

The Case of “Agostini-Tiepolo Chronicle” (16th Century), as Reflected in Manuscript It. VII. 129 from Marciana National Library

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About manuscript M 129

Among the codices named “*Cronaca Tiepola*” and ascribed to Patriarch Giovanni Tiepolo of Venice, Marciana National Library preserves the one inventoried as It. VII. 129 (8323), dated in the 17th century¹, ex-Svajer 902. It does not cover the entire period of the chronicle that we deal with, but comes to an end when referring to year 1538. Although the title provided by the former catalogue at Marciana is “*Giovanni Tiepolo Patriarca di Venezia. Cronaca Veneta ad esso attribuita dall'anno 421 al 1524*”, the work finished with 1538 as the last year mentioned (p. 241b). The wrong excipit in the catalogue misled also Giorgio Castellani². In order to strengthen this ascription, the codex presents the following title on the front page, very nice adorned and written with capital letters: “*Cronaca Veneta attribuita al Patriarca Gio[anni] Tiepolo Ab Vrbe] C[ondita] sino M D XXXVIII.*”³ As for the catalogue provided recently by Carlo Campana, the title is “*Giovanni Tiepolo, Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1538*”⁴.

Pages 2a-62b insert a rich list of the noble families, alphabetically disposed, while the chronicle itself covers pages 63a-242b, starting with the following incipit: “*Indebitamente [sic! = u] à tutti è notissimo, che per l'incursion, ò depopulation, che in quelli anni faceuano Longobardi, et altre nation Barbare, [...]*”⁵. At page f. 243a, several nicely coloured coat-of-arms of the patrician families are added. The excipit is as follows: “*et per la trocità [sic! = l'atrocità] del caso hò fatto questa nota. Fine del presente libro.*”⁶

¹ However, C[arlo] Castellani, *I manoscritti Veneti contenuti nella collezione Phillipps in Cheltenham (contea di Gloucester)*, “*Archivio Veneto*” 37 (1889), p. 199-248 (219) placed it in the 16th century.

² *Ibidem*.

³ See also Carlo Campana, *Cronache di Venezia in volgare della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Catalogo*, Venice 2011, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ See also *Ibidem*.

⁶ See also *Ibidem*.

On the whole, it is about a lisible codex, whose page numbering is due to the librarians during the entire manuscript, while a numbering due to the copier covers exclusively the part of the chronicle with Roman figures.

Codex M 129 (8323) is also taken by Edward Muir into consideration, although the American scholar ascribes it to Giorgio Tiepolo (instead of Giovanni) and, due to a typo, names it as M 192⁷.

Other manuscripts ascribed to Giovanni Tiepolo or Agostino Agostini:

The catalogue of the Library of Querini Stampalia Foundation presents codex IV. 16 under the following title: "*Agostini, Agostino. Storia veneziana di Agostino Agostini dal principio della fondazione di Venezia (421) fino all'anno 1570. Sec. XVII*". This ascription is confirmed by what is written on the front page: "*ISTORIA VENEZIANA DI AGOSTINO AGOSTINI* [as title, emphasis mine]. *Dal principio della fondazione di Venezia sino all'anno 1570. in cui si comprendono non solamente i fatti di Guerra, e di Pace della Republica mà ancora le Parti, & i Decreti del Senato l'Elezioni de Dogi col lor 41, l'origine di Magistrati le memorie de suoi Vescou e Patriarchi l'erezione delle Chiese, e de luochi publici ed altre molte notizie che negli Storici Veneti non si leggono.*"⁸ It is about a manuscript offering two different page numberings, a modern one and the other belonging to the copier himself; as for us, we have usually used the latter. The manuscript presents the chapter titles on the margin of the text itself and the years are also emphasized, by being noticed as titles for each dogeship. As title, the chronicle presents a date: "*Anno Domini CCCC° XXJ.*", while the incipit is as follows: "*Indubita(men)te à tutti è notissimo, ch(e) p(er) l'incursion, ò depopulation, ch(e) in q(ue)lli anni faceuano Longobardi, et altre nation barbare, ma precipuè Attila flagelum Dei per tutta l'Italia, et Lombardia, et specialmente [...]*" (p. 1a). The codex comes to an end at p. 308a, when referring to the election of Doge Alvise I Mocenigo (1570-1577). As a whole, it is about a codex well preserved and written caligraphically.

When analysing the chronicle ascribed to Agostino Agostini, the modern scholars have ignored this manuscript, in exchange preferring other more recent – 17th century – codices. For the dating, an exception is represented by the manuscript noted by Radu Constantinescu, located at the State Central Library in Bucharest (nowadays, National Library), inventory 4875⁹, which is dated by the Romanian scholar in year 1580 circa. Its title is: "*Agostino Agostini, Cronaca Veneziana*", extended along 265 leaves. The incipit is the same with the manuscript presented above: "*Di Agostino Agostini Cronicha (dall') anno Domini CCCC° XXI sino al 1570. Indubitatamente a tutti e notissimo [...]*", while the excipit is as follows: "*[...] senza figliuoli, ne maschi,*

⁷ Edward Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of Syracuse University. The Complete Catalogue*, Syracuse, New York 1983, p. 38.

⁸ By now, this codex has been taken into consideration for the Agostini chronicle only by Frederic Chapin Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance*, Baltimore 1934, p. 188 and Idem, *Venetian Shipping During the Commercial Revolution*, "American Historical Review" 38 (1933), 2, p. 219-239 (239), but without getting into details about it.

⁹ Agostino Agostini, *Cronaca Veneziana*, Bucharest, National Library of Romania, manuscript 4875, around year 1580.

ne femine." (p. 265). Constantinescu have also noted that pages 143-174 and 257-265 belong to a later handwriting¹⁰.

The greatest number of manuscripts containing this chronicle is dated in the 17th century. Although Marco Foscarini had noted that there are only few copies from the chronicle ascribed to Agostini at hand¹¹, their number is big enough. Beside the one at Querini Stampalia, it is the manuscript at Marciana National Library, inventory It. VII. 1 (8356)¹², nowadays available only as microfilm, Pos. Marc. 139. The former Marcian catalogue presents this codex as follows: "*Agostino degli Agostini. Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città al 1570*", while the first leaf of the chronicles mentions briefly "*Cronica Agustinj*" as title. The title that C. Campana's catalogue proposes is "*Agostino degli Agostini. Cronaca di Venezia (421-1570)*"¹³. One should also note the mention on the margin of the text on the first leaf of the manuscript: "*1714. Nota, che la simile è nelle mani di ser Ger(olamo) Molin*", although this mention is not very helpful in establishing a connection with another 'Augustinian' manuscript. The explicit is similar with the one in codex Querini IV. 16.: "*Mà esso Serenissimo Prencipe era senza figlioli, ne maschi, ne femine*" (p. 255b)¹⁴, referring to Doge Alvise Mocenigo in year 1570. The page numbering belongs to the copier, although the first leaf is not numbered. This manuscript has a lot of annotations on the text's margin, although it is difficult to decipher them, due to the reason that they are written in small letters and are very congested.

Ed. Muir also brings manuscript 41 in von Ranke¹⁵ collection into discussion. It is a manuscript also dated in the 17th century, numbering 366 leaves and having the same presentation as the codex at Querini Stampalia, with the explicit mention of Agostino Agostini¹⁶, but with the note that there is another patrician family's name, that is Memmo, on the codex's back and with the indication "*T. I.*"¹⁷.

There are also other codices to be inserted in the same category as the chronicle ascribed to Agostini, such as Cicogna 2752-2753 (2852-2853)¹⁸ – under the

¹⁰ Radu Constantinescu, *Manuscrise occidentale în bibliotecile românești*. "Revista Arhivelor" 54 (1977), 4, p. 447-457 (452).

¹¹ Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* (ed. by Ugo Stefanutti), [Bologna] [1976] [reprint of ed. Venice, 1854] [first ed.: 1752], p. 177.

¹² S[amuele] Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 volumes, IV. Venice 1855, *passim*: Giorgio E[mmanuele] Ferrari, *Agostini (Augustino, Degli Agostini), Agostino*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1, Rome 1960, p. 459 (459); Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado – La Congiura*, Florence 1963 [1897], p. 105 note 1; Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Holly S. Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice, 1200-1500: Wife and Icon*, New York 2006, *passim*.

¹³ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁴ See also *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ See Agostino Agostini, *Historia venetiana dal principio della fondazione di Venetia sino all'anno 1570*, Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University Library, manuscript 41, 17th century.

¹⁶ Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁷ Cf. *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ R[inaldo] F[ulin], *Saggio del catalogo dei codici di Emmanuele A. Cicogna*, "Archivio Veneto" 4 (1872), part I, p. 59-132, 337-398 (373-374); see also Aug[uste] Prost, *Les chroniques vénitienes*, "Revue des questions historiques" 31 (1882), p. 512-555 and 34 (1883), p. 199-224 (212, 221);

name of *Agostino degli Agostini. Cronaca veneta 421-1570*¹⁹ and also dated in the 17th century –²⁰, and Gradenigo 54 (142)²¹, both located at Correr Civic Museum and regarded – we do not know on which basis – as “*i migliori mss.*” of this chronicle²². One could also add the Foscarinian codex 89 from the Austrian National Library in Vienna, which narration reaches year 1570²³. Among them, it is known that Cicogna 2572-2573 begins with approximately the same formula as the codices that we have personally consulted: “*Anno Domini CCCCXXI. Indubitatamente a tutti è notissimo che per l'incurSION o depopolazione che in quelli anni facevano Longobardi*”²⁴ and that the second volume includes the period between years 1462 and 1570, coming to an end with the following words: “*ma esso serenissimo principe [n. n. Alvise Mocenigo] era senza figliuoli nè maschi nè femine.*”²⁵ Ed. Muir also ascribes the title of “*Cronaca Agostini di Venezia*” to it²⁶. Also located at Correr Museum, codex Arch. Gradenigo, busta 193 was regarded by Fr. Lane as representing Agostini chronicle²⁷.

Ed. Muir brings also the Marcian codex It. VII. 77 (7420)²⁸ into discussion. Entitled “*Cronaca Veneziana dall'anno 421 fino al 1379*” in the Marcian catalogue, it is placed in the 18th century. The title in C. Campana's catalogue is “*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1379*”²⁹. It is about a manuscript originating in the Svajer collection (no 648), numbered on the both sides by the copier and counting 332 pages. 1379 is indeed the last year to be mentioned (at p. 329), during the dogeship of Andrea Contarini (1368-1382), and the excipit mentions: “[...], *et oltre questo pagar balestrieri quaranta per mesi quattro.*”³⁰, referring to the contribution of “*ser Nadal da Cà Tagiapiera, e ser Nicolo suo fiol della contrà de Santa Fosca*”. Thus, it is only about a partial copy of the “*Augustinian chronicle*”. As a whole, the codex presents an acceptable handwriting.

Recently, Holly Hurlburt refers to the manuscript at Correr Civic Museum inventoried as Gradenigo 199³¹, when referring to the “*Agostini chronicle*”.

Brian Pullan, *Wage-Earners and the Venetian Economy, 1550-1630*. “*Economic History Review*”, new series, 16 (1964), 3, p. 407-426 (419 note 3); Ed. Muir, *Images of Power: Art and Pageantry in Renaissance Venice*. “*American Historical Review*” 84 (1979). p. 16-52 (38 note 55); Idem, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton 1981 (236 note 55); G. E. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 459; B. Pullan, *Plague and perceptions of the poor in early modern Italy*, in *Epidemics and Ideas. Essays on the Historical Perception of the Pestilence* (ed. by Terence Ranger. Paul Slack). Cambridge 1992. p. 101-124 (108); Christiane Neerfeld, «*Historia per forma di Diaria*». *La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, Venice 2006, p. 23 note 42, 231.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 231.

²⁰ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 373; G. E. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

²⁴ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ Ed. Muir, *Images of Power* *cit.*, p. 38 note 55.

²⁷ Fr. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders* *cit.*, p. 188.

²⁸ Ed. Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection* *cit.*, p. 38.

²⁹ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³⁰ See also *Ibidem*.

³¹ H. Hurlburt, *op. cit.*

Three other chronicles consulted by M. Foscarini have been regarded under the name of Patriarch Tiepolo: one of them had been seen "*presso i nobili Savorgnani di Canalregio*", coming to an end when referring to year 1538, as follows: "*et fu levato il tanagliar per esser corpo morti; et io per l'atrocità del caso ho fatto questa nota.*"³²; another one was owed at those times by Senator Bastian Molino, with the final note saying: "*Anno Dni 1600 die 5 septembrie Joannis quondam Dni Augustini Theupulo P. V.*"³³; and the third one in the ownership of Foscarini himself, inventoried as XI, but which has the name of Tiepolo neither at the beginning nor in the end, and is preceded by a family chronicle that exposes the facts up to year 1574³⁴. The latter was consulted by T. Gar while it was along with the other Foscarinian codices at Vienna, inventory XI, no 6203. The scholar described it as belonging to the 16th century, having a good writing and state of preservation, numbering 352 leaves and being entitles as "*Cronaca Veneta dal principio al 1538*"³⁵. Furthermore, Gar considered it as being in accordance with the chronicle of Agostini and copied by Patriarch Giovanni Tiepolo, according to the incipit³⁶, but the excipit referring to year 1538 puts it in connection to the above mentioned It. VII. 129.

As for the "family chronicle" mentioned by Foscarini, T. Gar presented it under the title of "*Cronaca Veneta, detta Cornelia, dal principio al 1426*" and considered it as a merging of separated facts not connected, which covers leaves 287-300 of codex CXCL, no 5991, coming to an end as follows: "*Io Giovanni Tiepolo del Magnifico S. Agustin nel 1589 more veneto ho finito di scrivere questa Cronica*"³⁷. Relying upon Gar's information, A. Prost included this codex in his directory, under the title of "*Cronaca Veneziana, dall'origin. (Lombardi) al 1538*"³⁸ – with the mention that the incipit refers to the Lombards only generally³⁹, and the narration of the events begins from legendary episode in 421 – and Ed. Muir mentions it in the same manner⁴⁰.

Also under the name of G. Tiepolo, manuscript no 5214 in the Lord Guilford's collection was emphasized by G. Castellani in his study about the Venetian chronicles on the British territory⁴¹, and the same is the case with codices Cicogna 1451-1452 and Cicogna 2630 from Correr Civic Museum, now regarded as "*trascritta o adattata dal testo A.*"⁴².

³² M. Foscarini, *Della Letteratura veneziana*, p. 183 note 1.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ Tommaso Gar, *I codici storici della collezione Foscarini conservata nella Imperiale Biblioteca di Vienna*. "Archivio Storico Italiano" 5 (1843), p. 281-430 (289). See *Cronaca veneta dal principio al 1538*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, fond Foscarini, manuscript XI [= 6203], 16th century.

³⁶ T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 551

³⁹ For the incipit from the Lombard invasion, see also *Ibidem*, p. 529.

⁴⁰ Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴¹ C. Castellani, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁴² G. E. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

As connections between the manuscripts ascribed to Tiepolo, Ed. Muir notes the common incipit of M 129, M 1, and M 77⁴³ – which is completely true – and launches the hypothesis that M 129 would have probably been the one that Doge M. Foscarini had seen “*presso i nobili Savorgnani di Canalregio*”⁴⁴, but this option is not well covered.

Ascribed either to Agostini, or to Patriarch Tiepolo, all the codices above present the same incipit. The explicit is different, obviously depending on the year that the codex ends with, either 1570 (“[...] *ma esso Serenissimo Principe era senza figlioli, ne maschi, ne femine.*”⁴⁵, dealing with the deceased Doge Pietro Loredan, 1567-1570), or 1538 (“*et fu levato il tanagliar per esser corpo morti; et io per l'atrocità del caso ho fatto questa nota.*”⁴⁶, under Doge Andrea Gritti, 1523-1538).

Although very abridged and almost with no documents, the version of codex Cicogna 300 (3676) has been regarded as a second review of the chronicle of Agostini⁴⁷, for which reason we would regard it as a different chronicle.

Paternity:

From the succinct presentation of the manuscripts, one could conclude that some of them are regarded under the name of Patriarch Giovanni Tiepolo (M 129, Guilford 5214, Cicogna 1451-1452, Cicogna 2630, Vienna 6203, and the other two mentioned by M. Foscarini as being beside the noblemen Savorgnani di Canareggio, respectively in the ownership of Bastian Molin).

Other manuscripts – M 77, Gradenigo 54, Foscarini 89 – do not refer to any author, copier or owner. In exchange, other four codices – Querini IV 16, Cicogna 2752-2753, M 1, von Ranke 41 – invoke with no doubts the authorship of Agostino Agostini. Although we have not identified any reference in the text itself to leave no doubts about this ascription, we would continue to consider the work as belonging to this character. Under these circumstances, we shall present some data regarding his person, although only few information are at disposal. It is known that it is about the son of Alvise Agostini, called “*dal Banco*” and that he was born in Venice in 1542. Agostino was engaged in the Venetian diplomacy and deceased in 1575, when being more than 30 years as age⁴⁸. As for his activity in the field of chronicles, Abbot Morelli informed in his “*Zibaldoni*” that this Agostini would have written two chronicles: one more extended, and the other lacking the documents inserted in the

⁴³ Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵ *Apud Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 183 note 1.

⁴⁷ G. E. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

⁴⁸ For all these data, see G. E. Ferrari, *op. cit.*; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 23 nota 42, for the identification of the author as son of Alvise. For other details, see: Giovanni degli Agostini, *Notizie inedite*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 290 [= 8642], p. 444; Emanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, I, Bologna 1982 [reprint of ed. Venice, 1824], 1827, 1834, 1842, 1853], p. 65; IV [reprint of ed. Venice, 1834], p. 533; V [reprint of ed. Venice, 1842], p. 123, 197, 453 note 662; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 176-177 and note 1 all of these *apud* G. E. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

first one⁴⁹. In this sense, E. A. Cicogna exemplified by codex 300 in his own collection for the short version⁵⁰. Unfortunately, the scholar did not offer any presentation at this number.

The ascription of the chronicle towards Giovanni Tiepolo could have been due to the fact that the latter was a more known and authoritative character, especially because of his position as patriarch of Venice – between 1619 and 1631 – and as author of the compilation entitled *Catalogo de' santi, beati venerabili e servi di Iddio veneziani*, written in 1613⁵¹ and including the list of the relics in the basilica of San Marco⁵². However, as M. Foscarini commented, "*in fatti il Tiepolo non ebbe altro merito, che di copiar questa cronaca, o di farla copiare; poichè ella e la stessa con quella dell'Agostini mentovata più sopra*"⁵³.

The activity as copier of Patriarch Tiepolo is also verified by the transcription of various fragments of the chronicle ascribed to Marino Sanudo: Cicogna 920 (at 1586-1587)⁵⁴, Cicogna 921 (at 1587), codex CXV in Foscarini collection, no 6819 from Vienna (at 1600)⁵⁵, "*cronaca Veneta, detta Cornelia*" (Foscarini CXCL no 5991)⁵⁶, Cicogna 2588 (at 1606)⁵⁷ and partly of the Caroldo chronicle (in 1597), except for the first three books⁵⁸. It has been considered that Tiepolo would have been

⁴⁹ Apud R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*; see also G. E. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

⁵¹ Gherardo Ortalli, *Quando il doge diventa santo. Fede e politica nell'esperienza di Pietro I Orseolo*. "Studi Veneziani", new series. 41 (2001). p. 15-48 (25). See Giovanni Tiepolo, *Trattato della Immagine della Gloriosa Vergine dipinta da S. Luca conservata già molti secoli nella Ducal Chiesa di S. Marco della città di Venezia*, Venice 1618 apud Iain Fenlon, *Music, Ceremony and Self-Identity in Renaissance Venice*, note 25 = http://research.umbc.edu/eol/MA/index/number1/fen11/fel_9not.htm. On behalf of Giovanni Tiepolo (1571-1631), it was composed a *De electione et laudibus Joannis Theupoli patriarchae venetiarum, Oratio Jo. Pauli Savii*, Venice 1619, along with other eulogies (composed by Girolamo Moravio, Baldassare Bonifacio, Bortolo Angaran etc., apud E. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 503), poems (by Giuseppe Policretti) and an ode (by Pietro Petracchi).

⁵² M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 187 note 1.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 183 note 1; see also T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 289; Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁵⁴ 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. See also Ş. Marin, *Venice, Byzantium, and the Muslims by 1348 According to the 17th Century Version of Marino Sanudo's Le vite dei Dogi* [forthcoming].

⁵⁵ T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 299; see also A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 222; Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence 1969, p. 157. See Marino Sanudo [?], *Cronaca dal principio della Città di Venezia al 1355. P. I*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, manuscript CXV [= 6819], 17th century. The same Tiepolo is also present as copier for another codex of Caroldo chronicle (more precisely, of books IV-IX), that is Gio. Jacopo Caroldo [?], *Istoria veneta dal principio della città al 1833* [sic!], Vienna, Austrian National Library, manuscript CXXXV [= 6343], 16th-17th centuries, apud T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁵⁶ T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 290. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta, detta Cornelia, dal principio al 1426*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, manuscript CXCI [= 5991], 16th century.

⁵⁷ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

⁵⁸ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 172 note 3. See Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, *Istorie venetiene* (ed. by Ş. Marin), 5 volumes, Bucharest 2008-2012. See also Ş. Marin, *A 16th Century Venetian Chronicle in France Microfilm Collection of the National Archives of Romania. The Case of Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo and His Compilers*, "Revue Roumaine d'Histoire" 46 (2007), 1-4, p. 41-68.

assisted in this operation by Giovanni Querini son of Vincenzo⁵⁹. The fact should not be overestimated, since Foscarini himself considered that thus it was Tiepolo the one due to whom "[...] *testi di grande antichità, e difficili da rinvenire: [...]*" were copied⁶⁰.

In exchange, some question marks have appeared in connection to the possibility of Tiepolo's paternity. Thus, one should take into consideration the statement of Tiepolo himself on the Viennese codex 5991: "*Io Giovanni Tiepolo del Magnifico S. Agustin nel 1589 more veneto ho finito di scrivere questa Cronica*"⁶¹, where it is about the verb *scrivere*, and not *copiar*. On its turn, the codex of B. Molino has the following inscription: "*Anno Dni 1600 die 5 septembris Joannis quondam Dni Augustini Theupulo P. V.*", giving birth to new possible debates over the enigma of the two authors, Agostini and Tiepolo. In addition, it seems indeed strange that the patriarch would have copied the same chronicle two times at least! These reasons convince us to speak about the 'Agostini-Tiepolo chronicle' in the case of this group of codices, until new clarifications.

Dating:

Beside the data regarding his lifetime (1542-1575), no one could know exactly when did Agostini write the chronicle ascribed to him. M. Foscarini proposed a general time for it, considering that the author wrote in 1570, when Alvise Mocenigo was elected as doge⁶² (1570-1577). An even more general proposal is offered by H. Hurlburt, who speaks about the 16th century chronicler Agostino Agostini, whom on another occasion considers as being contemporary to Francesco Sansovino⁶³.

At any rate, there are only three among the manuscripts above that are doubtless dated in his lifetime century: Querini IV 16, BCS 4875, and Vienna 6203 once in the possession of Bastian Molino. Therefore, the original could be one of those, in case that it has not been lost. Among them, the codex from Bucharest seems to be the most ancient, being dated around year 1580⁶⁴, while the Viennese one refers at a certain moment to year 1589, and the one belonging to Molino is from year 1600.

Sources and influences:

At a certain moment, M. Foscarini noticed the fact that G. Tiepolo refers to a chronicle named "*Amulia*", without naming its author⁶⁵, more exactly when mentioning about year 1380 that: "*Qui va posta la copia della lettera dalla Signoria nel 1380, a' 13 d'aprile, al serenissimo principe Andrea Contarini, che s'attrovava all'impresa di Chiozza, la qual è registrata nella cronaca Amulia a car. 52*"⁶⁶. Other

⁵⁹ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁶¹ T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁶² M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 177 note 1.

⁶³ H. Hurlburt, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁶⁴ R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

⁶⁵ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 161 and note 2; see also A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 555.

⁶⁶ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 161 note 2.

references, such as the ones to chronicles "*Eccelsa*" și "*Nobila*", are also impossible to be identified⁶⁷.

In exchange, the fact that the patriarch had copied the chronicles of Marino Sanudo and G. G. Caroldo could be a clearer sign that he had these two works at hand and used them.

It has also been noticed that the work of Agostini is full of documents when referring to the period after 1265⁶⁸, especially for the interval between 1275 and 1570⁶⁹, while the version in codex Cicogna 300 has been regarded as an abridged form exactly because of the lack of documents⁷⁰.

As a matter of fact, the author himself offers a sign for the possible sources in use when specifying in two of the codices – that is, Querini IV 16 and von Ranke 41 – that he would write "*altre molte notizie che negli Storici Veneti non si leggono*". Thus, he expresses the tendency towards originality, but also the fact he uses "*le parti, et i decreti del Sanato, l'elezioni de dogi con il lor 41, l'origine de magistrati, la memoria di suoi veascovi, e patriarchi, l'origine delle chiese, de luochi publici [...]*", thus proving an appetite towards documents.

A possible influence of our chronicle over the 16th-17th century Savina chronicle has been suggested by one of the latter's copier, that is Pietro Foscarini, who considered that it would correspond to Agostini's, and even that "*resta a vedere se il Savina o l'Agostini sia il primo compilatore*"⁷¹, an idea retaken then by E. A. Cicogna⁷². However, at a more attentive analysis, we must confess that we have not noted visible similarities between the two works⁷³.

As for us, we have analysed three codices – Querini IV 16, M 129 și M 77 – that we placed in category 9 of chronicles, in the following contexts: the mission of Giustiniano Partecipazio to the Byzantine basileus⁷⁴, the beginnings of the Fourth Crusade⁷⁵, the election of the first Latin patriarch of Constantinople⁷⁶, the title of

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 161 note 3; see also A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 555.

⁶⁸ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 177 note 1; Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago-London 1981, p. 226; G. E. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

⁶⁹ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

⁷⁰ G. E. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

⁷¹ Apud Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁷² G. E. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

⁷³ For Savina chronicle, see Ș. Marin, *The Muslims Seen through Venetian Eyes (660-1346). The Case of Codex It. VII. 134 (8035) at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana and the "Savina Group" of Chronicles, in Retrospectii medievale. In honorem Professoris Emeriti Ioan Caproșu* (ed. by Victor Spinci & Laurențiu Rădvan & Arcadie M. Bodale), Iași 2014, p. 427-453.

⁷⁴ 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 (81).

⁷⁵ Idem, *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 (129).

⁷⁶ Idem, *The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople. The Representation of Tommaso Morosini in the Venetian Chronicles*. "Quaderni della Casa Romena" 2 (2002), p. 49-90 (66).

Dominus achieved by the doge⁷⁷, and the supposed return of Enrico Dandolo to Venice after the conquest of the Byzantine metropolis⁷⁸. In a first instance, we had grouped "Tiepolo-Agostini chronicle" along with the chronicles inserted in M 793⁷⁹, Sansovino⁸⁰, M 2572⁸¹, or M 1999⁸², but this approaching is exclusively due to the fact that all these works do not present any non-Venetian participant to the Fourth Crusade, an argument that later on proved to be not functional, and these chronicles follow various paths when narrating various events. As for codex M 129, we also used it when referring to the representation of Charles the Great⁸³, situation in which we considered it as belonging to category 2b, along with the chronicles of Marco⁸⁴, da Canal⁸⁵, and Pietro Dolfin⁸⁶, with M 2550⁸⁷, and the chronicles ascribed to Daniele Barbaro⁸⁸, Marino Sanudo, and Girolamo Savina⁸⁹. We have also noted the fact that

⁷⁷ Idem, *Dominus quartae partis et dimidia totius Imperii Romaniae. The Fourth Crusade and the Dogal Title in the Venetian Chronicles' Representation*. "Quaderni della Casa Romana" 3 (2004), p. 119-150 (133).

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 142.

⁷⁹ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della città al 1478*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 793 [= 8477], 16th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 112-113 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1479*).

⁸⁰ See Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia Città nobilissima et singolare*, 2 (ed. by Giustiniano Martinioni), Venice 1968 [1663].

⁸¹ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1471*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 2572 [= 12464], 17th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 165 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1471*).

⁸² See Anon., *Epitome della Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 1999 [= 7918], 18th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 135-136 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1572*, dated in the 17th century).

⁸³ Ș. Marin, *Veneția – între Carol cel Mare și Bizanț. Reprezentarea momentului 800 în tradiția cronicistică venețiană*, "Analele Universității București. Istorie" 47 (1998), p. 3-44 (21).

⁸⁴ See *Marci Chronica universalis*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. XI. 124 [= 6802], 16th century. See also Ș. Marin, *Considerations regarding the Venetian Chronicle Ascribed to Marco and its Copy from the 16th Century*, in *Volum omagial Alexandru Barnea* (ed. by Adriana Panaite, Romeo Cîrjan, Carol Capiță), Brăila 2014, p. 545-557.

⁸⁵ See Martino da Canal, *Les estoires de Venise. Cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275* (ed. by Alberto Limentani), Florence 1972. See also Ș. Marin, *A Chanson de Geste in the 13th Century Venice: the Chronicle Written by Martino da Canal*. "Medieval and Early Modern Studies for Central and Eastern Europe" 2 (2010), p. 71-121.

⁸⁶ See Pietro Dolfin, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscripts It. VII. 2557-2558 [= 12449-12450], 18th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 157-158 (Pietro Dolfin, *Cronaca di Venezia*, dated in the 17th century). See also Ș. 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.

⁸⁷ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1410*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 2550 [= 12442], around year 1600. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 154-155 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1410*, dated in the 16th century).

⁸⁸ Daniele Barbaro [?], *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1275*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 2554 [= 12446], 17th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 156 (*Cronaca detta di Daniele Barbaro sino all'anno 1275*). See also Ș. Marin, *Some Notes with Regard to the Venetian Chronicle Ascribed to Daniele Barbaro, Patriarch of Aquilea. The so-called 'Barbaro Group'*. "Historical Yearbook" 8 (2011), p. 233-252 and 9 (2012), p. 139-152.

the episode of the supposed intention of Doge Pietro Ziani to remove the state institutions from Venice to Constantinople⁹⁰, so largely developed in the chronicle ascribed to Barbaro, is also present in a more succinct version in "Agostini-Tiepolo chronicle", along with the following works: Antonio Morosini⁹¹, pseudo-Savina, M 551⁹², M 1800⁹³, and M 71⁹⁴.

Editions:

The chronicle has remained unpublished for a long time, a fact noted by G. E. Ferrari⁹⁵.

All in all, it is about a chronicle that belongs to what Dorit Raines names as "*cronaca di consultazione*"⁹⁶, thus being one of the hundreds of minor chronicles that 'enriches' the impressive 'panoply' of the Venetian historiography along the period between the 14th and 18th centuries.

The Case of "Agostini-Tiepolo Chronicle" (16th Century), as Reflected in Manuscript It. VII. 129 from Marciana National Library

(abstract)

Among the around 2,000 codices representing the Venetian chronicles written between the 11th and 18th centuries, we selected the chronicle ascribed to either Patriarch

⁸⁹ See Girolamo Savina [?], *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1616*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 134 [= 8035], 17th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 64 (*Cronaca detta Savina*).

⁹⁰ Ș. Marin, *The Venetian Community – between civitas and imperium. A Project of the Capital's Transfer from Venice to Constantinople, According to the Chronicle of Daniele Barbaro*. "European Review of History" 10 (2003). 1. p. 81-102 (90-91 and notes 30-31).

⁹¹ See *Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo visto da Venezia (1094-1433)* (ed. by Andrea Nanetti), 4 volumes, Spoleto 2010. See also Ș. Marin, *Considerations regarding the Venetian Antonio Morosini's Chronicle*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica" 16-17 (2014-2015) [forthcoming].

⁹² See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'origine della Repubblica sino all'anno 1296*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 551 [= 7281], 17th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 92-93 (*Storia del governo di Venezia sino all'anno 1296*, dated in the 16th century).

⁹³ See *Estratti da una Cronaca Anonima dal principio della Città fino all'anno 1616*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 1800 [= 7682], 18th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 131-132 (*Eletzioni, deliberationi, decreti*).

⁹⁴ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1600*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 71 [= 7866], 17th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 43 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1100 circa*, dated in the 18th century).

⁹⁵ G. E. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 459. It is necessary to underline that when this study has been written, we were not aware of the recent edition of this work, published as *Cronica di Venezia di Giovanni Tiepolo fu de Agostin patrizio veneto* (ed. by Emilio Aleo), 2 volumes, Bologna 2012. Now, due to Antonio Carile's kindness, we have it at disposal, expressing our entire gratitude to the Bolognese scholar.

⁹⁶ 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.

Giovanni Tiepolo and Agostino Agostini. The present paper focuses upon manuscript M 129 at Marciana National Library in Venice, but takes all the other codices into consideration, meaning those spread to the Library of Correr Civic Museum in Venice, Library of Querini-Stampalia Foundation in Venice, Austrian National Library in Vienna, National Library of Romania in Bucharest, Syracuse Library University, and so on. Beside the matters referring to paternity and dating, the paper makes an attempt to establish the sources and influences of this particular chronicle among the huge number of Venetian chronicles.