

INTRODUCTION

Paradoxically, Jacopo da Varagine may be one of the least-known authors of the Middle Ages. As *Jacobus de Voragine*—the commonest Latin form of his name¹—the collection of saints’ lives he compiled in the 1260s, which came to be known as the *Golden legend* (*GL*), became one of the great medieval ‘bestsellers’. The work was translated into most of the European vernaculars, survives in over a thousand medieval manuscript copies, and almost single-handedly determined how many Catholic saints are remembered and characterised even today. The stories that Jacopo related in the *GL* inspired countless sermons, literary imitations, and fresco cycles, and explanations of how and why saints are depicted in a certain way in the late medieval or early modern periods almost inevitably lead back to the *GL*.²

Yet Jacobus de Voragine has no real existence beyond the *GL*. This Latinate form of his name—supposedly taken from *vorago* (chasm) to suggest the boundless depths of his knowledge—only became standard long after his death. Instead, Jacopo refers to himself as *Jacobus de Varagine*, that is, James from Varazze, a small town on the Ligurian coast about twenty-three miles west of Genoa.³ The modern Italian forms of his name, *Jacopo da Varazze* and *Jacopo da Varagine*, reflect those origins.⁴ As Jacopo da Varagine, he was a Genoese native who rose through the ranks of the new Dominican order to become archbishop of Genoa, while at the same time maintaining a prolific writing career as the author of not only the *GL* but also hundreds of sermons, several relic treatises, and the *Chronicle of Genoa* translated here.⁵

1 Most English-language library catalogues redirect all searches on Jacopo da Varagine and Jacopo da Varazze to Jacobus de Voragine.

2 On the *GL* and its reception, see most recently Duffy’s 2012 introduction to the *GL*; Le Goff (2014); and Epstein (2016), chaps. 2–3.

3 *Chronicle of the city of Genoa*, part 12.8, below.

4 His first name can appear as Jacobus/Iacobus, Jacopo/Iacopo, or Giacomo—more rarely in their English equivalents Jacob or James—and his toponym as Varazze, Varagine, or Voragine. Adding to the confusion, these can appear in almost any combination.

5 The Order of Preachers, a new order of mendicant friars founded by Saint Dominic (1170–1221), was approved by Pope Honorius III in 1216.

The popularity of the *GL*, therefore, has made Jacopo not only one of the best-known medieval authors but also one of the least-known, because his diligent work as a preacher, archbishop, historian, Dominican official, and citizen of late thirteenth-century Genoa is usually eclipsed by the *GL*'s enduring fame and influence. Eamon Duffy's 2012 introduction to the *GL*, for example, contains only a single—not very complimentary—sentence about Jacopo's existence beyond the *GL*: he excuses some of the more inaccessible or 'old-fashioned' aspects of the work by explaining that Jacopo was a 'man of his own times'.⁶

Similarly, Jacopo's work and career often slip through the cracks of contemporary academic scholarship because of the ways in which the medieval period is usually divided up and studied today. Those who study theology, literature, and art tend to focus on the *GL* to the exclusion of the circumstances in which it was created: in this, Duffy is hardly unusual.⁷ At the same time, historians have not generally connected medieval Genoa with great cultural achievements—unlike Florence or Venice, or even Genoa's arch-rival Pisa. For many years, especially in the English-speaking world, scholarship on medieval Genoa has focused on the city's economic life, relying on documentary evidence such as treaties, statutes, charters, and, above all, notarial registers.⁸ Historians of medieval Genoa have thus traditionally been less interested in Jacopo's highly literate perspective on Genoese history than in the more straightforward *Genoese annals* (*GA*) or the city's wealth of archival documentation, much of which is still unexplored.⁹ Hence the abyss between the well-known and extensively analysed *GL* and the much less well studied career of its author.

A few efforts over the years have attempted to bring the two back into alignment. In 1935, E.C. Richardson published two volumes of *Materials for a life of Jacopo da Varagine*, without ever actually writing the biography implied in their title. Shortly thereafter, Giovanni Monleone published a full-length study of Jacopo as part of his edition of the *Chronicle* (*JVC*); the monograph and the edition remain major resources for the study

6 *GL*, pp. xix–xx.

7 As noted by Epstein (2016), p. 4 n. 13, Le Goff's recent book on the *GL* (2014) considers neither its Genoese context nor its place within Jacopo's larger body of work.

8 See my recent *Companion to medieval Genoa* (2018; *CMG*), especially the assessments of the field by Rovere/Macchiavello, Müller, Petti Balbi, and Stantchev/Miner.

9 Recent studies, however, have emphasised the ideological strategies underlying the *GA*'s seemingly factual narrative: Inguscio (2015) and Haug (2015). On the Genoese archives: *CMG*, chap. 1 (Macchiavello/Rovere).

of Jacopo and his work.¹⁰ In 1988 Gabriella Airaldi published the short *Jacopo da Varagine: Tra santi e mercanti* ('between saints and merchants'), but it eschews footnotes in favour of a narrative accessible to non-academics. Little other research focused on Jacopo until the late 1990s, when Stefania Bertini Guidetti published an Italian translation of the chronicle (*CCG*) followed by an important series of studies.¹¹ Since then Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, who began by working on the *GL*, has shifted focus to Jacopo's sermons, with published editions and an extensive website providing both analysis and electronic versions.¹² Most recently, Steven A. Epstein, whose 1996 *Genoa and the Genoese* introduced medieval Genoa to a new generation of scholars, has written what he calls a study of Jacopo's 'mental world' (*The talents of Jacopo da Varagine*), analysing a broad range of Jacopo's work for its underlying attitudes, assumptions, and cultural values.¹³

The present translation of Jacopo's *Chronicle of the city of Genoa* contributes to such efforts to close the gap between the renowned writer of saints' lives, Jacobus de Voragine, and the less famous prelate Jacopo da Varagine (as he will be referred to here). It reveals Jacopo in historical context as a Dominican and an archbishop, born and raised in the bustling cities of late medieval Italy—most particularly Genoa, with its peculiar mix of cutthroat commerce and deep Christian piety. While material from the *GL* and his many sermons permeates Jacopo's *Chronicle*, the chronicle differs from them in that its narrative is historical and its focus is determinedly local, urban, and civic; it is thus a prime example of the civic chronicle, many hundreds of which were written in the cities of Italy during the Middle Ages.

The remainder of this introduction will introduce the reader to the genre of the Italian civic chronicle and the history of medieval Genoa as well as to Jacopo da Varagine, his career, and his literary corpus, all of which are necessary to understand why Jacopo's chronicle works the way it does and what Jacopo was trying to do in writing it. The chronicle's

10 *JVC* = *Jacopo da Varagine e la sua cronaca di Genova*, comprising Monleone's study of Jacopo and his chronicle (vol. 1), his edition of the *Chronicle* (vol. 2), and indices (vol. 3).

11 Bertini Guidetti (2001a) on Jacopo, (1998a) on the sermons, and (1998b) for a more general study of late thirteenth-century Genoa that incorporates much of her work on Jacopo. See also Bertini Guidetti (1997a, 1997b, 2001b).

12 www.sermones.net, which contains electronic editions of Jacopo's *Lenten sermons* (*SQ*) and *Mariale*. On the *GL*, see Maggioni (1997) and his edition of the *Legenda aurea* (*LA*); also his edition of the *SQ*.

13 Epstein (2016), p. 197.

present status as one of Jacopo's 'minor works'—quoted mainly for what Jacopo says in part twelve about his own scholarly output—sadly undervalues its contributions, not only to the civic historiography of late medieval Italy but also to a broader understanding of Jacopo's oeuvre. Read carefully, Jacopo's *Chronicle* is an invaluable resource for the urban history of medieval Italy, literary and historiographical practices within that milieu, ecclesiastical and political history, and the history of the later medieval Mediterranean.

Italian cities and their chronicles

The demographic landscape of medieval Italy (fig. 2) differed from most of the rest of Europe in its relatively high percentage of urban-dwellers, even after the end of the Roman Empire. Economic growth, especially from trade, from the eleventh century on expanded the urban middle classes, while the decline of imperial authority in Italy at the end of the eleventh century made room for the rise of communes: citizen-run governments of what became essentially independent city-states all across northern Italy. While they generally thought of themselves as republican, they were hardly democratic, and usually favoured the political participation of the local nobility and/or wealthy urban elites.¹⁴

Nonetheless, the combination of economic growth, political autonomy, and clear physical demarcation—i.e. by city walls—fostered the development among these cities' inhabitants of a particularly urban group identity or civic consciousness: a sense of collective identity focused on citizenship in, or at least belonging to, the urban community; a sense of ownership pertaining to the city, including its physical space and monuments; and a sense of the importance of one's own city on the broader stage of human history.¹⁵ Increasing literacy and the significance of the profession of notary within these cities—a legacy of the Roman Empire, maintained and revived in an economy that thrived on written documentation—fostered an intellectual culture that both reflected and contributed to this sense of civic consciousness, with the production and preservation not only of civic treaties and council minutes but also poetry, plays, and histories, all on civic themes.¹⁶

14 Wickham (2015), Waley/Dean (2013), and Abulafia (2004).

15 Beneš (2011a) and Cassidy (2007), among others. The Italian-language literature on *coscienza civica* is also substantial.

16 On notaries, Kleinhenz (2004), pp. 780–4. On literacy in late medieval Italy: Petrucci (1995) and Cornish (2011). For civic poetry, see the early medieval 'Laudes

Historical writing was one of the most popular and most variable genres, with annals, chronicles, hagiographies (saints' lives), and histories all celebrating urban life and communal achievements.¹⁷ Some of the earliest are relatively simple annals recording notable events on a year-by-year basis; such annals survive from the tenth to twelfth centuries for most of the major towns in northern Italy, including Bergamo, Brescia, Como, Cremona, Genoa, Lodi, Milan, Piacenza, and Pisa.¹⁸ Yet civic chronicles—more elaborately constructed and broader-ranging in scope than annals—were not far behind, such as Landulf Senior's late eleventh-century chronicle of Milan or Bernardo Maragone's mid-twelfth century *Pisan annals* (not a simple set of annals, despite its name).¹⁹ Unlike earlier annals, the authors of such chronicles tended to be more concerned with civic origins, and with integrating their chosen cities into a universal narrative: they envisioned their chronicles as filling in gaps left by earlier historians, or correcting their underappreciation of cities that had since risen to greatness.²⁰ This focus is clearly a product of Italy's unusually high levels of urbanism, strong sense of civic identity, and competitiveness (*campanilismo*, 'belltower-ism') combined with widespread literacy. While the civic chronicle is not a genre exclusive to Italy, therefore, Italy's unique political and demographic situation meant that it was unusual in the sheer volume of chronicles produced, especially in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.²¹

The official status of such chronicles varied widely: some (like the Perugian *Eulisteia*) were commissioned by city councils, while others (like Giovanni Villani's well-known chronicle of Florence) were written by private citizens for no official purpose.²² Sometimes—as with the *GA* or the thirteenth-century *Chronicle* of Rolandino of Padua—a previously written work was endorsed as 'official' by an approving city council.²³ As we

Mediolanensis' and 'Versus de Verona'—on which see Hyde (1966) and Zanna (1991)—or the late eleventh-century *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, in Cowdrey (1977). For plays, see Albertino Mussato's late thirteenth-century Senecan tragedy *Ecerinis*.

17 Van Houts (1995), pp. 42–9; Kleinhenz (2004), pp. 215–18; and Dale/Lewin/Osheim (2007), including cited bibliography.

18 Coleman (2007).

19 Landulf Senior, *Historia Mediolanensis*; Bernardo Maragone, *Annales pisani*.

20 Bettini (2010), Beneš (2011a), and Campopiano (2014); see also Jacopo's prologue.

21 Dale/Lewin/Osheim (2007), p. ix.

22 Villani, *Nuova cronica*; on the *Eulisteia*, see Beneš (2011a), chap. 5.

23 On the *GA* in brief, see *JD* or the introduction to *HP*. For Rolandino's *Chronica*, see also Andrews (2004).

shall see in Jacopo's case, rather than conforming to a static, standardised 'type' the genre of the civic chronicle borrowed from and incorporated numerous related types of literary and documentary composition, and each chronicle was different depending on its author and audience (real or imagined). In almost all cases, however, one stated purpose of the work was to encourage and admonish a city's inhabitants to the practice of active, virtuous citizenship. The writing of history, with its moral purpose, was thus believed to contribute to the development of a stable commonwealth, and it is no accident that the heyday of the medieval commune in Italy coincided with the production of innumerable civic chronicles in cities both large and small.

Over time, the chronicles of Florence—from Sanzanome in the early thirteenth century, to Dino Compagni and the Villani family in the fourteenth—have received the lion's share of scholars' attention.²⁴ This has created a scholarly feedback loop whereby a small number of well-known chronicles receive repeated scholarly attention, therefore they are more accessible, and thus they remain better known. As a recent sourcebook by Dale, Lewin, and Osheim seeks to demonstrate, however, the genre is enormous and diverse in a way that is hard for students to appreciate: most such chronicles are not available in English, and many remain unedited.²⁵ Alternatively, some appear only in eighteenth-century collections such as Muratori's *Rerum italicarum scriptores* (*RIS*), although the re-editing project *RIS2* is aimed at correcting that. Of those that have received modern editions, just a small sample of contemporary examples include Francesco di Andrea's *Chronicles of Viterbo* (c. 1250), Riccobaldo of Ferrara's *Short chronicle of Ferrara* (late thirteenth century), the anonymous *Chronicles of Todi*, and Martino da Canal's *Histories of Venice* (c. 1267–75).²⁶ Early fourteenth-century examples include multiple chronicles by the Visconti chancellor of Milan, Galvano Fiamma; the anonymous *Parmesan chronicle* (a chronicle of Parma, not a history of cheese); the chronicle of Ferreto de' Ferreti on Vicenza; and that of Ptolemy of Lucca on Lucca.²⁷ Jacopo's chronicle of Genoa fits

24 For Florentine chronicles, see e.g. Beneš (2011a), chap. 1, and Bornstein's introduction to Dino Compagni, *Chronicle*.

25 Dale/Lewin/Osheim (2007), introduction, esp. pp. ix–x.

26 Francesco d'Andrea, *Cronica*; Riccobaldo of Ferrara, *Chronica parva*; the anonymous *Cronache di Todi*; and Martino da Canal, *Estoires de Venise*.

27 Galvano Fiamma, *Chronicon maius*, *Manipulus florum*, and others; *Chronicon parmense*; Ferreto de' Ferreti, *Historia*; and Ptolemy, *Annales*.

into this long tradition of civic historiography, and—as we shall see—his chronicle draws from a number of different approaches to writing history within the larger umbrella of ‘civic history’. Furthermore, his chronicle features a medieval city not generally known for its intellectual culture or humanist engagement.²⁸ The present translation seeks to enlarge students’ and scholars’ understanding of the breadth and depth of the Italian civic chronicle as a genre in ways that have not previously been possible in English translation.

Genoa in the late thirteenth century

In some ways, the city-state of Genoa (fig. 3) was at its peak in the late thirteenth century.²⁹ From a modest regional existence in the early Middle Ages, the city had rapidly expanded its naval and economic reach in the tenth and eleventh centuries to become one of the great commercial powerhouses of the medieval Mediterranean, a role it would retain well into the early modern era.³⁰ The city’s economic rise occurred in tandem with its fortunes in the crusades: even its early commercial expansion in the western Mediterranean brought it into military and economic conflict with the Muslim empires of north Africa and Spain, while its major contributions to the First Crusade (especially at Antioch, Jerusalem, and Caesarea) brought it great wealth and gave its merchants favoured status in the new crusader state.³¹ The Genoese later played major roles in the Second, Third, Fifth, and Seventh Crusades as well. In the course of this expansion of its trade routes, the city’s major Italian competitors were first Pisa (on the coast south of Genoa) and then Venice (across the peninsula on the Adriatic Sea; fig. 2): regular cycles of competition, conflict, and negotiation with these two rival communes occupied much of the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³²

While a Pisan–Venetian alliance inflicted a major defeat on the Genoese in the War of Saint Sabas, fought in the Holy Land in 1256–58, the

²⁸ See *CMG*, chap. 11 (Petti Balbi)—esp. pp. 322–3, 341–2—and Steven Epstein’s forthcoming work on Giovanni Balbi, but also Cigni (2006) on French-language composition in Genoese prisons.

²⁹ For an overview, see Epstein (1996), chaps. 3–4.

³⁰ See Dauverd (2015) or Salonia (2017).

³¹ *CMG*, especially chaps. 14 (Stantchev/Miner) and 17 (Mack).

³² *CMG*, chap. 16 (Kirk).

situation quickly improved for the Genoese after they assisted Michael VIII Palaiologos to regain Constantinople from the French and their Venetian allies, who had occupied it since the Fourth Crusade in 1204.³³ Michael's gratitude gave the Genoese a major advantage over the Venetians in trade with Constantinople and into the Black Sea. Furthermore, the Genoese effectively eliminated the Pisans as commercial rivals at the battle of Meloria in 1284 (described by Jacopo in part 5.3). Soon thereafter, the collapse of the mainland crusader states with the fall of Acre in 1291 made the Genoese-controlled routes through Constantinople and the Black Sea even more important for eastern trade. In the 1290s, therefore, Genoa was a major entrepôt of international commerce, with trade networks stretching from Caffa on the Black Sea to Cyprus, Egypt, north Africa, Spain, and increasingly into the English Channel, the North Sea, and the Baltic (fig. 1).³⁴

Historians have made much of the parallels between Genoa's economic rise and its political independence: the first pages of the city's official annals, begun by Caffaro in 1099, commemorate not only the fleet assembled to assist the new Kingdom of Jerusalem but also the establishment of the *compagna*, a sworn association generally understood to form the nucleus of the Genoese commune—an autonomous semi-republican government by which the city was governed until the Napoleonic invasion of 1797.³⁵ Jacopo explains that the city of Genoa 'is subject to no one—except God in all things and the emperor in a few' (part 10.2): as discussed above, while Genoa was technically part of the 'kingdom of Italy', which encompassed northern Italy down to Rome, the collapse of imperial power in the eleventh century had opened a political vacuum that came to be filled by many such autonomous city-states, or communes.³⁶

Backed by their wealth from trade and occasional alliances such as the Lombard League, the Genoese more or less successfully resisted efforts by Charlemagne's German heirs to re-establish imperial sovereignty in Italy.³⁷ The emperors often had to content themselves with official—but functionally meaningless—recognition of their suzerainty. A major complicating factor was the contemporary conflict between the empire

33 *CMG*, pp. 403–4, 490, 507–8.

34 *CMG*, especially chaps. 10 (Müller), 14 (Stantchev/Miner), and 18 (Origone).

35 See the introduction to *HP* and *CMG*, chap. 4 (Filangieri).

36 Wickham (2015).

37 Raccagni (2010); also Duggan/Clarke (2016) for the papal perspective and Freed (2016) for the imperial view.

and the papacy: at the same time that emperors such as Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1155–90) were seeking to reimpose imperial authority in Italy, they were also clashing with the papacy over the respective rights of each as well as over temporal rule in the Patrimony of Saint Peter (the traditional papal lands in central Italy). The communes played these two adversaries against one another, fostering a broader antagonism often called the conflict between Guelfs (papal partisans) and Ghibellines (imperial partisans): while particular cities tended to support one side as a general rule (Genoa tended Guelf, Pisa Ghibelline), each city had partisans on both sides, and city governments changed alliances as it suited them.³⁸

For these external reasons as well as internal ones, the political situation in Genoa became more and more volatile as it neared the end of the thirteenth century.³⁹ The commune as originally constituted had featured two executive magistrates called consuls, elected from the Genoese citizenry, as was the custom in such regimes. As Jacopo narrates in part 6.1, the rule of consuls lasted until 1190, when competition and factionalism caused the city to change to a podestarial regime on the eve of the Third Crusade. Podestà (the form is both singular and plural) were non-citizen professional magistrates elected annually; at least theoretically, their professional status and lack of local bias would improve their impartiality. By the side of the podestà, however, the same consular aristocracy retained the reins of political authority. In 1257, the wealthy non-aristocrats or *popolo* (an association called ‘the people’, which was nonetheless not remotely democratic) staged a coup, which replaced the podestà with a new chief magistrate, the *capitano del popolo* (‘captain of the people’) Guglielmo Boccanegra. Boccanegra’s policies were unpopular, however, and he was ousted in 1262.

As the Genoese solidified their dominance of the Mediterranean’s main trade routes and successfully bested their Pisan and Venetian rivals in the second half of the thirteenth century, then, the commune of Genoa was beset by increasingly serious political instability, with the rule of podestà and *capitani* alternating as regimes were established and quickly replaced. The most successful of these was the double captaincy of Oberto Doria and Oberto Spinola between 1270 and 1291 (with the former replaced by his son Corrado 1285–91), but this ended just before Jacopo’s election as archbishop. The commune then tried another dual

³⁸ See Waley/Dean (2013), chap. 5.

³⁹ CMG, chaps. 4 (Filangieri) and 5 (Musarra).

regime with both *capitani* and podestà (1291–96), but, as Jacopo recounts, this ended in riots and a conflagration—both metaphorical and literal—at the end of 1295, during which Jacopo's cathedral of San Lorenzo (fig. 5) and archiepiscopal palace were both badly damaged by fire.⁴⁰ Jacopo's tenure as archbishop was therefore a time of increasing anxiety about political instability and social unrest in medieval Genoa. While the dangers of political instability are a common trope in medieval Italian historical writing, the vivid detail with which chroniclers like Jacopo treat the subject demonstrates that those dangers were personal and concrete rather than theoretical.⁴¹

Theoretically the archbishop of Genoa should be above such earthly conflicts, and in fact Jacopo oversaw a great civic peace-making ceremony early in 1295 (narrated in part 12.8).⁴² Yet as a prelate he had his own concerns and spheres of responsibility: while Genoa was originally a bishopric subject to the archbishopric of Milan, in 1133 it had been raised to an archbishopric and given five suffragan (subject) bishoprics of its own: two in mainland Liguria (Bobbio and Brugnato) and three on the island of Corsica (Accia, Nebbio, and Mariana) (fig. 2).⁴³ Genoa's growing economic and political prominence was thus matched by its new ecclesiastical status, one gained at the expense of its neighbours Milan—which lost the three suffragan bishoprics of Genoa, Bobbio, and Brugnato—and Pisa, which lost the three suffragan bishoprics on Corsica now reassigned to Genoa. Later decrees of 1162 and 1239 gained Genoa two more suffragan bishoprics: Albenga and Noli, both in the western Riviera.⁴⁴

The Genoese archbishopric was therefore relatively young, with borders that approximated (with some important exceptions) the mainland Genoese *districtus* or secular sphere of influence, which ran from

40 Epstein (1996), p. 325.

41 Here Jacopo's comments on virtuous government and citizenship (especially parts 6–8 of the *Chronicle*) may be usefully compared with the much better known chronicles of the Florentines Dino Compagni and Giovanni Villani.

42 On medieval Italian peace-making as socio-political theatre, see Kumhera (2017) and Jansen (2018).

43 Bobbio: a city about 75 km inland from Genoa, which grew up around the site of the abbey founded by Columbanus; Brugnato: a city in the Ligurian interior about 15 km northwest of La Spezia. Nebbio, Mariana, and Accia were small bishoprics at the northern end of Corsica.

44 See *Chronicle*, part 10; also *CMG*, chaps. 2 (Guglielmotti), 12 (Rosser), and 13 (Polonio).

Monaco and Ventimiglia in the west to Portovenere and the gulf of La Spezia in the east—roughly the outlines of the modern Italian region of Liguria, and also its Roman predecessor as Jacopo points out in part 10.2 (fig. 2). But the overlapping borders and jurisdictions of the commune, the archbishopric, and the holdings of the city's noble families often caused friction, if not outright conflict (as Jacopo narrates regarding Archbishop Otto, part 12.4). Likewise, Genoa's ancient monasteries—such as San Siro and Santa Maria di Castello—often came into conflict with the cathedral chapter or the city's more recent foundations—Santa Maria delle Vigne, the Franciscan convent of Santa Caterina di Luccoli, or the Dominican priory at San Domenico—so the archbishop was needed to mediate those disputes as well.

Jacopo's job accordingly required not only a sharp intellect and a ready pen but talents on numerous fronts. While Genoese merchants were welcomed across the Mediterranean, the city itself was increasingly insecure. Jacopo had to manage complex relationships between the archdiocese, Genoa's prominent families, the commune, the *districtus*, and Genoa's far-flung trade outposts. During his tenure, the city (including Jacopo, by virtue of his office) was involved in diplomatic negotiations involving the papacy, the Venetians, and the struggle over Sicily and Sardinia between the Aragonese and the Angevin rulers of Naples. Relations were fractious between the city's families and its various ecclesiastical entities—most notably the struggle between the cathedral chapter and the monks of San Siro over the relics of Saint Syrus. In all of this, Genoa's citizens were confronting—as were their fellow citizens in other Italian cities of the day—fundamental questions of citizenship, sovereignty, economic exchange, and social harmony: What is the most effective sort of government that respects its citizens' rights and privileges? How much profit constitutes usury? What are a citizen's responsibilities to his fellow citizens and human beings? Jacopo's *Chronicle* seeks to help the citizens of Genoa answer such questions.

Jacopo da Varagine (1228/9 to 1298)

Given that Jacopo was a prominent archbishop, preacher, and author, oddly little is known about his life. Most of what we know, in fact, comes from what he tells us in his *Chronicle of Genoa*, but—unlike his Franciscan contemporary Salimbene de Adam, for example—he is notoriously reticent about his own life, and relatively few surviving

records mention him.⁴⁵ As Epstein observes, ‘a standard biography simply will not work’.⁴⁶

Jacopo was born in 1228 or 1229, probably in Genoa. While the ‘da Varazze/Varagine’ form of his name may indicate that he was born in Varazze, scholarly consensus seems to be that it is more likely he grew up in Genoa, where the existence of a ‘da Varagine’ family originally from Varazze is separately attested. Three titbits from the *Chronicle* comprise the extent of our knowledge of his early life: that he was a child (*anni pueriles*) during the eclipse of 1239 (part 12.4), that he entered the Dominican order in 1244 (part 12.5), and that he observed the great comet of 1264 (part 12.6), which was visible between July and September of that year. Everything else before Jacopo’s election as Dominican prior for Lombardy in 1267 is speculation.

As Casagrande points out, however, prior for Lombardy—elected chief officer of one of the most important early Dominican provinces—was a prominent and influential position, so Jacopo must have had a fairly successful career up to that point. The Dominican community in Genoa was young but thriving: dating from around 1217–19, it was reputedly established by Saint Dominic himself.⁴⁷ While early friars were based in the small church of Sant’Egidio along the city walls, by 1250 the large complex that would become San Domenico was already under construction. When Jacopo joined the order in 1244, therefore, the community and its parent order were both less than thirty years old, but already vibrant and flourishing.

Since the Dominican order prioritised education—having been founded to preach the Gospel, encourage penitence, and combat heresy—Dominican convents or priories almost always included schools.⁴⁸ Thus

45 Salimbene de Adam of Parma (1221–c. 1289) wrote a chronicle contemporary to but very different from Jacopo’s in its much broader scope and wealth of personal (sometimes scurrilous) observation; see the introduction to the Baird/Baglivi/Kane translation and Lewin’s chapter on it in Dale/Lewin/Osheim (2007).

46 Epstein (2016), pp. 4–5. Most of the information presented in the following section comes from Epstein’s introduction, plus the biography of Jacopo by Casagrande (*DBI* 62.92–102, under ‘Jacopo da Varazze’), with additional details from Airal di (1988) and the introductions to *JVC* and *CCG*.

47 Bertini Guidetti, introduction to *CCG*, pp. 9–10; Di Fabio/Besta (1998), pp. 122–6.

48 ‘Convent’ is used here in its generic sense of ‘religious community’. The usual terms for a Dominican community are that of ‘priory’ (since it was ruled by a prior). These are used instead of ‘monastery’ and ‘abbot’, since Dominican friars were not cloistered monks but rather priests sworn to lives of preaching and poverty (i.e. mendicants). On the formation and importance of the mendicant orders in medieval cities, see Little (1983).

Jacopo was probably first educated in the Dominican convent in Genoa, and later at its *studium generale*, equivalent to a university. Bertini Guidetti has suggested that he studied in the late 1240s at Bologna, the main Italian site of Dominican higher education; it is also possible that he studied at Paris, then the centre of Dominican education in Europe—the great Dominican Thomas Aquinas, for example, was regent master in theology at Paris during 1256–59.⁴⁹ In the course of his education, Jacopo would have attained the degrees of *lector* (reader, i.e. teacher) and *magister theologiae* (master of theology, a higher degree); he may also have served as prior of a Dominican house or houses in northern Italy: both Genoa and Asti have been suggested. There is, however, no definite evidence for any of this.

We begin to know more after Jacopo's election as prior of Lombardy in 1267, the point at which he began to take a more prominent role in the management of the Dominican order.⁵⁰ The Dominican order was then divided into twelve different provinces; rather like the annual meetings held by professional organisations today, representatives from each of these provinces convened annually at a General Chapter, which was held at a different site each year. The province of Lombardy was one of the most influential of these early provinces, since it encompassed the entirety of northern Italy including Bologna, where the Dominicans maintained a strong presence at the university and where Saint Dominic himself was buried.

Jacopo was prior of the province of Lombardy for ten years, during which he attended the General Chapters held at Bologna (1267), Montpellier (1271), Budapest (1273), Lyons (1274), and Bordeaux (1277); at the last of these he was 'absolved' of his office. During most of this time he would have been based in Milan, although he would have spent much of his time travelling, either to the General Chapters or on official visits to the Dominican convents of the province. Managing such a large, growing, and often contentious, order was not easy: according to a later source Jacopo survived two assassination attempts by disgruntled friars in the course of his duties.⁵¹ He was nonetheless re-elected provincial prior for 1281–86; between 1283 and 1285, he also served briefly as regent of the entire order while it was between masters general. His

49 On early Dominican education, see Mulchahey (1998).

50 Hinnebusch (1966), 1.172–87; on the office of provincial prior, 1.205–7.

51 Hieronymus de Bursellis, *Cronica magistrorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1999), fol. 6. I am grateful to G.P. Maggioni for this reference.

last official position with the Dominicans was *diffinitor* (provincial representative) at the General Chapter held at Lucca in 1288.

Throughout his peripatetic life, Jacopo maintained close ties to Genoa and its Dominican communities. On two occasions—as he himself reports—he presented relics to the Genoese convent of Dominican nuns, Santi Giacomo e Filippo: in the 1260s, he donated to the sisters a finger of Saint Philip that he had detached from its hand in a reliquary in Venice, and in the 1280s he presented to them the head of one of the virgin companions of Saint Ursula, brought from Cologne. In 1288, Jacopo was one of four candidates considered for the Genoese archbishopric, but the election proved so contentious that no one was elected and the pope appointed a regent or administrator, Opizzo Fieschi (from the noble Genoese family). In 1292, however, in response to a new request by the Genoese, Pope Nicholas IV named Jacopo archbishop of Genoa, an office in which he served until his death in 1298. Since Nicholas IV had died by the time Jacopo travelled to Rome to be invested with his office, Jacopo was consecrated as archbishop by the cardinal bishop of Ostia on the octave of Easter (14 April) 1292 (part 12.8).

Continuing the pattern of little surviving evidence, there is almost none for Jacopo's tenure as archbishop apart from a few papal letters, a handful of notarial acts, and what he tells us himself in the *Chronicle of Genoa* (and even that, as we shall see, is inconsistently reported). We have no archiepiscopal letters written by Jacopo himself, and the official archiepiscopal registers from his tenure do not survive, if indeed they ever existed. For reasons that historians do not understand, the official *Genoese annals*—which had been maintained continuously since their inception in 1099—ended in 1293, and the last annalist Jacopo Doria does not even mention Jacopo da Varagine's election as archbishop. Thus Jacopo's *Chronicle of the city of Genoa*, written during his archiepiscopate (1292–98), is valuable not only for its eyewitness perspective on events in which Jacopo himself played a major role, but also because it is the only surviving contemporary source for Genoa in the 1290s.

By his own account, Jacopo was a dedicated, active, and involved archbishop, who made valiant efforts to mediate and resolve disputes among the Genoese, took a personal hand in administering the patrimony of his church, and helped maintain the city's diplomatic relations. The chief accomplishments of his tenure as he presents them in the *Chronicle of Genoa* are three. First, shortly after his election he held a provincial council for all the clerics in his archdiocese, during which he supervised

an investigation of the relics of the early local bishop Saint Syrus in the Genoese cathedral of San Lorenzo (part 12.8; fig. 5). The cathedral canons and the monks of the ancient monastery of San Siro had been arguing over these relics for some years, and Jacopo hoped—in vain, as it turned out—that his intervention would settle the matter. Secondly, Jacopo spent six months in 1295 as part of a Genoese embassy to the papal court, which was attempting to negotiate a peace with the Venetians, with whom the Genoese had been intermittently at war for nearly fifty years. The negotiations failed, but Jacopo expends a great deal of ink extolling the naval preparations made by the Genoese as a backup plan (part 5.3). Thirdly, Jacopo mediated a general peace in Genoa in January 1295 between the city's main factions, the Rampini and Mascherati. This was nominally an opposition of Guelfs v. Ghibellines—supporters of the papal and imperial parties respectively—but it was exacerbated by more immediate local disputes of neighbourhood and kinship; as Jacopo reports: 'these dissensions, divisions, and factions persisted for fifty-five years and more'. Jacopo's intervention led to the establishment of a general peace with civic celebrations, a solemn celebratory mass, the singing of a *Te Deum*, a great feast, and a procession through the entire city (part 12.8).

While none of Jacopo's chief projects as archbishop bore as much fruit as he might have hoped, he seems to have taken the failure of this last effort most personally. In December 1295 the peace he had arranged and described with such enthusiasm collapsed, and unrest variously described as 'riots' or 'civil war' consumed the city for over a month: the Genoese 'clashed in hand to hand combat through the alleys and piazzas, and for many days they contended angrily against one another. From this followed the slaying of men, the wounding of many, the burning of houses, the looting and plunder of many things'. Even the cathedral and Jacopo's archiepiscopal palace were badly damaged, and Jacopo had to apply to Pope Boniface VIII for extra funds with which to replace his lost possessions.⁵² At this point—although Jacopo remained archbishop for another two and a half years—the *Chronicle* peters out, with only three further entries: two on clashes with the Venetians in 1296 and 1297, and one on Boniface VIII's conflict with the Colonna in 1297. One can only speculate either that Jacopo was so downcast by the failure of his efforts to establish civic concord that he abandoned his historical work, or that, more proactively, he decided that his energies were needed more elsewhere.

⁵² Part 12.8 n. 219.

He was probably also feeling his age. He would have been nearly seventy years old at this point, past the point of retirement today and long-lived compared to most of his contemporaries. Again, little is known of Jacopo's final years: he must have written the treatise on the Genoese relics of Saint John the Baptist, which he stated in the *Chronicle* that he was planning to write, because it survives. He died in the night between 13 and 14 July 1298 and was buried in the church of San Domenico in Genoa. Due to his local reputation as archbishop and his broad fame as the author of the *GL*, his tomb became the site of a cult, so when San Domenico was demolished in the late eighteenth century Jacopo's bones and tomb effigy (fig. 4) were moved to the church of Santa Maria di Castello (then also a Dominican house).⁵³ He was beatified by Pope Pius VII in 1816.

Jacopo's works

The relatively little extant evidence for Jacopo's life stands in stark contrast to his body of work as an author, which by any calculation runs to thousands of pages written over the course of his life. In fact, Jacopo gives a convenient accounting of his work in part 12.8 of the *Chronicle*. The easiest to categorise, and one of the earliest, is the *Golden legend* (*Legenda aurea*, *GL* and *LA*), which Jacopo calls simply *Legends of the saints* (*Legende sanctorum*).⁵⁴ The title *Golden legend* was invented later as a description of the value of the work's contents, but the work appears in its many medieval copies by many different names, including *Historia lombardica* (from the excursus on Lombard history attached to its life of Pope Pelagius). The *GL* was Jacopo's first major work, written 1260–67; while it is generally known as a compilation of saints' lives, technically it is organised around the feasts of the church year, so along with the approximately 153 saints whose lives are recounted, there are chapters on the Nativity and Circumcision of Christ, the Birth, Purification, and Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the feasts of Pentecost, All Saints', and so on—including some little-known feasts like the 'Chair of Saint Peter', an *apologia* for the primacy of the Roman church. Most of the saints whose stories are recounted are traditional or 'ancient' ones: figures from the New Testament (the apostles, Mary Magdalen), the church fathers (Augustine, Ambrose), early popes

⁵³ Bertini Guidetti, introduction to *CCG*, p. 9.

⁵⁴ See n. 2, above.

(Sylvester, Gregory the Great), fathers of monasticism (Anthony, Benedict), and martyr saints (Agnes, Cecilia, Lawrence). Jacopo includes only four ‘contemporary’ saints, chiefly those associated with the mendicant orders: Francis of Assisi (d. 1217), Dominic (d. 1221), Peter Martyr (an early Dominican martyred in 1252), and Elisabeth of Hungary (d. 1231).⁵⁵

Jacopo’s genius was in collecting these legends and the miracles connected with them, then compiling all the information into engaging stories written in simple, clear Latin. While the volume was originally intended as ‘an aid for busy priests and preachers in need of a handy source of vivid anecdote, instruction, and edification to bulk out their sermons and catecheses’, its popularity soon expanded far beyond Dominican homiletics: within fifty years of its compilation, it was the dominant collection of saints’ lives in Europe.⁵⁶ Over a thousand manuscript copies still survive in multiple formats and languages, which has led some to suggest that it was the most-read book of the later Middle Ages after the Bible. Another useful index of the *GL*’s wide dissemination and audience is its robust presence in early printing: between 1455 and 1500, nearly ninety editions of the Latin text are known to have been printed, along with seventy different vernacular translations.

Unsurprisingly given the collection’s didactic purpose, many of the stories in the *GL* also appear (sometimes multiple times) in Jacopo’s hundreds of sermons: anywhere from 725 to 1,200 depending on one’s counting method.⁵⁷ These are not full texts such as could be read straight from a pulpit but model sermons constructed according to a standardised, characteristically Dominican logic and format: a preacher adopting one for some occasion would be expected to fill in situational asides, anecdotes, examples, and analogies appropriate to his audience.⁵⁸

Jacopo wrote these sermons over the course of his career (c. 1250–98), but he assembled them for public dissemination into three main collections,

⁵⁵ The first three are unsurprising for a Dominican author, but Elisabeth’s inclusion (*GL*, pp. 688–704) is more mysterious: while some have connected her presence with a particular affinity for her cult in Genoa (Bertini Guidetti, 2001b), others have dismissed her *vita* as a later interpolation to the collection (Duffy, introduction to the *GL*, xv). She is also connected to the mendicant orders as patron of Franciscan tertiaryes.

⁵⁶ Duffy, introduction to the *GL*, pp. xi–xiii.

⁵⁷ Epstein (2016), p. 11 n. 2.

⁵⁸ On Dominican homiletics, see Wenzel, *Art of preaching*, and Corbari (2013).

identified in part 12.8 of the *Chronicle*. The first collection echoes his work in the *GL*: ‘sermons on all the saints, by which their feasts may be celebrated according to the cycle of the church year’. These are the *Sermones de sanctis* (*SS*): two volumes of sermons organised by saint or feast, with anywhere from two to nine model sermons offered for each. The second collection—the *Sunday sermons on the Gospels* (*Sermones dominicales de evangelis*, *SD*)—follows the Gospel readings proper to every Sunday in the church year, with three sermons offered for each Gospel reading. Finally, the third collection—the *Lenten sermons* (*Sermones quadragesimales*, *SQ*)—does the same for the Gospel readings proper to each day in Lent. A fourth collection, the *Sermones de tempore* or *Sermons for the liturgical year*, is not mentioned directly by Jacopo and overlaps significantly with the other three collections. All of the collections offer multiple model sermons on any given topic. Some of the sermons overlap considerably in content, and many of the editions published in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries reorganise or combine the collections, which is why it is difficult to track their numbers. The only collection thus far to have benefited from a modern critical edition is *SQ*, although its editor, G.P. Maggioni, is working on both an edition of *SS* and a full categorisation of Jacopo’s sermons on his website, www.sermones.net.

Related to the sermon collections is one of Jacopo’s last works, the *Book of Mary* (*Liber Marialis* or simply *Mariale*), a collection of homiletic meditations on various attributes of the Virgin Mary organised according to the letters of the alphabet. For example, the entries under O include reflections on the ideas of ‘sweet-smelling’ (*odorifera*), olives (*oliva*: two separate entries), the ‘best part’ (*optima pars*) chosen by Mary in Luke 10.42, the ‘garden of delights’ (*ortus deliciarum*), and being a ‘sheep of God’ (*ovis Dei*). While scholars debate whether these are ‘real’ model sermons, their rhetorical and exegetical structure closely resembles Jacopo’s other homiletic work.

The *GL*, the four collections of sermons, and the *Chronicle of the city of Genoa* are the works Jacopo claims by name in part 12.8 of the *Chronicle*, but scholars also regard as authentic (either via internal evidence or reference by Jacopo himself) six hagiographical treatises, most of which have to do with relics held in Genoa in Jacopo’s time. First, in connection with his investigation into the relics of Saint Syrus of Genoa, Jacopo wrote a ‘new’ legend of Saint Syrus (*Legenda seu vita sancti Syri episcopi Ianuensis*, *LSS*). Second, he composed an account of the translation of the relics of Saint John the Baptist from the Holy

Land to Genoa (the *Historia sive legenda translationis sancti Iohannis Baptistae, HLT*); this is the treatise he summarises in part 11.16 of the *Chronicle*, promising to expand upon it later in a separate work. Third, he wrote a history of the relics which he himself donated (or at least facilitated the translation of) to the Dominican women's community of Santi Giacomo e Filippo (*Historia reliquiarum que sunt in monasterio sororum SS. Philippi et Iacobi de Ianua*). Beyond these, he wrote two treatises on the relics of Saint Florentius, bishop of Orange and patron saint of Fiorenzuola d'Arda near Piacenza (*Tractatus miraculorum reliquiarum sancti Florentii* and *Historia translationis reliquiarum eiusdem*), and a passion narrative of Saint Cassian (*Passio sancti Cassiani*) for the bishop of Imola, who had recently (1271) consecrated his new cathedral to that saint. In all of these treatises, Jacopo engages his audience by using local landscapes (of Genoa, Liguria, and beyond) to create a sense of immediacy for the reader; the associations that his narrative builds between landscape, object, and history give not only physical manifestation to a glorious civic past, but also meaning to the spaces and objects encountered by his readers in the course of their everyday existence.

Viewed from the perspective of thirteenth-century Genoa, Dominican homiletics, and the conventions of late medieval historical writing, Jacopo's body of work is remarkably coherent: the same exempla and moral lessons reappear across his chronicle, sermons, and saints' lives, and his entire oeuvre demonstrates the hierarchical logic characteristic of late medieval Dominican rhetoric. At the same time, Jacopo's work reveals a keen awareness of his audience: while his Genoese works (the *Chronicle* and relic treatises) are clearly grounded in local history and landscape, his sermons and the *GL* are just as clearly stripped of such immediate details to improve their usefulness for any preacher in search of material.

The *Chronicle of the city of Genoa*

In part 12.8 of the *Chronicle*, Jacopo refers to his work as 'the present chronicle' (*presens cronica*), and the incipits of the earliest manuscripts identify it as the 'chronicle of the city of Genoa' (*cronica civitatis Ianue*), so we must suppose that the title is more or less original, and in accord with Jacopo's own intention. While the *Chronicle* cannot match the *GL*'s thousand-plus manuscripts, the text survives in an impressive number of approximately forty-five manuscript copies, many of them from the

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁹ (Many contemporary civic chronicles, by contrast, survive in only one or two copies.) Most of the early copies on which Monleone based his edition are codices of fairly high quality produced in Genoa itself—while not elaborately illustrated, they tend to be written on parchment rather than paper, and in Gothic book script (*littera textualis*) instead of more cursive *mercantesca* or notarial hands. Most contain headings and paragraph marks, known as rubrication, in one or more colours. Finally—and perhaps most revealingly—most contain marginal annotations, additions, and/or indices, some of them quite extensive, which confirm they were read and/or used for reference, both for the historical information they contain and for the stories they recount, which could be used separately as exempla. In one manuscript (now in Turin) a scribe has continued the chronicle up to the year 1332. These comments, interpolations, and additions suggest that a sizable number of readers found Jacopo's account of Genoese history both interesting and useful.⁶⁰ (In fact, it was probably the only narrative of Genoese history in circulation, since the Genoese commune tightly controlled access to the official city annals.)

At the same time, Jacopo's obvious Genoese bias and the development of more critical practices in the writing of history by humanists such as Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) meant that some of the *Chronicle's* more imaginative claims were soon challenged. The Milanese chancellor Benzo d'Alessandria (c. 1250–c. 1330), for example, writing about twenty years after Jacopo, skewered Jacopo's claim that Genoa was founded by a Trojan escapee named Janus: 'I have found nothing in any authoritative writings of the city being either built or expanded by a Trojan Janus'. Furthermore—he continues—since the Roman historian Livy always refers to the city as *Genua*, 'it appears that the ancient city was called *Genua* rather than *Janua*, and thus it was neither founded by nor named after Janus, even if it is known as *Janua* today'.⁶¹ Salutati himself refers dismissively to Jacopo's entire effort in a letter to the Genoese historian Giorgio Stella: 'in the chronicle in which he wrote a great many stupid things, your Jacopo accepts as if they were of undoubted truth [certain facts] which are known to be quite otherwise ... In these matters he neither proves anything to me by the testimony of witnesses nor convinces me by persuasion'.⁶²

59 Monleone, *JVC* 1.341–509.

60 See my discussion of one manuscript's extensive indices in Beneš (2011a), pp. 84–5.

61 Benzo d'Alessandria, *Chronicon* 14.155, p. 187; discussed in Beneš (2011b), pp. 9–10.

See part 3 of the *Chronicle* for Jacopo's explanation of Genoa's origins.

62 Coluccio Salutati, letter 14.13 (1405), *Epistolario* 4.91–8 at pp. 93–4.

Perhaps for these reasons, Jacopo's *Chronicle* fell into anonymity in the early modern period until it was partly edited along with so many other 'lost' medieval narrative sources by Ludovico Muratori for his *Rerum italicarum scriptores* in 1726.⁶³ Muratori explained, however, that the partial nature of his edition was due to the implausibility of many of Jacopo's claims: 'I have been unable to make myself edit the entirety of this Jacopo's chronicle, for who can bear reading with mental tranquillity so many ridiculous ideas, fables, and unfounded leaps of logic which this good writer has stuffed into this work, which he seems to have forgotten he called a history?'⁶⁴ Muratori's contemptuous comments stood as normative until the extensive critical edition and study by Giovanni Monleone in 1941 (*JVC*), which remain standard. Against Salutati and Muratori, Monleone recognised that the real value of Jacopo's chronicle lies in his careful organisation of his material and what it reveals about attitudes and beliefs in late thirteenth-century Genoa. As mentioned above, an Italian translation with an extensive introduction by Stefania Bertini Guidetti (1995; here *CCG*) contributed to a late twentieth-century revival of interest in Jacopo and his non-*GL* works.

The *Chronicle* claims to recount the history of Genoa from its foundation up to Jacopo's own time because—as Jacopo explains in the prologue—'considering how there are many cities in Italy of which the ancient historians make much mention, we are amazed that so very little can be found written by them about the city of Genoa, as renowned, noble, and powerful as it is.'⁶⁵ Jacopo has resolved to remedy that lack by compiling the various details he has learned from the civic annals and other chroniclers into a history of Genoa. The chronicle narrates events up to the year 1295, but (as discussed above) it then peters out without a real conclusion, and with only three entries for the years 1296–97. Yet as a whole the work has the single goal of civic exhortation—that is, it is designed to teach the Genoese citizenry about their glorious past, to inspire them to civic virtue by the good example of their ancestors, and to instruct them in how to maintain that glory in the present. Jacopo's focus is urban; his goals unity, peace, and concord. Furthermore, as the previous sections of this introduction have shown, he was very conscious of the challenges facing his efforts. The purpose of Jacopo's entire historical enterprise was therefore to remind the Genoese of their collective past, present, and future, and to demonstrate how to translate past achievement into future glory.

63 *RIS* 9.1–56.

64 *RIS* 9.4.

65 *Chronicle*, prologue.

Author and audience are thus the main differences between Jacopo's chronicle and the *GA*, the Genoese annals first begun by Caffaro in 1099, adopted officially in 1152, and continued under communal sponsorship until 1293. In a sense, both are products of institutional sponsorship: the annals were sponsored by the commune, while Jacopo wrote from a position of authority as archbishop. Yet the annals were written by a series of officially appointed annalists—beginning with Caffaro in 1099 and ending with Jacopo Doria in 1293—so they have a chronological year-by-year format, and their tone and the interests of their multiple authors vary considerably. Jacopo da Varagine, by contrast, imagined and designed his chronicle as a holistic whole, so its approach and purpose are more coherent and targeted, even if its methods are more variable.

Secondly, the Genoese annals were meant as an official record of Genoese triumphs—whether political, military, territorial, diplomatic, or economic—so there was only one authorised copy of the text, which at least by Jacopo's time was closely guarded by communal officials.⁶⁶ The many passages in Jacopo's *Chronicle* that parallel those in the *GA* attest that Jacopo had access to the official manuscript while he was writing his own chronicle, but his status as archbishop gave him access to documents inaccessible to others. In a sense, the audience of the *GA* was posterity rather than anyone alive at the time, while the audience of Jacopo's chronicle was a much broader spectrum of literate Genoese citizens, particularly the clerics and communal officials who could benefit from its lessons and expound them to their less-literate fellow citizens. In other words, in intent and execution the *GA* was an archival document, while Jacopo's chronicle was a practical guide to Genoese citizenship.

That guide is divided into twelve parts, or books, which are diverse in their methodology or approach, and which in their turn are divided into multiple chapters. They demonstrate not one but three genres of socio-historical writing typical of the communes of late medieval Italy, all of which feature a clear and consistent civic focus: their intended audience is the citizenry; their priorities are those of the city, commune, or urban population; and they discuss broader historical events mainly insofar as they influenced or reflected events in the city.

Section 1: parts 1–5 and 10. The first section of the chronicle, comprising parts 1–5, constitutes what we might call civic history. (Part 10

66 The *GA* survives in only three copies: the 'authentic original'—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 10136—and two copies made from it in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively: *CMG*, pp. 37–8 (Macchiavello/Rovere).

also falls into this category, but occurs later as a lead-in to parts 11 and 12; see ‘Section 3’, below.) Section 1 focuses on Genoa’s origins, with parts devoted to 1) the foundation of Genoa; 2) the city’s early history; 3) its name (i.e. etymology); 4) its conversion to Christianity; and 5) its growth ‘up to now, at the time of its perfection’ (rubric, part 5). Part 10, on the growth of the church in Genoa, serves as a kind of pendant to part 5. These six parts establish Genoa’s prestigious ancient origin and founding principles, integrating the city’s history into the universal narrative of Creation and the ancient world: a refugee from the Trojan War is one of the founders of Genoa, and the city takes part in the Second Punic War as an ally of Rome. This material was mostly ignored by the *GA*: Caffaro started the annals in 1099 *in medias res* with the Genoese expedition to Caesarea during the First Crusade, and only the last annalist, Jacopo Doria, made any attempt to go back and record what was known about the city’s origins.⁶⁷

These sections draw first from the somewhat earlier tradition of the universal chronicle, efforts to narrate the entire history of the world that built on each other as time went on. Saint Jerome’s translation of Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Chronicle* served as the basis for Paul the Deacon’s *Historia romana*, which served as the basis for countless later chronicles that simply started with Paul’s text and continued where it left off.⁶⁸ Other compilations, such as Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica*, began with biblical history, but were likewise incorporated into the universal narrative. In the thirteenth century, this tradition produced general chronicles such as Martin of Opava’s *Chronicle of the popes and emperors* (*MO*), which Jacopo knew and used, but also numerous civic chronicles which began with Creation and simply narrowed their focus to their chosen city in the course of the chronicle, thereby imparting a sense of significance and destiny to the local events narrated in the later parts of the chronicle.

These early sections of Jacopo’s work also draw from a genre known as *laus civitatis*, or ‘praise of a city’: set-pieces of prose or poetry extolling the virtues of a particular city. The earliest of these in Italy date from the ninth and tenth centuries, in works that recount the prestigious founders of cities such as Verona and Milan, compare them favourably to great ancient cities such as Rome and Jerusalem, and describe their

67 For a comparison, see Beneš (2011a), pp. 72–87.

68 Eusebius/Jerome, *Chronica*, and Paul the Deacon, *Historia romana*. The latter was continued by Landolfus Sagax, and Landolfus’ text was continued in turn by other historians: see Allen (2003).

present greatness in more and more numerically explicit terms over time: while early *laudes* are more abstract, by the end of the thirteenth century works such as Bonvesin da la Riva's *Marvels of Milan* list the impressive numbers of the city's churches, blacksmiths, and communal trumpeters.⁶⁹ What the universal chronicle and civic-praise traditions have in common—at least in their Italian manifestations—is their apologetic and epideictic nature: they use history to contextualise and promote their own city, to explain its greatness and present success. These early parts of Jacopo's chronicle are, therefore, very similar to the early parts of other civic chronicles such as Giovanni Villani's (on Florence) and Galvano Fiamma's (on Milan) in: their reliance on myth and etymology; their enthusiasm for ancient Rome, in particular any perceived connections between it and their own cities; and finally, their emphasis on the noble roots and great virtues of their early citizens—in a sense, providing an idealised original community for later citizens to emulate.⁷⁰

Section 2: parts 6–9. Parts 6 to 9 of Jacopo's chronicle provide rules or advice for good citizenship, discussed hierarchically: beginning with government in general (part 6), he addresses good and bad rulership in part 7, good and bad citizenship in part 8, and advice for domestic life in part 9. Part 9 goes further, starting from the relationship between husbands and wives, extending to that between parents and children, and finally addressing that between masters and servants or slaves. In these four parts Jacopo covers the entire social structure of medieval Genoa, from the highest members of the community to the lowest, the most powerful to the least. While the inclusion of this material in a work of history may not be intuitive, this section is packed with the same sorts of exempla and moral commentary that one sees in the more chronologically oriented parts of the *Chronicle*. As we see, anecdotes about Alexander the Great fit equally well into universal history and discussions of the importance of prioritising the common good over self-interest.⁷¹

69 See the poems on Milan and Verona cited in n. 16, above; also Bonvesin da la Riva, *De magnalibus Mediolani*, excerpts of which are translated in Dean, *Towns of Italy*, pp. 11–15.

70 Compare Giovanni Villani, *Chronicle* 1.1–39 (ed. Selfe/Wicksteed [1906], pp. 1–30), and Galvano Fiamma, *Manipulus florum* 3–10 (*RIS* 11.539–44), as well as the works cited in nn. 19 and 20, above.

71 A common theme: see Kempshall (1999) as well as the political works of Remigio de' Girolami and Ptolemy of Lucca (both Dominicans).

In fact, these sections are a fairly standard example of the larger medieval genre of ‘advice for rulers’: while there are numerous examples across the full span of the Middle Ages (often aimed at kings and princes), the version most common in the communes of medieval Italy was the variation aimed at republican magistrates.⁷² As Chris Wickham has recently stressed, the political structure of the early Italian communes was often *ad hoc*, based on immediate needs and Roman precedent—because authors like Cicero and Livy were often the only available guides to how a republic ought to be organised and run.⁷³ That, combined with the fact that the Romans were considered virtuous citizens and excellent rhetoricians, made ancient history a one-stop source for everything to do with running a republican city-state or participating in its civic discourse. Drawing from it, advice for magistrates and citizens of such republics came in multiple forms: historical (e.g. civic histories), moral or practical (e.g. guidebooks to behaviour), and even visual (e.g. the many thirteenth- and fourteenth-century frescoes which decorate the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena).⁷⁴

Moreover, these were not clearly defined categories: manuscripts had images illustrating their points; frescoes had extensive captions explaining their moral lessons; histories contained extensive moral excursuses and model speeches. Brunetto Latini’s *Tresor* (written in French) is an excellent example of a didactic work straddling the genres of moral advice, rhetorical advice, and history—all in the service of instructing people who were not previously educated for the task of public citizenship and republican rule.⁷⁵ The fact that a third of Jacopo’s supposed ‘chronicle of Genoa’ is actually moral advice—as much of which derives from his sermons as from Aquinas’s treatise *On the government of rulers*⁷⁶—is therefore not only unsurprising but fairly typical of the period.

Aside from the organisation of section 2, which so carefully reflects the social hierarchy of the city, two points make Jacopo’s manual of advice for civic stewardship stand out from its contemporaries. First, most such manuals are polemical in the sense that they convey a very clear

⁷² Hertter (1973); Milner (2011).

⁷³ Wickham (2015); see also Beneš (2011a), pp. 31–5.

⁷⁴ Starn/Partridge (1992), chap. 1.

⁷⁵ Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor*; see also Cornish (2011), chap. 5, and Beneš (2011a), chap. 1.

⁷⁶ *De regimine principum*, translated by Blythe as Ptolemy of Lucca, *On the government of rulers*, and by Dyson as Thomas Aquinas, *On the rule of princes*; I prefer Blythe’s translation of the title phrase.

opinion regarding the nature of the ideal political structure: republican or monarchic. These positions can be loosely linked to Guelf v. Ghibelline rivalries—an insistence on the fundamental autonomy of northern Italy's many city-states (typically the Guelf position, where it was easier to ignore the thorny question of papal authority in the secular realm), versus a willingness to recognise imperial sovereignty (typically the Ghibelline position).⁷⁷ Jacopo, by contrast, says very clearly that he does not care what type of government or rulers a city has as long as they work for the common good: 'there is no objection to any ruler—of whatever status he might be—while he governs the commonwealth justly and commendably ... The status of a person should not be considered in [choosing] a ruler: rather, the uprightness of his character, the even-handedness of his justice, the mature discernment of his heart, and the greatness of his soul' (part 6.1). Moreover, this firm statement comes directly after a quick review of all the different kinds of rulers Genoa has had over the last couple of hundred years—consuls, podestà, *capitani*, abbots, and so on—and Jacopo's only comment is: 'whether the regime will change again, we do not know; but we ask God that if it must be changed at some point, it should always be exchanged for something better'. With this he takes a firm stand above the kinds of petty politicking that led Genoa's citizens to favour one kind of government over another (the consuls were seen as too aristocratic, the *capitani* as too Ghibelline, and so forth) and emphasises the moral principles behind all good rulership.

The universal reach of those principles is also on clear display in part 9, where Jacopo advises Genoa's citizens on their personal relationships. While Jacopo's advice on how to choose a good wife may now strike us as sexist, if not morally repugnant ('he who has a beautiful wife will always be afraid but he who has a repulsive wife will always be depressed': part 9.1), Steven Epstein has recently observed that Jacopo's inclusion of servants and slaves in this survey—that is, his acknowledgement that a good citizen's moral responsibility extends even to the lowest members of society—is essentially unprecedented.⁷⁸ For Jacopo, responsible civic behaviour is not just for the elite members of society, but everyone, in both public and private.

77 Dante's *De monarchia*, written in the early years of the fourteenth century, is a major statement of the latter position; see also Lee (2018). For the republican position, see Milner (2011).

78 For this reason Epstein (2016) labels Jacopo a 'father of social history' (p. 6). Chapter 5 of Epstein's study contains an extensive analysis of part 9 of the *Chronicle*, which he sees as one of the most original parts of the work.

Section 3: parts 11–12. The final section of the chronicle, comprising parts 11 and 12, is by far the longest section of the work, about 40 percent of the whole. It consists of twenty-seven chapters of historical narrative (nineteen chapters in part 11, and eight in part 12) in annalistic form, organised by the tenure of the bishop (part 11) or archbishop (part 12) in which they occurred. In the earlier sections, where Jacopo is frank about the sketchiness of his sources, he often resorts to vague approximations such as ‘in the time of this bishop’, but later sections often present events year by year. Jacopo’s account is not strictly annalistic—he often skips years and sometimes gives events out of order—but the overall effect is fairly linear. This approach follows the well-established tradition of the annalistic civic chronicles discussed above, which originally derived from annual lists such as Easter tables calculating the date of Easter (which changed every year), or the election of Roman consuls (as one sees in Livy).⁷⁹

Part 10, which precedes this section, stylistically falls more into the category of civic history (parts 1–5, discussed as section 1 above), since it summarises a number of disparate events according to a particular civic theme: the growth of the Genoese church, in particular the bishopric and archbishopric. Placed here, however, it provides a foundation for the ecclesiastical framework of the annalistic section that follows: having established in part 10 the moral and institutional authority of the bishops and archbishops of Genoa, both on a civic level and within the broader scheme of the universal church, Jacopo can then use their episcopates (and then archiepiscopates) as a convenient chronological scaffold to drive his narrative of events, from the legendary first bishop of Genoa up to his own time.

Within this framework, he includes a wide variety of reports—from summaries of saints’ lives and translations of their relics to elaborate set pieces describing crucial battles, reports of contentious (and not so contentious) papal elections, and key moments in Genoa’s continuing conflicts with Pisa and Venice, as well as quick notes about comets, earthquakes, and other unusual natural phenomena. Understandably, his accounts become more precise and less legendary as his narrative approaches his own time. But even within this supposedly more ‘factual’ section of the chronicle he still finds space for moralising and instruction, as in his account of the career of Pope Joan in part 11.8 (an exemplum of the foolish and presumptuous nature of women) or that of the great

⁷⁹ Coleman (2007).

flagellant movement of 1260 in part 12.6 (a demonstration of God's grace and the moral benefits of repentance). Even here, his focus is civic: only some papal elections are reported, and we hear very little of the careers of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa or his grandson Frederick II except as they affected the Genoese. Instead, Jacopo records the details of important Genoese treaties (for example, with the Byzantine emperors or the judges of Sardinia) and explains particular local customs and monuments (for example, the origin of the local place name Fontanella in the Muslim sack of Genoa in 934–35).

Jacopo's chronicle thus combines multiple medieval genres—the annal, the universal chronicle, civic praise or encomium, and handbooks of moral and political advice—into a coherent whole, recognisable as such despite its lack of a grand conclusion.⁸⁰ This mixing of genres and chronologies results in occasional repetition; parts 4, 5, and 10 highlight particular glorious moments in Genoese history, which then reappear at their proper chronological places in the annals of parts 11 and 12. Sometimes Jacopo provides verbal cross-references, as with the sack of Genoa in 934–35, but more often he does not: the battle of Meloria, a great victory over Pisa in 1284, appears in both part 5.3 and part 12.7 without further comment. The *Chronicle* thus provides Jacopo's Genoese audience with a model for proper citizenship in multiple formats—historical, moral, military, political, and so on. Rhetorically and structurally, it is a *speculum civitatis* (mirror of the city)—one of many works of the period, like Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*, that sought to educate citizens by a mixture of local history, ethics, political advice, and moral exempla. At the same time, Jacopo's careful paralleling of the particular and the universal demonstrates that he thought of the civic realm not as an isolated local environment but as a kind of microcosm paralleling the broader moral continuum of God's Creation.

Jacopo's sources

One major difference between Brunetto Latini's *Tresor* and Jacopo's *Chronicle* is that Latini's work is in the vernacular—French, in fact, although its intended audience was Italian.⁸¹ While civic chronicles were increasingly being written in the vernacular in this period (like Martino

⁸⁰ See above, p. 15.

⁸¹ Cornish (2011), p. 77.

da Canal's *Estoires de Venise*, also in French, or Villani's chronicle of Florence, written in Tuscan), Jacopo's *Chronicle* maintains the convention of writing in Latin. While one might think this was simply because of his status as a cleric and archbishop, it also had to do with his cultural formation and surroundings: Latinate culture persisted in Genoa longer than in other cities.⁸² Perhaps predictably, then, most of the sources that we can recognise Jacopo consulting and incorporating into his work are also in Latin, whether they are documentary sources such as treaties or more literary ones such as saints' lives.

Identifying the sources used by a medieval author is challenging, particularly for such a many-faceted work as the *Chronicle*. Medieval authors placed no great value on originality or intellectual property; in fact, literary works chiefly convinced their readers by *not* seeming original, but rather appealing to named or unnamed 'authorities', earlier authors accepted as knowledgeable and reliable.⁸³ Compilation was seen as a natural form of composition, even a high art. Our first challenge, therefore, is that Jacopo only tends to name his sources when doing so makes his narrative more authoritative, i.e. when citing the Bible, patristic authors such as Saint Augustine or Gregory the Great, classical sources such as Cicero or Livy, or recognised authorities such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter Comestor, or Sigebert of Gembloux. Citations or borrowings from other sources are either vaguely referenced ('as the chronicler says') or incorporated without any comment at all. Even cited authorities are not a fail-safe source of attribution due to the related practice of increasing the perceived value of later texts by attributing them to well-known authors such as Ambrose or John Chrysostom. A work that Jacopo attributes to Saint Ambrose may therefore not be by Ambrose at all, but rather Pseudo-Ambrose (as we now identify such authors): either an author who claimed to be Ambrose, or an anonymous author whose work was later given that attribution.

The second challenge to identifying Jacopo's sources is the tendency—by medieval authors generally, but by thirteenth-century Dominicans in particular—to compile and then use enormous encyclopaedias of citations and quotations from such authoritative sources. Examples of this phenomenon exist from as far back as late antiquity, with authors such as Valerius Maximus (first century), Solinus (third century), and even Isidore, bishop of Seville (seventh century) compiling information from

⁸² *CMG*, p. 327 (Petti Balbi).

⁸³ See Epstein (2016), pp. 7–9.

ancient authors into popular compendia. The phenomenon reached its peak with the late thirteenth-century interest in compiling *summae*, of which the works of Vincent of Beauvais, Thomas Aquinas, and Jacopo himself are some of the most famous examples.⁸⁴ It is therefore extremely difficult to determine Jacopo's source for a particular fact or exemplum: when offering an anecdote originally found in Caesar's *Gallic wars*, for example, he might be citing Caesar from memory; quoting it from an actual copy of Caesar's *Gallic wars*; or simply adopting the anecdote from an intermediary source such as Valerius Maximus or Vincent of Beauvais.

That said, we can make certain assumptions about the books Jacopo had available to him, and the books he would have come to know well in the course of his education as a Dominican. As Jacopo himself might observe, we can divide these into seven categories:

1. **Local documents.** These are the civic records to which Jacopo himself, as archbishop, would have had personal access: the *Genoese annals* (*GA*) and the books of communal treaties and privileges known as the *Libri iurium*, plus the equivalent registers of privileges pertaining to the (arch)bishopric: the *Liber privilegiorum ecclesiae Ianuensis* (*Book of privileges of the Genoese church*) and the two episcopal registers (*RC* and *RC2*). While they do not constitute documentary evidence from a modern perspective, legends of the early bishops and accounts of relic translations may also be included here, since Jacopo would not have distinguished between these and more 'factual' documents.⁸⁵
2. **Christian authorities.** Probably the most-cited work in Jacopo's *Chronicle* is the Bible, which he would have come to know profoundly in his years of prayer, preaching, and liturgy. While he certainly would have had copies of the Bible (or of individual books of the Bible) around him, he probably quoted most of the biblical citations in the *Chronicle* from memory. (This is the most likely explanation when the words Jacopo quotes do not precisely match the verse in

84 Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum maius* (*Great mirror*), c. 1235–64, on which see the excellent website www.vincentiusbelvacensis.eu; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, c. 1265–74; and Jacopo, *GL/LA*, c. 1260–67. While the textual tradition of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum maius* is complicated, the work is usually divided into the *Speculum doctrinalis* (*Mirror of doctrine*), *Speculum historiale* (*Mirror of history*), and *Speculum naturale* (*Mirror of nature*); I have used these as the basis of citations in this translation.

85 For example, the legend of Saint Syrus (*LSS*) or account of the translation of the relics of John the Baptist (*HLT*).

the Vulgate—as happens fairly often—or when he conflates two or more verses.) The depth of his theological training is also visible in the broad range of patristic authors he cites, chief among them the Fathers of the Latin church (Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory) but also authors such as Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede, as well as Greek Fathers such as John Chrysostom and John of Damascus, whose works he would have known either in Latin translation or by quotation.

3. **Scholastic authorities.** Jacopo cites a range of scholastic authors whose works would have been common in school and university settings: these vary from compendia such as Peter Comestor's *Scholastic history* (a schoolboy-friendly universal-chronicle retelling of the Bible) and Gratian's *Decretum* to the authors of sermons and treatises on particular topics such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Lanfranc of Pavia, and John of Salisbury (chiefly the *Policraticus*).
4. **Jacopo's own previous work.** Especially in the more hagiographical and moralising parts of the *Chronicle*, Jacopo extensively reuses his own material, from both the *GL* and his various collections of sermons. (In some passages the words in the *Chronicle*, the *GL*, and one or more sermons are nearly identical.) This borrowing may be limited to an individual exemplum or it may embrace whole paragraphs or discussions of a topic.
5. **Other encyclopaedias, exemplum collections, and textual compendia.** As mentioned above, Jacopo made regular use of other encyclopaedias and scholarly compilations, especially those by his fellow Dominicans. These include Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum maius*, the *Summa theologiae* and *On the government of rulers* of Thomas Aquinas, and Martin of Opava's *Chronicle of the popes and emperors* (*MO*). We may also place in this category the dictionaries of Huguccio (twelfth century) and Jacopo's contemporary and fellow Genoese Dominican Giovanni Balbi. Compendia of aphorisms and *sententiae*—most of them late antique—are also included here, such as the collections by or attributed to Varro, Publilius Syrus, Caecilius Balbus, Isidore of Seville, and Sedulius Scottus.
6. **Classical sources.** Jacopo cites a broad range of classical authors in a variety of contexts—from Varro on animal husbandry and Vegetius on military affairs to a whole section on the Punic Wars derived from Livy (part 2.3). While this makes his historical writing different from the *GL*, most of them do not occur in such density as to suggest that Jacopo was working with an extensive library of

classical texts.⁸⁶ He was not especially interested in them for either rhetorical or historical purposes, as some of his contemporaries were.⁸⁷ Livy and Cicero are the two authors upon which he relied most heavily—Livy for ancient history and Cicero for moral citizenship (chiefly *De officiis* / *On duties*)—but one can also recognise quotations from Caesar, Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Seneca, Varro, and Vegetius, along with the compendia of Valerius Maximus and Solinus.

7. **Works of history both ancient and contemporary.** Finally, Jacopo drew on numerous works of late antique and contemporary historiography. First, he used the late antique chronologies of Eusebius/Jerome and Cassiodorus (the *Tripartite history*). The *origo gentis* works of Gregory of Tours (*History of the Franks*) and Paul the Deacon (*History of the Lombards*) also appear. Beyond that, he clearly had access to numerous examples of the universal-chronicle tradition, including the *Roman history* begun by Paul the Deacon and continued by Landolfus Sagax and others, as well as the *Chronicle* of Sigebert of Gembloux (and multiple continuations thereof). Finally, Jacopo seems to have had access to numerous examples of local history and civic chronicle (including Liudprand of Cremona, Landulf Senior on Milan, several histories of Venice, and a few other local chronicles such as the *Chronicon parmense*). With regard to the Crusades and Genoa's interests in the East, he mainly relied upon the *GA*, but seems to have supplemented this with other accounts, such as those of Ralph of Caen and William of Tyre.

Within a work that spans multiple genres and integrates an immense number of disparate sources, however, Jacopo maintains fairly exacting control over a coherent agenda, which makes his chronicle quite different from, for example, that of his Franciscan contemporary Salimbene (1221–c. 1290). While modern scholars have generally characterised Salimbene's as the 'better' or 'more interesting' chronicle, this may be because Salimbene's chronicle is more personal and, in a sense, uncritical: he is quite willing to sacrifice coherent narrative in favour of including juicy bits of gossip. By contrast, Jacopo's chronicle is strictly focused on the city of Genoa and its inhabitants, and a reading of the entire chronicle reveals a number of key themes to which Jacopo regularly returns.

86 Epstein (2016, pp. 38–9, 69), discusses the rarity of references to classical authors in the *GL*.

87 See, for example, the works of Witt (2000, 2012) on early humanism.

First, and perhaps most important, is Genoese independence. Jacopo uses the mythical, ancient, and etymological material in part 1 along with more contemporary material to stress Genoa's natural autonomy and freedom from unnecessary overlordship. He records Genoa's independent foundation by Janus, a Trojan escaping the Trojan War (part 1.3) and the city's later association (entirely voluntary, he assures us) with the Roman republic (part 2.3), and claims that it was one of the earliest fully Christian cities in Italy (part 4.2–3). His insistence therefore spans both secular/political and sacred/ecclesiastical spheres: he not only narrates the proud refusal of the Genoese to grovel before Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (parts 5.3 and 12.1), but also legitimates the emancipation of the diocese of Genoa from the archdiocese of Milan by reclaiming the Milanese saints Nazarius and Celsus for Genoa after their martyrdom by the still-pagan Milanese (part 4.2). Part 10 even ends with an excursus in which Jacopo justifies Genoese regional hegemony (and rebuts outside interference) by linking the borders of the ancient Roman province of Liguria to the contemporary archdiocese.⁸⁸ As he says at the beginning of part 10.2, 'just as the city of Genoa rules over many cities, commands many peoples, and is subject to no one—except God in all things and to the emperor in a few—thus it was also fitting that its archbishop should be suffragan to no primate, subject to no one except the highest pontiff'.

Jacopo's claims for the archdiocese are closely related to broader assertions about the orthodox piety of the Genoese and their unwavering support of Mother Church. While this comes out most obviously in part 4 on the Christianisation of Genoa—in which he asserts brazenly that the Genoese adopted Christianity before any other city in Italy, and that there has never been any heresy in the city (part 4.3)—it also comes out in more subtle ways. The recurrent role of the Genoese as gallant rescuers of popes in distress (parts 5.3, 10.2, 11.18, 12.1, and 12.5) contrasts strongly with the perfidious behaviour of the Ghibelline Pisans, who constantly work against the papacy, usually but not always on behalf of the emperor. Likewise, the Milanese generally appear as either pagans or heretics (part 4.3).

The Genoese, by contrast, demonstrate their faith and orthodoxy in their civic devotions (in the care and attention which they devote to patron saints and their relics, for example), in their intimate relations

⁸⁸ Fig. 2 shows the outlines of the modern Italian region of Liguria, which roughly corresponds to the two territories discussed by Jacopo.

with numerous popes, and in their enthusiastic participation in campaigns against the Muslims, whether of the western Mediterranean (north Africa, the Balearics, Spain) or the eastern (the Crusades). The crusading sections of the *Chronicle*, in fact, sometimes read like a litany of exotic places liberated from the infidel by the Genoese. For example, Jacopo's summary of the First Crusade (1095–99) reads: 'thus the Genoese, inspired to avenge such a great injury to Christ and to seize the tomb of Christ out of the hands of the Saracens, valiantly armed forty galleys and took Jerusalem and made Godfrey of Bouillon king. They then took Acre and Gibelet, and also Cersona, Arsuf, and Tartus. Jerusalem was captured in the year of the Lord 1099' (part 5.2). While not exactly inaccurate, the passage may qualify as one of the most biased accounts of the campaign ever written.

Jacopo is also very clear about what he sees as the moral superiority of the Genoese character. Some of this is innate—for example, when he acknowledges that a particular naval defeat occurred because the Genoese had enlisted 'the people of Lombardy' as crews on their ships, who proved to be incompetent landlubbers: 'unfamiliar with the nautical art and inexperienced in naval warfare, they were just as ignorant of rowing as they were useless in fighting ... beset by stomach upset and headache'. Henceforth the Genoese only employed 'their own people and those of their own region, and thus they have subsequently had many victories over the Venetians and Pisans and their galleys' (part 5.3). But according to Jacopo the Genoese could also claim moral superiority through their adherence to honour, which distinguished them from the Pisans (who break treaties, part 12.2) and the Venetians (who are lying and underhanded, part 5.3). Particularly when speaking of the Pisans, Venetians, and Milanese, Jacopo can often be quite snide—as, for example, when he narrates the arrival of the Trojan refugee Antenor in the Adriatic (part 1.3). While Livy simply notes that Antenor founded Padua, and contemporary Venetian accounts such as that of Marco (*Prima edificacio*, 1292) appropriated that story to claim that Antenor must have founded Venice first, Jacopo places his own twist on the narrative: 'when Antenor arrived in the Venetian lands and found swampy places, he did not wish to live there', so 'sailing between the islands and up a certain river called the Brenta, he found a pleasing plain, and, deciding to make his home there, built a certain city in that place which he called Padua'.

Finally, we should note the role played by miracles in the *Chronicle*. As the author of the *Golden legend* and several relic treatises, Jacopo places

great importance on miracles in his narrative of Genoese history. For example, of four pirates condemned to hanging in Genoa in 1230, the two who commended their souls to the protection of Genoa's patron saint John the Baptist were saved and eventually set free (part 12.4). However, while they demonstrate the omnipotence of God and the benefits of piety, these miracles do not just serve a religious or devotional purpose; rather, they also act as physical manifestations of the divine favour bestowed upon the Genoese. The two pirates who appeal to Genoa's patron saint are saved; or, in another case (part 12.3), a Pisan pirate who had stolen a piece of the True Cross from Saladin is miraculously forced to hand it over to the Genoese—not to mention the many miracles performed by the saintly early bishops of Genoa, whose bones are preserved in the cathedral of San Lorenzo. Miracles—and the saints and relics who work them—therefore serve a civic function as well here, as physical and/or historical proof of God's great favour toward the Genoese.

Jacopo's *Chronicle* thus demonstrates the didactic purpose of history as it was imagined in the Middle Ages. As articulated by Livy, 'what chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and useful is that one sees the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a visible monument; from these one may choose for oneself and for one's own state what to imitate, and to mark for avoidance what is shameful in both conception and result'.⁸⁹ Jacopo's chronicle recalls the city's glorious past for his Genoese audience, reassures them of God's favour toward them, and urges them to honour God and their ancestors by continuing in the same manner. In cases where the past was not so glorious (such as the Venetian defeat), he explains what happened and how citizens may avoid such disasters in future (avoid hiring Lombards).

In particular, Jacopo's chronicle encourages peace and concord among the notoriously fractious Genoese. Wherever possible, he stresses the virtues of unity and collective action. This sense of united purpose is most visible when Jacopo is recounting potential threats to Genoese autonomy—for example, its reinforcement of the city's defences against Frederick Barbarossa (part 12.1) or the preparations for war with Venice (part 5.3): 'then the son followed the father, the father the son, and the brother the brother, all with wondrous eagerness. The entire nobility of the city joined this renowned naval force: all the flower of its youth, all its popular officials, all the strength of the Riviera'.

⁸⁹ Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, prologue 10.

Yet Jacopo does the same in less fraught circumstances, emphasising the achievements of the collectivity over the exploits of the individual. His account of the construction of the new cathedral of San Lorenzo (fig. 5; part 11.18), for instance, notes not only that the church is ‘of great sanctity, dignity, and authority’ but ‘furthermore, we believe that the commune of Genoa created a work as sumptuous as the noble church of San Lorenzo, rather than any particular person’. Even when recounting individual exploits that redound to the honour of the city, Jacopo stresses that such heroes are acting as leaders of ‘the Genoese’ on behalf of the commune. Guglielmo Embriaco, hero of the siege of Caesarea during the First Crusade, is described as the *consul* (leader) of the Genoese force there: while his daring encourages the rest of his crew, the victory is nonetheless a collective one, ‘and thus they took the city’ (part 11.17). The same is true of Jacopo’s account of Oberto Doria’s victory at the battle of Meloria (part 11.6), which Jacopo concludes by noting that ‘the Genoese displayed no ostentation or arrogance on account of this victory; rather, they praised the mighty works of God, who alone creates great wonders’ (part 5.3).

As Stefania Bertini Guidetti has observed, one of the keys to Jacopo’s approach is his own conception of the office of archbishop: to lead by example, to instruct his flock in the paths of virtue, and to serve as a link between the Genoese and God.⁹⁰ In particular, in his role as archbishop he could provide the kind of continuity in civic leadership that Genoa’s shifting political system (‘consuls or podestà or *capitani* or abbots’, part 6.1) could not. I would extend Bertini Guidetti’s argument to suggest that Jacopo took an Augustinian view of his role, mediating between the earthly city of Genoa and the heavenly city of God. While the traditional reading of Augustine’s great metaphor of the ‘city of God’ is that people should abandon concern for the present material life (‘the earthly city’) in favour of fixing their attention on life after death (‘the heavenly city’), the preachers and moralists of late medieval Italy often encouraged urban denizens to shape their own cities—the urban community in both its material and human forms—in the image of the New Jerusalem: a heavenly city here on earth.⁹¹ According to Jacopo, therefore, Genoa had a strong foundation—architectural, economic, historical, saintly—but it also had much work to do, and his *Chronicle* was intended to help its citizens build the best *civitas* that they

⁹⁰ Bertini Guidetti (1997a).

⁹¹ Frugoni (1991); Lilley (2009). Jansen (2018), p. 27, and Lee (2018), p. 105, note from different perspectives the heavenly benefits linked to earthly peacemaking.

could, ‘to the honour of the commune of Genoa’ (parts 12.5, 12.8, and elsewhere).

Note on the text and translation

This translation is based on the Latin text of Monleone’s 1941 edition (*JVC*), correlated with Bertini Guidetti’s 1995 Italian translation (*CCG*). I have deviated from Monleone’s ‘official’ text only by including the appendix, a description of the events of 1298 inserted at the end of part 5 in one manuscript by a later scribe. Where appropriate, I have also consulted the Latin text of the *GA* (*FSI* 11–14 bis) as well as its several partial English translations (*HP*, *JD*) and recent Italian translation.⁹² I have sought to create a translation that is close enough to the literal meaning of Jacopo’s Latin to retain the feel of thirteenth-century Dominican composition—which is highly structured and repetitive—while still producing a narrative that is readable in twenty-first-century English.

While, like all translation, this is in some ways an impossible task, I hope I have achieved a reasonably successful balance between two very different idioms. In practice, this has meant, first, occasionally breaking up Jacopo’s longer, more periodic sentences into shorter sentences that make more sense in English, since English cannot sustain the same weight of multiple dependent clauses that Latin can. Secondly, it has also meant varying conjunctions and connecting phrases, since when translated literally, Jacopo’s near-constant use of conjunctions—especially *vero* (‘indeed’), *enim* (‘also’), *nam* (‘for’ or ‘accordingly’), *et ideo* (‘and therefore’), *unde* (‘whence’), and *quapropter* (‘by reason of which’)—makes for repetitive and exhausting English prose. Some degree of editorial interpretation is also inevitable when some of those conjunctions have multiple, sometimes contradictory meanings (e.g. *autem*, which can mean ‘and also’ or ‘however’). I have similarly sometimes varied or omitted the many instances of reference words such as *dicta/supradicta* (‘aforesaid’), and substituted names for pronouns (or vice versa), since the grammatical differences between Latin and English can make those references either superfluous or newly necessary.

As much as possible, however, I have attempted to retain features of the *Chronicle*’s language, such as Jacopo’s grammatical parallelism—for example, in the table of contents in the *Chronicle*’s prologue—because

92 In the series *Memorie genovesi*, edited by Gabriella Airaldi (2000–).

it is a key part of his Latin style, and highly representative of late medieval Dominican composition (homiletic or otherwise). I have also indicated certain potentially difficult or revealing Latin terms in parentheses in the text, seeking to be as transparent as possible about Jacopo's original word choices and my own translation choices based on them. My translation reflects Jacopo's inconsistent use of the first person (both 'I' and 'we'). Finally, I have retained the convention of rendering initial I as J—thus Jacopo, Janua, and Janus instead of Iacopo, Ianua, and Ianus—with the single exception of the Latin noun *ianua* (gate).

The division of the chronicle into parts and chapters is Jacopo's own work. Similarly—as far as we can ascertain from the earliest manuscripts—the headings and subheadings (rubrics) are all original to the chronicle, although the precise words of those headings often vary between manuscripts. Within each chapter, however, the paragraph divisions are my own, to increase ease of reading.