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The Presence Of The Republic Of Pisa In Eastern Mediterranean And Its Relations With The States In Region (XI-XIIIth Century)

Doğuakdeniz’de Pisa Cumhuriyeti’nin Varlığı Ve Bölgedeki Devletler İle İlişkileri (XI-XIII. Yüzyıllar)

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ABSTRACT

Pisa, which occupied an important place from the beginning as the base and colony of the Roman Empire to the end of the Middle Ages, is a state that had shown off power since the 11th century. The Republic of Pisa, in its early period intertwined with the sea, became dominant in the Mediterranean with Genoa and struggled against Muslims with the support of the Papacy. Pisans aimed to conquered Sicily and Corsica. After Pisans had entered the war against Muslims in these islands, they realized to importance of Mediterranean trade. As a sign of this, Pisa organized an expedition to Mahdia, which was a Shiite Islamic state before the First Crusade in 1096 and tried to develop its trade. The aim of this paper is to examine the paths followed by Pisa, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean, the steps taken for trade, struggles with the Italian City-States and the relations between Byzantine Empire and Muslim states.

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ÖZ

Eski Çağ’da Roma İmparatorluğu’nun üs ve kolonisi konumundan Orta Çağ’ın sonlarına kadar önemli bir yere sahip olan Pisa, esasen XI. yüzyıldan itibaren gücünü gösteren bir devlet durumundadır. Konum itibarıyla denizle iç içe olan Pisa, ilk yıllarda Ceneviz ile birlikte Orta ve Batı Akdeniz’de hâkim konuma gelmiş ve Papalığın da desteğini alarak Müslümanlar ile mücadele etmiştir. Pisa Devleti’nin ilk odak noktaları Sicilya ve Korsika adaları olmuştur. Bu adalarda Müslümanlarla yaptığı mücadelelerle Doğu Akdeniz ticaretinin önemine varmıştır. Nitekim bunun bir işareti olarak 1096 yılındaki I. Haçlı Seferi’nden önce Şii İslâm devleti olan Fatımilerin elindeki Mehdiye’ye sefer düzenleyip ticaretini geliştirmeye çalışmıştır. Bu çalışmanın amacı 11. yüzyılda bir cumhuriyet olarak doğan Pisa’nın özellikle Doğu Akdeniz’deki siyasi hedeflerinin, ticaret için attığı adımların, İtalyan şehir devletleri ile olan mücadeleleri ve Bizans ile Müslüman devletler arasındaki ilişkilerinin incelenmesidir.

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Introduction

Pisa, one of the medieval Italian maritime states, was founded at the mouth of the Arno River in the Tuscan region.² It is not much known about the early periods of city states. According to Greek geographer Pausanias, Pisa was located between Harpinna and Olympia and founded by Perieres' son Pisu.³ One of the most important Muslim geographer Abulfeda gives detailed information about historical background of Pisa as:

“then the sea continues to the south to the land of Calabria and then to the Roman coast. Extends westward, turns south. After passing Roman coast reaches Tuscany, then inclines to south, arrives in the city of Pisa. Pisan Franks is here. Pisa is in the sixth climate in the north of Andalusia, with an average longitude of 32 degrees, 33 42 degrees latitude, compared to Ibn said at an average length of 46 degrees, 26 minutes. Pisa, which has no ruler, is situated at west of Rome. They consult to Pope for works.” (Ebü'l Fida 2017: 42,187)

Ancient city of Pisa was belonged to Elis region. It is thought that those founded the city of Pisa in Italy were the Peloponnese, who acted together with Nestor during the Trojan War. (Strabon, V.II; Roncioni 1844) According to some researchers, Pisa was founded by Pelops (Heywood 1921: 1) but Roman historian Cato claims that founded by Etruscan leader Tarchon. (Smith 1872: 632) Pisans struggled with Ellians in that period. After that struggles Pisa was destroyed by Ellians in BC 471 (Howatson 2013: 744). Pisa, which became Roman colony entitled as “Colonia Opsquens Iulia Pisana”, assumed the role of base at Rome's wars against Celts, Ligurians and Carthaginians (Smith 1872: 632; Heywood 1921:3). Roman general Scipio used Pisa as a base on his way to Marseille. When Ligurians attacked to Pisa with a great army, the city state ask for help from Romans. After Romans saved the city, Pisa was colonized by Rome. (Astin 2008: 215; Titus Livius, XXXV.3)

Pisa was affected by Longobard's⁴ attacks in the early medieval period. The Longobard's king Agilulfo conquered to Pisa, the most important city of Tuscany in 591 AD. After Charlemagne⁵ subdued the Longobards, he dominated Pisa as well. While the Carolingian Empire was rising under the leadership of Charlemagne in the west, Muslims were appeared in Mediterranean. Since Muslims captured to Aegean Islands as Rhodes and Crete and established Sicilian Emirates⁶, the Western world had been in

² It is located in the west of the Tyrrhenian Sea and in the east of the Apenin mountains. The most important cities of Tuscany region in central Italy are Pisa, Florence and Siena, While the region was under the control of Rome for a period, it was later captured by the Longobards coming from the north. After the Longobards left the region, Pisa and Genoa acted together against the Muslims. After Pisa's dominance in the Mediterranean, Florence connected Pisa to itself and became the strongest city-state in the Tuscany region. Mahmut Şakiroğlu, “Toskana” TDV, Cilt: XL, İstanbul 2012, p. 267; Bella Duffy, *The Tuscan Republics (Florence, Siena, Pisa and Lucca) with Genoa*, London 1982, p. 2.

³ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, VI.22. οἰκιστὴν μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τῆ πόλει Πίσον τὸν Περιήρους φασι τοῦ Αἰόλου” Pisu was the son of Perieres, the son of Aeolos, the founder of the city of Pisa. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0160:book=6:chapter=22&highlight=pisa>

⁴ They were a Germanic people who invaded the Italian Peninsula from 568 to 774 AD. According to the historian Paul Deacon, they came from Winnili tribe who lived in Scandinavia. The Lombards, who descended to Austria and Slovakia, conquered all of Northern Italy at the end of 569. After these conquests, they founded the Lombard Kingdom. In 774, the Lombards passed into the hands of Charlemagne. Paul The Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, ed. Edward Peters, University of Pennsylvania Press 1975.

⁵ The Frankish emperor, whose empire was sanctioned by Leo III and ascended to the throne between AD 800 and 814. When Charlemagne, the eldest son of Pepin, became the Frankish King, he expelled the Lombards from Northern Italy and war against the Muslims. Established under the leadership of Charlemagne to replace the Merovingians, the Franks spread to many part of Western Europe during the Carolingian period. Henri Pirenne, Hz. Muhammed ve Charlemagne, çev. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, İmge Kitabevi, İstanbul 2006; Jennifer Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, Cambridge University Press 2015.

⁶ Known as Sikelia in Greek, Sicilia in Latin, and Sikilliye in Arabic, Sicily is located at west of Corsica and Sardinia. One of Italy's most important islands, Sicily's best known city is Palermo. According to Piri reis and Ibn Havkal, Sicily is a very fertile land in terms of soil. In ancient period, when many settled in the south of Greek Italy, this place began to be called Magna Grecia. In the early medieval, Sicily, which was first captured by the Vandals and later by the Ostrogoths, became a Byzantine theme in 552. Muslims advancing in the Mediterranean they failed to success under the leadership of Hadic el-Kindi although they raided the island while the island was under Byzantine administration. Then the Umayyad Caliph Muawiya organized raids to Sicily, but did not achieve any success. After the Umayyads, only commercial relations were carried out with the island during the Abbasid period. The founder of Aglebid İbrahim b. Agleb made a treaty with Sicily. Then Agleb b. Salim conquered many cities on the island. The Muslims, who conquered many places in the region until 902, founded an emirate in the region. The Fatimids, who destroyed the Aglebids, took over the island and ruled here for a while. The Normans coming from the north ended the

to a problematic position. Pisa, by helping Charlemagne, struggled with Muslims who conquered many Mediterranean Islands during 9th century (Heywood 1921:5). When the Abbasid Chaliph Harun al-Rashid set foot in the city, Charlemagne sent him presents including an elephant when he was in Pavia (Nelson 2019: 412). In 828 AD, Pisan sailors who increased their activities in Mediterranean region, attacked to Muslims with the count of Lucca Bonifazio in North Africa. In 982 AD, while the German emperor Otho II was moving Calabria to in order to detract Muslim raids, Pisan ships helped the emperor and the Pope XVIII Ioannes, who was aware of Muslim domination in Mediterranean, requested help from Pisa, as well (Abulafia 2011: 272; Dursteler 2019: 107). In 1003 and 1006, Pisans supported the Pope and defeated Muslims in Vecchia and Reggio (Duffy 1982: 13). While struggling with Muslim corsairs, Pisa acted together with the other Italian city-state Genoa in this period.

1. Relationship Between Pisa and Genoa in Italian Peninsula (Rivalry and Collaboration)

Along with Pisa, Amalfi and Venice, Genoa was one of the leading states in the Italian Peninsula was Genoa. The earliest inhabitants of Genoese, dating back to 2300 BC, lived in the area called as Castrum (Benes 2018: 3) The Etruscans and the Greeks benefited from Genoese port in 6th century BC and 4th century BC. While Strabon and Livy mention that Genoa was one of the commercial hub of Ligurians (Livy 32.29) Abulfeda points out Genoa was located in the west of Pisa and it had a favourable and secure port (Ebü'l Fida 2017: 187). On the other hand, Pero Tafur explains the inefficiency of the city when the land was in question that the merchants of the city were in abundance with their trade in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea (Tafur 2016: 23-24).

Genoa, as the ally of the Romans against Carthaginians, was captured by Ostrogoths⁷ after the dissolution of the Roman Empire (Livy, 21.32). It remained under Byzantine rule until the invasion of the Lombards in 642 after the Ostrogoth governance (Epstein 1996: 39). Genoese promoted more commercial relations with Byzantines. The struggle of the Genoese against the Muslims with the Frankish Count Hadumar since 600 is important in terms of their naval power. Upon Muslims increasing their dominance in Sardinia and Corsica, it is seen that the two Italian states-Pisa and Genoa- acted together against the enemy in 1016 with the Pope Benedetto's invitation (Donaver 1978: 5). The domination dispute between began Pisa and Genoese over Sardinia with the weakening of the dominance of Muslims in Southern Italy. Sardinia, the second largest island of Italy, has been point of attraction for states since the early periods. According to Piri Reis, though the island of Sicily does not have fertile land, its agricultural products are diverse (Sakiroglu 2009: 133-134; Piri Reis 1973: 62). As a result, Totilla attacked and captured to Sicily, but then he had to leave the island to Byzantium (Heather 2012: 277-381; Heywood 1921: 17). When the island was under the reign of Byzantium, it was raided by Muslims between 8th-11th centuries.

The conflict over Sardinia between Pisa and Genoa were escalated in 1060's. Genoa was more dominant than Pisa. After all disputes, Gregory gave the island to Corsican bishop Landolpho by Gregory in the last quarter of the century. However, Pisa managed to get privileges in 1080's. The policies of Pisa and Genoa towards Sardinia were aimed at promoting trade, as in the other Italian states of the period, Venice and Amalfi. Pisans settled and established cathedrals in Sardinia as the result of the policy (Abulafia 2011: 275).

When Pisa and Genoa acted together and clashed from time to time, Venice got important privileges from Byzantine emperor Basil II. However Pisa and Genoa were not as lucky as Venice was

Muslim rule on the island. Mahmut Şakiroğlu, "Sicilya", TDV, Cilt: XXXVII 2009; Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, Cilt: II, Haz. Yavuz Senemoğlu, Tercüman Yayınları 1973, pp. 43-58; Kudâme İbn Cafer, *Kitabü'l- Harac*, çev. Ramazan Şeşen, Yeditepe Yayınları, İstanbul 2018, 62-64; İbn Havkal, *10. Asırda İslam Coğrafyası*, çev. Ramazan Şeşen, Yeditepe Yayınları, İstanbul 2017, pp.123-127; Belazuri, *Fütuhu'l Buldan*, çev. Mustafa Fayda, Siyer Yayınları 2013, p.269; Ebü'l Fida, pp.171-175.

⁷ Like the Vandals and Visigoths, they were one of the Germanic tribe. They lived in the steppes far from the Dniester since 4th century AD. Together with the Visigoths, they ruled the region for a while after they invaded Rome. The Gothic communities, who thought they played a role in the dissolution of the Roman Empire, also contributed to the formation of Europe. See for the Goths. Gibbon 2019; Heather 2012; Wolfram 2020.

in their progress to the Mediterranean. After the wars over Sardinia, Pisa and Genoa attacked to Mahdia⁸ where was located in Tunisia and captured city in 1087 (Heyd 2000: 132-133). However, it seems that the main role of these Italian states appeared explicitly with the Crusades.

2. Relations between the Republic of Pisa and the Islamic World

Pisa entered into a struggle with the Islamic states at times after its establishment. The popes had especially forced the two states-Pisa and Genoa- into an alliance against the Muslims. The main aim of the Italian city-states was to expand and protect their trade in Mediterranean. For this reason, these states struggled with Muslims who demanded help from the Popes and the emperors. Although the struggles of Italians and Muslims were limited to Sardinia, Sicily and Corsica, it later spread to the Near East.

Egypt was a first granary for Minoan Civilization, the city-state of Athens and the Roman Empire. However, Byzantium continued to benefit from the Egyptian geography in this sense. The Nile River overflowed at certain times of the year and allowed the cultivation of agricultural products such as wheat, barley, rice and cotton after this flood.⁹ In this respect, states had seen Egypt as the back door of their economies throughout history. This efficiency was also reflected in the account of medieval geographers. In addition to Herodotus (Herodotus 2005: V.2), who stated that the Nile was a gift to Egypt, Ibn Hawqal, one of the 10th century geographers, narrated the following words about Egypt's fertility:

“Although its importance decreases today, Egypt is name of an ancient, great and rich country in the past. There are several reason for this importance. In the past, the rulers of this place, Moses' pharaoh Musab b. Walid, his father and Joseph's pharaoh Walid b it was the seat of the great pharaohs who ruled between the times of Musab and the two. Here is how I saw in the biography of Abul Huseyin al-Hasibi, written by Abul-Nemir al-Varrak. According to what Abul Huseyin reported from Abul Hazim el-Kadi, the vizier Abul Hasan b. Al-Mudebbir if all the land of Egypt is cultivated, its produce is enough for the world. 18 million feddans of corn land can be cultivated. In our time only 2 million feddans are processed.” (Ibn Havka 2017: 138)

One of the most important of the Islamic states with which the Republic of Pisa came into contact is the Fatimid state. It was found in 909 and ruled in Egypt and Syria. This was also important for the Shiite Islamic state in terms of administration. Egypt was in suitable position in order to achieve its goals -to spread Isma'ili- (Daftary 2007). The Fatimids, who failed to be effective in Syria in the early periods, tried to exist in North Africa. The founder of the state, Mahdi, made several expeditions to capture Egypt; however, he could not succeed. Therefore, he founded the city known as Mahdia in 915 and declared it as capital (Seyyid 1995: 229). Although it is not specified when it happened, it is recorded that the Republic of Pisa had commercial relations with the Islamic state in Mahdia. The economic efficiency of Egypt had directed the Pisans to the region as it had attracted the the other Western states. In the medieval era, other cities such as Alexandria¹⁰ and Cairo (Fustat)¹¹ were known as the cities with which the Italian states had relations with the Islamic state. Pisa also promoted their activities in these places. Pisa and

⁸ The city in Tunisia was named after the first Fatimid caliph Ubeydullah al-Mahdi. The city is known for hosting many ships from Spain and Italy in the medieval. Except for Pisa and the Genoese, the Normans from the north captured the city. Piri Reis 1973, pp.181-182; Ahmet Kavas, “Mehdiye”, TDV, Cilt: XXXVIII, Ankara 2003, pp.387-389.

⁹ Ebü'l Fida: “This is a great river like no other on earth. Ibn Sina speaks of this river as follows: The Nile River differs from other rivers on earth with its three features. It is the longest river on earth from its beginning to the end. Its water is pleasant because it flows a lot. The Nile River rises as the water of other rivers decreases.” He emphasizes the overflow of the Nile River by saying that the increase is due to heavy rains in the places it passes through. Ebü'l Fida 2017, p.56. For Egyptian geography see. Ebü'l Fida, p.56; Doğaner 2004.

¹⁰ Alexandria, one of the leading cities of Africa and Egypt, is located in the west of the Nile River. Ibn Havkal quotes the following words about the city, which attracted the attention of many geographers and historians from Herodot to Islamic writers: “One of Egypt's famous cities and interesting instruction is the city of Alexandria. Its ruins and artifacts are seen on the Mediterranean coast, it shows the state power, taking root, height and gives a lesson.” Ibn Havkal 2017, p.151; While describing the Egyptian cities, Abul Feda mentions the importance of the phanar in Alexandria: “The height of this phanar is 180 zira. It was built for ships to find a way to Alexandria, which is on a flat land, without mountains and signs.” Ebü'l Fida, p.107.

¹¹ Fustat, whose name is Cairo today, was founded by Amr b. As who commander of Caliph Omer in 643. The city was known Cairo after the Fatimid caliph Muiz-Lidinillah entered Fustat. Since then, Fustat has come to the fore in commercial terms. According to Ibn Havkal, Fustat was the largest city in Egypt and it had large squares, bazaars and business centers. Abu'l Feda also refers to the commercial importance of Fustat: “Fustat is on the river bank. It is the port where the ships anchor and depart. For this reason, Fustat is a more profitable place and cheaper than Cairo.” İbn Havkal 2017, p.147; Ebü'l Fida 2017, pp.109-110.

Genoa, who both acted together in the Mediterranean, experienced conflicts as well and organized an expedition to Mahdia under the rule of Fatimids in 1087. These two states wanted to defeat the Fatimid Emir Temim with Pope Victor III's support. Temim had to submit under the pressure of Pisa and the Genoa. The result of this expedition was that Temim had to declare heavy privileges for the Italian states (Heyd 2000: 132-133; Abulafia 2011: 279) After the Pisans acquired privileges in the Near East, they supported Latin states in being successful against Muslims (Heyd 2000: 158).

Trying to get stronger by taking concessions from both the Byzantine Empire and the Latin states in the Near East and especially in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 11th-12th century, started to weaken in the 13th century. One of the most important reasons was the wars with its most serious rival Genoa and its involvement in class conflicts between the Guelph and Ghibellini in Italy. Genoese, on the other hand, increased its political and commercial power by receiving privileges from the Byzantine Empire with the Nymphaion (Nif) treaty in 1262. Thus, Pisa remained a little more in the background while the Genoese developed. Although Pisa had established relations with Genoese in the form of war-peace-war until 13th century, the competition reached the highest level in this century and this rivalry between Pisa and Genoa resulted in the Meloria naval war in 1284 (Abulafia 2011: 334). As a result of the war, Pisa lost a large part of Sardinia, for which had been great importance to since its foundation. Under the leadership of Ugolino, the Republic of Pisa lost not only the one war, but also its superiority over the seas with the seas

3. The Role of Pisan Archbishop Daiberto in the First Crusade

The First Crusade, which happened due to religious, economic, social and political reasons, was started under the leadership of the monk Pierre L'Ermite with Pope Urban II's call to the Christians at the Clermont Council in 1095. It is stated in the sources that Urban II met and persuaded the Archbishop Daiberto before 1095 (Tronci 1868: 178-179). Daiberto, assigned by Pope, was sent to the palace of Castile King Alphonso VI in order to encourage the campaign (Runciman 2019: 231). Then, Pisa together with Venice, Genoa and Amalfi turned towards to the Near Eastern for the purpose of expand their trade. Besides the Italian states supported to the formation of Templars and Hospitalliers, they provided more support in terms of maritime in these campaigns against the Islamic world.

Firstly, the republic of Pisa supported to the crusade by providing ships under leadership Archbishop Daiberto (Holt 1999: 26; Setton 1969: 374-378). According to Byzantine historian Anna Komnene, they sent 900 ships to Near East but the number are exaggerated:¹²

“while for conquer Syrian cities Franks went to Jerusalem, they promised to give many privileges to Daiberto if he help to them; he believed to them and persuaded to his bishop friends who lived on the coast (coastal towns to act in the same way (support the Franks); without delay, he equipped around 900 other fast ships with two rows of oars, three rows of oar warships, dromons, and set off as if goin to coastal region around Antioch and Latakia near the Franks.”

When Pisans, who plundered to islands such as Korfu and Cephalonia, went to Near East and they met the Byzantines. Pisa declared against the Byzantines in Rhodes that belonged to Byzantine Empire. The Byzantines captured to Pisan sailors at the end of the war (Nicol 1992: 71; Runciman 2019: 231). The Byzantine Empire, which attached importance to the Aegean Islands in terms of the continuation of its trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, struggled with the Pisa navy because Pisa posed a danger here (Komnena 1996: 351-352). Depending upon Italian sources, historian Miotto expresses that the events referred to as the Byzantine-Pisa struggle in Byzantine sources actually took place between Pisa and Venice (Miotto 2007: 193-207; Kaymakci 2021: 179-190). Like Miotto, Julius Norwich emphasizes that the war near Rhodes was between Pisa and Venice, and four thousand people were taken

¹² Anna Komnena *Alexias*, çev. Bilge Umar, İnkılap Kitabevi, İstanbul 1996; “ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξερχόμενοι οἱ Φράγγοι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς κατάσχειν τῶν πόλεων Συρίας ἐπέσχοντο τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Πίσης ἰκανά, εἰ τοῦτοις συνάρηται πρὸς τὸν προκειμένον αὐτοῖς σκοπόν, ὃ δὲ καταπειθῆς τοῖς λόγοις τούτων γεγωνῶς καὶ ἐτέρους δύο τῶν παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκούντων ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐρεθίσας οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο, ἀλλ’ ἐξοπλίσας διήρεις τὲ καὶ τριήρεις καὶ δρόμωνας καὶ ἕτερα τῶν ταχυδρόμων πλοίων εἰς ἑνακόσια περυστάμενα ἐξείσιν ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸς ἀπερχόμενος”. Annae Comnenae 2001, XI.10; “...dove intervennero i Pisani con molti navigli e galere, essendo capitano dell’armata Daiberto arcivescovo di Pisa.” Pisans attended with many ships under the leadership the Archbishop Daiberto. Roncioni, 196.

prisoner together with twenty Pisan ships (Norwich 2003: 221). Donald Nicol, whose field of expertise is on Byzantine-Venetian relations, also states that there is no certainty that the Pisans clashed with the Venetians (Nicol 1992: 272). Anna Komnene, the contemporary source of the period, supports this statement of Nicol with the following words:¹³

“When these news came, the Emperor ordered all provinces of the Greek Empire to provide warships. Many of these were built in the capital; The emperor occasionally climbed aboard a single row of oars and ordered to the workers regarding construction. It has the heads of a lion or other land animal, made of bronze, iron open-mouthed, on the nose of each ship, as he knew the Pisans were masters of the art of fighting in naval warfare and was afraid to engage with them.”

The Pisans aided the Crusader leader Bohemund in Jerusalem after their clash with Byzantine Empire. But whether Bohemund helped the Pisans and Daiberto is controversial (Setton 1969: 378). However, Daiberto succeeded in adding to the title Archbishop of Jerusalem.

3. Pisan’s Privileges from the Byzantine Empire and Its Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean

The Pisans, who supported the First Crusade and legitimized their presence in the Near East and the Mediterranean, managed to get commercial privileges from the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos in 1111, even though they had a conflict with the Byzantine Empire on the islands (Ostrogorsky 2017; Abulafia 2011: 293; Turan 2000: 26). The Venetians, who firstly got privileges in 992, continued to increase their power in the Eastern Mediterranean by obtaining more concessions from Alexios I Komnenos in 1082 (Ravegnani 1993). Until 1111, the leader of the Pisans was Archbishop Daiberto but then the consuls ruled the state (Wickham 2015: 89).

The aforementioned articles about the previous privileges given to Venice by the Byzantine emperors included issues such as customs tax, residence, jurisdiction and free trade. Similarly, Pisa gained the right to worship freely in its churches in the Constantinople, to trade in Byzantine waters and to pay low custom taxes (Jacoby 1994: 349-368). According to the 1111 treaty, the customs taxes would be taken up to 4% from the Pisans and commercial goods would be sold to enemies of Byzantium. Pisans would be able to worship freely in the church of Saint Maria in Constantinople and would receive 400 hyperpyra allowances by the emperor (Turan 2000: 27). Like the Venetians, they also obtained their own residence on the southern shore of the Golden Horn at the opposite of Galata in the Byzantine capital. In addition, the Byzantine emperor stated that if a Pisan ship was damaged in its own land; he would do whatever it took to compensate for this damage. Pisans also swore that they would cooperate with Byzantium (Dafni 2012: 102-103).

Although Pisa got privileges from the Byzantine Empire like Venice, it was clear that it obtained less privileges than Venice, when compared to privileges the two states. Pisa got privileges from the Byzantine Empire. However, this was not in Venice’s interests, because it did not comply with its plans to share its political and commercial dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean. Byzantine historian Niketas Khoniates explains this situation:

“The Venetians, remembering their long-standing agreement with the Romans, could not bear to see whom to them now turns to the Pisans. While Venice struggled with Pisa after 1111, John Komnene renewed the previous treaty by taking another privileges from Komnenos in 1126. Pisa also renewed the privilege it received from Byzantium in 1136. Venice was not the only state that did not overlook this development of Pisa.” (Khoniates 2013: 105)

While Venice struggled with Pisa after 1111, Ioannes Komnenos II renewed the previous treaty by taking another privileges from Komnenos in 1126 (Nicol 1992: 80). Pisa also renewed the privilege it received from Byzantium in 1136 (Stephard 2008: 652). Venice was not the only state that did not overlook this development of Pisa. In the first period, Genoa, with whom acted together in the

¹³ Anna Komnena, p.350; “Ταῦτα μανθάνων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν χωρῶν προσέταξε γενέσθαι πλοῖα καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν βασιλεῦσαν ἱκανὰ κατασκευάζων ἐκ διαλειμμάτων εἰς μονῆρες εἰσερχόμενος ἐπέσκηπτε τοῖς κατασκευάζουσιν ὅπως ταῦτα ποιεῖν” Anna Comnenae, XI.10

Mediterranean, did not welcome the privileges that Pisa received, and the two states clashed for this reason.

Even though Manuel I Komnenos, who came to power after John II Komnenos, asked Pisa for aid against the Normans, when Pisa did not seem volunteer approach, he received support by giving privilege to Genoa in 1155 (Turan 2000: 29). After such privileges given to the Genoa in 1162, Pisa and Venice formed an alliance and attacked the Genoa (Angold 1997: 201). In this attack, most of Genoese goods were damaged. The Byzantine Empire, which pursued a policy balance in a sense against the Italian states, gave other privileges to the Pisans in 1170 in order to resolve conflicts and promote the relations. (Khoniates 1995: 139; Nicol 1992:90). In this treaty, the provision was confirmed that the Pisans would trade freely in the previous treaties as long as they remained loyal to the Empire (Dafni 2012: 118).

After 1170, it is seen that Pisa had a conflict with Venice in the Adriatic as well as in the Eastern Mediterranean. Since it was the gateway to the Eastern Mediterranean, Adriatic had been important for Venice since its foundation. The Venetians were trying to capture the city of Zara¹⁴ in the Adriatic under the leadership of Enrico Dandolo, who was highly in the Fourth Crusade and appointed as Doge in 1192. Although Enrico Dandolo managed to seize it for a short time after few attempts, he ultimately dominated the city before the Fourth Crusade.¹⁵ The conflict continued after the struggle in Zara. The reason for this conflict of interest was the commercial competition in Constantinople and the Eastern Mediterranean. Clashing with Venice, Pisa had supported the combat against the pirates who allied with the Byzantine Empire since the 1180's. This rapprochement of Pisa and the Byzantine Empire was made in 1192 during the Angelos Dynasty. It resulted in the granting of another privilege to the Pisans by Isaac Angelos. In this treaty, it appears that the Emperor allowed the Pisans to affirm and further expand their rights in the capital (Dafni 2012: 125). These two states fought together against Latins and Venetians, but Isaac Angelos reconciled between Pisa and Venice after a while.¹⁶

Venetians and Latins established Latin Empire in Constantinople at the end of Fourth Crusade. Venice was the most profitable state in sharing. Venetians managed to found colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean. Venice was dominant in the Eastern Mediterranean in this period and the relations between Pisa and Venice progressed positively, they acted together against the Genoa (Heyd 2000: 318). The treaty they made in 1206 was renewed in 1214 due to their interests. According to this treaty, Venice and Pisa would act together against their enemies and prevent piracy (Heyd 2000: 319; Turan 2000: 41). However, the Pisans maintained their residence in Constantinople and continued their trade during the Latin Empire rule.

Conclusion

The Republic of Pisa, which existed until 15th century, had been to established dominance in the Mediterranean since its foundation like other Italian maritime states. When it comes to the Italian states, one may clearly infer that the Republic of Venice was at the forefront in terms of location compared to Genoa and Pisa. As a matter of fact, Venice became dominant especially in the Eastern Mediterranean after it gained its independence from Byzantine Empire. Having experienced conflicts over Corsica and Sardinia in the early periods, Pisa and Genoa acted together and fought against Muslims. After the struggles over Corsica and Sardinia, Pisa turned its face to North Africa and improve trade relations with

¹⁴ A city located in today's Croatia.

¹⁵ The Fourth Crusade was made to Byzantine capital with the provocations of Enrico Dandolo while it was thought to be made on Egypt. Before this expedition, when the Latins could not their debt to Venice, they organized an expedition to Zara at the request of Enrico Dandolo and were seized. See for the Fourt Crusade. Geoffroi de Villehardouin, IV. Haçlı Seferi Kroniği, çev. Ali Berktaş, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 2016; Niketas Khoniates 2013; Madden *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice*, The Johns Hopkins University Press 2007, p.112.

¹⁶ Turan, p.41; "In 1203, some Phrangiskers formerly was called Felemeg, Pisans and Venetians crossed the strait with soldiers on August 19." Niketas Khoniates, 122. It is understood from the work of Geoffroi Villehardouin, who was one of the authors of the period when Pisans clashed with other Latins: "This struggle and anxiety continued until the day increased; but with the help of God ours lost nothing but a loaded Pisa nave." Geoffroi Villehardouin, p.64.

Muslims here. Not content with North Africa, Pisa started to be effective in Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean with the beginning of the Crusade. The Pisans, who received privileges from both the Latin states and the Byzantine Empire, expanded their trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, when the privileges of these states are examined, one may see that the Republic of Pisa was in the background when compared to Venice and Genoa. Pisa was affected from the conflicts between the Guelph and Ghibellini that spread to many regions of Italy in the 13th century. This situation led to weakening of the republic in terms of commercial privileges compared to other Italian city-states. Although Pisa, which was weakened politically and economically, preserved its independence in the hands of Visconti until 1406, when the army led by Angelo Tartaglia and Muzio Attendolo Sforza captured the city in 15th century. It was connected to the Republic of Florence that had been center of Tuscany since 15th century. Since Pisa, which continued its existence under the Republic of Florence, lost power, the people there had migrated to other parts of Italy. Pisa could not regain its previous power between 11th century and 15th century and passed under the domination of France for a short time. Then it has been a part of the Kingdom of Italy until today.

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