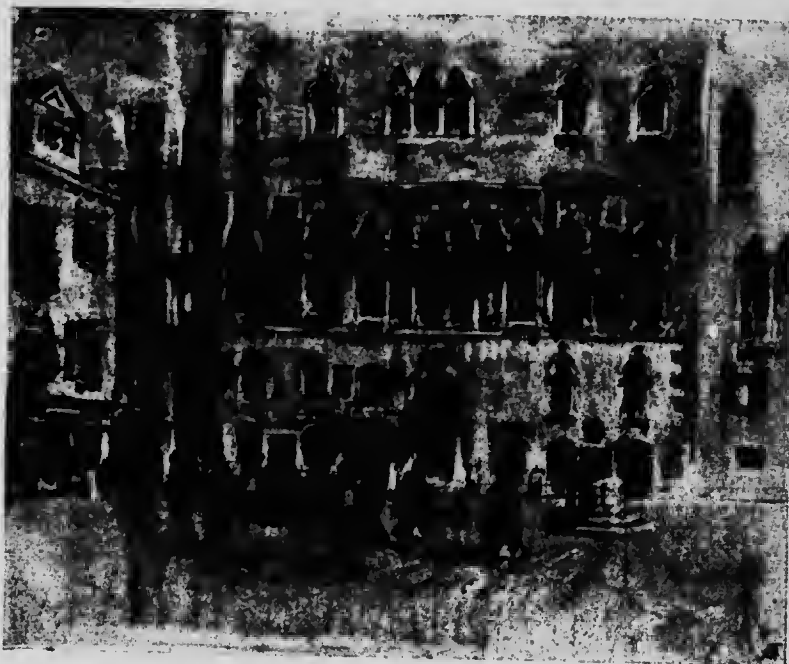
With regard to the absence from the archives of the Council of Ten of all documents relating to the trial of Marino Faliero, many historians, among whom are Romanin and Rawdon Brown, are inclined to suppose that it was not entered in the acts of the Council, owing to what they call a certain praiseworthy shame on the part of the judges, which hindered them from inserting the name of the head of the Republic among those of other condemned persons. There are sufficient reasons and sufficient proofs, however, for supposing that the whole account of the trial was set down in a special book, which had no place in the regular series of the archives of the Council; and that this volume was either lost, or was burned in one of the fires which have at different times done damage in the ducal palace. The official report was evidently known to the old chroniclers, who translated long passages from it, from the original Latin into the vulgar tongue. This volume

is referred to in a marginal note found in a document of 1355, referring to the conspiracy—'Ponatur in libro processum.'

The Council of Ten was never subject to such praiseworthy crises of shame; and the secretary of the Council, as Lazzarini observes, would have been very much astonished if he could have had cognisance of the conjectures which our modern sentimentalism would form regarding the facts. A number of other documents are missing from the archives of the Council of Ten, of which the absence does not suggest either a poetical interpretation, or any explanation of a political character; the papers were simply lost.

The unfortunate Dogess, who perhaps quitted the ducal palace with the body of her beheaded husband, was obliged soon afterwards to leave his own house, where she had taken refuge to hide her grief. The municipality took possession of all property which had belonged to Marino Faliero, but restored to his widow the whole amount of her dowry, and two thousand lire left her by the will of the deceased. The wretched widow was obliged to swear that she did not keep any object of value that had belonged to her husband; but the Council restored to her a little brooch of gold, with a silver pendant, which had been improperly confiscated, since it had come to her from her own family. Furthermore, certain objects were returned to her which she and her sister Engoldisia had inherited from Fiordalise Gradenigo, their mother. The poor woman at first retired to the convent of Saint Lawrence, in the district of San Severo; soon afterwards she went to Verona, where she had some lands, but at last she established herself in a house of her own in Venice. During many years she occupied herself altogether in charities. Little by little her intelligence began to give

way, as is amply proved by the great number of wills she made, which are still extant. These all prove that she was not only deeply attached to the relatives of her husband, but that it was her intention to be more generous to them than to her own, especially to Federigo Giustiniani, son of Marino Faliero's daughter by his first wife. In one of her wills, probably executed at the instigation of some nephew, she says that she may change her mind, and says that the only will of hers which is to be considered valid is the one which begins 'Libera animam meam, Domine'; which, as Lazzarini says, sounds like a cry from the heart of the unhappy woman, tormented throughout her long and sad old age by relations who gave her no peace, and expected to profit largely by her wealth.



CAMPO S. AGNELLO

XII

THE SUCCESSORS OF MARINO FALIERO

GIOVANNI GRADENIGO, who succeeded Marino Faliero, was fortunate enough to conclude a treaty of peace with the Genoese; and Giovanni Dolfin, the next Doge after him, showed some skill in obtaining from the Emperor the recognition of Venice's suzerainty over the territory of Treviso. It was on this occasion that the lord of Sench arbitrarily threw into prison two Venetian ambassadors, as I have told in speaking of the treatment of strangers. The immediate effect of the outrage

1355. Rom. iii. 194.

Rom. iii. 209.

was to rouse in the highest degree the resentment of Venice against the Duke of Austria and his vassal, and matters were at a critical pitch when the Doge died.

The electors quickly agreed upon a Gradenigo, a Dandolo, a Cornaro, and a Contarini as candidates for the ducal dignity; but before they had come to a choice between these news was brought that Lorenzo Celsi, the 'Captain of the Gulf,' had taken a number of Genoese vessels with contraband cargoes. By one of those sudden caprices which have always affected the minds of electors, the hero of the hour at once became the only candidate on whom every one could agree. Celsi was not of the highest nobility and was barely fifty years of age, but these objections were insignificant compared with the prestige he now enjoyed. The choice fell upon him by unanimous consent, and his election was announced to the people almost at the moment [illegible]en the report of his victories was discovered to be [illegible]rication. Yet, almost incredible as it must seem, his election to the throne caused no discontent in spite of this chilling disillusionment.

Rom. iii. 211.

At that time he was cruising in the waters of Candia, and a deputation of twelve nobles departed to inform him of his election, while a special council assumed the management of affairs until his coming.

An incident marked his arrival which, if not important, is memorable as having caused a modification in the adornment of the ducal bonnet. Lorenzo Celsi landed at the Ponte della Paglia on the twenty-first of August 1361, and proceeded to the palace through the midst of a dense crowd, in which every man uncovered his head as the Doge passed, except one. Celsi's aged father could not admit that an old man should take off his hat to his own son, and entirely refused to do so. But

the Doge, who was a diplomatist, found means to reconcile his father's prejudice with the rules of Venetian ceremonial. He fastened a small golden cross upon the front of his cap, and explained to his stiff-necked parent that it was no derogation of dignity for an old man to salute the sacred symbol.

Celsi also introduced the custom by which the Doge wore a dress of pure white when he appeared in public at any of the festivals kept by the Church in honour of the Virgin Mary, and this innovation found favour with most of his successors.

His reign, though short, was brilliant. He received the friendly visit of the Duke of Austria, of which mention has been made, and which brought about excellent results. The King of Cyprus also spent a short time in Venice during the reign, when he made his journey through Europe to preach a crusade against the Turks. The most important event which occurred under Lorenzo Celsi, however, was the Cretan war.

Rom. iii. 217.

The turbulent spirit of the natives of the island, and the excessive love of independence exhibited by the Venetian nobles, to whom the Republic had granted fiefs in Candia, had brought matters to the verge of a revolution. The people flatly declined to pay tribute to the mother city, and strongly resented the remonstrances made by the Venetian Government through Donato Dandolo, the governor of Crete.

At last, when he demanded the payment of a tax which had been voted in order to strengthen the fortifications of the harbour, the Cretans replied that they would not pay a farthing until they had sent a deputation of twenty intelligent men to Venice, who should lay before the Senate a statement of the so-called rights of the colony. With more readiness

than prudence, one of the governor's Council answered that there were not twenty intelligent men in the island.

The observation may not have been altogether unjust, judging from the total lack of sense afterwards shown by the Cretans, but it had the immediate and not surprising effect of irritating them, and the standard of revolt was raised within the hour. The flag of Saint Mark was torn down and replaced by one bearing the image of Saint Titus, the protector of the island, and before long the two parties were fighting under the war-cries of 'Saint Titus!' and 'Saint Mark!' the noble colonists and the natives on the one side, and the governor and his soldiers on the other.

Venice at first attempted to recall the island to its allegiance by pacific embassies, but these were repulsed with indignity and insult, and a fleet of thirty-three galleys, carrying six thousand men, was despatched under Luchino dal Verme, a noble of Verona. The Candiotes had appealed in vain to the Genoese for help, the arch-enemies of their mother-country, and being left to their own resources they exhibited neither courage nor skill. In three days six thousand men reduced the hundred cities of the island to submission, and, after executing the ringleaders and taking due precautions against a fresh revolt, the victor set sail for Venice.

Petrarch was in the city at the time, and in one of his letters he has left a brilliant and poetic account of the triumph that followed.

It chanced that I was leaning at my window towards the hour of sixte, and mine eyes were turned toward the open sea; and I talked with the Archbishop of Patras, whom I did once love as a brother, and whom now I venerate as it were a well-beloved father. Then I saw entering the harbour a great ship, a galley, all decked with green branches, and it came rowed

Lettere senili di Petrarca (Basle) i. 782, quoted by G. R. Michiel.

by many rowers. Now when we saw this, we ceased from talking; for the crew of the ship were of joyous mien, and they swung the oars with such right goodwill that we guessed them to be bearers of glad tidings. The sailors all wore crowns of leaves on their heads, and in their hands they waved banners, and they that stood in the bows shouted joyfully. Then the sentinel who watched on the top of the first tower forthwith made signal to give warning that a ship from abroad was in sight, and all the people together, full of curiosity, went over to Lido. As the ship came nearer we saw also trophies of war set up on her forward part; for surely this was the news of a victory which they were bringing in, but in what war it had been won, or in what battle, or at what stormed city, we knew not.

When the messengers had landed they went before the Great Council, and there we learned that which we had not dared to believe nor even to hope; for our enemies were all dead or taken prisoners or put to flight, and the honest citizens were freed out of slavery, the cities also were won back, and all the island of Candia had submitted to the Republic. So the war was over without striking a blow, and peace had been got with glory.

Petrarch's logic here evidently went to pieces in the storm of his satisfaction, for he speaks of a bloodless victory immediately after telling his correspondent that all the enemies of the Republic were slain or prisoners.

The Doge Lorenzo Celsi [here the poet indulges in a pun connecting 'Celsi' with 'excelsus'], unless my love for him has deceived me altogether, is a man of most noble heart, of purest life, one who follows all the virtues, most wonderfully pious and devoted to his country; and when he learned the good news he openly gave thanks to God, thereby showing the people that in every happy event man must acknowledge the divine hand, and dispose his own happiness under the protecting shield of faith. And prayers were offered throughout the city, but were especially in the basilica dedicated to the Evangelist Saint Mark. . . .

Now the whole feast ended with two pageants; but I

confess that I know not by what name to call them, and so I shall describe them in such manner that thou mayest easily understand them. The one was, as it were, a race and the other a combat; and both were on horseback, the first without reins, and only with staves and banners, that it seemed to be some military exercise; but in the second game arms were needed, and it was like unto a real battle. Both in the one and in the other we marvelled at the gifts of the Venetians, who are not only wonderful sailers of ships, but are also very skilled in all those exercises which belong to the art of war.

For they showed such experience of riding and such deep knowledge of the handling of arms, and such endurance of fatigue, that one might set them up for examples to other warlike nations. The two games were held in that square of which I deem there is not the like in the world, that is over against the marble and gold front of the temple of Saint Mark.

No stranger had a share in the first of the games, but four-and-twenty nobles, the goodliest and most richly clad, kept for themselves this part of the pageants. . . .

It was a good sight to see so many young men, in clothes of purple and gold, curbing and spurring their well-shod steeds, all shiningly caparisoned, that seemed hardly to touch earth in their swift course. These young men obeyed the gesture of their chief with such precision that as the first reached the goal and left the field, a second took his place on the track, and then a third, and so on till the first began again, so well that they kept up the racing all day long, and that at evening one might have believed that there had been but one cavalier who rode; and while they ran thou wouldest have seen now the gilded tips of their staves flying through the air, and now thou couldest have heard their red flags stiffening in the breeze with a sound as of wings.

One might scarce believe what multitudes thronged in the square of Saint Mark's on that day. There were both sexes and all ages and every class. The Doge himself was on the terrace which is built on the front of the church, with many nobles; from its height he saw almost at his feet all that moved in the square below. Thus he was in the midst of those four gilt horses, the work of an ancient and unknown craftsman, that look ready to measure themselves against living coursers, and seem to paw the air. Lest the summer sun should dazzle

the eyes, curtains of many colours had been hung here and there. I myself was bidden, as often the Doge deigns that I should be, and he made me sit at his right. . . . The great square, the church, the towers, the roofs, the porticoes, the windows, were all crowded with lookers-on. At the right a high platform had been raised whereon sat four hundred matrons, of the noblest, and fairest, and most richly-dressed in the city; and they continually ate the sweetmeats which were offered to them; and in the morning, and at noon, and at evening, it was as if they were a company come down from heaven. There were also bidden to the pageant several English noblemen, kinsmen to the king, who had come to Venice by sea, to exercise themselves in the art of navigation; and these gentles very freely shared our joy over the victory.

This racing lasted several days, and there was no prize but the honour, for in this first game there were no victors and no vanquished.

But for the second game prizes were made ready, for there were dangers to be faced, and the result could not be alike for all. There was a crown of gold adorned with precious stones for the first winner, and a richly-chiselled silver belt for the second. An edict had been sent forth, written in the military and vulgar tongue, under the Doge's seal, to invite the people of the neighbouring provinces to take part in this contest on horseback; and indeed there came a good number of contestants, not Italians only, but also strangers who spoke other languages, hoping to win the prize and to cover themselves with glory.

The jousting lasted four days, and since Venice was, there never was seen a fairer sight. On the last day the Doge, the nobles, and the strangers who had been present, and also he who ordered the combat, to whom, after God, was due all the joy of the tournament, gave the first prize to a gentleman of Venice, and the second to a stranger from Ferrara.

Here ends the feast, but not the rejoicing. Here ends also this letter, by which I have endeavoured to show unto thine eyes and to make heard in thine ears that of which sickness has deprived them, that thou mayest know what is doing amongst us, and understand that even among navigators there are found excellent warriors, and souls of choice, and contempt of gold and thirst for honour.

Unhappily the triumph so vividly described by Petrarch was not final, and two years later, before Lorenzo Celsi had closed his eyes for ever, another revolt broke out in Candia. This time Venice took such radical measures that, in the words of one of the 'provveditori,' 'another rebellion was impossible, terrible examples had swept away the ringleaders, the fortresses which gave them asylums, the cities of Lasitha and Anapolis, every building which might afford a stronghold, were razed to the ground; those of the inhabitants who were not put to the sword were transported to other districts, the surrounding neighbourhood was converted into a desert, and thenceforward no one, on pain of death, was permitted to cultivate, or even to approach it.'

Smedley. Sketches of Ven. History, I. chap. vii.

This was in 1366, but Celsi had died at the fresh outbreak of the revolution, most opportunely, some historians say, for his reputation and honour. It was even thought that if he had lived a few years longer he would have ended like Marino Faliero. Grave accusations were made against him during the last months of his life, but the Council of Ten declared them to be false, and his successor was instructed to declare, when presiding the first time at the meeting of the Grand Council, that the memory of the deceased Doge was untarnished.

Rom. iii. 202.

This successor was the aged Marco Corner, whose election was warmly contested. The accounts left us of what happened in the ducal palace during the interregnum which followed the death of Lorenzo Celsi enlighten us as to the objections which might be raised by the electors against a candidate to the throne. Marco Corner was too old; he was too poor; he was on good terms with several foreign princes, whom he

had known when he had been abroad as ambassador; but the gravest charge, or objection, was that he had married a burgher's daughter, whose family would not know how to behave towards the head of the Republic.

Rom. iii. 229.

Marco Corner, who was present amongst the electors, at first said nothing to the other objections; but when slighting mention was made of his wife, the thin old man with snow-white hair stood up in his place suddenly, and cried out that he honoured and esteemed his aged wife, who was 'so good and virtuous that she had always been respected by all the women of the Venetian State as much as if she came of one of the greatest families.'

He added bluntly that as for his acquaintance with foreign princes, his friendships had profited the Republic more than himself; since, if he had sought his own advantage, he would not have deserved to be reproached with his poverty, nor would his wife be obliged 'to turn her dresses again and again, lest they should be seen to be worn out.'

Molmenti, Dogaressa, 151.

The brave old patrician's heartfelt words made a deep impression on his hearers; the objections that had been raised fell away in an instant, and he was elected, I believe, unanimously. He took his place on the ducal throne, and his wife Caterina, the companion of his life-long poverty, left their poor little house for the splendours of the palace. The chronicles speak no more of her; we do not even know whether she died during her husband's three years' reign, or survived that quiet interval of tranquillity for the Republic.

Marco Corner died in the belief, no doubt, that his country would long enjoy the peace which his prudence and skill had brought about. Yet a day was at hand which came near to being fatal to the Republic. One

might almost conclude that when Andrea Contarini had buried himself in the country on the mainland after having twice refused the ducal honours, and very shortly before Corner's death, he had prescience of the storm that was brewing.

The time had come when he could refuse no longer; for modest though he was, he knew his own strength, and knew also, as men of genius sometimes do, that he alone could save his country from destruction in the greatest crisis of her existence. The memorable war of Chioggia was at hand.

THE THREE BRIDGES

XIII

CARLO ZENO

At this period a man appears upon the scene who deserves to be taken as the highest type of a Venetian noble and of a dauntless soldier, in that remarkable age. He played such a part throughout his own time, the effect of his sudden appearance at the most critical moment in all Venetian history was so incalculably great, and the generalship he exhibited was of such a superior order, that it is worth while to give him a place apart in this work. I shall condense the account of his earlier years as far as possible.

His history, written with great detail by his grandson Jacopo Zeno, Bishop of Feltre and Belluna, has been preserved by Muratori in the nineteenth volume of the *Scriptores*. Other histories confirm most of the facts therein related, and there is no reason to doubt the rest; yet taken altogether, as the life of a possible human being, the story must appear to most readers less probable than the wildest fictions of the elder Dumas or Victor Hugo, and there is certainly no tale in the English language, short of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, at once so fascinating and so incredible. Fortunately it is supported by the evidence of contemporaries, by the acts of the Venetian Government, and, lastly, as to the dangers he survived, by the testimony of those who prepared his body for burial when he died of extreme old age, and who found upon him the scars of five-and-thirty wounds, a great number of which would have been fatal to an ordinary man.

Muratori, Script. xix. 295.

Carlo Zeno was the son of Pietro Zeno and of Agnese Dandolo, and therefore came of the best blood in Venice. Pietro had been for some time governor of Padua under the Carrara, and had subsequently won the favour of Pope Clement VI. by his zeal against the Turks when in command of a Venetian squadron in the East. The Emperor Charles IV. was also well disposed towards him, and Carlo was named after that sovereign, who sent a representative to appear for him at the child's baptism.

Pietro died seven years later, leaving ten other children and a very exiguous fortune, for he had always sought glory rather than wealth, and his search had been rewarded.

It was decided to make a clerk of Carlo, and to

send him at once to the court of the Pope at Avignon. His Venetian schoolmaster wrote out for him a Latin eulogium of his father and taught it to him, and when the small boy was brought before the pontiff and the cardinals he knelt down and recited this production without a fault. His august hearers were moved by his beauty, his spirit, his memory, and his bodily grace, and the performance seemed to them little short of miraculous for a child of seven years. The Pope received him into his household, the future man of war was dressed like a little priest, and before his education was half finished he was designated to be a canon of the cathedral of Patras with a rich benefice. After a time he was sent back to his uncle in Venice, and his relations decided that he should be sent to the University of Padua to make his studies.

Before he was thirteen he had his first taste of wounds and his first narrow escape. When returning to Venice from the country he was robbed by a shabbily dressed individual who imposed on him in order to be allowed to make the trip in his boat. The robber left him for dead, but he revived, and reached Mestre, where his hurts were dressed; and it was characteristic of the future man that although a mere boy he succeeded in tracking his aggressor with blood-hounds and handed him over to the justice of Padua, where the man was executed.

After a considerable time he regained his strength, and returned to his studies at the University, but his taste for excitement and adventure led him into bad company; he gambled away his ready money, and even sold his books in order to play, until at last, being quite penniless and ashamed to go home, he disappeared from Padua, not yet a grown man, and joined one of those many fighting bands of mercenaries which were employed by the Italian princes of the time. During

the following five years he was not heard of in Venice, his relatives gave him up for dead, and when he suddenly appeared at last he was greeted with no small delight by his brothers and sisters.

He stayed awhile with his family and then went to Greece, thinking that it was high time to take possession of his canonry of Patras. The governor received him with open arms, having no doubt heard that Zeno was fond of fighting, for the Turks were just then very troublesome; and the young man at once rendered good service, and would no doubt have done much more had he not been severely wounded—'mortally,' says the good bishop of Feltre. During the night he fell into a syncope which those who attended him took for death; they accordingly proceeded to prepare him for interment, and only waited for the morning in order to bury him; but he revived a little before daybreak, and escaped being buried alive. He was in such a condition of weakness that he had to be taken to Venice to recover.

While he was there, Peter, King of Cyprus, came to the city, and soon took a strong fancy to Zeno, who seems to have made himself useful to this new patron in various ways; but soon the Emperor Charles IV., who was Carlo's godfather, appeared in Italy, and finding his godson to his liking carried him off and kept him with him for some time, employed him on business which gave him a chance of seeing France, Germany, and England, and at last allowed him to return to Patras and to his somewhat neglected ecclesiastical career.

But he was destined to be a soldier. Scarcely had he reached his destination when Patras was threatened by an army of ten or twelve thousand Cypriotes and Frenchmen, horse and foot; so, at least, says Carlo's

grandson the bishop, in not very good Latin. The Bishop of Patras turned at once to Zeno, and placed under his command the small force of which he could dispose, being about seven hundred riders. With this handful of men, against odds of fifteen to one, Carlo kept the enemy at bay during no less than six months, without losing one man, and so harassed his adversaries that they abandoned the enterprise, made peace, and retired. Yet, as if whatever he did must lead always to more fighting, his success made him an object of envy to many, and especially to a certain Greek knight, named Simon, who had the audacity to accuse him of treachery. Thereupon Zeno challenged his calumniator to single combat, and the day and place of meeting were named. The duel was to be fought in Naples, under the auspices of Queen Johanna, of evil fame. It was in vain that Carlo's friends besought him to forgive Simon, and his friend the bishop exhausted his eloquence in trying to reconcile the two. The hot-blooded young Venetian preferred to throw up his ecclesiastical benefice; and seeing himself thus free to marry, since he had not yet actually taken orders, he forthwith espoused a noble and rich lady of Clarentia, who was very much in love with him, and whose fortune at once supplied the place of the large income he had forfeited.

He was obliged to leave his bride almost immediately in order to meet his antagonist in Naples, and as the Neapolitan kingdom was distracted by wars he had some difficulty in reaching the city. To his surprise, and probably not much to his satisfaction, the Queen chose to treat the quarrel as something more like a question of law than a point of honour; a regular inquiry took place, Simon was declared to have been wholly in the wrong, and was ordered to pay all the

expenses to which Zeno had been put on his account, and Queen Johanna forbade the duel.

His honour being now cleared beyond all possible

RIO DELLA GUERRA

calumny, he returned to Greece and was at once named governor of a province, though he was not yet twenty-three years of age, and his subsequent career might

have been more peaceful than it turned out but for the sudden death of his wife. Her relations, or the Duke of Achaia, promptly cheated him of her dowry, and he once more turned his face towards Venice, a good deal saddened and nearly penniless.

And now, during the term of his mourning, he seriously thought of bettering his fortunes in some permanent way, by following the example of so many of his countrymen and engaging in trade. As a first step, he made a good marriage with a daughter of the Giustiniani family; soon afterwards he left his native city to establish himself in the East as a merchant, and he spent seven years away from home, partly in the 'city' of Tanais, which I take to be the modern Rostov, at the mouth of the Don, and partly in Constantinople.

Now at that time the rightful Emperor Calojohannes, who had been friendly to the Venetians, was kept a close prisoner by his son Andronicus, who had dethroned him, and favoured the Genoese. Calojohannes was shut up in a certain fortress which overhung the sea, and was guarded by a captain who was responsible for him. Andronicus probably did not know, however, that this captain's wife had in former times yielded to the seductions of Calojohannes, and was still devoted to him. It now occurred to the captive Emperor that she could safely convey letters between him and Zeno, whose father had received many favours at his hands in former years, and who would certainly be willing to help him now.

The 'little woman,' as the bishop calls her, succeeded in her dangerous errand, and it is needless to say that the mere suggestion of a perilous enterprise instantly fired Zeno's imagination. With incredible speed and with absolutely marvellous skill, he won over no less than eight hundred Greek soldiers who promised to

obey him implicitly when called upon, and to be secret. The latter obligation was not hard to perform, as they would certainly have lost their heads if they had not observed it.

All being ready for the bold stroke, it only remained to bring the Emperor safely out of prison before attempting a revolution, of the success of which the sanguine Zeno had not the slightest doubt. This was not exactly an easy matter, and Carlo undertook it himself. The Emperor's bedroom had one window high above the water, from which escape must have been considered impossible since it was not protected by any grating. Beneath this window Zeno came on a dark night by agreement with the captain's wife, and a rope was let down from the Emperor's chamber. The rest was child's play to the athletic young Venetian, and in a few moments he was in the presence of Calojohannes. But he had not counted upon the hesitating character and the soft heart of the man he wished to set free. With many tears the unhappy captive expressed his gratitude to Zeno for risking his life in such an adventure; but two of his sons were in the power of his third son, Andronicus, who would not hesitate to murder them on learning that the Emperor had escaped, and Calojohannes was not willing to sacrifice the children he loved for the sake of a few short years of life on the throne.

Carlo answered that there was no time for weeping and hesitating, and that Calojohannes should have considered these matters sooner; that if he would climb down the rope at once Zeno was ready to do all he had promised, and more also, but if not, Zeno would refuse to have anything to do with the matter again. The Emperor continued to hesitate and to shed tears, and Zeno left him at once.

Nevertheless, no long time passed before the captain's wife was again the bearer of an entreating letter from the captive, who once more implored his friend's assistance; and by way of an inducement he added that he had made a will leaving the island of Tenedos to the Venetian Republic. The will itself accompanied the letter, to prove the writer's good faith. Zeno answered, accepting the proposal on behalf of his country, and the little woman hid the letter in her shoe. Unhappily for her and for the prisoner it dropped out just before she entered the Emperor's room, and was instantly picked up by a sentinel and sent to Andronicus. The poor messenger was seized, tortured, and made to confess the whole plot, including of course the part played by Zeno.

His life was now in imminent danger; he could neither remain in Constantinople nor leave without great risk of being taken and executed for high treason. Venice at that time sent a Bailo, or military ambassador to the capital of the East, who had jurisdiction over all Venetians residing there; in due course, and with the proper formalities, Andronicus applied to this high official to have Zeno arrested as having conspired against the throne, and the ambassador's position would manifestly have been extremely delicate if Zeno had not opportunely made his escape by the aid of a soldier who was grateful to him, and who helped him to get on board one of the Venetian men-of-war which periodically visited the city in order to protect the interests of the Republic.

Zeno now showed the Emperor's will to the officer in command, and the latter considered that, in view of a possible attempt on the part of the Genoese, it would be justifiable to try to seize Tenedos. On reaching the island it was found to be in the keeping of a Greek officer, who still held it in the name of the dethroned

Emperor. The fortress was ascertained to be fully provisioned and provided with an abundance of arms, and by no means to be taken by assault. But Carlo

RIO [illegible] TRIN

obtained an interview with the governor, and soon persuaded him that his best course, in the interests of Calojohannes, would be to place the island under the protection of Venice. Thereupon the squadron left a

strong garrison in the town and returned to Venice with Zeno.

The Senate did not altogether approve the high-handed annexation; nevertheless, fearing lest the Genoese should help Andronicus to recover the island, they determined to send a fleet of fifteen ships to guard it, under Pietro Mocenigo, and not long afterwards two more vessels were sent to join the squadron, the one commanded by Zeno himself and the other by Michel Steno, who was afterwards Doge. Thereupon the Genoese immediately sent a large fleet to the East, Venice sent more reinforcements, and a conflict became imminent. Vittor Pisani now took charge of the whole Venetian force, with orders to make a naval demonstration before Constantinople; but though Zeno actually landed with some of his men by means of ladders, nothing worth mentioning was accomplished beyond the recovery of a Venetian man-of-war which the Greeks had seized on hearing of the occupation of Tenedos. Thither the fleet now returned, and three galleys were left under Zeno to protect the island.

Before long the Genoese, having heard of the departure of the main body of the Venetian fleet, sent twenty-two galleys to capture the object of contention. Zeno had only three hundred regular soldiers and a fair body of archers, and the Genoese proceeded to land their troops in great numbers, which was an easy matter, as the sea was absolutely calm and motionless although the month was November. Zeno occupied the suburbs of the town, and the castle was in charge of Antonio Venier.

The fight that followed was perhaps the first of those heroic deeds of arms which shed undying lustre on Carlo Zeno's name. The enemy had scarcely expected that the little force he had would oppose them; but

instead, they encountered the most determined resistance as soon as they approached the outlying buildings of the town; they fought some time, were repulsed, and retired to their ships at dusk.

On the following morning they proceeded to land engines of war with the evident intention of laying regular siege to the town, and their movements soon showed that they meant to attack it on the side farthest from the castle. Zeno hastened to dispose a detachment of his men in ambush in a number of half-ruined and empty houses that stood in that quarter. With his remaining force he retired farther in, waited until the enemy were close to him, and then charged them furiously. They were but half prepared, and at the same instant the soldiers he had placed in hiding attacked them suddenly in the rear, and a large force found itself completely surrounded by a small one of which it naturally exaggerated the numbers.

The Genoese were at first slaughtered like sheep, for while the Venetian regular soldiers hewed down the outer ranks, the bowmen shot their arrows into the central press with deadly effect; but rallying, I suppose, they broke through the thin line of their assailants, and again retired to their ships.

Zeno was badly wounded in the calf of the leg by an infected arrow, no uncommon thing in those days, when arrows were drawn from the bodies of the dead after battle and were used again and again. A 'poisoned arrow' in the warfare of the Middle Ages by no means implied that the enemy had dipped the barb in venom. As usual, Zeno paid no attention to such a trifle as a wound, and when the enemy returned on the morrow they were greeted by terrific discharges of artillery from the cannon which he had moved into place during their absence, and they were driven off with such

slaughter that they gave up the enterprise, and sailed away on the next day. But in this last affair Zeno had been twice wounded again, in the hand and knee, and was so exhausted that he fell into spasms followed by syncope, like a man dying. His grandson tells us, obscurely enough, that he must have died indeed but for the assistance of a Gallo-Greek surgeon, whose novel mode of treatment consisted in burning the sound knee in order to draw health into the injured one. It is slightly more probable that Zeno's iron constitution had something to do with the cure. The weather became cold, and winter set in soon afterwards, and he returned to Venice covered with glory.

He deserved the praise that was freely given to him, for he had beaten a fleet and an army by sheer genius and courage with a handful of men and three ships, and had preserved to Venice the valuable island which guards the entrance to the Dardanelles. The hatred and rivalry between the two republics were of too long standing to be much embittered by his victory; but his success certainly helped in some degree to precipitate the final struggle.

I have sometimes thought that the behaviour of Venice to her most distinguished generals and statesmen may be compared with that of sea-captains who have a brave but unruly crew to deal with, and who alternately 'keep the men busy,' and clap the roughest hands in irons in order to impose respect upon the rest; and at times, it may be said without levity, that the conduct of the Government was like that of an unpopular and cowardly schoolmaster, who is a little nervous about his personal safety, and loses his nerve in matters of reward and punishment.

On the whole, Venice would have preferred that her battles should be won for her by paid condottieri; but

when one of her own sons insisted on being a hero, something had to be done at once lest he should get into mischief. If there was no reasonable ground for imprisoning him, as Vittor Pisani was imprisoned, and as Carlo Zeno was himself imprisoned at a later date, he must be 'kept busy.' On this occasion Carlo had hardly reached Venice when he was appointed to the important post of military governor in Negroponte, being at that time little more than thirty years of age.

The time which intervened between the date of this appointment and the siege of Chioggia was spent by him chiefly in fighting the Genoese at sea, with almost unvarying success, and some of his exploits will be referred to hereafter in their proper places. It would be impossible to narrate them all in any space less than a volume, and I have here told enough, it is to be hoped, to give the reader an idea of what his youth had been before the fortunes of war offered larger opportunities to his genius and patriotism.

BRIDGE AT CHIOGGIA

XIV

THE WAR OF CHIOGGIA

THE long rivalry of Venice and Genoa has been sufficiently explained and frequently alluded to in the previous pages. To give a connected account of the almost constant warfare waged between the two republics in Eastern and Mediterranean waters, from the Sea of Azov to Cape Corso, is beyond the scope and limits of the present work; for in order to understand the nature of the last tremendous struggle that took place at Chioggia, almost within sight of Venice, it is only necessary to recapitulate briefly those events which, during the latter half of the fourteenth century, led directly to the crisis—a crisis after which the

vanquished aggressor retreated, definitely beaten and for ever humiliated.

At the outset I shall inform my readers that I have preferred the account given by Romanin to that of the more romantic Daru; for the latter evidently followed the older historian Sabellico, even into the regions of the fabulous, whereas Romanin writes largely upon the

STREET IN CHIOGGIA

authority of Caroldo and of Stella, the latter a Genoese whose account of his countrymen's disaster is above suspicion.

In the year 1345, a powerful Tartar chief named Zani Beg barbarously murdered certain Venetian and Genoese merchants established in the Crimea. For a short time this outrage united the two republics in a common desire for

1345.
Rom. iii. 152.

revenge, and they signed a treaty by which they mutually agreed to suspend all commercial relations with the Crimea—to 'boycott' the peninsula, as we should say. This was perhaps their only possible means of punishing Zani Beg for his wanton cruelty, since it is idle to suppose that two maritime nations could or would have carried war against a barbarian horde into the interior of such a country as the Crimea.

But the agreement had not been made with any sincere purpose, and before long the merchants of the two countries secretly resumed the trade, each trying to outwit the other. The result could not be doubtful; in 1350 the Genoese seized several Venetian ships with rich cargoes on the coast of Syria, and war broke out between the republics.

The first two engagements, off Negroponte and on the Bosphorus, were disastrous to the Venetians, but the third, which took place off Lojera on the coast of Sardinia, resulted in an important victory for them; and the honour of the standard of Saint Mark would have been redeemed if Niccolò Pisani, the Venetian admiral, had not caused nearly five thousand prisoners of war to be drowned, a barbarity which accords ill with the man's real courage, and would be incredible if it were not proved beyond the possibility of contradiction.

Rom. iii. 169.

It was after this defeat that the Genoese Republic placed itself in the hands of Giovanni Visconti, Archbishop of Milan, the strongest of the Lombard princes. This extraordinary act was prompted solely by the desire of immediate revenge upon the Venetians, and Visconti was not slow to lend the required means for continuing the war, though he was cautious with regard to actual hostilities, and attempted a reconciliation by sending Petrarch as ambassador to Venice. The

negotiations failed, however, and each republic sent out a new fleet; with extraordinary daring, Doria, the Genoese admiral, sailed up the Adriatic and ravaged Istria and Parenzo, threatening Venice itself, but retiring after inspiring something very like a panic. It was at this moment that the Doge Andrea Dandolo died, and that Marino Faliero was elected to succeed him.

On his side, Pisani, the Venetian commander, attempted no such undertaking. Deceived, doubtless,

THE SHRINE AT CHIOGGIA

by Doria's clever manœuvres, he sought him in the Archipelago, and thither Doria sailed, after his exploits in the Adriatic. The hostile fleets met off Modon, opposite Sapienza, and the engagement resulted in the total defeat of the Venetians. Niccolò Pisani himself, six thousand other prisoners, and thirty galleys of war were carried off by Doria to Genoa; and it has been justly said that had he placed his prisoners in safety, manned his prizes, and sailed with them to Venice, the city must have fallen an easy prey to his attack.

By this disaster Venice was reduced to great straits,

and while private citizens equipped men-of-war at their own cost, to help the country, the Republic appealed to Giovanni Visconti and obtained a four months' truce.

The battle of Modon, or Sapienza, was fought on the third of November 1354; the truce was obtained soon afterwards, and on the sixteenth of April 1355 Marino Faliero was beheaded for treason.

More than twenty years had elapsed, and another and younger Pisani had reached maturity and eminence before the two republics again resumed the contest for the mastery of the sea. It would not, I think, be possible to accuse either of having been at any time more aggressive than the other had been, or was, without unfairness. There was an element of fate in the struggle; it was the inevitable contest for final superiority which takes place whenever two individuals, or two bodies of men, or two nations, are pitted against each other in the same pursuit under the same circumstances. The disastrous wars with Lewis of Hungary for the possession of Dalmatia, in which Venice became involved after the death of Faliero, the repeated revolts in Candia, and above all, the ravages of the plague, reduced the population and the wealth of Venice until, at last, she seemed an easy prey. Most assuredly the neutral powers that calmly watched the approach of the war which broke out in 1378 did not believe that Venice could come out of the trial still keeping her independence.

1378.

On the morning of the twenty-second of April in that year, a vast multitude thronged the square and the basilica of Saint Mark's. Vittor Pisani was to receive his commission as commander-in-chief of the fleet at the steps of the high altar, to hear the solemn high mass, and then, kneeling before

Andrea Contarini, he was to take from the Doge's hands the great standard of the Republic.

THE SALUTE, NIGHT

The chief of the Republic spoke to him briefly in tones that rang through the hushed cathedral. 'You are chosen by God,' he said, 'to defend the honour

and the possessions of your country, and avenge the offences of those who would destroy the freedom which our fathers gave us. Into your hand we commend the flag that has ever been the terror of our enemies; see that you bring it back victorious and unstained.'

Vittor Pisani sailed out of the harbour with only fourteen vessels, intending to thwart any attempt on the part of Fieschi, the Genoese admiral, to enter the Adriatic. But the Genoese were still far away, delayed by contrary winds, and Pisani sailed round Italy to the Roman shore before he sighted the enemy's fleet. The battle that followed was fought within sight of Anzio on the thirtieth of May 1378.

Rom. iii. 263.

In a heavy south-westerly gale, which, as often happens in the Mediterranean, was accompanied by terrific thunderstorms, the Venetians bore down upon their opponents. They evidently had the advantage of being before the wind, while the Genoese must have been obliged to heave to in order to hold their own, a matter of no small difficulty for a war vessel of the fourteenth century. Yet in spite of their superior position at the time of the attack, four out of the fourteen Venetian galleys were so hopelessly separated from the rest as to be unable to join in the fight. Any seaman will at once understand that they must have run past the Genoese to the northward, and that they were then unable to beat back to the scene of action before night. On the other hand, one of the Genoese ships got aground on the dangerous lee shore and went to pieces.

The result of long and fierce fighting was a complete victory for the Venetians. They captured five of the enemy's galleys and took Fieschi himself prisoner. He must have had gloomy forebodings when he was taken, remembering how Pisani's terrible

namesake had drowned five thousand prisoners of war after the battle of Lojera, or Cagliari. And the Venetian admiral doubtless remembered and hoped to atone for that barbarous deed, for he treated his captives with every kindness; and even after they had reached Venice they were not confined in the prisons, but were merely shut up and guarded in vast warehouses, where they had plenty of air and were abundantly provided with necessaries. A committee of noblemen was deputed to take care of them, and to see that they lacked nothing. The ladies of Venice also organised themselves in a sort of sisterhood, for the purpose of ministering to the not over-great sufferings of the vanquished, and the noblest names of the Republic stand on the list of those charitable women. Anna Falier, Francesca Bragadin, Margherita Michiel, Marchesina Bembo, and several others, are especially mentioned by the historians as 'angels of goodness and devotion.' All Venice sought to be forgiven by Europe for the horrors of Lojera.

Pisani had been far too prudent to push on to Genoa with a fleet which only counted nineteen sail, including his five prizes, and he deemed it wiser to return to the Adriatic and to harass the Genoese on the coasts of Greece and Dalmatia, whence, under the protection of the King of Hungary, they constantly made piratical excursions against the Venetian merchantmen.

After taking possession of several strong places, Pisani asked permission to return to Venice in order to rest his men and refit while waiting for the spring, but the Senate ordered him to continue cruising off Istria in case the Genoese should unexpectedly enter the Adriatic. There is no doubt but that this measure was prudent in itself, but, on the other hand,

Storming of Cattaro, A. Vicentino; Sala dello Scrutinio. Rom. iii. 265.

Pisani's fleet was altogether in too bad a state to keep at sea through the winter, and in a more or less hostile neighbourhood. A sickness of some kind, not explained by the chroniclers, decimated the crews of his galleys, and he seems to have lacked suitable and sufficient provisions, as well as stores for repairing his rigging and sails. He obeyed the Senate's orders, however, and he made his headquarters at Pola.

In February he was informed that he was confirmed in his charge of admiral of the fleet, but at the same time the Senate appointed him two advisers, or counsellors, following the true Venetian method of watching, and often hampering, the commander in the prosecution of the war. These 'provveditori,' as they were called, were the famous Carlo Zeno and a certain Michel Steno—whether the one who had precipitated the conspiracy of Marino Faliero twenty-four years earlier or not does not appear certain. At all events, he reached his post and remained with Pisani, but Zeno did not.

Later in the spring Pisani received a reinforcement of eleven galleys, sent him in order that he might be able to protect the Venetian vessels that regularly plied between Venice and Apulia to supply the Republic with corn.

While he was convoying a number of these vessels, a storm forced two of his galleys to take shelter in Ancona, where they were seized by the Genoese; but a few days later Pisani encountered the latter, beat them in a short engagement, and recaptured his ships. Scarcely had he got to anchor in the harbour of Pola, however, when twenty-five Genoese men-of-war hove in sight, under the command of Luciano Doria. Pisani could not reasonably hope to fight such a fleet with any chance of victory, and would have preferred to await the arrival of his reinforcements under Carlo Zeno,

who was expected in a few days; but his officers clamoured for battle, and Michel Steno, the provveditor, even went so far as to hint that Pisani was a coward to stay in port. This was more than the admiral could bear, though he was the mildest and most long-suffering of brave men; and in the shortest possible time he got his fleet under way, calling upon all who loved Saint Mark to follow him.

I know not whether the wind gave him any advantage at first, as at Anzio, or whether the brilliant little victory he won was due to the fury of his attack. Be that as it may, he slew, or helped to slay, Luciano Doria with his own hands, and put the opposing Genoese fleet to flight.

But the enemy, in the absence of pursuit, soon rallied, and in a few hours inflicted upon Pisani a most disastrous defeat. He himself barely escaped with six galleys out of the nineteen or twenty that had composed his force. Poor in ships, as Venice was at that time, this was a blow that threatened her existence; for the Genoese now had nearly forty vessels, including the prizes recently taken, some of which were perhaps the very galleys they had lost to Pisani at Anzio.

How far Pisani's misfortune was the result of the unwise advice he was obliged to submit to from Michel Steno, it is not easy to say; but he was certainly badly handicapped by the non-arrival of his other appointed counsellor, Carlo Zeno, with the promised reinforcements. The Senate took neither the one question nor the other into consideration, any more than it showed the slightest grateful recollection of his many former services to the Republic. He was hastily tried, convicted of having failed to do his duty, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, with the loss, during five years, of all emoluments he

Rom. iii. 268.

received from the State and of all public office for the same period. Venice always acted on the principle that no amount of success could condone one failure, and that defeat was next door to treason. Michel Steno fared somewhat better, for he was not actually imprisoned, but he and all the officers of the fleet were suspended from all public functions for a year.

These drastic measures did not improve the position of the Republic in that time of immediate danger. It was easy to consign Vittor Pisani to the pozzi, but it was quite another matter to replace him, especially in the absence of Carlo Zeno, the only other man of the same calibre upon whom Venice could count.

Pietro Doria had taken the place of Luciano, whom Pisani had killed in battle, and he worked his way steadily up the eastern coast, retaking one by one all the fortified places which Pisani had recently seized, until at last his fleet appeared off the Lido, literally within sight of Venice.

The consternation was indescribable, and it is more than likely that if Pietro Doria had boldly forced the entrance to the lagoons, the city would have fallen an easy prey. Indeed, the situation of the Republic seemed even then almost desperate, for while she was beaten at sea and assailed by the Genoese fleet, the Carrara had leagued themselves against her with the King of Hungary, and threatened her land boundaries on the north and west.

But it always happens in the history of nations, as it generally does in the private lives of individual men, that the last extremity of danger calls forth the true character of peoples, as of persons. It is then that the hero is a hero; it is then that the coward performs miracles of speed in flight.

Venice called out every man able to bear arms. A

patrician, Leonardo Dandolo, was entrusted with the defence of the Lido; two others were charged with the protection of the basilica of Saint Mark's and the adjoining square; another was made responsible for the quarter of the Rialto; and others again were told off to defend the outlying islands, Torcello, Murano, and

CALLE CASALLI

Mazzorbo. Finally, Jacopo Cavalli, a foreign captain, was promised a very large recompense if he could perform the almost impossible feat of defending the Venetian territory on the mainland with four thousand horse, two thousand footmen, and a not inconsiderable number of bowmen.

The monastery of Saint Nicolas on the Lido was

converted into a regular fortress. Three huge hulks, which I conjecture to have been old transports from the days of the crusades, were lashed together with triple chains, and sunk at the entrance to the lagoons. As far as possible all the inhabitants of the city were armed, and were so organised as to be ready to fight whenever the great bell of Saint Mark's should give the signal.

F ii [illegible]

Meanwhile ambassadors were sent one after the other, and in haste, to the court of Hungary in the hope of detaching the King from his alliance with the lords of Padua, but they utterly failed to bring about the desired result; for both the Carrara and the Genoese spread abroad in Buda the report, by no means exaggerated, that Venice was at the last extremity, and must soon yield to her allied enemies; and the King, trusting to this welcome news, answered the Venetian ambassadors with such arrogance that they had no choice but to take their leave.

The Genoese fleet lay at anchor off the Lido, and the only chance of safety seemed to lie in attacking it boldly, for as yet it consisted of no very large number of vessels. Six good Venetian ships of war, manned by picked men, would no doubt suffice, and these could still be produced. They were placed under the command of Taddeo Giustiniani, and they sailed out through the narrow channel that had been left navigable.

Rom. iii. 273.

Now it chanced that on board of one of the Genoese galleys there was a certain man, a Venetian sailor, who had been taken prisoner with the galley commanded by Giovanni Soranzo when Vittor Pisani was defeated; and he was brave and loved his country, but his name has not come down to us. When he saw the Venetian ships making ready, inside the Lido, he managed to

drop himself overboard, and he swam for his life towards the entrance; and as Giustiniani sailed out he saw this man ahead swimming, and making desperate signals to the Venetians to bring to.

The commander recognised him as a Venetian either by his appearance or by his language, laid his topsail to the mast and took him aboard, to learn that the Genoese vessels before him were but the vanguard of a huge fleet which was itself at hand, and would soon be in sight. To engage was now out of the question, and could only end in the total loss of the six Venetian vessels; Giustiniani put about and re-entered the lagoons, to take the bad news to Venice.

The first fault committed by the Genoese was that, having surprised the city, they did not profit by their advantage and storm it at once, at a moment when at least half the population must have been paralysed with fear. Instead, they seem to have followed a consistent but mistaken plan; for they pillaged and laid waste the outlying islands one by one with the evident intention of destroying the city's supplies, and of ultimately cutting off all communication between it and the mainland.

In the course of this more or less systematic operation they came before Malamocco on the sixth of August 1379; but here they met with a first check, for they perceived that the place was too strongly fortified to be rashly attacked, and they therefore sailed past it towards Chioggia, which was, and is, the most important strategic point of the lagoons.

Chioggia is close to the mainland, at the western extremity of the Venetian archipelago. The name belongs vaguely, in old maps, to the long island properly called Brondolo, on the western end of which is built the town of Brondolo; more particularly to the port, or entrance between this island and the one

called Pelestrina, between which two the 'Lupa,' the Tower of the She-Wolf, rises out of the water; and especially to the small city of Chioggia. The latter is divided into two parts—the greater Chioggia, built on a number of very small islets, and the lesser, which stands on the inside shore of the main island. There was a bridge between the two parts.

The entrance to the port of Chioggia being deep and safe, the Venetians had deepened also a natural channel, twenty-five miles long, which led thence through the shallow lagoons to Venice, and this was one of the best and safest approaches to the city from the outer sea, a fact which was well known to the Genoese, who looked upon Chioggia as the real key to the capital, and the name of the place has been given by all historians to the war that followed. It is almost needless to say that the extreme shallowness of the lagoons was a real defence against an enemy not well acquainted with the channels, which, as every one knows, are marked by tall timbers that project from six to fifteen feet above the water. To remove these was a first measure of defence.

The most tremendous exertions were made by the Venetians to prepare themselves for an attack, which would almost certainly have been fatal to them if the Genoese had not put it off too long. Reinforcements were at once sent down to Pietro Emo, the Podestà of Chioggia, who anchored a large armed hulk in the channel, manning it with soldiers and supplying it with provisions to last some time.

Rom. iii. 274.

The lesser Chioggia, on the shore of the island, was abandoned as not defensible, but the main town was very effectually fortified, and each little islet became a separate stronghold. On the side of the allies Carrara succeeded with great difficulty in conveying a consider-

able force of men from Padua down the old branch of the Brenta, which the Venetians had obstructed by sinking a hulk across it. Carrara is said to have dug a

CALLE DELLA DONAZELLA

channel round this point in a single night. The allies had now about twenty-four thousand fighting men.

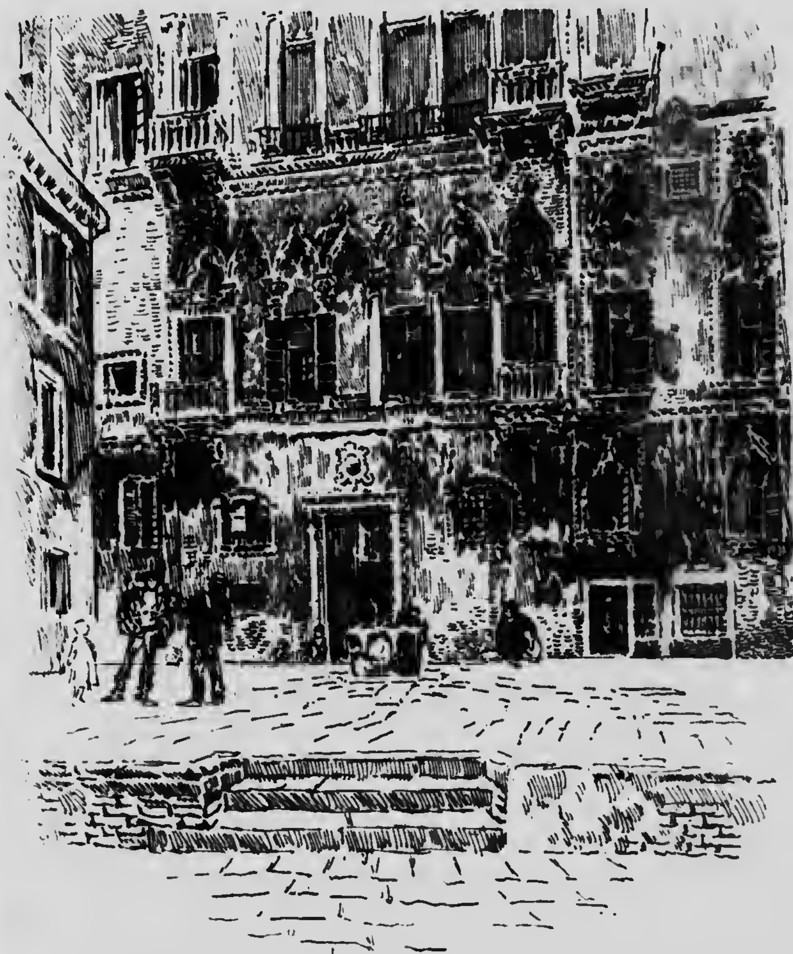
Pisani had been beaten at Pola in May; it was on the sixth of August that the Genoese reconnoitred

Malamocco and anchored off Chioggia harbour, and their attack upon Chioggia itself began on the eleventh. On that day the armed hulk which Emo had moored in the channel was captured and burned, and the Genoese fleet was able to enter the port and lie before the besieged town, while Carrara and the Paduans assailed it from the side of the lagoons in their light boats. Every day the united forces renewed their attack, and hour by hour they won their way into the strong little place, taking the bridges and fortifications one after another. By the fifteenth of the month, the bridge to Brondolo having been taken, it was clear to the Venetians that Chioggia was lost, and Dandolo considered how he might withdraw his force to Venice. It seemed only too certain that every man who could be saved alive would be needed for the defence of the capital, and it was still possible to escape across the shallows, where the Genoese could not follow in their ships and the Paduans did not know their way. The carnage had already been frightful. It is said that six thousand Venetians were slain, and that three thousand and five hundred were taken prisoners. Dandolo saved a large number in his retreat; but the heroic Pietro Emo refused to leave the town, and remained with fifty devoted men to fight to the very death within his own palace walls. The town was sacked forthwith, and much of it was burned; over what was left the standards of Genoa, of Carrara, and of Hungary were displayed where the banners of Saint Mark had floated for centuries, until that bloody day.

Rom. iii. 275.

Chioggia fell as the sun went down, and the news reached Venice late that night. The city was all awake and in desperate anxiety, and when the truth was known fear turned almost to panic. Women rushed frantically

to the churches to confess and receive the sacraments, as if the Last Judgment of God were upon them. The men were at first silent, paralysed in absolute consterna-



CAMPO S. BENEDETTO

tion; since Chioggia was gone, the Genoese might be upon Venice by morning.

But again they let the opportunity pass, and the Venetians were vouchsafed a breathing space, which

might seem but enough to show them how desperate their situation really was. For Treviso was already besieged by Carrara's troops when Chioggia fell, and the allies were closing in upon the city like a wall of iron.

The Doge Contarini displayed a coolness and a courage altogether heroic. The Republic had oppressed its chief by an intolerable system of spying and petty limitations that reduced his personality to a nonentity in ordinary times. It had forbidden him almost everything; but it had not forbidden him to die for his country. The example of one man could still revive the courage and sustain the calm of thousands. Venice was not lost so long as that one true citizen remained alive.

The Doge and the senators gave all their own treasure to the public fund, and imposed regular taxes on the citizens; they distributed the supplies of arms with great good judgment, and sent out scouts upon the lagoons in the lightest and swiftest skiffs, in order that no movement of the enemy should escape observation.

But the people murmured against the Government, even in their constant terror; for Vittor Pisani was their idol, and he was still in prison.

It may have been the intention of the Genoese and their allies to starve Venice to a surrender; but I think it more likely that Doria's procrastination was in accordance with his own character, and that it was in part due to the almost inevitable complications which arise where military command is not vested in one person, but is shared almost equally by a number of allied captains.

The very first and most pressing danger was past when Contarini called a General Assembly of the people, on the thirteenth of September, by causing the great

bell of Saint Mark's to be rung. It was long since the summons had been heard, and the population answered it eagerly. The cathedral was soon thronged to suffocation by men of all ages and conditions, who listened in profound silence to the eloquent words of the senator Pietro Mocenigo. He spoke from a high balcony or pulpit, and his ringing voice was heard in the farthest corners of the great building.

He told his hearers that the time had come when they must think of the honour of their women, the lives of their young children, and the safety of their worldly goods; he said that whosoever lacked necessary food for himself and his family need only ask for what he needed at any patrician house—he should be treated as a friend, as a brother, the last crust of bread should be shared with him. That was all, save that he called upon all sensible men to speak, if they had any advice to give which would be for the public good and safety.

The impression made by this simple speech was profound, for the people owed the aristocracy no long-standing grudge as in other Italian cities. The nobles had neither ground them down, nor tormented them, nor dishonoured them, but had only taken the political power and, with it, the responsibilities of government. In the wars of Venice the nobles had shed their blood for their country much more abundantly, in proportion to their numbers, than the people themselves; and in peace, their suspicions, their spyings, and their eternal repression had been directed against each other, and never against the poor man. And now they reaped their reward; they stooped to call the poor man brother, and the mere words flattered him, and cheered him, and made a hero of him. Happy Venice, even in that dire extremity!

Then many rose up in the church and cried out that every ship in the arsenal that would float must be manned to attack the enemy rather than yield to starvation.

Mocenigo, the orator, being satisfied with this answer of the people, went on to the question of choosing a leader, and proposed Taddeo Giustiniani; but the multitude would none of him, and shouted for Vittor Pisani. Under him they would win or die, they cried as one man, and they would have no other.

To resist such a demand would have been madness, and for once the lordly Signory bowed before the plebeian will. The captain was forthwith led out of prison, and the crowd, frantic with joy at his release, carried him in triumph on their shoulders round the square of Saint Mark's.

'Long live Vittor Pisani!' they shouted.

'No,' he cried, answering them in commanding tones. 'Long live Saint Mark!'

Some obeyed him, and some would not, and the two cries mingled together, 'Pisani, Saint Mark, Saint Mark, Vittor Pisani.'

The historian Daru, whose passion for romance sometimes led him far, says that Pisani asked to be allowed to spend one more night in confinement, in order that he might prepare himself by prayer for performing his devotions the next morning, and that it was from the window of his prison that he rebuked the crowd for cheering him. Yet Daru himself, a few pages earlier, had just described the prisons of Venice in the fourteenth century as horrible dens which had neither light nor air except from a narrow corridor, adding that the most piercing screams could never be heard outside.

Daru, ii. 217.

Men like Pisani have little need of acting or posing

in order to increase their prestige, for it is enough that they should show themselves and brave men will follow them. The captain was taken from prison at once and, after saying a prayer in the basilica, went before the Doge.

The mutual position of the two men was a strange one. Contarini must have been well aware that Pisani's condemnation had been utterly unjust; Pisani had suffered that condemnation without complaint, and well knew that the Doge had voted for it; both were brave and patriotic men, who believed devoutly in the system by which their own aristocracy repressed among its members any attempt at individualism, spied upon itself, and treated failure as a crime. Pisani, if the situation had been reversed, would have condemned Contarini as unhesitatingly as Contarini had condemned him. It was certainly against the theory of the Republic that he should be taken out of prison before he had expiated his defeat; but it was inevitable, and he was free.

Yet both men found something to say in these almost absurd circumstances, which was neither commonplace, nor undignified, nor merely complimentary.

'Your prudent and wise conduct,' said the Doge, 'will efface your misfortunes, and avenge not only any offence which you may have received yourself'—Pisani had been called a coward by the provveditor of the Republic—'but also the injuries which our country has suffered at the hands of our enemies; you will therefore consider rather the favour done you now than the past disgrace in which you have been, and you will gladly seize this occasion of proving how unfounded those accusations were which were made against you, and how much you desire to earn in future the gratitude of our country.'

Rom. iii. 278

To this cleverly-worded and not wholly inane speech Pisani replied that he had altogether forgotten the past, and that he should find means, by the grace of God, to deserve the confidence placed in him.

Before he was allowed to depart he was informed that he was not to have sole command of the Venetian troops, since Taddeo Giustiniani had been entrusted with the defence on the side towards the Lido. Pisani bent his head and answered that he had at all times obeyed the orders of the Signory.

But the people were less submissive to this schoolmaster justice; they would have Pisani, and no one but Pisani. Even the soldiers who came from the little island of Torcello protested. 'Command us what you will,' they said to him, 'we will do whatever you order us, but it must be under your own eyes.'

Rom. iii. 279.

So a deputation of the younger ones among them went to the ducal palace, carrying the banner of Torcello before them, and addressed the counsellors. 'For the love of God,' they said, 'give us three galleys, which we will equip at our own cost, on condition that we be always, and everywhere, under the orders of Vittor Pisani.'

By way of answer they were ordered to go to the Lido and fight under Taddeo Giustiniani. 'We will be cut into small pieces rather than fight under him,' cried the men of Torcello, who were assembled in the square when the deputation brought them the answer of the Signory.

The Venetians took up the cry, and again the Government was obliged to yield. To paralyse the people's enthusiasm at such a moment, to shake their confidence, to trample upon their wholesale sympathies, was to lose Venice herself. When it was known that

Pisani was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces, the enthusiasm of the city broke out in wild cheering for Saint Mark, for the Doge, for the Government; all the men hastened to enrol themselves under his standard, and all the women brought whatever they possessed of value to the palace, both jewels and other objects; they even ripped the silver trimmings and embroideries from their clothes. Forty galleys which lay in the arsenal were fitted out in three days, and in the same time two-thirds of the crews necessary had been found.

Rom. iii. 280.

The Government promised great rewards to all who should distinguish themselves in the struggle. It was announced that thirty citizen families, whichever should contribute the most directly to the salvation of the Republic, should be inscribed in the Golden Book of the nobles; that all strangers who would take arms to defend Venice should be adopted as children by the State, and should enjoy all the privileges accorded to the original burghers; finally, the Government promised to distribute five thousand ducats, or over thirty-seven hundred pounds sterling, to the poorer families of the city not belonging to the nobility. Having made these promises, the State, by its decree, proceeded to threaten vengeance against all who should desert the posts assigned to them, or attempt to leave Venice so long as it was menaced by the enemy.

When all was ready for the bold attempt the Senate took final measures for the disposition of the troops, as well as for the police of the city. In those quarters which were most exposed to an attack, as, for instance, that of the Niccolotti, the inhabitants were to be continually ready to fight at a moment's notice; in the remaining quarters only one-third of the men were to remain at home as a garrison, while the rest placed

themselves under the orders of Pisani at the front. A careful watch was kept upon all vagabonds, idlers, and other suspicious persons as long as the war lasted, lest any of them should enter into correspondence with the enemy's fleet.

When we consider the condition of the Republic at this moment, it must seem little short of amazing that Venice should have survived at all. The territory of the State was reduced by the invasion of the allies to little more than the city itself; every outpost except the tower of the salt-works was in the hands of the enemy; a large fleet with a very strong force of men was in safe possession of Chioggia, the key to the lagoons; and all attempts at negotiating with the enemy had signally failed. The Republic had, indeed, gone so far as to send a suppliant embassy to her former vassal, Francesco Carrara; he was addressed with humility as 'Powerful and magnificent lord,' and a fair sheet of blank paper was laid before him on which he was requested to note with his own hand his own terms for peace, with the sole condition that Venice should still be considered independent; and the ambassadors had brought with them some Genoese prisoners whom they offered to return without ransom. But these humble proposals were haughtily refused, Carrara bade the suppliants to return and take their prisoners with them, threatening that he would ere long bridle the bronze horses of Saint Mark's and keep them quiet for ever.

I have quoted this incident as it is given from Chinazzo's chronicle in Smedley's *Sketches from Venetian History*, and there seems no reason to doubt the authority of the Italian historian, whose work is to be found in Muratori.

Pisani had lost no time, while the allies were wasting

theirs in useless reconnoitring and futile skirmishes. He had fortified the entrance of the Lido with temporary towers built in the short space of four days, he had sunk hulks in all the important channels, and had got ready a great number of small boats with which to convey his men across the shallow water. Moreover, as many among his troops had no experience of the oar, he

THE HORSES OVER THE GREAT DOOR, ST. MARK'S

had trained them as well as might be, in the short time, on the canal now known as the Giudecca. But he had kept his own plan a secret, and it does not appear that when the Venetians made their bold attack upon the allies they knew what their leader purposed. It was enough that he led them ; they followed him, to do or die.

Andrea Contarini, eighty years of age, but still as

brave as any youth in the host, would not suffer the expedition to go forth without him, and his example not only roused the enthusiasm of every fighting man, but was followed by a number of senators too old to bear arms. In the last extremity of danger Venice had one vast advantage against overwhelming odds, for her people were united to a man. Men gave not only themselves but all their fortunes to save their country, and for the first and, I believe, the last time in history, a commercial people forgave one another their commercial debts for the sake of the common safety. One individual burgher fitted out a galley at his own expense; another bound himself to support a thousand men throughout the war; all those who had anything to give gave it freely, and those who had nothing gave themselves.

The offensive movement of the Venetians had been preceded by several successful skirmishes in October and November, the result of which had been that the Genoese had more or less abandoned operations for the winter, and had withdrawn their fleet into the safe harbour of Chioggia to await the spring, leaving only three galleys to cruise before the entrance in case a surprise should be attempted. They seem to have been as sure of taking Venice as if they had been anchored opposite the Piazzetta; and in accordance with the military practice of those days, they and their allies hibernated, apparently taking it for granted that the Venetians would do the same, and wait resignedly to be destroyed in warmer weather. They were rudely awakened from their secure dreams of victory and spoil.

1379.
Rom. iii. 285.

The Venetian fleet stole out to sea on the evening of the twenty-first of December, consisting of thirty-four galleys, sixty smaller armed vessels, and hundreds of flat-bottomed boats.

Pisani led the van, towing two heavy old hulks laden with stones. There is a disagreement of authorities as to the day of the month on which he left Venice, but all agree that the Venetians appeared off the Chioggia entrance and landed four thousand men on the point of Brondolo island at dawn on the following morning — no inconsiderable feat, though the night had been the longest of the year. The distance, on

ON THE GIUDECCA

a modern Admiralty chart, from the port of Lido to the Chioggia entrance, outside the islands, I find to be about thirteen nautical miles; by the canals within the lagoons it is considerably farther, but it is certain that Pisani went by the open sea.

The Genoese were taken by surprise. The three cruisers on duty as sentinels outside the port were not where they should have been, and we hear no more of

them; it almost looks as if, in their security, the invaders must have given up that last precaution.

In the face of a heavy fire and with the loss of one vessel, burned by the enemy, Pisani succeeded in sinking his hulks across the entrance. To the last the Genoese do not appear to have understood his intention, for they themselves, or their own fire, helped to sink the heavily-ballasted vessels, and it was not until all was over, and the barrier had been made insurmountable by heaping other material upon it, that they plainly saw what had happened. They were caught like mice in a trap, unless they could get their fleet out by some other way. The mouth of the Brenta river at Brondolo, two miles to the southward, still remained navigable, and Pisani proceeded to blockade it in the same way, though with far greater difficulty. Federico Cornaro was entrusted with the dangerous and difficult task, and accomplished it under a terrific fire, Pisani protecting him meanwhile from any attack from the Genoese vessels.

This being done, the enemy's fleet was paralysed, and the result could only have been a matter of time, if Pisani had been in command of a regular force. Instead, his men were volunteers and raw recruits, capable of magnificent courage in a single engagement, as they had shown, and ready to shed their blood as they had given their treasure; but they were ill accustomed to exposure, to night work at sea in the depth of winter, to a hundred small daily sufferings to which a trained seaman is hardened and indifferent. Clearly, Pisani could not leave the scene of action, even for a day, and even if he had consented to such an act of folly, there was the old Doge, swearing upon the hilt of his sword never to return to Venice till the enemy was thoroughly beaten. Yet the volunteers of the people

cared little for such an example, and threatened to go home to Venice in a body, leaving the Genoese to dig

RIO S. POLO

their way out if they could, and indifferent to the fact that if left to themselves they could certainly find means

of reaching Venice within a few days, though they could not bring their fleet. They had been in real danger now, and they would waste no more time in idleness or futile skirmishing.

It was in vain that Pisani tried to cheer such a force by reminding them that Carlo Zeno, with a strong fleet manned by veteran seamen, was expected to return. The people knew well enough that he had been expected for months, and that there was no reason why he should appear providentially at the present juncture. It was the Christmas season ; they had fought like lions, shut up their enemies, and momentarily averted extreme danger ; for amateur soldiers this seemed enough, and they clamoured to be allowed to go back to their wives and children.

Like Columbus, Pisani saw himself on the very verge of losing the result of all his labour, for lack of a little more trust on the part of his men. To keep them by force was impossible, for they themselves were the male population of Venice, and for the time being they held good and evil in their hands. Even the senators and other nobles murmured at being obliged to keep at sea, and often under fire, because the Doge had rashly sworn a solemn oath to remain.

On the thirtieth of December Pisani was driven to such extremities as to be forced to promise that unless Carlo Zeno appeared in forty-eight hours the fleet should return to the Lido, in spite of the Doge and his vow. There was no reason at all why Zeno should be expected ; it was a mere empty promise, but it gained time ; something could still be done in two days and two nights.

He laboured and fought on, and the short limit of time expired with the dawn of New Year's Day. Zeno had not come, and Pisani's men would not stay another

hour. By his promise he must let them go, and it needed not his wisdom to foresee that their defection meant the fall of Venice, the end of the Republic, the general destruction of the insensate population themselves with all they had. It was of little use to have been their idol for years and their victorious dictator for ten days, if they could not bear a little cold and a little hardship for his sake. The day rose wearily for Pisani.

Then, from aloft, a sail was sighted. It was the sail of a galley. Another, and another, and another, all galleys unmistakably, they hove in sight above the horizon, eighteen in all. Hostile, or friendly? That was the question. Zeno, or destruction and the end Then the banner of Saint Mark broke out from the peak of the foremost, and floated fair on the morning breeze. It was Zeno indeed.

Marble bust of Carlo Zeno, unknown artist; Museo Civico, Room XVI.

And not only had the famous leader himself come at the one moment of all others when he was most needed, perhaps in his whole life ; he came as a victor, bringing prizes and spoil of inestimable value. He had laid waste the Genoese coast, almost to the city itself ; he had intercepted Genoese convoys of grain off Apulia, he had harassed the enemy's commerce in the East, and he had captured, off Rhodes, a huge vessel of theirs with five hundred thousand pieces of gold.

All this he told the Doge on board the latter's galley. He had been twice wounded and was not yet recovered, but nothing could diminish his energy nor damp his ardour ; at his own request he was stationed at the post of greatest danger, opposite Brondolo, and though the Genoese made a supreme effort to destroy the barriers and get their ships out during a gale, in which some of Zeno's ships dragged their anchors, he

drove them triumphantly back into their prison, and blockaded them more securely than ever. In this action he was nearly killed again. An arrow pierced his throat when the gale had driven him under one of the Genoese forts. Lest he should bleed to death he would not pluck out the missile, but remained on deck to save his ship; till, stumbling in the dusk, he fell down an open hatch. He was lifted up senseless, the arrow was withdrawn, and he was half-suffocated by his own blood; but his senses revived, and he had himself turned upon his face, so that the blood might run freely out and allow him to breathe. To such a man it seemed as if nothing short of sudden death outright could be fatal; he refused to leave his ship, and in a marvellously short space of time he was about his duty again as if nothing had happened.

Meanwhile Pisani pushed the siege and bombarded Chioggia. In his force there were numbers of German and English mercenaries, who came to blows and killed each other by the score; but an English captain named William Gold had authority enough to quell the disorder, and the regular fighting went on.

Pisani continued to bombard Brondolo. The beginnings of artillery were unwieldy in the extreme, it being thought that the main object should be to throw a missile of great size and weight, even at long intervals, rather than to discharge much smaller ammunition with precise aim. One of Pisani's mortars is said to have thrown a marble ball weighing two hundred pounds, and the smallest siege mortars projected masses of one hundred and forty pounds. To clean, load, and once fire one of these clumsy howitzers was often the work of a whole day; but if by any chance the shot took effect, the result was formidable. A single ball from Pisani's great bombard

Rom. iii. 289.

knocked down the church tower of Brondolo with a considerable piece of the ramparts close by, burying Pietro Doria and his nephew under the ruins.

The Venetians now held all the approaches to the lagoons from the sea; and by taking the port of Loredo at the mouth of the Adige, they cut off Brondolo and Chioggia from all communication with the Duke of Ferrara, who had hitherto sent supplies of provisions and reinforcements by that way. The time was not far distant when famine must begin to make itself felt among the besieged, and the Venetians redoubled their efforts.

Rom. iii. 288.

Meanwhile, after the death of Doria, a bold man of original mind, Napoleone Grimaldi, took command of the Genoese. He soon saw that in the existing conditions Brondolo must fall, and that his fleet could never escape. It occurred to him that a canal could be dug straight through the island to the open sea, by which he could bring his ships out during the night, and immediately threaten Venice herself before the Venetian fleet could return.

The work was begun, but the Venetians discovered it in time. Grimaldi had even then no less than thirteen thousand fighting men in Brondolo and Chioggia; the Venetians had barely eight thousand. They had appealed to the famous English condottiero John Hawkwood, whose engagement to fight for the Milanese had just expired; but he either thought the Venetians were playing a losing game, or else he found more lucrative employment elsewhere, for after promising his assistance he failed to come. Venice now called for volunteers, and all sorts and conditions of men appeared in answer to the call. Among them there was even a canon of Saint Mark's. Giovanni Loredan, with four of his servants.

In the absence of any famous condottiero to take the command, the Signory condescended to appoint Carlo Zeno to the command of the land troops. He saw that if Grimaldi's project was to be frustrated, Brondolo must be taken at once, and the whole Genoese force must be driven into Chioggia. He was as good a soldier as he was a sailor, and he did not fail. His practice in all warfare was to take every possible precaution before fighting at all, and then to engage with the most reckless and furious energy.

Deceived by Zeno's manœuvres, the whole garrison of Brondolo was drawn out in the direction of 'Little' Chioggia. Seizing the opportune moment, Zeno then succeeded in throwing himself between Brondolo itself and its small army, at the very moment when the latter was attacked by Zeno's soldiers of fortune. The whole body of Genoese fled in a panic towards the bridge of Chioggia, trampling upon each other, pursued and cut to pieces by Zeno. Under the weight of the fugitives the bridge broke, and hundreds were drowned in the canal, while the Venetians literally slew thousands within a quarter of a mile of the bridge head. That night a perfect suit of armour could be bought for a ducat—just fifteen shillings.

Brondolo was lost that day. And worse followed, for though the Genoese commander threatened to hang every fighting man who left Chioggia—if he could catch him—the garrison deserted in great numbers during the night, many of them being Paduans and subjects of Carrara, who had not far to go in order to reach their homes.

It was clear to Grimaldi that since this last defeat he could expect no further help except from Genoa itself; and, in fact, a fleet of twenty galleys had left that city almost a month before Brondolo had fallen.

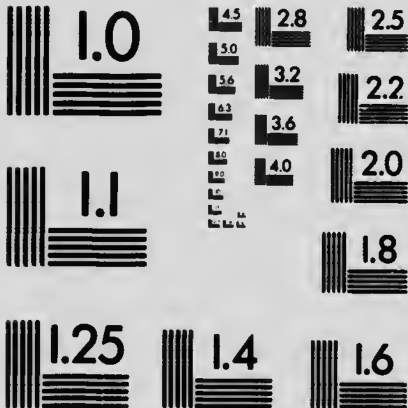
When this was known the Venetian soldiers clamoured to be allowed to attack Chioggia, and drive out the Genoese before succour could reach them. But

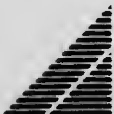
MOONLIGHT NIGHT, S. M. DELL' ORTO

neither Pisani nor Zeno would hear of this, and bravely assumed the whole responsibility of a protracted siege, well knowing that Chioggia was a most dangerous

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)





APPLIED IMAGE Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

place to attack, but that it must inevitably yield to famine at last. So the winter wore on and still the besiegers and the besieged faced each other, each side wondering, perhaps, how long the other would persist.

For Venice herself, accustomed as she was to draw all her supplies from a distance, was beginning to lack corn, and it at last became necessary to send Taddeo Giustiniani with a convoy of ships to Southern Italy in order to bring back wheat. On his return he was overtaken by the new Genoese fleet, beaten and taken prisoner, and soon afterwards the enemy appeared before Venice. The corn had already arrived in safety and all danger of famine was relieved, for Giustiniani had sent the laden ships on before him, protected by half his squadron; but its safety had cost him the other half and his own liberty.

The enemy's new fleet was commanded by Maruffo, a man of action, who now did his best to tempt Pisani to a naval engagement; but the Venetian admiral stubbornly refused to be drawn into a fight, and pursued the siege of Chioggia with obstinate determination. It is clear that as the Genoese fleet could not possibly get inside the lagoons, and could do no damage from without, Pisani's refusal to fight was equivalent to paralysing the new fleet; it was as useless, for a time, as if it had not existed. On the other hand, Pisani successfully intercepted more than eighty barges laden with food supplies which Carrara attempted to send to the beleaguered town, and Chioggia was approaching the last extremity of famine.

The besieged then began to pull down some of the wooden houses of Chioggia in order to make rafts, with which they hoped to cross the shallow lagoon, and in some way to effect a junction with Maruffo's fleet; but Pisani's cannon

Rom. iii. 291.

sunk many of these rafts, or punts, and the remainder were either intercepted by Zeno or forced back to Chioggia.

Even the drinking water was now failing, and the besieged sent representatives to make terms with the Doge. For in spite of the murmurs of the elderly senators, who were obliged by mere decency to remain at the scene of action so long as the chief of the Republic refused to leave it, Contarini insisted upon abiding by his oath to the very letter. He answered that there could be no terms at all: Chioggia must surrender unconditionally.

During two days longer the city held out, and in that short time secret agents attempted to sow sedition amongst the mercenaries in the service of Venice, and even tried to send letters to Carrara in order to concert a last desperate attempt for freedom; but the dissatisfaction of the condottieri was easily appeased by a promise of more money, and the messengers to Padua were caught. On the twenty-fourth of June Chioggia surrendered.

Then, from the lost town, came forth all that remained of the strong garrison, four thousand one hundred and seventy Genoese and two hundred Paduans, ghastly and emaciated, and more like moving corpses than living beings. At the same time, seventeen galleys were handed over to the Venetians, the war-worn remains of the great armada.

With the fall of Chioggia the war was over, and the Doge's vow was fulfilled. He returned in triumph to Venice, and was met at San Clemente by the Bucentaur with his counsellors and the heads of the Quarantie, with a vast number of boats in which the population came out to greet their chief, and to gaze upon the captive Genoese galleys, which were towed

Triumphal return of Andrea Contarini, Paolo Veronese; Hall of the Great Council.

in with their banners at half-mast. The promised largesses were distributed to the mercenary troops, and the English captain, William Gold, who had rendered services of great value, received for his share five hundred ducats, the equivalent in actual modern coin of three hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling, a very large sum in those davs.

Maruffo continued to cruise in the Adriatic with an efficient fleet several months after the surrender of Chioggia, and Pisani was sent out against him. After recapturing Capodistria and ravaging the coasts of Dalmatia, the Venetian admiral came upon the enemy off Apulia. In the engagement that followed the Genoese were finally put to flight, but Pisani himself was mortally wounded. He was taken ashore at Manfredonia, and there ended his heroic life.

His body was brought back to Venice, where the news of his death had been received with universal grief; the Doge, the Senate, and the whole city attended his magnificent funeral, and he was buried in the church of Sant' Antonio, where a statue was put up to him, which has since been removed to the principal hall of the Arsenal.

Statue of Vittor Pisani, Armoury of the Arsenal.

Pisani's place was filled by Carlo Zeno, to whom belongs the honour of having finally ended the war by driving the enemy into the ver harbour of Genoa. The struggle between the two republics had lasted for centuries, the war which ended it had been protracted through six and a half years, and there was much difficulty in agreeing upon articles of peace between Venice on the one hand, and on the other Genoa, King Louis of Hungary, and Francesco Carrara. At first sight, on reviewing this treaty, one might be tempted to suppose that Venice obtained no advantages actually equivalent to the immense sacrifices she had

made during the war; but in reality this would be very far from the truth. Genoa had given even more, and had been altogether defeated in the end; her power was broken for ever, and her long rivalry with Venice was at an end, whereas the political importance of Venice continued to increase, and no one would have thought of questioning her right to be considered one of the great European powers.

As an example of what a devoted and patriotic people can and will do in defence of their liberties, the war of Chioggia stands high in the annals of the world; as a feat of generalship Pisani's blockade of the Genoese fleet is perhaps unrivalled, and the military operation by which Carlo Zeno tempted the whole garrison of Brondolo out of that town in the morning, and drove it like a flock of sheep into Chioggia before sunset, is a feat of arms the like of which is not recorded of many captains.

Venice kept all her promises, though they had been made under the pressure of extreme necessity. Thirty families of burghers were chosen from amongst those that had made the greatest sacrifices for the public safety, and on the fifth of September the heads of the houses were solemnly invested with the right to sit in the Great Council, and with all the other privileges of nobility for themselves and their descendants for ever. They presented themselves before the Doge in the church of Saint Mark's, each carrying a lighted torch of pure wax; when they had heard mass they went to the Doge's palace to assist, from the windows, at a series of festivities and games. It is sad to record that a certain Leonardo dall' Agnello, a merchant of grain and forage, who had literally given all he possessed for the war, died of grief because his name did not appear in the list of the newly enrolled.

The aged Doge Contarini survived exactly two years after his triumph, and went down to his grave in the full blaze of his final success and of the country's growing glory. Amongst those proposed as candidates to succeed him, Carlo Zeno was mentioned; but such a choice would have been contrary to all precedent and tradition, for it was thought that the election of the bravest captain of his day might be dangerous to the Republic; and, moreover, most of the patricians whose advice during the war he had consistently declined to follow, were jealous of him and predisposed against him. But the war with the Carrara was not yet really at an end, in spite of the treaty of peace, and there was still much for Zeno to do. The electors chose Michele Morosini to fill the ducal throne.

THE CARMINE

XV

VENICE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

As an epoch, if not precisely as a period of a hundred years, the fourteenth century in Venetian history closes with the war of Chioggia, as it began also before the year 1300 with the closure of the Great Council. For the final defeat and ruin of the Genoese, Venice made the supreme heroic effort necessary to establish her greatness; thenceforth none questioned it, and with the attainment of her highest national aim ended the noblest page in her history.

The Venetians of the first period were at once brave and prudent; they were at times needlessly harsh in judging those whom they believed dangerous to the Republic, but they were sincere, and they found means to make other nations respect their country as they respected it and loved it themselves.

After Chioggia, Venice was both feared and admired, but it is not possible to feel much sympathy with her sumptuous social life, nor with a Government that seems to have been for ever preoccupied with its search for secret enemies; nor, indeed, with its too docile working people, or its soldiers who so willingly obeyed the commands of the foreign condottieri under whom they were too often led to battle.

We look on her history and judge her by imaginary standards which were never hers. We feel that at the end of the fourteenth century she entered upon a mistaken course in which she obstinately persevered to the end; we are sure that she should have been above any mere petty jealousy of her neighbours, and that she should have used all her strength in defence of her maritime trade and her colonies; we would have had her abide by the old law of 1274, which forbade a Venetian to own estates on the mainland of Italy; we consider that she was blinded to her true interests by all sorts of intrigues, and that she neglected her trade in order to put herself on the same war-footing as her adversaries, though she had not their natural aptitude for warfare; that she drained her treasury to pay grasping condottieri, and spent on futile campaigns the resources which had hitherto fed her commerce. All this we are to some extent justified in concluding, and upon those points we judge her, as we should strongly object to being judged.

Nevertheless, all this is but the criticism of specula-

tive moralists and philosophers, a class of well-meaning persons whose influence in the world has never been large. Unhappily for philosophy and morality, they are but too easily answered by the sledge-hammer argument of success. In plain fact, Venice survived, and grew great, and was a power during four hundred years after she adopted her ultimate formula of existence, and in the end she died, not by the hand of the enemies at home or abroad whom she had successfully baffled for centuries, but of sheer old age and marasmal decline after a life of eleven hundred years, during which she was never at any time subject to a foreign power, or a foreign prince, was never once occupied by a foreign army—and was never bankrupt! Unfortunately for sentiment, no European nation, not ancient Rome herself, can point to such a past, and the suggestion that Venice might have done much better by acting much more sentimentally is utterly futile. It is a good deal as if, when the 'oldest inhabitant' of a village has just died after utterly beating all other records of longevity, [illegible] well-meaning old woman should say: 'Ah, but [illegible] would have lived much longer if he had taken my advice.'

It is useless, I think, to inquire whether the complicated machinery of Venetian government would have worked with the same results if any part of it had been altogether removed. No one of the many parts had been made arbitrarily, still less had any then been called into existence to afford lucrative posts for favourites, as has happened hundreds of times in the existence of other nations. The machinery had grown constantly, as more and more was required of it, but it had never stopped, nor had it ever been taken to pieces for repairs, like the British Constitution, for instance. It was a government of suspicion and precaution, which

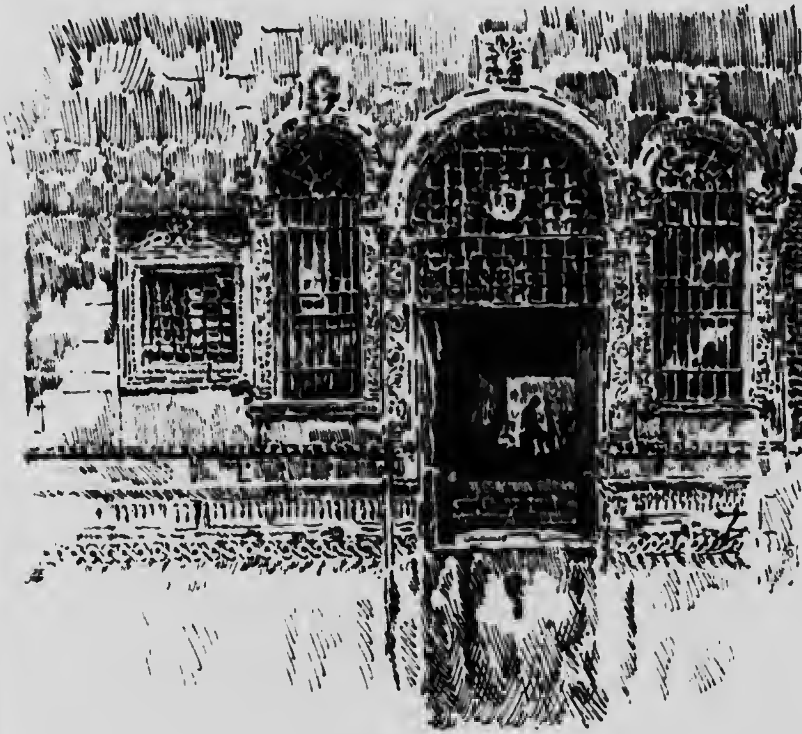
took it for granted that every man, from the Doge down, would do his worst, and provided against the worst that any man could do. This is true; but has any Government ever thriven which reckoned on man's virtues? The plain reason why all the many artificial communities founded by good men, from Buddha to Fourrier, or even Thomas Hughes, have been failures is that they have all reckoned on good motives in men, rather than on bad ones. Venice systematically expected the worst, and when she was disappointed it was to her own advantage. Christianity begins by telling us with energetic emphasis that we are all miserable sinners, and threatens us with torments which, if they could be brought before our eyes, would turn the hair of young men grey. Venice followed very much the same principle. Venice had the Pozzi; Christianity has Hell.

As for the manner in which Venice conducted her wars, by the aid of condottieri of reputation, she only followed the example of most of her neighbours. The practice had many advantages, one of which undoubtedly was that the prince, or the republic, was not bound to support an idle, restless, and ambitious general and his force of trained soldiers in times of peace. The professional fighter was sent for when needed, as one sends for the doctor. He made his bargain, beat the enemy if he could, was paid for the work, and went his way with his army in search of occupation elsewhere.

Of course, he might turn traitor at any moment, if it were to his advantage, and he was never inclined to annihilate an enemy to-day who might be his patron and employer to-morrow. The Italian noun 'condottiero' is derived from the word 'condotta,' which is not easily translatable into another language, but means a kind of articled engagement for a stipulated

purpose. In modern times the municipal physician of each small commune is termed the 'medico condotto,' as it were the articled doctor who is bound to render certain services without charge, because he is paid by the town.

The rise of the condottieri was the result of the



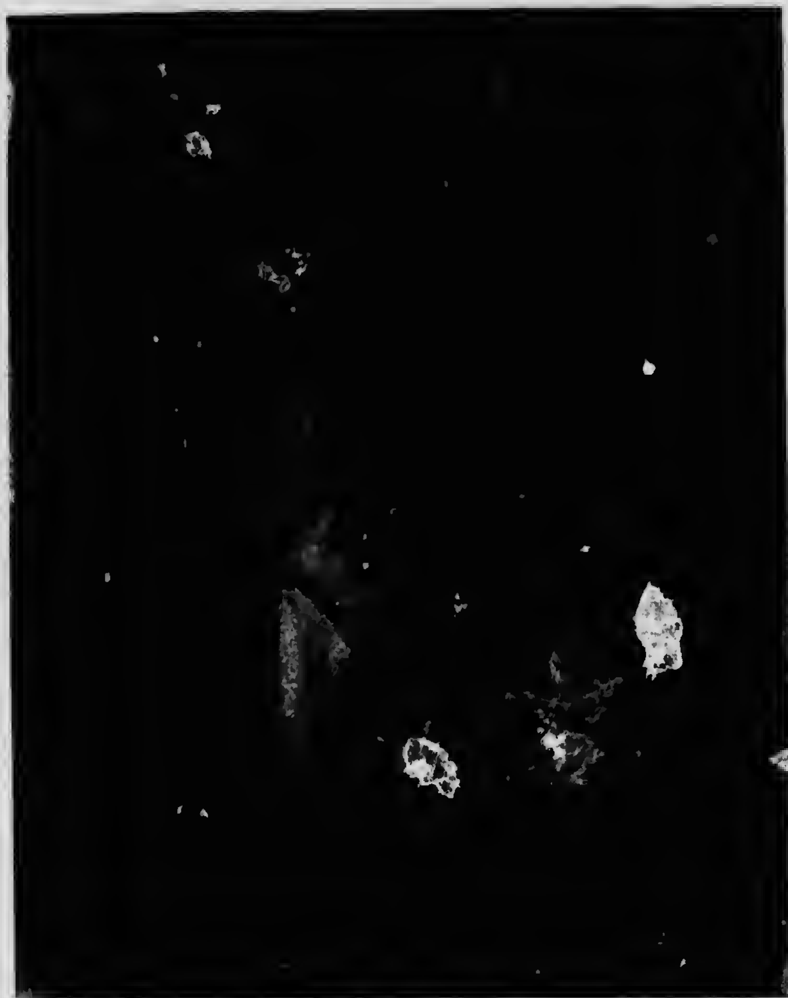
RIO DE S. PANTALEONE

change in the manner of fighting which took place early in the Middle Ages, upon the introduction and development of armour. The first professional fighters were the aristocracy, who spent their time almost entirely in the daily practice of arms, and kept themselves in perfect training by constant exercise. To do this successfully they worked much harder than the

peasants in the fields, who were their natural enemies, and who would have destroyed them altogether if they had not maintained their physical superiority by every means in their power. And this superiority they gradually supplemented by means of armour which by degrees reached such completeness as to make the man and his horse practically invulnerable, before the invention of gunpowder. A score of well-equipped and well-trained knights could cut to pieces ten times their number of men armed only with swords and shields. Moreover, the nobles did not hesitate to hang any rich plebeian who dared to wear steel.

The first soldiers of fortune were penniless nobles who owned nothing but their armour and horses, and often won wealth by fighting for any one who would employ them; and they insisted upon being treated with the deference due to their station. But little by little, as more fighters were thus employed, young men of unusual physical strength regularly went to work to train themselves for the profession, because it was a lucrative one, and was not at first very dangerous; for I repeat that before gunpowder men-at-arms were not easily hurt, and as for noble lineage, the employer cared nothing for that provided that the fighter knew his business. These fighters very naturally attached themselves by scores and by hundreds to any leader who had the reputation of gaining much booty, and of being generous in distributing it. I believe that there was very little good faith, and no trust at all, between the condottiero and his own band; on the contrary, I think the relation must have been very like that which exists on almost every merchant-vessel between the captain and his crew, and every man who has been to sea knows what that is. The best crew in the world have a way of regarding

the captain as their natural enemy which is very surprising to a landsman; yet if they have confidence in his seamanship and navigation, and if he does not



THE CHURCH OF THE FRARI

starve them, they will obey him with a zeal which to the uninitiated greenhorn looks like devotion, and they will even run great risks for him beyond what the law

could require of them. He, on his side, has been before the mast himself and knows exactly what they think about him, and that if he allows them the slightest liberty or indulgence beyond what he and they know to be just, he will lose all control over them. In the study of the mediæval fighting bands and their relations to their leaders, an historian might learn a vast deal in the course of a six weeks' voyage on a big modern sailing vessel.

It happened sometimes that after a very great victory the condottiero received extensive lands besides a large sum of money, and that he was formally adopted into the aristocracy of the country for which he had fought. In that case, he either disbanded his men and retired from the profession, or, if he was still ambitious, he entered upon a career of warfare and conquest on his own account. Francesco Sforza's father began life as a peasant, and he himself ended as Duke of Milan, and left a great name which has descended to modern times.

The fifteenth century, as being the principal period of transition throughout Europe from ancient to modern warfare, was essentially the age of the condottieri, and many famous mercenary captains were employed by Venice,—so many, indeed, that a review of their services would be almost a consecutive history of Venice's relations with her neighbours during that time. There was Carmagnola and Gattamelata, and Francesco Sforza; there was Bartolommeo Colleoni, and Roberto Sanseverino, and there was even a Duke of Mantua. As Daru says, the Republic grew accustomed to keeping princes in her pay.

Even after the war of Chioggia was over, Venice was still involved in the long struggle with the Carrara of Padua, which was to end with the almost total

extermination of that family. Francesco Carrara had, indeed, signed the peace, like the Genoese and the King of Hungary. The Genoese power was broken for ever, and King Louis was far away and not anxious to renew a fruitless war now that his strongest allies were crippled; but Carrara had emerged from the contest practically unweakened, and Venice was not likely to forget that he had done everything in his power to further and abet the aims of Genoa.

There is no history more complicated and hard to bear in mind than that of the republics and principalities of northern Italy in the Middle Ages, as the crimes by which the despots kept their power were more tortuous than any committed before or since. In the events which led to the annexation of Padua by Venice two other states played a part, namely, the principality of Verona, held by an illegitimate descendant of the Scala family, who had incidentally murdered his own brother, the latter's mistress, and all their children; and the great dukedom of Milan, then ruled by Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, who had, in the ordinary course of events, got rid of his brother Bernabò by poison, and kept a couple of nephews locked up in a dungeon.

1385.

Antonio della Scala was jealous of Carrara's influence, and made a secret treaty with Venice, under which, and for a consideration of twenty-five thousand florins monthly, he undertook the conquest of Padua, and the return of Treviso to the Republic. But he was badly beaten by Carrara, who succeeded in bribing two high officials in Venice, an avogador and a member of the Forty. These were, of course, discovered by the Government and duly executed.

Carrara, now fearing a regular war with Venice, sought the alliance of Milan, ostensibly against Verona,

and Galeazzo at once saw a chance of profit for himself in granting the request. He had always hoped to make mischief between Padua and Verona, and it is said that after Scala's defeat he had secretly offered help to both sides at the same time. He now agreed with Carrara to divide and share Scala's principality of Verona. But when Scala was beaten and ruined, Galeazzo naturally refused to let Carrara have any part of the promised spoil.

Rom. iii. 319, sqq.

1387.

Scala took refuge in Venice, where he received a pension, but it was not long before Galeazzo succeeded in having him poisoned; and almost at the same time Galeazzo made a secret treaty with Venice to rob Carrara of his principality. Venice introduced a clause into the agreement which really showed genius. Lest Galeazzo Visconti should serve her as he had served Carrara, the Republic required that he should leave his dukedom in charge of Carlo Zeno while he prosecuted the war in person.

Carrara now turned to Venice for help against Visconti, pretending to know nothing of the secret alliance, and begging that the Republic would use her influence to make Galeazzo keep to the terms of his public treaty. This appeal was received with stony indifference. Carrara, who believed that both Venice and Visconti were actuated by motives of personal hatred against himself, resigned in favour of his son, Francesco the Younger, and retired to Treviso.

But his departure did not improve matters, and his son was soon obliged to surrender Padua to the allies, on condition of receiving a safe conduct for himself and his retinue to visit Pavia and return. This was given, and oath was taken on the Blessed Sacrament that it should be respected. He went to

Milan, and was well received, and it appears that he acted the part of a man delighted with his treatment, and only anxious to be pleased and amused. It is almost needless to say that before long he was plotting against Visconti's life, and that Visconti discovered the plan, and gave orders for his assassination. He fled to France with his young wife Taddea, but was pursued by Visconti's emissaries, and embarked only just in time to save himself and her. She was soon to become a mother, and she suffered terribly from the rough sea. Carrara and she landed; she was placed upon an ass and he walked by her side, while the small vessel kept in sight of the shore. And so they proceeded, embarking again, and once more going ashore as a fresh gale began to blow. They came along the Riviera, well knowing that they were tracked by Visconti; once, at Torbio, they were warned by a friendly person not to enter the town, and they slept in a half-ruined church by the sea-shore. At Ventimiglia the little party excited the suspicions of the Podestà and Carrara was arrested, after having succeeded in placing his wife in safety on board the vessel, but was released again, because by good fortune the officer who arrested him had once served his father. So they went on, through countless adventures, sometimes disguised as German pilgrims, sometimes barely eluding Visconti's search by hiding in bushes by the roadside; they even slept in a stable. They sought refuge in Florence and stayed there awhile, went on to Bologna, and were refused all assistance; and at last the fallen prince received offers to join the fighting band of John Hawkwood, the English condottiero. He almost reached Venice, and was within a stone's throw of Padua, then went back to Florence, and was suddenly elevated to the dignity of ambassador from

the Florentines to the Duke of Bavaria, whose sister had been the wife of the murdered Bernabò Visconti, and the mother of the rightful but imprisoned heir to the dukedom of Milan.

It is not within the province of this work to narrate these wild adventures in detail. It is enough to say that the struggle between the several parties was carried on for years, with no scruple and little humanity. The policy of the different governments shifted continually; after allying herself with Visconti, Venice soon began to plot against him, judging that a ruined neighbour like Carrara would be safer than one too powerful, as Giovanni Galeazzo was growing to be; and so the fugitive couple was taken into favour again by the Republic. Although Visconti's military governor in Padua, when Carrara came to take his own again, sent him word that a man must be a fool who, having left the house by the door, expected to return by the window, yet Carrara soon got the better of him by the help of Venice and the Duke of Bavaria.

What is most amazing in the history of the Italian principalities and republics is that any one of them should ever, under any circumstances, have believed in the promises made by any other. An open treaty was almost always supplemented by a secret one of a precisely contrary nature; oaths ratified upon the faith of the Blessed Sacrament were broken as lightly as lovers' vows; the safe conduct given by a prince or a republic was generally the prelude to an assassination; and governments had not even that temporary regard for their obligations which is vulgarly described as honour among thieves. Writers of history have accustomed us too long to consider that these vices of mediæval Italian diplomacy were manifestations of the deepest craft and of the most profound subtlety,

and we have been taught to look upon Macchiavelli as a master in the art of political dissimulation. Men of northern extraction who, by the accidents of birth, education, and long acquaintance, are thoroughly acquainted with the Latin character, cannot but smile at such a judgment. In all ages, Latins, and especially Italians, have deceived each other, but have rarely succeeded in deceiving us. The wiles of Cæsar Borgia would not have imposed upon an average English schoolboy. In her diplomatic relations with northern Europe, Italy has almost invariably been the victim of that profound duplicity which rests upon a carefully cultivated reputation for respecting the truth. It is the man whose word can generally be trusted who possesses the greatest power of deception when he chooses to perjure himself. It was not the complication of the Italian nature which produced the complicated state of Italian politics in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but its extreme simplicity, which made Italian princes the easy victims of the most transparent deceptions.

1405. Padua taken from Carrara by the Venetians, Francesco Bassano; Ceiling of Sala dello Scrutinio.

On the other hand, after a long lapse of time, and in the presence of documents proceeding from opposite sources, it is now so hard to ascertain the simple truth, that the story of the younger Carrara is told in two quite opposite ways. The version I have given seems to be the more reasonable one; the other tells us that it was not Visconti, but Venice, that persecuted the young couple, and that it was not Venice, but Visconti, who in the end recalled them to Padua. Be that as it may, Carrara was once more in possession of his principality in 1392. It seems to me thoroughly in accordance with the policy of Venice to have thus installed him again at her very gates and under her

protection, in order to crush him and his family the more effectually, as she soon afterwards did. Fourteen years later Venice had literally forced him to declare war against her, and had sent the invincible Carlo Zeno to command her armies; the inevitable result had followed, and Carrara himself with two of his sons were prisoners in the ducal palace. The three were condemned to death, and were strangled in prison.

1406. Rom. iv. 40.

The private execution of the noble prisoners of war was not acknowledged by the Government, and the city was gravely informed that they had, all three, died of colds or coughs, vaguely described as catarrh. But the people were not deceived, and were certainly not displeased; and within twenty-four hours a triumphant song was bawled through the streets of Venice, of which the burden was 'A dead man makes no war.' The words have remained a proverb in Italy.

The elder Carrara, long a state prisoner in Milan, had been duly poisoned with 'magical liquors' by the five court physicians of Visconti in 1393. One of the younger Carrara's younger sons died in Florence very soon after his father, but the fourth survived to be murdered in his turn nearly thirty years later.

I find in Smedley's *Sketches from Venetian History* a very curious and interesting note with regard to him and to the disappearance of his race.

The family name of Carrara, like that of the Scottish Macgregors, was proscribed. A branch of the House which still (1831) exists, or did exist not long ago, at Padua, was compelled to adopt the name of Pappa-fava, a *sobriquet* the origin of which has been traced as follows by Gataro. Marsilietto da Carrara, Signor of Padua for one short month before his assassination, in 1345, when a boy, was lodged, during a pestilence

Smedley, I. chap. x. note.

which raged in the capital, in a monastery at Brondolo. 'Now in all the great religious houses it is an ancient custom to have vegetable broth at dinner every day of the week. On Monday it is made of beans (*fave*), on Tuesday of haricots, on Wednesday of chick-peas, and so on. Marsilietto was so fond of beans that it always appeared a thousand years to him till the Monday came round, and, when it did, he devoured the beans with such delight as was a pleasure to behold. He was, therefore, nicknamed *Pappa-fava* (Bean-glutton) by the rest, and his descendants have retained the name.'

The threefold murder of the Carrara, for it was nothing else, must be regarded as the first result of the continental development of Venice after the war of Chioggia, a development which brought her into closer contact with a number of thoroughly unscrupulous princes and governments. If her misdeeds can be condoned at all, it must be upon that ground; but I find it impossible to agree with Mr. Hazlitt, the author of a recent valuable history entitled *The Venetian Republic*, in considering that, on the whole, Carrara had something like a fair trial, and deserved his fate. The whole body of evidence goes to show that, for his times, he was an exceptionally frank and courageous prince, and much of the so-called proof that was used against him in the end was obtained by the merciless application of torture. Mr. Hazlitt's real love of Venice has, I think, prejudiced him too much in her favour in this instance, and his affectionate industry has discovered everything that can be said in her defence, without bestowing the same care on a fair statement of the other side. In a similar way, a little farther on, he speaks of the outrageous condemnation of Carlo Zeno to a year's imprisonment as an act not unjustifiable, because it was proved that Zeno had actually received a small sum of money from Carrara; but Mr. Hazlitt passes

over Zeno's defence in silence. The invincible warrior admitted, indeed, that he had received the money, but his explanation was perfectly simple and honourable. He had lent the little sum to the prince when the latter had been an outcast, wandering through Italy with his young wife, and Carrara had repaid the money when he had regained Padua. Zeno was over seventy years of age at the time when he was condemned to a year's imprisonment in a dungeon for this act of charity and its consequences; he was the bravest and truest Venetian of his times; he had saved his country from destruction, and had served her with the most perfect integrity under the most trying circumstances, and more than once in the face of her basest ingratitude; he reaped the reward which fell to the share of almost every distinguished Venetian, for he was feared by the Government, hated by the fellow-nobles whom he had outstripped in honour, and condemned by men who were not worthy to loose the latchet of his shoes. And he was convicted on account of a paltry sum of three hundred ducats, lent to a wanderer in distress and duly returned—he, who had given thousands from his own resources to satisfy the demands of the sordid mercenaries whom Venice had employed in the war of Chioggia! In trying to make out that he was treated with justice, Mr. Hazlitt attempts to prove too much. Before quitting a point to which I shall not return, let me, however, testify to the value of Mr. Hazlitt's work, and to the great and useful industry with which he has consulted and accurately quoted a number of authorities not only inaccessible to the ordinary reader, but rarely mentioned, and in some cases not at all, by such historians as Daru, Romanin, and even Sismondi.

The stern justice of former days degenerated into cold cruelty in the fifteenth century. When the

Republic set a price on the heads of Carrara's two youngest sons, after vainly attempting to get possession of their persons by diplomatic means, they were mere boys.

PONTE FIORENZOLA

When Zeno was called before the Council of Ten on the night of the twentieth of January 1406, the warrant for his examination authorised the use of torture, if it should seem necessary.

Rom. iv. 42.

But even the Ten hesitated at that. He admitted and explained the matter of the money lent and repaid; his explanation of his reasons for having received and talked with an envoy from Padua were as honourable as they were clear, and the Ten being mercifully inclined that night, did not proceed to stretch Venice's greatest hero on the rack, but only condemned him to the pozzi for a year, and to the perpetual loss of all offices he held.

He accepted the sentence without a murmur, and his frame of steel did not permanently suffer from the confinement, for he lived twelve years longer in perfect health, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was once more in command of the troops of the Republic, defeated the Cypriotes, and died at last in the full possession of his faculties, leaving his name to undying glory, and the memory of his judges to eternal shame.

The Venetians had buried the elder and the younger Carrara with great magnificence, dressed in rich velvet, with their golden spurs on their heels and their swords by their sides. When Zeno died at last, it was necessary that his funeral should outshine at least the obsequies accorded to the murdered foes of the Republic. The Doge and the Senate attended, and the citizens followed him to his grave in their thousands; but it is good to read that what was left of him was borne to its last rest on the shoulders of brave seamen who had served with him, fought under him, and shed their blood with him. He lies in the church of Santa Maria della Celestia, where you may see his tomb to this day.

An age of transition is sure to be an age of contrasts. One may compare, for instance, the Doge Michel Steno with his successor, Tomaso Mocenigo, the extreme of extravagance with the extreme of

economy, the increasing indebtedness of each department of the State with the excessive severity of the magistrates whose duty it was to watch suspected persons; and from the officials who 'defended the faith' one may turn to the wild band of noble youths who called themselves the 'Compagnia della Calza,' the 'Hose Club,' and whose chief occupation was to amuse and be amused.

The laws were full of contrasts too. The Doge Michel Steno, the first of the fifteenth century, kept four hundred horses in his stables, and by way of adding absurdity to extravagance he dyed their coats yellow, according to the ridiculous custom of the times. Yet he was forbidden by law to blazon his coat-of-arms on the ducal palace, or, in fact, anywhere else, and he was not allowed to have himself addressed as 'My Lord.' The law required him to wear a mantle of royal ermine, and to provide his servants with two new liveries each year; yet he could be treated like a boy, and told to be silent and sit down in Council, as actually happened to him a few years after his election.

Mutinelli, Commercio.

The story is worth telling. I have spoken of the 'Avogadori del Commun,' who were officers of considerable importance and power, and not at first noble. They stood, in a manner, between private individuals and the State in matters of law, civil and criminal; partly in the position of a modern attorney-general, partly as representing the exchequer, but they had a right of interference in many other matters. Two of them were bound to be present at every Council, including that of the Ten, arrayed in long red robes, and they had power to suspend all judgments during three days in cases which, if not positively criminal, concerned the execution of laws and edicts.

Though at first not nobles, and perhaps for that very reason, it had always been their business to act as a Heralds' Office for the purpose of examining into all titles of nobility and claims for seats in the Grand Council.

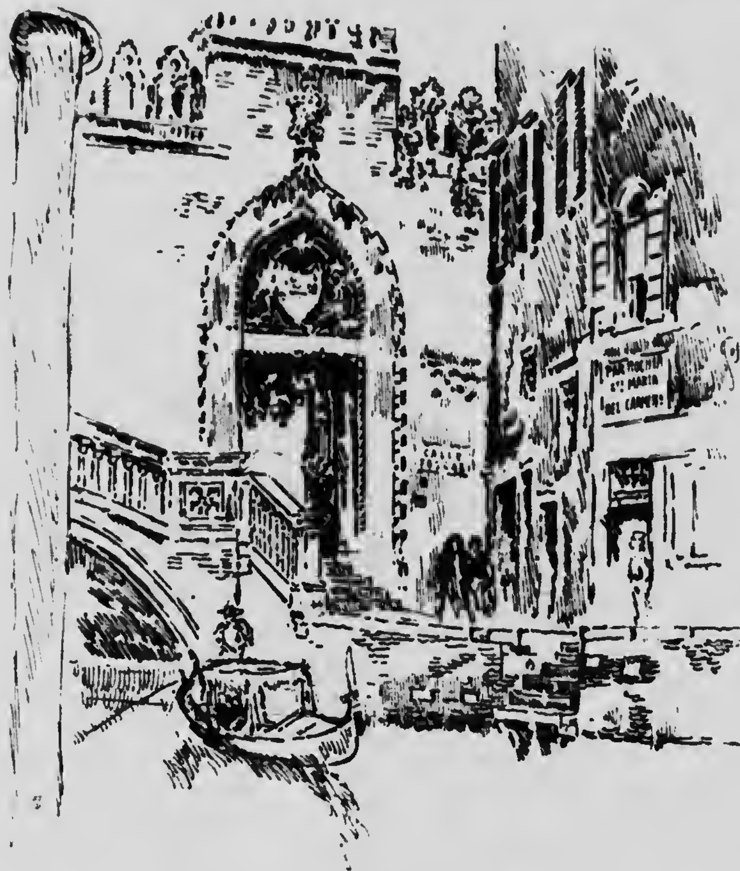
Armand Baschet, Archives.

Now it happened on the second of June in 1410 that a certain noble called Donato Michiel proposed the repeal of a law which had been approved six years earlier by the Great Council; the avogadori opposed the motion, and accused the patrician of encroaching on their rights. But the Doge Steno, agreeing with the noble, lost his temper, and spoke sharply to the avogadori. Now the ducal oath forbade the Doge to speak in defence of any one unless he could obtain permission to do so from four out of six of his counsellors. Three of the latter now tried to call him to order, but he would not listen to them. 'Messer Doge,' they then said bluntly, 'let your Serenity sit down and be silent, and leave the avogadori quite free to do their duty!'

Two other counsellers now took the Doge's side, and he went on talking; whereupon the avogadori imposed on him a fine and threatened to bring an action against him. Both parties grew more and more obstinate, and the quarrel lasted several days, until some intelligent persons discovered that the Doge had not broken his ducal oath, because the avogadori had not yet formally made accusation against Donato Michiel, so that what the Doge had said had not been said in defence of any one, there being no legally accused person, but as a general statement of opinion; and in this way the affair was patched up without scandal.

Under the rule of Tomaso Mocenigo, Steno's successor, the Republic seems to have recovered some-

thing of its pristine vigour, and the germs of internal corruption were retarded in their growth for a time. Mocenigo was as austere, as prudent, and as active as Steno had been extravagant, hot-tempered, and careless.



LAND GATEWAY, PALAZZO FOSCARI

Venice now finally obtained possession of Friuli and Dalmatia, which made her mistress of the Adriatic as far as Corfu.

Mocenigo was a man of iron will and inflexible principle. Nothing gives a clearer idea of his character

2 C

than his own recapitulation of his nine years' reign, when he lay dying of old age.

On his deathbed he assembled about him the principal officers of the Republic, and drew a clear picture of the condition of the country at the end of his administration, giving his hearers at the same time valuable advice as to the election of his successor, which they unfortunately did not follow. I quote the speech in full:—

Rom. iv. 93.

My Lords, by the weakness in which I find myself, I know that I am near the end of my life; wherefore, since I owe great obligation to this my country, which has not only nourished and brought me up, but has also granted me as much pre-eminence and as many honours as can be conferred upon one of her citizens, and although I have always been devoted to my country with my life and with such poor means as fortune gave me, yet I know that by this I have not repaid even a small part of all the good which I have received; and being brought to a limit where I can do no more for my country, it is for my own satisfaction that I desired to assemble all of you here, that I might commend to you this Christian city and exhort you to love your neighbours, and to do justice, and to choose peace and preserve it, as I have endeavoured to do. In my time four millions of debts have been paid off, and there are other six millions owing, which debt was incurred for the wars of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona; we have paid every six months two instalments of the debts, and have paid all my officers and regiments. This our city now sends out in the way of business to different parts of the world ten millions of ducats' worth yearly by ships and galleys, and the profit is not less than two million ducats a year. In this city there are three thousand vessels of one to two hundred 'anfore' (Venetian register of capacity) with seventeen thousand seamen; there are three hundred larger ships with eight thousand sailors. Every year there go to sea forty-five galleys with eleven thousand sailors, and there are three thousand ship's carpenters and three thousand caulkers. There are three thousand weavers of silk and sixteen thousand weavers of cotton cloth; the houses

are estimated to be worth seven millions and fifty thousand ducats. The rents are five hundred thousand ducats. There are one thousand noblemen whose income is from seven hundred to four thousand ducats. If you go on in this manner you will increase from good to better, and you will be the masters of wealth and Christendom ; every one will fear you. But beware, as you would be of fire, of taking what belongs to others and of waging unjust war, for God cannot endure those errors in princes. Every one knows that the war with the Turks has made you brave and experienced of the sea ; you have six generals fit to fight any great army, and for each of these you have sea-captains, slingers, officers, boatswains, mates, and rowers enough to man one hundred galleys ; and in these years you have shown distinctly that the world considers you the leaders of Christianity. You have many men experienced in embassies and in the government of cities, who are accomplished orators. You have many doctors of divers sciences, and especially many lawyers, wherefore numerous foreigners come here for judgment of their differences, and abide by your verdicts. Your mint coins every year a million ducats of gold and two hundred thousand of silver ; it also coins yearly eight hundred thousand ducats' worth between 'grossetti, mezzanini, and soldoni.' Fifty thousand ducats of 'grossetti' go every year to Soria, and to the mainland, and other parts ; of 'mezzanini' and 'soldoni' one hundred thousand ducats ; the rest remains in the country (Venice). You know that the Florentines send us each year sixteen thousand pieces of cloth, which we make use of (in commerce) in Barbary, in Egypt, in Soria, in Cyprus, in Rhodes, in Roumania, in Candia, in the Morea, and in Istria, and every month the Florentines bring into this city seventy thousand ducats' worth of all sorts of merchandise, which amounts to eight hundred and forty thousand ducats yearly and more ; and they take back French woollens, catalans, and crimson, and fine corded wool and silk, gold and silver thread and jewellery, with great advantage to the city. Therefore, be wise in governing such a State, and be careful to watch it and to see that it is not diminished by negligence. You must be very careful as to who is to succeed in my place, for by him the Republic may have much good and much evil. Many of you

are inclined to Messer Marino Caravello, who is a worthy man, and deserves that honour for his worthy qualities. Messer Francesco Bembo is a good man, and the same is Messer Giacomo Trevisan; Messer Antonio Contarini, Messer Faustin Michiel, and Messer Alban Badoer, all these are wise and deserving. Many are inclined to Messer Francesco Foscari, and do not know that he is proud and untruthful; he has no principle in his affairs, he has an exaggerated disposition, he grasps at much and holds but little. If he be Doge you will always be at war; he who has ten thousand ducats will not be master of one thousand, he who has two houses will not be the master of one; you will spend gold and silver, reputation and honour, and where you are now the chiefs, you will be the slaves of your soldiers and men-at-arms and of their captains. I could not resist the desire to tell you this opinion of mine. God grant that you may elect the best man, and direct you, and preserve you in peace.

Mocenigo died on the fourth of April 1423.

In spite of his admonitions and of a considerable opposition, the electors chose Francesco Foscari to succeed him, and henceforth war with Milan became a certainty. It was on the occasion of his election that the last remnant of the people's right of interference was done away with. Hitherto it had been customary to announce each election to the people, adding the words 'if such be your pleasure.' This time the High Chancellor, who, it will be remembered, was never a noble, inquired, with a smile, what would happen if the people answered that it was not their pleasure. The result was that the formula was never used again.

But the people were easily amused and let the nobles do as they pleased, even when, at a later date, the designation 'Venetian Commonwealth' was abandoned, and the word 'Signoria' was officially substituted in its place. This, literally translated, means 'lordship,' but it has long been a convenient custom to make an English word of it, as 'Signory.'

Some idea of the character of Francesco Foscari is given by the following anecdote:—The Giustiniani family had built three palaces on the Grand Canal, one of which had been sold as a residence to the young Duke of Mantua, whom his brother, when dying, had commended to the protection of the Republic. Foscari could not endure the thought that the Giustiniani should still have two palaces finer than his only one, and when the Government sold the third at auction in 1428, he bought it and raised it by building another story in order that it might outdo the others. It was then said to have three hundred and sixty-five windows, and it was valued at twenty thousand ducats, say, at fifteen thousand pounds sterling, which was a vast sum for those days.

Lazzari, Guida.

Foscari's name recalls dramatic memories, and, to tell the truth, it has frequently been taken in vain by poets and playwrights, and even by some chroniclers and historians. His son Jacopo was not the martyr he has been represented to be, nor was he himself the 'Roman father' of the play. I shall tell the true story—a terrible one enough, even in its accurate form—after briefly reviewing his reign.

The dying Mocenigo had not been altogether wrong in his predictions about Foscari, for before long the Republic was at war with Milan, as the ally of Florence, and was squandering money and men at a disastrous rate. Foscari undoubtedly belonged to the war party, yet in the true interests of his country he really controlled his own fiery nature for some time, and endeavoured to maintain a neutral position with regard to the quarrels of the Visconti with the Florentines, during which it was the constant aim of the latter to break up the alliance which was still in force between Milan and Venice.

Giovanni Galeazzo was dead. His eldest son, Giovanni-Maria, had succeeded him, a maniac who is said to have fed his hounds on human flesh; and he had been dethroned by Facino Cane, and then massacred by the Milanese, as he richly deserved. His brother, Filippo-Maria, when Facino Cane died childless, promptly married the latter's widow, the unhappy Beatrice da Tenda, in order to inherit something of Facino's popularity and all of his vast estates. This being accomplished, and not caring for her company, as she was twice his age, he brought a false accusation against her, tortured her, and sent her to the scaffold, while she protested her innocence. But this was only an incidental crime, and would doubtless have been forgotten with a hundred others but for the noble bearing of the unfortunate woman throughout the tragedy that ended her life. The historically important fact is that Filippo-Maria determined to recover every inch of the wide territory which had been ruled by his father, and that if he had accomplished his end, Venice would have been required to restore what she had taken from the Milanese.

Florence was at that time in one of her only too frequent phases of ill-luck, yet her hatred for the Visconti was such that she could not resist the temptation to fight Milan under all circumstances. She needed help, of course; above all, she needed money, and Venice was the richest nation in Europe. As has been seen, too, from Mocenigo's dying speech, the two States were in close commercial relations. It was natural, therefore, that Florence should seek assistance of Venice; it was equally natural, according to the old traditions of Venice, that aid should be refused, unless it could be given profitably.

Foscari was for war, but was not able to influence

the Senate in favour of the Florentines, to whom he had always been friendly. It was a stranger and a fugitive, a soldier of fortune of the highest physical

PALAZZO REGINA DI CIPRO

courage, of the lowest origin, and of no principles at all, who turned the scale—no less a personage than the famous condottiero Carmagnola.

This remarkable man's real name was Francesco

Bossone, an appellation derived from the village in which he had been born of peasant parents. *Rom. iv. 106.* He had enlisted at an early age, and had attracted the attention and favour of Filippo-Maria Visconti, immediately after Facino Cane's death, by almost catching Ettore Visconti, whom Filippo wished to murder. After this, Carmagnola's advance to fortune was rapid and unchecked. In ten years we find him with the title of Count of Castelnuovo, as Filippo's governor over Genoa, married to a widowed Antonia Visconti, who passed for a daughter of Giovanni Galeazzo; and so he prospered, till he had acquired such wealth that he deemed it safe to invest a part of it in foreign securities. As an especial favour, by a decree of the Great Council of Venice, he was allowed to buy bonds of the Venetian debt with his money, a privilege rarely granted to any foreigner. Before long he had cause to congratulate himself upon this piece of fortune, and upon his own caution, which had led directly to it.

Various explanations have been given of his disgrace with Filippo Visconti; it has been said that he lost the prince's favour by the calumnies of people who envied him. Romanin says Filippo grew suspicious of him, because he was too successful and too popular with the troops, and that the envy of courtiers did the rest; that on being recalled from the governorship of Genoa he attempted in vain to obtain an audience of the Duke, and did all he could to justify himself; but that, as he failed altogether, he withdrew to Piedmont, and did his best to incite Amadeus of Savoy against Filippo; that the latter then confiscated all his possessions, and arrested his wife and daughters, whom he held as hostages; and that, finally, Carmagnola went to Venice, and offered

1424.

1425.

his services and those of eighty men-at-arms whom he had with him, the Republic being then on the eve of yielding to the entreaties of Florence and declaring war on Visconti.

The plain truth of all this seems to be that Carmagnola was an unprincipled scoundrel, who meant to be on the winning side whatever happened, and who, being very well informed, foresaw that a league was about to be made, with Venice at its head, which would be in a position to defy his old master. The latter, of course, tried to poison him by secret agents, who failed, were caught, and were duly tortured and hanged by the Venetian Government, which took the diplomatic precaution of not mentioning the Duke of Milan in the case. There is a sameness about the crimes of the Visconti which makes them almost tiresome; Carmagnola was bolder and quite as profound, but the habit of superiority in actual fighting made him underestimate, in the end, the cool prudence of Venice and the many-sided duplicity of the Duke.

Venice accepted the adventurer's offer, and soon afterwards placed him in command of her land army; and before long Mocenigo's prediction was fulfilled, and the Republic was reduced to something like slavery under the iron hand of the captain she had hired. He, on his part, played a double game from the first, and made up his mind that if he must beat his old master, he would hurt him as little as he could in so doing, and would try to renew secret and friendly relations with him while acting as the Republic's general.

It was about this time that the Doge Foscari made a speech in favour of the Florentine alliance, which was first published by Romanin. It bears the stamp of a genuine report, and much of it is in the Venetian dialect. Foscari argued that unless Venice would help

Florence, the latter would shortly be annihilated by Visconti, who would then proceed at once to the destruction of Venice herself. He referred incidentally to a speech just made by Carmagnola, and assured the Republic that under such a general's leadership there was nothing to fear, whereas there was great hope of extending the boundaries of the Republic. He wound up by saying that Visconti aspired to rule all Italy, despised reason, both human and divine, and was always taking other men's property by fraud and deception; and Foscari called upon the Venetians to help in crushing a common enemy, for the perpetual peace of all Italy.

The speech is hot and warlike. Nevertheless Romanin, three pages farther on, declares that it is a great injustice to accuse Foscari of having promoted war, and complains that historians have made the Doge the scapegoat to bear the blame of all the wars in which Venice then became involved. But Romanin was not only an enthusiastic Venetian; he was also, to some extent, the apologist of the elder Foscari.

The ratification of the league was announced at the end of January 1426, and Carmagnola's definite commission dates from the nineteenth of February. He proceeded to besiege the fortresses of Brescia, allowed the Florentine general to plan the really astonishing entrenchments, looked on while the machinery of attack was set in motion, and departed to follow a long cure of baths at Abano, very much to the disgust of the Republic. He came back in leisurely fashion to the scene of action a few days before the two castles capitulated, in time to take credit for the whole affair, yet almost without having struck a blow at Visconti.

Sept. 15, 1426. Taking of Brescia, Aliense; Sala della Bussola, ducal palace.

Meanwhile Francesco Bembo had transported

another force up the Po in a flotilla of small vessels, and farther still up the river Adda, and had actually made a demonstration before Pavia, in the heart of Visconti's dominions. The Duke having failed to poison Carmagnola, tried to burn down the Venetian arsenal by treachery, which was discovered, and his wretched agent was tortured to death in due form.

Pope Martin V., who was a Colonna, and therefore a Ghibelline—the only Ghibelline pope who ever reigned—was the one sovereign in Italy who still favoured Visconti, and he now intervened to make peace. A treaty was patched up by which the Duke lost a good deal of territory, and was bound to set at liberty the wife and daughters of Carmagnola. This was the peace of 1426, concluded on the thirtieth of December. Little more than a month later, on the fifth of February 1427, the Republic sent for Carmagnola again, for the Duke had simply refused to hand over the fortresses he was to yield by the treaty, and on the twenty-fourth of March Carmagnola and his wife made a sort of triumphal entry into the city.

In the campaign which followed, though for the most part pursuing his policy of inactivity, in spite of the protests of the Senate and the Doge, Carmagnola condescended to win a battle for Venice at Macalò, which it must be admitted, for his reputation, was a brilliant victory; and he soon asked leave to go and take more baths, as if the whole affair were perfectly indifferent to him. To this the Senate objected, but he was given all manner of rich compensation for his services, and came to Venice on leave. He was received with an ovation.

Oct. 11, 1427. Victory of Carmagnola at Macalò. Francesco Bassano; ceiling, Hall of the Great Council.

He had, indeed, been opposed to some of the greatest condottieri of the time, such as Francesco

Sforza and Piccinino, and the Venetians seem to have valued him, because they were convinced that he could beat any opponent if he pleased, and only required gifts and flattery to rouse him to action. These were lavished on him, and a second peace with Visconti was concluded in April 1428, about fourteen months after the first. It was ratified and announced in May, and again Carmagnola entered Venice in triumph. He was now formally invested with the great feudal estate of Chiari.

Bergamo surrenders to Carmagnola, Aliense; Sala della Bussola.

As was to be expected, Visconti again failed to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and within three years hostilities broke out again. To the amazement and mortification of the Venetian Government, however, Carmagnola now resigned his commission, almost at the moment when he was to have taken command, and there is reason to believe that he was even then secretly negotiating with Visconti. But the Republic could not afford to lose such a man at such a moment; he was offered conditions which must have surpassed even his own tolerably large expectations. Not only was he to possess for himself and all his descendants the great estate of Chiari, with its rental, but another large feudal holding in the territory of Brescia was promised him on the same conditions; if all Lombardy were taken, he was promised the complete restitution of all the domains which Visconti had formerly bestowed upon him; all plunder and all prisoners of war were to be his, the Republic contracting to pay him a certain sum for each prisoner of importance whom he handed over to the Government; as if this were not enough, he was to be crowned Duke of Milan if he could drive out Visconti.

While these astonishing offers were being made to him by Venice, he received more than one letter from

the Duke, requesting him to act as an intermediary to make peace. This fact was, of course, soon known to the Venetian Government, and we can hardly be surprised that the Venetians should not have liked the part which the Duke was thrusting upon a man who had betrayed him, and whom he should have considered as his worst enemy.

Mr. Horatio Brown has conjectured with great acumen that Visconti, who thoroughly understood the character of Carmagnola, as well as that of the Venetian Government, chose the surest means of ruining the condottiero of whom he wished to be rid. Carmagnola, equally flattered by the Duke's secret letters and by the overwhelming offers of the Republic, began to assume airs of superiority which could not but excite the suspicion of a Government whereof suspicion itself was the very foundation and mainspring.

H. Brown, Ven. Studies, 165.

A series of discussions now began between the Senate and Visconti, in which Carmagnola was continually concerned, but it was soon the gossip of the city that the letters which he really sent to the Duke were by no means identical with the drafts of those which he showed the Senate for approbation. It is at least certain that, after war was declared, as was inevitable, Carmagnola showed neither decision nor energy when obliged to face Visconti's army, and allowed himself to be beaten by Francesco Sforza, who was afterwards himself Duke of Milan. He showed all his old energy in Friuli in driving out the Hungarians, whom Visconti had induced to make a descent upon that territory, but he had no sooner come back to Brescia, for which Visconti himself was fighting, than his hesitation returned.

Smedley, in connection with what now happened,

quotes the following remarkable passage from the twelfth chapter of Macchiavelli's *Principe*: 'Perceiving that Carmagnola had become cold in their service, they yet neither wished nor dared to dismiss him, from a fear of losing that which he had acquired for them; for their own security, therefore, they were compelled to put him to death.'

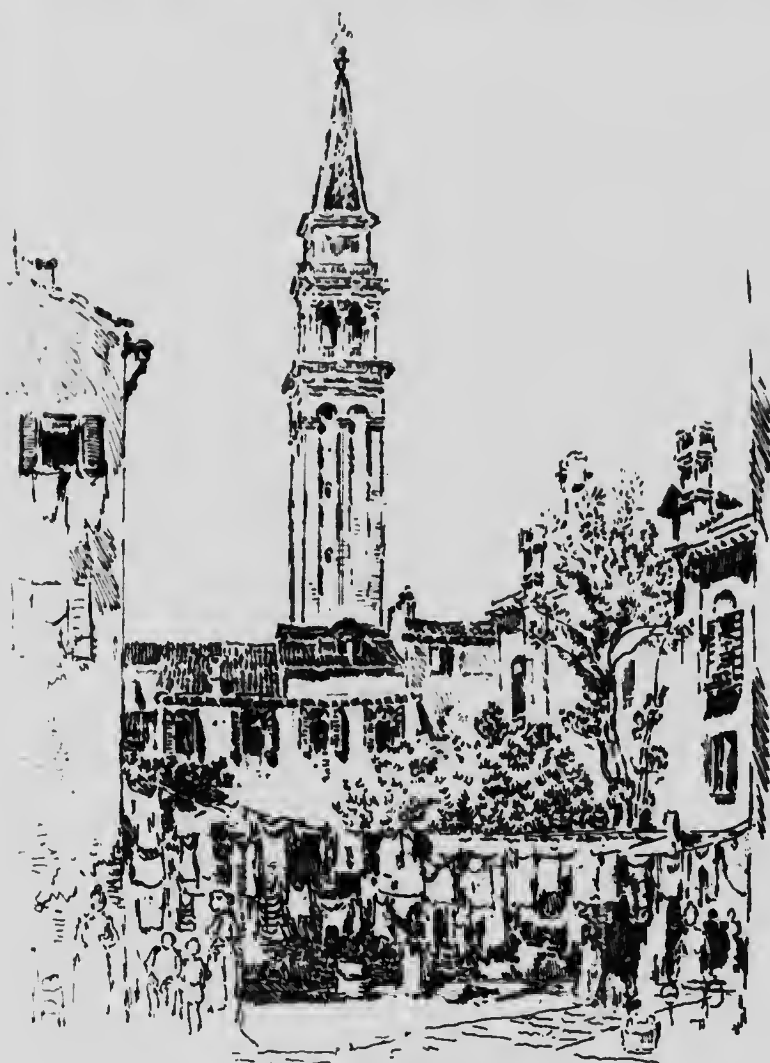
The condottiero now received a message from the Signory, requesting him 'to give himself the trouble' of coming to Venice to discuss a new plan of campaign. Completely taken off his guard, he at once left his camp and repaired to the capital, where he was met by eight nobles, who accompanied him to the ducal palace, telling him that the Doge expected him to dinner.

His own small escort was dismissed at the door, and he was ushered into a hall where he waited a few moments. Then came Leonardo Mocenigo and said that the Doge was indisposed, and begged that he would come again on the following day. Carmagnola left the room, followed by the eight nobles. In the courtyard he was about to take the direction which would have led him to the canal where he had left his boat, when the nobles suddenly came up with him and pointed towards the small porch under which was the outer entrance to the prisons.

'This way, Sir Count,' they said. 'But that is not my way,' he answered. 'You are mistaken,' they said, 'this is the best way.' At the same moment, certain gaolers appeared and pushed him through the door of the pozzi. 'I am lost!' he cried, as he went in.

This was on the seventh of April. The manner of the general's arrest may be excused for its lack of dignity by the necessities of the situation. The man was most undoubtedly a traitor and a villain, but it would have been impossible to seize him in the midst of his own men-at-arms, and the most prudent manner

of getting possession of his person was to draw him



RAMO CORTE DELLA VIDA, S. FRANCESCO DELLA VIDA

into an ambush. The wise and merciful fathers of the Republic would assuredly not have hesitated at much

worse things; only a few days earlier they had offered twenty-five thousand ducats to a man called Muazzo, employed in Visconti's household, to poison the Duke. The Republic had already fully adopted the progressive methods of its day.

Carmagnola's trial occupied some time, and was conducted on the whole in a regular and legal manner. It began on the ninth of April, and on the eleventh the once all-powerful captain, to whom those who were now his judges had offered the dukedom of Milan, was put to the torture like any other criminal. On the fifth of May the Council of Ten gave its verdict as follows:—

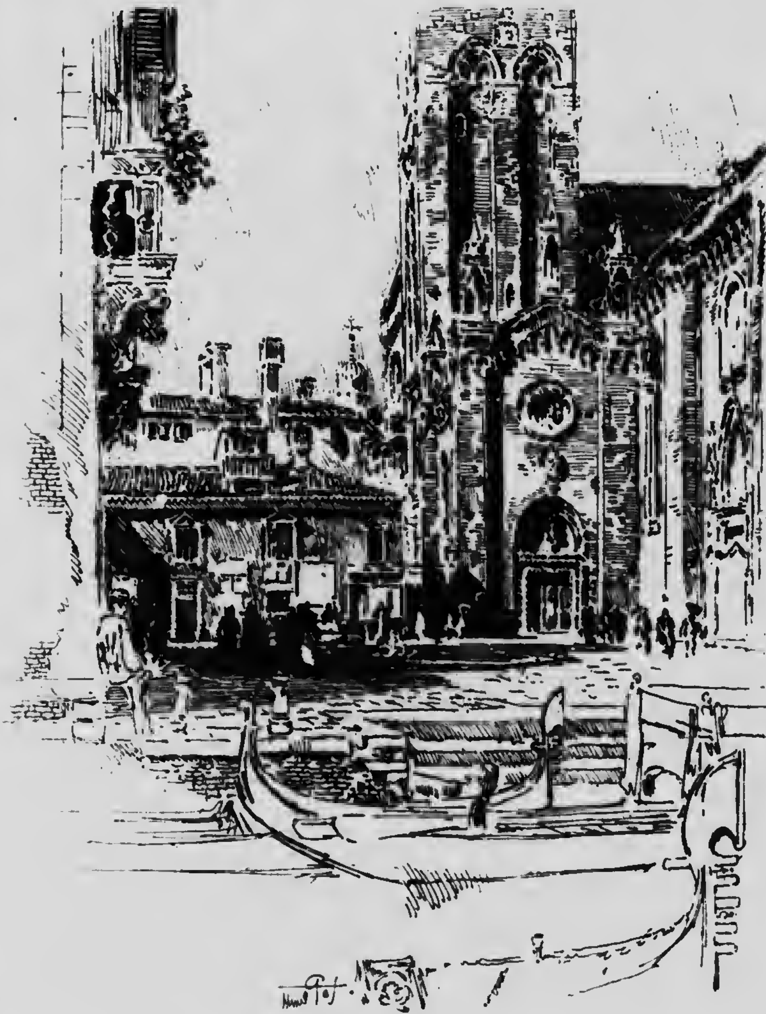
'That this Count Francesco Carmagnola, a public traitor to our dominion, be led to-day, after nones, at the usual hour, with a gag in his mouth and with his hands tied behind his back, according to custom, between the two columns of the Square of Saint Mark's, to the usual place of execution, and that his head be there struck off his shoulders, so that he die.'

Rom. iv. 160.

The sentence goes on to direct that the Count's widow should enjoy the interest of ten thousand ducats of the bonded debt, on condition that she should live in Treviso. Provision was also made for his unmarried daughters. As for the one who was affianced to Sigismondo Malatesta, since there was no divorce law by which he could sever an alliance which was odious, he adopted the simple expedient of murdering her as soon as he had married her and secured her dowry.

Carmagnola's body was dressed in crimson velvet, and on his severed head was placed the cap which still bears his name. The corpse was borne to the church of San Francesco della Vigna with twenty-four torches, but as it was about to be buried there, the Capuchin monk who had received his last confession appeared in

haste and said that the dead man had wished to be buried in the church of the Frari, and he was accordingly laid there, in the cloister. In Venice it was the custom



THE FRARI

that the clothes of executed persons should be given to the gaoler, not to the headsman; but in this case the Council of Ten decreed that the dress worn by

Carmagnola should be handed over with his body to the monks of the church where he was buried, the gaoler receiving ten ducats as compensation.

Rom. iv. 162, note 2.

His remains are now interred in Milan beside those of his wife Antonia in the greater church of Saint Francis. The historian Morosini, quoted by Romanin in a note, judged from his statue that he had the hard face, the cruel eye, and, generally, the unpleasant aspect which denote a man of dangerous character and stubborn purpose; and adds that he was a person of a keen wit, a tough constitution, and great courage, but capricious and of doubtful honesty.

Carmagnola's wife was deeply implicated in his treachery, as is not surprising considering that she was known as the niece of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, and was believed by many to be his daughter. She and her children were required to remain in Venice some time before proceeding to Treviso, and were detained in the convent of the Vergini, the same religious house which had served as a prison for two ladies of the Quirini family more than a century earlier. It was there that the Countess received the news of her husband's execution, which was announced to her by one of the heads of the Council of Ten and an avogador; and these officials at the same time demanded of her a list of her jewellery, assuring her that the Signory would forgive her misdeeds if she would only show a proper spirit of contrition. I find no account of the poor woman's behaviour on this occasion; but as the sentence was executed only a few hours after it was passed, the news of her husband's death on the scaffold was in all likelihood conveyed to her without any previous notice of his condemnation, and it was accompanied by a cold request for an inventory of her jewels, and a lecture on

patience and repentance. Even the imagination of a novelist fails to guess what she must have felt as she listened to the grim men who had just condemned her

THE CHOIR SCREEN, FRARI

husband and seen him die, and now wished to be told how many earrings and gold chains and brooches she had in her possession.

She afterwards really retired to Treviso with her daughters, and the Republic continued to pay her the promised allowance, till she one day escaped to Milan, whereby the obligations of the Venetian Government were ended.

Whatever Visconti's plans may have been when he secretly renewed his relations with Carmagnola, whether he intended to compass his ruin or not, it is certain that he bitterly resented his execution, and used every means, including the most inhuman tortures, to discover the names of those who had accused and condemned the condottiero. If he had succeeded he would no doubt have tried to poison them all.

Not long after Carmagnola was imprisoned, Piccinino, one of Visconti's generals, captured in a skirmish at Valtellina Giorgio Corner, a noble and very influential Venetian, who had acted as Provveditor to oversee Carmagnola's doings in the field. He was taken to Monza, near Milan, and confined there in one of the prisons called 'Forni,' 'ovens,' compared with which the dreaded pozzi seem to have been thought airy and luxurious quarters. He lived to write an account of what he suffered, and I shall give a literal translation of his words, not for the sake of inspiring horror, but because the document bears the unmistakable stamp of truth, and is one of very few of the kind which have come down to us.

Corner was first examined by Gaspare de Grossis, Doctor of Laws.

Rom. iv. 166, note.

I felt as if my soul were being torn out of me, when he said that I must speak the truth; and when I answered that I had told it he gave me a wrench of the rope, and had me drawn up and brought to him like dead, threatening me greatly, that he would have this truth; and seeing me like dead he went away, and I was

let down into the 'forno' by a leathern belt, and was placed upon a mattress on the boards, and was given the yolk of an egg and a drink. This was my dinner, and I was not able to get my hand to my mouth in any way; so I lay

S. ROCCO

that night and never could sleep. In the morning came he that watched me, and made fire, and gave me the yolks of two eggs, and with these I remained that day.

On the next Friday morning he came to me and had me

bound and drawn up and taken to him, asking if I would tell the truth, and when I said I had told it, he said he wished to know who had told the Signory about the Count (Carmagnola) having an understanding with my Lord Duke. I said I knew no one who had made the accusation. Seeing that he could get nothing else, he had me fastened to the rope, and gave me a wrench of the rope that I thought I was dying. Seeing that he could get nothing more from me, he made me get up and had my arms set (they were dislocated by the torture), with even greater pain, and had me brought to him, and he spoke his mind (abusively) and went away. On the next Saturday in the evening he caused a bar to be placed on the floor in a hollow, and my feet were put under it and hammered upon with a wooden pin, so that I almost died of the pain. On the last day of December, which was Saint Sylvester's day, there came to me the aforesaid Messer Gaspare, and with him came Lunardo di Lunardi, the inquisitor of Milan, at the hour of matins, and had me taken up. Let every one guess how my heart felt. I commended myself to God and went before them. Being before them Lunardo asked me if I knew him, and I said: No. And he answered me: Also I will not leave thee till I have so wrought that thou shalt know me; and saying: Thou hast refused to tell the truth to Messer Gaspare; the prince has sent me to know the truth of thee; thou hadst best tell it and get his good grace; but though thou wouldest not tell it, be quite sure that thou shalt nevertheless tell it, or thine arms shall be left hanging to the cord (torn from the body). And with other words, which I write not, for hearing this every one may fancy how my heart felt. I answered that I had told the truth to Messer Gaspare, and that he (Lunardo) ought to be sure of this, because if it had been my own son who had accused the Count Carmagnola I would say so rather than desire more torture, and all the more he should consider that I would do so if it were a stranger; and I said the like as to what concerned the other chief points (of the inquiry). Then Lunardo said to me: Thou wilt not name the real traitor; he had me undressed and fastened to the cord, etc.

On the second of January Corner was told that

he was to be tortured again, and he addressed his tormentors as follows :—

Since this is your will, which will soon be done, I ask one thing of you as a grace, that since I am to lose this body so miserably, I may not lose my soul, and that I may confess and receive communion, in order that our Lord God may have mercy on this poor soul. Lunardo answered : I wish it may go to the house of the Devil. Hearing this cruel speech I answered that although fortune had given him power over the body, God had not given him power over the soul, and that I hoped, by His grace, that if I had good patience this should be my purgatory, for my innocence' sake ; and that He would receive my soul into His glory, and (I said) : The more pain you inflict on this wretched body so much the more merit will He give me, and to Him I commend myself.

The unhappy man was kept in prison six years, and was supposed in Venice to be dead, but he succeeded in sending a message to his son. The Republic then sternly demanded of Visconti his release, and he returned to his home at last, deformed by torture, pale and emaciated, with a beard that descended to his belt. He lived just two months after that, prematurely broken by his horrible sufferings, and was followed to his grave by a vast concourse of the people. Romanin says that he was a nephew of the Doge Marco Corner, whose brave defence of his poverty and of his burgher wife, when he was a candidate, will be remembered. It is more likely that the Doge was the Provveditor's great-uncle, as he died a very old man, more than seventy years before the death of the unfortunate Giorgio. It is possible, however, that Romanin may have meant that the latter was the Doge's grandson, for in Italian there is but one word to signify 'grandson' or 'nephew,' though when the former meaning is intended it is usual to make it clear.

Foscari's name is so closely associated in most persons' memories with the tragedy of his worthless son, that we are apt to forget that his reign lasted a third of a century, and covered one of the most important periods in Venetian history. It embraces most of the wars of the league, the rise and fall of Carmagnola, the end of the house of Visconti, and the foundation and elevation of the Sforza family; and, most important of all, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

Portraits of Doge Francesco Foscari: one, attributed to G. Bellini, Museo Civico, Room XVI.; another, by Bartolommeo Bon, Camera degli Stucchi, ducal palace.

Much sentimental nonsense has been written about the two Foscari, and even such a historian as Daru has had the courage to tell us that the Doge presided in the court which condemned his son, and that Jacopo received his sentence from the mouth of his own father. Not content with stating these impossibilities, Daru has actually described the scene, with many details, though it could not, under any circumstances, have taken place, since a special edict of the Council of Ten expressly forbade the Doge, or any member of his family, to be present at the trial.

Jacopo's troubles began soon after his marriage in 1441 with Lucrezia, a daughter of Leonardo Contarini. The wedding had been celebrated with great splendour, and the bride had been conducted home over a bridge especially built for the ceremony across the Grand Canal; there had been boat-races, a tournament in which the great Francesco Sforza himself took part, and there had been illuminations of the city and endless other festivities. The bridegroom is said to have been a very cultivated young man of great personal charm, a Greek scholar, a lover of poetry, and a collector of rare manuscripts, but of weak character, careless and

Rom. iv. 266 sqq., and Molmenti, Dogaressa, 250 sqq.

extravagant. It really looks as if his fate had been the final consequence of some momentary lack of means wherewith to satisfy his luxurious tastes. Three years after his marriage he was accused before the Council of Ten of having received gifts from several important citizens in consideration of obtaining honorific or lucrative posts for them through his influence with his father. One of his servants and several other persons

GRAND CANAL LOOKING TO CANARREGGIO

were examined under torture, and their evidence led to an order for his arrest. He had been informed of what was going on, however, and had already escaped.

The trial proceeded without him, and it was sufficiently proved that a box existed in the Doge's house containing valuables which he had received. The law forbidding any member of the Doge's family to receive any gifts whatsoever, under any circumstances, was most rigidly

enforced in Venice, and Jacopo was justly sentenced to a temporary exile; he was known to be in Trieste, and a galley was ordered to proceed thither to convey him to Modon in the Peloponnesus, whence he was to journey at his own expense to Napoli di Romania, near Corinth, within one month; and while there he was to present himself to the governor every day, to sleep in the city every night, to keep no more than three servants, and to be treated in all respects as a private citizen. If he refused to go on board the galley a price was set on his capture; he was to be brought to Venice and beheaded between the columns. Several minor personages were at the same time sentenced to short terms of exile, and to the loss of any public offices they might be holding at the time.

offence was patent, the trial was legal, and the condemnation was just; but Jacopo cared for none of these things, and altogether declining the invitation of the Ten to go on board the galley sent for him, he continued to live in Trieste as if nothing had happened. The Ten, on their side, were by no means anxious to incur the odium of decapitating the Doge's son, as they had declared that they would do if he refused obedience, and they now begged the Doge himself to use his paternal influence with Jacopo, in order that they might not be driven to extremities; but as this measure also remained without any effect, the Council confirmed its sentence and confiscated Jacopo's property. At any moment he might have been arrested, brought to Venice, and beheaded; but instead of this, a committee was named to examine into the circumstances. It was ascertained that Jacopo was in bad health; it was voted that this fact should be accepted as a sufficient excuse for his disobedience; and, by way of smoothing matters over, it was decreed that he should

be exiled only to Treviso and the Trevisan district, almost within sight of Venice. Jacopo thought fit to submit to this mild decree, which was not modified, although it was soon afterwards discovered that he had received two thousand and forty ducats, with a quantity of silver plate, from Francesco Sforza. A year later the Doge presented a petition to the Council of Ten begging that, in consideration of his own old age, and of the fact that Jacopo, his wife, his children, and all their servants, suffered from malarious fever in the climate of Mestre, Jacopo might be allowed to return to Venice. This petition was actually granted, doubtless owing to the signal services rendered to the Republic by the old Doge during a reign which had already lasted twenty years.

Jacopo returned, and during the next three years nothing is known of his mode of life. It must be admitted that, so far, the Ten had acted with unusual clemency. They can hardly be blamed, however, for having watched Jacopo afterwards.

On the evening of the fifth of November 1450 an atrocious murder was committed, and the fact that the victim, the noble Ermolao Donato, had been one of the heads of the Ten during Jacopo's trial, and that he was killed just after he had left the ducal palace, cast suspicion upon the younger Foscari. It was not until two months later that a formal accusation was laid against him and he was arrested. There was certainly strong evidence to prove the crime. Foscari had long made no secret about his hatred of the murdered man; a servant of Jacopo's had been seen hanging about the palace as if waiting for some one just before Donato had come out; and a good many minor pieces of testimony were adduced.

There is not the slightest truth in the story that

Jacopo Loredan ever held the Foscari family responsible for the death of his father, who was probably poisoned by Visconti, nor that he entered the crime as a debt in his ledger, and wrote 'paid' opposite the entry when the elder Foscari was deposed. Yet it is true that a sort of feud had long existed between the two families, that Pietro Loredan had been the unsuccessful candidate when Foscari had been elected, and that Jacopo Loredan now took an active part in the proceedings against Jacopo Foscari.

The trial was not in any way a secret one. The evidence was only circumstantial, and even under torture Jacopo confessed nothing. In modern England or America he would not have been tortured, but he would in all probability have been hanged for the murder. The Ten must have felt the difficulty in which they were placed, and they met it by condemning him to exile in Crete, not allowing his wife and children to accompany him. Foscari was then taken from the ducal palace and placed on board a ship, which conveyed him to his destination. He remained in Crete unmolested during five years.

Here, again, dramatists and writers of fiction have invented an extraordinary tale. It is narrated that Jacopo, being unable to bear the loneliness of exile, deliberately wrote a letter, in which he appealed for help, to Francesco Sforza, then Duke of Milan, intending that the missive should fall into the hands of the Ten, in order that the Council might have him brought back to Venice to be tried; and we are asked to believe that he risked the agonies of torture for the sake of once more seeing his own people. What actually happened seems to be that Jacopo had become intimate in his exile with certain Genoese, through whom he attempted to establish a correspondence with

1456.

Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople, in the hope that the Sultan would send a galley on which he might escape from Crete. If he had succeeded, the Turkish vessel would certainly not have brought him to Venetian waters.

Venice had suffered much in her commerce by the Mohammedan conquest; a number of her citizens had fought in the last defence of Constantinople, and some had been afterwards murdered in cold blood by the Sultan's orders. An agreement had subsequently been reached, it is true, but the Ten could hardly be expected to look with leniency on a secret correspondence between the son of her Doge and the despot of the Osmanlis.

Jacopo Foscari was brought back to Venice and tried again. He now confessed everything immediately, without compulsion. The story of his having been horribly tortured during this second trial appears to be a pure invention, for in the records of the Council of Ten the fact that the cord was used is invariably stated on each occasion, and in this case there is no mention of any such matter. I refer the incredulous reader to Romanin's fourth volume, in which abundant proof of this will be found, with the most minute reference to existing documents. Smedley wrote at a time when those papers had not been found, and confessed, moreover, to having largely used Daru.

Jacopo was condemned to return to Crete and to be confined there in prison during one year; he was told, however, that if he again wrote letters to foreign princes he should end his life under lock and key.

He was allowed to see his family and his father once more, before his departure, and the aged Doge took leave of his only son with tears and deep emotion; but to Jacopo's entreaties that the Doge would en-

deavour to procure his return, the old man could only answer, 'Go, Jacopo, obey and ask no more.'

None the less, after his final departure the Doge made every effort to obtain his pardon, and was seconded by several of the great patricians; but Jacopo died in January 1457, long before his year of imprisonment was out.

The blow completely broke down the Doge, who was now about eighty-four years of age; he became unable to attend to any affairs of state, and the Council of Ten, not unwillingly perhaps, but with a full understanding of the importance of such a step, determined to depose him and elect another Doge. At its best the Council of Ten was a fairly just court; at its worst it was the most unscrupulous, sordid, despotic, and yet cowardly body of men that ever called themselves a tribunal, until the French revolutionaries beat all records of infamy in the name of the 'rights of man'; but at no time did the Council ever show the smallest inclination to be sentimental; and it was very rarely generous, for generosity is probably one of the noble forms of sentiment. Francesco Foscari had reigned too long, and was now useless, even as the figure-head which the chief of a thoroughly constitutional and non-imperial state should be. The Council of Ten deposed him, and the Great Council elected another Doge in his place, Pasquale Malipieri.

The proposition presented by the heads of the Ten is extant, and is a masterpiece of sanctimonious cant, in which the Venetian State is spoken of as having originated in the infinite clemency of the divine Creator, and immense stress is laid on the administrative importance of the Doge's office. The fact was that the oligarchy hated Foscari, and felt that the conduct of his son had

brought great scandal on the Republic. A committee of the Council waited on him twice, and requested him to resign on the score of old age, but he refused to do so; the third time the request became an order, and he was told to leave the ducal palace within eight days. The ducal ring was taken from his finger and hammered to pieces, as was done when a doge died.

He did not wait longer than necessary, and on the following day he left the palace, walking with a stick, but otherwise unaided. His brother Marco went with him, and proposed that they should go to their boat by the private and covered entrance, but the old man refused. 'I will go down,' he said, 'by that staircase up which I came to be Doge.'

The last legend concerning him is that he died of a broken heart on hearing the great bell announce the election of his successor. He died three days later, on All Saints' Day, and the new Doge was at mass when the news was brought to the church. Doubtless Foscari's end was hastened by the painful emotions of the last few days, however, and there was a strong feeling in Venice against the Council of Ten for some time afterwards.

As usual, there was also an attempt to make amends by giving the dead man a magnificent funeral. This his widow proudly refused, saying that she was rich enough to give her husband a king's funeral without aid from the State; nevertheless, his body was taken by order of the Signory and was laid out in state, arrayed in the ducal garments with all the insignia; and Malipieri, the new Doge, followed the bier to the Frari dressed as a simple senator, as if Foscari's successor had not yet been elected.

Returning for a moment to the list of the condottieri who served Venice in the fifteenth century, it

is time to say that Carmagnola was succeeded as general of the Venetian armies by the Duke of Mantua, who before long went over to the enemy with his men, his weapons, and his baggage. The next commander was one of his lieutenants, a certain Erasmo da Narni, famous under the nickname of 'Gattamelata,' or Honey-Cat.

Eroli, Erasmo Gattamelata.

Erasmo Gattamelata of Narni was the son of a baker in that town, and is said to have got his nickname from his soft and cat-like ways, 'and for his speech, which was cautious and also sweet and suave as honey.' As there are still families of the name in northern Italy who were never connected with his, I cannot see why we need assume that in his case it was a nickname at all. Such appellations are common in Italy, and it is probably only because he was such a distinguished condottiero that his has attracted so much attention. He began his fighting career when he was young, and Braccio made him commander of his cavalry. He served many employers, amongst others Martin V., the Colonna Pope, and he found himself opposed in the field 'both to Casa Braccio and Piccinino, and also to Stella, his old friends and leaders.' He was sixty years of age when he entered the service of the Venetian Republic. He had a sworn brother in arms, like many fighters of that day, a certain Count Brandolini, who was included in the agreement with Venice, which is given in full in the Marchese Eroli's book. It begins :—

1434.

Gattamelata and Count Brandolini are engaged as leaders of four hundred lances with three horses to each lance, as is customary, and also of four hundred footmen. And after six months they shall have, besides what is above agreed, fifty lances more for their two sons under them.

For the use of these four hundred lances there shall be given them 60 ducats for each lance. . . . Over and above this they shall have a loan (an advance) on their personal security, of 2000 ducats, and further, they shall soon have, on

TOMBS IN THE FRARI

account of what the Sovereign Pontiff owes them for their service, 10,000 ducats.

But Gattamelata and Count Brandolini shall produce for the aforesaid money, and for the performance of their promise,

suitable sureties, having received which the Doge and the Government will provide the money. . . .

As regards the booty which the said Gattamelata and Brandolini and their band may collect in time of war, the custom of the tenth shall be observed.

It was customary for condottieri to pay a tribute called Saint Mark's Fee, Onoranza di San Marco, to the Republic, which was a sort of income-tax on loot. War was a matter of business.

Lack of space prevents me from giving the agreement in full. It is very curious. Among other provisions is one forbidding the condottiero to present, for the roll call, the same charger or man 'more than once or under more than one lance,' a clause which gives an idea of the usual methods of cheating. All unimportant prisoners were their property as part of the booty; the important objects and persons, 'cities, lands, fortresses and their munitions, ruling princes and their brothers or sons, and rebels and traitors,' were to be handed over to Venice; but other condottieri and military commanders, if taken, were to be paid for by the Venetian Government, if it chose to pay half their ransoms.

At the end of the campaign Gattamelata and his friend received in 'noble and gentle fee' the castle and lands of Valmarino, on condition that the population should continue to buy its salt from the Venetian Republic, and that the two feudal holders should pay the Republic a yearly tribute of ten pounds of wax at the feast of Saint Mark. Gattamelata bought out his friend's share, and was inscribed in the Golden Book.

He and Sforza fought together against Piccinino, and amongst other things took back Verona.

Gattamelata died of apoplexy not long after the

end of that campaign, and was magnificently buried in the presence of the Doge and the Signory. A picture representing his obsequies was painted by Mantegna, but his biographer, Marchese Eroli, writing in 1876, had not learned where it was, if it still existed, nor can I obtain any information on the subject.

1439. Verona retaken by the Venetians, Giovanni Contarini; Sala delle Quattro Porte, ducal palace.

The great Francesco Sforza was also during some time in the service of the Republic, but left it to marry Bianca Visconti with the prospect of succeeding to the Duchy, and he fought against Venice as bravely as he had lately fought under her standard. War was purely a matter of business with the condottieri, and so long as they fulfilled the conditions of each successive contract they undertook, no one ever blamed them for changing sides as often as was profitable. It was not even proper or customary to poison them for it, and in an age when political murder was as common as mere political calumny is now, the acts of Filippo-Maria Visconti were really looked on with disapproval by his fellow-scoundrels in power. It was considered that he went too far.

Astonishing things were done by the soldiers of that age. In the war with Milan, for instance, Venice at one time judged it necessary to get a small fleet into the Lake of Garda; and as the approaches by water were guarded by the Milanese, it was actually found possible to haul six galleys and twenty-five long-boats by means of oxen and capstans from the river Adige up the steep slope of the Monte Baldo and down to Torbole, where the vessels were launched into the lake—and promptly blockaded by the enemy.

Rom. iv. 196.

Battle of Lake Garda, Tintoretto; ceiling, Hall of Great Council.

In the same war Brescia successfully withstood a siege of no less than three years. It would take long

to give even a slight idea of the feats of arms performed on both sides by hired troops, at a time when all Italy was on fire, and war was more or less continuous because the condottieri, who lived by it, were obliged to make it so or starve. The country was in a bad state; if the strong anywhere protected the weak, it was in order to enslave them more effectually, and the weak often revolted against the enforced protection they received.

Visconti died in 1447, leaving four wills, on the third of which Sforza founded those pretensions to the dukedom which he soon succeeded in establishing, though the Milanese declared that they would be a republic like Venice and Genoa. We smile at the futility of such a simple popular aspiration, in an age when soldiers were rulers and rulers were tyrants. The Milanese were obliged to employ Sforza to fight for them; he did so, routed the Venetians, forced them to a peace, and then entered into an alliance with them which gave them all the Cremasco, with Bergamo and Brescia, but landed him safely on the throne of Milan.

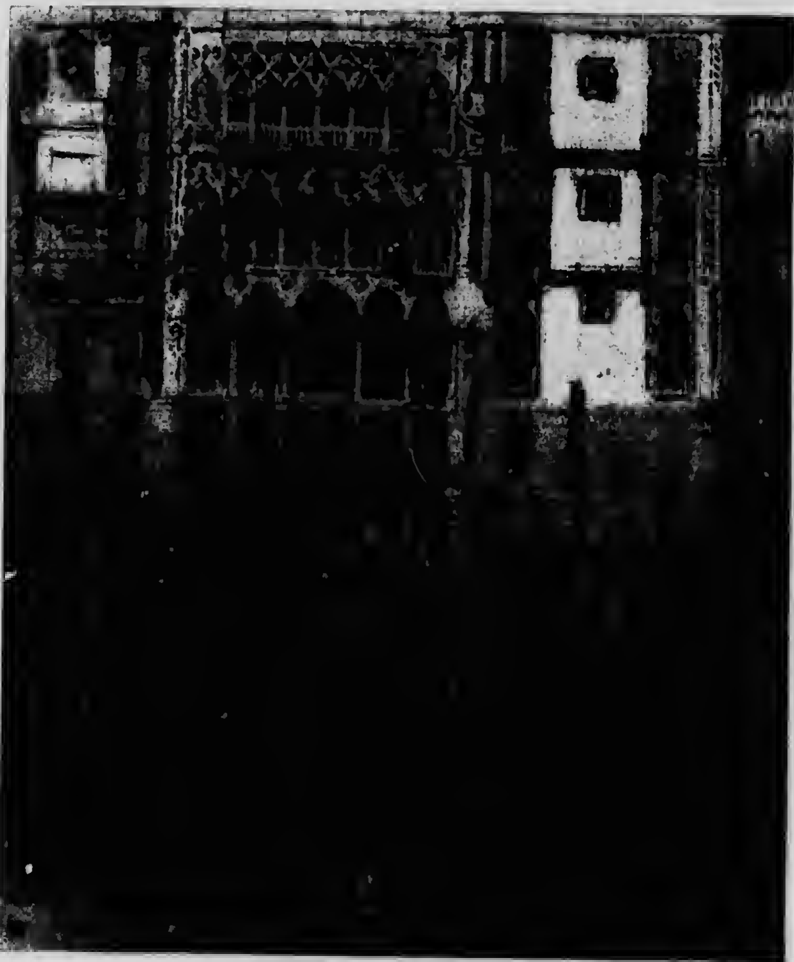
He had in him the stuff of a good prince, and he is said to have indulged dreams of uniting all Italy in a sort of federation to defend the country from foreign invasion.

But greater events were happening in the East, where the Byzantine Empire was at the last gasp of its existence. Even if Venice had thrown all her strength into opposing the Turks and protecting her Eastern commerce, instead of quarrelling with Milan, she could not have retarded the fall of Constantinople by any long time. As it was, she sent but little help to the last of the emperors. The Byzantines had never been good fighters, and the tremendous fortifications of the

Smyrna taken by the Venetians, Paolo Veronese; Hall of the Great Council.

city alone checked Mohammed's army of one hundred and sixty thousand fanatics.

Constantinople was taken in 1453, and in the wild



CA D' ORO

massacre of Christians that followed, many Venetians were butchered. The Republic is said to have lost property worth three hundred thousand ducats. Fifteen Venetian ships succeeded in escaping, with eight

Genoese vessels. But the mere loss of money and valuables was nothing compared with that which must have followed if the commerce of Venice in the East had been altogether destroyed. There was much to overlook and forgive, it is true, if an agreement were to be reached with Mohammed the Conqueror. He had impaled a Venetian captain and beheaded thirty of his crew before the siege; he had decapitated the Venetian Bailo and his son in cold blood afterwards, a great number of Venetians had perished in the massacre, and twenty-nine nobles had been held for ransom; and in return for these injuries and insults the Republic had not struck a blow. The exigencies of commerce were great.

Venice played a double part in what followed, making a show of rousing the Pope to preach a crusade on the one hand, and, on the other, quietly drawing up a treaty with the Sultan, by which the Republic was to pay tribute for her Eastern settlements, the slave-trade was to be allowed to continue in the Black Sea, provided that only Christians, and not Mussulmans, were bought and sold, and the Sultan was to force the Genoese of Pera to pay what they owed the Venetians. The latter clause was, no doubt, a good stroke of business, and the treaty contained many others which proved that its end was sordidly commercial.

Two hundred and fifty years had passed since blind Enrico Dandolo had led the Venetians to the conquest of Constantinople. What they did then cannot be justified, it is true, but no man who has fighting blood in his veins can help admiring the magnificent courage that performed such a feat of arms. In the same way, I suppose that no one in whom the true commercial spirit is alive will withhold his admiration from a people who

could forgive insult and forget injury so completely as those later Venetians did in 1454, for the sake of making money. It avails not to reflect that it was probably too late to stem the westward movement of the Turks; the man of heart will always feel that the richest nation in Europe might have done something to save Constantinople from her fate.

Pope Nicholas V. thought so, and expressed his disgust to the Senate through his legate, but the Venetian Government answered him in one of those sanctimonious speeches which it knew so well how to frame on occasion, and advised the Pope to turn his attention towards pacifying and uniting all Christian princes in a general league against the common enemy, well knowing that no such attempt could succeed.

In spite of the treaty, however, the Venetians never did well in the East after that, and their old enemies the Genoese got the better of them in the trade of the Black Sea, for the Turks were by no means satisfied yet with what they had taken, and Venice was more or less engaged during the next twenty years in trying to protect her Mediterranean colonies.

She had suffered considerably in her fortunes, though her credit appeared inexhaustible. Romanin has unearthed some curious figures. He estimates the loss of property by the fall of Constantinople at three hundred thousand ducats, and says that there were a number of bad commercial failures in Venice in consequence, notably that of Andrea Priuli, for twenty-four thousand ducats. The aggregate estimated value of the houses in Venice diminished between 1425 and 1445 by thirteen thousand ducats, which does not seem very disastrous where the whole reached three hundred and sixty thousand; but the war with Milan alone cost seven

million ducats in ten years, in 1428 the Venetian Chamber of Commerce owed nine millions, and Romanin adds that in 1440 the bonds of the public debt were only worth eighteen and a half per cent of their nominal value, a statement in which there seems to be some mistake, unless that extreme depression was merely momentary. There can be no doubt but that the acquisition of extensive territory by warfare, and the reckless extravagance which became only too common in Foscari's brilliant reign, had led to a serious diminution of wealth and population, and had burdened the Republic with a debt from which she was never to free herself again.

An attempt was made by Pope Pius II. to send a crusade against the Turks, and as such an expedition, if it had resulted in the expulsion of the Turks, would have been much to the advantage of Venice, she lent her support readily. The Pope, however, died suddenly when he was about to bless the united fleet on its departure from Ancona, and the result was that the whole alliance broke up at once, and those who had composed it departed for their homes without delay.

In Italy itself there was constant war, useless to those who paid for it, and profitable only to the soldiers they employed. The command of the Venetian troops had now passed to the great condottiero Bartolommeo Colleoni, a man quite as brave and devoted to the Republic as Gattamelata had been, and for employing whom the other Italian states envied her. When his contract with Venice had been executed, the Florentines succeeded in engaging him; but the incredible rivalry amongst the divers Italian states to obtain his services at last led to a treaty by which it was agreed that he should be sent against the Turks at the joint expense

of them all. Of course this was not carried out, and perhaps no one ever expected that it could be. Moreover, Colleoni did not live long, and dying at a comparatively early age, he left all his fortune to the Republic on condition that it should be used for a campaign against the Turks, and that a statue should be set up to himself in the Square of Saint Mark's.

With amazing dishonesty and admirable indifference to his wishes, Venice used his money for a war against the Duke of Ferrara; and the monument, which must indeed be admitted to be one of the finest equestrian statues in existence, was placed in the little square of San Giovanni e Paolo.

Statue of Bartolommeo Colleoni, attributed to Verrocchio, Piazza SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

In spite of the treaty with the Sultan, Venice was obliged to spend no less than twelve hundred thousand ducats in defending her possessions against the Turks during five years; and the Mussulmans crossed Dalmatia and appeared in Friuli, to the general consternation of Europe. It is said that at this time the only ally upon which Venice could count was the King of Persia, whose interest it was to check the progress of Turanian invasion. Every one knows that although the Persians are Mohammedans, they belong to a sect which entertains a profound aversion for that of the Turks.

One of the principal episodes in this somewhat desultory warfare was the siege of Scutari in Albania, to possess which the Conqueror was willing to sacrifice any number of men. The place itself was very strong, but contained only about two thousand and five hundred persons, between mercenaries, citizens, and women. The Sultan brought eighty thousand men against them, whom he divided into four watches, each

of twenty thousand, and each under orders to fight during six hours out of the twenty-four. The assault upon the breach, which was soon made, was therefore continuous; yet the heroic Antonio da Lezze, by dividing his little force in a similar manner, succeeded in resisting the enemy during thirty-six hours, and the slaughter was so terrific that Mohammed determined to give up the attempt and to starve the town till it surrendered. He had lost over twenty-five thousand men.

Smedley, quoting Sabellico, says that the continued storm of arrows discharged by the assailants during two days and a night was something almost indescribable; a wretched cat that tried to steal across an exposed roof was shot through by eleven arrows at once; in many places three and four arrows had struck in precisely the same spot, splitting one another in succession, and during several months after the Turks had withdrawn, the shafts they had shot supplied kitchens, baths, and ovens with firewood.

Smedley, II. chap. xiii.

1478.

The heroic little city held out against famine and artillery during eleven months, and when at last Venice had made peace with the Sultan on condition that the garrison should be allowed to leave the town with its arms and baggage, Antonio da Lezze marched out with four hundred and fifty men and one hundred and fifty women, all that was left of the little force which had successfully resisted the greatest conqueror of the age during the greater part of a year.

Rom. iv. 382.

It is almost needless to say that the Republic treated the hero with her usual vile ingratitude, and that Da Lezze was imprisoned for a year and banished for ten because certain of the surviving inhabitants of Scutari

accused him of having written to Venice that the town was short of provisions when there was still a considerable store.

The impulse of conquest which had led the Turks

ENTRANCE TO S. ZACCHARIA

so far was now almost exhausted, and when Mohammed the Conqueror died, the moment would have been favourable for driving the Turks out of the Archipelago, especially as the throne of the Osmanlis was disputed by a number of claimants. But Venice was exhausted by

1483. Defence of Brescia, Tintoretto; Hall of Great Council.

her many struggles, and the sovereigns of other European states were only too ready to sacrifice the interests of Christianity at large to their private ends. The result was that the Republic, finding herself alone, made another ignominious peace with the Turks.

1484. Taking of Gallipoli, Tintoretto; ceiling, Hall of Great Council.

But even now she had no rest, for she was at war with the Duke of Ferrara, who enjoyed the protection of the Pope. The latter exhausted every diplomatic means to induce Venice to withdraw; but the only result was that the Republic recalled its ambassador from Rome. Sixtus IV. now excommunicated Venice, and attempted to send notice of the excommunication by the political agent whom the Venetian ambassador had left in Rome. That official, however, declined to take the message, and the Pope sent a special envoy, who was to present himself at the palace of the Patriarch. But the prelate succeeded in avoiding him by feigning illness, so that official notice of the interdict never reached the Signory, a result which delighted the Venetians and proportionally scandalised all other Catholics. Venice gave formal notice to the Emperor, the King of France, the King of England, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Austria, that she appealed against the excommunication to a future council, and meanwhile no further attention was paid to the interdict. It was, in fact, removed by the next Pope, Innocent VIII., who had no especial reason for maintaining it.

1484. Victory of Vittor Soranzo over the men of Este, Tintoretto; Hall of Great Council.

1484. Defeat of the Duke of Ferrara, Francesco Bassano; ceiling, Hall of Great Council.

The Republic had to deal at this time with internal troubles as well as external difficulties. It happened that two men of the same name and family were successively elected to be doges, and that the house in

question was one of those known as 'the new.' For the aristocracy divided itself into two classes, of which 'the old' included only the families of tribunitian descent, who considered themselves vastly superior to all the rest. Nevertheless, the younger houses succeeded in keeping the ducal honour to themselves for more than two hundred years. In 1450 sixteen of these families had solemnly sworn never to allow the election of any doge from amongst the elder houses, and sixty-eight years had already passed since one of the latter had been chosen. On the death of Marco Barbarigo it was noised abroad that the old houses were about to make a determined effort to recover the desired dignity. Agostino Barbarigo was elected with some difficulty, and it was quite clear that there were now two hostile factions in the Venetian Government which were more occupied with their party spites than with what concerned the welfare of the Republic.

It was a period of contradictions in Venetian history, for while the State seemed to be often gaining territory, it was frequently losing influence and undermining the sources of its own wealth; and, on the whole, the loss during the fifteenth century considerably exceeded the profit.

It was at this time that Venice accomplished that remarkable piece of juggling which ended in the annexation of Cyprus.

Caterina Corner, or Catharine Cornaro, as we are accustomed to call her, was the niece of a Venetian noble who lived in Cyprus, and she had married Jacques de Lusignan, an illegitimate son of the last king of the island. Less than two years after her marriage, when she was about to become a mother, her husband suddenly died, bequeathing his kingdom to the child that should

b. 1454, d. 1510. Smedley, II. chap. xiv.

be born. The infant that came into the world was a son indeed, but only lived a few months, and as Catharine's husband had grasped the throne by driving out his half-sister, who was legitimate, his widow now had great difficulty in maintaining her position against the rightful heir, whose name was Charlotte, and who was married to the powerful Duke of Savoy. Catharine had no choice but to place herself under the protection of Venice, and the Republic, as usual when it undertook to help a friend in distress, began by hoisting its own flag on the citadel. With great skill the queen was gradually forced, in the course of fifteen years, into the position of resigning her little kingdom altogether into the hands of the Republic. In exchange she was to receive a considerable income and an estate at Asolo, where she could keep up the forms of a small court, still retaining her royal title. She was brought to Venice, and was received with the utmost pomp and display, and she retired quietly to Asolo, to spend the rest of her life in the society of the most distinguished philosophers and men of letters of the century.

1489.

Finding of the relic of the Cross in the Grand Canal, said to contain the portrait of Caterina Corner, crowned, by Gentile Bellini; Accademia, Room XV.

Venice laid hands on all possible aspirants to the throne of Cyprus, men and boys, women and girls; the latter were consigned to convents, from which they were only allowed to go out occasionally with an escort. The young men were closely watched and their expenses defrayed by the Republic, and the boys were educated to be good Venetians.

So Venice got Cyprus, and for the sake of that little possession the Republic appears to have sacrificed the opportunity of helping Columbus to discover America. The fact has been denied, discussed, and asserted again

by historians, but a document has been discovered by

THE PIAZZETTA, MISTY MORNING

M. Urbain de Gheltof which, if genuine, puts an end to all doubt. That scholar has found in a private archive

in Venice the copy of a letter to a Venetian noble written by Christopher Columbus from Palos, just before sailing to discover America. I translate the short document, in which the simple character of the Genoese explorer finds full expression :—

Very magnificent Sir—As your Republic did not think it was to its interest to accept my offers, and as all the hatred of enemies conspired to thwart me everywhere, I threw myself into the arms of the Lord my God. And He, by the intercession of His saints, brought it about that the most clement King of Castile, in his generosity, should help me to carry out my plan of conquering a new world.

Urbain de Gheltof, Letter of Christ. Col.

Thus, praise be to the Lord my God, I obtained command of vessels and men, and I am presently going to sail towards this yet unknown land which God inspires me to seek. I thank you for all your kindness to me, and beg you to pray for me.

COLUMBO CRIST.

Written from PALOS, *August* 1, 1492.

The Venetians may not have very deeply regretted their refusal to help the Genoese navigator, but they were made to suffer acutely by the Portuguese discovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope. For Portugal now imported by sea direct to Lisbon the rich merchandise of the East, of which the Venetians had hitherto enjoyed a monopoly, but for the passage of which they paid heavy duties to the Sultan. The supremacy of Venetian navigation was over, and a more daring race of seamen ventured voyages in distant and unknown oceans whither they were not followed by the old-fashioned mariners of the Mediterranean. It was in vain that the Republic proposed to the Sultan Bajazet a commercial alliance by which both powers might have profited ; the Turk could not understand that the ruin of Venetian trade

must impoverish the whole Archipelago and Constantinople itself. Instead of an alliance, a renewal of hostilities ensued, in the course of which Lepanto fell into the hands of the Turks, either because the garrison was insufficient, or because the Venetian admiral, Grimani, was not equal to the service required of him.

He shared the fate of almost all native-born Venetian commanders, and was brought home laden with chains so heavy that he could not have walked across the Piazzetta from the landing-place to his prison if he had not been held up by his son, who was a cardinal. He was confined in one of the worst cells, surnamed 'Forte,' the Strong, and his sufferings were such, according to Sanudo, who kept his journal at the time, that the cardinal appeared before the Signory one day to beg, as a favour, that his father might be executed rather than made to die by inches in his dungeon.

Marin Sanudo, III. chap. iii. 105.

The people, as often happened, were quite of the opinion of their masters, that to be beaten in fight was a shameful crime, and a savage song about the unlucky Grimani was bawled in the streets—

> Antonio Grimani, ruin of Christians, rebel of Venice!
> May you be eaten by dogs,
> By dogs and their pups,
> You and your sons,
> Antonio Grimani, ruin of Christians!

But it was of small use to torment the poor man and to make songs upon him. Venice was forced to make a commercial treaty with the Portuguese to save herself from ruin.

Then came Charles VIII. of France and descended into Italy with fire and the sword, and Venice was drawn into new and disastrous Italian wars. So ended the fifteenth century.

S. MARIA DEGLI SCALZI, GRAND CANAL

XVI

THE ARISTOCRATIC MAGISTRACIES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

LIKE other aristocracies, the Venetian Government rarely destroyed or altogether abolished any office or regulation which had existed a long time. When a change was needed the duties or powers of one or more of the Councils were extended, or a committee of the Council of Ten was appointed and presently turned into a separate tribunal, as when the Inquisitors of State were created.

In one sense the Government of Venice had now existed in a rigid and unchangeably aristocratic form during two centuries, and that form never changed to the very end. But in another sense no Government in the world ever showed itself more flexible under the pressure of events, or better able to provide a new legislative weapon with which to combat each new danger that presented itself. This double character of an administration which inspired awe by its apparent immutability, and terror by its ubiquity and energy, no doubt had much to do with its extraordinarily long life; for I believe that no civilised form of government ever endured so long as that of Venice.

It is therefore either frivolous or hypocritical to seek the causes of its ultimate collapse. It died of old age, when the race that had made it was worn out. It would be much more to the point to inquire why the most unscrupulous, sceptical, suspicious, and thoroughly immoral organisation that ever was devised by man should have outlasted a number of other organisations supposed to be founded on something like principles of liberty and justice. Such an inquiry would involve an examination into the nature of freedom, equity, and truth generally; but no one has ever satisfactorily defined even one of those terms, for the simple reason that the things the words are supposed to mean do not anywhere exist; and the study of that which has no real existence, and no such potential mathematical existence as an ultimate ratio, is absolutely futile.

The facts we know about the Venetian Government are all interesting, however. It had its origin, like all really successful governments, in the necessities of a small people which held together in the face of great dangers. It was moulded and developed by the strongest and most intelligent portion of that people,

and the party that modelled it guessed that each member of the party would destroy it and make himself the master if he could, wherefore the main thing was to render it impossible for any individual to succeed in that. The individual most likely to succeed was the Doge himself, and he was therefore turned into a mere doll, a puppet that could not call his soul his own. The next most probable aspirant to the tyranny would be the successful native-born general or admiral. A machinery was invented whereby the victorious leader was almost certain to be imprisoned, fined, and exiled as soon as his work was done and idleness made him dangerous. Pisani, Zeno, Da Lezze are merely examples of what happened almost invariably. If a Venetian was a hero any excuse would serve for locking him up.

Next after the generals came the nobles who held office, and lastly, those who were merely rich and influential. They were so thoroughly hemmed in by a hedge of apparently petty rules and laws as to their relations with foreigners, with the people, and with each other, that they were practically paralysed, as individuals, while remaining active and useful as parts of the whole. No one ever cared what the people thought or did, for they were peaceable, contented, and patriotic. Every measure passed by the nobles was directed against an enemy that might at any moment arise amongst themselves, or against the machinations of enemies abroad. Of all Italians the Venetians alone were not the victims of that simplicity of which I have already spoken. They believed in nothing and nobody, and they were not deceived. They were not drawn into traps by the wiles of the Visconti as Genoa was, and as many of the principalities were; they were not cheated out of their money by royal English borrowers as the Florentines

were; they were not led away out of sentiment to ruin themselves in the Crusades as so many were; on the contrary, their connection with the Crusades was very profitable. For a long time they could be heroes when driven to extremities, but they never liked heroics; they were good fighters at sea, because they were admirable merchant sailors, but on land they much preferred to hire other men to fight for them, whom they could pay off and get rid of when the work was done.

Like other nations, their history is that of their rise, their culmination, and their decline. Like other nations, Venice also resembled the living body of a human being, of which it is not possible to define with absolute accuracy the periods of youth, prime, and old age. But we can say with certainty that each of those stages lasted longer in the life of Venice than in the life of any other European State, perhaps because no one of the three periods was hastened or interrupted by an internal revolution or by the temporary presence of a foreign conqueror.

It can be said, however, that Venice was, on the whole, at the height of her glory about the year 1500, and it would have needed a gift of prophecy to foretell the probable date of the still distant end. At that time the Great Council was more than ever the incarnation of the State, that is, of the aristocracy; and every member of the Great Assembly had a sort of 'cultus' for his own dignity, and looked upon his family, from which he derived his personal privileges, with a veneration that bordered on worship. The safety and prosperity of the patrician houses were most intimately connected with the welfare of the country; a member of the Great Council would probably have considered that the latter was the immediate consequence of the

former. As a matter of fact, under the government which the aristocrats had given themselves, it really was so; they were themselves the State.

It was therefore natural that they should guard their race against all plebeian contamination. From time to time it became necessary to open the Golden Book and the doors of the Great Council to certain families which had great claims upon the public gratitude, as happened after the war of Chioggia; but the book was opened unwillingly, and the door of the council-chamber was only set ajar; the newcomers were looked upon as little better than intruders, and the 'new men,' while they were invested with the outward distinctions of rank before the law, were not received into anything like intimacy by their colleagues of the older nobility.

Rom. iv. 469.

It is a law of the Catholic Church that baptism creates a relationship, and therefore a canonical impediment to marriage between the baptized person or his parents on the one hand, and the godfathers and godmothers on the other, as well as between each of the godparents and all the rest. But it was the custom of Venice to have a great many godfathers and godmothers at baptisms, and the nobles were therefore obliged by law to choose them from the burgher and artisan classes. It was perfectly indifferent that a young patrician should contract a spiritual relationship with a hundred persons—there were sometimes as many godparents as that—if these persons were socially so far beneath him that he must lose caste if he married one of them; but it was of prime importance that the law should forbid the formation of any spiritual bond whereby a possible marriage between two members of the aristocracy might be prevented, or even retarded. Every parish priest was therefore required to ask in a

loud voice, when he was baptizing a noble baby, whether there were any persons of the same social condition as the infant amongst the godparents. If he omitted to do this, or allowed himself to be deceived by those present, he was liable to a very heavy fine, and might even be imprisoned for several months.

The avogadori now replaced their old-fashioned

HALL OF THE GREAT CLOCKS, DUCAL PALACE

register by the one henceforth officially known as the Golden Book, in which were entered the marriages of the nobles and the births of their children. Every noble who omitted to have his marriage registered within one week, or the birth of his children within the same time, was liable to severe penalties. But the names of women of inferior condition who married nobles were not entered in those sanctified pages, since

the children of a burgher woman could not sit in the Great Council. Nevertheless, it happened now and then that a noble sacrificed the privileges of his descendants for the present advantage of a rich dowry; and as this again constituted a source of anxiety for the State, the amount of a burgher girl's marriage portion was limited by law to the sum of two thousand ducats.

Molmenti, Dog.

The young aristocrats received a special education, to fit them for their future duties and offices. We have already seen that young men not yet old enough to sit in the Great Council were admitted to its meetings in considerable numbers, though without a vote. The instruction and education of young nobles were conducted according to a programme of which the details were established by a series of decrees, and especially by one dating from 1443; and in the Senate very young noble boys were employed to carry the ballot-boxes, in which office they took turns, changing every three months. There were probably not enough noble children to perform the same duty for the Great Council, which employed for that purpose a number of boys from the Foundling Asylum.

Yriarte, Vie d'un Patricien de Venise, 67.

The young nobles were brought up to feel that they and their time belonged exclusively to the State, and when they grew older it was a point of honour with them not to be absent from any meeting of the Councils to which they were appointed. Marcantonio Barbaro, the patrician whose life M. Yriarte has so carefully studied, missed only one meeting of the Great Council in thirty years, and then his absence was due to illness. When one considers that the Great Council met every Sunday, and on every feast day except the second of March and the thirty-first of

January, which was Saint Mark's day, such constant regularity is really wonderful.

During the summer the sittings were held from

HALL OF THE PICTURES, DUCAL PALACE

eight in the morning until noon, in winter from noon to sunset; this, at least, was the ordinary rule, but the Doge's counsellors could multiply the meetings to any extent they thought necessary, and we know that

when a doge was to be elected the Great Council sometimes sat fifty times consecutively.

The public were admitted to the ordinary sittings of the Great Council, and in later times one could even be present wearing a mask, as may be seen in certain old engravings. But no outsiders were admitted when an important subject was to be discussed, and on those occasions a number of members were themselves excluded. If, for instance, the question concerned the Papal Court, all those who had ever avowed their sympathy for the Holy See, or who had any direct relations with the reigning Pope, or who owed him any debt of gratitude, were ordered to leave the hall. Such persons were called 'papalisti,' and were frequently shut out of the Great Council in the sixteenth century, a period during which the Republic had many differences with Rome.

In 1526, for instance, the Patriarch of Venice laid before the Great Council a complaint against the Signors of the Night, who refused to set at liberty a certain priest arrested by them, or even to inform the ecclesiastical authorities of the nature of his misdemeanour. That would have been one of the occasions for excluding the 'papalisti.' The Patriarch seems to have been a hot-tempered person, for on finding that he could get no satisfaction from the Great Council, he excommunicated the Venetian Government and everybody connected with it, and posted the notice of the interdict on the columns of the ducal palace. The matter was patched up in some way, however, for on the morrow the notice disappeared.

The Senate met twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays. I find among their regulations a singular rule by which the beginning of every speech had to be delivered in the Tuscan language, after which the

speaker was at liberty to go on in his own Venetian dialect.

I have already spoken at some length of the Council of Ten; it is now necessary to say something of the Inquisitors of State, to whom the Ten ceded a part of their authority in the sixteenth century.

Fulin, Studii, Arch. Ven. I. 1871 (unfinished).

In the first place, the Inquisitors of State never had anything to do with the 'Inquisition,' nor with the 'Inquisitors of the Holy Office,' a tribunal, oddly enough, which was much more secular than ecclesiastic, and which belongs to a later period.

Secondly, the so-called 'Statutes of the Inquisitors of State,' published by the French historian Daru in good faith, and translated by Smedley, were afterwards discovered to be nothing but an impudent forgery, containing several laughable anachronisms, and a number of mistakes about the nature of the magistracies which prove that the forger was not even a Venetian.

Rom. vi.

Thirdly, the genuine Statutes have been discovered since, and are given at length by Romanin. They do not bear the least resemblance to the nonsense published by Daru. No one except Romanin would have attempted to whitewash the Inquisitors and the Council of Ten, and even he is obliged to admit that for 'weighty reasons of state' they did not hesitate to order secret assassinations; but they were not fools, as the 'Statutes' of Daru make them appear.

The proof that the Statutes published by Romanin are genuine consists in the fact that two independent copies of them have been found; the one, written out by Angelo Nicolosi, secretary to the Inquisitors, with a dedication to them dated the twenty-fifth of September 1669; the other, a pocket copy, written out in 1612

with his own hand, by the Inquisitor Niccolò Donà, nephew of the Doge Leonardo Donà. The Statutes in these two copies are identical; the earlier one, which belonged to Donà, contains also a number of interesting memoranda concerning the doings of the tribunal in that year.

Lastly, it is conjectured by Romanin that the author of the forgery that imposed on Daru and others was no less a personage than Count Francesco della Torre, the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire. He died in Venice in 1695.

These facts being clearly stated, we can pass on to inquire how and why the court of the Inquisitors of State was evoked, it being well understood that although they were not the malignant fiends described by Daru, who seems to have had in his mind the German tales of the 'Wehmgericht,' yet, in the picturesque language of their native Italy, 'they were not shinbones of saints' either.

Most historians consider that 'Inquisitors of the Council of Ten' were first appointed by that Council in 1314, and it is generally conceded that they did not take the title 'Inquisitors of State' and begin to be regarded unofficially as a separate tribunal till 1539. The mass of evidence goes to show that these two dates are, at least, not far wrong, and during more than two hundred years between the two, the members of the committee were called indifferently either the 'Inquisitors,' or the 'Executives' of the Ten.

They were at first either two, or three; later they were always three, and they were commissioned to furnish proofs against accused persons, and occasionally to make the necessary arrangements for secretly assassinating traitors who had fled the country and were living abroad. At first their commission was

a temporary one, which was not renewed unless the gravity of the case required it. Later, when they became a permanent tribunal of three, two of their

THE STAIR OF GOLD, DUCAL PALACE

number were always regular members of the Council of Ten, and were called the 'Black Inquisitors,' because the Ten wore black mantles; the third was one of the Doge's counsellors, who, as will be remembered, were

among the persons always present at the meetings of the Ten, and he was called the 'Red Inquisitor' from the colour of his counsellor's cloak.

The fourteenth century was memorable on account of the great conspiracies, and it is at least probable that after 1320 the secret committee of the Ten became tolerably permanent as to its existence, though its members were often changed. Signor Fulin has discovered that during a part of the fifteenth century they were chosen only for thirty days, and that the utmost exactness was enforced on those who vacated the office. A long discussion took place at that time as to whether the month began at the midnight preceding the day of the Inquisitor's election, or only on the morning of that day; since, in the latter case, an Inquisitor at the end of his term would have the right to act until sunrise on the thirty-first day, whereas, in the other, he would have to resign his seat at the first stroke of midnight. The incident is a good instance of the Venetian manner of interpreting the letter of the law.

So long as the tribunal was merely a committee depending on the Ten it had no archives of its own, and whatever it did appeared officially as the act of the Council, of which the Inquisitors were merely executive agents. They were dismissed at the end of their month of service with a regular formula :—

'The Inquisitors will come to the Council with what they have found, and the Council will decide what it thinks best with regard to them.'

In those times they received no general authorisation or power to act on their own account, and their office must have been excessively irksome, since a heavy fine was exacted from any one who refused to serve on the committee when he had been chosen. Though they were not, as a rule, men of over-sensitive conscience,

they felt their position keenly and served with ill-disguised repugnance, well knowing that they were hated as a body even more than they were feared, and that their lives were not always safe.

In early times their actual permanent power was very limited, though the Ten could greatly extend it for any special purpose. For instance, they could not, of their own will, proceed even to a simple arrest; they could not order the residence of a citizen to be searched; and they could not use torture in examining a witness without a special authorisation from the Ten on each occasion.

Their work then lay almost wholly in secretly spying upon suspected persons; and it often happened that when such an one was at last arrested the whole mass of evidence against him was already written out and in the hands of the Ten. It also certainly happened now and then that a person was proved innocent by the Inquisitors who had been suspected by the Ten, and who had never had the least idea that he was in danger.

The machinery did not always work quickly, it is true, especially after the accused was arrested and locked up. Trials often dragged on for months, so that when the culprit was at last sentenced to a term of prison, it appeared that he had already served more than the time to which he was condemned. This abuse, however, led to a vigorous reform by a series of stringent decrees, the time of inquiry was limited, for ordinary cases, to three days, and for graver matters to a month, and ruinous fines were imposed on Councillors and Inquisitors who were not present at every sitting of the Court.

It was towards the close of the sixteenth century that the Inquisitors, being then elected for the term of a year, were given much greater power than theretofore.

Though they were still closely associated with the Ten, they now had a sort of official independence, including the right to a method of procedure of their own, with secret archives quite separate from those of the Ten. The year 1596 is generally given as the date at which the separate tribunal was definitely created, with permanent instructions to watch over the public safety, and to detect all plots and conspiracies that might threaten the 'ancient laws and government of Venice.'

It cannot be said that the procedure of the Ten, or of the Inquisitors, was arbitrary, and the supreme Venetian tribunals have not deserved all the obloquy that has been heaped upon them; but at a time when the most inhuman methods were used to obtain evidence, they certainly did not give an example of gentleness.

Signor Fulin, to whose recent researches all students of Venetian history are much indebted, says, with perfect truthfulness, that torture was by no means used with moderation. He cites a document signed by the Ten and the Inquisitors, dated the twenty-fifth of April 1445:—

'We have received a humble petition from Luigi Cristoforo Spiaciario, sentenced to two years' imprisonment and ten years of exile for unnatural crimes. The said convict has passed two years in prison according to his sentence, and five years more in the corridors of the prisons, because his feet having been burnt and his arms dislocated by torture, he could not leave Venice. The said convict petitions that, out of regard for so much suffering, he may be pardoned the last five years of his condemnation.'

The same writer also tells us that in spite of the precautions which were supposed to be taken, torture often ended in death; and in the archives of the Ten there are instances of horrible mutilations besides

public decapitations, secret stranglings, and hangings and poisonings; there are also some cases of death inflicted by drowning, though these were less frequent

RIO S. ATANASIO

than has been supposed; and lastly, the quiet waters of the canals have more than once reflected the blaze of faggots burning round the stake.

Romanin's industry has left us an exact list of the official drownings that took place between 1551 and 1604, a period of fifty-three years. As it is not long I append it in full. The list is made out from the register of deaths which is preserved in the church of Saint Mark's.

In 1551	there were	secretly drowned	2	persons	
1554	"	"	2	"	
1555	"	"	2	"	
1556	"	"	3	"	
1557	"	"	4	"	
1558	"	"	1	"	
1559	"	"	8	"	
1560	"	"	7	"	
1569	"	"	6	"	
1571	"	"	4	"	
1573	"	"	7	"	
From 1574 to 1584	"	"	12	"	
1584 to 1594	"	"	55	"	
1594 to 1600	"	"	50	"	
1600 to 1604	"	"	40	"	
	Total number of drowned		203	during 53 years	

The last person who suffered death by drowning was a glass-blower of Murano in the eighteenth century.

Before going on to say a word about the prisons in the sixteenth century, it is as well to call attention to the fact that the Inquisitors of State twice found themselves in direct relations with the English Government; once, in 1587, when they called the attention of England to a conspiracy which was brewing in Spain; and again, a few years later, in connection with the tragedy of Antonio Foscarini, in which they played such a deplorable part. Is it not possible that there may be some documents in the English Record Office bear-

upon those circumstances, and likely to throw more light upon the tribunal of the Inquisitors?

In connection with the prisons I take the following details, among many similar ones, from documents found by Signor Fulin in the archives of the Inquisitors of State. He says, in connection with them, that they are by no means exaggerated. One of the most characteristic is a case dated towards the end of the fifteenth century, and it will serve as an example, since it is known that no great changes were made in the management of the prisons until much later.

'There has been found in the prisons a youth named Menegidio Scutellario, whom the Council of Ten had sentenced to twenty-five blows of the stick, which he received, and to a year's imprisonment. He was transferred from the new prisons to the one called Muzina, where he contracted an extremely painful inflammatory disease which has produced running sores. He has several on his head, and his face is much swollen. Moreover, this boy is shut up in the prison with twenty-five men of all ages, which is very dangerous for him from a moral point of view. A widow, who says she is his mother, comes every day to the Palace begging and imploring that her son may not be left in this abominable prison, lest he die there, or at least learn all manner of wickedness in the company of so many criminals. We consequently order that, in view of the justice of these complaints, the boy be kept in the corridor of the prisons till the end of his year.'

As in the Tower of London, so also in the gloomy dens of the pozzi, former prisoners have left short records of themselves. For instance: '1576, 22 March. I am Mandricardo Matiazzo de Marostega'; 'Galeazzo Avogadro and his friends 1584'; and lower down the following mis-

Mutinelli, Annali Urb.

spelt Latin words, 'Odie mihi, chras tibi' (*sic*)—'My turn to-day, to-morrow yours.'

Occasionally some daring convict succeeded in escaping from those deep and secure prisons. In his journal, under the fifth of August 1497, Marin Sanudo writes :—

It has happened that in the prisons of Saint Mark a number of convicts who were to remain there till they died have plotted to escape ; they elected for their chief that Loico Fioravante, who killed his father on the night of Good Friday in the church of the Frari. There was also Marco Corner, sentenced for an unnatural crime ; Benedetto Petriani, thief, and many others. On the evening of the fourth, when the jailors were making their usual rounds, the prisoners succeeded in disarming and binding them, and went on from one prison to another, their numbers increasing as they went, till they reached the last (novissima) ; there they found arrows and other arms, and began to discuss a plan of escape. Now it chanced that two Saracens who were amongst them wished to get out more quickly, without waiting for the deliberations of their comrades. One of them was almost drowned in the canal, the other took fright and began to cry out for help. A boat of the Council of Ten which was just passing picked up the half-drowned man ; the fact that he was a Saracen suggested that he might be a fugitive, and he was frightened into confessing. The plot was now revealed and the guard was immediately informed. On the following morning the chiefs of the Ten, Cosimo Pasqualigo, Niccolò da Pesaro, Domenico Beneto, went to the prisons with a good escort, but they could not get in, for the prisoners defended themselves. Then wet straw was brought, and it was lighted in order that the smoke might suffocate them. And they were advised to yield before the order of the Council of Ten was repeated thrice, for otherwise they would all be hanged. Marco Corner was the first to surrender, and after him all the others. They were taken back, each to his prison, under a closer watch.

In Marco Corner's case the love of liberty must have been strong, for in the same journal of Sanudo we find

that in little more than a year after their unsuccessful attempt at flight, he and some companions actually succeeded in getting out and made their exit through the hall of the Piovego, that is to say, through the Doge's palace. Their numbers were considerable, and six of them were sentenced to imprisonment for life. During the night they reached the monastery of Saint George, and at dawn they were already beyond the confines of Venetian territory.

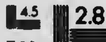
Having disposed of the Inquisitors of State, I shall now endeavour to explain the position and duties of the Inquisitors of the Holy Office, with whom the ordinary reader is very apt to confound them.

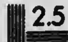
In the first place, the Holy Office in Venice was a much milder and more insignificant affair than it was at that time in other European states. In Venice it seems to have corresponded vaguely to the modern European Ministry of Public Worship. There are some amusing stories connected with it, but no very terrible ones so far as I can ascertain.

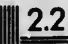
The Republic had long resisted the desire of the Popes to establish a branch of the Holy Inquisition in Venice, but by way of showing a conciliatory spirit, while maintaining complete independence, the Government had created a magistracy which was responsible for three matters, namely, the condition of the canals, the regulation of usury, and—of all things—cases of heresy. It is perfectly impossible to say why three classes of affairs so different were placed under the control of one body of men. Considering the gravity of the Venetian Government we can hardly suppose that it was intended as a piece of ironical wit at the expense of the Holy See. It may, at all events, be considered certain that the Savi all' Eresia, literally the Wise Men on Heresy, of the thirteenth century, had

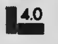
MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

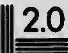
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

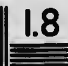












APPLIED IMAGE Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

not accomplished what was expected of them, since in 1289 the Government recognised the necessity of establishing a special court to deal with affairs of religion, presided over, at least in appearance, by a person delegated for that purpose from the Vatican. The Holy Office was thereby accepted in Venice, but with restrictions that paralysed it.

The tribunal was, in principle, composed of three persons—the Apostolic Nuncio, the Patriarch, and the Father Inquisitor, all three of whom had to be approved by the Republic. As a first step towards hindering them from acting rashly, they were strictly forbidden to discuss or decide anything whatsoever except in the presence of three Venetian nobles, who were appointed year by year, and preserved their ancient title of Wise Men on Heresy. Next, the Holy Office was not allowed to busy itself about any religious matter except heresy, in the strictest sense; it could not interfere in connection with any violation of the laws of the Church, not even in cases of sorcery or blasphemy, for magicians fell under the authority of the Signors of the Night, and blasphemers were answerable to the Executives against Blasphemy.

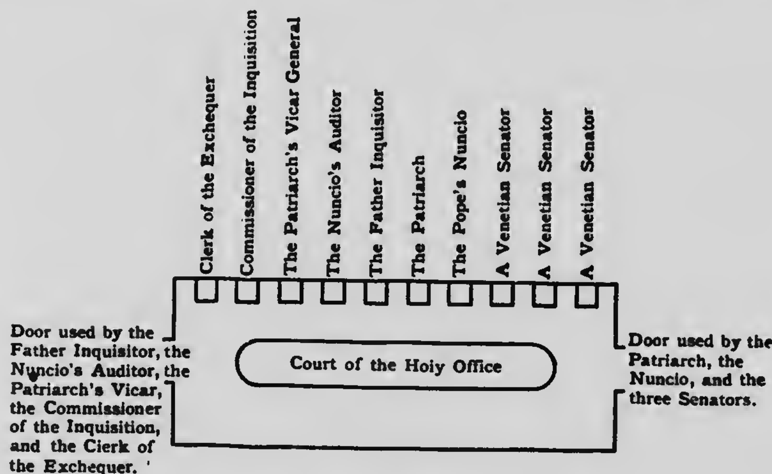
Molmenti, Stud. e Ric.

Rom. ii. 252, and viii. 348.

These laws had not changed in the sixteenth century, and the Holy Office had less to do than most of the contemporary tribunals. An examination of the documents preserved in its archives shows that from the year 1541 to the fall of the Republic there were three thousand six hundred and twenty trials, of which fifteen hundred and sixty-five fell in the sixteenth century, fourteen hundred and ninety-seven in the seventeenth, and only five hundred and sixty-one in the eighteenth. In the majority of cases the testimony was declared insufficient; in others, the accused hastened to

abjure their errors. Sometimes, however, we find long trials in the course of which torture was used as by the other tribunals, and in these cases the end was frequently a sentence of death or a condemnation to the galleys. No heretic was ever burned alive in Venice; death was inflicted by strangling, beheading, or hanging. Each Doge promised, indeed, on his election, to burn all heretics, but it is amply proved that only their dead bodies or their effigies were really given to the flames.

Molmenti, Stud. e Ric., and Cecchetti, Corte di Roma.



The tribunal of the Holy Office sat in a very low vaulted room in the buildings of Saint Mark's, which was reached by a narrow staircase after passing through the Sacristy. The Court had no prisons of its own. Persons who were arrested by it, or sentenced by it to terms of imprisonment, were confined in the prisons of the State, probably in those of the Ponte della Paglia. It is likely that the Court had at its disposal two or three cells near its place of sitting, for the detention of the accused during the trials. Signor Molmenti has ascertained precisely how the members of the tribunal

were placed, and has published a diagram which I here reproduce for the benefit of those who like such curious details.

As will be seen by the diagram, one-half of the personages used one entrance, and the rest came in by the other. Until the year 1560, the Inquisitor himself was a Franciscan monk, but afterwards he was always a Dominican.

The hall was gloomy and ill-lighted, the furniture poor; it did not please the Republic to spend money for the delectation of a Court which it did not like.

It was here that two famous trials took place in the sixteenth century, namely, that of Giordano Bruno, the renegade monk, dear to Englishmen who have never read the very scarce volume of his insane and filthy writings, and that of the celebrated painter Paolo Veronese. The contrast between these two documents is very striking, but both go to prove that the Holy Office in Venice was seldom more than a hollow sham, and that its proceedings occasionally degenerated towards low comedy.

Having escaped from Rome, Giordano Bruno left the ecclesiastical career which he had dishonoured in every possible way, and wandered about in search of money and glory. In the course of time he came to London, where his coarseness and his loose life made him many enemies. Thence he went on to Oxford, where, by means of some potent protection, he succeeded in obtaining the privilege of lecturing on philosophy; but the university authorities were soon scandalised by his behaviour and frightened by the extravagance of his doctrines; in three months he was obliged to leave. He revenged himself by writing a libel called 'La Cena delle Ceneri,' in which he described England as a land of dark streets in which one stuck in the mud

Previti, Vita di Giordano Bruno.

knee-deep, and of houses that lacked every necessary; the boats on the Thames were rowed by men more hideous than Charon, the workmen and shopkeepers were vulgar and untaught rustics, always ready to laugh at a stranger, and to call him by such names as traitor, or dog. In this pleasing pamphlet the Englishwoman alone escapes the writer's foul-mouthed hatred, to be insulted by his still more foul-mouthed praise. One may imagine the sort of eulogy that would run from the pen of a man capable of describing woman in general as a creature with neither faith nor constancy, neither merit nor talent, but full of more pride, arrogance, hatred, falseness, lust, avarice, ingratitude, and, generally, of more vices than there were evils in Pandora's box; one might quote many amenities of language more or less senseless, as, for instance, that woman is a hammer, a foul sepulchre and a quartan fever; and there are a hundred other expressions which cannot be quoted at all.

Towards 1591, the patrician Giovanni Mocenigo, an enthusiastic collector of books, found in the shop of a Dutch bookseller a little volume, entitled *Eroici Furori*, which contains some astrological calculations and some hints on mnemonics. The purchaser asked who the author might be, learned from the bookseller that it was Giordano Bruno, entered into correspondence with him, and at last invited him to Venice.

Bruno, it is needless to say, accepted the invitation eagerly, as he accepted everything that was offered to him, but it was not long before Mocenigo regretted his haste to be hospitable. He had begun by calling his visitor his dear master; before long he discovered the man to be a debauchee and a blasphemer. Now it chanced that Mocenigo had sat in the tribunal of the Holy Office as one of the three senators whose business it was to

oversee the acts of the Father Inquisitor, and he was not only a devout man, but had a taste for theology. He began by remonstrating with Bruno, but when the latter became insolent, he quietly turned the key on him and denounced him to the Holy Office. A few hours later the renegade monk was arrested and conveyed to prison. He was examined several times by the tribunal, but was never tortured, and as the judges thought they detected signs of coming repentance they granted him a limit of time within which to abjure his errors. But the trial did not end in Venice, for the Republic made an exception in this case, and soon yielded to a request from the Pope that the accused should be sent to Rome. He was ultimately burnt there, the only heretic, according to the most recent and learned authorities, who ever died at the stake in Italy. He was in reality a degenerate and a lunatic, who should have ended his days in an asylum.

M. Yriarte has published in the appendix to his study of the Venetian noble in the sixteenth century the verbatim report of the proceedings of the Holy Office on the eighteenth of July 1573. The prisoner at the bar was Paolo Veronese. I quote the following from M. Yriarte's translation :—

REPORT of the sitting of the Tribunal of the Inquisition on Saturday July eighteenth, 1573.

This day, July eighteenth, 1573. Called to the Holy Office before the sacred tribunal, Paolo Galliari Veronese, residing in the parish of Saint Samuel, and being asked as to his name and surname replied as above.

Being asked as to his profession :—

Answer. I paint and make figures.

Question. Do you know the reasons why you have been called here?

A. No.

Q. Can you imagine what those reasons may be?
A. I can well imagine.

S. SAMUELE

Q. Say what you think about them.
A. I fancy that it concerns what was said to me by the

reverend fathers, or rather by the prior of the monastery of San Giovanni e Paolo, whose name I did not know, but who informed me that he had been here, and that your Most Illustrious Lordships had ordered him to cause to be placed in the picture a Magdalen instead of the dog; and I answered him that very readily I would do all that was needful for my reputation and for the honour of the picture; but that I did not understand what this figure of Magdalen could be doing here; and this for many reasons, which I will tell when occasion is granted me to speak.

The Supper in the house of Simon, Paolo Veronese; Accademia, Room IX.

Q. What is the picture to which you have been referring?

A. It is the picture which represents the Last Supper of Jesus Christ with His disciples in the house of Simon.

Q. Where is this picture?

A. In the refectory of the monks of San Giovanni e Paolo.

Q. Is it painted in fresco or on wood or on canvas?

A. It is on canvas.

Q. How many feet does it measure in height?

A. It may measure seventeen feet.

Q. And in breadth?

A. About thirty-nine.

Q. In this Supper of our Lord, have you painted (other) persons?

A. Yes.

Q. How many have you represented? And what is each one doing?

A. First there is the innkeeper, Simon; then, under him, a carving squire whom I supposed to have come there for his pleasure, to see how the service of the table is managed. There are many other figures which I cannot remember, however, as it is a long time since I painted that picture.

Q. Have you painted other Last Suppers besides that one?

A. Yes.

Q. How many have you painted? Where are they?

A. I painted one at Verona for the reverend monks of San Lazzaro; it is in their refectory. Another is in the refectory of the reverend brothers of San Giorgio here in Venice.

Q. But that one is not a Last Supper, and is not even called the Supper of Our Lord.

A. I painted another in the refectory of San Sebastiano in Venice, another at Padua for the Fathers of the Maddalena. I do not remember to have made any others.

Q. In this Supper which you painted for San Giovanni e Paolo, what signifies the figure of him whose nose is bleeding?

A. He is a servant who has a nose-bleed from some accident.

Q. What signify those armed men dressed in the fashion of Germany, with halberds in their hands?

A. It is necessary here that I should say a score of words.

Q. Say them.

A. We painters use the same license as poets and madmen, and I represented those halberdiers, the one drinking, the other eating at the foot of the stairs, but both ready to do their duty, because it seemed to me suitable and possible that the master of the house, who as I have been told was rich and magnificent, should have such servants.

Q. And the one who is dressed as a jester with a parrot on his wrist, why did you put him into the picture?

A. He is there as an ornament, as it is usual to insert such figures.

Q. Who are the persons at the table of Our Lord?

A. The twelve apostles.

Q. What is Saint Peter doing, who is the first?

A. He is carving the lamb in order to pass it to the other part of the table.

Q. What is he doing who comes next?

A. He holds a plate to see what Saint Peter will give him.

Q. Tell us what the third is doing.

A. He is picking his teeth with his fork.

Q. And who are really the persons whom you admit to have been present at this Supper?

A. I believe that there was only Christ and His Apostles; but when I have some space left over in a picture I adorn it with figures of my own invention.

Q. Did some person order you to paint Germans, buffoons, and other similar figures in this picture?

A. No, but I was commissioned to adorn it as I thought proper; now it is very large and can contain many figures.

Q. Should not the ornaments which you were accustomed to paint in pictures be suitable and in direct relation to the subject, or are they left to your fancy, quite without discretion or reason?

A. I paint my pictures with all the considerations which are natural to my intelligence, and according as my intelligence understands them.

Q. Does it seem suitable to you, in the Last Supper of our Lord, to represent buffoons, drunken Germans, dwarfs, and other such absurdities?

A. Certainly not.

Q. Then why have you done it?

A. I did it on the supposition that those people were outside the room in which the Supper was taking place.

Q. Do you not know that in Germany and other countries infested by heresy, it is habitual, by means of pictures full of absurdities, to vilify and turn to ridicule the things of the Holy Catholic Church, in order to teach false doctrine to ignorant people who have no common sense?

A. I agree that it is wrong, but I repeat what I have said, that it is my duty to follow the examples given me by my masters.

Q. Well, what did your masters paint? Things of this kind, perhaps?

A. In Rome, in the Pope's chapel, Michel Angelo has represented Our Lord, His Mother, St. John, St. Peter, and the celestial court; and he has represented all these personages nude, including the Virgin Mary, and in various attitudes not inspired by the most profound religious feeling.

Q. Do you not understand that in representing the Last Judgment, in which it is a mistake to suppose that clothes are worn, there was no reason for painting any? But in these figures what is there that is not inspired by the Holy Spirit? There are neither buffoons, dogs, weapons, nor other absurdities. Do you think, therefore, according to this or that view, that you did well in so painting your picture, and will you try to prove that it is a good and decent thing?

A. No, my most Illustrious Sirs; I do not pretend to prove it, but I had not thought that I was doing wrong; I had never taken so many things into consideration. I had been far from imagining such a great disorder, all the more as I had

placed these buffoons outside the room in which Our Lord was sitting.

These things having been said, the judges pronounced that the aforesaid Paolo should be obliged to correct his picture within the space of three months from the date of the reprimand, according to the judgments and decision of the Sacred Court, and altogether at the expense of the said Paolo.

Et ita decreverunt omni melius modo. (And so they decided everything for the best!)

The existing picture proves that Veronese paid no attention to the recommendations of the Court, for I find that it contains every figure referred to.

After this brief review of the more serious offices of the Republic, I pass on to speak of a tribunal which, though in reality much less serious, gave itself airs of great solemnity, and promulgated a great number of laws. This was the Court of the 'Provveditori delle Pompe,' established in the sixteenth century to deal with matters of dress and fashion. As far back as the end of the thirteenth century, the 'Savi,' the wise men of the Government, had feebly deplored the increase of luxury. Their plaintive remarks were repeated at short intervals, and on each occasion produced some new decree against foolish and unreasonable expenditure. The length of women's trains, the size and fulness of people's sleeves, the adornment of boots and shoes, and all similar matters, had been most minutely studied by these wise gentlemen, and the avogadors had their hands full to make the regulations properly respected. One day a lady was walking in the Square of Saint Mark's, evidently very proud of the new white silk gown she wore. She was stopped by two avogadors, who gravely proceeded to measure the amount of stuff used in making her sleeves. It was far more than the law judged

Molmenti, Vita Priv.

necessary. The lady and her tailor—there were only male dressmakers in Venice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—were both made to pay a fine heavy enough to make them regret the extravagance of their fancy. I quote this story from Signor Molmenti. Marin Sanudo tells of another similar regulation in his journal under the month of December 1491: 'All those who hold any office from the State, and those who are finishing their term of service, are forbidden to give more than two dinner-parties to their relations, and each of these dinners shall not consist of more than ten covers.'

At weddings it was forbidden to give banquets to more than forty guests. Some years later another regulation was issued on the same subject. It was decreed 'that at these wedding dinners there shall not be served more than one dish of roast meats and one of boiled meats, and in each of these courses there shall not be more than three kinds of meat. Chicken and pigeons are allowed.'

For days of abstinence, the magistrates take the trouble to inform people what they may eat, namely, two dishes of roast fish, two dishes of boiled fish, an almond cake, and the ordinary jams. Of fish, sturgeon and the fish of the lake of Garda are forbidden on such days, and no sweets are allowed that do not come under one of the two heads mentioned. Oysters were not allowed at dinners of more than twenty covers. The pastry-cooks who made jumbles and the like, and the cooks who were to prepare a dinner, were obliged to give notice to the provveditors, accompanied by a note of the dishes to be served. The inspectors of the tribunal had a right to inspect the dining-room, kitchen, and pantry, in order to verify all matters that came under their jurisdiction.

As if all this were not enough, considerable fines were

imposed on those who should adorn the doors and outer windows of their houses with festoons, or who should give concerts in which drums and trumpets were used. In noting this regulation in his journal, Sanudo observes that the Council of Ten had only succeeded in framing it after meeting on three consecutive days in sittings of unusual length. One is apt to connect the Council of Ten with matters more tragic than these; and one fancies that the Decemvirs may have sometimes exclaimed with Dante—

> Le leggi son, ma chi pon mano ad esse?

('There are laws indeed, but who enforces them?')

The Council judged that there was only one way of accomplishing this, namely, to create a new magistracy, whose exclusive business it should be to make and promulgate sumptuary laws. For this purpose three nobles were chosen who received the title of Provveditori delle Pompe.

M. Armand Baschet, whose profound learning in matters of Venetian law is beyond dispute, is of opinion that the new tribunal helped Venice to be great, and hindered her from being extravagant. I shall not venture to impugn the judgment of so learned a writer, yet we can hardly forbear to smile at the thought of those three grave nobles, of ripe age and austere life, who sat down day after day to decide upon the cut of women's gowns, the articles necessary to a bride's outfit, and the dishes permissible at a dinner-party.

'Women,' said their regulations, 'shall wear clothes of only one colour, that is to say, velvet, satin, damask, or Persian silk woven of one tint; but exception is made from this rule for Persian silk of changing sheen and for brocades, but such gowns must have no trimming.'

Shifts were to be embroidered only round the neck,

and it was not allowed to embroider handkerchiefs with gold or silver thread. No woman was allowed to carry a fan made of feathers worth more than four ducats. No gloves were allowed embroidered with gold or silver; no earrings; no jewellery in the hair. Plain gold bracelets were allowed, but must not be worth more than three ducats; gold chains might be worth ten. No low-neck gowns allowed!

Mutinelli, Less.

Jewellers and tailors and dealers in luxuries did their best to elude all such laws, but during a considerable time they were not successful, and it is probable that the temper of the Venetian ladies was severely tried by the prying and paternal 'Provveditori.' The only women for whom exceptions were made were the Dogess and the other ladies of the Doge's immediate family who lived with him in the ducal palace. His daughters and grand-daughters were called 'dozete,' which means 'little dogesses' in Venetian dialect, and they were authorised to wear what they liked; but the Doge's more distant female relations had not the same privilege.

Molmenti, Vita Privata.

At the coronation of Andrea Gritti, one of his nieces appeared at the palace arrayed in a magnificent gown of gold brocade; the Doge himself sent her home to put on a dress which conformed with the sumptuary laws. Those regulations extended to intimate details of private life, and even affected the furnishing of a noble's private apartments. There were clauses which forbade that the sheets made for weddings and baptisms should be too richly embroidered or edged with too costly lace, or that the beds themselves should be inlaid with gold, mother-of-pearl, or precious stones.

Then the gondola came into fashion as a means of getting about, and at once became a cause of great

extravagance, for the rich vied with each other in adorning their skiffs with the most precious stuffs and tapestries, and inlaid stanchions, and the most marvellous allegorical figures.

In the thirteenth century the gondola had been merely an ordinary boat, probably like the modern 'barca' of the lagoons, over which an awning was

ON THE ZATTERE

rigged as a protection against sun and rain. The gondola was not a development of the old-fashioned boat, any more than the modern racing yacht has developed out of a Dutch galleon or a 'trabacolo' of the Adriatic. It had another pedigree; and I have no hesitation in saying, as one well acquainted with both, and not ignorant of boats in general, that the Venetian

gondola is the caïque of the Bosphorus as to the hull, though the former is rowed in the Italian fashion, by men who stand and swing a sweep in a crutch, whereas the Turkish oarsman sits and pulls a pair of sculls of peculiar shape which slide in and out through greased leathern strops. The gondola, too, has the steel ornament on her stem, figuring the beak of a Roman galley, which I suspect was in use in Constantinople before the Turkish conquest, and which must have been abolished then, for the very reason that it was Roman. The 'felse,' the hood, is a Venetian invention, I think, for there is no trace of it in Turkey. But the similarity of the two boats when out of water is too close to be a matter of chance, and it may safely be said that the first gondola was a caïque, then doubtless called by another name, brought from Constantinople by some Greek merchant on his vessel.

In early times people went about on horses and mules in Venice, and a vast number of the small canals were narrow and muddy streets; but as the superior facilities of water over mud as a means of transportation became evident, the lanes were dug out and the islands were cut up into an immense number of islets, until the footways became so circuitous that the horse disappeared altogether.

In the sixteenth century there were about ten thousand gondolas in Venice, and they soon became a regular bugbear to the unhappy Provveditori delle Pompe, who were forced to occupy themselves with their shape, their hangings, the stuff of which the 'felse' was made, the cushions, the carpets, and the number of rowers. The latter were soon limited to two, and it was unlawful to have more, even for a wedding. The gondola did not assume its present simplicity and its black colour till the end of the seven-

Mutinelli, Less.

teenth century, but it began to resemble what we now see after the edict of 1562.

As usual, a few persons were exempted from the

RIO DEL RIMEDIO

sumptuary law. The Doge went about in a gondola decorated with gold and covered with scarlet cloth, and the foreign ambassadors adorned their skiffs with

the richest materials, the representatives of France and Spain, especially, vying with each other in magnificence. To some extent the youths belonging to the Compagnia delia Calza—the Hose Club before mentioned—were either exempted from the law, or succeeded in evading it. Naturally enough, the sight of such display was odious to the rich noblemen who were condemned by law to the use of plain black; and on the whole, the study of all accounts of festivities held in Venice, down to the end of the Republic, goes to show that the Provveditori aimed at a most despotic control of dress, habits, and manners, but that the results generally fell far short of their good intentions. They must have led harassed lives, those much-vexed gentlemen, not much better than the existence of 'Jimmy-Legs' on an American man-of-war.

Now and then, too, the Government temporarily removed all restrictions on luxury, as, for instance, when a foreign sovereign visited Venice; and then the whole city plunged into a sort of orgy of extravagance. This happened when Henry III. of France was the guest of the Republic. Such occasions being known and foreseen, and the nobles being forced by the Provveditori to save their money, they spent it all the more recklessly when they were allowed a taste of liberty—like a child that breaks its little earthenware savings-box when it is full of pennies.

One naturally returns to the Doge after rapidly reviewing such a legion of officials, each of whom was himself a part of the supreme power. What was the Doge doing while these hundreds of noble Venetians were doing everything for themselves, from directing foreign politics to spying upon the wardrobes of each other's wives and auditing the accounts of one another's cooks?

It would be hard to ask a question more embarrassing to answer. It would be as unjust to say that he did nothing as it would be untrue to say that he had much to do. Yet the Venetians themselves looked upon him as a very important personage in the Republic. In a republic he was a sovereign, and therefore idle; but he was apparently necessary.

I am not aware that any other republic ever called its citizens subjects, or supported a personage who received royal honours, before whom the insignia of something like royalty were carried in public, and who addressed foreign governments by his own name and title as if he were a king. But then, how could Venice, which was governed by an oligarchy chosen from an aristocracy, which was the centre of a plutocracy, call herself a republic? It all looks like a mass of contradictions, yet the machinery worked without breaking down, during five hundred years at a stretch, after it had assumed its ultimate form. If a modern sociologist had to define the government of Venice, he would perhaps call it a semi-constitutional aristocratic monarchy, in which the sovereign was elected for life—unless it pleased the electors to depose him.

What is quite certain is that when the Doge was a man of average intelligence, he must have been the least happy man in Venice; for of all Venetian nobles, there was none whose personal liberty was so restricted, whose smallest actions were so closely watched, whose lightest word was subject to such a terrible censorship.

Francesco Foscari was not allowed to resign when he wished to do so, nor was he allowed to remain on the throne after the Council had decided to get rid of him. Even after his death his unhappy widow was not allowed to bury his body as she pleased. Yet his was only an extreme case, because circumstances com-

bined to bring the existing laws into play and to let them work to their logical result.

From the moment when a noble was chosen to fill the ducal throne he was bound to sacrifice himself to the public service, altogether and till he died, without regret, or possible return to private life, or any compensation beyond what might flatter the vanity of a vulgar and second-rate nature. Yet the Doges were very rarely men of poor intelligence or weak character.

At each election fresh restrictions were imposed by 'corrections' of the ducal oath. M. Yriarte says very justly that the tone of these 'corrections' is often so dry and hard that it looks as if the Great Council had been taking measures against an enemy rather than editing rules for the life of the chief of the State. He goes on to say, however, that the principle which dictated those decrees protected both the Doge and the nobility, and that the object at which each aimed was the interest of the State. He asks, then, whether those binding restrictions ever prevented a strong personality from making itself felt, and whether the long succession of Doges is nothing but a list of inglorious names.

It may be answered, I think, with justice, that the Doges of illustrious memory, during the latter centuries of the Republic's existence, had become famous as individual officers before their elevation to the throne. The last great fighting Doge was Enrico Dandolo, the conqueror of Constantinople, who died almost a hundred years before the closure of the Great Council. In the war of Chioggia, Andrea Contarini's oath not to return into the city till the enemy was beaten had the force of a fine example, but the man himself contributed nothing else to the most splendid page in Venetian history.

There were Doges who were good historians and writers, others who had been brave generals, others, like Giovanni Mocenigo, who were good financiers; but the fact of their having been Doges has nothing to do with the reputation they left afterwards. The sovereignty, when it was given to them, was a chain, not a sceptre, and from the day they went up the grand staircase as masters, their personal liberty of thought and action was more completely left behind than if they had entered by another door to spend the remainder of life in the prisons by the Ponte della Paglia, beyond the Bridge of Sighs.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Doge Michel Steno was told in open Council to sit down and hold his peace. No change in the manners of the counsellors had taken place sixty years later when the Doge Cristoforo Moro objected to accompanying Pius the Second's projected crusade in person, and was told by Vittor Cappello that if he would not go of his own accord he should be taken by force.

Tassini, under 'Moro.' Rom. iv. 319.

It is hard to imagine a more unpleasant position than that of the chief of the State. Suppose, for instance, that by the choice of the Council some post or dignity was to be conferred on one of his relatives, or even on one of his friends; he was literally and categorically forbidden to exhibit the least satisfaction, or to thank the Council, even by a nod of the head. He was to preside at this, and at many other ceremonies, as a superbly-dressed lay figure, as a sort of allegorical representative of that power with which every member of the Government except himself was invested. And as time went on, this part he had to play, of the living allegory, was more and more defined. He was even deprived of the

Yriarte, Vie d'un Patricien, 359, and Marin Sanudo.

title 'My Lord,' and was to be addressed merely as 'Messer Doge,' 'Sir Doge.' From 1501 onward he was forbidden to go out of the city, even for an hour in his gondola, without the consent of the Council, and if he disobeyed he had to pay a fine of one hundred ducats; he was not allowed to write a letter, even to his wife or his children, without showing it to at least one of his six counsellors, and if he disobeyed he was to pay a fine of two hundred ducats, and the person, his wife or his own child, to whom the letter was addressed, was liable to be exiled for five years.

After 1521 the Doge was never allowed to speak without witnesses with any ambassador, neither with the foreign representatives who came to Venice, nor with Venetian ambassadors at home on business or leave; and when he spoke with any of them in public, he was warned only to make commonplace remarks.

The Dogess never had any official position in Venice, but during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries she was made use of as an ornamental personage at public festivals. After that time she returned to the retirement in which the wives of the early Doges had lived. An outcry was raised against the custom of crowning her when she entered the ducal palace, and from that time forth she never appeared beside her husband on state occasions; and if any foreign ambassador, supposing that he was acting according to the rules of ordinary court etiquette, asked to be presented to her, she was bound to refuse his visit.

Everything in the life of the Doge was regulated by the Great Council. That august assembly once even remonstrated with the so-called sovereign because the Dogess bore him too many children. If any one hesitates to believe these amazing statements he may consult Signor Molmenti's recent historical work,

La Dogaressa, which is beyond criticism in point of accuracy.

At certain fixed times the Doge was allowed the relaxation of shooting, but with so many restrictions and injunctions that the sport must have been intolerably irksome. He was allowed or, more strictly speaking, was ordered to proceed for this purpose, and about Christmas time, to certain islets in the lagoons, where wild ducks bred in great numbers. On his return he was obliged to present each member of the Great Council with five ducks. This was called the gift of the 'Oselle,' that being the name given by the people to the birds in question. In 1521, about five thousand brace of birds had to be killed or snared in order to fulfil this requirement; and if the unhappy Doge was not fortunate enough, with his attendants, to secure the required number, he was obliged to provide them by buying them elsewhere and at any price, for the claims of the Great Council had to be satisfied in any case. This was often an expensive affair.

There was also another personage who could not have derived much enjoyment from the Christmas shooting. This was the Doge's chamberlain, whose duty it was to see to the just distribution of the game, so that each bunch of two-and-a-half brace should contain a fair average of fat and thin birds, lest it should be said that the Doge showed favour to some members of the Council more than to others.

Portrait of Antonio Grimani kneeling before Religion, Titian; Sala delle Quattro Porte.

By and by a means was sought of commuting this annual tribute of ducks. The Doge Antonio Grimani requested and obtained permission to coin a medal of the value of a quarter of a ducat, equal to about four shillings, or one dollar, and to call it 'a Duck,' 'Osella,' whereby it was signified that it took the

place of the traditional bird. He engraved upon his medal figures of Peace and Justice, with the motto 'Justitia et Pax osculatae sunt,' 'Justice and Peace have kissed one another,' in recollection of the sentence he had undergone nineteen years previously as admiral of the fleet defeated at Parenzo. In 1575 the Doge Luigi Mocenigo engraved upon his Osella the following inscription referring to the victory of Lepanto: 'Magnae navalis victoriae Dei gratia contra Turcos'; the reverse bears the arms of the Mocenigo family, a rose with five petals. Later, in 1632, the Doge Francesco Erizzo was the first to replace his own effigy kneeling before Saint Mark by a lion. In 1688 Francesco Morosini coined an Osella bearing on the obverse a sword, with the motto 'Non abstinet ictu,' and on the reverse a hand bearing weapons, with the motto 'Quem non exercuit arcus.' In 1684 Marcantonio Giustiniani issued an Osella showing a winged lion rampant, bearing in the one paw a single palm, and in the other a bunch of palms, with the motto 'Et solus et simul,' meaning that Venice would be victorious either alone or joined with allies.

The successor of Antonio Grimani, Andrea Gritti, chose for his Osella to have himself represented as kneeling before Saint Mark; the reverse bore his name with the date.

Andrea Gritti, praying, Tintoretto; Sala del Collegio.

But fresh trouble now arose. It came to pass that some nobles sold their medals or used them for money, and disputes even took place as to the true value of the ducal present. The Council of Ten was obliged to examine seriously into the affair. As it appeared certain that it would be impossible to avoid the use of medals as money, it was decided to replace them definitely by a coin having regular currency.

MOUTH OF THE GRAND CANAL

XVII

GLEANINGS FROM VENETIAN CRIMINAL HISTORY

THE records of the different tribunals of Venice are a mine of interesting information, and it is to be wondered that no student has devoted a separate volume to the subject. I shall only attempt to offer the reader a few gleanings which have come under my hand, and which may help to give an impression of the later days of the Republic.

There were two distinct classes of criminals in Venice,

as elsewhere—namely, professional criminals, who helped each other and often escaped justice; and, on the other hand, those who committed isolated crimes under the influence of strong passions, and who generally expiated their misdeeds in prison or on the scaffold.

Though the professionals were infinitely more dangerous than the others, it is a remarkable fact that they enjoyed the same sort of popularity which was bestowed upon daring highwaymen in England in the coaching days. They were called the 'Bravi,' they were very rarely Venetians by birth, and they had the singular audacity to wear a costume of their own, which was something between a military uniform and a mediæval hunting-dress. One might almost call them condottieri in miniature. They sold their services to cautious persons who wished to satisfy a grudge without getting into trouble with the police, and they drew round them all the good-for-nothings in the country. 'Bandits'—that is, in the true interpretation of the word, those persons whom the Republic had banished from Venetian territory—frequently returned, and remained unmolested during some time under the protection of one of these bravi. The most terrible and extravagant crimes were committed in broad day, and the popular fancy surrounded its nefarious heroes with a whole cycle of legends calculated to inspire terror.

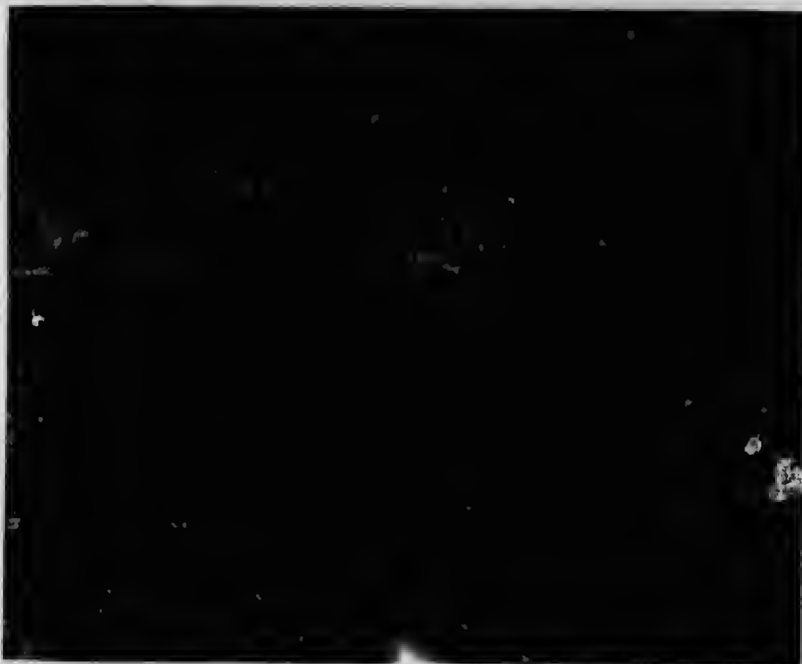
The Government cast about for some means of checking the evil, and hit upon one worthy of the Inquisitors of State. The simple plan consisted in giving a free pardon for all his crimes to any bravo who would kill another. We even find that a patrician of the great house of Quirini, who had been exiled for killing one of Titian's servants, obtained leave to come back and live peacefully in Venice by assassinating a bravo. It is easy to imagine what crimes could be

committed under this law, and the Government soon recognised the mistake and repealed it in 1549, in order to protect 'the dignity of the Republic, and the goods and lives of its subjects.'

Pinelli, Raccolta di Leggi Crim.

Thereafter the bravi and the bandits led more quiet lives, and returned to their former occupations.

There existed at that time a statue of a hunchback



THE RIALT . NIGHT

modelled by the sculptor Pietro di Salò, which had been used to support a ladder, or short staircase, by which the public criers ascended the column of the Rialto, in order to proclaim banns of marriage and other matters which were to be made public. From 1541 to 1545 thieves were usually sentenced to be flogged through the city from Saint Mark's to the Rialto, where the ceremony ended by their being obliged to kiss the

statue of the hunchback. In order to get rid of this degrading absurdity a small column was set up near by, surmounted by a cross, in order that 'sinners might undergo their sentence in a Christian spirit.'

On the sixteenth of December, 1560, the Council of Ten met to discuss the question of the bravi. It was now admitted that the Government no longer had isolated criminals to deal with, but regular bands of ruffians continually on the look-out for adventures. The Ten published an edict by which all bandits were formally warned that any one who exercised the profession of a bravo, whether a subject of the Republic or not, would be taken and led in irons to the place between the columns of the Piazzetta, where his nose and ears would be carved off. He would then be further sentenced to five years at the oar on board one of the State galleys, unless some physical defect made this impossible for him, in which case he was to have one hand chopped off and to be imprisoned for ten years. In passing, I call attention to the fact that life between decks on a State galley cannot have been pleasant, since five years of it were considered equivalent to the loss of a hand and ten years of imprisonment.

Horatio Brown, Venetian Studies.

These terrific penalties inspired little or no fear, for the bravi were infinitely quicker and cleverer than the sbirri of the Government, and were very rarely caught. Besides, they had powerful supporters and secure refuges from which they could defy justice, for they were sheltered and protected in the foreign embassies, where they knew how to make themselves useful as spies, and occasionally as professional assassins, and it was not an uncommon thing to see a sbirro standing before the French or the Spanish embassy and looking up at a window whence some well-known bravo smiled down

on him, waved his hat, and addressed him with ironical politeness. The picture vividly recalls visions of a cat on top of a garden wall, calmly grinning at the frantic terrier below.

Then, too, the bravi were patronised by the 'signorotti' of the mainland, a set of rich, turbulent, and licentious land-owners, who could not call them-

FROM THE BALCONY OF THE DUCAL PALACE

selves Venetian nobles, and would not submit to be burghers, but set themselves up as knights, and lived in more or less fortified manors from which they could set the police at defiance. They employed the bravi in all sorts of nefarious adventures, which chiefly tended to the satisfaction of their brutal tastes.

It was a second period of transition, as Molmenti very justly says, and in the beginning of the decadence

the knight had already ceased to be knightly. Those rough lordlings were neither without fear nor without reproach, says the learned Italian writer, but were altogether without remorse, and if they were ever bold it was only in breaking the law. From time to time one of them was caught perpetrating some outrageous crime, and was dragged barefooted, in a long black shirt and black cap, to the scaffold, as an awful example, there to be flogged, hanged, and quartered. Such horrors had long ceased to have any effect in an age that saw blood run in rivers. By way of increasing the disgrace of a shameful death, a gibbet was set up which was so high that the victim had to mount thirty-two steps, and it was painted scarlet. The first miscreant who adorned it was one of the chiefs of the sbirri himself, who had used his position to protect a whole gang of thieves with whom he divided the plunder.

Cassini, Condanne Capitali.

I abridge from Signor Molmenti's work the following story, in which more than one type of the sixteenth-century criminal makes his appearance.

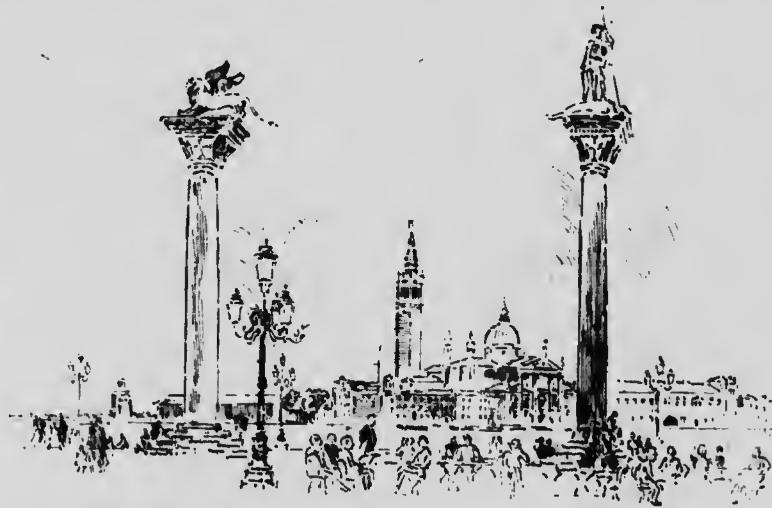
Molmenti, Banditi e Bravi.

The village of Illasi is situated in a rich valley in the territory of Verona. At the end of the sixteenth century its castle was inhabited by a certain Count Geronimo and his beautiful lady, Ginevra. From time to time the couple introduced a little variety into their solitude by receiving Virginio Orsini who, though a Roman noble, was in the service of Venice as Governor of Verona. He was, I believe, a first cousin of that Paolo Giordano Orsini who murdered his wife Isabella de' Medici in order to marry Vittoria Accoramboni. I have told the story at length in another work.

Virginio, the Governor, fell in love with the Countess Ginevra before long; but she, though

strongly attracted to him, tried hard to resist him, would not read his letters, and turned a deaf ear to his pleadings.

On a certain Saturday night, when Count Geronimo was away from home, and Ginevra sat by the fire in her own chamber, having already supped and said her prayers, the curtain of the door was raised and two men came in. The one was Grifo, the man-at-



THE COLUMNS, PIAZZETTA

arms whom the Count trusted and had left to guard her; the other was Orsini. Ginevra sprang to her feet, asking how the Governor dared to cross her threshold.

'Madam,' he said, coming near, 'as you would not answer my letters, I determined to tell you face to face that if you will not hear me you will be my ruin.'

'Sir,' answered the Countess, 'that is not the way to address a lady of my condition. You are basely betraying my noble husband, who entertains for you both friendship and esteem.'

Here Grifo joined in the conversation, and began to persuade the Countess that every noble lady of the time had her 'confederate knight.' No doubt he knew that she loved Orsini in spite of herself, and when he had done speaking he went away, and the two were alone together in the night.

An hour later Virginio took his leave of her, and now he told her with words of comfort that he would presently send her poison by the hand of Grifo, that she might do away with her husband; for otherwise he must soon learn the truth and avenge himself on them all three. But Ginevra was already stung by remorse.

'I have dishonoured my husband for you,' she answered. 'But I will not do the deed you ask of me. It is better that I should myself die than that I should do murder.'

'In that case,' answered Orsini, 'I myself must put him beyond the possibility of harming you.'

Thereupon he left her; but she was tormented by remorse, until at last she went to her husband and told him all, and entreated him to kill her. He would not believe her, but thought she had gone mad, though she repeated her story again and again; and at last he rose and went and found Grifo, the traitor, and dragged him to her room.

'Is it true,' she asked, 'that you brought the Governor here to my chamber unawares?'

The man denied it with an oath. Then Ginevra snatched up a dagger and set the point at Grifo's breast. He saw that he was lost, and told the truth, and then and there the woman whose ruin he had wrought did justice on him and was avenged, and stabbed him again and again, that he died.

There ends the story, for that is all we know. After that the chronicle is silent, ominously silent; and

when the castle of Illasi was dismantled a walled niche was found in one of the towers, and within the niche there was a woman's skeleton. That is known, surely ;

THE SALUTE FROM THE GIUDECCA

but that the bones were those of the Countess Ginevra there is no proof to show.

I [illegible]ld say that Grifo b[illegible]onged to the type of the

bravi, so that the crimes of passion which his betrayal caused were connected, through him, with those of the professional type. But others were committed, then as now, in passion, quick or slow. As an example of them, here is a story from another of Signor Molmenti's exhaustive works.

Molmenti, Vecchie Storie.

It is first mentioned by the Bishop Pietro Bollani in a letter addressed to his noble friend Vincenzo Dandolo, in the month of July 1602 :—

'A certain Sanudo, who lives in the Rio della Croce, in the Giudecca, made his wife go to confession day before yesterday evening ; and she was a Cappello by birth. During the following night, at about the fifth hour (one o'clock in the morning at that season according to the old Italian sun-time), he killed her with a dagger-thrust in the throat. He says that she was unfaithful, but every one believes that she was a saint.'

We learn that the poor woman was thirty-six, and that Giovanni Sanudo had been married to her eighteen years. The Council of Ten ordered his arrest, but he had already escaped beyond the frontier, and he was condemned to death in default, and a prize of two thousand ducats was offered for his head.

He had left five children in Venice, three boys and two girls ; and the oldest, a daughter christened Sanuda, addressed a petition to the Ten which is worth translating :—

Most Serene Prince (the Doge), Most Illustrious Sirs (the Ten), and most merciful my Masters (the Counsellors, the High Chancellor, and the Avogadors) :

Never did unfortunate petitioners come to the feet of your Serenity, and of your most excellent and most clement Council, more worthy of pity than we, Sanuda, Livio, Aloïse, Franceschino, and Livio second, the children of Messer

Giovanni Sanudo; misfortune has fallen upon our house because our father having been accused of taking our mother's life, the justice of your Serenity and of your most excellent Council has condemned him to death; wherefore we, poor innocent children, have lost at once our father and our mother, and all our possessions; and we assure you with tears that we should have to beg our bread unless certain charitable souls helped us. Therefore I, the unhappy Sanuda, who have reached the age of eighteen years, and my brothers and sisters who are younger than I, shall all be given over to the most abject poverty, and exposed to the greatest dangers, unless your Serenity and your most excellent Council will consent to help us for the love of religion and justice. And so, in order to prevent five poor and honest children of noble blood from perishing thus miserably, we prostrate ourselves at the feet of your Serenity and of your most Illustrious Lordships, imploring you, by the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, to allow our unhappy father to come back to Venice for two years, that he may provide for the safety of his family and especially of his daughters, whose honour is exposed to such grave peril in that state of neglect in which they are now living. We pray that the good God may grant your Serenity and your Lordships long and happy life.

The Council of Ten was apparently moved by the appeal. It answered the petition by the following resolution:—

'The case of Sanuda, Livio, Aloïse, Franceschino, and Livio second, brothers and sisters, the children of Giovanni Sanudo, condemned to death by this Council on July twenty-ninth, is so serious; the petition of these poor children is so humble, so honest, and so reasonable, that it behooves the piety and clemency of our Council to grant the said Giovanni Sanudo a safe conduct, good for two years, in order that during this period he may provide for the future of his family.'

Sanudo came back, and before the two years had

expired he obtained a prolongation of the grace for two years more, at the end of which time he presented another petition worded in the same manner, which was also granted; and so on from two years to two years until 1621, nineteen years after the crime, he being still technically under sentence of death.

Now, however, he obtained a formal pardon from his wife's family, the Cappello. This curious document reads as follows:—

In the name of God and of the Holy Trinity, March thirtieth, 1621.

I, Carlo Cappello, son of the late Pietro Cappello, considering the weakness and the lamentable vicissitudes to which humanity is subject, and desirous of forgiving the shortcomings and misdeeds of others, in order that the Lord our God may protect me also, and desiring, too, the full pardon of every sin: do forgive my brother-in-law, Giovanni Sanudo, the offences he may have committed against me, promising henceforth to bear him neither hatred nor malice, and I pray God to grant us both a good Easter and the pardon of every sin.

(Signed) CARLO CAPPELLO.
PIETRO CAPPELLO.
LIVIO CAPPELLO.

Having obtained forgiveness of his wife's family, Giovanni Sanudo now looked about for a means of extorting a final pardon from the Council of Ten. There existed in the Venetian states a small town, called Sant' Omobono, which had received, as the reward of some ancient service rendered to the Republic, the privilege of setting at liberty every year two outlaws or two bravi. Sanudo succeeded in winning the good graces of the municipality, and was then presented by the mayor and aldermen to the Signory as one of the yearly candidates for a free pardon. The Council of Ten then permanently ratified

its decree of immunity, and Giovanni Sanudo was once more a free man. Considering the usual character of the Council, it is hard not to surmise that it had found some cause for regretting the sentence it had passed. The poor murdered woman had confessed and received absolution before death: may we not reasonably suppose that, after all, there had been something to confess?

There is ground for believing it possible that Shakespeare may have used the original murder as part of the groundwork of his *Othello*. If we compare the dates and glance at the history of Italian literature, we may reasonably conclude that Shakespeare, after perhaps planning his tragedy on a tale of Giraldi's, was much struck by the details of Sanudo's crime, and especially by the murderer's wish that his wife should confess before dying.

Mr. Rawdon Brown supposed the poet to have used another incident, related by Marin Sanudo in his voluminous journal, but the hypothesis involves an anachronism. *Othello* is thought by good authorities to have been first played in London in the autumn of 1602, only a few months after the crime in the Giudecca; whereas Mr. Rawdon Brown's heroine was not murdered until thirteen years later.

The legend of the Fornaretto belongs to the beginning of the sixteenth century, a hundred years earlier. Travellers will remember being told by their guides how a poor little baker's boy, who was carrying bread to a customer on a January morning in 1507, stumbled over the body of a noble who had been stabbed by an unknown hand. The sheath of the dagger lay on the pavement, and the boy was imprudent enough to pick it up and put it into his pocket, for it was richly damascened and very handsome. The police found it

upon him, it was considered to be conducive circumstantial evidence, the poor boy confessed under torture that he had committed the crime, and he was hanged on his own confession.

A few days later the real murderer was arrested and convicted; and thereafter, in recollection of the tragic injustice that had been done, whenever the magistrates were about to pass a sentence of death they were admonished to remember the poor Fornaretto.

By way of making the story more complete, the guide usually adds that the little lamp which always burns before an image of the Blessed Virgin on one side of the Basilica was lighted as an offering in expiation of the judicial murder, and that it is for the same reason that a bell is rung during twenty minutes on the anniversary of the baker boy's execution.

Strangely enough, there is hardly a word of truth in this story. The only record in the archives of the Ten which faintly suggests it is the trial and execution of a baker named Pietro Fusiol, who had murdered a man of the people in January 1507, and there is no reference to any mistake on the part of the court. The ringing of the bell, and the little lamp which burns day and night before the image, are a sort of *ex voto* offerings left by certain seamen in recollection of a terrible storm from which they escaped.

I pass on to speak of the political prisoners of the Republic, who were not by any means all treated alike, since some of them were confined in places of tolerable comfort, whereas others were treated little better than common criminals. The story of Cristoforo Frangipane shows that political delinquents were not judged according to any particular code, and that each case was examined as being entirely independent from any other.

Dr. Heinrich Thode, Der Ring des Frangipane.

I must recall to the reader that during the league of Cambrai the Emperor Maximilian was commissioned to win back Friuli, Istria, and other provinces annexed by the Republic. Though the league had been formed in great haste, Venice was not taken by surprise, for it had long been apparent that the European powers desired her destruction and dismemberment. During the war which followed the Venetian army was at one time under the orders of Bartolomeo d'Alviano, and that of the Emperor was commanded by Cristoforo Frangipane. Now the Frangipane family held lands in fee from Venice as well as from the Emperor, and owed feudal service to both; so that the Republic was justified in considering Cristoforo as a traitor according to feudal law, since he was in command of a hostile army.

Venice defying Europe, Palma Giovane; Sala dei Pregadi, ducal palace.

A learned German student, Doctor Heinrich Thode, has discovered and told with great charm the following story concerning the imperial general. In 1892, Doctor Thode being then in Venice, certain peasants of the village of Osopo, near Pordenone, showed him a gold ring of marvellous workmanship and in the style of the sixteenth century, which they had found in a field. The ring consisted of two spirals, one within the other, which could be taken apart, so that a lock of hair or a relic could be placed between them. On the outer spiral of the ring were engraved the words, 'Myt Wyllen deyn eygen,' which may be translated, 'By mine own will thine own.' Doctor Thode bought the ring, but for a long time could make nothing of it. At last, however, his industry was rewarded by the discovery of an interesting passage in the almost inexhaustible diary of Marin Sanudo, of which I shall abridge the substance as much as possible.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Emperor Maximilian met in Augsburg a very beautiful girl named Apollonia von Lange, with whom he fell deeply in love. He caused her to come to the Court of Vienna, where she behaved so admirably that, according to the chronicler, all the Austrian nobles wished to marry her. As a matter of fact she was married in 1503 to the Count of Lodron, who happens to be the very person whom the Cappelletti of Verona wished to marry to their Juliet in spite of her promise to Romeo Montecchi.

The Count of Lodron died soon after his marriage, leaving no children. The Emperor continued to extend to the young widow his honourable protection, and in 1514 he married her to his favourite general Cristoforo Frangipane. It was no doubt on this occasion that the warrior received from her the ring of which the motto answered a question that had often been on his lips. He might, indeed, reasonably have supposed that she was marrying him in deference to the Emperor's wishes; he must have asked her if this were true, and no doubt more than once she answered, 'Of my own will I am thine own.' The marriage had scarcely taken place when Frangipane was obliged to take command of the imperial army and to leave his wife. The first battle of the campaign was fought near Pordenone in the Venetian territory. Marin Sanudo narrates that on that day Frangipane lost a precious relic, a fact which he considered to be of bad augury for the future.

Only a few days later, when reconnoitring the position of the enemy, he was climbing over a boulder which overlooked the valley. It either gave way with him, or else some large piece of stone rolled against him and threw him down. The accident was seen

from a distance, and it was at once reported to Venice that he was dead. But he was only wounded, and was carried in a litter to Goritz, whither his wife

A GARDEN WALL

hastened at once. Under her loving care he soon recovered, but before he was able to ride again the Venetians took the town and made him prisoner. He

was conveyed to Venice, and was confined in the tower of the ducal palace which overlooked the Ponte della Paglia. In his confinement he kept up a constant correspondence with his wife, which, it is needless to say, was carefully examined by the Government; every letter which came or went was read aloud before the Senate, so that Marin Sanudo had ample opportunity to copy the documents for his journal, as he frequently did.

The beautiful Apollonia was in a state bordering on despair, the grief of the separation preyed upon her mind, and she fell into a state of terrible languor and depression. Amongst many tender messages she makes mention of the ring.

'As for the ring,' she wrote, 'most gracious and beloved husband, let me tell you that the one ordered of John Stephen Maze should be a little smaller than the old one, and on it must be engraved the words with which I answered the question you asked me, and which is graved on the ring I always wear on my finger. I wish you to wear the ring in memory and for love of me, but as we have no good jewellers here, I entreat you to order it yourself.'

In the face of such evidence it is hardly possible to doubt that the ring found at Osopo is the identical one given to Frangipane by his bride, and is the 'relic' which he lost in his first engagement with the Venetians.

The correspondence of the loving couple, passionate and sad, continued during six months, at the end of which time Apollonia wrote to the Signory imploring permission to share her husband's prison; but this was refused her, though her request was supported by the warmest recommendations from the Emperor himself. Exasperated, Frangipane attempted to escape from

prison, but his plan was discovered, and he was only the more closely watched. Apollonia now requested the favour of a safe-conduct that she might, at least, come to Venice as a traveller and visit her husband; this also was refused, not once only, but again when she wrote a second time.

There was now but one thing left for her to do, and she determined to risk coming to Venice without a safe-conduct. She arrived in the depth of winter in 1516, with four maids of honour, her chamberlain, her physician, and twenty-two servants. As the Council of Ten was ashamed to imprison her it placed her in the keeping of the patrician Dandolo, who was the general inspector of the ducal prisons, and he placed at her disposal his palace on the Grand Canal, which is now the Hôtel Danieli. She took up her quarters there on the thirteenth of January with her suite, and on the twentieth she appeared before the Doge and his counsellors arrayed in a magnificent silk gown and a black satin mantle lined with sable; a heavy gold chain hung down upon her bosom, and a golden coif was set upon her hair in the German fashion; three young girls dressed in black cloth followed her, one after the other, and an old duenna, the physician, and the chamberlain brought up the rear.

The fair Countess addressed the Doge with feminine eloquence and tact. She began by rendering thanks for the kindness and consideration shown to her husband, and she requested permission to see him twice a week. She argued that this permission was absolutely necessary to her, for she said that she was very ill, and that the treatment ordered by her doctor was of such a nature that she entirely declined to submit to it except in the presence of her husband. The Doge and his counsellors had never had to face such arguments

before; they felt themselves absolutely powerless, and yielded at once.

But on the morrow old Dandolo, the inspector of prisons, appeared before them in a condition of indescribable dismay and excitement. He said that when the Countess was at last in her husband's prison, on the previous evening, she had made such a scene in order to be allowed to stay all night that he, Dandolo, had yielded much against his will and had left the couple together. And now, in the morning, he had found the Countess still in bed, declaring that she was dangerously ill, and demanding that her doctor should be sent to her without delay.

The Doge and his counsellors were in a quandary, and Dandolo was tearing his hair. Sanudo informs us that 'there was much noise in the Council' that morning, and it is easy to believe that he was telling the truth. Almost half of the grave magistrates were in favour of leaving the Countess with her husband; the rest, with a very small majority, voted that she must quit the prison. The motion passed, but it was one thing to decide what she should do, and quite another thing to make her do it. She declared that since she was inside the tower no power on earth should get her out of it, and she defied the Doge, the Council of Ten, and all their works. Before such portentous obstinacy the Government of Venice retired in stupefaction, and she was left in peace.

But she was human, after all, and under prolonged imprisonment her health broke down, and she was obliged to leave the tower each year to go to the waters of Abano; but even then she refused to go out until a formal promise had been given her that she should be allowed to return immediately after the cure.

No doubt it was owing to her presence that

Frangipane's confinement became by degrees less rigorous, and that he was even allowed to watch the procession of Corpus Domini from the balcony of the Library.

Apollonia had come in January 1516, and the pair were not liberated till more than two years later. Germany, France, and Venice signed a truce of five years, and agreed to exchange prisoners and give hostages on the thirty-first of July 1518. Francis I. asked that Germany should hand him over Frangipane as security for keeping the peace, promising that he should not be imprisoned, but should be merely a prisoner of the King on parole. It was not freedom yet, but such a change was more than welcome, and the negotiations with the Signory for Frangipane's delivery were completed on the third of September. The words he wrote in the embrasure of the window of his prison may still be read, says Dr. Thode, who copied the inscription which I reproduce :—

Fo inchluso . qua . in . torise . . . fina . . terzo
zorno de . setembro . del . M.D. XVIII . io . Christoforo . Frang-
-epanibus Chonte . de . Veglia . Senia . et Modrusa
Et io . Apollonia . Chonsorte . de sopradicto signor . chonte .
Vene . far . chompagnia . a . quelo . adi . XX . Zenar . MDXVI perfina
sopra dicto setembro . Chi mal . e . ben . non . sa . patir . a . gra-
-nde honor . may . pol . venir . anche . ben . ne . mal . de . qui . per .
sempre . non . dura.

I translate literally as follows :—

I was shut up here in the Torrisella till the third day of September of 1518, Christopher of the Frangipane, Count of Veglia, Senia, and Modrusa. And I, Apollonia, wife of the aforesaid lord Count, came to keep him company on the twentieth of January 1516 until the said September. 'Who cannot bear good and ill fate, Will never come to honour great.' Also, Nor good nor evil lasts for ever here.

Frangipane seems to have written this record during one of his wife's absences at Abano, being perfectly sure that he was about to be set at liberty. But there had been a hitch in the negotiations. Venice was not ready to hand him over, and meanwhile, when Apollonia came back she was refused admittance. Dandolo again offered her a home in his palace, and did all he could to help her. Frangipane, deprived of her comforting presence, fell ill and went almost mad. Even the Doge himself supported his request to be allowed to be taken to a private dwelling. It was in vain; but Apollonia was at last allowed to return to her husband. They left no means untried to obtain the fulfilment of the treaty, and at last Dandolo became so exasperated with the Council of Ten that he resigned his post of inspector of prisons, telling the councillors to their faces that of twelve thousand prisoners who had been in his keeping, first and last, Frangipane was the only one who had been able to complain of injustice.

The Ten accepted his resignation almost without comment, and replaced him by two nobles. Then the couple tried to escape, but were discovered and again separated. At last the Government consented to ask the King of France what was to be done with his hostage, whom he seems to have quite forgotten. He answered by requesting that Frangipane should be sent to Milan and handed over to the French governor, De Lautrec.

The loving pair were allowed to meet in the prison again, two days before the departure, but Apollonia was not permitted to follow her husband to Milan, and a heart-rending farewell took place at Lizzafusina, on the frontier. Having reached his destination, the unlucky Frangipane found himself in a much worse prison than the one he had occupied so long in Venice. Again his

faithful wife succeeded in joining him, to share his captivity. But her strength was far spent, and she died on the fourth of September 1519, in the fortress of Milan; and soon afterwards Frangipane succeeded at last in escaping by sawing through the bars of his window and letting himself down by a rope.

XVIII

VENETIAN DIPLOMACY

BEFORE quitting the subject of Venetian official life, I must devote a few pages to the diplomacy of the Republic, which has remained famous in history.

The kings of France often confided diplomatic missions to the clergy, but the Venetian diplomatists were always laymen, without a single exception. The Signory constantly professed the most devout faith in Catholic dogma, and as constantly exhibited the most profound distrust of the popes. The Vatican was, indeed, the chief object of the Government's suspicion. From the fifteenth century onward, any noble who entered holy orders lost his seat in the Great Council, and I have already explained that during the discussion of matters relating to Rome,

Cecchetti, Corte Romana.

all the 'papalisti' were ordered to withdraw. When Sixtus V. was elected Pope in 1585, and the Republic sent four ambassadors together to congratulate him, the sixteen nobles who attended the mission were most carefully chosen from among those who never could be 'papalisti.'

In answer to any criticism of her methods, Venice was almost always able to bring forward the unanswerable argument of success; but the pages which record her diplomatic relations with other powers are not the fairest in her history. Her dealings with her neighbours were regulated by strictly business principles; and 'business' is, I believe, the art of becoming legally possessed of that which is not our own.

The marvellous accuracy with which the Venetian ambassadors related to their Government the details of what they observed abroad is proverbial, and has been a godsend to students of history, such as M. Yriarte, to whom the world is so much indebted for his study of Marcantonio Barbaro.

The post of foreign representative was a most honourable one, but there were overwhelming responsibilities connected with it. In early times, when diplomatic relations were less close and less continuous, the Republic had sent permanent embassies only to Rome and Constantinople; to other capitals special envoys were only despatched when some matter was to be discussed. But in the sixteenth century Venice had ambassadors everywhere, and each week brought long letters from all countries teeming with details, not only of political or military events, but concerning social festivities, manners, customs, court intrigues, and every sort of gossip.

These letters were read aloud on Saturday to the Senate, which thus assisted at a sort of consecutive

series of lectures on the history of the times; and as it was customary to choose the ambassadors from among the senators, it was tolerably sure that when chosen they would always be well informed, up to the latest moment.

The missions of the Republic were limited to a residence of two years in any one foreign capital; but this short time was amply sufficient to bring about the financial ruin of the ambassador if he was not very rich. It was his duty to display the most boundless magnificence for the greater glory of the Republic, and his expenses bore no proportion to his salary.

The following instructions, according to M. Yriarte, were given to Marcantonio Barbaro on his departure for the court of France:—

Yriarte, Vie d'un Patricien.

'You are to keep eleven horses for your service, including those of your secretary and his servant, and four mounted messengers. You will receive for your expenses two hundred gold ducats monthly (about £1800 yearly), of which you are not required to render an account. You will receive a thousand gold ducats for presents, and three hundred for the purchase of horses, harness, and saddle cloths.'

The secretary of embassy was also named by the Senate, and though the attachés might be chosen by the ambassador, his choice had to be confirmed by the Government. He was not allowed to take his wife with him, as her presence might have distracted him from business, and also because it might possibly have been a little prejudicial to the keeping of secrets; but he was allowed to take his cook. These same instructions appear as early as the thirteenth century.

Modern diplomatists, and especially Americans, will be interested to know that the post of ambassador was

so little desired as to make it necessary to impose a heavy fine on any noble who refused it when he was appointed; and it actually happened more than once that men paid the fine rather than ruin themselves altogether in the service of their sordid Government. Once having left Venice, however, no resignation was allowed, and the ambassador dared not return unless he was ordered to do so. Requests for leave were very rare, and were only made under the pressure of some very exceptional circumstances. Such a petition was considered so serious a matter that when one arrived from abroad all persons related to the ambassador were ordered to leave the Senate, lest their presence should interfere with the freedom of discussion; but the request was never granted unless two members of the family would swear that the reasons alleged in the petition were genuine.

Legend assures us that each ambassador received, together with his credentials, a box full of gold coin and a small bottle of deadly poison. This is childish nonsense, of course, so far as the portable realities were concerned, but ambassadors were instructed to hesitate at nothing which could accomplish the purpose of the State, neither at spending large sums which would be placed at their disposal when necessary, nor at what the Senate was good enough to call measures of exceptional severity—namely, murder.

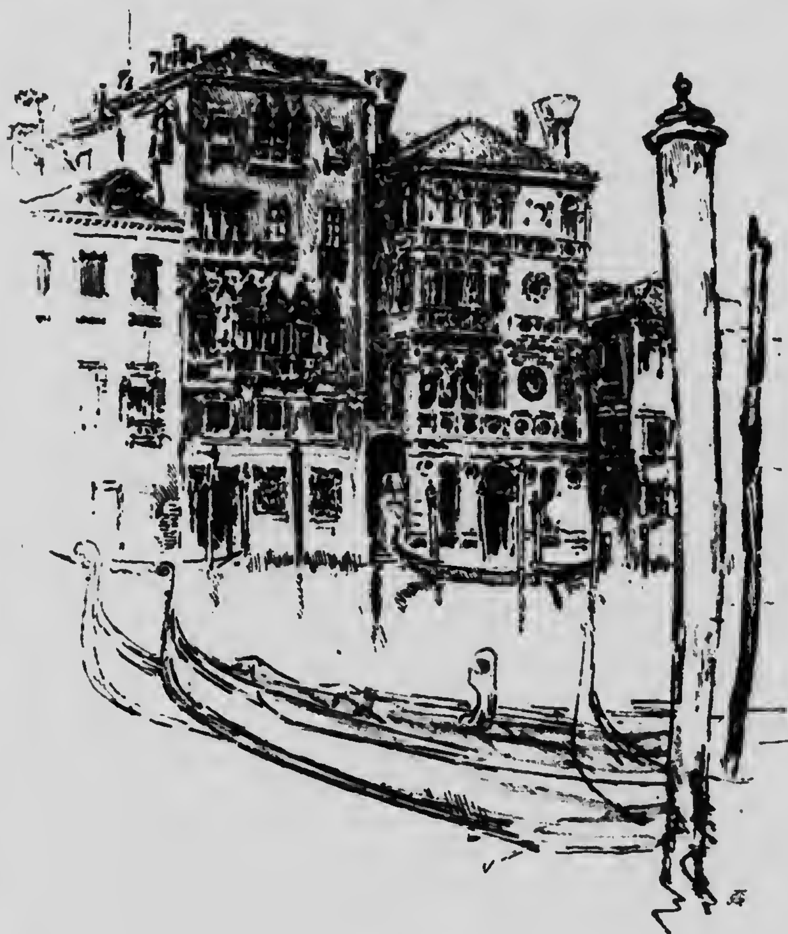
The most important post in Venetian diplomacy was the embassy at Constantinople, where the chief of the mission enjoyed the title of Bailo, together with the chance of making a fortune instead of losing one. The Bailo of Constantinople and the ambassador to the Pope took precedence over all other Venetian diplomatists, and they were expected to make an even greater display, especially at the pontifical court. The

four ambassadors sent to congratulate Sixtus V. on his election had each four noble attachés, four armed footmen, and five-and-twenty horses, and the one of the four who was already the resident in Rome was indemnified for his expenses in order that he might appear as magnificently as his three newly-arrived colleagues.

On their return from a foreign mission the envoys of the Republic were bound to appear at the chancery of the ducal palace, and to inscribe their names there in a special register; and within a fortnight they were required to render an account of what they had seen and learnt abroad, and of the affairs with which they had dealt. These accounts, called 'relazioni,' were brief recapitulations of their weekly letters to the Senate; the first phrases were always written in Latin, but the body of the discourse might be in Italian, or even in dialect. The ambassador presented himself in full dress, wearing his crimson velvet mantle, and bringing the manuscript of his speech, which he afterwards handed to the High Chancellor; for as early as the fifteenth century all public speeches were required to be written out, in order that they might be preserved exactly as they had been spoken, or rather read, for it was not even allowable to recite them by heart. I need hardly add that no stranger was ever admitted to hear an ambassador's account of his mission, and the senators swore a special oath of secrecy for the occasion, even with regard to the most insignificant details.

Any one who examines a number of these documents will soon see that they all begin with a portrait of the sovereign to whom the envoy was accredited, and there is often a great deal about the royal family, its surroundings, tastes, and habits. Almost invariably also the account ends with a list of the presents and

titles or decorations bestowed upon the ambassador at the close of his mission, and all these he was required to hand over intact to the Signory. Not uncommonly,



PALAZZO DARIO

however, the presents were returned to him ; but as no foreign titles could be borne by Venetians, the recipient of them was usually created a Knight of the Golden Stole, the only heraldic order recognised by the Republic and in the gift of the Government.

It would be curious to examine into the first causes of the relations between Venice and the other European states. It was the exchange of raisins for wool which obliged England and Venice to send each other permanent diplomatic missions. Up to that time only occasional special envoys had been necessary. The first time that England addressed a letter to the Signory she employed as her official agent a Neapolitan monk, the Bishop of Bisaccia, chaplain to King Robert, and this was in 1340. The envoy came to say that King Edward the Third of England had the honour to inform the Doge Gradenigo that he had defied Philippe de Valois to say that he was the anointed of the Lord. The envoy further stated that the two rivals were about to invoke the judgment of God, either by going unarmed into a den of wild beasts, who would of course respect the Lord's anointed and promptly devour the pretender, or else by 'touching for King's Evil.' Beginning in the fifteenth century there is a long list of English ambassadors and ministers resident in Venice. The last English diplomatic representative in Venice was Sir Richard Worsley, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Rawdon Brown, Archives.

All the foreign diplomatists in Venice were constantly on the look-out for the arrival of the special mounted messengers attached to each foreign embassy. These were celebrated throughout Europe for their speed and discretion. In the fifteenth century they were thirty-two in number, and formed a small guild which was under the protection of Saint Catharine ; and they were almost all natives of Bergamo, a city which is still singularly noted for the honesty and faithfulness of its inhabitants, and which even now furnishes Venice with trusty house-porters and other servants of whom responsibility is required.

In the *Souvenirs* of M. Armand Baschet, I find that the courier who brought the news of the signing of

CALLE BECCHERIA

the treaty of Cambrai from Blois to Venice covered the distance in eight days, the best previous record to Paris, which is about the same distance, having been nine,

and the usual time employed being fifteen. The employment of State courier could be bought and could be left by will.

Each ambassador of the Republic seemed to possess a part of the marvellously universal vision that belonged to the Council of Ten. Mr. Rawdon Brown made a special study of the weekly letters of the Venetian ambassadors in England, and found, for instance, that one of the Republic's representatives succeeded in regularly copying the letters which Queen Elizabeth wrote to her lovers, which were therefore read aloud to the Senate with the greatest regularity, together with many other curious details of English court life.

I shall give two specimens, translated from the weekly letters in the Albèri collection. In 1531 the patrician Ludovico Falier came to render an account of his mission to the court of Henry VIII. He expresses himself as follows, concerning that king and the English :—

In order that my discourse may be better understood I shall divide it into two chief parts, of which the one concerns my journey, and the other the most puissant King Henry VIII., and the manners and customs of his country from the year 1528 to 1531. . . . On the tenth of December I reached Calais [he had left Venice in the middle of October, but had travelled by short stages with a numerous suite] ; it is a city of the French coast which belongs to the most serene King of England, as I shall have occasion to repeat hereafter. There I went on board a vessel to cross the ocean, which after behaving furiously during the passage at last threw me upon the English shore. I therefore arrived at Dover much more tired by these few hours of navigation than by a journey of ninety days on dry land. Having rested a little at Dover I got on horseback to go to London. At St. George's I met my most illustrious predecessor Venier with several personages of the Court, including the most reverend the Cardinal (Thomas Wolsey), and we all entered the city together, and they

accompanied me to my house. I was ordered almost at once to go to the Cardinal, in order to kiss his hand, for this ceremony always preceded that of an audience with the King; such is the power of this prince [of the Church]. On leaving his apartment I was conducted to his most serene Majesty, with whom I then had the interview which I described in detail in my letter to your Signory and to this glorious Senate.

The ambassador goes on to speak in the past tense of Cardinal Wolsey, who had fallen into disgrace in the interval. He goes on to speak of the Queen, who was then Catharine of Aragon.

My lady the Queen is small of stature, and plump, and has an honest face; she is good and just, affable and pious. She speaks fluently Spanish, Flemish, French, and English. Her subjects love her more than they ever loved any Queen; she is five-and-forty years old, and she has already lived thirty-five years in England.

The ambassador speaks of the King next.

God has united in King Henry VIII. beauty of soul with beauty of body, so that every one is astonished by such wonders . . . he has the face of an angel, for it would not be enough to say that he is handsome; he resembles Cæsar, his look is calm, and contrary to English fashion, he wears his beard; who would not admire so much beauty accompanied with so much strength and grace? He rides very well, jousts and handles a lance with great skill; he is a very good shot and an excellent tennis player. He has always cultivated the extraordinary qualities with which nature has adorned him from his birth, for he thinks that nothing is more unnatural than a sovereign who cannot dominate his people by his moral and physical qualities.

And here the ambassador seems to have thought that he had gone rather far, for he finds something to say about Henry's less admirable characteristics.

Unhappily this prince, so intelligent and reasonable, is given up to idleness, has allowed himself to be led away by his

passions, and has left the government of the State in the hands of a few favourites, the most powerful of whom was the Cardinal, until he fell into total disgrace. Since then, from having been generous, he has become miserly, and whereas formerly all those who treated of affairs with him went away satisfied and covered with gifts, he now allows all to leave the Court with discontent. He makes a show of great piety, hears two low masses every day, and high mass also, on feast days. He gives to the poor, to orphans, widows, young girls, and infirm persons, and for these charities he gives his almoner ten thousand ducats yearly. He is beloved by all. He is forty years of age and has reigned twenty-two.

Falier speaks next of the climate of Great Britain and the products of the country, and gives a long description of a brewery. He briefly but sufficiently describes the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and gives some account of the British Constitution. He gives also a statement of the King's sources of income with their amount, and the accuracy of the figures suggests that he must have got access to papers not intended for his perusal.

His Majesty may count upon over five hundred thousand ducats [£375,000] a year, divided as follows:—

	Ducats.
From the Crown (Lands)	190,000
Customs	150,000
Vacant Benefices	40,000
Privy Seal	10,000
Rebels (Confiscations, etc.)	50,000
Lands on the Continent	10,000
Fines for Crimes	25,000
Royal Guards	50,000
Total	525,000

I cannot tell exactly what he gets from taxes, but from information which I have endeavoured to obtain from grave

and experienced persons, His Majesty exacts from his subjects about a million of ducats; for the six millions of ducats which he had inherited from his father were all spent in the wars with France, Flanders, and Scotland. His Majesty usually spends 425,000 ducats for his Court, which consists of five hundred men; namely, twenty-six chamberlains, of whom one is Treasurer of the Chamber [keeper of the privy purse ?], one is a Majorduomo called a 'Steward,' his assistant, who carries a little white stick as a sign of his dignity; the Treasurer General, who pays all accounts; the accountant who distributes [the payments]; the 'cofferers' in charge of the said accounts; the Master of the Horse who has the management of the royal stables. There are three hundred horses, between Arabs, Turkish horses and racers, hackneys and others. His Majesty has also eight chaplains, of whom one distributes his charities, and there are many persons for his service of whom I do not speak in detail lest I should fatigue Your Serenity. His Majesty has always in his pay three hundred halberdiers who are on guard by tens at a time for the King's person, and pass the night in the private antechamber.

His Majesty spends as follows:—

	Ducats.
For the Maintenance of his Court	100,000
Presents	120,000
Horses	20,000
Parks, and Packs of Hounds	50,000
Soldiers who guard the Fortresses	30,000
His Majesty's Chamber (Privy Purse)	30,000
Buildings	10,000
Charities	10,000
Embassies and King's Messengers	40,000
Expenses of the Queen (Catharine of Aragon), and the Princess (Mary)	30,000
Total	440,000

In case of war his Majesty could arm four thousand light horse and sixty thousand infantry. The latter would fight in the old-fashioned way, with bow, sword, shield, and helmet,

and with pikes of one or two points which are excellent against charges of cavalry. They are now beginning to use guns and artillery. The English do not fear death. As soon as the battle commences, they provoke the enemy and charge furiously; in very quick engagements they are generally victorious, but they often yield if the war drags on. They have not the slightest fear of Frenchmen, but they are much afraid of the Scotch.

During forty days they are obliged to serve in the army without receiving pay; after that time they receive three crowns and a half for a period of service determined beforehand. The fleet consists of one hundred and fifty vessels.

It now only remains for me to tell you who are the friends of the King, and what consequences his divorce might have, and I shall then add a few words on the most Reverend the Cardinal York.

Since the affair of the divorce has come up [Falier is writing in 1531, and Henry VIII. married Anne Boleyn the next year] the Pope [Clement VII.] is not in his Majesty's good graces. If the Holy Father will not grant the King permission to divorce, the result will be a very great advantage for the English crown, and a great danger to the Roman Church, for the King will detach himself from the latter, and will seize all the revenues of the ecclesiastical benefices; this will yield the Crown more than six million ducats [£4,500,000] yearly.

Falier was not mistaken, unless, perhaps, in his figures. He proceeds to speak of the relations between England and all the other European states, after which he returns to the question of the divorce, expressing himself in a very singular way for a Catholic. It must be remembered, however, that he was a Venetian, and therefore a man of business first, and a baptized Christian afterward.

The Englishman [Henry VIII.] must necessarily divorce, for he wishes to have a legitimate son, and he has lost all hope of one being born to him by the Lady Catharine [of Aragon]. He will therefore marry his favourite [Anne Boleyn] the daughter of the Earl of V[illegible]cer (*sic*) [Wiltshire—note the

Venetian's phonetic spelling !] as soon as possible. He will have trouble, for the faction that is for the Queen will rise.

It is quite clear that Venetian diplomatists did not indulge themselves in sentiment, and the information they presented to the Senate was as brutally frank and coldly precise as a medical diagnosis. They sought for facts and did not philosophise about them. Here is Falier's opinion of Cardinal Wolsey :—

The King and the kingdom were in his hands, and he disposed of everything as the King himself might have done, or the Pope. All the princes were obliged to bow down to him. He received one hundred and fifty thousand ducats yearly over and above the gifts which he had from the English and the foreign princes. He counted much on France, with which kingdom he kept up extremely affectionate relations. His court was magnificent, more magnificent than the King's. He spent all his income, he was very proud, and he wished to be adored like a god rather than respected as a prince.

In connection with the great Cardinal, I shall translate a passage of the letter in which Falier had informed the Senate of his disgrace. The fragment has some value also, from the light it throws on the comparative values of coins at that time. It must be remembered that the value of the gold ducat never changed to the last, while that of all other European coins varied greatly.

The King of England has had the Cardinal put in prison, has deprived him of the government, and has confiscated all his property. His fortune is valued at forty thousand pounds English, equal to twenty thousand of our grossi [the silver mark], or two hundred thousand [silver] ducats ; in these forty thousand pounds must be included thirty thousand pounds English in cash, that is, fifteen thousand of ours, or one hundred and fifty thousand [silver] ducats. His real estate has also been confiscated, consisting of his Archbishopric, which brought him a very large sum.

At the risk of wearying my readers I give a short extract from the report of another ambassador to England, Jacopo Soranzo, which was read before the Senate on the ninth of August 1554 (Queen Mary then reigning). The Venetian expresses his surprise at the way in which trials by jury were conducted in England.

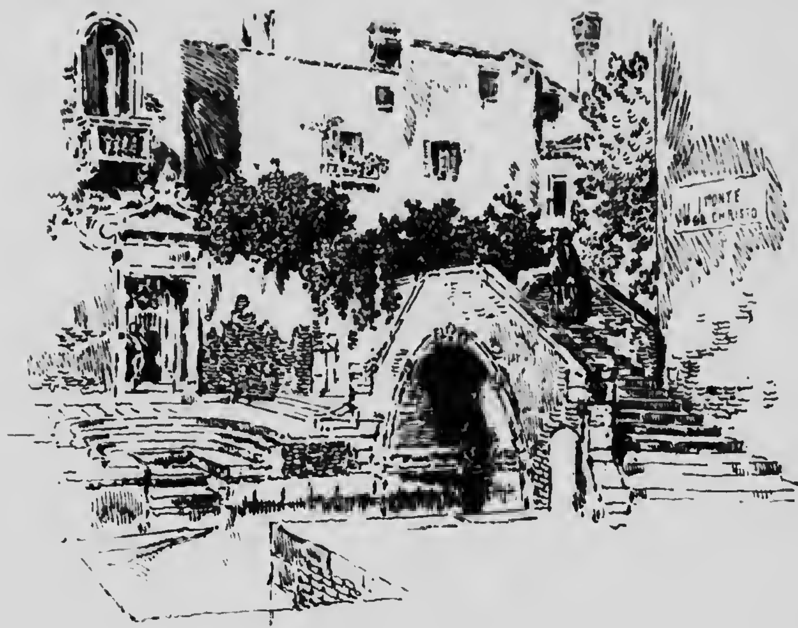
> Crimes are tried before twelve judges who may not leave the court, nor eat, nor drink, until they all agree, without one exception, on the sentence to be passed. . . . When sentence has been passed, the judges execute it immediately, but without ever resorting to the mutilation of a member or exile. If the accused is innocent, he is acquitted ; if he is guilty, he is condemned to death.
>
> I need not lay stress on the defective form of such trials ; your Lordships see for yourselves how reprehensible such a mode of procedure is, for it often happens that eleven persons who wish to acquit the accused decide to condemn him to death in order to be of the opinion of the twelfth, who is determined to bear starvation till this verdict is given.

Before closing this chapter it is worth while to note that if the Venetian ambassadors abroad succeeded in knowing almost everything that was happening, the Government took good care that foreign representatives residing in Venice should not follow their example. They were never told anything in the way of news, and though honours and privileges were heaped upon them, they were kept at arm's length. As far back as the fourteenth century there was a law forbidding all patricians to have any acquaintance or social intercourse with any foreign representative except under the most exceptional circumstances, and M. Baschet has found material in the Archives sufficient to prove that the foreign ambassadors lived in something very like the seclusion

A. Baschet, Archives.

of exile, and were altogether banished from all intercourse with the upper classes. The same writer adds that the diplomatists resented this rude exclusion, and that the practice of it made the Republic not a few enemies.

To such a criticism Venice would have answered, as usual, by the argument of success on the whole during many centuries. Those who care to examine the point more closely may read M. Baschet's interesting work on the Secret Chancery.



PONTE DEL CRISTO

XIX

THE ARSENAL, THE GLASS-WORKS, AND THE LACE-MAKERS

The old Arsenal is such a museum of shadows nowadays that it is hard to realise what it once meant to the Venetians. Six hundred years ago, the sight of it inspired one of Dante's most vivid descriptions of activity, and I have sometimes wondered whether in his day the three dwelling-houses of the Provveditors were already nick-named Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell, as they were always called at a later date.

The Arsenal was founded in the twelfth century, and from the very first was one of the institutions most

jealously watched over by the Government. In the sixteenth century it had grown to be a vast enclosure of docks and basins, protected by a crenellated wall, and having but one entrance which was guarded by sentinels. In the interior, the houses of the Provveditors had grown to be three great palaces, built round a courtyard, each officer occupying one of them during the thirty-two months of his term of office.

The Provveditors were nobles, of course, but they must necessarily have been men who thoroughly understood nautical matters, for it was their duty to oversee all work done in the place, to the minutest details, and they had absolute control of all the vast stores accumulated for building and fitting the fleet of the Republic. Every manufactured article was stamped with the arms of the Republic as soon as it was made or purchased, and not a nail, not a fathom of rope, not a yard of canvas could be brought out of the storehouses without the consent of one of the Provveditors. If anything was found outside the walls of the Arsenal with the public mark on it, the object was considered by law to be stolen, an inquiry was made, and if the culprit who had committed the misdemeanour could be caught, he was condemned to the galleys.

In order to enforce the rigid regulations the Government not only required all three Provveditors to inhabit constantly the palaces assigned to them, but insisted that one of them should remain day and night within the boundaries of the yard, during a fortnight, without going out at all. This service was taken in turn, and the official who was on duty was called the 'Patron di Guardia.' Into his hands all the keys were given every evening when work was over.

The artisans of the Government ship-yard were the finest set of men in Venice, and their traditions of

workmanship and art were handed down in their families from father to son for generations, as certain occupations still are in Italy. I know of a man-servant, for instance, whose direct ancestors have served those of the family in which he is still a servant for more than two hundred years without a break. In the Venetian Arsenal, it sometimes happened that an old man was foreman of a department in which his son was a master smith or carpenter, and his grandson an apprentice.

There was something military in the organisation, which bound the artisans very close together, for they trained themselves in fencing and gymnastics, and also in everything connected with extinguishing fires and saving wrecks or shipwrecked crews, for in any case of public danger it was always the 'Arsenalotti' who were called in. They were sober and courageous, and excessively proud of their trade, and the Government could always count on them. Twice, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the ducal palace took fire, and would have burnt down but for the prodigious energy of the workmen from the Government docks. On the first occasion they proudly refused the present of five hundred ducats which the Doge offered them, but gratefully accepted an invitation to dine with him in a body ; and as they numbered over fifteen thousand the Doge did not save money by the arrangement. Three years later all their efforts could not hinder the hall of the Great Council from burning, and priceless works of art by such men as the two Bellini, Titian, Tintoretto, and Pordenone were destroyed in a few moments. But the Arsenalotti saved the rest of the building, and again refused any recompense for their services.

When Henry III. of France came to Venice the Arsenal employed about sixteen thousand men, and could

count on a budget of two hundred and twenty-four thousand gold ducats, of which one hundred and twenty-four went to pay the wages of the workmen, and the rest

S. MICHELE

was expended for materials. Those were large sums in the sixteenth century, but Venice looked upon the Arsenal as the mainspring of her power, and spared nothing to keep it in a state as near perfection as

possible. In the long struggle with Genoa the enemy used every art to bring about its destruction, but always in vain. The men who guarded the docks were absolutely incorruptible. In the sixteenth century it seemed as if the pure blood of the old Venetians ran only in their veins, and as if they alone still upheld the noble traditions of loyalty and simplicity which the founders of the Republic had handed down from braver days.

VENICE FROM MURANO

Next to the construction of her war-ships and merchant fleets, one of the most important matters to the commerce of Venice was the manufacture of glass, which brought enormous profits to the State and to individuals, as is usually the case when a valuable product is made out of cheap materials by processes which are secret, and therefore have the effect of a monopoly.

As early as the fourteenth century the Government had understood the immense importance of the

and the glass-blowers of Murano were protected and favoured in a most especial way. As in one part of France, a sort of nobility was inherent in the occupation,

THE DUOMO CAMPANILE, MURANO

and an early law sanctioned the marriage of a master glass-blower's daughter with a patrician by allowing their children to be entered in the Golden Book.

The glass-works were all established in the island

of Murano, as their presence in the city would have caused constant danger of fire at a time when many of the houses were still built of wood, and the whole manufacture was subject to the direct supervision of the Council of Ten, under whose supreme authority Murano governed itself as a separate city, and almost as a separate little republic. Not only were the glass-blowers organised in a number of guilds according to the special branches of the profession, such as bead-making, bottle-blowing, the making of window-panes and of stained glass, each guild having its own 'mariegola' or charter; but over these the Muranese had their own Great Council and Golden Book, in which the names of one hundred and seventy-three families were inscribed, and their own Small Council, or Senate. The Ten gave Murano a 'Podestà,' but he had not the power which similar officers exercised in the other cities and islands of the Dogato, and it is amusing to see that the people of Murano treated him very much as the Venetians themselves treated their Doge. He was required to be of noble blood; he was obliged by law to spend three days out of four in Murano; he was forbidden to go to Venice when important functions were going on; he could not interfere in any affair without the permission of both the Councils of Murano, and altogether he was much the same sort of figure-head as the Doge himself. On the other hand, Murano supported a sort of consul in Venice with the title of Nuncio, whose business it was to defend the interests of the island before the Venetian Government.

Neither the Missier Grande, the chief of the Venetian police, nor the 'sbirri,' were allowed to exercise their functions on the island. Offenders were arrested and dealt with by the officers of the Murano government, and were handed over to the Venetian supreme Govern-

ment only in extreme cases, most trials taking place on the island.

The heraldic arms of Murano displayed on an azure field a cock with red legs, wearing a crown of silver.

In the sixteenth century the population was about thirty thousand souls, and the little city had a great reputation for the beauty of its churches, and especially

MURANO, LOOKING TOWARDS VENICE

of its gardens, in which quantities of exotic plants and flowers were cultivated.

The two most powerful families amongst the glass-blowers were those of Beroviero and Ballarin. I have told at length in the form of a romance the true story of Zorzi Ballarin and Marietta Beroviero, availing myself only of the romancer's right to be the apologist of his hero. The facts remain. Angelo Beroviero, a pupil of Paolo Godi, the famous mediæval chemist,

worked much alone in his laboratory, noting the results of his experiments in a diary which became extremely valuable. By some means this diary came into the hands of Zorzi Ballarin, so-called by his comrades on account of his lameness. He loved Marietta, and she loved him, but he was poor, and moreover, as far as I have been able to ascertain, he was of foreign birth, and could therefore not become a master glass-blower. When he found himself in possession of the precious

MURANO

secrets, he used his power to extort Beroviero's consent, he married Marietta, obtained the full privileges of a master, lived a highly honourable life, and became the ancestor of a distinguished family, one of whom was a Venetian ambassador, as may be read in the inscription on his tomb in Murano. Beroviero's house, with the sign of the Angel, is still standing in Murano, and I think the ancient glass-works nearly opposite were probably his. As for Zorzi Ballarin, I daresay that the process by which he really got possession of the diary

was not strictly legal, but love has excused worse misdeeds than that, and Beroviero does not seem to have suffered at all in the end. If there had been any foundation for the spiteful story some chroniclers tell, a man of Beroviero's power and wealth could have had Zorzi imprisoned, tortured, and exiled without the slightest difficulty.

THE HOUSE OF BEROVIERO, MURANO

Venice was almost as famous for her lace as for her glass. On the admittedly doubtful authority of Daru and Laugier, Smedley gives an anecdote of the Emperor Frederick [illegible] for what it is worth. It at least illustrates the fact [illegible] all foreigners did not esteem Venetian glass as highly as the Venetians themselves. When Frederick visited the city on his way to Rome, he was most magnificently entertained, and amongst other presents offered to him was a very beautiful service of

Murano glass. The Emperor was not pleased with the gift, which, to his barbarous ignorance, seemed of no value; he ordered his dwarf jester to seem to stumble against the table on which the matchless glass was set out, and it was all thrown to the ground and smashed to atoms. 'If these things had been of gold or silver they could not have been broken so easily,' said the imperial boor.

In contrast with this possibly true story of the fifteenth century, I find that the lace collar worn by Louis XIV. at his coronation was made in Venice, and was valued at an enormous sum. He afterwards bribed Murano glass-blowers to settle in France.

In those times, more or less as now, women made lace at home, and brought the results of their long and patient labour to the dealers who bought and sold it at a fabulous profit. A few specimens of the finest lace of the sixteenth century are still in existence, and are worn on great occasions by Italian ladies whose ancestresses wore them more than three hundred y ars ago; but the art of making such lace is extinct. Glance only, for instance, at a picture by Carpaccio, in the Museo Civico of Venice, representing two patrician ladies of the fifteenth century, one of whom wears white lace on her gown. It is of the kind known as 'point coupé' or cut point, and is the same which Francesco Vinciolo taught the French a hundred years later when it was no longer thought fine enough, in Venice, for ornamenting anything but sheets and pillow-cases. It is inimitable now. Or look at the exquisite lace of network stitch with which Gentile Bellini loved to adorn the women he portrayed. Yet in the sixteenth century still further progress had been made, and the 'air point' was created, which surpassed in fineness anything imagined before then, and for which fabulous

prices were paid. The collar of Louis XIV. was of this point, and it is said that as no thread could be spun fine enough for it, white human hair was used. There is also a story to the effect that the Emperor Joseph II., who ascended the throne in 1765, ordered a set of air point worth the improbable, though not very great price of

THE PALACES

77,777 francs. As neither Austrians nor Venetians used the franc, the story is most likely of French origin.

Another lace greatly valued in Venice was the 'rose point,' which is probably the best known of the ancient laces. It was preferred, for collars, both by high officials and great ladies, and the dogesses often used it for their veils. The Doge Francesco Morosini possessed some wonderful specimens of it, which I am told are still in the possession of his descendants.

One more stitch was invented in the sixteenth century, which oddly enough obtained the generic name of 'Venetian point.' There is a pretty story about it. A sailor, says the legend, came home from a long voyage and brought his sweetheart a kind of seaweed known to botanists by the name of *Halimedia Opuntia*, of which the little branches were so fine that the people called the plant 'Siren's hair.' The man sailed again on another voyage, and the girl, full of loving and anxious thoughts for him, occupied herself by copying the dried plant with her needle, and in so doing created the Venetian point.

The minister Colbert introduced it into France a century later, under Louis XIV., and gave it his own name; and the King and the Republic quietly quarrelled about this French infringement of a Venetian monopoly. In the end, the Inquisitors of State i[illegible]ed a decree which was intended to recall errant and erring Venetian lace-workers and glass-blowers to the security of their homes:—

'All workmen or artisans who carry on their trade in foreign countries shall be ordered to come back; should they disobey, the members of their families shall be imprisoned, and if they then return, they shall be freely pardoned and again employed in Venice. But if any of them persist in living abroad, messengers shall be sent to kill them, and when they are dead their relations shall be let out of prison.'

The glass-blowers who were to be murdered were men, but the lace-makers were women, and the decree, which was made about 1673, is a fine instance of Venetian business principles, since the killing of men and women by assassination was a measure introduced solely for the protection of trade.

Coloured bobbin lace was also made in Venice,

with dyed silk thread and threads of gold, in the fifteenth century, and Richard III. of England desired his queen to wear it on her cloak at their coronation in 1483.

The modern Burano lace was first made after the end of the Republic, and is almost the only sort which is now manufactured in any quantity. Some of the finer points are imitated, it is true, and are vastly advertised, advertisement having taken the place of assassination in business methods as a means of creating a fictitious monopoly; but in spite of some really good pieces of needlework wrought with great care—as advertisements—the mass of the work turned out is of a cheap and commercial character.

The policy of Venice with regard to her manufactures was one of protection, as has been seen, and the result was on the whole very satisfactory to the people as well as to the great merchants. Very heavy duties were levied on almost all imported articles, and among the very few excepted were the silk fabrics from Florence known by the name of 'ormesini.' This material was in such common use in Venice that the local silk weavers could not meet the demand for it. One of the reasons why the working people of Venice were always satisfied was that they were almost always prosperous; the price of labour was high, while that of necessities was relatively low, and the people accordingly lived in comfort without excessively hard work.

On the other hand, some of them were always extravagant, as some of the nobles were, and some were unfortunate; and though there was no pauperism, there were many families of hopelessly poor persons. In a measure the hospitals, hospices, and orphan asylums provided for those in want, but in Venice, as in modern cities, the candidates for charity were always just a little

more numerous than the shares into which charity could divide herself.

There were also those who, if not exactly poor, were in difficulties, the class that for ever feeds the pawnbroker and the small money-lender. The Republic exercised the strictest supervision over these industries, and few cities in the world ever turned a harder face against the inroads of the Hebrews. It was with the greatest unwillingness and with many precautions that Jews were ever admitted into the city at all, and a special code provided the most extraordinary and cruel penalties for the most ordinary misdemeanours when committed by them. They were forced to wear a special dress with a large patch of yellow on the chest, and they could only follow the meanest occupations. In mediæval Rome it was the business of the Jews to bury the Christian dead, but it often happened that the Pope's private physician was a Hebrew. I do not find that in Venice they were ever forced to be grave-diggers for the poor, but they were forbidden to act as physicians except for their own sick. Both Church and State rigorously forbade their intermarriage with Christians, and, so far as the happy ending of the love story is concerned, Lorenzo and Shylock's daughter could never have married. More than once, before the sixteenth century, the Jews were expelled from Venice and made to live in Mestre, which seems to have been their regular headquarters, but they were allowed to come into the city during the time of certain public fairs. If they prolonged their stay beyond the limit, however, they became liable to fine or imprisonment. Some of these measures had been partly relaxed by the middle of the sixteenth century, but the Jews never enjoyed anything like equality with the other citizens.

Oddly enough the money-lender of the lower classes in Venice was the wine-seller, whom the people called the Bastionero. In the wine-shop it

THE RIALTO STEPS

was customary to pawn objects for wine and money simultaneously, one-third of the value being given in wine, which was generally watered. If the pledge were not redeemed within three months, the amount

to be paid for getting it back was increased, and again at the end of the next three months, and so on, until, at the end of the year, the original sum lent was doubled. If it was not paid, the wine-seller had a right to sell the object for what it would bring.

A modern Eastern proverb says that one Greek can cheat any ten Jews, but that one Armenian can cheat ten Greeks. Considering that Venice had a distinctly oriental character during the Middle Ages, and since we know that the small money-lending wine-sellers were not Jews, I suspect that they were principally Greeks and Armenians, the more probably so as we know that great quantities of Greek and Armenian wine were imported into Venice, and that those wines will bear a good deal of watering. The latter is an important point, for it is manifest that when the pledge was redeemed within the first three months, the lender's profit was the difference between the nominal and the real value of the wine which formed one-third of the loan.

The Government which tolerated this ignoble occupation exhibited the most extraordinary prejudice against the government pawnbroking offices which were common in other Italian cities. Historians have in vain endeavoured to discover why this prejudice went so far that, in 1524, the Council of Ten published a decree threatening with death on the scaffold any one who should even propose the creation of such an establishment. Without entering into any ingenious speculation, it seems possible that the Venetians, who were wise if not virtuous, considered that while it was impossible to prevent the poor from borrowing small sums on their little possessions, to authorise such borrowing by making the Government the lender would greatly increase the temptations of

that more shiftless class to whom borrowing seems to be a prime necessity of existence.

The centre and heart of all this activity, good and

NOON ON THE RIALTO

bad, was the bridge of the Rialto. We find it hard to realise that until near the end of the sixteenth century it was still built of wood with a movable drawbridge in the middle to admit the passage of larger vessels.

Carpaccio, who lived in the fifteenth century, has left us a faithful representation of it as it remained for nearly a hundred years afterwards. It would be

AT THE RIALTO

interesting to place beside that picture Turner's lost painting of the same subject, a very beautiful canvas which I have twice had the good fortune to see in the

course of its more than mysterious peregrinations. I last heard of it, though not certainly, as being in the south of France.

The present bridge was begun after infinite hesitation in 1588, and was built after the designs of Antonio da Ponte, whose name was certainly prophetic of his career. Twelve thousand elm piles had to be driven into the soil on each side of the canal to a depth of sixteen feet to make the foundations of the arch. The construction occupied three years, and is said to have cost 250,000 ducats, presumably of silver. The bridge as it stands is a remarkable piece of work, and would be beautiful if the hideous superstructure of shops could be removed. It is interesting to note that fifty years before its completion, Michel Angelo offered the Doge Andrea Gritti a plan for a bridge, as is amply proved by the existence of a picture in the Casa Buonarotti in Florence representing the subject.

EVENING OFF S. GEORGIO

XX

CONCERNING SOME LADIES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Martini, 'Chi sa ii giuoco non l'insegni.'

The clever modern Italian playwright, Signor Martini, makes one of his witty characters say that there are 'women,' but that there is no such thing as 'woman' in the abstract. In other words, 'women' are a fact, but 'woman' is a myth. Though this may be a little paradoxical, there are certainly distinct types of women in each class of life. The smart society woman of to-day and

the labourer's wife, like the Venetian patrician lady of the sixteenth century and the fisher-wives of Chioggia, have in common only their sex, their weaknesses, and their sufferings; there is very little resemblance between their virtues, and none at all between their joys.

The noble ladies of Venice in the sixteenth century were as idle and frivolous as Orientals. The fact must be admitted by any one who studies the times; and if it is not of a nature to please those who idealise that period, it may be partly excused by the consideration that the Venetian nobleman treated his womankind very much as a Turk treats his harem. He was not jealous, as lovers understand jealousy; granted a certain degree of beauty and a dowry of a certain value, he cared very little whom he married. When Kugler, the famous art critic, says of Titian's picture of the Schiava, the Slave, in the Barberini Gallery in Rome, that the name is utterly meaningless, he shows that he knew nothing of Venetian life. The slave in the sixteenth century not seldom meant everything, where the wife meant nothing; and if the wives were idle and frivolous, we must remember that when they were young and good-looking, they often found themselves in competition with beautiful Georgian and Circassian women for their masters' favour. Where women are plentiful, beautiful, and not clever, the men who love them are rarely jealous. But those grave and magnificent Venetians, who had not a scruple in politics, nor in matrimony, were excessively sensitive about anything which touched their technical honour, and it seemed to them altogether safer and wiser to teach their wives and daughters what they were pleased to call 'habits of domestic seclusion.' To be plain, they encouraged them to stay at home; and sometimes, by way of making obedience easier, they locked them

up. M. Yriarte says, with partial truth, that their 'seclusion' was that of the harem, not that of the classic gynæceum; he did not realise that the latter was nothing but a harem too, and that if the Greeks kept their wives at home, it was that they might sup undisturbed in the society of Phryne.

The influence of the East on everything connected with private life in Venice increased with the Renascence, and is even more perceptible then than during the nominal domination of the Byzantine Empire, when Roman traditions still had great force, and new currents of thought reached Venice from the Lombards.

Yet in one respect there was nothing oriental about the Venetian noble of the sixteenth century. When he ordered his women to appear in public at all, he sent them out adorned like those miraculous images which are covered with 'ex voto' offerings, and they mixed in the crowd that filled the Piazza of Saint Mark's, shoulder to shoulder with the shameless free. The Venetian gentleman, so sensitive about his technical honour, was not even displeased when the chronicler, the reporter of his day, confounded ladies and courtesans in pompous praise of their beauty and dress. One of the nobleman's principles seems to have been that a woman was never in danger in public, nor when her door was locked on the outside and the key was in her husband's pocket, but that any intermediate state of partial liberty was fraught with peril.

At home the Venetian ladies suffered the pains of boredom in common with the Georgians and Circassians, who not infrequently lived under the same roof, but who presumably saw something more of their masters. The young mother had not even a resource in her children, for it was necessary that the

latter should be brought up to be precisely like their fathers and mothers, and in order to accomplish this the fathers kept the boys with themselves, and made them serve in the Senate when they were still quite small; whereas it seems that the girls were brought up largely in convents, such as that of the Vergini, lest they should learn too well from their mothers what it meant to be the wife of a member of the Great Council.

Does any one remember, in all the portraits of Venetian ladies by Carpaccio, Tintoretto, Veronese, or Titian, to have seen a mother accompanied by her little child? There is the conventional flower, there is the jewel, there is often the lap-dog; but the child is as conspicuously absent as the effigy of Brutus at Junia Tertia's funeral. Children were born and were splendidly baptized; but after that they had no part in their mothers' lives. And the ladies themselves had no great part in Venetian social life, except on its great occasions of baptisms, marriages, and funerals, or in public ceremonies, when they appeared in a body, by order of the Ten, in their richest clothes and as a part of the decoration. It is no wonder that they had few friends and were bored to extinction.

As a specimen of what a young and noble Venetian girl could become if emancipated, one cannot do better than take Bianca Cappello. She was born in 1548 in the magnificent palace which her father, Bartolommeo Cappello, had built for himself near the Ponte Storto. Her mother died when Bianca was a little child, a misfortune which probably had no very great influence on the girl's education or character, seeing how little the Venetian ladies occupied themselves with their children. She received the usual teaching, and learned to read and write after a fashion,

Mutinelli, Annali.

and such of her letters as have been preserved show that her writing was anything but good. No doubt she had the usual number of pet birds and lapdogs to play with, and plenty of sweetmeats, and when she was sixteen she was very like other girls of her class and age.

In Italy young girls are taught not to look out of the window in town. Bianca was terribly bored, and she looked out of the window. Opposite her father's palace was a house occupied by two Florentine burghers, uncle and nephew, Bonaventuri by name, who represented the great Tuscan banking-house of Salviati.

Bianca looked out of her window, dreaming, no doubt, of the dancing lessons which she would be allowed to have when she should be married, and of other similar and harmless frivolities; and young Pietro Bonaventuri also looked out of the window, neglecting his ledgers.

The girl was very lonely and excessively bored. She never left the palace except to go with her father to their villa in Murano for a few weeks in the fine season. She was not even taken to church, because, some eighty years earlier, a young girl called Giovanna di Riviera, when going to mass with her mother on the morning of the third of March 1482, had been picked up and literally carried off by a too enterprising lover. After that, young girls of good birth were not allowed to go to church, and mass was said for them in a little chapel at home.

Gallicioli, iii. 210.

Bianca was so terribly bored that she began to make signs to Pietro from her window. She had nothing else to do. One of her most important occupations was to sun her hair on the high 'altana.' That was a real pleasure, for the palace was gloomy, though it was new, and her room felt like a prison cell; but she could not be always sunning her hair.

The young banker's clerk responded to her signals of distress with alacrity, and a dumb love affair began, apparently highly approved by the youth's uncle, who was a man of business. On the night between the twenty-eighth and the twenty-ninth of December the two eloped and got away from Venice without being caught.

1564.

Bartolommeo Cappello's appeal to the Council of Ten is extant. I give the most interesting part of it :—

'I shall here expose, and not without tears, the cruel and atrocious deed of which I was the victim on the night of December the twenty-ninth. The scoundrel Pietro Bonaventuri, with the consent of his uncle, Giovanni Battista, and of accomplices whom I know not . . . entered my house, which is almost opposite his, and carried off my only daughter, sixteen years old ; he first took her to his house and then hid her from place to place, to my great dishonour and that of all my family.'

The document goes on in a strain of lamentation, and ends with the request that the Council of Ten should set a price on the head of the seducer, and bring the girl back to be locked up in a convent ; and the unhappy father offered a prize of six thousand lire to any one who would bring him Pietro Bonaventuri, alive or dead. The letter expresses more hatred of the lover than sorrow for the lost child.

The Ten proceeded in the matter without delay ; Pietro's uncle was thrown into prison, and died there soon afterwards of a putrid fever. Bianca's woman-servant and the latter's husband, who was a gondolier, and who had, of course, both been acquainted with the plan of her flight, were arrested and tortured ; as for Pietro and Bianca, they had been already some time

in Florence, where they learned that they had both been condemned to death by default. The Ten had proceeded against the insignificant banker's clerk with terrible energy.

But Bianca, who had been so dreadfully bored, now had too much to do. Pietro's affairs did not prosper, and after selling the jewels she had brought with her, she was obliged to work with her hands in his house, which was not at all what she had bargained for. Chance favoured her, however, and she helped chance as well as she could, and succeeded in attracting the notice of Francesco de' Medici. He was the son of Cosmo, the Grand Duke, and the brother of Isabella, then not yet drowned in her own basin by Paolo Giordano Orsini, and of Cardinal Ferdinando, who afterwards poisoned his brother and became Grand Duke. Francesco lost his heart to the beautiful Bianca, and she had no objection to winning it; Pietro Bonaventuri, who was a man of business instincts, but not sufficiently cautious, had no objection either. But old Cosmo, the Duke, was much scandalized by his son's behaviour, though he himself had been accused of nothing less than loving his own daughter Isabella, and he remonstrated with Francesco.

'You know,' he said, 'that I do not wish to weary you with preaching, but when things go too far you must learn what I think of you.'

Francesco learned, but does not seem to have been much affected by the knowledge, for he presently installed Bianca and her complaisant husband almost under the same roof with his wife. Pietro, however, was really so superfluous that he was soon suppressed, after which his widow occupied an official position in the court of Tuscany as the acknowledged mistress of the heir to the throne. Francesco now attempted to

get a reversal of the sentence passed on Bianca by the Council of Ten, and employed an influential person to

CASA WEIDERMANN

plead the cause; but it was thought improper that such a case should be treated in the name of old Cosmo while he insisted on ignoring Bianca's

existence. Cosmo died in 1574, but still nothing was done.

It may be doubted whether any woman in Bianca's situation ever went to such extremes of treachery and effrontery. Her victim, the gentle Archduchess Giovanna of Austria, Francesco's wife, died at last in 1578, possibly without being helped out of the world, and Francesco married Bianca secretly two months later; but the marriage was not announced to the people until the year of mourning was over. Bianca was Grand Duchess of Tuscany.

The effect of the news in Venice was magical. The Senate made the following curious declaration :—

'The Grand Duke of Tuscany having deigned to choose as his consort the lady Bianca Cappello, of noble Venetian family, endowed with such great qualities that we judge her worthy of that dignity, it is but right that our Republic should exhibit its satisfaction at the honour conferred upon it by this important and prudent decision of the said Grand Duke. We therefore decree that the aforesaid illustrious and puissant lady, Bianca Cappello, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, be declared the adopted and beloved daughter of our Republic.'

Bianca's father, who, being a good Venetian, was almost as good a man of business as Salviati's murdered clerk, and much more prudent, wrote a letter full of touchingly tender feeling to the daughter whom he had cursed so loudly and so long; he and his sons, Bianca's brothers, were made Knights of the Golden Stole, and all the records of the scandalous trial that had taken place fifteen years earlier were burnt. Bianca's public marriage and coronation took place on the twelfth of October 1579, and the Republic sent two ambassadors and the patriarch Grimani to show the Grand Duchess

that all old scores were forgotten. She was thirty-one years old.

We know even more than is necessary of Bianca's life and intrigues. She survived her triumph eight years, till she and her ill-gotten husband died of poison within a few hours of each other; but whether the drug was administered by the Cardinal Ferdinando, Francesco's brother, or whether the two meant to give it to him and took it by mistake, is not clear. He himself declared that he had not poisoned anybody. It is at least certain that he would not allow Bianca to be interred in the Medici vault, but had her privately buried in the crypt of San Lorenzo.

The Venetian Republic did not go into mourning for its 'well-beloved adopted daughter,' since it was best not to quarrel with the Cardinal Grand Duke, who had probably suppressed her, though his physician made an autopsy and assured the public that she had died of frightful excesses of all sorts.

The moral of this unpleasing tale is that the manner of bringing up Venetian girls in the sixteenth century was not of a kind to develop their better instincts, for there is nothing to show that Bianca Cappello was very different from other girls of her time, except in the great opportunities for doing harm which fell to her share.

Probably the most enjoyable weeks of a noble Venetian girl's life were those which preceded her marriage, and were chiefly spent in the preparation of her wedding outfit. The age was eccentric as to dress; it was the time of the huge Elizabethan ruffle and hoops; in Venice it was especially the time of clogs.

The latter had been introduced in the fourteenth century on account of the mud in the still unpaved streets, and they continued to be worn and grew

to monstrous dimensions after their usefulness had very much decreased. It became the rule that the greater the lady was, the higher her clogs must be, till they turned into something like stilts, and she could no longer walk except leaning on the shoulders of two servants. In China, the Chinese men, as distinguished from the Tartars, encourage the barbarous breaking of girls' feet, because it makes it impossible for them to gad about the town when they are older, and still less to run away. The Venetian noblemen approved of clogs for the same reason.

Urbain de Gheltof. Calzature.

M. Yriarte tells how a foreign ambassador, who was once talking with the Doge and his counsellors in 1623, observed that little shoes would be far more convenient than the huge clogs in fashion. One of the counsellors shook his head in grave disapproval as he answered : 'Far too convenient, indeed ! Far too much so.'

The civic museum in Venice contains two pairs of clogs, one of which is twenty inches in height, the other seventeen. Some were highly ornamented, and the Provveditori alle Pompe made sumptuary regulations against adorning them with over-rich embroidery or with fine pearls. At the same time, shoemakers were warned that they would be liable to a fine of twenty-five lire for any pair of clogs not of proper dimensions and becoming simplicity. Yet they continued to be worn of extravagant size and excessively ornamented till the end of the seventeenth century, when they suddenly sank to nothing, so that a clever woman of the time complained that the Venetian ladies were beginning to wear shoes no thicker than a footman's.

They were especially affected by the nobles, for the burgher class wore them of much more moderate size. Altogether the life of the burghers' wives was far mor

enjoyable; they occupied themselves with music and painting; they held gatherings at which men and women really exchanged ideas, and 'academies' at which women with a turn for poetry or science could compare themselves with the most gifted men of Venice.

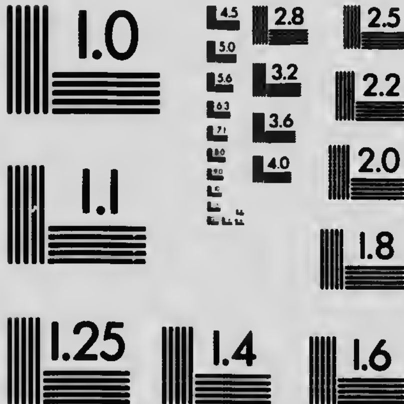
The most alive of the noble women of the sixteenth century, the one of whom we have the most vivid impression, was assuredly Bianca Cappello, who was a monster of iniquity. The others, who had not her opportunities for great crime, all seem like lay figures, or common odalisques, who lived a sensuous existence that was never disturbed by an idea. But the burgher women amused themselves, and thought, and wrote, and sometimes even allowed themselves a little sentiment.

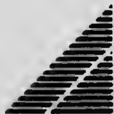
As for the women of the people, we know nothing about them, as there are no documents regarding them, but it seems probable that they were, on the whole, both happy and honest.

There was one more category of women in Venice, as elsewhere, a class that numbered eleven thousand six hundred and fifty-four members towards the end of the century, all young, many of them fair, all desirous of pleasing, and all, strange to say, present at every public festival—the class of those who were outside of class, the gay and shameless free. A Venetian of those days made a catalogue 'of all the chief and most honoured courtesans of Venice . . . their names . . . the lodgings where they live . . . and also the amount of the money to be paid by noblemen and others who desire to enter into their good graces.' This list is dedicated 'to the most magnificent and gracious Madam Livia Azzalina, my most respected patroness and lady . . . the princess of all Venetian courtesans.' Moreover, at the end of the pompous

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)





APPLIED IMAGE Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

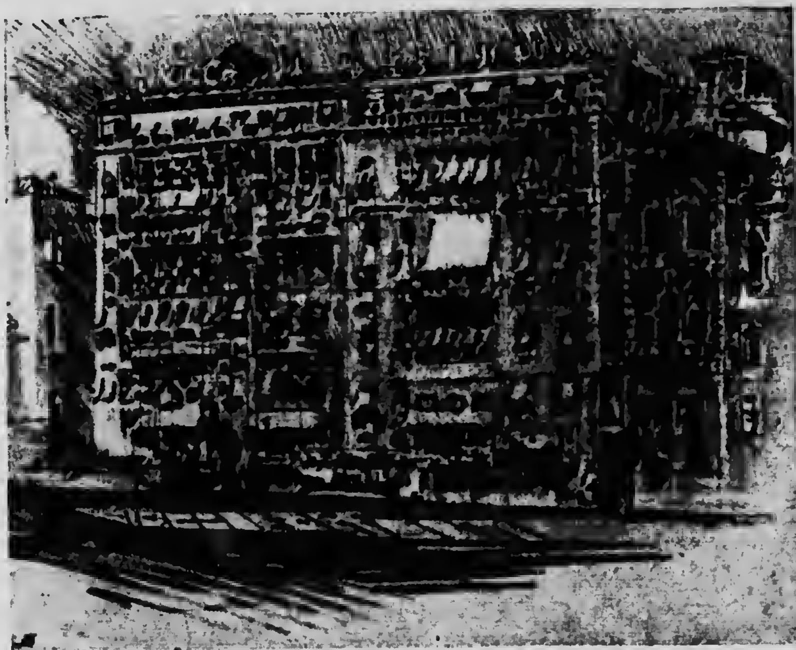
dedication, the writer, who signs only his initials, adds that he kisses the gay lady's 'honoured hands.'

Some authors, taking this for a catalogue made out by the Government, inform us that the Venetian Senate always gave courtesans the title of 'deserving.' Lord Orford refuted this calumny in a curious pamphlet quoted by Mr. Horatio Brown in his valuable and delightful *Venetian Studies.* The catalogue contains two hundred and fifteen names; at number two hundred and four stands the name of the famous Veronica Franco—'that skilled writer of the sonnet and curiously polished verses which say so little and say it so beautifully,' says Mr. Brown.

Tassini tells an anecdote in point. Two gentlemen were walking one day over the bridge near the church of Saint Pantaleo, and they were confiding to each other their conjugal troubles. 'Do you know who is the only honest woman in Venice?' asked one of them. 'There she is!' He pointed to a little marble head which is still visible in the front of a house below the bridge. The story went the rounds, and the bridge itself was re-christened 'Il Ponte di Donna Onesta.'

The elegance of the gay ladies was incredible, and it was in order to be distinguished from them that respectable women little by little adopted the black silk gown and veil which they wore to the end of the Republic. The veil was black for married women and white for young girls.

I find in some statistics for the year 1581 the following statement as to the women of the better classes. There were 1659 patrician ladies, 1230 noble girls, 2508 nuns, and 1936 women of the burgher class. What could they do against 11,654? The note adds that all the others were women of the people.



THE GRAND CANAL IN SUMMER

XXI

A FEW PAINTERS, MEN OF LETTERS, AND SCHOLARS

ACCORDING to some trustworthy authorities, Raphael, Martin Luther, and Rabelais were born in the same year. The fact that they were certainly contemporaries with each other and with many other men of genius of contradictory types is one of the principal features of that most contradictory age. Signor Molmenti compares the gifts of Carpaccio and the two Bellini to rays that warm and gladden, those of Titian

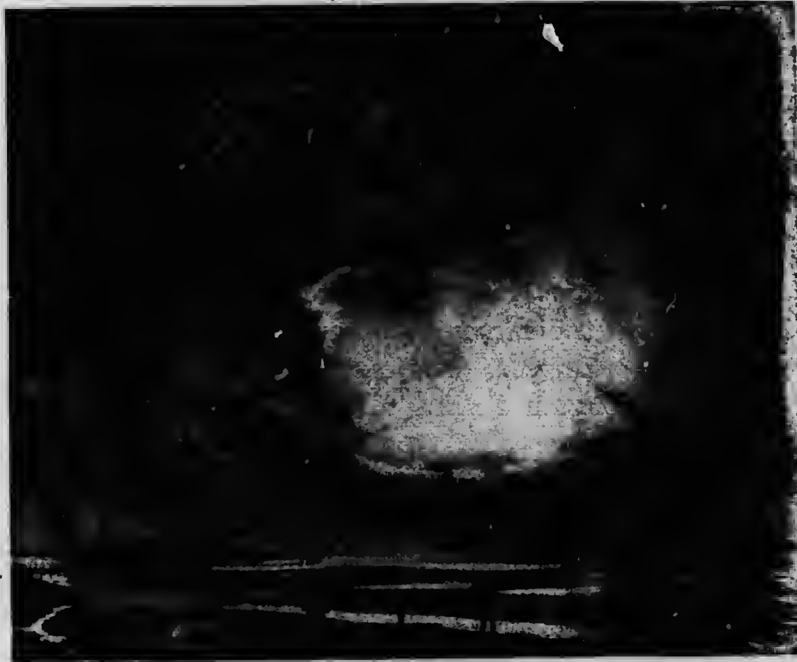
and Tintoretto to lights that dazzle but give no heat. In two centuries that immense change in art had taken place; from having spoken to the soul it had come to appeal to the eye.

The best painters of the fifteenth century touch us, and remain impersonal to us. What do we know, for instance, of Carpaccio's dreams or struggles or sufferings while he was painting his great picture of Saint Ursula and her maiden company? We gaze upon those virgin faces, those crowns of martyrdom, those tenderly smiling women's lips, those almost childlike gestures, and they touch us deeply. Perhaps we should like to ask them the secret of Carpaccio's melancholy soul. But the lips move not, nor do the eyes answer; the eleven thousand maidens seem rather to beckon us away to that place of refreshment, light, and peace, where we may hope that the great painter's sadness ended at last. They tell us not of him, nor of themselves, but of heaven.

A hundred years have gone by, and still artists paint pictures; but they tell us no longer of anything but their own selves, their own lives, their own passions. It is the world that has changed; perhaps it is not faith that is gone, faith the evidence of things unseen, but most assuredly belief has taken flight and left men sceptical, the belief which is the mother of all bright dreams, and which must see in order to believe, if only in imagination, and, believing, cannot fail to see.

The time had come when the artists were interesting for their own sakes as well as for what they did, and when the reporter-chronicler thought it worth while to note every anecdote of their daily lives, to put down the names of their models, to tell us who sat to them for their Madonnas. And those names are mostly

names of good and honest women, and we know to a nicety why they chose this face for one purpose and that for another. There is an end of all the legends of saintly heads begun by the artist and finished before morning by an angel's hand. There is an end, too, of dreams of refreshment, light, and peace. The artists of the sixteenth century are the most human of man-



EUGANEAN HILLS FROM THE LAGOON, LOW TIDE

kind, the most subject to humanity's passions, its weaknesses, and even its madness, and their works bear the stamp of the sensuous naturalism in which they lived.

The patrician Alvise Pisani possessed a beautiful house at San Cassian, standing on a tongue of land called Biri Grande. From the embrasured windows Murano could be seen, and the island of San Cristoforo,

and of Pace; beyond these, in the distance, rose the tall tower of Torcello, and a dark line along the water marked the forest of the distant island called Deserto; to the left rose the Euganean Hills, to the right stretched a long beach of gleaming sand. The fishermen used to say that when the mysterious glow spread over the waters of the lagoon at night, the Fata Morgana had floated up the Adriatic and was bathing in the dark.

All those things might be seen from the windows of Alvise Pisani's house; and there dwelt Titian, no longer the thoughtless gallant of his earlier days, but grave now, stately, and magnificent. Violante is forgotten, he lives honourably with his wife Cecilia, but he still keeps his love of conversation, his luxurious tastes, his lordly manner; and now he feels himself the equal of the great of the earth, and it amuses him to exchange letters with princes. For secretaries he has poets, historians, and even a cardinal; he is the Titian who will allow an emperor to stoop for the brush that has fallen from his hand. But few men ever had such grace and winning charm, and his house is ever open to his countless friends, a place of gathering, of wit and of good talk, where ladies are received, some of whom a later age will call blue-stockings, ladies who are members of learned academies, and ladies that play the lute.

Such was Titian, and such the house in which he was rarely alone. He had among many friends two at least with whom he was really intimate, the sculptor Sansovino, and Pietro Aretino the man of letters. The former was the friend of his heart and of his artistic intelligence; the latter he himself regarded as a sort of wild beast whom he had tamed, and whom he kept to frighten his rivals and his enemies. He

could not let a day go by without seeing both, and the three were generally together. If one of them was asked to dinner, he invariably begged his host to invite the other two.

They certainly did not resemble one another. Aretino was an adventurer who had tried most things: in his boyhood he had forged and stolen; in his young prime he had been a renegade monk, and then a courtier; in his maturity, to use one of his own expressions, he earned his living by the sweat of his ink. The Grand Duke of Tuscany had hired a house for him at the Riva del Carbon, for sixty soldi yearly, on the Grand Canal, and it was there that he followed an occupation which procured him all the necessaries and some of the luxuries of life. He made it his business to address the most abjectly flattering panegyrics to eminent persons, and even to sovereigns like Francis I. and the Emperor Charles V., and they rewarded him with presents of money or old wine. Or if some unlucky aspirant to office was in need of popularity or favour, Aretino quietly explained to him that a little article from his own pen could make or mar success; and there was nothing to be done but to pay, and to pay handsomely. Between the composition of one libel and the next, the amiable Tuscan lived riotously on his latest earnings with his two daughters Adria and Austria; in plain language he was a blackmailer, a voluptuary, a man of the highest taste, and of the lowest tastes.

Tassini, under Carbon.

No one loved him, but he was generally feared, and was therefore much sought after. His house was always full, and it was said that it was impossible to go there without meeting a scholar, a soldier, and a monk. He himself said pleasantly that the steps of his house were as much

Mutinelli, Annali.

worn by the feet of visitors as the pavement before the Capitol was by the cars of triumphing Roman generals. Nor was it only those that could pay blackmail who mounted the stairs. The man was full of contradictions; the poor crept up to his door and did not return empty-handed. Aretino was charitable.

He could not bear to see a child crying for cold or hunger, nor to see men or women sleeping shelterless in the streets, and often he took in under his roof pilgrims and poor wandering gentlemen. On Easter day he never failed to feed eighteen little beggar children at his table. But when he was tired of his visitors, rich or poor, he took refuge with Titian at San Cassian, for Titian was the only human being whom he loved sincerely, and all the resources of his venomous wit and cruel pen were at the disposal of this one friend. As for Titian's other friends, Aretino spared them, but the artist's enemies he harassed without mercy.

He was a physical coward, of course, as all such men are. He hated Jacopo Tintoretto for two reasons: first, because his gr[illegible] reputation was beginning to be a source of anxiety [illegible]; and, secondly, because he was too poor to be blackmailed, and too proud to show himself in Titian's house with the threadbare clothes which his wife, good soul, made him wear for economy's sake. Aretino accordingly abused him, and Tintoretto heard of it and determined to put an end to it in his own way.

One day he met Aretino in the street, stopped him and proposed to paint his portrait. The blackmailer was delighted, as the picture would cost him nothing and would certainly be valuable, and he at once made an appointment to go to Jacopo's studio. On the appointed day he appeared punctually, and seeing an empty canvas ready for the portrait, sat down in a

becoming attitude. But the painter's turn had come. 'Stand up!' he said, and Aretino obeyed. Then Tintoretto pulled out a long horse-pistol. 'What is this?' asked Aretino, alarmed. 'I am going to measure you,' replied the artist, and he proceeded to measure his adversary by the length of the pistol. 'You are two pistols and a half high,' he observed; 'now go!' and he pointed to the door. Aretino was badly frightened, and lost no time in getting out of the house; and from that day he neither wrote nor spoke any word that was not flattering to Jacopo Tintoretto.

Aretino received another lesson one day from the famous Andrea Calmo. The latter was an extremely original personage, half man of letters, half actor, whose improvised speeches in the character of Pantaloon were so remarkable as to give rise to the mistaken belief that he had invented that mask. He also wrote open letters to prominent men, as Aretino did, and published them, and as his were quite as libellous as the Tuscan's, and sometimes even more witty, they had an immense success. In fifty years they went through fifty editions, and there is positive proof that Shakespeare was acquainted with them, for he quotes a line and a half from one of Calmo's works:—

Love's Labour's Lost, Act iv. Sc. 2 (Cambridge edition, 1863).

Venetia, Venetia,
Chi non ti vede non ti pretia.

Calmo's chief virtue was neither patience nor forbearance, and it appears that Aretino irritated him exceedingly. One day his nerves could bear no longer with the Tuscan, and he gave vent to his feelings in an ironical open letter addressed to the object of his dislike. Here is a fragment of it:—

Molmenti, Studi. and Nuovi Studi.

'You are not a rational, natural human being, bu aërial, celestial, deified, a devout man and a calm one esteemed by all, adorned with every treasure and with all the virtues that no one being possesses, from th East to the West. You are the temple of poetry, th theatre of invention, a very sea of comparisons—an you behave in such a manner as to scare even the dead!

Titian's other friend, Jacopo Sansovino, the celebrate architect, was also a Tuscan by birth, but was of quit another stamp. His youth had been wild, but he ha then married a woman of great beauty and refinemen whose name was Paola, and who completely dominate him. The couple were often seen at the house at Sa Cassian, as Titian and Cecilia his wife often visite them in their dwelling in Saint Mark's Square clos by the clock tower.

Sansovino was handsome still, and rather a fashion able person, but excitable withal and a brilliant talker his life had been saddened for some length of time b the wild doings of his son, but to his great relief th young man at last took to literature and the art o printing. The Sansovino couple also made thei house the general meeting-place of many friends, a Titian did.

Though Jacopo was a Tuscan, Venice made ever effort to monopolise his time and industry after he ha become famous throughout Italy, and he was appointe the official architect of Saint Mark's. He was charge with the erection of the Mint and the Library, and o a new Loggia to replace the very simple one in whic the patricians had been accustomed to gather before th meetings of the Great Council, ever since the thirteent century. How well he succeeded in that, the beautifu construction which fell with the Campanile ampl showed.

While he was at work on the Library, Titian was called to Rome to execute an important commission, and set out in the certainty that on his return he should find the building finished and his friend covered with glory. The construction grew indeed, and was soon finished, with its two stories, of Doric and Ionic architecture, and the balustrade that crowns the edifice, and the really royal staircase, and all the rest.

But, unhappily, on the night of the eighteenth of December 1545, the vault of the main hall fell in, with no apparent reason. Instantly all Sansovino's rivals raised a terrific outcry, accusing him of having neglected the most elementary rules of his art, and asserting that the accident was altogether due to his negligence and incapacity. The zealous magistrate whose duty it was to oversee the construction of public buildings did not even wait for a proper warrant, but seized Sansovino instantly and sent him to prison.

Paola was in despair, and when the news was generally known, early on the following morning, the indignation of the architect's friends knew no bounds. In a few hours Aretino wrote a consoling letter to Paola, another to Titian, explaining to him what had happened, and a series of libellous articles against every architect in Venice except Sansovino himself. No one escaped who could be supposed to have uttered a single word against the reputation of the artist in trouble. There was a certain architect called Sanmichele, a man of great piety—greater perhaps than his talent—a frequenter of Titian's house, a rich man, too, such as Aretino delighted to fleece. Possibly also the good old artist's character was irritating to the evil Tuscan, who could not see why a man should be both distinguished and virtuous, nor why Sanmichele should have a special mass said when

Martinelli, Annali.

he was about to begin an important work. On
of Aretino's favourite tricks was to use the mos
frightful language before the mild old man, till th
latter, having exhausted entreaty and finding reproac
useless, was driven to buy the blasphemer's silenc
with a handsome present of rare old wine.

The occasion of Sansovino's imprisonment seeme
to Aretino an excellent opportunity for venting h
spleen against the devout artist, and at the same tim
for obtaining a lucrative return for his industry. H
therefore accused Sanmichele of being the direct caus
of his friend's arrest, and the abuse heaped upon hi
was so virulent and so persistent that its victim wa
obliged to have recourse to the usual bribe, which th
time consisted of a fine basket of fish.

Sansovino's friends soon triumphed, for they we
many and powerful. I do not know whether a vaulte
ceiling only just constructed can suddenly collapse an
fall in of itself without some fault on the part of th
architect, but Sansovino was unanimously declared
be entirely innocent, and the unlucky magistrate wh
with some show of reason, had ordered his arrest wa
thrown into prison in his place.

His brilliantly successful career continued until h
was eighty years of age, when, being too old for wor
he was succeeded in the post of architect to the Repub
by the celebrated Palladio. After that he lived elev
years longer in the society and friendship of Titian, wh
was two years older than he. On the register in th
church of San Basso is to be found the followi
entry: 'On November the seventh 1570 died Jaco
Sansovino, architect of the church of Saint Mark;
was ninety-one years old, and he died of old age.'

Aretino's life had come to an abrupt close fourte
years earlier. I find in Tassini, under the name 'Carbo

Aretino's place of residence, a statement of the singular fact that Aretino's death was predicted a few months before it took place, though he was at that time perfectly well. The author of the *Terremoto*, addressing the Tuscan man of letters, says: 'In this year LVI thou shalt die; for the appearance of the star to the Wise Men at the birth of Our Lord was held to be a great sign, and I now hold the comet of this year to be a little sign which comes on thy account, because thou art against Christ.' In that year Aretino actually died. It is said that his death was caused by his falling off his chair when convulsed with laughter at an abominable story, and though there may be some exaggeration about the tale, the physiognomy of the man might justify it. No one regretted him. In the State Archives of Florence a letter from a Venetian has been found which says: 'The mortal Pietro Aretino was taken to another life on Wednesday evening at the third hour of the night by a (literally) cannonade of apoplexy, without leaving any regret or grief in any decent person. May God have pardoned him.'

1556.

Titian died six years after Sansovino, surviving to be the last of the triad of inseparable friends. He was then ninety-nine years of age, and was carried off by the plague when, judging from the picture he was painting at the time of his death, he was still in full possession of his amazing powers. Of all the victims of the terrible epidemic, amongst tens of thousands of dead, he was the only one to whom the Republic granted a public funeral.

If we ask what was the 'social standing' of Titian and of some of the most famous Venetians, we shall find that they were simple members of a guild, and were reckoned with the working men. The Golden Book was the register of the nobles, the Silver Book

was reserved for the class of the secretaries, that is, of the burghers or original citizens ; but he who exercised an art such as painting, sculpture, or architecture belonged to the people. Like the commonest house-painter, or the painter of gondolas and house furniture Titian and Tintoretto were subject to the 'Mariegola,' or charter of their guild, and had to pass through the degrees of apprentice and fellow-craftsman before becoming masters.

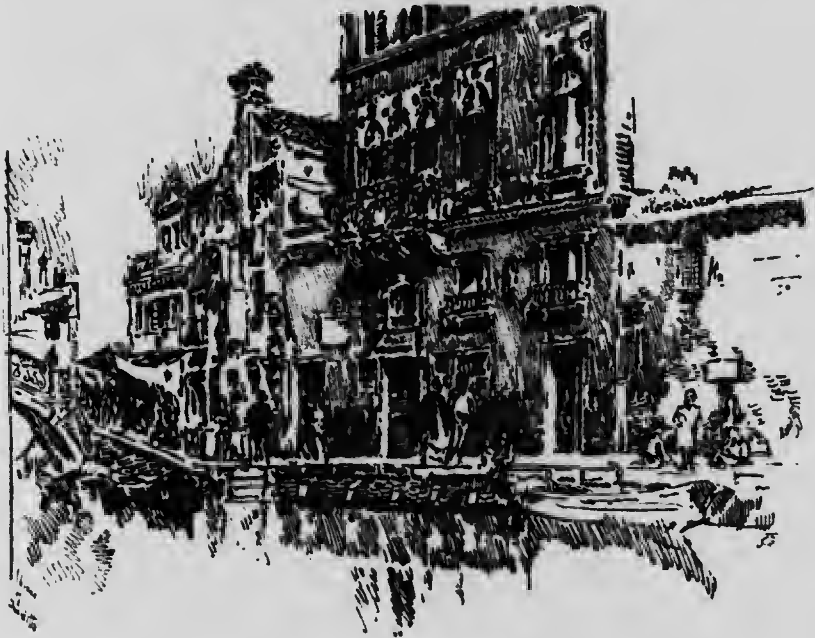
The law was that 'no painter, either Venetian or foreign, should be allowed to sell his paintings unless he was inscribed on the register of painters and had sworn to conform to the rules of that art,' in other words, to the charter of the guild. Furthermore, if he sold his work anywhere except in his shop, he was liable to a fine of ten lire.

We know that neither Titian nor any of the great artists of his time rebelled against these regulations. They were all their lives 'brethren' of their guild, and every one of them was obliged to obey the chief of the corporation in all matters concerning that fraternity though he might be a mere painter of doors and windows. It was not until the eighteenth century that the artist painters organised themselves in a separate body called the College of Painters. The examination of Paolo Veronese, which I have translated in speaking of the Holy Office, shows clearly enough what a poor opinion the authorities had of artistic inspiration.

Many writers, amongst whom Monsieur Yriarte is an exception, have told us that literature and the sciences were not cultivated with any success in Venice during the sixteenth century. It is at least true that the few who occupied themselves with those matters displayed qualities not far removed from genius.

It was very common for the great Venetian nobles

to play patron to poets, painters, and architects, and almost every name that became famous in the arts and sciences recalls that of some patrician or secretary who protected the artist, the writer, or the student. The Republic was often the refuge of gifted men whom political or personal reasons had exiled from their homes. Roman, Tuscan, and Lombard celebrities



HOUSE OF TINTORETTO

spent their lives in Venice and added their glory to hers. Who remembers that Aldus Manutius was a Roman? Or that Gaspara Stampa, who is always counted as one of the best of Venetian poets, was born in Milan? The Venetians, too, showed a wonderful tact in the degree of the hospitality they accorded. One need only compare the reception Petrarch met with in the fourteenth century, which was nothing less than royal, with the good-natured toleration shown to Pietro

Aretino two hundred years later. The Republic's treatment of the two men is the measure of the distance that separates the immortal poet from the brilliant and vicious pamphleteer. If the latter spent some agreeable years in Venice, that was due much more to the protection of a few friends than to any privileges granted him by the Government.

There were certainly a great many intellectual centres in Venice at that time, and one might fill many pages with the names of the so-called academies that were founded and that flourished for a time. Almost every special tendency of human thought was represented by one of them, from the Aldine, devoted enthusiastically to classic Greek, to those academies which adorned their emptiness with such titles as 'The Seraphic,' 'The Uranian,' and the like, and which gave themselves up to the most unbridled extravagance of taste. Of such follies I shall only quote one instance which I find in Tassini under the name 'Bernardo.'

In the year 1538 the will of that academician was opened. He therein directed his heirs to have his body washed by three famous physicians with as much aromatic vinegar as would cost forty ducats, and each physician was to receive as his fee three golden sequins absolutely fresh from the mint. The body was then to be wrapped in linen clothes soaked in essence of aloes before being 'comfortably' laid to rest in a lead coffin and enclosed in one of cypress wood. The coffin was then to be placed in a marble monument to cost six hundred ducats. The inscription was to enumerate the actions and virtues of the deceased in eight Latin hexameters, of which the letters were to look tall to a spectator placed at a distance of twenty-five feet. The poet who composed the verses was to receive one sequin for each. Moreover, the history of the

dead man's family was to be written out in eight hundred verses, and seven psalms were to be composed after the manner of the Psalms of David, and twenty monks were to sing them before the tomb on the first Sunday of every month.

We read without surprise that this will was not executed to the letter, and the tolerably reasonable monument erected to Pietro Bernardo by his descendants,

HOUSE OF ALDUS

twenty years after his death, may still be seen in the church of the Frari.

There were also academies which bore names, devices, and emblems of a nature that might well shock and surprise us, were they not the natural evidences of that coming decadence, moral and artistic, whereof all Italy, and Venice in particular, already bore the germs.

Amongst the great names that belong to the end of

the fifteenth century, as well as to the sixteenth, hardl
any has more interesting associations for scholars tha
that of Aldus Manutius.

The founder of the great family of scholars an
printers was born at Sermoneta in the Pontifical State
in 1449, and was over forty years old whe
he finally established himself in Venic
He had been tutor in the princely family of Pi
where he had educated the eldest son, and he himse
added the name to his own, though he did not transmi
it to his descendants.

Firmin-Didot, Alde Manuce.

One of the legends about the origin of printing tel
that it was invented in the Venetian city of Feltre, b
a certain Castaldi, who was robbed of his invention b
Germans, presumably Faust and Guttenberg. There
probably no foundation for this tale, but it is certai
that the Venetians brought the art of printing to som
thing near perfection within a few years of its creatio
and that the Government protected it by laws of singul
wisdom and great severity, in an age when the idea
copyright was in its infancy.

Aldus was neither a money-maker nor a man give
up to ambition ; he was a true artist, and cared only f
perfecting his art. When he first invented the ital
type he was almost beside himself with delight, a
instantly applied to the Council of Ten for letters pate
to forbid any imitation of his work during ten yea
The petition is curious, for Aldus went as far as
suggest to the Ten the penalties to be incurred by a
one who defrauded him of his rights, and they were
no means light.

He dreamed of never allowing any work to lea
his press which was less than perfect at all poin
When he meditated the printing of a Greek classic,
gathered about him all the most conscientious men

letters in Venice; such men as Sabellico and Sanudo, the highly accomplished Cardinal Bembo, and Andrea Navagero all worked at comparing the best texts, in order to produce one that should be beyond criticism. In the course of such profound study learned discussions arose and conclusions were reached which were destined to influence all scholarship down to modern times. Little by little, and without any artificial encouragement or intention, the workshop of Aldus became the gravest of classical 'academies'; a vast amount of work was done there, and a very small number of books were very wonderfully well printed.

In two years five publications appeared, among which was the first Greek edition of Aristotle's works. That Aldus might have done better is possible, and every reader of ancient Greek must deplore the selection of type he made for printing in that language. It is ugly, unpractical, and utterly inartistic, but such was the man's influence that he imposed it upon scholars, and it is by far the most commonly used type to this day. Aldus might have done better; but, on the other hand, the unquestionable fact stands out that no one, in those days, did half so well, and that if his Greek type is unpleasing, his italic is beautiful and has never been surpassed; finally, good copies of his best publications bring high prices at every modern sale.

He and his friends were busy men, and spent whole days shut up together, thereby rousing much curiosity, and attracting many unwelcome visitors. At last Aldus was wearied by their importunity, and the loss of time they caused became a serious matter. He composed the following notice and put it up outside his press:—

'Quisquis es, rogat te Aldus etiam atque etiam: ut si quid est quod a se velis perpaucis agas, deinde actutum abeas: nisi tanquam Hercules defesso Atlante, veneris

suppositurus humeros. Semper enim erit quod et tu agas, et quotquot huc attulerunt pedes.'

I quote the Latin from Didot. It is hardly worthy of the editor, printer, and publisher of Aristotle, but Aldus himself printed it in the preface, addressed to Andrea Návagero, which precedes the edition of Cicero's *Rhetoric*, published in 1514. Here is a translation of it :—

'Whoever you are, Aldus begs you again and again, if you want anything of him, to do your business with few words and then to go away quickly ; unless, indeed, you come as Hercules to tired Atlas, to place your shoulders under the burden. For there will always be something to do even for you, and for as many as bend their steps hither.'

The story even goes so far as to say that Erasmus came one day to Aldus's door with the manuscript of his *Adagia* under his arm, but that he was disconcerted by the notice and was going away, when the great printer himself caught sight of him and made him come in.

Aldus, who was not a Venetian, was not a man of business, and did not grow rich by his work. He gave his time lavishly, for no true artist, such as he was, ever said that time was money ; and his expenses were very heavy, not the least being that incurred for the fine cotton paper he got from Padua. On the other hand he hoped to encourage learning and to disseminate a general love of the classics. Some of his prices, however, were very high ; for instance, a complete Aristotle sold for eleven silver ducats, which Didot considers equal to over ninety francs in modern French money. But a copy of the Musæus, which would perhaps sell to-day for forty pounds sterling, could be bought for a little more than one 'marcello.'

Aldus had established himself in Venice about 1490. Eight years later a visitation of the plague decimated the population, and the great printer himself sickened of it. Believing himself all but lost, he vowed that if he recovered he would abandon his art, which would be by far the greatest thing he could give up, and would enter holy orders. He recovered, but the sacrifice was greater than he could make, though he was a good man, of devout mind. He at once addressed a petition to the Pope begging to be released from his vow, and M. Didot discovered in the Archives of the Council of Ten the favourable answer returned by Alexander VI., who, it will be remembered, was the Borgia Pope, of evil fame. It was, of course, addressed to the Patriarch, and it reads as follows :—

Venerable Brother :

Our beloved son Aldus Manutius, a citizen of Rome, set forth to us some time ago that when the plague was raging he, being in danger of death, took an oath that if he escaped he would enter the holy orders of priesthood. Seeing that since he has recovered his health he does not persist in his vow, and seeing that in his condition of poverty he cannot subsist otherwise than by the work of his hands, whereby he earned his living, now therefore he desires to remain a layman, and we have granted his petition. We commission you, therefore, and command your fraternity to absolve in our name the said Aldus from the vow he took, if he humbly requests you to do so, and if things stand as he says, requiring of him a return by such other acts of piety as it shall seem good to your conscience to impose, and this if there be no other obstacle.

Given in Rome, August the eleventh, 1498, in the sixth year of our Pontificate.

It is characteristic of the far-reaching power of the Council of Ten that this curious document should have been found in their Archives.

One year after having been released from his vow,

Aldus married Maria, daughter of Andrea Torresano
I do not know whether an attachment which perhap
dated from before the plague could have had anything
to do with the great printer's aversion to fulfilling hi
vow; if so, the world is deeply indebted to his wife
There was, however, a considerable interval in his caree
after 1498, during which no books were issued by th
Aldine press, and those belonging to the first perio
have a much higher value than the rest.

Possibly children were born to the couple and die
between the time of their marriage and the birth o
their son Paulus Manutius in 1512, three years befor
the death of his father Aldus. The dates show th
absurdity of the story that Aldus brought up his son t
be a scholar and a printer like himself. He died whe
that son, who was destined to be famous also, was les
than four years old. He breathed his last on the sixth o
January 1516, being not yet sixty-seven years old, sur
rounded by his faithful friends and his manuscripts
Owing to his having married so late, and to his son no
having been born till thirteen years after his marriage
the lives of the father and son cover the period betwee
1449 and 1574, no less than one hundred and twenty
five years.

Prince Pio, his former pupil and one of the mos
distinguished members of the Aldine Academy, claime
the honour of burying him at Carpi, a feudal holdin
of the Pio family. His body was carried thither wit
great pomp, and he was laid in state in the church o
Saint Patrinian surrounded by books, and was finall
buried in the Prince's family vault.

Another and very original type of scholar was Mari
Sanudo, whose name occurs so constantly in all writing
that deal with the sixteenth century in Venice. H
was of a patrician family, and was so early predispose

to observe and note everything of interest, that when he was only eight years old he copied the inscriptions which Petrarch had written under the pictures in the hall of the Great Council, and it is thanks to his childish industry that we know the nature of those great works which were destroyed in the fire of 1474.

Marin Sanudo, Diario; Mutinelli, Annali.

As the child grew up he cultivated the habit of making notes of all he saw and heard; and, though he strictly adheres to the principle of relating daily events briefly and clearly, he constantly reveals himself to us as a man of broad views and keen sight, cautious, slightly sceptical, and thoroughly independent. As soon as he had attained the required age he was admitted to the Council, and he kept a journal of everything that happened there. It is surprising to find that a Government which knew everything should allow any one such full liberty to make notes. Possibly the value of his work was not at first understood, but when it was, the manner in which appreciation showed itself was not flattering to the chronicler.

The Republic always employed a regular official historian whose business it was to narrate the deeds and misdeeds of the Government in a manner uniformly pleasant to Venetian vanity. One of the most successful writers in this manner was the untrustworthy Sabellico, and when he died Marin Sanudo aspired to succeed him, being in poor circumstances, and having on several occasions rendered services to the Republic. But to his infinite mortification Cardinal Bembo was appointed to the post, and, as if to add insult to injury, Sanudo was requested to place his valuable diaries at the disposal of the new public historian. Sanudo was deeply hurt, as may be imagined, but he was poor and in debt, and the paternal Government of his business-like country

easily drove him to the wall. For the use of his diary, and for his promise to bequeath it to the State at his death, he accepted a pension of one hundred and fifty ducats (£112) yearly. This small stipend was not enough to lift him out of poverty. The expense of the paper which he used for his notes was a serious item in his little budget, and the binder's bill was a constant source of anxiety. He was often obliged to borrow money, and once he was imprisoned for debt. On the latter occasion he made the following entry in his journal :—

'December eighteenth, 1516.—On this day in the morning a dreadful thing happened to me. I was going to Saint Mark's to hear mass as usual when I was recognised by that traitor Giovanni Soranzo, to whom I have owed a hundred ducats for ten years, and forty-seven for a debt before that. Now I had solemnly promised that I would pay him the money, but in order to shame me he had me imprisoned till next day in San Cassian. I vow to be avenged upon him with my own hands.'

Having vented his wrath on paper, Sanudo promptly forgot his sombre vows of vengeance. For many years afterwards he went backwards and forwards between the ducal palace and his own house at San Giacomo in Orio, where he had collected books and prints to a very great value. He was almost forgotten until very recent times, when he was rediscovered in his diary, and treated with the honour he deserves by his own countrymen.

There was no university in Venice, but the Government encouraged those teachers who established themselves in the city and gave instruction in their own homes. In this way they formed little schools which quarrelled with each other over definitions, syllogisms,

and etymologies in the most approved fashion. There is a good instance of one of these miniature civil wars in connection with the historian Sabellico. He was

S. GIACOMO IN ORIO

ferociously jealous of a certain learned priest called Ignatius, who taught literature, as he did, and had many more scholars. In his lectures Sabellico attacked Ignatius furiously, and did

Cicogna, Iscrizioni, i. 341.

his best to destroy his reputation. The priest on his side held his tongue, and waited for a chance of giving his hot-headed adversary a lesson. At last Sabellico published a very indifferent work, of which the priest wrote such a keen criticism that the book was a dead failure. The State historian's rage broke out in the most violent invectives, and from that time Ignatius was his nightmare, and the mere mention of his name drove him into uncontrollable fury, until, dying at last, Sabellico realised that his hatred of the priest had been the mortal sin of his life, and on his deathbed he sent for him and asked for a reconciliation. Ignatius freely pardoned him, and even delivered a very flattering funeral oration over his body a few days later.

A distinguished man of this period who deserves mention was Federigo Badoer, who may almost be said to have been educated in the printing press of Aldus and afterwards became the friend of Paulus Manutius. Like all Venetian nobles, he learned from his boyhood how he was to serve the State, and became acquainted with the working of its administration, and he was soon struck by the condition of the Code. The laws had multiplied too much, and were often obscure, and the whole system was in great need of revision. Badoer conceived the idea of founding an academy for the purpose of editing and printing the whole body of Venetian Law; the Council of Ten gave him their approval, and he founded the Academy of 'La Fama'—of Fame—with the singularly inappropriate motto, 'I fly to heaven and rest in God.' The printing of the new Code was entrusted to Paulus Manutius.

Mutinelli, Annali.

My perspicuous reader, having recovered from his astonishment at the unexpected liberality of the Council of Ten, has already divined that such a fit could not

last long, and that Badoer and his noble academy were doomed to failure. Badoer was not rich enough to

DOORWAY OF THE SACRISTY, S. [illegible]

bear the expense of such an undertaking alone, and the Ten had no intention of helping him. Moreover, he

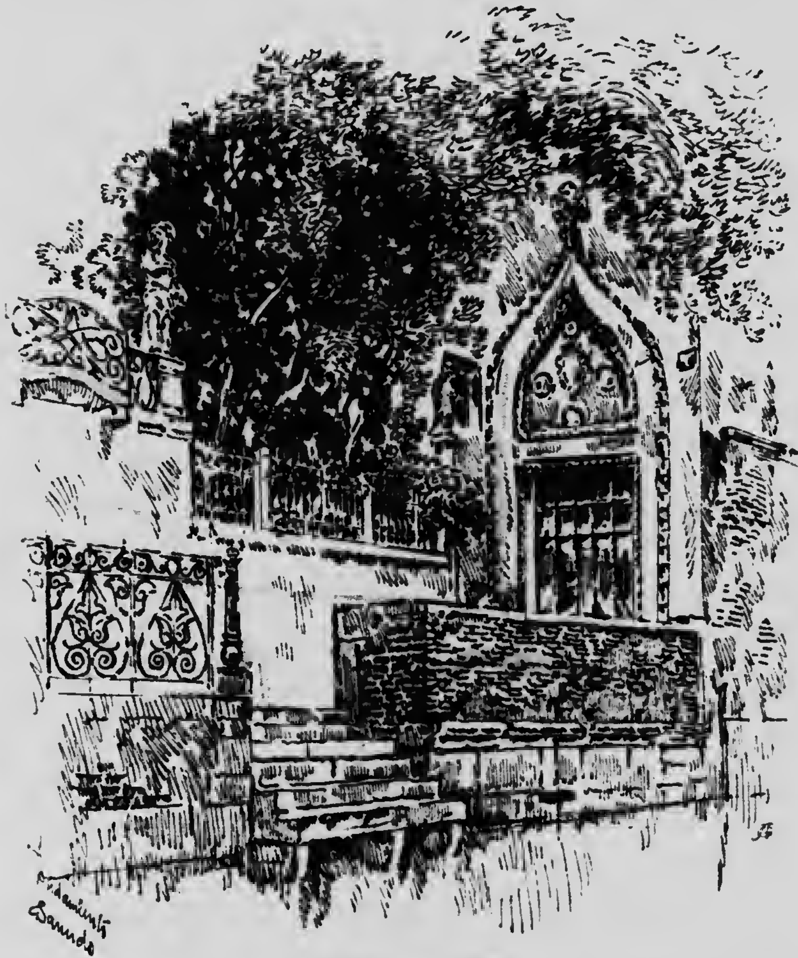
and the scholars of his academy kept up a continual correspondence with doctors of law in other countries. It would have seemed narrow-minded, however, to suppress the academy by a decree; it was more in accordance with the methods of the Council to accuse Badoer of some imaginary misdeed for which he could be brought to trial. Accordingly, though he had sacrificed his own fortune in the attempt, he was accused of having embezzled the academy's funds, and in three years from the time of his setting to work the academy was crushed out of existence, and he was a ruined man.

Another shortlived but celebrated literary society was that of the 'Pellegrini,' the 'Pilgrims,' whose pilgrimage led them only from their solemn palaces in Venice to the pleasant groves of Murano, and was performed by moonlight when possible. The pilgrims were Titian, Sansovino, Navagero, Gaspara Stampa, the old Trifone, Collaltino di Collalto, and some others, and it is very unlikely that their evening meetings had any object except pleasant converse and intellectual relaxation. We know something about the lovely Gaspara and Collalto, at all events, and it can be safely said that they were more pleasantly occupied than in conspiracy, and that what they said to each other concerned neither the Doge nor the Council of Ten.

Though there was no university in Venice, the Republic possessed one of the most renowned in Europe by right of having conquered and annexed Padua; and it is interesting to note that because that great institution of learning was not situated in Venice itself, it was allowed a degree of liberty altogether beyond Venetian traditions.

Padua was temporarily obliged to submit to Louis XII. of France at the beginning of the sixteenth

century, but the Republic took it again in 1509, and from that date until 1797 there was never the least interruption in the academic courses. The only in-



FONDAMENTA SANUDO

fluence exercised upon the university by the Venetian Government was intended to give it a more patriotically Venetian character. In earlier times the Bishop of Padua had been *ex officio* the Rector of the university; he was now deprived of this dignity, which was

conferred jointly on three Venetian nobles, who were elected for two years, and were required to reside in Venice and not in Padua, lest they should be exposed to influences foreign to the spirit of the Republic. Their title was 'Riformatori dell' Università,' and great care was exercised in choosing them. They were also the official inspectors of the Venetian schools and of the national libraries, and it was their business to examine candidates for the position of teachers in any authorised institution.

They were no doubt terrible pedants, inwardly much dignified by a sense of their great responsibilities, and to this day, in northern Italy, it is said of a man who wearies his family and his acquaintances with perpetual 'nagging'—there is no dictionary word for it—that he is like a 'Riformatore' of the University of Padua, though the good people who use the phrase have no clear idea of what it means.

These three patricians had an official dress of their own, which was a long robe, sometimes black and sometimes of a violet colour, changing according to some regulation which is not known, but always made with sleeves of the 'ducal' pattern; and they put on a black stole over it. If one of them was a Knight of the Golden Stole, as often happened, his robe was of velvet and his stole was of cloth of gold.

Yriarte, Vie; Rom. iv. 449.

The Holy See was not much pleased by the way in which the Republic treated the Bishop of Padua, and constantly complained that the students of the university were allowed too much license to express opinions that ill accorded with Catholic dogma. Like all commercial countries, Venice was Protestant in so far as any direct interference of the Vatican was concerned. Mr. Brooks Adams was, I think, the

first to point out the inseparable connection between Protestantism and commercial enterprise, in his extraordinary study, *The Law of Civilisation and Decay*. The peculiarity of Venice's religious position was that it combined an excessive, if not superstitious, devotion to the rites of the Church with something approaching to contempt of the Pope's power.

The University of Padua was resorted to by students of all nations, including many English gentlemen. In the Archives of the Ten a petition has been found signed by a number of foreign students in Padua to be allowed to wear arms, and we find that the necessary permission for this was granted in 1548 to Sir Thomas Wyatt, 'a Knight of the English Court,' Sir —— Cotton, Sir John Arundel, Christopher Mayne, Henry Williams, and John Schyer (?)

Rom. iv. 449, note 5.

It is amusing to find that the French students in Padua excelled in fencing, riding, dancing, and music, but apparently not in subjects more generally considered academic.

I cannot close this chapter without saying a few words about Galileo Galilei, who was for some time in the employ of the Republic. I quote from his life, written by his pupil Viviani, but not published till 1826.

After lecturing in Pisa for three years Galileo was appointed by the Venetian Government to be professor of mathematics in Padua for a term of six years, during which he invented several machines for the service of the Republic. Copies of his writings and lectures of this time were scattered by his pupils throughout Italy, Germany, France, and England, often without his name, for he thought them of such little importance that he did not even protest when impostors claimed to be the authors of them.

1592.

During this period, says Viviani, he invented 'the thermometers (*sic*) . . . which wonderful invention was perfected in modern times by the sublime genius of our great Ferdinand II., our most serene reigning sovereign . . .,' the Cardinal Grand Duke who poisoned his brother and Bianca Cappello.

At the end of his term Galileo was reappointed for six years more, and during this time he observed a comet in the Dragon, and made experiments with the magnet. He was reappointed again and again with an increase of salary.

1599.

In April or May, in 1609, when he was in Venice, it was reported that a certain Dutchman had presented Maurice of Nassau with a sort of eyeglass which made distant objects seem near. This was all that was known of the invention, but Galileo was so much interested by the story that he returned to Padua at once, and in the course of a single night succeeded in constructing his first telescope, in spite of the poor quality of the lenses he had, and on the following day he returned to Venice and showed the instrument to his astonished friends. After perfecting it he resolved to present it to the reigning Doge, Leonardo Donà, and to the whole Venetian Senate.

I translate literally the letter he wrote to the Doge to accompany the gift :—

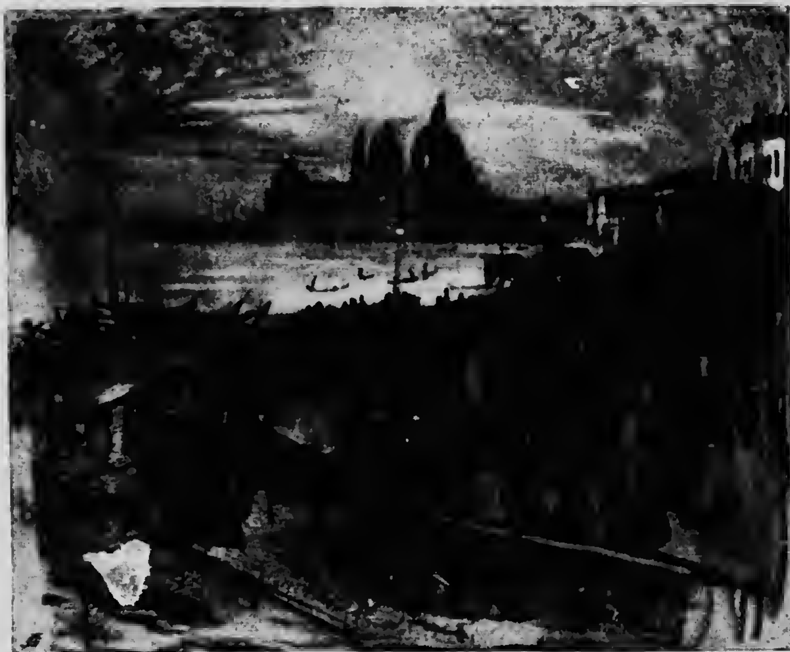
Most Serene Prince : Galileo Galilei, your Serenity's most humble servant, labouring assiduously and with all his heart not only to do his duty as lecturer on mathematics in the University of Padua, but also to bring your Serenity some extraordinary advantage by means of some useful and signal discovery, now appears before you with a new device of eyeglass, the result of the most recondite theories of perspective ; the which [invention] brings objects to be visible so near the eye, and shows them so large and distinct, that what is distant, for instance, nine miles, seems as if it were only one mile away, a fact which [illegible] of inestimable service for every

business and enterprise by land and sea ; for it is thus possible, at sea, to discover the enemy's vessels and sails at a far greater distance than is customary, so that we can see him two hours and more before he can see us, and by distinguishing the number and nature of his vessels, we can judge of his forces and prepare for a pursuit, or a battle, or for flight. In the same manner, on land, the quarters and the defences of the enemy within a strong place can be descried from an eminence, even if far away ; and even in the open country, it is possible with great advantage to make out every movement and preparation ; moreover, every judicious person will clearly perceive many uses [for the telescope]. Therefore, deeming it worthy to be received and considered very useful by your Serenity, he [Galileo] has determined to present it to you, and to leave it to your judgment to determine and provide concerning this invention, in order that, as may seem best to your prudence, others should or should not be constructed. And this the aforesaid Galilei presents to your Serenity as one of the fruits of the science which he has now professed in the University of Padua during more than seventeen years, trusting that he is on the eve of offering you still greater things, if it please the Lord God and your Serenity that he, as he desires, may spend the rest of his life in the service of your Serenity, before whom he humbly bows, praying the Divine Majesty to grant you the fulness of all happiness.

The letter is not dated, but on the twenty-fifth of August 1609 the Signory appointed the astronomer professor for life, with 'three times the highest pay ever granted to any lecturer on mathematics.'

It was in Padua that Galileo invented the microscope, observed the moon's surface, and the spots on the sun, discovered that the milky way and the nebulæ consist of many small fixed stars, discovered Jupiter's moons, Saturn's rings, and the fact that Venice revolves round the sun, 'and not below it, as Ptolemy believed.'

Much has been written of late about Galileo, but most of what has appeared seems to be founded on this life by his pupil Viviani.



A HOLIDAY ON THE RIVA

XXII

THE TRIUMPHANT CITY

When [illegible]ippe de Commines came to Venice in 149
as ambassador of Charles VIII. he wrote : 'This is th
most triumphant city that ever I saw.'

He meant what he said figuratively, no doubt, fo
in that day there was something overwhelming abou
the wealth and splendour, and the vast success of th
Republic. But he meant it literally too, for no stat
or city of the world celebrated its own victories wit
such pomp and magnificence as Venice.

The Venetians had never been altogether at peace with the Turks, in spite of the treaty which had been made soon after the fall of Constantinople; but when Venice herself was threatened by all the European powers together, it was with the highest satisfaction that she saw the Moslems attack her old enemies the Hungarians. Yet her joy was of short duration, for the Emperor soon made peace with the Sultan. It will be remembered that the Imperial throne had then already been hereditary in the Hapsburg family for many years.

Daru; Rom.

The character of Turkish warfare in the Mediterranean was always piratical, of the very sort most certain to harass and injure a maritime commercial nation like Venice, and the latter began to lose ground steadily in the Greek Archipelago, and now found herself obliged to defend the coasts of the Adriatic against the Turks as she had formerly defended them against the pirates of Narenta. From time to time a Turkish vessel was captured, and hundreds of Christian slaves were found chained to the oar.

There were also other robbers along the Dalmatian coast, who exercised their depredations against Turks and Christians alike, with admirable equity. These were the so-called 'Uscocchi,' a name derived from a Slav root meaning to 'leap out'—hence, those who had escaped and fled their country and were outlaws.

Niccolò da Ponte triumphs over the Uscocchi, Tintoretto; Hall of the Great Council.

About this time the island of Cyprus had fallen in part under Turkish domination. The Turks had made a piratical descent upon Nicosia, and had carried off all the women who were still young enough for the Eastern market. But one of these, a heroine whose name is lost, fired the ship's

Cicogna, Iscr. Ven. iii. 134.

powder-magazine, and saved herself and her com-
panions from outrage by causing the instant death
of every soul on board. This was in the latter half
of the sixteenth century.

Thirsting for vengeance, the Venetians now eagerly
joined Philip II. of Spain in the league proposed by
the Pope. The three fleets were to meet
at Messina, and much precious time was
lost, during which the Turks completed
their conquest of Cyprus, which was
heroically defended by Marcantonio Bragadin. His
fate was horrible. His nose and ears were cut off, and
he was obliged to witness the death of his brave com-
panions, Tiepolo, Baglione, Martinengo, and Quirini.
They were stoned, hanged, and carved to shreds
before his eyes, and a vast number of Venetian soldiers
and women and children were massacred before him
during the foll[illegible]g ten days. At last his turn
came to die; he [illegible] hung by the hands in the public
square and slowly skinned alive. It is said that he
died like a hero and a saint, commending his soul to
God, and forgiving his enemies.

Death of M. Bragadin, unknown; Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

The ferocious Mustapha, by whose orders these
horrors were perpetrated, ordered his skin to be stuffed
and had it carried about the streets, under a red
umbrella, in allusion to the arms of the
Bragadin family. The hideous human doll
was then hoisted to the masthead of Mustapha's ship
as a trophy and taken in that way to Constantinople.

Molmenti, Seb. Venier.

But in his lifetime Bragadin had ransomed a certain
man of Verona from the Turks, and had earned his
undying gratitude. This Veronese, hearing of his
benefactor's awful end, swore to bring home his skin,
since nothing else remained, and with incredible skill
and courage actually entered the Turkish arsenal at Con-

stantinople, where the trophy was kept, stole it and brought it home. It is related that the skin was found as soft as silk and was easily folded into a small space; it is preserved in the church of San Giovanni e Paolo.

The vengeance of the league was slow, but it was memorably terrible; in 1571 Don John of Austria, a stripling of genius, scarcely six-and-twenty years of age, commanded the three fleets and led Christianity to victory at Lepanto. One of the decisive battles of the world checked the Mohammedan power for ever in the Gulf of Corinth, and the blood of eighty thousand Turks avenged the inhuman murder of Bragadin and the self-destruction of the captive Venetian women.

Lepanto, A. Vicentini; ducal palace.

Not many days later, on the eighteenth of October 1571, the great 'Angel Gabriel,' a galley of war, came sailing into the harbour of Venice, full dressed with flags, and trailing in her wake a long line of Turkish standards, and turbans and coats. Then the cannon thundered, and the crew cried 'Victory! Victory!' and the triumphant note went rolling over Venice, while Onofrio Giustiniani, the commander of the man-of-war, went up to the ducal palace. Then the people went mad with joy, and demanded that all prisoners should be set free in honour of the day; and the Council allowed at least all those to be liberated who were in prison for debt. Then, too, the people cried 'Death to the Turks!' and would have massacred every Mussulman in the Turks' quarter; but to the honour of Venice it is recorded that the Government was strong enough to hinder that

Molmenti, Seb. Venier.

And then the Doge, Aloise Mocenigo, found his way through the closely packed crowd to the Basilica, and fifty thousand voices sang 'Te Deum laudamus Domine,' till the

Aloise Mocenigo praying, Tintoretto; Sala del Collegio.

triumphant strain must have been heard far out on the lagoon. During four days processions marched through the streets, and hymns of victory and thanksgiving were sung ; the greatest battle of the age had been fought and won on the feast of Saint Justina, who was one of the patrons of Venice. In return for her military assistance an enthusiastic and devout people resolved to set up a statue of her in the Arsenal and to build her a church in Padua, as she already had one in Venice.

Rom. vi. 317.

Religious obligations being thus cancelled, the universal rejoicing manifested itself in civic pageantry, and, to use a modern expression, the Venetians held a general exhibition of their treasures. The square of the Rialto was draped with scarlet cloth, on which were hung the pictures of the most famous masters, at a time when some of the greatest that ever lived were alive in Venice and at the height of their glory. In the midst of the square a trophy was raised, composed of Turkish arms and banners, turbans, slippers, jewels, and all sorts of ornaments taken from the slain. From the jewellers' lane to the bridge a canopy of blue cloth covered with golden stars was spread high across the way, the most precious tapestries were hung on the walls of the houses, the shops showed all their most artistic wares in their windows. The German quarter was so crammed with beautiful objects that it seemed one great enchanted palace. To increase the general gaiety, the Government made a special exception and allowed masks in the streets.

When it is remembered that Venice really obtained little or no immediate advantage from the battle of Lepanto, her frenzy of triumph may seem exaggerated ; yet it was moderate compared with the reception Rome gave to the commander of the papal fleet, Marcantonio

Colonna. The Venetian captain, Sebastian Venier, was not present, and there was not the least personal note in the rejoicings; that, indeed, would have been very

DOOR OF THE CARMINE

contrary to the usual behaviour of the Republic towards her own sons, for if they failed she disowned them or put them to death, and if they succeeded it was her motherly practice to disgrace them as soon as possible,

and generally to find an excuse for imprisoning then
lest they should grow dangerous to herself.

We cannot help reproaching her for that; yet ou
of her magnificent past comes back ever that sam
answer: she succeeded, where others failed. She bre
such men as Enrico Dandolo, Vittor Pisani, Carl
Zeno, and Sebastian Venier, yet she was never enslave
by one of her own children. Rome served her Cæsa
and her many Cæsars; France, her Bonaparte; Russi
her Ivan Strashny, the Terrible; Spain, her Philip II.
England, her Richard III.—and her Cromwell, Pr
tector and Tyrant. But Venice was never subject
any one Venetian man beyond the time needed
compass his destruction and death, which was neve
long, and sometimes was awfully brief.

Venier did not return to Venice till long after th
battle of Lepanto, and his presence was necessary
the Archipelago in order to protect suc
colonies as were left to the Republic. Fo
though the Turks had suffered a disastrou
defeat, final in the sense that their advan
westwards was checked as effectually as the spreadin
of the Moorish conquest had been by Charles Mart
at Poitiers, yet they were still at the height of the
power in Constantinople, and were strong on the easter
side of the dividing line which was now drawn acro
the Mediterranean, and which marked the eastern lim
of Christian domination. When Venier returned, th
Turks were absolute masters of the island of Cypru
and Venice was already beginning to pay what wa
really a war indemnity, destined to reach the formidab
sum of three hundred thousand ducats. As Monte
quieu truly says, it looked as if the Turks had bee
the victors at Lepanto.

Venier returns in triumph. Palma Giovane; Sala dei Pregadi.

Three years after that battle Venice was agai

adorned in her best to greet Henry III. of France, who visited the city in July 1574, the year of his accession. The King was to make his entry on the eighteenth, and he was requested to stop at Murano on the previous evening, in the Palazzo Cappello, which was all hung with silk and cloth of gold in his honour. Forty young nobles were attached to his person, and sixty halberdiers mounted guard, dressed in yellow and blue, which were regarded by the Venetians as his colours, and wearing a cap with a white tuft for a cockade. Their weapons were taken from the armoury of the Council of Ten. There were also eighteen trumpeters and twelve drummers dressed in the King's colours.

Rom. vi. 341.

Horatio Brown, Venetian Studies.

Henry III. visits Venice. A. Vicentino; Sala delle Quattro Porte.

Henry III. was still in mourning for his brother Charles IX., and appeared very plainly clad in the midst of all this display. The chronicles have preserved the details of his costume; he wore a brown mantle that fell from his neck to his feet, and beneath it a violet tunic of Flemish cloth with a white lace collar. He also wore long leathern boots, perfumed gloves, and an Italian hat.

The night was passed in feasting, during which the French and the Venetians fraternised most closely, and on the following morning a huge galley was ready to take the King to Venice by way of the Lido.

On the high poop-deck a seat was placed for the King, covered with cloth of gold; on his right sat the papal nuncio, who was the Cardinal San Sisto, then came the Dukes of Nevers and Mantua; on his left the Doge and the ambassadors. Four hundred rowers pulled the big vessel over, and fourteen galleys followed bringing the senators and many others. To amuse the King during the short passage, the glass-blowers of

Murano had constructed on rafts a furnace in the shape of a marine monster that belched flames from its jaws and nostrils, while the most famous workmen blew beakers and other vessels in the beast's body, of the finest crystal glass, for the King and his suite.

Just when he might be thought to be weary of this spectacle a long array of decorated boats began to manœuvre before his eyes, with sails set and banners flying. These belonged to the various guilds and were wonderfully adorned. One represented a huge dolphin; on its back stood Neptune driving two winged steeds, while four aged boatmen in costume stood for the four rivers of the Republic—Brenta, Adige, Po, and Piave. Some of the boats had arrangements for sending up fireworks, others were floating exhibitions of the richest and most marvellous tapestries and stuffs.

The royal vessel, instead of proceeding straight to Venice, went round by the Lido to the landing of Saint Nicolas, where the State architect Palladio had erected a triumphal arch which Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese had covered with ten beautiful paintings. Here the King was invited to leave his galley in order to go on board the Bucentaur. Tintoretto was in the crowd looking out for a chance of sketching the King, precisely as a modern reporter hangs about the docks and railway stations to get a snapshot at royalty. Tintoretto did not disdain the methods of a later time either; he succeeded in exchanging his threadbare cloak for the livery of one of the Doge's squires or footmen, by which trick he managed to get on board the Bucentaur. Once there he made a sketch in pastel of the King which pleased the royal treasurer, De Bellegarde, and the latter persuaded his master to sit to the artist for a full-length portrait, which was presented to the Doge on the King's departure, in recollection of the visit.

During the following days nothing was omitted which might amuse the sovereign or tend to strengthen the pleasant impression he had already received. Every

INTERIOR OF THE CARMINE

sort of Venetian game was played, and all the traditional contests of strength and skill between Niccolotti and Castellani were revived, and with such earnestness on both sides as to lead to a fresh outbreak of their

hereditary hate. Two hundred men fought with stick
at the Ponte del Carmine, as savagely as if the safet
and honour of their wives and children depended o
the result. At the most critical moment the fisherma
Luca, the famous chief of the Niccolotti, fell into th
canal, his followers were momentarily thrown int
disorder by the accident, and the Castellani wo
the day.

Afterwards a banquet was given to the King, o
which the remembrance remains alive amongst th
people to our own time. The gondoliers and fisherme
of to-day describe the feast, its magnificence, the beaut
of the patrician ladies, the splendour of the service, a
if they were speaking of something that happene
yesterday instead of more than ten generations ago.

The tables were set in the hall of the Great Counci
for three thousand persons. The King sat in th
middle of the hall under a golden canopy. We ar
told that the bill of fare set forth twelve hundre
different dishes, and that all the company ate off soli
silver plates, of which there were enough for all withou
having recourse to the reserve which had been set u
for show on a huge sideboard at the end of the hal
After the feast the King assisted at the performance o
the first opera ever given in Italy, composed by th
once famous master Zarlino da Chioggia.

The banquet and the music must have occupie
several hours ; yet we are amazed to learn that so shor
a time sufficed for putting together a whole galley, o
which Henry had seen the pieces, all taken apart, jus
before sitting down to table. When he left the duca
palace, he saw to his stupefaction the vessel launche
into the canal on rollers, and towed away towards th
Lido.

Not surfeited by the official amusements offered hin

by the Republic, the King diverted himself on his own account, and went about the city in disguise, like Otho of old. The Government had directed the jewellers and merchants to have in readiness their finest wares in order that when the King sent for them, he might buy objects worthy of the reputation of the Venetian shops ; and the shopkeepers

Mut. Annali.

CAMPO BEHIND S. GIACOMO IN ORIO

inquired with feverish anxiety when they were to go to the Palazzo Foscari.

But Henry preferred to go out shopping himself. One morning the jeweller at the Sign of the Old Woman on the Rialto Bridge was visited by a noble stranger, who inquired the price of a marvellously chiselled golden sceptre ; apparently the Venetian jewellers kept sceptres in stock in case a king should

look in. The price of this one was twenty-six thousan
ducats, or between eighteen and nineteen thousan
pounds, which seems dear, even for a sceptre. But th
noble stranger was not at all surprised, thought th
matter over for a few seconds, nodded quietly, an
ordered the thing to be sent to the Foscari palace, t
the inexpressible joy of the jeweller, who knew th
address well enough.

At that time there dwelt in Venice a branch of th
famous Fugger family of Augsburg, the richest banker
of the sixteenth century. They owned a
the district of the city round the churc
of San Giacomo, and had even protected themselves b
a sort of wall. There they had built a bank, a hospita
and houses for their numberless retainers, and they live
in a kind of unacknowledged principality of thei
own which was respected both by the State and th
people.

Mutinelli, Annali.

The family had the most magnificent traditions o
hospitality. When the Emperor Charles V. passe
through Augsburg in the earlier part of the same centur
he lodged in the Fuggers' house, and as it was winte
his hosts caused his fires to be made only of aromat
wood imported as a perfume from Ceylon. Henry II
visited the Fuggers in Venice, and they were neithe
surprised by his unannounced visit nor unprepared t
receive a royal guest.

While in Venice the King spent much of his tim
with Veronica Franco, the celebrated poetess an
courtesan. She, on her side, fell deeply i
love with the man who was to be the wor
of all the French kings. But he was only twenty-thre
years old then, he was half a Medici by blood, and all
one by his passionate nature. Veronica loved him wit
all her heart, and amidst all the evil he did there was

Tassini.

least one good result, for when he was gone she would not be consoled, nor would she ever look on another man, but mended her life and lived in a retirement to which she sought to attract other penitent women.

She had a picture of the King painted, and no doubt he was vividly present in her thoughts when she wrote the following sonnet, which is attributed to her, and which I do into prose for greater accuracy :—

> Begone, deceiving thoughts and empty hope,
> Greedy and blind desires, and bitter cravings,
> Begone, ye burning sighs and bitter woes,
> Companions ever of my unending pain.
>
> Go memories sweet, go galling chains,
> Of a heart that is loosed from you at last,
> That gathers up again the rein of reason,
> Dropped for a while, and now goes forth in freedom.
>
> And thou, my soul, entangled in so many sorrows,
> Unbind thyself and to thy divine Lord
> Rejoicing turn thy thoughts ;
>
> Now bravely force thy fate,
> Break through thy bonds ; then, glad and free,
> Direct thy steps in the securer way !

In order to give my readers some idea of what was done to furnish the Palazzo Foscari for Henry's visit, I quote some items of the expenditure from the *Souvenirs* of Armand Baschet :—

'Crimson silk and gold hangings, fifty-eight pieces, making three hundred and seven braccia and a half at a ducat for each braccio and twelve inches. White silk and silver stuff ; shot-silk and silver stuff ; white satin with gold lines, etc. Cushions of brocade embroidered with gold, and of blue velvet with gold and fringes, etc. at forty ducats each. A bed quilt with gold lines and scarlet checks, twenty ducats. Yellow damask with

little checks at one ducat the braccio. A rep rug of gold edged with blue velvet and lined with red silk sixty ducats. A tablecloth of silver and gold brocade with white and gold fringe, thirty-four ducats. Green and blue velvet for the floor, at one ducat the braccio. Complete hangings for a room of yellow satin with gold and silver fringe and gold lace, over seven hundred and thirty ducats.'

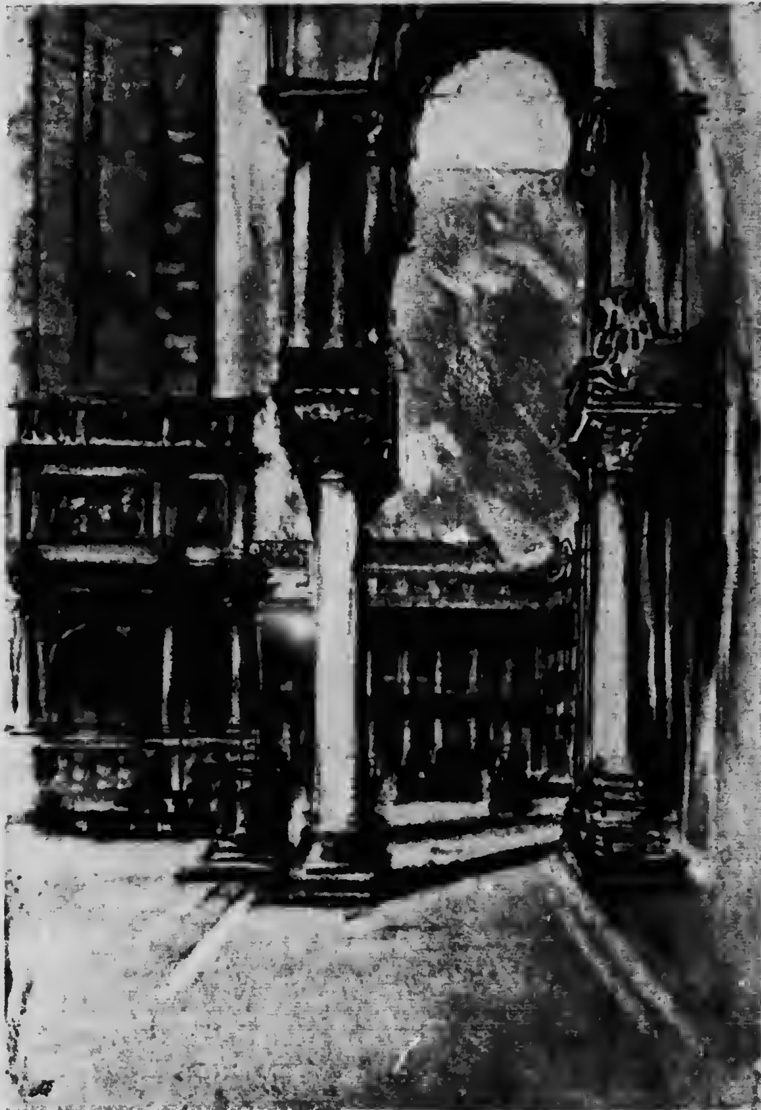
Further, we find for the royal gondolas the following items :—

'Felse of scarlet satin, one hundred and fifty-s ducats. A boat's carpet of violet Alexandria velvet; felse of the same velvet lined with silk, fifty-five ducats. Another velvet carpet of the same colour, two canopies one of violet satin fringed and embroidered with gold the other of white satin, and two cushions of scarlet satin and gold.'

These things were put away in boxes, an inventory was taken, and they were valued at four thousand two hundred sequins, or more than three thousand pounds. The King on his side was generous. When he went away he presented each of the young noblemen who had attended him with a chain worth hundred ducats, and gave a collar worth three hundred to his host, Foscari. The captain of his guard received a silver basin and ewer worth a hundred crowns. For the halberdiers of the guard there were three hundred crowns, eighty for the trumpeters, and sixty for the drummers. His Majesty left a thousand crowns for the workmen of the Arsenal, two hundred for the rowers of the Bucentaur, one hundred for the major-domo, and fifty to the chief steward of the house.

The Duke of Savoy, who accompanied the King of France, also left some splendid presents. To the wife of Luigi Mocenigo, in whose house he had be

staying, he gave a belt composed of thirty gold



THE PIAZZA

rosettes, ornamented with fine pearls and valuable precious stones. The Duke was doubtless unaware

that as soon as he was gone the handsome ornament would have to be handed over to the Provveditor delle Pompe, not to be worn again unless a specia and elaborate decree could be obtained for th purpose.

In the first year of the reign of Sixtus V. Japa sent ambassadors to the Pope 'to recognise hin officially as Christ's vicar on earth.' Thes personages, who were converts to Chris tianity, were received with demonstrations of th greatest joy and esteem when they visited Venice, an were regaled with spectacles which were partly religiou in character and partly secular. A procession wa organised against which the Pope himself protested i the most formal manner; but the Republic paid n more attention than usual to this expression of pap displeasure. It was always the dream of Venice to b Roman Catholic without Rome.

1585.
Rom. vi. 387.

The Japanese envoys looked on while all the clerg of the city passed in review before them, as well as a the guilds bearing the images of the patron saints and their standards; thes were followed by cars carrying enormou erections of gold and silver vessels, built up in th form of pyramids, and of columns, stars, eagles, lion and symbolic beasts. Other cars came after these wit platforms, on which actors represented scenes fro the lives of saints, even including martyrdom. Th Japanese may have been more amazed than edified b these performances.

Giustina Renier, Michiel, Origini.

The Venetians always loved processions, and it is one of these pageants that the pigeons of Saint Mark owe their immunity. As early as the end of the fou teenth century it was the custom to make a great pr cession on Palm Sunday, in the neighbourhood of Sai

Mark's. A canon of the Cathedral deposited great baskets on the high altar, containing the artificial palms prepared for the Doge, the chief magistrates, and the

PIGEONS IN THE PIAZZA

most important members of the clergy. The Doge's palm was prepared by the nuns of Sant' Andrea, and was a monument of patience. The leaves were plaited with threads of palm, of gold, of silver, and of silk ;

and on the gilded handle were painted the arms of th
Doge. According to the appointed service the proces
sion began immediately after the distribution of th
palms; and while the choir chanted the words 'Gloria
laus et honor' of the sacred hymn, a great number o
pigeons were sent flying from different parts of th
façade down into the square, having little screws of pape
fastened to their claws to prevent them from flying to
high. The people instantly began to catch the birds
and a great many were actually taken; but now an
then, one stronger than the rest succeeded in gainin
the higher parts of the surrounding buildings, enthusi
astically cheered by the crowd. Those which had onc
succeeded in making their escape were regarded as sacre
for ever with all their descendants. The State provide
them with food from its granaries, and before long, les
by some mistake any free pigeons should be caugh
on the next Palm Sunday, the Signory decreed tha
other birds than pigeons must be used on the occasion

SOTTO PORTICO DELLA GUERRA

XXIII

THE HOSE CLUB—VENETIAN LEGENDS

In the fourteenth century life in Venice was simple and vigorous, and found its civic expression in the formation of the guilds which united in close and brotherly bonds men of grave and energetic character, devoted to their country and to its advantage. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the tendencies of the later Venetians took visible shape in brotherhoods of joyous and not harmless amusement, and chiefly in that known as the 'Compagnia della Calza,' in plain English the 'Hose Club.'

Molmenti, Vita Privata. Sansovino. Gallicciolì, ii. 267, 269. Mutinelli, Lessico.

The learned Professor Tomassetti of the Universit
of Rome, whose authority in all that concerns th
Middle Ages in Italy is indisputable, informs me tha
he believes the right of wearing hose of two or mor
colours, as one leg white and one leg red, or quartere
above and below the knee, belonged exclusively to fre
men, and that the fashion was adopted by them i
order that they might be readily distinguished from
the serf-born, in crowds and in public places. This i
indeed, the only reasonable explanation of the practic
which has ever been offered, and is borne out by
careful examination of the pictures of the time. Th
'Hose Club' distinguished themselves and recognise
one another by their hose, which were of two colour
one leg having at first a peacock embroidered on i
whence the whole company was sometimes nickname
'The Peacocks.'

The Doge Michel Steno, who painted his fo
hundred horses yellow, and had been concerned in th
libel against the nephew of Marin Falier
had been counted among the gayest yout

1400.

of his day; and when he was elected the rich young me
of Venice, knowing by hearsay from their fathers th
he had been wild in his youth, determined to celebra
the accession of a former dandy in a manner suited
their own tastes. They agreed upon the dress whi
afterwards became famous, and each paid a sum of tw
thousand ducats into a general fund which was entire
spent in pageantry, banqueting, and masquerades.

They had not at first intended the Club to
permanent, but when the anniversary of the Dog
coronation came round in the following year, they m
again to consider the advisability of prolonging
institution which made such an agreeable contrast
the general gravity of Venetian life.

They now composed a sort of charter or constitution, which would have made the heads of the artisan Guilds tremble with indignation, and might well have caused the fathers of Venetian families to look even more grave than usual.

1401.

The Club was to be always a Company of twenty members, chosen for four years only; for as soon as a young Venetian married, or took his seat in the Great Council, he put on the long gown of older years and more dignified habits, which effectively eclipsed his brilliant legs from the public gaze. Each Company was to choose its name, an emblem, and a motto. There were to be officers, a president, a secretary, and a treasurer; and as the Venetians had a mania for sanctioning even the most frivolous doings by means of some religious exercise, each Company was to have a chaplain to celebrate a solemn mass at the admission of each young scapegrace who joined. The chaplain also administered the oath which every Companion was bound to take on admission.

The smallest infraction of the rules entailed a heavy fine, and the fines were, of course, periodically spent in riotous amusements. As for the dress, the hose always remained a part of it, but the greatest latitude was allowed in the matter of colour and embroidery, or other ornamentation.

The formation of the joyous Companies was a natural reaction after the huge efforts, the strenuous labours, the awful dangers that had filled the fourteenth century, and had placed Venice high among the European powers. From the foundation of the first Company, that of the 'Peacocks,' to the dispersion of the 'Accesi,' the 'Ardent,' which was the last, a hundred and eighty-six years went by, which may be called six generations, during which forty-three Companies suc-

ceeded each other, and the 'Hose Club' became famou
throughout Europe for its extravagance and for th
fertility of its festive inventions.

It made it its especial business to adorn with it
presence in a body the public baptisms of noble childrer
and important weddings, the visits of illustrious person
ages, and even elections where there was much at stake
When a foreign sovereign stopped in Venice, he askec
to be made an honorary member of the Company, h
sometimes adopted its dress, and he took home wit
him its emblem and its motto.

The most famous of all the Companies was that c
the 'Reali,' the 'Royals,' which was in existence abou
the year 1530. The members wore a re
stocking on the right leg, and a blue on
on the left, which was embroidered on one side wit
large flowers of violet colour, and on the other th
emblem of the Company, which was a cypress, ove
which ran the motto, 'May our glorious name go u
to heaven.' The members wore a vest of velvet em
broidered with gold and fine pearls, and the sleeve
were fastened on by knots of ribband of different colour
a fashion permitting the wearer to display his shirt c
gossamer linen, exquisitely embroidered.

Cicogna, Iscr. iii. 366.

A leathern or a gilded girdle was worn too, orna
mented with precious stones, and over the shoulde
was carelessly thrown a short mantle of cloth of gol
or damask, or brocade, with a hood thrown back, in th
lining of which was seen again the emblematic cypress

Last of all the 'toga,' the great cloak, was red, an
was fastened at the neck by a small golden chain, fror
the end of which a handsome jewel hung down belo
the ear, over one shoulder. The boots were of em
broidered or cut leather, and were made with ver
thin soles.

Venice had to thank the Companions of the Hose Club for some of the first real theatrical performances ever given, which gradually led to the creation of

PONTE S. ANTONIO

the 'ridotti,' and were more or less aristocratic gambling clubs in connection with the theatres. We read that in 1529 the Companions played a comedy with immense success in the house of one of the

Loredan family. In the following year the Duke
Milan visited the city, and the Club determined to ou
do all its previous festivities. A Giustiniani was th
the president of the 'Royals,' and he appeared with
deputation before the Doge and the Signory. Aft
announcing that the Club had determined to produ
the spectacle of a naval combat, he requested t
Government to lend for the purpose forty of the lig
war-pinnaces from the Arsenal. As if this were nothi
unusual, he went on to ask for the use of the hall of t
Great Council for a dance, of the Library for a supp
and of the Square of Saint Mark's for a stag-hunt.

The Hose Club evidently had large ideas. T
Doge, however, granted all that was necessary for t
naval show, but said that he should have to think ov
the other requests!

It is needless to say that the ladies of Venice h
their share in the gay doings of the Club, first
invited guests only, but later as honorary Companio
wearing the emblem embroidered on their sleeves a
on the scarlet 'felse' of their gondolas, until t
sumptuary laws interfered.

There were times when the Signors of the Nig
and the Council of Ten thought fit to limit the Clu
excessive gaiety, and it was found necessary to iss
a decree which strictly prohibited any of the elev
thousand light ladies of the city from being receiv
as Companions, or asked to its entertainments; f
oddly enough, the reputables do not seem to ha
resented the presence of the disreputables in t
sixteenth century.

Now and then the Companions fell out amo
themselves. Marin Sanudo, in his diary, mentio
that in February 1500 the Companions dined in t
house of Luca Gritti, son of the late Omobono; a

after dinner Zuan Moro, the treasurer of the Club, went out with Angelo Morosini, Andrea Vendramin, and Zacaria Priuli; and they quarrelled about a matter concerning which I refer my scholarly reader to his Muratori, and Zuan Moro was wounded in the face, and turned and gave his assailants as good as he had got, to the infinite scandal of the whole city, for these Companions were all the

Marin Sanudo, iii. 1, 39.

S. ZOBENIGO

young husbands of beautiful women, and they disfigured each other!

We learn also from Sanudo that the Companions frequented the parlours of nunneries as well as the palaces of their noble relations and friends, and that in 1514, for instance, they played a comedy by Plautus in the convent of Santo Stefano. The Company of the 'Sempiterni,' the 'Eternals,' wished to give a performance of Pietro Aretino's 'Talanta' in one of the

monasteries, but this was more than the monks cou
endure, which will not surprise any one who has re
Aretino's works; they might as well have propos
to give one of Giordano Bruno's obscene comedie
and perhaps they would, if he had then already liv
and written. Refused by the monks, the Companio
hired a part of an unfinished palace on the Canarreg
for their performance.

At first sight, what surprises us is the impuni
enjoyed by these ycung gentlemen of pleasure, and
ask what the three 'Wise men on Blasphemy' we
doing. They were the Censors of the Republic, a
it is amusing to note that they acted in regard
licensing plays precisely as the modern English gover
ment censorship does, for whereas they allowed
scandalous piece by Aretino to be performed u
challenged, they most strictly forbade the presentati
of any biblical personage or subject on the stage. T
stories of Judith, of Jephthah's daughter, and of Sams
were those of which the wise magistrates most par
cularly disapproved, I know not why.

The first theatre Venice had was built by the Con
panions in 1560 after the designs of Palladio, of woo
in the court of the monastery of the Carita, but after
few years it took fire, and the monastery itself w
destroyed with it.

I find that the Companions were great 'racke
players; but I apprehend that by 'rackets' t
chroniclers intended to describe court tennis, whi
was played in Venice, whereas in most other Itali
cities the game of 'Pallone' was the favourite, a
has survived to our own time. It is played with
heavy ball which the player strikes with a sort
wooden glove, studded with blunt wooden pins a
covering most of the forearm.

To return to the question of the large freedom and impunity granted to the Club by the Government, the reason of such license is not far to seek. Young men who spend their time in a ceaseless round of amusement do not plot to overthrow the Government that tolerates them. The Signory, on the whole, protected the Companions even in their wildest excesses, and no doubt believed them to be much more useful members of society than they thought themselves, since their irrepressible gaiety and almost constant popularity helped to keep the people in a good humour in times of trouble and disturbance.

At the time of the league of Cambrai, for instance, when Pope Julius II., the Emperor Maximilian, Louis XII. of France, and Ferdinand of Aragon agreed to destroy the Venetian Republic, and when it looked as if they must succeed, the Company of the 'Eternals' produced a mummery which was highly appreciated both by the Government and the population.

They gave a sumptuous feast, after which the dining-hall was, as by magic, turned into an improvised theatre. In the middle of the stage sat a young noble who personated the King, splendidly arrayed in the Byzantine fashion, and attended by his counsellors, his chancellor, and his interpreter. Before him there came in state one who played the Papal Legate, dressed as a bishop in silk of old-rose colour, and he presented a brief and his credentials; whereupon, after crowning and blessing the King, he observed that he should like to see a little dancing, and two of the Companions at once danced for him with two of the fairest ladies. The Legate was followed by the Ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Ambassadors of France, Spain, Hungary, and Turkey arrived in turn; each

1510.
Rom. v. 246.

spoke in the language of his country, and his speec
was interpreted to the King. Last of all came th
Ambassador of the Pigmies mounted on a tiny pon
accompanied by four dwarfs and the profession
buffoon Zanipolo. We must suppose the speeche
to have been very witty, and the dwarfs and buffoor
highly comic, since this incomprehensible nonsens
was a stupendous success and was talked of lon
afterwards.

The taste for these 'momarie,' literally 'mum
meries,' grew in Venice. Marin Sanudo describes or
which was produced in the Square of Saint Mark
on the Thursday before Lent in 1532. I translate
part of the list of the masks, to give an idea of th
whole.

First, the goddess Pallas Athene with her shiel
and a book in her hand, riding on a serpent.

Second, Justice riding on an elephant, with swor
scales and globe.

Third, Concord, on a stork with sceptre and globe

Fourth, Victory on horseback, with sword, shiel
sceptre, and palm.

Fifth, Peace riding a lamb, and holding a scept
with an olive branch.

And so on. Then Ignorance, riding an ass, ar
holding on by the tail, met Wisdom and fought ar
was beaten. And Violence appeared on a serpent, ar
Mars on a horse, and Want on a dog with a horn fu
of straw for its emblem. And Violence was sound
beaten by Justice, Discord by Concord, and Mars b
Victory, and Abundance drove Want from the field.

Such were the shows that amused the Venetian
while written comedy was slowly growing out
infancy.

The Companions of the Hose Club revenged ther

selves cruelly on any one of their own number who showed signs of meanness. Sanudo tells the following anecdote. Alvise Morosini, one of the 'Eternals,' on the occasion of his marriage with a daughter of the noble house of Grimani, gave his fellow-Companions a very meagre dinner. Not long afterwards they got into the Grimani palace and carried off two magnificent silver basins; these were placed in the hands of professional buffoons who paraded the city with them, informing the public that the bridegroom meant to pawn them to pay for the dinner which the Companions were going to eat at the sign of the Campana instead of the dinner which they should have eaten at the Palazzo Morosini, and also to pay for wax torches for taking home the fair ladies who were to be asked to the feast.

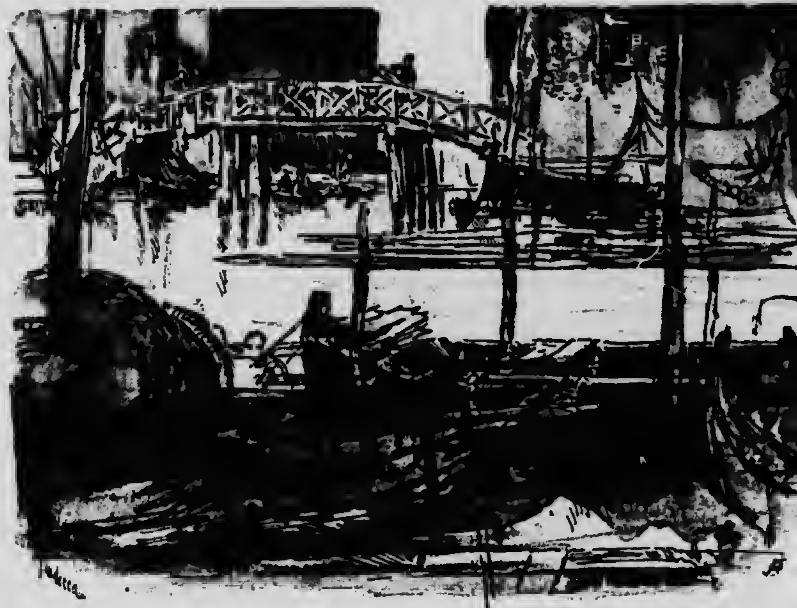
Tassini, under 'Osteria della Campana.'

The paternal and business-like Government of Venice, seeing how much the Companions contributed to the national gaiety, allowed them to transgress the sumptuary laws which were so binding on every one else. For instance, ordinary mortals were forbidden to ask guests to more than one meal in the twenty-four hours, but the Companions eluded the law—with the consent of the police—by keeping an open table all night, so that breakfast appeared to be only the end of supper. Even in the matter of the gondolas, the rule was that the 'felse' should be of black cloth, yet the Companions covered theirs with scarlet silk and the Provveditori delle Pompe had nothing to say.

Then, suddenly, the Government had a fit of morality, and in 1586 the Hose Club was abolished by law, all privileges were revoked, and the decree was enforced. Venice lost some amusement and much

beautiful pageantry, and gained nothing in moralit
It was not very long before the grave senators wh
objected to the Companions were seen in their scarl
togas presiding over authorised gambling establis
ments in the 'ridotti.'

The Venetians were an imaginative people wh
delighted in fables, amusing, terrible, or pious, as th



PONTE DELL' ANGELO, GIUDECCA, OLD WOODEN BRIDGE

case might be. Their stories differ from those of oth
European races in the Middle Ages by the total absen
of the element of chivalry upon which most oth
peoples largely depended for their unwritten fictio
One can make almost anything of a business m
except a knight.

Near the Ponte dell' Angelo in the Giudecca stan
a house which shows great age in spite of mu
modern plastering. The windows are Gothic, of t

ogival design, and on the façade there is an image of the Virgin with the infant Christ in her arms. Higher up, a bas-relief represents an angel standing with outstretched wings as if he were about to fly away after blessing with his right hand the globe he holds in his left.

Tassini, under 'Angelo.'

In the year 1552 this house was inhabited by a barrister of the ducal court who professed unbounded devotion to the Madonna, and practised the most indelicate methods of improving his fortunes.

One day the lawyer asked to dinner a holy Capuchin monk who enjoyed the highest reputation for sanctity. Before sitting down to table he explained to the good friar that he had a most wonderful servant in the shape of a learned ape, that kept his house clean, cooked for him, and did his errands. The holy man at once perceived that the ape was no less a personage than the Devil in disguise, and asked to see him; but Satan, suspecting trouble, hid himself till at last he was found curled up in his master's bed, trembling with fright.

'I command thee,' said the monk, 'in the name of God, to say why thou hast entered this house.'

'I am the Devil,' answered the ape, seeing that prevarication would be useless, 'and I am here to take possession of this lawyer's soul, which is mine on several good grounds.'

The monk inquired why the Devil had not flown away with the soul long ago, but the fiend replied that so far it had not been possible, because the lawyer said 'Hail, Mary' every night before going to bed. Thereupon the Capuchin bade the Devil leave the house at once; but the Devil said that if he went he would do great damage to the building, as the heavenly powers had authorised him to do. But the monk was a match for him.

'The only damage you shall do,' said the fria 'shall be by making a hole in the wall as you leav which shall be a witness of the truth of what we hav seen and heard and of the story we shall tell.'

The Devil obeyed with alacrity and disappear through the wall with a formidable crash, after whi the lawyer and his guest sat down to table, and th monk discoursed of leading a good life; and at last took the table-cloth and wrung it with both hands, a a quantity of blood ran out of it which he said was t blood the lawyer had wrung from his clients. Th the sinner began to shed tears and promised to ma full reparation, and he told the monk that if the ho in the wall were not stopped up, he feared the De would come in by it again. So the friar advised hi to place a statue of the Madonna before the hole a an angel over it, to scare the Devil away. And he did.

Another Venetian legend of slightly earlier date te how there was once in the confraternity of Saint Jo the Evangelist a man who led a bad li to the great scandal of all who knew hi One of the brethren having died, the Superior hop to touch the heart of that wicked man by asking hi to bear the Cross in the funeral procession. 'I w neither walk in the procession to-day,' answered t sinner, 'nor do I wish to be so accompanied when t Devil carries me off.' After some time he died, a the brethren proceeded to bury him, walking in proce sion after the Cross; but when they reached the brid of San Lio it became so heavy that it w impossible to lift it from the ground, mu less to carry it. The Superior now r membered the words of the blasphemer, a told the story to the brethren while they halted.

Tassini, under 'San Lio.'

Picture representing the scene, Mansueti; Accademia delle belle Arti.

they all decided that the Cross must not follow the procession, and thereupon it instantly became light again, and was carried back to the chapel of Saint John the Evangelist.

The fireside is the natural place for telling stories, and there is certainly some connection in the human mind between firelight and the fabulous. Dante tells that in his time the women of Venice consulted the fire in order to know the future. When a girl was engaged to be married she appealed to one of the burning logs, and decided from the augury whether she was to be happy or unhappy. Those who wanted money struck the log with the tongs, calling out softly, 'Ducats! ducats!' If the sparks flew out abundantly there was some hope that a rich relation might die and leave the inquirer a legacy. When the sparks were few and faint, poverty was prophesied.

Unlike all other Italians, who believe that hunchbacks bring good luck, the Venetians feared them excessively. A Venetian proverb says, 'Leave three steps between thyself and those whom God has marked, eight if it is a hunchback, and twenty-eight if the man be lame.'

One of the pretty superstitions of Venetian mothers was that if they took their little children out before dawn on Saint John's Day, the twenty-fourth of June, so that the morning dew might dampen their cheeks and hair, they would have lovely complexions and golden locks. There are old Venetian lullabies that promise babies the midsummer dew.

RIO S. SOFIA, NIGHT

XXIV

THE DECADENCE

THE seventeenth century, like the fourteenth, was one of transition; but whereas the earlier period was one of improvement, the latter was one of decay. When time at last began to do its work upon the Republic, Venice had been independent nine hundred years; she was still at the height of her glory, still in the magnificence of her outward splendour, but the long-strained machinery of government was beginning to wear out.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century all Italy seemed to be threatened by war; the peace patched up between Philip II. of Spain and Henry IV. of France at Vervins had been of an unsatisfactory and precarious nature; the Holy See was more and more on its guard against the Protestant powers, and Spain took advantage of this in order to sow discord between the court of Rome and other governments. Venice was especially involved in these difficulties, because she had signed in 1589 a commercial treaty with the Grisons which had greatly displeased Spain, the latter being then in possession of Milan. The Republic was accused of being too obliging to Protestants, and her enemies assured the Pope that she had seriously endangered the safety of the Catholic Church by allowing the English ambassador to have an Anglican Church service in his private oratory. The complaints of Clement VIII. and Paul V. were received with sto[illegible]ndifference by the Republic, which never had the [illegible]est respect for Rome. The latter had many causes of complaint. Venice had been granted in former times the privilege of trying priests for ordinary crimes in the ordinary courts, on condition that the Patriarch should sit among the judges. Little by little the Venetian Government stretched this privilege to make it apply to all suits whatsoever brought against ecclesiastics, and in most cases the Patriarch was not even represented. It chanced, at the very time when the Pope had complained of the liberty granted to the English [illegible] sador, that two priests were accused of an ab[illegible] crime, and were tried like ordinary delinque[illegible] encroachment upon the bulls of Innocent [illegible] Paul III. took place just when the Senate [illegible]

1598.
Rom. vii. 5.

Rom. vi. 412.

Rom. vii. 43, notes.

ing a law which greatly restricted the holding o
property by the clergy. As if these facts were no
enough to show the Pope that the Venetian floc
intended to manage its own corner of the Catholi
fold in its own way, the Government, on the deat
of the Patriarch, named as his successor a membe
of the house of Vendramin, and merely announce
the fact to the Court of Rome, although the ol
canonical law required that in cases where govern
ments were authorised to appoint their bishops, th
latter should be examined and approved by the Pope
delegates.

Spain took advantage of all these circumstances t
bring about a complete rupture between Venice an
the Holy See. Paul V. now hesitated n
longer, and discharged a major excom
munication against the whole Venetian State. Th
measure produced little impression on the Senate, an
none at all on the Doge Leonardo Dandolo. He declare
openly that the sentence was unjust, and therefore nu
and void. The Capuchin, Theatin, and Jesuit orde
closed their churches in obedience to the Pope, an
were immediately expelled from Venetian territory b
the Government. The Pope's wrath was as tremendou
as it was futile, and it is impossible to say how f
matters might have gone if Henry IV. had not use
his influence to bring about a reconciliation. It w
his interest to do so in order that Venice, being friend
to him, might in a measure balance the power of hosti
Spain, and he sent the Cardinal de Joyeuse to Italy
try and obtain from the Pope some concession whi
might facilitate an act of submission o
the part of the Republic. Spain was pla
ing a double game as usual, but the Cardinal was to
much for the Spanish diplomatists, and he broug

Rom. vii. 45, 50-51.

Rom. vii. 53.

about an arrangement by which Venice handed over to the Pope the two priests who were on trial, and permitted the Patriarch to undergo the examination required by the canonical law. On his side the Pope exempted from that examination all future Patriarchs.

Rom. vii. 64.

It is a singular fact that the usually docile Venetian

SANTA MARIA FORMOSA

population greatly resented the attitude taken by the Government towards the Holy See. The Doge himself was hissed and howled at when he went to the church of Santa Maria Formosa on the Feast of Candlemas. 'Long live the Doge Grimani, the father of the poor,' yelled the rabble, for Grimani had been a man of exemplary piety and had been dead and buried for some time. 'The day will come when you shall wish

to go to church and shall not be able!' scream others. Even after the reconciliation with the Pop

Rom. vii. 251.

Spain did not cease to conspire agair the Republic, and while persecuting t Catholics in Valtellina tried to make out that t Republic was allied with the Protestant powers becau it opposed those persecutions.

It is impossible to speak of the quarrels betwe Venice and Rome without mentioning the monk Pao Sarpi who played so large a part in them. At t time when the attitude of the Pope made it clear th serious trouble was at hand, the Signory felt the ne of consulting a theologian in order to give her resistan something like an orthodox shape. There was at th time in Venice a monk well known for his profou learning and austere life. He had entered the order the Servites as a novice at the age of thirteen, and w now fifty-four years old. In more than forty yea

Rom. vii. 73, 77.

his love of retirement and study and l profound devotion had suffered no chang He was brought from his seclusion by an order fro the Senate to give his opinions on the burning questio of the moment. Fra Paolo Sarpi vigorously sustain the cause of the Republic, and was at once denounc to the Pope as a sectarian and a secret partisan of t Protestants. F[illegible]natics attempted to assassinate hi and the Government spread the report that the murd

Statue of Fra Paolo Sarpi erected in 1812 in the church of Santa Fosca, near the spot where he narrowly escaped assassination. Marsili.

had been attempted by the Court of Rom These reports further exasperated t Vatican ag[illegible] him, while the Repub supported [illegible] all the more obstinate and consulted him on every occasion. H was installed in a little house in the Squa of Saint Mark's in order to be with easy reach of the ducal palace, and the severe

penalties were threatened for any attempt against his life.

In spite of these precautions two more attempts were made to assassinate him, and he was heard to say that death would be preferable to the existence which the Government obliged him to lead. Nevertheless he lived sixteen years in the service of the Republic. The unbounded confidence which was placed in him is amply proved by the fact that he, and he only, in the history of the Council of Ten, was allowed free access to its archives, a privilege which, oddly enough, proved fatal to him; for it was while working on his own account amongst those documents that he caught a cold from which he never recovered, and he died three months afterwards in the winter of 1622. On the fourteenth of January he felt his end approaching, and the news was at once known throughout the city. The Signory at once sent for Fra Fulgenzio, his most intimate friend. 'How is Fra Paolo?' inquired the Ten. 'He is at the last extremity,' answered the monk. 'Has he all his wits?' 'As if he were quite well,' answered Fra Paolo's friend.

Immediately three questions regarding an important affair were sent to the dying man, who concentrated his mind upon them and dictated the answers with marvellous clearness and precision. His last words were a prayer for his country's enduring greatness. 'Esto perpetua!' he prayed as he closed his eyes for ever.

The Government gave him a magnificent funeral, and ordered the sculptor Campagna to make a marble bust of him for the church of the Servites; but the Venetian ambassador in Rome advised the Republic not to rouse the Pope's anger again by such a tribute to the great monk's memory. We are not called upon

to decide upon the orthodoxy of Fra Paolo's opinion but he was undeniably one of the greatest and mo gifted Italians of the seventeenth century.

The troubles with Rome, and the general excom munication which had brought them to a crisis, ha disturbed the confidence of the Venetian people i their Government more than anything that had hap pened for years; and soon afterwards matters we made worse by the terrible judicial murder of Anton Foscarini, in which England was deeply concerned.

Foscarini was a fine specimen of the patriot Venetian noble, devoted to his country, imbued wit the most profound respect for the aristocratic caste which he belonged, haughty and contemptuous toward most other people, as the following anecdote show He was in Paris as ambassador when Maria de' Medic the wife of Henry IV., was crowned, and as he ha only recently arrived he was not acquainted with a his diplomatic colleagues when he met them in th church of Saint Denis. After the ceremony he bowe to the Spanish ambassador, who inquired who th stranger was who saluted him. Foscarini introduce himself. 'Oh,' exclaimed the Spaniard, 'the amba sador of the Pantaloons!' 'Pantaloon' was a Veneti theatrical mask, and the word had become a contemptu ous nickname for the Venetians. But the Spaniar had counted without his host, for Foscari fell upon him then and there. He de scribed what he did in a letter to his Government: ' loaded the Spanish ambassador with vigorous blow and kicks, as he deserved.'

Molmenti, St. e Ric.

A Venetian, Pietro Gritti, who was in Foscarini suite, wrote a letter at the same time in which he sai that his chief kicked the Spanish ambassador down th whole length of the court.

Foscarini was afterwards ambassador in England, and the long series of circumstances which led to his tragic end dates from that period. He was still young, he was inclined to be fond of amusement, and for some unknown reason the secretaries of embassy who were sent with him hated him and calumniated him in the basest manner, accusing him to the Council of Ten of being a Protestant in secret, and of carrying on a treacherous correspondence with the Spanish Government. But there was worse than this. A famous French spy, La Forêt, bribed Foscarini's valet, Robazza, got access to the ambassador's rooms when he was out, and copied his most important letters for the French Government.

His second secretary of embassy, Muscorno, obtained leave to return to Venice on pretence of visiting his father who was ill, and when Foscarini was suddenly recalled he found the ground prepared for an abominable action against him. He himself, his valet, and his chaplain were all imprisoned, and his trial for high treason began. It proceeded very slowly, but he was acquitted after having been in prison three years, for Robazza confessed his treachery without being tortured. Having been declared innocent of high treason, Foscarini had little difficulty in disproving some minor accusations that were brought against him; and a few weeks after his release he appeared before the Senate to give an official account of his embassy in England. Muscorno, who had accused him falsely, was condemned to two years' imprisonment in a fortress; Robazza, the valet who had been bribed, had his right hand struck off and was exiled for twenty years.

James I. of England sent Foscarini especial congratulations, and he was again employed in important affairs. Unhappily, however, Muscorno had a successor

worthy of him in the person of Girolamo Vano, professional spy in the service of the Republic. If any chance the smallest State secret was known abroa it was always insinuated by Foscarini's enemies that was responsible for divulging it, and it was quite keeping with the ordinary practice of the Veneti Government to employ spies to watch a man who h been once suspected, even though he had been declar innocent and was again in high office.

The spy Vano took advantage of Foscarini's frien ship, or affection, for the English Countess of Arund as a means of making out a strong ca against him. Foscarini had known her London, and she had afterwards made long visits Venice, in order to be near her sons, who were maki their studies at the university of Padua. At h house Foscarini often met the Envoy of Florence a the secretaries of the Spanish and Austrian embassies

Rom. vii. 183.

She did not spend all her time in Venice, howev but was often many months in England. It was wh she was returning to Venice after one of these absen that she was stopped at some distance from the ci by a messenger from the English ambassador, Henry Wotton, who entreated her to turn back. T unfortunate Foscarini had been convicted of hi treason and strangled, and his corpse was that ve morning hanging between the two red columns of t fatal window in the ducal palace. Lady Arunde name had been connected during the trial with that the condemned man, and the ambassador was anxio to save her any possible trouble.

But she was not of the sort that turns back fr danger at such times, and that very evening she reach the English Embassy and demanded an audience the Doge ; it was with the greatest difficulty that s

could be made to understand the impossibility of being admitted until the next morning, and she reluctantly retired for the night to her hired house, that Mocenigo palace which was afterwards successively inhabited by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and by Lord Byron.

On the morrow the ambassador went with her to the ducal palace, and she must have passed below the

GRAND CANAL LOOKING TOWARDS MOCENIGO PALACE

window from which the body of her friend had hung all the previous day. She was admitted to the presence of the Signory, and the Doge made her sit on his right hand. She now learned that she was believed to have allowed Foscarini to use her house as a place from which to carry on intrigues with foreign courts. Sir Henry Wotton spoke in the Countess's defence, and proved that her relations with Foscarini had always

been of the most honourable character, and that
two had not met for many months. England's s
was in the ascendant, Elizabeth had reigned, and it w
not good to contradict an English ambassador nor
speak lightly of an English lady. The Doge ma
the Countess his most humble excuses and promised
send them to her husband, the Earl Marshal, throu
the Venetian ambassador in London.

The Senate took cognisance of the affair also, a
voted a small sum of money to be expended in
present of comfits and wax to the Countess, this be
the custom for all persons of quality who appea
before the Signory. But that was all. Lady Arun
had exculpated herself, but so far Foscarini's gu
seemed to be so incontrovertibly proved, that
Paolo Sarpi refused to accept a legacy which
unhappy patrician had left him in his last will.

But as time went on the whole of Vano's fabrica
evidence began to go to pieces. The Inquisitors
State themselves seem to have been the first to susp
that they had made a mistake, and before long
dreadful truth was only too clear. Fosca
had been perfectly innocent and had b
murdered by justice. It was not a c
that could be hushed and put out of the way, eith
for too many people knew what had happened.

Rom. vii. 196; Armand Baschet, Arch. 631.

The Council of Ten made amends: let us g
them such credit as we can for their public repentan
without inquiring too closely what pressure was brou
to bear upon them by the public, and not improba
by England. Monsieur Baschet becomes lyric in
praise of their magnanimity. For my part, I do
think it would have been safe for the Council to
and hide its mistake. The Ten apologised am
before the world: that is the important matter. M

sieur Baschet gives the original text of the apology, of which I translate a part from the Italian :—

'Since the Providence of our Lord God has disposed, by means truly miraculous and incomprehensible to human intelligence, that the authors and promoters of the lies and impostures machinated against our late beloved and noble Antonio Foscarini should be discovered . . ., it behoves the justice and mercy of this Council, whose especial business it is, for the general quiet and safety, to protect the immunity of the honour and reputation of families, to rehabilitate as far as possible those who lie under the imputation of an infamous crime . . .,' and so on.

The Ten also decreed that an inscription should be set up in the church of Sant' Eustachio, recording the error of the court, a unique example of such a public and enduring retractation.

Other circumstances occurred to prove that organisation of the Venetian tribunals was beginning to wear out. Too many conflicting regulations had been introduced, and there were too many magistracies. Venice was 'over-administered,' as generally happens to old countries, and sometimes to new ones that are too anxious to be scientifically governed. The jurisdictions of the different officials often encroached upon one another. The three Inquisitors of State were frequently at odds with the other seven members of the Council of Ten, and in the confusion which this caused it was impossible that the laws should be as well administered as formerly

About this time a grave case enlightened the public as to certain abuses of which the existence had not been previously suspected. The Council of Ten was always charged with the duty of seeing that the Doge performed to the letter the

Rom. vii. 210, 215, 223, 229.

promises of the 'Promission ducale.' These solen
engagements were several times violated by the Do
Corner for the advantage of his sons. He allowed o
of them to accept the dignity of the Cardinalate wh
two others were made senators, but as the Council
Ten did not like to interfere, one of its heads, Reni
Zeno, took upon himself to impeach the Doge. T
latter was accused of illegal acts in contradiction wi
the 'Promission,' and the question was taken up by t
whole aristocracy and discussed before all the differe
Councils. The opposite parties were fast reaching
state of exasperation, when one of the Doge's sc
attempted the life of Renier Zeno. He and
accomplices were merely exiled to Ferrara, and
lenity of the sentence sufficiently shows the weakn
of the Government.

At the same time Renier Zeno was arbitrarily f
bidden, contrary to all law, to call into question
conduct of the courts in general, but he was too pro
and energetic to submit to such despotism, and wha
pleased the Council of Ten to call his 'pride' serv
his adversaries as a pretext for accusing him. T
Council had the imprudence to condemn him to
years' imprisonment in the fortress of Cattaro ;
this was too much, and the Ten were soon forced
revoke the sentence as completely as they had annul
that of the unfortunate Foscarini. But the world s
and the prestige of the Council was gone ; the Gove
ment cast about in vain for some means of restor
it, and could find nothing to do except to make a
reforms and changes in its old system of spying
repression.

Ever since the fourteenth century there had bee
locked box with a slit in it, placed in a public par
the ducal palace, into which any one might drop

anonymous written accusation against any one else, from the Doge down. Little by little the use of this means of 'informing' developed, until it had now become common to try cases on the mere strength of such unsupported accusations. The boxes were called the Lions' Mouths on account of the shape they had taken, and there was much talk about them when it

THE FONDAMENTA S. GIORGIO—REDENTORE IN DISTANCE

was attempted to reform the Code of Laws in the seventeenth century. A decree of the year 1635 restored the old regulations as to the nature of the misdeeds which might be thus denounced.

It was decided that if the accusation was signed, four-fifths of the judges must agree before the case could be brought to trial; if the information was anonymous there could be no trial without the consent of the Doge, his counsellors, and the chiefs of the Ten

to bring the case before the Great Council, and the tri
could not be opened unless it were voted necessary b
five-sixths of the assembly. These measures were n
doubt prudent, but it was the system itself that was
fault; any Venetian was authorised by it to take up
himself the duties of a detective, and was encouraged
spy on his neighbours, because the courts general
rewarded the informer after a conviction.

It is always a fault in a government to make la
unchangeable like those of the Medes and Persia
and some authors have said that the Venetian Repub
never looked upon any of its decrees as immutab
This is true as regards the form, for no governme
ever remodelled its laws more often in their text. Som
times the same decree appears in more than one hundr
shapes, but neither the spirit nor the point of view
modified. A law passed against the Freemasons in t
eighteenth century is conceived in precisely the sa
spirit as the decrees against the conspirators in the da
of Bajamonte Tiepolo and Marin Faliero; the
Missier Grande of the police was very like the sbirri
the Middle Ages in character and in methods. T
Republic was growing old; the tree might still b
fruit, but the fruit it bore had no longer within it
seeds of future life.

It cannot be denied that Venetian diplomacy w
better of its kind than Venetian magistracies. Duri
the Thirty Years' War, for instan
Venice never once lost sight of the gr
object it had in view, which was to abase the clos
related powers of Spain and Austria, while skilfu
avoiding any action which might bring about reprisa

Rom. vii. 275.

On the other hand, it was impossible to rem
neutral in the war of succession to the Duchy
Mantua, in which Carlo Gonzaga, Duke of Neve

was supported by France, and Ferrante Gonzaga by the Emperor. As Austria's enemy, Venice naturally backed the former. Venice furnished him abundantly with money and soldiers, and between the month of November 1629 and the month of March following, spent six hundred and thirty-

Rom. vii. 276.

STEPS OF THE REDENTORE

eight thousand ducats to support the party which was defending the cause of Italian independence against the Empire. Austria nevertheless succeeded, and got the better of the formidable coalition ; but though the Imperials took possession of Mantua at the time, they were obliged to give it up to Carlo Gonzaga soon afterwards, in April 1631, by the treaty of Cherasco.

About the same time Venice suffered another

terrible visitation of the plague, and more than thirty-six thousand persons perished in the city alone. On a similar occasion in 1575 the Venetians had vowed a church to the Redeemer if the plague was stayed, and the church they built is that of the Redentore; in 1630 a church was vowed to the Blessed Virgin, under the name of the Madonna della Salute. This was at first only a wooden building, in which a great thanksgiving took place on the first of November. The present church was not finished until 1687.

Rom. vii. 302.

Rom. vii. 306.

Amongst the many circumstances which hastened the decadence of the Republic during the seventeenth century was the terrible war in Crete. In that memorable struggle with the Turks for the possession of the island the Venetians displayed much of their old heroism and good generalship, but the Republic was no longer young, and could not make such gigantic efforts with impunity; Venice was permanently weakened by that last great war. It originated in a piece of rash imprudence on the part of the Knights of Malta, who seized a number of Turkish vessels; it lasted twenty-five years, and it cost the Republic her best generals and her bravest soldiers, besides vast sums of money. Yet the enthusiasm was boundless; mindful of Enrico Dandolo and Andrea Contarini, the aged Doge Francesco Erizzo determined to take the command himself, but death overtook him on the eve of his departure.

Quadri, 275.

Prodigies of valour were performed. Tommaso Morosini, with a single ship, victoriously resisted the attack of forty-five Turkish galleys, but lost his life in the engagement. Lorenzo Marcello took eighty-four Turkish vessels and their crews with a far inferior force, but like Morosini he was killed in the fight

Ten thousand Turks were slain and five thousand were taken prisoners.

Europe looked on in amazement and admiration, and many brave captains and soldiers thought it an honour to serve under the standard of Saint Mark. There were more Germans and Frenchmen among these volunteers than soldiers of other nations, and Louis XIV. himself hoped to associate his name with the campaign. He sent the Duc de Beaufort with a considerable fleet, twelve of his best regiments, and a detachment of the Guards, besides a great number of volunteers under the command of the Duc de Noailles. Yet all was in vain, and after a quarter of a century of fighting Venice was obliged to yield Crete to the Turks.

The peace was of no long duration, for the Turks attacked Austria next, and, though the brave Sobieski drove them away from Vienna, they allied themselves with the Hungarians, and became so dangerous to the Empire that the Pope himself was in anxiety for the safety of Christianity in general. Exhausted by her long war in Crete, the Republic attempted to decline all requests that she should join a league against the Turks, but was at last obliged to yield, and war was renewed in the Archipelago and the Peloponnesus.

Rom. vii. 490.

Francesco Morosini, the same general who a few years earlier had been obliged to evacuate Crete after the most heroic efforts, was placed in command of the Venetian forces and commissioned to drive the Turks from the islands of Santa Maura and other strong places in the Ionian Sea. On the eleventh of August 1687 a swift felucca brought to Venice news that Morosini had taken Patras and Corinth, besides Santa Maura. In joyful enthusiasm the Senate forthwith

Bust of Francesco Morosini, Hall of the Council of Ten.

voted the victor a bronze bust, which was placed
the hall of the Council of Ten, with the standard tak
from the Turks. It bears the inscription :—

FRANCISCO MAUROCENO
Peloponnesiaco adhuc viventi
Senatus.

Another monument in Venice recalls the glorio
war of the Peloponnesus. After having taken Athe
Quadri, 302; Rom. vii. 491. Morosini hastened to the Parthenon, for
appears to have been a man of highly cu
tivated tastes. To his inexpressible disappointment
found the temple half ruined, for the Turks had used
as a powder magazine, and a Venetian bomb had blov
it up. Morosini was so much overcome that he bro
out into lamentations over a loss which nothing cou
replace. But there amidst piles of ruins he saw tv
splendid lions of marble from Pentelicus, which he
once caused to be placed on board his vessel, rather
save them, perhaps, than to exhibit them as trophies.
Venice they were set up on each side of the gate of t
Arsenal.

Morosini was one of the few Venetian gener
who was not made to suffer for his success. Wh
1688. Rom. vii. 504. at the very height of his triumph
learnt that he was elected Doge, a
though he had little success in the campaign after th
and was even dangerously ill, he was magnificent
received when he returned to Venice. Pope Alexand
VIII., Ottoboni, sent him the staff and military h
which it was customary to give to generals who h
distinguished themselves in war against infidels. B
it was clear that in his absence nothing could
accomplished, and he soon obtained permission of t

Government to take command of the Venetian forces once more. His departure on the twenty-fourth of May 1693 was a sort of national festivity. The Senate went to fetch him in his own apartment, and a long procession accompanied him to Saint Mark's. Preceded by halberdiers, singers, files of servants in liveries of scarlet velvet and gold, many priests, canons,

THE NAVE OF S. STEFANO

and the Patriarch himself, besides the traditional silver trumpets, the Doge walked between the Pope's nuncio and the French ambassador. He wore the full dress of a Venetian commander-in-chief, which was of gold brocade with a long train. But even in his glory the Venetians noticed with displeasure and suspicion that he carried in his hand the staff of the General, which he evidently preferred to the sceptre of the Doge, and

which suggested to the crowd the thought that h
might seize the supreme power.

On the following day he embarked upon th
Bucentaur, which took him on board his flagship amids
the applause of the crowd, the pealing of the churc
bells, and a salute of artillery from the fort of Sair
Nicolas on the Lido, as his vessel got under way.

The expedition proved of little advantage to th
Republic, and cost Morosini his life, for his health wa
undermined by the fatigues of his previous campaign
and he died in the Greek province of Romania, wher
he had hoped to rest for a few weeks. His bod
was brought back to Venice, and buried with grea
pomp in the church of Santo Stefano.

The war went on under his successor, Silvestr
Valier, but it now entered upon a new phase, for th
Czar Peter the Great threatened the Turks on the
northern frontier, while the Venetian fleet held them i
check in the south. A treaty of peace was signed a
Carlowitz in 1699, by which the Republic kept he
conquests in the Morea as far as the isthmus of Corintl
including the islands of Egina, Santa Maura, and othe
less important places. Dalmatia was also left to he
but she was obliged to withdraw her troops fror
Lepanto and Romania on the north side of the Gulf c
Corinth.

From all this it is clear that the military spirit wa
still alive in Venice, when the administration had almos
completely broken down. Nothing give
the measure of the situation better tha
the fact that in order to meet the expens
of the war in Crete any Venetian who would engag
to support a thousand soldiers for one year, or an
foreigner who would support twelve hundred for th
same period, was allowed thereby to have and hold a

Rom. vii. 370, 371, 487; Quadri, 293.

the privileges of nobility. This speculation was never sanctioned by law, and was even rejected by the Great Council when proposed, but it was nevertheless actually practised, and a number of seats in the Great Council were sold to the highest bidder. The Government went one step farther, and sold the office of procurator of Saint Mark. The decadence had reached the point of decay.

THE RIVA FROM THE DOGANA

XXV

THE LAST HOMES—THE LAST GREAT LADIES

Two men, a painter and a dramatist, have left us t means of knowing exactly what the eighteenth centu was in Venice. It is not a paradox say that Longhi painted comedies, a that Goldoni wrote portraits. Both we Venetians, and they had the courage depict and describe respectively the glari faults of their own people, not realising, perhaps, th

Pictures of Venetian life by Longhi; Accademia, Room XIV., and Museo Correr, Rooms II. and IX.

the general corruption was beyond remedy, and that the end was at hand.

Look at Longhi's 'Fortune-Teller' or 'Dancing-

CAMPO S. BARTOLOMEO, STATUE OF GOLDONI

Master,' at his 'Tailor,' his 'Music-Master,' or his 'Toilet,' and you may see precisely what the Republic was when it died of old age; there are all the successions of light colours, as in a pastel-painter's box; you

can hear the high running laughter that rings fro
rosy lips, you can guess what dreams of pleasure
those pretty heads, and yet there is something s
about it all; unless one belongs to that little band
human beings who love the eighteenth century, it s
one's teeth on edge—like the dance music in the 'Bal
in Maschera,' danced while Riccardo is dying. Som
thing rings false; I think there is too much discrepan
between what we see or read and what we really kn
about that time. About other centuries, even t
nineteenth and twentieth, we can still have illusions, b
the eighteenth was all a sham that went to pieces wi
the French Revolution.

As for the position of women at that time, it w
never lower. They were dolls, and nothing mo
They were perhaps more neglected in the sixteen
century, but, at least in theory, there was still so
respect for them. In the eighteenth they existed o
to adorn places of amusement, theatres, and gambli
houses. The biographer of that remarkable woma
Giustina Renier Michiel, says they were so lit
esteemed that it seemed useless to teach them an
thing, and he adds that the Signory looked upon
educated woman as a being dangerous to society a
the State.

Most young girls of noble family were brought
in convents, where the most crass ignorance accompani
the loosest ideas of morality. The greater number
these convents were only nominally connected wi
the ecclesiastical authorities. In practi
they were controlled by lay inspecto
'Provveditori sopra Monasteri,' who were commission
by the Government to superintend the morals of co
vents in general. [illegible] found it much more diverting
help in underm[illegible] them.

Rom. viii. 351.

While the girls were being brought up in such places, their father was chiefly preoccupied in assuring and increasing the fortune which was to be inherited by his eldest son. The natural consequence of this was that the marriage portions of the daughters became smaller and smaller, so that it was found hard to marry them at all, and much less troublesome to leave them in their convents for life. Each of the fashionable convents was a little court of noble ladies; in the one, Her Most Reverend Excellency the Mother Abbess was a Rezzonico; in another, the Noble Dame Eleonora Dandolo was Mistress of the Larder.

The scholars did not leave the convent at all while their education lasted, but nothing was neglected which could amuse them, and their principal lessons were in dancing, singing, and reciting verses. In Carnival, the convent parlours were turned into theatres or ball-rooms; dames and cavaliers danced the minuet or the 'furlana'; 'Punch,' 'Pantaloon,' and 'Pierrot' vied with each other to make the bevies of aristocratic young ladies laugh at jests they should never have understood.

Even during the rest of the year the convents were what would now be called brilliant social centres, to which married women came accompanied by their officially recognised 'cicisbei,' while young gentlemen of leisure flirted with the scholars. It was even common for the girls to keep up a regular correspondence with their admirers.

Mutinelli, Ult. 92.

Mutinelli, Ult. 61-62.

Take the following passage which I translate from Goldoni's autobiography, a book which may be trusted and is singularly free from exaggeration. The adventure happened to him in Chioggia.

Goldoni, vol. i. chap. xix.

I had always cultivated the acquaintance of the nuns Saint Francis, where there were some very beautiful schol and the Signora B. (one of the nuns) had one under her direct who was very lovely and very rich and amiable. She wo have been exactly to my taste, but my youth, my conditi and my want of fortune did not allow me to entertain illusions.

However, the nun did not refuse me hope, and when I w to see her she always made the young lady come down to parlour. I felt that I should become attached to her in g earnest, and the governess (the nun) seemed glad of it; and I could not believe it possible. But one day I spoke to he my inclination and of my timidity; she encouraged me confided the secret to me. This young lady had good quali and property, but there was something doubtful about her bi 'This little defect is nothing,' said the veiled lady; 'the gir well behaved and well brought up, and I will be surety to for her character and conduct. She has a guardian,' she c tinued, 'and he must be won over, but leave that to me. I true that this guardian, who is very old and ruined in hea has some pretensions as to his ward, but he is wrong, an well, as I am also interested in this—leave it to me,' she peated, 'and I will manage for the best.' I confess that a this talk, after this confidence and this encouragement, I be to think myself happy. The Signorina N. did not l unkindly on me, and I considered the matter as settled. the convent had noticed my inclination for the pupil, and th were some young ladies who knew the intrigues of the parl and had pity on me, and explained to me what was happeni and this is how they did it. The windows of my room w precisely opposite the belfry of the convent. In building there had been placed in it several casements of cloudy g through which one could vaguely make out the outlines people who came near them. I had several times noticed those apertures, which were oblong, both figures and gestu and in time I was able to understand that the signs represen letters of the alphabet, and that words were formed, and t one could talk at a distance: almost every day I had half hour of this mute conversation, in which, however, we c versed properly and decently.

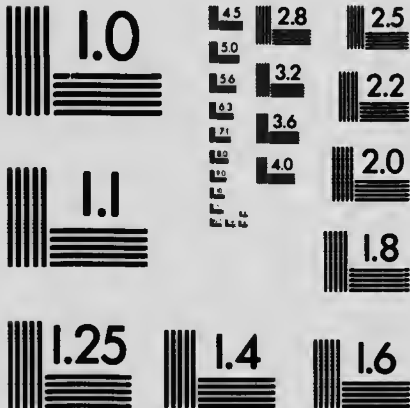
By means of this hand-alphabet I learned that the Signorina N. was very soon to be married to her guardian. Angry at the Signora B.'s way of acting, I went to see her during the day in the afternoon, quite determined to show her all my displeasure. She is sent for, she comes, she looks steadily at me, and perceiving that I am angry, guessing what had happened, she does not give me time to speak, but is the first to attack me vigorously, with a sort of transport.

'Well, sir,' she said to me, 'you are displeased, I see it in your face'—I tried to speak, but she does not hear me, raises her voice and goes on—'Yes, sir, the Signorina N. is to be married, and she is going to marry her guardian.' I tried to raise my voice too. 'Hush, hush,' she cries, 'listen to me; this marriage is my doing: after having reflected upon it, I helped it on, and on your account I wished to hasten it.' 'On my account?' I said. 'Hush,' she replied, 'you shall understand the conduct of a prudent woman who has a liking for you. Are you,' she went on, 'in a position to take a wife? No, for a hundred reasons. Was the Signorina to wait your convenience? No, she had not the power to do so; it was necessary to marry her; she might have married a young man and you would have lost her for ever. She marries an old man, a man in his decline and who cannot live long; and though I am not acquainted with the joys and disappointments of marriage, yet I know that a young wife must shorten the life of an old husband, and so you will possess a beautiful widow who will have been a wife only in name. Be quite easy on this point, therefore; she will have improved her own affairs, she will be much richer than she is now, and in the meantime you will make your journey. And do not be in any anxiety about her; no, my dear friend, do not fear; she will live in the world with her old fellow and I shall watch over her conduct. Yes, yes! She is yours, I will be surety to you for that, and I give you my word of honour——'

And here comes in the Signorina N. and approaches the grating. The nun says to me with an air of mystery, 'Congratulate the young lady on her marriage!' I could bear it no longer; I make my bow and go away without saying more. I never saw either the governess or her pupil again, and thank God it was not long before I forgot them both.

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



APPLIED IMAGE Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

After reading such stories and looking into t archives of the 'Superintendents of Convents,' it is ea to understand that Pope Gregory XI should have exclaimed bitterly, 'I am Po everywhere except in Venice'; and more than one his successors in the eighteenth century had cause repeat his words. The Church protested in v against the abuse of the veil by Venetian ladies, for State protected them on the specious pretext of sup intending their morals, and the remonstrances of the po and of the patriarchs of Venice were not even he within the walls of those sham cloisters. With such system of education and such examples the bankrup of morality was merely a question of time. T number of marriages diminished amongst the aristocra and when a young man made up his mind to matrimo he consulted nothing but his financial interests.

Rom. vi. 360.

The expenses of a fashionable marriage were c siderable. There were always several festive ceremon in the bride's house. The first was signature of the contract; the seco which followed soon afterwards, wa gathering of all the relations and friends the two families with a sort of standing collation, it was on this occasion that the future bridegroom g his betrothed the first present, which was generall big diamond set in other stones, and was called 'ricordino,' the 'little remembrance.'

Mutinelli, Ult. 86; Goldoni, vol. i. chap. xxvi.

A few days before the wedding the two families their friends met again, and if the man's mother still alive it was she who gave the bride a pearl ne lace; otherwise the duty fell to one of his near fem relations. This pearl necklace was thought absolu indispensable for the honour of the family, and the b was bound to put it on at once and to wear it till the

of the first year of her marriage. Where it would have caused financial difficulty it was simply hired for the time, and was returned to the jeweller at the end of the year.

After her marriage every well-born woman took a 'cicisbeo' or 'cavalier servente.' These cavaliers were in most cases, especially at the beginning of the century, neither young, nor handsome, nor the least lover-like, though there were exceptions to the rule. The choice of them was often the occasion of the first conjugal dispute, and a lady of the Condulmer family retired to a convent for life because her husband objected to the cavalier whom she wanted.

Rom. ix. 13.

Tassini, under 'Grassi.'

The serving cavalier accompanied his lady on all occasions, for the husband never did, and the two were seen everywhere together, and especially under the felse of the gondola; for ladies never used the gondola uncovered, even on beautiful summer evenings. And they were perpetually out, so that grave historians inform us that they only spent a few hours of the night in their palaces, and during the day the time they needed for dressing. When required, the 'cicisbeo' waited on his lady instead of her maid; her smallest caprices were his law, and she dragged him after her everywhere, to mass, benediction, and the sermon. 'The object of mass is to go to walk,' said Businallo in one of his satires, after saying that the proper purpose of pilgrimages was to make a great deal of noise.

Rom. viii. 207, 303, and ix. 11; Molmenti, Vita Priv.

Not unfrequently the cicisbei were mere adventurers who pretended to be great nobles from other Italian cities, and to have left their homes in consequence of some misfortune.

Goldoni wrote a comedy called 'Il Cavaliere e la

Dama' on the subject of the 'cicisbei,' whom he ca
'singular beings, martyrs to gallantry, and slaves to t
caprices of the fair sex.' In speaking of this piece,
his autobiography, he observes that he could not ha
printed the word 'cicisbeatura' on the bill for fear
offending the numerous class whom he intended
satirise.

He goes on to say of his play that a man is p
sented who is the husband of one lady and the servi
cavalier of another, and the mutual satisfaction of t
two women is exhibited. 'A married woman,' Gold
says, 'complains to her cicisbeo that one of her lacque
has been disrespectful to her; the cavalier answers t
the man should be punished. "And whose business
it but yours to see that I am obeyed and respected
my servants?" cries the lady.'

The playwright no doubt heard the speech in act
life. The cavalier was the real master of the house
many families, yet now and then a husband could
jealous, though not in the least in love.

Goldoni says that there were husbands who put
with their wives' cavaliers in a submissive spirit,
that there were others who were enrag
by those strange beings, who were l
second masters of the house in disorganised families.

Goldoni, vol. ii. chap. x.

It is certain that the Venetian ladies cared more
gambling than for adornment, or anything else. In
morning they wore a dress of more or less rich stuff,
always black, and when they went out they wore a lo
scarf, also black, which they disposed with much gr
upon their heads, crossed upon their bosom, and knot
loosely behind the waist. This dress went by the gene
name of 'Cendaleto,' and it was the custom to ap
the appellation also to those who wore it. They sa
for instance, that there were so many 'Cendale

at a ceremony, meaning that number of ladies. Giustina Renier Michiel, the historian of all that was left of grace and beauty in Venice, says that the scarf had the magic power of making the plainest women pretty.

Though dress was simple enough on ordinary occasions, conforming to certain rules, yet on gala occasions the latest fashions were consulted. In earlier

SS. GIOVANNI ET PAOLO

times Venice had set the fashion for the world, and beautifully dressed dolls had been sent by the Venetian women's tailors as models to Paris. In the eighteenth century Paris sent dolls to Venice. These dolls were exhibited at the fair of the Ascension, near the entrance to the Merceria, and took the place of fashion-plates and dressmakers' journals. The men wore the cut-away coat, breeches,

Rom. viii. 303.

silk stockings, shoes with buckles, wigs, and thre
cornered hats, then common throughout Italy ar
France; but they had invented a singular fashion
their own, which was that of throwing a light mantle
velvet, satin, or cloth over their hat and wig. It w
called the 'velada,' and was adorned with embroider
lace, or a fringe. In the end, it was sometimes ma
of lace only. As the law did not allow any member
the Great Council to appear in public without his tog
the nobles introduced a fashion which soon becan
common in all classes; they wore a black or white mas
and covered themselves entirely with a black silk mant
having a hood, on the top of which th
placed the three-cornered hat. This ga
ment was nothing, in fact, but a domin
Of course the women soon discovered t

Mutinelli, Lessico; G. R. Michiel, i. 283.

advantages of a dress in which they could not on
disguise themselves but could even pass for men. T
'Cendaleto' remained as the proper dress for going o
in the morning, but in the afternoon and evening,
the theatre, at the ridotti, or in the piazza, the ma
and domino became indispensable, and men and wom
wore precisely the same three-cornered hat.

It was soon noticed, however, that the domino d
not tend to improve the public morals, and a decr
was issued limiting its use to the period between t
first Sunday in October and Advent Sunday, and durin
Carnival and the festivities which took place at t
Ascension.

The women, no doubt, amused themselves in vario
ways, not excepting that form of diversion in whi
women have such marked advantages over men; b
their chief enjoyment, if not their principal occupatio
was gambling. Games of chance were played for ve
high stakes in the ridotti, which were gaming-club

not much better than the 'hells' of modern cities. The most celebrated was that connected with the theatre of San Moisè, which the Government protected as a useful

NIGHT ON THE RIVA

social institution. A patrician, generally a senator, presided in his toga at the tables, in order to see that there was no cheating. The singular rule of admission was that one must be either noble or masked, and the

consequence was that the Venetian ridotti were frequent
not only by the Venetians themselves, but by half t
gamblers, adventurers, and blacklegs in Europe.

King Frederick IV. of Denmark once visited S
Moisè disguised in a domino, and won a large sum
money from a Venetian noble who w
risking the last remains of h : fortu
On being told the circumstances, he [illegible]ended
stumble, upset the table with all the money on
and disappeared, leaving the embarrassed gentleman
pick up his gold again, which he did with marvello
alacrity. The number of players at San Moisè w
so great that in 1768 the Government enlarg
the place, using for the purpose the proceeds
property confiscated from the nuns, which terril
scandalised the population and provoked some bit
epigrams. At the ridotto the most illustrious patrici
ladies quarrelled for places at the table with ladies
no character at all, and a contemporary observes t
in order to pay their gambling debts and continue
amuse themselves, they were reduced
the last extremity. He adds that th
played from the hour of tierce, which is half-w
between dawn and noon at all times of the year.

Tassini, under 'Ridotto.'

Mutinelli, Ult. 54.

In 1780, when the Republic had but a few ye
more to live, the two ridotti of San Moisè and S
Cassian, which had been protected a
superintended by the Government, w
suppressed, but the only result was that a new class
gaming-houses came into existence called Casini, whi
were much worse in character than the old establis
ments. Ruined nobles borrowed enormous sums fr
usurers, and even from plebeians, shari
the winnings with the lender when succe
ful, and being entirely at his mercy if they lost. So

Rom. viii. 303, and ix. 11.

Mutinelli, Ult.

women kept private Casini of their own, to which they invited men and women; and while they played at Pharaoh, Basset, and Biribissi within, the gondoliers played Morra at the landing outside.

Venice slept little, and was devoured day and night by the fever of pleasure. The lighting of the city was paid for by the proceeds of the lotto, which had been introduced in 1734. Goldoni says that the shops were always open until ten o'clock at night, while a great many did not close till midnight, and some never shut at all. In Venice, he continues, you would find eatables exposed for sale at midnight exactly as at mid-day, and all the eating-houses were open. It was not the custom to give many dinners or suppers in Venetian society, but a few such occasions have remained famous, and the invited guests appear to have behaved with as little restraint as if they had been in a common eating-house. A certain noble, of the Labia family, once gave a supper at which he showed all his finest plate, and the guests could not refrain from admiring the magnificent chiselled pieces of gold and silver that covered the table. Suddenly, as the gaiety increased, the master of the house jumped up and began to throw the plates and dishes through the open windows into the canal, accompanying this mad proceeding with one of the worst puns ever made in the Italian language, or rather in the Venetian dialect: 'L' abia o non l' abia, sarò sempre Labia'—the words mean, 'Whether I have it or not I shall always be Labia.'

Goldoni, vol. i. chap. xxxv.

Tassini, under 'Labia.'

The conditions of married life in the decadence were such amongst the nobles that it is best not to inquire too closely as to what went on. In a great number of cases husband and wife were like strangers to each other, and

Rom. viii. 303; Mutinelli, Ult. 86.

the children were utterly neglected, when there were
When divorce becomes common, the family, whic
the first of social institutions, soon ceases to exist,
no country has ever shown vitality or long endura
where society was not based on the relations of fat
mother, and children to each other. There never
any divorce law in Italy, but there was, and is, s
a thing as the annullation of marriage. In Ven
between 1782 and 1796, the Council of Ten registe
two hundred and sixty-four applications for annullat
and the great part of them were admitted.

As generally happens when a form of governm
is exhausted and is about to go to pieces, the Vene
people retained ideas of morality lor
than the wealthy burghers or the worn-
nobility; the wives of the artisans necessarily li
more at home than their richer sisters, and v
generally able to keep their husbands. The love
pleasure was too universal to admit of exceptin
whole class from its influence, and to the last
working people seem to have been very prospe
under the old government; but their amusements
harmless and their pleasures innocent compared
those of the upper thousands. The women of
people organised their diversions with a good dea
system, forming groups among themselves, each
which had a presidentess and a treasuress, who colle
the subscriptions, kept the money in safety, and n
out the accounts when, at intervals, the little fund
drawn upon for excursions and parties of pleasur
which men were not invited.

Mutinelli, Ult. 71.

On the morning of one of those appointed
the women and girls met at the landing from w
they were to start, all dressed very much alike. T
who belonged to the class of the better artisans

a rather dark cotton skirt, a blouse of scarlet cloth, a chintz apron with a design of large flowers, and lastly, a white linen kerchief called the 'niziol,' which was to them what the black 'cendal' was to the Venetian ladies; and from 'niziol' the word 'nizioleto' was formed, like 'cendaleto,' and meant a pretty woman or girl of the people. Of course, when they met for a day's pleasure they wore whatever ornaments they possessed.

The women of the poorest class wore over the dark skirt a very wide apron which covered it entirely when let down, but which they pulled up over their heads like a sort of hood when they went out.

The fathers, husbands, and brothers of the women came with them as far as the boat, but left them then, as the people would have thought it highly improper that decent women should amuse themselves in the company of the other sex. Yet for their protection two elderly men of unexceptionable character went with them, as well as the necessary rowers, and it was a common practice to be rowed about for a time before leaving the city, singing songs together.

Rom. ix. 18.

The principal diversions of the day were the picnic, which was a solid affair, a dance, generally the country 'villotta,' accompanied by the singing of couplets, and the return to Venice in the boat, illuminated with festoons of little coloured lanterns. At the landing they parted, dividing what was left of the provisions, lest anything should be lost, and no doubt each good wife did her best to bring home a few tit-bits for the men of her household, if only to make them envy her for being a woman. I find no record of what the men did with themselves on picnic days, but it must have been very quiet in the house, and they may have felt that there were compensations even for being left at home.

Another time of gaiety was the evening afte
regatta. Then the houses of the winners were dec
with garlands of green, and the doors were open
every friend; the silk flag, which was the token
victory, was hung in a conspicuous place for ail visi
to admire, and when it grew late they
sat down to a plentiful supper, which
those occasions generally consisted principally of sev
dishes of fish washed down with copious drau
of the island wine. The last homes of Venice
any real sense, were the homes of the work
people.

Molmenti, Nuovi Studi, 318.

Life in the country did little to bring the mem
of a noble family nearer together, but there was a g
deal of it, such as it was. At a time when France
the fashions, which she was before long to impose
the greater part of Europe, every rich Venetian n
dreamt of making a little Versailles of his own
The residences of the Marcello, the Corner,
Gradenigo, the Foscarini, and the Pisani, on the
to Treviso and on the banks of the Brenta, wer
many little courts, in which every element was re
sented from the sovereign to the parasite, from
parasite to the buffoon, and the lesser nobles imi
the greater throughout a scale which descended
the sublime to the ridiculous. The villas thems
were often decorated by the greatest artists. In
hall of the Pisani's country-house at Strà, for inst
Tiepolo had painted a wonderful picture represen
the reception of Henry III. in Venice.

In going from the city to the villas, people wer
water as far as it was possible, and each family h
sort of light house-boat for this pur
called a 'burchiello,' and fitted wit
possible comfort. The travellers dined and su

Molmenti, Ult. 112, 116.

sumptuously on board, and spent most of their time in playing cards; and when the end of the journey was reached a long round of pleasures and amusements began, in which the 'cicisbei' played an important and, one would think, a terribly fatiguing part. They were assisted by regular relays of parasites who were invited for a few days at a time, and who were expected to pay with ready flattery and story-telling for the hospitality they received.

Eating then played a much larger part in what was called pleasure than we moderns can well understand. We are ourselves no great improvement on our fathers, in respect of manly virtue, faith in things divine, or honesty when it does not happen to be the best policy; but as an age of men we are not greedy of food. The Venetians were. Not only did they employ French cooks and spend much time in considering what things to eat, but their dinners were so interminably long, and the courses they ate were so numerous, that they found it convenient to use three dining-rooms in succession for the same meal, the first being for the soup and the beef, the second for the roast meats and vegetables, and the third for the pudding and dessert.

Molmenti, Vita Priv.

The Venetians were near their end when they ceased to be men of business and turned into gamblers and spendthrifts. All this extravagance, especially in the country, led to financial embarrassment at the end of the season; and in order to satisfy the creditors who then appeared in force, it was necessary to rackrent the peasants or to sell property and produce at ruinous prices. In one of his comedies Goldoni makes a ruined nobleman say again and again to his steward, 'Caro vecchio, fè vu'—'My dear old man, manage it yourself.' The expression was so true to life that not

one but a number of nobles complained to the Gov
ment that they were being publicly libelled b
playwright.

Everything was in a state of decay already appro
ing ruin. When the Princess Gonzaga came to Ve
she had such an abominable reputation
no Venetian lady had the courage to pre
her to the society of the capital. At
however, the Signora Tron, the wife of a procurato
Saint Mark, offered to do so. She introduced
Princess with these historic words: 'Ladies, this is
Princess Gonzaga. She belongs to an illustrious fam
As for the rest, I will not answer for her, nor for y
nor for myself.'

Archivio Stor. Ital. fourth series, vol. xvi. p. 180.

She was wise in refusing to answer for herself, a
events, for she was accused of setting a higher price
her box at the theatre than on her
'That is true,' she answered, 'for I so
times give myself for nothing.'

Horatio Brown, Sketches.

It is comprehensible that where great ladies tal
like this, a burgher dame should have put up
daughter's honour at a lottery, for wh
the tickets were sold at a sequin, ab
fifteen shillings, each.

Mutinelli, Ult. 82.

The decadence was turning into final degenerat
and everything morbid was hailed with enthusia
Two lovers committed suicide, for insta
and immediately handkerchiefs were
everywhere adorned with a death's head in one cor
and embroidered in the middle with the lovers' ini
surrounded with stains of the colour of blood.

Carrer, Annali, 34.

The average Venetian lady was at once ignorant
witty, yet here and there one succeeded in cultivat
her mind by reading and intercourse with the fam
foreigners who spent much time in Venice at the

of the eighteenth century. Giustina Renier Michiel was undoubtedly the most remarkable and admirable

RIO DELLA TORESELA

Venetian woman of her times. She was born in 1755, the daughter of Andrea Renier, afterwards Doge, and

the niece of Marco Foscarini. At the age of three
was sent to a convent of Capuchin nuns at Treviso
nine she was brought back to Venice and placed i
fashionable boarding-school kept by a Frenchwom
where she learned French badly, and Italian not at
But the girl was a born bookworm, and even in
school succeeded in reading a vast number of boo
and in filling her girlish imagination with a vast st
of ideals. She naturally hated complication and prejud
and aspired to be simple and just. Like many won
of independent mind, she could not help associat
dress with moral qualities and defects; and when
was old enough to please herself, she always wore a lo
straight garment of woollen or white linen, according
the season, and adorned her beautiful hair with a cro
of roses. Such a costume might surprise us nowada
but she loved flowers, and deemed that to wear th
brought her nearer to nature. If she was obliged
wear fashionable clothes for some public occasion,
spoke of them as a disguise, and hastened to 'take
her mask and domino,' as she expressed it, as soon
she reached home. 'Molière may say that a Count
is certainly something,' she wrote in French to a frien
'he should have written that a Countess is very little,
a Count either!' She often used to say: 'I sho
like to know why every one does not try to ple
me, since it would take so little to succeed!' C
of her hobbies was not to give trouble, and
pushed this admirable virtue so far that one d
when her frock caught fire, she would not call a
one, but rolled herself on the carpet till the flames w
extinguished.

She had a great admiration for the Cavalier Giustini
the same who faced Bonaparte so bravely a few ye
later, but she did not marry him.

She is said to have been very beautiful, but short, a fact which disturbed her unnecessarily, to judge by a note found in one of the commonplace books in which she copied passages from her reading and wrote out her own reflections. 'A monarch who was rather famous in the last century,' she wrote with child-like simplicity, 'forbade his soldiers to marry short women; on the other hand, he rewarded them if they married gigantic women. Can it be because people fear that short women will turn out more mischievous than tall ones?'

At the age of twenty she was married to Marcantonio Michiel, and a few months later she accompanied him to Rome, where her father, Andrea Renier, was ambassador. She made a profound impression on Roman society, and soon went by the name of 'Venerina Veneziana,' the little Venetian Venus. In Rome she met the genial poet Monti, then very young, and recommended to the Venetian ambassador by Cardinal Braschi. To fill her idle hours, the industrious little lady studied engraving on wood.

Not long after her return from Rome her paternal uncle was elected Doge. He was not a very estimable personage, and as he had married a dancer whom the people refused to accept as the Dogess, his niece Giustina did the honours of the ducal palace when occasion required.

In her early youth she began several literary works, among which a rather inaccurate translation of some of Shakespeare's plays has come down to us. She was a literary personage, however, when still young, and the drawing-rooms of the Palazzo Michiel were frequented by all that was most distinguished in Venice, as well as by the best of the foreign element. Giustina, like all women who succeed in gathering intellectual people about them, encouraged the discussion of all sorts of subjects from the broadest point of view. At that time she was

slightly inclined towards the new order of ideas,
boasted of being somewhat democratic ; but if this
true, it did not prevent her from sincerely lamen
the fall of the Republic a few years later.

On the twelfth of May 1797, after the
session which ended the history of Venice, a few no
gathered at her house to mourn over the sudden
While they sat together, heavy-hearted and conver
in broken sentences, they heard the rabble in the st
below howling at those whom it called the assassin
Saint Mark. The little group upstairs understood
danger, and after a moment's silence Giustina ca
upon them to save the city at least, if they could
longer save the Republic. Her cousin Bernar
Renier was there, and was temporarily charged
seeing to the safety of the city. The only mean
could think of for preventing pillage was violence,
he swept the streets with artillery.

For a while Giustina cherished the vain hope
Bonaparte would help Venice to rise from her as
That fact explains why she was willing to receive in
house the handsome, fair-haired Marina Benzon,
danced round the tree of liberty in the Square of S
Mark's with the 'Carmagnola' on her head, on the
that saw the Venetian flag replaced by the Phry
cap of liberty. It explains, too, why Giustina wa
the square ten years later, when Napo
came to Venice a second time. It w
singular meeting enough.

1809.

When the Emperor was passing his troops in re
in the square, Bernardino Renier pointed out his co
Giustina, who was in the crowd looking on, and Napo
at once sent two officers to bring her to him.
story is that the Emperor planted himself before
with his arms crossed and his legs apart.

A NARROW STREET, NEAR THE ACADEMY

'What are you celebrated for?' he asked roughl

'I, sire? Celebrated?' cried the lady.

'Yes, you. But to what do you owe your celebrit

'To friendship, no doubt, which attributes to me importance I do not possess.'

'What have you written?' demanded the Empe

'Little things not worth mentioning,' answe Giustina.

'Verse or prose?'

'In prose, sire. I never was able to write a v in my life.'

'Ah, then you improvise, you improvise, do you

'I wish I could, sire! for I should have an excel opportunity to-day of covering myself with glory!'

'Come, what have you written?' asked the Emp impatiently.

'A few translations.'

'Translations?'

'Of tragedies,' answered Giustina.

'The tragedies of Racine, I suppose?'

'I beg your majesty's pardon, I have translated fi th English.'

The eye-witnesses of this meeting say that w the Emperor received this answer he turned on heel and left the high-born lady standing there.

The final state of Giustina's mind was somew contradictory, for her frankly democratic dreams faded away, yet there remained an unlimited indulge for the most contradictory opinions which were so times expressed in her presence, together with greatest indignation against those who judged Ve by modern standards, whether they were Venetians foreigners. She seemed to make it her duty to prev anything from disturbing the ghost of the def Republic.

When Chateaubriand made his first visit to Venice he had the bad taste to write an article in the *Mercure de France*, from which I translate a few extracts :—

1806.

TRIESTE, July thirtieth, 1806.—In Venice there had just been published a new translation of the *Génie du Christianisme*. This Venice, unless I am mistaken, would please you as little as it pleases me. It is a city against nature; one cannot take a step without being obliged to get into a boat, or else one is driven to go round by narrow passages more like corridors than streets! The Square of St. Mark alone is by its general effect worthy of its reputation. The architecture of Venice, which is almost altogether Palladio's, is too capricious and too varied; it is as if two or three palaces were built one upon the other. And the famous gondolas, all black, look like boats that carry coffins; I took the first one I saw for a corpse on the way to burial. The sky is not our sky beyond the Apennines. Rome and Naples, my dear friend, and a bit of Florence, there you have all Italy. There is, however, one remarkable thing in Venice, and that is the number of convents built on the islands and reefs round the city, just as other maritime cities are surrounded with forts which defend them; the effect of these religious monuments seen at night over a calm sea is picturesque and touching. There are a few pictures left by Paolo Veronese, Titian. . . .

Giustina was filled with indignation on reading these lines, which were signed by an author whose sentimentalism had found an echo in her heart. A lady who admired Foscolo's *Jacopo Ortis* would naturally be pleased with the *Génie du Christianisme*. The attack on her beloved native city seemed all the more unkind for that, and she hastened to reply in a long letter written in French, which she published in Pisa in the *Giornale dei Letterati*. She answered Chateaubriand categorically, concluding with the following words :—

I know that you have promised to return here; come then, but come in a mood less sad, in a spirit less weary, with feelings

less cold. . . . I do not flatter myself that you will exc
with that Neapolitan poet that Venice was built by the g
but I hope, at least, that you will find here something n
interesting than the convents on the islands and the transla
of your works.

Giustina had been in her grave eighteen years w
Chateaubriand returned to Venice, with a spirit ind
less weary, and allowed himself to grow enthusias
and wrote a beautiful description of the city in
Mémoires d'Outre Tombe.

At one time Napoleon ordered a species of inq
to be made on the following and similar questions
What are the prejudices of the Venetians? What
their political opinions? What are their domi
tastes? The well-known and learned writers, Filiasi
Morelli, were commissioned to answer these inqui
but they refused on the ground that such quest
admitted no answer. Giustina's interest and ambi
were roused at once, and during several weeks
worked hard at a book on moral statistics which
never been published, but which, no doubt, sugge
to her the excellent work she afterwards produced
the origin of Venetian feasts, a book which I have o
quoted in these pages. She worked at this with en
siasm, bent on evoking in the minds of future gen
tions the memory of beautiful and touching ceremo
long disused when the Republic fell. In that
which loved epithets and classic parallels, the lady
had been nicknamed in Rome the little Venetian V
was now called the Venetian Antigone. Indeed,
made it her business to defend Venice and Vene
history too. But as she grew old her enthusiasm
the better of her, and she wrote such terrible ans
to people who made small mistakes that she could
always get her articles printed. In particular,

tragedian Niccolini published in 1827 a tragedy upon the story of Antonio Foscarini, in which he held up the court that condemned and executed that innocent man to execration, but by methods not honestly historical. Giustina was now over seventy years of age, but she wrote such a furious article on Niccolini's play that no one dared to publish it.

She was fond of Englishmen, and called them the Swallows, because they came back to Venice at regular intervals, and she used to say that England seemed to her the sister of the ancient Republic of Venice. She had known the Duke of Gloucester when he was a mere child, and when he returned to Venice in 1816 his first visit was for her. I translate the note she wrote in answer to his message announcing his visit :—

A message from H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester, delivered at the theatre last night, and saying that he wished to honour the Michiel with his presence, has filled her with lively exaltation. She much desired to see him again. If H.R.H. had not become the great Prince he is in virtue of his birth ; if he were still that amiable little boy whom she so often embraced, she would have let him know by this time that she desired to embrace him affectionately. And indeed she might have said so now, since the difference of ages is always the same. Then he was a child and she was young and pretty ; now he is young and charming and she is a little old woman, and also somewhat deaf. There might therefore still be the purest innocence in the sweetest embrace. But setting aside this jesting, which is indeed too familiar, H.R.H. will please to accept in advance the thanks of Giustina Renier Michiel for the honour which he intends to do her this evening, and she is impatiently awaiting that desired moment.

Though Giustina had begun life by giving signs of being emancipated, she behaved with the greatest devotion to her daughter and her grandchildren. 'I have hardly any company but that of children,' she wrote to

a friend. 'I think very highly of their patience, si there is between me and them the same distance age which exists between them and me. I finc have nothing in common with them but the taste "anguria," and this is a good argument for the tr of what I say.'

Her most intimate friend was Isabella Teodo Albrizzi. This lady was born in Greece, and wa passionate worshipper of the beautiful; her taste in matters seems to have been more delicate than Giustin and her character was much more gay and forget Giustina lived in the past, Isabella in the prese Everything about Giustina was Venetian, the mant she wore on her head, the furniture she had in house, the refreshments she offered her friends; to very last everything connected with her belonged to eighteenth century. With Isabella Albrizzi nothing, the contrary, was Venetian, nothing was durable; one moment the French taste ordered her furnitu her bibelots, and her books, and provided her w subjects of conversation; at another, everything ab her was English. 'When you left the Michiel's dra ing-room you had learned to love Venice,' says biographer; 'when you left Madame Albrizzi's dra ing-room you had learned to love Madame Albrizzi.

They died nearly at the same time. Giust breathed her last at the age of seventy-seven on April six 1832, surrounded by her grandchildren and her frien Andrea Maffei wrote that the death of Giustina Micl was indeed a public loss. 'To the excellence of mind she united in a high degree the beauty of character, and I know of no writer who more dea loved his country than she.'

GRAND CANAL

XXVI

THE LAST CARNIVALS—THE LAST FAIRS THE LAST FEASTS

No people ever combined business with pleasure so advantageously as the Venetians, and few governments have understood as well as theirs how to make use of amusement in managing the people; indeed, the method was so convenient that at last the Signory preferred it to all others, and took most pains to promote the public gaiety just when the Republic was on the verge of dissolution. There is

Rom. ix. 213.

something unnatural in the contrast between the outw
life and the inward death of Venice in those last yea
something that reminds one of the strangest tales c
told by Hoffmann or Edgar Poe.

Never dull, even at the last, all Venice went mad v
delight at the feast of the Ascension, when the great
was held. It will be remembered that P
1177. Alexander III., on the occasion of his
to Venice, issued a brief granting numerous indulge
to all persons who would pray in the basilica
Saint Mark between the hour of Vespers on the ev
Ascension Day and Vespers on the day itself; and
brief concluded by invoking the malediction of Hea
on any one who should oppose this practice or des
the document itself.

With their usual keen eye for business, the Vene
saw at once that while their souls were profiting by
much-needed indulgence, their pockets could be
veniently filled without vitiating that state of g
which is especially necessary during such relig
exerci Many strangers from the mainland w
visit the city on the anniversary, and by holding c
rational and sufficient inducement they could be r
to come again, in greater numbers, year after
Nothing was so sure to attract a rich class of pilg
as a great annual fair, and to make their coming a
lutely certain it was only necessary to suspend
duties on imported wares during eight days.

The first Ascension fair was held in the year 1
when Orio Mastropiero was Doge, and it was a
financial and popular success. Merchants of al
nations of the earth spread out their mercha
for sale in booths and tents, and under every sc
improvised shelter. For more than a week the S
of Saint Mark's was a vast bazaar of little s

following the most irregular and winding lanes, just wide enough for two persons. Every merchant, foreign or Venetian, was free to set up his booth as he pleased and where he pleased, and there were thousands of them, in each of which at least one person had to sleep at night. The effect of it all must have been vastly picturesque, as many things were when effect was never thought of.

The annual fair was held in this same way for about five hundred years, during which time it did not occur to any of the Signory that the contrast between the amazing irregularity of the bazaar and the solemn symmetry of the surrounding architecture was disagreeable. Then in the Barocco age came artificial taste and set things to rights, and the Senate issued a decree ordering that the shops should be set up in straight lines, and by squares, like Chicago; and it seems to me that about that time the Ascension Fair turned itself into the first Universal Industrial Exhibition. From that time there was a commission established, to which all exhibitors were required to send a detailed list of their merchandise. There were no prizes and no medals, yet I have no doubt but that the result was much the same, and that certain houses of merchant-manufacturers made their reputations and their fortunes on the strength of the impression they created at the Venetian Fair.

1678.

It was destined to be still more like a modern exhibition. In 1776 the Signory commissioned an architect to put up a vast oval building of wood, like a double portico, looking both inwards and outwards, and almost filling the Square of Saint Mark's. It was very practically arranged, for to those who sold the more valuable objects shops were assigned on the inside of the oval, where they were better protected, and the shops on the outside, facing the porticoes of the Procuratie,

were filled with the more ordinary wares, which wo
naturally attract more buyers from the lower classes.

On this occasion painters and sculptors exhibi
their work, and Canova, who was then but ninet
years old, is said to have shown one
his earliest groups. But we learn with
surprise that the products offered for sale by Veneti
were of inferior quality, and that th
was a bad contrast between the sho
architectural shops and the poor wa
they contained. The end was at hand, and Vene
manufacture was dead.

G. R. Michiel, vol. i. 279.

Marble Group, Daedalus and Icarus, Accademia, Room XVII.

But the people cared not for that, and were as
and happy over the Fair as their ancestors had b
hundreds of years ago. It mattered nothing to the
if the wares were poor, the charlatans who cried th
up were wittier than ever. There was one in particu
a certain Doctor Buonafede Vitali of Parma, w
employed four celebrated actors, one of whom
Rubini, famous in Goldoni's companies; they w
dressed in the four Italian theatrical masks, and by t
clever improvisations and witty sallies they advert
the doctor's miracles, and amused the clients that wa
to be cured by him.

There were professional jesters, too, who joked
their own account, and there was usually somewh
a black African buffoon-contortionist; and there w
long-legged tumblers, called 'guaghe,' absurdly dre
as women, who kept the crowd laughing, and while
people looked on they chewed the pods of carobs, w
were sold off trays with nuts and other things by
Armenians who moved about in the throng. In
motley multitude nobles and magistr
and foreign ambassadors elbowed
other, and great ladies and light ladies, all effectu

Mutinelli, Ult.

disguised under the 'tabarro,' the 'bauta,' and the mask, which were allowed in public during the Fair.

The Espousal of the Sea was the great ceremony of

CHURCH OF THE MIRACLE

the week, and the one which most directly recalled the visit of Alexander III. It was last performed by the last Doge in 1796, the six-hundred-and-eighteenth time,

I believe, since its institution, and all the ancient c
monial was carefully followed.

On the eve of the Ascension, the Bucentaur
hauled out of the Arsenal and anchored off the Piazz
in full view of the delighted populat

Mutinelli, Lessico.

It was no longer the 'Busus aureus,' l
by the Senate in 1311, and towed by a small boat f
Murano, called the 'peota.' In four hundred years
ones had been constructed several times, and the
Bucentaur was built in 1728. It was about one hund
and fifteen feet over all, with twenty-two feet be
and was twenty-six feet deep from upper poop-dec
keel. In length and beam it had therefore about
dimensions of a fair-sized schooner yacht, but it
vastly higher out of water, and was flat-bottomed, s
to draw very little. The consequence was that eve
smooth water it might have been laid over by a sq
and it was never used except in absolutely fine weat
It was rowed by one hundred and seventy-eight
artisans from the Arsenal; who swung forty-two
each of which, however, according to the model
preserved, consisted of three, linked and swung toge
in one rowlock. The rowers occupied what we sh
call the main deck, and the upper deck was fitted
as one long cabin or saloon, taking
whole length of the vessel, but rising

G. R. Michiel, Origini, i. 197.

step at the after end, and having a small window at
stern from which the Doge threw out the ring in
course of the ceremony. His throne was further ra
by two steps. Over the cabin were spread enorn
draperies of crimson velvet, ornamented with
fringe, gold lace, and gold tassels. In the stern, wi
the cabin, was figured a marine Victory with approp
trophies, and two carved babies, of the rotund and v
creased breed dear to the eighteenth century, suppo

a huge shell as a canopy over the throne. The fair Giustina Michiel's description of the decorations makes one's blood run cold. Prudence and Strength stood sentinels at the Doge's elbows. In the ceiling of the saloon Apollo smiled upon the nine Muses, pleased to consider the Bucentaur as his temple; the Virtues were inappropriately present, too, and with more reason the Arts, or Occupations, of Shipbuilding, Fishing, Hunting, and the like. The saloon had no less than forty-eight windows, from which the numerous party of ambassadors, magistrates, and distinguished strangers who accompanied the Doge could see all that went on. Lastly, the vessel's figurehead was a colossal wooden statue of Justice, 'protecting goddess of every well-regulated government,' says the lady Giustina, and therefore as inappropriate there as the Virtues themselves.

At the hour of tierce, which was somewhere near eight o'clock in the morning at Ascension, all the bells began to ring, except, I think, that solemn one that tolled while condemned men were being led to death; and excepting, too, that one of lighter tone, the 'Bankrupt's Bell,' which was rung every day for half an hour about noon, during which time debtors might walk abroad and sun themselves without being arrested.

Then the Doge came from his palace preceded by his squires, and the silver trumpets, and the standards, and the bearer of the ducal sword, and the Missier Grande, who was nothing more nor less than the head constable of Venice; and after his Serenity came the High Chancellor, the Pope's Nuncio, the ambassadors, and the principal magistrates. When all were on board the Bucentaur, a salute of artillery gave the signal of departure, and the huge oars began to swing and dip; and after the big barge came the

Carrer, Annali.

smaller one of the 'Doge' of the fishermen, Nicolotti, the little 'peota' of the Murano glass-blow and the barges and boats of the Signory, and all gondolas of Venice, richly draped for that one day. all moved slowly out; and when they passed the sta of the Virgin before the Arsenal all the people sa and sent up prayers and invocations with suppli gestures 'to the Great Mother of Victories,' and sailors cheered and yelled. Then they went on to S Helen's island.

There the Patriarch was waiting with his flat b and the monks of Saint Helen served him a collat of chestnuts and red wine, which, at eight or o'clock in the morning, was cruelly ungastronomic; the Patriarch gave his sailors bread and fresh br beans in the shell.

The Patriarch sent acolytes to the Doge wit nosegay of Damascus roses; and his flat boat hav been taken in tow by the Bucentaur, and another b in which a choir sang the hymns composed for occasion, they all moved out towards the open sea.

Then, in profound silence, the Doge opened little st n window behind his throne, and the Patria who had come on board, poured holy w into the sea and prayed, saying, 'L vouchsafe calm and quiet weather to all them journey by sea'; after which prayer the Patriarch han the ring to the Doge, who droppe into the sea just where the holy w had been poured, saying, 'We espouse thee, O Sea token of perpetual sovereignty.'

Horatio Brown, Venice.

Carrer, Annali.

The guns of the fortresses thundered out a salute, all the thousands of spectators cheered for Saint M and all the young men waved flags; then the wh company began to throw flowers, freshly cut, from

to boat, and the Patriarch presented great silver dishes full of flowers to the Doge; and all went ashore at San Nicola on the Lido to hear the pontifical high mass, after which every man went home to his own house.

That was the ceremony at which the Venetians assisted in 1796, little guessing that they saw it for the last time. A few months later a vandal mob beached the Bucentaur on the island of San Giorgio Maggiore, and stripped it of all its ornaments, to burn them and get the gold. The hull was then armed with four heavy old guns, and was turned into a sort of floating battery and sailors' prison at the entrance of the harbour. On her stern was painted her new name 'Idra,' the Hydra, and there she rotted for years. A few fragments of the old vessel are now preserved in the Arsenal. More than two hundred men worked at reducing the Bucentaur and the two big carved boats of the Signory to the democratic standard of beauty.

Rom. x. 305; Mutinelli, Lessico and Ult.

The last pilot of the Bucentaur was Andrea Chiribini, who, like all his predecessors, called himself 'admiral,' and was a ruffian not worth the rope with which he should have been hanged when he was young. He was one of the worst types in the Venetian revolution; and after living all his life on the bounty of the Signory, he was the first to help in breaking up the Bucentaur, and in sacking the Arsenal. In order to reward him for these noble acts of patriotism, and in the absence of appropriate funds, he was given a magnificent carved jewel of oriental chalcedony from the treasure of Saint Mark. The talisman did not bring the fellow luck. After wandering about for nearly thirty years, living more or less dishonestly by his wits, he presented himself one day in 1826 at one of the asylums fo[illegible] p[illegible]or where he s[illegible]nt a day; but when

Mutinelli, Ult.; Bembo, Ben. 265.

towards evening he was requested to put on the dr
of the establishment, he flew into such a terrible ra
that he had fever all night, and had to be watched.
the following morning he shook the dust from his f
and departed, declaring that a gentleman like hims
could not live among such brigands. During two ye
the workmen of the Arsenal subscribed to give hin
pittance; at the end of that time, feeling that his d
were numbered, he consented to enter the little hosp
of Saint Ursula, which a pious person of the fourtee
century had founded for the perpetual support of th
poor old men.

It is said that the last Carnival of Venice was
gayest in all her history, and fully realised the condit
of things described by Goldoni some years earlier in
comedy *La Mascherata*. I translate the couplet i
prose:—

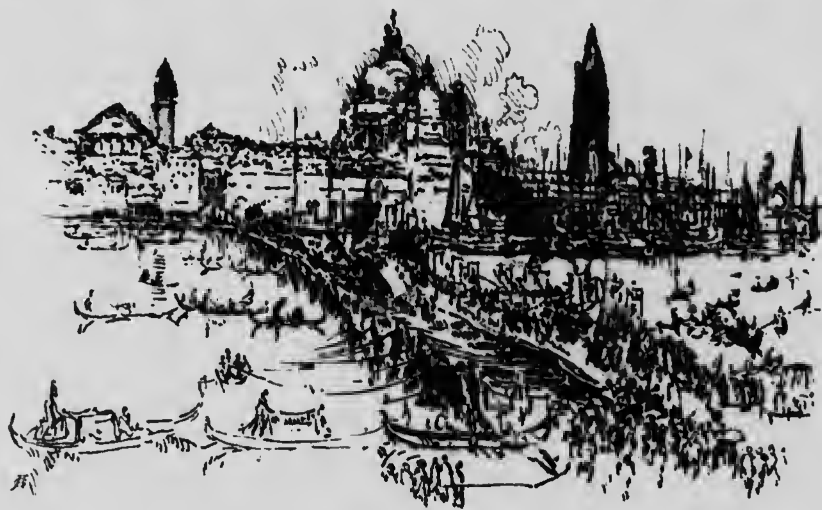
> Here the wife and there the husband,
> Each one does as best he likes;
> Each one hastens to some party,
> Some to gamble, some to dance.
> Provided every one in Carnival
> May do exactly as he chooses,
> It would not seem a serious matter
> Even to go raving mad.

A good many different traditional and legend
feasts amused the Venetians in old times, but the c
one that has survived to our own da
the Festa del Redentore, the feast of
Redeemer, which was instituted as a thanksgiving a
the cessation of the plague in 1576, and is kept e
now both as a civil and religious holiday. The serena
illuminations, and feasts in the island of the Giud
certainly delight the Venetian populace of to-day
much as in the times when the old flag of Saint M

G. R. Michiel, iii. 389.

floated over everything, and the little movable kitchens on wheels were adorned with the symbols of the Evangelist prettily outlined with flowers on a ground of green leaves.

The central point of all amusement in Carnival was the theatre, for the Venetians always had a passion for spectacles, and, at a time when the worst possible taste debased the stage throughout Italy, the reform which has since raised the Italian theatre so high began in



THE PROCESSION OF THE REDENTORE

Venice with Goldoni's comedies. Properly speaking, there was no dramatic art in Italy before him. As I have explained in speaking of the sixteenth century, the Hose Club founded the first theatre, but most of the performances were what we still call mummeries, in which more or less symbolic personages said anything witty or profound that occurred to them, or talked nonsense in the absence of inspiration. Pantaloon was the national mask of Venice, and was always supposed to be a doctor who became involved in the most astonishing adventures.

Valaresso, a man of taste in those days, produced a
that ended with a battle supposed to be fought bel
the scenes. In his satire the poet makes the prom
appear upon the stage carrying a little lamp. 'Ladies
gentlemen,' he says, 'I see that you are
pecting some one to bring you news of
battle ; but it is of no use to wait, for every one is de
Thereupon he blows out his lamp, and goes off to b

Aureli, Vita del Pergolesi.

In his memoirs Goldoni explains the rules
followed by dramatic authors. He had occasior
learn them himself when he read his
piece, *Amalasunta*, to Count Prata, dire
of one of the large theatres in Milan.

Goldoni, I. xxviii.

'It seems to me,' said the Count, 'that you have stu
tolerably well the *Poetics* of Aristotle and the *Ars Poeti*
Horace, and that you have written your composition accor
to the true principles of tragedy. Then you did not k
that a musical drama is an imperfect work, subject to rules
traditions which have no common sense, it is true, but w
must be followed to the very letter. If you had bee
France you might have thought more of pleasing the pu
but here you must please actors and actresses, you must sa
the composer of the music, you must consult the scene-pai
everything has its rules, and it would be a crime of *lèse-m*
against the art of playwriting to dare to break them or n
submit to them. Listen to me,' he continued, 'I am g
to point out to you some rules which are unchangeable
which you do not know. Each of the three principal chara
in the drama must sing five airs—two in the first act, tw
the second act, and one in the third. The second actress
the second "man" soprano can only have three, and the
parts must be satisfied with one, or two at the most.
author of the words must provide the musician with
different shades which form the chiaroscuro of the m
taking good care that two pathetic airs shall not follow
other. It is also necessary to separate with the same care sl
airs, airs of action, of undefined character, minuets, and rond

One must be especially careful to give no airs of affection or movement nor showy airs nor rondeaux to the second parts. These poor people must be contented with what is assigned to them, for they are not allowed to make a good figure.'

Count Prata would have said more, but Goldoni stopped him, for he had heard quite enough. He went home in that state of mind which some young authors have known, and obtained a sort of morbid satisfaction from burning his manuscript.

'As I was poking the pieces of my manuscript together to complete the burning,' he says, 'it occurred to me that in no case had any disappointment made me sacrifice my supper. I called the waiter, and told him to lay the cloth and bring me something to eat at once. . . . I ate well, drank better, went to bed and slept with the most perfect tranquillity.'

Goldoni was of the strong, to whom is the race. From the ashes of his *Amalasunta* rose the comedies that reformed the Italian stage.

Portrait of Goldoni, P. Longhi; Museo Civico, Room IX.

The composers were not much better off than the playwrights.

'The modern master,' says Marcello, 'must make his manager give him a large orchestra of violins, hautboys, horns, and so forth, saving him rather the expense of the double basses, as he need not use these except for giving the chords at the beginning. The Symphony is to consist of a French time, or *prestissimo* of semiquavers in major, which as usual must be succeeded by a *piano* of the same key in minor, closing finally in a minuet, gavotte, or jig, again in the major, thus avoiding fugues, *legature*, themes, etc., etc., as old things outside of the modern fashion. He will endeavour to give the best airs to the prima donna, and if he has to shorten the opera he will not allow the suppression of airs or roundels.'

Teatro alla moda, Benedetto Marcello, quoted by Molmenti in Nuovi Studi.

The same master observes wittily that the authors

of the words to accompany this sort of music gener
excused themselves from reading the works of ol
writers, on the ground that the latter had not been a
to read their successors, but had, nevertheless, d
very well. When the playwright or musician
succeeded in pleasing the actors, the actresses,
manager, the scene-painter, and all the rest of
company, he still had to please the Council of T
not to mention the Inquisitors of State and
Inquisitors of the Holy Office, for they all had so
thing to say in the censorship of the theatre.

The infamous Jacopo Casanova, who amongst
number of ignoble occupations acted as a confid.nt
spy to the Council of Ten, called attent
in 1776 to a piece called *Coriolanus*, wh
was being given in the theatre of San Benedetto.
appears to have been a sort of pantomime, wh
presented on the stage a starving population, a c
nobility, the unjust condemnation of Coriolanus,
tears of Virgilia and Volumnia, everything, in sh
which, according to the scrupulous Casanova, co
pervert the Venetian people; and the Inquisit
accordingly suppressed the piece.

Molmenti, Nuovi Studi, 300.

Sometimes these gentlemen shut up the provin
theatres altogether for a time with a view to stop
the advance of modern ideas. Here is an edict relat
to these measures of prudence, signed by the D
one year before the fall of the Republic. The
paragraph is in Latin, the rest is in Italian.

Ludovicus Manin, by the grace of God Doge of Ve
to the noble and wise man, Federicus Bemb
his commission Podestà and Captain of Me
Fid. Dil. Sal. et Dil. Aff. [*Fideli dilecto salutem et dilect
affectum.*]

Molmenti, Nuovi Studi.

Seeing that the Austrian troops now coming down

Friuli are about to enter the Trevisan province, to which some of the French troops may also move, and it being according to the zealous forethought of the Government to remove all inducements which give individuals of the troops the desire to come still nearer to these lagoons, the Council of Ten, considering that one inducement might be the reopening of the theatre, orders you to put it off as long as may seem best to the prudence of the Heads of the said Council.

Given in our Ducal Palace on the twenty-seventh of September in the fifteenth year of the Indiction, 1796. [I find that the year of the Indiction does not correspond with the date.]

There was another magistracy which also had to do with the theatres. The 'Provveditori di Commun' fixed the price of the libretto of the play. It was the Council of Ten, however, that named the hour at which the performance was to begin and end.

Mutinelli, Lessico, 'Teatro.'

The lighting of the theatres was wretched and the boxes were completely dark, which appears to have given the ladies a considerable sense of security, for I find that in 1756 the noble dame Pisani Grimani, who owned the theatre of San Benedetto, was forbidden by the Inquisitors of State to stand at the door of her box in a costume which might 'produce grave disorder.'

Molmenti, Nuovi Studi.

In 1776 the Government made an effort to limit such extreme views of comfort in warm weather, and an edict was issued commanding ladies to wear modest dresses, with domino and hood, at the theatre. The noble ladies Maria Bon Toderini and Elisabetta Labia Priuli were put under arrest in their own houses in the following year for having, in their boxes, thrown back their hoods and allowed them to slip down upon their shoulders.

The musicians' desks were lighted with candles of Spanish wax, from Segovia in Castile. The stage was

illuminated by lamps fed with olive oil. In the
house there seems to have been a good deal of r
play, and the patricians in the boxes occasionally t
'projectiles'—possibly hard sweet-meats are meant
the people in the pit. The lights were put out as
as the curtain fell on the last act, and the spect
groped their way out in the dark as they could, he
by the big brass lanterns which the gondoliers bro
to the door when they came to wait for their maste

Plays were not advertised at all. A small
giving the name of the play and the names of
authors was pasted up in the Piazzetta, and an
was to be seen at the Rialto, but that was all. It
the business of the State to provide foreign ambassa
and ministers with boxes, and a vast deal of care
bestowed on this matter, which was full of difficul
for the boxes were generally the property of pr
families that did not at all like to give them up.
the Government always reserved the right to take
boxes it chose for the use of the Diplomatic C
In Venice, the smallest affairs were always condu
according to a prescribed method, and there w
regular rule by which the boxes were distributed.
document has been found by Signor Molmenti in
Archives of the Inquisitors of State, docketed
labelled: 'Theatres. Foreign Ambassadors. Bo
Here it is:—

The Ambassadors present themselves with a formal re
(memoriale) to the Most Excellent Council. By the l
through a Secretary of the Senate, His Serenity is request
draw the lots for the boxes of each. He puts into the b
box the numbers of all the boxes on that row which corres
to the rank of the Minister who applies, and he draws
number. The proscenium boxes are excepted, and the bal
the boxes occupied by other Ministers, and the one

belonged to the Minister who last went away. Afterwards, by the method explained hereinafter, notice (of the number drawn) is sent to the Minister, the owner (of the box), and the Council.

When the Minister does not like the box drawn for him, he

NEAR THE FENICE

lays before the Council his request that it may be changed, and by the same method His Serenity is requested to draw again. In that case he only puts in the numbers of the boxes opposite which are free, he draws again and sends the notices

to that effect, informing the owner of the second box th
may use the one first drawn.

When the box was at last drawn and had
accepted by the Minister, the owner of it receiv
notice in the following form :—

This day . . . (date). By order of the Most Exce
Savi (literally, 'Wise Men') notice is given to Your Excell
the Noble Sir, etc., etc. . . . (or Noble Dame, or
Illustrious Worship, or other proper title), that His Ser
has drawn Box No. . . . Row . . . in the . . . theatre bel
ing to Your Excellency (or other title) for His Excellenc
Ambassador (or Minister) of . . ., and this notice is sent
for your guidance.

The feelings of the box-owner, dispossessed by
formal nonsense, may be guessed, for the indem
paid by the ambassadors was very sr
It seems that even the Council anticip
that he would use bad language, for the underling
took him the notice was a Comandator-Portier,
was made to wear a red cap with the arms of
Republic as a badge 'to protect him against abuse'

Mutinelli, Lessico.

In 1791, when a company formed of nobles un
took to build the Fenice Theatre, using part of the r
of the old theatre of San Benedetto, they presente
the Doge a memorandum concerning the boxes for
Diplomatic Corps, of which I give an extract for
sake of its monumental absurdity, translating the te
quite literally :—

The reverend Company of the New Theatre is dispos
meet the public commands with submissive obedience, and
therefore at all times venerate whatsoever Your Serenity
be pleased to prescribe. . . .

In order to continue the building begun, it is necessa
sell the new boxes which have been added to those w
formed the last theatre, and the greatest profit that ma

hoped for lies in those situated in the first and second rows; but, as those places are subject to the dispositions above alluded to, which take from the owners the use of their own boxes, without fixing the measure of the corresponding indemnity, the sale of those boxes would be rendered impossible in the present state of things, to the incalculable damage of the sinking company, which would thus see removed the hope of soon finishing the building begun, or else would be put to new and enormous expense which would cause to vanish those expectations of profit which the Sovereign Clemency of the Most Excellent Council of Ten had benignly permitted the Company to entertain.

The memorandum ends with the rather startling statement that the pretensions of the ambassadors, if admitted, would cause the Company to lose eleven thousand ducats.

The Doge, who afterwards showed small alacrity to act when the country was in mortal danger, was apparently much moved on receiving the Company's petition, and forthwith summoned the Senate to consider the weighty matter; it is true that if he had done anything for the petitioners without appealing to that body, he would have been naturally suspected of being a shareholder.

The Senate decided that, without making any change in the method of drawing boxes, and without prejudice to the existing system in any other theatre, ambassadors should pay owners one hundred and sixty ducats for boxes in the first row, and that Ministers should pay eighty ducats for those in the second; whereby, said the Senate, which still preserved traditions of business, the owners of the said boxes would be getting four per cent on the money they had invested.

The construction of the famous Fenice lasted twenty months, and the new theatre opened with an opera by Paisiello on a libretto by Alessandro Pepoli.

GRAND CANAL FROM THE FISH MARKET

XXVII

THE LAST MAGISTRATES

THE philosophical reader will naturally ask
elements composed the Great Council of the Ven
Republic at a time when France was on the brin
the Revolution, and all Europe was about to be sh
by the explosion of the first new idea that had dav
on mankind since Christianity. I shall try to an
the question.

There were three classes of men in the Council :
the ancient aristo-plutocracy which, though with a

additions to its numbers, and though itself divided into

S. BARNABÒ

two parties, had on the whole steered the Republic through eleven hundred years of history; secondly, a

numl r of families, mostly of 'new men,' though
had sat in the Council four hundred years and n
but who had all been more or less occu
Rom. ix. 7.
with the legal profession since they
existed; thirdly and lastly, the poor nobles called
'Barnabotti,' from the quarter of San Barnabò, w
most of them were lodged at the public expense.

The first category generally held the posts of hi
dignity, many of which implied a salary by no m
small, but never sufficient to pay for the display w
the position required, according to accepted cust
The traditional splendour which the Venetian am
sadors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had
augurated was dear to the Senate, and had come t
officially required, if not actually prescribed in so n
words. These great families had long been accusto
to play the leading parts, and as the business s
which had made Venice the richest power in Eu
died out, their pride was often greater than their s
of responsibility. These and many other causes low
the standard according to which young Venetians
been brought up during centuries to understand
administration of their country; and the result was
they were not fit to fill the offices to which they
called, and therefore handed over their work to pri
secretaries, who were generally ambitious and intrig
men. To be a member of the Great Council had
only a social value, like those hereditary coats of a
in which there had once been such deep mean
Throughout ages the aristocracy of Venice had diff
altogether from the nobility of other countries, bu
decadence advanced to decay, and decay threat
destruction, the Venetian senator grew more and n
like the French marquis of the same period.

In an access of greatness Louis XIV. is reporte

have said, 'L'état c'est moi!' but the State continued to exist without him. The Venetian nobles might have said with much more truth, and perhaps with more

INSTITUTO BON, GRAND CANAL

reasonable pride, 'We nobles are the Republic!' For when they degenerated into dolls, the Republic soon ceased to exist.

The second category of nobles comprised by fa
sanest and most intelligent part of the aristocracy,
it was generally from their ranks that the Quar
were chosen, as well as the 'Savi,' and those magist
from whom special industry and intelligence were
quired, or at least hoped.

The Barnabotti had nothing in common with
two other classes, except their vanity of caste, w
was so infinitely far removed from pride. As I
said, they owed their name to the p
which most of them inhabited. T
nobility was more or less recent and doubtful,
almost all had ruined themselves in trying to rival
richer families. The majority of them had not
but a small pension, paid them by the Governm
and barely sufficient to lift them ou
actual misery. It was especially for t
that the College of Nobles had been foun
in which their sons were educated for nothing, with
the usual imperfections of gratuitous education. I
the 'New Men' of the fourteenth century, they
that an insurmountable barrier separated them from
older and richer classes, and the humiliations to w
they were often exposed by the latter kept aliv
them the sort of hatred which was felt in other part
Europe by the agricultural population for the ow
of the land. Their poverty and rancorous disposi
made them especially the objects of bribery when
party in the Great Council needed the assistance
their votes against another.

Molmenti, Nuovi Studi, 308.

Horatio Brown, Venice, 109; Rom. ix. 7.

The better sort of Venetians were well aware of
evils that were destroying the governing body.
1774 a member of the Council made a speech on
subject, in which he said that the greatest damage
Republic had suffered had been caused by the ac

of time; it lay in the already very sensible diminution in the numbers of the Great Council, which was, in fact, the Government itself. He pointed out that within one century a large number of patrician families had become extinct, and that the condition of the aristocracy must clearly continue to go from bad to worse. It could not be otherwise, since marriages were yearly becoming less numerous. A family was looked upon as a calamity, because it meant a division of fortune, and therefore interfered with those ancient traditions of almost royal magnificence which appealed to the vanity of younger men.

Cecchetti, quoting Arch. Ven. iii. 435.

The speech to which I have alluded was delivered not very many years after the time when a number of seats in the Grand Council had been sold in order to meet the expenses of the Turkish war. In 1775, in order to increase the numbers of the Council, it was proposed to admit to it forty noble families from the provinces, provided they could prove that they had a yearly income of ten thousand ducats. The proposal was energetically opposed by a Contarini. If the sons of ancient families showed so little zeal for the public welfare, he argued, what could be expected of strangers? Was it wise to display to all Europe the evils from which the Republic was suffering? Moreover, even if the bill were passed, would it be easy to find forty families willing to leave their homes and establish themselves in the capital to the great damage of their fortunes? And if they were found, would their admission not result in impoverishing the provinces by the amount of their incomes which would be spent in Venice? It was luxury and extravagance that were ruining the country, he said.

A lively discussion followed. 'Beloved sons,' cried

one old noble, 'for us who are old there may be a
of the Republic left, but for you children it is
pletely finished!' The bill passed, but Contarini
been right; only about ten families asked to be
scribed in the Golden Book.

Satirists and lampooners made merry with
proceedings of the Great Council. After the st
sittings just referred to, the caricatures of the
patricians entrusted with framing measures of re
were to be seen everywhere in the city
a copy of the cut is still in the Archives

Rom. viii. 211.

represents the most eloquent and zealous of the
mittee, Alvise Emo, urging his horse against an
mous marble column; two of his colleagues f
him in a post-chaise and observe his movements
a spy-glass; a fourth, who is lame, is trying to f
the carriage on foot, and the fifth comes after
beating him to make him mend his pace.

On the twenty-second of May 1779 the secr
of the Inquisitors of State wrote to his brother Giu
Gradenigo, then in France: 'If these gentleme
not seriously think of taking measures to mee
events which are brewing, if they do not intro
some order into the affairs of the army and navy
Republic will be lost as soon as an enemy appea
land or by sea.'

This letter was prophetic. The idleness and
dolence of the nobility were such that it was har
obtain an attendance at meetings of the Gre-: Co
or the Senate. The members were accustomed to s
their nights in gambling-dens and cafés, and it v
hard matter for them to get up in the morning.
physicians recommended rest, which they indeed nee
and as they could not take any at night, they devo
large part of the day to following the doctor's ad

Yet as it was necessary that the government should go on in some way, it became habitual to leave everything to the Savi of the Council, who on their part fell into the habit of not always rendering an account of what they did. By obligingly saving their colleagues the trouble of getting out of bed, they made themselves the arbiters of the Republic's final destiny.

With regard to the other magistracies, a few anecdotes will give a good idea of what they had become. My readers know that the Avogadori enjoyed very great consideration, and that it was their business to see that all the tribunals did their work smoothly and regularly. One of these important officers, Angelo Quirini, who was at the same time one of the most distinguished members of the Senate, exhibited his power and courage by banishing from Venice a little milliner who had made a mistake in trimming certain caps for a great lady in whom he was interested. From her exile the woman wrote a protest to the Inquisitors of State, who did her justice and recalled her. Quirini now lost his temper with these gentlemen and swore that they were encroaching upon his rights. Just at this time a rich member of the parish of San Vitale departed this life, and the sacristans prepared to bury his body; but the deceased belonged to a confraternity called La Scuola Grande della Carità, and his brethren claimed the right of burying him to the exclusion of the parish sacristans. The Inquisitors of State and the Council of Ten took the matter up; the Provveditori alla Sanità, who were the health officers, declared that the matter concerned them only; the elders and judges of the guilds and corporations took part in the discussion, and a general quarrel ensued, which was only brought to a close by the authority of the Council of Ten. But this did not please Angelo Quirini, who

Rom. viii. 104.

violently attacked the Council and began to give him
the airs of a popular tribune, though not possess
the popularity which is essential for the position.
people, in fact, would have none of him. One ni
the Council of Ten caused him to be quietly taken fr
his palace and carried off under a good escort to
fortress of Verona. The matter now had to be brou
before the Great Council, and a regular trial was h
to ascertain how the Council of Ten and the Inquisit
were in the habit of performing their dut
Rom. viii. 108.
During several days the Corregitori
ceived all the complaints that were handed in,
examined the archives of the two tribunals. Those
the Ten were found to be in perfect order, but th
of the Inquisitors were in the utmost c
Rom. viii. 114.
fusion. The whole city discussed the af
excitedly, and nothing else was spoken of in the stre
in the cafés, and in drawing-rooms. It was the first t
in history that the tribunal of the Inquisitors of St
had been put under an inquiry, and this tremend
result had been produced because a little milliner
made a cap that did not fit.

Endless discussions followed. A number of pa
cians declared that if the Council of Ten and
Inquisitors of State were abolished, they themsel
would not stay another day in Venice, as there wo
no longer be any check on the violence and
intrigues of men of their own class : a confession wh
suddenly exhibits the whole aristocracy in its t
light.

Others proved beyond all question that a tribu
which was particularly charged with the preservation
the State from danger could not alw
1762.
do its work with the miserable tardi
of the other magistracies, and they recalled the m

cases in which the Ten had saved Venice. One of the debates was prolonged for five consecutive hours. At last the Conservative party carried the day.

Rom. viii. 136-137.

The wild enthusiasm of the population, on learning that the Ten and the Inquisitors were to remain in existence, shows well enough what the people thought;

WHEN THE ALPS SHOW THEMSELVES, FONDAMENTA NUOVE

their only protection against the nobles lay in the two tribunals. Six thousand persons waited in the Square of Saint Mark's to learn the result of the contest, and when it was known proceeded to burn fireworks before the palaces of the nobles who had been the chief speakers in defence of the Ten—Foscarini, Marcello, and Grimani. The populace then declared that it would set fire to the houses of the nobles who had

tried to do away with the only institution they
feared, and the palaces of the Zen and the Renier
only saved from fire and pillage by the energetic i
vention of the Inquisitors of State, whose office t
aristocrats had attempted to abolish.

I know of no more convincing answer to
numerous dilettante historians who have accused
Council of Ten of oppressing the people.

If the Council and the Inquisitors were in nee
an excuse for occasionally overstepping their powe
order to act quickly, they had a good one in the absu
cumbrous system of the magistracies, as they existe
the eighteenth century. As a curio
Rom. viii. 399.
I give a list of the principal magistra
taken by Romanin from an almanack of 1796, the
year of the Republic :—

The Doge's Counsellors	6
Savi of the Council	16
Procurators of Saint Mark	9
'Criminal' Quarantia	40
'Old' Civil Quarantia	40
'New' Civil Quarantia	40
Colleges of the XXV. and the XV.	40
Senate	60
'Zonta,' supplementary to Senate	60
Council of Ten	10
Inquisitors (of Ten)	3
Avogadori of the Commonwealth	3
Total	327

besides the whole of the Great Council, which cons
of all nobles over twenty-five years of age, and o
younger men chosen by lot to sit without a vote.

And these are only the principal magistracies.
secondary ones comprised over five hundred offi

divided between something like one hundred and thirty offices, such as Provveditors, or inspectors of some forty different matters, from artillery to butchers' shops, from 'Ancient and Modern Justice' to oats; Savi, Inquisitors of all matters except religion, Auditors, Executors, Correctors, Reformers, Deputies and Syndics; a perfect ant-hill of officials who were perpetually in one another's way.

CAFÉ ON THE ZATTERE

Here is an instance of the manner in which ordinary justice was administered, even by the Council of Ten.

On the sixth of March 1776 a patrician called Semitecolo, who was a member of one of the Quarantie, and therefore a magistrate, was walking in the Fondamenta Nuove when he saw a big butcher named Milani unmercifully beating a wretched peddler of old books. He stopped and expostulated; the butcher took his

interference ill, and delivered a blow with his fist wh
caused the blood to gush abundantly from the ma
trate's nose. Semitecolo was taken into a neighbour
house, and the butcher walked off.

Still covered with blood, Semitecolo hastened to
the matter before the Council of Ten, demanding
arrest of Milani. But Pier Barbarigo, who was one
the Capi for the week, while sympathising deeply,
cused himself from arresting the culprit, on the gro
that a detailed account of the affair signed by witne
must be laid before the Council ; and, moreover,
Council was busy just then, he said, owing to
arrival of the Pope's Nuncio, and there would be
meeting on the next day. Semitecolo could not e
get an order to have the butcher watched by the pol
and the culprit had full time and liberty to leave Ve
before anything was done. Note that he himself
not expect impunity, but only a very long delay bef
his arrest was ordered.

The public followed the affair and was indign
and freely criticised the Ten in public places ; whe
upon the Inquisitors ordered all the cafés to be clo
two hours after dark. This was especially galling
the Venetians, who were fond of sitting up late,
loved the bright lights of the cafés.

One morning a notice appeared on the walls, dra
up in the following terms :—

'The Guild of the Night-Thieves wishes to thank
Excellency the "Capo" Barbarigo for having provi
them with much more sufficient and c
venient means of earning their bread dur
the present hard times.'

Rom. viii. 196.

The Inquisitors' ordinance was soon modified sc
to allow the cafés to remain open till midnight.

As for the minor courts, Goldoni, who was brou

up to be a lawyer, says that there were nearly as many different ones as there were different kinds of suits

THE DOGANA

possible. They paralysed each other, and could not have worked well even if they had been honest.

But they were not. An Avogador acquitted a
accused of theft. The Signors of the Night-
chiefs of police—who had committed
accused for trial believed him guilty
determined to examine the papers relating to the
With this intention they made a search in the hou
the Avogador and confiscated the private accoun
which he set down the profit and loss of his jud
industry; for he was a very careful man. Su
enough, the Signors found an entry of one hun
and fifty sequins (£112 : 10s.) received for acqui
the thief.

Mutinelli, Ult. 143.

About the same time there was a very beau
dancer called the Cellini at the theatre of San Cas
A magistrate who exercised the right
functions of an 'Executor against B
phemy' became anxious to get into her good gr
but as she would have nothing to do with him
brought an accusation against her in his own co
tried her, and condemned her to a severe penalty.
she appealed to the Council of Ten, proved her in
cence, and was acquitted. Thereupon the Vene
began to swear 'by the holy Virgin Cellini.'

Mutinelli, Ult. 144.

With such a state of things in Venice, it was
to be expected that the condition of justice in
provinces should be still worse. W
Goldoni was Secretary to the Chan
of Feltre, in the Venetian territory, there was a h
scandal about a whole forest cut down and sold with
any order or authority from the Government.
inquiry was attempted and begun; it was found
more than two hundred persons were implicated,
as it soon became apparent that the same thing
been done before them, within the century, it
judged better to draw a veil over the whole affair.

Mut. Ult.

This naturally encouraged others. In 1782 the Provveditor Michiel informed the Senate that the Podestà of the city of Usmago had calmly pocketed the price of an oak forest, which he had asked leave to cut down on pretence of using the funds for repairing his official residence.

Finally, a number of posts, especially in the ducal household, were openly sold; in the last years of the Republic even the office of a procurator of Saint Mark could be bought.

In close connection with the magistracies and the legal profession generally, I give the following amusing extract from Goldoni's memoirs.

He begins by telling us that although he had been entered at a lawyer's office for two years, he left it fitted for the profession in eight months, because the administration interpreted the two years to mean the dates of two consecutive years, without any regard to the months. Young Goldoni then took a lodging in the lawyers' quarter near San Paterniano, and his mother and aunt lived with him.

Goldoni, i. 23.

I put on the toga belonging to my new station (he continues), and it is the same as that of the Patricians; I smothered my head in an enormous wig and impatiently awaited the day of my presentation in the Palace. The novice must have two assistants who are called in Venice Compari di Palazzo ['Palace godfathers']. The young man chooses them amongst those of the old lawyers who are most friendly to him. . . .

So I went between my two sponsors to the foot of the grand staircase in the great courtyard of the Palace, and for an hour and a half I made so many bows and contortions that my back was broken and my wig was like a lion's mane. Every one who passed before me gave his opinion of me; some said, Here is a youth of good character; others said, Here is another Palace sweeper; some embraced me, some laughed

in my face. To be short, I went up the stairs and sent servant to find a gondola, so as not to show myself in street in such a dishevelled state, naming as a place of mee the Hall of the Great Council, where I sat down on a b whence I could see every one pass without being seen by one. During this time, I reflected on the career I was a to embrace. In Venice there are generally two hundred forty lawyers entered on the register; there are ten or tw of the first rank, about twenty who occupy the second the others are hunting for clients; and the poorer Procur gladly act as their dogs on condition of sharing the prey. .

While I was thus alone, building castles in the air, I a woman of about thirty approaching me, not disagreeabl face, white, round and plump, with a turned-up nose wicked eyes, a great deal of gold on her neck, her ears, arms, her fingers, and in a dress which proclaimed that she a woman of the common class, but pretty well off. She c over and saluted me.

'Sir, good day!'

'Good day, Signora!'

'Will you allow me to offer you my congratulations?'

'For what?'

'On your entrance into the Forum; I saw you in courtyard when you were making your salaams. Per Ba Sir, your hair is nicely done.'

'Isn't it? Am I not a handsome young fellow?'

'But it makes no difference how your hair is done; Si Goldoni always cuts a good figure.'

'So you know me, Signora?'

'Did I not see you four years ago in the land of lawyers, in a long wig and cloak?'

'True; you are right, for I was then in the house of Procurator.'

'Just so; in the house of Signor Indrie' [Goldoni's un

'So you know my uncle too?'

'In this part of the world I know every one, from Doge to the last copyist of the Courts.'

'Are you married?'

'No.'

'Are you a widow?'

'No.'

'Oh—I do not dare ask more!'

'All the better.'

'Have you any business?'

'No.'

'From your appearance I took you for a well-to-do person.'

'I really am.'

'Then you have investments?'

'None at all.'

'But you are very well fitted out; how do you manage to do it?'

'I am a daughter of the Palace, and the Palace supports me.'

'That is very strange! You say you are a daughter of the Palace?'

'Yes, sir; my father had a position in it.'

'What did he do?'

'He listened at the doors and then went to take good news to those who were expecting pardons, or verdicts, or favourable judgments; he had capital legs and always got there first. As for my mother, she was always here, as I am. She was not proud, she took her fee, and undertook some commissions. I was born and brought up in these gilded halls, and, as you see, I also have gold on me.'

'Yours is a most singular story. Then you follow in your mother's footsteps?'

'No sir. I do something else.'

'That is to say?'

'I push lawsuits.'

'Push lawsuits? I do not understand.'

'I am as well known as Barabbas. It is very well understood that all the lawyers and all the Procurators are my friends, and a number of people apply to me to obtain advice for them and counsel for defence. Those who come to me are generally not rich, and I look about amongst the novices and the unemployed [lawyers] who want nothing but work in order to make themselves known. Do you know, sir, that though you see me as I am, I have made the fortunes of a round dozen of the most famous lawyers in the profession. Come, sir, courage, and if you are willing, I shall make yours too.'

It amused me to listen to her, and as my servant did not come, I continued the conversation.

'Well, Signorina, have you any good affairs on
now?'

'Yes, sir, I have several, indeed I have some excellent
I have a widow who is suspected of having occultate
monkey; another who wishes to prove a marriage contrac
up after the fact; I have girls who are petitioning for a do
I have women who wish to bring suits for annulme
marriage; I have sons of good families who are persecut
their creditors; as you see, you need only choose.'

'My good woman,' I said, 'so far I have let you talk;
it is my turn. I am young, I am about to begin my c
and I desire occasions for showing myself and obtaining
pation; but no love of work nor fancy for litigation
make me begin with the disgraceful suits you offer me.'

'Ha, ha!' she laughed, 'you despise my clients beca
warned you that there was nothing to earn; but listen!
two widows are rich, you will be well paid, and shall be
paid in advance, if you wish.'

I saw my servant coming in the distance; I rose
answered the chattering woman in a fearless and resolute

'No, you do not know me, I am a man of honour. . .

Then she took my hand and spoke gravely.

'Well done! Continue always in the same mind.'

'Ah!' I exclaimed, 'you change your tone now?'

'Yes,' she replied, 'and the tone I take now is much b
than the one I have been using. Our conversation has
somewhat mysterious; remember it and see that you spea
no one about it. Goodbye, sir. Always be wise, be al
honourable, and you will be satisfied with the result.'

She went away, and I was left in the greatest astonishm
I did not know what all this meant; but I learned later
she was a spy and had come to sound me; yet I never k
nor wished to know, who sent her to me.

RIO DELLA SENSA

XXVIII

THE LAST SBIRRI

It is worth while to glance at the agents of the police, of the Council of Ten, and of the Inquisitors of State at the end of the Republic. The two Councils had six in their service, called the Fanti de' Cai, the footmen of the Heads, and one of them was at the beck and call of the Inquisitors. This particular one was the famous Cristofolo de' Cristofoli, whose name is connected alike with all the tragedies and the comic adventures of the last days.

Mutinelli, Lessico.

He was a sort of general inspector of freem
rope-dancers, circus-riders, antiquaries, bravi
gondoliers, and he exercised in his manifold fun
all the civility of which a detective can dispose.
was a giant in body, a jester and a wit by n
a combination certainly intended for the stage
than the police.

His especial bugbear was Freemasonry, tog
with all the secret societies which were then larg
the pay of France, employed by her to promote g
revolution. A manuscript preserved in the N
Correr gives an account of the first discovery
Lodge.

A patrician named Girolamo Zulian, says this
ment, when returning one night from a meeting
Lodge left upon the seat of his gondola a pi
paper on which were drawn certain incomprehe
signs. The gondoliers found the paper, and sup
that the symbols were those of some kind of witc
One of the men took the scrap to a monk he kne
begged him to decipher the signs, or at least to
his advice as to what should be done with the
as it might be fatal even to destroy a spell of
magic. The monk told the gondolier to take
the Inquisitors of State. The man did so, an
of them kept him in a garret of his house, to p
him against any possible vengeance on the pa
the secret society, and Cristofolo de' Cristofol
commissioned to clear up the mystery. On the fo
ing night he raided the house indicated by the gon
with thirty Sbirri, and found there assembled a
meeting of the brethren, one of whom had the pre
of mind to throw into the canal the heavy re
containing a complete list of their names. Cris
took a quantity of papers, however, together wit

paraphernalia of the Lodge, and he afterwards, says the manuscript, dictated from memory the names of the persons he had seen at the meeting. But he must have made mistakes, since several of the persons he designated are known to have been absent from Venice on foreign missions at the date of the raid, May sixth, 1785.

Another manuscript, published by Dandolo, gives a different account of the affair, under the same date. It was copied by the famous Cicogna, and is amusing for its language :—

It was the anniversary of the feast of the principal Protector of this most serene dominion, Saint Mark the Evangelist, April the twenty-fifth, 1785, when it was discovered that the public Arsenal of Venice had been treacherously set on fire; the fire was eventually discovered by a certain woman, who was rewarded for life [*i.e.* with a pension] by the public munificence; and by the discovery of it, a fire was prevented which might have been fatal to a large part of the city, and which was not to have broken out till the night following the twenty-fifth, but which showed itself after noon on account of an extraordinary wind which had temporarily arisen from the east and which blew with fury all day.

Such an accident, as fatal as its prevention by the Evangelist Saint Mark was miraculous, not only moved the public vigilance to guard that public edifice under more jealous custody, but also [to watch] all the quarters of the city; to this end multiplying watchmen and spies, in order to discover, if that might be possible, the perpetrators of such an horrible and terrifying felony.

In the inquiries, it was observed by trustworthy spies on the night of the [date omitted in the original] May, that a certain palace situated in Riomarin, in the parish of San Simon Grande, was entered from time to time after midnight by respectable-looking persons, for whom the door was opened at the simple signal of a little tap. Information of this being given to the Supreme Tribunal, the latter ordered the most circumspect inquiries; when, on the same morning, informa-

tion was given to the Secretary of the said Supreme
tracy by a certain ship's carpenter that having, on comm
N. N., finished making a large wardrobe, he inquired
cavalier where he was to bring it in order to set it up p
and that he had been told to bring it to a certain p
Riomarin and to leave it in the entrance (gateway
same, and that he would be sent for later to place i
it was to go; that seeing several days go by witl
ceiving that notice, and yielding to curiosity, he stole
the night to see if the wardrobe were still in the ent
the palace, where he had placed it, and he convinced
that it had been taken elsewhere; and being displea
this, because some other workman might have han
work, and guessing from a hint of the gentleman's
wardrobe had been intended to be placed against the
of a balcony, and observing in this palace a balcony
about the length of the wardrobe made by him, he trie
into the apartment above the one where the balcony
to some one], explaining to the people who lived in th
that his suspicion induced him to ask their permission
a hole with a gimlet, in order to see whether his wardr
been put up where he guessed it must be; and that
obtained consent to this request, because the lodgers
second apartment had conceived some curiosity to kn
the persons might be who met there only at night tim
therefore he betook himself to that dwelling on the
the fourth of May, having previously made a hole, and
there till the first-floor apartment was opened, and he s
after midnight a hall was lighted up which was hu
mourning and furnished with a throne covered with bl
and with other symbols of death, and here and the
disposed small lanterns, and persons also sitting here an
dressed in black robes; so that at this horrid sight
terrified, and he heard him who sat on the throne s
very words: 'Brethren, let us suspend our meeting, fo
watched'; and in that room he saw indeed his wardrob
against a balcony.

And that he left the lodgers in that second apart
consternation, and he himself, full of amazement and
and still surprised by the novelty of the things, and su

in his simplicity, that witchcraft was practised there and the works of the devil, he was scandalised, and went to the parish priest of San Simon Grande, his confessor, and that having told him all he had seen, heard, and observed, he (the priest) advised him to quickly lay before the Government all that he had chanced to see and hear.

RIO S. STIN

The good man did so, and told all to the Secretary of the Inquisitors of State. A warrant was therefore issued on that same morning of the sixth of May by the Supreme Tribunal to its own officer Cristofoli, to go thither (to Riomarin), accompanied by the Capitan Grande and twenty-four men. Having entered that apartment, where he surprised a nobleman

who guarded the place, he (Cristofoli) disc ered a L
Freemasons.

Emanuele Cicogna [the distinguished historian] co
on the twenty-fourth of August 1855, from two
existing in his collection.

On the following day, the Inquisitors
burned the black garments, the utensils, the
juring books,' as they are describe
all the booty Cristofoli had conf
while the populace, believing that it was all a
witchcraft, danced round the fire and cheer
Saint Mark.

Mutinelli, Ut.

The persons implicated were treated wi
greatest indulgence, and Malamani observes
the whole affair it was the furniture that g
worst of it.

About the same time Cristofoli made a vain
to arrest the notorious Cagliostro.

This man, whose real name was Giuseppe B
was born in Palermo on the eighth of June 1743
youth was wild and disreputable. He tried
monk, but soon tired of it, and threw his frock
nettles, as the French say, in Caltagirone, in
after that he lived by theft, by coining false mon
by every sort of imposture. In Rome he marrie
of singular beauty, Lorenza Feliciani, who beca
tool in all his intrigues.

The French Freemasons made use of the sir
intelligent couple to propagate the doctrines
Revolution. Pretending to change hemp into s
every metal into gold, and selling marvellous
for restoring the aged to youth and beauty,
got into many excellent houses, changing their
and their disguises whenever they were compro

Balsamo arrived in Venice in 178 or 178

the name of Count Cagliostro, and began an active revolutionary campaign, to the great annoyance of the Inquisitors, who fancied they had suppressed the whole movement when Cristofoli had discovered the famous Lodge. He was less fortunate this time. He tracked the Count everywhere, but could get no substantial evidence against him, till he suddenly came upon positive proof that the impostor had stolen a thousand sequins from a rich merchant of the Giudecca. And then, at the very moment when the great policeman was sure of his game, the man disappeared as into thin air, and was next heard of beyond the Austrian frontier.

Mutinelli, Ult. 31.

The chief of the Sbirri had better luck when he raided the Café Ancilotto, which was a favourite place of meeting for the revolutionaries. They tried to open a reading-room there, furnished with all the latest revolutionary literature, but Cristofoli got wind of the plan, called on the man who kept the café, and informed him that the first person who entered the 'reading-room' would be invited to pay a visit to the Inquisitors of State. After that, no one showed any inclination to read the French papers. In connection with Cristofoli, we also come upon the curious fact that he arrested, at the Café of the Ponte dell' Angelo, a number of Barnabotti who were preaching suspicious doctrines. As usual the poor nobles were the class most easily bribed and most ready to betray their country.

Tassini, under 'Ancilotto.'

Tassini, under 'Caffetero.'

Cristofoli was occasionally entrusted with missions more diplomatic than the arrest of revolutionaries. He was sometimes sent to present his respects to great nobles who did not guess that they had attracted the notice of the police.

It was the business of the Inquisitors to watch over

the artistic treasures of the capital. During t
year of the Republic a number of nobles sold p
objects to strangers, such as paintings and stat

RIO DELLA GUERRA

which the Government much regretted the loss
city. A few measures were passed for preventi
dispersion of private collections, but it happen

too often that priceless things were suddenly gone, leaving no trace of their destination, except in the pockets of the former owners.

The Grimani family possessed some magnificent statues and a wonderful library of rare books, inherited from Cardinal Domenico Grimani, who died in 1523. Shortly before the fall of the Republic a foreigner bought the statue of Marcus Agrippa; the boat which was to take it on board an outward-bound ship was at the door of the palace, and the men who were to take it down from its pedestal and box it were ready, when Cristofolo Cristofoli appeared at the entrance, gigantic and playful.

Statue of M. Agrippa; Museo Correr.

He walked straight to the statue, took off his cap to it and bowed gravely before he delivered his message to the marble: 'The Supreme Tribunal of the Inquisitors, having heard that you wish to leave this city, sends me to wish a pleasant journey, both to you and his Excellency Grimani.'

'His Excellency Grimani' did not relish the idea of exile; the workmen disappeared, the boat was sent away, and the statue remained. It was destined to be left as a gift to the city by another Grimani, less avaricious than 'His Excellency.'

In spite of his good-humour, Cristofoli inspired terror, and his mere name was often used to lend weight to practical jokes. It is related, for instance, of the famous Montesquieu, the author of the *Esprit des Lois* and the friend of King Stanislaus Leczinski, that when he was making notes in Venice his friend Lord Chesterfield managed to cause a mysterious message to be conveyed to him, warning him to be on his guard, as the Chief of the Ten employed spies to watch him, and Cristofoli was on his track. And thereupon, says the story, the

Molmenti, Studi e Ricerche.

excellent Montesquieu burned all his most com
ing notes, and fled straight to Holland wi
remainder of his manuscripts.

The Council of Ten and their Sbirri had not y
with the Bravi. They were numerous in the pro
and when they were caught they were tried and
in Venice. The 'Signorotti'—the rich lando
who were not Venetian nobles, but called the
'knights'—were many and prosperous, and w
professional murderers' best clients. Indee
Venetian mainland provinces and much of Lo
presented a case of arrested development; at t
of the eighteenth century they had not emerge
the barbarism of the early fifteenth.

The lordlings entertained Bravi, and when the
no more serious business on hand, they laid wage
each other as to the courage of their hired as
A bet of this kind was made and settled in
between an Avogadro and a Masperoni, two c
'knights' who lived on their estates in the prov
Brescia. One evening the two were discussi
character of a ruffian whom Masperoni had just
into his service. His new master maintained t
fellow was the bravest man in the 'profe
Avogadro, on the other hand, wagered that he
not be able to traverse the road between his m
castle and Lumezzane, which belonged to Avo
Masperoni took the bet, and explained the situat
the man. The latter, feeling that his reputation
stake, started at once, carrying on his shoulder a
of fine fruit as a present from Masperoni to his frien
he took his way across the hills of Valtrompia.
he was a few miles from Lumezzane he was m
two well-armed fellows, who ordered him to turn
but he was not so easily stopped. He set dow

basket, and in the twinkling of an eye killed both his adversaries, after which he quietly pursued his journey.

Avogadro was very much surprised to see him, and asked with curiosity what sort of trip he had made.

'Excellent,' he answered. 'I met a couple of good-for-nothings who wanted to stop me, but I killed them, and here I am.'

Avogadro, filled with admiration, gave him a purse of gold and sent him back to Masperoni with a letter of congratulation.

Molmenti, Banditi, 289.

Incidents of this kind occurred long afterwards, even after the fall of the Republic. The name of Cristofoli is associated with that of Count Alemanno Gambara in a story which could not be believed if the documents that prove it were not all preserved in the various archives, and principally in those of the Inquisitors.

The Gambara family was of Lombard origin, and had always been very influential in the neighbourhood of Brescia. The race had produced fine specimens of all varieties—soldiers, bishops, cardinals, murderers, and one woman poet, besides several bandits, traitors, and highwaymen. In the late sixteenth century two brothers of the family, Niccolò and Lucrezio, had a near relative, Theodora, an orphan girl of fourteen years and an heiress, who was in charge of a guardian. On the twenty-second of January 1569 the two brothers went to the guardian and ordered him to give up the girl. On his refusal they threw him down his own stairs, wounded [illegible] people who tried to defend him, broke down t[illegible]or of the girl's room, and carried her off.

I only quote this as an instance of the family's manners. The last scion of the race who lived under the Republic, and who outlived it, was Count Alemanno, a young monster of perversity. He was born after his

father's death at the castle of Pralboino, on a
holding belonging to his house. His mother w
married again to Count Martinengo Cesaresco,
took the boy with her to her new home.
naturally violent and unruly; at fifteen he
accomplished swordsman, and was involved in
quarrel and evil adventure on the country side.
still a mere boy his conduct was such as to g
Government real trouble, and the authorities im
guardian upon him in the person of a priest
family, who was instructed to teach him the o
precepts of right and wrong; but the clergyma
announced that he was not able to cope with his
relative, and the Council of Ten learned that th
violent character showed no signs of improvemen

He was now arrested, brought to Venice, an
fined in one of the Piombi, his property bei
ministered under the direction of the Government
Inquisitors of State examined the record of th
plaints laid against him, and concluded that hi
were due to his extreme youth; they therefore
him to reside within the fortress of Verona, b
him control of his fortune.

The Captain of Verona, knowing the sort of p
he had to deal with, and being made responsi
him, sent for an engineer and asked his opi
to the possibilities of escape for a prisoner w
not locked up in a cell. The engineer wrote
careful criticism of the fortress, concluding w
extremely practical remark: 'With good me
escape,' he observed, 'a man may escape fro
place, but without means it is not possible to
at all.'

The Captain, only partially reassured, set to w
convert his prisoner, and sent him a good pr

teach him his Catechism and exhort him to the practices of Christianity; but the young Count would have neither exhortation nor religious instruction. The

VIA GARIBALDI

Council of Ten now sent him to the fortress of Palma for a change of air, and the commander of that place inherited the feverish anxiety about his charge which had tormented the Captain of Verona. He did not

consult an engineer, however, and one morning
prisoner was not in his room, nor in the fortress
anywhere in the neighbourhood of Palma.

The Inquisitors now sent Sbirri in all direc
throughout the Venetian territory. They could
catch Alemanno, but he wearied of eluding them
judged that he could get better terms by subm
to the Inquisitors. He did so, using the offices c
aunt, Countess Giulia Gambara, who was marrie
a gentleman of Vicenza. The Podestà of the
city sent an officer and six soldiers to the place c
nated by Alemanno, and he surrendered, and was
first to Padua, and then to Venice. As soon
landed at the Piazzetta he was put in charge of C
foli and the Sbirri, who took him before the Inquis

They exiled him to Zara, and wrote to tl. Gov
of Dalmatia : 'We desire him to have a good lod
. . . See that he frequents persons of good h
thanks to whom he may not wander from the
path on which he has entered, and in which we
him to continue.'

The Inquisitors, good souls, so mildly concerne
the wild boy's moral welfare, were soon to learn
Alemanno considered the 'right path,' for the Gov
of Dalmatia kept them well informed. Before
they learned that a certain fisherman, who had re
to let the Count's butler, Antonio Barach, have a
fish which was already sold to another client, had
seized, taken into the Count's house, and severely be

But the Inquisitors were inclined to be clement
paid no attention to the accounts of his doings.
1756 he was authorised to return to his domain
Pralboino and Corvione, and his real career b
His first care was to engage as many desperate
as he could find. One of these having had a

difficulty with the police, and having been killed during the argument, Alemanno captured a Sbirro, and so handled him that he sent him back to his post a cripple for life.

Scarcely a year after his return from Zara, he rode through the town of Calvisano, and without answering the Customs officer, whose duty it was to ascertain if he were carrying anything dutiable, he galloped on and escaped recognition. His servant, who followed him at a little distance, was stopped, and as he answered the Customs men very rudely he was locked up in jail. But when the officer in charge learned who the man was, his fright was such that he not only set him at liberty at once, but conversed with him and treated him in the most friendly manner.

The young Count was of course delighted to learn that his name spread terror amongst Government officials, and by way of showing what he could do, he sent fifteen of his Bravi to Calvisano with orders to besiege the Customs men. In the fighting that followed, one of the latter was killed and their officer narrowly escaped.

The Council of Ten now interfered, and summoned Count Alemanno Gambara to appear before them, and if he refused, the local authorities were ordered to take him and send him by force. Instead of obeying, he fortified his two castles, increased the numbers of his band of Bravi, and defied the law. With his ruffians at his back he rode through the length and breadth of the Brescian territory as he pleased, and once even traversed the city itself with his formidable escort. No one dared to meddle with him. His neighbours in the country were completely terrorised, and he and his head ruffian, Carlo Molinari, committed the wildest excesses.

Alemanno seems to have especially deligh
watch the effect of fright on his victims. O
his men chased a priest of Gottolengo an
friends, who had been shooting in the woods
beyond the boundary of the estate of Corvione
fugitives succeeded in reaching the church of Gott
in which they took refuge, barricading the door
their pursuers. But the Bravi starved them o
they were obliged to surrender unconditionally.
were then led out to a lonely field and were e
to commend their souls to God, as they were a
be killed and buried on the spot. Alemanno
their agony with delight, concealed behind a
When he was tired of the sport, he came out
cealment and ordered his men to beat and kic
back to Gottolengo.

A retired colonel lived quietly on a small est
one of Gambara's. His servants accidentally ki
of the Count's dogs ; he had them taken, cruelly
and sent back to their master after sufferin
indignity. The colonel thought of lodging a co
with the Council of Ten, but on reflection he
the idea as not safe, for Gambara's vengeance
probably have been fatal to any one who vent
give information of his doings. No one
within his reach, neither man, nor woman, nor ch
volume might be filled with the list of his crime

At last, in 1762, the municipality of the
Gambara, from which he took his title, reso
petition the Council of Ten for help and pr
against him. When he learned that this w
intention, he rode into the town with his esc
halting in the market-place addressed the c
his threats of vengeance were so frightful, and
so well able to carry them out, that the chief b

fell upon their knees before him, weeping and imploring his forgiveness.

One day several Sbirri traversed some of his land in pursuit of a smuggler who sought his protection. He met them smiling, and cordially invited them to spend a night under his roof. With the childlike simplicity which is one of the most endearing characteristics of most Italians, they fell into the trap. On the next day, a cart loaded with greens entered Brescia, and stopped opposite the house of the Venetian Podestà. The horses were taken out and led away, without exciting any remark, and the cart remained where it had been left, till the foul smell it exhaled attracted attention. It was unloaded, and underneath the greens were found the bloody corpses of the Sbirri who had accepted Gambara's hospitality.

This time the Inquisitors of State took matters seriously, and sent a squadron of cuirassiers and a detachment of Sbirri, under the command of an officer called Rizzi, to arrest him and his henchman Molinari. Rizzi came to Pralboino and broke down the gates, but the two men were already gone, and the expedition ended in the confiscation of a few insignificant letters found in Alemanno's desk.

He had understood that he must leave Venetian territory for a time, and riding down into the Duchy of Parma he sought the hospitality of his friend, the Marchese Casali, at Monticelli. He next visited Genoa, and judging that it was time to settle in life, he married the Marchesa Carbonare, whom he judged, with some reason, to be a woman worthy of his companionship.

They returned together to Monticelli, where they led a riotous existence for some time. Being one day short of money, Alemanno stopped the messengers who

were conveying to Venice the taxes raised in B
and sent them on after giving them a formal
for the large sum he had taken from them. Bu
was too much for the Duke of Parma, who
requested the couple to spend their time elsewher
in his Duchy.

They consulted as to their chances of getting
pardon for the crimes the Count had committ
Venetian territory and against the Republic, an
Countess addressed a petition to the Doge which
as follows: 'Every penitent sinner who sin
purposes to mend his life obtains of God merc
forgiveness; shall I, Marianna Carbonare, the
afflicted wife of Count Alemanno Gambara, no
thereby encouraged to fall upon my knees befo
august Throne of your Serenity? . . .' And
more to the same effect.

Another petition, signed by both, was addres
the Inquisitors; and a third, signed only by Alen
to the Doge and the Inquisitors together. I
precious document he calls them, 'the most
image of God on earth, by their power.'

The object of these petitions was that the Count
be sent into exile, anywhere, so long as he were no
up in a fortress, a sentence which would soon ki
as he was in bad health.

He had certainly committed many murders an
killed several servants of the Republic in the per
ance of their duties; and he had stolen the
collected in Brescia. Amazing as it may see
petition was granted, and he was exiled to Zara fo
years, after which he was allowed to come to Ch
on the express condition that he should not se
outside the castle, and should see no one but hi
and son. He remained in Chioggia just a year,

the twenty-fifth of September 1777, to the twenty-sixth of September 1778, after which the Inquisitors were kind enough to give him his liberty if he would present himself before their Secretary, which he did with alacrity.

My readers need not be led into a misapprehension by the touching unanimity which the loving couple exhibited in the petitions they signed. They never agreed except when their interests did, and were soon practically separated in their private life. The Countess took Count Miniscalchi of Verona for her lover, while Alemanno showed himself everywhere with the Countess of San Secondo. In the end they separated altogether, and the son, Francesco, remained with his father, who educated him according to his own ideas.

So far as can be ascertained, the man never changed the manner of his life. After his pardon he returned to his estates in the province of Brescia, where he found his old friends, who were few, and the recollections of his youth, which were many. In a short time Pralboino and Corvione were once more dens of murderers and robbers as of old, and as in former days he had been helped in his blackest deeds by Carlo Molinari, his chief Bravo, so now he was seconded by his steward, Giacomo Barchi, who kept the reign of terror alive in the country when it pleased the Count to reside in Venice.

He was sleeping soundly in his apartment in the capital one morning towards the end of March 1782, after having spent most of the night at a gambling house by the Ponte dell' Angelo—he never slept more than four hours—when he was awakened by an unexpected visit from Cristofolo de' Cristofoli, who requested him to appear at once before the Secretary of the Inquisitors. An examination of conscience must

have been a serious affair for Alemanno, and no
undertaken except at leisure; and it appears t
this occasion he really did not know what he was
accused of doing. The Secretary of the Inq
merely commanded him not to leave the city
of the Tribunal's anger, and on the morrow he
that his steward Barchi had also been arrested.

For some reason impossible to explain, nothi
done to either, and before long even the stewa
set at liberty. The Inquisitors confined thems
threatening the two with 'the public indignatio
their own severest measures, if the Count did not
his Bravi and 'reform his conduct.'

After that, history is silent as to his exploit
was no longer young, and even the zest of mur
rapine was probably beginning to pall on his
taste. We know that he sincerely mourned th
the Republic which had been so consistently
him, and he never plotted against the Gove
He could not but feel that it would have
exaggeration to accuse it of having been hard on

His son Francesco, on the contrary, turned
be one of the most turbulent of revolutionar
helped to lead the insurrection at Bergamo.
the intervention of Bonaparte himself, he wou
been killed by the inhabitants of Salò, who r
faithful to the Republic, when they repulsed
surgents. He was one of the five delegates w
city of Brescia sent to Bonaparte, to name him p
of the Cisalpine Republic. He died in 184
having written a life of his father, which was p
eleven years later in Trieste. One cannot but
in composing a memoir of his parent, filial p
him too far.

In concluding this chapter, which has de

criminals, I shall take the opportunity of observing that the places in which criminals were confined in Venice shared in the general decay of everything connected with the Government. In the seventeenth century and earlier all prisoners had been carefully kept separate according to their misdeeds; in the eighteenth, mere children were shut up with adult criminals, and debtors were confined with thieves. In the women's prisons lunatics were often imprisoned with the sane, a state of things that led to the most horrible scenes.

The gaolers of the Pozzi and the Piombi did not even keep the prisons clean, and the state of the cells was such that I do not care to disgust the reader by describing it. In the other prisons, or attached to them, a regular tavern was tolerated, and perhaps authorised, as a place of gathering for the prisoners, and here games of chance were played, even such as were forbidden elsewhere in the city. The archives of the Ten show how many crimes were committed in the very places where men were confined to expiate earlier offences. As for the gaolers, they were one and all corruptible. One of the Savi, the patrician Gritti, denounced to the Senate, in 1793, a gaoler who let the healthiest and most airy cells to the highest bidders.

Mutinelli, Ult.

THE PESARO PALACE, GRAND CANAL

XXIX

THE LAST DOGES

BETWEEN the beginning of the eighteenth centu
the end of the Republic eleven Doges occupie
throne. Of these the only one who
1700-1797. have saved the Government or retar
fall was the very one who reigned the shortes
Let us say that if he had lived, he might have
restored the strength of the ancient aristocracy as t
of its perishing in a struggle instead of dying of o

This Doge was Marco Foscarini, who was
on the thirty-first of May 1762, and died on the

first of the following March. He was a man whose integrity was never questioned, even by the revolutionaries, and he accepted the Dogeship with the greatest regret. He was a man of letters, and the endless empty ceremonial of the ducal existence obliged him to leave unfinished his noble work on Venetian literature. Even had the Doge's action not been hopelessly paralysed by the hedge of petty regulations that bristled round him, Foscarini's experience of affairs in the course of occupying many exalted posts had left him few illusions as to the future of his country. 'This century will be a terrible one for our children and grandchildren,' he wrote some time after his election.

Rom. viii. 142.

Rom. viii. 302.

Like many of the Doges he was a very old man when he was elected, and was over eighty-eight years of age when he died, apparently much surprised at finding himself at his end, though not unprepared for it. He complained that his physicians had not told him how ill he was, and he asked for a little Latin book, *De modo bene moriendi*, which had been given him by his friend Cardinal Passionei; presently he tried to dictate a few reflections to his doctor, but was too weak, and expired whispering, 'My poor servants!' He had apparently not provided for them as he would have done if he had not been taken unawares.

His successor was Aloise IV. Mocenigo, who had been Ambassador to Rome and to Paris. His election was celebrated in a manner that recalled the festivities of the sixteenth century. A secretary was sent to the Mocenigo palace to announce the news to his family, and the Dogess took four days in which to complete her preparations, after which she came to the ducal palace accompanied by her two married nieces, her sisters, her mother, all her own

1763.

female cousins, and all those of her husband; an
battalion of noble women in their gondolas was fol
down the Grand Canal by an innumerable fl
gondolas and boats. All the male relations were
ing at the landing of the Piazzetta to escort the
to the palace, where the Dogess, seated on a t
received the homage of the electors and of all the no
She did not wear the ducal insignia on that da
the evening there was a ball, which she opened wi
of the Procurators of Saint Mark.

A series of festivities began on the followin
at which she appeared in a memorably magnificent
a long mantle of cloth of gold, like the
own, with wide sleeves lined with white lace,
to show a skirt and body all of gold lace-wo
girdle of diamonds encircled her waist; her hea
was a veil, arranged like a cap, but the two end
down to her shoulders, and were picked u
fastened to her back hair by two diamond clasps.

On three consecutive evenings there were b
the palace, and at each the Dogess danced on
minuet, with a Procurator of Saint
as etiquette required when there w
foreign princes in Venice.

Rom. viii. 148.

This reminds one of old times; it is even tr
in some ways the display at the ducal pala
greater than it had ever been.
banquets especially took the import
public spectacles, and were always five in number
at the feasts of Saint Mark, the Ascension
Vitus, Saint Jerome, and Saint Stephen, after t
of which the distribution of the 'oselle' took
representing the ducks of earlier days, as the
will remember. At these great dinners ther
generally a hundred guests: the Doge's cou

G. R. Michiel, i. 289.

the Heads of the Ten, the Avogadors, and the heads of all the other magistracies had a right to be invited, but the rest of the guests were chosen among the functionaries at the Doge's pleasure.

In the banquet-hall there were a number of sideboards on which was exhibited the silver, part of which belonged to the Doge and part to the State, and this was shown twenty-four hours before the feast. It was under the keeping of a special official. The glass service used on the table for flowers and for dessert was of the finest made in Murano. Each service, though this is hard to believe, is said to have been used in public only once, and was designed to recall some important event of contemporary history by trophies, victories, emblems, and allegories. I find this stated by Giustina Renier Michiel, who was a contemporary, was noble, and must have often seen these banquets.

The public was admitted to view the magnificent spectacle during the whole of the first course, and the ladies of the aristocracy went in great numbers. It was their custom to walk round the tables, talking with those of their friends who sat among the guests, and accepting the fruits and sweetmeats which the Doge and the rest offered them, rising from their seats to do so. The Doge himself rose from his throne to salute those noble ladies whom he wished to distinguish especially. Sovereigns passing through Venice at such times did not disdain to appear as mere spectators at the banquets, which had acquired the importance of national anniversaries.

Between the first and the second courses a majestic chamberlain shook a huge bunch of keys while he walked round the hall, and at this hint all visitors disappeared. The feast sometimes lasted several hours, after which the Doge's squires presented each of the

guests with a great basket filled with sweetmeats,
comfits, and the like, and adorned with the ducal
Every one rose to thank the Doge for these pre
and he took advantage of the general move to go
to his private apartments. The guests accomp
him to the threshold, where his Serenity bowed to
without speaking, and every one returned his sal
silence. He disappeared within, and all went hor

During this ceremony of leave-taking the gond
of the guests entered the hall of the banquet, an
carried the basket received by his
to some lady indicated by the
'One may imagine,' cries the good Dame M
'what curiosity there was about the destination
baskets, but the faithful gondoliers regarded m
as a point of honour, though the basket was o
dimensions that it was impossible to take it an
unobserved; happy were they who received
evidences of a regard which at once touched
feelings and flattered their legitimate pride!
greatest misfortune was to have to share the priz
another.'

G. R. Michiel, Origini i. 302.

The reign of Aloise Mocenigo was the one in
the question of reforms was the most fully dis
but many of the discussions turned on theori
though a few led to the passage of measures
somewhat affected commerce and public instruct
real result was produced. The Republic, I repe
dying of old age, which is the only ill that is univ
admitted to be incurable.

At the death of Mocenigo three candidate
proposed for the ducal throne, namely, Andrea
Girolamo Venier, and Paolo Renier. If the peo
been consulted, Venier would have been acc
though I do not pretend to say that his

would have retarded the end. Nothing is easier than to speculate about what 'the people' might have done at any given point in history; nothing is harder than to

MARCO POLO'S COURT

guess what they are going to do; nothing, on the whole, is more certain than that the voice of the people never yet turned the scale at a great moment in a nation well out of its infancy. No one pretends

nowadays that the French Revolution was ma
'the people.'

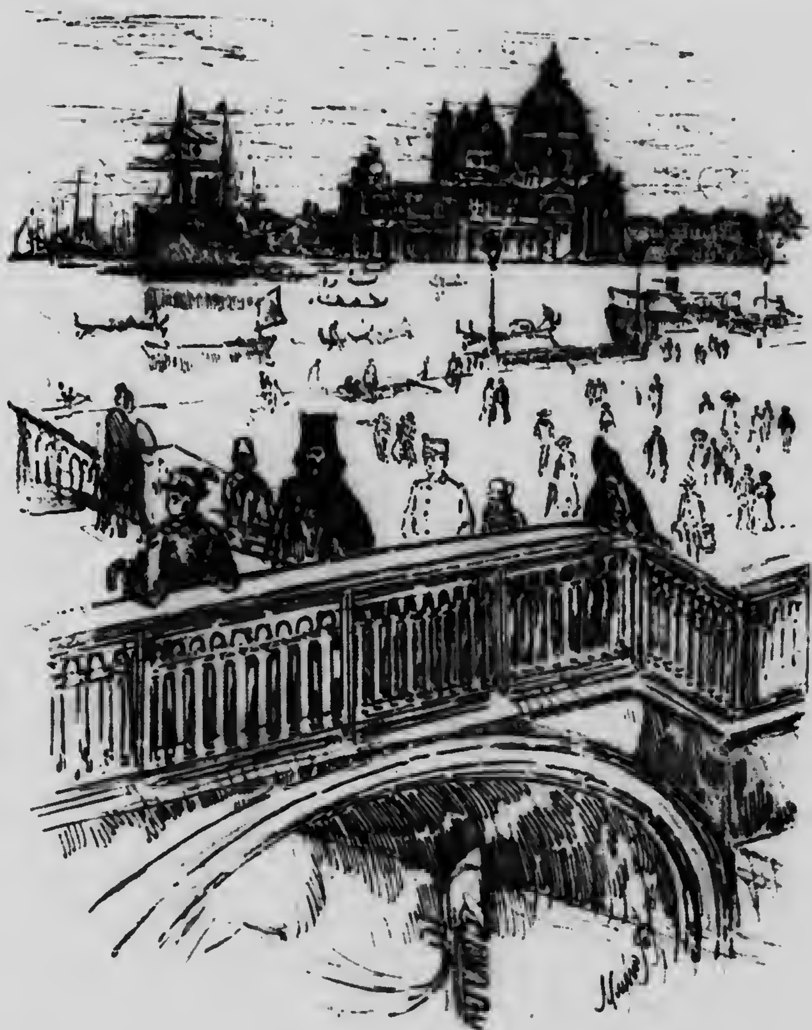
The many in Venice were vastly surprised t
of Paolo Renier's candidacy, for he had a very indi
reputation; to be accurate, the trouble was that
not indifferent, but bad. He was, indeed, a man c
penetration, rarely eloquent, and a first-rate s
He knew Homer by heart, and he had translated
Dialogues, which latter piece of
might partly explain, without ex
his deplorable morals; but it was
from Plato nor from Homer that he had lear
plunder the Government of his country. One
contemporaries, Gratarol, described him as pos
'the highest of talents, the most arrogant of cha
and the most deceptive of faces.'

R. viii. 240, 241; Mutinelli, Ult.

It was commonly reported in Venice that w
had been Bailo at Constantinople he had taken
tage of the war between Turkey and Russia,
Catherine the Great, to enrich himself in a sh
manner, and the ninety thousand sequins he m
that occasion afterwards served him, according to
report, for bribing the Barnabotti in the Great
in order that the forty-one electors chosen m
favourable to him. He was certainly not the in
of this plan, but he is generally said to have ju
done his predecessors in generosity, without
stepping the limits of strict economy. The
belief is that he bought three hundred votes at
sequins each, which was certainly not an ex
price. It appears, too, that he distributed mone
people in order to soothe the irritation his ca
caused. If all these accusations were not
proved, they were at least the subject of conten
satire.

A certain priest in particular wrote biting verses on him, in Venetian dialect, describing the righteous anger of the late Marco Fos-

Malamani.



PONTE DELLA PIETÀ

carini's ghost at the election of such a successor. The shade of the honourable man tears off the ducal insignia in disgust and bitterly reproaches Venice.

'Ah, foolish Venice!' it exclaims, 'a R
Doge of our country, one who with ribald he
iniquitous words sought to undo that tribuna
defends our country from all evil! Ah, mad
Now indeed I do repent me of having been D
year! Strike my name from the series of the
for I disdain to stand among traitors.'

After his election Paolo Renier had his first
coined with a peculiarity in the superscriptio
irritated the public. The words ran: 'Paulus R
principis munus,' his name being in the
tive case, a grammatical mistake which had
been regarded as the special privilege of ki
emperors.

He made money of everything, by sellin
franchises, and licenses to beg at the door
Basilica of Saint Mark. The Do
not a person likely to increase her h
popularity, for she had been a rope-dancer, a
appeared at public ceremonies. As I have e
elsewhere, it was the Doge's niece who did the
of the palace, Dame Giustina, who was belo
esteemed by all Venetians, but 'the Delmaz,'
Doge's wife was called, interfered in a hundre
of the administration.

Mutinelli, Ult.

It is told, for instance, that the priest of th
of San Basso used to have the bell rung for m
early in the morning, and that i
peculiarly harsh and shrill ton
disturbed the Dogess's slumbers.
for him and promised to make him
of Saint Mark's if he would only have the bell
or not rung. The good man promised and w
delighted, but when, after a time, the canonry
given to him, he began ringing again, and d

Tassini, under 'San Basso'; also Molmenti, Vecchie Storie.

enjoyed the thought that every stroke set the faithless Dogess's teeth on edge.

The people revenged themselves on the Renier family for its many misdeeds in scathing epigrams, and when at last the Doge lay dying in long agony, the gondoliers said that his soul refused to leave without being paid. The truth is that as his death took place in Carnival week, on February eighteenth, 1789, it was decided to keep his death a secret not only over Ash Wednesday, but until the first Monday in Lent, in order not to disturb the merry-making, nor the reaction which was supposed to follow it; and he was buried without much ceremony and with no display in the church of the Tolentini.

Mutinelli, Ult.

Rom. viii. 300.

The candidates proposed for election to succeed him were numerous, but not of good quality. One of them, Sebastiano Mocenigo, was such a bad character that when he had been in Vienna as Ambassador the Empress Maria Teresa had asked the Republic to recall him. The truth was that the few who were fit for the Dogeship would not accept it, or were opposed by the whole body of the corruptible.

Rom. viii. 301.

As a specimen of what went on during the election of the last Doge of Venice, I subjoin an official list of what were considered the legitimate expenses of the electors. The figures are from Mutinelli and may be trusted. They are given in Venetian 'lire,' one of which is considered to have been equal to half a modern Italian 'lira,' or French franc.

Mutinelli, Ult.

V

Bread, wine, oil, and vinegar
Fish
Meat, poultry, game
Sausages, large and small
Preserved fruits and candles
Wines, liquors, coffee
Spices, herbs, fruit, flowers
Wood and charcoal
Utensils hired, worn, and lost
Small expenses
Given to footmen and to workmen of the guilds
Tobacco and snuff
Poem 'La Scaramuccia' (The Skirmish)
Almanacks
Game of Rocambole (said to have been a kind of Ombre)
Nightcaps
Felt caps
Socks
Black silk wig-bags
French, German, and Spanish snuff-boxes
Combs 'à la royale,' for wigs, and for caps
Essence of rose, carnation, lavender, and vanilla; olive gum and gold powder
Rouge
One rosary

Total . . . 3

Romanin, probably with another copy of the a
which he does not give in items, and writing
than Mutinelli, makes the sum a little smaller. I
case it is certainly one of the most extraordinar
ever brought in by a Republic for electing its chi
In view of modern methods it will interest
of my readers to see how the exper
Venetian elections increased towar
end, according to Romanin :—

Rom. viii. 302, note.

			Ven. Lire.
Election of	Carlo Ruzzini	in 1732	68,946
"	Aloise Pisani	" 1734	70,629
"	Pietro Grimani	" 1741	70,667
"	Francesco Loredan	" 1752	134,290
"	Marco Foscarini	" 1762	120,868
"	Aloise Mocenigo	" 1763	125,234
"	Paolo Renier	" 1779	222,410
"	Ludovico Manin	" 1789	378,387

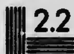
Greatly increased expenditure for successive elections during half a century can only mean one of two things: the approach of a collapse, or the imminence of a tyranny. The greater the proportionate increase from one election to the next, the nearer is the catastrophe. The election of the last Doge of Venice cost five and a half times as much as that of Carlo Ruzzini. It would be interesting to know what proportion Julius Cæsar's enormous expenses, when he was elected Pontifex Maximus, bore to those of a predecessor in the same office fifty years earlier.

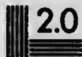
The Venetian electors who managed to consume, or make away with, nearly eight thousand pounds' worth of food, drink, tobacco, and rose-water in nineteen days, chose an honest man, though a very incompetent one, and the public showed no enthusiasm for the new Doge, in spite of the great festivities held for his coronation. The Venetian people, too, preserved their aristocratic tendencies to the very last, and always preferred a Doge of ancient lineage to one who, like Manin, came of the 'New men.'

He was not fortunate in his choice of a motto for his first 'osella.' He, who was to dig the grave of Venetian liberty, chose the single word 'Libertas' for the superscription on his first coin; and on that which appeared in the last year but one of the independence of Venice were the words 'Pax in virtute tua,'

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)





APPLIED IMAGE Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

which, as Mr. Horatio Brown has pointedly ob
'reads like a mocking epitaph upon the
Republic.'

Manin was a weak and vacillating man,
truthful, generous to a fault, and not a cowar
Doge, he was bound hand and foot, and only a
great character could have broken through such
to strike out an original plan that might have pro
his country's life. He gave his fortune withou
but the idea of giving anything else did not o
him. Before the tremendous storm of chang
broke with the French Revolution and raged thro
Europe for years, he bowed his head, and Veni
down. No man is to be blamed for not being
hero ; nor is the mother of heroes in fault when
old and can bear them no more.

edly observed,
n the dying

man, though
coward. As
only a man of
gh such bonds
have prolonged
without stint,
not occur to
f change that
ed throughout
d Venice went
being born a
lt when she is

FROM THE PUBLIC GARDEN AT SUNSET

XXX

THE LAST SOLDIERS

DURING the eighteenth century Venetian diplomacy succeeded in preserving the Republic's neutral position in spite of the great wars that agitated Europe. Her only war was with the Turks, and it was disastrous.

Early in the century the Turks attacked the Peloponnesus, and Venice lost her richest colonies in rapid succession. Her navy was no longer a power, and she was almost without allies, for the European powers were exhausted by the recent war of the Spanish succession, and though Malta and

1715.

the Pope befriended her, the help they could g
insignificant. It was not until the Turks
Hungary that she received any efficient assista
uniting her forces with those of the Emp
obtained some success, and the desperate cou
Marshal Count von Schulenburg, a Saxon ge
the Venetian service, saved Corfu. The Turks
at sea by the Venetians, and on the Danube
Hungarians at Temesvar, made
1718. and the treaty of Passarowitz put
to the war. But Venice had for ever lost th
ponnesus, Crete, and other valuable possessions

After this disastrous struggle it was im
to preserve any further illusions as to the
Venice felt that she was in full decadence, a
endeavoured to hide its outward signs. In
trying to beat against the current, she
herself to drift; things went from bad to wo
before long the army, the navy, and the Arse
completely disorganised, though their expenses
in the least diminished. A contemporary say
Mutinelli, Ult. 150 sqq. regiment looked like a company
company like a corporal's guard,
the Republic was paying for regiments with th
complement of men.

The service of the hired troops was bene
tempt. In Padua the students of the U
Mutinelli, Ult. 176. defied th garrison. On one occ
a hideous orgy, they accidentall
tentionally did to death a pretty beggar girl; b
a detachment of Croatian soldiers attempted t
the culprits, the students treated them with su
contempt that their commander was terrified, f
his men to the safety of the barracks, and bo
barred the doors.

If such things happened on Venetian territory one may fancy what the state of things was in the colonies. Corfu was supposed to be defended by a company of Venetian soldiers and two companies of Albanians. From 1724 to 1745 the latter were represented by two men, a major and a captain, whose sole business was to draw the pay of the whole force. The two officers embezzled the sums allowed for the men's food and uniforms, and the pay was sent to the soldiers, who lived in their own homes in the mountains. No trouble was taken even to identify them, and when one died it was customary for another to take his name and receive his pay. The two companies thus literally earned immortality, and the names on the rolls never changed. Several Albanians who drew their pay as Venetian mercenaries enrolled themselves also in the so-called 'Royal Macedonian' regiment, in the service of the King of Naples, and were never found out by the Republic. In twenty-one years these imaginary troops cost Venice 54,300 sequins, or over £40,000.

The colonial garrisons economised their gunpowder by abolishing all target practice, and consisted chiefly of utterly untrained old men who were absent most of the time. The fortresses were not more serviceable than the troops that were supposed to defend them. On the mainland, the frontier fort of Peschiera was half dismantled, the drawbridges had long rusted in their positions and could not be raised, and the ramparts were so overgrown with trees and shrubs as to be impassable; at one time the fort did not even possess a flag to show its nationality. Ninety of its guns had no carriages; the gunners lived quietly at their homes in Venice, and if they ever remembered that they were supposed to be soldiers it was because the Government

Mutinelli, Ult. and Tassini, under 'Bombardiere.'

dressed them up on great occasions as a gu
honour for the ducal palace. Their numb
between four and five hundred.

As for the fort of Corfu, it was robbed by a co
thief. In 1745, a certain Vizzo Manducchiol
mised the Turks two good guns,
bronze and one of iron. With t
of his gang he scaled the wall of the Raimon
one night, carried off the cannon, and sold them
Turks for twenty-seven sequins.

Mutinelli, Ult. 169

The workmen of the Arsenal in Venic
had formerly been the best-organised b
men in the Republic, had completely come
in the eighteenth century. The Arsenal w
posed to be governed by a voluminous code
most of which were now either altogether disre
or were administered with culpable leniency.
disorder was incredible. Every son of a work
the Arsenal had an hereditary right to be en
there, but the officials who were in command
take any means of checking the men's attendanc
paid so much a head for every workman on t
roll, according to his age, whether he ever a
except on pay-days or not. In this way the St
out vast sums to men who only entered the ga
a month to draw their wages for doing nothing.
of them had other occupations, at which they
regularly and industriously. Some were even
and one of the cleverest 'Pantaloons' was
known as one of the best-paid Arsenal hand
six hundred apprentices who were supposed t
the technical schools attached to the different
ments of the yard only looked in now an
When the time came for them to pass for the c
of master workman they paid the sum of thi

Venetian lire, in consideration of which the Examiners pronounced them competent. In this way, as Mutinelli truly says, ignorance became hereditary, as employment in the Arsenal already was, and the yard became a mere monument of former generous initiative, very expensive to maintain.

Mutinelli, Ult. 145, 153.

At the fall of the Republic Bonaparte seized and sent to France a large number of vessels. When the Arsenal was sacked in 1797 it was found to contain 5293 pieces of artillery, of which 2518 were of bronze, and the rest of iron; and at the last there were brought from the docks ten ships of seventy guns, eleven of seventy-six, one of fifty-five, thirteen of forty-two, two of thirty-two, twenty-three galleys, one floating howitzer battery, two 'cutters,' whatever the Italian writer may have meant, twelve gunboats, three brigs of sixteen to eighteen guns, one fore-and-aft schooner, seven galleons and as many 'zambecchi,' five feluccas, many boats armed with grenade mortars, ten floats with two guns, and one floating-battery of seven guns.

Rom. x. 162, note 2, and 304.

If these vessels were not all badly built, they were certainly badly fitted out and badly sailed when they went to sea. The Provveditori and Inquisitors Extraordinary, sent from time to time by the Senate to inspect the fleet, complained that they found neither good carpenters nor good sailors. One frigate, which had a nominal crew of one hundred and fifty-seven men, the *Concordia*, was found to have barely thirty, and not able seamen at that. As for the convicts who pulled the oars on the war-galleys, they were kept half-clothed and shelterless when ashore; but being only carelessly guarded they often ran away, and not unfrequently succeeded in finding employment, under assumed names, in the smaller ports of the

Republic. Some are known to have becom
servants. Nevertheless the overseer of ea

BOAT-BUILDERS

regularly pocketed the money allowed for th
and clothing.

In 1784 it was proved that for a long time fr

become house-
of each gang

for their food

time from sixty

to seventy thousand fagots of wood and an immense number of barrel staves had disappeared yearly, no one knew how. The workmen of the Arsenal did not

THE VEGETABLE MARKET

think it necessary to buy firewood when it could be had for nothing.

In 1730, the Provveditor Erizzo was ordered to

one of the Eastern colonies on an importan
with several large vessels. Almost at the r
starting, the officers of one of these galleys
begged him to give them a captain not belong
navy, as they should not otherwise feel s
to sea.

Yet at this very time Goldoni wrote that
sang in Venice: 'They sing in the square
streets, on the canals; the sh
sing as they sell their wares; t
men sing as they leave their work; the gondo
while he waits for his master. The charac
the nation is its gaiety.'

Goldoni, i. chap. xxxv.

In the midst of this laughing decadence, in
depth of this gay and careless disintegrat
country's body and soul, we come across one
energetic character, a fighting man of the be
who reminds us of what Venice was in her gr

Angelo Emo was great, considering the lit
Venice in his time. If we compare him wi
Pisani, Carlo Zeno, or Sebastian Venier, he see
as a leader; but as a plain, brave man, he is no
by comparison with men who were colossal in
of giants.

He was born in 1731, and was brought
father to dream of older and greater times, and
more of his country's history th
youths of his day. He travelled
far, often employed on business of the State
was able to compare the condition of Venice w
of other European countries, especially Engl
France, in regard to military and naval matters

Rom. viii. 289.

He was not yet thirty years old when the
ment sent him to Portugal to study the m
reviving the commercial relations between that

nd Venice. Sailing down the Adriatic, he put into orfu, probably for fresh provisions; but on learning

FONDAMENTA WEIDERMANN

that many intrigues were already on foot to deprive him of his mission, he set sail again at once for the Mediterranean in order to be beyond reach of recall.

He passed the Straits of Gibraltar, but fell in
gale of wind in the ocean which nearly put an
his sailing for ever. The Venetian vessels w
remarkable for their seaworthiness at best, an
weather was almost too much for Emo's shi
himself describes the frightful confusion in th
and the difficulty he had in managing his m
make matters worse, the fresh-water tanks were
and most of the supply was lost, so that wa
served out in rations, while the food consisted
pally of what the British sailor terms 'salt
Then the vessel lost her rudder, and things
badly; but the gale moderated and died out
and the ship brought to near a wooded coast
Emo was able before long to get a tree, wh
rough hewn to serve as a rudder, and he
vessel into port at last, 'with the admirat
applause of every one,' says Romanin, after d
the affair of the jury-rudder as only a lands
describe an accident at sea.

His mission to Portugal was successful, a
returned to Venice; but when he tried to c
attention of the Government to reforms of w
army and navy stood in urgent need, he coul
no practical result, so that when
1784. placed in command of a fleet, wi
to punish the Bey of Tunis and the Algeria
he was well aware that his force was by no me
it appeared to be to the inexperienced public.
course of the campaign his largest ship, *La F*
equipped and worse officered, sank before his
Trapani, and none of the other vessels could
on to do any better. Yet with such material
men he sustained a conflict that lasted three y
if he was unable to destroy the Bey of Tu

least humbled him, brought him to terms, and obtained from him a formal treaty engaging to put down piracy on the African coast. France profited much by the result of this expedition, and one of the last documents signed by Louis XVI. before he fell was a letter to the Doge Manin, in which Angelo Emo was praised to the skies for the good work he had done.

Mutinelli, Ult. 150, and Rom. viii. 294.

The Admiral was rewarded with the title of Cavaliere, the only one the Republic ever conferred, and with the office of Procurator of Saint Mark's, but I cannot find that his advice as to reforms was ever listened to. A few years later the Bey of Tunis broke his promise in regard to piracy, and Emo was again sent with a fleet to chastise him, but was suddenly taken ill in Malta, and died in a few days. He was poisoned, it is said, by Condulmer, his principal lieutenant, who at once succeeded him as admiral.

The last Venetian fighting man was of average height and lean, and stooped a little; he was pale, his forehead was broad, and he had blue eyes and black eyebrows, particularly thick and bushy. His mouth was strong, but the lips were thick and coarse.

Statue of Emo, Canova; Arsenal.

His remains were carefully embalmed in Malta and were brought home to Venice on his flagship, the *Fama* —'Fame'—which came to anchor on the twenty-fourth of May 1792. The body was followed from the mole to Saint Mark's by the clergy, the schools, the magistracies, and a vast concourse of people. The funeral mass was sung in the presence of the Doge, and the vast procession wended its way to the church of the Serviti. To the martial sound of drums and the solemn roar of the minute gun, Venice laid her last captain to rest beside his fathers.

THE SALUTE FROM S. GIORGIO

XXXI

THE LAST DIPLOMATISTS

DURING the seventeenth century the Republic doubt of her own military strength, but neve trusted much to her diplomacy ; in the eighte latter was the last good weapon left her of th that had once been in her armoury, and skille diplomatic agents were, their efforts could not her from spoliation by the Turks, whose sim was to take first and to talk about rights afterw

In a measure, too, Venice's position as a power was dearly bought, and more than once

war of the Spanish succession her territory was the scene of fighting between French and Germans. The same skill kept her out of the field during the quarrels for the succession of Parma, of Tuscany, of Poland, and of Austria, and obtained for Venetian Ambassadors a place of honour in the congresses that resulted in the treaties of Utrecht, Vienna, and Aix-la-Chapelle.

Rom. viii. 5, sqq.

During the American war of independence there were constant diplomatic relations between the Republic and the American deputies who came to France for the congress of Versailles. The Venetian archives contain a letter signed by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, by which the Americans hoped to lay the foundations of a commercial treaty; but owing to the excessive caution of Venice the attempt had no result. The Republic of the Adriatic had almost always looked eastward for her trade, and distrusted the new world which she had declined to help to discover. The original letter, written in the English language, and addressed to the Venetian Ambassador in Paris, Daniele Dolfin, has not been published, I believe; and I shall not insult the memory of such writers by attempting to turn Romanin's translation back into their language. The letter explains that the three signers are fully empowered by their Government to negotiate a friendly treaty of commerce, and will be glad to enter upon the negotiation as soon as the Venetian Ambassador is properly authorised to do so; in signing they use the form, 'your most obedient, humble servants.' For the benefit of any American who may wish to get at the original, I may add that Romanin found the letter in the Archives of the Senate, with the despatches from France of Daniele Dolfin, envelope 261.

Rom. viii. 229, 230.

A letter from another Venetian Ambassad
Paris, Cappello, prophetically dated July four
1788, exactly one year before the d
tion of the Bastille, to the ver
sounds the first warning alarm of the appro
revolution; few writers have better summed
condition of the French monarchy when it w
the brink of the abyss, and no diplomatist coul
given his own country better advice.

Rom. ix. 153.

The Committee of the Savi, who concentra
power into their own hands, did not even comm
this letter to the Senate. Cappello spoke still
clearly when he made his formal report in pers
returning from his mission and after leaving Pa
when the King was to be asked to sign the Consti
a document for which the Ambassador confesses
can find no name. 'It is not a monarchy,' he
'for it takes everything from the monarch; it is
democracy, because the people are not the legisl
it is not that of an aristocracy, for the mere n
looked upon in France not as treason against the
but as treason against the nation. . . . The N
Assembly began by encroaching upon all power
by confounding within itself all the attributes of
eignty, usurping the administrative functions fro
executive power, and from the judiciary the ri
judging criminal cases.'

It is easy to understand the impression ma
such a report, in the course of which the Amba
narrated the scenes that took place in Versailles
the Tuileries after the night of October sixth,
The aristocratic Venetian Republic sympathised
foundly with the dying French monarchy; but
impossible to believe that such a state of things
last long, and the Government was painfully sur

FROM THE PONTE DELLA PIETÀ

by the letter in which Louis XVI. announced
accepted the situation. That letter is in ex
In it the King declares that he has accepted t
form of government 'of his own free will ; t
National Assembly is only a reform of the
States General, and will ensure the happiness
nation and the monarchy.' The King adds, a
hide his weakness from himself, that what is c
'revolution' is mostly only the destruction of
of prejudices and abuses which endanger the
wealth, and that he was therefore proud to thi
he should leave his son somethin
Rom. ix. 178.
than the crown as he had inherited
his ancestors, namely, a constitutional monarchy.

This letter, with its artificial enthusiasm, is
March fourteenth, 1791, three months befo
King's flight and his arrest at Varennes, and le
two years before his murder on the scaffold.

Cappello's successor as Ambassador in Paris,
Pisani, continued to keep his Government infor
what occurred. On the twenty-fifth of Sep
1791, Louis XVI. addressed another letter
'most dear friends, allies, and confederate
Venetians, in which he expresses the certain
they will be rejoiced to hear of his having sig
Constitution, which had so greatly shocked Ca
In spite of the painful impression produced b
documents, it was necessary to answer them, if
a matter of etiquette.

The position of the Republic was a difficu
Prudence required the strictest neutrality as
affairs of other nations ; but the mere fact tha
one recognised this as Venice's only possible p
exposed her to perfidious and secret attacks of al
France maintained a vast number of secret ag

propagate revolutionary doctrines in the Venetian territory, and at the same time lost no opportunity of trying to pick a quarrel with the Republic, by insulting her flag. On the twenty-ninth of November 1792, the captain of a French man-of-war, bearing a Spanish name, the *Buenos Ayres*, asked permission to land with eight men on the Venetian shore, but refused to submit to the regulations of the Health Office. His request was refused. Thereupon he proceeded to abuse the Venetian Government from the deck of his ship. He wound up by declaring that there was no such thing existing as a Sovereign Government, that all men were equal, and that he was a magistrate, as good as any senator. He chose to land, and he would land if he chose. A Venetian galley hindered him from doing so, but as he made off he cried out: 'You will change your minds in a year!'

Rom. ix. 219.

Poor France! She herself was to learn a century later that all men are equal—in the eyes of German Jews.

At that time Austria allied herself with Piedmont to oppose the French invasion which was imminent, and the Venetian Envoy at the court of Turin continually advised his Government to join this league, which alone could save the Republic and the other Italian powers.

The Committee of the Savi who had absorbed the government of Venice simply by saving trouble to all the other officials, allowed the Senate to discuss this proposition, probably because they understood its vast importance. But the Senate declared for strict neutrality, and the Savi felt that after this they were free to do as they pleased, and from that time they decided according to their own judgment as to the question of showing any despatch to the

Ro. [illegible] 195.

Councils, or of suppressing it in order to av
discussions.

Nevertheless, they felt the danger of th
enough to recall the Venetian vessels st
Malta and Corfu, in order to defend the app
Venice, a measure which displeased Franc
ground that it was a preparation for hostiliti
the success of the French army in Savoy ob
Savi to call in the Senate again, to discuss
safety. The 'fathers of their country' wer
time mostly in their country places, thoroughly
themselves ; but they too must have felt that
danger in the air, for they answered the sum
Francesco Pesaro, the presiding Savio for t
A lively discussion took place, but once more
was voted by a strong majority, and the go
of the Savi now entered upon a course of half
more dangerous in reality than any one mista
have been. Permission was granted to the
troops to transport provisions from Trieste
and with a last revival of the business s
Republic violated the neutrality she had v
selling corn and oats to the Austrians. At
Venetian Ambassador withdrew to London fo
leaving his secretary in charge.

Rom. ix. 203. An incident now occurred in
which was calculated to bring m
a crisis.

The French Ambassador, who had quitted
had left in charge of the Embassy a certain M
Henin, who had taken as his private secretary
called Alessandri. On the twenty-ninth of D
1792 this priest was sent for in haste by the
of the bare-footed Carmelites of the monastery
Geremia, close to the palace occupied by the

Embassy. He was introduced with some mystery, but with no loss of time, and was conducted to the Superior's room, where he was warned that unless he left Venice by the sixth of January he would be assassinated. There was a plot to kill him, but one of the intended murderers had confessed to the Superior himself, and under the seal of confession had begged the monk to save Alessandri's life.

The priest, who does not seem to have been timid, was much surprised, but promised nothing as to leaving

ON THE WAY TO FUSINA, FROM THE MOUTH OF THE BRENTA

the city, though he appears to have at once considered the means of getting away. But on that same evening the Superior received an anonymous note with these words : 'Either the Abbé Alessandri will leave Venice to-morrow, and at once quit Venetian territory, or something serious will happen to him.' The Superior sent for Alessandri again. The note, strange to say, had been delivered together with fifteen gold sequins, which the unknown writer sent to help the priest's flight.

The priest now lost no time, but left at once for Fusina on the mainland, and finding no means of

getting on at once, pursued his journey on f
had left with the monk a written receipt for t
which he had been forced to accept, and he
informed his employer, Monsieur Henin, of
of his sudden departure.

Monsieur Henin was furious, and not with
reason. He wrote a violent letter to the
Government, inquiring how an unknown per
dare anything so outrageous in a well-regula
munity. Who was instigating the outrageou
What monster had paid fifteen sequins to
murder committed? What was the meaning o
tended confession? Why did the villainous
the abominable plan drag a monk into the plo
was the gist of Monsieur Henin's letter, and
by demanding the immediate arrest and condig
ment of the murderer, or murderers, and the
his fugitive secretary, who, he insisted, must b
guarded by the Government as not to be in
his life.

The Secretary of Embassy certainly had
his side so far, but he followed up his lett
interview with one of the Inquisitors, in
declared his belief that it was the Governm
that threatened Alessandri. The Inquisito
have answered that they disposed of much sin
surer means than the hand of a hired assassin
they wished to be rid of an obnoxious person.
suggested, too, that the outrage was instig
Austria in order to exasperate France, an id
seems deficient in logic.

Henin appears to have been a violent sort o
and anything but a diplomatist. Of course
right on his side, but Alessandri, on inquiry, tu
to be a bad character, and anything but th

tranquil, reticent, and retiring' creature of fifty-six, whom the Frenchman represented him to be. He had been obliged to leave his native city, Trent, for debt and various misdemeanours; he was a violent revolutionary, and in his 'tranquil retirement' he dwelt with a disreputable woman of the people, whom he had enticed away from her family; from which facts it was easy to argue that he had made himself the object of some private vengeance.

Nevertheless, and although Henin had not at that time any proper credentials as *Chargé d'Affaires*, the Inquisitors thought it best to avoid disturbance, and Alessandri was brought back and properly protected. Almost immediately upon this Henin received credential letters from his Government, and asked to present them to the Senate.

The Savi, who detested the man, were much disturbed; and as the Senate and the Great Council left the matter to them, they asked the assistance of those of their colleagues who had served their time and retired. As they wore black cloaks the people nicknamed them the 'Consulta Nera,' the 'Black Cabinet.'

Rom. ix. 207.

Not to receive the official representative of the new French Government would have been contrary to the policy of strict neutrality adopted by the Venetian Republic; to receive him was to irritate Austria and to expose Venice to an attack from that side. She had pursued a policy of half measures, and the end of half measures is always a fall between two stools. The fall was precipitated by the soothing eloquence of one of the speakers, who assured his colleagues that all Europe would understand and forgive them for yielding to necessity.

The Senate accordingly voted with the Black

Cabinet that Henin should be received, but
its ambassadors at the various European cour
vey information of the fact with all the circu
possible, and in such a way as to palliate the
the Venetian Government in the eyes of the v

While this was going on, the secretary
Venetian Ambassador Pisani had left in charg
wrote an eloquent letter descr
death of Louis XVI., and he se
same time a scrap of the cloak which the
worn on his way to the scaffold. This caused
profound emotion. In the Senate, Angelo
loudly declared that all diplomatic relation
Government of hangmen and executioners
instantly broken off.

1793.

The matter was still in discussion whe
demanded, in the name of his Government, the
tion to place the arms of the French Republic
door of his residence. As his credentials
accepted it was impossible to refuse this req
the general indignation of the better sort of t
was unbounded.

There were now two parties in Venice. O
hand, the secret emissaries of France preache
tionary doctrines, and stirred up the criminal
on the other, a vast literature of pamphlets
satires and caricatures, all attacking the Fren
openly circulated throughout the city. In
of diverting the attention of the whole p
from political matters the Savi made frantic
travagant efforts to amuse everybody. The
carnival before the end was the most magnific
remembered.

In the year of the French King's murd
parte was a captain of artillery, and France w

to face the first coalition of the powers, after putting down the royalists in Vendée.

A LONELY CANAL

Henin continued to annoy the Signory in every possible way, and made the smallest incidents the subjects of official complaint and protest. He was at last

recalled, but his successor was a man called
was such a notoriously bad character that the
Senate put off receiving his credentials again
on all sorts of grounds, doubtless believing,
the French revolutionary government was no
last even so long as it did. To gain time wa
dignity, thought the Senators. But Noël g
of waiting, and abruptly returned to Paris
bad humour, to stir up against Venice the r
of the Committee of Public Safety.

It was now no longer an easy matter to
appearances of neutrality. England, especiall
opportunity of urging Venice to join the
League, and Worsley, the last English Min
perpetually insisting on a rupture with France

Another circumstance occurred to inc
difficulty of Venice's position. The Comte
afterwards Louis XVIII., who styled himsel
of France during the captivity of his nep
unfortunate child Louis XVII., being obligec
Piedmont, asked permission to reside in Ve
the Signory; anxiously hoping for a resto
France, received him with the honours due to
and the welcome a friend might expect. At
French Republic took umbrage and protested
but the Venetians answered that the presen
Comte de Lille in Verona, where he led a re
was no violation of neutrality.

The Savi now had more on their hands
could manage, for they were obliged at one
same time to watch the movements of the revo
propaganda, and to keep themselves informe
doings of the royalist party who plotted in
restore the French monarchy. And mean
spite of a nominal press censorship, the

newspaper satirised the French Republic in the bitterest manner, giving Robespierre constant cause of complaint.

Diplomatic relations were now strained almost to the breaking-point. Pisani was still supposed to be the Venetian Ambassador in Paris, though he resided in London, and the French Envoy in Venice had left in disgust at not being received. On the latter point the French yielded, and sent another and more respectable representative, a certain Lallement, whom the Signory consented to receive in spite of the objections of the English Minister.

Rom. ix. 231-239.

The question now arose, who was to succeed Pisani in Paris, and how the new envoy was to be styled. Lallement had brought very simply worded credentials, and had agreed to assume any designation which the Signory desired. The Savi were much distressed about this matter, but they selected Aloise Quirini for the mission, and at last decided that he should be addressed neither as Ambassador nor Minister, but simply as 'the Noble Quirini.' They could hardly have chosen a title better calculated to irritate a Government which held that nobility was a worse crime than forgery or assassination.

The Noble Quirini accordingly went to Paris with a very magnificent salary, and with instructions to keep up the splendid traditions of former Venetian representatives abroad.

But meanwhile the child Louis XVII. had disappeared from the scene, and the Comte de Lille, or the Comte de Provence as he was called when not travelling incognito, was a source of much anxiety to Venice. He was now undoubtedly the legitimate King of France, and his

Rom. ix. 252.

modest residence in Verona had become a
which every point of etiquette was most
observed. The European powers encourage
his efforts to restore the monarchy in his ow
and England, Austria, and Russia sent envoy
in Verona without in the least considering
culties which their action might cause the
Government.

At this juncture France invented another
government, and Lallement appeared before t
1796. with an entirely new set of cred
the Envoy of the Directory, w
declared, was no less disposed than its predec
power to remain 'in perfect understanding ar
most friendly terms' with the Venetian
The man who was to end the hideous and g
succession of butcheries and farces which h
seven years was in favour with this last-hat
half-fledged government, and his dominating
was beginning to be felt. Bonaparte was now
six years old; he was grown up.

A few months earlier Lallement had rea
the Venetian Senate a proclamation which the
1795. sentatives of the People' sent to
of the Alps, as a general warnin
the Genoese, the Tuscans, and the Venetians
spite of their protestations of friendship, allo
ships to capture and plunder French vessels
high seas. By the end of 1795 the Fren
masters of the Riviera, having beaten the
very badly.

Venice was now accused of having viol
neutrality by allowing the passage of Austria
through her dominions. She answered that
acted in accordance with a very ancient treat

accorded the Empire the use of the road to Gambara, and that she was as neutral as ever; but this the French found it hard to believe. When further accused of favouring royalist intrigues, the Signory made a show of punishing the authors of a few libels on the Directory.

As for Louis XVIII., as the Comte de Lille was now called by his adherents, Venice was reluctantly obliged to ask him to leave her territory, as the Directory threatened war if he remained.

He departed, shaking the dust from his feet. He demanded that the name of his family should be erased from the Golden Book, and that the armour of his ancestor Henry IV. should be given back to him. This armour Smedley rightly conjectures to have been the sword worn by Henry IV. at the battle of Ivry, with which he had knighted the Venetian Ambassadors after his accession, and which he then presented to the Treasury of Saint Mark's.

Smedley, Sketches from Venetian History, ii. chap. xx. note.

The Signory entirely refused to accede to the Comte de Lille's demands. It could not deprive itself, it replied, of the satisfaction of counting the royal family of France amongst its nobility, and it could not bring itself to part with such a valuable gift as it had received from Henry IV.; and with this quiet answer to the Russian envoy who represented him the Comte de Lille had to be satisfied.

But France was not, and the Inquisitors received many private warnings to the effect that the French Government would seize upon any pretext for attacking Venice. 'Arm, if you hope not to be trodden under foot!' Such was the burden of these fruitless messages.

Austria, Sardinia, Naple , and Pius VII. openly

allied themselves together, and the Duchies of
and Modena secretly promised their help. Gen
paralysed by the vicinity of the French army ; T
was playing the game of neutrality, like Venice.

The Signory had great confidence in the a
the allies and in its chief. Bonaparte was only
the old general Beaulieu would easily beat him.

But the Signory was mistaken. The boy had
up—'Napoleon, Apollyon, destroyer of Cities,
a Lion roaming about,' as the barbarous Greek
his name has it.

EVENING

XXXII

THE LAST HOUR

The end was at hand when Bonaparte crossed the river Po. One is apt to forget that he had already showed himself to be much more than a victorious general, and that throughout the campaign he displayed that marvellous skill in dealing with men which so often ensured him an enthusiastic reception in places where he could not have been expected to be welcome.

1796.
Rom. ix. 284.

He had soon realised the horrible impression produced everywhere outside of France by the Revolution,

the Terror, and the Committee of Public S
he hastened, by his numberless agents, to
virtues of the Directory. They were not
bloodthirsty ruffians, he taught, but an asse
the future saviours of mankind, who were to
the world from all those ancient political
prejudices which had so long held it in bonda

He could not unteach the scum of t
populace what the agents of the Revolution
it with such lavish expenditure in disreputab
and worse resorts, but he could control th
and gradually change the direction of the
The Venetian gondoliers could be taught s
too, and the Venetian Barnabotti could be
learn anything, and to impart what they learn

'No organisation,' says Bonnal, 'was eve
to his (Bonaparte's), no revolutionary organi
ever more formidable. We mea
tionary" as regards the legitima
ments existing in Italy, with whic
not at war, and as regards the means used. .
at Milan that his system became a defini
service, both political and military. The
two principal offices exactly answering th
was pursuing, that is, the political propagan
military propaganda. By means of the polit
ganda he sought to bring about either the su
of one domination for another, or the modi
the forms of government. . . . Lombardy is a
of the first case, the Italian Duchies of the sec
his military propaganda he roused the popu
arms, sometimes against the legitimate sov
happened in Venice and Parma, sometimes
foreign power, as at Milan.'

Bonnal, Chute d'une République, 273-274.

Once more, as in the war of the Spanish s

the Venetian territory became a refuge and a provision market for two hostile armies. The fortresses, as has been seen, were really at the mercy of any one who chose to occupy them. On the ninth of May the Imperial troops, yielding to the request of Contarini, the governor of Crema, and supposing the place to be capable of defence, consented to pass by the city without entering it. If they had insisted no one could have hindered them, and the letter Contarini afterwards wrote to the Venetian Government disturbed even the astounding optimism of the Savi. The latter were shocked when they thought of the risk they had run, and by way of getting rid of all further responsibility they appointed a Provveditor to watch over the safety of the Venetian territory. More than this their worst enemies could not have expected them to do. They selected a Foscarini for the office, and were particularly careful to admonish him that he must 'preserve intact the tranquillity of the Republic, and administer comfort and consolation to its subjects.' I translate literally the phrase, which sounds like the drivelling of an old man in second childhood.

The Imperial troops were barely out of sight of Crema when the French appeared, and Contarini renewed his request that the city might not be entered. Berthier consented, but requisitioned provisions and forage. Soon afterwards came Bonaparte himself, and he also consented to pass on, but not until he had squeezed every particle of available information out of the governor, whose letter narrating the interview gives a remarkably clear idea of the great young man's conversation.

The Senate wrote to the commander of the fortress of Peschiera not to allow any foreign soldiers to enter under any circumstances. I have described the condi-

tion of the place elsewhere, and the unluck
at once answered, inquiring what in the world
do in order to prevent the passage of the Imperi

The Austrian general Liptay found it conv
install himself in Peschiera for some time, a
the Republic protested, he answered with
coolness and much truth that the place w
fortress at all, and that he was encamped the
French were in the fields towards Brescia.

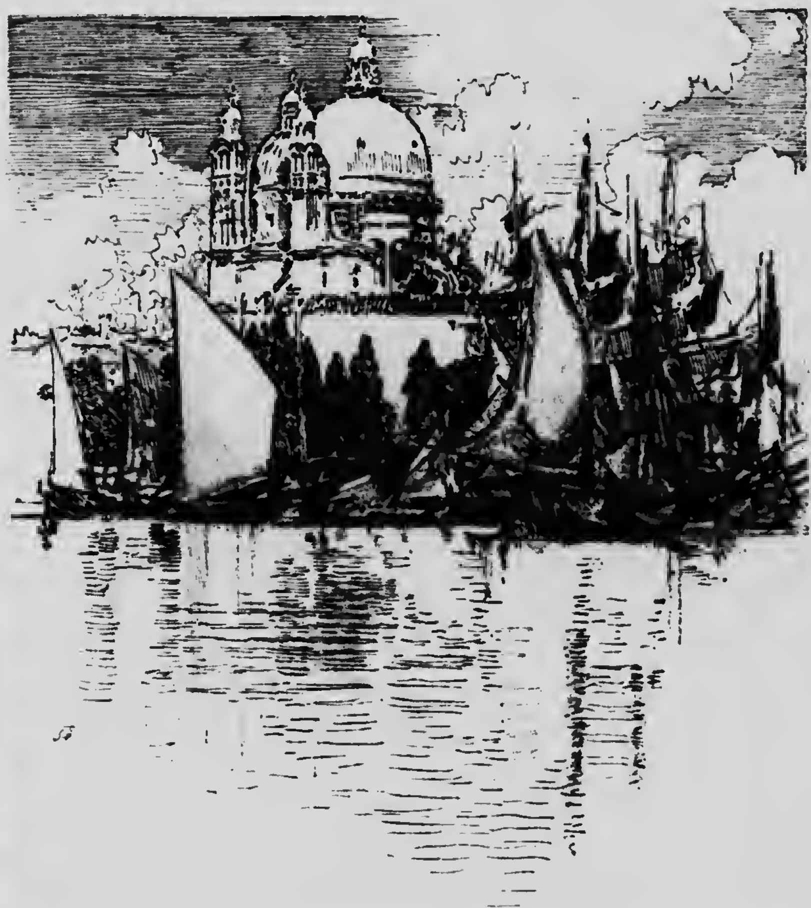
Even Bonaparte understood the absurdit
case. 'The truth about the affair of Pesc
wrote to the Directory, 'is that
tians have been duped by Bea
asked leave to pass with fifty men and t
himself master of the city.'

Rom. ix. 297-299.

In spite of this conviction, Bonaparte took
of the incident to declare to the Provveditor
that he would burn Verona to punish the
for having favoured the Austrian troops;
carini, obliged to act on the spur of the m
without consulting the Government, opened
of Verona to Masséna on receiving the latt
ance that the city should not be burned. H
fancied that he had obtained a great concessi
not understand that Verona was absolutely
to the French as a base from which to a
Mantua, held by the Imperial troops.

The news of the occupation of Verona pr
utmost alarm in Venice, yet the Great Counc
summoned, nor was there a regular sitti
Senate. The days had gone by when the g
Saint Mark , was rung backward to call eve
man to arms and every aged Senator to th
The handful of scared and vacillating me
steered Venice to her end met stealthily b

the Casino Pesaro, more like conspirators than defenders of their country. Most of them fancied the French already in the lagoons if not in the city; some, forgetting that they had neither troops nor captains, were



THE SALUTE FROM THE LAGOON

for defence to the death; some, who had secretly adopted revolutionary ideas and principles, rejoiced at heart because the end was so near.

Such a meeting of such men could come to nothing;

and nothing was decided except that Fosca
Provveditor, should be assisted by two other
commissioned to negotiate with Bonaparte.

They went and found him apparently in the
and most friendly humour, but the report
interview with him reached the Senate toget
a communication from the Inquisitors explainin
parte's plan for taking possession of the
Legnago, making sure of the free navigatio
Adige, and threatening to destroy Venice in
extort a sum of five or six millions of francs.

So Venice, still theoretically neutral, was c
collect such poor forces as she had by land
in order to defend herself against the depred
the combatants. She had not a single general
her men or to plan a defence. Three nobles
charge of her boundaries on the mainland,
was made responsible for the capital, and
placed in charge of the lagoons. A war
levied, too, and it is due to the citize t
State to say that they were generous to their
to the last. Many citizens of all classes g
sums of their own free will to help the def
not in Venice only; the cities of Friuli and
and even small communities at a great
made heavy sacrifices spontaneously for th
safety.

The historian Romanin was of opinion tha
that moment, if the Government had found
enough to sacrifice all her posse
the mainland, as at the time of th
of Cambrai, a clever diplomacy might yet h
the State. But he was a Venetian, and a mos
one, and he could not understand that it need
thing more than skill to keep Venice aliv

Rom. ix. 321.

needed life itself, the life that was all spent, at last, after more than a thousand years.

The Provveditor for the lagoons, Giacomo Nani, wrote to the Doge the courageous words: 'A State has not the right to possess provinces which it cannot defend.' He, too, remembered the League of Cambrai. But the Doge was not to be roused; it was no longer vacillation, it was paralysis of the will that made him follow the Senate. Yet Nani's letters determined the Savi to look about for some general into whose hands the whole defence might be given. It was the old tradition of employing the condottiero; but there was only one man alive just then who had the genius and the conviction that save a cause all but lost; he was a man who could have stopped a host with Falstaff's ragged company, and he was at the gates of Venice. The Savi hit upon the Prince of Nassau as a possible captain, but Austria stepped in and forbade that he should be called.

The King of Naples now signed an armistice with the French, and Bonaparte made himself at home on the Venetian mainland, quartering his troops at Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema without ceremony, and merely notifying the Venetian Senate that he did so, as if no excuse were needed. He took the Venetian guns he found at Legnago and used them at the siege of Mantua as if they were his own. Bonaparte was well aware of the truth of what Nani had written to the Doge, and he took full advantage of the axiom. If the governors of the cities in which he chose to stop did not please him, he wrote them notes like the following:—

. . . I beg you, Sir, to let me know what game we are playing, for I do not believe you will allow your brothers in

arms [the French soldiers!] to die without help
walls of Brescia, or to be murdered on the highroad.

Rom. ix. 341.

not able to keep order in your country,
the city of Brescia furnish what is
establishing hospitals and for the wants of the tr
have to take more efficient measures.—Believe
feelings of esteem and consideration, BON

Bonnal says of him that he avenged legiti
plaints with a host of accusations and denials

Bonnal, 275.

unmistakable threats; and the
made excuses. Whereupon Bon
swered that he would 'beat the Austrians
the Venetians pay for the war.' Which he d

At the same time he was writing to the Di

. . . I am obliged to be indignant with the Pro
exaggerate the number of assassinations, etc., in ord

Rom. ix. 351.

to calm my fury, may furnish me ev
need; they will continue to give u
want, willingly or by force, until Mantua is taken,
I shall demand of them such contribution as you
me, which will not be in the least difficult.

If Bonaparte could find pretexts for acc
Venetians of helping the Austrians, the
excellent reasons for complaining that Veni
the French. Austria and France were the t
between which half measures had led the Rep
between which she fell.

The position of the French army was not
at that time, and the alliance of Venice wo
have been worth having, which was the reason
obstinate efforts at neutrality exasperated

Twenty-fifth of December 1796.

to such a degree. At last his pati
out and he ordered General
d'Hilliers, the father of the marshal of that
died in 1878, to occupy Bergamo, not as a g

as master. The Austrians at once replied by seizing Palma and Osopo.

The peasants and the small communities were now driven to extremities; for the Government had left them to their fate, and they were plundered alike by the French and the Austrians. Discontent spread rapidly, and the rural population may be supposed to have been in the best possible disposition to receive the revolutionary doctrines by which Bonaparte had already called into existence the Cispadane Republic. That short-lived affair was made up of the cities and territories of Ferrara, Bologna, Modena, and Reggio d'Emilia, and was momentarily the headquarters of republicanism. In spite of all that the remnant of government in Venice could do against it, its influence was felt on Venetian territory. Behind all, the propaganda of Milan worked steadily to carry out Bonaparte's plan under General Landrieux, whom he had deputed to take charge of that end of it.

Rom. x. 12.

Bergamo was the first city to rise and drive out the Venetian governor, in order to join the Cispadane Republic; the city of Brescia followed, naturally enough. But the country people of the two provinces still remained faithful to the Republic, and the peasants about Brescia were so indignant with the city for its defection that they would have marched upon it to burn it down if they had not been hindered by their Bishop, Dolfin. At Vallesabbia certain emissaries of the republicans from the city were so ill received that they fled precipitately in fear of their lives.

Molmenti, Nuovi Studi, 356.

Two days after the latter incident the inhabitants of the villages of the valley met in a field near Nozze, and drew up the following

March 1797.

declaration which was approved with abso
nimity :—

VA
Marc

In order to record its own fidelity and obedi
beloved Prince of Venice, and taking oath of perpe
and adherence to the said Prince, this body v
persons of any class or condition are found in
having the cockade of rebels against the Prince of
actually having that cockade on their hats, any one
to arrest them, and let him have a prize of three
piccole for each one, of [the funds of] the Valley.

And let this present vote be made known in ever
and put up in the usual and habitual places for pu
and it is not to go into effect for three days, withi
parish priests in their parishes shall publicly give
to the people. And if gangs of rebels against th
Venice, or troops of theirs, enter the Valley, the
comprising the Valley shall ring the bells with
[meaning to ring them out, and not to 'chime'
and whosoever is between sixteen and sixty ye
whosoever else will volunteer, is to take arms in
the Valley to arrest them [rebels or troops], and
them ; and whoever refuses shall be punished by
of all his goods.

The Government might have done so
encourage people capable of such devotion
at least, have ordered them to send deputat
capital to give information of the state of t
This the province of Verona asked to be all
through the Marchese Scipione Maffei, in
which the Savi suppressed, wi
presenting it to the Great Coun
they considered that it might lead to dange
sion. They confined themselves to rec
every subject of the most Serene Republic
the greatest circumspection towards all the

Rom. x. 32.

the Venetians had no means of defending themselves against the latter's pretensions.

In spite of the bad impression made by such weakness, more than thirty thousand men from the provinces volunteered to put down the republican rising, but they had to be sent home for lack of funds and weapons. One hundred young men of the burgher class offered to arm and support themselves at their own expense. From all this it is clear enough that, at the very last, the descendants of the nobles who had made Venice were responsible for her fall. Ippolito Nievo said pithily, that the Venetian aristocracy was a corpse that could not revive, while the Venetian people were a living race shut up with it in the tomb.

Nievo, Memorie d'un ottuagenario, 262.

The republican revolution thus progressed almost without finding any resistance, and practically aided and abetted by the French troops. Bonaparte was so sure of his plan that he did not even make a mystery of it to the envoys of the Venetian Republic who met him at Goritz. He actually offered to pacify the Venetian provinces fo[r] the modest sum of a million of francs monthly for six months, which was generous, considering that he alone had caused all the disturbance. A Venetian noble of the fifteenth century would certainly have got the better of him in such a matter of business, but he was too much for the two nobles with whom he had to deal. The monthly million was granted, but on condition that he was not to interfere in the civil discord that distracted the Republic, and not to hinder the Government in its efforts to reduce the rebellious cities to subordination.

Such an attempt was made, and the insurgents were beaten more than once, and some of the ringleaders were brought to Venice. In other times they would

have been tried by the Council of Ten and
within twenty-four hours ; now they were me
fined in the fort on the Lido, in char
nobles, Tommaso Soranzo and D
Tiepolo, who were recommended 'to tre
charitably.'

Rom. x. 56.

But these successes so greatly encoura
reaction against the insurrection that Bonapar
lest he should lose some of the
his industrious propaganda. Acc
by his instructions, General Landrieux acc
Venetian troops of threatening the French arr
valleys of Bergamo, and ordered the Venetian g
Battaglia, to be put in irons, and his 'accom
be hanged. These were mere threats, of co
after that the rebels were openly supported
French. On the other hand, the commun
meant to remain faithful to the Republic in
help a last time before returning the weap
had taken from the insurgents, and swore tha
were only given a leader they would die to
defence of Venice. Even after the French had
the whole Venetian territory the Senate still
loyal letters from Vallesabbia ; one of these e
these words : 'Our hearts will always be for Sai
and we therefore swear to break any promise
be before long got from us by force, at the
of the Venetian standard we love.'

Molmenti, Nuovi St. 356, 357.

The truce of Judenburg between France ar
was destined, in Bonaparte's opinion, to d
destinies of the Republic. Junot appeared
in Venice on Good Friday, bringing a despa
Bonaparte dated the ninth of April. A mo
and theatrical document can hardly be imagin
general accuses the Venetians of rousing th

people to murder the French and ordering a perfect Massacre of the Innocents. His magnificent generosity has met with 'impious perfidy' on the part of the Senate. His adjutant offers peace or war, and war is declared if the authors of the massacres are not delivered. Observe, that as there had been no massacres no authors of them could be given up, and therefore the declaration of war was made; Bonaparte was always logical. He was 'not a Turk,' he adds; he was not even an enemy. These were 'not the days of Charles VIII.,' and he gave the Venetians twenty-four hours to realise the fact or perish. But he would not come like their 'assassins,' to 'lay waste the lands of an innocent and unhappy people.' He came to protect. The people would 'one day bless even the crimes which had obliged the French army to free them from the tyranny of Venice.'

Bonaparte's name is still execrated throughout Italy, and in a large part of the south 'French' means 'abominable.' Even the southern sailors call a dangerous storm 'French weather.'

Junot had been informed that the Government could transact no business till after Holy Week, but he insisted on being received, and read the despatch before the Doge and the Signory in an imperious tone. Bonaparte possessed a marvellous dramatic sense, and he trained his men to act his comedies to perfection. In the part of the Avenging Angel Junot was terribly impressive.

It may be supposed that even then Venice had a choice: she might submit, or perish bravely in self-defence. But such men as Ludovico Manin and the Savi were not free to choose. No weak man is when the strong man has him by the collar. The Signory was used to humiliation, and was past shame, and it followed to the end the path it had chosen.

The truce between France and Austria cont
but only the possession of Venice could be the b
a durable peace. Bonaparte's plan was to exas
the Venetians till they really violated their neu
and then to seize the city. No one ever comments
morality of conquerors nowadays. Virtue has n
to do with the greatness of princes. Bona
scheme was odious, of course, but it succeeded.

It had been part of the comedy to christen a s
the French fleet 'the *Liberator of Italy.*' Wit
vessel a certain commander, Laugie
despatched to carry out Bona
stratagem. The ship sailed up towards the
stopped a fishing-boat, and took a
fisherman for a pilot. The man pro
that foreign war vessels were not allowed to ent
harbour. Laugier threatened to hang him, and s
to con the wheel, after asking him many questi
to the vessels of which Venice disposed.

Rom. x. 112 sqq.

April twentieth, 1797.

When the ship was opposite the Lido she sa
and the guns of the San Nicola Fort answere
Laugier did not bring to, the commander of th
Domenico Pizzamano, sent two boats alongsid
to warn him not to enter, yet the French c
took no notice. Other French vessels were foll
at a distance ; Pizzamano fired two shots to warn
off, and they bore away. Laugier now said h
going to anchor, though he did not clew up hi
gallant sails nor otherwise shorten sail ; it is clea
there was only a very light breeze on that day.

A Venetian galley lay at her moorings in the
harbour, and Laugier proceeded to foul her,
tionally without doubt, for he evidently kne
business. This was enough. The two vessels
close alongside, and their crews were fighting

another in an instant. At the same time the cannon

FROM THE PONTE S. ROCCO

from Fort Sant' Andrea chimed in, and an indescribable confusion followed. Laugier was killed by a ball ; the

old fisherman who had steered him in was w
and died soon afterwards. The Venetians
better of the fight, and plundered the Fre
vessel in spite of Pizzamano's desperate ef
prevent it. The French officers and crew were
over to the 'benevolent custody' of Tommaso
and Domenico Tiepolo.

The account of the affair sent by the M
Lallement, to the Directory was wholly unt
course; but Bonaparte had what he wanted.

He was so sure of it that by the preliminar
of Leoben, preceding the treaty of Campo-For
had already ceded to Austria
Venetian provinces that lay betw
Po, the Oglio, and the Adriatic;
pretended that in compensation f
she was to receive the three legations of R
Ferrara, and Bologna.

April eighteenth. Rom. x. 121, and Document at 377.

Much of this preliminary agreement had be
secret; but the Venetian ambassador in
Grimani, knew of the general tenor of the do
and warned the Senate that it was intended
member the Venetian territory.

The Senate was roused from its apathy whe
too late, and now sat permanently. Orders we
that no stranger was to be allowed to enter
unless bearing official letters, and no ship was
into the lagoons that did not fly the Veneti
Some attempt was made to get more vessels r
sea.

The French had not wasted time, and a
insurrection had broken out under their man
in all the cities of the mainland. Within twe
hours the governors of Padua, Verona, an
important places came in for refuge, as a

Provveditors of the army, whose occupation was gone.

Meanwhile two nobles, Francesco Donà and Leonardo Giustiniani, had been sent in haste to Gratz, after Junot's appearance, and they were received by Bonaparte on the twenty-fifth of April. The interview that followed is highly characteristic of the man when it suited his ends to work himself into a fury. The political prisoners were to be liberated, or he would 'come and break down the Piombi; he would have no Inquisition, no antique barbarities.' He spoke of the imaginary massacre of his innocent troops. 'His army cried vengeance, and he could not refuse it.' 'If all the culprits were not punished, if the English Minister were not driven away, if the people were not disarmed, if all the prisoners were not set free, if Venice would not choose between France and England, he declared war.' 'He would have no Inquisition, no Senate, he would be an Attila to the Venetian State.' And much more to the same effect, all of which is on record. The two Venetians answered sensibly, when they could get in a word, but Bonaparte meant war, and when he meant that he would listen to no one.

Having acted his scene, he asked the two to dinner, and proceeded to extract information from them, after his manner. His inquiries chiefly concerned the horrors attributed to the aristocratic Government by the very imaginative French democratic mind; for the lower classes, being nearer to nature, have always had much more imagination than their social betters, which explains their belief in ghost stories, hidden treasures, and the rights of man.

After dinner Bonaparte condescended to state his demands. He wanted twenty-two millions from the Venetian mint and all English drafts deposited in

Venice. That was all. There was no mention
Duke of Mantua's treasure, from which the
suspected that it was included in the secret tr
Leoben, but I find no mention of it in that
document, though it may have been tacitly inclu
Article VI. which provided for the restituti
Mantua and other places to Austria.

Having thus expressed himself, Bonaparte l
envoys to their reflections and went off to
Almost at the same time they received news
fighting at the Lido, with instructions to inform
parte of the death of Laugier, with all the c
possible; they did so by letter, and probably con
lated themselves on not being materially able to
the news by word of mouth; but they never
really asked another audience. He answered
fury, called Laugier's death an assassination
spoke of them and the Venetian Senate as 'dr
with French blood.' If they had anything new
him, he would receive them, he said, after writi
the same page that he would not.

They went before him again, poor men, and li
once more to his furious language. 'Not a hu
millions of money, not all the gold of Peru, woul
prevent him from avenging the blood of his men
so forth, and so on. This was the truth, as h
purposely risked shedding it for the very purp
being revenged.

On the twenty-ninth of April French
occupied the Venetian frontiers, and General Bar
d'Hilliers entered the capital with perfect assura
and, it must be added, with perfect fearlessness
installed himself in the best hotel. The Senate
in vain to ascertain from him Bonaparte's intent
the soldier answered that he was accustomed to

his chiefs without question, and that he knew nothing of their plans. He had been told to come to Venice and he had come.

On learning that Bonaparte so very particularly detested them, the Savi agreed that it was no longer safe to meet publicly, and they held their sittings in the Doge's private apartments in the presence of the Counsellors, and the 'Savi of the Mainland,' 'Savi of Orders,' 'Savi of Writings,'—Savi of every species. To all these were added the three Heads of the Ten. This last assembly was a sort of amplification of the Black Cabinet already explained.

They have been described as the sextons of the Republic, met together to arrange the details of the funeral. Their acts and resolutions can only excite pity. The first question discussed on the night of April thirtieth was whether a supposed intimate friend of Bonaparte's (Haller, at one time French Minister of Finance) should be treated with in order to calm his master's anger. The next question was, whether this proposition might be discussed at once, or whether eight days must be allowed to pass before beginning the debate, according to the law. A third question asked what measures should be taken to inform the Great Council of what was happening.

Several hours had been consumed in these miserable quibbles, during which no attention was paid to the distant booming of guns from the direction of Fusina, when a messenger brought a letter for the 'Savio on Writings.' He passed it on anxiously to the Savio of the week, who opened it with evident emotion. It was a message from Condulmer, in command of the flotilla of the lagoons, to say that the French had begun operations for improving the approaches to Venice, and that he was going to attempt

Rom. x. 138.

to destroy what they did as fast as they wo
was at this moment that the Assembly first no
sound of artillery. In the frightened silence
walked up and down the room. 'To-night w
safe even in our beds,' he said.

The Procurator, Pesaro, turned to the Secre
see that it is all over with my country,' he
broad Venetian dialect. 'I can certainly b
assistance. To an honest man, every place
country; one may easily occupy oneself in
land.'

He rose as he finished this remarkable
apparently with the intention of proceeding to
land at once, but his colleagues 'comforted'
took snuff, and sat down again to help Val
framing a measure for calling the Great
together on the morrow. These curious detail
trusted. Pesaro was afterwards, in fact, the
make his escape to Istria and Vienna.

During the remainder of the meeting it was
whether it might not be possible and advisable
Venice a democratic form of government likely
Bonaparte, and the majority adopted the idea
ducing any modifications which he might sugge

It was hoped by this means that he would b
to forgive the Inquisitors and the captain of t
whose punishment he had demanded, and to ex
Venetian banks from handing over the English

The next day was the first of May, the ann
on which the Doge had always paid his annual
the Convent of the Vergini, since the days
Candiano, a ceremony which was always the occ
great festivities in the city. But to-day, inst
bell of the Grand Council was ringing, and the
assembled anxiously. The Doge explained i

dialect the situation of the Republic with regard to France. Peace, he said, must be made with Bonaparte at any price, and the best thing the members of the

CAMPO SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO

Council could do was to say their prayers and ask the help of Heaven in their supreme danger.

Heaven, as usual in such circumstances, did not help those who would not help themselves. The

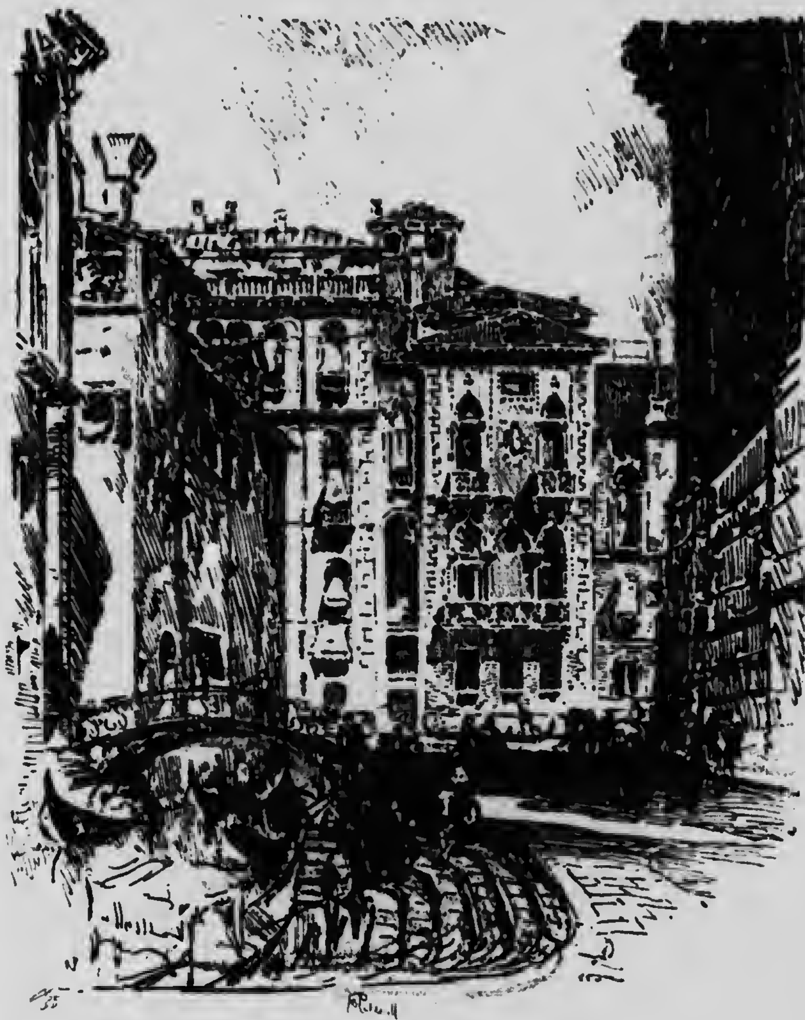
Council thought it had done wonders when it v
598 to 21 that two deputies should be sent to B
with power to discuss radical changes in the
constitution. The envoys chosen were Angelo
Giustiniani, who had been Provveditor extraor
Treviso since the second of April, Alvise M
the Governor of Udine, and Francesco Donà
were given regular credentials, and were, a
exhorted to use the utmost caution in all they

On the same day Bonaparte declared wa
Venice in his most furiously bombastic styl
document must be read, not to be believed, as
the statements it contains were totally untru
appreciate the marvellous gifts of the man
who composed it. It is long, and I have not
it; I can only say that it altogether outdid th
letters and speeches I have referred to.

The deputation found Bonaparte in Trev
the eternal glory of the family that had lost an
of its name in one campaign, Giustiniani qui
Bonaparte on every point, reproached him
shallowness of the pretexts under which he ju
acts of violence, swore to the sincerity of the
Government when it had protested that i
intention of doing any injury to the Fre
concluded by saying that if Bonaparte r
hostage or a victim he, Giustiniani, was the
his life.

Bonaparte was everything except a coward.
a conqueror and a comedian, a brutal dicta
subtle diplomatist; he was a great command
was the Little Corporal. He was also as br
bravest man in any of his armies. Giustinia
affected him strangely, for he well knew wha
inspired in most people. His sudden adm

the Venetian patriot was as boundless as everything else in his nature, and broke out in words of praise. He concluded by promising that even if he confiscated



SO-CALLED HOUSE OF DESDEMONA

the property of every noble in Venice, whatsoever belonged to Giustiniani should be respected. There spoke the man of the middle class that Bonaparte

always was. The gentleman answered proudly t
had not come to promote his own interests when
of his country were so desperately at stake.

A truce of four days was signed, within whic
the three Inquisitors of State and the comman
the Lido fort were to be arrested and punished,
political prisoners were to be set at liberty.

On the fourth of May the Doge had the cour
the cowardice, to propose to the Great Coun
arrest of the Inquisitors and their im
ment as required by Bonaparte.
was no hope for Venice in any other cou
said.

Rom. x. 159.

This dastardly measure was voted by 704 v
27. The Inquisitors and the commander of th
were arrested and taken to San Giorgio Maggio
all the political prisoners were released from the I
the Pozzi, and the other prisons of the city.
following day, two hundred and eighty-eight Fre
who had been taken with weapons in their hands
the insurrections in the provinces were handed
Baraguay d'Hilliers in Venice.

Bonaparte was now sure that he had only t
himself in order to be master of the city.
Venetians also made haste to present Bon
'friend,' Haller, with a little present of six th
sequins in bullion, in the hope that he would
kind offices with the great man.

'I beg you,' Bonaparte wrote about that tim
Directory, 'to order the citizen Haller, a scound
has come here to steal, to pres
accounts to the head manager' ('o
teur en chef').

Bonnal, Chute, 287.

So much for Bonaparte's 'friend.' The I
also offered the most profuse hospitality to I

Baraguay d'Hilliers, in the hope that she would soften her husband's harsh temper.

By this time Bonaparte knew as well as Condulmer himself that the Venetian fleet was miserably manned, and that the city must yield at once if besieged, and he thought it quite useless to receive any more envoys. Besides, he knew that his propaganda had succeeded in the capital itself; his paid agents had done their work well, and it had been bravely seconded by the manifest incompetence of the Government which had exasperated all classes. It is said that there were fifteen thousand republicans ready to answer the first signal as soon as it should be given by Villetard, the secretary of the French Legation. These were not by any means all of the people, for many ladies of the nobility had been spending their time in making tricolour cockades, and the Government knew it.

The French no longer took the trouble to conceal the preparations they were making for a revolution. A wholesale grocer who played a very suspicious part in the whole affair, Tommaso Zorzi, was dining with Villetard, and heard several Frenchmen speaking of the revolution that was arranged for the next day; it was intended to set up a tree of liberty in the Square of Saint Mark's and to declare the fall of the aristocratic Government. When every one else was gone, Zorzi implored Villetard to put off firing the train, and explained that a large part of the populace would side with their old masters. The French secretary would promise nothing, and on leaving him Zorzi hastened to the ducal palace and was received by the Doge in spite of the late hour.

He told what he had heard. The Doge sent at once for Pietro Donà, and the two bade Zorzi obtain from Villetard a written declaration of the conditions

on which he would consent to give up the revo
On the following day Zorzi and his friend
appeared before the Savi with a paper which th
they had drawn up in the presence of Villetard, w
refused to write anything himself.

The impression one gets in reading this doc
is that Zorzi and his shadow were in the tric
Villetard. The paper calls them 'med
talks of 'pacifically changing the
cratic forms of government,' 'leaving open to th
of the public the prisons called the Piombi and
abolishing capital punishment, setting up a t
liberty in the Square of Saint Mark's, publicly b
the insignia of the old Government, a universal a
and a Te Deum in Saint Mark's, where the in
the Virgin Mary was to be exhibited.

Rom. x. 386 for the text.

The paper also named the provisional gover
in which the grocer and his shadow were to occu
positions.

This stuff was not read by Zorzi before the as
The Doge deputed Pietro Donà and Francesco
to hear him in a neighbouring room. Donà di
him with the remark that the Government wou
to discuss such propositions until they were
laid before the Venetian envoys by Bonaparte hi

Then Donà returned to the hall and commu
the contents of Zorzi's paper to the Governmen
effect was terrific. A few voices protested
attention should be paid to such an informal
tion, but terror prevailed, and Donà and Batta
charged to go at once to Villetard to ask him
off his revolution till the envoys should retu
their interview with Bonaparte. Villetard, for
known to himself, granted the Government a r
four days.

Meanwhile it was thought wise to dismiss the Slavonic troops, yielding in this to one of the demands expressed in Zorzi's paper. Their presence 'irritated' Villetard. They were accordingly ordered home under the command of Niccolò Morosini, but they did not leave at once.

On the twelfth of May the Great Council met. Early in the morning Villetard had informed Battagia that the Venetian envoys sent to Bonaparte had refused to accept a democratic and representative government, but that the French meant to obtain it by force unless the aristocracy would resign its powers. It was Haller who had brought the news to Villetard after accepting a bribe of six thousand sequins a few days earlier. An American politician once defined a scoundrel as 'a man who will not stay bought.'

Donà came back with an official letter from Villetard to the Doge which contained Bonaparte's ultimatum. The city was in a state of nervous excitement that must break into action before long; the members of the Council were already in terror of their lives while they stood waiting for the hour of meeting. Even then, everything had to be done according to tradition. The patricians were, no doubt, devising more concessions to be made to Bonaparte, as they moved towards the ducal palace, and most of them were ready to sacrifice everything, including their honour, in exchange for personal safety. The last of the Slavonic soldiers were embarking under the direction of the Arsenal men; there were republican conspirators everywhere, and they found their way even to the Doge's private apartments.

The Council met at the usual hour, and the roll was called. Only 537 members were present, whereas 600 constituted a quorum. It is possible that the

many absent members had hoped to obstruct
ceedings by keeping away, for to the last the n
rules had been observed. But the members w
assembled decided that they had a right to act.

The Doge opened the sitting, pale and ov
Painfully, and in his Venetian dialect, he recap
the acts of the Consulta of Savi and others, w
taken charge of affairs on the thirtieth of Apri
miserable speech was followed by the reading
report of Donà and Battagia, Haller's letter, an
documents.

The Secretary, Valentin Marin, then read the
which was brought before the Council.

The Bill had the old sanctimonious tone.
principal purpose of preserving religion,' etc., v
first words; the measure was, that the Great
should accept 'the proposed provisional repres
government.'

The Secretary had finished reading the Bill,
just beginning his comments on it, when the s
a discharge of musketry rang sharply throu
ancient hall. The patricians rushed to the door
voice called them back.

'Divide! divide!' it cried, above the din.

To the last gasp formality bound them.
but not informally, they went through the
voting. The Bill to accept the democratic gov
was passed by 512 yeas to 30 nays and 5 blank

1797. May twelfth. Then, in the twinkling of an
hall was silent and empty.

SAILS

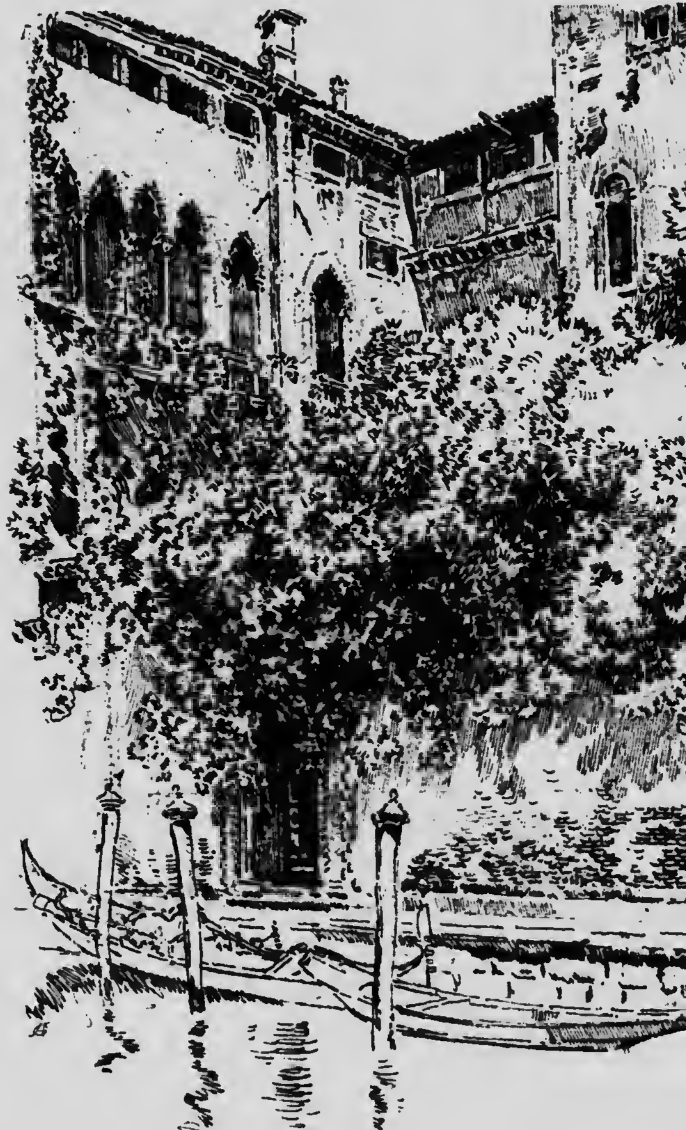
XXXIII

CONCLUSION

The discharge of musketry which had frightened the Great Council out of its senses had been only the parting salute of the Slavonic soldiers as they sailed out of the harbour. It was the last mark of respect the Venetians of Venice received, and it was by a dramatic coincidence that it was offered at the very instant when the Republic ended. Every one has read how the Doge went back to his own room and handed his ducal bonnet to his servant, saying that he should not need it again.

Tassini, under 'San Bartolomeo.'

What has been less noticed by historians



A GATEWAY

General Salimbeni, who knew that the cr

istorians is that

the crowd was

waiting to know what had taken place, put his head out of a window and shouted 'Viva la Libertà'; and that when no one broke the silence that followed, he took breath again and shouted 'Viva San Marco,' whereupon the multitude took up the cry and cheered till they were hoarse, and the old flag of Saint Mark was hoisted everywhere, and the populace took it into its head to burn down the houses of Donà and Battagia and the grocer Zorzi, and though they were hindered, they did plunder and burn the dwellings of a number of burgher families that had played a double game and had helped to bring on the final catastrophe.

In the midst of this confusion well-armed republican gangs appeared in all directions, and during the night between the twelfth and the thirteenth of May there was a hideous tumult. The last time that Venetian cannon was fired by Venetian orders, it was pointed at Venetians.

On the fifteenth, the French occupied the city as conquerors. On the sixteenth, two notices were put up in the Square of Saint Mark's. The first simply announced that the aristocratic Government yielded up its powers to a provisional Municipality which would sit in the hall of the Great Council; and this was the last public document which began with the words, 'The Most Serene Prince announces,' etc.

Molmenti, Nuovi Studi.

The other informed the public that the provisional Municipality of Venice declared the Great Council to have 'deserved well of the nation' because it had abdicated; it thanked particularly the members of the late Government which had put down the riot on the night of the twelfth; and it went on to declare a 'solemn amnesty' for all political misdeeds, and so forth, and so on.

Then came the usual French nonsense about
equality, brotherhood, peace, the rights of m
the like; all of which might, perhaps, be
on the ground of mistaken and foolish sentime
did not know that Bonaparte was even then
in the act of selling his newly found, free, an
brothers into slavery to Austria, then the mo
absolute despotism in Europe.

The whole affair was a horrible farce. T
Municipality decided to preserve the Lion
Mark as the national symbol, but for the wor
tibi Marce' inscribed on the book under the
paw were substituted the words 'Rights and D
Man and Citizen.' The gondoliers observed th
Mark had at last turned over a new leaf.

The Lion, however, was soon thrown dow
his column, and was broken into more tha
pieces on the pavement. On th
of June the tree of liberty was
the middle of the square. Around it were
emblems of the sciences and arts. Fagots were
up near by, to make a fire in which the Gold
and the ducal insignia were solemnly burned
two statues representing Freedom and Equality.
verses were inscribed on the ped
these images. Lest I should be
to exaggerate their atrociously bad literary q
give the original Italian.

Rom. x. 219.

Molmenti, Nuovi Studi.

One ran :—

> Depono la tirannide,
> Sollevo l' innocente,
> Ognor lieto e ridente
> Il popol mio sarà.

The other said :—

Il libro d' oro abbruciasi
L' accende il reo delitto,
All' uom resta il suo dritto
La dolce libertà.

The Procuratie, both the old and the new, were renamed, according to the revolutionary dictionary, 'Gallery of Liberty,' 'Gallery of Equality.' In the course of the month of June began the trial of the three Inquisitors, Agostino Barbarigo, Angelo Maria Gabrieli, and Catterino Corner, and of Pizzamano, the commander of the Lido Fort. Even Bonaparte was obliged to admit that there was nothing against them, but he would not allow them to be acquitted; he thought it better policy to pardon them 'in consideration of their advanced age.' His letter on the subject is dated the fourth of October. But Pizzamano, though declared free, was still kept in prison at Bonaparte's pleasure, and on the twenty-sixth of October sent a petition directly to the latter. Bonaparte sent it on to General Serrurier, in Venice, with an order for the man's liberation written in the margin.

Mutinelli, Ult. 218; also Tassini, 591.

Bonaparte had kept up his comedy to the very last. On the eighth of October General Balland had given the Venetians, in his chief's name, the most ample assurances of attachment and devotion.

On the seventeenth, nine days later, by the treaty of Campo-Formio, Bonaparte sold Venice and the whole Venetian territory to the Emperor of Austria, including Dalmatia and Istria, in exchange for the Ionian Islands, the Cisalpine Republic, the Duchy of Modena, and the provinces of Lombardy as far as the Adige and Mantua.

Having got his price for the dead body, Bonaparte proceeded to strip it of everything valuable, so far as

he could, before handing it over. The horses
Mark's were taken down from the façade of the
the most valuable pictures, parchments, and bo
packed, and all was sent to Paris.

The farce of freedom was over, and the b
of reality came back, harder to bear, perhaps
much more honourable, as suffering is more
than drunken rioting. On the eighteenth of
1798 the Austrian garrison took possession of

Before closing these pages, I shall go bac
months and shall translate Giustina Renier
touching account of the scene which took
Dalmatia, in the preceding month of August,
Austrians came by sea to take possession
country.

On the twenty-second of August, Rukavina [the
general] arrived with a fleet and a thousand soldiers a
at Pettana, a mile and a half from Pera
Dalmatians, taken by surprise, and se
they had nothing more to hope, re
render the last honours to the great st
Saint Mark. To this end the people of Perasto, a
neighbouring country, and others, assembled before
of the Captain in command; and he, with twelv
armed with sabres, and two colour-sergeants, went to
where the standard was, and the colours carried in
which Venice had entrusted many centuries ago to t
and loyalty of the brave Dalmatians. They were no
away those dearly loved flags; but in the very momen
what it broke their hearts to do, their strength failed
they could only shed a flood of tears.

G. R. Michiel, Origini. Compare also Rom. x. 249.

The throng of people who waited in the Square, n
any one come out again, knew not what to think. S
the judges of the town was sent up to ascertain the ca
he, too, was so much moved that his presence [in
only increased the grief of the others. At last the
controlling himself of sheer necessity, made the painf

he took down the flags from the place where they were hung and attached them to two pikes; and he handed them to the two colour-sergeants, and they and the soldiers, led by the lieutenant, marched out of the hall; and after them the Captain, the Judge, and all the rest. As soon as the well-beloved standard was seen, the grief and tears of the multitude were universal. Men, women, and children all sobbed and their tears rolled down; and nothing was heard but the complaint of mourning, no doubtful proof of the hereditary devotion of that generous nation to its Republic.

When the sad procession reached the Square, the Captain unfastened the flags from the pikes, and at the same time the ensign of Saint Mark on the fort was hauled down, and a salute of twenty guns was fired. Two armed vessels that guarded the port answered with eleven guns, and all the merchant vessels saluted also; this was the last good-bye of sorrowing glory to the valour of a nation. The sacred colours were placed upon a metal salver and the lieutenant received them in the presence of the Judge, of the Captain, and of the people. Then all marched with slow and melancholy steps to the Cathedral. There they were received by the clergy and its chief, to whom the sacred trust was delivered, and he placed it on the high altar. Then the Captain commanding spoke the following words, which were again and again interrupted by quick sobbing and streaming tears that came from men's hearts more truly than from their eyes:—

'In this cruel moment,' he said, 'that rends our hearts for the fatal destruction of the Most Serene Venetian Government, in this last expression of our love and faith, with which we do honour to the colours of the Republic, let us at least find some consolation, dear fellow-citizens, in the thought that neither our past deeds, nor those we have done in these recent times, have led to this sad office, which, for us, is now become a good deed. Our sons will know from us, and history will teach all Europe, that Perasto upheld to the last breath the glory of the Venetian flag, honouring it and bathing it in universal and most bitter tears. Fellow-citizens, let us freely pour out our grief; but amidst the last solemn thoughts with which we seal the glorious career that has been ours under the Most Serene Government of Venice, let us turn to these

well-loved colours and cry out to them, in our sorr
flag, that has been ours three hundred and seventy-s
without a break, our faith and courage have eve
unstained both on the sea and wheresoever you wer
face your enemies, which were the enemies of the C
For three hundred and seventy-seven years our
blood, and our lives have always been devoted to you
you have been with us, and we with you, we have
happy, and famous on the sea and victorious on
man ever saw us put to flight with you; with you
ever found to overcome us. If these most wretche
rash action, of corrupt manners, of dissensions, and
opinions that offend nature and the law of nation
ruined you in Italy, our goods, our blood, our lives
be yours; and rather than have seen you ove
dishonoured, our courage and our faith would have
be buried with you. But since we can do nothing
you than this, let your honoured grave be in our he
desolation be your highest praise."'

Then the Captain went up and took a corner
and put it to his lips as if he could not let it leave
all thronged to kiss it most tenderly, washing it wit
tears. But as the sad ceremony had to come to an
these dear colours were laid in a chest, which the Re
in a reliquary beneath the high altar.

our sorrow, "Dear
seventy-seven years
have ever kept you
you were called to
of the Church also.
ars our goods, our
ed to you, and since
we have ever been
ious on land. No
ith you none were
wretched times of
ons, and of lawless
of nations, had not
ur lives should still
you overcome and
uld have chosen to
nothing more for
n our hearts, let our

corner of the flag
t leave them; and
ng it with their hot
e to an end at last,
ch the Rector placed

THE DOGES OF VENICE

(ACCORDING TO ROMANIN)

NOTE.—*The Venetian year began on March first, whence the frequent discrepancies between the dates given by different writers. In this work every effort has been made to bring all dates under the usual reckoning.*

I.	Paolo Lucio Anafesto	. elected	697 d. 717	Seat in Heraclea.
II.	Marcello Tegaliano . .	"	717 " 726	
III.	Orso Ipato	"	726 " 737	(murdered). Seat in Malamocco.
	(From 737 to 742, military governors called 'Magistri Militum')			
IV.	Teodato Orso	elected	742 — 755	(blinded and deposed).
V.	Galla Gaulo	"	755 — 756	(blinded and exiled).
VI.	Domenico Monegario .	"	756 — 764	(blinded and deposed).
VII.	Maurizio Galbaio . . .	"	764 d. 787	
VIII.	Giovanni Galbaio and his son Maurizio . . .	"	787 — 804	(both deposed).
IX.	Obelerio with his sons Beato and Costantino	"	804 d. 811	(the father put to death as a traitor).
X.	Agnello Partecipazio . .	"	811 " 827	Seat henceforth in Rialto.
XI.	Giustiniano Partecipazio .	"	827 " 829	
XII.	Giovanni Partecipazio I. .	"	829 — 836	(deposed).
XIII.	Pietro Tradonico . . .	"	836 d. 864	(murdered).
XIV.	Orso Partecipazio I. . .	"	864 " 881	
XV.	Giovanni Partecipazio II.	"	881 — 888	(abdicated).
XVI.	Pietro Candiano I. . .	"	888 d. 888	(killed in battle with pirates).
XVII.	Pietro Tribuno	"	888 " 912	
XVIII.	Orso Partecipazio II. (Badoer)	"	912 — 932	(abdicated and died a monk).
XIX.	Pietro Candiano II. . .	"	932 d. 939	

XX. Pietro Partecipazio (Badoer) elected 939 d. 942
XXI. Pietro Candiano III. . . .. 942 „ 959
XXII. Pietro Candiano IV. . . .. 959 „ 976 (mur
XXIII. Pietro Orseolo I. . . . .. 976 — 978 (abdi
a r
rep
sa
XXIV. Vital Candiano. . . . 978 — 979 (abdic
car
XXV. Tribuno Memmo . . . „ 979 d. 991
XXVI. Pietro Orseolo II. . . . „ 991 .. 1008
XXVII. Ottone Orseolo . „ 1008 — 1026 (exi
tin
XXVIII. Pietro Centranigo . . .. 1026 — 103[illegible] (driv
XXIX. Domenico Flabianico . . . 1032 d. 1043
XXX. Domenico Contarini . .. 1043 „ 1071
XXXI. Domenico Selvo . . . .. 1071 „ 1085
XXXII. Vital Falier . . . .. 1085 „ 1096
XXXIII. Vital Michiel I. . . .. 1096 „ 1102
XXXIV. Ordelafo Falier . . . „ 1102 „ 1118 (di
t
XXXV. Domenico Michiel . . . .. 1118 „ 1130
XXXVI. Pietro Polani . . . 1130 „ 1148
XXXVII. Domenico Morosini . 1148 „ 115[illegible]
XXXVIII. Vital Michiel II . . . .. 1156 „ 1172 (kil
XXXIX. Sebastian Ziani . . . . .. 1172 „ 117[illegible]
XL. Orio Mastropiero . . . „ 1178 — 11[illegible] (abd
XLI. Enrico Dandolo . . . . . 1[illegible] d. 12[illegible] (die
n
XLII. Pietro Ziani . . . .. 12[illegible] — 122[illegible] (abd
XLIII. Jacopo Tiepolo . . [illegible] 1249 (abd
XLIV. Marin Morosini . [illegible]
XLV. Renier Zeno . . [illegible] 12[illegible]
XLVI. Lorenzo Tiepolo [illegible] 12[illegible]
XLVII. Jacopo Contarini . 12[illegible] 1280
XLVIII. Giovanni Dandolo . . .. 128[illegible] 12[illegible]
XLIX. Pietro Gradenigo . .. 1289 .. [illegible]
L. Marin Zorzi . . . .. 1311 „ [illegible]
LI. Giovanni Soranzo . .. 1312 „ [illegible]29
LII. Francesco Dandolo . . . 1329 .. 1339
LIII. Bartolommeo Gradenigo 1339 .. 1343
LIV. Andrea Dandolo . . . 1343 „ 1354
LV. Marin Falier . . . . . [illegible]54 .. 1355 (beh
LVI. Giovanni Gradenigo 1355 „ 1356

No.	Name		From		To	
LVII.	Giovanni Dolfin . . .	elected	1356	d.	1361	
LVIII.	Lorenzo Celsi	„	1361	„	1365	
LIX.	Marco Corner . .	„	1365	„	1368	
LX.	Andrea Contarini . . .	„	1368	„	1383	
LXI.	Michel Morosini . .	„	1383	„	1384	
LXII.	Antonio Venier	„	1384	„	1400	
LXIII.	Michel Steno	„	1400	„	1413	
LXIV.	Tommaso Mocenigo . .	„	1413	„	1423	
LXV.	Francesco Foscari . . .	„	1423	—	1457	(deposed, and died a few days later).
LXV[illegible].	Pa[illegible]e Malipiero . . .	„	1457	d.	1462	
LXVI[illegible].	Cris[illegible]foro Moro . . .	„	1462	„	1471	
LX[illegible].	Niccolò Tron . . .	„	1[illegible]1	„	1474	
[illegible]	Nic[illegible] Marcello . .	„	[illegible]474	„	1474	
[illegible]	Pie[illegible] Mocenigo . . .	„	1474	„	1476	
LX[illegible]	A[illegible] Vendr[illegible]in . .	„	1476	„	1478	
[illegible]XX[illegible]	[illegible]i Mo[illegible]go . .	„	1478	„	1485	
LXXIII.	M[illegible] Barbari[illegible] . .	„	1485	„	1486	
LXXIV.	Agostino Barbarigo . .	„	1486	„	1501	
LXXV.	Leonardo Loredan . .	„	1501	„	1521	
LXXVI.	Antonio Grimani . . .	„	1521	„	1523	
LXXVII.	Andrea Gritti	„	1523	„	1538	
LXXVIII.	Pietro Lando . . .	„	1538	„	1545	
LXXIX.	Francesco Donato . . .	[illegible]	[illegible]545	„	1553	
LXXX.	Marcantonio Trevisan .	„	[illegible]553	„	1554	
LXXXI.	Francesco Venier . . .	[illegible]	[illegible]54	„	1556	
LXXXII.	Lorenzo Priuli . . .	„	[illegible]	[illegible]	1559	
[illegible]XXXIII.	Girolamo Priuli . . .	„	[illegible]		1567	
LXXXIV.	Pietro Loredan . . .		1[illegible]		1570	
LXXXV.	Aloise (Luigi) Mocenigo .	„	157[illegible]		1577	
LXXXVI.	Sebastian Venier . . .	„	1577	„	1578	
LXXXVII.	Niccolò Da Ponte . . .	„	1578	„	1585	
LXXXVIII.	Pasquale Cicogna . . .	„	1585	„	1595	
LXXXIX.	Marin Grimani . . .	„	1595	„	1606	
XC.	Leonardo Donà . . .	„	1606	„	1612	
XCI.	Marcantonio Memmo .	„	1612	„	1615	
XCII.	Giovanni Bembo . . .	„	1615	„	1618	
XCIII.	Niccolò Donà	„	1618	„	1618	
XCIV.	Antonio Priuli	„	1618	„	1623	
XCV.	Francesco Contarini . .	„	1623	„	1624	
XCVI.	Giovanni Corner . . .	„	1624	„	1630	
XCVII.	Niccolò Contarini . . .	„	1630	„	1631	
XCVIII.	Francesco Erizzo . . .	„	1631	„	1646	
XCIX.	Francesco Molin . . .	„	1646	„	1655	
C.	Carlo Contarini . . .	„	1655	„	1656	

CI.	Francesco Corner . . .	elected	1656	d.	1656
CII.	Bertuccio Valier . . .	"	1656	"	1658
CIII.	Giovanni Pesaro . . .	"	1658	"	1659
CIV.	Domenico Contarini . .	"	1659	"	1674
CV.	Niccolò Sagredo. . . .	"	1674	"	1676
CVI.	Aloise Contarini . . .	"	1676	"	1683
CVII.	Marcantonio Giustiniani .	"	1683	"	1688
CVIII.	Francesco Morosini . .	"	1688	"	1694
CIX.	Silvestro Valier . . .	"	1694	"	1700
CX.	Aloise Mocenigo . . .	"	1700	"	1709
CXI.	Giovanni Corner . . .	"	1709	"	1722
CXII.	Aloise Sebastian Mocenigo	"	1722	"	1732
CXIII.	Carlo Ruzzini	"	1732	"	1735
CXIV.	Luigi Pisani	"	1735	"	1741
CXV.	Pietro Grimani	"	1741	"	1752
CXVI.	Francesco Loredan . . .	"	1752	"	1762
CXVII.	Marco Foscarini . . .	"	1762	"	1763
CXVIII.	Aloise Mocenigo . . .	"	1763	"	1779
CXIX.	Paolo Renier	"	1779	"	1788
CXX.	Ludovico Manin . . .	"	1788	—	1797 (abdicat aristoc ment).

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL DATES IN VENETIAN HISTORY

A.D.	
421 (about)	Venice founded by fugitives from Aquileia, Altinum, and Padua. (According to tradition on March 25, 421, at noon.)
697 . .	Paulus Lucas Anafestus of Heraclea chosen as first doge.
809 . .	Pepin, son of Charlemagne, attempts to take Venice and is defeated.
828 (about)	The body of Saint Mark is brought to Venice, and he is proclaimed protector of the Republic in place of Saint Theodore.
959 (about)	The brides of Venice and their dowries are carried off by Istrian pirates.
975 . .	The first basilica of Saint Mark is destroyed by fire.
998 . .	Pietro Orseolo is acclaimed as Doge of Venice and Dalmatia.
998 . .	The Emperor Otho III. visits Venice secretly.
1009 . .	Venice is ravaged by the plague.
1099 . .	Venetians defeat the Pisans off Rhodes.
1123 . .	Defeat of the Turks at Jaffa.
1123 . .	The Doge Domenico Michiel takes Tyre.
1167 . .	Venice joins the Lombard League, with Verona, Padua, Milan, Bologna, and other cities.
1172 . .	Institution of the Great Council, in which membership is open and elective.
1177 . .	The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa makes submission to Pope Alexander III. at Venice.
1177 . .	The ceremony of the Espousal of the Sea by the Doge instituted.
1202 (Oct. 8)	The Venetian fleet sets out for the Fourth Crusade under the Doge Enrico Dandolo.
1204 (April 12)	Constantinople taken by the Venetian and French forces.
1277 . .	Membership in the Great Council limited to those of legitimate birth.

A.D.

1297 . . Closure of the Great Council, in which member a privilege of the nobles.

1300 . . Conspiracy of Marino Bocconio.

1310 . . Conspiracy of Marco Quirini and Bajamonte Ti

1335 . . Permanent institution of the Council of Ten.

1348 . . Venice loses half her population by the plague.

1354 . . Conspiracy of Marino Faliero.

1379-80 . War of Chioggia.

1404-54 . During this time Venice possesses herself, on t of Padua, Ravenna, Verona, Treviso, Vicenza, gamo, Feltre, Belluno, Crema, and Friuli.

1405 . Carlo Zeno takes Padua from Carrara.

1426 . . League with Florence concluded. Brescia surr allied forces, the Venetian troops being con Carmagnola.

1428 . . Bergamo surrenders to Carmagnola.

1432 (May 5) Carmagnola executed as a traitor to the Republi

1437 . . Erasmo da Narni, nicknamed Gattamelata, is mander of the Venetian army.

1449 . . Bartolommeo Colleoni is commander of the Vene

1453 (May 29) Constantinople taken by the Turks. Many V massacred and much Venetian property destroy

1477 . . Scutari, besieged by the Turks, is successfully Antonio da Lezze.

1489 . . Venice annexes Cyprus, leaving Catharine Cornar title of its Queen.

1508 . . League of Cambrai, between the Emperor Maxi Julius II., Louis XII. of France, and Ferdinand

1571 (Oct. 7) Battle of Lepanto won by the allied fleets of Ve the Holy See, and Spain, commanded resp Sebastiano Venier, Andrea Doria, and Marcanto under Don John of Austria as commander-in-c

1574 . . Visit of Henry III. of France.

1575-7 . . Venice, swept by the plague, loses one-fourth of tion, Titian among them. Church of the built to commemorate its cessation.

1577 (Dec. 20) Fire destroys the Hall of the Great Council, magnificent works of art.

1630 . . Another visitation of the plague, commemo Church of the Salute.

1715-18 . The Turks wrest from Venice Crete and the Pelo

1784 . . Angelo Emo, the last Venetian leader, humbles Tunis.

1788 . . Election of the 120th and last Doge, Ludovico M

A.D.

1796 . . The ceremony of the Espousal of the Sea by the Doge takes place for the last time.

1797 (April 18) General Bonaparte, by the treaty of Campo-Formio, cedes to Austria the Venetian provinces between the Po, the Oglio, and the Adriatic, in exchange for Romagna, with Ferrara and Bologna.

1797 (May 12) The Doge Ludovico Manin abdicates, and the Great Council accepts the Provisional Government required by General Bonaparte.

1798 (Jan. 18) The Austrian garrison takes possession of Venice.

1866 (Oct. 19) Austria cedes Venice to Napoleon III., who transfers it to Victor Emanuel II., King of Italy.

BOOKS CONSULTED

ALBERI, E. Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti. 15 vols.

ANONYMOUS. Monumenti artistici e storici delle Provincie venete descritti all' Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano d' Austria da una commissione.

Archivio storico italiano, serie i. vol. viii.

Archivio Veneto, part i. vol. xi. 1871.

Ateneo Veneto (1865) (see below, CARRER).

BASCHET, ARMAND. Les Archives de Venise. Souvenirs d'une mission.

Les Archives de Venise. Histoire de la Chancellerie secrète.

BEMBO. Delle istituzioni di beneficenza nella città e provincia di Venezia.

BONNAL. Chute d'une République. Venise d'après les archives secrètes de la République.

BROWN, H. F. Life on the Lagoons.

Venetian Studies.

Venice. An historical Sketch of the Republic.

BROWN, RAWDON. Venetian Archives, with special reference to English History.

CARRER. Anello di sette gemme o Venezia e la sua storia.

CECCHETTI. Sull' istituzione dei magistrati della R. Veneta fino al secolo XIII. (Ateneo Veneto for 1865).

Di alcuni dubbi nella storia di Venezia.

La R. di Venezia e la Corte di Roma nei rapporti della Religione. 2 vols.

Di alcuni appunti per la storia della medicina.

Il mercato delle erbe e del pesce a Venezia.

CICOGNA, EMANUELE. Iscrizioni Veneziane.

Della bibliografia Veneziana.

Cronaca Altinate (published by the Abbé Rossi in the Archivio storico Ital. vol. viii. series i.).

DA CANAL, MARTIN. Ibid.

DALMEDICO. Canti del popolo Venezziano.

D' ANCONA. Studi di critica e storia letteraria. Bologna, 1880.

DANDOLO. Appendice agli ultimi 50 anni della R. Veneta.
DARU. Histoire de la République de Venise. 7 vols.
DE GUBERNATIS E BERNONI. Usi nuziali.
EROLI, GIOVANNI. Erasmo Gattamelata da Narni, suoi monur
famiglia. Roma, 1876.
FIRMIN-DIDOT, AMBROISE. Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Ver
FULIN. Soranza Soranzo e le sue compagne. Arch. Veneto, i.
Studi sugl' Inquisitori di Stato (incomplete). Arch. Ven. i.,
GALLICCIOLI. Delle memorie Venete antiche profane ed ecc
6 vols. Venezia, 1795.
GIRALDI, CINTIO. Hecatomithii.
GOLDONI, CARLO. Memorie per l' istoria della sua vita e del s
HAZLITT. The Venetian Republic. 2 vols. 1900.
LAZZARINI. Il dialetto Veneziano fino alla morte di Dante.
Il doge Marin Faliero (from the Arch. Veneto).
MALAMANI, V. Giustina Renier Michiel, i suoi amici, il s
1890.
MICHIEL, GIUSTINA RENIER. Della origine delle feste Veneziar
MOLMENTI. I banditi e i bravi della R. di Venezia.
I calli e i canali di Venezia.
Il Carpaccio e il Ti- -o.
Le congiure del secolo XIII. a Venezia.
La Dogaressa di Venezia.
Storia di Venezia nella vita privata.
Studi e ricerche.
Nuovi studi di storia e d' arte.
Vecchie storie.
Sebastian Veniero.
MUTINELLI, FABIO. Annali urbani.
Gli ultimi cinquant' anni della R. di Venezia.
Il commercio Veneziano.
Il costume Veneziano.
Lessico Veneto.
NIEVO, IPPOLITO. Confessioni di un ottuagenario.
PETRARCH. Lettere Senili. Basle vol i.
PREVITI. Vita di Giordano Bruno
QUADRI. Compendio della storia di Venezia.
Raccolta di leggi criminali veneziane, Pinelli.
ROMANIN. Storia documentata di Venezia. 10 vols.
SAGREDO. Delle consorterie delle arti edificatrici in Venezia.
SANSOVINO. Venetia città nobilissima e singolare descritta dal S
con nove e copiose aggiunte di D. Giustinian Martinoni. 1

SANUDO, MARIN. Diarii, vol. iii. e iv.

SCHUPFER. Manuale della storia del diritto.

SELVATICO E LAZZARI. Guida storica ed artistica di Venezia.

SISMONDI, SISMONDE DE. Histoire des Républiques Italiennes.

SMEDLEY, E. W. Sketches from Venetian History (Murray's Family Library).

TASSINI. Le condanne capitali più celebri della [illegible] Venezia.

Curiosità Veneziane.

Veronica Franco, cortigiana e poetessa.

THODE, HEINRICH. Der Ring des Frangipane.

URBAIN DE GHELTOF. Una lettera di Cristoforo Colombo ai Veneziani.

Technical History of Venetian Laces.

VECELLIO. Degli habiti antichi et moderni dei Veneziani (a rare copy coloured by himself).

VIVIANI. Vita di Galileo Galilei.

YRIARTE. Venise.

Vie d'un patricien de Venise au 16e siècle.

ZANETTI. Siti pittoreschi delle lagune Venete.

ZENO, JACOPO. Vita di Carlo Zeno, in Muratori, Scriptores Rer. It. vol. xix.

SOME EMINENT MEN AND WOMEN CONNECTED WITH VENICE

The places where some of the principal works of Painters and Architects may be seen are given in this list, which, however, is by no means exhaustive.

ARCHITECTS

(*Many of these were also Sculptors.*)

1618–1684. GIUSEPPE BENONI.
The Dogana.

(Not known)–1529. BARTOLOMMEO BON.
Ducal Palace, S. Maria dell' Orto, Scuola di San Rocco, Palazzo Foscari.

(Not known)–about 1680. BALDASSARE LONGHENA.
S. Maria degli Scalzi, S. Maria della Salute, Palazzo Giustiniani Lolin, Palazzo Rezzonico, Palazzo Pesaro.

1518–1580. ANDREA PALLADIO.
Ducal Palace, San Giorgio Maggiore, Il Redentore.

1512–1597. GIOVANNI ANTONIO DA PONTE.
The Rialto.

1484–1549. MICHELE SAMMICHELE.
Palazzo Grimani, Palazzo Corner Mocenigo, Castello di S. Andrea.

1479–1570. JACOPO SANSOVINO.
Ducal Palace, Libreria Vecchia, Loggietta, Procuratie Nuove, Zecca, S. Giuliano, S. Salvatore, S. M. Mater Domini, Palazzo Corner, Palazzo Manin.

1552–1616. VINCENZO SCAMOZZI.
Ducal Palace, Libreria Vecchia, Procuratie Nuove, I Tolentini, Palazzo Contarini degli Scrigni.

CONDOTTIERI

1390–1432. Carmagnola (Francesco Bussone).

1400–1475. Bartolommeo Colleone.

(Not known)–1443. Gattamelata (Erasmo da Narni).
His statue by Donatello is at Padua.

1401–1466. Francesco Sforza.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LETT

1492–1566. Aretino (Pietro Bacci), Essayist and Playw

(About) 1510–1571. Andrea Calmo, Essayist and Poet.

1310–1354. Andrea Dandolo, Historian.

1554–(after 1591). Veronica Franco, Poetess.

1707–1793. Carlo Goldoni, Playwright.

1720–1806. Carlo Gozzi, Playwright and Satirist.

1449–1515. Aldus Manutius, Printer.

1512–1574. Paulus Manutius (son of Aldus), Printer.

1547–1597. Aldus Manutius (son of Paulus, and
Aldus I.), Printer.

1755–1832. Giustina Renier Michiel, Historian.

1523–1554. Gaspara Stampa, Poetess.

PAINTERS

1556–1629. Aliense (Antonio Vasillacchi).
Ducal Palace, Accademia delle Belle Arti.

1510–1592. Bassano (Jacopo da Ponte).
Ducal Palace, Accademia, Museo (Civico).

1548–1591. Bassano (Francesco da Ponte, eldest son of
Ducal Palace, Accademia, San Giacomo dell

1558–1623. Bassano (Leandro da Ponte, third son of Ja
Ducal Palace, Accademia.

1400–1470. Jacopo Bellini (father of Gentile and Giov
Accademia, Museo Civico.

1421–1501. Gentile Bellini (eldest son of Jacopo).
Ducal Palace, Accademia, Museo Civico, S.

1426–1516. GIOVANNI BELLINI (second son of JACOPO).
Accademia, San Francesco della Vigna, Frari, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Pietro Martire at Murano, Museo Correr.

1491–1553. BONIFAZIO (IL VENEZIANO).
Ducal Palace, Accademia, S. Salvatore, S. Leo, S. Angelo Raffaele.

1513–1588. PARIS BORDONE.
Ducal Palace, Accademia, S. Giovanni in Bragora, S. Giobbe, S. Maria dell' Orto.

1697–1768. CANALETTO (ANTONIO CANAL).
Accademia, Museo Civico.

(About) 1450–1522. VITTORE CARPACCIO.
Ducal Palace, Accademia, S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, S. Vitale, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Museo Correr.

1675–1757. ROSALBA CARRIERA.
Accademia, Museo Correr.

1549–1605. GIOVANNI CONTARINI.
Ducal Palace.

1477–1511. GIORGIONE (GIORGIO BARBARELLI).
Accademia, Palazzo Giovanelli.

1712–1793. FRANCESCO GUARDI.
Accademia, Museo Civico.

(Unknown)–1515 or 1529. PIETRO LOMBARDO.
Ducal Palace.

1702–1762. PIETRO LONGHI.
Museo Civico, Palazzo Grassi.

1480–1548. JACOPO PALMA (PALMA VECCHIO).
Ducal Palace, Accademia, S. Maria dell' Orto, S. Maria Formosa, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, S. Cassiano.

1544–1628. JACOPO PALMA (PALMA GIOVANE, great-nephew of PALMA VECCHIO).
Ducal Palace, Accademia, Frari.

1566–1638. SANTE PERANDA.
Ducal Palace.

1693–1769. GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO.
La Fava, Gli Scalzi, I Gesuati, S. Martino, Palazzo Labia.

1512–1594. TINTORETTO (JACOPO ROBUSTI).
Ducal Palace, Scuola di San Rocco, Accademia, S. Maria dell' Orto, S. Maria della Salute, Hospital of S. Marco, S. Cassiano.

1519–1594. DOMENICO TINTORETTO (son of JACOPO).
Ducal Palace, Accademia.

1477–1576. TITIAN (TIZIANO VECELLIO).
Ducal Palace, Accademia, Scuola di San Rocco, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Frari, S. Maria della Salute.

1545–1611. MARCO VECELLIO (nephew of TITIAN).
Ducal Palace.

1528–1588. PAUL VERONESE (PAOLO CALIARI).
Ducal Palace, Accademia, S. Pantaleone, S. Catarin S. Francesco della Vigna.

1568–1637. GABRIELE CALIARI (eldest son of PAOLO).
Ducal Palace.

1539–1614. ANDREA VICENTINO (DEI MICHIELI).
Ducal Palace.

1525–1608. ALESSANDRO VITTORIA.
Palazzo Balbi, Decorations of the Scala d' Oro in the Du Palace.

1543–1616. FEDERIGO ZUCCARO.
Ducal Palace.

SCULPTORS

1757–1822. ANTONIO CANOVA.
Accademia, Frari, Arsenal, Museo Civico, Palazzo Tre

1435–1488. VERROCCHIO (ANDREA CIONI DI MICHELE).
Square of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

INDEX

Abydos, 122
Academies, 562-563
Academy of 'La Fama,' 572-574
Accoramboni, Vittoria, 482
Achaia, Duke of, 316
Acre, 93
Adams, Brooks, 576
  John, 749
Adda, the, 395
Adelaide, Empress, 69, 70, 76
Adige, the, 357, 419, 588, 770, 797
Adriatic, 107, 126, 144, 327, 330, 331, 362, 385, [illegible], 581, 745, 780
  campaign against pirates of the, 77-78
gnello, Leonardo dall', 363
grippa, Marcus, statue of, 711
ix-la-Chapelle, [illegible], 749
laric, 11, 12
lbania, 425
banians, 730
brizzi, Isabella Teodochi, 664
ine Academy, 562, 568
ine press, 568
ssandria, 102
andria, 36, 37
is (Angelos), Emperor, 118, 119, 124
he Younger, 118-[illegible]
an pirates, 746
n, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18, 23
onicle of, 17, 19
, Bartolomeo d', 491
of Savoy, 392
4, 85, 86, 88
dors, 500-515
ca, 412, 430, 432
ican War of Independence, 749
ano, 96
estus, Paulus Lucas. *See under* Doges

Anagni, 103
Anapolis, 307
Ancona, 52, 332, 424
Ancona, Professor d', 16
Andromachos, 268
Andronicus, 316-320
Andros, 122
'Angel Gabriel,' wa[illegible] 583
Antiochus, 14
Antipope Victor I[illegible] [illegible], 104
Anzio, battle of, 3[illegible]
Apulia, 332, 355, 362
Aquila, the, 117
Aquileia, 10, 13-16, 17, 23, 100
  patriarch of, 100
Aquitaine, 74
Arator, 18
Arbo, 77
Arbo, Count of, 97
'Archi[illegible].' *See* Canal Orfano
Ar[illegible]
Arc[illegible]
  Council of Ten, 490, 567, 577, 619, 723
  Inquisitors of State, 680, 713
  Senate, 749
Arengo, the, 28, 277
Aretino, Pietro, 552-559, 562, 605, 606
Aristocracy, Venetian—
  development of, 145-162
  laws relating to baptism, 438-439
  marriage laws, 439-440
  registration of births and marriages, 439
Aristotle's works, first Greek edition, 565, 566
Arius, 18
Armenians, 532
Arno, the, 86, 88

Arnold of Brescia, 98
Arrow manufactory, 182
Arsenal, the, 62, 187, 208, 256, 296, 362, 516-520, 584, 604, 632, 670, 672, 673, 674, 705, 738, 740-743
Arsenalotti, 518, 594
Art, dramatic, 675-677
Arundel, Countess of, 622-624
  Sir John, 577
Asti, 102
Athens, 632
Attila, 12-16
Augsburg, 492, 592
Austria, 628, 629, 631, 749, 753, 756, 757, 762, 763, 771, 772, 773, 776, 778, 780, 782, 796
  Duke of, 194, 195, 196, 301, 302, 428
  Emperor of, 797
Autolinus, 19
Avignon, 278, 280, 312
Avogadori, the, 153, 156, 163, 293, 383, 384, 439, 631
Azov, Sea of, 324
Azzone, Marquis, 166, 203

Babylonians, 54
Badoer, the, 35, 201
  Alban, 388
  Badoero, 207-211
  Federigo, 572-574
Bailo of Constantinople, 503, 730
Bajazet, Sultan, 432 .
Baldwin of Flanders, 120, 125
Baldwin II., 130
Balland, General, 797
Ballarin, Zorzi, 523-525
Ballot-boxes, office of carrying, 440
Balsamo, Giuseppe, 708-709
Bandinelli, Cardinal. *See* Pope Alexander III.
Bandits, 478-479, 480
Banquets, ducal, 726-728
Baraguay d'Hilliers, General, 772, 782, 788
  Madame, 789
Barattiere, Nicola, 160
Barbarella, the, 152, 157, 273
Barbarigo, Agostino, 797
  See also under Doges
Barbaro, Marcantonio, 440, 501, 502
Barchi, Giacomo, 721, 722
Baschet, M. Armand, 222, 465, 514, 515, 624, 625
Baschet, M. Armand, *Souveni*
  593
Basilica of Saint Mark, 94,
  328, 335, 490, 583, 666
Bastionero, 531
Battagia, Francesco, 790, 791,
Bavaria, Duke of, 376
Beaufort, Duc de, 631
Beaulieu, General, 764
Beg, Zani, 325, 326
Belegno, Filippo, 210
  Vittor, 71
Bellini, the, 191, 518, 549
  Gentile, 526
Belluno, 166
Bembo, Angelo, 216
  Cardinal, 565, 569
  Francesco, 388, 394
  Marchesina, 331
Beneto, Domenico, 452
Benevento, 103
Benzon, Marina, 658
Bergamo, 102, 420, 506, 722,
  773, 776
Bernardo, Pietro, 562-563
Beroviero, Angelo, 523-525
  Marietta, 523, 524
Berthier, Marshal, 767
Bey of Tunis, 746-747
Biri Grande, 551
Bisaccia, Bishop of, 506
'Black Cabinet,' 757
'Black Inquisitors,' 445
Black Sea, 422, 423
Blacks and Whites, wars of the,
Boccaccio, 197, 267
Bocconio, Marino, 142, 143, 1
  212, 252
  conspiracy of, 142, 200, 271
Boleyn, Anne, 512
Bollani, Bishop Pietro, 486
  Piero, 283
Bologna, 102, 773, 780
Bonaventuri, Pietro, 540-545
Bonnal, 766, 772
Bordone, Paris, 233
Borgia, Cæsar, 377
Bosphorus, 122, 326
Bossone, Francesco. *See* Carmag
Bows and arrows, 182-183
Braccio, 416
Bragadin, Francesca, 331
  Marcantonio, 582-583
Brandolini, Count, 416-418

Braschi, Cardinal, 657
Bravi, 478, 479, 480, 481, 486, 488, 712-722
Brazza, 78
Brenta, 8, 339, 352, 588, 652
Brescia, 102, 394, 397, 419, 420, 713, 719, 720, 722, 768, 771, 772, 773
Bridge. *See* Ponte
 dei Dai, 207, 209
 of Saint Barnabas, 176
 of San Lio, 612
 of Sighs, 473
British Constitution, 367, 510
 Empire, 84
Brondolo, 337, 340, 351, 352, 355-358, 363
Brown, Horatio, 397, 548, 736
 Rawdon, 297, 489, 508
Bruno, Giordano, 456-458, 606
Bucentaur, 178, 196, 250, 260, 279, 361, 588, 594, 634, 670-673
Buda, 336
Buddha, 368
Building, early methods of, 38
Bulgarians, 127
Bull of Excommunication, 204
Burano lace, 529
Burgundy, Duke of, 428
Businallo, 643
Byron, Lord, 272, 297, 623
Byzantine Empire, 93, 94, 420, 538

Ca' di Dio, the, 228-229
Cæsar, Julius, 735
Cæsars, the Roman, 50, 586
Café Ancilotto, 709
Caffa, port of, 255
Cagliostro, Count. *See* Balsamo, Giuseppe
Calabria, 88
Calendario, Filippo, 288, 291-293
Calle del Cappello, 213
 dei Fabbri, 206
Callencerio, Niccoletto, 282
Calmo, Andrea, 555-556
Calojohannes, Emperor, 316-320
Caloprini, the, 76, 89
Calvisano, 717
Cambrai, League of, 491, 607, 770, 771
 treaty of, 507
Cambridge University, 510
Camino, lords of, 166
Campanile, 42, 157, 160, 556
Campo-Formio, treaty of, 780, 797
Canal, Martin da, 246
Canal Orfano, 29, 172, 225
Candia. *See* Crete
Candiano, the, 66-72, 76, 80, 81, 89, 149. *See also under* Doges
Cane, Facino, 390
Cannaruoli, the, 174, 176
Canova, Antonio, 668
Caorle lagoon, 64
Cape Corso, 324
 of Good Hope, 432
 d'Istria, 78, 280, 362
 Malea, 122
Cappelletti, the, of Verona, 492
Cappello, the, 488
 Bartolommeo, 539, 541
 Bianca, 539-545, 547
 Vittor, 473
Caravaggio, 142
Caravello, Marino, 388
Carbonare, Marchesa, 719-721
Caresini, the chronicler, 276
Carlowitz, treaty of, 634
Carmagnola, 372, 391-404, 416
 trial and execution of, 398-402
Caroldo, 325
Carpaccio, 191, 526, 534, 539, 549, 550
Carrara, the, 263-265, 275, 278, 311, 334-364, 372-382
 Albertino, 263
 Francesco, 334-364, 373-374, 378, 382
 Francesco the Younger, 374-380, 382
 Jacopo, 262
 Marsilio di, 263-265
 Taddea, 375-376
 Ubertino, 265
Casali, Marchese, 719
Casanova, Jacopo, 678
Casoni, Giovanni, 296, 297
Castaldi, 564
Castellani, the, 145, 172, 174, 176, 177, 178, 181
 and Niccolotti, 172-192
Castracane, Castruccio, 167
Catharine of Aragon, 509, 512
Catherine the Great, 730
Cattaro, fortress of, 626
Cavallarin, the, 185
Cavalli, Jacopo, 335
Cecchetti, 191
Celsi, Lorenzo. *See under* Doges
Cesaresco, Count Martinengo, 714

Chamber of Commerce, Venetian, 424
Charities, public, 227-230
Charlemagne, 32, 45, 46, 198
Charles II. of England, 161
Charles II. of Naples, 203
Charles IV. of Bohemia, 195, 280, 311, 313
Charles V., Emperor, 553, 592
Charles VIII. of France, 433, 580, 777
Charles IX. of France, 587
Chateaubriand, 661-662
  Mémoires d'Outre Tombe by, 662
Cherasco, treaty of, 629
Chesterfield, Lord, 711
Chief of Militia, 29
Chinazzo, 348
Chioggia, 9, 104, 198, 293, 537
  War of, 65, 269, 309, 324-364, 438, 472
Chioggia, Zarlino da, 590
Chiribini, Andrea, 673-674
Chronicle of Altinum, 17, 19
Church, Greek, 119, 124
  Latin, 119
Church buildings, features of early Venetian, 42
Churches of—
  the Frari, 401, 415, 563
  the Madonna della Salute, 630
  the Redentore, 630
  the Serviti, 747
  the Tolentini, 733
  Saint Gemignano, 157
  Saint John Chrysostom, 167
  Saint Nicolas, 175, 180
  Saint Pantaleo, 548
  Saint Patrinian, 568
  Saint Sophia, 124
  San Basso, 558, 732
  San Francesco della Vigna, 400
  San Giacomo, 109, 592
  San Giovanni e Paolo, 296, 297, 583
  San Maurizio, 231, 232
  San Pietro d'Olivolo, 54
  San Salvatore, 109
  San Vito, 233
  Sant' Antonio, 362
  Sant' Apollinare, 109
  Sant' Eustachio, 625
  Santa Maria della Celestia, 382
  Santa Maria Formosa, 251, 617
  Santa Sofia, 109
  Santo Stefano, 634
Cicero, 197
Cicero's *Rhetoric*, 566
'Cicisbei,' 643-644
Cicogna, Emanuele, 705-708
Cisalpine Republic, 722, 797
Cispadane Republic, 773
Clock Tower, the, 156
Clogs, 545-546
Colbert, Jean Baptiste, 528
Collalto, Collaltino di, 574
College of Nobles, 688
  of Painters, 560
Colleoni, Bartolommeo, 372, 4
  monument of, 425
Colonna, Marcantonio, 585
Columbus, Christopher, 354, 4
  letter of, quoted, 432
Column of Saint Mark, 155, 1
  of Saint Theodore, 161
Commines, Philippe de, 580
Comnenos, Emperor Manuel, 95
Competitions, popular, 172, 176
Condottieri, 368-372, 814
Conrad, Emperor, 98
Conspiracies in Venice—
  of Marino Bocconio, 142, 2
  of Marino Faliero, 141, 332
  of the Tiepolo-Quirini, 252, 271
Constantinople, 10, 11, 30, 32 97, 320, 413, 420-423, 43 472, 501, 503, 581, 582,
  Latins of, 127
  taken by Turks, 421
  taken by Venetians and Fren 127
  Venice and, 110-130
Contarini, the, 291, 292
  Andrea. *See under* Doges
  Antonio, 388
  Cristina, 277
  Leonardo, 408
  Lucrezia, 408
  Tommasina, 276
Convents, 638-642
Convents of—
  Saint Hilary, 68
  Saint Lawrence, 298
  Saint Zacharias, 66, 75
  Santa Maria di Valverde, 216
  Santo Stefano, 605
  Sta. Maria delle Vergini, 21 215, 257, 402
Corfu, 122, 385

Corinth, 631
  Gulf of, 583, 634
Cornaro, Catharine, 429-430
  Federico, 352
Corner, Caterina, 308
  Catterino, 797
  Giorgio, 404-407
  Marco. *See under* Doges
Coronation of the Dogess, 260-261
Coronota, 78
'Correctors,' 134
Corso, Zuan da, 292
Corsola, 78
Council, the Great. *See* Great Council
Council of Forty, 133, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 208, 269, 277, 278, 282-284
Council of Ten, 215-223, 257, 273, 292-298, 307, 381, 382, 383, 400, 401, 402, 408-415, 434, 443-451, 452, 465, 476, 480, 486, 487, 488, 495, 496, 498, 508, 522, 532, 541, 543, 564, 572, 574, 587, 604, 621, 624-626, 632, 650, 678, 679, 691-696, 698, 703, 712, 714, 715, 717, 718, 776
  permanent institution of, 218
Couriers, State, 506-508
Courtesans, 547-548
Crema, 99, 767, 771
Cremona, 102
Crete (Candia), 126, 266, 301, 630-631, 738
  revolts in, 302-307, 328
Crimea, the, 325, 326
Criminal history, Venetian, 477-490
Cristofoli, Cristofolo de', 703-713, 721
Croatia, King of, 80
Cromwell, Oliver, 586
Cross-bow, 182
Crusade, the Fourth, 111-128
Crusades, Venice and the first, 83-97
Currency, leather, 93
Cyclades, the, 126
Cyprus, 581, 582, 586
  annexed by Venice, 429-430
  King of, 302, 313

Dalmatia, 33, 77, 97, 103, 118, 256, 328, 331, 362, 385, 425, 634, 770, 797, 798
  Duke of, 78
Dandolo, Agnese, 311
Dandolo, Andrea, 705
  Donato, 302
  Federigo, 217
  Giovanni, 285, 286
  Leonardo, 335
  Regina, 285
  Vincenzo, 486
  See also under Doges
Dante, 166, 228, 465, 516, 613
Danube, the, 738
Dardanelles, 322
Daru, 162, 325, 344, 372, 380, 408, 413, 443, 444, 525
Deserto, island of, 552
Didot, M., 566, 567
Diplomacy, Venetian, 500-515
Directory, French, 762, 763, 766, 768, 772, 780, 788
Districts in Venice, 173-174
Doge, the, laws reforming election of, 131-135
  palace of, 41, 453, 518
  restrictions on freedom of, 470-476
  titles of, 127, 130
  unlimited power of, 131
  fishermen's, 178-181
Doges—
  Anafestus, Paulus Lucas, 28, 172
  Barbarigo, Agostino, 429
    Marco, 429
  Candiano, Pietro III., 62, 65, 244
    Pietro IV., 66-72, 76, 80, 242
    Vitale, 76
  Celsi, Lorenzo, 301-307
  Contarini, Andrea, 197, 198, 309, 329-364, 472, 630
  Corner, Marco, 307-309, 407
  Dandolo, Andrea, 266-270, 277, 327
    Chronicle of, 65, 80, 270
    Enrico, 5, 112-125, 136, 197, 198, 422, 472, 586, 630
    Francesco, 259-266
    Giovanni, 149
    Leonardo, 616
  Dolfin, Giovanni, 300
  Donà, Leonardo, 444, 578
  Erizzo, Francesco, 476, 630
  Faliero, Marino, 141-144, 178, 270, 271-299, 307, 327, 328
    conspiracy of, 141, 271-299, 332
    trial and execution of, 293-297
    Ordelafo, 97
  Flabianico, Domenico, 82, 131
  Foscari, Francesco, 388-415, 471

Doges, *cont.*—
Foscarini, Marco, 656, 657, 724-725
Giustiniani, Marcantonio, 476
Gradenigo, Bartolommeo, 266, 506
Giovanni, 294, 295, 300
Pietro, 150, 151, 252, 253, 262, 271
conspiracy against, 201-213
Grimani, Antonio, 475, 476
Gritti, Andrea, 466, 476, 535
Malipieri, Pasquale, 414, 415
Manin, Ludovico, 735, 736, 747, 777
Mastropiero, Orio, 136-138, 666
Michiel, Domenico, 93, 160
Vital II., 96
Mocenigo, Aloise (Luigi), 476, 583, 594
Aloise IV., 725-728
Giovanni, 473
Tomaso, 382, 384-388, 389, 390, 393
speech of, quoted, 386-388
Moro, Cristoforo, 473
Morosini, Francesco, 476, 527, 631-634
Michele, 364
Obelerio, 33
Orseolo, Ottone, 80, 81
Pietro I., 42, 69, 70, 73-76, 139
Pietro II., 77-81, 106
Orso, 29
Partecipazio, Agnello, 35
Renier, Paolo, 728-733
Soranzo, Giovanni, 210-211, 213, 214, 255-259
captivity of the daughter of, 213-216, 257
Steno, Michel, 320, 382-385, 473, 600
Tiepolo, Jacopo, 136, 138-140, 150, 201
Lorenzo, 201, 261
Valier, Silvestro, 634
Zeno, Ranier, 246
Ziani, Pietro, 214
Sebastian, 106, 109, 135, 136
Zorzi, Marin, 255, 256
Dogess, the, in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 474
Dolfin, Daniele, 749
Giovanni. *See under* Doges
Don John of Austria, 583
Donà, Francesco, 781, 786
Leonardo. *See under* Doges
Marco, 207, 212

Donà, Niccolò, 444
Pietro, 789-792
Donato, Ermolao, 411
Doria, Luciano, 327, 332, 333,
Pietro, 334, 342, 357
Doro, the, 201
Dress and fashion, 26, 46-47,
545-546, 644-646, 650-651
Drownings, official, 450
'Ducal promise,' 133-134, 2
280
Ducat, gold, 513
Ducks, tribute of, 475-476
Dumas the elder, 311
Durazzo, 122, 126
Dwelling-houses, features o
Venetian, 38-40

Edward III. of England, 266, 5
Egbert, King, 40
Egina, 634
Election of Doge, 131-135, 733-
Elena, love-story of, 71-72
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 50
Emo, Alvise, 690
Angelo, 744-747
Pietro, 340
Empire of Constantinople, 114-1
German, 203
Greek, 119, 130
Eneti, the, 4
England, 84, 110, 266, 412, 42
456, 506, 508, 512, 514, 5
620, 621, 624, 663, 74
762, 781
Venetian ambassadors to, 506
Equilio, tribune of, 28, 172
war between Heraclea and,
172
Erasmus, 566
Erizzo, Francesco. *See under* Do
Eroli, Marchese, 416
'Espousal of the Sea,' ceremony
106, 178, 184, 669-673
Este, the, 203, 264
Euganean Hills, 552
Exarch Paul, 29
Executives against Blasphemy, 45
of the Ten, 444
Exhibition, first Universal Industri

Fair of the Ascension, 666-674
Falier, Ludovico, 508-513
Faliero, Anna, 331

Faliero, Lucia, 277
  Marco, 272
  Niccolò, 292, 293
  Piero, 281-282
  Santino, 285
  Saray, 282
  See also under Doges
Famine, 80
Fata Morgana, 552
Father Inquisitor, 454, 458
Faust, Johann, 564
Feasts of—
  All Saints, 233
  Ascension, 98, 666, 726
  Candlemas, 617
  the Maries, 65, 240, 244-251
    Martin da Canal's description of, 246-250
  the Purification, 65
  Saint Barbara, 152, 153
  Saint Jerome, 726
  Saint Justina, 584
  Saint Mark, 726
  Saint Stephen, 726
  Saint Vitus, 726
Feliciani, Lorenza, 708
Feltre, 564
  bishop of, 313
Ferdinand of Aragon, 607
Ferrara, 67, 97, 102, 103, 252, 256, 626, 773, 780
  Duke of, 357, 425, 428
  war between Venice and, 203-205, 428
Feuds, family, 89, 172-176, 281
Fieschi, admiral, 330
Filiasi, 662
Fishermen's Doge, 178-181
Flabianico, Domenico. *See under* Doges
Florence, 86, 87, 89, 185, 227, 229, 264, 267, 389, 390, 393, 394, 529, 535
Florentines, 436
Fornaretto, legend of, 489-490
Forts of—
  San Nicola, 778
  Sant' Andrea, 779
Forum, 54
'Forze d'Ercole,' 176
Foscari, Francesco. *See under* Doges
  Jacopo, 389, 408-414
  Marco, 415
Foscarini, Antonio, 450, 620-625
  Marco. *See under* Doges
Foscolo, Ugo, 661
Foundling Asylum, 440
Fourrier, 368
France, 101, 107, 112, 164, 428, 470, 497, 502, 521, 526, 528, 535, 577, 586, 607, 629, 646, 652, 684, 704, 741, 744, 747, 749-764, 765-798
Francis I, of France, 497, 498, 553
Franco, Veronica, 548, 592-593
Frangipane, Cristoforo, 490-499
Franklin, Benjamin, 749
Franks, 32, 34, 46
Frederick, Barbarossa, 98-108
Frederick III., Emperor, 525-526
Frederick IV. of Denmark, 648
Freemasonry, 704-708
French Crusaders, Venice and, 111-128
  Revolution, 638, 730, 736, 750-764, 765, 766
  Revolutionaries, 414
Frezzeria, the, 182
Friuli, 46, 385, 397, 425, 491, 770
Fugger family of Augsburg, 592
Fulin, Signor, 446, 448, 451
Fulk of Neuilly, 111
Funerals, 240-241
Fusina, 783

Gabaro, 265
Gabrieli, Angelo Maria, 797
Galilei, Galileo, 577-579
  letter of, quoted, 578-579
Gambara, the, 713
  Count Alemanno, 713-722
  Countess Giulia, 716
  Francesco, 721, 722
Gambling establishments, 603, 610, 646-649
Games, public, 181
Gaming establishments, 160-162
Garda, Lake of, 419, 464
Gattamelata, Erasmo, 372, 416-419, 424
Geminianus, 18, 42
General Assembly, 132, 133
Genoa, 84, 85, 87, 89, 90, 92, 101, 107, 127, 128, 130, 201, 251, 267, 278, 280, 362, 363, 373, 436, 520, 764
  in the War of Chioggia, 324-415
Genoese, the, 255, 266, 274, 285, 288, 300, 303, 320-322
Germanic influence in Venetia, 98-109
Germany, 99, 101, 119, 256, 497, 577

Geronimo, Count, 482-484
Gheltof, M. Urbain de, 431
Ghibelline party, 88, 205
'Giants' Staircase,' 259, 272, 279
Gibbon, 123
Gibraltar, Straits of, 746
Ginevra, Countess, 482-485
Gioia, Flavio, 85
Giovanna of Austria, Archduchess, 544
Giraldi, 489
Giudecca, the, 349, 610, 674
Giustiniani, the, 96, 316, 389
  Angelo Giacomo, 786
  Federigo, 299
  Leonardo, 781
  Marcantonio. *See under* Doges
  Onofrio, 583
  Stefano, 254
  Taddeo, 278, 336-337, 344, 346, 360
Giustiniani Chronicle, the, 276
Glass-making, 165, 186, 187
Glass-works, 520-526
Gloucester, Duke of, 663
Godi, Paolo, 523
Gold, William, 356, 362
'Golden Book,' the, 163, 212, 347, 418, 438, 439, 521, 559, 690, 763, 796
Goldoni, 636, 639-641, 643, 644, 649, 668, 674-677, 696, 698, 699-702, 744
Gondolas, 44, 466-470, 609
Gonzaga, the, 264
  Carlo, 628, 629
  Ferrante, 629
  Ludovico, 166
  Princess, 654
Goritz, 493, 775
Goro, 754
Goths' invasion, 11-12
Government of Venice—
  aristocratic, 435
  provisional, 792
Gradenigo, Engoldisia, 298
  Fiordalise, 298
  Giovanni, 68
  Giuseppe, 690
  Ludovica, 277, 284, 298-299
  See also under Doges
Grado, 10, 18, 37
  patriarch of, 104, 107, 174
Grand Canal, 160, 182, 185, 196, 408, 726

Gratarol, 730
Gratz, 781
Great Council, the, 11
  186, 191, 200, 20
  246, 269, 273, 27
  392, 414, 437, 43
  474, 475, 500, 53
  635, 646, 684-69
  783, 788, 791, 79
  closure of, 145-154
  membership limite
  legitimate birth, 1
  origin of, 132
Grebe-shooting, 47
Greece, 78, 94-97, 331
  Emperor of, 101
Greek archipelago, 581
Greeks, 26, 30, 32, 532,
Grimaldi, Napoleone, 35
Grimani, Antonio. *See*
  Antonio, ambassador,
  Antonio, admiral, 43
  Cardinal Domenico,
Gritti, Andrea. *See unde*
  Luca, 604
Grossis, Gaspare de, 404,
Gualdrada, Dogess, 66, 6
Guilds of arts and tr
  261
Guoro, Gherardo, 71-72
Guttenberg, Johannes, 56

Halimedia Opuntia, 528
'Hall of the fireplace,' 40
Hall of the Great Counci
  burning of, 518, 569
Hapsburg family, 50, 581
Hawkwood, John, 357, 3
Hazlitt, Mr., *The Venetia*
  379-380
Henin, M., 754-760
Henry III. of France, 4
  596, 652
Henry IV. of France, 6
  763
Henry VIII. of England,
Heraclea, 25, 29, 30, 172
Heraldry, 184-185
Heretics, 455, 458
Hermes of Olympia, the, 6
High Chancellor, 156, 1
  219, 222, 260, 293,
Hildebrand. *See* Pope Gr
Hoffmann, 666

Holy Inquisition, 443, 453
Holy Land, the, 89, 93, 117, 118, 119
Holy Office, 453-463, 560
diagram of Court of, 455
Holy Roman Empire, 50, 70, 76, 444, 607
Holy War, 118
Homer, 6, 197, 730
'Hose Club,' the, 383, 470, 599-610, 675
Hospice of the Pietà, 230
of Saint Ursula, 674
Hôtel Danieli, 495
'House of the Miracle of the Mortar,' 213
Hugh the Count of Saint Paul, 120
Hughes, Thomas, 368
Hugo, Victor, 76, 311
Hungary, 118, 607, 738
King of, 80, 97, 194, 195, 266, 331, 334, 336
Huns' invasion, 12-16

Iliad, the, 197
Illasi, 482
Castle of, 485
India, 241, 432
Inns—
Leon Bianco, 193
Luna, 193
Selvatico, 193
Inquisition, the, 443, 453
'Inquisitor,' office of, 273
Inquisitors—
of Council of Ten, 444
of Holy Office, 443, 453-463, 678
of State, 443-453
Investitures, War of the, 203
Ionian islands, 93, 797
Isaac (Angelos), Emperor, 118, 119, 123
Isarello, Bertuccio, 285-288, 293
Island of Saint George, 234
of San Servolo, 78
Istria, 18, 33, 77, 327, 331, 491, 797
Ivan Strashny, the Terrible, 586
Ivry, battle of, 763

James I. of England, 621
Janus, King, 14, 16
Japanese envoys in Venice, 596
Jefferson, Thomas, 749
Jerusalem, 90, 93
Jesolo, 172
Jews, 167, 530, 532
Johanna, Queen, 314, 315
Josaphat, 185
Joseph II., Emperor, 527
Joyeuse, Cardinal de, 616
Judenburg, 776
Judicial bodies, 136-137
Juliet, 492
Junot, Marshal, 776, 777, 781
Jupiter's moons, 579
Justin , 20
Justinian, 37
Pandects of, 85, 139

Knights of the Golden Stole, 505, 544, 576
Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, 85
Knights of Malta, 630
Kugler, Franz, 537

La Forêt, 621
Lace-making, 525-529
Lacedaemon, 126
Ladies, Venetian, of eighteenth century, 638-649
of sixteenth century, 536-548
Landrieux, General, 773, 776
Lange, Apollonia von, 492-499
Language in early Venice, 26
influence of Greeks and Lombards on, 26
Lasitha, 307
Laugier, 525
Laws, Jacopo Tiepolo's Code, 138-140
Orio Mastropiero's Code, 136-138
regulating maritime traffic, 85
sumptuary, 463-470, 609
Venetian Code, 572, 627, 628
Laws and law-givers, early Venetian, 130-140
Lazina, 78
Lazzarini, 273, 279, 282, 283, 295, 298, 299
Legends, Venetian, 610-613
Legnago, fort of, 770, 771
Legnano, battle of, 102
Leo, Emperor, 36
Leoben, treaty of, 780, 782
Lepanto, 433
battle of, 476, 583-586
Levant, the, 89, 93, 97, 256, 266
Lezze, Antonio da, 426, 436
Luca da, 293

Lido, the, 92, 106, 182, 235, 280, 334, 335, 336, 346, 349, 354, 587, 588, 590, 634, 673, 776, 778, 782, 788
Lion, Niccolò, 290, 291
Lion of Saint Mark, 155, 161, 796
Lions of marble from Pentelicus, 632
'Lions' Mouths' (boxes), 627
Liptay, Ge..ral, 768
Lisbon, 432
Lizzafusina, 498
Lodi, 102
Lodron, Count of, 492
Lojera, battle of, 326, 331
Lombard League, 102-106, 280
  Venice joins the, 102
Lombardo, Jacopello, 286
Lombards, the, 17, 18, 21, 26, 98, 538
Lombardy, 99, 396, 7:2, 766, 797
Longhi, 636, 637
'Lords of the Night,' 202, 208
Loredan, Beriola, 272
  Giovanni, 357
  Jacopo, 412
  Pietro, 412
Loredo, port of, 357
Louis XII., 574, 607
Louis XIV., 526, 527, 528, 631, 686
Louis XVI., 747, 752, 758
Louis XVII., 760, 761
Louis XVIII., 760, 761, 763
Louis of Blois, 120
Louis of Hungary, 362, 373
Luca, chief of the Niccolotti, 590
Lucca, 167, 264
Lunardi, Lunardo di, 406, 407
Lusignan, Jacques de, 429
Luther, Martin, 549

Macalò, battle of, 395
Macchiavelli, 377
  Principe quoted, 398
Maffei, Andrea, 664
  Marchese Scipione, 774
Magistracies of Venice—
  aristocratic, 434-443
  in eighteenth century, 694
Magistrates, 134
Malamani, V., 708
Malamocco, 30, 33, 37, 337, 340
Malamocco, Buono da, 36
Malatesta, Sigismondo, 400
'Malcantone,' 175
Malipieri, Pasquale. *See under* Doges

Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, 31
Malta, 737, 747, 754
Manfredonia, 362
Manin, Ludovico. *See under*
Manners and customs in Veni
Mantegna, 419
Mantua, 102, 628-629, 768,
  782, 797
  Duke of, 372, 389, 416,
Manutius, Aldus, 561, 564-5
  Paulus, 568, 572
Marcello, Benedetto, 677
  Lorenzo, 630
Maria Teresa, Empress, 733
Marin, Valentin, 792
Mariner's compass, 85
Marioni, Rizzardo, 283
Maritime University, the, 27
Marriage customs in Venice,
  240
Martel, Charles, 586
Martial, 12
Martini, Signor, 536
Maruffo, 360, 362
Mary, Princess, 80
Mary, Queen of Scots, 514
Masséna, Marshal, 768
Master of Grammar, 273
Mastropiero, Orio. *See under*
Matilda, Countess, 97, 203
Maurice of Nassau, 578
Maurus, 18, 19, 20
Maximilian, Emperor, 491, 49
Mayne, Christopher, 577
Mazzorbo, 216, 335
Medici, Cardinal Ferdinando
  545, 578
  Cosmo dei, 542, 543, 544
  Francesco dei, 542-545
  Isabella dei, 482, 542
  Maria de', 620
Mediterranean, the, 85, 330,
  586, 745
Men and women of letters, 81
Menappus, King, 14
Merceria, the, 156, 207, 209,
Messina, 582
Mestre, 168, 530
Michel Angelo, 535
Michiel, Andrea, 273
  Donato, 384
  Faustin, 388
  Giustina Renier, 6-8, 645,
    671, 727, 72., . 798

Michiel, Marcantonio, 657
  Margherita, 331
  Marin, 286
  Niccolò, 97
  See also under Doges
Milan, 87, 99, 102, 279, 373, 388-390, 402, 419, 420, 423, 498, 499, 615, 766, 773
  Duke of, 372, 393, 396, 397, 604
  Lords of. *See* Visconti
Ministry of Public Worship, European, 453
Mocenigo, Alvise, 786
  Giovanni, 293, 457, 458
  Leonardo, 398
  Pietro, 320, 343, 344
  Sebastiano, 733
  See also under Doges
Modena, 102, 764, 773, 797
Modon, battle of, 327-328
Mohammed II., 413, 421-428
  takes Constantinople, 421
Molière, 656
Molina, the, 196
Molinari, Carlo, 717, 719, 721
Molmenti, 168, 181, 213, 455, 464, 474, 481-489, 549, 680
Monaci, Lorenzo dei, 279, 286
Monasteries of—
  the Carità, 606
  Saint Anthony of Padua, 236
  Saint George, 254, 453
  Saint Nicolas, 96, 335
  San Geremia, 754
  Sant' Ilario, 75
Money-lenders, 531-533
Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, 623
Monte Baldo, the, 419
Montesquieu, 586, 711-712
Montferrat, Marquis of, 126
Montfort, Simon de, 120
Monti, Vincenzo, 657
Moorish conquest, 586
Morelli, 662
Moro, Cristoforo. *See under* Doges
  Zuan, 605
Morosini, the, 76, 89
  Alvise, 609
  Angelo, 605
  Marco, 202
  Niccolò, 791
  Tommaso, 630
  See also under Doges
Morosini, the historian, 402
Morrone, Pietro da, 73
Mousa and his pirates, 88-89
Mummeries, 607-608, 675
Murano, 9, 251, 335
  Councils of, 522
  glass-makers of, 165, 256, 520-525, 587-588
  Golden Book of, 522
  heraldic arms of, 523
  podestà of, 522
Muratori, 6, 311, 348, 605
Musæus, 566
Museo Civico, 75, 526
  Correr, 213, 297, 704
Mussulmans, 36, 422, 425
Mustapha, 582
Mutinelli, 733, 734, 741
Muzina (prison), 451

Nani, Giacomo, 771
Naples, 87, 763
  King of, 101, 739, 771
Napoleon, 586, 656, 658-660, 662, 722, 741, 758, 762, 764, 765-798
Narenta, pirates of, 52, 78, 244, 581
Narni, Erasmo da. *See* Gattamelata
Narses, 37, 42
Nassau, Prince of, 771
National Assembly of France, 750, 752
Navagero, Andrea, 565, 566, 574
Negro, Marco, 291
Negroponte, 122, 323, 326
Nevers, Duke of, 587, 628
Niccolini, tragedian, 663
Niccolotti, the, 145
  and Castellani, 172-192, 589-590
Nicephoros, Emperor, 33
Nicolosi, Angelo, 443
Nicosia, 581
Nievo, Ippolito, 775
Noailles, Duc de, 631
Nobles, College of, 688
Normans, 89, 94
Notti, Gherardo delle, 142
Novara, 102

Obelerio, Doge, 33
Odyssey, the, 197
Oglio, the, 780
Olivolo, 10, 33, 42, 44, 62
Opera, first, in Italy, 590
Ordelafo, Marino, 277
Orford, Lord, 548
Orseolo, the, 68, 72-82, 89, 149

Orseolo, Domenico, 80
Giovanni, 80
Hicela, 80
See also under Doges
Orsini, Paolo Giordano, 482, 542
Virginio, 482-484
Orso, Doge, 29
Osella, coining of the, 475-476, 732, 735
'Oselle,' gift of the, 475, 726
Osopo, 491, 494, 773
Ossero, Count of, 97
Ostrogoths, 17
Othello, 489
Otho I., 70
Otho II., 70, 88
Otho III., 78-79
Otho IV., 119
Oxford University, 510

Pace, island of, 552
Padua, 10, 13, 15, 16, 23, 66, 102, 127, 185, 207, 210, 256, 263, 264, 265, 278, 311, 339, 372, 373, 374, 377, 566, 584, 738, 780
Bishop of, 575, 576
Lords of. *See* Carrara, the
Scrovegni of, 166
University of, 574-579, 738
Paduans, 10
Painters, 549-560, 814-816
College of, 560
Paisiello, 683
Palace (Palazzo)—
Cappello, 587
Dandolo, 196
Foscari, 591, 592, 593
Michiel, 657
Mocenigo, 623
Morosini, 609
Quattro Torri, 196
Quirini, 205, 206, 207, 208, 211
Renier, 694
Zen, 694
Ziani, 196
Paleologi, the, 128, 130
Paleologos, Michael, 129, 130
Palermo, 87
Palestine, 112, 113, 120
Palestrina, 338
Palladio, 558, 588, 606
'Pallone,' game of, 606
Palma, fortress of, 715, 773
Papal Court, 442
Paradiso, the, 117

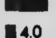
Parenzo, 107, 327, 476
Paris, 645
Parishes of—
Saint Agostino, 230
Saint Gervasio, 239
Santa Maria Formosa, 6
Parma, 102, 749, 764, 766
Duke of, 720
Partecipazio, the, 81, 149
Agnello. *See under* Dog
Parthenon, the, 632
Pasqualigo, Cosimo, 452
Orio, 293
Passarowitz, treaty of, 738
Passionei, Cardinal, 725
Patras, 313, 631
Patriarchates of—
Aquileia, 100
Grado, 100
Venice, 100
Paul, Bishop, 17, 18
Paul the Deacon, 14, 79
Pavement, Venetian, 39
Pavia, 46, 395
Pawnbrokers, 530-533
Pellegrina, the, 117
Peloponnesus, the, 631-634,
Pentapolis, cities of the, 18
Pepin, attempt to take Venic
Pepoli, Alessandro, 683
Pera, 422
Percentage, invention of, 138
Persia, King of, 425
Pesaro, Niccolò da, 452
Peschiera, fort of, 739, 767, 7
Peter the Apostle, 19
Peter the Great, Czar, 634
Peter the Hermit, 89, 91
Petrarch, 166, 197, 276, 279, 569
quoted, 303-306
Phaëthon, grove of, 13
Phidias, 6
Philip II. of Spain, 582, 586,
Philip VI. of France, 266
Philip of Swabia, 119
Philippe de Valois, 506
Piacenza, 69, 70, 98, 102
Piave, the, 13, 588
Piazza of Saint Mark, 100, 207, 208, 235, 538
Piazzetta, the, 104, 155, 157, 183, 261, 670, 680, 716,
columns of, 160-162, 200,

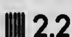
Piccinino, 396, 404, 416, 418
Piedmont, 392, 753, 760
Pietà, Fra Pieruzzo della, 230
Pigeons of Saint Mark's, 596-598
Pilato, Leontio, 197
Pio, Prince, 564, 568
Piombi, the, 723, 781, 788, 790
Pirates, 28, 52, 88-89, 240, 581, 746
    brides of Venice stolen by Istrian, 62-65
Pisa, 84-90, 107, 120, 127, 128, 577
Pisani, Alvise, 752, 758, 761
    Niccolò, 274, 326, 327
    Vittor, 5, 224, 320, 323, 436, 586, 744
        death and burial of, 362
        in the War of Chioggia, 328-363
Pisans, Venetians defeat the, off Rhodes, 92
Pizzamano, Domenico, 778, 780, 797
Plague, ravages of, 80, 95, 251, 266-269, 328, 559, 567, 630
    Venice loses half her population by, 267
Plato's *Dialogues*, 730
    ideal State, 198
    Republic, 111
Plautus, 605
Plays, 605-606, 680
Po, the, 13, 395, 588, 765, 780
Podestà, office of, 274
Poe, Edgar, 666
Poitiers, 586
Pola, 77, 332, 339
Poland, 749
Political prisoners, 490-499
Pollentia, 12
Polo, Ramberto, 174
Ponte, Antonio da, 535
Ponte. *See also* Bridge
    dell' Angelo, 610, 709, 721
    del Carmine, 590
    di Donna Onesta, 548
    del Malpasso, 209
    della Paglia, 301, 494
    dei Pugni, 176
    Storto, 539
Popes—
    Alexander III., 96, 99-109, 666, 669
    Alexander VI., 567
    Alexander VIII., 632
    Clement V., 259, 262
    Clement VI., 311
    Clement VII., 512
Popes, *cont.*—
    Clement VIII., 615
    Gregory VII., 203
    Gregory XIII., 642
    Hadrian IV., 98, 99
    Innocent III., 111-120
    Innocent VI., 278, 280
    Innocent VIII., 428, 615
    Julius II., 607
    Martin V., 395, 416
    Nicolas V., 423
    Paul III., 615
    Paul V., 615, 616
    Pius II., 424, 473
    Pius VII., 763
    Sixtus IV., 428
    Sixtus V., 501, 504, 596
Pordenone, 491, 492
Pordenone, Il, 518
Porto Longo, Venetian fleet defeated at, 280
Portugal, 432, 744, 746
Positano, 85
Pozzi, the, 223, 282, 368, 451, 723, 788, 790
Prata, Count, 676, 677
Praxiteles, 6
Pregadi, the, 133, 296
Printing, invention of, 564
Prisons and prisoners—
    in eighteenth century, 723
    in fourteenth century, 223-225
    in sixteenth century, 450-453
Priuli, Andrea, 423
    Zacaria, 605
Procession of Corpus Domini, 497
Provisional Government of Venice, 211, 792
Provveditori, 463-470, 546, 596, 609, 638, 679, 691, 741
Psalms of David, 563
Ptolemais, 93
Ptolemy, 579
Public crier, office of, 156

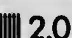
Quarantie, the. *See* Council of Forty
Quinctilian, 197
Quirini, the, 201-218, 478
    Aloise, 761
    Andreolo, 216
    Angelo, 691, 758
    Benedetto, 206, 209
    Jacopo, 206
    Marco, conspiracy of, 201-213

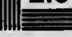
MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)









APPLIED IMAGE Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

Quirini, Niccolò, 206-215
Pietro, 202, 216
Quivers, 182

Rabelais, 549
Ragusa, 78
Raphael, 549
Ravagnino, Messer, 166
Ravenna, 10, 18, 29, 35
Record Office, English, 450
'Red Inquisitor,' 446
Regattas, 181
Reggio, 102
Reggio d'Emilia, 773
Regulations, nautical, 139-140
Religion, Venetian legends connected with, 230-235
Renascence, the, 538
Renier, Bernardino, 658
Paolo. *See under* Doges
Republic of Florence, 111
of Saint Mark, 32-48
maritime, of Amalfi, 84
of Genoa, 84
of Pisa, 84
Revolutionaries, 708-709
Rhapsodists, the, 6
Rhodes, island of, 92, 355
Rialto, the, 10, 33, 35, 36, 42, 44, 156, 167, 180, 201, 209, 210, 211, 213, 286, 335, 479, 584, 680
bridge of, 533-535
column of, 479
Richard III. of England, 529, 586
Rimini, 16
Riviera, the, 762
Robert, King, 506
Robespierre, 761
Romagna, 780
Romanin, 4, 108, 114, 200, 222, 282, 283, 297, 325, 380, 392, 393, 394, 402, 407, 413, 423, 424, 443, 444, 450, 694, 734, 746, 749, 770
Romans, the, 50
Rome, 11, 12, 98, 101, 103, 118, 122, 128, 146, 227, 254, 259, 367, 428, 442, 458, 500, 501, 504, 525, 530, 557, 584, 586, 596, 615, 616, 618, 619, 620, 657
Barberini Gallery in, 537
Romeo and Juliet, early version of the story of, 72
Roncaglia, 98, 99
Rossi, 5
Rossi, Lucia, 212, 213
Rovigno, 78
'Royal Macedonian' regim
Rubini, the actor, 668
Russia, 586, 730, 762

Sabellico, 325, 426, 565, 5
Sabines, 54
Sagredo, 39
Saint Catharine, 506
Saint George, island of, 23
Saint Helen's Island, 672
Saint John the Baptist, 20,
Saint Justina, 584
Saint Mark, 36-38, 235
body brought to Venice,
column of, 155, 161
library of, 197, 206
proclaimed protector of
procurators of, 164, 25
699, 726, 747
standard of, 77, 212, 25
war-cry, 37, 303
Saint Mark's Church, 42,
156, 164, 180, 206, 2
257, 259, 261, 279, 2
450, 479, 558, 633, 7
bronze horses of, 348, 7
great bell of, 336, 343
Sacristy of, 455
Saint Mark's Fee, 418
Saint Mark's Square, 42, 16
184, 209, 288, 328, 34
463, 556, 604, 608
661, 666, 667, 693, 78
796
Saint Nicolas, 92, 180, 235
Saint Raphael, 180
Saint Stephen, King of Hun
Saint Stephen the martyr, 92
Saint Theodore, 37, 42
column of, 161
Saint Titus, war-cry, 303
Salimbeni, General, 794
Salò, 722
Salò, Pietro di, 479
Salone, 78
Salt trade, 138, 169
Salviati, banking house of, 5
Salvore, battle of, 107
San Cassian, 551, 554, 556,
San Clemente, 361
San Cristoforo, island of, 551
San Giacomo in Orio, 570

San Giorgio Maggiore, island of, 673, 788
San Marcello, Cardinal, 121
San Maurizio, 281
San Sisto, Cardinal, 587
San Stefano, town and abbey of, 122
Sanmichele, 557, 558
Sanseverino, Roberto, 372
Sansovino, Jacopo, 272, 552, 556-559, 574
Sant' Agostino, 211
Sant' Omobono, 488
Santa Maria della Carità, 106
Santa Maura, islands of, 631, 634
Sanudo, Marin, 433, 452, 464, 465, 489, 491, 492, 494, 496, 565, 568-570, 604, 605, 608, 609
Sapienza, 327
Saracens, 88, 89
Sardinia, 88, 89, 763
Sarpi, Fra Paolo, 618-620, 624
Saturn's rings, 579
Savoy, 754
  Duke of, 430, 594
  House of, 84
Sbirri, 480, 482, 522, 703-723
Scala, the, 262-265, 373
  Alberto della, 263, 265
  Antonio della, 373, 374
  Cane della, 262
Scholars, 563-579
School of Charity, 208
  of the Holy Apostles, 190
  of Santa Maria della Val Verde, 192
Schulenburg, Marshal Count von, 738
Sculptors, 816
Scutari, siege of, 425-427
See, Holy, 120, 203, 442, 453, 576, 615, 616, 617
Senate, sittings of, 442
Sench, Lord of, 300
Serrurier, General, 797
Sforza, Francesco 372, 396, 397, 408, 411, 412, 418-420
Shakespeare, 489, 555, 657
Shipbuilding, 169, 187
Ships, types of early Venetian, 91-92
Shooting matches, 182-183
Sicily, 128
  King of, 103, 104
Sidon, 93
Siena, 176
Sigeros, Nicolas, 197
Sign of the Old Woman, 591
Signorotti, 481-482, 712
Signors of the Night, 442, 454, 604, 698
Signory, the, 344, 346, 358, 388, 402, 415, 433, 488, 494, 497, 500, 505, 506, 579, 598, 604, 607, 618, 619, 623, 624, 638, 665, 667, 673, 759
Silk-weaving, 256
'Silver Book,' the, 163, 164, 559
Sismondi, 35, 76, 85, 113, 120, 127, 380
Sisters of the Holy Sepulchre, 196
Slav pirates, 28
Slaves, 111, 138, 139, 241-243, 422, 581
Smedley, E. W., 413, 426, 443, 525, 763
  Macchiavelli's *Principe* quoted by, 398
  Sketches from Venetian History referred to, 348, 378
Sobieski, 631
Societies, secret, 704
Songs, popular, 177-178
Sophocles, 197
Soranzo, Giovanni. *See under* Doges
  Jacopo, 514
  Tommaso, 776, 780
Sovereign Order of Malta, 85
Spain, 450, 470, 586, 607, 615, 616, 618, 628
Spalatro, 78
Sporades, the, 126
Stampa, Gaspara, 561, 574
Stanislaus Leczinski, King, 711
'Statutes of the Inquisitors of State,' 443-444
'Statuto,' Jacopo Tiepolo's, 140
Stella, 325, 416
Steno, the, 281, 282
  Giovanni, 283
  Michel, 282, 332-334. *See also under* Doges
  Micheletto, 283-285
  Paolo, 281-282
  Saray, 282
Steno-Faliero trials, 282-285
Stephen III. of Hungary, 97
Superstitions, 56-58, 613
Syracuse, siege of, 6

Tagliapietra, legend of little Countess, 230-233
Taine, 123
'Talanta,' Pietro Aretino's, 605
Tanais, 316
Tancred of Hauteville, 89

Tartars, 255
Tassini, 548, 558, 562
Temesvar, 738
Tenda, Beatrice da, 390
Tenedos, Venetian occupation of, 318-322
'Teriaca,' 268, 269
Terremoto, 559
Thames, the, 457
Theatre—
  Fenice, 682, 683
  of San Benedetto, 678, 679, 682
  of San Cassian, 698
  of San Moisè, 647
Theatres, 603, 606, 675-683
Theatrical performances, 603, 675
Thieves, flogging of, 479
Thode, Dr. Heinrich, 491, 497
Thucydides, 6
Tiepolo, the, 149-151, 205, 212,
  Bajamonte, 44, 141-144, 172, 178, 197, 217, 230, 271, 273
    conspiracy of, 201-213
  Domenico, 776, 780
  Giovanni Battista, 652
  See also under Doges
Tintoretto, 3, 191, 518, 539, 550, 554, 555, 560, 588
Titian, 3, 5, 123, 191, 518, 537, 539, 549, 552, 554, 556, 557-560, 574, 661
Tomasini, 197
Tomassetti, Professor, 600
Torbole, 419
Torcello, 9, 335, 346, 552
Torcello, Rustico da, 36
Torre, Count Francesco della, 444
Tortona, 102
Torture, use of, 447-449, 455
Tower of London, 451
Tower of the She-Wolf, 338
Tr[illegible], protection of, 528, 529
Traditional law, 25
Trees, 44
Trevisan, Giacomo, 388
Treviso, 102, 196, 210, 264, 274, 300, 342, 373, 652, 656, 786
Tribune, 24
Trieste, 78, 196, 754
Tron, Andrea, 728
Troy, 4
Tuileries, 750
Turin, 753
Turkey, 468, 607, 730
Turks, 127, 266, 302, 311, 428, 433, 581-586, 63 738, 740, 748
Turner, 534
Tuscan language, 442
Tuscany, 13, 749, 764
  Grand Duke of, 544, 553
  Marquis of, 66, 70
  Matilda, Countess of, 97,
Tyre, fall of, 93

Udine, 13
'University of the Tribunes,'
Usmago, podestà of, 699
Utrecht, treaty of, 749

Valaresso, 676
Valier, Silvestro. *See under* I
Vallesabbia, 773, 776
Valtellina, 618
Vano, Girolamo, 622, 624
Vatican, 454, 500, 576, 618
Vendramin, Andrea, 605
Venice—
  and Constantinople, 110-1
  and first Crusades, 83-97
  ceded to Austria, 797
  Duke of Austria visits, 19
  English ambassadors to, 5c
  founding of, 8-31
  Henry III. of France visit
  in fifteenth century, 365-4
  in fourteenth century, 141
  Otho III. visits, 78-79
  Pepin attempts to take, 3
  period of decadence, 614-6
  period of greatest prosperit
  Petrarch visits, 196
  plague visitations, 567, 63c
  primitive government, 28
    occupations, 25
    society, 23-26
    speech, 26
  ravaged by plague, 80, 266-
  rivalry with Genoa, 92
  strangers in, 192-197
  under the Partecipazio,
    and Orseolo, 49-82
Venier, Antonio, 320
  Girolamo, 728
  Sebastian, 585, 586, 744
Vercelli, 102
Verme, Luchino dal, 303
Veroli, 103

Verona, 102, 278, 298, 303, 373, 374, 418, 482, 714, 760, 762, 768, 774, 780
Veronese, Paolo, 3, 191, 456, 539, 560, 588, 661
  trial of, 458-463
Versailles, 750
  Congress of, 749
Vervins, 615
Vicenza, 67, 102, 210
Vienna, 492, 631
  treaty of, 749
Villani, Matteo, 276, 291
Villehardouin, Geoffrey de, 122, 123
Villetard, 789-791
Vinciolo, Francesco, 526
Visconti, the, 278, 280, 389, 390, 436
  Antonia, 392, 402-404
  Bernabò, 373, 376
  Bianca, 419
  Ettore, 392
  Filippo-Maria, 390-407, 419, 420
  Giovanni, 326, 328
  Giovanni Galeazzo, 373-377, 390, 392, 402
  Giovanni-Maria, 390
Vitali, Doctor Buonafede, 668
Viviani, 577, 578, 579

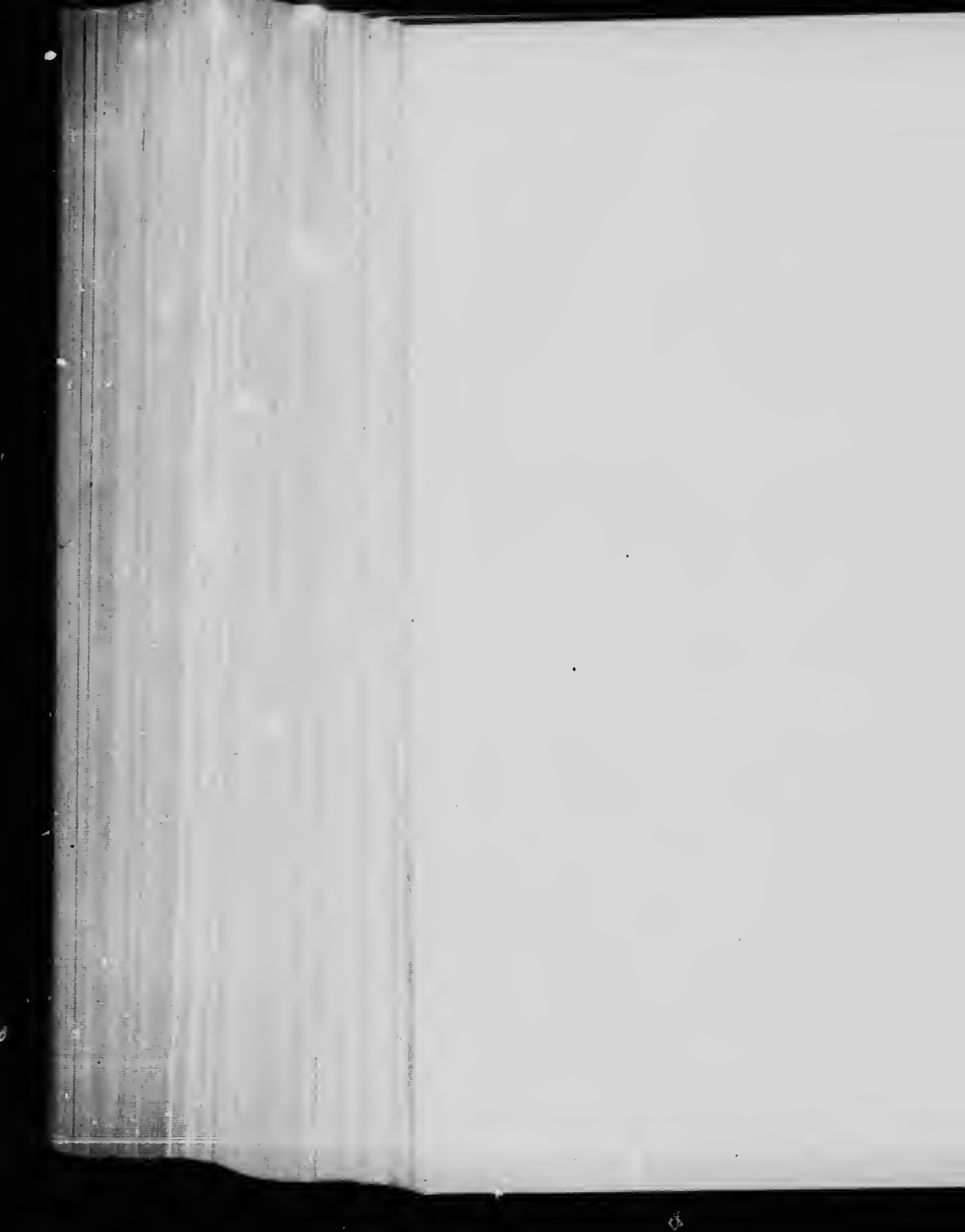
Wallachians, 127
War of the Spanish Succession, 737, 749, 766
Warin the monk, 74, 75
'Wehmgericht,' the, 444
Williams, Henry, 577
Wine-sellers, 531-532
'Wise Men on Blasphemy,' 606
'Wise Men on Heresy,' 453, 454
'Wise Men of the Plague,' 268, 269
Wolsey, Cardinal, 508, 509, 513
Women of Venice—
  in eighteenth century, 638-649
  in fourteenth century, 235-238
  in sixteenth century, 536-548
  protection of property, 138-139
Worsley, Sir Richard, 506, 760
Wotton, Sir Henry, 622, 623
Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 577

Yriarte, M., 440, 458, 472, 501, 502, 538, 546

Zara, 118, 119, 210, 213, 266, 274, 280
Zeno, Carlo, 5, 310-323, 332-334, 354-364, 374, 378-382, 436, 586, 744
    funeral of, 382
    tomb of, 382
  Jacopo, 311
  Pietro, 311
  Ranier. *See under* Doges
  Renier, 626
Ziani. *See under* Doges
'Zonta,' the, 293
Zorzi, Marin. *See under* Doges
Zucuol, Niccolò, 290
Zulian, Girolamo, 704

THE END

Printed by R. & R. CLARK, LIMITED, *Edinburgh*.



Extra Crown 8vo. Illustrated. 8s. 6d. net.

AVE ROMA IMMORTALIS

STUDIES FROM THE CHRONICLES OF ROME

BY

F. MARION CRAWFORD

SOME PRESS NOTICES

DAILY NEWS.—"Full of strong and picturesque writing, which will set the reader's heart pulsing with the passions, and struggles, and triumphs which have left their memories thickly clustering in almost every street of the 'Eternal City.' . . . Should be in the hands of every visitor."

WORLD.—"A very original and delightful book on Rome. . . It is not a guide-book or a history, but such a combination of the two as only a powerful writer and a man richly endowed with the historic imagination could have produced. . . . There could be no more fascinating companion for a visit to Rome."

MORNING POST.—"A mine of information, of legend, and a series of fascinating pictures reconstructing the life of Rome's citizens in the past ages, drawn in the author's most attractive manner."

ATHENÆUM.—"We can imagine no more welcome companion for the cultivated traveller who is about to visit Rome, and no more welcome gift for those who have been there."

DAILY TELEGRAPH.—"A brilliant study marked by a rare combination of accurate scholarship and graphic description, which, better perhaps than any other book in the language, tells the long story of Roman chronicles."

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON.

Extra Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.

With 100 *Illustrations by* H. BROKMAN.

SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICIL
RULERS OF THE SOUT

BY

F. MARION CRAWFORD

WORLD.—"He has told the story of that intermittent str whereof Sicily was the centre and the main object, with a pict wealth of erudition, a command of traditionary and legendary enthusiasm of interest which impart to his work a fascinatior relaxes its spell. . . . Mr. Henry Brokman's hundred beau worthily illustrate a work which reveals its author's genius in a more than justifies his bold adventure beyond the boundaries of romantic fiction within which it has hitherto been confined."

DAILY CHRONICLE.—"Mr. Crawford writes, not onl ' . ning in many languages, but with that insight into character a .urn of expression which distinguish the sy academic Dryasdust. . . . We can testify to th Brokman's beautiful illustrations."

Extra Crown 8vo. 8s. [illegible]

With over 200 *Illustrations by* JOSEPH PENN

THE ROAD IN TUSCA

A [illegible] ENTARY

BY

MAURICE HEWLETT

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON in the *SPEAKER.*—"A fascinati The distinctive and rare note of this book is its intensely *personal* No writer, unless it be Ruskin, has ever taken us to a country so b us see what he sees, knowing what he knows, enjoying what he en what he scorns. The two volumes are saturated with personal t dreams, loves, and whimsies. That is what a book of travel o were the *Sentimental Journey*, *Childe Harold*, *Corinne*, *Reisebilde*

TIMES.—"Its vividness is extraordinary; there is no one q Hewlett for seizing all the colour and character of a place in half-a- . . . An admirable book. . . . Mr. Pennell's profuse illustration are very attractive."

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON

net.

ROKMAN.

SICILY AND
OUTH

RD

mittent struggle of races,
vith a picturesqueness, a
legendary lore, and an
fascination which never
lred beautiful drawings
enius in a new light, and
undaries of that realm of
fined."

s, not only with ample
character and that grace-

H PENNELL.

USCANY

A fascinating book. . . .
y *personal* point of view.
ountry so bent on making
what he enjoys, scorning
personal tastes, fancies,
f travel ought to be, as
, *Reisebilde*, *Praeterita*."

s no one quite like Mr.
e in half-a-dozen words.
illustrations to this book

LONDON.