

the naval force proceeded toward the shore. The sea was very calm, the wind was in their favor, and the enemy's fleet was near at hand. When at length the morning light began to appear and Aurora announced the coming of the day, the Egyptians perceived that the Christian fleet was coming toward them, and as the day grew brighter and brighter, they saw that it was close at hand. Dazed with terror and astonishment, they seized their oars, certain that an engagement was about to take place. With cries and gestures they shouted to the sailors to cut the ropes and pull up the anchors, then to station the rowers and snatch up their weapons.

23. *The doge finds the enemy's fleet near Jaffa. He attacks it furiously. The enemy is forced to retreat. Many galleys remain in the hands of the Christians.*

IN the tumult of confusion and panic, the enemy's order was entirely broken up. At this crisis, a Venetian galley bearing the doge sailed swiftly ahead of the others. By chance this vessel struck the ship which was carrying the commander of the Egyptian fleet. The impact was so violent that the enemy's ship with its oarsmen was almost entirely engulfed in the waves. The other Venetian galleys followed with equal speed, and nearly every one succeeded in overturning one of the enemy's vessels. A desperate battle followed in which each side fought with bitter fury. Terrible was the slaughter. Although it is scarcely credible, those who took part in this conflict insist stoutly that the victors were completely covered with the blood of the slain. For a circuit of two miles around, the adjacent sea became blood red from the bodies thrown therein and from the blood of the slain which flowed from the ships. The shores were so thickly covered with corpses thrown up by the sea that the air was tainted and the surrounding region contracted a plague from the putrefying bodies of the dead.

The fight was carried on at close quarters, for the one side fought with burning zeal and the other strove with equal energy to resist. Finally, however, by the will of God, the Venetians conquered. The enemy turned and fled. Four galleys were taken with as many *chatz* and one immense ship, the commander of which was killed. Thus a victory memorable forever was won.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>67</sup> The description of the fleet and this battle of the first days of June, as well as many other details of the campaign which followed, owe much to William's use of

As soon as this triumph had been granted to our people by divine favor, the doge gave orders to proceed without loss of time in the direction of Egypt. He hoped they might chance to meet some of the enemy's fleet. Accordingly, they sailed along the shore as far as al-Arish (Rhinococura), an ancient maritime city on the edge of the desert. All happened exactly as they wished, and just as if some reliable messenger had informed them of what was to happen. For while they were toiling at the oars in that sea, they caught sight of ten enemy ships not far away. As swiftly as possible the course was directed thither and the ships taken by force at the first encounter. Part of those on board were slain and the rest made prisoners. They were ships laden with merchandise from the Orient, namely, spices and silken stuffs. The division of the spoils, according to their custom, made the Venetians rich indeed. Towing the captured vessels with them, they then directed their course to the city of Acre, where they landed.<sup>68</sup>

24. *The agreement made between the doge of Venice and the barons of the realm in the matter of the siege of Tyre.*

THE news that the doge of Venice had landed on our shores with a naval force and had gloriously triumphed over the enemy soon reached Jerusalem. Accordingly, Gormond, the patriarch of Jerusalem, William de Bury, the royal constable and procurator of the realm, and Payens, the king's chancellor, together with the archbishops, bishops, and other great men of the kingdom sent to him a deputation of wise and honorable men.<sup>69</sup> The envoys carried salutations from the patriarch, the barons, and the people to the doge and the leading men of Venice and to the captains of the army as well. They were to express the joy with which the people of Jerusalem looked forward to the coming of the Venetians and to invite them to make use of all that the realm could offer as though they were citizens of the city. All were ready and eager to treat them with full hospitality as the laws of hu-

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oral sources and archives. (For a detailed account of ship construction and types of ships at this time see Romola and R. C. Anderson, *The Sailing Ship*, chap. 6 *passim*.)

<sup>68</sup> The importance of the business side was never lost to sight by the Italian fleets, almost none of the expeditions having been solely military in purpose. William's sympathetic appreciation of commerce is here well illustrated.

<sup>69</sup> The ceremonial here described is such as might grace the arrival of the head of a state.

manity fittingly demanded. The doge desired to visit the holy places, a devout wish conceived many years before; he also longed to converse with the princes who had sent him so cordial an invitation. Accordingly, he left wise and efficient men in charge of the fleet and repaired to Jerusalem, attended by his principal lords. In that city he received a cordial welcome and was treated with the highest honor and distinction. There he celebrated the natal day of our Lord. The princes of the realm earnestly besought him to devote himself for a time to the service of Christ and the advancement of the kingdom. In reply, the doge said that he had come with that purpose especially in view and intended to give himself entirely to that. Since the patriarch and other great lords of the realm were present, it was determined by common consent to attack one of the coast cities, under a definite agreement. It was to be either Tyre or Ascalon, for all the other cities from the river of Egypt as far as Antioch had already, by the grace of God, come under our power.

On this point, however, our wishes were at variance and the matter came near resulting in a dangerous quarrel. The representatives from Jerusalem, Ramlah, Jaffa, Nablus, and the environs of these cities, strove with all their might to direct the campaign against Ascalon. It was nearer and seemed to demand less outlay of labor and money. The people from Acre, Nazareth, Sidon, Beirut, Tiberias, Jubail, and other cities on the coast, on the contrary, urged that the expedition should be led against Tyre. They said that since this was a noble and well-fortified city, all possible efforts should be put forth to bring it under our domination lest, otherwise, the enemy might have access to our land through its territory and thus regain the region and, in fact, the entire province.

Thus it was, therefore, that through this difference of opinion the matter came near being fatally delayed. Finally, however, through the efforts of certain intermediaries it was deemed expedient to end this controversy by lot. Moreover, the method of determining the lot was entirely impartial. Two slips of parchment, one containing the name of Tyre, the other that of Ascalon, were placed on the altar. Then an innocent orphan boy was brought forward and allowed to choose between the two, it being understood that the army should proceed without dispute against the city named in the lot drawn. The choice fell upon Tyre. These details were learned from certain old men who

steadfastly declare that they were present at all the events just related.<sup>70</sup>

After the ratification of this plan, the lord patriarch and the principal men of that region assembled with the entire body of people at the city of Acre, where the Venetian fleet was lying at safe anchorage in the harbor. Solemn oaths were exchanged by which both parties agreed to keep faithfully to the terms of the covenant into which they had entered. All the preparations necessary for an expedition of this kind were made, and on February 16 they laid siege both by land and sea to the city of Tyre.<sup>71</sup>

25. *A copy of the treaty containing the agreement made between the Venetians and the princes of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the matter of the siege of Tyre.*

THAT no document bearing on events that happened in olden times may be omitted, there should be inserted here, as important evidence of what was done, a copy of the privileges containing the substance of the agreement between the Venetians and the chief men of the kingdom of Jerusalem. This is as follows.

“In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. When Pope Calixtus II and Henry IV,<sup>72</sup> the august emperor of the Romans, were ruling, the one over the church at Rome, the other over the empire, in the same year when, at a council held at Rome, peace was concluded, by the will of God, between the church and state in the controversy over the ring and the staff, Domenico Michieli, doge of Venice, of Dalmatia and Croatia, and prince of the empire, accompanied by a great host of knights and a mighty fleet of vessels, came as a conquerer to the much-needed defense of the Christians. He had come directly from his victory over the pagan fleet of

<sup>70</sup> William's account is greatly enriched by such investigations. Though Fulcher has elaborated the story of the campaign leading to the capture of Tyre, his account is not as complete as that of William. He does, however, mention one item which might have significance as to the choice of the city to be attacked. This was the election of Odo as archbishop of Tyre in 1122 (*H.F.*, p. 647) in evident anticipation of its capture and presumably done after the news of prospective Venetian aid had been received. Nevertheless this does not invalidate the story of the drawing of lots, for the southern towns and feudatories would still be hoping to divert the expedition to Ascalon.

<sup>71</sup> February 16, 1124.

<sup>72</sup> *Quartus* is the word used by William, but the ruler was Henry V, 1106–1125.

the king of Babylon,<sup>73</sup> upon which he had wrought terrible havoc as it lay before the harborless shores of Ascalon.

“Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, was at that time, because of our sins, held captive with many others in the toils of the pagans, a prisoner of Balak, prince of the Parthians.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, we, Gormond, by the grace of God patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem, being assembled at the city of Acre, in the church of the Holy Cross, with the suffragan brethren of our church, with William de Bury, the constable, with Payens, the chancellor, and in conjunction with the allied forces of the whole kingdom, we, I say, have confirmed the promises of the said King Baldwin according to the propositions made in his own letters and messages which the king himself had previously sent by his own envoys to Venice to this same doge of the Venetians.<sup>75</sup> This we have given by our own hand and by the hand of the bishops and the chancellor, with the kiss of peace also, as our rank required. All the barons also whose names are written below have decreed and confirmed on the holy scriptures to the blessed apostle Mark, to the aforesaid doge and his successors, and to the people of Venice, the conditions of the treaty as written below; that, without any contradiction, these promises just as they are written below, so shall they remain unalterable and inviolate in the future to him and his people forever.

AMEN.

“In every city of the above-mentioned king, under the rule of his successors also, and in the cities of all his barons, the Venetians shall have a church and one entire street of their own; also a square and a bath and an oven to be held forever by hereditary right, free from all taxation as is the king’s own property.

“In the square at Jerusalem, however, they shall have for their own only as much as the king is wont to have. But if the Venetians desire to set up at Acre, in their own quarter, an oven, a mill, a bath, scales, measures and bottles for measuring wine, oil, and honey, it shall be permitted freely to each person dwelling there without contradiction

<sup>73</sup> Meaning Egypt, whose ruler at this time was the caliph, Amir.

<sup>74</sup> Balak was at this time ruler of a region formerly held by the Armenians and was himself of Turkish origin. The language of this document is somewhat stilted.

<sup>75</sup> This direct allusion to preliminary negotiations corrects the impression of a more casual adventure by the Venetians implied by William’s earlier statements. The appeal of Calixtus II in 1121 and the election of Odo as archbishop of Tyre in 1122 fit in well with such preliminary agreements.

to cook, mill, or bathe just as it is freely permitted on the king's property. They may use the measures, the scales, and the measuring bottles as follows: when the Venetians trade with each other, they must use their own measures, that is the measures of Venice; and when the Venetians sell their wares to other races, they must sell with their own measures, that is, with the measures of Venice; but when the Venetians purchase and receive anything in trade from any foreign nation other than the Venetians, it is permitted them to take it by the royal measure and at a given price. For these privileges the Venetians need pay no tax whatever, whether according to custom or for any reason whatsoever, either on entering, staying, buying, selling, either while remaining there or on departing. For no reason whatever need they pay any tax excepting only when they come or go, carrying pilgrims with their own vessels. Then indeed, according to the king's custom, they must give a third part to the king himself.

“Wherefore, the king of Jerusalem and all of us on behalf of the king agree to pay the doge of Venice, from the revenues of Tyre, on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paul, three hundred Saracen besants yearly, as agreed upon.

“Moreover, we promise you, doge of Venice, and your people that we will take nothing more from those nations who trade with you beyond what they are accustomed to give and as much as we receive from those who trade with other nations.

“In addition, that part of the same place and street of Acre which has at one end the house of Peter Zanni and at the other the monastery of St. Dimitrius, and also another part of the same street having one wooden house and two of stone, which were formerly reed huts, the same which King Baldwin of Jerusalem originally gave to the blessed Mark and to Doge Ordolafo and his successors in consideration of the acquisition of Sidon; these places, I say, we confirm to St. Mark and to you, Domenigo Michieli, doge of Venice, and to your successors by this same document. To you we give the power in perpetuity of holding and possessing it, and of doing with it whatever you please. Over the other part of the same street extending in a straight line from the house of Bernard de Neufchatel, which formerly belonged to John Julian, as far as the house of Gilbert of Jaffa, of the family of St. Lo, we give you exactly the same power which the king had. In addition, no Venetian in the whole domain of the king, or in the domains of his

barons, need give any tribute whether in entering, or staying there, or going out for any pretext; but may be as free as in Venice itself.

“But if a Venetian shall have a lawsuit or any litigation over any business against a Venetian, it shall be decided in the court of the Venetians. Again, if anyone feels that he has a quarrel or lawsuit against a Venetian, it shall be determined in the same court of the Venetians. But if a Venetian makes complaint against any other than a Venetian, the case shall be decided in the court of the king. Also when a Venetian dies, whether testate or intestate (which we call without a tongue), his property shall accrue to the control of the Venetians. If any Venetian shall be shipwrecked, he shall not suffer loss of any of his property. If he dies in the shipwreck, the property which he leaves shall be sent back to his heirs or to other Venetians. Moreover, the Venetians shall have the same powers of justice and the same rights over the burghers of any people dwelling in the street and houses of the Venetians as the king has over his own people.

“Finally the Venetians shall have a third part of the two cities of Tyre and Ascalon, with their appurtenances, and a third part of all the lands belonging to them from the feast day of St. Peter. This applies only to lands which are now subject to the Saracens and are not as yet in the hands of the Franks. If, through the aid of the Venetians or by any other means, the Holy Spirit shall give either of these cities or, God willing, both of them into the power of the Christians, a third part of such city or cities, as has been said, freely and with regal powers the Venetians shall hold with hereditary right forever, without let or hindrance, just as the king holds two parts.

“Therefore, we, Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, will cause the king himself, if ever, by the help of God, he shall come forth out of captivity, to confirm the above agreement in its entirety. But if another shall be raised into the place of king over the kingdom of Jerusalem, we will cause him to ratify the promises set forth above, before he is promoted, as has been said before; otherwise we will not consent in any way to his being elevated to the throne.<sup>76</sup> The successors of the barons, likewise, and any new barons in the future, shall ratify the same agreement and in the same way.

“As to Antioch, we know full well what King Baldwin II promised

<sup>76</sup> This statement constitutes a strong refutation of the notion that the kingship was already hereditary.

that he would give to you Venetians in the principality of Antioch under the same treaty: namely, that there should be in Antioch the same arrangement as in the rest of the cities belonging to the king if, indeed, the people of Antioch should be willing to confirm the royal agreement made with you.<sup>77</sup> We, the same Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, with our bishops, clergy, and the barons and people of Jerusalem, give you our advice and aid and promise to carry out in good faith all that which the pope shall write to us concerning this, and to observe all the above matters for the honor of the Venetians.<sup>78</sup>

I, GORMOND, by the grace of God patriarch of Jerusalem, by my own hand, confirm the things above written.

I, EBREMAR, archbishop of Caesarea, likewise confirm these same things.

I, BERNARD, bishop of Nazareth, likewise confirm it.

I, ASCHETINUS, bishop of Bethlehem, likewise confirm it.

I, ROGER OF LYDDA, bishop of St. George, likewise confirm it.

I, GILDUIN, abbot of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, likewise confirm it.

I, GERARD, prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, likewise confirm it.

I, AICARD, prior of the Temple of the Lord, likewise affirm it.

I, ARNOLD, prior of Mt. Sion, likewise affirm it.

I, WILLIAM DE BURY, constable of the king, likewise affirm it.<sup>79</sup>

Given at Acre, by the hand of Payens, chancellor of the king of Jerusalem, in the year 1123, in the second indiction."

<sup>77</sup> The position of Baldwin II in 1121 as regent of Antioch justified his offer of such inducements and likewise justified the elaborate efforts of the Venetians, who thus had so much to gain.

<sup>78</sup> This whole document is one of the most interesting items in the commercial history of western Europe. The extreme care with which even minute details of the Venetian privileges are stipulated evidently reflects a long background of experience. The commercial colonial empires of the Italian city states had already begun. It is also of interest to note the importance of the pope's position as a guarantor of the commercial and political privileges.

<sup>79</sup> It is of interest to note that the Venetians are apparently content to have only the constable and chancellor sign for the secular authority, while requiring every important prelate of the church to sign. Evidently the Venetians regarded Jerusalem as a state of the church and doubtless counted upon the papacy for ultimate security.

HERE ENDS THE TWELFTH BOOK