



CHAM

CAMINHOS ROMANOS

# ARQUIVOS DE FAMÍLIA, SÉCULOS XIII-XX: QUE PRESENTE, QUE FUTURO?

Maria de Lurdes Rosa, org.





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SÉCULOS XIII-XX:  
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# Public or private records? The family archives of the Venetian ruling elite in fifteenth-eighteenth centuries

*Dorit Raines*

The archives of the Venetian patrician families represent quite a challenge to scholars and archivists. In today's terms we are talking about around 30-40,000 volumes (with miscellaneous volumes containing sometimes up to 100-150 documents), of both public and private nature, whose dispersal after the fall of the Republic in 1797 between libraries and archives generated a confused policy of recordkeeping and record description. To date, although this large volume of records has been organized in line with archival criteria in the repositories in which they are held, they have not been subject to systematic top-down historical analysis<sup>1</sup>.

The Venetian patrician family archives contained a mass of documents kept for the use of the Republic's officeholders in Venetian "studioli" inside private palaces. They were composed at the start of three different nuclei: 1. private documents (letters, testaments, marriage contracts, and dowry's restitutions); 2. household records (contracts, legal disputes, lawsuits, amphyteusis, insurance payments, power of attorney to administer the *commissarie*, etc.); 3. political records.

The genres of political documents stored in the family archives for the use of the Republic's officeholders can be divided into two categories: those which have to do with the social aspect of Venetian political life, meaning the story of patrician families, wedding lists (naturally each matrimonial arrangement was carefully weighed in its political context), genealogical trees or records which had to do with the election procedure, such as: previous election results that may shed light on

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<sup>1</sup> For an overlook of the Venetian family archives see RAINES, Dorit – The Private Political Archives of the Venetian Patriciate – Storing, Retrieving and Recordkeeping in the Fifteenth-Eighteenth Centuries. *Journal of the Society of Archivists*. Vol. 32, n°. 1 (April 2011) pp. 131-142.



lobbies inside the ruling elite, lists of members of the Great Council in order to identify the candidates and their branch of family, or a combination of the two, and a list of government offices that could tell which office was due for replacement<sup>2</sup>. The second genre are the official documents in the family archives which can be divided into three different groups: firstly official documents such as commissions to city governors or military generals, capitularies (administrative or legislative ordinances), or *Promissioni* (oaths of allegiance) of high-ranking magistrates such as the Procurator of St Mark's or the Doge; secondly copies of documents from the Ducal Chancery such as ambassadorial or governors' *Relazioni* (reports) and various decrees; and thirdly documents produced by the magistrate himself during the course of duty: dispatches, letters, reports, etc.

Initially all documents (except for solemn nominations) were kept in separate sheets, folded in 16° (sextodecimo) with the docket inscribed on the outer surface of the folded sheet (as was the Ducal Chancery practice)<sup>3</sup>. The documents, which served a number of family generations, were sometimes used by family members in the course of their office. If the Venetian officeholder was appointed to an office outside Venice, he would sometime transport documents judged to be useful from the family archive. In that case, he would probably number them and, on his return, deposit them, along with others, amassed during his office, back in the family archive<sup>4</sup>. Soon enough, toward mid-seventeenth century a mass of documents had accumulated on the study's shelves without any apparent rational retrieval system. It was at this point that patricians began looking for storage and retrieval systems: sorting the documents, drawing up inventories, and using different systems of recordkeeping (alphabetical or according to subject matter), thus treating documents according to their relevance. Those frequently used remained in separate sheets; the ones less relevant were placed in "buste" or containers, and those of historical importance were bound into miscellaneous volumes.

At the end of the Republic in 1797, a large number of patrician family archives have accumulated a large quantity of records that they had to store them in different places in the palace. Many of the archives were successively donated or sold to public libraries and archives. Today's challenge, then, is not only of a quantitative nature. In fact, several questions arise even before an archivist or an historian gets to arrange these family archives. I would like then to briefly illustrate three themes

<sup>2</sup> On these consulting tools and their role in Venetian politics, see RAINES, Dorit – Office Seeking, *Broglio*, and the Pocket Political Guidebooks in *Cinquecento* and *Seicento* Venice. *Studi Veneziani*. Vol. 22 (1991) pp. 137-194.

<sup>3</sup> On the docket system used in Venice see RAINES, Dorit – The Private Political Archives of the Venetian..., *cit.* p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> RAINES, Dorit – L'archivio familiare strumento di formazione politica del patriziato veneziano. *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*. N° 4 (1996) pp. 5-38.



which, I think, may contribute to a better understanding of the issue and enhance a new methodological approach to Venetian (and maybe other) family archives:

1. Archives within archives;
2. Respect of the archives' timeline;
3. New approach to public/private documents.

As a case study I would like to use the Lippomano family archive, at present part of the Querini Stampalia Foundation library in Venice. In 1869 the last Querini, count Giovanni, decided to start a foundation to which he bequeathed his palace, collections, books and archives. The documentary part included 370 containers (buste) and 1300 manuscripts of various type: literature, philosophy, law, history, politics, etc.<sup>5</sup> In 1880, the scholar Leonardo Perosa rearranged the material distributing it into nine thematic classes and reducing the number of buste to 200, yet he did not include in this reordering the administrative part (or what was thought to be of administrative nature), which was arranged in 1987 in 119 separate buste<sup>6</sup>.

Perosa followed a nineteenth-century bibliographical practice: the collection had sense only if thematically arranged. He was not concerned about the original order of the material, nor of the fact that part of the manuscripts was of archival type. The outcome was a partial destruction of leads that could have helped us understand the context of each record – from its generation through different uses made of it up to its final inclusion in a bundle or fascicule.

To complicate matters further was the fact that the Querini Stampalia family archives included other family archives, which we would call 'a complex family archives'. Following the extinction of a family branch, its papers and documents passed to another parental family or to a different branch (and in the course of time, a family could have inherited several other family archives). Usually each branch or family had its own system of ordering the family material. The passage, then, of family documents to the archive of another one usually followed a full or partial integration of those papers into the new archive, with the consequent loss of its original order. If we take into account that during the course of four hundred years (the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries), a huge number of documents and volumes

<sup>5</sup> *Fondazione Querini Stampalia ONLUS. Statuto*. Venezia: Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia, 1999; Busetto, Giorgio and Gambier, Madile (eds.) – *I Querini Stampalia. Un ritratto di famiglia nel Settecento veneziano*, Venezia: Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia, 1987.

<sup>6</sup> CARINI VENTURINI, Domenica Viola and ZAGO, Roberto (eds.) – *Archivio privato della famiglia Querini Stampalia*. Inventario, Venezia: Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia, 1987, in particular the presentation of Bianca Lanfranchi Strina and the introduction of the editors. See also: PEROSA, Leonardo – Dei codici manoscritti della Biblioteca recentemente ordinati e registrati: relazione presentata al Consiglio dei curatori della pia Fondazione. In *Relazione economico-morale della pia Fondazione Querini Stampalia: dal 1. gennaio 1878 a tutto l'anno 1882*. Venezia: M. Visentini, 1883; *Fondazione Querini Stampalia. Relazione generale del bibliotecario: 20 luglio 1901*. Venezia: Sorteni e Vidotti, 1901.

was piling up in the patrician family's archive, it is logical to expect that some sort of a retrieval system or recordkeeping practice should have been in use. Depending on the quantity of records it seems that some families divided the documents into family and political documents keeping the two in separate places<sup>7</sup>, while others, as the Lippomano family, kept them together without distinguishing between family, political or administrative records<sup>8</sup>. In both cases, the former family archives, fully or partially integrated into the existing one, were not kept as autonomous documentary block with its own identity.

Before we discuss the Lippomano archive, it would be useful to describe their exact location inside the intricate archives of the Querini Stampalia family – their final destination. One can detect two main bulks in the Querini Stampalia Foundation manuscript collection: the Querini Stampalia collection, probably arranged toward the end of the eighteenth century by Gerolamo Lodovico, son of Zuane Antonio Querini (1762-1829)<sup>9</sup>, which includes archives of the following families: Valier, Sanudo, Badoer, Querini Dalle Papozze of San Leonardo, Garzoni, and of course the Querini Stampalia family documents<sup>10</sup>. The Querini family in fact,

<sup>7</sup> See for example the Manin archives, divided into family papers, now in the Udine State Archives, and political records currently in the “Vincenzo Joppi” Communal Library; or the division made between the political papers of the Procurator of Saint Mark, Angelo Morosini (1639–1693) (Archivio di Stato, Venezia (ASVe), Procuratori di Ultra, Commissarie, b. 203, fasc. 1, 1r n.n.: “Manuscritti di materie Publiche et altre”), and his other papers (ibid., pacco n. 1: “Inventario delle scritture di ragione del q.m N.H. m. Anzolo Moresini Cav.r e Proc.r essistenti in un Casson bislongo, tre Casse, et due Forzieri pñtate nell’Off.o Ecc.mo...”). Another example is the Querini archive itself, where in the course of the eighteenth century, someone decided to draw an exact list of records and archival material, described in three registers. See Biblioteca Querini Stampalia (BQS), Archivio Querini, busta 22: “Alfabetto del cattastico Ka’ Quirini Stampalia... e disegno dell’Archivio”. See also ibid., buste 23-26, which demonstrate the continuous “work in progress” of the family on its archive: some documents are defined “inutili” and are therefore discarded (ibid., busta 24, fasc. 2); the new ones are constantly integrated and meticulously described (busta 24, fasc. 3); others still are described in a special volume and defined as “di prima importanza” (ibid., busta 26, fasc. 3).

<sup>8</sup> The editors of the Querini archive’s inventory explicitly refer to this problem: “Come in tutti gli archivi privati, non si potevano fare divisioni nette fra archivio e biblioteca, o fra archivio di amministrazione e archivio di interesse storico”. See: *Archivio privato della famiglia Querini Stampalia. Inventario...*, cit., Introduzione.

<sup>9</sup> Loc. cit. See also: BUSETTO, Giorgio – Andrea Querini e la formazione della biblioteca familiare nel Settecento. In BUSETTO, Giorgio; GAMBIER, Madile (eds.) – *I Querini Stampalia. Un ritratto di famiglia nel Settecento veneziano*, Venezia : Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia, 1987, pp. 155-157.

<sup>10</sup> The following is the structure of the Querini Stampalia archives:

- parchments without apparent connection to the Querini Stampalia family – busta 1
- Valier family documents – busta 2, fasc.1-3; busta 74, fasc. 6
- Sanudo family documents – busta 2, fasc. 4-19
- Badoer family documents – busta 2, fasc. 20; busta 74, fasc. 5
- Querini Dalle Papozze of San Leonardo family documents – busta 3, fasc. 1-3
- Querini Stampalia family documents – busta 3, fasc. 4-6; buste 4-70
- Moro family documents – buste 71-72
- Longo family documents – busta 73
- Bragadin family documents – busta 74, fasc. 8-18
- Fragment of the Zane family archives – busta 73, fasc. 4
- Fragment of the Garzoni family archives – busta 74, fasc. 7, busta 75, fasc. 1-5; busta 76, fasc. 16-22, 24-26
- Lippomano family documents – buste 75, fasc. 6; busta 76, fasc. 1-16, 23, 27-28; buste 77-98
- Dolfin Valier family documents – buste 99-108

due to marriages with branches soon to be extinct, had inherited along with land property, palaces and other financial means, their relatives' archives<sup>11</sup>.

The other documentary bulk is that of the Lippomano di San Basegio family, which is under examination here. Before describing this family archive, a brief history of the Lippomano family which might enable us to understand the records they produced or conserved in their archive.

The family, according to the ancient chronicles, arrived to Venice from the island of Euboea (Negroponte)<sup>12</sup>. We know that Thomas Lippomano was present in the 1340' in Negroponte<sup>13</sup>, and that in 1372, Pietro Lippomano, son of Nicolò, was referred to by the Venetian Senate as "habitor Negropontis, civis et fidelis noster", a curious situation of a Venetian citizenship conceded to a subject living elsewhere, a privilege obtained, as Reinhold C. Mueller hypothesizes, due to the 1353 law which had encouraged immigration from all the Greek islands under Venetian rule<sup>14</sup>. Pietro was extremely rich, as he could afford donating money to the Republic during the 1379-80 war of Chioggia against the Genoese fleet. As a sign of gratitude, the family was aggregated, along with other twenty-nine, into the Venetian patriciate<sup>15</sup>. Living first at Santa Fosca area in the Venetian sestiere of Cannaregio, a part of the family moved already in the late fifteenth century to San Basegio in the Dorsoduro area, where it continued to be present until its extinction. The major branch, founded by Tomà, remained in Santa Fosca until 1527<sup>16</sup> and became famous for its bank. In fact,

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- Gerolamo Polcastro documents – buste 109-110.

<sup>11</sup> This is the Querini archives' succession by inheritance following marriages of the Lippomano family (the arrow illustrates a birth of a son who appears in the following line; the family names in bold type are those who had left their archives to the Querini family):

1622 Gasparo Lippomano marries Elena **Bragadin** →

1660 Sebastiano Lippomano marries Chiara Malipiero →

1682 Gasparo Lippomano marries Marietta **Lando** →

1704 Sebastiano Lippomano marries Chiara Longo →

1726 Gasparo Lippomano marries Maria Zorzi →

1769 Francesco Lippomano marries Cecilia **Dolfin** →

1790 Maria Teresa Lippomano marries Alvise **Querini**. See: Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr, Venice (BMC), Cod. Cicogna 2501, BARBARO, Marco – *Genealogie delle famiglie patrizie*, Lippomano family tree.

<sup>12</sup> Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (BNM), Cod. Marc. It. VII, 105 (=7732), c. 33v.

<sup>13</sup> See for the presence in 1345 of Thomas Lippomano in Negroponte as agent for the Republic of Venice and in 1349 for the Republic's concession to him and to Giovanni Sanudo, the management of Caristo da Bonifacio Fadrique of Aragon's castle: *Venezia-Senato. Deliberazioni miste. Vol. 10: Registro XXIII (1345-1347)*, ed. Francesca Girardi. Venezia : Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2004, p. 147, 197; *Vol. 12: Registro XXV (1349-1350)*, ed. Francesca Girardi, pp. 200-201.

<sup>14</sup> MUELLER, Reinhold C. – *Immigrazione e cittadinanza nella Venezia medievale*. Roma: Viella, 2010, pp. 48, 114-115.

<sup>15</sup> See: RAINES, Dorit – Cooptazione, aggregazione e presenza al Maggior Consiglio: le casate del patriziato veneziano, 1297-1797. *Storia di Venezia, rivista elettronica*. N° 1 (2003), pp. 1-64 (<http://www.storiadivenezia.net/sito/rivista/SdV%20-%20Numero%20I.pdf>) and republished in: DEGLI UBERTI, Pier Felice; PINOTTI, Maria Loredana (eds.) – *Storia del diritto nobiliare italiano*, Bologna: Istituto Araldico Genealogico Italiano, 2004. Vol. I, pp. 305-354.

<sup>16</sup> In 1527 the palace in Santa Fosca was devastated by fire. GULLINO, Giuseppe – Girolamo Lippomano. In *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana. Vol. 65 (2005), pp. 235-238.

Tomà founded in mid-fifteenth century, along with his wife's family, the Capello, a bank, of which he became the sole owner in 1480<sup>17</sup>. His son, Girolamo went further and extended his financial influence to the Roman Curia, where his brother Nicolò became Protonotary apostolic. Girolamo acquired also a substantial political influence through family ties with ducal families such as the Vendramin and Foscari<sup>18</sup>.

In 1499, a number of Venetian banks went bankrupt, among which that of the Lippomano family, exposed with the Venetian government and other 1248 creditors for the sum of 120.000 ducats<sup>19</sup>. The diarist Marino Sanudo testified that: "Adì 16 mazo [1499]. In Colegio. In questa matina el banco di Lipomani falite, el qual fo levato dil 1480. [...] Et gran brigata era reducti al banco, et fo gran mormoration [...], siché fo gran vergogna a questa terra"<sup>20</sup>. Imprisoned for more than a year, then helped by the government with his debts, Girolamo departed for Rome where he decided to found an "ecclesiastical dynasty": his son Pietro, five years old, was granted in 1509 by the pope a *canonicato* in Padua – a rich ecclesiastical benefice; his brother Nicolò became in 1512 bishop of Bergamo (bishopric passed in 1517 to his nephew Pietro)<sup>21</sup>; and another son of his, Andrea, secured the office of Prior of the church and abbey of Ss. Trinità in Venice<sup>22</sup>. The Lippomano hence managed in the course of the sixteenth century a policy of continuity in holding ecclesiastical benefices in Bergamo and Verona by passing them each time to another member of the family through a renouncement in his favor<sup>23</sup>. But the benefices did not include only bishoprics: the Lippomano put their hands on small yet rich benefices: such

<sup>17</sup> Other members of the Lippomano family, Antonio and Andrea, Girolamo's second cousins, were quite active on their own, already in 1471, when they received a large sum of money from their brothers in law, Alvise and Andrea Barbarigo, which they invested in cotton. See: LANE, Frederic C. – *I mercanti di Venezia*. Torino: Einaudi, 1982, p. 31.

<sup>18</sup> See: GULLINO, Giuseppe – Girolamo Lippomano..., *cit.*, pp. 235-238.; See also the dispatch dated 13 July 1496, of Francesco Foscari, sent as ambassador to emperor Maximilian I, who asks the Senate to deposit with Girolamo Lippomano del Banco a sum of 400 florins to be sent to him for his expenses: *Dispacci al Senato Veneto di Francesco Foscari e di altri oratori presso l'imperatore Massimiliano I nel 1496. Archivio storico italiano*. Vol. VII, pt. 2 (1844), p. 752. In fact, the two families were on friendly terms, especially between Marco Foscari (1477-1551), Francesco's cousin and Girolamo Lippomano. See their correspondance in: GULLINO, Giuseppe – *Marco Foscari (1477-1551). L'attività politica e diplomatica tra Venezia, Roma e Firenze*. Milano: Franco Angeli, 2000, pp. 40-41, 43. As for the intensification of the family's participation in the Venetian political life, see: CROUZET-PAVAN, Elisabeth – "Sopra le acque salse". *Espaces, pouvoir et société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992. Vol. I, p. 280: from 1466 to 1502, the archives of the Signori di Notte (the Venetian police), demonstrate that some families, among which the Lippomano, were very active on the political scene.

<sup>19</sup> LANE, Frederic C. – *I mercanti di Venezia*..., *cit.*, pp. 221-223.

<sup>20</sup> SANUTO, Marino – *I diarii*. Venezia: Tipografia del commercio di Marco Visentini, 1879. Vol. II, col. 723.

<sup>21</sup> DEL TORRE, Giuseppe – *Patrizi e cardinali. Venezia e le istituzioni ecclesiastiche nella prima età moderna*. Milano: Franco Angeli, 2010, p. 192. On Pietro's involvement with Girolamo Miani, founder of the order of Somaschi, TRAMONTIN, Silvio – *Le nuove congregazioni religiose*. In *Contributi alla storia della chiesa veneziana. Vol. 4: La chiesa di Venezia tra riforma protestante e riforma cattolica*, ed. GULLINO, Giuseppe, Venezia: Edizioni Studium cattolico veneziano, 1990, pp. 89-91.

<sup>22</sup> GULLINO, Giuseppe – Lippomano Girolamo, in *Dizionario biografico*..., *cit.*, vol. 65, pp. 235-238.

<sup>23</sup> DEL TORRE, Giuseppe – *Patrizi e cardinali. Venezia e le istituzioni*..., *cit.*, p. 84.

is the case of Giovanni whose rich benefices in the Brescian area surprised the bishop Domenico Bollani during his visit in 1565-67<sup>24</sup> or Pietro, son of Girolamo, who renounced the bishopric of Verona for that of Bergamo, because the latter was considered of larger income, and that moreover, obtained in 1524 the Brescian abbey of Ss. Gervasio e Protasio, in 1525 the giuspatronato of the abbey of S. Cipriano in Murano, and a year later the benefice of Asola in the Brescian area, which afterwards passed to Andrea, his brother<sup>25</sup>.

Beside the interest of certain members of the family toward ecclesiastical benefices as a part of a family strategy to have alternative political references as well as an independent source of income, other members invested their energies in political careers in Venice. Such is the case of Girolamo, son of Giovanni (1538-1610), who became ambassador to the courts of Savoy, Poland, Naples, France, Habsburg Vienna, Spain and Constantinople<sup>26</sup>. Yet, the strategy of maintaining relationship with other rulers proved disastrous for the Lippomano: in 1567 Andrea, who had the Asola benefice, was accused by Venice of passing information to the Roman curia and condemned to exile; in 1591 the same sort befell the ambassador Girolamo and his brother Pietro, Prior of the Ss. Trinità in Venice, accused both by the Republic of passing secrets to Philip II's ministers. While Pietro was condemned to exile, Girolamo could not stand the shame and committed suicide before reaching Venice<sup>27</sup>.

This part of the family (the descendants of Girolamo, son of Tomà) was extinct in 1610 with the death of Giovanni, son of Paolo, who married Elena, his only heir, to the merchant Achille Tasca in 1591<sup>28</sup>. The family documents, it seems, remained with their cousins, also living in the San Basegio palace, some of which were also bishops (for instance, Alvise, illegitimate son of Bartolomeo, 1496-1559, bishop of Verona, then Bergamo and finally nuncio to Poland<sup>29</sup>; Agostin, 1530-1560, his nephew, bishop of Verona; and Giovanni, 1554-1611, Agostin's nephew, who became bishop of Parenzo), or knights of the order of Malta (Alvise, 1538-1607, son of Tomà and his homonym, 1592-1643). The other members' contribution to the archives is mainly political – due to their careers – or economic, the administration of real estate and property of different sort, dowries and testaments.

<sup>24</sup> DEL TORRE, Giuseppe – *Patrizi e cardinali. Venezia e le istituzioni...*, cit., p. 93.

<sup>25</sup> GULLINO, Giuseppe – Girolamo Lippomano. In *Dizionario biografico...*, cit., pp. 238-243, and GULLINO, Giuseppe – Pietro Lippomano. In *Dizionario biografico...*, cit., pp. 246-249.

<sup>26</sup> GULLINO, Giuseppe – Girolamo Lippomano. In *Dizionario biografico...*, cit.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>28</sup> BELLAVITIS, Anna – *Identité, mariage, mobilité sociale. Citoyennes et citoyens à Venise au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Roma: Ecole française de Rome, 2001, p. 192.

<sup>29</sup> GULLINO, Giuseppe – Luigi Lippomano. In *Dizionario biografico...*, cit., pp. 243-246.

These archives passed in 1854 to Giovanni Querini after the death of his uncle Gasparo Lippomano (1772-1854), son of Francesco Gasparo<sup>30</sup>, along with other documents of Daniele I Dolfin Valier, as well as the archives of the Bragadin and the Longo families (the latter containing the Moro family<sup>31</sup> archive)<sup>32</sup>. The inheritance of financial means and archives was the result of a policy of marriages to soon-to-be-extinct branches (the same practice used by the Querini Stampalia family). It seems that the Lippomano integrated a part of the other families' documents into their archives, while other records were stored elsewhere. The original complex archives system was structured as follows: the highest level contained the family's records; the secondary level, the Dolfin Valier, Bragadin and Longo records; and the third level: the Moro family records integrated into the Longo archive. This structure no longer exists due to Perosa's extraction of documents from their original fascicules, depriving us of any reference to a timeline and to a proper context of the record's generation and subsequent use. Only the documents themselves, which bear some benchmarks, can serve as a clue that could help the archivist identify their provenance.

Reordering archives may be a hazardous task. Should we consider the provenance as a point of reference or order the documents thematically? In other words: if I find different documents relating to the sixteenth-seventeenth century administration of lands in Godego near Treviso, should I take for granted the fact that they arrive from the same source (owner or generator of the record), or should I distinguish between them following the timeline of the complex archives, hoping to identify the succession of administrating families and the records' relevance to each family's history?

In order to answer this question, the first task of either the archivist or the historian would be to trace the structure of the "archives within archives" and their relationship, as well as the time of the record integration into the present archives (the final format). This task naturally presumes a careful historical preparation which goes beyond the single archive and its structure. In order to respect the identity of each archive and create a sort of a map which illustrates the relationship between

<sup>30</sup> These archives are not mentioned in the survey in *Venezia e le sue lagune*. Vol. 2, pt. 2: appendici, II, Archivi privati. Venezia: Nell'I. R. privil. Stabilimento Antonelli, 1847, pp. 39-74.

<sup>31</sup> The link to the Moro family is made through the Longo family: in 1590 Niccolò Longo (1554-1620) marries Lucrezia Moro, daughter of Santo (see Santo's testament dated 1595 in chart I, Library 2, shelf 10). Niccolò is the grandfather of another Niccolò (1623-1701), who marries Marietta Lippomano, daughter of Gasparo and whose daughter is Chiara Longo, married in 1704 to Sebastiano Lippomano (see previous note). The genealogical information is based on BMC, Cod. Cicogna 2501, BARBARO, Marco – *Genealogie delle famiglie patrizie*. Lippomano and Longo family trees.

<sup>32</sup> The structure of today's administrative part of the Lippomano archive is as follows:

Lippomano family documents – buste 75, fasc. 6; busta 76, fasc. 1-16, 23, 27-28; buste 77-98

Dolfin Valier family documents – buste 99-108

Bragadin family documents – busta 74, fasc. 8-18

Longo family documents – busta 73

Moro family documents – buste 71-72



the different provenances and consequently, between records, we have inevitably to choose the provenance as a point of reference, meaning the single archive.

The complex family archives is a kaleidoscope. Move it slightly back or forth on the timeline, and the document position may completely change (although its meaning, or relationship to other documents may remain unchanged): either because incorporated in a new archive, or due to a change of location. Living archives is always a work in progress. The owner incorporates a document in a fascicule at a certain point of time, but due to circumstances, he might sometimes extract it and change its location (either momentarily or definitely). This situation complicates our efforts to single out each and every archive in a complex of archives. The Lippomano family archives can constitute an interesting case study.

What I tried to do is search for any sign of recordkeeping in the Lippomano archives. Part of the documents are numbered by different hands in the course of the seventeenth century, but one can retrieve a number of series which seem to point out to papers belonging each time to a different member of the family<sup>33</sup>. This habit is easily explained by the practice, previously referred to, of numbering documents before extracting them from the family archive and transporting them momentarily elsewhere. Furthermore, some of the sixteenth-seventeenth-century records which concern the Lippomano family were subject toward the end of the seventeenth century to another sort of numbering: each folio's recto was marked in red ink on the top right angle with a progressive number. This may be the evidence that the documents were kept together in some sort of a chest or cupboard<sup>34</sup>. But, with the arrival of archival records that belonged to other families, the system had changed. A different cupboard was used and likewise the retrieving system had to be revised and respect the new topographical location of the records to be included in the new arrangement. Fortunately, the person who arranged these archives noted on a number of fascicules, following the docquet system, the title along with its topographical location. Unfortunately, as the fascicules were rearranged in 1880 by Perosa, their present order does not match the original one, and moreover, many of them bear no benchmark because in many cases the cover was removed<sup>35</sup>. [See Chart I].

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, documents belonging to Alvise Lippomano, son of Tommaso (1538-1607): n. 1 – commenda, 1471-1599 (today in BQS, Archivio Querini, busta 77, fasc. 14); n. 4 (afterwards placed in Library 3, shelf 3) – rent by Alvise's brother, Bartolomeo (ibid., busta 76, fasc. 28); n. 9 – papers regarding the Order of Malta, 1604 (ibid., busta 78, fasc. 10); n. 10 – Alvise's birth certificate, 1568 (ibid., busta 76, n. 23); n. 28 – Commenda, 1593 (ibid., busta 77, fasc. 8). Another series is that of Alvise, son of Tommaso (1592-1643): n. 9 – Tommaso's letter of attorney, 1609 (ibid., busta 78, fasc. 15); n. 15 – lawsuit of Alvise for his uncle Giovanni's inheritance, 1639 (ibid., busta 80, fasc. 4); n. 20 (afterwards placed in Library 6, shelf 5) – inventory of the property of Alvise, son of Tommaso (1538-1607), after his death (ibid., busta 78, fasc. 12); n. 35 – Commenda, 1622 (ibid., busta 79, fasc. 5); n. 86 – Alvise's property, 1628 (ibid., busta 79, n. 9).

<sup>34</sup> See for example: BQS, Ms. Cl. IX, 3-9 (=56-62), parchments; Ms. Cl. II, 22 (=903), Commende Lippomano 1612-1766.

<sup>35</sup> Such is the case, for example, of: BQS, Ms. Cl. II, 15 (=142), Lippomano, Scritti economici (1799-1830); Ms. Cl. IV, 192 (=152), Lettere ducali al N.U. S. Andrea Lippomano Provveditore a Cefalonia e ad altri 1605-174;



The chart shows a virtual (and partial) rearrangement of the Lippomano archives (I use the plural form here, because it includes also other archives: Bragadin, Longo and Moro), with the number of existing fascicules on each shelf and the documents' range of years<sup>36</sup>. If we examine Library 2, shelf 8, which gathers 23 fascicules (each shelf contained registries, single sheets, maps and charts), we may note that this is the highest number of fascicules found, and calculating the numbers of leaves of these 23 fascicules, we arrive to the total number of 297 leaves. This enables us to reconstruct the cupboard the fascicules were stored in: six libraries with each 16 shelves. If we calculate the height of a single shelf, following the 23 fascicules measure, by 15 cm, then the total height is 2.40 meters, while the length of each shelf, approximately 35 cm, multiplied by 16 gives us the sum of 2.10 meters<sup>37</sup>.

As for the fascicule original order, it is clear that the chronological timeline does not give us any clue to the logic of the documents' arrangement. If we examine the contents and try to detect a rational recordkeeping system, we would be unable to establish any logic to their arrangement, although it is legitimate to conclude that shelves 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 16 clearly demonstrate that by mid-eighteenth century, the Longo, Bragadin and Moro documents had already been integrated into the Lippomano archives. That means that the archives were arranged after 1704, year of marriage between Chiara Longo and Sebastiano Lippomano and before 1769, year of the marriage of Francesco Lippomano to Cecilia Dolfin<sup>38</sup> (the Dolfin documents are not included in the rearrangement).

Moreover, the chart shows the difference between today's record arrangement and the recordkeeping system of the Lippomano family. It is difficult to understand the logic that led the Lippomano family members to arrange the records on the shelves: one cannot detect neither a chronological nor a thematic order and, furthermore, records which seem to belong to the same issue, are arranged on different shelves. This is the case, for example, of the Longo family's different emphyteusis, meaning the right, susceptible of assignment and of descent, to enjoy an estate on condition of taking care of it and paying taxes. The chart shows that the records which regard various aspects of this business are located in different

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Ms. Cl. II, 22 (=212-214), Commenda Lippomano (1643?); Ms. Cl. IV, 78-80 (=219-221), Sebastiano Molin, Lettere da Costantinopoli di Sebastiano Molin prigioniero di Turchi ad Andrea e Tommaso Lippomano e ai suoi congiunti ecc. (1649-1673).

<sup>36</sup> The parts underlined and in bold type are those existing today in the manuscript section at the Querini-Stampalia Foundation; those in normal type are inserted in the archival section of the same foundation. The ones in capital letters are political and public documents.

<sup>37</sup> Another example of a cupboard which stores family documents is that of Andrea Morosini, son of Girolamo in the 1674 inventory: thirty six "pigeon-hole messageboxes" with other four signed A, B, C, and D.: "Seguono le scritture ritrovate nella detta habitatione, et prima Nell'archivio Casselle trenta sei, e di più quatro segnate A B C D in tutto n. 40 Nelle quali vi si attrovano scritture diverse, et nella Cassella n. 35 un catastico non corrispondente in tutto alle sudette scritture". ASVe, Giudici di Petizion, Inventari, b. 380/45 n. 3, March 4, 1676.

<sup>38</sup> BMC, Cod. Cicogna 2501, BARBARO, Marco - *Genealogie delle famiglie patrizie*, Lippomano family tree.

places: Library 1, shelf 16, for the year 1672; Library 2, shelf 8 for the years 1760-1801; Library 5, shelf 7, for the year 1703. Naturally, each regards different place and period of time, but the scattering of these documents among others of quite another nature (confraternities, commenda, giuspatronato, testaments), makes one wonder according to which criteria these documents were handled and by whom.

The answer to this question lies in the retrieving practices of the Venetian patriciate, especially in the course of the eighteenth century. With the accumulation of different records and the inheritance of other family archives, the Venetian ruling elite was more inclined to use library practices than archival retrieving systems. As I have already shown elsewhere, stacking documents on the “studiolo’s” shelves was followed by the preparation of a sort of a catalogue that indicated the record’s location on the shelves<sup>39</sup>. One of the promoters of this practice was Giuseppe Maria Foppa, a register clerk, who in the second half of the eighteenth century organized at least eight family archives<sup>40</sup>. The Foppa system did not physically sort the documents, or remove them from their bindings, instead allowing them to remain as they were found: as registers, notebooks, containers, booklets, paper fascicules and undisturbed bundles of documents<sup>41</sup>. The Foppa’s catalogue (along with others of the same sort) shows to what extent the Venetians distinguished between private archival production and an official one, stored in the Doge’s palace, and handled according to bureaucratic logic. Such a Lippomano archive’s catalogue, even if not retrieved to date, might have existed. Otherwise, one cannot explain why the person who noted the benchmark on the records, would have bothered to do so in the first place.

What furthermore strikes us in the Lippomano record arrangement is the promiscuity between types: political and public documents were put beside family and private documents. In fact, the original order of the archive continues to supply us with clues. If one takes a look at Library 4, shelf 2, he will notice that it partially stores political documents<sup>42</sup>:

<sup>39</sup> RAINES, Dorit – *The Private Political Archives of the Venetian Patriciate...*, *cit.*, pp. 136-138.

<sup>40</sup> FOPPA, Giuseppe Maria – *Memorie storiche della vita di Giuseppe M.a Foppa viniziano, gia' primo protocollista di Consigli di questo I.R. Tribunale criminale*. Venezia: Giuseppe Molinari, 1840.

<sup>41</sup> See the Contarini archives which present a similar case: it is difficult to understand the logic used to place records on the shelves, unless one has a catalogue which describes in detail the contents of each shelf. SCHIAVON, Margherita – *L'archivio politico della famiglia Contarini 'de' Scrigni' di San Trovaso*. Tesi di laurea, a.a. 2007-2008, Università di Ca' Foscari, Venezia. Relatore: Prof. Dorit Raines.

<sup>42</sup> This fascicule n. 6 is inserted in the Busta 80, which contains:

Fasc. 1 – Carte relative ai catastici in Friuli 1546, 1631-2

Fasc. 2 – Bolla di iuspatronato di Francesco Lippomano di Tommaso, 1637 *Quarto Secretorum zoè primo. 10. A*

Fasc. 3 – Carte relative a beni della commenda Lippomano, 1499-1638

Fasc. 4 – Divisione dei beni Lippomano, e Lite per eredità Lippomano, 1639 *Armaro 6°. Colto V-5.to*.

Fasc. 5 – Contratti di affitto dei beni della commenda Lippomano, 1557

Fasc. 6 – *A. Curiosità e divotioni. Armario 4 colto 2. Secreti e curiosità.*

Fasc. 7 – Causa Lippomano-Gabriel per beni della commenda, 1583-1643 e tre bolle papali ad Alvisè Lippomano, 1643 [but these were transferred to the manuscript part with benchmark Ms. Cl. II, 22 (=212-214)].

Fasc. 8 – Lite Lippomano-Brugnera, 1643 *Arm. 4. Colto 1.*

1. Proposte di ingegneria militare di Giacinto Barozzi di Iacopo, detto il Vignola, Roma, 2 agosto 1580 [Girolamo, son of Giovanni (1538-1610)]<sup>43</sup>
2. Repertorio di famiglie nobili, con note storiche (fino alla D), s.d.
3. Due sonnetti in stampa, s.d. [but 1660'-1670']
4. Epitalamio per nozze Lippomano-Lando, 1683 [Gasparo (1663-1739), son of Sebastiano]
5. Ode in onore del predicatore Lodovico Antenori, 1645
6. Cronaca della chiesa di S. Leonardo di Conegliano, 1389-1587
7. Copia dell'editto di Sigismondo Augusto re di Polonia, 1557 [Alvise, illegitimate son of Bartolomeo, 1496-1559, bishop of Verona, then Bergamo and nuncio to Poland]
8. Discorso sopra la fabbrica della città di Valletta, 1568 [Alvise, son of Tomà (1538-1607)]
9. Relazione di Cristoforo da Canal, Provveditore in Armata, s.d.
10. Carte relative a cariche politiche di Gasparo Lippomano e Lunardo Contarini, Provveditori alla Sanità, 1630-1640 [Gasparo, son of Tommaso (1594-1659)]
11. Lettere a Tommaso e Giovanni Lippomano di Bartolomeo, s.d. [but end of the 16th century] [Tommaso (1559-1621) and Giovanni (1554-1613) Lippomano, sons of Bartolomeo]
12. Copia di lettera di Antonio Donà per essere stato eletto ambasciatore in Inghilterra, 1616
13. Ricette mediche, s.d.
14. Documenti relativi a chiericati della commenda Lippomano nel Veronese, s.d.
15. Memoria: *Le quattro incursioni dei Turchi nel Friuli*, s.d.
16. Composizioni poetiche e satire in dialetto, s.d.

What I tried to do is to identify who could have brought these documents into the family archive (names in square brackets). It is clear that most of them belonged to members of the Lippomano family: the Polish edict's copy (n. 7), clearly belonged to the nuncio in Poland in 1555-57, Alvise, illegitimate son of Bartolomeo, 1496-1559, but could have been used by the ambassador to Poland in 1574, Girolamo, son of Giovanni (1538-1610), who also possessed the document written by Barozzi (n. 1); Gasparo, son of Tommaso added his political papers to the archive (n. 10), and so did the others (n. 11). On the whole, one can conclude that the documents were placed on the shelf without any intent to bring order, perhaps because they were already considered irrelevant. In fact, the title on the cover sheet says: A. "Curiosità e divotioni".

Let us see the exact location of the political documents retrieved in the Lippomano archive. The busta 80's contents is of administrative nature, except for fascicule n. 6, which is clearly of political or public nature: military engineering projects, edict of the Polish king, a memoir on the Turkish incursions in Friuli, career documents, but also poems, odes and medical recipes. Moreover, as I have already

Fasc. 9 – Documenti relativi alla successione ad Alvise Lippomano nella commenda Lippomano, 1595-1643

<sup>43</sup> Girolamo was Savio di Terraferma, when Barozzi sent his proposal. See GULLINO, Giuseppe – Girolamo Lippomano. In *Dizionario biografico... cit.*, pp. 238-243, and ROSSI, G.M. – Giacinto Barozzi, detto il Vignola. In *Dizionario biografico... cit.*, Vol. VI (1964), pp. 499-502.

explained, the absence of many documents on our virtual shelves is to be explained in the fact that the 1880 rearrangement extracted them from their original buste and removed part of the covers on which the benchmark was inscribed.

Political, family, household documents – in rich and influent families each genre was managed by a different person and had its own repository location in the palace. Yet, during the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, the growing quantity of documents and their expiring relevance imposed a more central management, joining public and private records into a unique archival repository.

And here we arrive to the question of public and private. Some scholars have already pointed out that the private and the public sphere were intensely intertwined in the case of the Venetian ruling class. For instance, the Venetian patrician family members were expected to serve the Republic as officeholders, yet their education and preparation for public life was left to the family's care. Likewise, every marriage became a "public" affair as it directly affected future careers. We can now add the family archive to this consideration. This mingling of genres, as demonstrated by the busta 80 might surprise us, but it was quite natural to contemporaries. Their lives were not inflicted by modern canons imposing the right to privacy on family lives. Indeed, public and private were not seen as a dichotomy, in the same way that no clear-cut distinction was made by public and private interests. Nor can we expect every family archive to have been meticulously ordered following some sort of logic or be influenced by State bureaucratic practices. Perhaps the correct way to treat these records is to consider them documents of private nature but of public relevance. This of course imposes a new rethinking of their rearrangement. Today, if a family archive ends up in public archives, it is treated according to archival rules, whereas another family archive bequeathed to a library, will be treated in codicological terms. Both systems do not take into account the dynamic evolution of the family archives and the promiscuity of genres, condemning the documents to be mute figures instead of historical windows able to tell us the use or uses made of them at each point of time.

The Venetian family archives contribute to our knowledge of the ways private and public were considered two sides of the same coin: copies of public documents turned into private use, whereas new consulting tools, prepared on the patrician family's orders have eventually become of public use. Technology enables us today to virtually arrange archives and go back in time, following previous provenance clues, without having to materially "rearrange" them according to archival or bibliographical logic. A clear-cut separation between public (State record production) and private (family record production) can no longer serve as a basis for our comprehension of the role family archives played in the overall early modern European archival production.

Chart I. Thematic and chronological order of the fascicules in the Lippomano family archive

	Library 1	Library 2	Library 3	Library 4	Library 5	Library 6
Shelf 16	1 fasc. Amphyteusis Longo 1672					
Shelf 15						
Shelf 14						
Shelf 13						
Shelf 12						
Shelf 11		<b>2 parchments</b> <b>Real estate</b> <b>Moro-Longo</b> <b>1575</b>				
Shelf 10	2 fasc. Legal dispute - Conegliano 1548-1658	<b>1 parchment</b> <b>Testament</b> <b>Santo Moro</b> <b>1595</b>	4 fasc. Churches Jus patronato 1588-1783  <b>1 parchment</b> <b>Real estate</b> <b>Longo-Moro 1557</b>	1 fasc. Inventory Pesaro-Bragadin 1664	<b>4 FASC.</b> <b>DOCUMENTS</b> <b>AND LETTERS OF</b> <b>THE LIPPOMANO</b> <b>MEMBERS AS</b> <b>GOVERNORS OF</b> <b>CITIES,</b> <b>1562-1651</b>	
Shelf 9		1 fasc. Testament Orsetta Moro, 1652				
Shelf 8	2 fasc. Budget & land survey- commenda 1629-1820	23 fasc. amphyteusis 1760-1801		2 fasc. Real estate & Commenda 1688-1757  <b>1 parchment</b> <b>Real Estate Moro-</b> <b>Longo 1635</b>		
Shelf 7		2 fasc. Amphyteusis & legal dispute - Padua 1562-1622	<b>1 FASC.</b> <b>"RELAZIONE"</b> <b>OF GIROLAMO</b> <b>LIPPOMANO,</b> <b>AMBASSADOR TO</b> <b>POLAND, 1574</b>		2 fasc. Amphyteusis Chiara Longo 1703	
Shelf 6	<b>1 parchment</b> <b>Real estate</b> <b>Moro-Longo</b> <b>1645</b>  <b>3 fasc.</b> <b>Commenda</b> <b>Lippomano</b> <b>family</b> <b>1691-1766</b>					
Shelf 5	2 fasc. Commenda Verona Udine 1622-1753  <b>1 fasc.</b> <b>Commenda</b> <b>Tommaso</b> <b>Lippomano,</b> <b>17th Cent.</b>					1 fasc. Inheritance bishop Giovanni Lippomano 1639
Shelf 4	<b>2 parchments</b> <b>Real estate</b> <b>Moro-Longo</b> <b>1560-1561</b>					
Shelf 3			1 fasc. Rent 1570			
Shelf 2	1 fasc. Legal controversy/ Amphyteusis 1724			<b>1 FASC.</b> <b>POLITICAL</b> <b>DOCUMENTS</b> <b>1580-1683</b>		
Shelf 1	8 fasc confraternities 1727-1781			1 fasc. Legal controversy/ amphyteusis 1635-1643		