

**A 16th CENTURY VENETIAN CHRONICLE IN FRANCE  
MICROFILM COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL  
ARCHIVES OF ROMANIA.  
THE CASE OF GIOVANNI GIACOMO CAROLDO  
AND HIS COMPILERS**

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There are two microfilmed manuscripts containing *in extenso* the chronicle written by Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo that are in the custody of the National Archives of Romania. Both of them are identified on reel 231 of France microfilm collection and have marks *Italien 320* (pages 3–394)<sup>1</sup> and *Italien 321* (pages 399–703)<sup>2</sup>. They come from *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris. One could add reel 76 of Italy microfilm collection, which comprises only the first two books of the Caroldian chronicle (pages 45–268), coming from *Biblioteca nazionale Marciana* in Venice (mark It. VII. 128b)<sup>3</sup>, among other materials. Concluding, the presence of the Venetian chronicles as a whole among the National Archives amounts only to these three cases.

In connection to *Italien 321*, containing a number of 303 pages<sup>4</sup>, it belongs to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, according to the list offered by J. Chrysostomides, although A. Carile

<sup>1</sup> ANR, France microfilm Collection, reel 231, c. 397–705; see also Șerban Marin, *Un transilvano a Venezia: il vaivoda Steffano Lackfi II e la guerra del 1372–1373 tra Venezia, Padova e Ungheria nella cronaca di Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo*, in *L'Italia e l'Europa Centro-Orientale attraverso i secoli. Miscellanea di studi di storia politico-diplomatica, economica e dei rapporti culturali* (ed. by Cristian Luca, Gianluca Masi and Andrea Piccardi), Brăila-Venice, 2004, p. 61–79 (62).

<sup>2</sup> ANR, France microfilm Collection, reel 231, c. 3–396; see also Ș. Marin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> ANR, Italy microfilm Collection, reel 76, c. 45–268; see also Sergiu Iosipescu, «*La colonia delli Romani negri che dicono Valacchi*». *La romanité des Roumains dans la conscience européenne du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, “*Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*”, XVIII (1979), 4, p. 673–685 (p. 674 note 2). In Ș. Marin, *op. cit.*, p. 62, we noted that it is about the microfilm of another manuscript at Marciana, that is It. VII. 2448, being deluded by the erroneous information in the reel presentation elaborated at the National Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See [Julian] Chrysostomides, *Studies on the Chronicle of Caroldo, with special reference to the history of Byzantium from 1370 to 1377*, “*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*”, 35 (1969), p. 123–182 (127); also enumerated by Aug[uste] Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, “*Revue des Questions historiques*”, 31 (1882), p. 512–555 (545); Antonio Marsand, *I manoscritti italiani della regia biblioteca parigina*, Paris, 2

places it a century later<sup>5</sup>. Carile also commits the error to attribute it the mark 99593, in discordance to mark 9959 given to the previous codex at the same library, BNP 320<sup>6</sup>, a detail certainly due to a typing error.

Manuscript *Italien* 320 (mark 9959), numbering 389 pages, is dated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>. It represented the basis for some of our previous investigations<sup>8</sup>.

It. VII. 128b (7443), also from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, originates in the collection of Amedeo Svajer<sup>9</sup> and, according to the catalogue from the Marciana library, is entitled “*Gianiacopo Caroldo. Cronaca Veneziana, sino all’anno 1382*”. It numbers 1090 de pages<sup>10</sup> and is considered by Fr. Thiriet as clearly later than other Caroldian manuscripts at Marciana Library, that is It. VII. 127 and It. VII. 128a, these latter two belonging to the last 20 years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>11</sup>. The name of Caroldo appears only during the introduction of the chronicle’s second book, beginning with the dogate of Sebastiano Ziani (1172–1178) (p. 131). The codex’s method of writing is tidy, but tiresome, since the text is lack of paragraphs. The page numbering is made by the copier and is *recto-verso*. This is the manuscript that we have relied upon in the previous investigations<sup>12</sup>.

volumes, 1835–1838, I, p. 248–249; Edward Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of Syracuse University. The Complete Catalogue*, Syracuse, New York, 1983, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> See Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence, 1969, p. 159.

<sup>6</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159; see also E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65, who repeats the error.

<sup>7</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159; J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127; also enumerated by A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 545; A. Marsand, *op. cit.*, I, p. 248–249; E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>8</sup> See Șerban Marin, *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 (75 note 1); idem, *Un transilvano cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>9</sup> See S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 674 note 2.

<sup>10</sup> See also Freddy Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitienes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l’histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne*, excerpt from *Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire*, publiés par l’École Française de Rome, 1954, p. 241–292 (266); J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127; also enumerated by Pietro Zorzanella, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. Italiani – Classe VII (nn. 1–500)* (ed. by Giulio Zorzanella), Florence, 1956, p. 48; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159; S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 674 note 5; E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> See F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>12</sup> See Șerban Marin, *Venice and translatio imperii. The Relevance of the 1171 Event in the Venetian Chronicles’ Tradition*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica”, 3 (2001), p. 45–103 (56 note 77) [= [http://www.geocities.com/serban\\_marin/marin2001.html](http://www.geocities.com/serban_marin/marin2001.html)]; idem, *Venice and the Loss of Constantinople. The Representation of the Events of 1261 in Venetian Chronicles*, “Il Mar Nero”, V (2001–2003), p. 209–239 (217 note 41); idem, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders in the Fourth Crusade, According to the Venetian Chronicles’ Tradition*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica”, 4 (2002), p. 111–171 (156) [= [http://www.geocities.com/serban\\_marin/marin2002.html](http://www.geocities.com/serban_marin/marin2002.html)]; idem, *The First Venetian on the*

These details give us the opportunity to study thoroughly the chronicle of Giovanni Giacopo Caroldo and to draw attention upon it. This is the main purpose of the present article.

### THE OTHER MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CAROLDIAN CHRONICLE

The number of the codices that pass under the name of Caroldo is extremely large, here being included both complete and partial versions of the chronicle, and also some cases that extend it. We intend to enumerate them not depending on these three categories but on the chronological order.

*Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople. The Representation of Tommaso Morosini in the Venetian Chronicles*, “Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia”, 2 (2002), p. 49–90 (57 note 41) [= [http://www.geocities.com/serban\\_marin/marin2.html](http://www.geocities.com/serban_marin/marin2.html)]; idem, *The Venetian ‘Empire’. The Imperial Elections in Constantinople on 1204 in the Representation of the Venetian Chronicles*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica”, 5 (2003), p. 185–245 (187 note 32) [= [http://www.geocities.com/marin\\_serban/marin2004.html](http://www.geocities.com/marin_serban/marin2004.html)]; idem, *Dominus quartae partis et dimidiaae totius Imperii Romaniae. The Fourth Crusade and the Dogal Title in the Venetian Chronicles’ Representation*, “Quaderni della Casa Romena”, 3 (2004), p. 119–150 (131 note 63) [= [http://www.geocities.com/marin\\_serban/marin3.html](http://www.geocities.com/marin_serban/marin3.html)]; idem, *A Precedent to the Fourth Crusade. The anti-Byzantine Campaign of Doge Domenico Michiel in 1122–1126 according to the Venetian Chronicles*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica”, 6–7 (2004–2005), p. 239–266 (242 note 33) [= [http://www.geocities.com/marin\\_serban/marin\\_serban/marin2004.html](http://www.geocities.com/marin_serban/marin_serban/marin2004.html)]; idem, *I valacchi nella cronachistica veneziana: tra realtà e finzione*, in *Dall’Adriatico al Mar Nero: veneziani e romeni, tracciati di storie comuni* (ed. by Grigore Arbore Popescu), Rome, 2003, p. 112–127 (125); idem, *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 (83 note 4); idem, *Who was the Bride and who was the Bridegroom? A Venetian-Byzantine matrimonial Alliance in the 11<sup>th</sup> Century – between History and Legend*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica”, 8 (2006), p. 53–74 (70); see also Ovidiu Cristea, *Siamo Veneziani e poi Cristiani: Some Remarks concerning the Venetian Attitude towards the Crusade*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica”, 3 (2001), p. 105–116 (108 note 15); idem, *La suprématie maritime à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Un point de vue de Marino Samudo Torsello*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica”, 4 (2002), p. 172–176 (173 note 9); idem, *Rivalitatea venețiano-genoveză în Marea Neagră: campanile lui Giustiniano Giustiniani (1323, 1328)*, “Revista Istorică”, serie nouă, XV (2004), 1–2, p. 89–106 (94 note 26); idem, *Venice: the Balkan Policy of Hungary and the Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, “Revue des études sud-est européennes”, XL, 1–4 (2002), p. 179–194 (180 note 5); idem, *Venezia, la politica balcanica dell’Ungheria e l’espansione degli ottomani in Europa alla fine del secolo XIV*, in *Dall’Adriatico al Mar Nero* cit., p. 41–55 (p. 42 note 5); idem, *Veneția și Marea Neagră în secolele XIII–XIV. Contribuții la studiul politicii orientale venețiene*, Brăila, 2004, p. 207; Cristea, *Supremația maritimă în a doua jumătate a sec. al XIII-lea: un punct de vedere venețian*, in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani* (ed. by Ionel Căndea, Valeriu Sîrbu, Marian Neagu), Brăila, 2004, p. 557–574 (563 note 20).

MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE 16<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

It. VII. 803 (7295), of 287 pages<sup>13</sup>, comes from the donation of Girolamo Contarini<sup>14</sup>. It is about a miscellanea entitled *Miscellanea di Storia Veneta* in the catalogue at Marciana Library and that contains various fragments referring to the Venetian history, written on sheets of paper of different sizes, a fact that indicates that it was constituted by chance. Among those fragments there is also the final part of the Carolidian chronicle (years 1367–1382), with few gaps, which covers pages 19–144. This part corresponds in other manuscripts to Book 10 of the chronicle<sup>15</sup>.

It. VII. 2448 (10514) was acquired by Marciana Library in 1909. The catalogue "Ital. VII." at Marciana presents it as "*Cronaca Veneta dalla morte del doge Giovanni Dandolo (a. 1286) [n. n. as a matter of fact, 1289], al 1381*", interval confirmed by the catalogue "Soggetti Veneti": "*dal 1286 sino al 1381*". The incipit is as follows: "*A pena Joanne Dandolo Duce era passato di questa vita, che vsçi vna voce uniuersale del popolo, che dimandaua duce m(esser) Giacomo Theupulo figliolo di m(esser) Lorenzo ch(e) fu pure, [...]*" (p. 1a). The manuscript numbers 292 pages<sup>16</sup>. J. Chrysostomides considers that it appears under the name of "*Annali Veneti 1289–1381*", a fact that we confess that we did not identify, and corresponds to Books V–X of the Carolidian chronicle, with the specification that it lacks the final part, and the explicit is as follows: "*Ditto oratore fu gratamente ricevuto dal Duce Leopoldo.*"<sup>17</sup>, referring to the mediation for the conclusion of a treaty with the king of Hungary.

<sup>13</sup> See Vittorio Lazzarini, *Il testamento del cronista Gian Giacomo Caroldo: per un'edizione della sua cronaca*, in *Scritti storici in memoria di Giovanni Monticolo*, Padua, [1922], p. 283–288 (286 note 1); J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 125, 180 – appendix I; Antonio Carile, *Caroldo, Gian Giacomo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 20, Rome, 1977, p. 514–517 (516). Some other studies also refer to this manuscript, see Eugenio Musatti, *Storia di Venezia*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, I, Milan, 1936, p. 79 note 3; R[aymond] J[oseph] Loenertz, *Jean V Paléologue à Venise (1370–1371)*, "Revue des Etudes Byzantines", 16 (1958), p. 217–232 (229); J. Chrysostomides, *John V Palaeologus in Venice (1370–1371) and the Chronicle of Caroldo: a re-interpretation*, "Orientalia Christiana Periodica", 31 (1965), p. 76–84 (77–78); Raymond-J[oseph] Loenertz O. P., *Les Ghisi dynastes vénitiens dans l'archipel 1207–1390*, Florence, 1975, p. 332; S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 674 note 5; Reinhold C. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market. Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1300–1500*, Baltimore, 1997, p. 387. Also enumerated by E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>14</sup> For Girolamo Contarini da San Trovaso, see also *Sulla famiglia patrizia Contarini e specialmente sul ramo de' Scrigni di san Trovaso*, [1843], apud Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia veneziana*, Venice, 1847, p. 399.

<sup>15</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *Studies cit.*, p. 125; S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 674 note 5.

<sup>16</sup> See also J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>17</sup> See also *ibidem*. The manuscript is taken into consideration also by F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 260; J. Chrysostomides, *John V cit.*, p. 79 note 2, 82 note 2, 83 note 3; R. J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 332, 333; Antonio Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 516, but a punctual analysis is offered by Loredana Arvati, *Gian Giacomo Caroldo e la sua cronaca*, tesi di Laurea di Storia Medievale, Università di Padova, Facoltà di Lettere, 1962 (unpublished; *non vidi*) apud J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 124 note 3. Also enumerated by E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

The codex has sub-titles on the text's extremities and also revisions due to the original handwriting. The page numbering was done by the writer.

It. VII. 127 (8034), regarded by S. Iosipescu as belonging to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup>, is presented by the catalogue at Marciana Library under the title of "*Gianiacopo Caroldo. Cronaca Veneziana, sino all'anno 1382*"<sup>19</sup>. It is a codex of 773 pages<sup>20</sup>. Beside the proper chronicle, the manuscript also includes two tables (p. 639–773), in order to facilitate the consultation, one by matters and the other by names, both of them added in 1585 by Nicolò Caroldo, a relative of the author<sup>21</sup>. This is the manuscript selected by V. Lazzarini, S. Collodo or D. Queller for their investigations<sup>22</sup>. At present, it can be consulted only as microfilm.

It. VII. 128a (8639), dated by S. Iosipescu towards the end of the century<sup>23</sup>, is named in the catalogue as "*Gianiacopo Caroldo. Cronaca Veneziana, sino all'anno 1382*". It numbers 454 pages<sup>24</sup>; the method of writing is appreciated by Fr. Thiriet as magnificent, a fact that made him to consider it as the most precious among the three codices taken into consideration. Consequently, this is the codex which Thiriet and other scholars relied upon<sup>25</sup>. Moreover, E. Teza stated that it was

<sup>18</sup> See S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 674 note 5.

<sup>19</sup> Donald E. Queller, *Il patriziato veneziano. La realtà contro il mito* (transl. by Paolo Pavanini), Rome, 1987 [original edition: *The Venetian Patriciate. Reality versus Myth*, Urbana-Chicago, 1986], p. 452 uses the name of *Historia di Venetia*, in comparison to manuscript It. VII. 128a, where it appears as *Cronica veneziana*.

<sup>20</sup> See F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 266; J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>21</sup> See F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>22</sup> See Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado – La Congiura*, Florence, 1963 [1897], p. 105 note 1; Silvana Ozoze Collodo, *Attila e le origini di Venezia nella cultura veneta tardomedioevale*, "Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti", CXXXI (1972–73), p. 531–567 (550); D. Queller, *op. cit.*, p. 452; idem, *The Fourth Crusade. The Conquest of Constantinople. 1201–1204*, [Leicester], 1978, p. 173 note 71, 211 note 1. Also enumerated by G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 47–48; A. Carile, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 158; S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 674 note 5; E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65; James S. Grubb, *Elite Citizens*, in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797* (ed. by John Jeffries Martin and Dennis Romano), Baltimore, Maryland, 2002 [2000], p. 339–364 (360).

<sup>23</sup> See S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 674 note 5.

<sup>24</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127; A. Carile, *Caroldo* cit., p. 516. F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 266 counts 464 pages.

<sup>25</sup> See *ibidem*; see also idem, *Una proposta di lega antiturca tra Venezia, Genova e Bisanzio nel 1363*, "Archivio storico italiano", 113 (1955), p. 321–334 (327 note 17); idem, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge. Le développement de l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris, 1959, p. 16. Among other researches, we mention here Ester Pastorello, *Introduzione*, in *Andreae Danduli Ducis Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta aa. 46–1280 d. C.*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XII (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna, 1923, p. iii–lxxvii (vi). Also enumerated by G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Giorgio Cracco, *Società e Stato nel medioevo veneziano (secoli XII–XIV)*, Florence, 1967, p. 231 note 3; A. Carile, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 158; Frederic C. Lane, *The enlargement of the great council of Venice*, in *Florilegium Historiale. Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* (ed. by J. G. Rowe and W. H. Stockdale), [Toronto], 1971, p. 236–274 (240, 263–264 note 10); R. J. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi* cit., p. 332; D. Queller, *Il patriziato* cit., p. 452; A. Carile, *Caroldo* cit.,

the autograph of the Carolidian chronicle<sup>26</sup>, but the theory was rejected by G. Zorzanello<sup>27</sup>. The manuscript continues the story beyond year 1382, to 1403 (p. 454–464)<sup>28</sup>, although Thiriet notices that this appendage would belong to a different handwriting<sup>29</sup>, while Chrysostomides considers that it would not represent a part of the chronicle and that it would present no historical value<sup>30</sup>. Nowadays, the codex is consultable as microfilm, as Pos. Marc. 144.

Beside these codices at Marciana, it was also distinguished the manuscript at the Civic Museum in Padua with mark CM 107 for the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It contains 428 pages<sup>31</sup>. There are other 93 pages to be attached, including the index of the notable facts, written by Nicolò Caroldo, in 1585<sup>32</sup> (as manuscript It. VII. 127), according to the monogram of the front page, retaken to the end of the second volume<sup>33</sup>. In addition, the *verso* of the front page also presents, beside the Marcian lion, the coat of arms of Caroldo family<sup>34</sup>.

M. Foscarini declared that he possessed two manuscripts of the chronicle, one with number CCV was dated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and, in the brief depiction that he offered, he specified that it had 398 pages<sup>35</sup>. However, the codex could not be detected in the catalogue of the Foscarini collection in Vienna, presented by T. Gar.

In exchange, Gar's catalogue brings another ex-Foscarini codex into discussion, having the number CCXXX (mark 6153 in the library of Vienna)<sup>36</sup>,

p. 516; E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Gabriele Zanella, *La peste del 1348. Italia, Francia e Germania: una storiografia a confronto*, 1996 [= [http://www.classicalitaliani.it/critica\\_html/zanella\\_peste\\_1348.htm](http://www.classicalitaliani.it/critica_html/zanella_peste_1348.htm)], note 104; Maria Maddalena Sarnataro, *La rivolta di Candia del 1363–65 nelle fonti veneziane*, "Studi veneziani", serie nouă, XXXI (1996), p. 127–153 (p. 129 note 11); Benjamin G. Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara, 1318–1405*, Baltimore, 1998. As for S[amuele] Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 volumes, Venice, 1853–1861, II, p. 393 note 4 and III, p. 177 note 2, 244 note 2, 246 note 2, 307 note 1, the references are to la It. VII. 128, without making clear whether he refers to It. VII. 128a or to It. VII. 128b. On the other side, one could suppose that at that time Marciana Library had into possession only one of the two manuscripts.

<sup>26</sup> See E[milio] Teza, *Due parole di G. G. Caroldo su Creta*, "Atti Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti", 68 (1906–1909), part II, p. 39–42 (41 note 2).

<sup>27</sup> Apud A. Carile, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 158 note 5.

<sup>28</sup> See F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 266; J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>29</sup> See F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>30</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>31</sup> See V. Lazzarini, *Il testamento* cit., p. 286 and note 2; J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127. Also enumerated by E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65, and in <http://www.cini.it/pdf/fondi/microfilmoteca.pdf>.

<sup>32</sup> See V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 286 note 2; J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Carile, *Caroldo* cit., p. 516 (who still mentions year 1545 for the elaboration of the indices by N. Caroldo).

<sup>33</sup> See V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 286 note 2.

<sup>34</sup> See *Ibidem* (with a depiction of the coat of arms); J. Chrysostomides, *John V*, p. 80 note 2; *idem*, *Studies* cit., p. 127.

<sup>35</sup> See Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* (introd. by Ugo Stefanutti), [Bologna], [1976] [reprinted from edition Venice, 1854] [1752], p. 172 note 3.

<sup>36</sup> This number is retaken also by A. Carile, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 159.

with good handwriting and well preserved, and numbering 398 pages<sup>37</sup>. The coincidence of this latter detail leads us to the conclusion that it could be the same manuscript and suggests a possible absence of mind either of M. Foscarini, or of T. Gar. In connection to this codex, Gar also informs that in the interior of the cover it is written: “*A di 27 Febraro 1626 mi costò dal librario a S. Sofia lire 84.*”<sup>38</sup>

The catalogue of *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* reveals the existence of codex Vat. lat. 6088, dated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, assigned to “*Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, da Venezia, segretario del consiglio dei X, 1531–1533*”. The assigning is confirmed also by the chronicle’s period: from the origins to 1382. The chronicle includes 489 pages and appears under the title of “*Historia venetiana*”.

The manuscript PD 400c from *Museo Correr* in Venice is from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and has 304 file<sup>39</sup>.

For the passage from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, M. Foscarini had at his disposal another copy of the chronicle of Caroldo, divided in two parts, with numbers CXXXVI and CXXXVII, with the first volume containing the first nine books of the work, along with an index of the notable facts regarded as ‘very copious’<sup>40</sup>, and the second was to add the tenth book, of the same extension as all the others<sup>41</sup>. On the whole, the work was to be transcribed by Giovanni Tiepolo in 1597 as one could read to the end, excepting the first three books, copied by another handwriting in 1606<sup>42</sup>. Although he assign the number CXXXV<sup>43</sup> and not CXXXVI to the first part of the manuscript, thus in contradiction with what Foscarini himself had written, T. Gar offers supplementary details both regarding the good state of handwriting and conservation and especially concerning the page number: 830 for CXXXV (no. 6343 in the marking given by the librarians in Vienna)<sup>44</sup>, respectively 596 for CXXXVII (no. 6344 in the Viennese library)<sup>45</sup>. Taken more recently into consideration by Chrysostomides, who presents only the marks in Vienna and not the initial ones belonging to Foscarini, the two codices are presented as numbering 478, respectively 299 pages and in addition they are dated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>46</sup>. The first one comprises the first nine books of the Caroldian

<sup>37</sup> See Tommaso Gar, *I codici storici della collezione Foscarini conservata nella Imperiale Biblioteca di Vienna*, “Archivio storico italiano”, V (1843), p. 281–430 (287). Under the same mark, but presented as having 400 pages, the codex is also mentioned in the enumeration offered by J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127; mentioned also in the enumeration of E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>38</sup> See T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

<sup>39</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159 and note 9. Also enumerated by E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>40</sup> See M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 172 note 3.

<sup>41</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>42</sup> See *Ibidem*; see also T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

<sup>43</sup> Number retaken also by A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>44</sup> See T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

<sup>45</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 286–287.

<sup>46</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127; the two codices are enumerated also by E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

chronicle, among which the first three were to be copied in 1606 and the other in 1597 by Giovanni Tiepolo), while the second one copied only book X<sup>47</sup>.

### THE 17<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

It. VII. 141–142 (7146–7147)<sup>48</sup> is presented by the Marcian catalogue as: “*Gianiacopo Caroldo. Cronaca Veneta fino all’anno 1612. Volumi II*” and is dated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The codex introduces in the first part a so-called “*Indice Caroldo*”, not numbered, so that the numbering, which was elaborated by the copier *recto-verso*, begins with the proper chronicle. The usual explicit of the chronicle and at the same time of Book X has the word “*Fine*” (p. 943) attached, along with an explanation on the text’s extremity, made by the same handwriting: “*Adi 19 Luglio 1707. Finito di copiare da me Pietro Foscarini fu di Z(uane) Ant(oni)o da altro simile pur di mio pugno donato all’Auocato il Sig(nor) Baldess(er)a Vio. Principato à scriuere adi p(rim)o Maggio del d(ett)o anno.*” (p. 943). The annotation helps to identify the copier’s name (Pietro Foscarini) and the period when the copy was elaborated, which is May–July 1707. This latter element makes that the dating of the codex in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, proposed by the catalogue, be erroneous. The second volume of the work corresponds to codex It. VII. 142 and the same method of writing is to be noted, belonging, this time as a certitude, to P. Foscarini. On the front page of this volume, it is an inscription: “*Cronici Veneti. / Tomo Ottauo / Caroldo Tomo 2<sup>o</sup>*”, the reference to the “*volume VIII*” representing probably a mark of a certain owner. On the first page of the text, it is another note, specifying: “*Aggiunto al Caroldo di ..... [emphasis mine: missing text]*” (p. 1), while the text begins: “*Fù Andrea Contarini acutissimo ne discorsi delle cose di stato, [...]*” (p. 1). This second volume continues the Caroldian story, covering a long period of time, until 1612, representing the year of the election of Doge Marc’Antonio Memmo (1612–1615) (p. 351). On the whole, Pietro Foscarini’s handwriting is pleasant and extremely elaborate. On the text’s extremity, there are

<sup>47</sup> See T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

<sup>48</sup> See S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 315 note 2, 340 note 1, 421 note 1, who names it as continuation of Caroldo chronicle; the same in the case of John Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, [Brantwood], 1879 [1851–1853] [=http://www.fullbooks.com/Stones-of-Venice-introductions-.html], Debra Pincus, *Hard Times and Ducal Radiance: Andrea Dandolo and the Constuction of the Ruler in Fourteenth-Century Venice*, in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797* (ed. by John Jeffries Martin and Dennis Romano), Baltimore, Maryland, 2002 [2000], p. 89–136 (130) and the recent study of Holly S. Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice, 1200–1500: Wife and Icon*, New York, 2006, and also Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton, 1981, p. 270 note 58 etc., the latter making no reference to ‘Caroldo group’; it is with good reason, since it refers to the election of Marino Grimani as doge in 1595 according to codex It. VII. 142, therefore to the addition to the chronicle assignable to Caroldo, having no connection with his proper chronicle.

placed summaries of the events, and until p. 207 of the second volume (It. VII. 142), the year is emphasized on the top of the page.

The codex It. VII. 1974 (8396) has not been studied until now. It was acquired by Marciana Library in 1871, under the name of "*Gianiacopo Caroldo. Cronaca Veneziana sino all'anno 1382*" and it is dated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The method of writing seems too strident but finally approachable. The chronicle comes to an end at p. 314b, with the usual explicit of 'the Caroldo group'.

Also from Marciana Library, the codex M 320 (8468) has the name of "*Gio: Giacomo Caroldo. Istoria Veneta dal principio della Città sino all'anno 1382*" and comes from (no. 8). There is also an inscription on the back of the manuscript, with capital letters, saying: "*Caroldo / Istoria Veneta / sino al 1382*", and on the front page: "*Historie Venete dal Principio / della Città fino all'Anno / M CCC L XXX IJ*". The manuscript numbers 602 pages<sup>49</sup> and presents an intelligible and pleasant method of writing, while the book number is on each page. The page number belongs to the copier.

The catalogue of Querini-Stampalia Library mentions another manuscript in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with mark IV. CXIII (=113), which appears as "*Caroldo. Ossia Historia di Venetia di Giov. Giacomo Caroldo ...*".

The Viennese manuscript with mark 6170 also belongs to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. From 467 pages, the first 422 comprise the chronicle that comes under the name of *Annali Veneti dal 1289 al 1381*, while the rest includes a list of prices and donations offered by various Venetian families when Chioggia was besieged by the Genovese, all these materials representing a later addition operated by the copier<sup>50</sup>.

It is also a manuscript from Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresda, mark F 46, noticed by A. Carile<sup>51</sup>, who informs about a microfilmed version of it, at Istituto di Storia al Fondazione G. Cini in Venice<sup>52</sup>.

Another codex in the 17<sup>th</sup> century is at the Syracuse University, inside the manuscript no. 71, of 1174 pages, which also contains two other materials from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, one – an anonymous chronicle coming to 1559 (p. 1–266) and second – a presentation of the patrician families (p. 275–456). Caroldo chronicle extends between pages 623 and 1174, being preceded by an index of the notable facts

<sup>49</sup> See also J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127; also enumerated by E. Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>50</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 126, 148; see also A. Carile, *Caroldo cit.*, p. 516. Also enumerated by E. Muir, *op. cit.* p. 65.

<sup>51</sup> See A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 159. Also enumerated by E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65. According to the catalogue at <http://www.cini.it/pdf/fondi/microfilmoteca.pdf>, it is about a fragment that comes only to 1328.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159 nota 6. The subsequent codex from Dresden Library, that is F 47, also seems to comprise another fragment of the Caroldian chronicle (period 1354–1382), as a sequel of the previous codex and being dated also in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

(p. 483–619)<sup>53</sup>. According to the presentation of Ed. Muir, the explicit proves that it is a partial chronicle that ends in 1354, when describing the passing of Doge Andrea Dandolo<sup>54</sup>. One should take notice of Muir's remark, according to which the manuscript is copiously illustrated with coats of arms<sup>55</sup>.

Another manuscript is from the same century. It is under the custody of the University of Glasgow, inside of Hunter Museum<sup>56</sup>, mark MS Hunter 222 (U. 2. 13), and has the following title on the first page: "*HISTORIA DI VENETIA / SCRITTA DA / GIO: GIACOMO CAROLDO SECRETARIO / DELL ILLUSTRISSIMO CONSIGLIO DI X*". The codex belonged in a certain moment to Joseph Smith (1682–1770), the British consul in Venice, whose heraldic sign also appears inside of the manuscript<sup>57</sup>.

R. Constantinescu reports another 17<sup>th</sup> century manuscript that was at that time at the *Biblioteca Centrală de Stat* [State Central Library] in Bucharest, mark 4881. It is a codex written by two handwritings entitled "*Gian Giacomo Caroldo, Cronaca*". It is extended on pages 1–464v, being followed by some blank pages, succeeded by an index (p. 467–474)<sup>58</sup>.

Also from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, we have a compendium due to Roberto Lio, also secretary of the Council of the Ten<sup>59</sup>. The codex that includes this compendium belonged to M. Foscarini, no. CXXIX<sup>60</sup>, and then passed along with the rest of Foscarinian library under the custody of the library in Vienna. There it received mark 6355 and it was consulted by T. Gar. This last one informs in addition, beside its assignation to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, that it is a codex of 460 pages entitled "*Compendio della Cronaca del Caroldo, e cose notabili cavate da altre*", that it retakes *ad litteram* the initial dedication of Caroldo<sup>61</sup>, and that it also comprises an excerpt from the work of Marc'Antonio Sabellico, notes referring to the conquest of Ferrara at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, to B. Tiepolo's conspiracy, to the conquest of Tenedos by Marco Giustinian, Petrarch's will, a supposed will of Muhammad, a passage with advises from Emperor Charles V to his son Philip II, a

<sup>53</sup> See E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 73. Also enumerated by *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>54</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 73.

<sup>55</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>56</sup> See John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *A catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1908 [= <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detaild.cfm?DID=32840>], p. 166–167.

<sup>57</sup> For technical details, see *ibidem*, p. 166.

<sup>58</sup> See Radu Constantinescu, *Manuscrise occidentale în bibliotecile românești*, "Revista Arhivelor", LIV, vol. XXXIX, 4 (1977), p. 447–457, p. 451–452 (451, for description); see also Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 674 note 2.

<sup>59</sup> As for R. Lio, M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 172 note 3 regards that he transcribed an ancient book of genealogies, along with many other ancient works.

<sup>60</sup> See *Ibidem*; T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 337; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>61</sup> See T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

list of the families originated in Lucca and established in Venice and many other materials<sup>62</sup>. According to the information delivered by A. Prost, this abridged chronicle comes to 1557<sup>63</sup>, during Doge Lorenzo Priuli), and, on the contrary to the other codices, begins the story since St. Mark's preaching<sup>64</sup>. As for the person of Roberto Lio, he also appears as copier of a codex at Marciana, that is It. VII. 69 (7727-7730): "*Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1558 (Il Codice fu copiato da Roberto Lio nell'anno 1630)*" (according to "Ital. VII."), also from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which is connected by Ed. Muir to Veniera chronicle<sup>65</sup>.

### THE 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

For the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Ed. Muir brings into discussion another manuscript at the Syracuse University, inside of von Ranke record keeping, that is manuscript no. 62<sup>66</sup>. For its dating, the notice at the end is essential. According to it, the anonymous copier, "*già stanco ed infastidito di maniero chè piu non potevo*", mentions February 11, 1721<sup>67</sup>. The codex comprises two volumes of 274 and respectively 286 pages<sup>68</sup>, the first of these two comes to an end in 1354<sup>69</sup>. The title page includes the coat of arms of Contarini family<sup>70</sup>.

The enumerations offered by A. Carile and Ed. Muir also include the following Marcian manuscript: It. VII. 905-It. VII. 906 (7153-7154), It. VII. 970 (7672), It. VII. 971 (8713), It. VII. 972 (7630), without specifying their dating<sup>71</sup>. However, the catalogue "Ital. VII." from Marciana Library places them in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It. VII. 905, coming from Giovanni Rossi (no. 285), appears in the catalogue under the name of: "*Giacomo Caroldo. Storia della Repubblica di Venezia. Libri dodici. Cronaca sino all'anno 1382*". A vague title is on the front page: "*Historia / di Venetia*", with somehow naïve adornments. At the same time, there is an inscription on the cover: "*Laurentii Patav(rum)*", probable reference to one of the codex's owners. It is not possible to find out when the codex was divided in two volumes; it is a certitude only that the first volume ends when presenting the

<sup>62</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 338.

<sup>63</sup> See A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

<sup>64</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>65</sup> See *infra*. See E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 71. The codex is also mentioned by S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, p. 446 note 3; H. Hurlburt, *op. cit.*.

<sup>66</sup> See E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 64. Also enumerated by A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

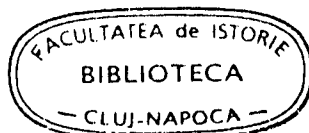
<sup>67</sup> See E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65. We could not know if it is about *more Veneto*, so that we date it in 1721-1722.

<sup>68</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 64.

<sup>69</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>70</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>71</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159; E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.



passing of Doge Giovanni Soranzo (1312–1328), with these words: “*Il Duce assalito da graue Infermità passò da questa uita l’anno del signore MCCCXXVIIJ all’ultimo di Decembre, et fù sepolto nel battisterio della Chiesa di san Marco.*”, and the addition: “*Laus Deo / fines del libro VI.*” (p. 409b). It has an intelligible and pleasant method of writing, and the page numbering belongs to the copier.

Codex It. VII. 970 comes from Giovanni Rossi (no. 137) and its name in the catalogue is “*Gianiacopo Caroldo. Cronaca Veneta sini all’anno 1354*”, while the proper text begins with the following title, emphasized by capital letters: “*Dell’Historia Veneta di / Gio(anni) Giacomo Caroldo*” (p. 1a). As the Marciana catalogue mentions, the codex comprises only the part of the chronicle that ends with the death of Doge Andrea Dandolo (1343–1354): “*passò da q(ues)ta uita, il q(u)ale fù sepolto nel portico della Chiesa di S(an) Marco, doue hora è il Battisterio.*” (p. 232b). The method of writing is unaesthetic enough, and the chapters’ sub-titles are on the text’s proximity.

It. VII. 971, having the same origin as It. VII. 970, the collection of Giovanni Rossi (no. 269), is named in the Marcian catalogue as: “*Giangiacoopo Caroldo. Cronaca Veneta, divisa in due parti. Alla Cronaca del Caroldo, che ha fine all’anno 1382, s’aggiunse un libro undecimo, dei fatti posteriori fino al 1403*”. There is an inscription on the front page: “*Dell’Historia Veneta / Di Gio(anni) Giacomo Caroldo / Parte Prima*”, a reference retaken previous to the text: “*Dell’Historia Veneta / di Gio(anni) Gicomo [sic!] Carordo [sic!]*”, with the errors about the author’s name. As the catalogue specifies, this version of the Caroldian chronicle presents a sequel referring to the period between 1382 and 1403 (p. 478a–491b), separated from the main body of the text by a certain blank pages (p. 476b–477b). The sequel ends suddenly in the middle of the phrase, as follows: “*Visto la Sig(no)ria adunque, che il predeto Sig(no)r di Padoa haueua tolta la Cità di Verona, datagli dalla Duchessa di Milano, et l’assalto fatto a Vicenza, e la mala disposition dell’animo suo in uoler guerezar con lei, deliberò tor l’impresa contra lui, e mandò molte barche armade sopra li confini di Padoua, delle quali fò Capitanio m(esar) Almorò Lombardo, il qual uedendo*” (p. 491b), leaving the impression that the manuscript is only partial. Also as a supplementary detail confronted by the remainder of the Caroldian codices, this one adds after the usual explicit the following detail: “*Questo Duce, come s’è deto nella sopradeta Oratione, è sepulto nel Claustro arente la Capella del Crocefisso, e quella di S(an) Giouanni delli Reu(eren)di Padri di San Steffano Agostiniani in un Costra, doue si uede l’arma Contarina, e li seguenti Versi*”, along with the epitaph of Doge Andrea Contarini (1368–1382) (p. 476a). However, contrary to the information in the catalogue, it is not this sequel that provoked the division of the chronicles in two distinctive parts, but the passage between Book VI, which is referring to Doge Andrea Dandolo, to Book VII. Thus, a specification is inserted after Book VI: “*Il Fine della Parte Prima*” (p. 208b), followed by two blank pages (p. 209a–209b), so

that Book VII (beginning with p. 211a) is preceded by the mentioning: “*Dell’Historia Veneta / Di Gio(anni) Giacomo Caroldo / Tomo Secondo*” (p. 210a). Meanwhile, there are some other blank pages (p. 321a–321b), representing the passage from Book VIII to Book IX. On the whole, it is an intelligible method of writing, and the page numbering belongs to the copier, except the previous to the usual explicit of the chronicle, after p. 477, which belongs to the librarians.

Also originating in the library of Giovanni Rossi (no. 15), codex It. VII. 972 has the following name in the catalogue: “*Giangiacoopo Caroldo. Cronaca Veneta, dall’anno 421 all’anno 1354*”. On the front page, in a difficult method of writing, a specification mentions: “*HISTORIA / di VENETIA / Dall’Anno CCCCXXI sino / all’anno MCCCLIV / LIBRI. VII. Vol(ume) p(rim)o / M. S. dal feste Q [?] ..... [indecipherable] Molin d(e) q(uondam) Dom(eni)c(o) / da S(an) Pantalon l’anno 1737 / Venezia / Autor Gio(anni) Giacomo Caroldo Secretario / dal Eccelso Consiglio di Xci. / E fu copiato q(ue)sto p(rim)o Vol(ume) / da Girolamo Foscari figlio / de q(uondam) Zu(an)e d(ett)o Alq^r [?] d(ett)o mio / Cognato / Il sopradetto anno.*” From these notes, several details could result, that is the copier’s name (Girolamo Foscari), the year when the copying activity occurred or was finished (1737), the fact that the codex contains only the first volume that ends in 1354, same time with the death of Doge Andrea Dandolo. Indeed, according to this codex, the chronicle ends with this event (p. 627). Contrary to the method of writing on the front page, the one offered by Girolamo Foscari is legible.

Extended on two volumes, It. VII. 1975–It. VII. 1976 (7916–7917) came under the propriety of Marciana Library in 1871, and the Marcian catalogue presents it as “*Gianiacopo Caroldo. Cronaca di Venezia sino all’anno 1413 (m. v.) 1414*” and dates it in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Also, on the first page of the chronicle a note mentions: “*Historia scritta / da Gio(anni) Giac(omo) Caroldo / Secretario dell’Ill(ustrissi)mo Cons(iglio) di X(ci) / Principiando dall’origine della / Città*” (p. 1a). The last page of this volume refers to the passing of Doge Andrea Dandolo (p. 376b).

Mentioned by A. Carile, codex PD 504c from Museo Correr is dated also in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>72</sup>. Personally, I consulted also a manuscript from Querini-Stampalia Library, mark IV. 112 (308), dated from the same century (the information is accompanied by a question mark in the library’s catalogue) and entitled as follows: “*Caroldo G. G. Dell’Historia di Venetia di Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo Secretario dell’Ill(ustrissi)mo Consiglio di Dieci. Libri X*”, a title that could be detected also on the front page. The manuscript counts 454 pages, written extremely elaborate and having a legible method of writing. It has two page numberings, one belonging to the copier and other to the librarians. This parallelism continues by page 131, a number that occurs also on the subsequent page in the version due to the copier.

<sup>72</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159; also enumerated by E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

One could add the codex from the (royal) library in Berlin, mentioned by L. Biadene, no. 135. It is about a manuscript of 330 pages, written by two handwritings, and the leather binding was to be made after the achievement by the library in Berlin. The codex also contains two indices, one referring to the facts regarded as notable, the other to the personal nouns, both of them being elaborated in 1585<sup>73</sup>. Although there is no reference to the person of Nicolò Caroldo, one could not lose sight about the similarity between these details and those of the codices It. VII. 127 from Marciana Library and CM 107 from Padua, as more as the indices of all these manuscripts are settled at the end of the proper chronicle.

Another codex from the Syracuse University, manuscript 42, is dated from the half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>74</sup>, considering that the year 1756 is present on the title page<sup>75</sup>, a detail that still could refer to the year of acquisition by a certain owner. The manuscript comprises four volumes and begins from the election of Ottone Orseolo as doge<sup>76</sup>. According to Ed. Muir's notes, the first volume ends when narrating the events in 1381, while the other three, also including a sequel to chronicle Caroldo, are divided chronologically in the following periods: 1381–1448, 1448–1509 and 1509–1583<sup>77</sup>. In order to insert this codex in the so-called 'Caroldo group', Muir used not only comparisons with manuscript 62 from Syracuse<sup>78</sup>, but also a note belonging to Ranke: "*Dal 1205 colle parole: 'Li quali' comincia alla cronaca copiare l'opera del Caroldo.*"<sup>79</sup>

A codex from the British Museum, mark King's 147, consulted and analyzed by C. Foligno, is dated from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It appears under the name of Giovan [sic!] Giacomo Carildo [sic!], *Storia di Venezia* and counts 414 pages. It belonged to the counsellor Smith. At the time when it was investigated by Foligno, the manuscript had a binding that also comprised a golden royal (British?) coat of arms<sup>80</sup>. As for the dating, J. Chrysostomides still opted for the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>81</sup>.

Many other codices should be added to the ones above. We are not able to conclude their dating, since those that have mentioned them have not specified even this determining detail.

<sup>73</sup> See Leandro Biadene, *I manoscritti italiani della collezione Hamilton nel R. Museo e nella R. Biblioteca di Berlino*, "Giornale storico della letteratura italiana", X (1887), p. 313–355 (345–346).

<sup>74</sup> See E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 38; also enumerated in *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>75</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 38.

<sup>76</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>77</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>78</sup> See *supra*.

<sup>79</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>80</sup> See C[esare] Foligno, *Codici di materia veneta nelle biblioteche inglesi (continua)*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", new series, V, tom X, part I (1905), p. 89–128 (111); also enumerated by E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>81</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

Thus, Antonio Ceruti detected a Carolinian codex at Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, which continues the chronicle by 1413, the year of the election of Tommaso Mocenigo as doge<sup>82</sup>, although this addition numbers no more than 16 pages<sup>83</sup>. A brief note inserted in the chronicle's index specifies that another author was to continue the story between 1414 and 1612, to the election of Marcantonio Memo as doge<sup>84</sup>. The Ambrosian manuscript is divided in ten books, exclusively the sequel<sup>85</sup>.

Anyhow, when mentioning the anonymous sequels to Caroldo chronicle, Ceruti exemplifies, beside the Ambrosian codex, also by a codex from Marciana Library, which would continue the work with other four years after 1382, and the respective sequel would belong to an anonymous writer<sup>86</sup>.

Although he does not offer a presentation of the manuscripts, G. Castellani brings into discussion other two manuscripts from Cheltenham, nos. 5012 (*Istoria de Venetia*, in two volumes) and 5018 (*Storia Veneta*)<sup>87</sup>, once owned by Lord Guilford. Unfortunately, we have not been able to find out these two copies among the codices acquired by the Marciana Library in the '70s from the library once belonging to Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham. But, another codex is nowadays at Michigan State University, no. 250, about which origin is noticed exactly the name of Thomas Phillipps and the marks 5012–5013<sup>88</sup>. The name of Laurentius Antonius De Ponte appears on the codex's cover, probably representing one of the owners in a certain moment<sup>89</sup>.

Exemplifying the chronicle's manuscripts, V. Lazzarini refers in a certain moment to the Marcian codex It. VII. 2413, which was to have 292 pages and to be acquired from England recently, meaning a little before 1912, the year when Lazzarini's article was published<sup>90</sup>. Nevertheless, he does not offer more details.

Two codices from Museo Correr, marks Ci 2459 and Ci 2460, were considered as including chronicle Caroldo by R. Bratti, in a letter to V. Lazzarini. The scholar also noticed the similarities, with some variations, of the coats of arms between these codices and manuscript CM 107 from Padua<sup>91</sup>. Although from

<sup>82</sup> See Antonio Ceruti, *Appunti di bibliografia storica veneta contenuta nei mss. dell'Ambrosiana*, "Archivio Veneto", V, tom X, part II, 1875, p. 394–444 and VI, tom XI, part I, 1876, p. 178–219 (417); Aug[uste] Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes. Second mémoire*, "Revue des questions historiques", 34 (1883), p. 199–224 (206, 217).

<sup>83</sup> See A. Ceruti, *op. cit.*, p. 417; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>84</sup> See A. Ceruti, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

<sup>85</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>86</sup> See *Ibidem*; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 206, 216.

<sup>87</sup> See C[arlo] Castellani, *I manoscritti Veneti contenuti nella collezione Phillipps in Cheltenham (contea di Gloucester)*, "Archivio Veneto", 37 (1889), p. 199–248 (215).

<sup>88</sup> See <http://magic.lib.msu.edu/search/eMss+250/emss+250/-5,-1,0,B/frameset&FF=emss+250&l,1>,

<sup>89</sup> See *ibidem*.

<sup>90</sup> See V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 286 note 1.

<sup>91</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 286.

Correr, manuscript Gradenigo 78 is used by F. Lane in order to depict the conspiracy of Baiamonte Tiepolo<sup>92</sup>.

Beside the Parisian manuscripts nos. 320 and 321, A. Prost also enumerates the codex no. 1217<sup>93</sup>, without further explanations.

A Caroldian codex is also in Rome, at Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, belonging to San Gregorio (Camaldolesi) record keeping, no. 76<sup>94</sup>.

Ed. Muir adds to his enumeration also a codex from Newberry Library in Chicago, mark MS, fF 35993.148<sup>95</sup>.

The manuscript from Biblioteca Oliveriana in Pesaro, no. 107, also belongs to the category of the codices that have no dating<sup>96</sup>.

More recently, Franco Rossi refers to a codex from la ASV, mark *Miscellanea codici*, III, *Codici Soranzo*, n. 21, which is named as “*Historia veneta scriiita da Gio. Giacomo Caroldo segretario dell’eccelso Consiglio di dieci in forma di cronica dalla fondazione di Venetia sino l’anno MCCCLVI*”<sup>97</sup> and is abundantly quoted.

When he enumerates the Caroldian manuscripts at the library in Vienna (Foscarini record keeping), A. Carile also notes codex CLV (6521)<sup>98</sup>, referring to T. Gar’s catalogue<sup>99</sup>. Yet, according to Gar’s depiction, beside that it deals with mark CLX instead of CLV, it refers to miscellaneous codex, including copies from various decrees, lists of magistratures, privileges and other documents. It is right that it refers also to chronicle Caroldo, but along with other works, both Venetian (Sabellico, Crasso, Sansovino, Contarini, Marco Barbaro) and originating outside of the Venetian area (Villehardouin, Bodin, Nicolò Doglioni)<sup>100</sup>.

The Marcian catalogue “*Soggetti Veneti*” also mentions “*sino al 1514. V. Caroldo*” when referring to marks It. VII. 1955–It. VII. 1956. However, since we have not consulted them, we are not able to express any assumption in order to establish a connection with ‘Caroldo group’ of chronicles.

At Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codex Vat. lat. 6085 is also referred to as being under the name of Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, although there are enough

<sup>92</sup> See F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 240, 263–264 note 10.

<sup>93</sup> See Aug[uste] Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, “*Revue des Questions historiques*”, 31 (1882), p. 512–555 (545).

<sup>94</sup> See Ester Pastorello, *Venezia e i Veneziani nei testi a penna della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma*, “*Studi Goriziani*”, 4 (1926), p. 394 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159 note 10; also enumerated by E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>95</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>96</sup> See *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d’Italia*, Florence, 1923, 29, no. 107, p. 36 apud Carile, *La cronachistica*, p. 159 and note 7; also enumerated by E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>97</sup> See Franco Rossi, *Quasi una dinastia: i Gradenigo tra XIII e XIV secolo*, in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* (ed. by Marino Zorzi and Susy Marcon), [Venice], 2001, p. 155–187 (183 note 11).

<sup>98</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>99</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 159 note 5; also enumerated by E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>100</sup> See T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 339–341.



conclusion that it represents a faithful copy upon It. VII. 803 and takes the revisions from the latter and integrates them in the basic text<sup>109</sup>. Thus, the conclusions refer to the feature of ‘raw draft’ for It. VII. 803, respectively of ‘remade/final draft’ for It. VII. 2448<sup>110</sup>.

Still, a very adjusting demonstration – on the autography of these two codices – M 803 and M 2448 – belongs to J. Chrysostomides<sup>111</sup>, whose main argument is represented by the method of writing<sup>112</sup>, similar to that of Caroldo’s account from Constantinople in 1503, which original is inserted in the manuscript of Marino Sanudo’s diary<sup>113</sup>.

One could conclude that, although the greatest number of the manuscripts comprises strictly the period from the origins to 1382, meaning the passing of Doge Andrea Contarini, a certain codices extend the story beyond 1382, meaning the limit traditionally attributed to Caroldo’s work (It. VII. 128a, Syracuse 42, Ambrosiana, It. VII. 971, It. VII. 141–142, It. VII. 1975–1976), while some others end prior to that event (It. VII. 803, It. VII. 2448, Vienna 6170, Syracuse 71, It. VII. 970, It. VII. 972, ASV Soranzo 21). In connection to this latter tendency, Francesco Sansovino<sup>114</sup> and Apostolo Zeno<sup>115</sup> postulated that a possible second volume of the work, which was to include the period between 1382 and 1415, either existed or had been lost. Also, M. Foscarini himself felt the absence of the supposed last 140 years of the chronicle, “in which the main price of his work was to consist in”<sup>116</sup>, although he concluded that none of the manuscripts known by him surpasses year 1382<sup>117</sup>. It was still noticed that this supposed extension of the chronicle’s story until the author’s lifetime has no possibility to be represented by the few data offered in addition by the codex from Ambrosiana<sup>118</sup>, while the sequel in manuscript It. VII. 128a by 1403 belongs to a different handwriting<sup>119</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> See L. Arvati, *op. cit.* apud J. Chrysostomides, *Studies cit.*, p. 124 and note 3; see also *ibidem*, 124, 126, 128–129; R.J. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi cit.*, p. 332; A. Carile, *Caroldo cit.*, p. 516.

<sup>110</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 128–130.

<sup>111</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 128–131, 148.

<sup>112</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 128.

<sup>113</sup> See Sanudo, *Diarii*, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 233 (9220), f. 219v apud J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>114</sup> See Sansovino apud M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 172 and note 3; see Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia Città nobilissima et singolare*, vol. 2 (ed. by Giustiniano Martinioni), Venice, 1968 [1663], p. 595, considering that our author “*fece la historia veneta nella lingua volgare, cominciando dal principio della città fino à i tempi suoi*”.

<sup>115</sup> See Zeno apud A. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes. Second mémoire cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>116</sup> See M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>117</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 172 note 3.

<sup>118</sup> See A. Ceruti, *op. cit.*, p. 417; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>119</sup> See F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

## PATERNITY AND DATING

As for the paternity of the work, all the manuscripts at disposal refer to the character of Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, secretary of the Council of the Ten. However, the detailed critical examination provided by J. Chrysostomides demonstrates that this declared affiliation should not delude. Thus, the conclusion is that the authentic writing of our character is represented exclusively by the two autographic manuscripts, that is It. VII. 803 and It. VII. 2448, along with a copy in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, that is manuscript 6170 from Vienna)<sup>120</sup>, produced as a copy of It. VII. 2448. The remainder, represented by the other numerous manuscripts attributed to Caroldo, is to represent nothing else than a modified version of the initial chronicle.

In order to come to this conclusion, contrary to L. Arvati, who does not venture towards initiatives in this sense<sup>121</sup>, Chrysostomides offers critical comparisons between the content of the texts in It. VII. 803 and It. VII. 2448, on one side, and in It. VII. 128a, on the other side<sup>122</sup>, although these comparisons restrain to the period 1370–1377, as the scholar herself declares several times<sup>123</sup>.

Thus, the differences between the two kinds of manners in depiction of the events of that times, and especially the episodes of the Chioggian War, are major and the new shape in which they appear in It. VII. 128a results from some supplementary readings, that is from the chronicles of Daniele Chinazzo<sup>124</sup> and Andrea de Redusiis<sup>125</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 126–127; see also A. Carile, *Caroldo cit.*, p. 516. As a matter of fact, when analyzing codex It. VII. 2448, F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 260, regards that “the terms are there [author’s note – the presentation of the ‘Tenedos case’] the same as the ones that Caroldo uses [...]”, thus considering that It. VII. 2448 would be a work inspired by Caroldo and not an autographic codex.

<sup>121</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>122</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 131, 142–143 and especially 160–180. Slight differences between the two codices have been noticed also by Loenertz apud O. Cristea, *Rivalitate* cit., p. 101 note 56, and by Scott Gordon, *Controlling the State: Constitutionalism from Ancient Athens to Today*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1999, p. 60.

<sup>123</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 131, 147.

<sup>124</sup> See Daniele Di Chinazzo, *Cronica de la guerra da Veniciani a Zenovesi* (ed. by Vittorio Lazzarini), Venice, 1958. For this character, see Daniele di Chinazzo, *Cronica de la guerra da Veniciani a Zenovesi* (ed. by Vittorio Lazzarini), Venice, 1958 (a previous edition: L.A. Muratori, in *Danielis Chinatii Tarvisini belli apud Fossam Clodiam et alibi inter Genuenses et Venetos gesti anno 1378 et sequentibus italico sermone accurata descriptio*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XV, Milan, 1729, col. 699–803, reprinted in Genua, 1838). About this author (before 1369–1428), it is known that he was a simple spice merchant from Treviso, but a passionate supporter of Venice and opponent to the Carrarese and the Visconti. See Vittorio Lazzarini, *Daniele di Chinazzo e la sua cronaca secondo un codice di Copenhagen*, “Atti del R. Istituto veneto. Classe di scienze morali e lettere”, XCVIII (1938–1939), 2, p. 515–522; Girolamo Arnaldi and Lidia Capo, *I cronisti di Venezia e della Marca Trevigiana*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 2: *Il Trecento*, Vicenza, 1976, p. 272–312 (307–312); Benjamin G. Kohl, *Chinazzo, Daniele*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 24, Roma, 1980, p. 791–792.

<sup>125</sup> See Andrea de Redusiis de Quero, *Chronicon Tarvisinum ab anno 1368 usque ad annum 1428* (ed. by L.A. Muratori), RIS<sup>1</sup>, vol. 19, Milan, 1731, colls. 735–866. Member of an ancient and prominent family from Treviso, the author graduated the University of Padua. He became notary and was appointed by the Venetian government as captain of the Trevisan contingent during the war

On the whole for the period 1370–1377, Chrysostomides counts no less than 30 omissions, alterations and additions between the two kinds of describing the events<sup>126</sup>.

The modifications operated in the text determine Chrysostomides to feel herself confronted by two alternatives: either Caroldo himself was to have in intention to review his own work for the last time, consequent to the consultation of the two chronicles' text, either somebody else confronted a Caroldian manuscript of the kind of It. VII. 2448 with those chronicles<sup>127</sup>. Further on, Chrysostomides rejects the possibility that G. G. Caroldo himself was to proceed to this revision, since it was to suppose a complete changing in the attitude and even more a renunciation to his own working method by accepting the information provided by some simple chronicles instead the one originating in the Great Council's decisions<sup>128</sup>, to which, because of his position of statesman inside of the Chancellery, he had the access that was denied to Chinazzo or de Redusiis. Consequently, Chrysostomides rightly ask herself: "why should a man like this modify his text later in the light of other chroniclers who did not have this privilege [emphasis mine: to consult secret sources] and who were not as impartial as himself? That he could have consulted them to see whether they had information lacking to him would be possible. That he should go so far as to *alter* [emphasis J.C.] his own text in places where they disagreed from his is surely unlikely."<sup>129</sup>

Consequently, J. Chrysostomides embraces the only reasonable supposition: "that at some time or other a copyist who did not appreciate Caroldo's position and privileges vis-à-vis Chinazzo and de Redusiis altered the text himself"<sup>130</sup>, thus excluding Caroldo from the position of authorship of the chronicle's version conserved in the manuscripts out of the group composed of It. VII. 803, It. VII. 2448 and Vienna 6170. Certainly, an objection could be raised, since nobody knows whether the state documents had in Caroldo's mind a greater authority than some works like those of Chinazzo or de Redusiis; it is only in the modern scholar's perspective that the chancellery document has a greater value and credibility than a chronicle. Still, one should notice from Chrysostomides' reasoning that there are two different works, and what we have at disposal is nothing more than the version offered by a copier, while the Caroldian initial text does not include the period before the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

On the other side, this conclusion is not necessarily extended to the remainder of the chronicle, while Chrysostomides refrains from concluding in a certain way the interference of the copier also in the previous period of the story<sup>131</sup>. We allow

against Emperor Sigismund; for him, see Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago-London, 1981, p. 70–71.

<sup>126</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>127</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 142.

<sup>128</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 142–143.

<sup>129</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 147.

<sup>130</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>131</sup> See *supra*.

ourselves to put the problem in a reverse manner, meaning that we have no certitude that the ‘editor’ was to let also the first part of the chronicle, now lost, as he was to find out in Caroldo’s notes. Consequently, we consider along with Chrysostomides that we are confronted with two different trends: one relying upon the faithful copy of Caroldo’s autograph and from which only the final fragments have been preserved (It. VII. 803, then modified in It. VII. 2448 and in the copy from Vienna 6170), and the other one having as author the copier becoming editor because of his interferences in the text<sup>132</sup>. Between these two trends, it was the one that did not belong to Caroldo to enjoy greater success, and the much greater number of codices existing by now stands as proof.

Since the first trend does not cover the period that we are directly interested in, that is prior to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the genuine work of Caroldo comes out of the perimeter of our concerns. In exchange, we are to analyze the modified version that, according to J. Chrysostomides’ investigations, is due to the copier. Therefore, we are not to insist upon the details referring to Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo’s life<sup>133</sup>, only mentioning that this character was born around 1480<sup>134</sup> and died in 1538<sup>135</sup> or 1539<sup>136</sup>.

Anyway, these pseudo-Caroldian version, meaning the one that we are interested in, also belongs to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the manuscripts belonging to this century standing as proof<sup>137</sup>. Some of them are, like It. VII. M 127, CM 107, Berlin 135, dated with greater precision, meaning in 1585, relying upon the indications of Nicolò Caroldo<sup>138</sup>.

As a matter of fact, even after the publication of Chrysostomides’ study, the scientific community has continued to regard G.G. Caroldo as the author of the

<sup>132</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 148.

<sup>133</sup> For these, see Emanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, IV, [Bologna, 1982 [reprinted from edition Venice, 1834], p. 9; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 172 note 2; A. Ceruti, *op. cit.*, p. 416–417; V. Lazzarini, *Il testamento*, p. 283–285; L. Arvati, *op. cit.*; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 514–516. See also Sanudo, *Diarii*, for the period between 1500 (vol. 3, p. 1001) and 1533 (vol. 58, p. 686). As a fact, Robert Finlay, *The Foundation of the Ghetto: Venice, the Jews, and the War of the League of Cambrai*, “Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society”, 126 (1982), 2, p. 140–154 considers that the author was to write “as late as 1520”. We also note that Christiane Neerfeld, *Historia per forma di Diaria. Venezianische Gegenwartchronistik um 1500*, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, Bonn, 2001, p. 209 mentions the existence at Museo Civico Correr of an *Almanacco* that would comprise excerpts regarding the events between 1509 and 1527 and that are put under the name of Gian Giacomo Caroldo; it is about codex Co 1336, pages 248–286, considered as Caroldo’s autograph, see H[einrich] Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, II, 1920, p. 545 and Roberta Sinagra, *Le cronache veneziane in volgare della biblioteca del Museo Correr (Fondo Correr) – Catalogo. Tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Venezia. Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. Anno accademico 1992/93* [unpublished; *non vidi*], p. 396 apud C. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 93 note 227.

<sup>134</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 514; C. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>135</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 516; C. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>136</sup> See V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

<sup>137</sup> See *supra*.

<sup>138</sup> See *supra*.

entire chronicle, only Ed. Muir mentioning by way of parenthesis Chrysostomides' conclusions<sup>139</sup>. For instance, although Carile speaks about three composition stages and recognizes that the third one is due to a copier's interference that "was to deteriorate Caroldo's text by preferring the data detached from more common and less precise chronicle sources to the documentary sources accessible to the author"<sup>140</sup>, he continues to speak about Caroldo as author.

### SOURCES AND INFLUENCES

In the prologue, the chronicler himself presents his two major sources, when he speaks about his efforts "*in raccogliere le cose della Repubblica Veneta dalla Cronaca dell'eccelso Duce messer Andrea Dandolo e dopo lui da' libri che sono nella Veneta Cancelleria, [...]*"<sup>141</sup>. The references to Andrea Dandolo are retaken at the beginning of Book IV of the Caroldian chronicle, where, among other matters, is said that "*pero sopra tuti quelli che hanno scritto l'istoria veneta, l'Ecceleso messer A. Dandolo si deve seguire.*"<sup>142</sup>

The depending upon A. Dandolo for the events previous to 1280 did not escape the scholars' attention<sup>143</sup>. Among them, E. Pastorello even underlined that Dandolo "was the fundamental basis of Caroldo's work", considering the latter as being "an admirer and maybe the only one among [Dandolo's] imitator to understand the goal and to follow the instructions from *Extensa*, [...]"<sup>144</sup> and regarding that our author was to translate almost *ad litteram* from the Dandolian pattern<sup>145</sup>. Moreover, the editor of the chronicler-doge makes an attempt to establish the Dandolian manuscript at Caroldo's disposal<sup>146</sup>. Therefore, it results the conclusion that, along with manuscript Vat. Lat. 5282, dated in 1388–1404, Caroldo's work would derive from the manuscript officially approved by Dandolo<sup>147</sup>.

On the other side, A. Carile notes that the Dandolian influence limits itself to the data referring to the Venetian internal history and in addition that it is not about

<sup>139</sup> See E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>140</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

<sup>141</sup> Apud A. Ceruti, *op. cit.*, p. 417; apud E. Pastorello, *Introduzione cit.*, p. lviii.

<sup>142</sup> Apud *Ibidem*; apud F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 267–268.

<sup>143</sup> See A. Ceruti, *op. cit.*, p. 417–418; E. Pastorello, *op. cit.*, p. lviii; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 267–268; A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 202; J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Girolamo Arnaldi, *Andrea Dandolo doge-cronista*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi* (ed. by Agostino Pertusi), Florence, 1970, p. 127–268 (251); A. Carile, *Caroldo cit.*, p. 516; S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 676–678.

<sup>144</sup> See E. Pastorello, *op. cit.*, p. lviii.

<sup>145</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>146</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. lviii–lix.

<sup>147</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. xlvi–xlvii, lviii, retaken by S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 677 nota 20; see also G. Arnaldi, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

a literal copy and that the author of chronicle Caroldo constantly interferes with supplementary information, notes and additions, even if he does not alter the textual evolution of A. Dandolo substantially<sup>148</sup>. At the same time, Caroldo abridges drastically the data regarding the foundation of the bishopric sieges and the most ancient Venetian churches, so amply depicted by the chronicler-doge<sup>149</sup>.

Beside the dependence upon Dandolo's *Extensa*, some scholars have made attempts to detect other possible sources for the Caroldian work, such as Altinate (only as a suggestion)<sup>150</sup>, Diacono (without developing the idea)<sup>151</sup>, Canal (with the afferent question marks)<sup>152</sup>, Caresini (quoted explicitly by Caroldo himself<sup>153</sup>; comparative texts are offered, connected to the confrontation with the Genoese for the island of Tenedos or to the relationship with Andronicus Palaeologus<sup>154</sup>), Monacis (inclusively a comparative text regarding the Dogal title subsequent to the Fourth Crusade)<sup>155</sup>, Bernardo Giustinian (as a simple suggestion)<sup>156</sup>, Biondo (only as possibility)<sup>157</sup>. One should add also various possible sources outside the chronicles *stricto sensu*, such as Daniele Chinazzo or Andrea de Redusiis<sup>158</sup> (inclusively comparative texts regarding the "Tenedos affair"<sup>159</sup> and the consequent war against Genua<sup>160</sup>). More general dependings have been stated with regard either to the anonymous chronicles included in family C-D according to A. Carile's classification<sup>161</sup>, or to the entire Venetian chronicles group<sup>162</sup>, especially referring

<sup>148</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

<sup>149</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>150</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>151</sup> See Bart[olomeo] Cecchetti, *Di alcune fonti della storia veneta fino al secolo XIII*, Venice, 1867, p. 9.

<sup>152</sup> See Gina Fasoli, *La Cronique des Veniciens di Martino da Canal*, "Studi medievali", 3rd series, 2 (1961), 1, p. 42-74 (70).

<sup>153</sup> See E. Pastorello, *op. cit.*, p. lviii; for the depending on Caresini, see also Antonio Carile, *Caresini, Raffaino (Raffain, Raphainus, Raphaynus, Raphael de Caresinis)*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, 20, 1977, p. 80-83 (83). For Caresini, see *Raphayni de Caresinis cancellarii Venetiarum Chronica: aa. 1343-1388* (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna, 1923. For a translation in vulgar language, see Rinaldo Fulin, *La Cronaca di Raffaino Caresini tradotta in volgare veneziano nel secolo XIV*, Venice, 1877. For Caresini as character (1314-1390) and as chancellor of the Republic, see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 146, 147 and note 1; A. Carile, *Caresini, Raffaino (Raffain, Raphainus, Raphaynus, Raphael de Caresinis)*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, 20, 1977, p. 80-83.

<sup>154</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 143, 146.

<sup>155</sup> See A. Carile, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 202.

<sup>156</sup> See idem, *Caroldo* cit., p. 516.

<sup>157</sup> See idem, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 202.

<sup>158</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 133, 140, 142-143, 147. See *supra*.

<sup>159</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 133-134.

<sup>160</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 134-135.

<sup>161</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

<sup>162</sup> See F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 267; F. Lanc, *op. cit.*, p. 240, 264 note 10; A. Carile, *Caroldo* cit., p. 516-517.

to the working method<sup>163</sup> and to the approach of the origins question<sup>164</sup>. It has been also noticed that the depiction of the First Crusade's military history and the fragments regarding the Byzantine history referring the Fourth Crusade would be amply derived from the chronicle tradition out of Dandolo<sup>165</sup>, along with autonomous nuclei with stylistic features different from the work's main body, such as the long episode of the Ferrarese war in 1308, the one about Baiamonte Tiepolo's conspiracy or the story of the Carrarese *Signoria's* origins in Padua<sup>166</sup>.

As the author himself declared, the main sources used, beside A. Dandolo, was represented by the chancellery sources. Thus, before to begin writing Book IV, the chronicler spoke about a delimitation regarding his inspiration source: after commending Dandolo, he specifies that "*Quello che sia occorso dopo il ducato dell'Illustrissimo messer Giacomo Contarini, continueremo narrar con quella gratia che si presteva il Spirito Santo.*"<sup>167</sup> The Holy Spirit invoked by the chronicler means nothing else than the Chancellery's acts.

Caroldo's position as secretary of the Council of the Ten has been often emphasized<sup>168</sup>, in order to prepare the ground for invoking his use of *Serenissima's* secret documents. Thus, Vittorio Lazzarini notes how the chronicler offered in many cases real reproductions of documents, much of them destroyed or lost nowadays<sup>169</sup>, concluding that the work would be the only one that has conserved them and exemplifying by documents issued by the Senate, the College, or the Council of the Ten<sup>170</sup>. In such a circumstances, the assertion of G. Cracco,

<sup>163</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 516, 517.

<sup>164</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 516.

<sup>165</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>166</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 516–517.

<sup>167</sup> Apud F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 267–268.

<sup>168</sup> See Sansovino apud M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 172 nota 2; Girolamo Ramusio, in the bibliography of Paolo Ramusio, *Della Guerra di Costantinopoli*, Venice, 1604 apud Ș. 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", 2 (2000), p. 51–102 (72 note 87) [= [http://www.geocities.com/serban\\_marin/ramusioindex.html](http://www.geocities.com/serban_marin/ramusioindex.html)]; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 172 and note 2; A. Ceruti, *op. cit.*, p. 416, 417; A. Musatti, *op. cit.*, p. 79 note 3; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 283, 284, 285; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 267; idem, *La Romanie* cit., p. 16; V. Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero* cit., p. 104; A. Carile, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 158; F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 240, 263 note 10; Marilyn Perry, *Cardinal Domenico Grimani's Legacy of Ancient Art to Venice*, "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", 41 (1978), p. 215–244; S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 673; R. Finlay, *op. cit.*; A. Carile, *Caroldo* cit., p. 514, 515, 517; M. M. Samataro, *op. cit.*, p. 129 note 11; Dorit Raines, *Alle origini dell'archivio politico del patriziato: la cronaca «di consultazione» veneziana nei secoli XIV–XV*, "Archivio Veneto", 5<sup>th</sup> series, 150 (1998), p. 5–57 (27 note 77); C. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Ș. Marin, *Un transilvano* cit., p. 62; H. Hurlburt, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

<sup>169</sup> See V. Lazzarini, *Il testamento* cit., p. 285; see also idem, *Marino Faliero* cit., p. 105.

<sup>170</sup> See V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 285. For other similarly conclusive examples, see also Oskar Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*, Warsaw, 1930, p. 341; F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques*, p. 269–

according to which Caroldo should be regarded “certainly the Republic’s best documented chronicler”<sup>171</sup>, should not seem as exaggerated.

As for the use of legendary and mythological elements, M. Foscarini considers that it is abundant in the Caroldian work and he also proves to be surprised by this, under the circumstances that, not a long time ago, Bernardo Giustiniano had rejected a good part of those legends<sup>172</sup>, especially those referring to the origins. This viewpoint is contradicted in a first instance by E. Pastorello, who considers that, when retaking the material from A. Dandolo, Caroldo omits exactly the legends and the anecdotes within<sup>173</sup>. Moreover, it has been regarded that G.G. Caroldo was not to seem very interested by the complicated structure of the origins that appears in the entire group of Venetian chronicles, being considered that the reason for such an attitude was to be exactly “that maybe the monograph of Bernardo Giustiniano about the origins of Venice [...] exempted him from accepting a determined initiative in this field.”<sup>174</sup> Therefore, Foscarini’s opinion in this sense is completely rejected.

In the classifications that we previously proposed, the Caroldian work was initially included in category 7, together with the chronicle attributed to Marino Sanudo, from the certain angle of the manner of presenting the arrival of the crusaders’ ambassadors in Venice on the occasion of the Fourth Crusade<sup>175</sup>. Later however, although we maintained the two chronicles in the same category, we noticed discernible differences in the manner of presenting some other events, such as: the Imperial elections in 1204<sup>176</sup>, the Dogal title of *Dominus*<sup>177</sup>, Doge Domenico Michiel’s campaign in the Aegean Sea<sup>178</sup>, marking in addition a closeness of our chronicle to category 1 (It. VII. 2571 and It. VII. 2581), in the context of Marquis of Montferrat’s adhering to the crusade<sup>179</sup>, or to categories 3 (It. VII. 2592, Marc’antonio Sabellico, Flavio Biondo) and especially 2 (Dandolo’s *Extensa*, Lorenzo de Monacis, Pietro Dolfin, Andrea Navagero), with regard to the manner of representing Patriarch Tommaso Morosini<sup>180</sup>, the depiction of the event in 1261<sup>181</sup> and the mission of G. Partecipazio to Constantinople<sup>182</sup>. For representing

270; R.J. Loenertz, *Jean V* cit., p. 230–231; J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 134–142, 144–146, 148–159; R.J. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi* cit., p. 332; R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 456–457; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 517; S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 676 and note 17.

<sup>171</sup> See G. Cracco, *op. cit.*, p. 356 note 1.

<sup>172</sup> See M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>173</sup> See E. Pastorello, *op. cit.*, p. lviii.

<sup>174</sup> See A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

<sup>175</sup> See Ş. Marin, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders* cit., p. 127–128.

<sup>176</sup> See idem, *The Venetian Empire* cit., p. 221–222.

<sup>177</sup> See idem, *Dominus* cit., p. 132.

<sup>178</sup> See idem, *A Precedent to the Fourth Crusade* cit., p. 259.

<sup>179</sup> See idem, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders* cit., p. 144.

<sup>180</sup> See idem, *The First Venetian* cit., p. 61, 75.

<sup>181</sup> See idem, *Veneția și căderea unui imperiu* cit., p. 221.

<sup>182</sup> See idem, *Giustiniano Partecipazio* cit., p. 80.

Charles the Great, we integrated our chronicle in category 4, along with *Origo civitates Italiae*, pseudo-Diacono, *Extensa*, Monacis, It. VII. 102 (attributed to Enrico Dandolo), It. VII. 796, It. VII. 2571, It. VII. 74 and It. VII. 1833<sup>183</sup>.

The impressive number of manuscripts demonstrates the large circulation of the pseudo-Caroldian work. Contrary to the opinion that the Caroldian work be not a literary result, but a simple source of consultation, for which reason it remained not edited because of ‘prudence’ reasons<sup>184</sup>, Fr. Thiriet considers that its author was to represent, along with A. Dandolo, Caresini and Trevisan (sic!), one of the historical authority for the 14<sup>th</sup> century (sic!)<sup>185</sup>.

Nevertheless, no one could establish any punctual influence upon other Venetian chronicles, excepting the one attributed to Marcantonio Erizzo and the codices Cicogna 598 and ex-Brera 144 from Archivio di Stato di Venezia<sup>186</sup>. Rather there were some dependences upon it to be taken into account of some works out of the chronicle area. Thus, our chronicle was used by Roberto Lio (also secretary of the Council of the Ten)<sup>187</sup>, Marco Barbaro<sup>188</sup>, Paolo Ramusio<sup>189</sup>, Giacomo Gaffarello<sup>190</sup>, Giovanni Cittadella<sup>191</sup>, etc.

<sup>183</sup> See idem, *Veneția – între Carol cel Mare și Bizanț. Reprezentarea momentului 800 în tradiția cronicistică venețiană*, “Analele Universității București. Istorie, 47 (1998), p. 3–44 (27–28).

<sup>184</sup> See E. Pastorello, *op. cit.*, p. lviii.

<sup>185</sup> See F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>186</sup> See V. Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero* cit., p. 105 note 1.

<sup>187</sup> See M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 172 note 1; T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 337–338. See *supra*.

<sup>188</sup> See M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 173 and note 1.

<sup>189</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 173 and note 1. The use of the Caroldian chronicle by Ramusio is attested also by the bibliographical list offered by the editor Girolamo Ramusio in the edition in 1604, see Ș. Marin, *A Humanist Vision* cit., p. 72 note 87. For Ramusio, see Paolo Rannusio Venetiano, *Della guerra di Costantinopoli per la restituzione de gl'imperatori Comneni fatta da' signori Venetiani et Francesi l'anno MCCIV. Libri sei* (translation from Latin by Girolamo Rannusio), Venice, 1604; the work was also published in its Latin original twice, in 1609 and 1634. Among the six books of the work, the first three could be consulted at [http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost16/Ramusio/ram\\_con0.html](http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost16/Ramusio/ram_con0.html), relying on the edition in 1634, inside of the project of Augusthana Library in Augsburg. For Ramusio as character (1532–1600), see Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni*, II, p. 330–335; Antonio Pasini, *Sulla versione Ramusiana della cronaca di Villehardouin*, “Archivio Veneto”, 3 (1872), p. 264–267; E[milio] Teza, *La conquête de Constantinople de G. Villehardouin e le versioni dei tre Ramusii, Giambattista, Paolo, Girolamo*, “Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti”, 65 (1905–1906), second part, p. 173–191. More recently, see Marin, *A Humanist Vision* cit.; Niccolò Zorzi, *Per la storiografia sulla Quarta Crociata: il De bello Constantinopolitano di Paolo Ramusio e la Constantinopolis Belgica di Pierre d'Outreman*, în *Quarta crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino* (ed. by Gherardo Ortalli-Giorgio Ravegnani-Peter Schreiner), II, Venice, 2006, p. 683–746 (692–720).

<sup>190</sup> See M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 173 note 1.

<sup>191</sup> See A. Ceruti, *op. cit.*, p. 416. It is about the author of *Storia della dominazione Carrarese in Padova*, 2 volumes, Padua, 1842.

## EDITIONS

The necessity of a printed edition of the chronicle regarded as belonging to Caroldo has been many times invoked either entirely<sup>192</sup>, or at least partially<sup>193</sup>. It was even suggested that the autograph It. VII. 2448 be the basis for the editing of the final part of the chronicle<sup>194</sup>. However, nothing has been enterprised by the present day in this sense, excepting the brief passages due to L. Menin (about the conspiracy of B. Tiepolo)<sup>195</sup>, G. Concina (referring to the war against Triest in 1368–1370)<sup>196</sup>, R. Loenertz (about the visit of Emperor John V Palaeologus in Venice in 1370–1371)<sup>197</sup>, the politics of Giannacchi Ghisi in Tenedos<sup>198</sup> and of Nicolò Sanudo in Candia<sup>199</sup>, both in 1365), A. Carile (the episode of *Partitio Romaniae*, relying upon the manuscript It. VII. M 128a<sup>200</sup>), J. Chrysostomides (fragments from the period from 1370 to 1377)<sup>201</sup>, R. Constantinescu (disparate passages from the interval 1296–1382 referring especially to various events connected to the history of the Black Sea)<sup>202</sup>, S. Iosipescu (disparate passages about the Wallachians)<sup>203</sup>.

Personally, we have the intention to publish the entire chronicle together with John Melville-Jones, in a bilingual edition (Venetian-English), just on the basis of the two manuscripts coming from Bibliothèque Nationale and microfilmed at the National Archives of Romania. It is supposed that this edition would number seven

<sup>192</sup> See E.A. Cicogna, *Saggio cit.*, p. 325; S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 503; V. Lazzarini, *Il testamento cit.*, p. 285, 286; E. Pastorello, *op. cit.*, p. lviii; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 260, 262, 292; idem, *La Romanie cit.*, p. 16–17; J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit., passim*; A. Carile, *Caresini cit.*, p. 83; R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 451; B. Kohl, *op. cit.*; Ş. Marin, *Un transilvano cit.*, p. 62 note 5.

<sup>193</sup> See F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 272, 292; A. Carile, *Caroldo cit.*, p. 516.

<sup>194</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 516.

<sup>195</sup> See Ludovico Menin, *La cospirazione di Boemonte Tiepolo, descritta da Gio. Giacomo Caroldo nella sua storia inedita della Repubblica Veneta dalla origine della città fino all'anno 1382*, Padua, 1859 (*non vidi*) apud V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 285 and apud E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65–66.

<sup>196</sup> See Giacomo Concina, *Guerra di Trieste coi Veneziani, estratta dalla sua [Caroldo] cronaca inedita (1368–1370)*, Udine, 1874 (*non vidi*) apud E. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 65; the edition is also used by M.E. Mallett, in Michael E. Mallet and John R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State. Venice c. 1400 to 1617*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 13.

<sup>197</sup> See R.J. Loenertz, *Jean V cit.*, p. 229, paragraph 6. In order to illustrate the expedition of the Venetian fleet in the Black Sea in 1296 through the Caroldo chronicle, Şerban Papacostea, *Gênes, Venise et la Mer Noire à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, "Revue Roumaine d'Histoire", XXIX, 3–4 (1990), p. 211–236 (231 note 78) refers to another article of this scholar, that is R.J. Loenertz, *Menego Schiavo, esclave, corsaire, seigneur d'Ios (1296–1310)*, "Studi veneziani", IX (1967), p. 315–338 (334).

<sup>198</sup> See R.J. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi cit.*, p. 332.

<sup>199</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 333.

<sup>200</sup> See A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 521–522.

<sup>201</sup> See J. Chrysostomides, *op. cit.*, p. 160–180.

<sup>202</sup> See R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 456–457.

<sup>203</sup> See S. Iosipescu, *op. cit.*, p. 682–683.

volumes. Simultaneously, we also intend to publish in Romanian some passages of the chronicle in two volumes. Since these passages refer to the maritime, respectively terrestrial confrontations, the title would be “*Din marile bătălii ale venețienilor* [About the great battles of the Venetians]”.

The publishing of the chronicle Caroldo would be a good opportunity, since it represents a necessary working tool, especially for those interested in the Venetian history, but not only, as long as this chronicle offers many details for the general history previous to 1382.