

The Venetian Chronicle in Codex It. VII. 794 (8503) at Marciana National Library – Ascribed to Giorgio Delfino (Dolfin) and Transcribed by Nicolò Gussoni¹

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Manuscript:

Codex It. VII. 794 originated in the donation of Girolamo Contarini (no 96²) and was mentioned in the former catalogue at Marciana National Library as “*Cronaca di Venezia dall’origine della Città sino all’anno 1458 (attribuita al Zorzi Dolfin)*”, while the other former catalogue – “*Soggetti Veneti*” – changed the finishing year: “*sino al 1468, attribuita a Giorgio Dolfin*”. Nowadays, it could be consulted only as microfilm, Pos. Marc. 143.

According to the Marcian catalogues and also to the viewpoints of those that have taken it into consideration, the codex belongs to the 16th century³ or, as Freddy Thiriet considered, to the first years of that century⁴. Its technical features were emphasized by Maria Zannoni⁵, and the chronicle inserted in it is entitled “*Cronicha*

¹ It is necessary to underline that when this study has been written, we had not the edition of this work at disposal, published as Zorzi Dolfin, *Cronicha dela nobil cità de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destretto. Origini-1458* (ed. by Angela Caracciolo & Chiara Frison), 2 volumes, Venice 2007-2009.

² See also Angela Caracciolo Aricò, *Nel gran mare delle cronache: la Cronicha dela nobil cità de Venetia et dela sua Provintia et Destretto di Giorgio Dolfin*, “*Quaderni veneti*” 34 (2001), p. 17-32 (17).

³ Maria Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana di Giorgio Dolfin*, “*Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*” 101 (1941-1942), part II, p. 515-546 (515); Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin. cronista veneziano del sec. XI*, “*Atti e Memorie della [Reale] Accademia di Scienze Lettere ed Arti in Padova*”, new series, 58, 343 (1941-1942), p. 37-55 (47 note 2); Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari nella Cronaca di Giorgio Dolfin*, “*Nuova Rivista Storica*” 26 (1942), VI, p. 201-215 (201); Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence 1969, p. 116; Julian Raby, *Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II*, “*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*” 43 (1980), p. 242-246 (242); Rona Goffen, *Bellini. S. Giobbe and Altar Egos*, “*Artibus et Historiae*” 7 (1986), 14, p. 57-70.

⁴ Freddy Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitienes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l’histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne*, “*Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire, publiés par l’École Française de Rome*”, 1954, p. 241-292 (286).

⁵ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 515; see also Pietro Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. Italiani – Classe VII (nn. 501-1001)* (ed. by Giulio Zorzanello), Florence 1963, p. 85-86 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

*de la nobel cità de Venetia et de la sua provintia et destretto*⁶ or “*Cronaca delle famiglie nobili di Venezia e della stessa città dalla sua origine sino l'anno 1478*”⁷, although the title in the Marcian catalogue notes that it would have been ended when narrating events in year 1458⁸, a detail that corresponds to the chronicle itself, and not to the codex as a whole. Considered by F. Thiriet as “*le codex le plus beau, sans doute, des premières années du XVI^e siècle*”⁹, the codex has two page numberings, among which the original one is discontinuous, while the modern one covers the entire codex¹⁰, for which reason we would refer hereafter to the latter. The manuscript counts 474 leaves¹¹, among which the first ones include various stuff, such as a historical fragment due to Pietro Dolfin, referring to the release of Venetian *provveditore* Giorgio Corner in 1433 (p. 3a-14a)¹² and named by M. Zannoni as “*cronachetta Corner*”¹³, the list of the patrician families with the respective coats-of-arms (p. 38a-68b), a list of the doges (p. 69a-84b) and finally a summary indicating the corresponding leaves in the chronicle (p. 85a-105a)¹⁴. The chronicle itself covers the leaves between 112 and 450 of the codex¹⁵, with a proper original page numbering along with the modern one (1-350)¹⁶. According to F. Thiriet and A. Carile, it starts as follows: “*Questo si e il tratado de la cronicha de la magnificha e nobel zita di Venetia ...*” (p. 112a)¹⁷. On the other hand, I have personally noted a reversal of the first words: “*In questo tractado si e la Cronicha de la magnificha et nobil cita de Uenetia et de tutto il suo destretto la quale citade e stata edificata da ueri et boni Christiani [...]*”. In addition, this incipit is introduced through the following title, noted only by A. Carile: “*Capitolo primo de lo exordio de la cronicha de la nobel cita de Uenetia et de la sua prouintia et destretto.*”¹⁸ Unfortunately, the microfilm comes to an end with p. 51a, when referring to year 893, regarded as being under the dogeship of Giovanni Partecipazio, which certainly means a dating error,

⁶ A. Carile, *Dolfin, Giorgio (Zorzi)*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 40, Rome, 1991, p. 498-499 (499); Christiane Neerfeld, «Historia per forma di Diaria». *La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, Venice 2006, p. 75.

⁷ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 515; Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider*, “*Art Bulletin*” 41 (1959), 1, p. 39-57.

⁸ See also Edward Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of Syracuse University. The Complete Catalogue*, Syracuse, New York 1983, p. 16; Maria Maddalena Sarnataro, *La rivolta di Candia del 1363-65 nelle fonti veneziane*, “*Studi Veneziani*”, new series, 31 (1996), p. 127-153 (131 note 26).

⁹ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

¹⁰ See also M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 516; Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47 note 2.

¹¹ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 515-516; Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47 note 2; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

¹² See also M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 516.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 517-518, 519-520.

¹⁴ See also Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

¹⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 517; Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47 note 2; see also Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

¹⁶ See also M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 47 note 2.

¹⁷ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286; see also A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 116.

¹⁸ See also *Ibidem*.

so often in the Venetian chronicles: this doge ruled the Venetian state between 881 and 888, while the dogal position was held in 893 by Pietro Tradomenico (888-912). Related to our investigations, this situation has created a serious obstacle in following the subsequent text, for which reason we relied upon the information delivered by other scholars, while for the events of the Fourth Crusade upon the fragments generously offered by Anne-Laure Keiser. The chronicle itself ends with the resignation of Doge Francesco Foscarelli (October 18, 1457) and with the events immediately subsequent¹⁹, more precisely with the epigram of the same doge: "*Uos iustitiam et concordiam, quo sempiternum hoc sit imperium conseruate.*" (p. 450a)²⁰. Afterwards, codex M 794 inserts the texts of the Dogal promises (p. 450b-460b)²¹, that are extended to year 1478²², coming to an end with the following note: "*Et che de cetero i canonici di S. Marcho siano facti 12 piovani de Venetia et 12 capellani de San Marcho.*" (f. 460b), erroneously regarded by A. Carile as the end of the chronicle itself²³.

As M. Zannoni noted, the handwriting is not uniform²⁴, but the detail is not put into connection to a particular fragment or another and this to the composite feature of the codex. For instance, the last leaves of the codex and the text of the dogal promises ultimele file ale cronicii și textul promisiunilor dogale din finalul codicelui sunt scrise identic cu primul pasaj al cronicii²⁵. At any rate, it results that there have been at least two copiers, who contributed successively to the transcription of the entire codex. Among the copiers, it is only to be nominally confirmed, by the note saying "*et essendo io Nicolò Gussoni ...*" (p. 73)²⁶ that represents the beginning of a passage registering events in 1503-1521 (p. 73-77) and has the similar handwriting with "*cronachetta Corner*" and with the last pages of the codex²⁷.

Paternity:

It has been unanimously considered that the entire codex represents the unique manuscript preserving the chronicle of Zorzi Dolfin, father of Pietro, the paternity of the manuscript being regarded as doubtless²⁸ and incontestable²⁹, Maria Zannoni even noting that "*non deve affatto generare dei dubbi sulla paternità dell'opera, riconosciuta giustamente a Giorgio. [...]*"³⁰. As a matter of fact, A. Prost had already inserted a chronicle of this Z. Dolfin in his directory, meaning a

¹⁹ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²⁰ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 520.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 517.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 518.

²³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

²⁴ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 519-520.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ *Idem*, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47.

²⁹ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

³⁰ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 520.

chronicle regarded as being lost³¹. Doubtlessly, the connection between our codex and the name of Zorzi Dolfin, suggested by E. A. Cicogna, G. Lefèvre-Pontalis or R. Bersi³² and considered as a *fait accompli* by M. Zannoni and the subsequent scholars³³, could be concluded from the numerous passages in which this character

³¹ Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, "Revue des questions historiques" 31 (1882), p. 512-555 and 34 (1883), p. 199-224 (222).

³² R. F[ulin], *Saggio del catalogo dei codici di Emmanuele A. Cicogna*, "Archivio Veneto", IV, part I (1872), p. 59-132, 337-398 (110 note 1); Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Étude sur Antonio Morosini et son oeuvre. Annexes et tables*, in *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini. Extraits relatifs à l'histoire de France* (ed. by G. Lefèvre-Pontalis & Léon Dorez), IV, Paris 1902, p. 178 note 1; Ruggero Bersi, *Le fonti della prima decade delle Historiae Rerum Venetarum di Marcantonio Sabellico*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", new series, 10 (1910), tom 19, part II p. 422-460 and tom 20, part I, p. 115-162 (146).

³³ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 515 ff.; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 201; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286 ff.; Idem, *La Roumanie vénitienne au moyen âge. Le développement de l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII^e-XV^e siècles)*, Paris 1959, p. 16; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Patricia H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani. A Venetian of the Quattrocento*, Rome, 1969, p. 334; Silvana Ozoeze Collodo, *Attila e le origini di Venezia nella cultura veneta tardomedioevale*, "Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 131 (1972-73), p. 531-567 (563 note 121); Stanley Chojnacki, *In Search of the Venetian Patriate: Families and Factions on the Fourteenth century, in Renaissance Venice* (ed. by John R. Hale), London 1973, p. 47-90 (87 note 88); A[gostino] Pertusi, *La lettera di Filippo da Rimini, cancelliere de Corfu, à Francesco Barbaro e i primi documenti occidentali sulla caduta di Costantinopoli (1453)*, in *Memoria Antoniadis, Venice 1974*, p. 120-157 (120-121, 122, 136, 147); Raymond-J[oseph] Loenertz O. P., *Les Ghisi dynastes vénitiens dans l'archipel 1207-1390*, Florence 1975, p. 321; Donald E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade. The Conquest of Constantinople. 1201-1204*, [Leicester] 1978, p. 215 note 60; Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 16; A. Carile, *Dolfin, Giorgio*, p. 499; D. Queller, *Il patriato veneziano. La realtà contro il mito* (transl. by Paolo Pavanini), Rome 1987 [original ed.: *The Venetian Patriate. Reality versus Myth*, Urbana-Chicago 1986], p. 455; Ed. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton 1981, p. 81 note 43, 94 note 84, 108 note 16, etc.; Donald M. Nicol, *Împăratul fără de moarte. Viața și legenda lui Constantin Paleologul, ultimul împărat al romanilor* (transl. by Maria Magdalena Székely & Ștefan S. Gorovei), Iași 2003 [original ed.: *The Immortal Emperor. The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans*, Cambridge 1992], p. 95; Margaret L. King, *The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello*, Chicago-London, 1994; André Jean-Marc Loechel, *Le rappresentazioni della comunità* (transl. by Ernesto Garino), in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima. IV: Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura* (ed. by Alberto Tenenti & Ugo Tucci), Rome 1996, p. 603-721 (682, 718 note 286); Reinhold C. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market. Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1300-1500*, Baltimore 1997; Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 75, 78, 79, 233; Șerban Marin, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders in the Fourth Crusade. According to the Venetian Chronicles' Tradition*. "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 4 (2002), p. 111-171 (159); Idem, *The Venetian 'Empire'. The Imperial Elections in Constantinople on 1204 in the Representation of the Venetian Chronicles*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 5 (2003), p. 185-245 (189 note 66); Idem, *Dominus quartae partis et dimidia totius Imperii Romaniae. The Fourth Crusade and the Dogal Title in the Venetian Chronicles' Representation*. "Quaderni della Casa Romana" 3 (2004), p. 119-150 (135 note 79); Idem, *A Precedent to the Fourth Crusade. The anti-Byzantine Campaign of Doge Domenico Michiel in 1122-1126 according to the Venetian Chronicles*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 6-7 (2004-2005), p. 239-266 (244 note 67); Idem, *Giustiniano Partecipazio and the Representation of the First Venetian Embassy to Constantinople in the Chronicles of the Serenissima*, "Historical

speaks about himself in the chronicle, referring to various contexts of years 1446 (p. 295a), 1448 (p. 299b), 1449 (p. 302a), 1450 (p. 307a-307b), 1452 (p. 310a), 1454 (p. 327a), 1455 (p. 329a)³⁴. The same conviction that the chronicle belong to Zorzi Dolfin has made that, by noting the existence of another codex that would have belonged to Zorzi Dolfin, that is Ci 3755-3756, Chr. Neerfeld would regard this latter as a simple copy³⁵, without noting that even our manuscript is nothing but another copy³⁶, as if codex M 794 would have been the original.

Nevertheless, there are several fragments in the manuscript in which Pietro Dolfin, on his turn, mentions himself, when referring to years 1448 (p. 299b), 1449 (p. 302b), 1450 (p. 307b), 1456 (p. 333a), 1457 (p. 336b)³⁷. Confronted with this evidence, M. Zannoni resorted to rhetorical interrogations: “*Come si spiega ciò?*”, then making various suppositions: “*Pietro ha trascritto la cronaca del padre, interpolandola talvolta d’osservazioni relative all’epoca, in cui è vissuto, e ponendovi accanto il proprio nome? Oppure legendola, per curarne forse la divulgazione, forse per trarne materia per la propria opera, egli ha segnato in margine talune postille od aggiunte, inserite poi dal copista nel testo stesso della cronaca?*”. In the end, the scholar offered the explanation: “*Mi sembra sia possibile attenersi alla seconda ipotesi: 1°) perchè le parole di Pietro si riducono a brevi cenni di conferma su quanto scrive il padre: 2°) perchè la scrittura non risulta nè di Pietro, nè di Giorgio, quindi è di un amanuense.*”³⁸

M. Zannoni also recognized that the various handwritings of this codex have no similarity with the autographic wills of the two Dolfins, father and sons, preserved at the State Archives in Venice³⁹.

From our viewpoint, we follow the principle to rely the investigation strictly upon the existing codices. In the particular case of the chronicle ascribed to Zorzi

Yearbook” 2 (2005), p. 75-92 (83 note 58); Chr. Neerfeld & Anja Wolkenhauser, *Pietro Dolfin di Giorgio: Ein venezianischer Humanist und seine Bibliothek*, “Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch” 39 (2004), 3, p. 407-440 (409 note 10, 413 note 28); A. Caracciolo, *Lineamenti di cultura e civiltà dell’umanesimo e del rinascimento. Parte seconda: Umanesimo veneziano*, no year [= http://lettere2.unive.it/caracciolo/Cultura_Venezia.htm]. An exception could be the study of Holly S. Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice, 1200-1500: Wife and Icon*, New York 2006, which refrains from identifying the person of Zorzi Dolfin and confines to name the work as “*Cronica Dolfin*”, as Hans Baron, *The Anti-Florentine Discourses of the Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-23): Their Date and Partial Forgery*, “*Speculum*” 27 (1952), 3, p. 323-342 (339 note 2, 341 note 61) also does. Previously, it had also been S. Romanin that had also named it constantly as “*cronica Dolfina*”, see S[amuele] Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 volumes, Venice 1853-1861, III, p. 51 note 1, 267 note 1, 278 note 3; IV, p. 61 note 2, 276 note 2, 285 note 3, 290 note 1. Meanwhile, the same scholar had referred to another chronicle under the name of “*Dolfina*”, contained in codex Ci 2609 (*Ibidem*, III, p. 309 note 2; IV, p. 300 note 4).

³⁴ M. Zannoni, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47-49; see also A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 117 and note 1.

³⁵ Chr. Neerfeld, «*Historia per forma di Diaria*», p. 232.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 233.

³⁷ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 518-519.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 519.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 519-520; for the text of Zorzi Dolfin’s will, see Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 52-55; see also Fr. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitienes*, p. 287 and note 2.

Dolfin, there is no certitude that the two copiers of this manuscript would have transcribed faithfully the text at their disposal. Henceforth, it could very well have been that Zorzi Dolfin's work be annotated by his son Pietro, but the final result – that is codex – was not transcribed by the latter, but by copier Nicolò Gussoni and one of the latter's fellow workers. In order to strengthen this view, M. Zannoni herself admitted at a certain moment that *“un compilatore si rileva questo copista, avendo radunati tanti brani anche abbastanza disparati, togliendoli chissà da dove ed inserendoli nel manoscritto stesso della cronaca dolfina.”*⁴⁰ As a matter of fact, being not able to take advantage of the autograph of this chronicle, it is impossible to know whether and to what an extent these copiers would have intervened in the original text. Therefore, being deprived by other data, we start from this last premise and credit N. Gussoni and his colleague as authors, although maintaining the necessary condition over the proportion, according to M. Zannoni's interrogations: *“Che l'amanuense di tutti i fogli, che portano il nome di Pietro, sia da identificarsi con Niccolò Gussoni? Oppure con questo nome s'inizia una narrazione [emphasis mine, p. 73-77], che non ha nulla a fare con il trascrittore?”*⁴¹

In addition, the insertion of the dogal promises coming to year 1478 excludes any possibility for Zorzi Dolfin to be their writer, since he died sometime between 1455 and 1458⁴². Although noting these interval as period when Dolfin passed away, some modern scholars have made statements that, through an oversight, deny exactly this date, when they have affirmed that *“e con la morte del vecchio Foscari, avvenuta nel 1458, Dolfin termina la sua Cronaca, rievocandi con animo commosso la figura di quel principe valoroso e saggio, ma tanto infelice [...]”*⁴³ or that *“[...] 1457, dopo la qual data la sua [Dolfin's, emphasis mine] attenzione si rivolge di preferenza alla politica di terraferma”*⁴⁴. Thus, they exclude what they had considered previously referring to the period when the chronicle himself deceased, by considering him as eyewitness to Doge Foscari's death. This disagreement rather raises another question: whether Zorzi Dolfin deceased prior to 1458, then who would have written the last part of the chronicle (post-1458), which deals exactly with those years in which the death of Dolfin took place? The same question is risen under the circumstances that that data abovementioned are modified, as A. Pertusi proposed when saying that *“il Dolfin nacque nel 1396 e morì verso il 1468, ma la Cronica continua la narrazione fino al 1470.”*⁴⁵

⁴⁰ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 520.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 46; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86, 154; Idem, *Dolfin, Giorgio*, p. 499; Raffaella Zaccaria, *Dolfin, Pietro*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 40, Rome 1991, p. 562-565 (563).

⁴³ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁴⁴ G[ino] L[uzzatti], review of Fr. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitienes*, in “Archivio Veneto”, 5th series, 84, 89-90, LIV-LV (1954), p. 126-128 (128).

⁴⁵ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 121 note 2. Nowadays, A. Caracciolo, *Nel gran mare delle cronache*, p. 17 prefers the period 1396-1458 as years of life for the author, and then notes the interval between 1396 and circa 1457, see *Ibidem*, p. 17 note 1.

Returning to the matter of the dogal promises ending in 1478, it is a first proof that it is impossible that Z. Dolfin be the author of the entire work. Having it as a starting point, this conclusion could very well be extended over other passages in the chronicle. Henceforth, even taking only these two respects into account – that is, the impossibility to regard Z. Dolfin as author of the fragments dealing with the period between 1455 and 1458, and the mention of the dogal promises –, and also the presence of “*cronachetta Corner*” and other materials that deal more with Pietro than with Zorzi Dolfin, it seems more comfortable to reject Zorzi Dolfin as author of this chronicle. It is also due to the lack of the original manuscript and – by strictly reporting to manuscript M 794, written a century later – to regard this latter codex as the work of the copiers, that is N. Gussoni and his colleague. Since they added elements to continue the work, these latter could very well have been operated changes, additions or deletions of passages. Since the chronicle’s original, written a century before by Zorzi Dolfin, has not been discovered by now, the truth is impossible to be detected.

Under these circumstances, we are not to insist upon the data related to Zorzi Dolfin’s life⁴⁶.

Dating:

Relying upon the references to the dogal promises attached to the chronicles, year 1478 has been considered as the ending term for the work⁴⁷. Afterwards, the options came upon year 1458⁴⁸, more concretely upon Doge Francesco Foscari’s death⁴⁹ or resignation⁵⁰.

As for the period when the work was written, M. Zannoni considered that Z. Dolfin should have been involved much time in composing his chronicle and

⁴⁶ For the life of Zorzi Dolfin (1396-1455/1458), see especially M. Zannoni, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 37-47; A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 116; Idem, *Dolfin. Giorgio*, p. 498-499.

⁴⁷ Girolamo Soranzo, *Bibliografia Veneziana*, Venice 1885, p. 73, no 950; G[eorg] M[artin] Thomas, *Die Eroberung Constantinopels im Jahre 1453, aus einer Venetianischen Chronik*, “Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften”, 1868, II, p. 1-41 (1); H[einrich] Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, II, 1920, p. 542, all of them *apud* M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 521 and notes 1-3; see also F[rederick] W[illiam] Hasluck, *Constantinopolitana*, “*Journal of Hellenic Studies*” 43 (1923), 2, p. 162-167 (167); A. J.-M. Loechel, *op. cit.*, p. 718 note 286. See also A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 117, who regards that the work reaches year 1470, although it is clear a typo, the intention being to refer also to 1478.

⁴⁸ E. A. Cicogna, *Famiglie* *apud* M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 521 note 4; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado - La Congiura*, Florence 1963 [1897] [previously in “Nuovo Archivio Veneto” 13, part I, p. 5-107], p. 102; M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 520-521; H. Baron, *A forgotten Chronicle of early Fifteenth-Century Venice. The copy in Newberry Manuscript F 87.1*, in Idem, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni. Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature*, Chicago-London 1968 [first ed., in *Essays in history and literature presented by fellows of the Newberry Library to Stanley Pargellis*, Chicago 1965, p. 19-36], p. 177; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Ed. Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, p. 16; M. M. Samataro, *op. cit.*, p. 131 note 26.

⁴⁹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 521; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 202, 215.

⁵⁰ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

supposed that the final version would have been written during the years after 1450⁵¹, opinion retaken by H. Baron⁵². On the other side, D. Nicol considered that it should not be dated prior to April 1454⁵³. Unfortunately, there is no clear evidence in this sense. Besides, less precise datings have been suggested, such as the first⁵⁴ or the second half of the 15th century⁵⁵, subsequently to the chronicle in codex M 2034⁵⁶, to N. Trevisan's, A. Morosini's and G. Zancaruolo's chronicles⁵⁷ or to the other Venetian great chronicles of the 15th century⁵⁸, or even generally speaking in the 15th century⁵⁹. When analyzing the entire "C" family of chronicles, A. Carile considers the period between 1429 and 1455 as date when this group of chronicles would have been composed⁶⁰.

Nevertheless, according to the methodology that we use, meaning to strictly rely upon the existing manuscripts and thus to take the period when the codices at disposal were written into account, we place this work in the 16th century, when manuscript M 794 is dated, according to both the catalogue at Marciana and the almost unanimous opinions of the scholars⁶¹ (in this sense, F. Thiriet was more concrete, by placing the codex in the first years of this century⁶²). In addition, the insertion of some references to period 1503-1521 (p. 73-77) strengthens this conviction.

Sources and influences:

Certainly, the main source of the copier-compiler N. Gussoni is Zorzi Dolfin's work, which original nothing is known about at the present day. When considering manuscript M 794 as being Dolfin's work, the scholars have attempted to establish connections with other chronicles, mainly for the period prior to year 1433, regarded by M. Zannoni as completely not original⁶³. In the mosaic of dates established for various chronicles – including the supposed to belong to Z. Dolfin – it is difficult to establish the sources-influences relationship.

However, one could establish with certitude that some of these chronicles had been written prior to M 794, being clearly elaborated previous to the 16th century. Thus, it has been spoken about the most ancient Venetian chronicles, such as Diacono⁶⁴, Altinate⁶⁵, Gradense⁶⁶, and *Singulis*⁶⁷. In each of these cases, it has been

⁵¹ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 521.

⁵² H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 183, 184-185.

⁵³ D. M. Nicol, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁵⁴ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 246, 272.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 290; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 125, 200.

⁵⁶ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

⁵⁷ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 286.

⁵⁹ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286; St. Chojnacki, *op. cit.*, p. 87 note 88.

⁶⁰ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁶¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 515; Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁶² Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁶³ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 522.

⁶⁴ See Giovanni Diacono, *Historia Veneticorum* (ed. by Luigi Andrea Bertò), Bologna 1999.

considered that the use would have been done through the mediation of Andrea Dandolo's works⁶⁸. Although without specifying which one between *Brevis* and *Extensa*, M. Zanoni regarded the Dandolian chronicles as a whole as sources for our chronicle⁶⁹, by following comparisons for each page⁷⁰, offering examples – for the episodes related to St. Mark's passing away, Constantine the Great, King Theodoric, the son of Doge Giovanni in Malamocco, Maurizio, the peace concluded between Pope Alexander III and Emperor Frederic Barbarossa during Doge Sebastiano Ziani, the conquest of the city of Comacchio, the war between Cittanuova and Jesolo, and so on⁷¹. Comparative texts referring to the relationship with the city of Ancona⁷² and the fights against the Scaligeri of Verona⁷³ are offered, while the repeating of A. Dandolo's errors in the description of the campaign led by Giacomo Dolfin in 1262 against Emperor Michael Palaeologus is noticed⁷⁴. It seems that a similar influence would have had codex Marc. Lat. X 36, ascribed to Piero Giustinian (*Venetiarum Historia*)⁷⁵, while Maria Zannoni followed a page by page comparative analysis also

⁶⁵ For the three manuscripts of Altinate chronicle, see: Anon., *Cronichon Venetum vulgo Altinate quod prius editum an. MDCCCXLV iuxta codicem Patriarch. Veneti Seminarii demuo prodit ex ms. codice Reg. Bibliothecae Dresdensis* (ed. by Luigi Polidori), "Archivio Storico Italiano" 5 (1847), appendix, p. 12-128; Anon., *La cronaca veneta detta Altinate di autore anonimo in latino* (ed. by Antonio Rossi), "Archivio Storico Italiano" 8 (1845), p. 20-22, 41-61, 81-103, 116-129, 152-184, 192-198, 204-216, 220-228, and Anon., *Chronicon Venetum quod vulgo dicunt Altinate* (ed. by H. Simonsfeld), in *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae, Scriptores*, XIV, Hannover, 1883, p. 5-69 respectively. For the chronicle, see also Ş. Marin, *Considerations regarding the Place of Chronicon Altinate in the Venetian Historical Writing*, "Revue des études sud-est européennes" 51 (2013), 1-4, p. 83-103.

⁶⁶ Anon., *Chronicon Gradense*, in *Cronache Veneziane antichissime* (ed. by Giovanni Monticolo), I, Rome, 1890, p. 17-51.

⁶⁷ Anon., *Chronica de singulis patriarchis nove Aquileie*, in *Cronache Veneziane antichissime*, p. 3-16.

⁶⁸ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 530-531. A possible direct use of *Singulis* refers to the speech delivered by Patriarch Elias of Grado to the clergy of Venice and Aquileia, which is not to be detected in Dandolo's chronicles, see *Ibidem*, p. 531. See Andreae Danduli, *Chronica brevis*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12, part I (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna 1938, p. 351-373 and *Andreae Danduli Ducis Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta aa. 46-1280 d. C.*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12 (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna 1923, p. 5-327. For Andrea Dandolo, see Ş. Marin, *A Double Pathfinder's Condition: Andrea Dandolo and His Chronicles*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica" 12-13 (2010-2011) [forthcoming].

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 522 note 1, 526, 528, 530-531; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 75-76 note 146.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 528-529.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 526.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 529.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 530.

⁷⁴ R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

⁷⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 522 note 1, 526, 528; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76 note 146. See Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, [Pietro Giustiniano?], *Cronica Venetiarum*, manuscript Lat. X. 36a, 14th century, and *Historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata* (ed. by Roberto Cessi & Fanny Bennato), Venice 1964. For these chronicles, see also Ş. Marin, *Some Considerations regarding the Anonymous Venetiarum Historia (14th Century)*, "Historical Yearbook" 7 (2010), p. 177-194.

in this case⁷⁶ and proposed textual comparisons in connection to the struggles of Nicolò Pisani with the Genoese⁷⁷. For these two possible influences – A. Dandolo and “P. Giustinian” –, M. Zannoni considered that Zorzi Dolfin would have translated almost *ad litteram* from them⁷⁸, but personally we are not to exclude the possibility for author to have studied them not necessarily in their original Latin, but to have resorted rather to their many vulgar versions.

Relations with Antonio Morosini’s chronicle have been taken into account⁷⁹, and “Zorzi Dolfin” has been regarded as a possible mediator between Morosini and Pietro Dolfin⁸⁰. Connections between the two chronicles have been established when referring to the manner of presenting the wars against Milan in 1426 and 1427-1428⁸¹ and offering a comparative text regarding the Hungarian-Byzantine relationship against the Ottomans⁸², and also referring to the general methodology of composition⁸³.

As long as no question mark has been raised about the connection between codex M 794 and Zorzi Dolfin, Marcantonio Sabellico’s work dated in the second half of the 15th century could have not been regarded as source for our chronicle, but as being influenced by the latter⁸⁴. We should also note here the relationship proposed by R. Bersi, referring to the description of the legend regarding Emperor Manuel I Comnenus⁸⁵.

On his turn, when describing the campaign of Giacomo Dolfin in România in 1262, R. Loenertz⁸⁶ noted the similarity of M 794 with other Marcian codices

⁷⁶ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 530.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 528.

⁷⁹ See also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 69 note 149. See *Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo visto da Venezia (1094-1433)* (ed. by Andrea Nanetti), 4 volumes, Spoleto 2010. For Antonio Morosini’s chronicle, see Ș. Marin, *Considerații asupra cronicii venețianului Antonio Morosini*, “Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie” 28 (2010), p. 169-191 (for an English version of the article, see *Idem*, *Considerations regarding the Venetian Antonio Morosini’s Chronicle*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica” 14 (2012) [forthcoming]).

⁸⁰ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 177. See Pietro Dolfin, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscripts It. VII. 2557-2558 [- 1249-12450], 18th century. For the chronicle, see also Ș. Marin, *Crusades seen through Venetian Eyes. The Case of Pietro Dolfin*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica” 10-11 (2008-2009), p. 207-259.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 178 note 1.

⁸² Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

⁸³ *Ibidem*; see also G. Luzzatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 128; see also A. Carile, *Dolfin, Giorgio*, p. 499.

⁸⁴ M. Antonii Sabellici, *rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita, ad Marcum Barbadicum, Sereniss. Venetiarum Principem & Senatam, Decadis Primae*, in *Degl’istorici delle Cose Veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per Pubblico Decreto*, Venice, 1718. See also Ș. Marin, *Marcantonio Sabellico’s Rerum Venetarum and “the Definitive History of Venice”: The Beginnings of the Official Historiography in Venice?* [forthcoming].

⁸⁵ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 146, 148-149.

⁸⁶ R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 321. For M 550, see also A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 118, 125.

dated in the 15th century, that is M 2051⁸⁷, M 104⁸⁸, M 550⁸⁹, and also with codex Vindobon. 6147⁹⁰, as F. Thiriet brought a similarity with M 788⁹¹, also from the 15th century⁹², into discussion.

Yet the main dependence has been regarded the one on chronicle M 2034⁹³, regarded as the preferential source⁹⁴ or as pattern⁹⁵, when referring from our codex's structure and composition⁹⁶ to its writing in dialect⁹⁷. Thus, "Zorzi Dolfin" has been regarded as the mediator between M 2034 and Marino Sanudo's *Vite de' Dogi*⁹⁸ or as "the successor and continuator of the chronicle preserved in the «2034» manuscript"⁹⁹. On the other hand, H. Kretschmayr's viewpoint reversed the relationship, by considering M 2034 as a compilation of M 794¹⁰⁰, which represents clearly an error, when taking the dating of the two manuscripts into account. Actually, it was another consideration of the same scholar that came into contradiction with the previous one. According to it, the use of the material in M 2034 by "Z. Dolfin" would have been so inclusive "that it would seem superfluous to study the anonymous author of the '2034' directly"¹⁰¹, an opinion that has been regarded as exaggeration and distorting the meaning of the two chronicles¹⁰². Unless M. Zannoni, H. Baron considered that "[emphasis mine, M 2034] is different in method, scope, and attitude from Giorgio Dolfin's work."¹⁰³ It is also true that, while M 2034 insists more upon the economic-commercial respects, our chronicle

⁸⁷ See Antonio Vituri, *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città fino all'anno 1396*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2051 [= 8271], dated in 1464.

⁸⁸ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1443*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 104 [= 8611], 15th century.

⁸⁹ See Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1442*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 550 [= 8496], 15th century.

⁹⁰ R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 321; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 123-124, 125. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta, dalla fondazione della città al 1454*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, manuscript VIII [= 6147], end of the 15th century.

⁹¹ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁹² See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città sino alla morte del Doge Francesco Foscarini (an. 1456)*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 788 [= 7293], 15th century.

⁹³ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 146; M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 522 note 1, 524, 526-528, 531-538, 545-546; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252, 253; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177-178, 180-183; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 107, 117; Idem, *Dolfin, Giorgio*, p. 499; Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 75 note 146. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1453*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2034 [= 8834], 15th century, microfilm Pos. Marc. 145.

⁹⁴ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 531, 537, 538.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 524, 526.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 526.

⁹⁸ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 178; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76 note 146.

¹⁰⁰ H. Kretschmayr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 542 apud A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 116 note 2.

¹⁰¹ H. Kretschmayr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 542 apud H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁰² H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*.

substitutes this interest by focusing upon those events related to the setting up of the Venetian state on the Italian *terra ferma*¹⁰⁴, while when referring to the final events described “Z. Dolfin” seems to be less passionate than M 2034¹⁰⁵.

Anyhow, our chronicler’s interest towards M 2034 proves to be clearly stronger than towards Dandolo’s or Giustinian’s works¹⁰⁶. The analogies with M 2034 are regarded as very close for the period from the city’s origins to the dogeship of Marco Corner¹⁰⁷ (1365-1368), although serious differences have been noted in the manner to present the basilica of San Marco in 1073¹⁰⁸ or the action to Palestine in 1124¹⁰⁹. The relation is especially available for the period after the dogeship of Giacopo Tiepolo¹¹⁰ (1229-1249). M. Zannoni noted that the dependence on M 2034 is interrupted when referring to the dogeship of Andrea Contarini (1368-1382)¹¹¹, but would be retaken on the occasion of the election of Michele Morosini as doge in 1382¹¹². The scholar also noticed that from that moment the use of the data from M 2034 is not as faithful as it had been previously, and something from our author’s personality begins to be affirmed¹¹³. Thus, the invocations towards God and St Mark – so typical for M 2034 – are already excluded in M 794¹¹⁴, and the terms typical to the Venetian dialect are diminished¹¹⁵. For the period post-1423 – the beginning of the dogeship of Francesco Foscari – the chronicler introduces comments that comes into contradiction with M 2034¹¹⁶, such as the viewpoint over Carmagnola’s position towards the Venetians¹¹⁷, and even new data¹¹⁸. Thus, “much of the wealth of information found in the older chronicle [emphasis mine, M 2034] is shortened, paraphrased, omitted, or replaced in Dolfin’s account”¹¹⁹, so that the it is not about a direct influence¹²⁰.

The relation of M 794 with M 2034 has been illustrated by presenting comparative text, such as those referring to the conquest of Carthage by the king of France¹²¹, to King Pierre I of Cyprus (1358-1369)¹²², the beginning of the Chioggian

¹⁰⁴ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287 ş. u., 290; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁰⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 545.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 528.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 526.

¹⁰⁸ See Monticolo, in the introduction of his ed. of Sanudo, p. 153 ff. apud H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 186-187; see also Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 186-187.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 181.

¹¹⁰ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 531.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, p. 537.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 545; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

¹¹⁸ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

¹¹⁹ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 185.

¹²¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

¹²² *Ibidem*, p. 534.

war with the Genoese (1378-1381)¹²³, the evacuations of the Venetians from Tana¹²⁴, the Venetian defeat in the Po area¹²⁵.

For the period post 1443¹²⁶, it has been spoken about the influence of the chronicle erroneously called as Zancaruola¹²⁷, which was, at the time of those investigations, at Braidense Library in Milan, that is the former M 48-M 49 from Marciana. Thus, G. Baretta stated that the prologue of the Marcian codex of Zorzi Dolfin would correspond to those of "Gasparo Zancaruolo", "*con poca varietà nella lezione, con qualche giunta od omissione e con alcune trasposizioni de' capitoli. In seguito nella storia deo Dogi fino a Francesco Foscari, anzi fino al 1446, nel qual finisce la Zancaruola, vi si incontra maggiore diversità fra l'una e l'altra. La sostanza però e l'andamento è sempre lo stesso e vi si trovano sovente le stesse parole, se non che nella Zancaruola vi hanno assai più cose che nella nostra* [emphasis mine, than in M 794]; [...]"¹²⁸. However, by analyzing the relation between the two chronicles on the whole, M. Zannoni considered that it is about a complete disagreement between them, "*anche se perfettamente uguale risulta il proemio e simile schema, a cui s'attengono i cronisti.*"¹²⁹ To draw a conclusion, excepting the introductory part referring to the legends of the origins, the two works estrange themselves from each other in the chronological series of the doges to Antonio Venier (1382-1400), "*per forma, abbondanza di particolari e notizie del tutto nuove. Non mancano tuttavia dei punti di contatto, riguardo più al contenuto che allo stile.* [...]"¹³⁰ As for the style, we should also add the fact that it is constant enough in all the Venetian chronicles written in vulgar, so that it is not typical for the relationship between M 794 and Zancaruola chronicle. In the same sense, F. Thiriet considered that, "*s'il existe des rapports entre Dolfin et Zancaruolo, ils ont loin d'être constants; chacun garde son originalité. Dolfin ne montrent jamais pour l'histoire du Levant le même intérêt que Zancaruolo.*"¹³¹ On the contrary, M. Zannoni noted a real parallelism between them for the period beginning with the second half of the dogeship of Michele Steno (1400-1413), while for the remainder of M. Steno's and Tommaso Mocenigo's dogeships (1414-1423) the connection would have been even *ad litteram*¹³². Finally, for the period of Doge Francesco Foscari, the narration in the chronicle ascribed to G. Zancaruolo would seem shorter

¹²³ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹²⁴ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 545-546.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 538.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 522, 538-539, 541-543, 545-546; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287-289; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 188 note 42; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86, 117; Fr. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo, in Memoria Antoniadis*, Venice 1974, p. 58-64 (63). See *Cronaca Veneta supposta di Gasparo Zancaruolo, dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 1274 [= 9274], 18th century.

¹²⁸ G. Baretta, *Codici Latini Italiani Illustrati*, manuscript Marc. It. XI. 328, f. 289-293 apud M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

¹²⁹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 542.

¹³¹ Fr. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, p. 288.

¹³² M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

than in M 794¹³³. On the contrary, the exposure of “Zorzi Dolfin” is more lacunose in presenting various previous events, such as the Fourth Crusade¹³⁴ or the Cretan revolt in 1342¹³⁵, and even in the general presentation of the 13th century¹³⁶, while previously the Venetian-Byzantine relationship during Emperor Manuel I Comnenus had been similarly presented, almost word by word¹³⁷.

In connection to the relationship with the chronicle supposed to belong to G. Zancaruolo, comparative texts have been proposed, referring to the introduction¹³⁸, to Vettor Pisani¹³⁹, to the Hungarian-Byzantine relation in the context of the Ottoman expansion¹⁴⁰ or to the confrontations with Milan in the Po area¹⁴¹.

Codex 87.1. from Newberry Library in Chicago¹⁴² was taken into account by H. Baron, who carefully analyzed it. Since he started from the premise that this codex could not be a copy from our chronicle¹⁴³, the scholar came to conclusion that 87.1. is an element of connection between the narration in M 2034 and the one in M 794¹⁴⁴ and that “Zorzi Dolfin” had not M 2034 or the chronicle ascribed to Zancaruolo at disposal, but a manuscript of the text contained in this 87.1.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, Z. Dolfin would have rather been as intermediary between 87.1. and Sanudo’s *Vite de’ Dogi*¹⁴⁶. During his demonstration, H. Baron brought some textual comparisons into discussion between 87.1. and our chronicle, dealing with San Marco at 1073¹⁴⁷, the beginnings of the war of Chioggia¹⁴⁸, the earthquake in 1455¹⁴⁹.

Dated in the 16th century, it does not appears as source, but as being influenced by the chronicles written in the 15th century, a fact that contradicts what Fr. Thiriet said: “*pour le XV^e siècle, les codex anonymes se réfèrent essentiellement à Antonio Morosini. Zorzi Dolfin et Zancaruolo; même s’il ne les citent pas, l’imitation est évidente et souvent servile.*”¹⁵⁰

Beside the chronicles above, certainly previous to our chronicles, analogies have been taken into consideration with a second category of works, which are also

¹³³ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁴ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 288 and note 1.

¹³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 288 note 3.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 288 note 2.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 287-288.

¹³⁸ M. Zannoni, *op. cit. fonti*, p. 541-542.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 542.

¹⁴⁰ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

¹⁴¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 545-546.

¹⁴² See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Chicago, Newberry Library, manuscript F 87.1, middle of the 15th century.

¹⁴³ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 182-183.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 182-183, 184, 187-188, 191; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76 note 146.

¹⁴⁶ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 192.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 186-187.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 182.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 180-181.

¹⁵⁰ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

dated in the 16th century, a fact that impedes the establishing of the dependence report. Thus, M. Zannoni referred to codex M 760¹⁵¹, due to the very close relations with “Dolfina” for the passages referring to the war of Chioggia¹⁵², in the sense that it would include several details that are absent in M 2034, but not in M 794¹⁵³. In additions, Zannoni offered some textual comparisons dealing with the Venetian relations with the king of Cyprus¹⁵⁴, the betrayal of some Venetian noblemen in favour of the Carraresi of Padua¹⁵⁵, or details during the siege of Chioggia by the Genoese¹⁵⁶, to which H. Baron added the one referring to the causes of the Chioggian War¹⁵⁷.

M. Zannoni took also a codex from Civic Library in Padua into consideration, inventory C M 548¹⁵⁸, that ends with year 1446¹⁵⁹. The scholar did not analyse it punctually, limiting herself to regard it as “*copia della Dolfina; copia quasi perfetta dal proemio fino a tutto il dogado di Giovanni Dandolo*”¹⁶⁰. After this period, the Paduan codex abridges the text of M 794 from the dogeship of Pietro Gradenigo (1289-1311) to the end¹⁶¹. However, the report could easily be reversed. Once again, it seems that, once the stamp of “*cronaca Dolfina*” applied to manuscript M 794, M. Zannoni ignored the fact that this manuscript is dated lately, that is in the 16th century, and that consequently one could not establish its priority towards, for instance, C M 548.

Some similarities with codices M 791¹⁶² and M 793¹⁶³ were noted by F. Thiriet, both of them belonging to the 16th century. For the case of M 791, V. Lazzarini noticed the similitudes referring to the description of Doge Marino Falier’s conspiracy¹⁶⁴. As for M 793, the scholar insisted upon the idea that it could be no more than a copy of Dolfin’s chronicle, relying upon the codex’s incipit and

¹⁵¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 522, 531-537; see also H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 182-183; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117. See Marino Sanuto, *Cronaca della creazione di alcuni Dogi (da Sebastian Ziani (1172)) fino a Leonardo Loredan (1502))* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 760 [= 8582], 16th century.

¹⁵² M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 532.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 533-534.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 534.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 534-535.

¹⁵⁷ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹⁵⁸ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 522, 543-545.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 543.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹⁶¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

¹⁶² Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252. See Anon., *Cronaca di tutte le Casade della Nobil Città di Venetia*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 791 [= 7589], 16th century.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 252, 253. See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della città al 1478*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 793 [= 8477].

¹⁶⁴ V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103 note 1.

content¹⁶⁵, as upon a textual comparison referring to the achievement of Corfù in 1386¹⁶⁶.

By admitting the use of M 2034 – meaning “C” family of chronicles, according to his classifications –, A. Carile concludes that Z. Dolfin used another chronicle group, that is the third recension of “D” family for the episode of *partitio Romaniae*¹⁶⁷. On the other hand, R. Loenertz illustrated his “E”, regarded as a contamination of “C” and “D” groups, exactly through our codex, along with manuscript Vienna 6147¹⁶⁸. In our case, we established the inclusion of this codex in category 11b, along with M 798¹⁶⁹, M 2560¹⁷⁰, M 2563¹⁷¹, and M 550, and adding M 46¹⁷², M 80¹⁷³, and M 628a¹⁷⁴ during our further investigations. The reasons for this classification rely upon the description of the beginnings of the Fourth Crusade¹⁷⁵ and of the election of Baldwin of Flanders as Latin emperor¹⁷⁶. In other cases – the appointment of the Marquis of Montferrat as leader of the Fourth Crusade¹⁷⁷, the naval expeditions that led to the conquest of Ragusa, Durazzo and Corfù in 1205¹⁷⁸, the achievement of the dogal title of *Dominus*¹⁷⁹ – we also proposed the comparison with the codices in category 11a¹⁸⁰, and also with pseudo-Barbaro¹⁸¹, pseudo-Savina¹⁸², and M 2580¹⁸³, regarded as approached to category 11.

¹⁶⁵ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁷ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 107, 108, 200. For this group of chronicles, see above, notes 86 and 89, when analyzing codex M 550; for the derivation scheme of this family, see *Ibidem*, p. 125; for comparisons with various other codices in this family regarding the episode of *Partitio Romaniae*, see *Ibidem*, p. 127.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 219.

¹⁶⁹ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città sino all'anno 1478*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 798 [= 7486], 16th century.

¹⁷⁰ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1432*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2560 [= 12452], dated around 1450.

¹⁷¹ Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1441*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2563 [= 12455], 15th century.

¹⁷² Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1444*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 46 [= 7603], 15th century.

¹⁷³ Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 1400 fino al 1684*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 80 [= 8026], 17th century.

¹⁷⁴ Anon., *Cronaca breve Veneziana dalla origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1465* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 628a [= 8049], 16th century.

¹⁷⁵ Ş. Marin, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders*, p. 134.

¹⁷⁶ Idem, *The Venetian 'Empire' in the East*, p. 228-229.

¹⁷⁷ Idem, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders*, p. 145-146.

¹⁷⁸ Idem, *The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne*, p. 86.

¹⁷⁹ Idem, *Dominus quartae partis et dimidia totius imperii Romaniae*, p. 137.

¹⁸⁰ Category 11a means the following codices: Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'anno 1190 all'anno 1332*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 78 [= 9135], 15th century; Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1356*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2543 [= 12435], 16th century; Anon., *Cronaca della Città di Venezia dalla sua fondazione fino all'anno 1400*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 1577 [= 7973], 18th century; Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della città fino al 1450*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 1586 [= 9611], 18th century; Anon., *Cronaca Veneta attribuita a Marcantonio Erizzo. fino all'anno 1495*, Venice, Biblioteca

Connections have been taken into account with chronicles doubtlessly subsequent to “Zorzi Dolfin”, like Pietro Dolfin¹⁸⁴ or Marin Sanudo¹⁸⁵. But this doubtless feature becomes relative, under the circumstances that our manuscript, M 794, is not original, was not written by Zorzi Dolfin, but by Nicolò Gussoni, and belong to the 16th century, thus being contemporary with P. Dolfin’s or Sanudo’s chronicles.

As for the relationship between M 794 and this second category of chronicles, one could not establish precisely the sources-influences report, because of the approximate dating in the same 16th century as M 794 is. It is interesting the report between M 794 and pseudo-Zancaruolo chronicle (M 48-49). Whether initially F. Thiriet considered “Zancaruolo” as obvious source for Zorzi Dolfin¹⁸⁶, in another article written 20 years later the scholar reversed the relationship, considering that “Zancaruolo” would have been the one who integrated “[les] schémas des grandes chroniques du XV^e siècle” in his work and exemplifying through M 2034 and Zorzi Dolfin himself¹⁸⁷. The same is the case of M. Zannoni, who proceeded to the same directions during one and the same study, that is to regard “Zancaruolo” as source for Zorzi Dolfin, and then to conclude that “non dimentichiamo che la prima d’esse [emphasis mine, Zancaruola] è una compilazione, la qual cosa ci fa supporre che i brani in parola possano essere stati stralciati proprio dall’opera di Zorzi.”¹⁸⁸ It is

Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 56 [= 8636], 16th century [for the latter chronicle, see also Ş. Marin, *Crusades seen through Venetian Eyes - Between Being in Abovance and Involvement. The Case of the Chronicle Ascribed to Marcantonio Erizzo*, in *Aut viam inveniam aut faciam. In honorem Ştefan Andreescu* (ed. by Ovidiu Cristea, Petronel Zahariuc & Gheorghe Lazăr), Iaşi 2012, p. 121-144 (121-123)].

¹⁸¹ See Daniele Barbaro [?], *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1275*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2554 [= 12446], 17th century. For this chronicle, see also Ş. Marin, *Some Notes with Regard to the Venetian Chronicle Ascribed to Daniele Barbaro, Patriarch of Aquileia. The so-called ‘Barbaro Group’*, “Historical Yearbook” 8 (2011), p. 233-252 and 9 (2012), p. 139-152.

¹⁸² See Girolamo Savina [?], *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1616*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 134 [= 8035], 17th century. For this chronicle, see also Ş. Marin, *The Muslims Seen through Venetian Eyes (660-1346). The Case of Codex It. VII. 134 (8035) at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana and the ‘Savina Group’ of Chronicles*, in *Retrospecții medievale. In honorem Professoris Emeriti Ioan Caproşu* (ed. by Victor Spinei & Laurențiu Rădvan & Arcadie M. Bodale), Iaşi 2014, p. 427-453.

¹⁸³ Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1556*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2580 [= 12472], dated around 1556.

¹⁸⁴ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 353; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Roberto Cessi, *Introduzione*, in *Petri Delphini Annalium Venetorum Pars quarta* (ed. by Roberto Cessi & Paolo Sambin), Venice 1943, p. xx, xxvii; xxviii-xxix, xxix; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago-London 1981, p. 72; Ovidiu Cristea, “Anotimpurile” venețiene: cronica unei hegemonii eşuate (1204-1484), in *Marea Neagră. Puteri maritime-puteri terestre (sec. XIII-XI’III)*, Bucharest 2006, p. 76-101 (90 note 28).

¹⁸⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 537; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 214; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177, 182-183, 191, 192; Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76 note 146; cf. A. Caracciolo, *op. cit.*, p. 17 note 1 (who refers to the period 1423-1474 of the Sanudian chronicle).

¹⁸⁶ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287, 289; see also G. Luzzatti, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

¹⁸⁷ Fr. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo*, p. 63.

¹⁸⁸ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 543.

also illustrative the case of the relation with M 760, regarded by M. Zannoni as source for Z. Dolfin¹⁸⁹, despite the fact that that manuscript represents nothing but a draft of Marin Sanudo¹⁹⁰, hence – according to Zannoni herself’s view, which considered Dolfin as belonging to the 15th century, while Sanudo to the beginning of the 16th century – an improbable report. Actually, the scholar herself recognized at a certain moment the possibility for M 760 to be a copy of Dolfin chronicle itself¹⁹¹. This inconsistency has been emphasized by the subsequent scholars¹⁹². Thus, H. Baron inclined in the end for Z. Dolfin’s priority¹⁹³, while A. Carile for the inclusion of the two works into “*una famiglia molto più vasta e profondamente differenziata e diramata di quanto non supponesse la Zannoni.*”¹⁹⁴

At any rate, generally speaking, each connection to one of the above chronicles should not necessarily lead – as in M. Zannoni’s or F. Thiriet’s cases – to the conclusion of a certain direct dependence between two or more chronicles, since it is anytime possible the presence of an intermediary chronicle.

In connection to the methodology of the use of sources, Maria Zannoni stated that “*la lettura del testo dà l'impressione, che egli abbia preso un'esatta visione di tutte [emphasize mine, sources] contemporaneamente e ne abbia fuso le notizie desunte in un racconto più organico e completo, sostenuto da uno stile meno sciatto e meno monotono. Questa affermazione non impedisce tuttavia d'ammettere anche, che il cronista si sia soffermato più particolarmente su una sola delle opere, ch'erano a sua disposizione.*”¹⁹⁵ Practically, in the context of the lack of any clue, we are not able to regard these considerations more than simple speculations.

All the connections with the chronicles above, proposed by the scholars, are available for the first part of our chronicle, which as a whole presents the particular tone of the old chronicles¹⁹⁶, the author never renouncing to the usual method of writing of the Venetian historiography¹⁹⁷.

As for the chronicle itself from codex M 794, excepting the place where it speaks about the fall of Constantinople in 1453, it does not mention explicitly the use of any source. The chronicles limits himself to give the reader notice about several vague references when dealing with the period of Attila: “*Unde che la historia tace el modo de costoro e parla ...*” (p. 15a, interrupting the legendary narration about Attila and King Janus, in order to introduce a new character, that is Capicello); “*Hora dice la historia ...*” (p. 15b, in order to return to the Attilian legend); “*Per le antique scripture si troua ...*” (p. 23b, speaking about the city of Reggio, which is exempted

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 531-532.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 531, 533, 536.

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 533, 536-537.

¹⁹² H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 188 note 42; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86, 117.

¹⁹³ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 188 note 42.

¹⁹⁴ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹⁹⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 522.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*; in the same sense, see also Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 49, 50; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 201; for the strong influence of its predecessors in general, see also Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287-288, 290.

by Attila's wrath); "*Como si leze ne le antique scripture ...*" (p. 23b, when describing the foundation of the city of Grado)¹⁹⁸. Certainly, these references are not enough to let establish precisely which sources the chronicler had at disposal. Confronted by this situation, when presenting an episode in the prologue of the Fourth Crusade and referring exactly to our chronicle, L. Streit noted that the information had been drawn out "*evidentemente del fonte più antica*"¹⁹⁹, but without naming it.

The last part of chronicle, meaning from describing the events since 1443, does not find comparison with any other work, so that it is indeed original and offers a narration of the last years of the dogeship of Francesco Foscari²⁰⁰. The only sources explicitly nominated by the chronicler are brought in discussion only towards the end of the chronicle, that is the part regarded as independent confronted by the previous Venetian chronicles. It is about the official accounts about the fall of Constantinople due to Leonardo Giustiniani from Chios²⁰¹ and Filippo da Rimini, chancellor in Corfù (p. 313b)²⁰². It is surprising that M. Zannoni neglected a third source clearly mentioned by the chronicler, that is Jacopo Languschi (Langusto)²⁰³, while A. Pertusi even added that these three materials would have not been the only sources used in our chronicle for the description of the conquest of Byzantium²⁰⁴. Analysing more minutely the description of the event in 1453, A. Pertusi rejected Zannoni's conclusive opinion, according to which "Dolfin" remains practically independent although using those sources²⁰⁵, and stated that this "*è una affermazione che non può essere accettata*."²⁰⁶ Thus, Pertusi indicated that three quarters of the passage dealing with this episode represent nothing but a translation from Latin to vulgar of the

¹⁹⁸ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 523.

¹⁹⁹ Lodovico Streit, *Venezia e la quarta crociata* (transl. by R. Fulin), "Archivio Veneto" 8 (1878), tom 16, part I, p. 46-94 and 239-271 [original ed.: *Venedig und die Wendung des vierten Kreuzzugs gegen Konstantinopel*, Anklam 1877], p. 253 note 1.

²⁰⁰ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

²⁰¹ For Leonardo Giustiniani of Chios, bishop of Mytilene, see also Marios Philippides, *The fall of Constantinople in 1453: Bishop Leonard and the Greek Accounts*, "Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies" 22 (1981), p. 287-300; in general, for the Genoese Giustiniani in Chios, see Karl Hopf, *Les Giustiniani dynastes de Chio*, Paris 1888; Anon., *La vita amministrativa dei Giustiniani a Chios*, no year [= <http://www.giustiniani.info/amministrativa.html>].

²⁰² M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 546; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 209; see also A. J.-M. Loechel, *op. cit.*, p. 682. For Filippo Morandi da Rimini (b. circa 1407-d. 1497), author of *Invectiva in vanissimos oratores*, Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. B. 62, see Carlo Tonini, *La coltura letteraria e scientifica in Rimini dal secolo XIV ai primordi del XIX*, Rimini 1884, I, p. 235-241; M. L. King, *A Study in Venetian Humanism at Mid-Quattrocento: Filippo da Rimini and his Symposium de paupertate. Analysis and Text*, "Studi Veneziani", new series, 2 (1978), p. 75-96; 3 (1979), p. 141-186; 4 (1980), p. 27-44; Renata Fabbri, *Per la memorialistica veneziana in latino del Quattrocento. Filippo da Rimini. Francesco Contarini. Coriolano Cippico*, Padua 1988.

²⁰³ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 121 note 3. On the contrary, D. M. Nicol, *op. cit.*, p. 95 considers that the work of Languschi is directly inserted in our chronicles. For its use, see also J. Raby, *op. cit.*, p. 242. For this character, see also Arnaldo Segarizzi, *Jacopo Languschi, rimatore veneziano del secolo XV*, "Atti della I. R. Accademia degli Agiati a Rovereto", 3rd series, 1904, p. 179-185.

²⁰⁴ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 120-121.

²⁰⁵ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 546.

²⁰⁶ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 121 note 3.

epistle of Leonardo Giustiniano to Pope Nicholas V, to which the chronicler takes care to delete the theological references and the forms of addressing towards the Pontiff²⁰⁷. In order to illustrate this, the scholar offers comparative texts with both Leonard of Chios²⁰⁸ and Filippo da Rimini²⁰⁹. One could also add the use of the episode referring to the relics of the passion of Christ from Nicolò Barbaro, with small additions²¹⁰.

Under the circumstances that our chronicle has been regarded as belonging doubtlessly to Zorzi Dolfin, the gradual detaching from M 2034 has been related to the fact that the chronicler became eyewitness of the events²¹¹, especially for the period between pentru perioada 1443-1458. This has been also connected with the use by "Dolfin" of the exchange of letters with relatives and friends, such as his son Francesco (p. 336a-336b)²¹², or Andrea Querini, member of the Council of Ten (p. 297b-298a²¹³), or probably with those that took refuge in Venice after 1453²¹⁴.

In the same note one could insert here the possibility for the chronicler to use official sources. Zorzi Dolfin's political positions – senator, *provveditore di Commune* and *Ufficiale agli Uffici* – and implicitly his facility in having access to such a documents have been invoked²¹⁵. M. Zannoni tended to the same conclusion when noting the reference to three letters written in Latin and addressed by the Signoria to captain G. Barbarigo (p. 126a), since they are not to be detected neither in M 2034 nor in M 760²¹⁶. The existence of these letters in the text of M 794 led the scholar to the conclusion of the use of the acts of dogal chancellery or to the archive of Barbarigo family²¹⁷, but H. Baron identified them in manuscript 87.1. and thus disapproved this supposed proof for the use of archives by "Zorzi Dolfin"²¹⁸.

²⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 121.

²⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 121-122.

²⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 136-137. From this textual comparison, *Ibidem*, p. 136 concluded about the direct or indirect use of Filippo in at least three details.

²¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 147. Nicolò Barbaro, surgeon, ambassador to Constantinople in 1453 and thus eyewitness of the event, was the author *Cronica dell'assedio e della presa di Costantinopoli del 1453*, in manuscript at Marciana: M 746 (original from the 15th century) and M 698 (18th century copy). His account was published by Elissen in his *Analekten*. Leipzig 1857; then, edited by John Melville-Jones, as Nicolò Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople*, New York 1969 (this latter version could be also consulted at <http://www.deremilitari.org/resources/sources/constantinople3.htm>); Alessio Sopracasa also prepares a commented translation in French, as *Journal du siège de Constantinople. 1453*.

²¹¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 201, 204; R. Cessi, *op. cit.*, p. xvi; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177-178.

²¹² M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

²¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 205.

²¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 210.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 204, 209; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117; Idem, *Dolfin. Giorgio*, p. 499.

²¹⁶ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 534-535.

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 537.

²¹⁸ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 185-186.

Editions:

The chronicle in manuscript M 794 incited the interest of G. M. Thomas, who published two fragments, referring to the Fourth Crusade²¹⁹ and to the fall of Constantinople in 1453²²⁰ respectively. The passage about this latter event was also included in a collection edited by J. Melville-Jones²²¹. In addition, R. Loenertz offered a text from the chronicle dealing with the campaign commanded by Giacomo Dolfin in 1262 against Michael Palaeologus²²², while L. Luzzatti reproduced one of the speeches delivered by Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-1423)²²³. On his turn, A. Carile presented the version for the passage about *Partitio Romaniae* in 1204, inside of the third *recensione* of "D" family of chronicles²²⁴.

The lack of a complete edition of this chronicle has been underlined²²⁵, along with F. Thiriet's appeal for the publication of the period 1430-1460 at least²²⁶.

The Venetian Chronicle in Codex It. VII. 794 (8503) at Marciana National Library – Ascribed to Giorgio Delfino (Dolfin) and Transcribed by Nicolò Gussoni (abstract)

Among the around 1,000 codices representing the Venetian chronicles written between the 11th and 18th centuries, we selected the chronicle ascribed to Zorzi Dolfin. The present paper focuses upon manuscript M 794 at Marciana National Library in Venice, usually ascribed to Zorzi Dolfin, a character that lived in the 15th century. According to our examination, it results that this ascription should be reconsidered, since there is no evidence to prove it definitely. Moreover, it results that the 16th century copier

²¹⁹ G. M. Thomas, *Über die handschriftlichen* apud G. Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p. 178 note 1; see also R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 110 note 1; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286 note 1; A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 116 note 2; Idem, *Dolfin, Giorgio*, p. 499. The edition was used by L. Streit, *op. cit.*, p. 253 note 1.

²²⁰ G. M. Thomas, *Die Eroberung Constantinopels im Jahre 1453* apud G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 178 note 1, where the excerpt comprises leaves 312-324 apud M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 520; see also M. Zannoni, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 209; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286 note 1, 289; A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 116 note 2; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 519 note 39; A. Carile, *Dolfin, Giorgio*, p. 499.

²²¹ John R. Melville-Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, Amsterdam 1972, p. 125-130.

²²² R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

²²³ See *Bilanci Generali della Repubblica di Venezia* (ed. by Luigi Luzzatti), I, Venice 1912, p. 94-97 apud H. Baron, *The Anti-Florentine Discourses*, p. 339 note 2.

²²⁴ A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 474-481, with the references at p. 481-483.

²²⁵ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 177; R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 146; M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 520; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 201; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286; H. Baron, *A forgotten Chronicle*, p. 180, 184; A. Caracciolo, *Nel gran mare delle cronache*, p. 17 note 1; Idem, *Lineamenti di cultura*.

²²⁶ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 290; see also Idem, *La Romanie vénitienne*, p. 17. Meanwhile, the chronicle was published under the patronage of Centro di studi medievali e rinascimentali "Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna", see above, note 1.

Nicolò Gussoni should be regarded as the author of this chronicle, by relying upon the chronicle indeed written by Z. Dolfin a century before. Beside these clarifications referring to the paternity and dating of the chronicle inserted in manuscript M 794, the paper insists also upon the sources and influences that this work had in connection with other Venetian chronicles.