

Pisa in the Middle Ages: the Dream and the Reality of an Empire

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Tra XI e XIII secolo Pisa allargò enormemente i confini del suo dominio, esercitando una forte influenza politica, culturale ed economica molto al di là del circuito delle mura o del contado. Creò (come anche Venezia e Genova) basi, empori e colonie in tutto il Mediterraneo, organizzò imprese belliche contro realtà politiche ostili, strappò a re e imperatori privilegi di ampia portata, stipulò trattati diplomatici e accordi commerciali con le città, gli emirati e le signorie che punteggiavano le coste del Mare Nostrum. Costruì quindi, in un certo senso, un “impero” e di questa sua particolare potenza fu consapevole al punto di assumere – nei comportamenti, nelle produzioni artistiche e architettoniche – modelli che si richiamavano all’antichità, a Roma e al Sacro Romano Impero.

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To speak of “Empire” in the Middle Ages normally means referring to specific geopolitical formations having well defined borders: the Byzantine Empire in the East and the Holy Roman Empire in the West, both heirs of the ancient Roman Empire; the first directly, the second as a result of the mixing of Roman and Germanic elements, which came about with the mediation of the Church.

If however the notion of Empire is extended from the restricted area of institutional history toward the wider world of economy, trade and navigation, many other ‘Empires’ come to mind: first of all those built by the great sea powers of the Middle Ages, Venice, Pisa and Genoa. These cities succeeded, between the 11th and the 12th centuries, in dominating trade between the eastern and the western part of the Mediterranean and in putting into circulation both necessary products (grain, salt) and luxury products (metals, wood, spices, cloth, slaves). They reached this result following two parallel strategies, which at times interfered with each other.

- a) armed expansion through autonomous military enterprises, piracy and participation in the Crusades;
- b) peaceful mercantile activity linked to diplomatic efforts, including the request for customs privileges, rights, warehouses, trading quarters and consulates in both the Christian and the Islamic states of North Africa and the Levant.

In one way or another the three powers extended the borders of their dominions greatly, exercising a strong political, cultural and economic influence far beyond the circuit of their city walls or the borders of their countryside. They created bases, emporia and colonies in the entire Mediterranean; they undertook military enterprises against hostile powers; they obtained important privileges from kings and emperors, they stipulated diplomatic treaties and commercial agreements with the cities, emirates and lordships scattered along the coasts of the *Mare Nostrum* [literally, Our Sea, the ancient Romans' way of referring to the Mediterranean].

Did they constitute true empires? From the strictly historical-institutional point of view, certainly not. However, many of the characteristics of these vast and articulated dominions, controlled by cities which were economically powerful and politically autonomous, make one think of formations which are similar to imperial constructions because of their breadth of action, their diplomatic strategies, and in some cases, for the political-cultural model to which they refer.

In medieval Pisa, for example, the affinity with the culture and politics of the Roman Empire of the German nation was consciously extremely strong, to such a point that according to Rudolf Borchardt (1938), the city actually tried to bring to life in reality, for the German Emperors, the dream of a Mediterranean (hence, for those times, universal) Empire. Pisa thus, in the view of this historian was "l'organo attraverso cui il cieco dominio tedesco era costretto a vedere l'Italia ...; il pilota, nelle cui mani doveva essere affidato il timone della nave, ogni qual volta che questa doveva avventurarsi in quelle minacciose acque straniere, piene di tempeste, insidie e false bonacce" [the organ through which the blind German dominion was forced to see Italy ...; the pilot in whose hands the helm of the ship had to be entrusted, whenever it had to venture into those threatening foreign waters, insidious, full of storms and false calms].

Today recent historiography has amply reconsidered and discussed the relations – not always peaceful and straightforward – that Pisa developed, in the course of the Middle Ages, with the German Emperors. Nonetheless, aside from the reservations and distinctions which recent studies have added to the picture, it is true that Pisa had an imperial dream, or rather, she showed clearly in some moments of her history the ambition of presenting herself to the world as the Mediterranean bulwark of the Empire, as the 'new Rome' of a dominion extending from Italy to Africa to the Middle East to Spain. This 'Roman-ness' of Pisa can be seen both in the political and diplomatic acts (treaties, diplomas and pacts) that she recreated, signed and obtained between the 11th and the 12th centuries, and in the artistic and architectural works that adorn her urban structure, as well as in the epigraphs in verses carved on the face of her Duomo [Cathedral] – and indeed the Duomo itself, symbol of a city that felt it had strength enough to dominate the world.

In order to understand how Pisa developed her power, and became conscious of it to such an extent that she could express her awareness in art, it is useful to remember that from very ancient times Pisa had a close relationship with the sea, as is demonstrated once again by the recent discovery of the remains of numerous ships in the site of an ancient landing point or harbor close to the city which was used from the 11th century B.C. to the 5th century A.D (Figs. 1-2). In the Middle Ages this link continued and was further reinforced thanks to the fact that Pisa was linked to the sea and to the hinterland by a system of navigable rivers and canals, on part of which small boats could travel, and along which there were various ports and landing places. The port system had in the Arno its main river axis and in Porto Pisano [Pisan Port] (on the coast south of Pisa) the most important connection with the open sea (Fig. 3). The nearness to the sea, the vitality of the port system and the existence, at least from the 10th century A.D., of a real fleet: these were among the principal factors which made possible, at the beginning of the 11th century, a true commercial and maritime “explosion”.

The military initiatives against the Saracens in Reggio Calabria (1005), in Sardegna (1015-16), in Bona (1034), in Palermo (1064), in the African ports of al-Mahdiya and Zawila (1087) and, finally, the joint participation of the Pisan and the Genoese fleets in the siege of Tortosa (1092) marked in fact not so much the stages of an expansion, but rather the shock waves of an explosion, which projected Pisa to the summit of the sea powers of the time [Sources 1-4]. Those initiatives gave rise to the admiration of contemporaries and, even more, of the Pisans themselves – to such an extent that they were remem-



Figs. 1-2
The excavation of the ancient ships, Pisa, 1999.

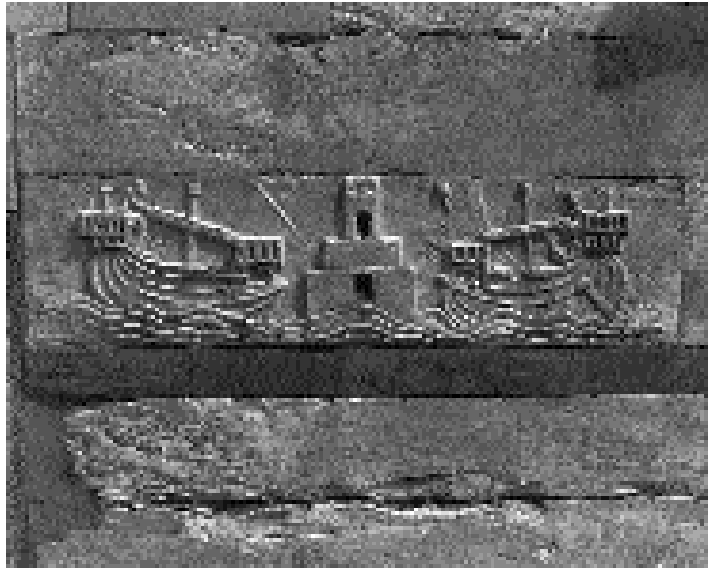


Fig. 3
Relief representing ships and
perhaps the port of Pisa, Tower

bered by chroniclers of the period, transcribed on parchment or rendered immortal by being sculpted onto the facade of the Duomo [Source 2].

The Duomo itself, built – and not by coincidence – thanks to the riches taken by the Pisans in the sack of the port of Palermo, is the symbol of Pisa’s projection towards the sea, of the link that the city established with numerous Mediterranean ports and with the various cultures they belonged to. In its architecture Piero Sanpaolesi finds an originality and a multiplicity of influences which cannot be ascribed to any single preceding model or preconceived scheme. In the cupola, “elemento formale e generatore dell’edificio [formal and generating element of the building]”, this scholar has seen a direct reference to the Byzantine churches; in the use of marble the link with the great architecture of Antiquity; in the enormous monolithic columns a clear statement of power comparable to that of the most important architectural civilization of the *Mare Nostrum*; in the facade influences from Spain, Africa, Byzantium, Catalonia and Provence (Fig.4).

Pisa expressed her image of power and her Mediterranean character not only in the Duomo, the heart and fulcrum of the city, but also in her urban structures and in the life that flowed through her port and her piazzas. We are informed about this by the impression that the city herself made on the travelers and the intellectuals of the time, such as the monk Donizone, author of the *Vita* [Life] of Matilde of Canossa. He noted in fact, with disappointment, the extreme ethnic diversity of the crowds in the city’s streets: “whoever goes to Pisa”, he wrote, “sees monsters that come from the sea, Pagans, Turks, Libians and even Parthians and dark Chaldeans going up and down along her shores”.

The Arab geographer and traveler al-Idrisi, in the service of king Roger of Sicily, noted instead in his diary that Pisa “has flourishing markets and well-inhabited houses, spacious streets and a broad countryside abundant with gardens [...]. Its state is powerful, the memories of its deeds terrible, high are its fortresses, fertile its lands, marvelous its monuments

[Sources 10-11]. Another great traveler of the time, the Jew Benjamin of Tudela, wrote in the middle of the 12th century that “Pisa is a very big city, with about two thousand houses with towers in order to fight in time of war” (Fig. 5).

The most curious piece of testimony, regarding not the actual extent of Pisan power, but rather the perception of this power that its citizens had, comes to us from an anonymous Venetian chronicle dedicated to the transportation of Saint Nicholas’ remains. According to that source as they navigated the Pisans even dared to “fly the imperial insignia” and they behaved “as if they were masters of the world” [Source 7].

We do not know in reality what ‘insignia’ were meant: whether those of the Byzantine Empire, for which Pisa perhaps was acting in that contingency, or rather those of the Holy Roman Empire. In any case, this way of behaving, arrogant and proud, “as if they were masters of the world”, tells us a lot about the awareness that Pisans had of their own importance and in particular of the network of relationships, colonies, emporia, ports and consulates they had woven along the coasts of the entire Mediterranean.

Let us observe them area by area.

In the creation of the ‘Mediterranean Empire’ the first phases of expansion, to the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, were of crucial importance. At the end of the summer of 1077, pope Gregory VII made Landolfo, the bishop of Pisa, papal legate in the island of Corsica; in 1091 the bishop Daiberto obtained the apostolic vicariate and then, on 21 April 1092, the rights as metropolitan over the dioceses of that island, transforming the bishopric of Pisa into an archbishopric or a ‘metropolis’. As to the Pisan presence in Sardinia the first swift phase was the above-mentioned expedition in 1015-16 against the Saracen “Musetto” (saqlab Mughaid); this was followed by Urban II’s naming the prelate of Pisa papal legate over the island’s bishops between 1088 and 1092 and the privilege of 1080-1085, with which the Pisans obtained friendship, security and exemp-

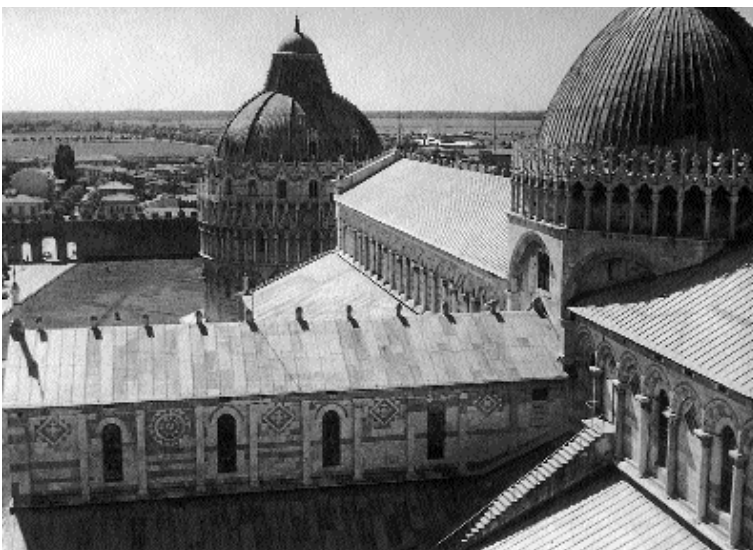


Fig. 4
The Duomo of Pisa. View from above, looking towards the sea.

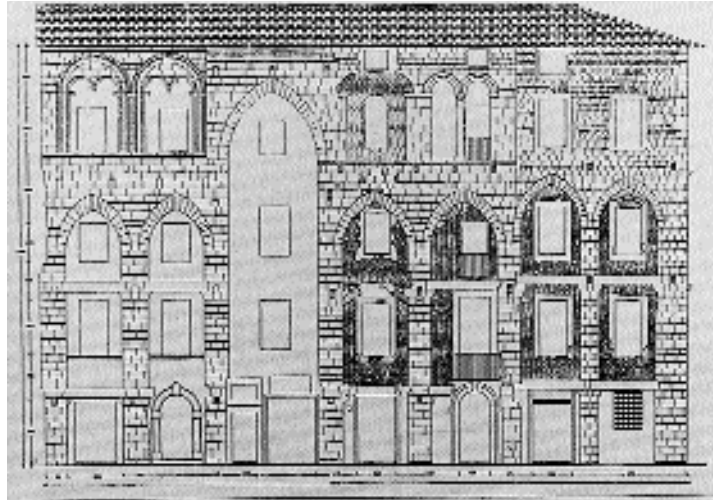


Fig. 5
A group of medieval tower houses in Via S. Maria, Pisa.

tion from commercial tribute from the ‘judge’ of Logudoro [one of the four rulers of Sardinia].

As to the Byzantine Empire and the Christian domains of the eastern Mediterranean, the turning point came on the occasion of the first Crusade (1096-1099). In fact, the Pisans participated in that enterprise in the autumn of 1098 with an imposing fleet of 120 ships under the spiritual guidance of the city’s archbishop Daiberto himself, who, staying in the Holy Land, became the Patriarch of Jerusalem [Sources 5-6]. In 1111 the Byzantine emperor Alexius I (1081-1118), ending the conflicts which until then had characterized relations with the Pisans, with an imperial privilege conceded to them an area of the city and a church in Constantinople, a wharf in the port, particular privileges, exemptions and fiscal facilitations, as well as reserved places inside the church of Saint Sophia. Further privileges and gifts were granted by John II (1118-1143).

In the areas conquered by the crusaders Pisan penetration can be seen particularly in the second half of the 12th century, when the city’s army participated in a decisive way in the efforts to recover lost territories and the Commune of Pisa received various privileges from the kings of Jerusalem as a reward.

The Tuscan city had even closer links directly with the “Infidels”, however, than with the Christian domains in the east. After the conflicts during the course of the 11th century, Pisa soon began to establish peaceful commercial relations with the Islamic ports of northern Africa and Spain, signing commercial agreements with princes and local officials. The first embassy sent to Pisa by the king of Morocco goes back to 1133; it was followed by a treaty of friendship and trade between Pisa and the Almoravide sultan, the emir of Tlemcen and the *cadi* Meimun. In the middle of the 12th century an agreement between Pisa and Genoa and the Muslim king of Valencia – who ruled over Denia and Murcia too – was signed. According to the treaty, Pisans and Genoese would no longer have to pay customs on merchandise and they were to have, free of charge, a *fondaco* [a warehouse and living compound for merchants] and a bath in Valencia and Denia.

A famous Pisan and a personality who symbolizes the strong link that Pisa long maintained with the Arab world is Leonardo Fibonacci, the great medieval mathematician who introduced Arabic numbers to the west. Leonardo learned about them and particularly realized the importance of the use of zero, during his stay in Bugie, in Tunisia, where his father was working from 1201 as a public scribe for Pisan merchants.

As regards Catalonia and Provence, the links are usually described as beginning with the impressive and fortunate naval and military enterprise in the Balearic islands in 1113-1115. At this time the Pisans allied themselves with Raymond Berenguer III, count of Barcelona, and with the principal lords of southern France (William VI of Montpellier, Aimeric of Narbonne, the lords of Arles, Rousillon, Béziers, Nîmes) for the conquest of the Balearic islands, which were governed by the Saracens. The Pisan fleet sailed in August 1113; in September it reached Catalonia where it stayed all winter. In June 1114 the armada went to Ibiza, conquering it in August. The siege of Majorca followed and continued until April 1115. Although the victory did not last long, because shortly afterwards the islands were re-conquered by the Almoravides, the enterprise made a great impression on the people of the time, to the point of being celebrated in elegant verse in the *Liber Maiorichinus* [Book of Majorca]. That poetic chronicle shows without doubt that the author, anonymous and contemporary to the events, had a profound knowledge of the powerful of the Occitan and Catalan territories, certainly a knowledge gained before the campaign, not the fruit of the brief episode of the conquest itself alone [Source 9]. On that occasion, in any case, the Pisans were able to exploit adroitly their close relations with the local potentates and particularly their fleet's stay in Catalonian waters through the winter. We read in fact that, while the fleet was wintering in Catalonia, many Pisan and Tuscan knights crossed *illos quos habuisse datur supra Provincia fines* [the borders of Provence] and went into the French lands, some reaching the banks of the Rhone: "many go to Nîmes, many to Arles, in every place they find devout and hospitable people, who receive and care for the Pisans with marvelous affection". It seems clear that the Pisans made good use of the time they were forced to spend waiting: they wove links with the French-Catalonian territories and in particular with the cities connected with the great river artery of the Rhone. They did not ignore Marseilles either. When in April 1114 Pisa sent eighty ships to assist the expedition, the ships reached Catalonia by navigating along the Provençal coast; they stayed for a time in the port of Marseilles, and here the fleet stopped over once again during the return journey. At that time Pisans that had been killed during the expedition were buried in the Monastery of Saint Victoire.

The enterprise narrated by the *Liber Maiorichinus*, hence, was not at all a rashly decided action towards an unknown land. The verses of the *Liber* demonstrate exactly the contrary, that is, that the enterprise had been planned with care, taking into account all the forces available and as Rossi Sabatini states, "that already before 1113 the merchants of Pisa were used to frequenting those lands". This is proved not so much by the interpretations of the poetical text of the *Liber*, which may be ambiguous, as by the treaty stipulated in 1113 at Saint Felix of Guixoles between the Pisans and the count of Barcelona and Provence, Raymond Berenguer III, practically the day after the Pisan fleet reached the Spanish coast. The document shows in fact clearly the presence of pre-existing Pisan commercial interests in the Provençal ports of Arles and Saint-Gilles [Source 8].

In the first half of the 12th century Pisa had become one of the greatest Christian powers (with Genoa and Venice) in the Mediterranean. In the meantime, with the impulse given by the common interest involved in the anti-Saracen enterprises and in the development of trade, the Commune, the communal organization of the city was instituted. It was one of the first documented in Italy (the consuls in fact are mentioned in the years 1080-1085). First military expansion, and then intense mercantile and diplomatic activity also led to the elaboration of customary laws on navigation and trade which were employed by merchants and ship-owners to regulate controversies with the countries touched by their convoys (laws on shipwreck, reappraisal, confiscation, increases in customs duties). Documented from 1081, when the emperor Henry IV recognized – along with other privileges – the Pisans' *consuetudines quas habent de mari* [customary norms which they have regarding the sea], those norms before 1160 had been codified and transcribed on parchment by local experts in law (*iurisperiti*), thus forming the *Constitutus usus*. This codex, along with the *Constitutus legis* – a parallel and contemporary collection of norms of Roman law – are considered fundamental texts of Italian municipal law, precocious as to the epoch and, in the words of the legal historian Claudia Storti Storchi “estremamente evoluti sotto il profilo della tecnica legislativa” [very highly evolved from the technical legislative point of view], and in which “fu elaborato un nuovo sistema, nel quale la città assunse autonomamente la titolarità della funzione legislativa” [a new system was elaborated, in which the city autonomously assumed entitlement to the legislative function].

A clear and important sign of the ever more numerous and regular commercial and diplomatic relations between Pisa and the ports of the Mediterranean was without doubt the constitution in the ports of organized bases on the part of the Pisan merchant community. Normally the first step was acquiring a *domus* [home] or a *fondaco*, to which might be annexed a church, a bakery, streets and lands; at the same time, or in some cases somewhat later, in general a consul was elected, a sign of the development of the foreign presence in the host city into an organized community governed by its own representatives and regulated internally by specific laws. The appearance of Pisan ‘colonies’, both in the Christian kingdoms of the East and in the Islamic domains of north Africa and of the Iberian peninsula, or of coastal and continental Europe, is, obviously, a very interesting phenomenon for historians. The geographical position and the rhythm at which these organisms appear gives us in fact a series of indications about the strength of the Pisan mercantile-entrepreneurial group and on the places where the merchants tended to concentrate their commercial activities or to create bases in order to reach other destinations.

The dominion over the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and the consequent strong Pisan presence in the western Mediterranean, gave rise in the first half of the 12th century to a growing rivalry between Pisa and Genoa – a city endowed with a powerful fleet and equally strong commercial interests in all the ports of the *Mare Nostrum*. In the development of this conflict, which marked the entire 12th and 13th centuries more or less intensely, Pisa broke away to a certain extent from the Church of Rome (although they had been close allies until the middle of the 13th century) and, in parallel, she drew decidedly closer to the Holy Roman Empire, in which she saw new possibilities for expansion. The link became particularly strong with Frederick Barbarossa, and with the military support that Pisa gave to his aim of restoring imperial authority in the *Regnum Italicum* [Italic Kingdom].

This consonance of aims subsequently was confirmed with Barbarossa's grandson Frederick II as well, thus determining, on one hand, a sharp Ghibelline (in this context, pro-imperial) loyalty in the city in contrast to the rather different orientation of most Tuscan cities, and on the other hand, a progressive accentuation of Pisa's political isolation, as implementing the imperial strategies met with serious obstacles.

The difficulties of the Ghibelline front did not make the city change its route; rather, at the death of Frederick II (1250) and of Conrad IV (1254) she elaborated a political project which says a lot about how strongly Pisa was convinced that she was the bulwark and the heir of the imperial idea. Because the death of the two emperors had left the throne vacant and deprived the Ghibelline forces of Italy of a reference point, in 1256 Pisa decided to find a new Emperor by herself, and once chosen, proceeded to elect him. At the beginning the Pisans thought of Brancaloneone degli Andalò, the Senator of Rome, probably because they considered that "the essence itself of power, the *imperium*, had reverted to the Roman people, and this – in the person of its 'dictator' – was by natural dignity destined to resolve such conflicts" (Dupré Theseider). Subsequently the ideal candidate was identified in the person of Alfonso X of Castile, known as "el Sabio" [the Wise] because of his literary and scientific interests; he was a descendant through his mother of Philip of Swabia. In agreement with Marseilles, Pisa asked him for concrete military assistance and attributed him the title of Emperor with a "very singular" procedure (Emilio Cristiani). In fact, the Pisan ambassador himself, the noble Bandino Lancia dei Casalei, "elected and called" Alfonso king and emperor of the Romans and invested him "with the cross and the sword", at the same time swearing obedience in the name of the city of Pisa [Sources 12].

Bandino was a very significant figure in the ruling élite in Pisa: he had had an important role in defining the relations between Pisa and the nobles of Corvaia and Vallecchia, and was among the group of legal experts who had revised and corrected the *Constitutus Usus*. He was the most appropriate person, a noble, a diplomat with broad experience and an expert in law, to handle something so delicate as an imperial election.

Along with the investiture proper and the oath of fidelity offered to the new emperor, precise agreements were signed. Alfonso confirmed the imperial privileges that the city had obtained in the past and promised to protect the Commune's territory by sending Pisa a captain along with a *magna militum comitiva* [a large military force] of at least five hundred armoured men and crossbowmen to defend her from the Florentines, the Genoese and the Lucchese. When Alfonso had taken possession of the Kingdom of Sicily, the Pisans were to be able to trade there freely and to have *fondachi* and shops under the authority of their own consuls. The same concessions were to be repeated if, with the help of Pisa, Alfonso succeeded in conquering the *Garbo* or *Africa*. Alfonso also promised to favour the agreement between Pisa and Marseilles, to extend the Pisan dominions once Tuscany had been conquered, to try to get the papal interdict against Pisa lifted, and to get France, England, Navarre, Portugal and Granada to expel Pisa's enemies from their territories. Pisa, on her side, guaranteed that she would provide Alfonso with ten galleys for four months at her own expense and make available other ships for a longer period at the expense of the sovereign. Pisa, moreover, obtained with the symbolic acceptance of the imperial reign, further broad concessions in the field of trade: to the Pisans, *karissimi fideles* [dearest faithful, that is, supporters], it was permitted to move freely in the whole kingdom without being

subject to any tax or custom duty; they could be governed by their own consuls, have an adequate number of *fondachi* and shops and receive protection from all the imperial officials. The imperial privilege, extended to the citizens of Pisa and to all those who declared they were Pisans or would declare themselves to be Pisans in the future, was made visually evident by the royal banner hoisted beside the Pisan flag on the Tuscan city's vessels.

The investiture, as we know, did not have the desired effect: Alfonso never succeeded in reaching Rome for the coronation, and Pisa was put into serious difficulty by an alliance between Florence, Lucca and Genoa. The entire affair, however, gives a very clear indication of how strong the idea still was, in the city's culture and mentality, that she was tightly linked to the empire, and was, in a certain sense, not so much the heir as the guarantor of the imperial traditions, rules and laws.

For Pisa hence it was definitely very important to fly the imperial insignia on her ships. Those flags however did not protect her during the Battle of the Meloria, in which she was defeated by Genoa and her fleet and her nobility destroyed (1284). After that date Pisa continued to cultivate the same diplomatic and commercial relations as in the past, but without the same energy, strength and arrogance as before. The imperial dream had been interrupted.



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(The sources in part are taken from the anthology of written sources *Pisa e il Mediterraneo*, chosen by C. Renzi Rizzo and M. Campopiano with a preface by M. Tangheroni, which can be found on line at: <http://www.humnet.unipi.it/medievistica/didattica/disp2002.pdf>)

1. Testimony from *Annales Pisani* [Pisan Annals] (a.a.970-1087).

B. Maragonis, *Annales pisani a.1004-1175*, (Pertz K., ed.), in *MGH, Scriptores*, 19, Hannoverae, 1861/1963, pp. 236-2; Cf. *Gli Annales Pisani di Bernardo Maragone*, Gentile M.L. (ed.), in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, n.e., VI/2, Bologna 1930, pp. 4-7.

1005. *Fuit capta Pisa a Saracenis.*

1005 Pisa was taken by the Saracens.

1006. *Fecerunt Pisani bellum cum Saracenis ad Regjum, et gratia Dei vicerunt illos in die Sancti Sixti.*

1006 The Pisans went to war against the Saracens of Reggio (Calabria) and, with the grace of God, they were victorious on Saint Sixtus' day.

1012. *Stolus de Ispania venit Pisas, et destruxit eam.*

1012 From Spain an expedition reached Pisa and destroyed her.

1016. *Fecerunt Pisani et lanuenses bellum cum Mugieto in Sardineam, et gratia Dei vicerunt illum.*

1016 The Pisans and the Genoese made war against Musetto in Sardinia and, with the grace of God, they were victorious over him.

1030. *In nativitate Domini Pisa exusta est.*

1030 The day of the Nativity of the Lord Pisa was burned.

1035. *Pisani fecerunt stolum in Africam ad civitatem Bonam: gratia dei vicerunt illos.*

1035 The Pisans organised an expedition against the city of Bona in Africa and, with the grace of God, they defeated its inhabitants.

1063. *Pisani fuerunt Panormiam; gratia Dei vicerunt illos in die Sancti Agapiti. Constructa est ecclesia beate Marie virginis Pisane civitatis.*

1078 *Ianuensis stolis usque ad fauces Arni occulte devenit. Tunc strenui Pisani concite in eos surrexerunt et fugaverunt illos usque ad Venerem portum. Hoc factum est in die Sancti Cassiani.*

1088. *Fecerunt Pisani et Ianuenses stolum in Africa, et ceperunt duas munitissimas civitates, Almadiam et Sibiliam, in die Sancti Sixti. In quo bello Ugo vicecomes, filius Ugonis vicecomitis, mortuus fuit. Ex quibus civitatibus, Saracenis fere omnibus interfectis, maxima predam auri, argenti, palliorum et eramentorum abstraxerunt. De qua preda tesaurus Pisane ecclesie in diversis ornamentis mirabiliter amplificaverunt, et ecclesiam beati Sixti in Curte Veteri edificaverunt.*

1063 The Pisans went to Palermo, with the grace of God, they defeated the inhabitants on Saint Agapitus' day. In the city of Pisa the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary was built.

1078 An expedition of Genoese came secretly to the mouth of the Arno. Then the valient Pisans rebelled and they made them flee to Porto Venere. That happened on Saint Cassianus' Day.

1088 The Pisans and the Genoese organized an expedition towards Africa and conquered two strongly fortified cities, al-Mahdiya and Zawila, on Saint Sixtus' Day. In this war Ugo viscount, son of Ugo viscount, died. From the city, once almost all the Saracens had been slain, they took away an enormous booty of gold, silver and cloth. With that booty the Pisans increased marvellously the treasures of the Cathedral with diverse ornaments and they built the church of Saint Sixtus in Cortevicchia.

2. The expedition against Palermo (1064): excerpt from an epigraph from the Duomo (c. mid 12th century).

O. Banti (ed.), *Monumenta epigraphica pisana saeculi XV antiquiora*, Pisa 2000, pp. 47-48.

ANNO QUO XP(istu)S DE VIRGINE NATUS AB ILLO TRANSIERANT MILLE DECIES SEX TRESQ(ue) SUB INDE / PISANI CIVES CELEBRI VIRTUTE POTENTES ISTIUS ECCL(esi)E PRIMORDIA DANTUR INISSE / ANNO QUO SICULAS EST STOLUS FACTUS AD ORAS Q(uo)D SIMUL ARMATI MULTA CUM CLASSE PROPECTI / OM(ne)S MAIORES MEDII PARITERQUE MINORES INTENDERE VIAM PRIMA(m) SUB SORTE PANORMA(m)

It is handed down that the Pisan citizens, powerful with famous virtue, began this Church when one thousand sixty-three years had passed from the birth of Christ from the Virgin. And in that same year the military expedition against the Sicilian coast was made, with which all together, the least as well as the most important and the middling, having sailed armed with a numerous fleet, they aimed towards the first objective indicated by fortune: Palermo.

3. The expedition against Palermo: a Norman source (1063).

Amato di Montecassino, *Storia de' Normanni volgarizzata in antico francese*, De Bartholomaeis V. (ed.), in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia pubblicate dall'Istituto Storico Italiano*, 76, Roma 1935, pp. 255-256.

En celui temps, quant lo Duc se combatoit pour prendre la cité de Bar [sic, but Palermo], demanda et requist l'ajutorie de cil de Pise (...). Et appareillerent li Pisen lor nef, et diverses compaigniez de chevaliers et de arbaestiers; et, navigande par la mer, droitement vindrent à la cité. Et coment venirent, rompirent la chaine, laquelle desfendoit lo intrer et lo issir de nef de li anemis. Part de li Pisain estoient en terre et part en remanirent as nef, à ce que par terre et par mer feissent brigue à la cité.

In that time, when the Duke was fighting to conquer the city of Palermo, he asked for the help of those of Pisa (...) And the Pisans and their ships and different squadrons of knights and crossbowmen appeared, and navigating by sea, came directly to the city. As soon as they

arrived, they broke the chain that defended the entrance and exit by enemy ships. Part of the Pisans landed and part remained on board, so that the city was attacked by land and by sea.

4. Testimony of an Arab historian on the enterprise of Al Mahdia.

Ibn Al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil at tawārīkh*, in Amari M., *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, Torino-Roma 1880, I, pp. 440-441.

Year 481 (27 March 1088-15 March 1089).

How the Rûm took the city of Zawilah and then retreated from it. This year the Rûm captured the city of Zawilah in Affrica [proper] near Al Mahdīah. The cause was that the emir Tamîm ibn al Mu'izz ibn Bâdīs, prince of the country, often made sea raids against the Rûm, laying waste the country and disturbing the populations. Gathered together then the Rûm from all over, they decided to build *shinî* (galleys) in order to make war in Al Mahdīah. Into this league the Pisans and the Genoese entered, both of whom are Franks [by nation]. For four years they prepared the armada, which gathered at the island of Pantelleria: which were four hundred ships. The [Muslims] of Pantelleria, by a dispatch sent by dove, sent word of the arrival of the ships and of their number, and how they had occupied the island. Tamîm thought he would send out against the enemy 'Utmân ibn Sa'îd, known as Al Muhaddab, capitain of his fleet, so as to prevent the enemies' landing [on the coast of Africa]. From this plan he was dissuaded by one of his captains, by name 'Abd Allah ibn Mankût, enemy of Al Muhaddab. Thus, when the Rûm arrived, they lowered the anchor, they disembarked, they sacked, demolished, burned the areas outside the walls, and they entered into Zawilah, which they sacked. The armies of Tamin were far away, fighting against the rebels who refused to obey his authority. For which reason he made peace with the Rûm, paying them [a bounty of] thirty thousand *dīnâr*, and giving back all the prisoners that the Muslims had gathered [in that city].

5. The departure of the Pisans towards the Holy Land, from the *Gesta triumphalia* (1099).

M. Lupo Gentile (ed.), *Gesta triumphalia per pisanos facta de captione Hierusalem et civitatis maioricarum et aliarum civitatum et de triumpho habito contra lanuenses*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, n.e., VI/2, Bologna 1930, pp 89-90.

Anno igitur Dominice Incarn. Millesimo nonagesimo nono, Ecclesie Romane presidente D. Papa Urbano II, Pisanus populus in navibus centum viginti ad liberandam Ierusalem de manibus Paganorum profectus est, quorum rector et ductor Daibertus Pis. Urbis Archiep. Extitit, qui postea Ierosolimis factus Patriarcha remansit. Proficiscendo vero Lucatam et Cefaloniam urbes fortissimas expugnantes expoliaverunt, quoniam Ierosolimitanum iter impedire consueverant. In eodem autem itinere Pisanus exercitus Maidam, urbem fortissimam, cepit et Laudociam cum Boamundo et Gibellum cum ipso et Raimundo Comite S. Egidii obsedit. Inde igitur digressi, venerunt Ierosolimam, que anno millesimo centesimo a Christianis capta fuit et retenta fuit (...).

In the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1099 (or 1098), at the time of the papacy of Urban II, the Pisan people with 120 ships departed to free Jerusalem from the hands of the Pagans; the rector and guide was Daiberto, archbishop of Pisa, who then stayed in Jerusalem as Patriarch.

When they reached the very strong cities of Corfû and Cefalonia they overwhelmed and despoiled them, because they used to hinder pilgrimages. In the same voyage the Pisan army conquered Maida, a very strong city, and attacked Laodicea with Bohemund (of Taranto) and Gibello with Bohemund and Raymond count of Saint-Gilles. Finally [the Pisans] reached Jerusalem, that in 1100 (or in 1099) was conquered (...).

6. The voyage of the Pisan fleet towards the Holy Land according to the Byzantine Anna Comnena (1099).

Anna Comnena, *Alexiade «regne de le l'empereur Alexis I Comnene, 1081-1118»*, B. Leib (ed.), Paris 1967-1976, pp. 41-44.

ἀξέφρατος στόλος· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῆς Ῥόδου ἔρπον. Καὶ παρε-
 χρήμα λούουσαι τὰ τρυφήσια θήματα τοῦτοις καταβίβου
 μεταξὺ Πατρῶν καὶ Ῥόδου. Τοῦτοις δ' οἱ Πισωταὶ δια-
 σάμναι μάχην παρατίνα σχήμα διατυπώσαντες πρὸς μάχην
 καὶ τὰ ἔλαση μόνη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς καρδίαις ἔβηγον. Ἐπισημα-
 λυδόντες δὲ τῶν βασιλέων στόλου κόρης τις τυλοπανήφειας
 Παρχίτης καλοῦμενος καλαχῶν ἔβριστα ἐπιστρέφοντι, ὡς
 ταύτους ἀπέκοντο, ταῖς κόραις τὴν ἑὴν παρῶσαις μνήρας
 ὡς εἶχε κατ' αὐτῶν ἔσται. Καὶ διὰ μέσου ταύτων ὡς τῶν
 διαβίβου εἰς τὸν βασιλέων κῆρας ἐπιστρέφουσι στόλον. Ἡ
 Ὁ μόντοι βασιλεῖς στόλος οὐκ ἀνάστατος τῆς μετὰ τῶν
 Πισωτῶν μάχης ἀπεπάρητο, ἀλλ' ὄξυς καὶ ἀνευτάτως
 τοῦτοις προσέβαλε. Καὶ αὐτῆς δὲ ὁ Αἰνυτῆρος, πρῶτος
 προστάτης τῆς ποσειδῶντος κῆρας, ἔσχευε τὰ τῶν ἔλαση
 καὶ εὐδὲν τὰ κῆρας εὐφρόνιστο τῶν πορῶν ἐπιβουδόντων. Ὁ
 δὲ λαγύμενος Ἐλαίρων κόρης, ἀναπαύωντος μεγίστου πῦλας
 κατὰ πρῶτον προσβόλον, ταῖς κηρύλλαις ταύτων περι-
 τποὴν καὶ μὴ ἀγχαρῶς ἔχον ἑαυτὸν διακλύουσαν, κατε-
 σχῆθη ἂν αἰ μὴ γοργῆς πρὸς τῆς σκυρῆς ἀπαῖδα καὶ τῶν
 κατ' αὐτῶν ἀφῆς εὐκ ἔσχευε ἔλαση. Ἐπὶ τῆν νοῦν ἐπὶ
 δάναρα γοργῆς μεταφέρων καὶ ἑτέρας παραχρήμα ταῖς
 μεγίστους ἀπαρτῆσαι τῶν βασιλέων νοῦς. Ἐπὶ δ' ἄρα καὶ
 συστροφῇ ἀπέμου τῆς βάλαντος ἄβρον ἀναπαύουσαν δια-
 τάραιτα τῆς τῶν νοῦς συστροφῆς καὶ μόνου ὀβυλλῶν ἡταί-
 λαι (ἀρροχθῆναι γὰρ τὸ κῆμα, ἀνατρέφουσαι αἰ κῆραι τὰ ἔ-
 λαια διαρροχθῶντα), ἀκλαματῶντας αἰ βασιλεῖς τὸ μὲν
 διὰ τὸ παρατάμενος τῶν (οὐδὲ γὰρ θάλασσας ἦσαν τοιοῦτων
 σκυρῶν ἢ τῶν πορῶν ἦσαν μὲν φῶσαι τῆν φερῶν ἔχοντας, παρ-
 πομένου δ' ἄρ' ἡ βολῆται ὁ πέμπτον κατὰ τὰ τὸ κῆρας
 πῦλλαις καὶ ἄρ' ἑτέρας), τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων κῆ-
 δοντες ἀγχαρῶντας τὸν νοῦν φεγυδαίας ἔφρατο. Ἡ Ὅτι
 μὲν εὐν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων· ὁ δὲ τοὶ βασιλεῖς στόλος ἡσι-
 βῆσται πρῶτον κῆρας κῆρας τῶν καλοῦμενος Παρῶν.
 Ἀγχαρῶντας δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνάρωντας τῆς Ῥόδου
 προσάρματων. Τῶν κῆρας εὐν ἀποβάντας καὶ ἀγχαρῶντας
 κῆρας ἔβριστα κατεσχῆναι καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τὸν νοῦν βασιλέωντος
 ἀκλαματῶντας, ἀκλαματῶντας αὐτῶν ὡς μῆλλοντας τῆς
 κῆρας ἀναπαύωντας ἢ κατεφῶντας. Ὅτι δὲ ἀναπαύων-
 τας πρὸς τῶν κῆρας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀναπαύωντας ὡς
 εὐδὲν τιβαμένους, αὐτῶν ἔβριστα παρατάμενος κῆρας,

τάρματα τὰς τῆς θαλῆς οὐκ ἐπέβη καὶ μεσοῦθ' ἐβίβησαν ἑταί-
 ραι (ἀρράχθαι γὰρ τὸ κῆρυ, ἀπεργασθῆναι αἰ. κρηαίαι τὰ ὅ-
 λωτα διαρρήγνυσθαι), ἀδελφικωτέρως δὲ βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν
 εἶς τὸ περιττότερον τῆς (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀβάδαι ἦσαν ταύτων
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ τὸς ἑκα μὲν φέροι τῆς φερῶν ἔχοντος, πεμ-
 πομένης δ' ἄρ' ἢ βούλονται ἢ ταύτων κατὰ τὰ πρῶτος
 κολλήσας καὶ ἄρ' ἑκάστη), τὸ δὲ εἶπε τοῦ θαλασπίου κλύ-
 δανος συγγενῆς τῶν τοῦν φηγάδαιος ἦσαντο. Ἡ Οὐκ
 μὲν εἶπε τὸ τῶν ἐπαύρων ὁ δὲ τῶν βαρβαρῶν ἐτάλλε κρη-
 σίη τῶν προέβησαν οὐκ ἔστι πῶς κελουμένην Ἰαυλίη.
 Ἀθναζόστας δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπέβη ἀπέρωνος τῆ Ἰαυλίη
 προσφύρατος. Τῶν γὰρ εἶπε ἀπέρωνος καὶ ἐξαργύρωνος
 βουῆς ἐφθάσαν καταπολεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν τοῦ βασιλευμένου
 ἀδελφίον, ἀδελφικωτέρως αὐτὸς ἄς μέλλοντος τῆς
 πάντως ἀπεργασθῆναι ἢ καταφύρατος. Ὡς δὲ ἀκαταπλη-
 ρῶν τῶν τῶν ἀπέρων αὐτὸς καὶ τῆ ἀκαταπλη-
 ρῶν τῶν τῶν ἀπέρων αὐτὸς καὶ τῆ ἀκαταπλη-

When the Franks moved out of Jerusalem to take the cities of Syria, they promised the Bishop of Pisa [*=The Archbishop of Pisa, Daimbert] large rewards, if he would assist them in their proposed object. He agreed to their request and stirred up two others who dwelt on the coast to do the same; and then without any delay equipped biremes and triremes and ‘dromones’ and other fast-sailing ships amounting to nine hundred and sailed forth to meet them. He detached a number of the ships and sent them to pillage Corfu, Leucas, Cephalenia and Zacynthus. On hearing this the Emperor ordered ships to be furnished by all the countries under the Roman sway. He had a number built in the capital itself and would at intervals go round in a monoreme and instruct the shipwrights how to make them. As he knew that the Pisans were skilled in sea warfare and dreaded a battle with them, on the prow of each ship he had a head fixed of a lion or other land-animal, made in brass or iron with the mouth open and then gilded over, so that their mere aspect was terrifying. And the fire which was to be directed against the enemy through tubes he made to pass through the mouths of the beasts, so that it seemed as if the lions and the other similar monsters were vomiting the fire. In this manner then these ships were prepared; he next sent for Taticius, newly returned from Antioch, and gave him these ships and named him their supreme head. But the whole fleet he put under the command of Landulph and raised him to the dignity of Great Duke, as he was the most experienced in naval warfare. They left the capital in the course of the month of April and sailed to Samos with the Roman fleet. There they disembarked and hauled the ships up on land in order to make them stronger and more durable by tarring them over. But when they heard that the Pisan fleet had sailed past, they heaved up their anchors and hurried after them towards Cos; and reached that island in the evening while the Pisans had reached it in the morning. As they did not meet the Pisans they sailed to Cnidus which lies on the Eastern Continent. On arriving there, although they missed their prey, yet they found a few Pisans who had been left behind and enquired of them whither the Pisan fleet had gone, and they answered to Rhodes. So they immediately loosed their cables and soon overtook them between Patara and Rhodes. When the Pisans caught sight of them they speedily arranged their fleet in battle-order and whetted their minds, as well as their swords, for the fray. As the Roman fleet was drawing near, a certain Peloponnesian count, Perichytes by name, and a very expert navigator, had his ship of a single bank of oars rowed very quickly against the Pisans directly he saw them;

and he passed right through the midst of them like fire, and then returned to the Roman fleet. The Roman fleet however did not venture upon a regular sea-battle with the Pisans, but made a series of swift, irregular attacks upon them. Landulph himself, first of all, drew close to the Pisan ships and threw fire at them, but aimed badly and thus accomplished nothing but wasting his fire. Then the man called Count Eleemon very boldly attacked the largest vessel at the stern, but got entangled in its rudders, and as he could not free himself easily he would have been taken, had he not with great presence of mind had recourse to his machine and poured fire upon the enemy very successfully. Then he quickly turned his ship round and set fire on the spot to three more of the largest barbarian ships. At the same moment a squall of wind suddenly struck the sea and churned it up and dashed the ships together and almost threatened to sink them (for the waves roared, the yardarms creaked and the sails were split). The barbarians now became thoroughly alarmed, firstly because of the fire directed upon them (for they were not accustomed to that kind of machine, nor to a fire, which naturally flames upwards, but in this case was directed in whatever direction the sender desired, often downwards or laterally) and secondly they were much upset by the storm, and consequently they fled. That is what the barbarians did. The Roman fleet for its part ran to a little island, locally called Seutilus, and when day dawned sailed away from there and entered the harbour of Rhodes. There they disembarked and led out all the prisoners they had succeeded in taking, amongst them Bohemund's nephew, and tried to frighten them by saying they would either sell them as slaves or kill them. As they noticed the prisoners were quite unmoved by these threats and thought nothing of slavery, they slaughtered them all on the spot.

7. A clash between the Venetian and the Pisan fleets from a Venetian source (1100).

Monachi Anonymi Littorensis, *Historia de translatione Sanctorum Magni Nicolai, terra marique miraculis gloriosi, ejusdem avunculi, alterius Nicolai, Theodorique, martyris pretiosi, de civitate Mirea in Monasterium S. Nicolai de littore Venetiarum*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, V, Paris 1895, pp. 257-259.

(...) Omnibus ergo cunctis et in servitio Dei confirmatis, nuntiatum est Pisanorum classem adesse contra eos, armatam et praeparatam in praelium, qui in tantum superbiae fastum ascenderant, quod navim imperialem et signa imperialia sibi fecerant, et seipsos totum mundum devincentes appellabant.

It became known that a fleet of Pisans was moving against them, armed and prepared for battle; they [the Pisans] had risen to such arrogance dictated by pride that they had placed the imperial symbols on their ships and they declared themselves masters of the whole world.

8. Treaty of alliance between the count of Barcelona Raymond Berenguer III and the Pisans (1113).

Original in the Archivio di Stato [State Archives] of Pisa, *Diplomatico Atti pubblici* 1233 August 8; Salvatori E. (ed.), *"Boni amici et vicini". Le relazioni tra Pisa e le città della Francia meridionale dall'XI secolo agli inizi del XIV*, Pisa, GISEM-ETS, 2002, appendix n. 26.

(...) prenominateus prestantissimus comes Pisanis, causa corroborande societatis et amicitie, concessit ut, quocienscumque ipsi Pisani vel aliquis ex Pisano populo per terram vel per mare nobilissimi comitis negociatum alioque modo deambulaverint, salve persone cum avere in Arelatensi civitate et in burgo Sancti Egidii, et per totam suam virtutem et forzam, quam habet vel in antea acquisierit, vadant atque morentur, et nullus census nullusque redditus, quem vulgo usagium appellant, qui sibi pertinet, neque in Arelatensi civitate, neque in burgo Sancti Egidii, neque per totam eius virtutem vel forzam, quam habet vel in antea acquisierit, alicui Pisano queratur.

The aforesaid renowned count, to give vigor to the partnership and friendship [just stipulated] granted to the Pisans to be able to go and live in the city of Arles and in the town of Saint-Gilles

and in the entire territory placed now and in the future under the jurisdiction of the count, secure in their persons and in their goods, whenever those same Pisans or others of the Pisan people frequented by sea or by land the markets of the very noble count, and [he granted furthermore] that from no Pisan would any tax (census) or payment, commonly called 'usage' (usagium), be requested, that is due to the count, or to the city of Arles, or to the town of Saint-Gilles or in the entire territory placed now and in the future under the jurisdiction of the count.

9. A passage from the *Liber Maiorichinus*, an epic poem about the expedition of Pisa to the Balearic Islands (1113-1115).

C. Calisse (ed.), *Liber Maiorichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, "Fonti per la Storia d'Italia", Roma 1904, vv. 427-444.

Dumque premunt lacrimas, Pesulani montis alumpnus / cum sociis centum Vilielmus castra subnitrat, / Armigeris ratibus vectis turbaque pedestri, / Quos quasi viginti duxere per equora naves. / Ast Aimelricus generosa stirpe creatus Quem Nerbona colit dominum patremque ducemque, / Viginti vitreas fertur duxisse per undas / Naves, et celeri venisse per equora cursu. / Hos quoque Raimundus, cui Balcius extat origo, / Cui solitos Arelas impendere certat honores, / Atque secus Rhodanum castris reperitur et arvis / Dives, consequitur, laudato milite plenas / Ducens septenas undosa per equora puppes; Raimundus sacrista potens, et strenuus actu, / Militie titulis et qui fulgent Arelate / Cum propriis totidem vitreas venere per undas. Tale Rusilium proceres lateque Biterre / Et cum Nemausis Provincia tota sequuntur.

While they held back their tears, William, of the progeny of Montpellier, with one hundred well armed companions and a host of footsoldiers reached camp, they took them by sea about twenty ships. Aimeric too, of noble birth, that Narbonne honours as lord, father and guide, led on the crystal waves about twenty ships, arriving by the swift sea route. Raymond, native of Baux, to whom Arles tributes the usual honours, rich in castles and lands along the shores of the Rhone, reaches them by sea with seven ships full of strong knights; the sacrista Raymond, powerful and valient, with feudataries and nobles of Arles and Rousillon, meets with them plowing the crystal waves, thus the nobles of Rousillon and of wide Béziers and the entire province of Nîmes follow.

10. Al-Zuhuri describes the city of Pisa (mid 12th century).

Guichard P., *L'Espagne et la Sicile musulmanes aux XIe et XIIe siècle*, Lyon 1991, p. 66.

(...) After this city [Genoa], to the east, on the shores of the sea, lies the city of Pisa, which is more important than Genoa. It is crossed by a river called "river of Pisa", which descends from the mountain Mandja, which is situated at the beginning of the country of Djilliyya, towards the north. On this river there is a large bridge built on eight arches that a ship can cross in full sail and they are provided by gates in wood reinforced with iron and they are closed at night and opened during the day for fear of the Muslims' vessels. These gates were made when Sicily, Sardinia and Messina were in the hands of the Muslims and they [the Pisans] feared attack from their ships. Between the city and the sea there is a distance of two parasanghe (that is about 12 kilometres). Its inhabitants are of great ability in war and are in general able seamen. They are among the best builders of catapults, towers and tools of fortifications; they are fearsome fighters on the sea, experts in launching naphta. They are perfidious and unholy, full of violence and evil. They have abundant wood for construction, but they also work iron, of which they make every sort of arms, such as chain mail, helmets and lances. It is from them that Pisan swords come, that are different from Indian swords in that they are so flexible that they can be wrapped around the waist like a belt, although they are just as sharp if not sharper than the Indian swords. Among them the knight as well as his horse were so covered by armour that nothing can be seen of him. They are also merchants,

on sea and land, that go to the borders of Syria, to Alexandria and to Egypt, from the extreme edge of the Magreb and to Al-Andalus. From them come the *shayatin*, these boats called *ghirban* and *qata'i*, that they have been the first to use on the sea. From them comes turpentine, leather, saffron and cotton.

11. The Arab geographer Idrisi describes Pisa at the middle of the 12th century.

M. Amari, C. Schiaparelli (eds.), *L'Italia descritta nel "Libro del Re Ruggero" compilato da Edrisi*, Rome 1883, p. 85.

(...) Pisa is a metropolis of the Rûm; its name is famous, its territory extensive; it has flourishing markets and well-inhabited houses, spacious walks and wide farmlands, abundant with orchards and gardens and uninterrupted fields. Its state is powerful, the memories of its deeds terrible, high are its fortresses, fertile the lands, abundant the waters, marvellous the monuments. The population has ships and horses and is (always) ready for sea enterprises against other countries. The city is placed on a river that comes from a mountain from the part of the 'ankubardah (Lombardy). This river is big and has along its banks mills and gardens.

12. The ambassador of the Commune of Pisa invests Alfonso King of Castile with the Imperial title (18 March 1256, Soria).

Original, Archivio di Stato of Pisa, *Diplomatico Atti Pubblici* [A]; E. Salvatori (ed.), *"Boni amici et vicini". Le relazioni tra Pisa e le città della Francia meridionale dall'XI secolo agli inizi del XIV*, Pisa 2002, appendix n. 28.

In nomine Patri et Filii et Spiritus Sancti amen. Quia vos excellentissimum et invictissimum et triumphatorem dominum Alfonsum Dei gratia regem Castelle, Toleti, Legionis, Gallethie, Sibilie, Cordube, Murscie et Giene comune Pisarum et tota Ytalia et totus fere mundus cognoverint excelsiorem super omnes reges qui sunt vel fuerint unquam temporibus recolendis presertim gratia Spiritus Sancti vobis divitus inspirata, vos dote multiplici decorante et vos etiam sciverint pre aliis pacem, veritatem et misericordiam et iustitiam diligentem et esse pre aliis christianissimum et circa ecclesiam Romanam a primis fere cunabulis devotissimum et fidelem et cognoverint etiam vos ad ampliationem honoris matris ecclesie Romane et bonum statum nec non etiam Romani imperii toto animo aspirantem et imperium nimius vacasse et ab emulis dilaniatum et vos cognoverint esse natum de progenie domus ducatus Svevie, ad quam de privilegio principum et de concessione Romane ecclesie pontificum imperium iuste et digne dignoscitur pertinere (...) Ideo ego Bandinus Lancea quondam filius domini Guidonis Lancee de Casalei de Pisis missaticus, ambaxiator, syndicus et procurator comunis Pisarum, syndicus nomine pro ipso comuni et ex bailiis et potestatibus et mandatis mihi concessis per publica instrumenta ad gloriam Dei et ad honorem gloriosissime virginis Marie matris Christi Dei viventis et omnium sanctorum et sanctarum Dei et ad honorem sancte matris ecclesie Romane et eius antistitis suorumque fratrum et ad honorem et bonum statum principum, baronum, comitum, marchionum, procerum et aliorum omnium dominorum et civitatum terrarum et omnium comunium et totius populi christiani et imperii Romanorum invocata gratia unius Dei et individue Trinitatis, vos dominum Alfonsum predictum presentem, pro toto imperio Romanorum et eiusdem imperii nomine et totius populi de imperio eius negotium utiliter gerendo, in Romanorum regem et in imperatorem Romani imperii nunc vacantis eligo et assumo, promoveo atque voco.

In name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. Since the Commune of Pisa and all Italy and all the world have recognised in you, sire, most excellent and victorious and triumphant, Alfonso by grace of God king of Castile, Toledo, Leon, Galicia, Seville, Cordoba, Murcia e Jaen, excellent above all the kings that are or that will be in all time, (...) and they have found that that you are more than anyone else a lover of peace, of truth, of compassion

and of justice, and that you more than others are a faithful Christian and very devout since the beginning towards the Church of Rome, and they have recognised that you aspire to increasing the honour and the situation of the mother Church as well as to the good state of the Roman Empire, being that this is vacant and very devastated, and they have found that you are born of the line of the house of Swabia, to which the power justly and worthily belongs by privilege of princes and by concession of the popes of the Roman church (...). And thus I, Bandino Lancia son of the late ser Guido Lancia dei Casalei of Pisa, messenger, ambassador, syndic and legal procurer of the Commune of Pisa, in the name of that role of syndic for that same Commune and for the power, the authority and the mandate conferred on me by public act to the glory of God and the honour of the glorious Virgin Mary mother of Christ, the living God, and all the saints of the Holy Mother Roman Church and its priests and brothers, and to the honour and the good state of princes, barons, counts, marquesses, nobles and all the lords and cities of the lands and of all the Communes and all the Christian people and of the Empire of the Romans, having invoked the grace of the only God and of the Trinity, you, sire, the aforesaid Alfonso, here present, in order to govern all the Empire and its people in an efficacious

way, I elect, assume, promote and call King of the Romans and Emperor of the Roman Empire now

vacant (...)

