

TEXTS AND IDEAS – TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION

SOME NOTES ON THE VENETIAN CHRONICLE ASCRIBED TO DANIELE BARBARO, PATRIARCH OF AQUILEIA: THE SO-CALLED “BARBARO GROUP” (II)*

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The present paper focuses upon a Venetian chronicle whose paternity has been ascribed to Daniele Barbaro, elected patriarch of Aquileia. After the first part of this study analyzed the manuscripts considered as belonging to the “Daniele Barbaro” group and presented descriptions of some of these manuscripts by various scholars, the second part demonstrates that there is no relevant evidence to regard Barbaro as its author, this ascription being nothing more than a tendency to assign a chronicle to a well-known character, in order to offer it more credibility. The paper also deals with the dating of this chronicle and approaches the question of its possible historical sources and influences upon the subsequent Venetian chronicles. Finally, it refers to the necessity of a printed edition of the chronicle ascribed to Daniele Barbaro.

Keywords: Daniele Barbaro; Venice; Venetian chronicles; sixteenth century; manuscripts

Paternity

Most of the manuscripts presented in the first part¹ of this article passed under the name of Daniele Barbaro. Exceptions refer to names like Pietro Navagero or Giovanni Bon,² immediately rejected by those who have compiled

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¹ *Historical Yearbook* 8 (2011): 233–252.

² Under the name of Pietro Navagero there is a seventeenth-century chronicle, “Cronaca di Venezia dal principio dell’anno 421 fino all’anno 1415,” MS 349/1, Biblioteca Civica di

catalogues of the various libraries and by scholars. Nevertheless, the name of Daniele Barbaro is not mentioned anywhere in the chronicle itself and there is no information that this character wrote a chronicle of Venice since the origins.

As G. Saint-Guillain notes, there is considerable confusion surrounding the identity of the chronicle's author.³ Daniele Barbaro (1513/1514–1570⁴), grandson of the famous Ermolao Barbaro,⁵ is a well-known personality in the sixteenth century. He was elected patriarch of Aquileia, and gained fame through his studies in various fields and the positions he adopted in Serenissima's internal and foreign

Verona, to which E. Guidoboni and S. Tinti, "The Largest Historical Tsunami in the Northern Adriatic Sea: A Critical Review," *Science of Tsunami Hazards. The International Journal of the Tsunami Society* 7, no. 1 (1989): 45–54 (50, 53), refer under the name of "Novagero."

³ Guillaume Saint-Guillain, "Les conquérants de l'Archipel: L'Empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades," in *Quarta crociata: Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, and Peter Schreiner (Venice: IVSLA, 2006), 1:125–237 (172 n. 115).

⁴ J. K. Fotheringham, "Genoa and the Fourth Crusade," *English Historical Review* 25 (1910): 26–57 (44 n. 67) informs that H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, vol. 1 (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1905), 394 refers to the years 1511–1570 as a dating for Barbaro, but this is a typographic error with regard to the supposed year of birth.

⁵ For the humanist and philosopher Ermolao Barbaro (1453 or 1454–1493 or 1495, Rome), nephew of Francesco Barbaro, to whose name the renaissance of Aristotelianism in Padua is connected, see among others: Giovanni degli Agostini, *Vita di Ermolao Barbaro*, in *Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scrittori viniziani*, vol. 1 ([Bologna]: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1975, reprinted after Venice: Simone Occhi, 1752); Ermolao Barbaro, *Epistolae, orationes et carmina*, ed. Vittore Branca, 2 vols. (Florence: Bibliopolis, 1943); Pio Paschini, *Tre illustri prelati del Rinascimento: Ermolao Barbaro, Adriano Castellesi, Giovanni Grimani* (Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1957); Vittore Branca, *Ermolao Barbaro e l'umanesimo veneziano*, in *Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: Sansoni, 1964), 163–212; Idem, *Ermolao Barbaro and Late Quattrocento Venetian Humanism*, in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London: Faber, 1973), 218–243; Idem, *L'umanesimo veneziano alla fine del Quattrocento: Ermolao Barbaro e il suo circolo*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3, pt. 1, *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento* (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1981), 123–175; M. Marangoni and M. Pastore Stocchi, eds., *Una famiglia veneziana nella storia: i Barbaro: Atti del Convegno di studi in occasione del quinto centenario della morte dell'umanista Ermolao, Venezia 4–6 novembre 1993* (Venice: IVSLA, 1996); Vittore Branca, *La sapienza civile: Studi sull'umanesimo a Venezia* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1998); Maria Esposito Frank, *Le insidie dell'allegoria: Ermolao Barbaro il Vecchio e la lezione degli antichi* (Venice: IVSLA, 1999); Virginia Cox, "Rhetoric and Humanism in Quattrocento Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (2003): 652–694 (652–660).

affairs.⁶ In addition, he was considered one of the Republic's official historians.⁷ Indeed, he wrote a *Storia veneziana dall'anno 1512 al 1515*⁸ in vernacular.⁹ On the other hand, although this work has been regarded by some scholars as a forerunner

⁶ See Daniele Barbaro, "Storia veneziana dall'anno 1512 al 1515, supplita nella parte che manca colla storia secreta di Luigi Borghi," ed. Tommaso Gar, *Archivio Storico Italiano* 7, pt. 2 (1844): 951–1088. For the life, political and cultural activity and works in various fields of Daniele Matteo Alvise Barbaro (1513–1570), elected patriarch of Aquileia since 1557, see among others Marco Foscarini, *Della letteratura veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* ([Bologna], [1976] [reprint of Venice, 1854] [first edition: 1752]), 177 and n. 2; Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 7, pt. 2 (Venice: Antonelli, 1823) (first edition: Florence: Molini Landi, 1806), 689–691; Papinio Pennato, "Nuove notizie intorno ad Andrea Navagero e a Daniele Barbaro," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 2 (1872): 255–261; Pio Paschini, "La nomina del patriarca di Aquileia e la Repubblica di Venezia nel secolo XVI," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* (hereafter: *RSChIt*) 2 (1948): 61–76; Idem, "Gli scritti religiosi di Daniele Barbaro," *RSChIt* 5 (1951): 340–349; P. J. Laven, "Daniele Barbaro, Patriarch Elect of Aquileia, with Special Reference to His Circle of Scholars and to His Literary Achievement" (PhD thesis, University of London, Faculty of Modern History, 1957); P. Paschini, "Daniele Barbaro, letterato e prelato veneziano nel Cinquecento," *RSChIt* 16 (1962): 73–107; Gaetano Cozzi, "Cultura politica e religione nella «pubblica storiografia» veneziana del '500," *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano* 5–6 (1963–1964): 215–294; Branko Mitrovic, *Paduan Aristotelianism and Daniele Barbaro's Commentary on Vitruvius' de Architectura* (Kirksville, MO, 1972); Bruce Boucher, "The Last Will of Daniele Barbaro," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979): 277–282; Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 231; Giuseppe Alberigo, "Barbaro, Daniele Matteo Alvise," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 6 (Rome, 1964), 89–95.

⁷ Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 272; Aug. Prost, "Les chroniques vénitiennes [I]," *Revue des questions historiques* 31 (1882): 512–555 (514, 550); Pennato, "Nuove notizie" *apud* Cozzi, "Cultura politica," 225 n. 20; Fr. Thiriet, "Les chroniques vénitiennes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (École française de Rome) 66 (1954): 241–292 (246); Idem, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge: Le développement de l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII^e–XV^e siècles)* (Paris: De Boccard, 1959), 16; Cozzi, "Cultura politica," 237–238, 263; Alberigo, "Barbaro," 94–95; Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1969), 159.

⁸ Prost, "Chroniques vénitiennes [I]," 550; Cozzi, "Cultura politica," 237–238; Alberigo, "Barbaro," 94–95. The work was published in *Archivio Storico Italiano* 7, pt. 2 (1843): 949–1112.

⁹ Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 273; Prost, "Chroniques vénitiennes [I]," 550; Cozzi, "Cultura politica," 263.

of the history of the official historian Paolo Paruta¹⁰ and by others as a sequel to the history written by Pietro Bembo,¹¹ Ed. Muir considers incorrect this identification

¹⁰ Thiriet, "Chroniques," 246; Carile, *Cronachistica*, 159–160. For the historian and diplomat Paolo Paruta (1540–1598), who held among other positions that of secretary of the Venetian envoys to the Council of Trent, member of the Great Council, governor of Brescia, *provveditore* of San Marco, see among others Apostolo Zeno, *Vita di Paolo Paruta cavaliere e procuratore scritta da Apostolo Zeno veneziano nobile Cretense*, in *Degl'istorici delle cose veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto*, vol. 3 (Venice, 1718); Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 274 and nn. 2–4, 275; Giambattista Corniani, *Vita di Paolo Paruta*, reprinted in *Biografia di uomini celebri veneziani* (Turin, 1836); Arturo Pompeati, "Le dottrine politiche di Paolo Paruta," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 46 (1905): 285–358; Giorgio Candeloro, "Paolo Paruta," *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 5th ser., 1 (1936): 70–97; Luigi Tria, *Paolo Paruta, l'uomo – lo scrittore – il pensatore* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1941); Carlo Curcio, *Paolo Paruta*, in *Letteratura italiana, i minori* (Milan: Marzorati, 1961), 1365–1381; Cozzi, "Cultura politica," 256–278 and *passim*; Innocenzo Cervelli, *Paolo Paruta*, in *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, ed. Vittorio Branca, vol. 2 (Turin: Unione Tipogr.-Ed. Torinese, 1973), 774–778; Angelo Baiocchi, "Paolo Paruta: Ideologia e politica nel cinquecento veneziano," *Studi Veneziani* 17–18 (1975–1976): 157–234; Cochrane, *Historians*, 234–236. Paruta's history, written in Italian and entitled *Historia vinetiana*, covers the period between 1513 and 1551 and was published after the author's death (editions: Venice, 1599; Venice, 1605; Venice, 1645; Venice, 1703; Venice, 1718, the latter in *Degl'istorici delle cose veneziane*). He also wrote *Della perfezione della vita politica* and a history of the war of Cyprus (1570–1572).

¹¹ Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 273; see also Theodor Wiedemann's unpublished work on Ranke's library *apud* Edward Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of Syracuse University: The Complete Catalogue* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse UP, 1983), 49.

Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), cardinal and scientist, once secretary of Pope Leo X, accepted the position of public historiographer of his native city in 1529 and continued the history of Marcantonio Sabellico for the period between 1487 and 1513. See *Petri Bembi cardinalis Historiae venetae libri XII* (Venice, 1551); other editions: Paris, 1551; Basel, 1567 (in *Opere latine*); Venice, 1718 (in *Degl'istorici delle cose veneziane*); Leyden, 1722 (vol. 5, pt. 1 of *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*). Translated by himself, the Italian version was published as Pietro Bembo, *Della historia vinitiana volgarmente scritta libri XII* (Venice, 1552); other editions in vernacular: Venice, 1729; Ridgewood, New Jersey, 1965.

For his personality, see among other studies: Ioannes Casa, *Petri Bembi vita*, in *Ioannis Casae latina monumenta* (Florence, 1567); Lodovico Becatelli, *Vita di Pietro Bembo*, in *Degl'istorici delle cose veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1718); Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 270, 271 and nn. 1–4, 272; Francesco Angiolini, *Vita di Pietro Bembo*, in *Biografia di uomini celebri veneziani* (Turin, 1836); Emilio Teza, *Correzioni alla Istoria viniziana di P. Bembo, proposte dal Consiglio dei dieci nel 1545* (Pisa, 1883); Vittorio Cian, *Un decennio della vita del Bembo, 1521–1531: Appunti biografici, saggio di studi sul Bembo* (Turin, 1885); Carlo Lagomaggiore,

of Barbaro as a “public historian.”¹² Doubts were also expressed many years before by Ap. Zeno,¹³ and more recently by G. Alberigo,¹⁴ who regards this work as being of less importance than those of the patriarch of Aquileia¹⁵ and consequently not belonging to the list of the “official history” of Venice. As a matter of fact, *Storia veneziana* was nothing more than a draft that Daniele Barbaro presented to the Council of Ten and that did not receive the approval of this decisional instance, since it had been written rapidly, without following the necessary stylistic and rhetorical norms, and in a frank and often polemical style, but especially in a very

“L’*Istoria viniziana*’ di M. Pietro Bembo, saggio critico con documenti inediti,” *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, n.s., 7 (1904): 5–31, 334–372; 8 (1904): 163–180, 317–346; 9 (1905): 33–113, 308–340; V. Cian, “Pietro Bembo,” *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 88 (1926): 225–255; Giuseppe Guido Ferrero, *Il petrarchismo di Bembo e le rime di Michelangelo* (Turin, 1935); Mario Santoro, *Pietro Bembo* (Naples, 1938); Giorgio Santangelo, *Il Bembo critico e il principio d’imitazione* (Florence: Sansoni, 1950); Theodor W. Elwert, *Pietro Bembo e la vita letteraria del suo tempo*, in *La civiltà veneziana del Rinascimento* (Venice: Sansoni, 1958), 125–176; G[ildo] Meneghetti, *La vita avventurosa di Pietro Bembo, umanista, poeta, cortegiano (Documenti inediti)* (Venice: Tipografia Commerciale, 1961); Cozzi, “Cultura politica,” 229–236 and *passim*; Giancarlo Mazzacurati, *Pietro Bembo e la questione del “volgare”* (Naples: Liguori, 1964); Carlo Dionisotti, *Bembo, Pietro*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 8 (Rome, 1966), 133–151; Dean T. Mace, “Pietro Bembo and the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal,” *Musical Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (1969): 65–86; Lionello Puppi, “Le residenze di Pietro Bembo ‘in padoana,’” *L’Arte* 7/8 (1969): 31–65; Ernesto Travi, “Pietro Bembo e il suo epistolario,” *Lettere Italiane* 24 (1972): 277–309; G. Mazzacurati, *Pietro Bembo*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3, pt. 1, 1–59; Cochrane, *Historians*, 228–231; Gordon Braden, “Applied Petrarchism: The Loves of Pietro Bembo,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (1966): 397–423; Christine Raffini, *Marsilio Ficino, Pietro Bembo, Baldassare Castiglione: Philosophical, Aesthetic, and Political Approaches in Renaissance Platonism* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998); C. Dionisotti, *Scritti sul Bembo*, ed. Claudio Vela (Turin: Einaudi, 2002) (see the editor’s introduction, especially pp. xv–xlviii); more recently, see also Fabio Cossutta, “Pietro Bembo, o la riuscita di un’operazione «politicamente» corretta,” in *Convegno «Una figura nodale nell’insegnamento della letteratura italiana: Francesco Petrarca», 5–6 novembre 2004*, ed. Fabio Cossutta (Trieste-Pécs, 2004), 2–21; a bibliography by Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 1 (Herzberg, 1999), 470, http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/b/bembo_p.shtml (2004).

¹² Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

¹³ Apostolo Zeno, *M. A. Cocci Sabellici vita*, in *Degl’istorici delle cose veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1718), xxix–lxxi *apud* Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 272 and n. 2.

¹⁴ Alberigo, “Barbaro,” 94–95.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 94.

harsh tone against Popes Julius II and Leon X.¹⁶ Therefore, including Daniele Barbaro among the official historians is rather improper.

D. Barbaro was regarded as the author of the chronicle in question by T. Gar¹⁷ and H. Kretschmayr.¹⁸ Meanwhile, although he continued to call it constantly “*Barbara*,” S. Romanin seemed to question its paternity from time to time by using expressions such as “the so-called Barbaro”¹⁹ or “the chronicle ascribed to Daniele Barbaro.”²⁰ However, the ascription to Daniele Barbaro was first and foremost adopted by Fr. Thiriet and A. Carile, who used explicit expressions like “the chronicle elaborated by D. Barbaro,” “the chronicle of Barbaro,” etc.,²¹ a tendency that I have also adopted at a certain moment.²²

¹⁶ Cozzi, “Cultura politica,” 237–238.

¹⁷ Tommaso Gar, “I codici storici della collezione Foscarini conservata nella Imperiale Biblioteca di Vienna,” *Archivio Storico Italiano* 5 (1843): 281–430 (288–289).

¹⁸ H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, vol. 3 (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1920), 558 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, 159 n. 11.

¹⁹ S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, vol. 1 (Venice: P. Naratovich, 1853), 76 n. 1, 197 n. 3, 214.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 3 (Venice: P. Naratovich, 1855), 307 n. 3.

²¹ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 248, 258; *Idem*, *Romanie*, 16; Carile, *Cronachistica*, 159, 201, 202; *Idem*, “Movimenti di popolazione e colonizzazione occidentale in Romania nel XIII secolo alla luce della composizione dell’esercito crociato nel 1204: Note per una demografia dell’Impero latino di Costantinopoli,” in *Per una storia dell’Impero latino di Costantinopoli (1204–1261)*, 2nd ed. (Bologna: Pátron, 1978), 363–381 (365 and n. 5); Raymond-J. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi, dynastes vénitiens dans l’archipel, 1207–1390* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1975), 313; Șerban Papacostea, “Gênes, Venise et la mer Noire à la fin du XIII^e siècle,” *Revue roumaine d’histoire* 29, nos. 3–4 (1990): 211–236 (223); Maria Maddalena Sarnataro, “La rivolta di Candia del 1363–65 nelle fonti veneziane,” *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., 31 (1996): 127–153 (127 n. 1); O. Cristea, “Rivalitatea venețiano-genoveză în Marea Neagră: campanile lui Giustiniano Giustiniani (1323, 1328),” *Revista istorică*, n.s., 25, nos. 1–2 (2004): 89–106 (94, 101); *Idem*, “Supremația maritimă în a doua jumătate a sec. al XIII-lea: un punct de vedere venețian,” in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, ed. Ionel Căndea, Valeriu Sîrbu, and Marian Neagu (Brăila: Muzeul Dunării de Jos, 2004), 557–574 (567); David Jacoby, *The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261: A State within a State*, in Ortalli, Ravegnani, and Schreiner, *Quarta crociata*, 1:19–79 (60); Andreas Kiesewetter, “Preludio alla quarta crociata? Megareites di Brindisi, Maio di Cefalonia e la signoria sulle isole ionie (1185–1250),” in Ortalli, Ravegnani, and Schreiner, *Quarta crociata*, 1:317–358 (340 n. 91, 343 n. 105, 354 n. 155).

²² Șerban Marin, “The Venetian Community – Between *Civitas* and *Imperium*: A Project of the Capital’s Transfer from Venice to Constantinople, According to the Chronicle of Daniele Barbaro,” *European Review of History* 10, no. 1 (2003): 81–102 (87); see also *Idem*, “Comunitatea venețiană – între *civitas* și *imperium*: Un proiect de transfer al capitalei de la Veneția la Constantinopol, în conformitate cu cronica lui Daniele Barbaro,” *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* 20 (2002): 139–159 (145–146 and n. 26).

Moreover, both scholars, whom I also followed, committed a glaring dating error, saying that: “*Daniele Barbaro, mort en 1570, fut écrivain officiel de la République en 1512–1515,*”²³ statement reiterated under the form of “*Daniele Barbaro, écrivain officiel de la République au commencement du XVI^e siècle,*”²⁴ thus making a confusion between the period when D. Barbaro’s Venetian history had been written and the period this work dealt with.

In his turn, G. Saint-Guillain seems not to have read the notes of the two above-mentioned scholars, since he does not notice that they are identical, Carile taking the expressions from Thiriet. Thus, Saint-Guillain puts on Thiriet’s account the confusion with the humanist and patriarch of Aquileia (1514–1570), a detail that he considers to be excluded, and on Carile’s account the author’s identification with the official historian between 1512 and 1515. This last detail also raises a problem, since the position of public historian was at that very moment inexistent.²⁵

Nonetheless, Thiriet and Carile established an intrinsic connection between *Storia veneziana* and the chronicle under examination, which they consider a kind of introduction to the history contemporary with the author.²⁶ For the ascription to Daniele Barbaro, T. Gar and A. Carile have referred to M. Foscarini,²⁷ not being aware that the connection to Barbaro established by Foscarini had been made exactly in order to demonstrate the lack of consistency of this paternity, a fact that was ignored by Thiriet and Carile, thus proving that they did not follow entirely the demonstrations of Foscarini. The main argument invoked by Foscarini against the ascription to D. Barbaro is rather frail: it is the fact that, being involved in poetry and rhetoric, acting as a diplomat at various foreign courts and being preoccupied with mathematics, astronomy and especially theology, Daniele Barbaro did not have the necessary time to write a chronicle.²⁸

Maybe more convincing would be the identification with another character bearing the same name of Daniele Barbaro; it is the grandfather of the patriarch of Aquileia, according to the genealogy of Marco Barbaro, whom Foscarini accredited

²³ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 246; see also Carile, *Cronachistica*, 159; Idem, “Movimenti,” 365 n. 5; Ş. Marin, “Comunitatea venețiană,” 145 n. 26 and partially Idem, “Venetian Community,” 87 n. 25.

²⁴ Thiriet, *Romanie*, 16; Carile, “Movimenti,” 365 n. 5.

²⁵ Saint-Guillain, “Les conquérants,” 172 n. 115. It also seems that the French scholar does not have data about Daniele Barbaro the patriarch.

²⁶ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 246; Carile, *Cronachistica*, 160; Idem, “Movimenti,” 365 n. 5.

²⁷ Gar, “Codicci,” 288–289; Carile, *Cronachistica*, 159 n. 11; Idem, “Movimenti,” 365 n. 5; Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, 3:558.

²⁸ Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 177.

with full confidence.²⁹ On the other hand, when speaking of the chronicle's value (“*ella non cede in ampiezza a verun altra*”), Foscarini is fully right in considering that the tendency is to ascribe a certain work to an author that could be worthy of it.³⁰ Consequently, Foscarini could not find any explanation for ascribing this chronicle to the patriarch of Aquileia and thus did not call it the chronicle of Daniele Barbaro anywhere in his book, but rather “*la cronaca, che corre sotto il nome di Daniel Barbaro,*”³¹ and even mentioned at a certain moment “*nostro anonimo.*”³²

This attitude regarding the ascription to Barbaro was also adopted by H. Simonsfeld, A. Prost and V. Lazzarini.³³ Unfortunately, all these opinions were not noticed by Thiriet or Carile. Indeed, a work ascribed to a famous character seems more interesting than an anonymous one.

Dating

Among the codices containing the chronicle, the first ones were written in the sixteenth century (M 537, M 540, M 2659, BUP 377, PD 366c, Vat. Lat. 6086), but their greatest number belongs to the following century, after which come those of the eighteenth century (M 42, M 973, M 1606). The conclusion for this distribution is clear; written in the sixteenth century, the chronicle had an impressive dissemination in the seventeenth century, the extremely large number of codices being the proof in this respect.³⁴

²⁹ Ibid., 177 n. 2. On the other hand, although he frequently uses them, Juergen Schulz, “The Houses of the Dandolo: A Family Compound in Medieval Venice,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 52, no. 4 (1993): 391–415 (392 n. 2), has doubts about the veracity of these genealogies.

³⁰ Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 177.

³¹ Ibid., 129 n. 2, 242 n. 2; for the same idea, see Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero: Avanti il Dogado – La congiura* (Florence: Sansoni, 1963 [1897]), 105; Franco Gaeta, “Storiografia, coscienza nazionale e politica culturale nella Venezia del Rinascimento,” in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3, pt. 1, 1–91 (16 n. 47).

³² Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 178; see also Franco Rossi, “Quasi una dinastia: i Gradenigo tra XIII e XIV secolo,” in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo*, ed. Marino Zorzi and Susy Marcon ([Venice]: Edizioni della Laguna, 2001), 155–187 (157, 161).

³³ H. Simonsfeld, “La Cronaca Altinate [I],” trans. C. S. Rosada, *Archivio Veneto* 9, t. 18, pt. 2 (1879): 235–273 (236); Idem, “La Cronaca Altinate [III],” trans. C. S. Rosada, *Archivio Veneto* 11, t. 21, pt. 2 (1881): 167–202 (184); Prost, “Chroniques vénitiennes [I],” 546, 550; Idem, “Les chroniques vénitiennes: Second mémoire,” *Revue des questions historiques* 34 (1883): 199–224 (210); Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero*, 105.

³⁴ Besides the erroneous reference to codices M 788 and M 796 as part of the “Barbaro group,” O. Tuma, “The Dating of Alexius’s Chrysobull to the Venetians: 1082, 1084, or 1092?,” *Byzantinoslavica* 42 (1981): 171–185 (185), makes a mistake when dating this “group” to the fourteenth century.

Sources and Influences

Since the very beginning, the chronicler presents his working method, on which occasion he informs the reader about the sources used in the chronicle: “*Mi sforzerò di narrar de questi particolari accidenti ogni causa, e ogni occasion, e tutto quello, che per molta e continua lezion de molti libri, molto reconditi e ascosi, e tegnudi come reliquie nelle case private, che con molta spesa, e molte fadighe me son vegnudi alle man [...]*.”³⁵ Therefore, the chronicler had at his disposal a very rich quantity of annals and he often presents side by side even opposed ideas,³⁶ proving thus an appetite for compilation as a writing manner. However, while consulting the text, I noticed only one reference that “Barbaro” made directly at a certain moment, namely that to the work of a certain Pietro Giustinian di Tommasino.³⁷

The scholars have made attempts to detect possible similarities with previous chronicles. One should mention here the study of H. Simonsfeld, who among other possible connections refers to the Altinate chronicle.³⁸ According to him, there are some *ad litteram* copies, including some false data, but the references are general, and when a well determined event is brought into discussion, namely the peace signed in Venice in 1177,³⁹ his conclusion is that the “Barbaro” chronicle is not

³⁵ *Apud* Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 178.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 178–179.

³⁷ Cf. M 2554, fol. 348a (“*ditte ben Piero de Thomasin Zustignan nelle so Croniche, che [...]*”). Besides this detail, Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 129 n. 2 presents another reference to this author, that is the history of Pietro Morari da Chioggia, bishop of Capodistria, and concludes that this Pietro Giustinian would have written in Latin; moreover, relying upon the genealogies of Marco Barbaro, he identifies the chronicler with a member of the Council since 1265. For this supposed chronicle, see also Roberto Cessi, *Prefazione*, in *Venetiarum historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata*, ed. Roberto Cessi and Fanny Bennato (Venice: Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, 1964), v–vi n. 4. E. A. Cicogna initially considered that he could detect the chronicle of this Pietro di Tommasino when he acquired in 1837 the codex with the number 2611 in his collection, but afterwards confessed that he had been wrong when ascribing this work, which was nothing but another anonymous, see R. F[ulin], “Saggio del catalogo dei codici di Emmanuele A. Cicogna,” *Archivio Veneto* 4, pt. 1 (1872): 59–132, 337–398 (354); about him, see *ibid.*, 353–355. However, Carlo Errera, “I crociati veneziani in Terra Santa (dal concilio di Clermont alla morte di Ordelafo Falier),” *Archivio Veneto*, n.s., 19, t. 38, pt. 2 (1889): 237–277 (270 n. 1) continued to ascribe this codex at Correr Museum to Piero di Tomasin Giustinian; moreover, C. Errera dates it to the sixteenth century, see *ibid.*, 270.

³⁸ Simonsfeld, “Cronaca Altinate [I],” 235–236; *Idem*, “Cronaca Altinate [III],” 184 – where there is reference also to the notes of E. A. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, vol. 4 (Bologna: Forni, 1982, reprint of Venice, 1834) 537, 185–186.

³⁹ Simonsfeld, “Cronaca Altinate [III],” 184.

inspired from the Altinate chronicle and that the two works had used independently a common source.⁴⁰

A possible dependence on the chronicles of Doge Andrea Dandolo was also taken into consideration.⁴¹ The hypothesis reached the conclusion that the originality of the “Barbaro” chronicle does not consist in information, “*qu’il emprunte à Andrea Dandolo et à son continuateur Caresini.*”⁴² As for Raffaino Caresini’s work, our chronicler even mentions it at a certain moment,⁴³ when narrating the Chioggian war, an episode which is almost identical for the two chroniclers.⁴⁴

For the episode of *Partitio Romaniae*, A. Carile also notices a derivation of our chronicle from what he calls “the incomplete tradition of family C–D.”⁴⁵ For the manner of describing the conspiracy of Doge Marino Falier,⁴⁶ some similarities were noticed with *Le vite de’ dogi* of Marino Sanudo or with “the so-called Bemba chronicle” (M 81), although the latter comprises now only the period between 1424 and 1518 in a seventeenth-century rendition. Some connections with the chronicle preserved in M 514, ascribed to Stefano Magno (also from the sixteenth century)⁴⁷, were also noticed, but the influence relationship could not be established, because, as H. Simonsfeld confessed, “*se si chiede quale delle due opere sia la più antica e quindi il fondamento dell’altra, si viene ad imbattersi in grandissime difficoltà.*”⁴⁸

⁴⁰ Ibid., 185.

⁴¹ Ibid.; Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 248.

⁴² Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 248.

⁴³ “*Ma Raffin Caresin, cavalier grande de Venetia, che scrisse l’istoria di quelli tempi de 44 anni continui, comenzando dal 1342 fin al 1386 [...]*,” cf. *ibid.* (personally, I did not consult this passage, but I express my doubts about Caresini’s position of *cavalier*, preferring the real position, that of *cancelier*). For Caresini, see *Raphayni de Caresinis cancellarii Venetiarum chronica: aa. 1343–1388*, ed. Ester Pastorello (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1923). For a vernacular translation, see Rinaldo Fulin, *La Cronaca di Raffaino Caresini tradotta in volgare veneziano nel secolo XIV* (Venice, 1877). For Caresini (1314–1390), chancellor of the Republic, see also Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 146, 147 and n. 1; A. Carile, *Caresini, Raffaino (Raffain, Raphainus, Raphaynus, Raphael de Caresinis)*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 20 (Rome, 1977), 80–83.

⁴⁴ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 249.

⁴⁵ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 203.

⁴⁶ Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero*, 105.

⁴⁷ Fragments of the chronicle of Magno (1499–1572) were published as “Estratti degli Annali veneti di Stefano Magno,” in *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. C. Hopf (Berlin: Weidmann, 1873), 179–209. For the text including also the first part of the chronicle, see manuscripts M 513–518 (7879–7884) (sixteenth century), under the name of “Stefano Magno: Cronaca veneziana dall’origine della Città sino all’anno 1555.”

⁴⁸ Simonsfeld, “Cronaca Altinate [III],” 184.

The same Simonsfeld offers a textual comparison between manuscript M 92 and Querini 504, referring to the episode of 1177.⁴⁹

As for my previous classification, I noticed the closeness between the “Barbaro chronicle” along with pseudo-Savina and M 2580 and category 11, meaning codices M 78, M 2543, M 1577, M 1586, M 1274 (pseudo-Zancaruolo), M 56 (ascribed to Marcantonio Erizzo), M 798, M 2560, M 2563, M 550, M 794 (pseudo-Z. Dolfin), M 46, M 80, M 628a, yet without being completely included in this category. This classification relies upon the representation of the following events: the beginning of the Fourth Crusade,⁵⁰ the command of Boniface of Montferrat over the other crusaders,⁵¹ the election of Baldwin of Flanders as emperor of Constantinople,⁵² the dogal title of *dominus*,⁵³ the confrontations with Emperor John II Comnenus,⁵⁴ the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople,⁵⁵ and the mission of Giustiniano Partecipazio to the Byzantine emperor.⁵⁶ Regarding the two latter episodes, the detaching from category 11 is complete.

In most of these cases, the closeness to the chronicle ascribed to Girolamo Savina is obvious. On the other hand, when narrating the episodes related to Tommaso Morosini as patriarch of Constantinople and fleet commander, the chronicle is rather close to category 1 (*Historia ducum venetorum*, M 2571, M 2581).⁵⁷ When dealing with another classification criterion, namely the manner of representing Charles the Great, I included the chronicle ascribed to D. Barbaro

⁴⁹ Idem, “Appendice agli studi sulla Cronaca Altinate,” *Archivio Veneto* 12, t. 24, pt. 1 (1882): 111–131 (120–131).

⁵⁰ Ș. Marin, “Venetian and Non-Venetian Crusaders in the Fourth Crusade, According to the Venetian Chronicles’ Tradition,” *Annuario. IRC* 4 (2002): 111–171 (135–136).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵² Idem, “The Venetian ‘Empire’: The Imperial Elections in Constantinople in 1204 in the Representation of the Venetian Chronicles,” *Annuario. IRC* 5 (2003): 185–245 (230–232).

⁵³ Idem, “*Dominus quartae partis et dimidia totius Imperii Romaniae*: The Fourth Crusade and the Dogal Title in the Venetian Chronicles’ Representation,” *Quaderni della Casa Romena* 3 (2004): 119–150 (137).

⁵⁴ Idem, “A Precedent to the Fourth Crusade: The Anti-Byzantine Campaign of Doge Domenico Michiel in 1122–1126 According to the Venetian Chronicles,” *Annuario. IRC* 6–7 (2004–2005): 239–266 (264–266).

⁵⁵ Idem, “Veneția și căderea unui imperiu: Reprezentarea momentului 1261 în cronică venețiană,” *Revista istorică*, n.s., 14, nos. 3–4 (2003): 211–254 (227–228).

⁵⁶ Idem, “Giustiniano Partecipazio and the Representation of the First Venetian Embassy to Constantinople in the Chronicles of the *Serenissima*,” *Historical Yearbook* 2 (2005): 75–92 (85–86).

⁵⁷ Idem, “The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople: The Representation of Tommaso Morosini in the Venetian Chronicles,” *Quaderni della Casa Romena* 2 (2002): 49–90 (57, 73).

in category 2b, along with the chronicle ascribed to a certain Marco, the one written by Martino da Canal, M 2550, Pietro Dolfín, pseudo-Sanudo, M 129 (“Tiepolo”) and pseudo-Savina.⁵⁸

I have also noticed that the episode of the supposed intention of Doge Pietro Ziani to transfer the state institutions to Constantinople, very developed in the chronicle ascribed to Barbaro, is also present in the following chronicles: Antonio Morosini, “Agostini-Tiepolo,” pseudo-Savina, M 551, M 1800, M 71,⁵⁹ although to a lesser extent.

As for the manner of using the sources, G. Saint-Guillain insists on the fact that the chronicler used strictly the previous historical tradition,⁶⁰ a complete compilation feature thus resulting. Concretely, the French scholar refers to the use of both main traditions in the Venetian chronicles – one originating in Andrea Dandolo, the other in the so-called “Enrico Dandolo” chronicle –, when presenting the conquest of the Aegean archipelago by the Venetian “*conquistadores*.”⁶¹

The use of documents was noticed by M. Foscarini, who considered that “*i saggi regolamenti del mille dugento novantasei, e le cose indi procedute, vanamente si cercherebbero altrove dichiarate meglio.*”⁶² Actually, the use of documents represents a common feature of chronicles written in the sixteenth century. When saying that, A. Carile also takes the “Barbaro” chronicle into consideration.⁶³ In the same sense, R. L. Wolff supposed that the chronicler “appears to have had access to authentic materials now lost,”⁶⁴ although the American scholar did not consult the chronicle, but relied exclusively on Karl Hopf’s and J. K. Fotheringham’s references to it.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Idem, “Veneția – între Carol cel Mare și Bizanț: Reprezentarea momentului 800 în tradiția cronică venețiană,” *Analele Universității București. Istorie* 47 (1998): 3–44 (20).

⁵⁹ Idem, “Venetian Community,” 90–91 and nn. 29–34; Idem, “Comunitatea venețiană,” 152–154 nn. 29–34.

⁶⁰ Saint-Guillain, “Les conquérants,” 172.

⁶¹ Ibid., 175, 178.

⁶² Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, 178.

⁶³ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 201.

⁶⁴ Robert Lee Wolff, “A New Document from the Period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople: The Oath of the Venetian Podestà,” *Annuaire de l’Institut de philologie et d’histoire orientales et slaves* 12 (1953): 539–573 (543 n. 5).

⁶⁵ Ibid., 543 n. 5, 545 n. 2. The references are to J. K. Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo Conqueror of the Archipelago, 1205–1211* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), 105 ff., respectively to C. Hopf, “Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit,” in *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Wissenschaft und Künste*, ed. J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber, vol. 85 (Leipzig, 1867), 251 n. 54.

Editions

H. Simonsfeld published the episode referring to the peace of 1177.⁶⁶ However, although the same scholar regretted that the work had remained in manuscript⁶⁷ and Fr. Thiriet included the “Barbaro” chronicle among the Venetian ones that need to be published as soon as possible,⁶⁸ nothing has been done for the chronicle to be published entirely.

Meanwhile, a fragment referring to the conquest of the Aegean archipelago in 1206–1207 was published by R. J. Loenertz,⁶⁹ while the events connected to the *Partitio Romaniae* were edited by A. Carile.⁷⁰ One could also mention the passages published by J. K. Fotheringham.⁷¹ As to me, I published two appendices including the supposed speech of Pantaleone Barbo in 1204⁷² (neglected in Carile’s partial edition) and the debate between Doge Pietro Ziani and the *procurator* of San Marco, Angelo Falier, referring to the resettlement to Constantinople,⁷³ along with a partial English translation of this latter episode.⁷⁴ I also have in project an edition of various fragments connected to the Venetian-Eastern relationship by the fourteenth century.

Conclusions

The huge number of manuscripts that include the chronicle ascribed to Patriarch Daniele Barbaro, which were presented in our study, allows us to conclude that it is about the most prolific chronicle in Venetian historiography, being the most used one in Venice between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. It is thus regrettable that, despite its large diffusion, the chronicle has never been entirely published until now.

⁶⁶ Simonsfeld, “Appendice,” 120–131.

⁶⁷ Idem, “Cronaca Altinate [III],” 184; see also Wolff, “New Document,” 543 n. 5, 545 n. 2.

⁶⁸ Thiriet, *Romanie*, 17; in the same line, see also Marin, “Venetian Community,” 87 n. 25.

⁶⁹ Loenertz, *Ghisi*, 313–315. In order to refer to a passage of the chronicle ascribed to Barbaro, Papacostea, “Gênes,” sends to another article signed by Loenertz, namely “Menego Schiavo, esclave, corsaire, seigneur d’Ios (1296–1310),” *Studi Veneziani* 9 (1967): 334.

⁷⁰ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 523–525.

⁷¹ Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo*, 106–108.

⁷² Marin, “Venetian Community,” 93–96; Idem, “Comunitatea venețiană,” 156–159.

⁷³ Idem, “Venetian Community,” 96–101; Idem, “Comunitatea venețiană,” 146–152.

⁷⁴ Idem, “Venetian Community,” 87–89.

If this lack of a critical edition can be overcome in future by the efforts of scholars, the problem of the paternity of the chronicle is more complex. It is clear, however, that there are no convincing arguments for its ascription to Daniele Barbaro, the patriarch of Aquileia. Therefore, it remains nothing but another anonymous work, along with the so many chronicles that were written in Venice during the centuries.