



UNIVERSITATEA
LUCIAN BLAGA
— DIN SIBIU —

Theology Doctoral School

Doctoral Field: THEOLOGY

DOCTORAL THESIS

BYZANTIUM AND VENICE DURING THE CRUSADES (11th-13th Centuries). Alliances and Conflicts. The Consequences on the Church life of Constantinople (SUMMARY)

PhD student

Ion Alexandru Mizgan

Doctoral Supervisor

Rev. Professor PhD. Nicolae Chifăr

SIBIU 2023

SUMMARY

Keywords: Byzantium, Venice, Crusades, alliances, conflict, treated, theological discussions

INTRODUCTION.....	8
1. Venice, the Crusaders and the world of Byzantium.....	8
2. Research theme and objectives.....	15
3. Research methodology and delimitations.....	16
CHAPTER I: Byzantium and Venice during the Crusades. Sources. The Historiography of the topic.....	19
I.1. The Crusades – the passion of historians from all times.....	19
I.2. Main sources.....	22
I.3. History of Venice.....	27
I.4. Venetian-Byzantine relations at the time of the Crusades.....	29
I.5. Researches in the Romanian historiography.....	36
CHAPTER II: Byzantium and Venice until the start of the Crusades.....	41
II.1. Byzantium – successor of the Roman Empire.....	41
II.2. The beginning of Venice.....	44
II.3. Venice and the Imperial Byzantium.....	47
II.3.1. Byzantium and Venice in the 6th-9th centuries.....	47
II.3.2. The Byzantine noble titles of the Doges of Venice.....	55
II.3.3. Byzantium and Venice in the 9th-11th centuries.....	57
II.3.4. San Marco Church – a splendor of Byzantine architecture.....	62
CHAPTER III: Alliances between Byzantium and Venice during the Crusades.....	65
III.1. The treaties between the Byzantines and the Venetians from 992 and 1082.....	65
III.2. Emperor John II Comnenus (1118-1143) and the Venetians.....	81
III.2.1. The chrysobull of the year 1126.....	83

III.3. Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180) and the Venetians.....	85
III.3.1. Manuel`s policy after the Second Crusade. Treaties with Venice of 1147 and 1148.....	87
III.4. Andronicus I Comnenus (1183-1185) and the Venetians.....	94
III.5. Isaac II Angelos and the Treaties with Venice from 1187 and 1189.....	96
III.6. Emperor Alexios III and the Republic of Venice.....	102
CHAPTER IV: The main conflicts between Byzantium and Venice at the time of the Crusaders.....	105
IV.1. Doge Domenico Michiel (118-1130) and the confrontation between the Republic of Venice and Byzantium.....	105
IV.2. Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180) and the conflict with the Venetians in the years 1171-1172.....	109
IV.3. The Great anti-latin revolt of 1182.....	112
IV.4. 1204 – Venice conquers and plunders Byzantium.....	113
IV.4.1. The siege of the Byzantine capital.....	113
IV.4.2. The sack of Constantinople	122
IV.5. Venice and Byzantium after the reconquest of Constantinople by the Byzantines (1261).....	129
IV.6. The attitude of Venice towards Byzantium after the year 1261.....	135
CHAPTER V: The role of Venice in the diversion of the Fourth Crusade towards Constantinople.....	138
V.1. The call to a new Crusade.....	138
V.2. Relations of the Crusaders with the Republic of Venice	145
V.2.1. Crusaders on their way to Venice.....	146
V.2.2. The deadlock of the crusaders in Venice.....	147
V.2.3. Negotiations for attacking the fortress of Zara.....	149
V.2.4. The departure of the crusader fleet to Zara.....	151
V.2.5. Attacking and conquering the fortress of Zara.....	153
V.3. The role of Venice in the diversion of the Crusade towards Constantinople.....	154

V.3.1. The Crusaders at Zara.....	154
V.3.2. The consequences of the deviation of the Crusade towards Constantinople	158
V.3.3. Venice and the games of the Papacy in the conquest of Constantinople	162
V.4. Venice and its involvements in the conquest of Constantinople: divergences among historians.....	164
V.4.1. Conspiracy theory	164
V.4.2. Venice and the diversion to Constantinople.....	168
CHAPTER VI: Venice and the partition of Byzantium.....	174
VI.1. The election and coronation of the new emperor in Constantinople	174
VI.2. The division of "Romania" between the Venetians and the French.....	175
VI.3. The Byzantine reaction after the conquest of Constantinople by the Venetians and the French.....	186
CHAPTER VII: The Church life in Constantinople during the rule of Latins (1204-1261).....	193
VII.1. Pope Inocent III and the Byzantines.....	193
VII.2. The psychological chasm between the Byzantines and the Latins	201
VII.3. The Venetian Thomaso Morossini and the policy of the Papacy for the submission of the „schismatics”	204
VII.4. The ecclesiastical situation of the Byzantines in Constantinople	207
VII.5. Theological discussions between Latins and Byzantines during the time of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261).....	212
CONCLUSIONS	218
BIBLIORAPHY.....	222
APPENDICES.....	242

In history, the emergence of the Crusades represents the climax of the process defined by the notion of „Holy War”, which took place throughout several centuries, culminating with the start of the Crusades at the end of the 11th century. The alliances of the Byzantium with the Republic of Venice played a decisive role in the train of events in the Mediterranean, the Byzantine space and the Christian East throughout during the centuries of the Crusades (the 11th-13th). The topic addressed in the present work is entitled: **„Byzantium and Venice During the Crusades (11th-13th Centuries). Alliances and Conflicts. The Consequences on the Church Life of Constantinople”.**

The issue addressed in the present paper considers the mutual support agreements or treaties of the two parties, the Byzantine Empire and the Republic of Venice, treaties by which Byzantium granted the Venetians commercial privileges in Constantinople and between the borders of the Empire, while Venice was going to support politically the Empire by making available to it the Venetian naval fleet.

The first chapter entitled “Byzantium and Venice during the Crusades. Sources. The Historiography of the topic”, presents the main sources of the Crusades, which were the basis for the writing of this work, as well as the main historiographical works that present the history of Venice and the history of Byzantium during the Crusades.

The second chapter of the thesis, "Byzantium and Venice until the start of the Crusades", presents aspects of the history of the Byzantine Empire and the history of Venice, until the start of the Crusades. We have shown that the emergence of Byzantium on the stage of history does not mean the emergence of a new state, but the history of Byzantium as a continuation of the history of ancient Rome. We wanted to specify that from a chronological point of view, the Byzantine Empire succeeded the Roman Empire. Regarding the history of Venice, we have shown that the beginnings of Venice have their origin in the island of Torcello. Torcello has remained a reference island in the history of Venice, as it was the first significant place of foundation of Venice and houses one of the most significant landmarks of Byzantine architecture: the Dormition of the Theotokos Cathedral. Also, in this chapter are presented the relations between the Byzantine Empire and the Republic of Venice until the 11th century, the Byzantine noble titles granted to the rulers of the Republic of Venice, as well as certain divergences that arose due to Venetian commercial interests to the disadvantage of the interests of Byzantium.

The third chapter of the present work presents the cooperation treaties or alliances between Byzantium and Venice during the Crusades. The relations between Byzantium and Venice are clearly defined by two surviving documents: one, from 992, which represents a starting point, the other, from 1082, which represents an end point. The other chrysobulles of the following century always referred to them. Both constitute the pillars on which the entire structure of Venetian-Byzantine relations of the 11th century is based. In the period between the two chrysobulles, the conquest of Dalmatia takes place, the issue of the recognition of the title of "Veneticorum ac Dalmaticorum dux", the resumption of noble titles under Pietro Orseolo II and the armed intervention against the Normans in the Adriatic Sea alongside the Byzantine fleet. During the reign of Alexios, the relations between the Byzantines and the Venetians were not very tense, but after his death the situation would change. Emperor John II, feeling that the Norman danger had diminished for Byzantium, due to internal problems in Norman Apulia, felt that the time had come to abrogate the commercial treaty his father had concluded with Venice in 1082. At first the Venetians did not react. It was only from 1122 that the Republic of Saint Mark began to react with some naval reprisals in certain Byzantine territories. Thus, the Venetians besieged the capital of the island of Corfu (1123), attacked the islands of Rhodes, Samos, Lesbos, Chios, the cities of Modon and Peloponnese and the Dalmatian coast (1124-1125), then conquered Kephallonia in the spring of 1126. Because the Byzantine fleet could not face the attacks of the Venetians, John II began negotiations with the Republic of Venice, which led to the full restoration of the commercial treaty of 1082. After the occupation of the throne of Byzantium by Manuel I Comnenus, the foreign policy of the Empire turned towards the West, the emperor engaging in a Western policy with disastrous consequences for the Byzantine Empire. In his Western policy he followed the idea of an alliance with Germany, which was based on the danger generated by the growth of Normans' power in Italy. The outbreak of the Second Crusade deprived Byzantium of German support and exposed the Empire to a double threat, from the Normans and the Crusaders. During the Second Crusade, Manuel took serious measures for a war against Roger, by which he wished to revenge for his treacherous attack on the islands of the Adriatic and the territory of Greece, and for the occupation of the island of Corfu. In this situation, Venice, which looked with some fear the growth of Normans' power, willingly agreed to support the action of Byzantium with its fleet, and for this help it received new commercial privileges in the Byzantine Empire. In addition to the quarters and quays of Constantinople that had been granted to the Venetians by previous trade treaties,

Manuel granted them new lands and berths for ships. Through the treaty of 1147, Manuel I confirmed to the Venetians the edicts of Alexios I and John II, as well as the ownership of the islands of Cyprus and Crete. Through the treaty of 1148, the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Comnenus confirmed to the Venetians the district received in Constantinople during the time of Alexios I, increasing its area, granting them new lands and houses, as well as a new mooring point for Venetian ships. At the time of the ascension to the throne of Isaac II Angelos in 1185, the situation of the Empire was difficult. Regarding the relations with Venice, Isaac II Anghelos was forced to recognize the old chrysobulles concluded by his predecessors with the Republic of Saint Mark. In a chrysobull of early 1187 Isaac II confirms to the Venetians the edicts of Alexios I, John II and Manuel I. Emperor Alexios III Anghelos (1195-1203) had come to the throne at a time when everyone expected a warrior and a strong emperor, but he proved to be far from these expectations. By the Treaty of November 1198, Alexios III renewed with the Venetians the Political-Military Treaty concluded by Isaac II with them. It confirmed the validity of the edicts granted by Alexios I, John II, Manuel I and Isaac II. This treaty guaranteed the safety of the persons and goods of those who settled on the territory of the Byzantine Empire. The Venetians were also promised the intervention of the Empire in case the Republic of Saint Mark was attacked. The treaty granted freedom of movement by land and sea, exempted Venetian ships and merchants from paying any customs duties, and expanded the number of localities in which they could conduct their trade. Legal guarantees were granted to the Venetians, establishing the powers of their judges in the territory of the Empire, as well as those of the imperial judges, with the specific procedures to be followed.

All these treaties signed by the Byzantines during the Crusades in the 11th and 13th centuries, with the Republic of Venice, made the Republic of Saint Mark a great maritime and commercial power, while the Byzantine Empire stagnated and finally witnessed the conquest of the Great City by the knights of the Fourth Crusade, who, guided by the Venetian ships, will conquer and plunder Constantinople in 1204.

The fourth chapter of the work presents the main conflicts between the Byzantines and the Venetians during the time of the Crusades. A first conflict, worth remembering, between the Republic of Saint Mark and the Byzantine Empire took place during the reign of Emperor John II Comnenus (1118-1143) and Doge Domenico Michiel (1118-1130). As the Venetians, once

dependent on the Byzantine Empire, became involved with the Republic's fleet in the Crusades and acted as masters along the coasts of the Levant, the Byzantines sought new allies in the Pisans, to whom they offered a market in Constantinople in exchange for a promise to aid the Empire with their fleet in need. Thus, the Byzantine Emperor John II Comnenus (1118-1143), dissatisfied on the one hand with the Venetians' greed, but encouraged on the other hand by the fact that Norman Apulia had internal problems and thus the Norman danger for Byzantium was disappearing, abrogated the commercial treaty his father had made with Venice. In this context, after the stabilization of the situation in the Holy Land, the doge Domenico Michiel started an action to intimidate Emperor John II Comnenus and on the way back to Venice, the Venetian fleet attacked and plundered the islands of Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos, Samos, Andros, Modon and Kefalonia. The conflict lasted for four years and ended with Byzantium's recognition of its own defeat. Byzantium was therefore forced to recognize the full restoration of the treaty of 1082 by concluding a new chrysobull in 1126. Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180) was much attached to Western culture, behaving more like a knight than a *basileus* of Byzantium. Manuel I Comnenus gradually realized the danger of consolidating the economic positions of Italian merchants in Byzantium's markets as the Byzantines' anti-Venetian resentment grew. To counterbalance the influence of Venice in the economy and politics of the Empire, Manuel granted Genoa in October 1169, the rival of the Republic of the Lagoons, broad privileges such as the reduction of trade taxes and the right to have colonies in the Empire. Unfortunately, the new privileges did not have the expected outcome, but on the contrary, they increased the conflicts between the Venetians and the Genoese in Constantinople and other cities of the Empire, they increased the insecurity of the citizens and the dissatisfaction of the imperial authorities. That is why the emperor decided to adopt a radical decision, with incalculable consequences for the future of the Empire. After careful preparations, the Byzantine authorities arrested in just one day all the Venetian merchants in the state, about 20.000, confiscated their material goods and threw them into prison on March 12, 1171. In this situation, the Venetian fleet led by Doge Vitale II Michiel (1156-1172) attacked the coast of Dalmatia, landed in the island of Euboea and then plundered the island of Chios. After the arrest of the Venetian merchants in Constantinople in 1171, the Republic becomes the opponent of the Byzantine Empire, a fact that constitutes a decisive event in the preparation of the state of mind that led to the conquest and plunder of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade. After the death of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus in September 1180, anti-Latin sentiments in Byzantium

intensified and gave rise to the great revolt of April 1182, directed against both Italian merchants and Latins, who held key positions in the government of the Byzantine Empire by the regent Mary of Antioch, Manuel's widow. Latin sources speak of tens of thousands of victims and bloody scenes in the streets of Constantinople. The coming to power of the Angelos dynasty changed the policy of the Empire towards the Venetians, in the hope of removing the Commune from the anti-Byzantine alliance that was being announced. Isaac II (1185-1195) renewed the clauses of Manuel I's treaty of 1175 regarding damages and restitution of privileges, subject to Venetian help in case of foreign attack (February 1187). The treaty was renewed two years later in June 1189 and extended a decade later in 1198. During the Fourth Crusade when the Western knights were under the walls of Constantinople, Alexios III (1195-1203) was on the throne of Byzantium; he had dethroned and blinded his brother Isaac II, and the latter's son had concluded a treaty at Zara with the Venetians and the French aiming at his restoration to the throne of Byzantium. On April 13, 1204, Constantinople was conquered by the knights of the Fourth Crusade. Historian Denis A. Zakythinos stated that in the expedition that ended with the conquest of Constantinople, the role of Venice was preponderant. For three days, the Western knights savagely ravaged Constantinople. For three days, the scenes of plunder and depravity continued until the great city was destroyed and the population was terrified. Nicetas Choniates said that even the Saracens would have had more mercy towards the city. Constantinople was ruled by the Latins from 1204 until 1261 when Michael VIII Paleologus recaptured the city from the Latins. Of all the Western powers, Venice suffered the most as a result of the restoration of the Byzantine Empire. Therefore, it supported the Latin projects to re-attack the Byzantine capital. Immediately after the fall of the Latin Empire, Venice began a diplomatic activity in this regard. The recapture of Constantinople by the forces of Nicaea on 25 July 1261 marked the beginning of the revival of the Byzantine Empire which would continue to exist for about two more centuries until the Turks led by Mohammed II conquered Constantinople in 1453.

The fifth chapter of the work presents the role played by the Venetians in diverting the Crusade to Zara and Constantinople. Beginning with the 19th century, the main sources of the Fourth Crusade began to be critically analyzed. Some historians have blamed the Venetians for the diversion of the Crusades to Constantinople, thus giving birth to the so-called "conspiracy theory". The French historian and diplomat Louis de Mas Latrie (1815–1897) states that Villehardouin was misled by the Venetians into diverting the Crusade from Egypt. Professor

Alfred J. Andrea states that Paul Riant went with the idea of a plot between Philip, Boniface and the young Alexios, meeting at the German Court of Philip of Swabia at Christmas 1201. He shows that the Venetians would have accepted the plan in full knowledge of the matter. Alfred J. Andrea believes that the value of Paul Riant's work is undermined by the excessive speculation it contains. An important moment in the historiography of the Fourth Crusade was, at the end of the 19th century, the work of the German historian Walter Norden (1876-1937). In his work, he states that no one could have had sufficient foresight to be able to conspire a diversion of the Crusades. He believes that there were ulterior reasons which led the Crusaders and the Venetians to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the young Alexios. In Norden's view, Villehardouin was essentially correct. This view of Norden's has become extremely influential among historians studying the Fourth Crusade. The Belgian Byzantineologist Henri Gregoire (1881-1964), the founder of Byzantine studies in Belgium, in an article published in 1941, supports the conspiracy theory regarding the attack on Constantinople. One of the most important historians of the Crusades in the United States of America is Thomas F. Madden, currently chairman of the Department of History at Saint Louis University, a specialist in medieval Italian studies, respectively in the history of Venice and implicitly in the issue of the Fourth Crusade. The most important work devoted to the Fourth Crusade is the one produced together with the historian Donald E. Queller. The two authors try to defend the Venetians regarding the diversion of the Crusade to Constantinople. Historian Jonathan Phillips is among the historians who try to tone down the hostile judgments about the behavior of the Crusader knights at the time of the devastation of Constantinople. As we have seen, the involvement of Venice in the diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople has ignited heated discussions among historians. We conclude by saying that Venice took advantage of the opportunity offered by the organization of a new crusade in the East and is at least partly to blame for diverting the Fourth Crusade to Zara and Constantinople for economic reasons, taking full advantage of the chance offered by the young prince Alexios IV.

The sixth chapter of the work presents the division of the Byzantine territories conquered by the Crusaders and the role played by Venice in their division. Constantinople was divided between the Latin Emperor Baldwin and the Doge of Venice, Enrico Dandolo. The Venetians secured the best profit from the division of territories conquered from the Byzantines. The Republic of Saint Mark would take control of such cities as Dyrrachion and Ragusa on the Adriatic

coast and in the Peloponnese the port cities of Koron and Modon. Venice based its new power on the annexation of the most important ports and islands. The Republic of Venice created a powerful colonial empire in the East; thus, the Venetians were controlling the entire sea route from Venice to Constantinople. The outcome of the Fourth Crusade led to the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire and the creation on its territory of states led by French and Venetian feudal lords, following the model of the organization of feudal life in Western Europe, but also of independent Byzantine states.

The seventh chapter presents the situation of the Church in Constantinople during the period of Latin rule, as well as the offensive of the Papacy in the Eastern space. Due to the fact that until that moment all papal attempts to impose Roman ecclesiology on Constantinople had failed, Innocent used the opportunity offered by the Fourth Crusade to subjugate the Church of Constantinople. The first concern of Pope Innocent III, after the victory of the Western Crusaders in Constantinople, was to organize Church life in the capital of the Empire and in the other conquered territories. The conquest of Constantinople by the Latins following the Fourth Crusade (1204) had considerable consequences on the religious life in the East and on Church relations between Easterners and Westerners. In the opinion of the British historian Steven Runciman, the Fourth Crusade, which culminated, as we have shown, with the devastation of Constantinople, represents the final point of the separation between the East and the West, as the people of Byzantium could never forget the barbarism of the Westerners. At the heart of the separation between the Eastern and Western Churches was the growing power of the Papacy and its transformation at the time of the Fourth Crusade into what was essentially a religious monarchy. The Byzantines strongly rejected any claims of the pope to the secular power and to the primacy of jurisdiction. All the claims of the Papacy were considered false and irreconcilable with an Orthodox perspective. In the opinion of the Byzantines, the supreme authority was held by the Ecumenical Councils.

In the present work, we proposed, as we showed in the research project, to present the relations between the Byzantine Empire and the Republic of Venice during the Crusades (11th-13th centuries), respectively to bring to light the collaboration treaties between the two powers, but also the dissensions between the two sides, which generated major conflicts, such as the arrest and massacre of the Venetians in Constantinople in the years 1171-1172 and 1182, as well as the

conquest and plunder of Constantinople by the Venetians and the French in 1204, during the Fourth Crusade. The special relations of Venice with Byzantium were linked to the privileges acquired by the Republic of Saint Mark in the field of trade. All these treaties signed by the Byzantines over time, from 992 until 1198, with the Republic of Venice transformed the Republic of Saint Mark into a great maritime and commercial power, produced the stagnation of the Byzantine Empire, and finally led to the conquest of the Great City by the knights of the Fourth Crusade, who, guided by Venetian ships, will conquer and plunder Constantinople in 1204.

The period of the Crusades greatly strained the relations between Byzantium and Western Christendom. The presence of the Western Crusaders in the lands of the Byzantine Empire, the robberies made by the Crusaders to the detriment of the inhabitants of the Empire, the barbarism and the behavior of the Westerners made the Byzantines look down on the Latins, which in turn considered the Byzantines as traitors of the Crusade cause. The conquest and devastation of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, the Latin rule of Constantinople until 1261, the forced Latinization offensive of Pope Innocent III in the Byzantine territories occupied by the Latins, led to the deepening of the gulf between the Byzantines and the Westerners, weakened the power of the Byzantine Empire which would eventually fall to the Turks on May 29, 1453.