

## REVIEWS, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

**Carlo Campana, *Cronache di Venezia in volgare della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Catalogo, Padua, Il Poligrafo, 2011, 244 p.***

From the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Venetian historiography became cognizant of the emergence of a new literary genre known by the name of chronicle<sup>1</sup>. The Venetian chronicle<sup>2</sup> have often exercised attraction, raising questions and offering work

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<sup>1</sup> As N. Iorga, *Les commencements de Venise*, "Académie Roumaine. Bulletin de la section historique" 18 (1931), p. 101-143 (104) argued "il n'y a pas de chronique de Venise plus ancienne comme rédaction que le XI-e siècle, et, avant, le XI-e siècle, il n'y a absolument rien que ce qui a pu passer dans les compilations ultérieures, sans rien conserver du caractère contemporain." On the other hand, Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* (introd. by Ugo Stefanutti), [Bologna 1976] [reprinted of Venice 1854] [first ed.: 1752], p. 119 expressed his conviction that the oldest chronicles were lost, thus keeping the door opened to other possibilities to write Venetian chronicles prior to the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>2</sup> I therefore use the term **chronicle** in its strict sense, which automatically discards the diaristic content of writings. Let us return to what I mentioned above: what I am actually seeking is not the evidence, not the historical fact itself, not the fact that the author might be contemporary with certain events and implicitly their eye witness, but the political mythology, the construction of certain myths in relation with an event or another, as well as their evolution. I am pursuing the **representation** and not the **perception**. From this perspective, the dissociation between **chronicles** and **diaries** becomes acute (see 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 (33 f). For a remarkable recent study on the Venetian diaristic writings, I should signal Christiane Neerfeld's thesis in *«Historia per forma di Diaria». La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, Venice 2006, as well as Foscarini's observations, M. Foscarini *op. cit.*, p. 192 on the typology of these *Diaries*. For other incidental considerations on the chronicles/diaries balance, cf. Șerban Marin, in *Addenda et Corrigenda*, "Studii și materiale de istorie medie" 23 (2005), p. 320-326 (320-322 in particular), which is in fact a review of the article, Eugen Denize, *Ștefan cel Mare în I Diarii lui Marino Sanudo*, "Studii și materiale de istorie medie" 22 (2004), p. 137-151. Certainly, the case of E. Denize is not singular, since a broader sense of the term "chronicle" is also used by Hellmut Wohl, *The Aesthetics of Italian Renaissance Art. A Reconsideration of Style*, [Cambridge], 1999, p. 51, who, speaking of the literary style of the Venetian chronicles, makes reference to *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae* of the same Sanudo (which is definitely **not** a chronicle), or by Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power*, n. pl., 2002, p. 276, who recalls the annals of Domenico Malipiero as chronicle. Also Freddy Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne*, "Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, publiés par l'École Française de Rome", 1954, p. 241-292 (242), introduces the diary of Domenico Malipiero when listing the published chronicles. For the chronicles/diaries balance, cf. Chr. Neerfeld, *«Historia per forma di Diaria» cit.*, p. 16-17.

Meanwhile, it is not my intention to unravel the debate around the difference between **chronicle** and **history**, given that I consider the so-called "transition" from chronicle to history as relative. For example, the argument invoked by Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence 1969, p. 203, that the work of Paolo Ramusio the Young would represent the transition from chronicle to history seems to be

approaches from the most diverse. Yet, this attraction was backed by a feeling of helplessness due to both the immense number of Venetian chronicles and the vastness of codices and issues addressed. Besides, the existence of a great deal of copies and especially compilations carried out over centuries has always encumbered the access to originals and led to restraints in the scope of investigation.

Although scattered in different European and North-American libraries, the greatest part of the Venetian chronicles is still in Venice, in the manuscript collections of the Marciana Library<sup>3</sup>, the Civic Correr Museum<sup>4</sup>, and in smaller amounts at the *Frari* State Archives. However, significant fonds are also held by the Apostolic Library in Vatican, the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, the Nazionale Braidense Library in Milan, the Capitolare Library in Verona, the Oliveriana Library in Pesaro, the University Library in Padua, etc. Nevertheless, manuscripts containing Venetian chronicles are not limited to Italy only. Several different codices alike studied by Carile can be found in Austria<sup>5</sup>, Germany<sup>6</sup>, France<sup>7</sup>, the United Kingdom<sup>8</sup>, Slovenia<sup>9</sup>, Hungary<sup>10</sup>, and even the United States<sup>11</sup>.

Undoubtedly, the wide scale investigation undertaken by Antonio Carile could not exhaust the entire range of codices providing matter related to the Venetian chronicles. Without benefiting from the same resources as Carile, we were still able to trace other different codices in the catalogues from the Library of Querini Stampalia

rather metaphorical. For the difficulties related to separating the chronicles from histories in the Venetian historiography, see also Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, "Revue des questions historiques" 31 (1882), p. 512-555 (513), who relies on the transition from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century as a separation point between chroniclers and historians, without taking into account that chronicles will still be written in the following centuries. For these matters, see James Condamine, *La composition française*, Lyon 1898, p. 107-108; Bernard Guenée, *Histoires, annales, chroniques. Essai sur les genres historiques au Moyen Age*, "Annales. Economies. Sociétés. Civilisations" 28 (1973), p. 997-1016; Idem, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 1980, in particular p. 203-207, but also the scepticism manifested by Kate J. P. Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, Cambridge 2003, p. 7 towards the dissociation between "chronicle" and "history".

<sup>3</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, pp. xx-xxii, takes into consideration the following 52 codices held by the Marciana Library. Also, F. Thiriet, *op. cit.* subjected to investigation 44 codices. In his turn, R.-J. Loenertz, *La Guerra di Curzola e la classifica delle cronache italiane*, in *Byzantina e franco-graeca*, Rome 1978 used 33 Marcian chronicles.

<sup>4</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii-xix, xxi-xxii, relies his investigation on 62 codices from the Correr Museum. The investigation by R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.* contains 16 codices. For the manuscripts under the Cicogna collection, see also the lists given by the Centro di studi medievali e rinascimentali "Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna" (coordinator: Angela Caracciolo Aricò; assistants: Chiara Frison, Lorenzo Bernardinello, Elena Bocchia, Nicoletta Baldin, Matteo Donazzon, Norbert Marcolla), cf. <http://www.centrocicogna.it/> (accessed on March, 2011), based on which Venetian chronicles could be detected within 30 codices.

<sup>5</sup> The so-called "Foscarini fonds" currently held by the *Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna.

<sup>6</sup> Located at the *Sächsische Landesbibliothek* in Dresden.

<sup>7</sup> *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris and the library in Metz.

<sup>8</sup> At the British Library in London..

<sup>9</sup> At *Narodna Univerzitetna Knjižica* in Ljubljana.

<sup>10</sup> At the Széchényi Library in Budapest.

<sup>11</sup> To exemplify: 1. fonds von Ranke from the library of Syracuse University, New York; 2. Newberry Library in Chicago; 3. the library of Harvard University.

Foundation in Venice, the Civic Library in Padua, the *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale* in Rome, or the catalogues published by the Library of the University of Pavia, the on-line catalogue of the Library Andrihetti Zon Marcello in Venice, the Civic Library in Belluno, the Bertoliana Civic Library in Vicenza, the Library of the Episcopal Seminar of Padua, as well as the (former) Royal Library in Berlin. Furthermore, Radu Constantinescu signals three manuscripts at the Romanian National Library – at that time known as the Central State Library – in Bucharest.

All these new references foment even more the presumption that several other codices are being preserved in different libraries or archives. As a matter of fact, all these examples contradict Fr. Lane's conclusion that "he [n. n., Carile] appears to have studied all the main manuscripts known"<sup>12</sup>.

On the whole, Antonio Carile estimates that there are approximately 1,000 such codices<sup>13</sup>, with the additional note by Eric Cochrane that "almost no two copies of what purports to be the same chronicle are exactly alike"<sup>14</sup>, an observation which we agree with. On the other side, the American scholar opines that "it is not surprising, therefore, that the similarities among these many chronicles are far more striking than their differences"<sup>15</sup>. Carile himself speaks about "*mostruosità filologica che è questa trama ininterrotta di trascrizioni, completamenti, aggiornamenti, in una moltiplicazione di testi irriducibili all'unità di una forma archetipa*"<sup>16</sup>.

Amassing all these materials together would obviously facilitate the study of the Venetian chronicles, and when stating this we mainly refer to Marciana Library, which "houses the richest collection of Venetian chronicles known to exist"<sup>17</sup>. The initiative

<sup>12</sup> Frederic C. Lane, review of A. Carile, *op. cit.* and of *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi* (ed. by Agostino Pertusi), Florence 1970, in "Speculum" 47 (1972), 2, p. 292-298 (293).

<sup>13</sup> A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica veneziana: Piero Giustinian e Nicolò Trevisan*, "Studi Veneziani" 9 (1967), p. 103-125 (104) ("Nessuno ha calcolato il numero dei codici, [...], ma non sarà arrischiato fissare attorno a 1000 la consistenza dei codici di cronache, anonime o d'autore."); see also Idem, *Aspetti della cronachistica veneziana nei secoli XIII e XIV*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI* cit., p. 75-126 (81); F. C. Lane, rev. cit., p. 292; cf. Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago-London 1981, pp. 3-57 (62); Guillaume Saint-Guillain, *Les conquerants de l'Archipel. L'empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades*, in *Quarta crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino* (ed. by Gherardo Ortalli & Giorgio Ravegnani & Peter Schreiner), I, Venice 2006, p. 125-237 (134). Recently, A. Carile has advanced the number of 2,000! The tremendous number of Venetian chronicles gave way to observations by other scholars starting with Antonio Rossi, *Sulla Cronaca Altinate. Commentario*, in *Chronicon Venetum quod Altinate nuncupatur e bibliotheca Patriarchalis Seminaris nunc primum editum* [...], "Archivio Storico Italiano" 8 (1845), p. 1-228 (3); but, only A. Prost, Fr. Thiriet, R. J. Loenertz, and ultimately A. Carile endeavoured to propose, more or less successfully, general studies on this colossal material. Carile is currently coordinating an on-line project meant to gather all the Venetian chronicles (as well as the chronicles of Ravenna), and called *Progetto cronache veneziane e ravennati (secoli VI-XIX)* [= <http://137.204.185.153:8080/Cronachistica/home/index.jsp> (accessed on March, 2011)]. The project was launched in 2003.

<sup>14</sup> E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 63.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. A. Carile, *Aspetti della cronachistica* cit., p. 81.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Vincent Ilardi, *Fifteenth-Century Diplomatic Documents in Western European Archives and Libraries (1450-1494)*, "Studies in the Renaissance" 9 (1962), p. 64-112 (78). Indeed, the great

taken by Giorgio Cini Foundation to microfilm as of 1955 several manuscripts containing Venetian history material is commendable<sup>18</sup>, however, the rate of microfilming itself does not seem to be appropriate enough since it is not limited to the chronicles only.

We should rather mention though the initiative taken by the former Director of Marciana Library, Giorgio Emmanuele Ferrari, who in 1972-1973, on behalf of the library, came into possession of a valuable acquisition from Great Britain, following an auction won by the Italian Ministry of Culture. It is actually a significant part of the impressive Phillipps collection of Cheltenham, Gloucester. 44 codices containing Venetian chronicles were acquired then, followed by three more in 1985. One may naturally ask: how did this great number of materials created in Venice by Venetians and dealing strictly with Venetian history arrive in Britain? The explanation is that Sir Thomas Phillipps, a British millionaire, who collected rare books and manuscripts, came into their possession early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>19</sup>. A similar explanation may be given for the Venetian manuscripts held by Syracuse University in New York, which were all obtained as part of a donation by the historian Leopold von Ranke in 1887<sup>20</sup>. The fate of the rest of manuscripts currently preserved in Great Britain or the United States may have been the same. As for the numerous chronicles identified in Vienna or Paris, the explanation is even simpler: Venice was successively occupied by the Frenchmen and the Austrians from 1797 to 1866.

Faced with the vastness of this material, the historian or the philologist finds himself suddenly in the situation of not being capable to grasp it all and thus opts for a more convenient solution, such as selecting a few chronicles representative for the scope of his research<sup>21</sup>. A comparative study covering all the chronicles is highly improbable, whereas the scholar who addresses to the Venetian chronicles phenomenon on the whole is lost early on his way, perhaps when classifying the chronicles and codices upon different criteria<sup>22</sup>. Such is the case of Antonio Carile<sup>23</sup>, who happened to be criticised<sup>24</sup>

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number of codices held by the Civico Correr Museum is strong “competition”, even from a quantitative perspective, but especially since the donation by Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna.

<sup>18</sup> For a list of these materials, see <http://www.cini.it/pdf/fondi/microfilmoteca.pdf> (accessed on March 2011).

<sup>19</sup> All these manuscripts had been long signalled by C. Castellani, *I manoscritti Veneti contenuti nella collezione Phillipps in Cheltenham (contea di Gloucester)*, “Archivio Veneto” 37 (1889), p. 199-248.

<sup>20</sup> See Edward Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of Syracuse University. The Complete Catalogue*, Syracuse, New York 1983. Also for the history of a manuscript arrived in Chicago, see Hans Baron, *A forgotten Chronicle of early Fifteenth-Century Venice. The copy in Newberry Manuscript F 87.1*, in Idem, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni. Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature*, Chicago-London 1968, p. 178-179.

<sup>21</sup> See Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*; A. Carile, *Le origini di Venezia nelle più antiche cronache veneziane*, in *In Memoria di Sofia Antoniadis*, Venice 1974, p. 27-40, etc.

<sup>22</sup> Consider the rhetorical questions of F. C. Lane, *rev. cit.*, p. 293: “How is a modern scholar with a particular subject in mind to decide which among the thousand manuscripts he should study? How can he tell which copied which?”. These questions remain unanswered.

<sup>23</sup> A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit..

<sup>24</sup> Silvana Collodo, *Note sulla cronachistica veneziana. A proposito di un recente volume*, “Archivio Veneto”, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 91 (1970), p. 13-30; Girolamo Arnaldi & Lidia Capo, *I cronisti di Venezia e della Marca Trevigiana*, in *Storia della cultura veneta, 2: Il Trecento*, Vicenza 1976, p. 272-307 (301 f).

for having classified the chronicles based on the single event criterion: *Partitio Romaniae* in 1204<sup>25</sup>. These observations strictly related to methodology can be supplemented by certain obvious inaccuracies linked with the inconsistent dating of a great number of codices. Moreover, within the presentation of genealogical codices, some later codices are placed before others dated from a previous century.

Considering the great number of chronicles, it may be argued that their investigation is still at an incipient stage, notwithstanding several urges mainly from Fr. Thiriet<sup>26</sup>, Aug. Prost<sup>27</sup>, and A. Carile<sup>28</sup> to edit some of them. To a great extent, the reasons must lie in the obstacles and difficulties presented earlier.

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Under all these circumstances, the catalogue provided by the member of the sector of Historical Archives at Marciana, Carlo Campana is definitely useful for all those interested in the study of a respect or another of the Venetian chronicles. It fortunately accomplishes a necessity and comes to replace both the former classical catalogues of Marciana Library ("*Ital. VII.*" and "*Soggetti Veneti*") and the one provided by Pietro Zorzanello<sup>29</sup>.

Published under the initiative of *Centro di studi medievali e rinascimentali* "*E. A. Cicogna*" in Venice, the edition offers a *Presentazione* (p. 7-8) signed by Angela Caracciolo Aricò, the president of the centre. We join the appreciations of A. Caracciolo, although we somehow express my surprise that, when dealing with the matter of the Venetian chronicles' classification, the scholar refers exclusively to Fr. Thiriet's work in 1954, without mentioning a word about A. Carile's fundamental work in 1969.

C. Campana's *Premessa* (p. 9-12) emphasizes those works among the manuscripts at Marciana that have not been included in the present catalogue. It is natural, since the intention was since the very beginning to put only the chronicles into

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<sup>25</sup> In matters of rejecting these critiques, beyond the manifest anti-Collodo and pro-Carile stances taken by Nicola Flocchini, review of A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit., "Studi Veneziani" 14 (1972), p. 385-396, and the positive comments of F. C. Lane, *The enlargement of the great council of Venice*, in *Florilegium Historiale. Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* (ed. by J. G. Rowe & W. H. Stockdale), [Toronto] 1971, p. 236-274 (261 note 2), who appreciates "his [n. n. Carile's] Herculean labour", we should highlight the interrogation mark raised by G. Saint-Guillain, *op. cit.*, p. 135, who asks himself rhetorically "*mais était-il pensable de procéder autrement, sauf à se noyer totalement?*" when referring to the exclusive use by Carile of the *Partitio Romaniae* episode. In essence, the French scholar operates the same way when dealing with the particular episode related to the conquest of the Cyclades by the Venetians, but his references to the Venetian chronicles are incomparably fewer than Carile's.

<sup>26</sup> Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 290: "[...] *Il est donc souhaitable de voir publier ces témoins avisés de leur temps [...]*", reiterated in Idem, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen age. Le développement de l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris 1959, p. 17.

<sup>27</sup> A. Prost, *op. cit.*; Idem, *Les chroniques vénitiennes. Second mémoire*, "Revue des questions historiques" 34 (1883), p. 199-224.

<sup>28</sup> A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit.

<sup>29</sup> See Pietro Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. Italiani. Classe VII* (ed. by Giulio Zorzanello), 5 vols., Florence 1956, 1963, 1967, 1974, 1979 (published in the series of *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, LXXXI, LXXXV, LXXXVII, LXXXIX, XCI). Carlo Campana refers to Zorzanello's catalogue (p. 10).

the light. Among these examples, it is about works that dedicated to certain characters or events (p. 10-11), local histories (p. 11), the public memories of the Republic of Venice (p. 11), theoretical and critical works and treaties of the Venetian governmental institutions (p. 12).

However, since the operation to exclude everything that is not chronicle written in vulgar would have been taken to the end, then the diaries should also be not referred to in this catalogue. It is for the reason that we presented previously, when establishing the separation between **chronicle** and **diary**, despite the fact that a diary, when copied/compiled by later chronicler, becomes chronicle on its turn. Without taking this separation into consideration, C. Campana's catalogue includes several works that are not proper chronicles, such as: *Historia vinitiana secreta* of Luigi Borghi (It. Z. 22<sup>a</sup> and It. Z. 22<sup>b</sup>), an anonymous *Relazione di Venezia* (It. Z. 26), the *Annali Veneti* of Pietro Delfino (ascribed to Domenico Malipiero) (It. VII. 83, It. VII. 84, It. VII. 782, It. VII. 783, It. VII. 2574, It. VII. 2575), the *Diarii* of Girolamo Priuli (It. VII. 85, It. VII. 130, It. VII. 131-133, It. VII. 1276, It. VII. 1821), the anonymous *Notizie storiche* (It. VII. 86), an anonymous *Descrizione storiografica-politica di Venezia* (It. VII. 88), the *Memorie* of Francesco da Molino (It. VII. 110, It. VII. 553), *Storia* of Michele Foscarini (actually, another diary) (It. VII. 170), *Delle Historie Venetiane* of Nicolò Contarini (It. VII. 174-175, It. VII. 176, It. VII. 177-179, It. VII. 686B, It. VII. 764-768, It. VII. 1610-1612, It. VII. 2262-2263, It. VII. 2587-2589), *Della Historia Vinitiana* of Pietro Bembo (It. VII. 191), *Storia* of Giovanni Lippomano (another kind of diary) (It. VII. 213), the famous *Diarii* of Marino Sanudo the Young (It. VII. 228-286, It. VII. 419-477), *Discorso Historico* of Giovanni Andrea Pauletti (It. VII. 311), the *Storie* of Andrea Zilioli (It. VII. 328), the anonymous *Casi memorabilia veneziani* (It. VII. 481), *Della Repubblica di Venezia* of Gaspare Contarini (It. VII. 524), *Del governo antico della Repubblica Veneta* of Giovanni Antonio Muazzo (It. VII. 552, It. VII. 697, It. VII. 964, It. VII. 965, It. VII. 2256), *Dell'istoria Veneziana* of Andrea Morosini (It. VII. 618-619, It. VII. 731-736, It. VII. 756, It. VII. 2259-2261), an anonymous *Diario* (It. VII. 759), the *Adizioni* of Marino Sanudo (It. VII. 760), *Relazione storica [...] del commercio de Veneziani* of Giovanni Andrea Bon (It. VII. 1531), the *Annale* of Pietro Gradenigo (It. VII. 1603), the *Libro de memorie* of Antonio Benigna (It. VII. 1620), *Saggio della Storia del Comercio* (It. VII. 1635), the anonymous *Frammenti* (It. VII. 1847), various *Elementi* (It. VII. 2009), the *Serie cronologica* of Antonio Barbaro (It. VII. 2163B, It. IX. 375), the anonymous *Stato della Repubblica Veneta* (It. VII. 2238), the so-called *Cronache* (actually, diaries) (It. VII. 2492-2493), another *Diario* (It. VII. 2585). All these 57 works enumerated here are definitely not chronicles, but diaries or political works that refer exclusively to the period contemporary to the author.

The complete number of the works presented in this valuable catalogue is 280. Whether one leave aside the 57 works mentioned above, the result would be that the number of codices at Marciana that include chronicles written in vulgar is of 223.

Among the 280 works, the largest number is clearly represented by those in class It. VII (265, meaning 94.64%), to which one should add nine codices in class It. Z., three in It. XI, two in It. IX, and one in Lat. X.

All of the codices that C. Campana mentions in his catalogue follow the same pattern, referring to the technical details (dating, dimensions, page numbers, etc.), title, incipit and explicit, provenience, succinct observations, and various references to modern works that have used each codex.

Reviews, Bibliographical Notes

Making a comparison between the data in the former Marcian catalogues and the one now provided by C. Campana, some cases results when the century is different, as follows:

<b>Marcian Codex</b>	<b>The classical catalogues</b>	<b>C. Campana's catalogue</b>
<b>It. VII. 48</b>	16 <sup>th</sup> century	15 <sup>th</sup> century [1494]
<b>It. VII. 51</b>	16 <sup>th</sup> century	15 <sup>th</sup> century ex.
<b>It. VII. 58</b>	17 <sup>th</sup> century	16 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>It. VII. 66</b>	17 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>It. VII. 67</b>	17 <sup>th</sup> century	16 <sup>th</sup> -17 <sup>th</sup> centuries
<b>It. VII. 91</b>	17 <sup>th</sup> century	16 <sup>th</sup> -17 <sup>th</sup> centuries
<b>It. VII. 162-163</b>	15 <sup>th</sup> century	16 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>It. VII. 324</b>	16 <sup>th</sup> century	15 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup> centuries
<b>It. VII. 327</b>	16 <sup>th</sup> century	16 <sup>th</sup> -17 <sup>th</sup> centuries
<b>It. VII. 377</b>	16 <sup>th</sup> century	16 <sup>th</sup> -17 <sup>th</sup> centuries
<b>It. VII. 541</b>	15 <sup>th</sup> century	15 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup> centuries
<b>It. VII. 550</b>	15 <sup>th</sup> century	16 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>It. VII. 551</b>	17 <sup>th</sup> century	16 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>It. VII. 555</b>	15 <sup>th</sup> century	16 <sup>th</sup> century [post-1544]
<b>It. VII. 796</b>	15 <sup>th</sup> century	15 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup> centuries
<b>It. VII. 798</b>	14 <sup>th</sup> century [sic!]	15 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>It. VII. 1586</b>	17 <sup>th</sup> century	16 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>It. VII. 1999</b>	18 <sup>th</sup> century	17 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>It. VII. 2544</b>	16 <sup>th</sup> century	15 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>It. VII. 2550</b>	c. 1600	16 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>It. VII. 2557-2558</b>	18 <sup>th</sup> century	17 <sup>th</sup> century

We do not know on which bases Carlo Campana operated these changings, just note that the matter of dating the manuscripts remains a difficult and debatable task.

Beside the proper catalogue (p. 19-176), the author provides two appendices, referring to the former owners of some of the manuscripts (Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, Alvise II Girolamo Contarini, Giacomo Contarini, Teodoro Correr, Lorenzo Antonio da Ponte, Francesco Donato, Tommaso Giuseppe Farsetti, Vincenzo Joppi, Jacopo Morelli, Bernardo and Giacomo Nani, Sir Thomas Phillipps, Giambattista Recanati, Giovanni Rossi, Giovanni Antonio Ruzzini, Amedeus Schweyer, Apostolo Zeno (p. 177-188) and to the chronicles most represented in the Marcian codices (ascribed to Daniele Barbaro, Girolamo Savina, the so-called *Veniera*, Gasparo Zancaruolo, or written by Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, Pietro Delfino) (p. 189-191). A wide bibliography (p. 195-230)<sup>30</sup> comes to accomplish this impressive work. Actually, it is not about a simple listing of manuscripts and modern works, but an instrument used by Carlo Campana to offer examples for the manner in which each codex has been referred to by the modern scholars.

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<sup>30</sup> We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the author for making reference to two of our papers.

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In the end, we completely agree with what A. Caracciolo underlined in the *Presentazione*, when saying that the work is “*paziente, rigoroso e attento*”. Thus, Carlo Campana’s catalogue represents undoubtedly a necessary tool that should be present in the personal library of any Venetologist.

Șerban V. Marin

**Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers, How Europe Went to War in 1914*, London, Allen Lane (Penguin), 2012, 697 p.**

Almost one hundred years passed since the start of the First World War, and thousands of books and articles have been written on the topic. Yet in his *The Sleepwalkers*, Christopher Clark rightfully claims that “the subject is still fresh” (p. xxv). In order to find an explanation for this continuous interest both for the public and in academia, one has to give credit to the famous words of historian Fritz Stern, who characterized the Great War as “the first calamity of the twentieth century, the calamity from which all other calamities sprang”. In his most recent book, Christopher Clark aims to reinterpret the July Crisis of 1914 “as a modern event, the most complex of modern times, perhaps of any time so far” (p. xxvii).

This new account of the origins of the First World War can be said to have four main coordinates. (1) The principal point in Clark’s analysis is that “the outbreak of war was a tragedy, not a crime” (p. 561). The author does not aim to establish whose fault the war was. Instead, the idea is to “identify the decisions that brought war about and to understand the reasoning and emotions behind them” (p. xxviii), rather than talk about guilt. (2) The Balkans are placed in the centre of the analysis, because many historians have dismissed the developments in this area as a mere pretext for the Great War, which has left Serbia “one of the blind spots in the historiography of the July Crisis” (p. xxvi). Moreover, (3) Clark’s story is one “saturated with agency”, where more profound forces exist, but they are always in a dynamic interplay with short term changes. (4) Controversially, Clark claims that present developments in world history allow us to better understand the past; for instance, the European Union project permits us to look to Austria-Hungary “less contemptuously”. All in all, Christopher Clark does a remarkably good job in convincing the reader of the legitimacy of this fresh perspective. There are, however, some small “blind spots” and methodological problems in his analysis that will be highlighted later on.

In terms of structure, the book has three parts. Part I (“Roads to Sarajevo”) gives an account of the internal and foreign policies of Serbia (Chapter 1: “Serbian Ghosts”) and Austria-Hungary (Chapter 2: “The Empire without Qualities”) and their relations up to July 1914. Part II (“One Continent Divided”) starts with a narrative account of the structural changes in alliances and foreign policy from 1887 to 1907 (Chapter 3: “The Polarization of Europe, 1887-1907”), but immediately switches to contingency, in an absolutely remarkable Chapter 4: “The Many Voices of European Foreign Policy”, where the decentralized executives all around Europe are analysed in subchapters like “Who

Governed in Saint Petersburg?”, “Who Governed in Paris?”, “The Troubled Supremacy of Sir Edward Grey”). Part III (“Crisis”), starts with the assassination of Franz Ferdinand (Chapter 7: “Murder in Sarajevo” – note that this key event is placed only in the third part of the book), to describe the escalation of the conflict up to the end (Chapter 12: “Last Days”). Interestingly enough, the last two subchapters are named simply “Belgium” and “Boots”, respectively. The “Conclusion” emphasises one more time the complexity of the event and the importance of contingency, as well as the author’s refusal to play the nonsensical “blame game”. *The Sleepwalkers* is, without a shadow of a doubt, an academic work, with more than 100 pages of notes and a wide range of sources consulted, including, noteworthy, Serbian and Bulgarian archives and secondary texts. The number of personal letters, diaries and memoirs of the statesmen and private citizens seen by Christopher Clark is impressive, and this has allowed him to imagine – with the elegance of a historian knowing how to properly read sources containing self-serving accounts and deliberate lies by the authors – what was or had to be in their minds. In the end, the actors of this story had something in common: they were all “sleepwalkers, watchful, but unseeing, haunted by dreams, yet blind to the reality of the horror they were about to bring into the world” (p. 562). The style of the book is, in key places, metaphorical, but without damaging the clarity of the message, quite on the contrary. The reader is delighted to find more than one passage like these: “The outbreak of war in 1914 is not an Agatha Christie drama at the end of which we will discover the culprit standing over a corpse in the conservatory with a smoking pistol. There is no smoking gun in this story; or, rather, there is one in the hands of every major character” (p. 561), or the Austrians being compared to “hedgehogs scurrying across a highway with their eyes averted from the rushing traffic” (p. 429), for their narrow vision of the events.

Undisputable contributions to the historiography of the Great War are, first and foremost (1) Clark’s account of the political life in Serbia and (2) the breadth of his analysis on the range of internal and external constraints weighing on the shoulders of every stakeholder, as well as (3) the interplay of long-term, structural causes with contingency. Thus, the chapter on “Serbian Ghosts” makes a comprehensive analysis of Serbian political life starting from the grisly murder of king Alexandar and Queen Draga in 1903, to July 1914. Brief references are made to Serbian history – for instance the idea in their collective mentality that it is imperative for the “Serbdom” to have a nation-state the size of the Tsardom of Stepan Dušan, which was lost at the battle of Kosovo in 1386. Also, all the peoples that inhabited in 1914 the territory of the old Tsardom were thought to be Serbs, even if some of them (like the Croats) did not know it yet. The Black Hand is presented since its foundation in 1911 and key figures like Dragutin Dimitrijević (known as Apis, “The Bull”), the brains behind the assassination of 1903, founding member of the Black Hand and chief of Serbian General Staff’s intelligence division in 1914, with a key role in the murder at Sarajevo, as well as Nikola Pašić, prime-minister from 1903, a man known for his “habits of caution, secrecy and obliqueness” (p. 19), are presented in some detail. In the end, Christopher Clark claims that “[t]he legacy of Serbian history [...] weighed heavily on Belgrade in the summer of 1914” (p. 62). The reader can picture how a man like prime-minister Pašić had to (re)act in a complicated landscape of a fragile political system, with civilian authorities having little control on “praetorian, conspirational networks born with the regicide of 1903”, an “irredentist milieu” (p. 63), full of fanatic nationalists that interpenetrated state structures (recall Apis’ position). It is very plausible that Pašić and the Serbian state had no means to control the terrorist

networks within and without its borders, and, moreover, Pašić was himself a secretive man, knowing when to duck and wait for the storm to pass, rather than try to control the uncontrollable. He was also a nationalist Serb, desiring the realisation of the nation-state, so why would he even try to stop the irredentist nationalist trans-borders networks? This review can by no means give a fair account of the richness of detail in Clark's analysis, which shows how violent, and at the same time enormously complicated, the situation in Serbia was.

This premise of the complexity of the crisis underlies every chapter. Clark makes no effort at simplifying things. This complexity, the author argues, is not given by structural, long term events, but by rapid changes of the international system. Here is where structural causes meet contingency. **On the one hand**, *The Sleepwalkers* does acknowledge the major changes in the years prior to 1914: Austria-Hungary was evacuated from the Italian Peninsula and from the German Confederation, being forced to look towards the Balkans. Russia was stopped by Japan in the Far East and by the Great Britain (by agreement) in Central Asia, being also compelled to project its power in the Balkans. The creation of a powerful German Reich in the middle of the continent determined the creation of the French-Russian alliance, and the overall unstable situation made Britain gradually abandon its isolation. However, **on the other hand**, there are smaller, temporary changes, like "the Turkish-Russian naval arms race in the Black Sea, or the reorientation of Russian policy away from Sofia to Belgrade", as well as power struggles and shifting balances in the executives, such as the British Foreign Minister Grey's fight with liberal radicals, or the fact that "deeply conservative Pyotr N. Durnovo, a forceful and determined man who was adamantly opposed to Balkan entanglements" (p. 557) refused the Tsar's proposal to take the post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers. This made the military commanders and Foreign Minister Sazonov acquire the upper hand in Russian politics, and tilt the balance towards war. In this already complicated picture, the reader can also fit details like the chief of Austrian General Staff, Conrad von Hotzendorf's passion for Gina, a married woman, and the fact that "[h]e even came to see war as a means of gaining possession of Gina. Only as a victorious war-hero, Conrad believed, would he be able to sweep aside the social obstacles and the scandal attaching to a marriage with a prominent divorcée" (p. 103). The causality works on so many levels that it is indeed difficult to assign blame to any of the participants. The central question regarding the metaphor of the sleepwalkers is asked in the "Conclusion". It is obvious that somehow, the policymakers knew they were heading towards disaster. "They knew it, but did they really feel it?" (p. 562). They feared Armageddon and their empires falling. But they also kept hoping it would be a local war, or that it will be short or something else positive will happen and the disaster would be avoided. The situation was too complex; they certainly did not "feel it". They sleepwalked into it.

A frequent critique against *The Sleepwalkers* is that it is more conciliatory with Austria-Hungary and Germany than with the others. Indeed, this is the impression the reader is left with at end of the book. The Central Powers are seen mostly in a defensive stance, having to respond (and responding clumsily) to threats and challenges posed by Serbia and the Entente. It was, Clark claims, Poincaré and the Tsar, along with their system of alliances that placed a "trigger" in the Balkans. It was France that assured Russia of its full support. Also, overall, the Entente Powers, Clark claims, were not willing to concede that the Dual Monarchy was vitally threatened by Serbia; for the Austrians, it was a matter of life and death. Their claim was more "legitimate" than

Russia's intentions to help the Slav "little brothers". The famous German war council of December 1912 is also interpreted in the most favourable light for the German Empire. If Clark goes back to 1386 to find the roots of Serbian nationalism, he does not make any effort to speak about Prussian militarism and the line of Prussian leaders (starting with the Great Elector) obsessed with the military. I think it is unfortunate that Clark fails to go deeper into the German and Austro-Hungarian share of mistakes, aggressive postures and miscalculations. It is certain that for a balanced account of the story, more should have been said about these. At the same time, if my reading is correct, Christopher Clark seems to say that the historiography is biased against Germany ("a diluted version of the Fischer thesis still dominates in studies of Germany's road to war", p. 560); more needed to be written about Serbia and Russia (and France for that matter), enough has already been made of Kaiser's mistakes.

If I only partially agree to the critique that the book is unjustifiably mild towards the Central Powers, what Clark makes of the connection between past and present is most of the times wrong. In "Introduction", the author mentions that he does not want to embrace "a vulgar presentism", in order to change the past according to "the needs of the present", but he certainly wants to show how changes in the present can offer us a clearer perspective on the future. The idea here is interesting; the execution is not. As mentioned before, Clark argues that today's European Union makes us look "more sympathetically" to Austria-Hungary. This should mean that the Dual Monarchy has been criticised in the past from a nationalist standpoint: it was simply thought it could not have worked, and that was it. Today, it is worth wondering: maybe, it could have worked. This way, the present can help us to better see the past; but the dangers are huge. Were the EU to fail, will that again modify our vision of Austria-Hungary? Does this kind of approach not allow the present to take the past hostage?

The book is full of questionable references to future – from the standpoint of 1914 – events and one of them is especially unjustified and misleading. Clark likens the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to the NATO Rambouillet Agreement, the former being "a great deal milder", while the NATO provisions were "a demand for the complete prostration of the Serbian state". Other than the debatable interpretation of the Rambouillet Agreement, it is clear that here Clark has overstepped the mark. First, he implies that after seeing how tough NATO was on Serbia in 1999, we should see the Austrian ultimatum of June 1914 more favourably ("The demands of the Austrian note pale by comparison", p. 457). There is no reasonable way in which such a claim can be supported. If tomorrow someone issued another ultimatum on Serbia, should the historians again reinterpret the Austrian act of 1914? Secondly, the comparison is methodologically wrong. This kind of documents reflects power relations. Demands formulated by the most powerful alliance in the world on an almost isolated Serbia in 1999 do not amount to those produced by an "Empire without Qualities" – Clark's own words – on a Serbia strongly backed by Russia and indirectly by France in 1914. In addition, the context is widely different: an assassination of royalties compared to ethnic cleansing.

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In conclusion, Christopher Clark has written a brilliant book about the origins of the First World War, rich in detail and remarkably clear in style, considering the

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multitude of unfamiliar names of diplomats and obscure politicians present in the volume. *The Sleepwalkers* brings a fresh and necessary perspective on the situation in Serbia, as well as on the complexity of the July Crisis of 1914, a complexity that proves that the “blame game” played by many historians until now is nonsense. The book is a “must-read” on the Great War, and will likely remain so in the future, regardless of its slightly imbalanced treatment of the Central Powers and the sometimes wrong comparisons with future events.

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