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GENOA

HOW THE REPUBLIC ROSE AND FELL

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FACADE OF THE CATHEDRAL.

GENOA

HOW THE REPUBLIC ROSE AND FELL

BY
J. THEODORE BENT, B.A. OXON.

AUTHOR OF
"A FREAK OF FREEDOM; OR, THE REPUBLIC OF S. MARINO"

"How now, Tubal, what news from Genoa?"
SHAKESPEARE, *Merchant of Venice*

WITH EIGHTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFACE.

THE history of a powerful naval and commercial commonwealth, which indeed occupied but a small speck of Europe but which through its colonies and research spread an influence over the then known world, must be regarded by the Anglo-Saxon race with especial interest, as forming one of the steps in that ladder of progress by which we have succeeded in attaining such a pitch of commercial prosperity.

Beneath us on this ladder are the Dutch, Hanseatic, Portuguese, Venetian, and Genoese steps, each and all assisting us out of that maze of barbarism which was incident on the fall of the Roman Empire.

The Italian Republics were the first to succeed in substantially gathering together the threads of commerce which had been known to the old world of Phœnician, Greek, and Roman merchants, and when this firm foothold had once been re-established, the upward progress was greatly simplified.

Pisa and Amalfi were amongst the first to assist in this direction, but Pisa and Amalfi fell powerless before more than mere local prosperity had been attained.

In these pages we shall see that it was Genoa who was first in the ranks of commerce and discovery in the Black Sea,

in the Mediterranean, and outside the pillars of Hercules. She was closely pressed by Venice, indeed, all eager to stand in rivalry with her on the same footing; but Genoa for well nigh a hundred years was greatly superior in strength and resources to the Queen of the Adriatic, and when Venice did hold the position of leader in the mercantile world her position was distinctly that of Genoa's successor.

In the counting-houses of Genoa were worked out many of the early problems of finance. Her Bank of St. George ushered in many new monetary systems, essential to the carrying on of an extensive commerce. Her population was a hard-working shrewd race of mariners. In short, Genoa was the Manchester and Liverpool of the Middle Ages combined in one.

I have endeavoured in the following pages faithfully to work out the career of this Republic from rise to fall, deriving my information from such authors as had taken manuscripts in the various archives as the basis of their works, and, thanks to the kind assistance of friends in Genoa, I was enabled to consult manuscripts myself in archives not generally open to foreigners.

I am greatly indebted to H.B.M.'s consul in Genoa, M. Yeats Brown, Esq., and to the Contessa C. di Langosco (*nde* Gresley), for their valuable assistance in aiding my research.

J. THEODORE BENT.

43, *Great Cumberland Place, W.*
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APPENDIX.

I.

ROMAN LIGURIA.

IT is a matter of speculation as to whether the name "Liguria" is of Celtic, Greek, or Roman origin; some trace in it the name of a mystic hero called "Ligure," whilst others would derive it from "Legume," vegetables, from the fact, perhaps, that the barren Liguria was more wanting than other countries in this commodity. Most probably it is from the Latin word "ligurio," to lick, poetically illustrative of the way their whole territory is bathed by the Mediterranean.

In their origin the Ligurians were a wild Celtic race, who inhabited the rocky shores about Genoa, without a history until the Carthaginians warred against Rome. They threw in their lot with Carthage, and suffered for it accordingly. In the second Punic war Genoa alone of the towns of Liguria espoused the cause of Rome, and for this they were visited with condign punishment by Mago, Hannibal's brother; the city was sacked, and the walls were razed, B.C. 205. Nevertheless, in the end Rome conquered, and Rome was not unmindful of her ally; henceforth Genoa became the queen of Liguria, and her supremacy along this coast dates from the second Punic war.

A few years later Liguria threw in its lot with the cisalpine Gauls. They invaded Placentia and Cremona, but eventually the Ligurian valour and strength was overthrown by Paulus Emilius, near Albenga, and thenceforth this portion of Italy was incorporated with triumphant Rome.

But Liguria was a troublesome restless province; again and again it rebelled, and again and again strong consular armies were sent against it.

"*Adsuatumque malo Ligurem,*"

says Virgil in his *Georgics*, and in these words he sums up the history of early Roman Liguria. Each insurrection was followed by a defeat, and each defeat brought with it attendant horrors. Nevertheless, Roman influence was the foundation of Genoa's prosperity. Recognizing the impossibility of establishing a firm influence in this part without adequate roadways, the Romans decided, with their usual skill, to open out a com-

munication. From Tortona there branched off a road from the Aurelian, called the Via Postumia, through the mountain fastnesses to Acqui, and thence two branches diverged right and left, one leading into Gaul, and the other, after passing through Genoa, joined the Aurelian way at Luna. And thus was the first step established in the rise and development of Genoa.

Together with the advantages of direct communication with the Roman world, Liguria obtained the privileges of Roman civilization. Genoa was made a "municipium," and was inscribed in the tribe Galeria, which facts we gather from undisputable monuments—one at Tortona, which speaks of one Caius Marius Eliarus, as "Decurio et Flamen municipii Genuensis," and another, which was discovered at Rome in 1796, which bears testimony to Genoa's having been inscribed in the tribe Galeria.

Furthermore, we gather from a curious tablet found in the Polcevera valley in 1506, that in the year B.C. 118, on the occasion of a quarrel having arisen about territorial limits between the Genoese and the inhabitants of this valley, two Roman judges were sent to decide the dispute, and the disputants abided thereby. This tablet, which is of bronze, is still to be seen in the palace of the municipio at Genoa.

Without entering into the merits of a Roman "municipium," we may add that Genoa derived from these days of prosperity her later ideas of self-government and freedom—the right of the plebs to make itself heard in the affairs of the community; and thus, whilst instilling order and tranquillity into the bosom of the Ligurian mountains, Rome acquired for herself the strong military assistance of these stalwart, seafaring mountaineers.

Thus, when Marius fought in Numidia against Jugurtha, it was a Ligurian soldier who discovered a hazardous path by which the capture of Capsa was effected, hitherto deemed impregnable, and where Jugurtha had concealed his treasures.

Great was the opposition raised by the Ligurians to the establishment of the empire in Rome. A fine monument at Torbía, between Monaco and Nice, was put up to testify to the triumphs of Augustus in subduing these refractory subjects; and when Italy was divided by him into eleven districts, Liguria formed the ninth.

Turning herself now to the employments of peace, Genoa, as Strabo tells us, rapidly grew in commercial importance, and from her dependencies of Vado and Albenga went forth two low-born military rulers of the empire, namely, Pertinax, who for eighty days in A.D. 193, governed Rome, and Proculus, who, in A.D. 280, placed upon himself for a short time the imperial crown by an insurrection in Gaul.

The division of Augustus, and the rule of the empire continued unaltered in Liguria till the days of Constantine, when it became a consulate extending from the Po to the sea. At last came the downfall of the

Roman fabric, and the invasion of the Lombards, when Genoa, from her retired position on the sea away from the high roads of central Italy, became for years the residence of the Milanese bishops, and the spot where the institutions of Rome continued longest and most unadulterated, to blossom forth in succeeding centuries as the Genoese Republic.

II.

ON GENOESE COINS.

THE most ancient coin of the Genoese mint was the *danaro*, twelve of which went to a *soldo*, and two hundred and forty, or twenty *soldi*, to a *lira*. The *lira* and the *soldo* were, however, at that time not actually coined, but used only in reckoning.

Conrad III., when king of the Romans, gave permission to the Republic to coin their own money in December 1138, when the first *danaro* was struck. On the obverse is seen the *griffo* or castle of Genoa, with the three towers and the king's name, on the reverse is the cross, the banner of Genoa, and the inscription "*Janua*."

This *danaro* was divided into halves and quarters, called respectively *medaglia* and *quartaro*. It was not long before a larger coin appeared, called the *grosso*, about 1172, as was the case in most other Italian mints. It was of silver, and is supposed to have been worth four *danari*, equal to about the value of the old Italian *danaro* of Otho I. And in contradistinction to this *grosso*, the ordinary *danaro* was called *piccolo* or *minuto*.

About a century later (1272) a new *grosso* came out, which, though bearing the name of the old coin, was double its value. But owing to the great debasement of coinage which is noticeable in all mints of this period, the new *grosso* could not be issued at the value of eight *danari* as it should have been, but was given out for twelve *danari*, and therefore was the first actual *soldo* in Genoa.

By this progressive law of debasement this double *grosso* passed by the end of the fourteenth century from the value of one to two *soldi*, and continued this apparent though fictitious increase in value down to our times. Under the doge Battista Fregoso (1478-83) this *grosso* was legally announced as worth five *soldi*.

Such was the condition of the chief silver coin of Genoa when, in 1488, C. G. Maria Sforza, duke of Milan, obtained the lordship over Genoa.¹ Desirous of pleasing the Republic he appointed Genoese

¹ Vide ch. ix.

governors, the first of whom was Pietro Campofregoso, the former doge, and a cardinal. He was succeeded by Agostino Adorno. Both these governors, as a mark of special favour, were permitted to put their name or arms with those of the duke on the coins.

The Avvocato Avignone has ably and intelligibly deciphered an inscription, which runs as follows—P : C : CA : DUCALIS : GUBER : IA, which is found around coins of the first of these above-named governors, to mean "Petrus Campofregosus Cardinalis Ducalis Gubernator Janua," instead of an unintelligible desire to introduce the word ducat, which I have seen in the explanation of it contained in eight or nine Dutch and French numismatical works.

Cardinal Campofregoso was governor from January to August, 1488, and after a short interval Agostino Adorno succeeded him, and his name is found in like manner on the coins, the reverse being the same in both cases, with S.A., the initials of the mint-master.

About this period, owing to the plentifulness of silver, all mints began to coin in that metal in hitherto unknown sizes. The Duke G. G. Maria Sforza was amongst the first to coin at Milan an actual silver *lira*, which, from having the duke's head on it, was called a *testone*. The monetary system of Genoa and Milan being somewhat different, the coin which in Milan was worth twenty *soldi*, was at Genoa only worth fourteen *soldi* eight *danari*. Hence the duke, wishing to have a Genoese coin similar to the *testone*, but conformable to the Genoese system, had a coin struck in Genoa worth fifteen Genoese *soldi*. Hence we find that G. G. Maria Sforza's coin struck at Genoa is rather heavier than his Milanese *testone*.

Soon after this the Genoese expressed a wish to have an actual *lira* of twenty Genoese *soldi*. We have documentary proof of the existence of the coin of fifteen *soldi* in 1490, and three years later of that of twenty *soldi*, and both of them are not unfrequent in collections. They were both denominated *grossoni* to distinguish them from the *grossi* of five *soldi*; and although they had no head stamped upon them, nevertheless, out of imitation of Milan, the Genoese ordinarily spoke of them as *testoni*, a name which is even now in use there, slightly puzzling to the uninitiated.

The most ancient gold coin, except one or two which never obtained currency, was the *genovino d'oro*, afterwards called *florino* after the Florentine usage, and finally *ducato* after the fashion of the Venetians. It was about the same weight as the silver *grosso* of Fregoso.

Louis XII. of France, on his first arrival in Genoa in 1499, preserved the form of the ducat, but put on it his own name and French lilies; but after the revolution in 1507,¹ when the type of the silver coins was changed, he introduced the gold *scudo* (*écu* of France), which, like its French proto-

¹ Vide ch. ix.

type, was called *del sole*, from the representation of the greater planet which appeared over the crown and shield of lilies.

After the recovery of her freedom, Genoa continued to coin *scudi*, and in 1541 the weight of this *scudo* was decided by a decree of the senate, and was called *delle cinque stampe* "of the five mints," from the fact that five or more Italian and foreign mints agreed to coin money of equal value, though with their own types. And this became the monetary basis of gold down to the fall of the Republic, varying but little in weight from the *scudi* struck in 1571, and is always referred to in the subsequent financial documents of the Republic, or, to speak more correctly, it is the *doppia delle cinque stampe*, being merely a double *scudo* of that weight.¹

The earliest appearance of the gold coinage of Genoa was in the first half of the thirteenth century, and was valued at eight *soldi*, and called, as above mentioned, the *genovino d'oro*. It was subdivided into two smaller gold coins, namely, a *quartardo* of two *soldi* and an *ottavo* of one. This latter coin was very small, and but little used. There was also a *tersarolo*, or a third of a *genovino d'oro*, coined by some of the *dóges* in gold, having only the inscription DUX IANUÆ, and no ordinal numbers.

The *genovino* of Genoa and the *florino* of Florence progressed by the beginning of the fourteenth century to the value of sixteen or seventeen *soldi*; and in 1309 in Genoa it became twenty *soldi* or the first actual gold *lira*. It continued thus to rise in value up to twenty-five *soldi* until the beginning of the fifteenth century, when its name was changed to *ducato*, probably because the *florino* of Florence had been debased. Nevertheless, the name of *florino* continued to be used in ordinary speech as a fixed equivalent for twenty-five *soldi* whilst the *ducato* continued to rise in value, and this has continued down to our own times.

In 1412 the *ducat* was worth approximately thirty *soldi*, or one-and-a-half *lira*, in 1434 two *lire*, in 1454 two-and-a-half *lire*, from 1484-89 three-and-a-half *lire*. It continued rising to sixty-two and sixty-four *soldi* until 1507, when Louis XII. substituted his *écu* of less value, which fixed it at three *lire*. After this no more ducats were coined, but continued long in circulation.

In like manner the *scudo* perpetually rose in value owing to the debasement of *soldi* and *danari*, and from the change in value of silver and gold. In 1541 it was worth sixty-eight *soldi*, and the *scudo delle cinque stampe* was legally established at that value. The governor of Genoa wished it to remain immutable, but this was impossible, and it remained a nominal *scudo* of sixty-eight *soldi*, just as the *florino* remained a nominal representative of twenty-five *soldi*.

¹ *I'de Gandolfi della moneta antica di Genova.*

But the real *scudo* continued its upward rise, and was called *d'oro in oro* to denote the genuineness of the metal of which it was made. In 1551 the *scudo* was of the value of three *lire* ten *soldi*, and in 1593 four *lire* eight *soldi*.

In this manner did the rulers of Genoa ineffectually strive to check the inconvenience arising from the increased value of gold; and in 1593 a new silver coin was struck which bore the name of *scudo*. It is a well-known coin, and was called the *scudo coronato* from the fact that there appears a crown over the above-mentioned castle of Genoa, and also the *scudo d'argento* to distinguish it from its golden namesake. But as with the gold coin so it was with the silver, which kept rising in value until at the fusion of Genoa with the French Empire the Genoese silver *scudo* had a commercial value of nine *lire* sixteen *soldi*.

We have documentary evidence to prove that a silver *scudo* was issued prior to 1593 without a crown, probably about 1563, of the value of four *lire*, and somewhat smaller than the *scudo coronato*, but there appear to be no specimens now in existence, and if such a coin did exist, its circulation must have been very limited, and was probably called in on the issue of the *scudi coronati*. For after the assumption of the title of "serenissimo" by the Republic, and its recognition by the emperor of Austria, an uncrowned coat-of-arms would be considered as a national indignity.

Subsequent to 1593 the silver *scudi* were multiplied in weight double, triple, and so forth, keeping the original type and basis until 1638, when the image of the Virgin was substituted for the castle.¹ In 1666 a coin was struck called *di San Giorgio*, or a piece of eight *reales*, showing the influence of the bank of St. George and of the Spaniards at this time over Genoese affairs. During the remainder of the Republic's natural life new pieces were issued for various amounts, two, three, four, or ten *scudi* in silver, and twelve, twenty-five, or fifty *scudi* in gold, all of which are plentiful in collections.

Apart from the Republic's coinage proper, there exist endless specimens of private mints, the Spinola, D'Oria, Grimaldi, and Fieschi, to dive into which would be an endless and unsatisfactory study.

¹ *Vide ch. xvi.*

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