

THE PORTRAIT OF A 'BAD GUY'. ALEXIOS DOUKAS MURTZUPHLOS IN THE VENETIAN CHRONICLES

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Among the Byzantine characters directly involved in the events of the Fourth Crusade, the Venetian chronicles reserve a particular place to Emperor Alexios V 'Murtzuphlos'. Actually, this character is the negative one in the entire story, the enemy *par excellence*. This position is explainable, since Alexios V had been the one that, as a result of his act to assassinate the Crusaders' favorite on the throne, that is Alexios IV Angelos, provoked the reactions that led to the second capture of Constantinople, to the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 and consequently to the establishment of the Latin Empire.

The present study relies upon a number of 109 Venetian chronicles¹, dispersed on the centuries when they were written as follows: two chronicles dated in the 13th century², seven from the 14th century³, 22 from the 15th century⁴, three from the transitional period from the 15th to the 16th century⁵, 41 dated in the 16th century⁶, seven from the transition from the 16th to the 17th century⁷, 21 from the 17th century⁸, and six chronicles from the 18th century⁹. To a certain extent, this distribution also reflects the dispersion by periods of the whole Venetian chronicles.

¹ Certainly, we left aside those chronicles that do not include the events at the beginning of the 13th century. As a note, the 16th century chronicle preserved in F 6239 lost its first pages, so that its use for the present study is only partial.

² HDV; Canal = 1,83 % of the chronicles.

³ Dandolo Brevis; Dandolo Extensa; A latina; VH; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545 = 6,42%.

⁴ M 2548; M 2549; M 89; Monaci; M 2556; M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 104; M 2563; M 78; M 38; M 2560; Biondo; M 796; M 559; M 2559; Sabellico; pseudo-Sanudo 1; pseudo-Sanudo 2 = 20,18%.

⁵ M 541; M 550; Antonio = 2,75%.

⁶ M 2544; M 798; Delfino P.; Cavalli; M 51; M 2555; Marco; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2571; M 2576; M 2573; pseudo-Caroldo; F 6239 (partially, since the first pages referring to the Fourth Crusade are lost); Rosso; M 2543; M 555; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2567; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; M 39; M 2581; Agostini-Tiepolo; Sansovino; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Savina; M 793; Doglioni = 37,61%.

⁷ M 1586; M 327; M 2550; M 71; F 6821; M 67; M 91 = 6,42%.

⁸ F 6235; Lio; Morosini P.; M 2541; F 6241; M 43; M 44; M 2572; pseudo-Donato; M 54; F 6167; M 80; F 6166; M 70; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 2592; M 61; M 66; M 66 bis; M 1999 = 19,27%.

⁹ M 1577; M 2028; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; M 1833 = 5,50%.

Among them, there are few chronicles that, although including the period of the Fourth Crusade in their narration, surprisingly leave aside either Murtzuphlos as character¹⁰ or generally the details of this crusade¹¹.

Maybe preferring to make a long story short, even some of the chronicles that deal with the Fourth Crusade ignore completely the presence of Murtzuphlos, so that it is Alexios IV himself the one who refuses to pay the debt towards the Crusader creditors. Consequently, in these cases, the second siege of Constantinople is nothing but a punitive action against the one who was not able to keep his promises, that is the young Alexios. These chronicles leave beyond any doubt the fact that it is about the young Alexios, some of them by saying clearly that he would have been dethroned “for the second time”, “again”¹². A particular case is represented by chronicle **pseudo-Sanudo 1**, according to which, after referring to Alexios the Younger’s promises towards the crusaders, it is the first siege to be followed directly by the election of Baldwin of Flanders¹³, as if Alexios is left aside by the chronicler.

By subtracting all these 25 cases – those seven that leave entirely aside the Fourth Crusade and those 18 that regard Alexios IV as being one more time deposed by the Crusaders themselves –, and also the one of chronicle **M 2572** – that mentions Murtzuphlos nowhere in the text, just invoking the “various incidents / *diuersi accidenti*”¹⁴ as a general occurrences during the events and passing directly to the election of a Latin emperor –, it results that Alexios V is present in a number of 83 Venetian chronicles, meaning a significant percent of 77.06% of the chronicles taken into account. These chronicles are dispersed by centuries as follows:

13th century: two chronicles of two (meaning 100% of the chronicles)

14th century: five chronicles of seven (meaning 71.43%)

15th century: 15 chronicles of 22 (meaning 68.18%)

Transition from the 15th to the 16th century: two chronicles of three (meaning 66.67%)

16th century: 33 chronicles of 41 (meaning 80.49%)

Transition from the 16th to the 17th century: five chronicles of seven (meaning 71.43%)

17th century: 15 chronicles of 21 (meaning 71.43%)

18th century: six chronicles of six (meaning 100%)

The episodes that refer to Murtzuphlos, according to the Venetian chronicles, are the following:

¹⁰ Agostini-Tiepolo; M 67; M 2541; F 6166; M 66.

¹¹ M 2555; M 793.

¹² Dandolo Brevis. 367: A latina, 116: M 2548, 16a, col. 1 (“*vn altra volta*”); M 2549, 22a, col. 1; M 2556, 52; M 104, 77a; M 38, 22b, col. 2; M 2559, 22, col. 1 [=21b, col. 1] (“*vn altra uolta*”); M 162, 18a; M 2576, 26b (“*vn altra volta*”); Rosso, 29b; M 555, 33b, col. 2–34a, col. 1; M 39, 28b–29a (“*da nouo*”); M 2550, 78a (“*un'altra uolta*”); M 44, 32a–32b (“*anchora*”); F 6167, 30a (“*anchora dà nouo*”); M 66 bis, 90a (“*ancora da nuouo*”).

¹³ pseudo-Sanudo 1, 529.

¹⁴ M 2572, 14b.

1. His liberation by Alexios IV immediately after the latter's coronation as emperor¹⁵

The episode seems to have its particular importance, since it is regarded as the first initiative taken by Alexios the Younger once crowned as emperor. Thus, the new emperor releases "his relative/*parente*" Murtzuphlos¹⁶ (even cousin or uncle, according to some cases) from prison and immediately appoints him in high dignities¹⁷. The Venetian version of the title received by Murtzuphlos varies: a part of the chronicles regards him as "chamberlain and marshal" (or similar forms)¹⁸, while the remainder of them refers to him in the more general terms of master and/or baron ("the greatest master and baron that he [emphasis mine: Alexios IV] had around himself", or similar expressions)¹⁹.

¹⁵ Present in 51.40% of the chronicles: pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 74; Morosini A., 7; M 2545, 47b, col. 2; M 89, 24a, col. 1; Monaci, 137; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 169b; M 322, 49b; M 2034, 396; M 2563, 11b; M 78, 10b, col. 1; M 2560, 68b [73b]; M 559, 45a; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 530; M 541, 34b; M 550, 72b; M 2544, 42b, col. 2; M 798, xxij b; Cavalli, 58b; M 51, 70a, col. 2; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 222; F 6234, 61b; M 46, 31b; M 2573, 111a; M 2543, 49a; pseudo-Barbaro, 222a, 231a; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 41b; M 2567, 39a, col. 2; M 47, 32b, col. 2; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij a; M 628a, 90a; M 53, 137b-138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 108b; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 72b; M 2580, 130a; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 55b, 57a; M 1586, 36b; M 327, 70b; F 6821, 82a; M 91, 366a; Lio, 67a; F 6241, 24a; M 43, 36b; M 54, 155a; M 80, 103a; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 40b; M 1577, 272; M 2028, 79b-80a; M 64, 194b; F 6566, 33b. As for the primary sources, the episode is comparably described in Clari, 77-78, the release of Murtzuphlos being also the first initiative taken by Alexios IV after his crowning. No other source does refer to any release of Murtzuphlos from prison by Alexios.

¹⁶ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 559; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2573; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2567; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; M 327; M 71; F 6821; M 91; F 6235; Lio; F 6241; M 43; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 61; M 1577; M 2028; M 64; F 6566. In some of these cases, "*parente*" is replaced by clearer family connections, such as "*un suo cuxino* / one of his cousins" (M 78; M 43) or "*vno suo barba* / one of his uncles (or similar)" (M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 53; pseudo-Savina; F 6821) or other expressions ("*un suo cortigiano di sangue*", cf. M 71; "*famigliar dell'Imperatore*", cf. F 6235; "*un suo consanguineo*", cf. F 6241; "*congionto di sangue delli due Imperatori*", cf. M 61). As for F 6566, the relation is emphasized by the adjective "*stretto*".

¹⁷ Clari narrates that there were the Greek high barons that informed the new emperor about "a high man" that was in prison. Subsequently, there are two cases in which Clari, 82 and 85, when referring to Murtzuphlos, uses the expression "whom he/the emperor had freed from prison".

¹⁸ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo ("*suo maggior camerlengo et mariscalco*"); Morosini A. ("*so mazor chamerlengo, mareschalcho*"); M 2545 ("*ssuo mazor chamerlengo ett mareschalcho*"); M 89 ("*so mazor chamerlengo e maraschalcho*"); M 322 ("*ministro e chamerlengo de tuto el so Inperio*"); M 559 ("*suo mazor chamerlego & mereschalcho [sic!]*"); M 2543 ("*ministro camerlengo de tutto lo suo Imperio*"); M 2567 ("*suo camerlengo*"); M 68 ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"); pseudo-Veniera ("*suo Maggior Camerlengo*"); Lio ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"); M 54 ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*sò mazor Camarlengo et Maroslalco*"); M 64 ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"); F 6566 ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"). According to Clari, p. 78, the title is that of "chief steward".

¹⁹ M 2564 ("*el maor maistro e baron che lavea apreso de lui*"); M 2569 ("*lo mazor baron che lui hauesse*"); M 2034 ("*el mazor baron che liui ave*"); Cigotto ("*suo baron et gran maestro piu* mazor che lui auesse apreso dela sua persona"); M 2563 ("*mazor maistro che l'hauesse appresso di lui*"); M 78 ("*suo primo barone*"); M 2560 ("*suo baron e gran maistro mazor che lui hauesse apreso*

The title of "*protosevasto*" is also present, but only in a small number of chronicles and usually contaminated with the other titles²⁰.

As for chronicle **M 322**, Murtzuphlos is mentioned only as "*çentilhomo de quella tera*", while in **M 71**, where Alexios Doukas enters the stage only when referring to the assassination of Alexios IV, he is called with the strange formula of "*un suo cortigiano del sangue*".

Later, when referring to his ingratitude against Alexios IV or to his reluctance against the payment of the crusaders, some of the above chronicles regard Murtzuphlos as "*maistro del suo hostello*"²¹, while others insist upon the dignity of chamberlain²² and **M 51** upon the one of "*protosevasto*"²³.

The other chronicles, which do not refer to the liberation of Murtzuphlos by the young emperor, introduce him in the story only later, meaning directly when referring to his bad pieces of advice or to the revolt against his lord. On that occasion, some of them make references to the benefits received from Isaac II²⁴.

de si"; pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("*il maggior barone ch'egli avesse*"); **M 541** ("*mazor maistro lauese apreso de lui*"); **M 550** ("*suo baron et gran maistro appresso di se*"); **M 2544** ("*el mazore barone che fosse che lui hauesse*"); **M 798** ("*el mazor baron che lauese apreso de lui*"); Cavalli ("*mazor baron che lui hauesse*"); Zancaruolo ("*el mazor baron che lui hauesse*"); Gussoni ("*suo baron et gran maistro mazor che lui hauesse apresso de si*"); **F 6234** ("*suo baron, et gran maistro mazor*"); **M 46** ("*mazor maistro chel hauesse apresso de sj*"); pseudo-Abbirosi ("*el mazor baron, che l'hauesse*"); **M 45** ("*el maor maistro e baron che l'hauesse apresso de lui*"); **M 47** ("*el mazor barono che lui hauesse*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*el mazor baron che lauesse apresso lui*"); **M 628a** ("*il mazor maistro, e baron che l'hauesse apresso de si*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*el maor maistro, e baron, che l'hauesse apresso de lui*"); Donato T. ("*so baron e gran maistro mazor che lui hauesse apresso de si*"); **M 2580** ("*el maggior maestro haueua appresso dellui*"); **M 1586** ("*lo maggiore barone lui hauesse*"); **M 327** ("*so mazor baron de corte che l'hauesse*"); **F 6821** ("*grande maistro apreso la sua persona*"); **M 91** ("*il mazor maistro et baron chel hauesse apresso de si*"); **F 6241** ("*il suo primo barone*"); **M 43** ("*gran maestro tenendolo senpre apresso di lui*"); **M 80** ("*il più gran maestro che hauesse apresso di se*"); **M 1577** ("*el maor baron, chel l'avesse apresso de lui*"); **M 2028** ("*maggior barone, che lui hauesse*").

²⁰ **M 51** ("*suo prothoseuasto che vuol dir lo primo e llo prinzipal suo homo che lo auesse in la sua corte*"); **M 2573** ("*suo prothoseuastos & gran maraschalco*"); pseudo-Barbaro (saying that Murtzuphlos gained *el primo luogo apresso di se, el fece prothoseuasto Imperial, et col consiglio et col parer di quello se rezeua, et gouernaua in tutte le sue cose*"); **M 53** ("*suo prothoseuastos et suo gran maraschalco*"); pseudo-Savina ("*suo primo baron e prothoseuaste del suo Imperio*").

²¹ **M 2034** ("*maistro de hostello*"); **M 2560** ("*maistro del suo hostelo*"); **M 541** ("*maistro del so hostello*"); Gussoni ("*maistro del suo hostelle*"); **F 6234** ("*gran maistro del suo castello*"); **M 45** ("*maistro del suo hostello*"); **M 628a** ("*gran maistro de tutto el suo ostello*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*maistro del tutto del suo hostello*"); Donato T. ("*so baron et maistro de tuto el suo ostello*"); **M 1586** ("*maestro d'hostello*"); **M 91** ("*gran maestro di tutto il suo ostello*"); **M 80** ("*gran maestro di tutto il suo ostello*"). In the case of pseudo-Barbaro, it says in the context of his attitude against the payment of the Latins that "*Mauritio suo Barba apresso il qual era quasi tutta l'autorità dell'Imperio*".

²² pseudo-Enrico Dandolo ("*camarlengo del dicto Imperador novello*"); Morosini A. ("*chamerlengo de lo dito Inperador novelo*"); **M 2545** ("*chamerlengo del dito Inperador nouelo*"); **M 89** ("*chamerlengo e parente del dito Imperador nouelo*"); **M 559** ("*camerlego delo Imperador nouello*"); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*lo preditto Mortifex camarlengo*").

²³ **M 51** ("*prothoseuasto jdest lo primo homo dello Inperio*").

²⁴ Monaci ("*ipse Alexios nomine cognominatus Murtulus, provectus per Isachum ad nobilem statum, & factus Prothovestarius, nuper autem ab Alexio puero Duchia creatus, [...]*"); Biondo ("*Alexios cognomine Murtulus, quem Isaac Imperator ex infima plebe in Patricium Protonotariumque,*

It is also worth to be mentioned the case of chronicle **pseudo-Barbaro**, which inserts a strange fact, according to which Alexios III (named *Basilio* in the chronicle), besides the blinding of Isaac and the attempt to kill Alexios the Younger, would have been assassinated a third brother, who would have been even "*Morille (Moritio dicono alcuni)*"²⁵! Nevertheless, this latter appears again in the narration lately, when speaking about the coronation of Alexios IV, the new emperor liberating "*Mauritio suo barba, za impresonado da Basilio in una torre nel Mar Mazor*". As for chronicle **pseudo-Savina**, it follows the pattern of **pseudo-Barbaro**, except that it changes the evolution of the events and makes them plausible: "*e messe anche in preso Mauritio un altro suo fratello*"²⁶; after a while it narrates: "*Mauritio suo barba, el qual era sta per Basilio impresonado*".

According to a part of the chronicles²⁷, the supposed action of the crusaders in the Holy Land is inserted immediately after the liberation of Murtzuphlos and only

primariam aulicorum dignitatem, [...]"; Sabellico ("*Alexios, cognomento Myrtilus, vel, ut alii habent, Murcyphus, quem Isachus ex infima plebe multis & magnis honoribus ad summam dignitatem provexerat.*"); pseudo-Caroldo ("*Era Murciphio stato d'Isaakio antico servitore et da lui haveva ricevuti molti beneficij et per ciò apresso il figliuolo Alessio teneva il primo luogo nel consiglio, anzi era solo governatore di quell'Imperio*"); Morosini P. ("*Alessio Murzuplo, in cui teneua particolar confidenza, e che dal padre Isaacio, da humile fortuna al carico, & honore di Protoestiaro era stato sollevato, & inalzato*"); Vianoli ("*Quest'huomo sollevato alla fortuna dei primi posti in corte, & all'honore di Protoestiaro dal favore dell'Imperatore Isaacio*"); M 61 ("*Questo benché congiunto di sangue delli due Imperatori, e delle stessi unico confidente come protoestiaro, ò sia cameriero maggiore [...]*"); M 1999 ("*Duca Murtillo huomo di uilissima conditione portato da beneficij dell'Imperator Isaccio à sì alto posto*"); Diedo ("*Murciffo, uomo di sangue plebeo, ma sollevato dall'Imperadore Isaccio a' primi onori dell'Imperio*"). Among the primary sources, which usually (except for Clari) start referring to Murtzuphlos only lately, when referring to the preparations for the Greek revolt against Alexios, there are two cases where he is depicted as being somehow related to the Angeli: "*sanguine sibi propinquum, de quo pro beneficiis impensis super omnes alios confidebat*" (according to Baldwin, 503); "*a certain relative*" (in Gunther, 82, respectively "*autem cujusdam cognati sui, nobilis quidem viri, sed perfidi, qui Murtiphlo, id est flos cordis in gente illa vocabatur*", in Gunther Migne, 233). According to Gunther, it was Murtzuphlos who had advised Alexios III to remove Isaac II and take the power! (see also Gunther, 95, respectively Gunther Migne, 239: "*Morciffo, whom we mentioned above, through whose advice his father had been blinded and he himself put away in jail, [...] / Murciffo ille, cujus superius fecimus mentionem, cujus consilio pater ejus caecatus, et ipse in carcerem retrusus fuerat, [...]*"; see also Gunther, 115, respectively Gunther Migne, 248): "*He had induced Alexios to blind his own brother, incarcerate his nephew, and steal the kingdom from both; [...] / qui sibi fratrem caecare, et nepotem carcerarem, et utrumque regno spoliare persuasisset, [...]*". Then, the same chronicler (Gunther, 95, respectively Gunther Migne, 239) continues: "*Once Alexios had been put out of the way, Morciffo crowned himself with the diadem, as though he were a man of royal lineage and even related by blood. / Quo sublato de medio ipse tanquam homo regii generis, et ipse quoque sanguine propinquus, diadema sibi imposuit, [...]*" However, generally speaking, the sources do not follow this path, since his activity prior to anti-Alexios revolt is not referred to: Choniates, 307 (who only notes his imperial family name of Doukas, see also Choniates Van Dieten, 561); Villehardouin, 20/21 (who regards him only as "*un Gré / un Grec*"); Clari, 77; *Devastatio*, 91; Novgorod, 95; *Corpus Flandriae*, 297; *Chron. Gall.*, 352; later, Morea, 88 is completely original by regarding him as being "*a certain rich man, an archon of the City, they called him Mourtzouhlos*" (in Morea Bouchon, 62/63: "*Μούρτζουφλον τὸν ἐλέγαν, οὕτως εἶχε τὸ ἐπὶ κλινὴν / un certain seigneur fort riche de cette ville, appelée Mourtzouphle*").

²⁵ pseudo-Barbaro, 222a.

²⁶ pseudo-Savina, 55b.

²⁷ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 2567; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Venieria; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

their return to Constantinople would put them in confrontation with a new situation: that is, in the meantime, Murtzuphlos with the consent of the Greeks (*"con consentimiento di Greci"* or similar expressions)²⁸ had killed Alexios IV and, more than this, along with the Greeks denied the entrance of the Crusaders in the city. Actually, this is the moment that convinced the Crusaders to take the city for themselves.

Among the chronicles above, it is strange the case of **pseudo-Donato**, which had not previously mentioned the liberation of Murtzuphlos, so that the assassination of Alexios IV would be due to the Greeks. Afterwards, when the Crusaders returned to Constantinople, their entrance would have been denied by *"li detti Mertafixi, et Greghi"*, so that Murtzuphlos would represent not a person, but a community along with the Greeks!

According to another scenario²⁹, the appointment of Murtzuphlos is immediately followed by the embarrassing financial situation, when the Westerners ask for their proper amount of money.

As compilations, **M 2580** and **M 43** refer to the negotiations over the debts, and only afterwards they insert the supposed expedition in the Holy Land.

It is a singular case (**M 322**) when the episode referring to the liberation of Murtzuphlos is immediately followed by the assassination of Alexios IV.

2. His reluctance in paying the debts to the crusaders (previous to the assassination of Alexios IV)³⁰

It is mentioned for the short period when Alexios IV was still on the throne and Murtzuphlos, in his position as main counsellor, comes into contradiction with the young emperor: "Alexios wanted to pay the debt willingly, but that Murtzuphlos did not" (or similar expressions)³¹. In the other cases, the reason for which Alexios adopted the strategy of postponing was due to Murtzuphlos' pieces of advice³². By

²⁸ Among these chronicles, the expression is missing in M 2567 and pseudo-Donato.

²⁹ It is about those chronicles that do not insert the Crusaders' action in the Holy Land: M 2564; M 2569; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2573; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 45; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; M 327; F 6821; M 91; F 6241; M 43; M 80; M 1577; M 2028.

³⁰ Present in 38.32% of the chronicles: Canal. 23 (that just tells the crusaders that it is not possible to pay them); VH, 138; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 170a; M 2034, 396; M 2563, 11b; M 78, 10b, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 530; M 541, 34b; M 550, 72b; M 798, xxij b; Cavalli, 58b; M 51, 70a, col. 2; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni. 222; F 6234, 61b; M 46, 32a; M 2573, 111a; pseudo-Caroldo, 170 (just that he hated the Latins); M 2543, 49a; pseudo-Barbaro, 231b–232a; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 41b; M 47, 33a, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxiiij a; M 628a, 90b; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 108b–109a; Donato T., 76a; M 2580, 130a; pseudo-Savina, 57a; M 1586, 37a; F 6821, 82a; M 91, 366a; F 6241, 24a; M 43, 36b; M 80, 103a; Vianoli, 257 (just generally, that he gave bad advices to Alexios IV); M 1577, 272–273.

³¹ M 2569; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 2544; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 47; M 43; M 2028.

³² VH; M 2564; Cigotto; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 541; M 550; M 798; M 51; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; F 6821; M 91; F 6241; M 43; M 80; Vianoli; M 1577.

confronting these two lists of chronicles, it results that both sceneries occur for **M 51**, **pseudo-Barbaro** and **M 43**.

Strange enough, none of the two above notes is mentioned in **M 327**, so that the conclusion should be that Alexios IV was himself reluctant to the payment, in accordance with those chronicles that ignore completely Murtzuphlos³³.

This reluctance is somehow diminished in those few cases³⁴ where Murtzuphlos is, on the contrary, depicted as having the initiative to give the remained debt to the Crusaders. They are to be added to those that would mention this attitude of Murtzuphlos later, when negotiating with Doge Dandolo³⁵. These cases mean to imply clearly that it was not the money to determine the crusaders to remove the usurper, but the fact that he had assassinated his own and legitimate lord.

As for chronicle **pseudo-Caroldo**, it only says that: "*Questo sopra modo portava odio a Latini et, accortosi che Alessio alle fiate si ristringeva col' Marchese Bonifacio di Monferrato suo congiunto di sangue, hebbe di ciò tanto dispiacere che gli machinava la morte*". Murtzuphlos' anti-Latin hatred is also mentioned directly by chronicles **pseudo-Navagero** and **F 6211**³⁶.

3. His involvement in the assassination of Alexios IV³⁷

Present on a large scale in the Venetian chronicles, this episode is suggested as the main reason for the second siege of Constantinople in those cases that place it immediately previous to the preparations for the second siege³⁸ or to the agreement

³³ See above this note 12.

³⁴ HDV; Canal; VH.

³⁵ See below, p. 26 and p. 35 and notes 66 and 67.

³⁶ With one and the same expression: "*uolto l'animo auanti ogni altra cosa scacciar li Latini da quel paese*".

³⁷ Present in 76.64% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 23; Dandolo Extensa. 279; VH, 138; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 74–75; Morosini A., 7; M 2545, 47b, col. 2; M 89, 24a, col. 1–24a, col. 2; Monaci, 137; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 170a; M 322, 49b; M 2034, 396; M 2563, 11b–12a; M 78, 10b, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; Biondo, 11–12; M 796, 73a; M 559, 45a–45b; Sabellico, 179–180; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 530; M 541, 35a; M 550, 72b; M 2544, 42b, col. 2; M 798, xxij b; Delfino P., 326b; Cavalli, 59a; M 51, 70a, col. 2; Marco, 41b; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 222; F 6234, 61b; M 46, 32a; M 2571, 103a; M 2573, 111b; pseudo-Caroldo, 170–171; M 2543, 49a–49b; pseudo-Barbaro, 232a–232b; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 41b; M 2567, 39a, col. 2; M 47, 33a, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij a; M 628a, 90b; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 109a; pseudo-Navagero, 983; F 6211, 33a; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130a; M 2581, 90b; Sansovino, 560; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57a–57b; Doglioni, 127; M 1586, 37a; M 327, 70b; M 71, 128b; F 6821, 82a; M 91, 366a; F 6235, 131a–131b; Lio, 67a; Morosini P., 147–148; F 6241, 24a; M 43, 36b–37a; M 2572, 14b; pseudo-Donato, 30b; M 54, 155b; M 80, 103a; M 70, 41b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41a; Vianoli, 257, 259; M 2592, 29b; M 61, libro 6, 45–49; M 1999, 29a; M 1577, 273; M 2028, 80a; M 64, 194b–195a; F 6566, 34a; Diedo, 77–78; M 1833, 25a. Certainly, the episode is mentioned in all primary sources: Baldwin, 506 (placed after the dialogue with Dandolo); Choniates, 309 [564]; Villehardouin, 22/23; Clari, 85; *Devastatio*, 91–92; Novgorod, 95; Gunther, 95–96; *Corpus Flandriae*, 297, 301; *Chron. Gall.*, 352; Morea, 88–89.

³⁸ Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; Monaci; M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; Sabellico; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; M 48; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 45; M 2567; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; M 327; M 71; F 6821; M 91; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 2592; M 1577.

in March related to *Partitio Romaniae*³⁹. As for chronicle **M 61**, it inserts a developed presentation of the events related to Dalmatia⁴⁰.

Previously, chronicles **M 796** and **Delfino P.** had spoken no less than about a war between Murtzuphlos and Alexios IV, concluded with the latter's death!

There are few chronicles that get into details about the manner in which the assassination of Alexios took place and the tendency to poison him⁴¹, and even fewer that refer to the involvement of Nicholas Canabos in the events⁴², or to the funeral organized by Murtzuphlos himself⁴³.

As for Murtzuphlos' coronation as emperor, it is sometimes avoided by the Venetian chroniclers⁴⁴. However, Murtzuphlos as being in this supreme position is inserted, sometimes directly⁴⁵, and sometimes when reading between the lines⁴⁶.

³⁹ Dandolo Extensa; VH; Biondo; M 796; Delfino P.; pseudo-Caroldo; Doglioni; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 2028; M 1833.

⁴⁰ M 61, libro 6, 49–51.

⁴¹ Monaci; Biondo; Sabellico; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 53; pseudo-Savina; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli. See also Choniates, 309 [564]; Villehardouin, 22/23. However, the detail is absent in Baldwin, Clari, *Devastatio*, Novgorod, Gunther, *Corpus Flandriae*; *Chron. Gall.*; Morea.

⁴² Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61. See also Baldwin, 503; Choniates, 308, 309 [562, 564]; *Devastatio*, 91; Novgorod, 95. The detail is absent in Clari, Gunther, *Corpus Flandriae*; *Chron. Gall.*; Morea.

⁴³ pseudo-Barbaro; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61. The funerals are also mentioned in some of the primary sources: Baldwin, 506; Villehardouin, 22/23; *Chron. Gall.*, 352. It is absent in Choniates, Clari, *Devastatio*, Novgorod, Gunther, *Corpus Flandriae*; Morea.

⁴⁴ As for the primary sources, it is only Baldwin that ignores the detail, which is present in Choniates, 308 [564]; Villehardouin, 20/21–22/23; Clari, 85; *Devastatio*, 91 (just that “*solum regnare cepit*.”); Novgorod, 95; Gunther, 95; *Corpus Flandriae*, 298, 301; *Chron. Gall.*, 352; Morea, 89.

⁴⁵ HDV (“*imperii tenuit principatum*”); Dandolo Extensa (“*imperium sibimet violenter assumpsit*”); VH (“*qui post puerum tenuit principatum*”); M 796 (“*el dito Murchiffo violentemente se fexe Imperador si medesimo*”); then, in the end of the events, when narrating his fate after the fall of Constantinople, the chronicle says: “*Murtiphio del qual per auantj auemmo fato menzion el qual se fexe indebitamente Imperador de Constantinopoli*”); Marco (saying that he took the Imperial diadem); M 2571 (“*optene lo principado delo Imperio*”); M 2573 (“*& il dito Morizio come el piu stretto parente suo barba si feze Imperador de Constantinopoli*”); pseudo-Barbaro (“*hauendo Maurizio tutta l'auttorità dell'Imperio, ghe fu anche facil d'hauer medesimo titolo d'Imperator*”, immediately after the assassination of Alexios IV); M 53 (“*el qual Moricio como piu propinquo parente lui se fece Imperador de Costantinopoli*”), immediately after the assassination of Alexios IV); pseudo-Erizzo (“*quel Marsilifo, che se haueua fatto Imperator*”, during the siege); M 2581 (“*optene lo principado delo Imperio*”); pseudo-Savina (“*e se fese crear Imperator*”); M 1833 (“*dopo esser proclamato Imperator*”, when speaking about the assassination of Alexios IV).

⁴⁶ Canal, 22 (previous to the assassination of young Alexios), and 24 (saying in both cases that he entitled himself as emperor); VH (“*nunc false imperator*”); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo (“*el dicto Mortifex, capo et imperador indrieto elevado*”, when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); Morosini A. (“*lo dito Mortifex chavo e inperador in duto elevado*”, when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); M 2545 (“*el ditto Mortifex chapo ett Imperador indiretto eleuado*”, when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); M 89 (“*el dito Mortafixi cauo e Imperador in dreto leuado*”, when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); M 2034 (“*Marsilfo, che se feva chiamar imperador*”, during the siege); Biondo (“*pars Gubernatorem, pars Ducem, pars Imperatorem acclamaverit*”); M 559 (“*el dicto Mortifex chavo lo Imperador indredo leuado*”, when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); pseudo-Caroldo (“*usurpò quell'Imperio*”); M 2543 (“*Marsilio che Imperador se faceua chiamar*”, during the siege); pseudo-Navagero (“*fu chiamato da alcuni Governadore, da alcuni Capitano, e da molti Imperadore [...] e s'impadroni dell'Impero*”); F 6211 (“*fu chiamato da alchuni gouernator da altri capitano et da molti Imperator [...] et se impatroni dell'Imp.*”); Doglioni (“*nominandosi egli in*

This tendency to leave aside the episode of his coronation is explainable, since the usurper hid the violent death of Alexios IV. There are chronicles that mention the fact that Murtzuphlos kept the things in secret and/or spread the rumours that Alexios would have been only extremely sick⁴⁷, while some other few of them refer to the rumours saying that the emperor had died either accidentally⁴⁸, or naturally⁴⁹. That is why some chronicles clearly say that it would be only after the failure of the negotiations with the doge of Venice when Murtzuphlos would begin to assume the imperial position⁵⁰.

Regarding this event, **Monaci** offers some rhetorical explanations: "*Statu Imperiali in crudelem tyrannidem scelerata prodicione mutato Latinorum animi rerum indignatibus accenduntur, cogunturque contra perjuros, & perfidos Graeculos iterum induere arma justissima.*"

4. His dialogue with Doge Enrico Dandolo⁵¹

This episode is usually placed after the decision of the Crusaders to remove Murtzuphlos and the beginnings of preparation for the new siege of

quel cambio per Imperatore de Greci"; M 1586 ("*Marsiflo che si faceua chiamar Imperatore*", during the siege); M 71 ("*qual poi dal popolo si fece chiamar Imperatore*"); Paolo Morosini ("*diede occasione a' suoi partegiani di chiamarlo Imperatore*"); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*el ditto Mortifex cao et Imperador indiretto leuado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); Vianoli ("*e venne salutato da' suoi seguaci Imperatore*"); M 61 ("*onde si uedeua Murzuflo in sicuro possesso dell'Imperio*"); M 1577 ("*quel Marsilifo chel se aveva fato Imperator*", during the siege); Diedo ("*acclamato da una parte Murciffo Prefetto della Città, da altri Capitano delle milizie, mentre un terzo partito con sfacciata ribellione lo dichiarò Imperadore*").

⁴⁷ M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2543; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 323; M 1586; M 327; F 6821; M 91; F 6241; M 80; M 1577; M 2028.

⁴⁸ M 2571; pseudo-Barbaro; M 53; M 2581; pseudo-Savina; Doglioni.

⁴⁹ HDV; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61. See also in *Chron. Gall.*, 352.

⁵⁰ See below, p. 36 and note 80.

⁵¹ Present in 49.53% of the chronicles: HDV, 94 (just a short reference, in which Murtzuphlos does not have a particular dialogue with the Doge, but let Dandolo and the counts know his disposal to pay them and that Alexios had been died due to natural causes); Canal, 22, 23 (he appears as negotiator previous to the assassination of Alexios IV, and, like HDV, there is no specific dialogue with Dandolo exclusively, but with the latter and the Frankish barons); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 75; Morosini A., 7–8; M 2545, 48a, col. 1–col. 2; M 89, 24a, col. 2; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 170a; M 322, 49b–50a; M 2034, 397; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 10b, col. 1–col. 2; M 2560, 69a [74a]; M 559, 45b–46a; M 541, 35a; M 550, 72b; M 798, xxij b; M 51, 70a, col. 2–70b, col. 1; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 61b–62a; M 46, 32a; M 2571, 103a (short reference); pseudo-Caroldo, 172–173 (short reference); M 2543, 49b–50a; pseudo-Barbaro, 232b–233a; M 45, 41b; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij a–cl xxxxiij b; M 628a, 90b; pseudo-Erizzo, 109a; Donato T., 76a; M 2581, 90b (short small reference); M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; M 1586, 37a; M 327, 71a; F 6821, 82a–82b; M 91, 366a; F 6235, 134b–135a; Lio, 67a–67b; F 6241, 24b; M 43, 37a; pseudo-Donato, 30b–31a; M 54, 155b; M 80, 103b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41a–41b; M 61, libro 7, 7–8; M 1577, 273–276; M 64, 195a; F 6566, 34a. The event is also present in some of the primary sources: Baldwin, 503 and 505; Choniates, 312 (567–568 in Choniates Van Dieten); Clari, 86; Gunther, 96–97 (239–240 in Gunther Migne). but absent in Villehardouin; *Devastatio*; Novgorod, *Corpus Flandriae*; *Chron. Gall.*; Morea.

Constantinople⁵². The exceptions are **pseudo-Barbaro** and **pseudo-Savina**, which both place these negotiations (that have the possibility of paying the debts as singular topic) when the death of Alexios IV was still a secret.

In all these cases, the initiative belongs to Murtzuphlos⁵³, some of the chronicles mentioning the cause, that is his and Greeks' fear ("*paura*") in front of the Crusaders' preparations to take the city⁵⁴.

There are Venetian chronicles that consider that Murtzuphlos would have invited to negotiations not only Enrico Dandolo, but also the leaders of the non-Venetian Crusaders⁵⁵, but the greatest majority regards that the request for dialogue would have been addressed exclusively to the Doge.

The location of the meeting between the two characters remains ambiguous, since it is only chronicle **M 61** that mentions "*Cosmidio*" and makes reference to the authority of Nicetas Choniates ("*Kosmidion*")⁵⁶. All the other cases refer to "*uno certo luogo* / a certain place" (or similar)⁵⁷ or at most to "*uno luogo fuori della cittade* / a place outside the city" (or similar)⁵⁸. This latter expression is sometimes distorted, so that it becomes "*un locco uicino*"⁵⁹, "*un loco poco lontano*"⁶⁰, "*un luogo lutan*"⁶¹, or, on the contrary, "*dentro*" (meaning inside of the city)⁶².

However, the negotiations would have been a simple dialogue between exclusively Murtzuphlos and Enrico Dandolo, marked by a simple confrontation of viewpoints.

⁵² pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2564; M 2569; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 559; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; M 51; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; M 327; M 91; F 6235; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 61; M 1577; M 64; F 6566.

⁵³ This version is contradicted by Choniates, according to whom it was the Doge to have the initiative of discussing the peace terms. On the contrary, Baldwin (in both attempts), Clari, Gunther and Novgorod refer to Murtzuphlos as the one who sent word to the crusaders, as the Venetian chronicles do.

⁵⁴ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102. The similar expression of "*comincior<o>no à temere*") is used in Lio; M 54; M 64; F 6566.

⁵⁵ Cigotto; M 51; F 6234; pseudo-Barbaro; M 327. This version is to a certain extent in correlation with Baldwin, 503 and 505, Clari and Gunther, which mention "*ad exercitum nostrum*" (Baldwin, 503) and "*ad nos*" (Baldwin, 505), "to the count of Flanders, to Count Louis, to the marquis, and to all the other high barons" (Clari), respectively "the leaders of our army / *principes exercitus nostri*" (Gunther), just that they do not mention the Doge himself! Moreover, according to Gunther, it was the Doge who considered Murtzuphlos' initiative as a trap and advised the other crusaders to refuse the negotiations. However, Baldwin, 505 notes that in the end the meeting was held only between Murtzuphlos and the Doge, in the same manner as Choniates does.

⁵⁶ Except for Choniates, the other primary sources do not locate the meeting.

⁵⁷ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64.

⁵⁸ M 2564; M 2034; M 541; M 798; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 1586; M 91; M 80; M 1577.

⁵⁹ M 43.

⁶⁰ F 6566.

⁶¹ M 2563.

⁶² pseudo-Donato.

What does this dialogue consist in? According to some chronicles, the Doge was the first to speak⁶³, by asking immediately Murtzuphlos about the fate of the legitimate emperor, Alexios IV. In others, Murtzuphlos was the one to begin the dialogue, by inviting the Crusaders to go to the Holy Land⁶⁴, or at least asking them what do they have to do with his empire⁶⁵. Then, Murtzuphlos offered to pay the debt⁶⁶, and even more⁶⁷, while in other cases, on the contrary, he would have said that, with Alexios being sick, nothing could be done in paying the debt⁶⁸; in these latter cases, Murtzuphlos seems to indirectly invoke the authority of the one that he had just murdered⁶⁹. Since Murtzuphlos' facts were nothing than a kind of 'public secret', Dandolo would have afforded himself to make subtle references to the assassination of Alexios⁷⁰, and some chroniclers say about the Doge "*che tuto haveva sapudo el tradimento*" (or similar expressions)⁷¹. However, the Byzantine

⁶³ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Venieria; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

⁶⁴ M 322 ("*misser perche ue intramete uu [sic!] de questo Imperio uuj doue andar altra [sic!] el mar sora i Pagani e uui uegni sora de nuj che semo Christiani*"; M 2034 ("*Che ve inpazè vui de questo inperio; andè al vostro viazio oltra el mar, sora la tera di vostri infedelli*"; M 78 (short version: "*che andassero al suo viagio*"; M 2543 ("*Meser perche ue intramete uui de questo Imperio. Doue andar oltra mar sora pagani e uui uegni sora de nui che semo Christiani*"; pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*che aueuj a impazar questo Imperio andeue al vostro viazo oltra el mar contra Infideli, e aquistare le Terre Sancte*"; pseudo-Erizzo ("*che haueu [sic!] à impazzarne in questo Imperio, andeue al vostro uiazo oltra el mar contra Infideli, e acquistarè le Terre Sante*"; M 1586 ("*perche u'impacciate di questo Imperio, andate al vostro uiaaggio oltra el Mare sopra le terre delli uostri Infedeli*"; F 6821 ("*che loro fariano meglio andar al suo uiazo contra Infideli et non se impazar de queste cose*"; F 6235 ("*che non si doueuan impaciar nelle cosse di quell'Imperio, e persuadendoli seguir l'impresa contra Infedelli*"; F 6241 ("*che andassero al suo uiaaggio*"; M 1577 ("*che auea egli ad impazzarsi in quel Impero, e che se ne andasse al suo viaggio oltra il Mar contra Infedeli, e acquisterebbe le Terre Sante*").

⁶⁵ M 2564; M 2563; M 541; M 798; M 46; M 45; M 628a; M 91; M 80. This version is close to the one expressed by Clari, according to whom Murtzuphlos would have urged the crusaders "to go away and vacate his land".

⁶⁶ HDV; Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 322; M 2563; M 78; M 559; M 46; M 2571; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 68; M 2580; M 2581; pseudo-Venieria; pseudo-Savina; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566. See also Baldwin, 503, when speaking about the first attempt of Murtzuphlos to negotiate.

⁶⁷ Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 46; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Venieria; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566. This expression is close to the one used by Gunther ("under the pretext that they would receive the promised money and even greater tokens of royal generosity. *I quasi promissam pecuniam et insuper ampliora munera reliae liberalitatis accepturos.*")

⁶⁸ M 322; M 2034; M 78; M 541; M 46; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; pseudo-Erizzo; M 323; M 1586; M 327; M 1577.

⁶⁹ Actually, this is also the explanation offered by Gunther, when saying that Murtzuphlos sent messengers "in the name of Alexios the Younger / *sub nomine junioris Alexii*".

⁷⁰ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2564; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 559; M 541; M 798; M 46; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Venieria; M 1586; F 6821; M 91; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 1577; M 64; F 6566.

⁷¹ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Venieria; Lio; M 43; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

would have continued his diplomatic manoeuvres, by persisting in his lie, according to which Alexios was still under the physicians' care, but alive⁷². Besides, he invoked the fact that the empire does not belong to him and suggested that the Greeks (sometimes called as "*Griffoni*"⁷³) were those that do not allow the Crusaders to enter the city⁷⁴. This dialogue has nothing in common with what Choniates noted, the Byzantine chronicler referring exclusively to Dandolo's requests for the payment.

A summarized version of the dialogue mentions only that "*et seguite insieme molte parole* (or similar formula)"⁷⁵. There is also a short version, without mentioning the details of the negotiations with Dandolo in person, according to which Murtzuphlos only communicates to the crusaders that Alexios was only sick and speechless⁷⁶, although this detail is also present in some of the chronicles that had inferred the rumours spread by Murtzuphlos regarding the malady of Alexios⁷⁷.

Somehow surprisingly, chronicle **M 550** refers to the conclusion of an agreement between the parts, while other chronicles affirm the opposite⁷⁸.

According to some chronicles, towards the end of this negotiation, it occurred that some non-Venetian Crusaders made an attempt to kill Murtzuphlos, while Dandolo intervened so that the usurper could retire⁷⁹.

The failure of the dialogue determined Murtzuphlos to assume directly the government of the empire⁸⁰, as if – from his point of view – it was not necessary anymore for him to hide the truth about Alexios' death.

⁷² HDV; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 322; M 2034; M 78; M 559; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; pseudo-Erizzo; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; F 6821; F 6235; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 1577; M 64; F 6566.

⁷³ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; M 2545.

⁷⁴ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

⁷⁵ Cigotto; M 2560; Gussoni; F 6234; Donato T.

⁷⁶ M 2569; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 2544; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 47.

⁷⁷ See above, p. 33 and note 47.

⁷⁸ M 51 ("*non possando romagnir dacordo*"); M 327 ("*ma i menaua la cosa in zanzi finche i se parti desacordo insembre*"); M 61 ("*e che non uolesse effettivamente Murzuflo, che ritardare le risoluzioni nemiche nulla fu concluso opposto troppo i fini de die Principi, e troppo discordansi le intentioni. Così niente può operandosi nell'accordo [...]*").

⁷⁹ M 2034; M 78; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; pseudo-Erizzo; M 1586; F 6821; F 6235; F 6241; M 1577. This detail is also present in Choniates, but without the Doge's final intervention that stopped the knights to attack Murtzuphlos.

⁸⁰ M 2564 ("*e da poj partito Morfileo lui conmenza a teginir linperjo avertamente*"); Cigotto ("*tegnando lo Imperrjo apertamente*"); M 2034 ("*E da puo partito, Morsiflo de là, lo conmenzà a teginir lo inperio per liui averta mente e <se> fexe inchoronar*"); M 78 ("*Dapoi questo Marsiflo apertamente comincio tenere lo Imperio*"); M 2560 ("*e partito da luy ritorno in Constantinopoli tignando limperio apertamente*"); M 541 ("*E dapoj partito Marsiflo lui comenzo a teginir lo Imperio apertamente*"); M 798 ("*E da poi partito Marsiflo lui comenzo a teginir limperio pubblicamente*"); Gussoni ("*et partito da lui ritornò a Constantinopoli regnando in lo imperio apertamente*"); F 6234 ("*et partito trouò in Costantinopoli teginando l'Imperio apertamente*"); M 2543 ("*Partito Marsilio lui comenzo a teginir lo Imperio apertamente e fesesse coronar*"); M 45 ("*e dapoi partito Morfileo lui començar teginir limperio auertamente*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*E deli se parti e intro in nela cita. Et de subito se fexe Imperador*"); M 628a ("*et dapoi partito Marsilio lui comenzo a*

There are few chronicles referring also to a second attempt of negotiation proposed by Murtzuphlos in the middle of the second siege after the first French failing assault⁸¹. This new attempt would have been rejected by the Crusaders who considered the initiative as being not serious and expressing Murtzuphlos' intention to play a trick⁸². Chronicle **pseudo-Caroldo** does refer only to Murtzuphlos' initiative during the siege, therefore consequent to the attempt to set fire up to the Venetian fleet, and it does it originally: "*All' hora Murcippho, vedendo non poter resistere, fece intender al Duce, che gli haverebbe prestato ubidienza, quando volesse lasciarlo Imperatore. Gli fu risposto che non volevano con lui altro accordo [...]*".

5. The fire set by him up to the Venetian fleet⁸³

Not only that some of the Venetian chronicles place this episode as a part of the second siege of Constantinople, but even after the first unsuccessful Frankish

tegnir lo Imperio apertamente"; pseudo-Erizzo ("*el se parti de li Marsilifo, et intrò nella città, e fexesse Imperator auertamente*"); Donato T. ("*Partido retorno in Constantinopoli tegnando lo Imperio apertamente*"); M 2580 ("*et dappoi partito ditto Marsiflo scomenzò à tenir l'Imperio apertamente*"); M 1586 ("*Et dapuò partito Marsiflo da là, lui cominciò à tenere l'Imperio per lui apertamente, et si fece incoronare*"); F 6821 ("*et dapo a zerti zorni con el saur lauea el se fece far Imperador*"); M 91 ("*et dapoi partito Marfisio scomenzò a tener l'Imperio appertamente*"); F 6241 ("*Doppo questo Marsiflo apertamente cominciò tenere l'Imperio*"); M 43 ("*partito il doge, Marsulfo principiò à piu liberamente essercitare l'authorita Imperiale*"); M 80 ("*et dapoi partito Marfisio comenzo à tegnir l'Imperio appertamente*"); M 1577 ("*El se parti de li Marsilifo, e intrò nella città, e fecece Imperator*").

⁸¹ It is in accordance with what Baldwin, 505 considered as the second attempt of negotiation between the sides.

⁸² M 78 ("*con molto humilitade ma per jnganare*"); M 2543 ("*de gran humilitade per uolerli inganar*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*fraudolentemente, per far sorasedere essa batagia*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*fraudolentemente uoiando tradir*"); F 6241 ("*con molta humiltà mà per ingannare*"); M 1577 ("*fraudolentemente, volendo tradir*"). Baldwin also notes the failure of it ("*quod nulla cum eo pacis posset esse securitas*").

⁸³ Present in 51.40% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 24; VH, 138; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 75–76; Morosini A., 8; M 2545, 48a, col. 2; M 89, 24b, col. 1; M 2564, 79a–79b; Cigotto, 170a–170b; M 322, 50a; M 2034, 397; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 10b, col. 2–11a, col. 1, 11a, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; M 559, 46a; M 541, 35a; M 550, 72b; M 798, xxij b; M 51, 70b, col. 1; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 62a; M 46, 32a; M 2571, 103a; M 2573, 111b; pseudo-Caroldo, 172; M 2543, 50a; pseudo-Barbaro, 233a–234a; M 45, 41b–42a; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiiij b; M 628a, 90b; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 109a–109b; pseudo-Navagero, 983; F 6211, 33a–33b; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; M 2581, 90b; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; M 1586, 37a–37b; M 327, 71a; F 6821, 82b; M 91, 366a; Lio, 67b; F 6241, 24b; M 43, 37a; pseudo-Donato, 31a; M 54, 156a; M 80, 103b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41b; M 1577, 276–277; M 64, 195b; F 6566, 34a. This percentage does not include those few chronicles that place the episode under Alexios IV: Morosini P., 146; Vianoli, 257–258; M 61, libro 6, 43–44; Diedo, 77, so that do not regard Murtzuphlos as having this initiative. Among the primary sources, the episode is present in Baldwin, 503 and 505; Villehardouin, 16/17–18/19; Clari, 84; *Devastatio*, 91; Novgorod, 96; *Corpus Flandriae*, 298; *Chron. Gall.*, 352, and absent in Nicetas and Gunther.

attempt to assault the cities' walls⁸⁴, while some others immediately after the dialogue with the Doge and previous to the failed Frankish assault⁸⁵, as if this episode would have determined the non-Venetians to react tempestuously and carelessly. In two particular cases⁸⁶, the initiative of Murtzuphlos to set fire would have taken place in the middle of negotiations for the payment of the debt.

This placement of the episode is unlike the primary sources, which regard the episode as occurring when Alexios IV was still on the throne⁸⁷. The exceptions are Baldwin's letter, Novgorod and *Corpus Flandriae*, all these three sources inserting it in the middle of the siege of Constantinople.

In some cases, it is not Murtzuphlos in person to be mentioned as taking this endeavour, but the Greeks generally⁸⁸. It is explainable since, according to the majority of the sources, this episode is usually placed before Murtzuphlos' accession to the throne and therefore those sources refer to the Greeks in general⁸⁹.

The number of the Byzantine ships sent to accomplish this mission varies, the most chronicles oscillating in an almost balanced percentage between 18⁹⁰ and 16⁹¹. There are also cases that speak about six ships⁹², 14⁹³, or 15⁹⁴, while other chronicles do not offer any number⁹⁵. As a singular well documented case, chronicle **M 61** makes an incursion in the history of the famous "Greek fire"⁹⁶. While the figure of

⁸⁴ Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 541; M 2567; M 68; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

⁸⁵ M 2564; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 541; M 798; M 46; pseudo-Caroldo; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 2580; M 1586; M 327; M 91; F 6241; M 43; M 80; M 1577.

⁸⁶ pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Savina.

⁸⁷ Villehardouin; Clari; *Devastatio*; *Chron. Gall.*; Villehardouin, 18/19 even credits Alexios IV with this initiative when, as a conclusion of the episode, concludes ironically that "*Ice guerredon lor volt rendre l'empereres Alexis du service qu'il li avoient fait. / C'est la récompense que voulut leur donner l'empeur Alexis pour le service qu'ils lui avaient rendu.*")

⁸⁸ Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 2567; pseudo-Donato; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 61.

⁸⁹ Villehardouin; Clari; *Devastatio*; Novgorod (although this chronicle places the episode under the reign of Murtzuphlos); *Chron. Gall.* As for Baldwin, 505, it does not make a clear difference, still speaking of "suas [sic!] naves incensas", but *Corpus Flandriae* clearly refers to Murtzuphlos.

⁹⁰ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 322; M 2034; M 78; M 559; M 2543; M 2567; M 68; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; M 327; Lio; F 6241; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("circa [sic!] 18"); M 64; F 6566.

⁹¹ M 2564; Cigotto; M 2560; M 550; M 51; Gussoni; F 6234; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 45; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; pseudo-Savina; M 91; M 80; one could add Vianoli.

⁹² M 2563; M 541; M 46; M 2580; M 43.

⁹³ pseudo-Zancaruolo; F 6821.

⁹⁴ pseudo-Caroldo.

⁹⁵ "naves suas" in HDV and similar expressions in Canal; VH; M 2571; pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 2581; M 1577; M 61, to which one could add Morosini P. ("più nau").

⁹⁶ M 61, libro 6, 43.

16 ships is to be detected in **Baldwin**, and the one of 15 in *Devastatio* the other versions offered by the Venetian chronicles have nothing to do with the primary sources⁹⁷.

However, this Greek initiative was not accomplished; some of the chronicles note the Divine intervention⁹⁸, and almost all of them mention the Venetians' ability in removing the Greek firing ships⁹⁹. Some few of them offer the detail that it was only one Pisan commercial vessel to be fired on this occasion¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁷ The figures in the primary sources are as follows: four (*Corpus Flandriae*); ten (Novgorod); 17 (Villehardouin and *Chron. Gall.*). As for Baldwin and Clari, they do not present any figure, both referring instead to a double Greek initiative in this sense (for Baldwin, the first would have taken place according to the other primary sources, that is prior to the fall of Alexios, and only the second being the result of Murtzuphlos' initiative).

⁹⁸ HDV ("*Domino pro curante*"); VH ("*ex quo Altissimo procurante*"); M 2034 ("*per la grazia de Dio*"); M 2571 ("*per la gratia de Dio*"); pseudo-Barbaro ("*Ma la Maestà de Dio, che de continuo ama le cose giuste, et abhorisce l'iniquità, drezò il corso di quelle naue*"); pseudo-Navagero ("*per opera divina*"); F 6211 ("*per diutna opera*"); M 2581 ("*per la gracia de Dio*"); pseudo-Savina ("*per uoler diuino*"); M 1586 ("*per la Iddio gratia*"). One could add Vianoli ("*Ilche sarebbe successo, se l'assistenza Diuina, e la presenza visibile (come vien riferito) del Protettore nostro S. Marco non hauesse facilitata alle sorprese, e confuse genti la liberatione miracolosa, con l'allontanare i legni, e con lo spingerli in altra parte, doue forza più che di vento, perch'era dello Spirito di Dio, gl'inoltraua, [...]*"). The Divine intervention is complete in pseudo-Barbaro, when inserts the following description (233b–234a): "*Se troua scritto, lo credo anche per fermo, che all'hora furono uisti dredo, et intorno le naue, che ardeuano uisibilmente li Santissimi Protettori della Città de Venetia San Theodo[ro] [sic!], et San Marco, che le andauano spenzando, et allontanando uia dall'armada Venetiana, tanto, che non ghe fesse quel fuoco grandissimo, et uiolentissimo in alcuna parte nocumento alcun, ne se puol ueramente attribuir ad altro, che a miracolo, che un sì gran incendio, diuiso in tanti legni, tutti spenti da gagliardo uento addosso all'armada, senza farghe pur un minimo danno, da sì medesimo sì piegasse in altra parte. Mai non abbandona Dio quei che ueramente sperano in lui, onde essendo all'hora la fede di quei nostri Padri, ferma, et sinciera, et constantissima, et confidandose molto nella difesa de suoi Santissimi Protettori, se die creder raseuolmente, che per Diuina uolontà fossero liberadi da quel grauissimo pericolo, che ingiustamente ghe era stà preparà da Mauritto. Vedendo li Venetiani d'esser preseruadi da tanta, et così certa desauentura, subito tutti inzeno[n]chiadi [sic!] con le lagrime su i occhi, dettenu gratie a Dio de tanto beneficio receuudò, [...]*". Among the primary sources, the Divine presence is regarded by Baldwin, 505 ("*sed Domino faciente, [...]*) et ab imminenti(s) mortis periculo a Domino liberamur."; Villehardouin ("*par l'ie de Dieu*"); Clari ("by God's mercy", in both cases of the Greeks' attacks).

⁹⁹ Some primary sources do not mention the Venetian skills in preventing this attack, see *Devastatio*; Novgorod; but it is vaguely present in Baldwin, 505 ("*cum molto nostrorum labore*") and *Corpus Flandriae* (who even speaks about Baldwin of Flanders as intervening!), while Villehardouin, *Chron. Gall.* and Clari commend the Venetians.

¹⁰⁰ HDV; VH; M 322; M 2571; pseudo-Caroldo; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 2581; pseudo-Savina; M 61. As for M 2573 and M 53, they speak about a vessel charged with merchandises, while pseudo-Barbaro and pseudo-Savina combine this detail, referring to "*una naue Pisana carga de mercantie*", respectively "*una naue de Pisanj che giera sorta in porto carga de mercantia*". As for the primary sources regarding this episode, Villehardouin speaks about "*une nef de Pisans qui ere plaine de marchaandise: icele si fu arse del feu*"; Clari about "one merchant ship [...]. This was burned"; *Devastatio* refers to "*una tantum navis arsit*"; Novgorod to "*ita ut naviculae illae Francis neutiquam nocerent*", and *Chron. Gall.* to "*une nef de marchandise*". As for Baldwin and *Corpus Flandriae*, they are completely silent in this sense.

6. His resistance during the siege of Constantinople in 1204¹⁰¹

However, in many cases Murtzuphlos is not mentioned by name during the second siege of Constantinople, that is in the chronicles that offer a shorter reference to this siege¹⁰², but not only¹⁰³, except for referring to his flight or to his death.

The prelude of the siege, meaning the ambush prepared by Murtzuphlos against the troops of Baldwin of Flanders in the region of Philea is also present in a few chronicles¹⁰⁴, and the same is for its result, that is the capture of the icon of Holy Virgin by the Crusaders, although in only few chronicles¹⁰⁵.

All in all, the largest descriptions of the siege are those in chronicles **M 2034**, **M 2542**, **pseudo-Erizzo**, **M 1586**, **M 327**, **F 6241**, **M 61**, and **M 1577**, including

¹⁰¹ Present in 75.00% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 24; Dandolo Extensa, 279; VH, 141; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 76; Morosini A., 8; M 2545, 48a, col. 2; M 89, 24b, col. 1; Monaci, 139; M 2564, 79b; M 2569, 50a; Cigotto, 170b; M 322, 50a–50b; M 2034, 398–400; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 11a, col. 1–11a, col. 2; M 2560, 69a [74a]; Biondo, 12; M 796, 73a–73b; M 559, 46a; Sabellico, 181; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 531; M 541, 35a–35b; M 550, 72b–73a; M 2544, 42b, col. 2; M 798, xxj b–xxij a; Delfino P., 327a–327b; Cavalli, 59a; M 51, 70b, col. 1; Marco, 41b; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 62a; M 46, 32a–32b; M 2571, 103b; M 2573, 111b–112a; pseudo-Caroldo, 172–174; F 6239, 2b–4b; M 2543, 50a–51b; pseudo-Barbaro, 234a–234b; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 42a; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; M 47, 33a, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxxxiiij b–clxxxxxiiij a; M 628a, 90b–91a; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 109b–110a; pseudo-Navagero, 984; F 6211, 34a; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; M 2581, 92b; Sansovino, 560; pseudo-Venieria, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; Doglioni, 127–128; M 1586, 37b–38a; M 327, 71a–71b; M 71, 129a; F 6821, 82b–83a; M 91, 366a–366b; F 6235, 135a; Lio, 67b; Morosini P., 149–150; F 6241, 24b–25b; M 43, 37a–37b; pseudo-Donato, 31a; M 54, 156a; M 80, 103b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41b–42a; Vianoli, 261–263; M 2592, 29b–30a; M 61, libro 7, 3–16; M 1999, 29b; M 1577, 277–282; M 2028, 80a; M 64, 195b; F 6566, 34a; Diedo, 78, 79; M 1833, 25a. It is about the same chronicles that also present the assassination of Alexios IV, excepting M 70, where the episode of the siege is strangely absent, and adding F 6239, which pages referring to the events previous to the second siege of Constantinople are lost. Since it is about the central episode of the Fourth Crusade, the second siege of Constantinople is present in all the primary sources: Baldwin, 504–505, 506–507; Choniates, 312–313 (568–571 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 24/25–28/29, 32/33–34/35, 36/37–48/49; Clari, 88–91, 92–100; *Devastatio*, 92; Novgorod, 96–97; Gunther, 102–107 (243–245 in Gunther Migne); *Corpus Flandriae*, 298–299; *Chron. Gall.*, 353, 354–355.

¹⁰² HDV; Canal; Dandolo Extensa; VH; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2569; Biondo; M 796; M 559; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 2544; Delfino P.; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; F 6234; M 47; pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 68; F 6821; Lio; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 2592; M 2028; M 64.

¹⁰³ M 2564; Cigotto; M 322; M 2563; M 78 (in this case, excepting his second embassy towards the Doge); M 2560; M 541; M 550; M 798; M 51; Gussoni; M 46; M 2573; M 45; M 628a; M 53; Donato T.; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; Doglioni; M 91; F 6235; F 6241; M 43; M 80; Vianoli.

¹⁰⁴ Monaci, 137; Biondo, 12; Sabellico, 180; Morosini P., 148; Vianoli, 261; M 61, libro 7, 3–4; Diedo, 78. Among the primary sources, this episode is described by Baldwin, 504 (without mentioning Philea); Choniates, 312 (567 in Choniates Van Dieten) (even previous to the negotiation between Murtzuphlos and Dandolo); Villehardouin, 24/25–28/29 (Henry of Hainault instead of Baldwin); Clari, 88–90 (Henry instead of Baldwin); *Chron. Gall.*, 353 (Henry instead of Baldwin).

¹⁰⁵ Monaci; Biondo; Sabellico; M 61. For the icon of Holy Virgin, but in a somehow different context, see also pseudo-Navagero, 983 and F 6211, 33a. The detail is also mentioned in Baldwin, 504; Choniates, 312 (567 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 28/29; Clari, 89; as for *Chron. Gall.*, 353, it speaks only about the capture of some imperial badges.

the references to the presence of Latin and English troops in the army of Murtzuphlos, along with the Greeks¹⁰⁶.

Most of the chronicles refer also to Murtzuphlos' flight from Constantinople¹⁰⁷, as the moment when the city is finally taken. However, only a small part of them notes that he was accompanied either by some other Greeks¹⁰⁸, or by members of his family¹⁰⁹. It is only the case of chronicle **M 61** that follows word by word the information delivered by **Choniates**, according to which Murtzuphlos took Alexios III's wife and daughters with him¹¹⁰.

7. His blinding by Alexios III¹¹¹

Among the few Venetian chronicles that mention this episode, some only note Alexios III's enmity towards Murtzuphlos¹¹², while **F 6239**, on the contrary,

¹⁰⁶ M 2034 ("e non tanto sola mente di Griexi ma eziandio da soldadi latini, li qual liui aveva tolto a so soldo et altra zente che se chiamava Inglexi"); M 2543 ("et non solamente da Grieghi, ma de soldati Latini che lui hauea tolto a soldo et altra zente che si chiamaaua Varanghi che sono Englesi"); pseudo-Erizzo ("si de Griexi, come de Latini, et anchor Englexi"); M 1586 ("non tanto de Greci, quanto degli Latini lui haueua tolli à suo soldo de molti Inglesi"); M 327 ("non tanto de Griesi ma de zenti forestieri de Englesi buoni arcieri"); F 6241 ("la gran moltitudine de Greci con Turchi [sic], et d'Inglesi"); M 1577 ("se messe mareveiosamente in ordine sì de Greci, come de Latini anchor Englesi"). The Englishmen are also present in M 78; pseudo-Caroldo; pseudo-Zancaruolo. For these mercenaries, see also Clari, 95 ("the English, the Danes, and Greeks there"), 100 ("the English, Danes, and people of other countries"); Novgorod, 96 ("Graecos qui in urbe erant et Varangos [...]"), 97 ("Graecosque et Varangos").

¹⁰⁷ HDV, 94; Dandolo Extensa, 279; VH, 141; Monaci, 139; M 2034, 400; M 78, 11a, col. 2; Biondo, 12; M 796, 73a; Sabellico, 181; Delfino P., 327a; Marco, 41b; M 2571, 103b; pseudo-Caroldo, 174; F 6239, 3b–4a; M 2543, 51b; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxiiiij a; pseudo-Erizzo, 110a; pseudo-Navagero, 984; F 6211, 34a; M 2581, 92b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; Doglioni, 128; M 1586, 38a; M 327, 71b; M 71, 129a; F 6821, 82b–83a; Morosini P., 150; F 6241, 25b; Vianoli, 263; M 2592, 30a; M 61, libro 7, 14 and 16; M 1999, 29b; M 1577, 282; Diedo, 79; M 1833, 25a. Among the primary sources, Murtzuphlos' flight is mentioned in Baldwin, 507; Choniates, 313–314 (571 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 48/49; Clari, 100; *Devastatio*, 92; Gunther, 114; *Chron. Gall.*, 355.

¹⁰⁸ M 2034 ("et molti altri Greci"); M 78 ("con molti Greci"); pseudo-Caroldo ("con gran moltitudine de Greci"); M 2543 ("et molti altri Griegri"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("cum assai Grezi"); pseudo-Erizzo ("con assai Griexi"); Doglioni ("co' suoi seguaci"); M 1586 ("e molti altri Greci"); M 327 ("con molti Griesi"); F 6241 ("con molti Greci"); M 1577 ("con assai Greci").

¹⁰⁹ Monaci ("cum conjugis, & filiiis"); Biondo ("cum pellicibus, uxore & thesauro"); F 6239 ("cun pelicibus uxore, et thesauro") (quoting Biondo); M 2592 ("con la moglie et le meretize portando uia gran pecco di oro"); Diedo ("colla moglie, e co' suoi familiari").

¹¹⁰ M 61 ("con l'Imperatrice Eufrosina moglie dell'Imperatore Alessio il uecchio, e con la Principessa Eudisia figlia della medesima"). Cf. Choniates, 314 (571 in Choniates Van Dieten).

¹¹¹ Present in 16.67% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Dandolo Extensa, 281; VH, 143–144; M 2034, 400; M 796, 74a; Delfino P., 330b; M 2571, 104b; pseudo-Caroldo, 176; F 6239, 9b; M 2543, 51b; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxiiiij a; M 2581, 95b; Doglioni, 128; M 1586, 38a; Morosini P., 154–155; Vianoli, 267; M 61, libro 7, 30–31; M 1577, 282. This episode is mentioned in only three of the primary sources, that is Choniates, 334 (608 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 78/79–80/81; Gunther, 115 (248 in Gunther Migne).

¹¹² M 2034; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 1586.

mentions only the fact that Murtzuphlos was already blinded when being captured by the Latins, without referring to Alexios III.

Some of the chronicles also deliver as reason for Murtzuphlos' blinding by the former Alexios III the fact that he had been the one who assassinated his nephew Alexios IV¹¹³, leaving thus aside the fact that Alexios III had had the same intentions previously.

Beside these few exceptions – that place the event correctly, according to the contemporary sources, meaning subsequent to the coronation of Baldwin as emperor – the Venetian chronicles seem to avoid this relation between Murtzuphlos and Alexios III and pass directly to the execution of the 'false' emperor by the Latins, as if this latter would have been the direct and immediate result of the conquest of Constantinople.

8. His death¹¹⁴

In some chronicles¹¹⁵, it is only Murtzuphlos' flight during the second fall of the city to be noted, so that his death is absent, as if it was only his removal to be taken into consideration, while some others¹¹⁶ do not even mention his flight.

There are also situations when, contrary to an execution, one could infer that Murtzuphlos was killed even during the siege¹¹⁷, so that he would have not escaped

¹¹³ HDV; VH; M 2571; M 2543; M 2581.

¹¹⁴ Present in 65.74% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 24; Dandolo Extensa, 281; VH, 144; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 76; Morosini A., 8; M 2545, 48a, col. 2; M 89, 24b, col. 1; Monaci, 139–140; M 2564, 79b; M 2569, 50a; Cigotto, 170b; M 322, 50b; M 2034, 400; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 11a, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; M 796, 74a; M 559, 46a; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 531; M 541, 35b; M 550, 73a; M 2544, 43a, col. 1; M 798, xxiiij a; Delfino P., 330b; Cavalli, 59a; M 51, 70b, col. 1; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 62a; M 46, 32b; M 2571, 104b–105a; M 2573, 112a; pseudo-Caroldo, 176; F 6239, 9b; M 2543, 51b–52a; pseudo-Barbaro, 234b–235a; M 45, 42a; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; M 47, 33a, col. 1–33a, col. 2; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxiiij a; M 628a, 91a; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 110a; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; M 2581, 95b; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; Doglioni, 128; M 1586, 38a–38b; M 327, 71b; M 91, 366b; Lio, 67b; Morosini P., 155; F 6241, 25b; M 43, 37b; pseudo-Donato, 31a; M 54, 156a; M 80, 103b; M 70, 41b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 42a; Vianoli, 267; M 61, libro 7, 34–35; M 1999, 29b; M 1577, 282–283; M 2028, 80a; M 64, 195b; F 6566, 34a; M 1833, 25a.

¹¹⁵ Biondo, 12; Sabellico, 181; Marco, 41b; pseudo-Navagero, 984; F 6211, 34a; M 71, 129a; F 6821, 82b–83a; M 2592, 30a; Diedo, 79.

¹¹⁶ pseudo-Abbiosi; Sansovino; F 6235.

¹¹⁷ M 2564 ("e fo morto per Italiani quel Morflio Imperrador traditor che amazo Alesio Imperador zouene"); Cigotto ("et fo prexo et morto per li Talianj: quel Marsilio Imperrador et traditor"); M 2563 ("Et fo morto quel tristo de Marsillo Imperador traditor, che amazo Alesio zouane"); M 2560 ("e fo prexo e morto per Taliani quel Morfleo Imperador traditor"); pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("E andando i Latini scorrendo la Terra, s'incontrarono nel detto Marzuflio, e l'ammazzarono, per aver fatto morire il suo Signore così empientemente"); M 541 ("E fo morto per Talianj quel Marsilio Inperador che amazo Alesio Imperrador zouene"); M 550 ("& così fu morto Marsilio"); M 798 ("e fo morto quel Marfflio Inperador"); Gussoni ("et fu prexo et morto per Taliani quel Marsilio Inperador traditor"); F 6234 ("et quello Marsilio Imperador è morto"); M 46 ("e fo morto quel tristo de Marsilio Inperador traditor che amazo Alesio zouene"); M 45 ("e fo morto per Italianj quel Morfleo Inperador traditor che amazo Alessio Inperador zouene"); M 2567 ("ma pur

from the city; the expression used by the chronicles is that "*e fu morto quel Murzuflo*" (or similar), but without offering more details and, therefore, neither speaking about a punitive execution.

However, the most of the cases note that Murtzuphlos found his death by being executed by the Crusaders¹¹⁸. With some exceptions that just mention it without offering details¹¹⁹, the Venetian chronicles generally give various information about the manner of execution.

The classical version, according to which the 'usurper' was thrown from the top of a column¹²⁰, is followed indeed in some chronicles that expell it in one phrase¹²¹. A more developed description is offered by chronicle **M 61**: "*fu condotto nella Piazza detta del Tauro nel mezzo alla quale sorgeua la gran colonna di Teodosio nella somità della quale sopra scallini nel dimorano [?] intagliata saliuasi [sic!]. Iui strascinato fu esposto all'occhio di tutto il popolo per argomento dei precipitij della fortuna, e d'improuiso precipitato al basso, e punita con mortale caduta l'ambition temeraria del traditore.*"

However, having this description as starting point, the other Venetian chronicles develop it and advance many elements of originality, maintaining the fact that the convict was thrown down, but adding some other details.

For instance, chronicles **HDV** and **VH** use at a certain moment the summarized version (like **Dandolo Extensa**), when saying that "*et sic miserabiliter*

a la fine capito nele mani di Italiani el qual fu da esser morto"; **M 628a** ("*et fo morto per li Italiani quello Marsilio Imperador traditor, che amazzo Alessio Imperador zouine*"); **Donato T.** ("*et intradi tuñ dentro fo morto quel Marsileo Imperador traditor*"); **M 2580** ("*et fu morto per li Italiani quell Marsiflo Imperator, che amazò Alexio Imperator*"); **M 91** ("*e fu morto per li Italiani quello Marfisio*"); **M 43** ("*et fu morto Marsuffo, ch'haueua usurpato l'Imperio con hauer fatto amazzar il giouine Imperatore Alesio*"); **M 80** ("*et fu morto da gli Italiani il maluagio Imperator Marfisio, che ammazò Alessio Imperator giouine*").

¹¹⁸ **HDV**; **Canal**; **Dandolo Extensa**; **VH**: pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; **Morosini A.**; **M 2545**; **M 89**; **Monaci**; **M 2569**; **M 322**; **M 2034**; **M 78**; **M 796**; **M 559**; **M 2544**; **Delfino P.**; **Cavalli**; **M 51**; **Zancaruolo**; **M 2573**; pseudo-Caroldo; **F 6239**; **M 2543**; pseudo-Barbaro; **M 47**; pseudo-Zancaruolo; **M 53**; pseudo-Erizzo; **M 68**; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Savina; **Doglioni**; **M 1586**; **M 327**; **Lio**; **Morosini P.**; **F 6241**; pseudo-Donato; **M 54**; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; **Vianoli**; **M 61**; **M 1999**; **M 1577**; **M 2028**; **M 64**; **F 6566**. This is also the version in the primary sources: **Choniates**, 334 (609 in **Choniates Van Dieten**); **Villehardouin**, 114/115–116/117; **Clari**, 124; **Gunther**, 115–116 (248–249 in **Gunther Migne**); **Corpus Flandriae**, 301–302; **Morea**, 93.

¹¹⁹ **Dandolo Extensa** ("*turpiter vitam finivit*"); **M 796** ("*finj la suo vita [...] villissimamente*"); **Delfino P.** ("*cum uergogna fini la uita sua*"); pseudo-Caroldo ("*fu fatto morire [...] vituperosamente*").

¹²⁰ **Choniates**; **Villehardouin**; **Clari**; **Gunther** (although preferring the term of "pyramid" instead of column, but then explaining: "about the pyramid [...] which many call a column. / *De pyramide autem illa, [...], quam ei plerique columnam vocant*"); **Morea** (according to **Morea Bouchon**, the term of "*κίονος / obelisque*" is used). An original version is offered by **Corpus Flandriae**, 301, which regard Murtzuphlos as being beheaded along with 22 of his followers.

¹²¹ **Canal** ("and then Murtzuphlos was captured and thrown to the ground from atop a pillar, so that his body was shattered"); **Monaci** ("*de altissima praecipitatus columna exitum parem factis invenit*"); **Morosini P.** ("*condotto à Costantinopoli fu come meritaua la sua perfidia da vn'alta colonna precipitato*"); **M 1999** ("*fu per ordine di Baldouino gittato 1204 da una colonna nel Tauro*").

vitam finivit”, respectively “*et sic turpiter vitam finivit extremam*”, but offer much more details¹²². First, the column becomes statue¹²³ and, according to **M 322**, even balcony¹²⁴. A successful combination between column and statue is provided by **Vianoli**, when saying “*fù da vn'alta colonna d'eminente luogo detto Tauro da vna statua, che vi era sopra, spinto col precipitio alla ben meritata morte*”.

There are many cases where “*colonna*” becomes toponym, when it is clearly said that “*et la doue fo zitado lo suo corpo se chiama Colona*” (or similar)¹²⁵. However, **F 6239** makes distinction between the common and the proper nouns, saying once that “*et de luogo eminentissimo precipita, et per la città detrato esser stà preso da Balduin dum [sic!] fusse Imperator, et quello fe butar zoso de una colona*”, and then “*fò trouà Mortulfo, et morto fo butà el corpo in un luogo dito Colone*”. A successful combination between the two is also provided by **F 6241**, when saying simply that “*il loco doue fù gettato il suo corpo si chiama Colona, nel qual era una colona*”.

According to a number of chronicles, it seems that “*Colonna*” was not the place where Murtzuphlos’ execution took place, but the one where his body was left afterwards¹²⁶.

At the same time, there are cases where *colonna* / *statua* is named as *Tauro*¹²⁷, while “*Collan*” is the name of the place – therefore, a toponym again – where the body of the convict is thrown in the mouth of the dogs¹²⁸.

¹²² A similar conclusive expression is in Choniates and Gunther.

¹²³ HDV (“*et super statuam magnam, que Thaurus vocabatur, coram omni populo posuerunt et in ipsum precipitari fecerunt*”); VH (“*et postea super statuam magnam tauri aurati coram populo posuerunt et precipitari fecerunt*”); see also **M 2571** (“*et soura una gia statua che vien clamada lo Thoro dauanti tutto lo puouolo el fo messo et della el fose trabuchar*”); pseudo-Barbaro (“*il qual condutolo in un luogo emine^{te}, doue era una statua nominada il Tauro, el fece da quel luogo buttar in terra*”); **M 2581** (“*et soura vna gran statua che vien clamada lo Thoro dauantj tutto lo puouolo el fo messo, et della el fese trabuchar*”); pseudo-Savina (“*fù conduto sora una gran statua, la qual Tauro era chiamata in presen^{te} de tutto el puouolo e la fu zettato zo de alto à terra*”).

¹²⁴ **M 322** (“*e si fo gitado çoxo delli balchoni del palaço in tera*”, and adding another manner of execution, saying immediately afterwards that “*e fo puo tuto taiado a peçi*”).

¹²⁵ **M 2569**; **M 2034**; **M 78**; **M 2544**; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; **M 2573**; **F 6239**; **M 2543**; **M 47**; **M 53**; **M 2543**; **M 1586**; **M 327**; **M 2028**.

¹²⁶ **M 51** (“*e gitado lo corpo suo jn Chollone jn vno zerto luogo chuxi chiamato*”); Zancaruolo: “*E la doue fo gittado lo suo corpo che se chiama Cholonna*”; **M 2573**: “*& il suo corpo fo butado a un luogo dito alle Collone*”; **F 6239**: “*fò trouà Mortulfo, et morto fo butà el corpo in un luogo dito Colone*”; **M 2543**: “*E la doue fu gitado el suo corpo si chiama Colona*”; **M 47**: “*Et la doue fu gitado el suo corpo si chiama Cholona*”; **M 53**: “*et il suo corpo fo butado in uno luogo dito le Colone*”; **M 2543**: “*E la doue fu gitado el suo corpo si chiama Colona*”; pseudo-Erizzo: “*et fo gittado el suo corpo appresso una colonna*”; **M 1586**: “*et in quello luogo che fù gettato lo suo corpo si chiama Colonna*”; **M 327**: “*et in quel luogo doue romase el so corpo se appella Colonna*”; **F 6241**: “*il loco doue fù gettato il suo corpo si chiama Colona, nel qual era una colona*”; **M 2028**: “*E là dove fù gittado il suo corpo si chiamava Collona*”.

¹²⁷ HDV; **M 2571**; pseudo-Barbaro; **M 2581**; pseudo-Savina; Vianoli; **M 1999**. The name of *Taurus* is in accordance with Choniates.

¹²⁸ pseudo-Barbaro (“*et perche non macasse cosa alcuna al compimento della sua miseria, fu ultimamente il suo corpo dado a manzar a cani in un luogo detto il Collan, [...]*”); pseudo-Savina

There are also some cases that, for more or less explainable reasons, either continue the description of the execution, or even modify it.

For example, according to some chronicles¹²⁹, in a first instance Murtzuphlos escaped in a palace (*"scampado sovra un palazzo"*), he is captured (*"incalzado"*) on a column (*"sovra una colona"*)¹³⁰, where he is stoned (*"fu lapidado"*)¹³¹. It would be only after this manner of execution when these chronicles complete by saying that *"a le fine vene trabucando zoxo fin in tera e li morì cum dolorose stente"*. The verb *"incalzado"* could be easily a distortion of *inalzado*, which indeed corresponds to the classical meaning, but this modification completely changes the initial sense. Besides, the manner of description of the events seems to imply that the event took place directly connected to the siege, during Murtzuphlos' retirement and flight.

On their turn, chronicles HDV and VH also add that Murtzuphlos had previously been worn through the city on a camel (*"et postmodum ad caudam cameli ligatum turpiter per totam terram trahi iusserunt"*, respectively *"quem ad caudam cameli ligatum extrahi per terram iubserunt"*)¹³². According to **pseudo-Barbaro**, **pseudo-Savina**, and **Vianoli**, it is about a horse¹³³, and the same three chronicles, as we mentioned above¹³⁴, along with **F 6239**¹³⁵, relate how Murtzuphlos' corpse was thrown to the dogs, a practice that is similar to the horrible description of the execution of Emperor Andronicus I (1183–1185)¹³⁶.

(*"e dopo morto il corpo suo fu dato a i cani in un luogo ditto Collan"*); Vianoli (*"e perche fosse compita la sue infelice memoria, nè gli mancasse alcuna sorte d'obbrobrio, fu il suo auanzo di cadauere dato per pasto ai cani in vn luogo detto il Collano."*)

¹²⁹ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

¹³⁰ In pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, *"colonna"* becomes *"colinna"*.

¹³¹ In M 2545, *"lapidado"* is replaced by the non-existent term of *"peridado"*.

¹³² See also M 2571 and M 2581, with one and the same description, saying: *"et puo fu ligado alla choda de vno gambelo et comanda chel fusse strassinado per tutta la terra"*.

¹³³ pseudo-Barbaro: *"et poi mezo morto, et tutto posto, el fece ligar alla coda d'un cauallo, et uituperosamente strassinarlo per tutto Constantinopoli"*; pseudo-Savina: *"dopo a coda de un cauallo ligado uituperosamente per tutta la citta ello fu strassinado, e cusi miserabilmente fini la uita sua"*; Vianoli: *"fatto legare il suo cadauere ad vna coda di cauallo, e strascinare con ignominia per tutta la città"*.

¹³⁴ See above, p. 44 and note 128.

¹³⁵ F 6239: *"et morto fo butà el corpo in un luogo dito Colone a i cani"*.

¹³⁶ See Choniates, 192–193 (348 ff. in Choniates Van Dieten) (but without speaking of his corpse as being thrown to the dogs), but also in a large number of the Venetian chronicles: Dandolo Extensa, 271; VH, 136; Giustinian, 93; M 2545, 46b, col. 2; Monaci, 126; M 2564, 78a; Cigotto, 167a; M 2034, 392; M 2563, 11a; M 78, 9a, col. 2; M 2560, 67b [72b]; M 541, 33a; M 550, 72a; M 798, xxi b; Delfino P., 314a; M 51, 68b, col. 2–69a, col. 1; Gussoni, 220; F 6234, 59b–60a; M 46, 31a; M 2571, 100b; pseudo-Caroldo, 158; M 2543, 46a; pseudo-Barbaro, 221b; M 45, 40a–40b; M 2567, 37b, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxx b; M 628a, 89a; pseudo-Erizzo, 105b; M 323, 74b; M 2580, 129b; M 2581, 89a; pseudo-Savina, 55a–55b; M 1586, 35a; M 327, 69b–70a; M 91, 365b; F 6241, 21b; M 43, 35b; M 80, 102a; M 1577, 255–256. In the episode referring to Andronicus' cruel death, the majority of these chronicles (M 2564; Cigotto: M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 541; M 550; M 798; M 51; Gussoni: F 6234; M 46; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro: M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo: M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 323; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; M 327; M 91; F 6241; M 43 (where the dogs are substituted in the text by the ravens!); M 80; M 1577) also refer to the detail about his corpse as leaving aside in the dogs' mouth.

Some other chronicles introduce the detail that Murtzuphlos was cut into pieces, either completing the execution by throwing¹³⁷, or not¹³⁸.

All in all, as **pseudo-Zancaruolo** asserts, "*li fo morto de crudel morte*". As for **M 61**, it seems that a real trial had taken place in advance¹³⁹.

Few cases also mention the name of the one who had previously captured Murtzuphlos, some following the information offered by two of the primary sources (that is, Villehardouin and Clari) and mentioning Lothair of Loz¹⁴⁰, and some others introducing a Venetian in the story, that is Giovanni Basegio¹⁴¹, or considering even Baldwin as the one who captured the usurper¹⁴². It is also the case of **Vianoli**, who mention both Lothair and Basegio. According to **HDV, M 2571** and **M 2581**, both Baldwin and the Doge had sent their "*exquisitores / executori*" in order to look for and capture Murtzuphlos (already blinded by Alexios III), while **M 1999** notes that Baldwin gave the order of execution. Maybe due to copy inattentions, it results from the chronicles **M 2543** and **pseudo-Zancaruolo** that it was Alexios III who organized the execution of Murtzuphlos.

It is a singular interpretation that could suggest that it was Murtzuphlos first and foremost executed and only afterwards the city would have been taken¹⁴³.

Among the chronicles, some refer in addition to the prophecies related to Murtzuphlos' death¹⁴⁴, connecting them with St. Daniel¹⁴⁵. Since none of the

¹³⁷ M 322; M 2573. It is in accordance with Villehardouin; Clari; Gunther.

¹³⁸ M 53; M 70.

¹³⁹ The trial is also mentioned in Choniates.

¹⁴⁰ Morosini P.; M 61. Actually, the name of this character is Thierry of Los, see Villehardouin. 114–115; Clari, 123 (but reference is not to this count, but to his brother as the one that captured Murtzuphlos).

¹⁴¹ pseudo-Barbaro. Although it usually follows pseudo-Barbaro, this time pseudo-Savina does not mention Basegio. As for M 327, it also mentions the fact that the Venetians were the ones that captured Murtzuphlos.

¹⁴² VH (speaking about both Baldwin and the Doge); Monaci; F 6239; Doglioni.

¹⁴³ M 70, 41 b ("*& scoperto tal trattado ditto Mirtillo fo tagliato à pezzi da traditor, insieme con suoi seguazzi*").

¹⁴⁴ M 2569 ("*Et la xe jntaiado molte profizie de San Daniel, & jnfina quello tempo nisun non le jntendeua, se non da puo che le xe aduenide*"); M 2034 ("*e su quella cholona xè intaiade molte chosse de profezia che doveva adevegnir e algun non le intemdeva, se non che da puo che le iera adevegnude. E dixese che miser san Daniel profeta le profetizià che le doveva adevegnir. E subito chomo il Marsilifo fo gitado là, chomo io ho dito, el fo trovado chosi in quella cholona intaiado*"); M 78 ("*nel qualle luocho era vna collona nela qualle erano scolpite molte prophetie che non se jntendeuano senon quando erano adimpite: le qualle se diceuano essere de Sancto Daniel propheta[.] Et quando Marsilfo fu getato li, fu cussi jntrouato jntagliato jn quella collona*"); M 2544 ("*et la e intagliato molte profecie de San Daniel et infina a quel tempo nissuno le intendeua se non da po che sono aduegnute*"); Cavalli ("*e lj se intaiado molte profetie de quello Danielle. E fina a quello tempo nissuno non le jntenderia se non dapuo che lexe uegnude*"); M 51 ("*jn chollone jn vno zerto luogo chuxi chiamato doue ne son jntalgiate molte profizie le qualle non sono intexe sinon dapoj le sono ochorsse*"); Zancaruolo ("*Cholonna la xe intagiado moltte profecie de San Daniel et infin a quello tenpo ninsun non lintendeua se non dapuo chele xe auegnude*"); M 2573 ("*alle Collone, nelle qual era intalgato molte profecie che doueuanu uignir del Imperio de Constantinopoli ma non se intendeuano nome quando le sono vinute, & se dize che dite colone furno fate per man de San Daniel profeta, nele qual colone fu trouato el dito Imperator con il suo nome cusi como el fu butado*");

primary sources make reference to this saint¹⁴⁶, this detail should be regarded as a Venetian innovation.

Chronicles **M 2580** and **M 43**¹⁴⁷ even insert some drawings representing columns, having various inscriptions, the passage being entitled by **M 2580** as “*Comme fu trouato in ditto locho de Constantinopoli vna colona grande con certe letere umile et grande Grece à torno dicono esser fatto da’ San Leon Sophon, le*

F 6239 (“*un luogo dito colone [...] doue sono intagiade molte profecie che non sono intese ma poi sono stade. Altri scriue, che l’fò trouado che l’fuziua, et quello amazzò, et fò sepelido à una colona doue sono molte profecie de San Daniel*”); M 2543 (“*e la e intagiade molte prophetie de San Daniel che doueano uenir che alguno non le intendeua saluo dapoi che li erano uegnude: e si se disse che San Daniel le diuisi a farle in quella forma: E si tosto come el Marsilio fu cusi gitado come ho ditto el fu troua cusi in quella colona intagia in marmoro*”); M 47 (“*Et la se intagliato molti prophetie de San Daniel. In fina a quel tenpo nisuno le intendeua se non dapo che fono vegnute*”); pseudo-Zancaruolo (“*apresso vna collona in nela qual iera in taiada molte profecie che douea vignir. Se dicono Daniel profeta la fece far quella. E in essa collona fu trouada in taiada dela morte del dito*”); M 53 (“*in le qual colone erano intagiato molte profecie che doueuan uegnir del Imperio de Constantinopolj le qual profecie non erano intese se non quando le sono poi uenute et se dice che dite colone fono fate da San Daniel propheta in le qual colone fu trouato el dito Imperador intagiato con el suo nome Moricio et cusi come el fo butado al dito luogo*”); pseudo-Erizzo (“*appresso una colonna, in la qual sono intaiado molte profetie, e cose douessa uegnir, e nessun non intendeua, se non quando erano auenude, e si se dixè, che meser San Daniel propheta fece quelle, e cusi come fonno gittado el corpo de Marsilifo, in quella colonna fonno intaiado*”); Doglioni (“*& si vidde in essa colonna, che vi staua scolpito vno di habito Imperiale, che pareua che giù à punto fosse dirrupato da quella*”); M 1586 (“*et suso quella colonna v’è intagliato molte cose che doueuan auenire, et alcuni non l’intendeuano, se non doppò che gl’erano auenute, et dissei che meser San Daniel Profeta le profeteggì, che le haueuano ad auenire. Et subito come Marsilfo fò gittado là, come hò io detto, el fo trouato cosi in quella colonna intagliato*”); M 327 (“*et su quella colonna i era nota alcune profettie che doueua uegnir manon s’intendeua saluo doppo, chel era uenuta le se intendeua, et diseuasse, che San Daniel proffetta profettizo quel doueua uegnir, et cosi doppo morto Marsiglio fu trouado tutta l’historia*”); F 6241 (“*nel qual era una colona, nella quale erano scolpite molte profettie, che non s’intendeuano, senon quando erano adempite, si diceua esser di San Daniele profeta; et quando Marsilfo fu la gettato, fu trouato cosi in quella colona intagliato*”); M 1577 (“*una colonna, in la qual sono intajade molte profezie, e cose i doueva auenir, e nessuno non se intendeua se non quando erano auenude, a si se dise, che meser San Daniel profeta fece quelle cosi come sono zitade. El corpo de Marsilifo in quella colonna fono trovà intajado*”); M 2028 (“*Collona, et là sono intagliate molte profezie de San Daniel, e fino a quel tempo niuno la intendeua, se non da poi che son aduenute*”). Due to errors of transcription, it results that, according to M 2573 and M 53, it was Saint Daniel to build the columns themselves! As for the primary sources, they also refer to various prophecies: Villehardouin, 116/117 (speaking about images sculptured in the marble, representing an emperor thrown down); Clari, 110–111 (not referring to the execution of Murtzuphlos, which is narrated only later, but to the conquest of Constantinople from the part of those in the West; however, Clari uses the expression of “but no one could understand the event until it had happened, [...]”, so largely spread among the Venetian chronicles); Gunther, 116–117 (also referring to the fall of Constantinople, and not to the execution of Murtzuphlos, although it connects it to the column on which the latter found his death); Morea, 92–93 (speaking about the prophecies of Leo the Philosopher related to the obelisk on which Murtzuphlos would be executed).

¹⁴⁵ However, among these chronicles, there are two (M 51 and Doglioni) in which St. Daniel is not mentioned.

¹⁴⁶ From the side of Gunther, it refers to “*Sibyllae vaticinia* / the prophecies of a Sybil”, while Morea speaks about the prophecies of Emperor Leo VI the Philosopher.

¹⁴⁷ M 2580, p. 131a–132b; M 43, p. 39a–40b.

qual saran notade, et dechiarite quello dicono et significano, come in driedo, cussi in Greco comme in Latino sermone". In both chronicles, the inscriptions in Greek are in facts simple acronyms, which are calligraphic, but difficult to be deciphered. Under them, the Italian version makes an effort to clarify their meaning. However, the result of their examination is that they do not refer at all to the events in 1204, but to those in 1453.

As a result of the manner in which the events are disposed and in which the cause-effect relation evolves, there are situations when not only the assassination of Alexios the Younger be the one that leads to the second siege of Constantinople against Murtzuphlos, and neither Murtzuphlos' refusal to accomplish the financial obligations towards the Crusaders, but also his attempt to set fire up to the Venetian fleet¹⁴⁸.

It is also the hatred accumulated against him that in some cases induces the non-Venetian Crusaders to lose their temper and thus to hurry up the tempestuous closure of the dialogue between the 'usurper' and Doge Dandolo.

Needless to say that on the whole Alexios Murzuphlos is represented as the enemy *par excellence*, the traitor and the usurper, due to his treason against the legitimate emperor. Nevertheless, there are cases in the Venetian chronicles when his qualities are clearly mentioned. It is especially in the context when Alexios IV release him from prison, when Murtzuphlos is described as a wise man¹⁴⁹. Beside this case, Alexios Murtzuphlos is regarded by chronicle **M 550** as "*huomo astutissimo*" when he proposes the dialogue with Dandolo, while **F 6821** refers to "*qualche astutia del Imperador*" when referring to the fire set up on the Venetian fleet, and **Doglioni** regards him as having "*grandissima autorità*" over the Greeks when conspiring against Alexios IV. When the non-Venetian Crusaders intend to kill him during the negotiations with the Doge, the latter stop them by saying that Murtzuphlos is respected by the Greeks (and by the Latins too, in some cases)¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁸ The most relevant cases are in chronicles VH; M 78; M 2571; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 2581.

¹⁴⁹ M 2564 ("*vno grande e sauiο homo*"); M 2569 ("*uno sauiο homo*"); Cigotto ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); M 2034 ("*uno grande he savio homo*"); M 2563 ("*molto sauiο*"); M 2560 ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("*molto savio*"); M 541 ("*molto sauiο*"); M 2544 ("*uno sauiο homo*"); M 798 ("*uno sauiο homo*"); Cavalli ("*uno sauiο homo*"); Zancaruolo ("*uno sauiο homo*"); Gussoni ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); F 6234 ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); M 46 ("*molto sauiο*"); M 2543 ("*uno sauiο homo*"); pseudo-Abbiosi ("*sauio homo*"); M 45 ("*vno grande e sauiο homo*"); M 47 ("*uno sauiο homo*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*saputo homo*"); M 628a ("*uno grando, et sauiο homo*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*uno grande, e saputo homo*"); Donato T. ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); M 2580 ("*molto sauiο*"); M 1586 ("*uno grande sauiο huomo*"); M 91 ("*un gran sauiο homo*"); M 43 ("*huomo molto sauiο*"); M 80 ("*un gran sauiο huomo*"); M 1577 ("*saputo homo*"); M 2028 ("*uno savio homo*"). In comparison, in the same context, Clari, p. 77 refers to "a high man".

¹⁵⁰ M 78 ("*hauendo lui fama apresso Greci come Latini de homo sauiο et bono*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*El qual per Grezi era reputato sapientissimo homo*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*quel Marsilifo, el qual iera tegnu per quei Griexi sauiο homo*"); M 1586 ("*i Greci, egli Latini teneuano el ditto Doxe per uno sauijssimo huomo*"); F 6241 ("*hauendo lui fama appresso Greci, come Latini di homo sapientissimo*"); M 1577 ("*quel Marsilifo, el qual vegnia tegnu per quei Greci savio homo*"). A version that makes a confusion is in M 2034, which transfers the positive epithets upon the Doge

On its turn, **M 61** speaks about "*prestezza di Murzuflo che in una piazza uicina si ritrouaua accaduto con suoi intimando cuore à deboli, resolutione à timidi, sicurezza à gl'arditi, et animando ciascuno o colla speranza del proprio ò col timor del castigo soliti stimuli de che mercenario combatte per il solo interesse*" during the siege of Constantinople and to the "*temeraria risposta*" of Murtzuphlos to the Latins, after being captured by them.

Combinations of favourable and depreciatory epithets are offered in the following two contexts:

– when, during the dialogue, Dandolo would have addressed to Murtzuphlos in such a terms¹⁵¹;

– during the siege, when the 'usurper' is described both favourably and unfavourably¹⁵².

Nevertheless, all these examples do not absolve him from the position of 'traitor'. First and foremost, the facts are eloquent by themselves: his reluctance in paying the financial debt towards the Crusaders; the assassination of his natural lord – sometimes with the ironic mention "for the service done to him" by Alexios the Younger¹⁵³ –; his duplicity during the dialogue with Enrico Dandolo and lies uttered by him referring to the fate of Alexios IV; the attempt of firing the Venetian fleet.

("i Latini et Griexi tegnia el dito doxie per uno sanisimo homo"). On the other side, there are interesting the cases of **M 61** that refers to the fact that the Greeks were against him because of the taxes imposed by him, and pseudo-Barbaro that says that "*et essendo Mauritio odiado dal populo*" and respectively, even that "*al fin dal suo popolo medesimo fu preso Mauritio, et apresentado al sopradito Zuanne Basegio*".

¹⁵¹ **M 322** ("*sire Mutifie, uui se deuentado gran homo ma eçiam dio la uostra grandeça con nobelitate de sangue[.] Ma uui fe che asa uilana mente la uostra nobelita sapiando che cholui lo qual uui a uetegnudo [sic!] in proxima la qual uui aue lasato fuora el qual uui aue metudo in chussi gran stado si che lui che die esser uostro signor natural e uostro propinquo parente.*"); **M 2034** ("*Morsiflo, voi sè uno grande homo e de gramde lignazio ma vilana mente voi avè uxato la vostra zentilezza*"); **M 2543** ("*Marsilio, uui seti grandò homo et de gran lignazo ma uillanamente haue usado la uostra zentileza de hauer facto quel che facto haue zoe in hauer morto lo uostro signor natural che ui trasse fuora de preson: e che ui ha fatto se gran maistro*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*Marsilifo, vuj se grande homo e de gran lignazo, ma vilanamente aue vxado vostra zentileza*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*Marsilifo, uui se grand homo, e de gran lignazo, ma uillanamente hauè uxado uostra zentilezza*"); **M 1586** ("*Marsiflo, voi sete vn grande huomo, et dicendoli mà villanamente voi hauete usato la uostra gentilezza*"); **M 1577** ("*Marsilifo, vui se grande homo, e de gran lignazo, ma vilanamente avè usado vostra zentilezza*").

¹⁵² **M 2034** ("*e non hostante che liui era falso et deslial, lo iera molto aprexiao per li Griexi, et liui se pensò de defender la tera molto ben*"); pseudo-Caroldo ("*il quale, essendo valoroso nell'armi, fu causa che fu fatta gran stragge da ambi le parti*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*benche l'fosse deslial, quei Griexi pur l'apprexiaua*"); **M 1586** ("*E non ostante lui era falso et disleale, lui era molto apprezzado per li Griexi*"); **M 327** ("*et non ostante, che l'era desleal al suo signor iera apresiado da Griexi, et credeuase deffender la terra molto ben*"); **M 61** ("*Il corraggio però di Murzuflo nato trà l'ombre mancò con l'ombre*"); **M 1577** ("*se messe mareveiosamente in ordine sì de Griexi, come de Latini anchor Engles*" and "*e benchè el fosse deslial, quei Griexi pur l'apprezzava, pensando quello defender la Terra*").

¹⁵³ **M 89** ("*e questo fo el bon merito che laue chauandolo de prexon*"); pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("*per merito d'averlo cavato di prigione*"); **M 68** ("*et questo fu per il bon merito per hauerlo cauato de preson*"); **M 2580** ("*et questo fu per il merito, gli haueua fatto hauerlo cauato de preson*"); pseudo-Veniera ("*et questo fu per il bon merito per hauerlo cauato de preson*"); **M 43** ("*in ricompensa*").

These incriminating facts – which are enough to place Alexios Doukas in the category of the negative characters from the Venetian viewpoint – are joined by the rich terminology used by the Venetian chronicles, which is connected to each episode, as follows:

- when he set intrigues against Alexios IV, inclusively by advising the emperor to do not pay the debt towards the Latins¹⁵⁴;
- when he assassinated Alexios IV¹⁵⁵;
- when the decision of conquering Constantinople was taken by the Crusaders¹⁵⁶;
- when he requested the encounter with Dandolo and during the negotiations¹⁵⁷;
- when he prepared the firing of the Venetian fleet¹⁵⁸;

d'hauerllo cacciato di priggione, et d'hauerllo inalzato à gli onori"); pseudo-Donato ("et questo fu il buon merito per hauerlo cauato di preson"); M 54 ("per il bene merito d'hauerlo cauato di prigione"); M 64 ("per il buon merito di hauerlo cauato di prigione"); F 6566 ("per benemerito di hauerlo cauato di prigione").

¹⁵⁴ "quidam, Murciphus nomine, pravis consiliis" (Dandolo Extensa); "vno zerto homo chiamato Murchiffo homo de mal consiglio" (M 796); "operante iniquamente cum prauis consigli" (Delfino P.); "lo traditor Marsilio jngrato" (M 51); "lo infedelissimo consegio" (M 2571); "con mala intention" (pseudo-Barbaro; in the same context, chronicle pseudo-Barbaro philosophises as follows: "li animi delli huomini, essendo occupadi da qualche cattiuo pensier, precipitosi, et uiolenti sau despre come son li huomini quasi sempre presaghi di quel mal che deue intrauegnir"); "quel maluasio Marsilio" (M 628a); "uomo di mal' ingegno, aspirante alla tirannide" (pseudo-Navagero); "homo de mal'ingegno aspirante alla tiranide" (F 6211); "lo infedelissimo consiglio" (M 2581); "quel maluagio Marficio" (M 91); "quel maluagio Marfisio" (M 80); "i graui consigli di Murzuffo" (Vianoli); "el dito traditor" (M 2592); "un tal Alessio dito Murzuflo per l'orrida congiuntione delle ciglia solito contrasegno d'una malitiosa natura" and talking about "sceleraggine" and "l'empio ministro" (M 61); "i Consiglj artifiziosi" (M 1833).

¹⁵⁵ "questo traditor et jniquo" (M 51); "perfido Murciphio" and that he "usurpò quell'Imperio" (pseudo-Caroldo); "inspirado da spirito diabolico" (pseudo-Savina); "il tiranno" and "la perfidia del tiranno" (F 6235); "l'impietade di Marsiflo" and "ingratitude, et crudeltà" (F 6241); "hauuea usurpato il comando" (M 43); "sceleratamente" (M 80); "mà tolto dalle brutture della plebe, e però accompagnato da basso istinto, e da genio vile" and, metaphorically, "tentò prima di leuare la vita ad Alessio col malefico del veleno, che fu meno crudele di lui, perche non valse à dar la morte à quel vigore di giouentù" (Vianoli); "il barbaro tradimento di Murzuflo" (M 61); "huomo di uilissima conditione" and "con detestabile perfidia [...], usurpandosi così l'iniquissimo Greco il trono" (M 1999).

¹⁵⁶ "scelestissimus Alexios" (Sabellico); "il perfido tiranno, il quale si ingratamente contro loro, e sì orridamente contro il giovane Imperadore avea operato" (pseudo-Navagero); "il perfido tirano, il qual si ingratamente contra loro, et si horidamente contra il giouane Imperator hauer operato" (F 6211); "la crudeltà de Mauritio usata uerso el nuouo e l'astutia de tradimento de fogar l'armada" (pseudo-Savina); "il tiranno" (F 6235); "Marsulfo l'usurpatore" (M 43); "un tanto ribaldo et traditore" (M 2592); "il tiranno", "egualmente abborrito il tradimento, et il traditore", "la perfidia del tiranno Murzuflo", and "iniquo genio e superbo dell'usurpatore" (M 61); "tiranno" (M 1999).

¹⁵⁷ "il tiranno" (F 6235); "li suoi inganni" (F 6241). One should add here the terms of "dissimulaua", "duplizitate", "malizia" (and their dialectal forms) used when presenting the dialogue in pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.: M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Venieria; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

¹⁵⁸ "tanta jndegna perfidia" (M 78); "inspirato dal spirito diabolico" (M 2573); "ghe cascò nell'animo un crudel, et scelerado pensier". "questa diabolica imagination", and "la maluagità, et la crudeltà de Mauritio, et il tradimento grande, che li haueruo ordido" (pseudo-Barbaro); "inspirado dal spirito diabolico" (M 53); "Mauritio hauendo sempre mal anemo" and "la sua pessima & iniqua uolontà" (pseudo-Savina); "tanta indignità" (F 6241); "questa insolenza di Marsulfo" (M 43);

- during the second siege of Constantinople¹⁵⁹;
- when considering him as being in bad relations with the Greeks themselves¹⁶⁰;
- when he escaped from Constantinople after the siege¹⁶¹;
- when he encountered Alexios III¹⁶²;
- when he was captured by the Latins¹⁶³;
- when he found his death¹⁶⁴.

One could add here the expression saying that "the Greeks are worse than the Infidels"¹⁶⁵, since it, being in the context of the assassination of Alexios IV, refers indirectly to the same Murtzuphlos, but also the considerations of **Monaci** in the same context: "*Statu Imperiali in crudelem tyrannidem scelerata prodicione mutato Latinorum animi rerum indignatibus accenduntur, cogunturque contra perjuros, &*

accese, e stuzzicò nel petto di quei Greci vn talento di perfidia tale" (Vianoli, although the event took place previous to Murtzuphlos' accession to the throne, according to this chronicle).

¹⁵⁹ "tyrannus" (Monaci); "lo tiran" and "tiranus" (F 6239); "Mirtilo traditor" (M 2592).

¹⁶⁰ "un usurpatore dell'Imperio" (M 61).

¹⁶¹ "misero" (HDV); "tyrapnus" (Dandolo Extensa); "tyrannus" (Monaci); "Marsiflo falso Imperatore" (M 78); "tyrannus" (Biondo); "el dito teranno [sic=tiranno] chiamato Murteffo" (M 796); "Murciphlo quel Tiranno" (Delfino P.); "lo misero a Meziphlo" (M 2571); "il tiranno" (pseudo-Navagero); "il tyranno" (F 6211); "quel Marsileo Imperador traditor" (Donato T.); "el ditto Marafixi traditor del puto Imperator" (M 68); "lo misero AMIZIPHO" (M 2581); "el ditto Marafixi traditor del puto Imperator" (pseudo-Veniera); "il tiranno" (M 71); "il detto Marafini traditor del giouane Imperator" (Lio); "Marsiflo falso Imperatore" (F 6241); "detto Marafisi traditore del giouene Imperatore" (M 54); "Murzuflo, che non seppe illustrare gl'ultimi momenti della sua tirannide con una morte da Principe" (M 61).

¹⁶² "invasor imperii" (Dandolo Extensa); "Murcifo inuasor dell'Imperio" (Delfino P.); "la sua aroganza" (pseudo-Caroldo); "traditore" (M 61).

¹⁶³ "traditor" (M 89); "sua perfidia", "barbara crudeltà", and "il perfido" (M 61).

¹⁶⁴ "quel Morflio Imperrador traditor che amazo Alesio Imperador zouene" (M 2564); "quel Marsiljo Imperrador et traditor" (Cigotto); "quel tristo de Marsillo imperador traditor, che amazo Alesio zouane" (M 2563); "Imperador traditor" (M 2560); "lo traditorescho Marrsillio" (M 51); "Imperador traditor" (Gussoni); "quel tristo de Marsilio Imperador traditor che amazo Alesjo zouene" (M 46); "sua miseria" (pseudo-Barbaro); "quel Morfleo Imperador traditor che amazo Alessio Imperador zouene" (M 45); "Quel Marsilifo Imperator traditor, che ammazò Alesso zouene" (pseudo-Erizzo); "perche l'era sta traditor del suo signor et hauendo fatto morir a torto à tradimento" (M 327); "la sua perfidia" (Morosini P.); "Marsuffo, ch'hauuea usurpato l'Imperio con hauer fatto amazzar il giouine Imperatore Alesio" (M 43); "Metafixi traditor del puto Imperator" (pseudo-Donato); "il maluagio Imperator Marfizio, che ammazò Alessio Imperator giouine" and "traditor" (M 80); "la sue infelice memoria" (Vianoli); "l'ambition temeraria del traditore" (M 61); "detto Marafisi traditore del giouine Imperatore" (M 64); "Mirtillo traditor del giouane Imperatore" (F 6566).

¹⁶⁵ M 2564; M 2569; M 2034; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; M 2543; M 45; M 47; M 628a; M 327 (in this case, the element of comparison is represented by "Zudij / the Jews", maybe due to an error in transcription); M 91; M 80; M 2028. Slightly modified versions for this expression, in M 2563 ("giudichono che i fussi tristi hominj, et infideli") and in M 46 ("judichono chel fosseno tristi homenj et infidelli"); another version in M 78 and F 6241 (speaking about "la pessima natura de Greci gli qualli cusi tratasseno j suoi signori[.] et fussero ribelli ala Sancta Chiesa Romania et oltra di cio, mancatori di fede et di le promesse"; shorter expressions in pseudo-Zancaruolo ("chatiua zente"); pseudo-Erizzo ("cattiva zente"); M 1586 ("gente infedele"); M 1577 ("cattiva zente"); a more developed version in Morosini P. ("l'ingratitude vsata, l'odio mostrato, l'offese fatte da Greci").

perfidus Graeculos iterum induere arma justissima."¹⁶⁶, continuing with details referring to Byzantium regarded as heretic.

Obviously, the Venetian chroniclers were not aware of the fact that Alexios V had been a member of the famous family of Doukas, so that his claims to the Byzantine throne were legitimate to a significant extent¹⁶⁷. Only few chronicles mention him under his first name of Alexios¹⁶⁸, fewer even than those that do not refer to him by any name, using only depreciatory nouns¹⁶⁹, titles and families connections¹⁷⁰ or adjectives¹⁷¹, sometimes exclusively¹⁷². That is why our character is represented most of the times under his nickname of Murtzuphlos¹⁷³. This nickname was explained by Choniates ("Δούκας Ἀλέξιος, ὃς ἐκ τοῦ συνεσπᾶσθαι τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ οἶον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικρέμασθαι πρὸς τῶν συνεφῆβων ἐπώνομαστο Μούρτζουφλος, [...] / Alexios Doukas (who, because his eyebrows were joined together and hung over his eyes, was called Mourtzouphlos as an adolescent by his companions), [...]")¹⁷⁴. Among the Venetian chronicles, there are only two that gives this explanation for it: F 6235 ("*vn'Alessio Duca detto per sopranoime Murcufle, perche haueua le ciglie gionte*") and M 61 ("*[...] un tal Alessio dito Murzuflo per l'orrida congiunzione delle ciglia solito contrasegno d'una malitiosa natura.*")

The versions offered by the Venetian chronicles written in Latin are almost the same and the versions in which Murtzuphlos' name appears are quite similar: "Murciccus"¹⁷⁵; "Murciffus" / "Murcifus" / "Murciphus" / "Murcyphus"¹⁷⁶;

¹⁶⁶ See also Biondo ("*malo vir ingenio ad tyrannidem anhelabat*").

¹⁶⁷ The only exceptions are Monaci (but saying that Alexios was created "duce / duke", so that Doukas becomes title, and not family name); F 6235 ("*vn'Alessio Duca detto per sopranoime Murcufle, perche haueua le ciglie gionte*"); M 1999 ("*Duca Mirtillo*", but adding immediately afterwards: "*huomo di uilissima conditione*").

¹⁶⁸ Monaci; Biondo; Sabellico (three times); pseudo-Navagero (twice); F 6211 (twice); F 6235; Morosini P.; M 61.

¹⁶⁹ Monaci ("*tyrannus*", used twice); Biondo ("*tyrannus*", twice); F 6239 ("*lo tiran*", twice; "*tiranus*"); pseudo-Navagero ("*il perfido tiranno*", "*il tiranno*"); F 6211 ("*il perfido tirano*", "*il tiranno*"); M 71 ("*il tiranno*"); F 6235 ("*il tiranno*"); M 2592 ("*el dito traditor*", "*el traditor*"); M 61 ("*il tiranno*", "*traditore*" – used three times); M 1999 ("*tiranno*").

¹⁷⁰ Monaci ("*Ducha*"); pseudo-Savina ("*barba*"); M 71 ("*un suo cortigiano*"); F 6821 ("*quel suo parente*", "*dito suo parente*", "*il parente del Imperator*", "*Imperador*"); M 61 ("*l'empio ministro*", "*l'Imperatore*").

¹⁷¹ M 61 ("*l'empio ministro*", "*il perfido*"); M 1999 ("*l'iniquissimo Greco*").

¹⁷² M 71; F 6821.

¹⁷³ "Murtzuphlos" as nickname is mentioned only by Monaci ("*Alexios nomine cognominatus Murtilus*"); M 796 ("*el dito teranno [sic!=tiranno] chiamato Murteffo*"); Biondo ("*Alexios cognomine Murtilus*"); Sabellico ("*Alexios, cognomento Myrtilus, vel, ut alii habent, Murcyphus*"); Navagero ("*uno Alessio Greco chiamato Mortelio*"); F 6211 ("*uno certo Alessio Greco chiamato Mortilo*"); F 6235 ("*vn'Alessio Duca detto per sopranoime Murcufle*"); M 61 ("*Alessio dito Murzuflo*").

¹⁷⁴ Choniates, 307 (561 in Choniates Van Dieten).

¹⁷⁵ HDV (twice).

¹⁷⁶ HDV (three times); Dandolo Extensa (three times); VH (five times); Sabellico.

"*Murtilus*"¹⁷⁷; "*Myrtilus*"¹⁷⁸; "*Murticus*"¹⁷⁹. The same is the case for the only Venetian chronicle written in medieval French (Canal), which uses constantly the name of "*li Murfice*"¹⁸⁰.

On the contrary, the situation is completely different for the many chronicles written in vulgar Venetian, since the nickname of Murtzuphlos generated a huge number of versions. Moreover, various versions could be detected in one and the same chronicle, although the number of chronicles that use constantly a single version from the beginning to the end is not small at all¹⁸¹. Certainly, this diversity would be rather generated by the precarity of the general culture of the copiers that worked with the chronicles.

Nevertheless, some explanations could be concluded in some particular cases. Thus, when making an attempt to group them, it results that an important number of cases referring to Murtzuphlos (103)¹⁸², re-names the character as "*Marsilio*" (and all its versions, like "*Marsiljo*", "*Marssiljo*", "*Marssillo*", "*Marsillo*", "*Marsilo*", "*Marsileo*", "*Marsillio*", "*Marssilio*", "*Marssillio*", "*Marsiglio*"). One could make a connection with the negative character in the "*Song of Roland*", that is Marsilius, the captain of the Saracens, so offering to the conquest of Constantinople a more crusading feature.

There are also many cases when the character is presented under names beginning with "*Mort-*" (especially "*Mortifex*" / "*Morttifex*" / "*Mortifes*"¹⁸³, but

¹⁷⁷ Monaci.

¹⁷⁸ Sabellico (twice).

¹⁷⁹ Marco.

¹⁸⁰ See Canal Limentani, *passim*.

¹⁸¹ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo ("*Mortifex*", ten times); Morosini A. ("*Mortifes*", ten times); M 78 ("*Marsiflo*", 13 times); M 541 ("*Marsiflo*", six times); M 550 ("*Marsilio*", six times); M 2544 ("*Marsilio*", three times); Gussoni ("*Marsilio*", six times); F 6234 ("*Marsilio*", six times); M 2573 ("*Morzio*", seven times); pseudo-Caroldo ("*Murciphlo*", eight times); F 6239 ("*Mortulfo*"); M 2543 ("*Marsilio*", 17 times); pseudo-Abbiati ("*Marsilifo*", once); M 47 ("*Marsilio*", three times); M 628a ("*Marsilio*", seven times); M 53 ("*Morcio*", eight times); pseudo-Erizzo ("*Marsilifo*", 22 times); pseudo-Navagero ("*Mortelio*", once); F 6211 ("*Mortilo*", once); M 2580 ("*Marsiflo*", ten times); Sansovino ("*Marzuflo*", once); pseudo-Savina ("*Mauritio*", seven times); M 1586 ("*Marsiflo*", 18 times); Lio ("*Marafini*", 11 times); F 6241 ("*Marsiflo*", 15 times); M 54 ("*Marafisi*", ten times); M 80 ("*Marfisio*", seven times); M 70 ("*Mirtillo*", three times); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*Mortifex*", ten times); M 2592 ("*Mirtilo*", five times); M 61 ("*Murzuflo*", 24 times); M 1999 ("*Mirtillo*", three times); M 1577 ("*Marsilifo*", 21 times); M 2028 ("*Marsilio*", three times); M 64 ("*Marafisi*", 11 times); F 6566 ("*Mirtillo*", eight times); Diedo ("*Murcifflo*", six times); M 1833 ("*Murtsuple*", twice). On the other side, the most versions inside of one and the same chronicle is noted in the following chronicles: six forms in M 2034; five in M 45; four in M 2564; M 2560; M 51; pseudo-Veniera; M 43; three in VH; M 2545; M 322; M 796; M 2571; pseudo-Barbaro; M 2567; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 2581; M 327; M 91.

¹⁸² Cigotto (eight times); M 2563 (nine times); M 2560 (twice); M 550 (six times); M 2544 (three times); M 51 (nine times); Gussoni (six times); F 6234 (six times); M 46 (nine times); M 2543 (13 times); M 45 (three times); M 47 (three times); M 628a (seven times); Donato T. (six times); M 327 (eight times); M 2028 (three times).

¹⁸³ pseudo-Enrico Dandolo (ten times); Morosini A. (ten times); M 2545 (eight times); M 559 (nine times); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 (ten times).

also "*Mortafex*" / "*Mortafexi*" / "*Mortafixi*"¹⁸⁴, and "*Mortelio*"¹⁸⁵, "*Mortilo*"¹⁸⁶, "*Mortitio*"¹⁸⁷, "*Mortulfo*"¹⁸⁸. One could also include here the forms of "*Montifex*"¹⁸⁹, "*Menttifex*"¹⁹⁰, "*Mertafixi*"¹⁹¹, "*Matafixi*"¹⁹², "*Marafexi*" / "*Marrafexi*"¹⁹³, "*Marafixi*" / "*Marrafixi*"¹⁹⁴, "*Marafisi*"¹⁹⁵, or even "*Forttifex*"¹⁹⁶, probably copier errors originating in the same *Mortifex*. It could induce the idea of "*morte* / death", in the sense of the most negative connotation¹⁹⁷. Perhaps originating in these forms, one could also note the derivatives like "*Murteffo*" and "*Murtiphio*", both used in chronicle **M 796**, and also "*Morsilifo*"¹⁹⁸ or "*Morsileo*"¹⁹⁹.

Maybe it is not quite exaggerated to make another connection, the one between the form of "*Mutifer*"²⁰⁰ and the name of the fallen angel Lucifer.

It could also be considered the influence of the Italian more familiar name of *Maurizio* taken into account by the chroniclers, with its derivatives of "*Mauritio*"²⁰¹, "*Morizio*"²⁰², "*Moricio*"²⁰³. To a smaller extent, the same could be explained the use of "*Marcuflo*" / "*Marcufle*"²⁰⁴, which could be approached to the name of *Marco*, so dear to the Venetians²⁰⁵.

Perhaps the closest versions to the original Greek form of Murtzuphlos seem to be the following: "*Murzuflo*"²⁰⁶, "*Murzuflio*"²⁰⁷, "*Murzuffo*"²⁰⁸, "*Murcufle*"²⁰⁹,

¹⁸⁴ M 89 (11 times); M 2567 (four times).

¹⁸⁵ pseudo-Navagero.

¹⁸⁶ F 6211.

¹⁸⁷ pseudo-Barbaro.

¹⁸⁸ F 6239 (twice).

¹⁸⁹ M 559.

¹⁹⁰ M 2545.

¹⁹¹ pseudo-Donato (three times).

¹⁹² pseudo-Donato (twice).

¹⁹³ pseudo-Veniera (three times).

¹⁹⁴ M 68 (nine times); pseudo-Veniera (six times).

¹⁹⁵ M 54 (ten times); M 64 (11 times).

¹⁹⁶ M 2545.

¹⁹⁷ The root of "*mort-*" is also used by the chronicle of Gunther of Pairis: "*Mortiflo*" (Gunther Migne, 248), and close forms of it (either in Latin, or in Medieval French) could be: "*Morchuflex*", "*Morchufles*", "*Morchufle*" (Villehardouin), "*Morchofles*" (Clari), "*Morsoflus*" (*Devastatio*), "*Murtiphlo*" and "*Murciflo*" (Gunther), "*Murtiflez*" (*Corpus Flandriae*), "*Morcufles*", "*Morcuflez*", "*Morcufle*" (*Chron. Gall.*)

¹⁹⁸ M 2034 (twice).

¹⁹⁹ M 2560.

²⁰⁰ M 322 (six times).

²⁰¹ pseudo-Barbaro (12 times); pseudo-Savina (seven times); Vianoli.

²⁰² M 2573 (seven times).

²⁰³ M 53 (eight times).

²⁰⁴ Doglioni (five times). By metathesis, it becomes once "*Murcafle*" in F 6235.

²⁰⁵ On the other hand, it could be connected to Baldwin, which also uses the root *marc-* ("*Marculfus*").

²⁰⁶ Morosini P. (ten times); M 61 (24 times).

²⁰⁷ pseudo-Sanudo 2 (twice).

²⁰⁸ Vianoli (nine times).

²⁰⁹ F 6235.

"Murtsuple"²¹⁰, "Murchiplo" / "Mvrchiplo"²¹¹, "Murchiffo" / "Murciffo" / "Murcifo" / "Murciphlo"²¹², "Morsiflo" / "Morsiflio"²¹³, "Marsuflo"²¹⁴, "Marzuflo" / "Marzuflio"²¹⁵, while the name's distortions led to some very different forms, such as "Amizipho"²¹⁶, "Mezipho"²¹⁷, "Morille"²¹⁸, "Marafini"²¹⁹, "Mirtillo" / "Mirtilo"²²⁰, "Masiflao"²²¹, "Mutifie" / "Mutrife"²²², "Marficio" / "Marfisio"²²³, "Morfileo" / "Morflio" / "Morfleo" / "Marfileo"²²⁴.

Among all the versions, it seems that very much in use were the forms of "Marsiflo" / "Marsifleo" / "Marsiflio" (82)²²⁵ and "Marsilifo" / "Marsilipho" / "Marselifo" (66)²²⁶, to which one could add the almost similar forms of "Marsifliflo"²²⁷, "Marsulfo" / "Marrsulfo" / "Marsuffo"²²⁸, "Marsifo" / "Marsifozo"²²⁹, "Marfiflo"²³⁰, and even "Mosiflo"²³¹.

The impressive variety of these versions could be helpful for the linguists dealing with the Venetian dialect, in order to establish the filiation of the manuscripts and how did the codices connected to each other.

Anyway, the manner of representation according to which the nickname is in use much more than his real first name (Alexios) and last name (Doukas) is not exclusive for the Venetians. The name of Murtzuphlos is exclusively present also in the Western primary sources (**Baldwin**²³², **Villehardouin**²³³, **Clari**²³⁴,

²¹⁰ M 1833 (twice).

²¹¹ M 2571; M 2581.

²¹² M 796 (twice); Delfino P. (four times); M 2571; pseudo-Caroldo (eight times); M 2581;

Diedo (six times).

²¹³ M 2034 (seven times).

²¹⁴ M 43.

²¹⁵ pseudo-Sanudo 2; Sansovino.

²¹⁶ M 2581.

²¹⁷ M 2571.

²¹⁸ pseudo-Barbaro.

²¹⁹ Lio (11 times).

²²⁰ M 70 (three times); M 2592 (five times); M 1999 (three times); F 6566 (eight times).

²²¹ Cavalli.

²²² M 322 (three times).

²²³ M 91 (six times); M 80 (seven times).

²²⁴ M 2564 (four times); M 2560 (twice); M 45 (twice).

²²⁵ M 2564 (three times); M 2569 (twice); M 2034 (ten times); M 78 (13 times); M 541 (six times);

M 798; Zancaruolo (three times); M 45; M 2580 (ten times); M 1586 (18 times); F 6241 (15 times).

²²⁶ M 2569; Cavalli (twice); pseudo-Abbiosi; pseudo-Zancaruolo (19 times); pseudo-Erizzo (22 times); M 1577 (21 times).

²²⁷ M 2034.

²²⁸ M 43 (ten times).

²²⁹ M 327; M 91.

²³⁰ M 798 (five times); M 45.

²³¹ M 2034.

²³² *Marculfus*.

²³³ *Morchuflex*, *Morchufles*, *Morchufle*.

²³⁴ *Morchofles*.

*Devastatio*²³⁵, *Novgorod*²³⁶, *Gunther*²³⁷, *Corpus Flandriae*²³⁸, *Chron. Gall.*²³⁹), as in *Morea*²⁴⁰, while *Choniates* remains explainably the only case where the family name of Doukas is the preferred form, while Murtzuphlos is clearly mentioned as nickname in the three situations where it appears²⁴¹.

An explanation for this exclusivity both for these primary sources and for the Venetian chronicles could be the fact that the character should have been represented as an usurper by himself.

Venetian chronicles not included in the general list of abbreviations:

A latina = *Cronaca «A latina»*. *Cronaca veneziana del 1343*, ed. C. Negri di Montenegri, Spoleto 2004.

Agostini-Tiepolo = *Cronica di Venezia di Giovanni Tiepolo fu de Agostin patrizio veneto*, ed. E. Aleo, I, Bologna 2012.

Antonio = Antonio di Matteo di Curato, *Cronaca Veneta*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 162 [= 8037].

Biondo = Blondi Flavii Forliviensis, *De Origine et Gestis Venetorum Liber*, in *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, V, 1, ed. J. G. Graevius, Leyden, 1722, 1–26.

Canal = Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, ed. L. K. Morreale, Padova, 2009.

Canal Limentani = Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*. *Cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275*, ed. A. Limentani, Firenze, 1972.

Cavalli = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 48 [= 7143].

Cigotto = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1438*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2561 [= 12453].

Dandolo Brevis = *Andreae Danduli Chronica brevis*, in RIS, 12, I, ed. E. Pastorello, Bologna, 1938, 351–373.

Dandolo Extensa = *Andreae Danduli Duci Veneticorum Chronica per extensum descripta aa. 46–1280 d. C.*, in RIS, 12, ed. E. Pastorello, Bologna, 1923, 5–327.

Delfino P. = Pietro Dolfino, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2557 [= 12449].

Diedo = Giacomo Diedo, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia dalla sua fondazione sino l'anno 1747*, I, Venezia, 1751.

Dogliani = G. N. Doglioni, *Historia Venetiana scritta brevemente da (...) delle cose successe dalla prima foundation di Venetia sino al'anni di Christo MDXCVII*, Venezia, 1598.

Donato T. = Tommaso Donato, *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città sin all'anno 1528*, BNM, ms. 323 [= 8646].

F 6166 = Anon., *Cronica di Venetia mista, ovvero historia antica veneta, con le famiglie nobili et loro origine, dal principio della città sino all'anno 1545. Parte I*, ÖNB, ms. CCXXI [= 6166].

F 6167 = Anon., *Cronica di Venetia mista, Parte II*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini CCXXII [= 6167].

F 6211 = Anon., *Cronaca veneta dal principio al 1498*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini XXXVI [= 6211].

F 6234 = Anon., *Cronaca veneta dal principio sino al 1523*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LVIII [= 6234].

²³⁵ *Morsoflus*.

²³⁶ *Murzuphlus*.

²³⁷ *Murtiphlo*, *Murciflo*, *Mortiflo*.

²³⁸ *Murtiflez*.

²³⁹ *Morcufles*, *Morcuflez*, *Morcufle*.

²⁴⁰ *Μούρτζουφλος*.

²⁴¹ Choniates Van Dieten, 561 and 608 (307 and 333 in Choniates).

F 6235 = Anon., *Cronaca della Città et Repubblica di Venetia dal principio al 1339*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LIX [= 6235].

F 6239 = Anon., *Annali veneti dal 1204 al 1246, Vol. I*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LXIII [= 6239].

F 6241 = Anon., *Istoria veneta dal 1148 al 1374*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LX [= 6241].

F 6566 = Anon., *Cronaca veneta dei Dogi e delle famiglie patrizie, dall'origine della città al 1627*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LXXXVII [= 6566].

F 6821 = Anon., *Casade di Venetia, et Cronica veneta dal principio sino al 1427*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini CCX [= 6821].

Giustinian = *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, ed. H. Simonsfeld, in MGH-S, XIV, Hannover, 1883, 89–94.

Gussoni = Giorgio Dolfin, *Cronicha dela nobil cità de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destretto. Origini-1458*, ed. A. Caracciolo Aricò, I, Venezia, 2007.

HDV = *Historia Ducum Veneticorum* (ed. H. Simonsfeld), in MGH-S, XIV, Hannover, 1883, 72–89, 94–97.

Lio = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1558*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 69 [= 7727–7730].

M 38 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1388*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 38 [= 8748].

M 39 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino all'anno 1405*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 39 [= 8609].

M 43 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1432*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 43 [= 7602].

M 44 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1433*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 44 [= 7865].

M 45 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1443*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 45 [= 7302].

M 46 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1444*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 46 [= 7603].

M 47 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'origine della Città fino all'anno 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 47 [= 8139].

M 51 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 51 [= 8528].

M 53 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1479*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 53 [= 7419].

M 54 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1486*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 54 [= 8140].

M 61 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1515. Volumi III*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 61 [= 7763].

M 64 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino alla morte del Doge Gritti. Volumi II*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 64 [= 8321].

M 66 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta detta Barba dal principio della Città fino al 1545*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 66 [= 7766], p. 1a–69b.

M 66 bis = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta detta Barba dal principio della Città fino al 1545*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 66 [= 7766], p. 74a–390a.

M 67 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino all'anno 1549*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 67 [= 9132].

M 68 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1555*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 68 [= 8317].

M 70 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1599*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 70 [= 9133].

M 71 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1600*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 71 [= 7866].

M 78 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'anno 1190 all'anno 1332*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 78 [= 9135].

M 80 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 1400 fino al 1684*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 80 [= 8026].

M 89 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 89 [= 8391].

M 91 = Anon., *Cronaca Ariana della Famiglie Nobili di Venezia, coi loro Alberi, che cominciano dalle lettere A, e B*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 91 [= 7441], 350a–379b.

M 104 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1443*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 104 [= 8611].

M 322 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino all'anno 1433*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 322 [= 8621].

M 327 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1527*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 327 [= 7776].

M 541 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia della fondazione della Città sino all'anno 1435*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 541 [= 7314].

M 550 = Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1442*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 550 [= 8496].

M 555 = Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine della Città di Venezia sino all'anno 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 555 [= 7790].

M 559 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia, detta di Pietro Dolfino, dall'origine della Città sino all'anno 1418*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 559 [= 7888].

M 628a = Anon., *Cronaca breve Veneziana dalla origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1465*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 628a [= 8049].

M 793 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della città al 1478*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 793 [= 8477].

M 796 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta da S. Marco Evangelista fino al 1457*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 796 [= 7613].

M 798 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città sino all'anno 1478*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 798 [= 7486].

M 1577 = Anon., *Cronaca della Città di Venezia dalla sua fondazione fino all'anno 1400*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1577 [= 7973].

M 1586 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della città fino al 1450*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1586 [= 9611].

M 1833 = Anon., *Storia Veneta dalla fondazione della Repubblica sino all'anno 1750*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1833 [= 8376].

M 1999 = Anon., *Epitome della Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1999 [= 7918].

M 2028 = Anon., *Cronica Veneta, dal 703 al 1420*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2028 [= 8559].

M 2034 = Famiglia C, recensione II, 2, 2, in A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Firenze, 1969, 387–407.

M 2541 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1310*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2541 [= 12433].

M 2543 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1356*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2543 [= 12435].

M 2544 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1382*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2544 [= 12436].

M 2545 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1386*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2545 [= 12437].

M 2548 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1405*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2548 [= 12440] (a 15th century codex).

M 2549 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2549 [= 12441].

M 2550 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2550 [= 12442].

M 2555 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1414*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2555 [= 12447].

M 2556 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2556 [= 12448].

M 2559 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1427*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2559 [= 12451].

M 2560 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1432*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2560 [= 12452].

M 2563 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1441*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2563 [= 12455].

M 2564 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1443, preceduta da una storia di Attila ed imperatori fino ad Enrico IV*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2564 [= 12456].

M 2567 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1444*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2567 [= 12459].

M 2569 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2569 [= 12461].

M 2571 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1457*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2571 [= 12463].

M 2572 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1471*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2572 [= 12464].

M 2573 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1478*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2573 [= 12465].

M 2576 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1501*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2576 [= 12468].

M 2580 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1556*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2580 [= 12472].

M 2581 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1570*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2581 [= 12473].

M 2592 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1247*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2592 [= 12484].

Marco = *Marci Chronica universalis*, BNM, ms. It. XI. 124 [= 6802].

Monaci = *Laurentii de Monacis Cretae Cancellari Chronica de rebus venetis Ab U. C. ad Annum MCCCCLIV, sive ad conjurationem ducis Faledro*, ed. F. Corner, Venezia, 1758.

Morosini A. = *Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo visto da Venezia (1094–1433)*, ed. A. Nanetti, I, Spoleto, 2010.

Morosini P. = Paolo Morosini, *Historia della Città, e Repubblica di Venetia*, Venezia, 1637.

pseudo-Abbiassi = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della Città fino all'anno 1443*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2052 [= 8981].

pseudo-Barbaro = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1275*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2554 [= 12446].

pseudo-Caroldo = Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, *Istorii veneziene. I: De la originile Cetății la moartea dogelui Giacopo Tiepolo (1249)*, ed. Ș. V. Marin, București, 2008.

pseudo-Donato = Antonio Donà, *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 687 al 1479*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 10 [= 8607].

pseudo-Enrico Dandolo = *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo. Origini–1362*, ed. R. Pesce, Venezia, 2010.

pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1373*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 102 [= 8142].

pseudo-Erizzo = *Cronaca Veneta attribuita a Marcantonio Erizzo, fino all'anno 1495*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 56 [= 8636].

pseudo-Navagero = *Storia della Repubblica Veneziana scritta da Andrea Navagero patrizio veneto*, in RIS, 23, ed. L. A. Muratori, Milano, 1733, 923–1216.

pseudo-Sanudo I = *Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit*, in RIS, 22, ed. L. A. Muratori, Milano, 1733: *Vitae Ducum Venetorum Italicè Scriptae ab origine Urbis, sive ab anno CCCC XXI usque ad annum MCCCCXCIII*, 399–1252 (528–530).

pseudo-Sanudo 2 = *Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit*, in RIS, 22, ed. L. A. Muratori, Milano, 1733: *Vitae Ducum Venetorum Italicè Scriptae ab origine Urbis, sive ab anno CCCC XXI usque ad annum MCCCCXCIII*, 399–1252 (530–531).

pseudo-Savina = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1616*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 134 [= 8035].

pseudo-Veniera = Anon., *Cronaca di tutte le Casade della Nobil Città di Venetia*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 791 [= 7589].

pseudo-Zancaruolo = *Cronaca Veneta supposta di Gasparo Zancaruolo, dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1274 [= 9274].

Rosso = Anon., *Cronica Veneta del Rosso dal principio al 1355*, ÖNB, ms. Foscari CCLVI [= 6467].

Sabellico = *M. Antonii Sabellici, rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita, ad Marcum Barbadicum, Sereniss. Venetiarum Principem & Senatum, Decadis Primae*, in *Degl'Istorici delle Cose Veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per Pubblico Decreto*, Venezia, 1718.

Sansovino = Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia Città nobilissima et singolare*, 2, ed. G. Martinioni, Venezia, 1968 [1663].

VH = *Historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata*, ed. R. Cessi, F. Bennato, Venezia, 1964.

Vianoli = Alessandro Maria Vianoli, *Historia Veneta*, I, Venezia, 1680.

Zancaruolo = Gasparo Zancaruol, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2570 [= 12462].

Primary sources related to the Fourth Crusade not included in the general list of abbreviations:

Baldwin = *Litterae Balduini Imperatoris ad Papam*, in Tafel, Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, 501–511.

Choniates = *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, ed. H. J. Magoulias, Detroit, 1984.

Choniates Van Dieten = *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I. A. Van Dieten, Berlin, New York, 1975.

Chron. Gall. = *Chronicum Gallicum ineditum*, in Tafel, Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, 328–358.

Clari = Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. E. Holmes McNeal, New York, 1969.

Clari Lauer = Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Ph. Lauer, Paris, 1956.

Corpus Flandriae = *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, in Tafel, Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, 293–304.

Devastatio = “*Devastatio Constantinopolitana*”, in CGR, 86–92.

Gunther = *The Capture of Constantinople. The Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis*, ed. A. J. Andrea, Philadelphia, 1997.

Gunther Migne = Guntherus Cistercensis Monachus, *Historia Captae a Latinis Constantinopoleos sub Balduino, circa annum 1204*, in PL, 212, Paris, 1855, 222–256 **Morea** = *Crusaders as conquerors. The Chronicle of Morea, translated from the Greek, with notes and introduction by H. E. Lurier*. New York, London, 1964.

Morea Bouchon = *Chronique de la conquête de Constantinople et de l'établissement des Français en Morée*, ed. J. A. Buchon, Paris, 1825.

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