

Marcantonio Sabellico's *Rerum Venetarum* and "the Definitive History of Venice"¹. The Beginnings of the Official Historiography in Venice?

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Editions

The first edition of Marcantonio Sabellico's *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita* was published in Venice in 1487², having Andrea Torresano³ as typographer⁴. When referring to Torresano's edition, Marco Foscarini had only laudatory words, and the same scholar owed exactly the copy that had previously belonged to Agostino Barbarigo (1486-1501), the doge that succeeded to the one to which the work had been dedicated, that is Marco Barbarigo (1485-1486)⁵.

Short time after Sabellico's passing away, the first Italian translation of his work was also published, due to Matteo Visconti da San Canciano. It was issued in Milan under the title of *Croniche che tractono de la origine de Veneti e del principio de la cita, e de tutte le guerre da mare e terra facte in Italia: Dalmacia: Grecia e contra tuti li infideli*⁶. This edition did not mention the year of publishing. In a first instance,

¹ The expression belongs to Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago-London 1981, p. 226.

² In passing by, William B. Dinsmoor, *The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus: II. The Architectural Design*, "American Journal of Archaeology" 12 (1908). 2. p. 141-171 (167) dated the work in year 1485.

³ Andrea Torresano (1469-1532), cardinal since 1517.

⁴ Practically, we have no idea on which basis Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence 1969, p. 184 note 3 regards a version published in Verona in 1481 as first edition. We exclude this assumption as more as the same scholar mentions that he had no possibility to consult this hypothetical Veronese edition.

⁵ Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* (introd. by Ugo Stefanutti), [Bologna 1976] [reprinted of Venice 1854] [first ed. 1752], p. 250.

⁶ Cf. Apostolo Zeno, *Degl'istorici delle cose veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto*, I. Venezia, 1718, p. xxix-lxxi (xliv); M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 252 and note 4; Ruggero Bersi, *Le fonti della prima decade delle Historiae Rerum Venetarum di Marcantonio Sabellico*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", new series, 10 (1910), 19, part II, p. 422-460 and 10 (1910), 20, part I, p. 115-162 (422); 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), p. 215-294 (221 note 12).

Apostolo Zeno proposed 1507⁷, but later the scholars have regarded it as 1508⁸. On his turn, E. A. Cicogna also noted the lack of the year, but supposed that “*è del 1506 o poco dopo*”⁹, while later R. Bersi would propose a compromise: “*circa il 1507*”¹⁰. As for G. Cozzi, he speaks also about a possible issue of Visconti edition in 1505, and a republishing in 1510¹¹. Practically, it is about a not so successful edition, since whole fragments from the last three books are absent and since it includes many errors¹². A more accepted translation is the one published in Venice in 1534¹³ by Lodovico Dolce¹⁴, dedicated to the patrician Niccolò Gabrielli¹⁵. This version would be reprinted several times (1554 and 1558)¹⁶. It is also codex Foscarini CXXI n. 5963 at Austrian National Library (16th and 17th centuries¹⁷) that is regarded as translation from Sabellico's work, but the note on a page lately inserted mentions that “*«questa è una traduzione del Sabellico, ma alquanto alterata»*”¹⁸.

Meanwhile, Sabellico's history was published in the second volume of the edition in Basel in 1560, containing *Opera Omnia*, having Celio Secondo Curione¹⁹ as

⁷ Apud M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 252 nota 4; see also Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, “Revue des questions historiques” 31 (1882), p. 512-555 (530, 549).

⁸ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 221 note 12; Maria Maddalena Samataro, *La rivolta di Candia del 1363-65 nelle fonti veneziane*, “Studi Veneziani”, new series, 31 (1996), p. 127-153 (129 note 10, 134).

⁹ Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia veneziana*. Venice 1847, p. 75.

¹⁰ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

¹¹ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 221 note 12; for this edition, see also E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

¹² M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 252; see also Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 75; R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 422-423.

¹³ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 252 note 4; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 530, 549; R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 423; year 1544, according to G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 221 note 12 (who explicitly contradicts Foscarini), see also P. H. Labalme, *The Last Will of a Venetian Patrician (1489)*, in *Philosophy and Humanism. Renaissance essays in honor of P. O. Kristeller* (ed. by E. P. Mahoney), Leyden 1976, p. 337.

¹⁴ Lodovico Dolce (1508-1568), writer, author of poems, comedies, tragedies, painting theoretician, author of the *Life of Giammateo Bembo*, editor of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, author of *Libri delle osservazioni sulla volgar lingua*, Venice 1550; for his person, see Em. A. Cicogna, *Memoria intorno la vita e gli scritti di Messer Lodovico Dolce letterato veneziano del secolo XVI*, “Memorie dell'I. R. Istituto Veneto di scienze lettere e arti” 10 (1862), p. 93-200; Giovanna Romei, *Dolce, Lodovico*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 40, Rome 1991, p. 399-405; Ronnie H. Terpening, *Lodovico Dolce: Renaissance Man of Letters*, Toronto 1997. For his diary, see M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 414 note 4; for other works, see *Ibidem*, p. 423 note 1, 477 note 4, 478 note 1.

¹⁵ See *Ibidem*, p. 252 note 4.

¹⁶ Cf. G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 221 note 12; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 258. Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 75 speaks about a new edition in 1544, due to Curzio Novò, along with the one in 1558, edited by Giovanni di Rossi, and the one in 1668, printed by Savioni.

¹⁷ Tommaso Gar, *I codici storici della collezione Foscarini conservata nella Imperiale Biblioteca di Vienna*, “Archivio Storico Italiano” 5 (1843), p. 281-430 (338).

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ For this, see G. Cozzi, *Intorno all'edizione dell'opera di Marcantonio Sabellico, curata da Celio Secondo Curione e dedicata a Sigismondo Augusto re di Polonia*, in *Venezia e la Polonia nei secoli dal XVII al XIX* (ed. by L. Cini), Venice-Rome 1965, p. 165-177; see also E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 86, 522 note 81. The Piemontese Celio Secondo Curione (1503-1569) is also the author of the history of the Maltese war in 1565, see also Markus Kutter, *Celio Secondo Curione: sein Leben und sein Werk (1503-1569)*, Basel 1955; Mario Turchetti, *Note sulla religiosità di Celio Secondo Curione (1503-1569) in relazione al nicodemismo*, 1987; for a good bibliography of Secondo Curione, see Chiara Lastraioli, <http://www.nuovorinascimento.org/cinquecento/curione.pdf>.

editor. However, the most appreciated edition would be published only in 1718, in the collection initiated by Apostolo Zeno as *Degl'istorici delle cose veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto*. This edition legitimates Sabellico's position as pathfinder of the 'public historiographers'. The collection includes ten volumes – published between 1718 and 1720 –, the first two of them including Sabellico's work²⁰. The greatest number of scholars has referred to this particular edition, while others have preferred either the first edition in 1487, or the one in *Opera Omnia* in 1560 and the Basel edition in 1670, along with the Italian editions (Matteo Visconti's; L. Dolce's; edition Venice 1544; edition Venice 1554; edition Venice 1558, edition Venice 1668, edition Venice 1678, etc.)

Dating

The decree of the Venetian Senate on September 1, 1486 granted to Marcantonio Sabellico the permission to print the 33 books of *Rerum Venetarum*²¹, and in the very next year the work was already published. It is a date quasi-unanimous recognised by the scholars²². That is why we are not able to understand for which reason Alberto Tenenti or Gaetano Cozzi advance year 1489²³, B. Guenée 1485²⁴, while E. Breisach even speaks about the 70s of the 15th century²⁵. One could note a complete

²⁰ M. Foscari, *op. cit.*, p. 250; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 516, 530; Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Étude sur Antonio Morosini et son oeuvre. Annexes et tables*, in *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini. Extraits relatifs à l'histoire de France* (ed. by G. Lefèvre-Pontalis), 4, Paris 1902, p. 140; Eduard Fueter, *Storia della storiografia moderna* (transl. by Altiero Spinelli), Milan-Naples 1970 [*Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*, Munich 1936], p. 39.

²¹ Raimondo Morozzo Della Rocca & Maria Francesca Tiepolo, *Cronologia veneziana del Quattrocento*, in *La civiltà veneziana del Quattrocento* (ed. by Guido Piovene), Florence 1957, p. 233; Agostino Pertusi, *Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica nel quattrocento*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi* (ed. by A. Pertusi), Florence 1970, p. 269-332 (319); Franco Gaeta, *Storiografia, coscienza nazionale e politica culturale nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, in *Storia della cultura Veneta dal primo quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, 3/1, Vicenza 1980, p. 1-91 (67 note 194); Gino Benzoni, *Scritti storico-politici*, in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, IV: *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura* (ed. Alberto Tenenti & Ugo Tucci), Rome 1996, p. 757-788 (764).

²² Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 549; Freddy Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitienes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne*, "Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, publiés par l'École Française de Rome", 1954, p. 241-292 (242 note 4); A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 319; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Dorit Raines, *Alle origini dell'archivio politico del patriziato: la cronaca «di consultazione» veneziana nei secoli XIV-XV*, "Archivio Veneto", 5th series, 150 (1998), p. 5-57 (50); Matteo Casini, *Fra città-stato e Stato regionale: riflessioni politiche sulla Repubblica di Venezia in età moderna*, "Studi Veneziani" 44 (2002), p. 3.

²³ Alberto Tenenti, *La storiografia in Europa dal Quattro al Seicento*, in *Nuove Questioni di Storia Moderna*, Milan 1963, p. 1-51 (9 ff.); G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 221; Idem, *Marin Sanudo il giovane: dalla cronaca alla storia*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI cit.*, p. 333-358 (340, 342).

²⁴ Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 1980, p. 343.

²⁵ Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern*, Chicago-London 1994 [1983], p. 155.

unanimity with regard to the year when the work came to an end, that is 1486²⁶, when Doge Marco Barbarigo passed away.

It has been asserted that it had been about a kind of "historiographic raid"²⁷ or "holiday pastime"²⁸. It is right, since 32 of the 33 books of the work had been written in no more than 15 months, more precisely in the period between January 1485 and March 1486, an information that results from the letter sent by Ermolao Barbaro to Giorgio Merula on April 21, 1486²⁹. No one knows exactly when Book 33 was written

²⁶ Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 516, 525, 530, 549; G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione cit.*, p. 221; Idem, *Marin Sanudo cit.*, p. 340; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39; G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 763.

²⁷ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 66; in the same sense, see also D. S. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice 1380-1580*, London 1970, p. 25.

²⁸ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

²⁹ See E. Barbaro, *Epistolae, orationes et carmina* (ed. by Vittore Branca), Florence 1943, 1, p. 98-99, ep. LXXVIII apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 320; see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 250 and note 1; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 320; Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, Princeton, New Jersey 1986, p. 426; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 84. Previously, in 1483-1484, Ermolao Barbaro had proposed to the same Merula to write the history of Venice (cf. Felix Gilbert, *Biondo, Sabellico, and the beginnings of Venetian official historiography*, in *Florilegium Historiale. Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* (ed. by J. G. Rowe & W. H. Stockdale), [Toronto] 1971, p. 275-293 (281); E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80); Merula had also been appointed in the position at the school of San Marco (for the nomination decree, Arnaldo Segarizzi, *Cenni sulle Scuole Pubbliche a Venezia nel secolo XI e sul primo maestro d'esse*, "Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 75 (1915-1916), 1, p. 637-667 (651) apud F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 281 note 30); on that occasion, Merula taught rhetoric between 1465 and 1482, before becoming the official historiographer of the duke of Milan in 1485, cf. G. Merula, *Antiquitates Vicecomitum*, Milan 1500 apud G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione*, p. 344; for this work and Georgius Merula's personality (the Latinized name of Giorgio Merlani, c. 1424/1430/1431, Alessandria, Piemont-1494/1497), see also: Ferdinando Gabotto & Angelo Badini Confalonieri, *Vita di Giorgio Merula*, "Rivista di Storia, Arte, Archeologia della Provincia di Alessandria" 2 (1893), p. 7-66, 281-356 and 3 (1894), p. 3-70, 151-175, 227-350; Gianna Gardenal, *Giorgio Merula*, in *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana* (ed. by Vittore Branca), 2, Turin 1974, p. 599-601; Vittore Branca, *L'umanesimo veneziano alla fine del Quattrocento: Ermolao Barbaro e il suo circolo*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 3/1 cit., p. 123-175 (157-161); E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 114-115; Gary Ianziti, *Humanistic Historiography under the Sforzas: Politics and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Milan*, Oxford-New York 1988, *passim*; Virginia Cox, *Rhetoric and Humanism in Quattrocento Venice*, "Renaissance Quarterly", 56 (2003), 3, p. 652-694 (660-663). For the humanist and philosopher Ermolao Barbaro (1453 or 1454-1493 or 1495, Rome), Francesco Barbaro's nephew, on whose name the renaissance of the Paduan aristotleism is connected (to be not confounded with his contemporary homonymos, ambassador and author of treaties of diplomacy!), see, among others, G. degli Agostini, *Vita di Ermolao Barbaro*, in idem, *Scrittori Veneziani*, 1; Ermolao Barbaro, *Epistolae, orationes, et carmina* (ed. by Vittore Branca), 2 volumes, Florence 1943; Pio Paschini, *Tre illustri prelati del Rinascimento: Ermolao Barbaro, Adriano Castellesi, Giovanni Grimani*, Rome 1957; V. Branca, *Ermolao Barbaro e l'umanesimo veneziano*, in *Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano* (ed. by V. Branca), Florence 1964, p. 163-212; Idem, *Ermolao Barbaro and Late Quattrocento Venetian Humanism*, in *Renaissance Venice cit.*, p. 218-243; Idem, *L'umanesimo veneziano alla fine del Quattrocento: Ermolao Barbaro e il suo circolo*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 3/1 cit., p. 123-175; volume *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* (ed. by M. Marangoni & M. Pastore Stocchi), Venice 1996; V. Branca, *La Sapienza civile: Studi sull'umanesimo a Venezia*, Florence 1998; Maria Esposito Frank, *Le insidie Dell'allegoria: Ermolao Barbaro il Vecchio e la lezione degli antichi*, Venice 1999; V. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 652-660. For Giorgio

– it narrates the period of the doge that just passed away. Anyhow, one could suppose that it had been added during the same year: 1486³⁰. It is probable that the postponing of its publishing between March – meaning the end of writing the work – and September – meaning the favorable reference of the authorities – was due to Doge Marco Barbarigo's uncertain situation and disease. It is certitude that, although the last book of his history narrates the events during this doge and even the doge's passing away, the author did not change the dedication, so that the work was addressed to even one of the characters.

As for the place where he wrote his work, it is known that Sabellico lived at that time in Verona³¹, accompanying Benedetto Trevisan, appointed as captain in that city³², and that it was only the last book to be written when he was in Venice³³.

About the author's life

Born at Vicovaro (Lazio) around year 1436³⁴, Marcantonio Coccio, son of Giovanni, would later entitle himself as *Sabellicus*³⁵, due to a humanistic habit. He accomplished his humanistic education in Rome, especially with Pomponio Letto³⁶, but

Merula as friend first and opponent later of Sabellico, see M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 250 note 4. For the surprisingly short period for writing the work, see also *Ibidem*, p. 250 note 1, 253 note 3; R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 150; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 320; G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo cit.*, p. 340; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 66 note 192; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 426; G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 763. On the other side, Andrew F. Stone, in Niccolò Canussio, *On the Restoration of the Fatherland (De Restitutione Patriae)* (ed. by A. F. Stone), Padua 2005, p. 23 note 4 considers that the working period would have been extended to three years.

³⁰ Cf. A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

³¹ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 120 note 1; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 319; F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 281. On the contrary, G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 340 considers that it would have been written in Venice.

³² Cf. A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

³³ Cf. *Ibidem*.

³⁴ Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 525; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 184; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 319; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 83; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 426; E. Breisach, *op. cit.*; Alain Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan* (transl. by Lydia G. Cochrane), Chicago-London 2001 [Paris 1988], p. 137; John S. Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes and the Venetians. The Episode of his Anti-Venetian Cretan Campaigns, 1230 and 1234*, in *Novum Millennium. Studies on Byzantine History and Culture dedicated to Paul Speck, 19 December 1999* (ed. by Claudia Sode & Sarolta Takács), Aldershot-Burlington-Singapore-Sydney 2001, p. 231-249 (234 note 17); Bruno Rosada, *I secoli della letteratura veneta*, December 2002 [= http://www.provincia.venezia.it/istruzione/pubblicazioni/lett_veneta.pdf], p. 15; A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 22 note 4; Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy*, New York 2005. In passing by, D. S. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 25 notes 1453 as the year of birth. As for D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 50, it would be about year 1437. while W. H. Davenport Adams, *The Queen of the Adriatic; or, Venice, past & present*, London-New York 1869, p. 202 speaks about the middle of the 15th century.

³⁵ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 219; A. Pertusi, *Le fonti greche del «De gestis, moribus et nobilitate civitatis venetiarum» di Lorenzo de Monacis cancelliere di Creta (1388-1428)*, "Italia medioevale e umanistica" 8 (1965), p. 161-211 (161); E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 83; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 425; Francesco Tateo, *I miti della storiografia umanistica*, [Rome] 1990, p. 186; B. Rosada, *op. cit.*, p. 15 note 60.

³⁶ Beatrice R. Reynolds, *Latin Historiography: A Survey, 1400-1600*, "Studies in the Renaissance" 2 (1955), p. 7-66 (15); Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Fr. Tateo, *op. cit.*, p. 188; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 427;

also with Domizio Calderini³⁷, Porcellio Pandoni³⁸, Gaspare Veronese³⁹, Antonio Bonfini⁴⁰. Afterwards, beginning with 1472, he settled himself at Udine⁴¹, where he was eyewitness of the Turkish invasion in Friuli during the same year. During ten years, he taught rhetoric in that city, between 1473 and 1483⁴². His Friulan sejour also represented his first contact with the study of the Venetian history, by his own

A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 23 note 4. For Giulio Pomponio Leto (1428, Teggiano, Salerno-1497, Rome), professor of ancient history in Rome and at a certain moment taking refuge in Venice, see Vladimir Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, 2 vols., Grottaferrata 1910, 1912; Frederic Melvin Wheelock, *Leto's Hand and Tasso's Horace*, "Harvard Studies in Classical Philology" 52 (1941), p. 99-123; Giovanni Muzzioli, *Due nuovi codici autografi di Pomponio Leto. Contributo allo studio della scrittura umanistica*, "Italia medioevale e umanistica" 2 (1959), p. 337-351; Alessandro Perosa, *L'edizione veneta di Quintiliano coi commenti del Valla, di Pomponio Leto, e di Sulpizio da Veroli*, in *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, 2, Padua 1981, p. 575-610; E. Cochrane, op. cit., p. 51 and passim.

³⁷ M. L. King, op. cit., p. 427; A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 23 note 4. For Domizio Calderini (Domitius Calderinus) (1444/1446, Verona-1478, Rome), professor of rhetoric at Rome since 1470, see A. John Dunston, *Studies in Domizio Calderini*, "Italia medioevale e umanistica" 11 (1968), p. 71-150; Donatella Coppini, *Il commento a Properzio di Domizio Calderini*, "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa" 9 (1979), p. 1119-1173; Maurizio Campanelli, *Polemiche e filologia ai primordi della stampa. Le Observations di Domizio Calderini*, Rome 2001; Francesca Lazzarin, *Domizio Calderini e Giorgio Trapezunzio nella disputa quattrocentesca tra Platonici e Aristotelici*, "Medioevo e Rinascimento" 15 [new series, 12] (2001), p. 105-176.

³⁸ M. L. King, op. cit., p. 427; A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 23 note 4. About Giovanni Antonio Pandoni (nicknamed Porcellio or Porcellino Napolitano) (c. 1405, Naples-after 1485), it is known that, beside Naples, he also taught in Rome, Rimini, Milan, and in 1452 he became laureate poet under Emperor Frederic III; also, as a result of Lodovico Foscari's insistences, he wrote about the Venetian position under the circumstances of the events in 1453. cf. M. Foscari, op. cit., p. 246, 247 note 1.

³⁹ M. L. King, op. cit., p. 427; A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 23 note 4. For Gaspare Veronese, who wrote around 1,450 books of grammar and rhetoric and professor of Latin at Rome, see Eva Matthews Sanford, *Gaspare Veronese, Humanist and Teacher*, "Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association" 84 (1953), p. 190-209; Avery Andrews, *The 'Lost' Fifth Book of the Life of Pope Paul II by Gaspar of Verona*, "Studies in the Renaissance" 17 (1970), p. 7-45.

⁴⁰ E. Cochrane, op. cit., p. 85. The humanist and poet Antonio Bonfini (Antonius Bonfinius) (1427/1434, Ascoli-1502/1505) established in his last years of life (since 1486) as courtly historian in Hungary around King Matthias Corvinus, where he wrote *Rerum Ungaricarum decades tres* (first edition: Basel 1543), and also *Historia Pannonica sive Hungaricorum decades IV et dimidia*, Cologne 1690 [a previous edition: *Ungarische Chronica*, Frankfurt on Main 1581]. For his personality, see among others: N. Iorga, *Cărți reprezentative în viața omenirii. III*, "Revista Istorică" 15 (1929), 4-6, p. 97-123; 7-9, p. 193-229; 10-12, p. 297-345 (304-310); Giulio Amadio, *La vita e l'opera di Antonio Bonfini*, Montalto Marche 1930; volume *Antonio Bonfini – storico umanista ascolano*, Ascoli Piceno 1993 and more recently Manuela Martellini, *Antonio Bonfini. Un Umanista alla Corte di Mattia Corvino*, Viterbo 2007.

⁴¹ G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo* cit., p. 339; M. L. King, op. cit., p. 426; E. Cochrane, op. cit., p. 83; B. Rosada, op. cit., p. 15 note 60.

⁴² G. Cozzi, *Cultura* cit., p. 219; A. Pertusi, *Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica* cit., p. 319; D. S. Chambers, op. cit., p. 25; Ed. Fueter, op. cit., p. 39; Fr. Gaeta, op. cit., p. 65; M. L. King, op. cit., p. 426; A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 23 note 4.

initiative⁴³. Reaching Venice in 1483⁴⁴ or 1484⁴⁵, Sabellico did not stay there for long, leaving for Verona in order to accompany Benedetto Trevisano, appointed as captain in that city⁴⁶. The plague that broke out in that year has been invoked as reason for leaving Venice⁴⁷.

Under these chronological circumstances, the information according to which Sabellico would have been cardinal Bessarion's secretary for several years⁴⁸ is refuted, since the illustrious founder of the library of San Marco had deceased since 1472.

It has been noted Sabellico's strong affection towards his foster land⁴⁹. It would result from the great number of Venetian patricians and citizens that were among his friends, among whom we mention Daniele Renier, who was his protector⁵⁰,

⁴³ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁴⁴ Cf. M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 526; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 65-66 note 190.

⁴⁵ Cf. Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 525. For Sabellico's arrival to Venice, A. Pertusi mentions year 1487, while for his departure to Verona the beginning of 1488, cf. A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

⁴⁶ A. Zeno, *op. cit.*, p. xxxix; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 250 note 1; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 319; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁴⁷ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 65-66 note 190; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 426; A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 23 note 4.

⁴⁸ W. H. Davenport Adams, *The Queen of the Adriatic* cit., p. 202.

⁴⁹ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 253 and note 1; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 329; G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo* cit., p. 347.

⁵⁰ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 253 note 1. For Daniele Renier (c. 1458-?), corrector of the dogal state and member of Aldina Academy, see *Ibidem*, p. 31 note 1, 389 note 2.

Benedetto Trevisan, Gasparo Contarini⁵¹, Giovanni Pierio Valeriano⁵², Giovanni Francesco Fortunio⁵³, Antonio Moreto⁵⁴, Marino Sanudo⁵⁵, so that our author was in a

⁵¹ J. L. Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Vallas's und Seiner Bibliothek*, Leipzig 1896, p. 32 apud M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 427. For Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542), appointed in 1535 in the College of the cardinals and then assisting as bishop of Bologna, also author of a huge number of works – especially in the field of philosophy and political science – see, among others, Joanne Casa, *Gasparis Contareni Vita*, in *Joannis Casae Latina monumenta*, 1567; mons. Lodovico Beccatello, *Vita del cardinale Gasparo Contarini*, Brescia 1746; Giuseppe de Leva, *Della vita e delle opere del Card. Gasparo Contarini*, Padua 1863; Ludwig von Pastor, *Die Correspondenz des Cardinals Contarini während seiner deutschen Legation (1541)*, "Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft" 1 (1880), p. 321-392, 473-501; Franz Dittrich, *Gasparo Contarini, 1483-1542: eine Monographie*, Nieuwkoop 1972 [Braunsberg 1885]; G. Bianchini, *Un magistrato-cardinale del secolo XVI*, 1895; Hanns Rückert, *Die theologische Entwicklung Gaspare Contarinis*, Bonn 1926; Herman Hackert, *Die Staatschrift Gasparo Contarini*, Heidelberg 1940; Hubert Jedin, *Kardinal Contarini als Kontroverstheologe*, Münster 1949; Idem, *Gasparo Contarini e il contributo veneziano alla riforma cattolica*, in *La civiltà veneziana del Rinascimento*, Florence 1958, p. 103-124; Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Cardinal Gasparo Contarini and the beginning of Catholic Reform*, dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 1963; F. Gilbert, *The Date of the Composition of Contarini's and Giannotti's Books on Venice*, "Studies in the Renaissance" 14 (1967), p. 172-184; Idem, *Religion and politics in the thought of Gasparo Contarini*, in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. A. H. Harbison* (ed. by Theodore K. Rabb & Jerrold E. Seigel), Princeton 1969, p. 90-116; James Bruce Ross, *Gasparo Contarini and His Friends*, "Studies in the Renaissance" 17 (1970), p. 192-232; Idem, *The Emergence of Gasparo Contarini: A Bibliographical Essay*, "Church History" 41 (1972), 1, p. 22-45; Lester J. Libby jr., *Venetian History and Political Thought after 1509*, "Studies in the Renaissance" 20 (1973), p. 7-45 (especially 17-30); Gigliola Fragnito, *Contarini, Gasparo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 28, Rome 1983, p. 172-192; the studies in volume *Gaspare Contarini e il suo tempo*; G. Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini: Un magistrato veneziano al servizio della Cristianità*, Florence 1988; E. Gleason, *Reading between the Lines of Gasparo Contarini's Treatise on the Venetian State*, "Historical Reflections / Reflexions Historiques" 15 (1988), p. 251-270; Idem, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1993 [= <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/t42900552/>]; Stephen Bowd, "The tune is marred": citizens and the people in Gasparo Contarini's *Venice*, "European Review of History / Revue européenne d'histoire" 7 (2000), 1, p. 83-97; Paul F. Grendler, *Gasparo Contarini and the University of Padua*, in *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations* (ed. by Ronald K. Delph & Michelle M. Fontaine & John Jeffries Martin), Kirksville 2006, p. 135-150; a bibliography, in Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 1 (1990), p. 1119-1120 [= http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/c/contarini_g.shtml, 2001]; for his diplomatic activity, as Papal legate at Ratisbona, see Theodor Brieger, *Gaspare Contarini und das Regensburger Konkordienwerk des Jahre 1541*, Gotha 1870; G. de Leva, *La Concordia Religiosa di Ratisbona e il Cardinale Gaspare Contarini*, "Archivio Veneto" 4 (1872), p. 5-36; Orestes Ferrara, *Gasparo Contarini et ses missions* (transl. by Frances de Miomandre), [Paris] 1956; Heinz Mackensen, *The Diplomatic Role of Gasparo Cardinal Contarini at the Colloquy of Ratisbon of 1541*, "Church History" 27 (1958), 4, p. 312-337; Idem, *Contarini's theological role at Ratisbon in 1541*, "Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte" 51 (1960), p. 36-57; Peter Matheson, *Cardinal Contarini at Regensburg*, Oxford 1972. G. Contarini's personality led in time to the setting up of many 'lives' of him (for these, see M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 319 notes 2 and 3).

⁵² J. L. Heiberg, *op. cit.* apud M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 427. For Giovanni Pierio Valeriano (Giovanni Pietro dalle Fosse) (1477, Belluno-1558, Padua), later established in Rome, in the humanistic circle around Pope Leo X, and after the *saccò di Roma*, in Bologna, Ferrara and finally Padua, author of *Hieroglyphicorum ex Sacris Aegyptiorum Literis*, Florence 1556, see Vera Lettere, *Dalle Fosse, Giovanni Pietro (Pierio Valeriano; Bolzanio Pierio, Valeriano)*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli*

continuous connection with various Venetian political and cultural personalities⁵⁶. He would have also been among the scholars that were around Aldo Manuzio⁵⁷. Sabellico's

Italiani, 32, Rome 1986, p. 84-88; Paolo Pellegrini, *Nuovi contributi per la biografia di Pierio Valeriano. Per la genealogia ed i benefici bellunesi (con documenti inediti)*, "Italia medioevale e umanistica" 37 (1994), p. 250-264; Idem, *Cenni biografici su Pierio Valeriano*, "Archivio storico di Belluno, Feltre e Cadore" 292 (1995), p. 155-159; Idem, *Per la biografia di Pierio Valeriano Bolzanio. Ulteriori contributi, in La Certosa di Vedana. Storia, cultura e arte in un ambiente delle Prealpi bellunesi. Atti del Colloquio. Sospirolo (Belluno), 21 ottobre 1995* (ed. by Lucilla Sandra Magoga & Francesco Marin), Florence 1998, p. 183-194; Julia Haig Gaisser, *Pierio Valeriano on the Ill-Fortune of Learned Men: A Renaissance Humanist and His World*, Ann Arbor 1999; P. Pellegrini, *Pierio Valeriano e la tipografia del 500: nascita, storia e bibliografia delle opere di un umanista*, Udine 2002; meanwhile, we are waiting for the publishing of Stéphane Rolet's thesis, entitled *Les Hieroglyphica (1556) de Pierio Valeriano: somme et source du langage symbolique de la Renaissance* (supervisor Maurice Brock), Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Université François Rabelais, Tours.

⁵³ Carlo Dionisotti, *Il Fortunio e la filologia umanistica*, in *Rinascimento europeo e rinascimento veneziano* (ed. by V. Branca), Florence 1967, p. 11-23 (20) apud M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 427, but especially Idem, *M. Sabellico e G. F. Fortunio*, in Idem, *Gli umanisti e il volgare fra Quattro e Cinquecento*, Florence 1968, p. 15-26. For Giovanni Francesco Fortunio (1450-1517), Dalmatian jurist and man of letters, discharging many public duties at Triest (1497-1498), then *podestà* in Ancona, author of *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua*, Ancona 1516, see Maurizio Vitale, *L'atteggiamento generale di Giovan Francesco Fortunio in ordine al problema ortografico*, "Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze, Lettere e Arti. Classe di Lettere" 84 (1951), p. 227-244 (reprinted in Idem, *Studi di storia della lingua italiana*, Milan 1992, p. 95-110); Gino Belloni, *Alle origini della filologia e della grammatica italiana: il Fortunio*, in *Linguistica e filologia. Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale dei linguisti (Milano, 12-14 settembre 1984)*, Brescia 1987; E. Werner, *Giovan Francesco Fortunio und die Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua (1516)*, "Vox romanica" 53 (1994), p. 49-78; Gino Pistilli, *Fortunio, Giovanni Francesco*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 49, Rome 1997, p. 257-260.

⁵⁴ John Monfasani, *The First Call for Press Censorship: Niccolò Perotti, Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Antonio Moreto, and the Editing of Pliny's Natural History*, "Renaissance Quarterly" 41 (1988), 1, p. 1-31 (15 note 55, 17, 19-20). For A. Moreto, see Patricia J. Osmond de Martino, *A Humanist Bookseller in Venice: Antonio Moreto, 'il cardinal libraio'*, Iowa State University, 2004; Idem, *Il testamento di Antonio Moreto, editore e mercante di libri a Venezia (22 maggio 1501)*, "Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 163 (2004-2005), p. 1-27.

⁵⁵ G. Berchet, *Prefazione*, in Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii*, 1, Venice 1879, p. 55 (where it is about the sending of the Sabellico's work about Aquileia to the Venetian senator).

⁵⁶ For the exchange of letters, see M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

⁵⁷ Ambrois Firmin-Didot, *Aldo Manuce et l'hellenisme à Venise*, Paris 1875, p. 149, retaken by M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 427. For Aldo Manuzio (1449 or c. 1450. Sermoneta or Bassiano. Lazio-1515. Venice), regarded as the greatest printer of his times and the first editor in the modern sense of the word, established in Venice since 1490, see, among other many studies, Julius Schück, *Aldus Manutius und seine Zeitgenossen in Italien und Deutschland*, Berlin 1862; Armand Baschet, *Aldo Manuzio: Lettres et documents*, Venice 1867; A. Firmin-Didot, *op. cit.*; Idem, *La Renaissance de l'hellénisme et Aldo Manuce*, "Revue de France", 1875, p. 1-31; Carlo Castellani, *La stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio seniore*, Venice 1889; Mario Ferrigni, *Aldo Manuzio*, Milan 1925; Edward Robertson, *Aldus Manutius, the scholar-printer, 1450-1515*, Manchester 1950; Antje Lemke, *Aldus Manutius and his "Thesaurus cornucopiae" of 1496*, Syracuse, New York 1958; Edgardo Bartelucci, *Genealogia e discendenza dei Manuzio, tipografi-umanisti-editori dei secoli XV-XVI*, Florence 1961; Leonardas V. Gerulaitis, *The Ancestry of Aldus Manutius*, "Renaissance News" 19 (1966), 1, p. 1-11; Martin John Clement Lowry, *Two Great*

relationship with Venice made François Beaucaire to call him as *Venetum* in the foreword of his commentaries to *Rerum gallicarum*⁵⁸. Despite all these affinities towards the city, E. Fueter surprisingly considers that Sabellico's history has nothing Venetian in it and that it is only by chance when one could note there ideas inspired from the real life⁵⁹. The same scholar also thinks that, although Sabellico "*aveva una solida cultura umanistica ed era molto versato nella lettura di storici antichi e moderni*", he "*né conosceva Venezia, né aveva potuto formarsi in qualche modo un'idea chiara della vita pubblica* [emphasis mine: of Venice]"⁶⁰. "*E come avrebbe potuto essere altrimenti?*", Fueter continues, "*Al Sabellico mancava persino la più elementare comprensione per l'essenza della politica veneziana*."⁶¹ All these assertions are probably presented by E. Fueter in order to impose the idea that Sabellico explained the historical events relying exclusively on what he had learned in school⁶², and thus not on his contact with reality. The conclusion is as more stupefying as it does not take the two Sabellico's works into consideration, *De magistratibus* and *De situ*, which deal exactly with the Venetian political system⁶³! Fueter's position comes into direct contradiction with G. Cozzi's, who at a certain moment criticizes Sabellico exactly for according the absolute priority to the Venetian history to the prejudice of the facts outside of Italy⁶⁴. It is also definitely rejected by F. Gaeta, who notes that "*al contrario, Sabellico fu capace di ricostruire con una sufficientemente penetrante esattezza quella ch'era stata la temperie politica in cui si era mossa Venezia nella lotta contro l'espansionismo di Filippo Maria Visconti: [...]*". Thus, Gaeta reveals Sabellico's political viewpoint, not only in the context of the conflict with Milan, but also regarding the description of the reasons that led Venice to conclude the peace with the Turks in

Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius. "Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester" 57 (1974), p. 128-166; C. Dionisotti, *Aldo Manuzio editore. Dediche. Preziosi. Note ai testi*, 2 volumes, Milan 1975; M. J. Lowry, *The "New Academy" of Aldus Manutius: A Renaissance Dream*. "Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester" 58 (1975), p. 378-420; Idem, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice*, Oxford 1979 [between <http://www.apollonius.net/lowry01e.html> and <http://www.apollonius.net/lowry08e.html>]; Nicolas Barker, *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century*, Sandy Hook, Connecticut 1985; Ine Soepnel & Festina Lente, *Aldus Manutius drukker/uitgever*, Zutphen 1986; Harry George Fletcher, *New Aldine Studies: Documentary Essays on the Life and Works of Aldus Manutius*, San Francisco 1988; Helen Barolini, *Aldus and his Dream Book: An Illustrated Essay*, New York 1992; volume *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano 1494-1515* (ed. by Susy Marcon & Marino Zorzi), Venice 1994; Martin Davies, *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice*, London 1995; volume *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance culture. Essays in memory of Franklin D. Murphy. Acts of an International conference, Venice and Florence, 14-17 June 1994* (ed. by David S. Zeidberg), Florence 1998.

⁵⁸ Cf. M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 253 note 2. It is about Beaucaire de Peguillon (1514, Creste, Bourbonnais-1591 or 1593, bishop of Metz), author of *Rerum Gallicarum commentarii 1461-1580*, Lyon 1625.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 42.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 40.

⁶³ For these two works, see *infra*, p. 145 and notes 78-83.

⁶⁴ G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione cit.*, p. 220-221.

1480 or to the launching of the war of Ferrara in 1482⁶⁵. Furthermore, the Italian scholar insists upon “*la capacità e la prontezza ad adeguarsi alle ragioni dei suoi ospiti, da parte di un uomo che non era né veneziano né tanto meno membro della classe di governo, nemmeno in posizione esecutiva*”⁶⁶. As for E. Fueter, in order to prepare somehow the ground for demonstrating his own conclusions, he also notes that the economic basis of the Venetian power were excluded by Sabellico and also by Flavio Biondo⁶⁷. Nevertheless, the marginalisation of the economic respect does not represent an element typical for Sabellico, but it could be noticed in the works of several doubtless Venetian writers, like Andrea Dandolo, Bernardo Giustinian, etc.

Sabellico passed away in 1506⁶⁸, and M. King even presents that date of it, that is May 20⁶⁹, and also of his will: March 15⁷⁰.

Sabellico's other works

The first important work of Sabellico dates from the period when he settled in Udine, around 1482, according to M. Foscarini⁷¹, or from 1478, according to A. Knowles Frazier⁷². It is about *De vetustate Aquileiae et Foriulii libri VI*⁷³, *De vetustate Aquileiae libri VI*⁷⁴ or *De vetustate Aquileiensis patrie*⁷⁵, divided in six books and dedicated to the Venetian patrician Giovanni Emo⁷⁶, at that moment elected as general *provveditore* of the Venetian troops sent against Ferrara. Composed during a summer vacation (1482)⁷⁷, the work is remarkable for its celerity, somehow previewing the fast rhythm in which *Rerum Venetarum* would be written.

⁶⁵ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 72. For the context created by the war of Ferrara and the more and more insistent anti-Venetianism in the period, see also G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo cit.*, p. 339.

⁶⁶ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁶⁷ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁶⁸ Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 222; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 184; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 319; G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 355; D. S. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39, 45; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 83; L. J. Libby jr., *op. cit.*, p. 42; E. Breisach, *op. cit.*; A. Boureau, *op. cit.*, p. 137; G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 765; Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Immagini di un mito* (transl. by Matteo Sanfilippo), in *Storia di Venezia*, IV cit., p. 579-601 (594); D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 50; E. Crouzet-Pavan, *Venezia trionfante. Gli orizzonti di un mito* [*Venise triomphante. Les horizons d'un mythe*] (transl. by Edi Pasini), Turin 2001 [Paris 1999], p. 210 note 14; J. S. Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 234 note 17; A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 22-23 note 4; B. Rosada, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁶⁹ M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 426; see also A. Knowles Frazier, *op. cit.*

⁷⁰ A. Zeno, *op. cit.*, p. lxxviii-lxxi apud M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 426. For other references to his life, see also G. Mercati, *Attorno a M. A. Sabellico*, in Idem, *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti*, 2, Città del Vaticano 1939, p. 1-23; Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in historical Thought*, Cambridge 1948, p. 16-17; H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Italian Renaissance*, Princeton, New Jersey 1955, p. 605-606.

⁷¹ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 254 and note 3; see also Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁷² A. Knowles Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁷³ Cf. M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 254-255; G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione cit.*, p. 219; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 321-325; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 521 note 72; A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 23 note 4.

⁷⁴ Cf. Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁷⁵ Cf. A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 319, 321; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁷⁶ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 219; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Ibidem*.

Sabellico was also the author of two works dealing exclusively with the Republic's internal policy. The first of them, *De venetae urbis situ*, was dedicated to Girolamo Donato and written in the time of Doge Agostino Barbarigo; according to G. Cozzi, this work "permetteva al Sabellico non solo di riprendere il tema delle origini della città, ma soprattutto di indugiare [emphasis mine: upon it], con amorosa attenzione, impiegando il meglio delle sue qualità letterarie, sulla bellezza delle contrade veneziane."⁷⁸ The second one, published in Venice in 1488, was *De venetis magistratibus*, dedicated directly to A. Barbarigo and destined to commend the Venetian constitution. It was conceived as a dialogue between Sebastiano Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan, meaning the podestà, respectively the captain of Verona in the period when Sabellico lived there⁷⁹. In connection to this latter work, F. Gaeta noticed a coincidence with a topic once put into circulation by George of Trapezunt⁸⁰. Regarded as unconvincing by A. Pertusi⁸¹ as also as being written in a too fast manner⁸², these two works are regarded as forming, along with *Rerum Venetarum*, as a trilogy⁸³, and it is probably the reason for which G. Cozzi places erroneously the publishing of *Rerum* in 1489.

As a whole, the most edifying work of Sabellico was regarded as being *Enneades sive Rhapsodia historiarum*⁸⁴, regarded as "un coraggioso tentativo di storia

⁷⁸ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 222. See also A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 329; Robert Finlay, *La vita politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, Milan 1982 [*Politics in Renaissance Venice*, Rutgers, New Jersey 1980], p. 34 note 3. Edited in *Opera*, 4, p. 249 ff. A vulgar edition, in *Del sito di Venezia*, 1502 (ed. by G. Meneghetti), Venice 1957 apud Deborah Howard, *Venice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500*, New Haven 2000.

⁷⁹ Cf. G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 222; see also A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 329-330. Edited in *Opera*, 4, p. 278-300. For these two works, see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 253, 254, 346 note 3; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 69-70; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 50. For *De Veneti Magistratibus*, see also Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 153; L. J. Libby, *op. cit.*, p. 43 (who compares it with Gasparo Contarini's work); D. Raines, *Office Seeking, Broglio, and the Pocket Political Guidebook in Cinquecento and Seicento Venice*, "Studi Veneziani", new series, 22 (1991), p. 137-194 (164-165).

⁸⁰ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 74 note 220. For George of Trapezunt (1395, in Creta-1484 or 1486, Rome), settled in Italy after 1420 (according to other viewpoints, even after the Council in Ferrara-Florence) and established as professor of Greek language in various cities (Mantua, Florence, Venice, Vicenza, Rome, Naples), see, among others, Ferdinando Gabboto, *Ancora un letterato del 1400*, Città di Castello 1890; Giorgio Castellani, *Giorgio da Trebisonda maestro di eloquenza a Vicenza e a Venezia*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto" 11 (1896), p. 123-142; Fr. Gaeta, *Giorgio da Trebisonda, le "Leggi" di Platone e la costituzione di Venezia*, "Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano e Archivio Muratoriano" 82 (1970), p. 479-501; John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic*, Leiden 1976; Francesca Lazzarin, *Domizio Calderini e Giorgio Trapezunzio nella disputa quattrocentesca tra Platonicis e Aristotelici*, "Medioevo e Rinascimento" 15 / new series 12 (2001), p. 105-176.

⁸¹ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

⁸² G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 763.

⁸³ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 221; see also Idem, *Marin Sanudo*, p. 342; E. Crouzet-Pavan, *Immagini di un mito*, *cit.*, p. 594.

⁸⁴ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 42; for this work, see W. K. Ferguson, *Humanist Views of the Renaissance*, "American Historical Review" 45 (1939), 1, p. 1-28 (16-17); Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 42-45; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 85-86. Edited in *Opera Omnia*, apud E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 522 note 79. See

universale"⁸⁵ or as "*primo tentativo umanistico di storia universale*"⁸⁶, but "*ad emulazione del Biondo*"⁸⁷. Despite these assertions, even this colossal work, which comes to an end by referring to year 1504⁸⁸, fixed Venice again in the centre, especially because the first seven *Enneade* were dedicated to Agostino Barbarigo, while the eighth one to the following doge, that is Leonardo Loredan (1501-1521)⁸⁹, but also because this latter book begins with the foundation of Venice – meanwhile, for instance the seventh one had begun with the birth of Jesus Christ⁹⁰. At the same time, during the digression at the beginning of the first *Enneade*, the author had insisted upon the Venetian dialect⁹¹. In addition, E. Fueter's notes that the last books of this work with universal vocation are rather a sequel of *Rerum Venetarum*⁹², while F. Gaeta refers to another respect, that is that *Enneades* would have been written due to the author's need to defend his dignity as historian, which was the subject of many criticals at those times⁹³.

In order to establish Sabellico's view over the historical sciences, a particular importance is also provided by his *Oratio de laudibus historiae*⁹⁴, which is actually a *laudatio* for his own idol, Titus Livy⁹⁵, regarded as above all those that had preceded him (Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Trogus Pompeius, Cato, Sallustius are taken by Sabellico into account) and the entire ancient historiography, against which he proves disdain, surprisingly for a character that pretended as being a humanist⁹⁶. In the same encomiastic milieu is also *Oratio M. Antonii Sabellici in funere Zachariae Barbari, patritii veneti, equitis et procuratoris s. Marci*⁹⁷.

also *Rapsodiae historiarum enneadum*, Paris 1509 (edited again in Paris, in 1516-1517, 1527 and in Lyon, in 1535).

⁸⁵ Cf. G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione* cit., p. 222.

⁸⁶ Cf. A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 330; in the same sense, see also Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁸⁷ Cf. A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 330; see also Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 42 (who, beside Biondo's learned modern historiography, notices the origin also from the ancient sources).

⁸⁸ B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 15; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 330; Ed. Fueter, *Storia*, p. 39. As a matter of fact, the first seven *Enneade* were published in 1498, and the following ones in 1504, cf. Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 69-70.

⁸⁹ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁹⁰ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 44; see also W. K. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁹¹ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 44. For this topic, see also C. Dionisotti, *Gli umanisti e il volgare* cit., p. 15-26.

⁹² Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 44; see also Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 73 and note 215.

⁹⁴ Edited in *Opera Omnia*, 4, Basel 1560. The work was compiled in 1493, apud E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 521 note 70.

⁹⁵ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 221; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 69 and note 201 (considering this *Oratio* as a very necessary work in its whole); E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 83, 521 note 70; Fr. Tateo, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

⁹⁶ We exemplify through some expressions referring to the ancient chronicles, such as "*quedam ignobilium scriptorium monumenta*", "*que omnia tam squalida fedaque barbarie operta offendi, ut nemo cognoscende historie tam cupidus sit, quem non facile ad institute lectione avertere potuisset*", cf. *Rerum*, in *Opera*, 2, col. 1085 (inside of the dedication to Marco Barbarigo) apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 327 and note 1.

⁹⁷ Edited in 1559 in Venice, and then in Paris in 1577. Zaccaria Barbaro passed away in 1492, cf. Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

Sabellico's activity in the fields of poetry⁹⁸, philosophy⁹⁹, and rhetoric¹⁰⁰ has also been noticed. He was also the author of the ten books that formed *Exempla*, representing a collection of moral texts and historical anecdotes published in Venice in 1507¹⁰¹. Regarded as not important by E. Fueter, this work proves the author's extensive interest area. It is about a work that, in Petrarch's style in his *Res memorandae*, refers strictly to the ancient history¹⁰². It was also Sabellico's speech entitled *De usu philosophiae*¹⁰³ that has been taken into consideration, in which he affirms again the 'Platonic' feature of the Venetian Republic¹⁰⁴, while his *Carmi*¹⁰⁵ and especially the panegyric *Genethliacon* refer one more time to the myths of Venice¹⁰⁶. On his turn, Fr. Tateo refers to another work, that is *De latinae linguae reparatione*¹⁰⁷. Beside all these works, it has been supposed the existence of several others, regarded as being lost¹⁰⁸.

Sources of *Rerum Venetarum*

At a certain moment, Gino Benzoni refers to the "*frettoloso utilizzo di fonti eterogenee*" by Sabellico¹⁰⁹. Anyhow, the main work that has analysed Sabellico's history is due to Ruggero Bersi, although it confines the investigation to the first

⁹⁸ Fr. Tateo, *op. cit.*, p. 196, 208.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 196-197.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 196-202, 207 (with reference to the praising of Cicero), 208.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *Opera Omnia*, 4, Basel 1560, p. 6-130. Another edition is dated in 1518 (Strassburg), and is used by Mirella Galletti, *Un dipinto della battaglia di Cialdiran in Sicilia*, "Kervan. Rivista internazionale di studi afroasiatici" 2 (2005), p. 23-53, while Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 362 referred for *Marci Antonii Sabellici Exemplorum libri decem* to an even older edition, Venice 1507. Speaking about this work, L. J. Libby jr., *op. cit.*, p. 43 investigates it from the perspective of the Venetian humanism from the period previous to the War of Cambrai, a fact that is contrary to reality, according to which our historian had passed away previous to this conflict.

¹⁰² Cf. Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39. The work has been put into connection also with Giambattista Egnazio's writings, cf. L. J. Libby jr., *op. cit.*, p. 43. For the personality of Egnazio (Giovanni Battista Cipelli, on his real name) (c. 1478-1553), see in particular Giovanni Degli Agostini, *Notizie storiche spettanti alla Vita ed agli scritti di Battista Egnazio sacerdote Viniziano*, in *Raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici* (ed. by A. Calogerà), 23, Venice 1745, p. 1-191; L. J. Libby jr., *op. cit.*, p. 33-42; J. B. Ross, *Venetian Schools and Teachers Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century: A Survey and a Study of Giovanni Battista Egnazio*, "Renaissance Quarterly" 29 (1976), 4, p. 521-566 (especially 536-556); Elpidio Mioni, *Cipelli, Giovanni Battista*, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 25, Rome [1981], p. 698-702; Martin J. C. Lowry, *Giambattista Egnazio of Venice, 1478-4 July 1553*, in *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* (ed. by Peter G. Bietenholz & Thomas B. Deutscher), 3 volumes, Toronto 1985, p. 424-425.

¹⁰³ Cf. *Opera omnia*, 4, 1502, col. 514-515 apud Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 74 note 220; see also Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 74 note 220.

¹⁰⁵ In *Opera omnia*, 4, 1502, col. 527 apud Fr. Tateo, *op. cit.*, p. 189 note 19; see also E. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Fr. Tateo, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 210-213. See *De latinae linguae reparatione* (ed. by Guglielmo Bottari), Messina 1999.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 253-254 and note 4.

¹⁰⁹ G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 764.

Decade, a fact explicitly mentioned by Bersi¹¹⁰. As M. Foscarini had done previously, R. Bersi notices how, as a whole, the humanist from Lazio relies upon two main sources: Flavio Biondo and Benintendi de' Ravignani¹¹¹, regarded by Foscarini as having no authority¹¹², in comparison with what Foscarini regards as "*le buone cronache nostre*" or "*le cronache a penna*"¹¹³.

Regarding Flavio Biondo, Bersi notes that Sabellico uses *Historiarum ab Inclinatione Romanorum Decades* for his comparative analysis¹¹⁴. Practically, in his first Decade, Sabellico mentions explicitly ten times his predecessor¹¹⁵, in order either to combat his viewpoints¹¹⁶ and to criticize them¹¹⁷, or to offer a stronger authority to his own arguments¹¹⁸. However, the derivation of *Rerum Venetarum* from Biondo does not confine to the passages where Sabellico mentions explicitly the testimony of the historian of Forlì, since there are many cases in which he takes refuge behind several vague expressions, such as "*in quibusdam annalibus reperio, his temporibus ...*" (p. 125)¹¹⁹. In other cases, Sabellico does not mention Biondo at all, although the dependence is as clear as possible¹²⁰. As a whole, Sabellico either repeats faithfully the content, or offers a compendium of Biondo's text¹²¹. For supporting his demonstrations, R. Bersi proposes many comparative texts between Biondo and Sabellico. They refer

¹¹⁰ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 429-430; see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 214, respectively 146 note 2; B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 15; G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 220; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 68; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 83. For Biondo, see Blondi Flavii Forliviensis, *De Origine et Gestis Venetorum Liber*, in *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, 5, part 1 (ed. by Johann Georg Graevius), Leyden 1722, p. 1-26; see also Şerban Marin, *Flavio Biondo's Venetian History and the Debatable Beginnings of the 'Public Historiography' in Venice*, "Revista Istorică", new series, 25 (2014), 1-2, p. 101-121. For Benintendi, see G. Voigt, *Die Briefsammlungen Petrarca's u. der venetianische Staatskanzler Benintendi*, "Abhandlungen der III Klasse der Königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München" 16 (1883), p. 1-102 (especially p. 49-66); V. Bellemo, *La vita e i tempi di Benintendi de' Ravagnani Cancelliere grande della Veneta Repubblica*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", new series, 23 (1912), p. 237-284 and 24 (1912), p. 54-95; Nicholas Mann, *Benintendi Ravagnani, il Petrarca, l'umanesimo veneziano*, in *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, Florence 1976, p. 109-122; Idem, *Petrarca e la cancelleria veneziana* (transl. by Girolamo Arnaldi), in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 2: *Il Trecento*, Vicenza 1976, p. 517-535 (*passim*).

¹¹² M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 250 and note 2.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 250 note 4, 253.

¹¹⁴ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 446-447; see also G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 220 and note 9.

¹¹⁵ For their presentation, see R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 447 note 1.

¹¹⁶ It is about those dealing with the year of Venice's foundation (p. 17-18) or with the treaty with the Genoese in 1236 (p. 207).

¹¹⁷ It is about elements regarding the war against Pippin II (p. 37).

¹¹⁸ On this occasion, he calls Biondo as "*diligentissimum temporum computatorem*" (p. 233).

¹¹⁹ It refers to the relationship with Emperor Alexius I in the context of the anti-Norman campaign; it also refers to the presentation of Pope Alexander III's arrival in Venice in 1177 (p. 158), cf. R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

¹²⁰ Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 447, with reference to the whole Book Five of *Rerum*.

¹²¹ For examples, see *Ibidem*, p. 448-454. For the use of Biondo, see also B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, 15, 16; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 205; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 325-326; G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo cit.*, p. 340. On the other side, Sabellico rejects Biondo's testimony, according to which Venice would have been subjected to Pippin, noticing that "all historians of Venetian affairs positively deny that any surrender occurred [n. n. under the Franks]", apud B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

to Doge Obelerio Antenoreo (804-811)¹²², the anti-Norman expedition in favor of Emperor Alexius I and the capture of Jerusalem in 1099¹²³, the speech of Pope Urban I at Clermont¹²⁴, the First Crusade¹²⁵, the depiction of the future King Baldwin I during the First Crusade¹²⁶, Doge Domenico Michiel's (1117-1130) campaign in Syria¹²⁷, the Fourth Crusade¹²⁸, the war against Ezzelino da Romano¹²⁹, the death of Emperor Frederic II¹³⁰.

For the use of Flavio Biondo, one could add the comparative texts referring to the episode of *Partitio Romaniae*, presented by A. Carile¹³¹, who also notes that, when referring to this event, "*nel Sabellico sono evidenti due tipi di interventi sul testo del Biondo: anzitutto stilistici e, più importanti, di natura storica.*"¹³²

Like Biondo's work, Benintendi's chronicle is ten times mentioned explicitly in *Rerum Venetarum*, during this latter's first three books¹³³. However, there are many places where Sabellico refers to this source by using general phrases, such as "*alii vero*", "*quidam tradunt*", and so on¹³⁴. The derivation from this work is followed faithfully¹³⁵, and it becomes the main source for narrating the first centuries of Venetian history, especially in Books Two and Three¹³⁶. It is noteworthy the fact that Book Three of Sabellico's work comes to an end when referring to year 976, which coincides with the sudden end of Ravignani's chronicle¹³⁷. R. Bersi exemplifies this dependence by some comparative texts, referring to the foundation of the City¹³⁸ or to Doge Pietro Candiano IV (959-976)¹³⁹.

Nevertheless, Sabellico's favourite method was to resort to sources indeterminately, by referring to them through the agency of general phrases. Thus, Bersi counts more than 500 references using formulae like "*quidam tradunt ... alii ...*", "*auctores quos sequimur ...*", "*quidam annales habent ...*"¹⁴⁰, or "*tradunt*", "*ferrunt*"¹⁴¹,

¹²² R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 435-436.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 450-451 note 1.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 449.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 436-441.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 448.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 441-442, 457.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 459; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

¹²⁹ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 458.

¹³¹ A. Carile, *La cronachistica*, p. 205-206.

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 207.

¹³³ For their identification, see R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117 note 1; for this use, see also A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 326; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹³⁴ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹³⁵ For examples, see *Ibidem*, p. 117-119.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 119-120.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 116.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 118.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 120-122; for the use of Benintendi, see also B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁰ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 430-431.

¹⁴¹ Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 444-445; see also *Ibidem*, p. 144-145; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 326-327 (who, because of this reason, had doubts about the historian's responsibility); Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 65 (who notes that our historian does not mention the sources punctually).

all of them representing, according to A. Pertusi, “*la disperazione dei ricercatori delle fonti*”¹⁴². As a paranthesis, the use of the plural form represents nothing more than a trap, since Sabellico used these expressions even when it is obvious that he had only one source in mind, thus the plural achieving a purely theoretical value¹⁴³ or maybe becoming a method for the author to be not ‘unveiled’.

On the contrary, the explicit quotations are in much smaller number, and Bersi makes a separation in this point, that is between the references to the Greek and Latin writers on the one side, and those to authors closer in time to Sabellico¹⁴⁴. Certainly, the use of quotations from the classics is due to Sabellico’s affiliation to the humanistic movement and it is materialised by references to Cato, Titus Livy, Strabo, Cornelius Nepos, Plinius, but also Homer, Plato or Polybius¹⁴⁵, among others. Nevertheless, as Bersi notes, these authors could not be inserted among Sabellico’s historical sources, since their works’ content had nothing in common with the topic of *Rerum Venetarum*, and their testimony was adopted by Sabellico exclusively because of an excess of erudition and for ornamental and stylistic reasons¹⁴⁶, features typical for humanism.

The references to the medieval writers are less numerous. Beside Biondo and Ravignani, they are confined to Cassiodorus, Paul the Deacon, Pietro Damiani, Robert the Monk, Obbone Ravennate, Jacopo da Varazze¹⁴⁷. Even so, one could conclude their second-hand use, through the mediation of the two authors abovementioned. From this list, the only fragment used directly by Sabellico is the one due to Obbone Ravennate that refers to the peace of Venice in 1177¹⁴⁸, for which R. Bersi proposes several comparative texts¹⁴⁹. Some doubts has been expressed regarding the indirect use of writers like William of Tyre or Jacques de Vitry, and R. Bersi does not exclude the possibility for Sabellico to have these sources at hand. He offers textual comparisons between W. of Tyre/J. de Vitry-Biondo-Sabellico, in order to bring their influence into discussion¹⁵⁰. Beside these cases, as Bersi puts it, the references to the other authors are the result of Biondo’s and Ravignani’s mediation. The use of these sources at second hand is also noticed by A. Pertusi¹⁵¹; however, we could not understand on which basis

¹⁴² A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

¹⁴³ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 431.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 431: for a list of all the ancient authors that Sabellico refers to, see *Ibidem*, p. 431 note 1.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 431-432.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 432; see also Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 68 (who neglects Obbone Ravennate from the list). For the use of Jacopo da Varazze, see also Ovidiu Cristea, *Rivalitatea venețiano-genoveză în Marea Neagră: campanile lui Giustiniano Giustiniani (1323, 1328)*, “Revista Istorică”, new series, 15 (2004), 1-2, p. 89-106 (91). For Robert the Monk and Jacopo da Varazze as sources, see also R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 455-456.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 123. For this episode, the reference is also to manuscript Marc. Lat. X. 137, cf. *Ibidem*, p. 146, 147. For the use of Obbone, see also B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁹ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 124-125; the same for Marc. Lat. X. 137, cf. *Ibidem*, p. 146-147.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 456-458.

¹⁵¹ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

the same scholar considers that, on the contrary, *De vetustate Aquileiae* would have used directly various medieval sources¹⁵².

Thus, the three references to Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* are to be found out in the two authors: the fragments dealing with the origin of the Lombards and the conquest of Ravenna by King Liutprand are in Ravignani¹⁵³, while those referring to the treason of Doge Obelerio contains the same errors as in Biondo¹⁵⁴. In the same sense, Cassiodorus' letter addressed to the maritime tribunes is an excerpt from Benintendi, and Sabellico himself adds the mention saying that: "*mitto reliqua, quae ille longiore prosequitur epistola, quam Benintendius suis commentariis inseruit*" (p. 19)¹⁵⁵. When narrating the First Crusade, Sabellico mentions *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Robert the Monk, whom he calls "*Robertus Remensis*", a character about whom the only thing certain is that he wrote his work around year 1118. It is about three passages, presented by Bersi as a comparison in three: Robert-Biondo-Sabellico, which demonstrates the clear mediation of the historian of Forlì¹⁵⁶. The same Flavio Biondo is the one through whose agency Sabellico refers also to Jacopo da Varazze, explicitly mentioned in Book Six, in the context of the description of Doge Domenico Michiel's campaign in the Holy Land, this conclusion resulting from the same errors present in Biondo but absent in the Genoese chronicler¹⁵⁷.

As for the use of Pietro Damiani¹⁵⁸, one could note only one reference, that is the one dealing with Doge Domenico Selvo's (1071-1084) Byzantine wife. On this occasion, neither Ravignani – whose chronicle had already come to an end – nor Biondo could be invoked as mediators. However, it is neither on this occasion that Sabellico takes the information directly, but he resorts to the support of Lorenzo de' Monaci's work¹⁵⁹, and the comparative text demonstrates this filiation¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵² *Ibidem*. Beside Monaci (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 324), these sources would be: Paul the Deacon (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 324-325, 326), Paolinus of Aquileia (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 324-325), Rufinus (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 324-325), the chronicles ascribed to Giustinian (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 324), *Vitae pontificum* of Sacchi (Platina) (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 324), *Bellum gothicum* of Bruni (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 324) and *Historia bohémica* of Piccolomini (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 324).

¹⁵³ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 432-433, 434-435.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 435-436. For Paul the Deacon through Biondo's mediation, see also A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

¹⁵⁵ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 436-441. For Robert the Monk through Biondo's mediation, see also A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

¹⁵⁷ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 441-442.

¹⁵⁸ Listed as indirect source also by Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 68. For the use of Pietro Damiani in the Venetian historiography, see Ş. Marin, *Who Was the Bride and Who Was the Bridegroom? A Venetian-Byzantine Matrimonial Alliance in the 11th Century – between History and Legend*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica" 8 (2006), p. 53-74 (*passim*).

¹⁵⁹ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 443.

Thus, the discussion around the use of Monaci's work is necessary¹⁶¹. Practically, Monaci's name is mentioned nowhere in Sabellico's Venetian history¹⁶². Although Monaci is explicitly mentioned in another work of Sabellico, that is *De Vetustate Aquileiae*¹⁶³, one could conclude that this reference would actually originate also in a passage of Biondo's *Decades*¹⁶⁴. Therefore, there is no proof for any possible reading of the historical writing of the chancellor of Crete by our humanist in this case. Nevertheless, R. Bersi's investigation demonstrates Sabellico's dependence on Monaci in effectively all the books of the first Decade of *Rerum Venetarum*, although in various proportions, that is less in the first three books of it¹⁶⁵ – where Benintendi's chronicle is constantly the basis – but constantly in the other six¹⁶⁶. Thus, Book Four has Monaci as exclusive source¹⁶⁷. As we have already mentioned, like in the case of Benintendi or Biondo, also in using Monaci Sabellico resorts to his common vague expressions, “*tradunt*”, “*ferunt*”, and so on¹⁶⁸, sometimes the respective terms being detected in this source as such¹⁶⁹. Also like in using Biondo, Sabellico operates in various manners on Monaci's work: when the latter's narration is too extensive, Sabellico resorts to a compendium¹⁷⁰, but in other cases Sabellico has the tendency to amplify the text of the chancellor of Crete in its formal part, but preserving the content¹⁷¹. He simply attaches an allocution, maybe in order to enforce his own story¹⁷². R. Bersi also offers some comparative texts with Monaci's history, referring to Doge Domenico Selvo¹⁷³,

¹⁶¹ For the use of Monaci's history, beside Bersi's study, see also B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 15; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 324 (but referring to *De vetustate*), 326, 327; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 25, 68, 72 (for the idea of freedom); E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Roberto Borgis, *Creta nel Duecento. Dai Commentari di Antonio Calergi, cronista veneziano del secolo XV, "Quaderni medievali"* 28 (1989), p. 63-96 (especially 83-88) apud 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* (editori Gherardo Ortalli-Giorgio Ravegnani-Peter Schreiner), 1, Venice 2006, p. 125-237 (190 note 16); O. Cristea, *op. cit.*, p. 91. For Monaci, see Ş. Marin, *A Venetian Chronicler in Crete. The Case of Lorenzo de' Monaci and His Possible Byzantine Influences*, in *L'Italia e la frontiera orientale dell'Europa. 1204-1669 / Italy and Europe's Eastern Border. 1204-1660. Convegno internazionale di studi, Roma, 25-27 novembre 2010* (ed. by Iulian Mihai Damian, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Mihailo St. Popovic & Alexandru Simon), Frankfurt/Main-Berlin-Bern-Brussels-New York-Oxford-Vienna 2012, p. 237-258.

¹⁶² R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 127, 129.

¹⁶³ The mentioning of Monaci is reported by editor Flaminio Corner, in *Laurentii de Monacis Cretae Cancellarii Chronica de rebus venetis ab U. C. ad annum MCCCCLII. sive ad conjurationem ducis Faledro* (ed. by Flaminio Corner), Venice 1758, p. x. For *De vetustate*, see *supra*, p. 144.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. P. Buchholz, *Die Quellen der Historiarum Decades des Flavius Blondus*, Inaug. Dissert. Univ. Leipzig, Naumburg 1881, p. 46 apud R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 127 note 2.

¹⁶⁵ For these, see *Ibidem*, p. 129 note 1, including the quotation from Lucius Florus regarding the three ages, childhood, teens, and youth, applied to the beginnings of the city.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 129 and note 2.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 129 and note 3.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 129-130, 145 and, for examples, 130 note 1.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 130 and, for example, note 2.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 130-131 and, for examples, 131 note 1.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 131 and, for examples, note 2.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 131 and, for examples, note 3.

¹⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 443.

confrontations with the Narentani¹⁷⁴, the building of various churches¹⁷⁵, the death of Doge Domenico Flabanigo (1032-1043)¹⁷⁶, Pietro II Orseolo's dogeship (991-1009)¹⁷⁷, one of the Cretan mutinies¹⁷⁸, Peter the Hermit and the beginnings of the First Crusade¹⁷⁹, Sebastiano Ziani's dogeship (1172-1178)¹⁸⁰, the earthquake in 1347¹⁸¹. When analysing the relationship with Monaci in the fragments dealing with the Fourth Crusade and the Latin Empire, A. Pertusi noticed Biondo's and Sabellico's hesitations in using more elaborately the work of the Venetian chancellor of Crete, maintaining their dependence on the Western tradition, instead of following Monaci's innovations in using the Byzantine sources¹⁸². However, Pertusi noticed that a part of the corrections applied by Monaci to the Western tradition regarding those events left some traces¹⁸³ and that in general the version of the facts as presented by Andrea Dandolo is rejected¹⁸⁴, while Monaci's one accepted, although not entirely¹⁸⁵. Consequently, the scholar came to the conclusion that both Biondo and Sabellico would have known Monaci's corrected version of the facts, "*ma non ebbero il coraggio di staccarsi interamente da una persistente tradizione occidentale piena di errori, di origine, molto probabilmente, veneziana.*"¹⁸⁶. Meanwhile, it is probable that the use of Monaci by Sabellico to be due to Biondo's mediation¹⁸⁷.

As for Michele Foscarini, he denied the use of Dandolo by Sabellico¹⁸⁸, considering that the latter would have come into contact with the Dandolian *Extensa* exclusively through the mediation of Biondo and exemplifying through the manner of presentation of the episode of the anti-Venetian measures of Emperor Manuel I in 1171¹⁸⁹. In a first instance, also R. Bersi seems to embrace this viewpoint¹⁹⁰, but then he notices considerable differences in Biondo's text and conclude upon a greater

¹⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 140 note 1.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 133.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 134-135.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 133.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 135-137.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 137-138.

¹⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 139.

¹⁸² Cf. A. Pertusi, *Le fonti greche cit.*, p. 204. For the use of Byzantine sources by Monaci, see also Ş. Marin, *A Venetian Chronicler in Crete cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁸³ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

¹⁸⁴ For Andrea Dandolo as chronicler, see, among others, Ş. Marin, *A Double Pathfinder's Condition: Andrea Dandolo and His Chronicles*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica" 12-13 (2010-2011), p. 41-122.

¹⁸⁵ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 206; Idem, *Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica cit.*, p. 285.

¹⁸⁶ Idem, *Le fonti greche cit.*, p. 208.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 207.

¹⁸⁸ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 250 note 3.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 250 and note 3.

¹⁹⁰ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 135, then indicating Monaci's mediation and pointing out that the derivation of *Rerum* from Monaci's work continues even after the closing of the Dandolian long chronicle when narrating events in 1280, cf. *Ibidem*, p. 139.

approach between Sabellico and Dandolo¹⁹¹. Afterwards, he refers to another mediation, that is Monaci's¹⁹² and in the end Bersi demonstrates that Sabellico had Dandolo's text in front of him¹⁹³, rejecting Foscarini's statement¹⁹⁴. Thus, Bersi considers that Sabellico, while following Dandolo in the disposal of the historical events, on the contrary relies upon Monaci's testimony in his speech¹⁹⁵. This idea would be retaken by Bersi, insisting upon the manner of the disposal of the historical events, that is the narration of them for each doge in part, which is identical in Dandolo and Sabellico, on the contrary to the one followed by Monaci, who groups the facts of common topics in separated chapters¹⁹⁶. Henceforth, "*Dandolo potè servire al Sabellico come guida, e il De Monacis gli fornì i particolari.*"¹⁹⁷ Moreover, R. Bersi emphasizes two passages that, unknown to Monaci, are detected both in *Extensa* and in Sabellico's history¹⁹⁸. One should add that, in the third Decade, when his narration reaches the period of Doge Andrea Dandolo (1343-1354), Sabellico seems – no one knows because of which reason – to impose his readers the conviction that he was not aware of the Dandolian chronicles¹⁹⁹. As a matter of fact, the passage in Sabellico's work derives from the eulogium to the doge that R. Caresini inserted in the prologue of his own chronicle²⁰⁰. It is because of this reason that Bersi comes to the conclusion that, on the contrary to Foscarini's viewpoint and due to the fact that the Caresinian text is placed in many of the old codices as a continuation of the Dandolian work, Sabellico could not avoid Dandolo's chronicles²⁰¹. As comparative texts between Dandolo and Sabellico – through the mediation of either Biondo or Monaci –, Bersi refers to various battles with the Narentani in Dalmatia²⁰², the building of various churches²⁰³, the reference to Peter the Hermit²⁰⁴, Sebastiano Ziani's dogeship²⁰⁵, the Fourth Crusade²⁰⁶.

As for A. Pertusi, he refers to the 'filtration' due to the chronicles of Ravagnani and Monaci, which establishes the contact of Sabellico with *Extensa*²⁰⁷. However, the scholar disjoined Foscarini's viewpoint and noted that it is not to be excluded the

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 458-459, with comparative texts Dandolo-Biondo-Sabellico. about the episode in 1204, cf. *Ibidem*, p. 459.

¹⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 460, 135-139.

¹⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 130-131; see also E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

¹⁹⁴ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 442 note 1.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 140.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 140 note 1.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 141-142.

²⁰⁰ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 250; R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 142. For Raffaele Caresini (1314-1390). Republic's chancellor. see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 146, 147 and note 1; A. Carile, *Caresini, Rafaino (Raffain, Raphainus, Raphaynus, Raphael de Caresinis)*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 20, Rome 1977, p. 80-83.

²⁰¹ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 143-144.

²⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 140 note 1.

²⁰³ *Ibidem*.

²⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 135-137.

²⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 137-138.

²⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 459.

²⁰⁷ A. Pertusi, *Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica cit.*, p. 326.

possibility for Sabellico to have the Dandolian text at hand, as R. Bersi says²⁰⁸. On the other side, E. Fueter considers that the use of Dandolo could have been done through the compendium of Benintendi²⁰⁹. At a certain moment, Fr. Tateo considers that Sabellico's work seems, under the circumstances of the war of Ferrara, to retake Dandolo's arguments²¹⁰. We suppose that this statement refers to the method of writing history, since Dandolo's chronicle's reference to this war is out of question, due to the fact that it narrates the events previous to year 1280.

The vague formulae used for referring to the sources, as "*ferunt*" and the others, which we mentioned previously, created difficulties to R. Bersi. Whether in the cases of the use of Benintendi, Biondo or Monaci the scholar succeeded to establish the relationships, the difficulty becomes visible first and foremost in the attempt to determine connections between Sabellico and the anonymous chronicles. The latter's influence, although scanty²¹¹, was noticed in the legend referring to Manuel I Comnenus²¹², where the expression of "*apud quosdam rerum Venetarum scriptores reperio*" leads the Italian scholar to connections with chronicle in manuscript It. VII. 2034 at Marciana Library and the work ascribed to Zorzi Dolfín (It. VII. 794)²¹³, but the use of many other anonymous and unpublished chronicles is also possible²¹⁴. Anyhow, Bersi presents comparative texts also for another event, that is the siege of Tyre during Doge Domenico Michiel²¹⁵.

Also from the field of the Venetian chronicles, Altinate chronicle is mentioned by Bersi among Sabellico's sources²¹⁶. Concretely, the scholar refers to the Frankish siege over the lagoon, but also notes the possibility for an indirect use of this source²¹⁷.

Sometimes, it occurs that, during the one and the same narration, Sabellico uses two sources alternatively. For instance, in Book Five, when referring to the First Crusade, he follows Biondo at the beginning, but, from a certain point, he feels the necessity to insert the Venetian deeds and therefore he interpolates a fragment

²⁰⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁰⁹ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

²¹⁰ Fr. Tateo, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

²¹¹ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 145. Anyhow, its use is noticed by M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

²¹² Its text is edited in Ş. Marin, *Venice and translatio imperii. The Relevance of the 1171 Event in the Venetian Chronicles' Tradition*. "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 3 (2001), p. 45-103 (86).

²¹³ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 146. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1453*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2034 [= 8834], microfilm Pos. Marc. 145; Zorzi Dolfín, *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della Città sino all'anno 1458*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 794 [= 8503], microfilm Pos. Marc. 143; for the chronicle ascribed to Zorzi Dolfín, see Ş. Marin, *The Venetian Chronicle in Codex It. VII. 794 (8503) at Marciana National Library – Ascribed to Giorgio Delfino (Dolfín) and Transcribed by Nicolò Gussoni*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 89 (2012), 2, p. 41-62.

²¹⁴ Anyhow, as Filippo de Vivo, *Historical Justification of Venetian Power in Adriatic*, "Journal of the History of Ideas" 64 (2003), 2, p. 159-176 (163) notes, Sabellico amply enriched the Venetian previous chronicles that he relied upon and emphasized the dissimilarities among them.

²¹⁵ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

²¹⁶ For Altinate chronicle, see Ş. Marin, *Considerations regarding the Place of Chronicon Altinate in the Venetian Historical Writing*, "Revue des études sud-est européennes" 51 (2013), 1-4, p. 83-103.

²¹⁷ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

originating in Monaci. Afterwards, he returns to Biondo's text (f. 212-213)²¹⁸. In the end of his comprehensive and wide study, R. Bersi offers an analytical prospectus, establishing for each passage in part the source used by Sabellico in the first Decade of *Rerum Venetarum*. It includes, naturally in different proportions, Monaci, Biondo, Ravignani, Andrea Dandolo, Altinate, manuscript M 2034, Obbone Ravennate, manuscript Marc. Lat. X. 137, and Benedetto Trevisan (oral source)²¹⁹.

The absence of the use of Byzantine sources or the neglect of the Hungarian memoirs by Sabellico was penalized by both M. Foscarini²²⁰ and A. Pertusi²²¹, especially when referring to the books of L. Chalkokondylas, published shortly before *Rerum Venetarum*, and those of G. Sphrantzes²²². It has also been noticed that Sabellico could have the works of Pope Pius II at hand, along with those of Platina²²³ or *Vita* of

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 444.

²¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 151-162. Despite this imposing presentation of Bersi, A. Pertusi, *Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica* cit., p. 327, retaken by Giulio Zorzanello, *La cronaca veneziana trascritta da Gasparo Zancaruolo (codice Marciano It. VII. 2570, già Phillipps 5215)*, "Archivio Veneto", 5th series, 114 (1980), p. 37-66 (50 note 35), considered that the research over Sabellico's sources is far of being complete.

²²⁰ For the fact that he did not use these Hungarian historians, see Giovanni Cuspiniano, *De Turcorum origine*, Anvers 1541, p. 15; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 220. For ignoring Chalkokondylas, see *Ibidem*, p. 220; R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 427. Cuspiniano († 1529), author of *De Turcorum origine, religione et immanissima eorum in Christianos tyrannide*, Leyden 1654, was public speaker and diplomat in the service of Emperor Maximilian I, and also visitor of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland.

²²¹ See A. Pertusi. *Le fonti greche* cit., p. 161-162. 205, although the scholar noted that Sabellico would have known the Greek language, cf. *Ibidem*, p. 162 (just like M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 253 note 1 did), and, on the contrary to Foscarini and Bersi, that he would have been aware of Chalkokondylas' works, cf. A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 211; see also Idem, *La storiografia umanistica e il mondo bizantino dal sec. XIV al sec. XVIII*, in *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Filologia greca della Università di Palermo*, Palermo 1966, p. 12-17 (16 note 31). Idem, *Le fonti greche* cit., p. 208 note 1 also noticed a fragment from *Rerum* referring to Emperor Theodore I Laskaris, which is not to be detected neither in Dandolo and Monaci, nor in Nicetas Choniates.

²²² M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 222 note 2.

²²³ *Ibidem*, p. 220 note 4; see also R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 427 (for Pius II). A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 211 note 1 considered that Bersi would have indicated the use of Platina by Sabellico (personally, we were not able to detect any reference to Platina in R. Bersi's article), and also the use of the same source for *De vetustate*, cf. Idem, *Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica*, p. 324. For Bartolomeo de' Sacchi called Platina (1421, Piadena, near Cremona-1480 or 1481, Rome), appointed in 1478 as director of the Vatican library by Pope Sixtus IV, and his work, see *Vitae summorum pontificum ad Sixtum IV*, Venice 1479, we make reference to the rich bibliography provided by Stefan Bauer, in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 22 (2003), p. 1098-1103 [= http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/pl/platina_b.shtml], 2003, and to volume *Bartolomeo Sacchi, Il Platina (Piadena 1421-Roma 1481): atti del Convegno internazionale di studi per il 5. centenario, Cremona, 14-15 novembre 1981* (ed. by Augusto Campana, Paola Medioli Masotti), Padua 1986.

Carlo Zeno, in fashion at those time²²⁴, as many other writings²²⁵, but he did not take advantage of these opportunities. On the other side, it has been concluded the inclusion of the Dalmatian Coriolano Cippico's comment in his history. Contemporary with Sabellico, the latter refers to the anti-Ottoman actions enterprised by admiral Pietro Mocenigo²²⁶. Meanwhile, for many other sources, it has been asserted that Piccolomini's *Cosmographia* was also a source for Sabellico²²⁷.

At the same time, the neglecting of the public documents has also been criticised²²⁸. As a matter of fact, during the first ten books of *Rerum Venetarum*, Sabellico refers only one time to the authority of the documents. It is when he narrates the privileges gained by the Venetians in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, consequent to the capture of Tyre in 1124, but even on this occasion he uses the mediation of

²²⁴ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 219 note 1; see also R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 427. It is about Iacobi Zeni *Vita Caroli Zeni* (ed. by Gasparo Zonta). in RIS². 19, part VI, Bologna 1940-1941, p. 5 ff. For this work, see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 265 note 3; N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 213-220. Unfortunately, we are not able to detect a recent study dedicated to Carlo Zeno (1334-1418); therefore, in order to illustrate his personality, we refer to the older appreciative works, such as *La Vita del magnifico m. Carlo Zeno egregio et valoroso capitano della illus. repub. Venetiana, composta dal rev. Gianjacommo Feltrense et tradotta in vulgar per messer Francesco Quirino*, Venice 1544; *Compendio della Vita di Carlo Zeno nobile venetiano estratto dall'Historia Latina di Giacomo Zeno vescovo di Feltre e di Belluno per Hieronimo Diviaco da Montona*, Bergamo 1591; *Il Trionfo dell'ill.mo et ecc.mo sig. Carlo Zeno riportato dalla lizza de' più alti paragoni e dall'ill.mo sig. Francesco Zeno podestà di Bergamo con sonori applausi della fama rappresentato. Opera del sig. dott. Alessandro Terzi rettore del seminario, recitata dall'Accademia Ema*, Bergamo [1626].

²²⁵ For the use of these ones (minorite Bartolomeo da Gianni, George of Hungary, Emanuele Piloti, Antonio Bonfini, Niccolò Segundino), see E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

²²⁶ For this dependence, see A. Zeno, loc. cit., p. 12 apud M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 251 note 2; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 251 note 2; W. B. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 167; R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 426-427; G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione* cit., p. 220 note 9 (who names Cippico's work as *De bello asiatico*); Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 48 (under the name of Coriolano Cepio); E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 82 and 521 note 68. For the friendship between Sabellico and Cippico, see M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 251 note 2; Michael B. Petrovich, *Croatian Humanists and the Writing of History in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, "Slavic Review" 37 (1978), 4, p. 624-639 (633). It is about the work entitled *Coriolani Cepioni Dalmatae Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta*, Venice 1477 [subsequent editions: Basel 1544, Basel 1556, Venice 1598, Strassburg 1611]. However, the most known work of this author was *De Bello Asiatico libri III*, Venice 1594 [Italian editions: Coriolano Cippico, *Delle Cose Fatte Da M. Pietro Mocenigo ... Libri Tre ...*, Venice 1570; *Delle guerre de' Veneziani nell'Asia dal MCCCCLXXV al MCCCCLXXVIII libri tre* di Coriolano Cippico (ed. by Antonio Cappello), Venice 1796], which narrates about the war which he personally participated in, in order to defend Scutari against the Turks (1470-1474). About the author, originated in Dalmatia (1425, Traù-1493), it is known that he was not a man of letters, but businessman and naval commander. For his biography, see Marco Palma, *Cippico (Cepione), Coriolano*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 25, Rome 1981, p. 735-736; Renata Fabbri, *Per la memorialistica veneziana in latino del Quattrocento. Filippo da Rimini, Francesco Contarini, Coriolano Cippico*, Padua 1988.

²²⁷ A. Pertusi, *Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica* cit., p. 324. For Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405-1464), Pius II as pope (1458-1464), the bibliography is too vast, for which reason we refer to the rich bibliography provided by Hans Heinz, in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 7 (1994), p. 659-661 [= http://www.bauzt.de/bbkl/p/pius_ii.shtml, 2007].

²²⁸ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 224 note 2; see also R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

Biondo, even mentioning it in black and white: "*Blundus Forliviensis ait, se privilegii illius quandoque vidisse formulam, in quo haec notata essent ...*" (p. 136)²²⁹.

In exchange, it has been underlined the fact that Sabellico selected the historical material also from oral information²³⁰. In connection to it, the ensemble of data imparted by Benedetto Trevisan, the Venetian captain of Verona – although it is mentioned only one time (p. 213)²³¹ – or by Jacopo Giuliani²³² – for the post-1450 part of the history are taken into consideration²³³. Besides, R. Bersi supposes that Sabellico would have taken information from various learned men in Verona, during the 15 months when he spent in that city²³⁴, although this suggestion is not documented. On the other side, although he mentioned Sabellico's contemporaneity with events such as the fall of Constantinople, Athens, Morea, and Negropont, the Turkish advance in Europe, the Ottoman incursion in Friuli, the disembarkment at Otranto, and so on, A. Pertusi noticed the absence of these events in *Rerum Venetarum*²³⁵. This absence is real, but we do not side with the manner in which the modern scholar reproached with Sabellico the fact that he does not understand the effects of the episode in 1453 over Europe and over Venice and its commercial fate²³⁶, thus expressing the doubts over Sabellico's skills as historian²³⁷. Thus, Pertusi criticized that fact that Sabellico "*gli manca il senso della prospettiva storica nei suoi nessi di cause ed effetti; non vede i rapporti politici e religiosi o, se li intravede, preferisce passare accanto ad essi, specie se coinvolgono l'analisi di situazioni delicate; si compiace di quadretti persino idillici o assolutamente anacronistici, [...]*"²³⁸. This kind of critics over Sabellico's history sounds rather as an unfavourable review on a work written in our times²³⁹.

As for Sabellico's writing style, Titus Livy has an undeniable influence, becoming our historian's pattern²⁴⁰. This influence affects even the manner in which Sabellico uses the historical material of Biondo's text, which he alters the form and adapts it to more elevated stylistic exigencies²⁴¹. He even more influences the manner of use of Ravignani's chronicle, over which he Latinizes the names of places and

²²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 445.

²³⁰ *Ibidem*: see also A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 328; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 40; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 83-84.

²³¹ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 445 and note 2.

²³² A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

²³³ *Ibidem*.

²³⁴ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

²³⁵ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 328-329; see also in part G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 220-221.

²³⁶ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

²³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 329.

²³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 327.

²³⁹ For instance, when Pertusi states that "*gli studiosi a lui [Sabellico's, emphasis mine] contemporanei non ne erano affatto convinti; meno ancora lo siamo noi, almeno sul piano storiografico.*" (*Ibidem*, p. 329).

²⁴⁰ For instance, see R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 443, 120 note 1; B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 15, 16; G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 221; A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit., p. 184, 204; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 327-328; G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo* cit., p. 340, 344; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 69; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Fr. Tateo, *op. cit.*, p. 208, 220; G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 764 (who even speaks about Sabellico's "*latino livianeggiante*" style), and so on.

²⁴¹ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 443-444.

characters²⁴² and also the author's name, constantly called as *Bonitendus*. Actually, the division itself on "books" and "decades" has the Livian mark²⁴³, although we add the possibility that it could have been adopted through the agency of Biondo. It has also been noticed that, from the formal viewpoint, if one would leave aside the fact that he inserted very few speeches, Sabellico relies completely on Leonardo Bruni's form²⁴⁴.

Often following the parallel between Venice and Rome²⁴⁵, Sabellico's overrated self-confidence should not be exposed to hasard, meaning that – according to him – what Titus Livy represented for Rome could be regarded with what he, Sabellico represented for Venice!²⁴⁶ Anyhow, since his dedication towards Doge Marco Barbarigo, Sabellico had expressed his surprise that such a city had not yet had any writer able to assumed the difficult task to write its history²⁴⁷, thus proving a real disdain for the local historical tradition²⁴⁸.

²⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 116, 117.

²⁴³ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

²⁴⁴ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

²⁴⁵ For this, see also G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione cit.*, p. 221 note 11; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 184, 204; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 327-328; Frederic C. Lane, *The enlargement of the great council of Venice*, in *Florilegium Historiale. Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson cit.*, p. 236-274 (241); F. Gilbert, *Biondo, Sabellico, and the beginnings cit.*, p. 286; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 68-69, 70-71, 74; Fr. Tateo, *op. cit.*, p. 186, 208, 212; G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 764; André Jean-Marc Loechel, *Le rappresentazioni della comunità* (traducător Ernesto Garino), in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, 4, cit., p. 603-721 (692); E. Crouzet-Pavan, *Venise: une invention de la ville (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, 1997, p. 282 ff. Actually, the idea was not quite new, since it had already been advanced by Poggio, as central argument of his speech in *In laudem reipublicae Venetorum*; for Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380, Terranuova, near Arezzo-1459), orator, panegyrist, translator from Greek, appointed in 1453 as chancellor and historiographer of the Republic of Florence, for which he wrote between 1453 and 1458 *Historiae Florentini Populi*, it is a vast bibliography, for which we refer to Ansgar Frenken, in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 7 (1994), p. 778-781 [= http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/p/poggio_b.shtml], 2001. On the other side, one should note another phenomenon, that is about the Venetian aversion to ancient Rome, a topic minutely discussed by Giuseppe Toffanin, *Machiavelli e il tacitismo: la politica storica della Controriforma*, Padua 1921, p. 11-14, but also, with some nuances, by William J. Bouwsma, *Venezia e la difesa della libertà repubblicana. I valori del Rinascimento nell'età della Controriforma*, Bologna 1977 [*Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty. Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1968], chapter "La sfida di Roma: la riforma cattolica come controrinascimento", p. 163 ff.

²⁴⁶ See also G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 764.

²⁴⁷ *Rerum*, col. 1085 = I, p. 4 apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 329; the quotation is presented *in extenso* also in Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 67-68. The same idea, also in B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 15 (where the scholar notes that "Venice was late in compiling its story, a fact deplored by Sabellico"). In Bersi's version, *op. cit.*, p. 150, and also in A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 327, the following quotation from the dedication to Doge Marco Barbarigo is presented, cf. Sabellico, p. 3: "[...] *in commentaries quosdam in annalium speciem conscriptos incidi: inde alia quaedam ignobilium scriptorium monumenta videndi copia nobis facta est: quae omnia (aparte enim dicam quod sentio) tam squalida, foedaque barbarie operta offendi, ut meno cognoscendae historiae tam cupidus sit, quem non facile ab institute lectione avertere potuisset.*"

²⁴⁸ See also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 150 note 1; R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 150; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

Influences

Despite his contemporary Ermolao Barbaro's and Giorgio Merula's unfavourable opinions²⁴⁹, doubled by those of the modern scholars²⁵⁰, much more numerous than in any other Venetian historical work's case, Sabellico had at his times a complete success among the Venetian senators. Through the agency of his work, their vainglory was satisfied, following the extremely eulogistic style towards their city²⁵¹. Practically, one could note a kind of symbiosis between the manner in which the work presented the events and requests of the Venetian leading group; it was a point where supply and demand met. Although not documented, G. Cozzi's assertion, according to which "*a quanto pare, era piaciuta di più [...] della storia De origine urbis Venetiarum, scritta, senza un formale incarico ufficiale, da Bernardo Giustinian, [...]*"²⁵², should be mentioned. The too facile complacency of the Venetians in front of this work is noticed – even with regret – by Ermolao Barbaro, in the above mentioned letter. This "wave of satisfaction" included many learned men, like Trifone Gabriello and Niccolò Crasso²⁵³,

²⁴⁹ See, for instance, the letter sent in 1486 by E. Barbaro to G. Merula, apud E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 521 note 74; see also *Ibidem*, p. 226. Merula's unfavourable judgment, according to which Sabellico was accused by the too much credit given to the Venetian ancient chronicles, could also be concluded from a justifying letter sent by Sabellico to Daniele Ranieri, written after Merula's death, apud R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 423 note 4; for Merula's attitude, see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 250 and note 4; R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 423 note 4. Ermolao Barbaro's letter was not preserved, but it existed in the time when Apostolo Zeno's edition was published, and the editor inserted in the foreword, cf. A. Zeno, *loc. cit.*, p. 40 apud M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 251, 252 and note 1.

²⁵⁰ See, for instance, M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 227 note 1 (noticing errors regarding Jesolo and Equilio), p. 250 (concluding that Sabellico's work relies upon annals of scanty authority); Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 75 (the same accuses as Foscarini's); A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 323 (indicating that Sabellico did not hesitate to collect absurd legends, stories, miracles, traditions) and note 3 (with references to *De vetustate*); 327 and, for examples, note 4; G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo cit.*, p. 340 (noting the "zeppa" inside of the work of fabulous legends, used in the most uncritical manner and abundantly retaken from the pages of chroniclers like Ravagnani and Dandolo); E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 84-85. 86; D. S. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 25, and so on.

²⁵¹ For it, see also Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 514; G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione cit.*, p. 221; Idem, *Marin Sanudo cit.*, p. 340; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 84-85, 226; D. S. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Donald E. Queller, *Il patriziato veneziano. La realtà contro il mito* (transl. by Paolo Pavanini), Rome 1987 [*The Venetian Patriciate. Reality versus Myth*, Urbana-Chicago 1986], p. 20; for the Venetian authorities' affinity to this festivist style imposed by Sabellico, see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 251 note 3; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 330; G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 340, 342; Fr. C. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 241; Idem, *Storia di Venezia*, Turin 1991 [*Venice. A Maritime Republic*, [Baltimore] 1973], p. 261; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 65 (who notes that, on the contrary, *De vetustate* did not enjoy such a brilliant fame), 68, 72 (where the scholar concludes that the Venetian public spirit and leading class' ideology were 'allies' to our historian), 73, 74 (where the specific political-cultural mission of the work is underlined); James S. Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice. Vicenza in the early Renaissance State*, Baltimore-London 1988, p. 35 (who names Sabellico as "a good indicator of Venetian thinking"); G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 764 (about the fact that the Republic recognized itself in Sabellico's work, so that to adopt it as cardinal point of the public memory). In exchange, a contrary position in D. Raines, *Alle origini dell'archivio politico del patriziato cit.*, p. 50, who speaks about a lack of success of *Rerum Venetarum*!

²⁵² G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

²⁵³ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 252. For Trifone Gabriello (c. 1470, Venice-1549, Venice), nicknamed "Socrates" of his times (see also *Ibidem*, p. 349) and for his rich knowledge regarding the classics, see *Vita di M. Triphone Gabriele nella quale si mostrano a pieno le lodi della vita soletaria et*

so that Sabellico's history was retaken with the respective commendations by the subsequent historians²⁵⁴, like Luis Vives²⁵⁵, Raffaele Volaterrano²⁵⁶, Giambattista Pigna²⁵⁷, Angelo di Costanzo²⁵⁸, Leandro Alberti²⁵⁹, Tarcagnota²⁶⁰ or, in the days of Marco Foscarini, by priest Abondio Collina²⁶¹, Pietro Marcello, Pietro Giustinian,

contemplativa, Bologna 1543; Em. A. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 3, Bologna 1982, p. 208-223; Lino Pertile, *Trifone Gabriele's Commentary on Dante and Bembo's "Prose della volgar lingua illustre"*, "Italian Studies" 40 (1985), p. 17-30; Deborah Parker, *Commentary as Social Act: Trifone Gabriele's Critique of Landino*, "Renaissance Quarterly" 45 (1992), 2, p. 225-247. For Niccolò Crasso, (c. 1585-1653), Venetian jurist, poet and historian, see Giorgio Cadoni, *Bodin, Giannotti, Niccolò Crasso e Venezia*, "Il Pensiero politico" 14 (1981), p. 128-133. On his turn, M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, wrote about Crasso's annotations on Gasparo Contarini and Donato Giannotti (p. 350 note 2), assisted in this sense by Domenico Molino (p. 350 note 3), and noted that he had the Venetian chronicles in mind (p. 151 note 3).

²⁵⁴ For all the subsequent authors referring to Sabellico, see M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 253 note 3.

²⁵⁵ For Juan Luis Vives (1492, Valencia-1540), jurist and philosopher, Spanish protestant that studied and acted in France, the Netherlands, England, see the impressive bibliography offered by Christian Kahl in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* [= http://www.baukt.de/bbkl/v/vives_j_l.shtml] 24 (2005), p. 1493-1512, 2006, to which one could add G. Hoppe, *Die Psychologie von Juan Luis Vives*, Berlin 1901; Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín *Luis Vives y la filosofía del renacimiento*, Madrid 1903; Pablo Graf & Jose Maria Millas Villacrosa, *Luis Vives como apologeta. Contribucion a la historia de la apologetica*, Madrid 1943; Carlos G. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives*, the Hague 1970; *Juan Luis Vives: Against the Pseudialecticians. A Humanist Attack on Medieval Logic* (ed. by Rita Guerlac), Dordrecht-Boston-London 1979.

²⁵⁶ For *Geographia* of Raffaele Maffei, usually called as Volaterrano (1451 or 1455-1522 or 1537), encyclopedist and a real authority in the Papal bureaucracy, see Benedetto Falconcini, *Vita del nobil' uomo e buon servo di Dio Raffaello Maffei detto il Volterrano*, Rome 1722; Mirella Ferrari, *Le scoperte a Bobbio nel 1493: vicende di codici e fortuna di testi*, "Italia medioevale e umanistica" 13 (1970), p. 139-180 (140-141).

²⁵⁷ Gio. Battista Pigna, *Historia de Principi di Este*, Ferrara 1570 (whose history of the princes of house d'Este was published in 1570). For the author (1530, Ferrara-1575), secretary of Duke Alphons II, see also E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

²⁵⁸ For Angelo di Costanzo (c. 1507, Naples-1591), historian, philosopher and poet, author of *Le Istorie del regno di Napoli dal 1250 fino al 1498*, Naples 1572 (many times reprinted), see Benedetto Croce, *Angelo Di Costanzo, poeta e storico*, in Idem, *Uomini e cose della vecchia Italia*, ser. I (second ed.), Bari 1943 [first ed.: Naples 1926]; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 272, 274-275.

²⁵⁹ For the dominican Leandro Alberti (1479, Bologna-1552, Bologna), geographer, author of *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, Bologna 1550, see E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 252, 305-307; volumes *Il territorio emiliano e romagnolo nella "Descrittione" di Leandro Alberti* (ed. by Massimo Donattini), Bergamo 2004 and *L'Italia dell'inquisitore. Storia e geografia dell'Italia del Cinquecento nella Descrittione di Leandro Alberti*, (Bologna, 27-29 maggio 2004), Bologna [forthcoming].

²⁶⁰ Giovanni Tarcagnota († 1566) was the author of *Delle Historie del Mondo*, Venice 1562.

²⁶¹ Scholar Abondio Collina (1691-1765) was the author of *Consideratione istoriche sopra l'origine della Bussola Nautica nell'Europa e nell'Asia*, Faenza 1748.

Paolo Morosini²⁶² or Th. de Fougasse²⁶³. It was also familiar to Niccolò Canussio of Friuli, since this latter would permit himself to make corrections to Sabellico in certain details regarding Attila's invasion²⁶⁴. On his turn, A. Pertusi saw "*una frattura circa la valutazione dell'opera del Sabellico fra l'ambiente degli umanisti seri, che ne sentivano tutte le carenze storiografiche, e quello dei politici, [...], di professione, che ammiravano in essa soprattutto la parte di propaganda o di pubblicistica espressa in un latino abbastanza brillante [...]*"²⁶⁵, while F. Gaeta mentions that Sabellico's Venetian history "*trovò accoglienza largamente favorevole più nella classe di governo che presso i suoi colleghi umanisti: [...]*"²⁶⁶. A much more favourable opinion is embraced by F. Tateo, who regards our historian as "*un ottimo campione*" exactly because "*la sua opera allo stesso tempo è sensibile al pubblico della nobiltà intellettuale e cerca di conformarne le prospettive culturali*"²⁶⁷. As a matter of fact, Sabellico was regarded that "*riunisse insieme la sparsa massa della tradizione concernente Venezia, e liberasse anzitutto la Cronaca del Dandolo dalle sue aggiunte di storia universale e dalla pedante divisione in paragrafi*"²⁶⁸. His history's success was explained by M. Foscarini through the thirst at those times for a general history, which made that his work's vices be not discerned, due to his unusual eloquence. Confronted with it, as with a new thing, the inaccuracies were excused²⁶⁹. Foscarini also considered that the Senate, "*udendone la generale approvazione, volle piuttosto aver riguardo alla grandezza dell'animo proprio, che all'intimo valore della storia, ed ai giudicii che in processo di tempo ne seguirebbono: [...]*"²⁷⁰. Criticized by the others, the use of sources of small importance is explained by Sabellico himself, by expressing his disdain towards the local historical tradition²⁷¹ and justifying the strictly propagandistic value of his history even in his dedication towards the doge²⁷². Under these circumstances, E. Cochrane's conclusion, always negative, is that "thus Sabellico

²⁶² M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 253 note 4; for an error possibly retaken from Sabellico, see also *Ibidem*, p. 227 note 1. For P. Marcello, see his work *Petri Marcelli de Vitis Principum et gestis Venetorum Compendium*, Venice 1502; see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 267 and note 4; Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 320. For P. Giustinian, see *Petri Justiniani patritii Veneti Aloysii f. Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita historia*, Venice 1560; see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 293 and notes 1-4, 294 and note 1. For Paolo Morosini (1566-1637), see *Ibidem*, p. 277, 296 and notes 4-5; Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

²⁶³ *Histoire generale de Venise depuis la fondation de la ville jusqu'à present extraicte de plusieurs memoires et divers auteurs, tant latins que françois et italiens, par Th. de Fougasses*, Paris 1608, cf. Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

²⁶⁴ A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 7, 10, 21.

²⁶⁵ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 330-331.

²⁶⁶ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

²⁶⁷ Fr. Tateo, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

²⁶⁸ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39; for a less positive effect over the method of renunciation to the paragraphs, that is the almost continuous lack of chronological data in the text, see also G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione* cit., p. 220 note 9; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 327; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 41; for some dating errors, see also A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

²⁶⁹ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

²⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 252.

²⁷¹ For the use of 'domestic' sources, see also Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

²⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 67-68.

managed to combine the principal defects both of Quattrocento humanist historiography and of the Venetian chronicle tradition.”²⁷³ The too much credit granted to the Venetian chronicles is a reality, and the humanistic features are confined by Sabellico's history to the use of Titus Livy's style, the constant comparisons with ancient Rome's history²⁷⁴ or the translation of various places and characters from vulgar to classic Latin²⁷⁵. However, the Venetian ancient myths of freedom, independence, morality, religiosity, and so on that Sabellico constantly refers to were those that perfectly agreed with the historiographical exigences of the Republic²⁷⁶, since, as E. Fueter considers, “*il governo [Venetian, emphasis mine] non voleva istruire i suoi sudditi, ma illuminare in modo ufficioso il pubblico straniero sulla sua politica.*”²⁷⁷ Henceforth, “*anche se non fu un grande, né un buon libro di storia, fu un discreto veicolo di propaganda e di informazione, diretta com'era non ad un pubblico di specialisti, di eruditi e di filologi di professione, ma ad una più vasta fascia di lettori che le decretarono, per tempo ed a lungo, un ampio successo.*”²⁷⁸

It is certitude that, beside the authors mentioned by M. Foscarini as being influenced by our historian, many ‘lives’ of Sabellico were published, along with the many works that eulogized him²⁷⁹.

As for the punctual influences of the work of the humanist of Lazio over subsequent writings, one could notice its weak reflection in the Venetian chronicles. Practically, the only mention of *Rerum Venetarum* in a Venetian chronicle is due to Pietro Dolfin²⁸⁰. Thus, the London codex King's 149 from British Museum of the Dolfinian chronicle, inserts the following statement: “*Et tracto etiam da ogni altra cronica latina et vulgare et antiqua over moderna, che per i passadi tempi semplicemente trovato avemo, da Biondo da Furlì, da Mattio Palmieri fiorentino, dalla Sforziade de ser Zuanne de Zeco, dal supplemento de fra Giacomo Filippo da Bergamo et ultimamente da Marco Antonio Romano [Sabellico, emphasis mine]*”²⁸¹²⁸². One should note that Sabellico's history is mentioned on the last position among Dolfin's

²⁷³ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 84; in the same sense, see also D. E. Queller, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁷⁴ See especially F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

²⁷⁵ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 116, 132 and note 1; G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 220 nota 9. In connection with Sabellico's humanism, E. Breisach, *op. cit.*, p. 155 formulates the idea that his Venetian history was humanistic rather in its shape than in substance.

²⁷⁶ G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo cit.*, p. 340; see also F. de Vivo, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

²⁷⁷ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

²⁷⁸ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

²⁷⁹ For their presentation, see R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 423-426.

²⁸⁰ For Pietro Dolfin, see Ş. Marin, *Crusades seen through Venetian Eyes. The Case of Pietro Dolfin*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica” 10-11 (2008-2009), p. 207-259 (in particular 207-239).

²⁸¹ R[inaldo] F[ulin], *Saggio del catalogo dei codici di Emmanuele A. Cicogna*, “Archivio Veneto”, 4, part I (1872), p. 59-132, 337-398 (353 note 3).

²⁸² Cf. King's 149, f. 46 apud Roberto Cessi, *Introduzione*, in *Petri Delphini Annalium Venetorum Pars quarta* (ed. by Roberto Cessi & Paolo Sambin), Venice 1943, p. xix. The same quotations also in two manuscripts from Correr Civic Museum: Co 2675, tom I, f. 14 apud Maria Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana di Giorgio Dolfin*. “Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti” 101 (1941-1942), part II, p. 515-546 (523 note 1) and Ci 2608-2610 apud R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 353.

sources. Moreover, in another codex – It. VII. 794 –, P. Dolfín underlines his preference to his father, Zorzi's work in Sabellico's detriment²⁸³.

As for the modern scholars, we are not able to detect references to any influence of *Rerum Venetarum* on the subsequent Venetian chronicles. An exception could be Marino Sanudo's *Le vite de' Duchi*²⁸⁴, but this work refers only to a quotation from Sabellico²⁸⁵ and to mentioning of collateral matters: the use in both cases of the fabulous elements²⁸⁶, an indirect supposed polemic of Sanudo against his precursor²⁸⁷. There are also discerned some differences, obvious in the content of the two works and even more in the historical view²⁸⁸. Personally, we proposed a comparative text with other codices referring to the first part of the legend of Manuel I Comnenus²⁸⁹. It is about the following codices at Marciana Library: It. VII. 2592²⁹⁰, It. VII. 2543²⁹¹, It. VII. 1586²⁹², It. VII. 1577²⁹³, It. VII. 798²⁹⁴, It. VII. 2560²⁹⁵, It. VII. 550²⁹⁶, It. VII. 2563²⁹⁷, It. VII. 1274 (pseudo-Zancaruolo)²⁹⁸, It. VII. 10 (pseudo-Donato)²⁹⁹, It. VII.

²⁸³ Cf. It. VII. 794, f. 302v apud M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 523: "come descriue messer Zorzi Dolfín mio padre [...] al qual più credo che a Marco Antonio Sabellico".

²⁸⁴ See *Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit, in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 22 (ed. by Lodovico Antonio Muratori), Milan 1733, p. 399-1252.

²⁸⁵ Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado – La Congiura*, Florence 1963 [1897], p. 103.

²⁸⁶ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

²⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 343.

²⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 344.

²⁸⁹ Ș. Marin, *Venice and translatio imperii cit.*, p. 86; Idem, *Imaginea împăratului Manuel Comnen în cronică venețiană*, "Revista Istorică", new series. 11 (2000), 1-2, p. 31-57 (50 note 65).

²⁹⁰ Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1247*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2592 [= 12484].

²⁹¹ Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1356*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2543 [= 12435].

²⁹² Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della città fino al 1450*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 1586 [= 9611].

²⁹³ Anon., *Cronaca della Città di Venezia dalla sua fondazione fino all'anno 1400*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 1577 [= 7973].

²⁹⁴ Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città sino all'anno 1478*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 798 [= 7486].

²⁹⁵ Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1432*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2560 [= 12452].

²⁹⁶ Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1442*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 550 [= 8496].

²⁹⁷ Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1441*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2563 [= 12455].

²⁹⁸ *Cronaca Veneta supposta di Gasparo Zancaruolo, dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 1274 [= 9274].

²⁹⁹ Antonio Donà [?], *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 687 al 1479*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 10 [= 8607].

56 (pseudo-Erizzo)³⁰⁰, It. VII. 2580 (pseudo-Veniera)³⁰¹, and It. VII. 791 (pseudo-Veniera)³⁰².

We have also classified Sabellico's history in category 2, along with codex It. VII. 2592 and partially with Biondo's *De origine et gestis Venetorum*³⁰³. Accidentally, we have added other chronicles to this category³⁰⁴: Andrea Dandolo's short chronicle³⁰⁵, Sanudo³⁰⁶ and codex It. VII. 71³⁰⁷, when analyzing the arrival of the non-Venetian participants to the Fourth Crusade to Venice³⁰⁸, the representation of Patriarch Tommaso Morosini³⁰⁹, the imperial election of Baldwin I³¹⁰, Doge Domenico Michiel's 'crusade'³¹¹, the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople³¹², Giustiniano Partecipazio's mission in Byzantium³¹³.

On the other side, possible influences on another kind of works have rather been emphasized. It is about writings other than chronicles. Thus, beside the numerous editions and translations of *Rerum Venetarum*³¹⁴, one should note the compendium due

³⁰⁰ *Cronaca Veneta attribuita a Marcantonio Erizzo, fino all'anno 1495*, manuscript 56 [= 8636]. For this chronicle, see Ș. Marin, *Crusades seen through Venetian Eyes – Between Being in Abeyance and Involvement. The Case of the Chronicle Ascribed to Marcantonio Erizzo*, in *Aut viam inveniam aut faciam. In honorem Ștefan Andreescu* (ed. by Ovidiu Cristea & Petronel Zahariuc & Gheorghe Lazăr), Iași 2012, p. 121-144 (in particular 121-123).

³⁰¹ Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1556*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2580 [= 12472].

³⁰² Anon., *Cronaca di tutte le Casade della Nobil Città di Venetia*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 791 [= 7589].

³⁰³ Ș. Marin, *The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople. The Representation of Tommaso Morosini in the Venetian Chronicles*, "Quaderni della Casa Romena" 2 (2002), p. 49-90 (60-61, 75); Idem, *The Venetian 'Empire'. The Imperial Elections in Constantinople on 1204 in the Representation of the Venetian Chronicles*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 5 (2003), p. 185-245 (218); Idem, *A Precedent to the Fourth Crusade. The anti-Byzantine Campaign of Doge Domenico Michiel in 1122-1126 according to the Venetian Chronicles*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 6-7 (2004-2005), p. 239-266 (256); Idem, *Veneția și căderea unui imperiu. Reprezentarea momentului 1261 în cronică venetiană*, "Revista Istorică", new series, 14 (2003), 3-4, p. 211-254 (217, 218).

³⁰⁴ Ș. Marin, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders in the Fourth Crusade, According to the Venetian Chronicles' Tradition*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 4 (2002), p. 111-171 (124); Idem, *The Venetian 'Empire'. The Imperial Elections in Constantinople on 1204 in the Representation of the Venetian Chronicles*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 5 (2003), p. 185-245 (218).

³⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 217. See Andreae Danduli, *Chronica brevis*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12, part I (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna 1938, p. 351-373.

³⁰⁶ *Marini Saruti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae* cit.

³⁰⁷ Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1600*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 71 [= 7866].

³⁰⁸ Ș. Marin, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders* cit., p. 124.

³⁰⁹ Idem, *The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne* cit., p. 60, 74-75.

³¹⁰ Idem, *The Venetian 'Empire'* cit., p. 217-218.

³¹¹ Idem, *A Precedent to the Fourth Crusade* cit., p. 256-257.

³¹² Idem, *Veneția și căderea unui imperiu* cit., p. 217.

³¹³ Idem, *Giustiniano Partecipazio and the Representation of the First Venetian Embassy to Constantinople in the Chronicles of the Serenissima*, "Historical Yearbook" 2 (2005), p. 75-92 (78).

³¹⁴ See *supra*, p. 134-136.

to Pietro Marcello, entitled *De Vitis Principium Venetorum* and published in 1502³¹⁵. In its foreword, it refers to Sabellico in the following terms: “*cum igitur estate superiore me ad venetam historiam quae a Marco Antonio Sabello altero profecto nostra tempestate Livio latissima, inscripta est, legendam contulisset [...] indicavi me rem non omnino inutilem facturum, si venetas res memoratu digna quae apud cum ali os latius diffuse sunt, sub uno quoque principe notatos quam brevissima possem oratione perstringerem, ut erum seriem percipere cupientibus longe inquisitionis labor abesset.*”³¹⁶. Another compendium was the one delivered by Pancrazio Giustinian³¹⁷, so that the comparative texts Biondo-Sabellico-Pietro Marcello-Pancrazio Giustinian about *Partitio Romaniae* should be noticed³¹⁸. It has also been taken into account the use of Sabellico's work by Giorgio Benzoni³¹⁹, Pietro Bembo³²⁰, senator Pietro Giustinian³²¹, Paolo Morosini³²² or Marino Sanudo³²³, the fact that Sabellico was the one who taught Andrea Navagero – meaning the one who would become his ‘successor’ as official historiographer – Latin language³²⁴ or that he was mentioned in the bibliographic list of Girolamo Ramusio for Paolo Ramusio's history of the Fourth Crusade³²⁵.

³¹⁵ V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 205 note 3, 207; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 318-319; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 226, 522 note 80; the work was published also in the translated edition of Sabellico provided by Domeneghi, as *l'ite de' prencipi di l'inegia*, Venice 1557, apud E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 522 note 80.

³¹⁶ Apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 205 note 3.

³¹⁷ See Pancrati Iustiniani, *De praeclaris venetas aristocratiae gestis liber*, Venice 1527 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 205, 207.

³¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 205-206.

³¹⁹ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

³²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 229.

³²¹ Em. A. Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia veneziana* cit., p. 163; see also F. de Vivo, *op. cit.*, p. 163 (who notes that Giustiniani's history follows Sabellico almost word by word).

³²² *Ibidem*, p. 170 (who regards Paolo Morosini's work as “a simple popularization of Sabellico's work”).

³²³ Patricia H. Labalme, review of *Le vite dei dogi (1474-1494)* (ed. by Angela Caracciolo Aricò), I. Padua 1989, in “Renaissance Quarterly” 46 (1993), 6. p. 810-812 (811).

³²⁴ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

³²⁵ Ş. Marin, *A Humanist Vision on the Fourth Crusade and on the State of the Assenides. The Chronicle of Paul Ramusio (Paulus Rhamnusius)*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia” 2 (2000), p. 51-102 (72 note 87). For Ramusio, see Paolo Rannusio Venetiano, *Della guerra di Costantinopoli per la restitutione de gl'imperatori Comneni fatta da' signori Venetiani et Francesi l'anno MCCIV. Libri sei* (transl. by Girolamo Rannusio), Venice 1604; see also Emanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, cit., 2, p. 330-335; Antonio Pasini, *Sulla versione Ramusiana della cronaca di Villehardouin*, “Archivio Veneto” 3 (1872), p. 264-267; E. Teza, *La conquête de Constantinople de G. Ville-Hardouin e le versioni dei tre Ramusii, Giambattista, Paolo, Girolamo*, “Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti” 65 (1905-1906), 2, p. 173-191. More recently, see Niccolò Zorzi, *Per la storiografia sulla Quarta Crociata: il De bello Constantinopolitano di Paolo Ramusio e la Constantinopolis Belgica di Pierre d'Outreman*, in *Quarta crociata* cit., p. 683-746 (692-720).

Sabellico's popularity passed beyond the Venetian space – since he was used, for instance, by Benvenuto di San Giorgio³²⁶ or Federico [sic!] Maurolico of Messina³²⁷ – and even the Italian one. Thus, through the edition of Celio Secondo Curione, his work would be disseminated in the rest of Europe, as the most authoritative history of Venice³²⁸, while the use of Carolingian legends has been regarded as one reason for its popularity in France³²⁹.

* * *

In the following section, we are to insist upon Marcantonio Sabellico's position in what has been called as Venetian 'official historiography'. Previous to Felix Gilbert's detailed investigations, Sabellico had been regarded – with the notable exception of Marco Foscarini³³⁰ – as the pathfinder of the Venetian 'public historiography', meaning that the authorities would have entrusted him to write the official history of the state. For the establishment of this traditional viewpoint, an important part was probably taken by the insertion of *Rerum Venetarum* in the heading of what Apostolo Zeno named "*Degl'Istorici Delle Cose Veneziane, I Quali Hanno Scritto Per Pubblico Decreto*", in the edition begun in 1718³³¹. A similar contribution in this sense could have been brought by the authority of Em. A. Cicogna, who began the list of "*storici che scrissero per decreto pubblico*" exactly with Sabellico³³². Although Zeno himself had insisted upon the private – and therefore spontaneous – feature of Sabellico's initiative³³³, and Cicogna had noticed that "*è noto già, come*

³²⁶ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 276. Benvenuto di San Giorgio († 1527) was the author of *Ragionamento familiare dell'origine, tempi, e postumi de gl'illustrissimi principi e marchesi di Monferrato*, which standard edition is the one provided by Giuseppe Vernazza, Turin 1780.

³²⁷ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 262 notes that this author did not notice that the quotation referring to the Athenian antiquity that Sabellico referred to actually belongs to Thucydides. It is about Francesco Maurolico (Franciscus Maurolicus) (1494, Messina-1575, Messina), mathematician and astronomer, abbot at cathedral San Nicolò di Messina since 1552, for whom see Francesco Maruli-Baron della Foresta, *l'ita dell'Abbate del Parto D. Francesco Maurolico*, Messina 1613; Federico Napoli, *Intomo alla vita ed ai lavori di Francesco Maurolico con appendice di scritti inediti*, "Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche" 9 (1876), p. 1-121; Giuseppe Rossi, *Francesco Maurolico e il risorgimento filosofico e scientifico in Italia nel secolo XVI*, Messina, 1888; Paul L. Rose, *The Italian Renaissance of Mathematics*, Geneva 1975, p. 159-184; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 261-262; Rosario Moscheo, *Francesco Maurolico tra Rinascimento e scienza galileiana. Materiali e ricerche*, Messina 1988. For a rich bibliography, see Veronica Gavagna & Rosario Moscheo & Pier Daniele Napolitani & Jean-Pierre Sutto [= <http://www.dm.unipi.it/pages/maurolic/instrume/biblio.htm>], 2006.

³²⁸ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

³²⁹ Ian Short, *A Study in Carolingian Legend and its Persistence in Latin Historiography*, "Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch" 7 (1972), p. 127-152 apud E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 522 note 81.

³³⁰ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 254 nota 2. Also previous to Gilbert, W. J. Bouwsma, *Three Types of Historiography in Post-Renaissance Italy*, "History and Theory" 4 (1965), 3, p. 303-314 (309 note 23) rightly considered that Pietro Bembo would have been only the second official historian of Venice, the first being Andrea Navagero; henceforth, he did not list Sabellico among the official historians.

³³¹ See *supra*, p. 136.

³³² Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 75-78 (75).

³³³ A. Zeno, loc. cit., p. xxxvii-xxxix, who rejects the opinion of Paolo Giovio (in his *Elogia doctorum virorum* dated in 1577) and of all the others that had militated in favour of the nominalization of

osservava il Foscarini, che il Sabellico non iscrisse d'ordine pubblico le *Storia della Città*. Egli le offerse in dono alla Signoria, e fu accettata dal pubblico la sua offerta, e ne fu anche ricompensato: ciò sia detto a maggior esattezza, sebbene dal decreto del 1515, che elegge Andrea Navagero a storico, apparisca che il Sabellico scrivesse per ordine pubblico."³³⁴ these marginal notes along with Foscarini's footnote have been ignored by the subsequent scholars, who have regarded only the position of 'public historiographer' of our historian³³⁵.

Pointing out that the beginnings of the Venetian official historiography are confused and obscure³³⁶, F. Gilbert had in mind to examine three intricate matters, that is: whether the Venetian would have planned a special position of public historiographer for Flavio Biondo at the middle of the 15th century; whether Sabellico had indeed the position of public historiographer; and whether it is justified to regard his work as the first among the series of official histories. After all, the answer to the following question: whether his position of official historiographer would have existed, then why would have been necessary that, after his death, a successor in the person of Andrea Navagero would have been appointed?³³⁷ Despite his investigations at Archivio

Sabellico as 'public historiographer', apud Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 67 note 195; for these details of Zeno, see also F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 290 note 26. For Paolo Giovio (1483, Como-1552, Florence), cardinal, bishop of Nocera, author, among other works, of *Historiarum sui temporis libri XLV*, 2 volumes, Florence 1551-1553 and of *Vitae virorum illustrium*, 7 volumes, 1547-1549, see, among others, E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, *passim* (especially p. 366-377, 407-408); T. C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio. The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Princeton 1995.

³³⁴ Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

³³⁵ Charles Eliot Norton, *Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages: Venice, Siena, Florence*, New York 1880, p. 43; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 513-514; Ester Pastorello, *Introduzione*, in *Andreae Danduli Duci Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta aa. 46-1280 d. C.*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12 (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna 1923, p. 5-327 (liv-iv); H. Baron, *A Struggle for Liberty in the Renaissance: Florence, Venice, and Milan in the Early Quattrocento*, "The American Historical Review" 58 (1953), 2, p. 265-289 and 58 (1953), 3, p. 544-570 (563); Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 242 note 4; B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Gina Fasoli, *Nascita di un mito*, in *Studi storici in onore di Gioacchino Volpe per il suo 80° compleanno*, I, Florence 1958, p. 447-479 (448); G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione* cit., p. 219-220; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 329-330; G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo* cit., p. 339, 344, 355; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 38. In the same sense, the position of public historiographer for Sabellico is also mentioned by W. H. Davenport Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 202-203. Confronted with this 'wave' of opinions, A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 204 (therefore, previous to Gilbert's article) still hesitates to regard Sabellico as 'public historian' and separates his work from the other historical writings in his times by using another formula, closer to the truth, by integrating it in the category of "*cronachistica a stampa*".

³³⁶ F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

³³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 276-277. For the patrician Andrea Navagero (1483-1527 or 1529), poet writing in Latin and in a certain moment ambassador to Emperor Charles V, and his literary activity, see *Andreae Naugerii ... Opera Omnia* (ed. by J. A. Vulpus), Padua 1718; see also <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/navagero.html>. For his personality, see [Giannantonio Volpi], *Vita Andreae Naugerii patricii veneti*, in *Opera Omnia*; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 269 and notes 1-2, 270 and notes 1-2; E. A. Cicogna, *Della vita e delle opere di Andrea Navagero*, Venice 1855; Papinio Pennato, *Nuove notizie intorno ad Andrea Navagero e a Daniele Barbaro*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto" 2 (1872), p. 255-261; Mario Cermenati, *Un diplomatico Naturalista del Rinascimento: Andrea Navagero*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto" 24 (1912), p. 164-205; G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione* cit., p. 225-229; L. J. Libby jr., *op. cit.*,

di Stato, Gilbert confessed that he was not able to detect any document to attest the appointment of Sabellico in the position of historiographer, while the decree nominating Navagero had already been published in the last part of the 19th century by P. Pennato³³⁸. In exchange, there is the documentary proof for another fact, that is the nomination of Sabellico as instructor in teaching a class at the school of San Marco³³⁹, under the circumstances that the holder of this position, Giorgio Valla had passed away

p. 9-17 and *passim*); E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 227-228; Daria Perocco, *Uno storico mancato, un viaggiatore involontario: il caso di Andrea Navagero*, in *Forma e parola. Studi in memoria di Fredi Chiappelli* (ed. by Dennis J. Dutschke & Pier Massimo Forni & Filippo Grazzini & Benjamin R. Lawton & Laura Sanguineti White), Rome 1992, p. 327-339.

³³⁸ P. Pennato, *op. cit.*, p. 256-257.

³³⁹ F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 280. For the school of San Marco, settled in Campo San Giovanni e Paolo, at which chair various personalities such as Leonardo Giustinian, Flavio Biondo, Benedetto Brugnoli da Legnano, Gianmario Filelfo, George of Trapezunt, Giorgio Merula, Giorgio Valla, Giambattista Egnazio, Nicolò Leoniceo, and so on held their lectures, see first of all Fernando Lepori, *La scuola di Rialto*, in *Storia della cultura veneta* (ed. by Girolamo Arnaldi, Manlio Pastore Stocchi), Vicenza 1980, 3/II, p. 539-605; see also F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 281-282; P. Sohm, *The Scuola Grande di San Marco 1437-1550. The Architecture of a Venetian Lay Confraternity*, London 1982; Angela Caracciolo, *Lineamenti di cultura e civiltà dell'umanesimo e del rinascimento. Parte seconda: Umanesimo veneziano* [=http://lettere2.unive.it/caracciolo/Cultura_Venezia.htm#scuole]. For the other famous school in Venice, the one in San Rocco, see, among others, Bruno Nardi, *Letteratura e cultura veneziana del Quattrocento*, in *La civiltà del Quattrocento*, Florence 1957, p. 99-145 (103-120). In general, for the schools in Venice, see, among others, Bartolomeo Cecchetti, *Libri, scuole, maestri, sussidi allo studio in Venezia nei secoli XIV e XV*, "Archivio Veneto" 32 (1886), part II, p. 329-363; Pompeo Molmenti, *Le scuole sotto la Repubblica di Venezia*, "La Rassegna Nazionale" 117 (1901), p. 623 ff.; Vittorio Rossi, *Maestri e scuole a Venezia verso la fine del medioevo*, "Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze, Lettere e Arti. Classe di Lettere", 2nd series, 40 (1907), p. 765-781, 843-855; A. Segarizzi, *op. cit.*; P. Molmenti, *Le scuole a Venezia nell'età di mezzo*, "Rivista d'Italia" 24 (1921), fasc. 4, p. 381-388; Idem, *Le scuole di Venezia e lo studio di Padova nel Rinascimento*, "Rivista d'Italia" 25 (1922), fasc. 4, p. 361-369; Rodolfo Gallo, *La scuola grande di San Teodoro di Venezia*, "Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 120 (1961-62), p. 461-495; B. Nardi, *La scuola di Rialto e l'umanesimo veneziano*, in *Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano* (ed. by V. Branca), Florence 1963, p. 93-139; P. H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani. A Venetian of the Quattrocento*, Rome 1969, p. 91-96; J. B. Ross, *Venetian Schools* cit.; Fernando Lepori, *La scuola di Rialto*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 3/II: *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, Vicenza 1980, p. 539-602; volume *Scuole di Venezia* (ed. by Terisio Pignatti), Milan 1981; William B. Wurthmann, *The Council of Ten and the scuole grandi in Early Renaissance Venice*, "Studi Veneziani", new series, 18 (1989), p. 15-66; Patricia Fortini Brown, *Le scuole*, in *Storia di Venezia, 5: Il Rinascimento. Società e economia* (ed. by Alberto Tenenti & Ugo Tucci), Rome 1991, p. 307-354; Richard Mackenney, *Continuity and Change in the scuole piccole of Venice, c. 1250-c. 1600*, "Renaissance Studies" 8 (1994), p. 388-403.

at the beginning of year 1500³⁴⁰, so that Sabellico was proposed to substitute him³⁴¹. In the end, the conclusion is that in the 15th century the Venetian state did not pay a learned man to dedicate himself in writing a history of the city, and that the position of official historiographer did not exist³⁴², even for the simple reason of the lack of documents to attest it.

It has also been taken into consideration that Sabellico's historical activity was rewarded by fixing the amount of 200 golden ducats³⁴³. Regarded as "*magnifique*" by A. Prost³⁴⁴, the fact was nevertheless not singular, a similar reward being offered to George of Trapezunt, according to a decision dated on October 4, 1460³⁴⁵. According to the new proofs of F. Gilbert, it clearly results that the amount of stipend received from the authorities did not represent the 'equivalent value' of *Rerum Venetarum*, but his yearly salary for teaching activity at the school of San Marco³⁴⁶. Previously, his nomination as librarian and professor at San Marco had also been noticed by other scholars³⁴⁷, but the fact had been regarded only as auxiliary element for his supposed title of 'official historian'. The Senate's Decree on July 29, 1505 established that, because of his great age, Sabellico, who "*in urba nostra humanitatis studia publice per viginta fere annos professus sit*", be released of his teaching task, but to continue at the

³⁴⁰ Practically, the history of humanism records two characters under the name of Giorgio Valla, both of them deceased in Venice and also regarded as cousins of the more famous Lorenzo Valla: one of them was originated in the Piacenza area (1447, Vigoleno-1500, Venice), the other in Florence (1430, Florence-1499, Venice). We feel inclined to suppose that the one from Piacenza be the one that interests us, who was asked in 1485 by Giorgio Merula to teach Greek in Venice. For the bibliography, see J. L. Heiberg, *op. cit.*; V. Branca, *Giorgio Valla tra scienza e sapienza*, Florence 1981; Paul L. Rose, *Humanist Culture and Renaissance Mathematics: The Italian Libraries of the Quattrocento*, "Studies in the Renaissance" 10 (1973), p. 46-105 (94-101); M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 439-440.

³⁴¹ Cf. *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall'autografo Marciana Ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX-CDLXXVII* (ed. by Rinaldo Fulin & Federico Stefani & Niccolò Barozzi & Guglielmo Berchet & Marco Allegri), 58 volumes, Venice 1879-1902, 3, p. 136 ("Sit ille qui primum obtineat locum, quem jure meritoque obtinere debeat."), confirmed in 3, p. 178 (once with the nomination of Giovanni Baptista Scythia in Sabellico's former position) apud F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 290 notes 32, respectively 33; see F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 281, 282; see also M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 426 (who refers to the act on February 10, 1500, J. L. Heiberg, *op. cit.*, p. 41-42 apud M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

³⁴² F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

³⁴³ A. Zeno, loc. cit., p. xliii; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 252; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 513-514; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 66; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 426; Marino Zorzi, *La libreria di San Marco. Libri, lettori, società nella Venezia dei Dogi*, Milan 1987, p. 89 apud A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 23 note 4; A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 23 note 4.

³⁴⁴ Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Archivio di Stato di Venezia. *Senato Terra*, IV, c. 155, published by G. Castellani, in "Nuovo Arhivio Veneto" 11 (1896), I, p. 146 apud Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 66 note 193, with fragments from the text of the decree.

³⁴⁶ F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

³⁴⁷ S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 volumes, Venice 1853-1861, 4, p. 500; G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione* cit., p. 220 note 7; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 329; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 39; F. C. Lane, *Storia di Venezia* cit., p. 261. See also, later, B. Guenée, *op. cit.*, p. 343; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 426; M. Zorzi, *op. cit.*, p. 89 apud A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 23 note 4; A. F. Stone, loc. cit., p. 23 note 4.

same time to receive the stipend entirely³⁴⁸. Gilbert demonstrates that this assertion allows conclusion that Sabellico's paid didactic activities in Venice had begun to the middle 80s of the 15th century. Henceforth, his arrival in Venice in 1485, in order to present the 33 books of his history written in Verona to the Senate, should be regarded in this context, so that *Rerum* represented nothing more than an important piece in his 'file' in order to achieve the position at the school of San Marco, and not an aim in itself³⁴⁹. Anyway, the documents brought into discussion by the American scholar prove that the circumstances to candidate were favourable, since the school's teaching staff was radically changed in the meantime³⁵⁰.

Through his demonstration, Gilbert returns to the old considerations of M. Foscarini, who, noticing that Sabellico's dedication to the doge, was convinced of the contrary to the mark of "*pubblico ordine*" applied to *Rerum Venetarum*: thus, Foscarini named Sabellico's work as a free donation, an expression that would have not been accepted for a character subsidized by the *Signoria*³⁵¹. Henceforth, Foscarini rightfully considered that the references to Sabellico in the decree nominating Andrea Navagero refer only to a work accepted by the public, and not necessarily to the result of a public nomination³⁵².

Therefore, Biondo and Sabellico – both originating outside of the Venetian space – are not to be integrated anymore in the 'official historiography' of Venice, which begins thus with Andrea Navagero. Under these new circumstances, one could conclude that the theory of J. Libby jr., according to which the historical writing in Venice enterprised by the state relied upon learned men originating from other cities than on Venetian intellectuals³⁵³, is not available anymore. It is because all those that are included in the series of 'public historians' (Andrea Navagero³⁵⁴, Pietro Bembo³⁵⁵,

³⁴⁸ The decree was published in Sabellico's *Vita* of Apostolo Zeno. cf. A. Zeno, loc. cit., p. lvii-lviii apud F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 290 note 29 and apud Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 66 and note 193; see also M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 426. In addition, Gaeta also refers to a letter sent by Sabellico to Pomponio Leto, not dated, which enforces this conclusion, cf. *Opera*, 4, p. 339, cf. Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 66 note 193.

³⁴⁹ F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 280-281; see also Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 66 note 193.

³⁵⁰ F. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

³⁵¹ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 254 note 2.

³⁵² *Ibidem*.

³⁵³ L. J. Libby jr., *op. cit.*, p. 42. For the context, see also B. Nardi, *Letteratura e cultura veneziana* cit., p. 101-145; W. T. Elwert, *Pietro Bembo e la vita letteraria del suo tempo*, in *La civiltà veneziana del Rinascimento*, Venice 1958, p. 125-176.

³⁵⁴ For Andrea Navagero, see *supra*, p. 168-169 note 337.

³⁵⁵ Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), cardinal and scientist, once secretary of Pope Leo X, accepted the position of public historiographer of Venice in 1529 and continued Sabellico's history for the period between 1487 and 1513. For his personality, see, among many other studies, J. Casa, *Petri Bembi Vita*, in *Joannis Casae latina monumenta*, 1567; Lodovico Becatelli, *Vita di Pietro Bembo*, in *Storici Veneti*, II, 1718; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 270, 271 and notes 1-4, 272; Francesco Angiolini, *Vita di Pietro Bembo*, in *Biografia di Uomini celebri Veneziani*, Turin 1836; E. 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, *L'"Istoria viniziana" di M. Pietro Bembo, saggio critico con documenti inediti*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", new series, 7 (1904), p. 5-31, 334-372; 8 (1904), p. 163-180, 317-346; 9 (1905), p. 33-113, 308-340; V. Cian, *Pietro Bembo*, "Giornale storico della letteratura italiana" 88

(1926), p. 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 1950; W. T. Elwert, *op. cit.*; G. Meneghetti, *La vita avventurosa di Pietro Bembo, umanista, poeta, cortegiano. (Documenti inediti)*, Venice 1961; G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione cit.*, p. 229-236 and *passim*; Giancarlo Mazzacurati, *Pietro Bembo e la questione del "volgare"*, Naples 1964; C. Dionisotti, *Bembo, Pietro*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 8, Rome 1966, p. 133-151; Dean T. Mace, *Pietro Bembo and the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal*, "Musical Quarterly" 55 (1969), 1, p. 65-86; Lionello Puppi, *Le residenze di Pietro Bembo "in padoana"*, "L'Arte" 7/8 (1969), p. 31-65; Ernesto Travi, *Pietro Bembo e il suo epistolario*, "Lettere italiane" 24 (1972), p. 277-309; G. Mazzacurati, *Pietro Bembo*, in *Storia della Cultura Veneta cit.*, 3, p. 1-59; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 228-231; Gordon Braden, *Applied Petrarchism. The Loves of Pietro Bembo*, "Modern Language Quarterly" 57 (1966), 3, p. 397-423; Christine Raffini, *Marsilio Ficino, Pietro Bembo, Baldassare Castiglione: Philosophical, Aesthetic, and Political Approaches in Renaissance Platonism*, New York-Washington, D. C. 1998; C. Dionisotti, *Scritti sul Bembo* (ed. by Claudio Vela), Turin 2002 (see also the editors' introduction, in particular p. xv-xlvi); 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. by F. Cossutta), Triest-Pécs 2004, p. 2-21; a bibliography, in Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 1 (1999), p. 470 [= http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/b/bembo_p.shtml, 2004].

Paolo Paruta³⁵⁶, Andrea Morosini³⁵⁷, Battista Nani³⁵⁸, Michele Foscarini³⁵⁹), along with the majority of those that 'candidated' to this position (Marino Sanudo, Donado Da

³⁵⁶ For the historian and diplomat Paolo Paruta (1540-1598), who held the positions of secretary of the Venetian envoys to the Council of Trento, member of the Great Council, governor of Brescia, *provveditore* of San Marco, see, among others. A. Zeno, *Vita di Paolo Paruta cavaliere e procuratore scritta da Apostolo Zeno veneziano nobile Cretense*, in t. III of *Storici veneziani*, 1718; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 274 and notes 2-4, 275; Giambattista Corniani, *Vita di Paolo Paruta* [reprinted in *Biografia di uomini illustri veneziani*, Turin 1836]; Arturo Pompeati, *Le dottrine politiche di Paolo Paruta*, "Giornale storico della letteratura italiana" 46 (1905); Giorgio Candeloro, *Paolo Paruta*. "Rivista Storica Italiana", 5th series, I (1936); Luigi Tria, *Paolo Paruta, l'uomo-lo scrittore-il pensatore*, Milan 1941; Carlo Curcio, *Paolo Paruta*, in *Letteratura Italiana, i minori*, Milan 1961, p. 1365-1381; G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 256-278 and *passim*; Innocenzo Cervelli, *Paolo Paruta*, in *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana* (ed. by V. Branca), 2, Turin 1973, p. 774-778; Angelo Baiocchi, *Paolo Paruta: Ideologia e politica nel cinquecento veneziano*. "Studi Veneziani" 17-18 (1975-1976), p. 157-234; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 234-236.

³⁵⁷ Andrea Morosini (1557/1558-1618) was charged by the Senate to continue Paolo Paruta's *Annali Veneti*; the result of his work contains the period between 1521 and 1615 and was published by his brother (Andrea Mauroceni *Senatoris historia Veneta ab anno MDXXI usque ad annum MDCXV in quinque partes tribute*, Venice 1623). The work would be later translated in Italian by the senator Girolimo Ascanio Molin (*Storia della repubblica Veneziana scritta per pubblico decreto e condotta dall'anno 1521 fino al 1615 dal senatore Andrea Morosini ora per la prima volta dal latino idioma recata nell'italiano. Tomi cinque*, Venice 1782-1787). However, the most important work of him is Andrea Moresini, *L'Imprese et espeditioni di Terra Santa, et l'Acquisto fatto dell'Imperio di Constantinopoli dalla Serenissima Republica di Venetia*, Venice 1627. Beside the position of public historiographer, he was involved in the political life, becoming senator in 1600 and member of *Collegio dei Savii* in 1605 and accomplished various missions both at University of Padua and as ambassador of the Republic. See M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 276, notes 1 and 3-4; G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione* *cit.*, p. 278-292; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 234, 236-238; Ş. Marin, *A Humanist Vision* *cit.*, p. 79-80; N. Zorzi, *op. cit.*, p. 720-724. Unfortunately, according to our knowledge, there are no studies dealing with his life, excepting those of homage, immediately after his decease, due to Luigi Lollin, Aurelio Palazzolli, and Niccolò Crasso.

³⁵⁸ Battista Nani Cavaliere e Procuratore di S. Marco, *Historia della Republica Veneta*, Venice 1662; this first edition, as the second one (1663), does not pass beyond year 1644; in exchange, the third one (Venice 1676-1679, in two volumes), extends the narration to year 1671, as the fourth one (1686) does. One could refer to a translation into English of this history, published as *The history of the affairs of Europe ... englished by Sir Robert Honywood*, London, 1673 (coming to an end with year 1644), and also two in French, one edited by Francesco Tallemant, Paris 1679-1680 in 4 volumes, and the other by de Masclary (Amsterdam 1702). Nani is also the author of *Istoria dell'Imperio Ottomano*, Venice 1672. For the personality of B. Nani (1616-1678), who was charged for 25 years with the position of ambassador in France (1643-1668), along with other missions in Germany, becoming later procurator of San Marco, see D. Piercatterino Zeno, *Vita di Batista Nani cavaliere e procuratore*, in vol. VIII of *Storici Veneti*.

³⁵⁹ Michele Foscarini senatore, *Historia della repubblica Veneta*, Venice 1696; it contains the period between 1669 and 1690. For his personality (1632-1692), see Pier Caterino Zeno, *Vita del senatore Michele Foscarini*, which is foreword for Apostolo Zeno's edition of *Storia*, 1722.

Lezze³⁶⁰, Andrea Mocenigo³⁶¹, Pietro Giustinian³⁶², Daniele Barbaro³⁶³, Paolo Tiepolo³⁶⁴, Bernardo Navagero³⁶⁵, Agostino Valier³⁶⁶, Nicolò Barbarigo, Marco

³⁶⁰ The main work of Da Lezze (1479-1526), secretary of Sultan Mahomed II in a certain moment, was published as Donado Da Lezze, *Historia Turchesca (1300-1514)* (ed. by Ion Ursu), Bucharest 1909. For this work, see also Ion Ursu, *Uno sconosciuto storico veneziano del secolo XVI (Donato da Lezze)*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto" 19 (1910), p. 5-25; Pierre A. MacKay, *The Content and Authorship of the Historia Turchesca, in 550th anniversary of the Istanbul University, International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium (XVth century)*, 30-31 May 2003 (ed. by Sümer Atasoy), Istanbul 2004, p. 213-223 [= <http://angiolello.net/Turchesca.pdf>].

³⁶¹ His main work is *Andreae Mocenici P. V. D. Bellum Cameracense*, Venice 1525; *Andreae Mocenici p. v. Belli memorabilis Cameracensis adversus Venetos Historiae, libri sex*, in vol. V, part IV of *Thes. Antiq. Italiae*, Leyden 1722. Italian editions: *La Guerra di Cambrai fatta a tempi nostri in Italia tra gl'illustrissimi signori Vinitiani et gli altri principi di Christianità diligentemente scritta dal clariss. Senatore M. Andrea Mocenico gentiluomo Vinitiano, tradotta di latino in lingua Thoscana*, Venice 1544; M. Andrea Mocenico, *La guerra di Cambrai fatta a tempi nostri in Italia. Tra gli illustrissimi signori Venetiani con tutti i prencipi di Christianità...* (ed. by Andrea Arrivabene), Venice 1562. The work to it began in 1515 and was completed by 1518, cf. L. J. Libby jr., *op. cit.*, p. 30 note 85. Andrea Mocenigo (1473-1542) also wrote a history in verses of the war against the Turks in 1500. For his viewpoints, see also *Ibidem*, especially p. 30-33.

³⁶² For P. Giustinian, see *supra*, p. 162 and note 262. As a matter of fact, M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 272 note 1 insisted upon the opinion that P. Giustinian should not be inserted among the 'public historians'.

³⁶³ For D. Barbaro, see Ş. Marin, *Some Notes with Regard to the Venetian Chronicle Ascribed to Daniele Barbaro, Patriarch of Aquileia. The so-called 'Barbaro Group'*, "Historical Yearbook" 8 (2011), p. 233-252 and 9 (2012), p. 139-152.

³⁶⁴ Distinguished first and foremost as Republic's envoy to Emperor Charles V, and also in Rome, Naples, and so on. Beside these political activity, he also wrote *Storia della Guerra di Cipro (1569-1574)*, which is in manuscript at Marciana Library, It. VII. 224 (8309) apud G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 240 note 47.

³⁶⁵ Bernardo Navagero (1507, Venice-1565, Verona), humanist and theologian, became cardinal and made himself conspicuous due to various missions to the Western Emperor, the king of France or the Ottoman sultan, but first and foremost to Pope Paul IV (1555-1558) and to his participation in the Council of Trento. For more details, see Agostino Valier, *Bernardi Naugetii S. R. E. cardinalis Veronensis Ecclesiae administratoris vita ab Augustino Valerio conscripta*, in *Augustini Valerii Opusculum ante hac editum De Cautione adhibenda ...*, Padua 1719; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 273 note 1; F. Giannetto, *Il problema della pace veneziana. Azione politica in corte di Roma di Bernardo Navagero*, Messina 1957; <http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1561.htm#Navagero>, in Salvador Miranda, *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. Biographical Dictionary. Pope Pius IV (1559-1565)*, 2006 [1998] [= <http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1561.htm#Top>]; Daniele Santarelli, *I dispacci degli ambasciatori veneziani da Roma come fonte per la storia di Paolo IV e i Carafa. Note su Bernardo Navagero e Marcantonio da Mula*, in *Storia del Mondo* 10 (2003) [= <http://www.drengo.it/sm/10/santarelli.dispacci.pdf>].

³⁶⁶ For Agostino Valier (1531, Venice-1606, Rome), cardinal and bishop of Verona, professor of moral theology at Venice, see, among others, Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa*, Rome 1793, 5, p. 199-204; Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Agostino Valier and the Conceptual Basis of the Catholic Reformation*, "The Harvard Theological Review" 85 (1992), 3, p. 307-333; <http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1583.htm#Valier>, in S. Miranda, loc. cit.

Guazzo³⁶⁷, Bernardo Sagredo³⁶⁸, Federico Sanudo³⁶⁹, Giampiero Contarini³⁷⁰, Nicolò Longo³⁷¹, Emilio Maria Manolesso³⁷², Gerolamo Capello³⁷³, etc.³⁷⁴) are altogether members of the Venetian patriciate.

F. Gilbert's viewpoint has convinced the greatest part of the subsequent scholars, being embraced by them entirely³⁷⁵ or, in the case of E. Crouzet-Pavan, with

³⁶⁷ Marco Guazzo (c. 1496-1556), author, among others, of *Historie di tutte le cose degne di memoria quai del anno MDXXIII sino a questo presente sono occorse nella Italia, nella Prouenza, nella Franza, nella Piccardia, nella Fiandra, nella Normandia*, Venice 1540, of *Historie di messer Marco Guazzo oue se contengono la uenuta, & partita d' Italia di Carlo ottauo re di Franza, & come acquistò, & lasciò il regno di Napoli, & tutte le cose in quei tempi in mare, & in ...*, Venice 1547 and of *Compendio de le guerre di Mahometto gran Turco fatte con venetiani. Bartolomeo detto l'Imperatore*, Venice 1552.

³⁶⁸ Author of *La Guerra turchesca fatta a' veneziani*, in *Historia delle tre guerre de Veneziani con turchi*, in manuscript, Museo Civico Correr, Ci 3757.

³⁶⁹ See Federico Sanudo, *Descrittione della guerra contro Selim imperatore de' Turchi l'anno 1570*, in manuscript, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, fond ex Foscarini, cod. 6161.

³⁷⁰ See G. P. Contarini, *Historia delle cose successe dal principio della guerra mossa da Selim ottomano a' Venetiani, fino al dì della gran giornata vittoriosa contro Turchi ...*, Venice 1572.

³⁷¹ See N. Longo, *Storia della guerra di Cipro*, in manuscript, Museo Civico Correr, Ci 3185.

³⁷² Emilio Maria Manolesso, Republic's envoy to Ferrara in 1575 and author, among others, of *Historia noua, nella quale si contengono tutti i successi della guerra turchesca, la congiura del duca de Norfolch contra la regina d'Inghilterra; la guerra di Fiandra, Flisinga, Zelanda, & Holanda*, Padua 1572.

³⁷³ See G. Cappello, *De disciplines ingenuis, urbe libera liberoque iuvene dignis*, Padua 1570.

³⁷⁴ For all these 'candidates' for the position of public historiographer, see G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, *passim*. For the cases of Daniele Barbaro and Piero Giustinian, see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 272; for P. Tiepolo, A. Valier, B. Navagero, and N. Barbarigo, see also *Ibidem*, p. 273. *Ibidem*, p. 285 note 1 also raises the matter of the candidatureship of secretary Luigi Borghi and finally concludes (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 286 note 2) that this character represented the beginnings of the historians that wrote because of a personal initiative; Foscarini also brings into discussion Luigi Contarini (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 272, 273 and note 2), Michele Bruto (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 273), Ottavio Baronio (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 276 and note 2; it is about a history narrating until year 1585, cf. *Ibidem*, p. 276 note 2, referring to *Biblioteca* of Cinelli [= Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli, *Biblioteca volante*, 4 volumes, Venice 1734-1747; reprinted at Sala Bolognese, 1979], author that lived between 1625 and 1706) and Paolo Morosini (cf. M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 277).

³⁷⁵ F. C. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 261; cf. Idem, review of A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit. and of *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI* cit., in "Speculum" 47 (1972), 2, p. 292-298 (297-298); J. B. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 533-534; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 66 and note 193, 67-68, 74 (where it is underlined that Sabellico's history originated in this autonomous initiative); B. Guenée, *op. cit.*, p. 343; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 85; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 427; D. E. Queller, *op. cit.*, p. 20, but also *Ibidem*, p. 56 note 39, with a definite conclusion ("a mio parere [Queller's, emphasis mine], Gilbert [...] risolve la questione del primo storico ufficiale una volta per tutte."); G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 765 (who regards that the birth of the public historiography occurred only after Sabellico and that the latter wrote due to a personal initiative); F. de Vivo, *op. cit.*, p. 163 (when he uses the expression "Sabellico, the author of what was to be considered the Republic's first official history [emphasis mine]"); G. Saint-Guillain, *op. cit.*, p. 166 note 105.

some hesitations³⁷⁶. On the other side, one could note the case of some other scholars³⁷⁷ – including us, to a certain moment³⁷⁸ – that maintains the traditional line, by including Sabellico among the ‘official historians’, while L. J. Libby jr. adopts an intermediate position, regarding Sabellico as “a semi-official public historiographer”³⁷⁹. As for P. Burke, although he refers also to Gilbert’s study, he maintains the position according to which the Venetian leadership entrusted Sabellico to write the history of Venice³⁸⁰.

The fact that we join the demonstration outlined by F. Gilbert and appreciate it as correct does not necessarily mean that the matter should be regarded exclusive; indeed, Sabellico was not appointed as ‘public historiographer’, but it is also true that he was ‘officialized’ – although indirectly – *post mortem*, once with the issue of the decree in 1516 that nominated Andrea Navagero, who was entrusted to write the Venetian history from the point where Sabellico’s *Rerum* came to an end. Thus, the “*ufficializzazione*”³⁸¹ of our historian took place only 30 years later, but existed, although only *post factum*. Thus, one should return to Foscarini’s former viewpoint considering that “*nel quale intervallo di tempo essendosi la storia del Sabellico renduta familiare, e passando in certo modo come coperta di pubblica autorità, non dee far maraviglia, [...]*”³⁸².

In addition, although veracious *stricto sensu*, Gilbert’s theory does not hinder us, in case that we speak about an official feature in a broader sense, to consider the

³⁷⁶ E. Crouzet-Pavan, *Venise: une invention de ville* cit., p. 234 and note 4, where Gilbert’s conclusions are embraced, although, on another occasion, Crouzet considers that “*tuttavia la storiografia pubblica inizia veramente con Marc'Antonio Sabellico che insegna alla scuola di S. Marco*”, see Idem, *Immagini di un mito* cit., p. 594; in the end, she establishes connections between the moment when Navagero was elected in 1509 (sic! it is about year 1516) and the external political context, when the enemies’ troops reached the lagoon, so that, after such a peril, the Republic decides to rewrite its history in order to restore the ancient glory, cf. Idem, *Venise: une invention de ville* cit., p. 234. Anyhow, on another context, Crouzet-Pavan notes that, although Sabellico was not nominated in the position of official historian, the books of *Rerum*, completed by *De situ* and *De Venetis magistratibus* represents the pattern of history and, therefore, one could consider that the public historiography certainly begins with him, cf. Idem, *Venezia trionfante* cit., p. 210 note 14.

³⁷⁷ Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton 1981 apud E. Cochrane, review of Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, in “*Journal of Interdisciplinary History*” 13 (1983). 3, p. 525-527 (527, where the employment by the authorities does not refer to Sabellico, but also to Bernardo Giustinian!), Rona Goffen, *Giovanni Bellini*, New Haven 1989, p. 159; M. M. Sarnataro, *op. cit.*, p. 134 (where Sabellico continues to be regarded as the first official historiographer of the Republic); Rafael Sánchez Sesa, *La cronística Toscana bajomedieval y la imagen de la Península Ibérica*, “*España Medieval*” 20 (1997), p. 31-56 (36); D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 50 (regarding Sabellico as successor of Biondo in the official position of public historiographer and, in addition, that he would have been appointed in 1482, but without any documentary basis!); Jutta Gisela Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice*, Chicago-London 1999; P. Fortini Brown, *Acquiring a Classical Past: Historical Appropriation in Renaissance Venice*, in *Antiquity and its Interpreters* (ed. by Alina Payne & Ann Kuttner & Rebekah Smick), Cambridge 2000, p. 27-39 (28); B. Rosada, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

³⁷⁸ Ş. Marin, *Venice and translatio imperii* cit., p. 85.

³⁷⁹ L. J. Libby jr., *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³⁸⁰ Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance*, Princeton 2000 [1972], p. 116.

³⁸¹ According to the terms used by G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 764, 765.

³⁸² M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 254 note 2; see also *Ibidem*, p. 269.

label of officiality for other previous chronicles – as Giovanni Diacono's or Andrea Dandolo's – as an error.

Being both eulogized and criticized, it was exactly because of this that Sabellico's work has a particular place in the Venetian historiography. What matters is that all the reactions that it has provoked both in his lifetime and especially afterwards and even nowadays among the modern scholars represent the proof for his special position among the “fathers” of the Venetian historiography, as official or unofficial “public historian” of the Venetian Republic.

Marcantonio Sabellico's *Rerum Venetarum* and “the Definitive History of Venice”. The Beginnings of the Official Historiography in Venice?
(abstract)

This study focuses upon one of the most influential writing dealing with the history of the Republic of Venice. Published in 1497, *Rerum Venetarum ab Urbe condita* of Marcantonio Sabellico was able not only to provoke controversies in the period when it was written (meaning to the end of the 15th century), but especially to the modern historical writings dealing with the history of humanism. As a matter of fact, one could note that *Rerum Venetarum* gave birth to many contradictory opinions from the side of the modern scholars.

Despite all these debates, and maybe even due to them, it results that Sabellico's work about the Venetian history from the origins to his times has a particular importance in the Venetian historiography.

Being both eulogized and criticized, it was exactly because of this that Sabellico's work has a particular place in the Venetian historiography. What matters is that all the reactions that it has provoked both in his lifetime and especially afterwards and even nowadays among the modern scholars represent the proof for his special position among the “fathers” of the Venetian historiography, as official or unofficial “public historian” of the Venetian Republic.