

Some Notes about Bernardo Giustiniani's *De origine urbis Venetiarum*

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Manuscripts

The partial history of Venice from the origins to year 809 written by the patrician Bernardo Giustiniani is to be found as manuscript in codex Cicogna 1809 at Correr Civic Museum in Venice. Before being acquired by this institution, it had number 278¹. The manuscript numbers 410 leaves², where two versions of this work are contained, separated by five blank leaves³. It has been concluded that the first version (A), with no page numbers but counting 212 leaves⁴, is subsequent⁵ to the second one (B) in this codex, which includes leaves 219^r-401^v⁶. Although version A seems to be complete and better disposed⁷, it has also the aspect of a working copy, because of the large number of erasures and corrections⁸. However, in comparison, version B seems even more a draft of A⁹ and in addition it contains only books 1-7 and 10-15 of the work¹⁰.

Although it is difficult to check whether it is about B. Giustiniani's handwriting¹¹, so much the more the codex is clearly the result of two different

¹ R. F[ulin], *Saggio del catalogo dei codici di Emmanuele A. Cicogna*, "Archivio Veneto" 4 (1872), part I, p. 59-132 and 337-398 (72-74).

² Gino Pistilli, *Giustinian (Giustiniani, Iustiniani, Justinianus, Zustignan, Zustinian), Bernardo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 57, Rome 2001, p. 216-224 (222).

³ 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 (307 n. 4).

⁴ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁵ 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/I, Vicenza 1980, p. 1-91 (45).

⁶ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁹ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 332. Actually, it was the owner himself of the codex, E. A. Cicogna who confessed that it is not possible to know whether the handwriting belongs to the author or to somebody else (Domenico Morosini, Lorenzo Giustiniani, Benedetti Brugnolo or Giovanni Calfurnio), see R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 73-74.

handwritings¹², it has been considered that, if not entirely¹³, at least some of the passages should belong to this author's hand¹⁴.

Being at a certain moment in possession of the codex, E. A. Cicogna inserted two long notes in the front pages (p. 3^r-4^v), dated in 1825 and 1851 respectively¹⁵. Among other conclusions, it results that version A should have been the one intended to be published by the author's son, Lorenzo Giustiniani, and by Domenico Morosini¹⁶.

Fragments of the chronicles are also to be detected in Foscarini codex XV no 6207 (now preserved at the Austrian National Library in Vienna)¹⁷, along with excerpts from Andrea Dandolo¹⁸, Raffaino Caresini¹⁹, and Flavio Biondo²⁰.

Editions

It has been noted that B. Giustiniani passed away in 1489, prior to revise his work for the last time, but having time to order to his son, Lorenzo, and to

¹² G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹³ See Cicogna's first note on the frontpage (p. 3^r-3^v) of the manuscript: "*In questo libro si contengono due minute de' XV libri della Storia Venetiana scritta [emphasis mine] da Bernardo Giustiniano [...]*", *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 308 n. 4.

¹⁴ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 n. 4; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 45; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹⁵ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 308 n. 4; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹⁶ *Apud Ibidem*.

¹⁷ Tommaso Gar, *I codici storici della collezione Foscarini conservata nella Imperiale Biblioteca di Vienna*, "Archivio Storico Italiano" 5 (1843), p. 281-430 (337).

¹⁸ See *Andreae Danduli Ducis Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta aa. 46-1280 d. C.*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12 (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna 1923, p. 5-327. See also Şerban 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.

¹⁹ *Raphayni de Caresinis Cancelarii Venetiarum, Chronica, aa. 1343-1388*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12, part II (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna 1923. For a translation in vulgar, see *La Cronaca di Raffaino Caresini tradotta in volgare veneziano nel secolo XIV* (ed. by Rinaldo Fulin), Venice 1877. For the character of Caresini (1314-1390), chancellor of the Republic, see also Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* (introd. by de Ugo Stefanutti), [Bologna 1976] [reprinted of Venice 1854] [first ed.: 1752], p. 146, 147 and n. 1; Antonio Carile, *Caresini, Raffaino (Raffain, Raphainus, Raphaynus, Raphael de Caresinis)*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 20, Rome 1977, p. 80-83.

²⁰ See Blondi Flavii Forliviensis, *De Origine et Gestis Venetorum Liber*, in *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, V, part 1 (ed. by Johann Georg Graevius), Leyden 1722, p. 1-26. See also Ş. 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.

Domenico Morosini to recommend it to be checked by Benedetto Brognolo²¹, before being printed. Thus, the work was printed posthumously in 1492, under the title of “*De origine urbis Venetiarum, rebusque ejus ad quadragesimum usque annum gestis historia*”²², along with other Giustiniani’s works²³, having Bernardino Benali[o] as editor²⁴. These details result from the reply letter to Lorenzo Giustiniani, inserted by B. Brognolo at the beginning of the printed version²⁵, and also from our historian’s will, where the name of Giovanni Calfurnio is mentioned along with Brognolo’s²⁶.

The existence of some differences between codex Ci 1809 and the printed version is natural, a fact noted by Fr. Gaeta²⁷. It is also explainable through the corrections and interventions in the text operated by B. Brognolo, in accordance with the wish of the author himself.

²¹ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 2; R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Patricia H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani. A Venetian of the Quattrocento*, Rome 1969, p. 256 and n. 50-51. For Benedetto Brognoli (1427-1502), see also Elpidio Mioni, *Brugnoli, Benedetto*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 14, Rome 1972, p. 501-503; Ruth Chavasse, *Humanism Commemorated: the Venetian Memorials to Benedetto Brugnolo and Marcantonio Sabellico*, in *Florence and Italy: Renaissance Studies in Honor of Nicolai Rubinstein* (ed. by Peter Denley & Caroline Elam), London 1988, p. 455-461; Virginia Cox, *Rhetoric and Humanism in Quattrocento Venice*, “*Renaissance Quarterly*” 56 (2003), 3, p. 652-694 (663).

²² See Cicogna, frontpage of the manuscript Ci 1809 from Venice, Correr Civic Museum. P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 256 proposes year 1493. For the permit of printing, see also R. Fulin, *Primi privilegi di stampa a Venezia*, “*Archivio Veneto*” 1 (1871), p. 160-164 (162) *apud* P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 256 n. 49.

²³ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 2.

²⁴ *Ibidem*; E. A. Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia veneziana*, Venice 1847, p. 79; R. Fulin, *Saggio del catalogo cit.*, p. 73; Angela Caracciolo, *Lineamenti di cultura e civiltà dell’umanesimo e del rinascimento, parte seconda: Umanesimo veneziano*, no year [= http://lettere2.unive.it/caracciolo/Cultura_Venezia.htm#giustinian]. For Bernardino Benali, see A. Cioni, *Benali, Bernardino*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 8, Rome 1966, p. 165-167 [= http://www.tertullian.org/articles/cioni_benali_eng.htm] (see also the bibliography).

²⁵ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 2. For B. Brognolo’s foreword, see also A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307-308.

²⁶ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 256; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222. For Giovanni Calfurnio (1443, Brescia-1503), professor of Greek at Padua and Venice, see Vittorio Cian, *Un umanista bergamasco del Rinascimento: Giovanni Calfurnio*, “*Archivio storico lombardo*” 14 (1910), p. 221-248; Julia Haig Gaisser, *The Business of Editing: Francesco Puteolano and Giovanni Calfurnio*, in *Catullus and his Renaissance Readers*, Oxford 1993, p. 32-42 and 291-296; Paolo Pellegrini, *Giovanni Calfurnio e i commenti umanistici a Svetonio: filologia a ‘margine’ nella Padova di fine Quattrocento*, in *Libri a stampa postillati* (ed. by Edoardo Barbieri & Giuseppe Frasso), Milan 2003, p. 231-266.

²⁷ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Marco Foscarini noted a second edition, due to the same Benalio and dated in 1534²⁸. The information, about which E. A. Cicogna expressed his doubts, saying that it is also about the previous edition, just that it has the mention of year 1534 on the frontispiece²⁹, has still been used by A. Prost³⁰, V. Lazzarini³¹, or A. Pertusi³².

Versions in vulgar of Giustiniani's work would also be issued, as the one translated by Lodovico Domeneghi (Domenichi) under the title of *Historia dell'origine di Vinegia et delle cose fatte da Venetiani* and edited in 1545 by Bernardino Bindoni or the one due to Pietro Dusinello in 1608.

Ultimately, the last edition of the history of B. Giustiniani was issued in 1722, inside of the fifth volume of J. G. Graeve's collection, under the title of *De origine urbis Venetiarum rebusque gestis a Venetis libri XV*³³, slightly modified than the original one.

Despite such a high number of editions, A. Pertusi expressed at a certain moment the wish of preparing a new critical edition³⁴.

Paternity

Practically, there are no doubts about Bernardo Giustiniani's paternity over this work³⁵. Actually, the entire title under which the work was issued in its first edition in 1492 is as follows: "*Bernardi Justiniani, Patritii Veneti, Senatorii Equestisque ordinis Viri amplissimi, oratorisque clarissimi, De origine urbis Venetiarum, rebusque ejus ad quadringentesimum usque annum gestis historia*"³⁶.

No one knows whether B. Giustiniani had in intention to continue his work, meaning to write a chronicle to cover a longer period of time or whether he confined himself to matters dealing with the origins of Venice, since the above mentioned title had been chosen by editor B. Benalio, and not by the author himself.

²⁸ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 2.

²⁹ E. A. Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia veneziana* cit., p. 79; R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 73; see also Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes. Second mémoire*, "Revue des questions historiques" 34 (1883), p. 199-224 (203).

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 202-203.

³¹ Vittorio Lazzarini, *Il preteso documento della fondazione di Venezia e la cronaca del medico Jacopo Dondi*, "Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 75 (1915-1916), second part, p. 1263-1281 (1264 n. 7).

³² A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 n. 4.

³³ J. G. Graeve, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, V, 1, coll. 1-172.

³⁴ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 309 n. 1.

³⁵ Probably due to the haste, Rafael Sánchez Sesa, *La cronística Toscana bajomedieval y la imagen de la Península Ibérica*, "España Medieval" 20 (1997), p. 31-56 (36) credits Leonardo [sic!] with the work's paternity.

³⁶ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 1.

About Bernardo Giustiniani's life

Once having certitude for Bernardo Giustiniani's paternity of this work, it is necessary to get involved in some more details about his life.

The historian was born in Venice in 1408³⁷, on January 6 more exactly³⁸, and was member of the patrician family of Giustiniani³⁹, which was among those ancient families known as "*i lunghi*"⁴⁰. His father was Leonardo⁴¹, the son of another Bernardo⁴², and it has been considered that our historian's life history could not be separated from his father's⁴³. Leonardo had once been participant to the classes of Greek delivered by Giovanni da Conversino⁴⁴, had collected various codices⁴⁵, had corresponded with Ciriaco d'Ancona⁴⁶, had written the

³⁷ *Ibidem*; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 306; A. Carile, *Le origini di Venezia nelle più antiche cronache veneziane*, in *Memoria Antoniadis*, Venice 1974, p. 27-40 (27); Eduard Fueter, *Storia della storiografia moderna* (transl. by Altiero Spinelli), Milan-Naples 1970 [*Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*, Munich 1936], p. 146; 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 (49); Elisabeth 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. 253 n. 121; A. Caracciolo, *op. cit.* On the other side, Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago-London 1981, p. 80 and Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern*, Chicago-London, 1994 [1983] propose year 1406.

³⁸ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, Princeton, New Jersey 1986, p. 381; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

³⁹ For this family, P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 1, 5-55 (especially 5-8); Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 46. For a succinct genealogical tree, see P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

⁴⁰ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 5 and n. 1.

⁴¹ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 1; P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 8-10; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 146; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 38, 381, 383; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Gino Benzoni, *Scritti storico-politici*, in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, IV: *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura* (ed. by Alberto Tenenti & Ugo Tucci), Rome 1996, p. 757-788 (763); G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 216; A. Caracciolo, *op. cit.*

⁴² P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 8; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 383; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁴³ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴⁴ For Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna (1343-1408), student of Petrarca, see, among others, Remigio Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna, insigne figura d'umanista, 1343-1408*, Como 1924; Luciano Gargan, *Giovanni Conversini e la cultura letteraria a Treviso nella seconda metà del Trecento*, "Italia medioevale e umanistica" 8 (1965), p. 85-159; Benjamin G. Kohl, *The Works of Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna: A Catalogue of Manuscripts and Editions*, "Traditio" 31 (1975), p. 349-368; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 3-6; Benjamin G. Kohl, *Conversini, Giovanni, da Ravenna*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 28, Rome 1983, p. 574-578.

⁴⁵ M. Foscarini, *Della Letteratura*, p. 81 n. 1.

⁴⁶ Despite all these, *Ibidem*, p. 390 n. 2, 391 n. 1 considers that some of these letters does not actually belong to Leonardo Giustiniani. For Ciriaco d'Ancona (on the real name,

Life of St Nicholas the Great⁴⁷, had translated Plutarch in Latin and had written a biography of the Holy Fathers from Greek⁴⁸. He had also been selected for delivering the oration for one of the community's heroes, that is Carlo Zeno, in 1418⁴⁹. Therefore, the opinion according to which Leonardo was "one of the pioneers of classicizing oratory in Venice"⁵⁰ is not by chance. In the meantime, the political activity led Leonardo to the position of *procuratore* of San Marco⁵¹. Leonardo's name is also connected to the opening in 1446 of the school of San Marco⁵². Probably being in a hurry, Fr. Gaeta names Bernardo's father as Lorenzo⁵³, but adding that this latter had been a very famous man of letters and poet⁵⁴ and had demonstrated historical skills at a certain level, writing compendia

Ciriaco de' Pizziccolli) (c. 1390 or 1391, Ancona-1452 or 1457, Cremona), nicknamed "*pater antiquitas*", bibliography is extremely rich. See, among others, Francesco Scalamonti, *Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani* (transl. and ed. by Charles Mitchell & Edward W. Bodnar), "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society", new series, 86 (1996), 4, p. i-vii and 1-246; volumes *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo. Atti del Convegno internazionale in occasione del VI centenario della nascita, Ancona 6-9 febbraio 1992*, Reggio Emilia 1998 and *Ciriaco d'Ancona e il suo tempo. Viaggi, commerci e avventure fra sponde adriatiche, Egeo e Terra Santa', Atti del convegno, Ancona, 13-14 marzo 2000*, Ancona 2002.

⁴⁷ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 383 n. 2.

⁴⁸ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80; A. Caracciolo, *op. cit.*.

⁴⁹ S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 volumes, Venice 1853-1861, III, p. 258 n. 3; see also A. Caracciolo, *op. cit.*. See *Orazione funebre di Leonardo Giustinian*, in *Orazioni, elogi e vite* (ed. by G. A. Molina), I, Venice 1795, p. 12-21; Leonardo Giustinian, *Poesie*, in *Rimatori veneziani del Quattrocento* (ed. by Armando Balduino), Padua 1980, p. 304-325. Unfortunately, I was not able to detect any recent study dedicated to Carlo Zeno (1334-1418); therefore, in order to illustrate his personality, I refer to the more ancient eulogiative works, such as *La Vita del magnifico m. Carlo Zeno egregio et valoroso capitano della illus. repub. Venetiana, composta dal rev. Gianjacomo 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 applause della fama rappresentato. Opera del sig. dott. Alessandro Terzi rettore del seminario, recitata dall'Accademia Ema*, Bergamo [1626]; *Vita Caroli Zeni patritii veneti clarissimi ad Pium Secundum Pontificem Maximum auctore Jacobo Zeno ejus nepote Feltrensi et Belluensi episcopo ab anno circiter 1334 usque ad 1418*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 19.

⁵⁰ V. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 672.

⁵¹ A. Caracciolo, *op. cit.*.

⁵² *Ibidem*.

⁵³ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*; see also S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 501; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 38; G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 763.

of the works of Andrea Dandolo and Raffaino Caresini⁵⁵. Bernardo would have inherited from his father a rich library, which would include, beside other historical books, a copy of Titus Livius and one of Lorenzo de Monaci's history of Venice⁵⁶. Unfortunately, there is no certitude about the fate of this library: Leonardo had either left it to his son⁵⁷, or donated it to the convent of the nuns of Santa Croce alla Giudecca⁵⁸. In the absence of historical proofs, all these are simple suppositions. Leonardo had also been certainly aware of the Dandolian chronicle, two manuscripts proving this statement: one from Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, inventoried as It. VII, 565 [=8497] and containing "Leonardo Giustinian, *Compendio delle cronache di Andrea Dandolo e di Raffaino de Caresini*"⁵⁹, the other from the National Library of France in Paris, *Italien* 25, which includes "Extrait de la Chronique manuscrite d'André Dandolo, doge de Venise, fait par Léonard Justinien, Procureur de St Mark"⁶⁰.

⁵⁵ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Leonardo Giustiniani was a good friend, among others, of Francesco Barbaro, see Frederic C. Lane, *Storia di Venezia*, Turin 1991 [*Venice. A Maritime Republic*, [Baltimore] 1973], p. 261. The greatest number of studies dealing with the person of Leonardo Giustiniani insists upon his activity as poet – actually, the famous "canzonette giustiniane" originate in his person. For his life (1388-1446), see *Vita di Leonardo Giustiniani*, in Giovanni Delli Agostini, *Istoria degli scrittori veneziani*, I-II, Venice 1752-1754, I; Berthold Fenigstein, *Leonardo Giustiniani, venezianischer Staatsman, Humanist, und Vulgärdichter*, Halle 1909; Manlio Dazzi, *Leonardo Giustinian*, Bari 1934; Giuseppe Billanovich, *Alla scoperta di Leonardo Giustinian*, "Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa", 3rd series, 8 (1939), p. 99-130 and 333-357; M. Dazzi, *Leonardo Giustinian*, in *Umanesimo Europeo e Umanesimo veneziano* (ed. by Vittore Branca), Florence 1963, p. 173-192; Lucia Nadin Bassani, *Appunti sull'epistolario di Leonardo Giustinian*, "Quaderni veneti" 1 (1985), p. 31-39; Antonio Enzo Quaglio, *Sulla corrispondenza in sonetti di Leonardo Giustinian con Ciriaco Pizzicollì*, "Filologia e Critica" 17 (1992), p. 253-257; Franco Pignatti, *Leonardo Giustinian*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 57, Rome 2001, p. 249-255.

⁵⁶ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 46; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 248-249; for the ownership over a rich library, see also A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 317 n. 1; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222. For Monaci's work, see *Laurentii de Monacis Cretae Cancellari Chronica de rebus venetis Ab U. C. ad Annum MCCCLIV, sive ad conjurationem ducis Faledro* (ed. by Flaminio Corner), Venice 1758; see also 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.

⁵⁷ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁵⁸ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁵⁹ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 248 and n. 8.

⁶⁰ P. 87-90v, in miscellanea; see Attilio Sarfatti, *I codici veneti delle biblioteche di Parigi*, Rome 1888, p. 38-39 *apud* P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 248 and n. 9.

Bernardo's uncle, Lorenzo, had been the first patriarch of Venice⁶¹, while another uncle, Marco, was considered as "the powerful statesman"⁶². Bernardo was also distant cousin of Pietro Giustinian, the author of *Rerum Venetarum historia*⁶³. His mother was the daughter of Bernardo da Mula⁶⁴ and her name was either Lucrezia⁶⁵ or Orsa⁶⁶. Married in 1433 with Elisabetta⁶⁷ or Elisa⁶⁸, the daughter of Giovanni Priuli, Bernardo was the father of four sons (Leonardo, Lorenzo, Giovanni, and Marco)⁶⁹ and three daughters (among whom, Orsa get married Andrea Dandolo and gave birth to the humanist Marco)⁷⁰.

⁶¹ S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 509; P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 8; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 318; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 38; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80; G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 763. For the personality of Lorenzo Giustinian (1381-1456), Bishop of Castello (1433-1451), Patriarch of Venice (since 1451), later, since 1690, placed among the saints, see Card. Pietro La Fontaine, *Il primo patriarca di Venezia*, 2 volumes, Venice 1928; Silvio Tramontin, *San Lorenzo Giustiniani nell'Arte e nel Culto della Serenissima*, Venice [1956]; Napoleone Barbato, *Ascetica dell'orazione in San Lorenzo Giustiniani*, Venice 1960; Antonio Niero, *I patriarchi di Venezia da Lorenzo Giustiniani ai nostri giorni*, Venice 1961, *passim*; I. Tassi, *Vita beati Iustiniani Venetiarum proto patriarchae*, Rome 1962; volume *Venezia e Lorenzo Giustiniani* (ed. by S. Tramontin), Venice 1983; A. Caracciolo, *op. cit.*. The work that should be the basis of the saint's life should be the one belonging exactly to Bernardo Giustinian, *De vita beati Laurentii Iustiniani Venetiarum proto patriarchae*, see *infra*. Lorenzo's works were published in Latin (*Opera Divi Laurentii Iustiniani Venetiarum Prothopatriarcha*, Bressanone 1506) and in Italian translation [*Devoti sermoni delle solennita de Santi del beato Lorenzo Giustinian* (ed. by Andrea Picolini), Venice 1565].

⁶² M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 38; for the positions held by Marco Giustinian, see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁶³ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 221. See *Petri Justiniani patritii Veneti Aloysii f. Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita historia*, Venice 1560; other editions: Venice 1575-1576; Strasbourg 1611; translations in Italian of the work of Senator Pietro Giustiniani (1497-1576): Venice 1576; Venice 1670. See M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 293 and n. 1-4, 294 and n. 1; see also *Ibidem*, p. 293 and n. 4, speaking about a 'cleaned' version of the work, due to Giuseppe Orologi.

⁶⁴ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁶⁵ Antonio Stella, *Bernardi Iustiniani Patritii Veneti Senatorii, Equestris, Procuratoriique ordinis viri ampliss(imi) Vita*, Venice 1553 *apud* M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 1; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁶⁶ Cf. Barbaro, manuscript Foscarini CCXXI, p. 174 *apud* M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 1.

⁶⁷ Cf. Giomo, *Matrimoni*, II, 264 *apud* M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

⁶⁸ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁶⁹ For his son Lorenzo, see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 2.

⁷⁰ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 216-217.

Bernardo Giustinian was involved in various commercial activities⁷¹. Some letters to Francesco Filelfo prove that the fall of Constantinople in the hands of the Ottoman Turks brought serious damages to Bernardo's business between 1453 and 1454⁷².

However, his main occupation was connected to the politics. In 1427, he became member of the Great Council, thus beginning a long political career that extended on a period of 60 years⁷³. In 1432, he accompanied his father, who had to accomplish the position of governor in Friuli and both of them remained in Udine by the Spring of 1433⁷⁴. In 1442, Bernardo held the position of *savio agli Ordini*, which is proved by a letter that he sent on April 14 of the same year to George of Trebizond, in which he complaint of the many tasks which he was involved in and that impeded him to read and write⁷⁵. For this period, the

⁷¹ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 55 ff, 75 ff, retaken by M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 381; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

⁷² *Ibidem*. For Francesco Filelfo (1398, Tolentino-1481, Florence), at a certain moment secretary of the Venetian bailo in Constantinople (1419-1426), but spending the greatest part of his lifetime in the main cultural centres (Venice, Bologna, Florence, Siena, Milan, Rome), see, among others, Carlo de' Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo da Tolentino*, 3 volumes, Milan 1808; Giuseppe Zippel, *Il Filelfo a Firenze (1429-1434)*. Saggio, Rome 1899 (reprinted in Idem, *Storia e cultura del Rinascimento italiano*, Padua 1979, p. 215-253); Giovanni Benadduci, *Contributo alla bibliografia di Francesco Filelfo*, Tolentino 1902; Aristide Calderini, *Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo*, "Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica" 20 (1913), p. 204-424; volume *Francesco Filelfo nel Quinto centenario della morte. Atti del XVII convegno di Studi Maceratesi (Tolentino, 27-30 settembre 1981)*, Padua 1986; Diana Robin, *A Reassessment of the Character of Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481)*, "Renaissance Quarterly" 36 (1983), 2, p. 202-224; Idem, *Filelfo in Milan: Writings 1451-1477*, Princeton, New Jersey 1991. For his rich correspondence, also noted by M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 223 n. 1, see *Epistolae*, Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, cod. 873. See also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 310 n. 4, who also refers to Filelfo's attitude towards the Venetians.

⁷³ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 217. For George of Trebizond (1395, in Crete-1484 or 1486, Rome), settled in Italy after 1420 (according to some other opinions, even immediately after the Council of Ferrara-Florence) and professor of Greek 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 per il Medio Evo 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 Platonici e Aristotelici*, "Medioevo e Rinascimento" 15 / new series 12 (2001), p. 105-176.

privileged relations with Doge Francesco Foscari (1423-1457) have been underlined⁷⁶, and Bernardo was the one in charge to deliver the funeral oration⁷⁷.

Under the doges following to Foscari, Bernardo Giustiniani would continue the political activity, becoming again *savio* of *terraferma* in 1459⁷⁸, after holding this position also in 1456⁷⁹. Many times member of the Council of the Ten⁸⁰, first time in 1459-1460⁸¹, then in 1462, 1466, 1469 and 1470-1471⁸², he was promoted as *savio grande* of the same institution in 1467, 1469-1470, 1470-1471, 1473-74, and also many times between 1477 and his passing away⁸³. Meanwhile, he was elected as captain of Padua in 1467⁸⁴, in which city he found Ludovico Foscari as *podestà*⁸⁵, who would become later *provveditore* in Lombardy in 1468⁸⁶ and lieutenant in Friuli in 1477⁸⁷, information that could result even from his *De origine*⁸⁸.

Bernardo's political ascent reached new heights in 1474⁸⁹, when he was elected as *procuratore* of San Marco⁹⁰, after which he appeared among those that elected doges Cristoforo Moro (1462-1471)⁹¹, Niccolò Marcello (1473-1474)⁹², and Pietro Mocenigo (1474-1476)⁹³. In 1476, before the election of Doge Andrea Vendramin (1476-1478), he became corrector of the *promissione ducale*, in which position he suggested some restrictive changings regarding to family favouritisms⁹⁴. Anyhow, the culmination is represented in August 1486, when,

⁷⁶ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 316 n. 1.

⁷⁷ M. Foscari, *op. cit.*, p. 316 n. 2; Fr. Gaeta, *Storiografia, coscienza nazionale e politica culturale* cit., p. 47; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

⁷⁸ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁷⁹ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

⁸⁰ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 147; E. Crouzet-Pavan, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁸¹ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 219, 220.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 220, 221; see also E. Crouzet-Pavan, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁸⁴ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 146-147; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁶ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁸⁷ *Vita beati Laurentii*, 1962, p. xvi *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 n. 3; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 306-307 and 307 n. 1; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 45 n. 127, 47; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

⁸⁸ *De origine*, p. 82B.

⁸⁹ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁹⁰ M. Foscari, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 1; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 147; André Jean-Marc Loechel, *Le rappresentazioni della comunità* (transl. by Ernesto Garino), in *Storia di Venezia*, IV cit., p. 603-721 (676); E. Crouzet-Pavan, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁹¹ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 221.

⁹³ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*.

according to Domenico Malipiero's *Diarii*⁹⁵, Bernardo Giustiniani ran for the supreme position in the Venetian state. It would be only after the third ballot when he would be defeated in front of Agostino Barbarigo⁹⁶, the brother of the deceased doge Marco Barbarigo. It was considered that he himself would have voted for his competitor to the dogal position⁹⁷.

His position regarding the fall of Constantinople in 1453 has also been noted⁹⁸. Giustiniani was among those that did not consent to the treaty that Venice concluded with the Turks in 1454, April 18⁹⁹. Along with Ludovico Foscari and Paolo Morosini, he would have preferred that Venice would promote a more aggressive policy¹⁰⁰. From his position of *savio* of *terraferma*, in 1459, he supported an anti-Ottoman endeavour and a co-operation with Pope Pius II, whose crusading project was discussed those days in the diet of Mantua¹⁰¹. It was also in 1456 when he joined a proposal that advanced a common action against the Ottomans. On the other hand, to the end of the same year, since this proposal remained unaccomplished, he suggested negotiations with the Sultan for the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, a proposal that was not accepted by the Senate¹⁰². Later, along with F. Foscari, he was against the peace concluded with the Turks in 1479 and sustained the reopening of anti-Turkish war¹⁰³. His anti-Ottoman attitude was also manifest while he was ambassador to Emperor Frederic III in 1452¹⁰⁴ and to King Louis XI of France in 1461-1462¹⁰⁵.

He also proved a determined attitude regarding the "war of Ferrara" (1482-1484), supporting his city's position and attacking the validity of Pope Sixtus IV's initiative¹⁰⁶. In the Senate, Giustiniani became the leader of the war

⁹⁵ Mss. no LI, p. 553 *apud* M. Foscari, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 1 (the information is not to be found in the edited version of Malipiero's diary, see *Annali Veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500 del Senatore Domenico Malipiero ordinati e abbreviati dal Senatore Francesco Longo* (ed. by Agostino Sagredo), "Archivio Storico Italiano" 7 (1843), part I, p. 5-586.

⁹⁶ M. Foscari, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 1; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222; see also E. Crouzet-Pavan, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁹⁷ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁹⁸ *De origine*, p. 18r-18v *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 316 n. 1; see also G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰¹ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁰² G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

¹⁰³ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁴ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

¹⁰⁶ 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], p. 67. For the "war of Ferrara", see Marino Sanudo, *Commentarii della Guerra di Ferrara tra li Viniziani ed il duca Ercole d'Este nel 1482*,

party in the moment of the Ferrarese crisis¹⁰⁷. He was the one who held the task to reply to the Papal interdict launched by Sixtus IV and was also expected to summon Innocent VIII to lift the interdict¹⁰⁸.

His diplomatic activity began when being sent to meet the German king Frederic III of Habsburg, on the occasion of the latter's arrival in Italy in the 50s¹⁰⁹. Bernardo was sent in 1452 by the Republic to Rome, where the German monarch was present in order to receive the Imperial crown. He delivered the welcome speech, in which oration (*Oratio ad Fridericum III imperatorem ad coronas et nuptias Romam proficiscentem*) he took the opportunity to invite the recently elected emperor to lead the Christian forces in an anti-Turkish crusade¹¹⁰. Afterwards, in 1458-1459, he was in Naples, around Ferdinand of Aragon¹¹¹. In 1461 he was in the embassy sent to Milan¹¹², and after that he reached the court of Louis XI of France (1461-1462)¹¹³, an episode mentioned even in *De origine*¹¹⁴, but also in *la Commissione* given to Giustiniani by Doge Pasquale Malipiero (1457-1462), in the work of Paolo Barbo¹¹⁵ and in A.

Venice 1829; Antonio Frizzi, *Memorie per la storia di Ferrara* (2nd ed.), IV, Ferrara 1848; Edoardo Piva, *La guerra di Ferrara del 1482*, I: *L'alleanza dei veneziani con Sisto IV*, Padua 1893; Giuseppe Dalla Santa, *Benedetto Soranzo patrizio veneziano, arcivescovo di Cipro, e Girolamo Riario. Una pagina nuova della Guerra di Ferrara degli anni 1482-1484*, Venice 1914; Giuseppe Fuscaldo, *La guerra di Ferrara 1482-1484*, Ferrara 1925; Roberto Cessi, *Per la storia della guerra di Ferrara*, "Notizie degli Archivi di Stato" 8 (1948), 2-3, p. 63-72; Michael E. Mallett, *Venice and the War of Ferrara, 1482-84*, in *War, Culture and Society in Renaissance Venice. Essays in Honour of John Hale* (ed. by David S. Chambers & Cecil H. Clough & Michael E. Mallett), London 1993, p. 57-72; Trevor Dean, *After the War of Ferrara: Relations between Venice and Ercole d'Este, 1484-1505*, in *War, Culture and Society in Renaissance Venice* cit.; Thomas Touhy, *Herculean Ferrara: Ercole d'Este, 1471-1505, and the Invention of a Ducal Capital*, [Cambridge] 1996.

¹⁰⁷ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 210-211 *apud* Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47 n. 132; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

¹⁰⁹ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47; see also E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80 (who refers to year 1451).

¹¹⁰ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

¹¹¹ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217-218.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, p. 218.

¹¹³ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 218-219; see also E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80, who refers to year 1460. For this embassy, see also P.-M. Perret, *La première ambassade vénitienne à Louis XI (12 oct. 1461-mai 1462)*, "Revue d'histoire diplomatique" 4 (1890), p. 387-398.

¹¹⁴ *De origine*, p. 4B *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 306 and 307 n. 1.

¹¹⁵ Venice, Correr Civic Museum, cod. Cicogna MLXXXV, dated in 1461 *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 n. 1. It is about the brother of Pope Paul II (born Pietro Barbo) (1464-1471), see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 335 n. 4. For Paolo Barbo's life, see *Vita di Paolo Barbo*, in G. Degli Agostini, *Notizie Istorico-Critiche intorno la Vita e le Opere*

Stella¹¹⁶. On this occasion, the king conferred Giustiniani the title of knight¹¹⁷, after the latter had rejected this honour three times, by imitating his father's refusal¹¹⁸. Afterwards, his diplomatic activity took place around the popes: Pius II in 1462-1463¹¹⁹, Paul II in 1466¹²⁰, and Sixtus IV in 1471-1472¹²¹, to which one could add a new mission in Naples in 1470¹²² and a short embassy in Milan in 1485¹²³.

The conclusion that it is about one of the most appreciated personality of those times results also from the fact that a presentation of his life was published, due to the clerk Antonio Stella of San Moisè¹²⁴ and entitled *Bernardi Iustiniani patritii Veneti, senatorii, equestris, procuratoriique ordinis viri amplissimi vita*, which was issued in Venice later, in 1553¹²⁵. On the whole for Bernardo's political activity, we regard Ermolao Barbaro's words saying that "for twenty-five years, [...], «there was no greater authority in the Senate, none presented his opinion with greater weight.»"¹²⁶ as suggestive.

degli Scrittori Viniziani (introd. by de Ugo Stefanutti), I-II, [Bologna] 1975 [reprinted of Venice 1752-1754], p. 363-371, I.

¹¹⁶ A. Stella, *op. cit.*, p. 15^v-15^v apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 n. 1.

¹¹⁷ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 1; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

¹¹⁸ *Oratio pro militia ad regem Franciae Ludovicum*: E3v-E4 apud M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹¹⁹ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 219; see also Giovanni Soranzo, *Pio II e la politica italiana nella lotta contro i Malatesti (1457-1463)*, Padua 1911, p. 339-405, 492-495.

¹²⁰ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

¹²¹ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹²² *Ibidem*; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 221.

¹²⁴ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 1. For his public positions, see A. Stella, *op. cit.*, p. 11^v-23^v apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 318 n. 3. For Stella's work, see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 317 n. 3; the same Stella composed panegyrics for the most famous participants in naval battles, see *Ibidem*, p. 332 n. 2.

¹²⁵ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 n. 1.

¹²⁶ Barbaro, *Epistolae*, II, p. 49 apud M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 39. For the humanist and philosopher Ermolao Barbaro (1453 or 1454-1493 or 1495, Rome), nephew of Francesco Barbaro, on whose name the renaissance of the Paduan studies of Aristotle is connected (not to be confounded with his homonymous and contemporaneous ambassador and author of treatises of diplomacy), see, among others, P. Giovanni degli Agostini, *Vita di Ermolao Barbaro*, in Idem, *Scrittori Veneziani*, I; Ermolao Barbaro, *Epistolae, orationes, et carmina* (ed. by V. 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* (ed. by John R. Hale), London 1973, p. 218-243; Idem, *L'umanesimo veneziano alla fine*

As for his activity on the cultural field, it has been considered that “eventually, his reputation as a man of letters became greater than his fame as a statesman.”¹²⁷

Having no obvious proof, it has been considered that Bernardo Giustiniani would have studied the arts and law at Padua¹²⁸. Anyhow, he had Cristoforo de Scarpis, Francesco Filelfo and Guarino Veronese¹²⁹ as professors, and the last two would become later his friends¹³⁰. His fellow-like relations with

del Quattrocento: Ermolao Barbaro e il suo circolo, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 3/I: *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, Vicenza 1981, 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.

¹²⁷ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 1. Generally speaking, for the origins of Bernardo's historiographical interests, see *Ibidem*, p. 247-255, an approach well appreciated by A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

¹²⁸ M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 216; V. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 673; for more details, see P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 17-44. For the relations with Guarino and Filelfo, see also E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 318. For Cristoforo de Scarpis (Scarpa) (before 1415, Vianino-after 1441, Treviso), notary of the Venetian state, then professor of rhetoric at Padua, see Ireneo Affò, *Memorie degli scrittori e letterati parmigiani*, II, Parma, 1789, p. 138-143; Arnaldo Segarizzi, *Cristoforo de Scarpis*, “Nuovo Archivio Veneto” 29 (1915), p. 209-220. For Filelfo, see *supra*, n. 72. For Guarino Guarini Veronese (1370/1374, Verona-1460, Ferrara), student in Padua of Conversini and one of the first Italians that moved to Constantinople in order to learn Greek, translator of Plutarch and of the entire work of Strabo, see Carlo de' Rosmini, *Vita di Guarino Veronese e suoi Discepoli*, Brescia 1805; R. Sabbadini, *Guarino Veronese e il suo epistolario*, Salerno 1885; Idem, *Vita di Guarino Veronese*, Genua 1891 [reprinted (ed. by Mario Sancipriano), Turin 1964]; Idem, *La Scuola e gli Studi di Guarino Veronese*, Catania 1892; *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, I-III (ed. by R. Sabbadini), Venice 1915, 1916, 1919; Giulio Bertoni, *Guarino di Verona fra letterati e cortigiani a Ferrara (1429-1460)*, Geneva 1921; volume *Guariniana* (ed. by M. Sancipriano), Turin 1964; Luciano Capra, *Contributo a Guarino Veronese*, “Italia medioevale e umanistica” 14 (1971), p. 193-247; John W. Oppel, *Peace vs. liberty in the Quattrocento: Poggio, Guarino, and the Scipio-Caesar controversy*, “Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies” 4 (1974), 2, p. 221-266; Ian Thomson, *Some Notes on the Contents of Guarino's Library*, “Renaissance Quarterly” 29 (1976), 2, p. 169-177; Anthony T. Grafton & Lisa Jardine, *Humanism and the School of Guarino: A Problem of Evaluation*, “Past and Present” 96 (1982), p. 51-80; Davide Canfora, *La controversia di Poggio Bracciolini e Guarino Veronese su Cesare e Scipione*, Florence 2001.

¹³⁰ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

Ermolao Barbaro¹³¹, Ludovico Foscarini¹³², George of Trebizond¹³³, and Flavio Biondo¹³⁴ were taken into account, along with the exchange of letters with Fr. Filelfo¹³⁵, George of Trebizond¹³⁶, E. Barbaro¹³⁷ or Giovanni Caldiera¹³⁸, and so on¹³⁹, and also the exchange of books¹⁴⁰. As A. Stella considered, Giustiniani

¹³¹ *Ibidem*; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

¹³² P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 254. For Lodovico Foscarini (1409-1480), who held many political positions (podestà of Ravenna, Feltre, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Padua, captain of Crete, three times *savio di Terraferma*, *avogador di Comun*, *procuratore* of San Marco), see *Vita di Lodovico Foscarini*, in Agostini's *Opera*, I; G. Degli Agostini, *Notizie storico-critiche* cit., I, p. 45-107; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 245-247, 383, 484, 485; E. A. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, I, II, IV-VI, Bologna 1982 [reprinted of Venice 1824, 1827, 1834, 1842, 1853], II, p. 44, 56; IV, p. 185, 461-462; VI, p. 444, 577, 607; Giovanni Battista Picotti, *Ricerche umanistiche*, Florence 1955, p. 205-226; Gianni Zippel, *Lorenzo Valla e le origini della storiografia umanistica a Venezia (Cultura e politica nel 15° sec.: note e documenti)*, "Rinascimento" 7 (1956), 1, p. 93-133 (130); Idem, *Ludovico Foscarini ambasciatore a Genova, nella crisi dell'espansione veneziana sulla terraferma (1449-50)*, "Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano e Archivio Muratoriano" 71 (1959), p. 181-255; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 298; 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 (277-278); Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 35-39; Gianna Gardenal, *Ludovico Foscarini e la medicina*, in *Umanesimo e Rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia. Miscellanea di studi in onore di V. Branca*, III/1, Florence 1983, p. 251-263; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 39-41, 374-377. For his rich correspondence, see *Epistolae*, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. Vindob. 441; for references to it, see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 70 n. 2, 245 n. 3, 484 n. 2.

¹³³ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 318; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹³⁴ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

¹³⁵ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 322, 323, 324, 325, 326; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

¹³⁶ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 321, 322, 326; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217; V. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 665.

¹³⁷ M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 38; see also V. Cox, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹³⁸ M. L. King, *Personal, Domestic, and Republican Values in the Moral Philosophy of Giovanni Caldiera*, "Renaissance Quarterly" 28 (1975), 4: *Studies in the Renaissance Issue*, p. 535-574 (539 and n. 12). For G. Caldiera (c. 1400-c. 1474), author of moral and philosophical works, see Idem, *Venetian Ideology and the Reconstruction of Knowledge: Giovanni Caldiera (c. 1400-c. 1474)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford 1972; Juliana Hill Cotton, *Caldiera, Giovanni*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 16, Rome 1973.

¹³⁹ For a chronological presentation of his exchange of letters, see P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 321-326, which, beside those mentioned above, includes also Pietro Perleone (p. 321), Leonardo Giustinian (p. 321), Girolamo Guarino (p. 322), Jacopo Zeno (p. 322), Ludovico Foscarini (p. 323, 324), Pietro Delfino (p. 326), etc.

¹⁴⁰ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

devoted himself to the study only after being 66 year old “*quum primum ab externis ... laboribus respirare licuit*”¹⁴¹, thus meaning since 1474.

Bernardo Giustiniani's will was written in 1489, March 5¹⁴². The original document is preserved at Museo Civico Correr¹⁴³ and was published by Patricia Labalme¹⁴⁴. The Venetian patrician passed away in 1489¹⁴⁵, on May 10 more exactly, in Venice¹⁴⁶, “*pieno di gloria*”, as Marco Foscarini noted¹⁴⁷, but before having time to revised his historical masterpiece¹⁴⁸.

Bernardo Giustiniani's other works

Beside *De origine urbis Venetiarum*, B. Giustiniani left two other significant works for posterity.

First, it is about the work dedicated to his uncle's life, entitled *De vita beati Laurentii Iustiniani Venetiarum proto patriarchae*¹⁴⁹, written in 12 chapters, along a prologue devoted to the community of *certosini* monks¹⁵⁰. The work was published in Venice, during his lifetime – on the contrary to *De*

¹⁴¹ A. Stella, *op. cit.*, f. 21^v apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 n. 4.

¹⁴² R. F[ulin], *Saggio del catalogo cit.*, p. 73; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 308 n. 4, 309 n. 2; M. L. King, *Venetian Humanism cit.*, p. 381; for the will, see also G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222-223.

¹⁴³ Venice, Correr Civic Museum, fonds *Provenienze Diverse*, C 751/83, apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 309 n. 4, 2.

¹⁴⁴ 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. 483-501, apud M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁴⁵ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 1; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 306, 309; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 147; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 45 n. 127; E. Breisach, *op. cit.*; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 49; E. Crouzet-Pavan, *op. cit.*, p. 253 n. 121; A. Caracciolo, *op. cit.*.

¹⁴⁶ P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*, VI, Milan 1840, table X, apud P. H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani cit.*, p. 1; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 381; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹⁴⁷ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263 n. 1.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 263 nota 2. See *supra*.

¹⁴⁹ For this, see *Ibidem*, p. 324 n. 1; 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 (219 n 6); A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 n. 3; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 382; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80, 521 n. 62; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*.

origine, in 1475¹⁵¹ and edited again inside of the “Acta Sanctorum”¹⁵². More recently, I. Tassi published a new edition, along with the translation in Italian¹⁵³.

Bernardo's second important contribution is *De divi Marci Evangelistae vita, translatione et sepulturae loco*¹⁵⁴, regarded as a necessary completion for *De origine*¹⁵⁵. It was published first along with *De origine* in 1492, under the care of B. Benalio¹⁵⁶, and then in Graevius' collection¹⁵⁷. All these three works have been regarded as a triad by A. Knowles Frazier¹⁵⁸.

One should add here the many orations delivered by Bernardo Giustinian on various occasions¹⁵⁹:

- *Oratio funebris habita in obitu Francisci Fuscari ducis ...*¹⁶⁰, dedicated to Doge Foscari;

¹⁵¹ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 219 n. 6.

¹⁵² Anvers 1643, cf. P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

¹⁵³ Ildefonso Tassi OSB, Rome 1962 (foreword by Cardinal Giovanni Urbani), apud G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 219 n. 6; P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 2 n. 3, 334; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 n. 3, 318 n. 2.

¹⁵⁴ S. Tramontin & A. Niero & G. Musolino & C. Candiani, *Culto dei santi a Venezia*, Venice 1965, p. 72; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 306; S. Tramontin, *Realtà e leggenda nei racconti marciiani veneti*, “Studi Veneziani” 12 (1970), p. 35-58 (55 n. 51); E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, 521 n. 64; M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 382; John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice*, London 1983 [1977-1981] (under the name of *De Marci vita, ejus translatione et sepulturae loco*), p. 644; E. Crouzet-Pavan, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

¹⁵⁵ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 306; see also S. Tramontin, *op. cit.*, p. 55 n. 51.

¹⁵⁶ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 306 n. 1; see also S. Tramontin *et alii*, *Culto dei santi cit.*, p. 72; S. Tramontin, *Realtà e leggenda cit.*, p. 55 n. 51.

¹⁵⁷ *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae cit.*, V, 1, coll. 171C-196, Leyden 1722, apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 306 n. 1; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 521 n. 64; P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 63 n. 177; J. J. Norwich, *op. cit.*, p. 644; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹⁵⁸ Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy*, New York 2005, p. 50.

¹⁵⁹ See also E. Crouzet-Pavan, *op. cit.*, p. 253. For these speeches, see *Orazioni, elogi e vite scritte da letterati veneti patrizi in lode di Dogi ...*, 2nd ed., Venice 1798 apud Nicolai Rubinstein, *Italian reactions to Terraferma expansion in the fifteenth century*, in *Renaissance Venice cit.*, p. 197-217 (216 n. 83). For his rhetorical skills, see the appreciative words of Ermolao Barbaro, discussed in V. Cox, *op. cit.*, especially p. 652-655.

¹⁶⁰ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217. Edited in *Orazioni, elogi e vite scritte da letterati veneti patrizj in lode di dogi, ed altri illustri soggetti*, I, Venice 1789, p. 21-59, apud P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 334. For an ed. in vulgar (*Orazione funebre a Francesco Foscari doge di Venezia*, in *Orazioni di Veneziani*, 1795), see E. A. Cicogna, *Saggio cit.*, p. 325.

- *Oratio ad Fridericum III imperatorem ad coronas et nuptias Romam proficiscentem*, dated in 1452, on which occasion he invited the recently elected emperor to command the Christian forces in an anti-Turkish crusade¹⁶¹;
- *Oratio ad Pium pontificem*, stated in 1458 in Rome, on his voyage to Naples, and addressed to the Pope, on which occasion Piccolomini eulogized Giustiniani's rhetorical skills¹⁶²;
- *Oratio ad serenissimum regem Ferdinandum Siciliae regem in legatione habita*, stated in 1458 in Naples¹⁶³;
- *Oratio ad serenissimum regem Ferdinandum pro discessione ...*, in 1459, in the same context¹⁶⁴;
- *Oratio pro militia ad regem Franciae Ludovicum*¹⁶⁵, addressed to King Louis XI of France;
- *Oratio ad serenissimum regem Franciae Ludovicum ...*, in 1462, representing a new opportunity to invite the Christians to participate in an anti-Turkish crusade¹⁶⁶;
- *Oratio responsiva ad Universitatem Parisiensem*, also under the circumstances of the visit in France in 1462¹⁶⁷;
- *Oratio ad Pium summum pontificem in consistorium*, in 1462 or 1463, during the mission to the Pope¹⁶⁸;
- *Oratio habita apud Paulum secundum summum pontificem*, in 1466¹⁶⁹;
- *Oratio habita apud Sixtum IV pontificem maximum*, in 1471, representing one of Bernardo's most well known and appreciated speeches¹⁷⁰, for which he received from the Pontiff an honorific letter entitled *Dilecto filio Bernardo Iustiniano*, in which his rhetorical skills are exalted¹⁷¹;
- *Epistola pro Republica Veneta [ad Sixtum IV] summum pontificem*, dated in January 1483 and held in the context of the Ferrarese affair¹⁷²;

¹⁶¹ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹⁶² G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 218; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 333. For Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405-1464), Pius II as Pope (1458-1464), it is a too vaste bibliography. That is why I refer here to the rich bibliography provided by Hans Heinz, in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 7 (1994), p. 659-661 [= http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/p/pius_ii.shtml, 2007].

¹⁶³ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 218; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹⁶⁴ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 218; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹⁶⁵ M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁶⁶ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 219; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹⁶⁷ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 219; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹⁶⁸ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 219; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹⁶⁹ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 219; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹⁷⁰ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 220-221; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹⁷¹ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

- other letters sent to Pope Sixtus IV and the college of cardinals between 1483 and 1485¹⁷³;
- *Epistola ad Innocentium octavum pontificem maximum*, in 1485, Bernardo Giustiniani's last political-diplomatic act¹⁷⁴.

Dating the work

As it was mentioned above, *De origine urbis Venetiarum* was printed in 1492. However, A. J.-M. Loechel speaks about year 1493, although in the footnote he is counted among those that normally use year 1492 for dating¹⁷⁵.

Regarding the period when Bernardo Giustiniani wrote his masterpiece, one should note that, prior to Patricia Labalme's investigation, M. Foscarini's vague reference had been the only element at hand, according to which the author would have begun to work only in his old age¹⁷⁶.

For clearer data, Giustiniani himself offers a clue, that is 130 years after Doge Andrea Dandolo ("*qui autem primus haec litteris mandavit triginta aut paulo plus supra centum annos hanc excedit aetatem*")¹⁷⁷. Whether this temporal limit was regarded by P. Labalme as referring to the death of the chronicler-doge¹⁷⁸ (that is, 1484), and by A. Pertusi as taking years 1344-1351 into consideration, when Dandolo would have written his *Extensa* (that is, years 1477-1481 for the first stage of writing)¹⁷⁹, Franco Gaeta rightly considers that Giustiniani would have not been able to make distinction at his times between the various stages in which the Dandolian chronicle had been compiled, and that he would have referred to this chronicle in its whole, thus taking the epistle of Benintendi Ravegnani in 1352, December into account¹⁸⁰, so that it results year 1482. Certainly, one could not dispute the fact that, in order to write a work of the proportion of *De origine*, which surely needed a laborious activity, Bernardo

¹⁷³ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 221; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 333-334.

¹⁷⁴ G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 221; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

¹⁷⁵ A. J.-M. Loechel, *op. cit.*, p. 610.

¹⁷⁶ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

¹⁷⁷ *De origine*, p. 11B.

¹⁷⁸ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 258 and note 57, retaken by A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 307; see also G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹⁸⁰ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 45 n. 127. for Benintendi de' Ravegnani (c. 1318, Chioggia-1365, Venice), see G. Voigt, *Die Briefsammlungen Petrarca's u. der venetianische Staatskanzler Benintendi*, "Abhandlungen der III Klasse der Königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München" 16 (1883), p. 1-102 (especially 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*).

Giustiniani had to dedicate a not so short period; however, the placing of the reference to Andrea Dandolo exactly in the first pages of the work proves that the chronological reference places year 1482 towards the beginning of the work to *De origine*. This demonstration of Fr. Gaeta does not take the mentions of A. Stella into consideration; Stella considered that Giustiniani would have begun his work at *De origine* when being 66, that is in 1474¹⁸¹. On the other hand, Stella could very well take not a period of writing itself into consideration, but of collecting the working material.

Another element for the dating confirms the beginning of work prior to 1483, that is the mention among the first leaves (p. 4B) of Giustiniani's embassy to Louis XI, the French king being represented as alive. The conclusion is that B. Giustiniani had begun his work prior to Louis' death in 1483.

As mentioned above, from the foreword of the first editor, Benedetto Brognolo, it is also known that Giustiniani passed away without revising his text¹⁸². It is the reason why A. Pertusi concluded that Bernardo would have worked to *De origine* until his last days of life, that is until towards 1489¹⁸³.

By gathering all these elements together, one could conclude that the historian devoted himself to collecting historical materials since around 1474, and since 1482 he would begin writing his work and continued until his passing away¹⁸⁴.

Sources

Regarding the sources used by Giustiniani, M. Foscarini considered the following fact, that is that “[Giustiniani] *ricavò la storia dei mezzani tempi, non da scritture sospette, ma da' fonti migliori che fossero allora a cognizione de dotti.*”¹⁸⁵ By consulting the text of Giustiniani's work, it results that he referred many times to the classical historians (such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus, Strabo, Titus Livius, Caesar, Plinius, Servius, Quintus Curtius, Vitruvius, Cassiodorus), to those in the early middle ages (Paul the Deacon, Eginhard)¹⁸⁶, to

¹⁸¹ A. Stella, *op. cit.*, p. 21^v apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 n. 4.

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 307-308.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 309; see also Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 45 n. 127; G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 763.

¹⁸⁴ For E. Crouzet-Pavan, *Immagini di un mito* (transl. by Matteo Sanfilippo), in *Storia di Venezia*, IV, cit., p. 579-601 (594) and Idem, *Venezia trionfante* cit., p. 210 n. 14, it is about the period between 1477 and 1489, thus coinciding with the tensioned years of the ‘war of Ferrara’.

¹⁸⁵ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 264 (see also n. 4); in the same sense, see also S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 503.

¹⁸⁶ For all these, see A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 309 n. 4. See also Beatrice R. Reynolds, *Latin Historiography: A Survey, 1400-1600*, “Studies in the Renaissance” 2 (1955), p. 7-66 (16, 17 – where Herodotus, Thucydides, Paul the Deacon, and other sources are mentioned).

Vita Athilae of Cilius Calanus the Dalmatian¹⁸⁷ (through which mediation he reaches Priscus and Jordanes)¹⁸⁸, to Filippo da Bergamo's work about the Goths and the Lombards¹⁸⁹, to lives of saints¹⁹⁰, and so on. A. Pertusi's punctual investigation over our text also concludes upon the references to Andrea Dandolo¹⁹¹, Lorenzo de' Monaci¹⁹², Pier Paolo Vergerio¹⁹³, Flavio Biondo¹⁹⁴ or to Bernardo's uncle, Lorenzo Giustinian¹⁹⁵, while M. Foscarini also brought into discussion the use of a chronicle dated in the 11th century, ascribed to a certain Zeno, abbot of San Nicolò di Lido¹⁹⁶, with the mention that Bernardo did not follow the popular traditions¹⁹⁷.

¹⁸⁷ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 264 and n. 4; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 309 n. 5; B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁸⁸ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 264; B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁸⁹ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 264, 265 and n. 1. For the Augustinian monk Giacomo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo (1434, Bergamo-1520), author of a chronicle, *Supplementum supplementi cronicarum*, first ed., Venice 1483, see E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 377-378.

¹⁹⁰ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

¹⁹¹ *De origine*, p. 11D, 79C, 83C, 120A, 122A, 171B apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 310 n. 5. See also Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 45 n. 127.

¹⁹² *De origine*, p. 120A, 171B apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 310 n. 5.

¹⁹³ *De origine*, p. 13C-14B apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 310 n. 5. For the personality of Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder, humanist and statesman (1370, Capodistria-1444/1445, Buda), see, among others: M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 244 and n. 1; Karl Alois Kopp, *Pietro Paolo Vergerio, der erste humanistische Pädagoge*, Luzern 1893; Idem, *Pietro Paolo Vergerio der Ältere. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des beginnenden Humanismus*, "Historisches Jahrbuch" 18 (1897), p. 273-310, 533-571; Conrad Bischoff, *Studien zu Pietro Paolo Vergerio dem Älteren*, Berlin-Leipzig 1909; Amalia Clelia Pierantoni, *Pier Paolo Vergerio Seniore*, Chieti 1920; Leonardo Smith, in *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio* (ed. by Leonardo Smith), Rome 1934, p. xi-xxx; Carmela Marchente, *Ricerche intorno al De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum liber attributo a Pier Paolo Vergerio seniore*, Padua 1946; József Huszti, *Pietro Paolo Vergerio és a magyar humanizmus kezdetei*, "Filológiai Közlöny" 1 (1955), p. 521-533; David Robey, *Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder. Republicanism and Civic Values in the Work of an Early Humanist*, "Past and Present" 58 (1973), p. 3-37; Idem, *Aspetti dell'Umanesimo vergeriano*, in *L'Umanesimo in Istria* (ed. by V. Branca), Florence 1983, p. 7-18; John M. McManamon, *Innovation in Early Humanist Rhetoric. The Oratory of Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder*, "Rinascimento", 2nd series, 22 (1982), p. 3-32; Idem, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder: The Humanist as Orator*, Tempe, Arizona 1996. A complete bibliography, in Ansgar Frenken, in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 14 (1998), p. 1572-1576 [= http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/v/vergerio_p_p.shtml, 2002].

¹⁹⁴ *De origine*, p. 25C, 30A, 34D, 62E, 144A, 146D, 164B apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 310 n. 5; also apud *Ibidem*, p. 307 n. 1.

¹⁹⁵ *De origine*, p. 138F, 139A apud A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 n. 1.

¹⁹⁶ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 123 n. 4.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 264 n. 2, who quotes the following fragment from Giustiniani's work: "*Qui labores tamen a multis mandate memoriae utinam eo ordine scriptorumque concordia,*

Related to the above authors, and not only, B. Giustiniani mainly uses the critical arguments¹⁹⁸, his work being the first in the Venetian historiography that proposed and insisted upon such a manner of approach¹⁹⁹, thus surpassing the weak tendency of Flavio Biondo in this sense²⁰⁰. More concretely, this historical conception has been seen as closer to Biondo when referring to digressions, the contextual vision over the facts, etc.²⁰¹ Maybe indeed, Giustiniani's work was inspired by the school of the humanist of Forlì²⁰², but in this case the 'disciple' doubtlessly surpassed his 'master'.

Thus, regarding the relationship with Andrea Dandolo, it has been considered that what he finds in the chronicler-doge, Bernardo Giustinian "*sviluppa in termini di argomentazione politica e sociologica, cercando di fondare, più profondamente di quanto non avesse già fatto il doge-cronista, gli istituti della Venezia contemporanea nel periodo delle sue origini, [...]*"²⁰³, not putting himself under restraint to take attitude against Dandolo's authority²⁰⁴, in matters such as the foundation of churches in the times of the supposed Primigenius, the beginnings of the first magistrates in Malamocco and Heracliana²⁰⁵, etc, and oscillating between polemics²⁰⁶ and agreement²⁰⁷.

Giustiniani does not hesitate to bring into light some contradictions of Flavio Biondo²⁰⁸, although recognizes him as "*scriptor sane ... diligens*" or as

atque ea tam rerum, quam temporum ratione, quae satisfacere legendi possent, ad ea praesertim quae indaganda, apertiusque declaranda suscepimus. Sed multa confuse, obscura, et males iuicem compacta inconditaque; falsa quaedam etiam, et quo dab uno scriptum, ab alio praetermissum; ut nulla paene in his historiae bene digestae lucem aut gratiam reperias. Tantum ex his excipere amor incessit, quantum ad declarandum quod quaerimus, satis fuerit."

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 264; S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 503; Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, "Revue des questions historiques" 31 (1882), p. 512-555 (513); P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 225; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 309; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 147-148; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47-48, 63; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹⁹⁹ In this sense, see A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 309; see also Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 65; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222; E. Crouzet-Pavan, *Immagini di un mito* cit., p. 594; Idem, *Venezia trionfante* cit., p. 210 n. 14.

²⁰⁰ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

²⁰¹ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

²⁰² G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo il giovane: dalla cronaca alla storia*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI* cit., p. 333-358 (340); see also Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

²⁰³ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

²⁰⁴ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 264 and n. 3; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 314; Silvana Ozoeze Collodo, *Attila e le origini di Venezia nella cultura veneta tardomedioevale*, "Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 131 (1972-73), p. 531-567 (543).

²⁰⁵ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

²⁰⁶ *De origine*, p. 11D, 84C, 120A *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 314 n. 1.

²⁰⁷ *De origine*, p. 79C, 122A, 171B *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 314 n. 1.

²⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 314; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 47, 63; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

“*olim familiaris meus*”. Excepting two cases²⁰⁹, our historian refers to Biondo in a clear polemical manner²¹⁰, and it is illustrative the interpretation given to Cassiodorus²¹¹. On the other side, the same Biondo seems to have been the almost exclusive source that Giustiniani used in the passages that do not refer directly to Venice, although our historian does not name him explicitly²¹².

As for Lorenzo de' Monaci, there is no critical attitude from the side of Giustiniani to be noted, but rather a continuity and an accomplishment of the work of the chancellor of Crete, meaning an extension of the topic of the city's original freedom city²¹³ and of the even more discriminating manner of selecting the sources²¹⁴. Summarizing, Fr. Gaeta shows that “*ma mentre in Dandolo tutti questi motivi [referring to the celebration of Venice, emphasis mine] si erano sviluppati, [...], nei termini di una allegazione giuridica e in De Monacis avevano assunto un andamento celebrativo, Bernardo Giustiniano ne fece materia din una approfondita indagine erudita e di una appassionata riflessione storica e politica, [...]*”²¹⁵. Related to the relationship with Monaci, it has also been noted the coincidence of the ending of Giustiniani's work exactly when referring to the dogal election of Agnello Partecipazio (811-827), which is exactly what the beginning of Venice's youth age represents for the chancellor of Crete²¹⁶.

Anyway, according to many opinions, it is about a work written according to all the humanistic canons²¹⁷. This milieu is not representative only for the critical attitude towards the sources, but also for the appetite towards the classic authors, whom Giustiniani translated, commented and mentioned²¹⁸. This appetite was best illustrated by the reference to the patterns of Herodotus and

²⁰⁹ *De origine*, p. 30A, 144A-B *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 314 n. 2.

²¹⁰ *De origine*, p. 25C, 62E-63A, 146D-E, 164B *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 314 n. 2.

²¹¹ *De origine*, p. 62E-63A *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

²¹² Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 147-148.

²¹³ Alberto Tenenti, *The Sense of Space and Time in the Venetian World of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, in *Renaissance Venice* *cit.*, p. 17-46 (34).

²¹⁴ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 225; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

²¹⁵ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 48-49.

²¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 63. For the use of Monaci, see also *Ibidem*, p. 25.

²¹⁷ See especially P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 17-43, 45-54, 91-100, 237-240; see also A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 315 n. 2, 331; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 147, 148, 149; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 64, 65; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 49; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

²¹⁸ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 1; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 48, 65; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 49; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

Thucydides²¹⁹, and also of Dionysius of Halicarnassus²²⁰ or Cato²²¹ to write history. The establishment of Giustiniani's work in the frame of humanism has led inevitably to comparisons with Leonardo Bruni's *Historia del popolo fiorentino* published in 1476 – and the Florentine chancellor has been regarded as a possible pattern for the Venetian patrician²²² –, and also with *Rhetoricum libri V* of George of Trebizond²²³.

Ed. Fueter considered that Giustiniani “*non può aspirare, come il Valla, al merito di aver dimostrato la falsificazione di un documento storico*”²²⁴. The statement sounds rather strange, under the circumstances that there are many cases when it has been insisted upon Giustiniani's critical attitude and also upon the demonstration of the falsity of one of the fundamental elements of the Venetian political mythology that had been considered until them, that is the city's foundation in year 421 by the Paduan consuls²²⁵. It is about a document

²¹⁹ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 315 n. 2; Fr. C. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 261; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 65; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222. See *De origine*, p. 2 about Herodotus and Thucydides, *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 315 n. 2.

²²⁰ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 219 and note 6; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

²²¹ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

²²² *Ibidem*, p. 48, 65; see also E. Crouzet-Pavan, *Immagini di un mito cit.*, p. 596. The bibliography related to Bruni (1369 or 1370-1444) is extremely vaste, for which reason I refer here only to Emilio Santini, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino e i suoi "Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII"*, Pisa 1910; Berthold L. Ullmann, *Leonardo Bruni and Humanistic Historiography*, “*Medievalia et Humanistica*” 4 (1946), p. 45-61 (reprinted in *Idem, Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, Rome 1955, p. 321-343); Hans Baron, *Leonardo Bruni: "Professional Rhetorician" or "Civic Humanist"?*, “*Past and Present*” 36 (1967), p. 21-37; Cesare Vasoli, *Bruni, Leonardo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 14, Rome 1972, p. 618-633; H. Baron, *The Year of Leonardo Bruni's Birth and Methods for Determining the Ages of Humanists Born in the Trecento*, “*Speculum*” 52 (1977), 3, p. 582-625; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 3-9, 19-20 and *passim*; volume *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni* (ed. by Gordon Griffiths & James Hankins & David Thompson), Binghampton, New York 1987; volume *Leonardo Bruni cancelliere della Repubblica di Firenze* (ed. by Paolo Viti), Florence 1990; P. Viti, *Leonardo Bruni e Firenze: Studi sulle Lettere Pubbliche e Private*, Rome 1992; Gary Ianziti, *Bruni on Writing History*, “*Renaissance Quarterly*” 51 (1998), 2, p. 367-391; Ronald G. Witt, “*In the Footsteps of the Ancients. The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*”, Boston 2000. For his correspondence, see also *Leonardi Bruni Arretini Epistolarum libri VIII ad fidem codd. mss. suppleti et castigati [...], Pars prima* (ed. by Lorenzo Mehus), Florence 1741.

²²³ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 65. For the relation and the exachange of letter between Giustiniani and George of Trebizond, see also G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 217. For George of Trebizond, see *supra*, n. 75.

²²⁴ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

²²⁵ *De origine*, p. 11C-14C; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 264 n. 3; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 1264-1265; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 272-273, 311, 314; S. Ozoeze Collodo, *op. cit.*, p. 543

that had been put into circulation by Jacopo Dondi²²⁶ and had been regarded as genuine previous to Bernardo Giustiniani's work, although it would be taken as such by the subsequent writers – the Paduans, first and foremost, such as Bernardino Scardeone, Giacomo Zabarello or Sertorio Orsato²²⁷. Our historian notes that the authors of the 'Paduan version' of the foundation of Venice "nullam proferunt auctorem vetustioreque codicem, aut ex venetis aut ex patavinis unde ista deprompserunt"²²⁸, considering that either Petrarch, or Vergerio says nothing about this tradition: "Docti nimirum viri haec repudiavere, dedignati scripta sua huiusmodi inventis foedare."²²⁹ Giustiniani extends his criticism against the Paduan legend even upon some historical authorities, such as Andrea Dandolo²³⁰ and Flavio Biondo²³¹.

The taking up of position against this legend does not represent a singular case in B. Giustiniani's work. Other errors very familiar in the period are emphasized by our historian, such as the late falsity – also Paduan – over "dedicationis monumentum" of the Church of San Giacomo in Rialto²³² or the reference to "vetus monumentum" of immunity ascribed to the community of Malamocco²³³. Under these circumstances, Fr. Lane's statement, saying that "il

n. 40; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 49 n. 137, 63; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

²²⁶ For the physician Jacopo Dondi (1290/1293-1359), see, among other studies, V. Bellemo, *Iacopo e Giovanni de' Dondi dall'Orologio*, Chioggia 1894; V. Lazzarini, *I libri, gli argenti, le vesti di Giovanni Dondi Dall'Orologio*, "Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova", new series, 18 (1925), 1-3, p. 11-36; G. Bozzolato, *Le opere edite e inedite, le fonti e la bibliografia su Iacopo e Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio*, "Bollettino del Centro internazionale A. Beltrame di storia dello spazio e del tempo" 2 (1984), p. 75-83; Tiziana Pesenti, *Dondi dall'Orologio, Iacopo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 41, Rome 1992, p. 104-111.

²²⁷ For all these, see V. Lazzarini, *Il preteso documento cit.*, p. 1264 and n. 4-6. It is about Bernardino Scardeone (1478-1574), author of *De antiquitate urbis Patavii et claris civibus Patavinis*, Basel 1560; Jacopo Zabarella (1533 or 1532, Padua-1589, Padua), author of many works related to the origin of various families in Veneto (for his personality, see the rich bibliography delivered by A. Frenken, in "Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon" 14 (1998), p. 289-292 [= http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/z/zabarella_f.shtml, 1998]); Count Sertorio Orsato (1617-1678), author of *Monvmenta patavina Sertorii Vrsati stvdio collecta ...*, Padua 1652 [in Italian: *Historia di Padova*, 1678].

²²⁸ *Apud* Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 49 n. 137.

²²⁹ *Apud Ibidem*.

²³⁰ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 264 n. 3; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

²³¹ *Ibidem*.

²³² *De origine*, p. 10EF *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 311 n. 1.

²³³ *De origine*, p. 163E *apud* A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 311 n. 3; see also Idem, *Quaedam regalia insignia. Ricerche sulle insegne del potere ducale a Venezia durante il medioevo*,

*Giustiniani non demolì nessuno dei miti cari ai veneziani, [...], ma espunse alcuni dei racconti meno credibili*²³⁴, seems surprising, although later the American scholar appreciates that “*a paragone della cronaca del Dandolo, la sua storia fornì una base storica più razionale e più suggestiva alla fede nei grandi destini di Venezia.*”²³⁵

Other humanistic elements in *De origine*, almost singular in the Venetian historiography, refer to the continuous emphasizing of the geopolitical data²³⁶, the concern for archeology²³⁷, geography and climate²³⁸, the references to monuments and places seen or researched by the author in person²³⁹, the presence of meditation in the text²⁴⁰, the appetite for etymology²⁴¹, and so on.

Despite all these evidences, it has been concluded that there is one element that separates Giustiniani and the humanistic historiography, that is a still rigorous conception of the divine presence in history²⁴². One could also add here the presence of people's tales²⁴³, local traditions²⁴⁴, anecdotes²⁴⁵ and especially fabulous fragments²⁴⁶, although one could also note the relative tendency to reject all these elements²⁴⁷.

It has also been emphasized the use of documents by Bernardo²⁴⁸, but also the ignoring of the Byzantine sources²⁴⁹. Some references to the author's

“Studi Veneziani” 7 (1965), p. 3-123 (9); for Giustiniani's attitude towards the ancient myths and legends, see also E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 80-81.

²³⁴ Fr. C. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

²³⁵ *Ibidem*.

²³⁶ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 54 n. 150.

²³⁷ *De origine*, p. 26, 34, 35, 82, 96, 109, 118, 148, 170, 171, etc. *apud* Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 64 and n. 184; see also G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 763; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

²³⁸ G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica* cit., p. 219; G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

²³⁹ A. Pertusi, *Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica* cit., p. 307, 309-310; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

²⁴⁰ *De origine*, p. 91, 119, 128, 132, 154, 157, 158, 167 *apud* Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 64 and n. 185.

²⁴¹ See especially A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 317 n. 1, with examples; see also G. Pistilli, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

²⁴² *Ibidem*; see also Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 54 n. 150.

²⁴³ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

²⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 151 and n. 1; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 311; Fr. C. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 261; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

²⁴⁵ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

²⁴⁶ *De origine*, p. 42, 128, 140, 141 *apud* Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 63 and n. 183; see also G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo* cit., p. 340.

²⁴⁷ *De origine*, p. 29 *apud* Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 63 and n. 182.

²⁴⁸ Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 513; A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 310-311; Fr. C. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 261; G. Benzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 763.

personal experience²⁵⁰ – such as his embassy to Louis XI in 1461, the reconstruction of the tower of the lighthouse under Patriarch Maffeo Gerardi IV, the lieutenant in Friuli – were also taken into consideration²⁵¹.

Influences

Before passing away – and therefore before interrupting involuntarily his work at *De origine* –, Bernardo Giustiniani had time to be witness of the publication of Marcantonio Sabellico's history of Venice (edited in 1487)²⁵², a work that was published under the most favourable auspices from the side of the Venetian authorities, in comparison with Giustiniani's masterpiece, which, despite its 'Venetianity' and its critical approach, did not enjoy the same privileges. On the contrary, our historian wrote having no official charging²⁵³, but strictly due to his passion for study. One could state that it was exactly his scientific approach the one that placed Giustiniani on a second level and made that his work be printed only posthumously. Although M. Foscarini considered that Giustiniani's work was very well received²⁵⁴, and P. Labalme appreciated that *De origine* made Giustiniani famous²⁵⁵, the Venetian authorities did not demonstrate a real interest, other than declarative, for a work written especially under the scientific criteria, but for a propagandistic one. Therefore, Sabellico's writing was much more adequate in this sense.

Practically, the influence of Giustiniani's work on the subsequent Venetian chronicles was almost non-existing, for the same reason that the author proposed a completely distinct approach than the superficial manner of writing an ordinary chronicle. It is available despite the fact that a copy of *De origine* was taken into account by Pietro Bembo²⁵⁶, and that Paolo Ramusio's work about the Fourth Crusade mentions Bernardo in the bibliography provided by editor

²⁴⁹ 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 (162).

²⁵⁰ Idem, *Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica* cit., p. 307; Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

²⁵¹ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 306-307.

²⁵² See *M. Antonii Sabellici, rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita, ad Marcum Barbadicum, Sereniss. Venetiarum Principem & Senatum, Decadis Primae*, in *Degl'Istorici delle Cose Veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per Pubblico Decreto*, Venice 1718. See also Ş. Marin, *Marcantonio Sabellico's Rerum Venetarum and "the Definitive History of Venice". The Beginnings of the Official Historiography in Venice?*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 90 (2013), 1-2, p. 134-177.

²⁵³ Ed. Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 147; G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

²⁵⁴ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

²⁵⁵ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

²⁵⁶ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 229; see also B. R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 18 (speaking about a copy at Padua at those times).

Girolamo Ramusio²⁵⁷. As a consequence, Foscarini's statement, according to which Giustiniani was already "*novello padre della storia veneziana*"²⁵⁸, is available only in part: that means that it is indeed about a critical history by all means²⁵⁹, but Dandolian manner to present history would be the one to persist in the subsequent Venetian chronicles, while the work of B. Giustiniani would represent nothing but a singular case in the frame of the Venetian chronicles.

²⁵⁷ 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 n. 87).

²⁵⁸ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 263; see also E. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 79; S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 502; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 513 n. 2.

²⁵⁹ See also S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 503.