

Manuscript It. VII, 519 (= 8438) from Marciana National Library and its Spurious Author, Nicolò Trevisan*

Șerban V. Marin

Keywords: *Medieval Chronicles; Medieval Manuscripts; 16th Century Venice; 16th Historical Writings; Nicolò Trevisan*

Manuscript:

Named as “*Nicolò Trevisan. Cronaca di Venezia, continuata da altro Autore sino all'anno 1585, nel mese di Luglio, cioè sino alla morte del Doge Niccolò da Ponte*”¹ in the former catalogue of Marciana National Library, this manuscript is dated in the 16th century. It originates in Giacomo Morelli donation (no 55). It is about a codex of 405x275 mm, numbering 352 leaves, written from the beginning to the end by one and the same hand² or at least one could speak about a tendency towards an orthographic unification³. Its numbering is due to both the original version – with Latin figures – and the modern one⁴. The text is disposed on two columns, while the main data and facts are emphasized in red ink⁵. F. Thiriet considered that the first 15 leaves include a table of matters that facilitates the lecture and use⁶, but I have personally noted that it covers only pages 1a-13a and is entitled “*Tavola delle Rubriche de tutta la presente cronica de Venetia*”⁷. The following leaves to 28 are blank⁸, and the chronicle itself begins only at p. 29a, coll. 1, with these words: “*Incomencia la cronica della inclita citta de Uenetia et del suo destretto*”

* The Romanian version of this article was published as *Manuscrisul It. VII. 519 (= 8438) de la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana și falsul său autor, Nicolò Trevisan*, “*Revista Istorică*”, new series, 21 (2010), 3-4, p. 227-243. The present version is revised and improved, while some information are added or updated.

¹ See also 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 (262); Idem, *L'importance de la chronique de Niccolò Trevisan*, in *Miscellanea marciana di studi Bessarionei*. Padua 1971, p. 407-414 (408). See also Carlo Campana, *Cronache di Venezia in volgare della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Catalogo*, Venice 2011, p. 87.

² Idem, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 262; Idem, *L'importance cit.*, p. 408.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 414.

⁴ See also Silvana Ozoze 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 (549 note 68); C. Campana, *op. cit.*

⁵ See also F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 263; Idem, *L'importance cit.*, p. 414.

⁶ Idem, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 262; Idem, *L'importance cit.*, p. 409.

⁷ See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*

⁸ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 262; Idem, *L'importance cit.*, p. 409.

la qual e circondata dal marre e fu edificata da ueri et boni cristiani [...]”⁹, emphasized by the use of red ink¹⁰. The work refers first to the episode of the Trojan origins of the city, while the local chronicles itself begins as follows: “*Misier Pauluzo pronominato Anafesto universalemtno dali noveli e titu li altri abitanti in Eracliana fu electo primo doxe corando li ani DCXCVII ...*” (p. 36b, coll. 1)¹¹. The chronicle’s text continues until p. 340b – which includes only three lines – and comes to an end by referring to the death of Doge Nicolò de Ponte (1578-1585): “[340a, coll. 2] [...] *ali XXX Luio M D LXXXV, rese il spirito a Dio el corpo alla terra et il Principato a padre ha[340b, coll. 2]uendo tenuto el Principato anni VII[,] mesi IIII et giorni XII, et fu sepulto nella nuoua Sepoltura con grandissimo honore.*”¹², while p. 341-352 are blank¹³.

Some scholars have stated that the passages referring to Nicolò Trevisan as character – that is, the episodes of Doge Marino Faliero’s conspiracy in 1355 and the Cretan revolt in 1363-1368 – could be found not only integrated in the chronicle contained in It. VII, 519, but also inside of other manuscripts. It is about:

- another codex at Marciana, It. XI, 32 (= 6670)¹⁴, donated by Amedeo Svajer (no 1409)¹⁵,
- a manuscript at the State Archives of Venice, *Miscellanea codd.* no 728¹⁶,
- the codex Co 1327 from Correr National Museum¹⁷.

Among these, the first two were dated by V. Lazzarini in the 15th century¹⁸ – although A. Carile exceptionally places It. XI, 32 in the 16th century¹⁹ – and are

⁹ See also Idem, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 263; C. Campana, *op. cit.* See below, Figure 1.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ See also Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence 1969, p. 146.

¹² See also *Ibidem*; C. Campana, *op. cit.* See below, Figure 2.

¹³ See also F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 263; Idem, *L’importance* cit., p. 410.

¹⁴ According to Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Étude sur Antonio Morosini et son oeuvre. Annexes et tables*, in *Chronique d’Antonio Morosini. Extraits relatifs a l’histoire de France* (ed. by Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis & Léon Dorez), IV, Paris 1902, p. 143 note 3; F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques*, p. 262; Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado – La Congiura*, Florence 1963 [1897], p. 98 and note 1; A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica veneziana: Piero Giustinian e Nicolò Trevisan*, “Studi veneziani” 9 (1967), p. 103-125 (120, 123-124); F. Thiriet, *L’importance* cit., p. 408; John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice*, London, 1983 [1977-1981], p. 645; Ovidiu Cristea, *Recucerirea bizantină a Constantinopolului și acțiunea flotei venețiene împotriva insulei Daphnousia*, “Studii și materiale de istorie medie” 19 (2001), p. 109-114 (111 note 12). See *Frammenti di cronache di Venezia*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. XI, 32 (= 6672), 16th-17th centuries; see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 174-175.

¹⁵ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹⁶ According to G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 143 note 3; F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 262 note 1; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 98 note 2; S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri della cronachistica veneziana in volgare del Tre-Quattrocento (Enrico Dandolo)*, “Studi veneziani” 9 (1967), p. 127-151 (150 note 117); A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 120; F. Thiriet, *L’importance* cit., p. 408 note 1.

¹⁷ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 120 and note 47, 121-123, 124; Idem, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 135, 139 note 4. See Nicolò Trevisano, *Cronica*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, fonds Correr, manuscript 1327, 16th century.

¹⁸ V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

included in miscellaneas, while the common passage with It. VII, 519 covers only a small part, for instance p. 150-154 in It. XI, 32²⁰. As for Co 1327, it is definitely later, belonging to the 16th century²¹ according to the handwriting, while the greatest number of pages belongs to the 17th century²² and, in comparison with the other versions, presents N. Trevisan's memoirs as an independent work²³. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that those scholars that have ascribed this chronicle towards Trevisan have considered It. VII, 519 as the most complete²⁴ and the best²⁵ among the codices.

One should also bring the 17th century manuscript It. VII, 82 (7767)²⁶ into discussion. The Marcian catalogue "It. VII." presents it in two different manners: "*Cronaca Veneta, detta Trevisana dal 1432 al 1556*" and "*Giammaria Modenesi. Continuazione alla Cronaca precedente fino al 1670*" respectively, while the other catalogue, "Soggetti Veneti" refers to it as: "*sino al 1670. di Nicolò Trevisan, seguita da quella di Maria Modenesi*". It is about the codex taken into account by A. Markham Schulz, under the name of "*Cronaca Trevisan*" the scholar dates it in the 16th century²⁷. This dating is in direct contradiction with the former Marcian catalogues, which both place it in the 17th century²⁸.

In addition, when investigating the Gradenigo family, Fr. Rossi refers to another codex from the State Archives in Venice, that is *Miscellanea codici*, I, *Storia veneta*, no 142²⁹, which, according to all appearances, includes Nicolò Trevisan's text dealing with Marino Faliero's conspiracy in 1355, but not the remained of the chronicle that we refer to.

Edition:

Not edited on the whole by now³⁰, the chronicle ascribed to Nicolò Trevisan was very well appreciated by F. Thiriet, who launched many appeals for its publication as soon as possible³¹.

¹⁹ A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 124; the same conclusion is drawn by C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 174, who dates it in the 16th-17th centuries..

²⁰ V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 121; Idem, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 135.

²² Idem, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 121.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 123.

²⁴ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 143 note 3.

²⁵ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

²⁶ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta, detta Trevisana dal 1432 al 1556* [in miscellanea]. Venice. Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 82 [= 7767], 17th century.

²⁷ Anne Markham Schulz, *The Sculpture of Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon and Their Workshop*, "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society", new series, 68 (1978), 3, p. 1-81.

²⁸ As for C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 47-48 (47), he regards it as being written in the 18th century.

²⁹ Franco Rossi, *Quasi una dinastia: i Gradenigo tra XIII e XIV secolo*, in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* (ed. by Marino Zorzi & Susy Marcon), [Venice] 2001, p. 155-187 (186 note 136).

³⁰ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, p. 260; see also M[anussos] I. Manussacas, *L'isola di Creta sotto il dominio veneziano. Problemi e ricerche*, in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV* (ed. by A. Pertusi), Florence 1973, 1, part II, p. 73-514 (476) apud Giulio Zorzanello, *La cronaca veneziana trascritta da Gasparo Zancaruolo (codice Marciano It. VII. 2570, già Phillipps 5215)*, "Archivio Veneto", 5th series, 114 (1980), p. 37-66 (65 note 77).

In his work about the Venetian chronicles, A. Carile published the passages dealing with *Partitio Romaniae*, inside of what the scholar calls as “C-B-b-D” contamination of Venetian chronicles³¹.

Authorship:

It. VII, 519 has attracted the scholars’ attention, especially from the perspective of its authorship towards Nicolò Trevisan³³. Previously, a chronicle that

³¹ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 266; Idem, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge. Le développement de l’exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII^e-XV^e siècles)*, Paris 1959, p. 17; Idem, *L’importance cit.*, p. 407, 414.

³² A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 510-511.

³³ For the ascription of the whole chronicle towards Nicolò Trevisan, see S[amuele] Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 volumes, Venice 1853-1861, I, p. 216 note 1, 218 note 3; III, *passim*; IV, *passim*; V. Lazzarini, *I titoli dei dogi di Venezia*, “Nuovo Archivio Veneto”, new series, 2 (1903), tom V. part I, p. 271-311 (307, 308 note 1); Giovanni Monticolo, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* [hereafter, *RIS*], XXII, part IV, Città di Castello 1900, p. 99 note 2 apud G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 143 note 3; H[einrich] Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, II, 1920, p. 540 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 119 note 43 and apud Idem, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 138 note 5; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 142, 143 note 3, 144; Ester Pastorello, *Introduzione*, in *Andreae Danduli Ducis Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta aa. 46-1280 d. C.*, in *RIS*, 12 (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna 1923, p. 5-327 (lix); F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 262-263, 266, 291; G[ino] L[uzzatti], review of F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques cit.*, in “Archivio Veneto”, 84, 5th series, 89-90, vol. 54-55 (1954), p. 126-128 (127); F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne cit.*, p. 17; Robert Lee Wolff, *The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204-1261*, in *A History of the Crusades* (ed. by Kenneth M. Setton), II: *The Later Crusades 1189-1311* (ed. by Robert Lee Wolff & Henry W. Hazard), Philadelphia 1962, p. 187-233 (189 note 2); V. Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero cit.*, p. 98 and note 3; S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri cit.*, p. 150 note 117; A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica cit.*, p. 119-120; Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West 1180-1204*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1968, p. 326 note 25; A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 138-139, 146; F. Thiriet, *L’importance cit.*, p. 408-410, 412, 414; Frederic C. Lane, *The enlargement of the great council of Venice*, in *Florilegium Historiale. Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* (ed. by J. G. Rowe & W. H. Stockdale), [Toronto] 1971, p. 236-274 (238, 262 note 4); S. Ozoeze Collodo, *Attila cit.*, p. 549 notes 67-68; Edward Muir, *Images of Power: Art and Pageantry in Renaissance Venice*, “American Historical Review” 84 (1979), p. 16-52 (27 note 23, 43 note 71); Idem, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton 1981, p. 94 note 84, 266 note 45, etc.; O[ldrich] Tüma, *The Dating of Alexius’s Chrysobull to the Venetians: 1082, 1084, or 1092?*, “Byzantinoslavica” 42 (1981), p. 171-185 (181 note 31, 185); Maria Maddalena Samataro, *La rivolta di Candia del 1363-65 nelle fonti veneziane*, “Studi veneziani”, new series, 31 (1996), p. 127-153 (131 note 25); Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity*, Philadelphia 2000, p. 135, 147; Gerhard Rösch, *The Serrata of the Great Council and Venetian Society, 1286-1323*, in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797* (ed. by John Martin & Dennis Romano), Baltimore. Maryland-London 2002 [2000], p. 67-88 (85); Ovidiu Cristea, *Siamo Veneziani e poi Cristiani: Some Remarks concerning the Venetian Attitude towards the Crusade*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia” 3 (2001), p. 105-116 (114 note 43); Şerban 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 (158 note ff); O. Cristea, *La suprématie maritime à la fin du XIII^e siècle. Un point de vue de Marino Sanudo Torsello*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia” 4 (2002), p. 172-176 (174 note 19); Idem, *Venise et le problème du concours militaire ottoman au temps du règne de Bayezid II*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura

would have come to and with year 1361 had passed under the name of *Trevisana*, although it had been regarded as anonymous. It had been initially noted by M. Foscarini³⁴, and then by A. Prost, under the name of “*Cronaca di Venezia, fino al 1361. Cronaca detta Pallas o Trevigiana*”³⁵. It is also manuscript It. VII, 790 (7294)³⁶ that is named on the cover as “*Cronica del Trevisano della città di Venezia*”³⁷. Nevertheless, as rightfully F. Thiriet noted, it is about nothing but a copy of the chronicle ascribed to Daniele Barbaro³⁸.

Although ignored by both M. Foscarini and A. Prost, and also by A. Potthast’s *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*, as G. Lefèvre-Pontalis noted regretfully³⁹, the name of *Trevisana* has known a real career when referring to codex It. VII, 519. Under this name, the chronicle was assiduously quoted in S. Romanin’s classical work for the period between 1354 and 1361⁴⁰, after the first reference to it had dealt with events at the beginning of the 10th century⁴¹. Afterwards, Nicolò Trevisan di Sant’Angelo, member of the Council of Ten in April 1355 during the trial of Doge Marino Faliero⁴², *provveditore* in Crete during the Venetian

e ricerca umanistica di Venezia” 6-7 (2004-2005), p. 313-319 (313 note 1); Idem, *La défaite dans la pensée médiévale occidentale. Le cas de la croisade de Nicopolis (1396)*, in *New Europe College Yearbook* (ed. by Irina Vainovski-Mihai), Bucharest 2003, p. 39-69 (61 note 25); Idem, *Rivalitatea venețiano-genoveză în Marea Neagră: campanile lui Giustiniano Giustiniani (1323, 1328)*, “*Revista Istorică*”, new series, 15 (2004), 1-2, p. 89-106 (94 note 24); Idem, *Recucerirea bizantină*, p. 111 and note 12; Idem, *Veneția și Marea Neagră în secolele XIII-XIV. Contribuții la studiul politicii orientale venețiene*, Brăila 2004, p. 207; Holly S. Hurlburt, *The Dogarossa of Venice, 1200-1500: Wife and Icon*, New York 2006, *passim*.

³⁴ Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* (introd. by Ugo Stefanutti), [Bologna] [1976] [reprinted of Venice 1854] [first ed.: 1752], p. 142 note 102; Aug[uste] Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, “*Revue des questions historiques*” 31 (1882), p. 512-555 and 34 (1883), p. 199-224 (545). Nevertheless, at that point, Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 156 note 3 regarded it also as anonymous, while in *Ibidem*, p. 156 only mentions that it would have been in possession of Bernardo Trevisan. However, confronted by the great number of codices belonging to this latter’s library, the use of the name of *Trevisana* for this codex, as A. Prost considers, seems rather forced.

³⁵ A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 524, 545.

³⁶ See [Daniele Barbaro?], *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città fino all’an. 1413*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 790 [= 7294], 17th century.

³⁷ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 247; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³⁸ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*; see also C. Campana, *op. cit.* For ‘Barbaro group’ of chronicles, see Ș. 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 (for the codices) and 9 (2012), p. 139-152.

³⁹ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 143 and notes 1-2.

⁴⁰ S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, III, p. 173 ff.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, I, p. 216 note 1. Not taking note of this early quotation, G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 143 note 3 considered that Romanin’s first reference to the chronicle of ‘Trevisan’ deals with year 1300.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 144; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 262; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 98; A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica cit.*, p. 119 and note 45; Idem, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 138-139; F. Thiriet, *L’importance cit.*, p. 409; F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 238, 262 note 4; Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago-London 1981, p. 63; O. Cristea, *Recucerirea bizantină cit.*, p. 111. For the conspiracy of M. Falier, see S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, III, p. 181-193; V.

feudatories' rebellion in the island⁴³ and deceased in 1369, when *procurator de citra*⁴⁴, has been considered almost unanimously as author of the chronicle in codex It. VII, 519, with the mention that, once established as a 14th century author, Trevisan would have written only the period prior to 1367 of the chronicle, the remainder being the addition of a certain continuator⁴⁵. Although noting the fact that It. VII, 519 would have been written by one and the same hand, F. Thiriet could not renounce to the ascription of the chronicle towards two authors, among whom the first would have been Trevisan itself⁴⁶. Thus, the French scholar created a gap inside of the chronicle, as follows: leaves 29-120 would have contain the history due to Trevisan, while leaves 121-340 would have represented the copier's work⁴⁷, so that Trevisan would have written only a little more than a quarter of the entire chronicle⁴⁸. Completely convinced by this hypothesis, Thiriet concluded even about a larger unity

Lazzarini, *op. cit.*; Andrea Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia nella vita pubblica e privata*, Milan [1966], p. 145 ff.; G. Pillinini, *Marino Falier e la crisi economica e politica del '300 a Venezia*, "Archivio Veneto", 5th series, 84 (1968), p. 54-71; Claudio Rendina, *Dogii Venetiei. Istorie și secrete* (transl. by Radu Gâdei & Constantin Vlad), Bucharest 2003 [*I Dogi. Storia e segreti*, [Rome], 1984], p. 197-202; J. J. Norwich, *op. cit.*, p. 224-229. The episode represented the topic for many literary works, dramas [Byron, *Marino Faliero of Venice. An historical tragedy*, Paris 1821; Casimir de la Vigne, *Marino Faliero*, Paris 1829; Gio. Emmanuele Bidera, *Marino Faliero. Azione tragica in tre atti ... posta in musica dal sig. maestro Donizzetti*. Trieste 1837; Giulio Pullè, *Marino Faliero. Drame*, Verona 1840), novels (E. Ronteix et H. [sic!], *Marino Faliero. Episode de l'histoire de Venise*, Paris 1829), etc.

⁴³ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Liber Secretorum Collegii (1363-1366)*, which contains actually "Commissio provisoribus Crete ser ..., Nicolò Trevisan, ... (febr. 1365, more veneto 1366), scrisse quel che seguì, et la copia son questa che da sora ho scritto, anno 1367." apud F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 262 note 2; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 143-144; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 262, 266, 291; G. Luzzatti, loc. cit., p. 127; F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne cit.*, p. 17; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 98; A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica cit.*, p. 119 and notes 44-45, 120; Idem, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 139 and note 1; F. Thiriet, *L'importance cit.*, p. 409, 412, 414; F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 238, 262 note 4; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 63; C[ristoforo] Buondelmonti, *Descriptio Insule Crete et Liber Insularum*, chap. XI: *Creta* (ed. by M.-A. Van Spitael), Iraklion 1981, p. 326 apud M. M. Sarnataro, *op. cit.*, p. 131 note 25; M. M. Sarnataro, *op. cit.*, p. 131 and note 25; S. McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 143-147; O. Cristea, *Recucerirea bizantină cit.*, p. 111. For the situation in Venetian Crete, see S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, III, p. 217-227; J. J. Norwich, *op. cit.*, p. 236-238; volume *Venezia e Creta - Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre-5 ottobre 1997* (ed. by Gherardo Ortalli), Venice 1998. For the rebellion of the Venetians in Crete, we also refer to the drama composed by Giovanni Pindemonte, *I Coloni di Candia*, Filadelfia 1801.

⁴⁴ V. Lazzarini, *I titoli dei dogi cit.*, p. 307; F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 262-263; V. Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero cit.*, p. 119; A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 139; O. Cristea, *Recucerirea bizantină cit.*, p. 111.

⁴⁵ H. Kretschmayr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 540 apud A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica cit.*, p. 119 and note 46; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 143-144; F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 263; Idem, *L'importance cit.*, p. 409.

⁴⁶ Idem, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 262.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 263; see also Idem, *L'importance cit.*, p. 409.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 410.

in style and composition for the part prior to 1367⁴⁹. As for the second supposed chronicler, Thiriet considered that this one simply “*ne nous intéresse pas*”⁵⁰.

Indeed, a passage of the chronicle contained in It. VII, 519 mentions as follows: “*Notta che ser Nicolo Triuisan, / che fo prouedor in la ditta isola de Candia, scrisse quel che segui e la copia son questa che de sora ho scritto.*” (p. 119a, colls. 1-2)⁵¹, a note that would have been ascribed to the 16th century copier. Previously, another note had mentioned: “*Del mese de Mazo me fo scritto a mi Nicollo Triuisan, per ser Pantalon Barbo, et per li compagni de Candia che io me douesse muouer con la mia oste dalla Cania, et caualchar uerso le parte de Pisero, a danno di nemis*” (p. 118a, coll. 1)⁵². One indirect and the other direct to the person of Nicolò Trevisan as *provveditor* of Crete, these references could be added to several others, not noted by F. Thiriet, but emphasized by A. Carile (p. 109a, 110a, 119a)⁵³.

It was H. Kretschmayr to first advance doubts with regard to the ascription towards N. Trevisan of the part of the chronicle narrating the period between the origin of the city and year 1367. Previously, the German scholar had joined the hypothesis of Nicolò Trevisan as author and, according to A. Carile, it was Kretschmayr himself to whom this ascription would have been due to⁵⁴. By contradicting his own first opinion, the German scholar asked himself during the same study whether it would have rather been about one of the 15th century so many compilations where the account of Trevisan from Crete would have been inserted⁵⁵. This question mark raised by Kretschmayr has generally been ignored by the subsequent scholars that would accept doubtlessly Trevisan as author of the entire chronicle in our manuscript.

However, the tendency to ascribe the entire part of the chronicle from the origins to year 1367 to Nicolò Trevisan has been seriously debated only since 1967, when both Silvana Collodo and Antonio Carile, irrespectively of each other, rejected this ascription. While S. Collodo limited herself to referring to “*la cosiddetta cronaca Trevisan*”⁵⁶ and expressing her doubts about its authenticity by considering that “*è più probabile che sia un lavoro di compilazione di uno o più copisti del sec. XVI, epoca cui risale il codice stesso, e che l’annotazione precisa del nome del Trevisan valga solo per la parte che fu copiata proprio dalla relazione trevisanea sulla rivolta di Candia del 1363*”⁵⁷, A. Carile offered an extremely detailed

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 409.

⁵⁰ *Idem*, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 263.

⁵¹ See also *Idem*, *L’importance* cit., p. 408; *Idem*, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 262; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 119 note 44, 120; *Idem*, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 139 and note 1. See below, Figures 3-5.

⁵² See also F. Thiriet, *L’importance* cit., p. 414; see also A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 119 note 45; *Idem*, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 139 note 2. See below, Figures 6-7.

⁵³ *Idem*, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 119 note 45; *Idem*, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 139 note 2.

⁵⁴ *Idem*, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 124-125.

⁵⁵ H. Kretschmayr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 540 apud A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 125.

⁵⁶ S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri* cit., p. 129 note 9, 150 and note 117; see also *Idem*, *Note sulla cronachistica veneziana. A proposito di un recente volume*, “*Archivio Veneto*”, 5th series, 91 (1970), p. 13-30 (19, 24); *Idem*, *Attila e le origini* cit., p. 549 note 67.

⁵⁷ *Idem*, *Temi e caratteri* cit., p. 150 note 117.

demonstration, which would be retaken in 1969. The scholar starts from the same premise as Kretschmayr or Thiriet, that is the note at p. 119a of the codex that refers to N. Trevisan as *provveditor* of Candia, who “*scrise quel che seguì e la copia son questa che de sora ho scritto*”, just that he does not regard this reference in the sense given by his two predecessors. On the contrary, he notes it as an affirmation of the anonymous compiler about using an account written by Trevisan⁵⁸. Henceforth, the references to Trevisan for the period between 1356 and 1369 should not lead to the ascription towards him for the writing of the entire chronicle inserted in It. VII, 519, and not even for the one coming to year 1369, when Trevisan passed away⁵⁹. Carile also considers that the fact that, inside of Trevisan’s account itself, the one who transcribed it did not change the first person used by its author should not be surprising, since similar cases are also to be detected in other Venetian chronicles, and the scholar exemplifies through Antonio Morosini, who had transcribed in his chronicle the account of Pietro Loredan referring to his victory over the Turks at Gallipoli, using the same manner of writing as in our case⁶⁰. On my turn, I add that it is exactly the note at p. 119a that uses even the third person, a detail that clearly makes separation between the note belonging to the compiler and the content of Trevisan’s account.

Afterwards, Carile refers to the other versions of N. Trevisan’s account, among which V. Lazzarini emphasized the one at Marciana, It. XI, 32 and the one from the State Archives, but did not conclude that the account should be regarded separately. As for Carile, he follows exactly this direction, by transforming the existence of this latter codex as argument sustaining his thesis about the separation between the account and the remainder of the chronicle contained in It. VII, 519⁶¹. In addition, Carile adds codex Co 1327 that includes the account⁶², with the additional note that the reference at p. 119a in It. VII, 519 could be detected nowhere in this latter codex⁶³. In exchange, the codex at Correr Museum introduces a small note that is not to be detected in It. VII, 519 and that mentions at p. 76b as follows: “*Qui notarò quelli s’atrovavano a consiglieri del Consigli di X, Avogadori de la zonta del Conseio di X del 1355 16 ap(ri)l et ordinatamente narrarò quel ho trovato in uno libreto de M(eser) Nic(ol)ò Trivisan de S(anto) Anzolo fu alhora del dito Consiglio di X.*”⁶⁴ Even the property of simple “*libreto*” could be enough, Carile considers, to demonstrate that it is not about a chronicle, but a fascicle of a few pages that would have been the archetype for the two codices that include the simple account of the

⁵⁸ A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 120; Idem, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 139-140; see also E. Cochrane, *Historians*, p. 63.

⁵⁹ A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 119; Idem, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 139.

⁶⁰ Idem, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 120; Idem, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 140. For A. Morosini, see below.

⁶¹ A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 120; Idem, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 140-141.

⁶² Idem, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 120-121; Idem, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 135, 141-142.

⁶³ Idem, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 120 note 47; Idem, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 139 note 4. When investigating Co 1327, I came to the same conclusion as A. Carile.

⁶⁴ According to Idem, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 123 and note 58; Idem, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 143 and note 5.

conspiracy of Marino Faliero (It. XI, 32) or the rebellion of Crete (the codex at the State Archives)⁶⁵, which would have passed then in codex It. VII, 519.

In conclusion, according to Carile, the chronicle in codex It. VII, 519 should be considered as anonymous⁶⁶, its author using Nicolò Trevisan's account as source already in circulation and integrating in the main text of his chronicle. It is the hypothesis that we also join to, but dissociating ourselves from Carile in the point that the scholar considers that this chronicle would have been compiled in a first stage in the 15th century⁶⁷, option that does not rely on any certain data.

Personally, by relying upon certain similarities with codex It. VII, 2567⁶⁸, I have wrongly used this latter under the name of Nicolò Trevisan⁶⁹.

⁶⁵ Idem, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 124.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*; Idem, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 144. A. Carile's conclusions are also embraced by Dorit Raines, *Cooptazione, aggregazione e presenza al Maggior Consiglio: le casate del patriziato veneziano, 1297-1797*, "Storia di Venezia-Rivista" 1 (2003), p. 1-64 (especially p. 13 note 40), but also in the bibliography of her study (p. 53), where the scholar uses the more appropriate formula of "Nicolò Trevisan ed altri"; Guillaume Saint-Guillain, *Les conquérants de l'Archipel. L'empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades*, in *Quarta crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino* (ed. by Gherardo Ortalli & Giorgio Ravagnani & Peter Schreiner), I, Venice 2006, p. 125-237 (134 note 26); Federica Ambrosini, *Rappresentazioni allegoriche dell'America nel Veneto del Cinque e Seicento*, "Artibus et Historiae" 1 (1980), 2, p. 63-78, who mentions nowhere the name of Trevisan, although refers to our manuscript; Thomas F. Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice*, Baltimore-London 2003, p. 261 note 40, who regards the chronicles as only "attributed to Nicolò Trevisan".

⁶⁷ A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 125.

⁶⁸ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1444*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 2567 [= 12459], 16th century. See C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 162. For this manuscript, see recently Ş. Marin, *Venice, Byzantium, and the "Infidels" (by 1377) According to the Anonymous Chronicle Preserved in Manuscript It. VII. 2567 from Marciana National Library*, "Thesaurismata" 46 (2016), p. 187-234 (esp. 187-192).

⁶⁹ Ş. Marin, *op. cit.*, p. 158; Idem, *The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople. The Representation of Tommaso Morosini in the Venetian Chronicles*, "Quaderni della Casa Romena" 2 (2002), p. 49-90 (57 note 44); 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 (187 note 26); Idem, *Dominus quartae partis et dimidia totius Imperii Romaniae. The Fourth Crusade and the Dogal Title in the Venetian Chronicles' Representation*, "Quaderni della Casa Romena" 3 (2004), p. 119-150 (130 note 60); 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 (242 note 27); Idem, *Veneția și căderea unui imperiu. Reprezentarea momentului 1261 în cronică venețiană*, "Revista Istorică", new series, 14 (2003), 3-4, p. 211-254 (220 note 34); Idem, *Giustiniano Partecipazio and the Representation of the First Venetian Embassy to Constantinople in the Chronicles of the Serenissima*, "Historical Yearbook" 2 (2005), p. 75-92 (79 note 28); Idem, *Un transilvano a Venezia: il vaivoda Steffano Lackfi II e la guerra del 1372-1373 tra Venezia, Padova e Ungheria nella cronaca di Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo*, in *L'Italia e l'Europa Centro-Orientale attraverso i secoli. Miscellanea di studi di storia politico-diplomatica, economica e dei rapporti culturali* (ed. by Cristian Luca & Gianluca Masi & Andrea Piccardi), Brăila-Venice 2004, p. 61-79 (70 note 68); Idem, *The Venetian Community – between civitas and imperium. A Project of the Capital's Transfer from Venice to Constantinople. According to the Chronicle of Daniele Barbaro*,

Dating:

The matter of dating is connected with the one of authorship. As long as it has been considered that the author of the whole chronicle from the origins of Venice to 1367 would have been a direct participant to the events in Crete that held the important position of *provveditore* of Candia, the writing of the work would have been integrated in the period between the end of his mission in the island and his passing away. Thus, according to this viewpoint, one would be confronted with a chronicle written in the second half of the 14th century⁷⁰, and Nicolò Trevisan himself would have been regarded as a historical authority of this particular century⁷¹. On this basis, it has been spoken about the contemporaneity of the chronicle with Andrea Dandolo⁷², Raffaino Caresini⁷³, “Enrico Dandolo”⁷⁴, “Gasparo Zancaruolo”⁷⁵ and Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo⁷⁶ – these three latter placed in the 14th century also by error –, and also about the chronological priority of our chronicle

“European Review of History” 10 (2003), 1, p. 81-102 (84 note 10). My error was retaken by C. Campana, *op. cit.*, for which reason I express my apologies for this misleading.

⁷⁰ V. Lazzarini, *I titoli dei dogi* cit., p. 307; H. Kretschmayr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 540 apud A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 119 note 46; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 142; F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 245 note 4, 260, 262; G. Luzzatti, loc. cit., p. 127; V. Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero* cit., p. 98; Roberto Cessi, *Prefazione* in *Venetiarum Historia vulgo Pietro Iustiniani filio adiudicata* (ed. by R. Cessi & Fanny Bennato), Venice 1964, p. xxii; Ch. Brand, *op. cit.*, p. 326 note 25; F. Thiriet, *L'importance* cit., p. 407, 408; M. Manussacas, *op. cit.*, p. 476 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 65 note 77; O. Tûma, *op. cit.*, p. 185; O. Cristea, *Recucerirea bizantină* cit., p. 111.

⁷¹ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 260.

⁷² Idem, *L'importance* cit., p. 407, 410. For Andrea Dandolo's chronicles, see *Andreae Danduli Chronica brevis*, in *RIS*, part I (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna 1938, p. 351-373 and *Andreae Danduli Duci Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta aa. 46-1280 d. C.*, in *RIS*, 12 (ed. by E. Pastorello), Bologna 1923, p. 5-327. See also Ș. Marin, *A Double Pathfinder's Condition: Andrea Dandolo and His Chronicles*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica” 12-13 (2010-2011), p. 41-122.

⁷³ Idem, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 266. For this chronicle, see *Raphayni de Caresinis Cancelarii Venetiarum, Chronica, aa. 1343-1388*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12, part II (ed. by E. Pastorello), Bologna 1923. For a translation in vulgar, see *La Cronaca di Raffaino Caresini tradotta in volgare veneziano nel secolo XIV* (ed. by Rinaldo Fulin), Venice 1877.

⁷⁴ F. Thiriet, *L'importance* cit., p. 407. For this chronicle, see *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo (origine-1362)* (ed. by Roberto Pesce), 2010; see also Ș. Marin, *Codicele It. VII. 102 (8142) de la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana și chestiunea atribuirii către Enrico Dandolo*, in *Orient și Occident. Studii în memoria prof. Gheorghe Zbughea* (ed. by Manuela Dobre & Rudolf Dinu), Bucharest 2012, p. 113-144.

⁷⁵ M. Manussacas, *op. cit.*, p. 476 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 65 note 77. For this chronicle, see Anon., *Chronica de la nobel cită de Venexia e de la sua Provincia e destretto*, Milan, Braidense National Library, manuscript AG X 15-16, end of the 15th century-beginning of the 16th century; *Cronaca Veneta supposta di Gasparo Zancaruolo, dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 1274 [= 9274], 18th century.

⁷⁶ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 260. For this chronicle, see Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, *Istorie veneziene* (ed. by Ș. V. Marin), 5 volumes, Bucharest 2008-2012; see also Ș. Marin, *A 16th Century Venetian Chronicle in France Microfilm Collection of the National Archives of Romania. The Case of Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo and His Compilers*. “Revue Roumaine d'Histoire” 46 (2007), 1-4, p. 41-68.

over Antonio Morosini's, "lequel, à l'époque où Niccolò Trevisani achevait sa chronique, devait à peine lui-même atteindre l'adolescence"⁷⁷ and "storiografia ufficiale a stampa"⁷⁸ (that is, Flavio Biondo⁷⁹ and Marcantonio Sabellico⁸⁰).

As mentioned above, consequent to A. Carile's detailed investigation, it has been concluded that only the references to Marino Faliero's conspiracy and to the rebellion in Candia, written indeed by Nicolò Trevisan, who participated to the events, would have been written in the 14th century⁸¹. As for the remainder of the chronicle, it has another author that, among many others, also copied these accounts of Trevisan.

As for S. Romanin, he referred to what he called as "Trevisan" even when narrating events in the 11th century⁸². Afterwards, the scholar considered this character as being contemporary not only with the conspiracy of Marino Falier⁸³ and the dogal election of Giovanni Dolfin in 1356⁸⁴, but also with the enclosure of the Great Council in 1297⁸⁵. On the other side, when dealing with events in year 1570 and referring to It. VII, 519⁸⁶, Romanin did not mention the name of "Trevisan" anymore.

Surprisingly, when writing a later study, A. Carile stated at a certain point that the testimony of the so-called chronicle of Trevisan would have been inserted in the political milieu of the second half of the 14th century⁸⁷, thus coming in contradiction with what he had considered previously. F. Lane's note looks also strange, under the circumstances that, although following Carile's studies and

⁷⁷ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 144; see also John W. Barker, review of *The Morosini Codex* (ed. by Michele Pietro Ghezzi & John R. Melville-Jones & Andrea Rizzi), I, Padua 1999, in "Renaissance Quarterly" 54 (2001), 4, p. 1582-1586 (1583) (who considers him as predecessor of Antonio Morosini). For this chronicle, see *Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo visto da Venezia (1094-1433)* (ed. by Andrea Nanetti), 4 volumes, Spoleto 2010. See also Ş. Marin, *Considerații asupra cronicii venețianului Antonio Morosini*, "Studii și Materiale de Istoric Medie" 28 (2010), p. 169-191.

⁷⁸ E. Pastorello, *loc. cit.*, p. lix.

⁷⁹ See Blondi Flavii Forliviensis, *De Origine et Gestis Venetorum Liber*, in *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, V, part 1 (ed. by Johann Georg Graevius), Leyden 1722, p. 1-26. See also Ş. Marin, *Flavio Biondo's Venetian History and the Matter of the Beginnings of the 'Public Historiography' in Venice*. "Revista Istorică", new series, 25 (2014), 1-2, p. 101-121.

⁸⁰ See *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 Ş. Marin, *Marcantonio Sabellico's Rerum Venetarum and "the Definitive History of Venice": The Beginnings of the Official Historiography in Venice?*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 90 (2013), 1-2, p. 134-177.

⁸¹ See also D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 2 note 2.

⁸² S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216 note 1, 218 note 3.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, III, p. 182 (along with R. Caresini and L. de' Monaci).

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 199 note 1.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 5 note 1 (along with R. Caresini).

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, VI, p. 284 note 2.

⁸⁷ A. Carile, *La coscienza civica di Venezia nella sua prima storiografia*, in *La coscienza cittadina nei comuni italiani del Duecento*, Todi 1972 (11-14 ottobre 1970: Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla spiritualità medievale, XI), p. 97-136 (134).

considering that there are only few sections in It. VII, 519 to belong to N. Trevisan *provveditore* in Crete⁸⁸, the American scholar seems to place the chronicle also in the 14th century, for instance when he considers that the 15th century manuscript Ci 2413 from Correr Museum⁸⁹ retakes the narration of ‘Trevisan’ regarding the enclosure of the Great Council⁹⁰. The same is the case when Lane, by using a general consideration, states that “the more careful later chroniclers of Venice followed the Trevisan account of the reasons for the Tiepolo conspiracy almost word by word *even as late as the sixteenth century* [emphasis mine]”⁹¹, thus ignoring that manuscript It. VII, 519 itself is dated in the same 16th century.

On the other hand, A. Carile looks for proving the existence of a copy now lost that would have been dated in the 15th century⁹². I could not join this view, due to the lack of certain elements. The only certitude is the existence of manuscript It. VII, 519, which belonging to the 16th century has never been under doubt⁹³, with the only additional note of F. Thiriet, who dated it towards the end of this century⁹⁴, a completely valid detail since the narration in our codex ends with year 1585.

Therefore, the chronicle in It. VII, 519 should be reintegrated in its natural period, that is in the 16th century, conclusion that comes into agreement with Silvana Collodo’s view, according to which It. VII, 519 is “*un lavoro di compilazione di uno o più copisti del sec. XVI, epoca cui risale il codice stesso, [...]*”⁹⁵

Sources and influences:

Various connections between the chronicle in It. VII, 519 and other Venetian chronicles have been proposed, but, due to the debates over the dating, the sources-influences relationship has been often reversed. For instance, when F. Thiriet generally considered that the Venetian chronicles subsequent to “Trevisan” retake its version for presenting the Fourth Crusade⁹⁶ or when F. Lane noted that the chroniclers previous to the 16th century follow Trevisan’s narration for Baiamonte Tiepolo’s conspiracy in 1310⁹⁷, these assertions should be regarded cautiously.

A certain influence of Andrea Dandolo – without mentioning which one of the two works of the chronicler-doge – has been taken into consideration, Thiriet even speaking about “*la parenté évidente*” in this sense. The references are to certain

⁸⁸ F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

⁸⁹ See Anon., *Cronaca veneta*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, fonds Cicogna, manuscript 2666 [= 2413], 15th century.

⁹⁰ F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 238, 262 note 4.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 241.

⁹² A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 125.

⁹³ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 143 note 3; V. Lazzarini, *I titoli dei dogi* cit., p. 308 note 1; Idem, *Marino Faliero* cit., p. 98; S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri* cit., p. 150; A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 120, 124; S. Collodo, *Note sulla cronachistica* cit., p. 24; F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 238, 262 note 4; S. Ozoetze Collodo, *Attila* cit., p. 549, 550; M. M. Sarnataro, *op. cit.*, p. 131 note 25.

⁹⁴ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 262; Idem, *L'importance* cit., p. 408; see also A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 121, 125.

⁹⁵ S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri* cit., p. 150 note 117; see also D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 2 note 2.

⁹⁶ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁹⁷ F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

passages about the history of Romània⁹⁸ and also to the fact that our work follows closely Dandolo when dealing with the relationship with Byzantium⁹⁹. The examples refer also to the episodes in 1171¹⁰⁰, 1204¹⁰¹ and a comparative text related to the anti-Norman co-operation during Doge Domenico Selvo (1071-1084) was noted¹⁰². Trevisan has also been regarded as “*largement redevable*” to Dandolo for the period of origins either¹⁰³. On her turn, E. Pastorello considered that Trevisan “*parte traduce, parte parafrasa, integra [...], qualche documento, amplia con nuovi particolari le giunte di interesse cittadino a cui è intesa di preferenza la sua narrazione: [...]*”¹⁰⁴. Comparisons between these works have been regarded also from less punctual perspective, such as the homage towards the motherland¹⁰⁵. The relationship comes even to that point that ‘Trevisan’ has been regarded as imitator¹⁰⁶ or continuator¹⁰⁷ of A. Dandolo.

It has been noted that ‘Trevisan’, when speaking about the episode of the Cretan rebellion in 1363-1368 – that is a passage that indeed belongs to Nicolò Trevisan –, uses similar terms as Dandolo’s continuator, R. Caresini¹⁰⁸. However, this hypothesis is supported by no example. On the contrary, as a methodological viewpoint, the same Thiriet noted that its positive judgement comes into contradiction with Caresini’s rhetorical feature¹⁰⁹.

At a certain moment, the question was put whether our chronicle would have rely upon *Venetiarum Historia*¹¹⁰, but a plausible answer has never been offered.

Our chronicle has been considered as one of the main sources for Antonio Morosini’s chronicle¹¹¹. Certainly, once established the undeniable chronological

⁹⁸ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 263; see also G. Luzzatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 127.

⁹⁹ F. Thiriet, *L’importance cit.*, p. 410-411.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 411.

¹⁰¹ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

¹⁰² *Idem*, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 263.

¹⁰³ *Idem*, *L’importance cit.*, p. 410.

¹⁰⁴ E. Pastorello, *loc. cit.*, p. lix.

¹⁰⁵ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

¹⁰⁶ E. Pastorello, *loc. cit.*, p. lix.

¹⁰⁷ R. Cessi, *Introduzione*, in *Petri Delphini Annalium Venetorum Pars quarta* (ed. by R. Cessi & Paolo Sambin). Venice 1943. p. xxviii.

¹⁰⁸ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

¹⁰⁹ *Idem*, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 266; *Idem*, *L’importance cit.*, p. 413.

¹¹⁰ R. Cessi, *Prefazione*, in *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xxii. See *Venetiarum Historia*. For this chronicle, see Ş. Marin, *Some Considerations regarding the Anonymous Venetiarum Historia (14th Century)*, “*Historical Yearbook*” 7 (2010), p. 177-194.

¹¹¹ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 144-157, 177; see also Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis. Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression*, New Haven-London 1976, p. 182 note 54; it is enumerated among the sources also by John R. Melville-Jones, *Introduction*, in *The Morosini Codex* (ed. by Michele Pietro Ghezzi & John R. Melville-Jones & Andrea Rizzi), I, Padua 1999, p. x; see also *Idem*, *Publishing the Morosini Codex*, “*Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia*” 4 (2002), p. 177-183 (179); J. Barker, *loc. cit.*, p. 1583; Christiane Neerfeld, «*Historia per forma di Diaria*». *La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, Venice 2006, p. 24-25 (for the period before 1400).

priority of the latter, the relationship among them should be reversed. This conclusion should not diminish the value of G. Lefèvre-Pontalis's study of this report. Thus, the French editor of Morosini noted the many similarities in the approach of the origins of the city¹¹², various events during the dogeships of Vitale Faliero (1084-1096), Vitale Michiel I (1096-1102), and Ordelafo Faliero (1102-1117)¹¹³, the episode of the event in 1094 about the relics of St Mark¹¹⁴, the action of the Venetian fleet on the coast of Asia Minor and Palestine during the First Crusade¹¹⁵, the cooperation with Byzantium against Bohemund¹¹⁶, etc.. In all these points, the analogies are obvious: the same chronological errors, the same curves of phrases, the similar dialectal style, and so on¹¹⁷. The similarities are also present for the subsequent periods, and Lefèvre-Pontalis followed thoroughly the description of the Fourth Crusade¹¹⁸. All these are supported by comparative texts referring to the Fourth Crusade¹¹⁹, the war with Genoa in 1350¹²⁰, the confrontation at Porto Longo (1354)¹²¹, the death of Doge Giovanni Dolfin (1356-1361)¹²². Anyway, once year 1361 reached in the narration, the entire analogy between Morosini and 'Trevisan' comes to an end¹²³, although F. Thiriet noted a certain similarity in the narration of the events connected to the peace of Turin in 1381¹²⁴. Although not bringing additional details, S. Collodo also put correctly the question of the relation between the two chronicles when noting that, "*nonostante esistano realmente molte affinità fra le due opere, è più probabile che sia stato l'autore della Trevisan ad attingere dal Morosini [...]*"¹²⁵.

The same is the case for the matter of connection with Pietro Dolfin, whose chronicle has been regarded as being influenced among others by 'Trevisan'¹²⁶ and, for the period prior to 1388, as retaking the general topic of our chronicle¹²⁷. It has also Caroldo's chronicle been regarded as repeating the data in 'Trevisan' when dealing with Baiamonte Tiepolo's conspiracy¹²⁸. Certainly, our chronicle's influence

¹¹² G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 145-146.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 146.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 146-148.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 148-150.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 150-152.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 152-154.

¹²² *Ibidem*, p. 155.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 156. 157.

¹²⁴ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques* cit., p. 274.

¹²⁵ S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri* cit., p. 129 note 9.

¹²⁶ R. Cessi, *Introduzione*, in *Petri Delphini*, p. xxviii; A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit., p. 155. See Pietro Dolfin, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscripts It. VII, 2557-2558 [= 12449-12450], 18th century; for the manuscripts, see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 157-158. See also Ş. 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.

¹²⁷ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹²⁸ F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 241, 264 note 15.

upon Lorenzo de' Monaci, proposed by Sally McKee¹²⁹, should be regarded in reverse.

This perspective upon sources-influences relationship becomes valid when the conspiracy of M. Faliero or the Cretan revolt are compared, since these episodes originate indeed in Nicolò Trevisan's account, although the chronicles do not mention it directly. It is the case for Donato Contarini, whose chronicle has been regarded that, when referring to the Cretan rebellion, would have followed the narration of 'Trevisan', by copying even the words¹³⁰, and that would have been used as only another text of 'Trevisan'¹³¹. In the same sense, one could refer to the conclusion that the author of *Zancaruola* chronicle, when speaking about Marino Faliero's conspiracy, follows initially the work of Monaci, and then relies upon the narration in 'Trevisan', as V. Lazzarini¹³² or A. Carile, when referring to codex AG X 15-16 from Braidense Library in Milan¹³³ have noted. On the other side, several original notes have been registered for *Zancaruola* in the description of the events in 1363-1366¹³⁴, so that S. Antoniadis became convinced that 'Zancaruolo' "*peut compléter, malgré ses inexactitudes, les récits de De Monacis et de Trevisan*"¹³⁵. All these cases are not useful for our investigation, since they have N. Trevisan's account itself as basis, and not the chronicle ascribed to him, certainly written afterwards. It is not the same case for the comparison between It. VII, 519 and It. VII, 1274 (pseudo-Zancaruola) referring to the battle of Gallipoli in 1416, proposed by O. Cristea¹³⁶.

Things are completely different when it is about the relation with 'Zancaruolo' – actually, with the manuscript at Braidense – in other contexts, such as the incipit¹³⁷, the episode of the origins of Venice¹³⁸, the wars against the Genoese in the 14th century¹³⁹, the events in 1432¹⁴⁰, or even in general approaches¹⁴¹, from

¹²⁹ S. McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 135. See *Laurentii de Monacis Cretae Cancellarii Chronica de rebus venetis Ab U. C. ad Annum MCCCCLIV, sive ad conjurationem ducis Faledro* (editor Flaminio Comer), Venice 1758. See also Ș. Marin, *A Venetian Chronicler in Crete. The Case of Lorenzo de' Monaci and His Possible Byzantine Influences*, in *L'Italia e la frontiera orientale dell'Europa. 1204-1669 / Italy and Europe's Eastern Border. 1204-1660. Convegno internazionale di studi, Roma, 25-27 novembre 2010* (ed. by Iulian Mihai Damian, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Mihailo St. Popovic and Alexandru Simon), Frankfurt/Main-Berlin-Bern-Brussels-New York-Oxford-Vienna 2012, p. 237-258.

¹³⁰ V. Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero* cit., p. 102-103.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 103. For this chronicle, see *Donato Contarini. Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1433*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 95 [= 8610], 15th century; see also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 53-54.

¹³² V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 104; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹³³ *Idem*, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 121 note 51, 123 and note 60-124.

¹³⁴ F. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo*, in *Memoria Antoniadis*, Venice 1974, p. 58-64 (61).

¹³⁵ Apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹³⁶ O. Cristea, *Siamo Veneziani* cit., p. 114 note 44.

¹³⁷ A. Carile, *La cronachistica* cit., p. 146 note 1.

¹³⁸ *Idem*, *Note di cronachistica* cit., p. 125.

¹³⁹ Sophie Antoniadis, *Le chroniqueur vénitien Zancaruolo et les rapports de Venise avec les crétois et l'empereur de Byzance (XIV^e siècle)*, in *Actes du XII^e Congrès international des études byzantines*, II, Belgrade 1964, p. 86 apud F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁴⁰ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 121-122, with comparative text.

which relationship one could conclude upon an influence of pseudo-Zancaroula over our chronicle.

Regarding the episode of the rebellion of the Venetian feudatories in Crete, after quoting Sabellico and other not named chroniclers, Marino Sanudo was regarded as continuing in the end to present the same events and almost the same words as 'Trevisan'¹⁴². In the case of Sanudo, V. Lazzarini relied upon the Muratorian edition in 1733¹⁴³, hence on a manuscript dated in the 17th century, meaning later than our chronicle. For this reasons, it is possible that the anonymous copier of the codex in Modena – supposed to belong to Sanudo – would have used *in extremis* the chronicle in It. VII, 519.

The hypothesis of a relationship with the chronicle ascribed to Enrico Dandolo has also been in use¹⁴⁴, inclusively in the manner in which the chroniclers would have joined the passages of their works¹⁴⁵. However, due to the diversity of the manuscripts that pass under E. Dandolo's authorship, it is difficult to establish which the influence report is. At any rate, it has been noted that manuscript H 85 inf from Ambrosiana Library in Milan would have the same incipit¹⁴⁶.

Connections with other various anonymous codices have been taken into account. It is about the following codices¹⁴⁷: It. VII, 37¹⁴⁸, It. VII, 2034¹⁴⁹, It. VII, 51¹⁵⁰ (including a comparative text referring to year 1432¹⁵¹), It. VII, 791¹⁵², Ci 301

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 121, 122.

¹⁴² V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁴³ *Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit*, in *RIS*, 22 (ed. by Lodovico Antonio Muratori), Milan 1733: *Vitae Ducum Venetorum Italicè Scriptae ab origine Urbis, sive ab anno CCCC XXI usque ad annum MCCCCXCIII*, p. 399-1252.

¹⁴⁴ H. Kretschmayr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 540 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 125; S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri cit.*, p. 129 note 9, 135; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 125; S. Collodo, *Note sulla cronachistica cit.*, p. 24; F. Thiriet, *L'importance cit.*, p. 407, 408, 410, 413.

¹⁴⁵ S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri cit.*, p. 135; Idem, *Note sulla cronachistica cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁶ A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 146. See Anon., *Cronica di Venezia et de tutol scito che è tra Grado e Cavarzere* [in miscellanea], Milan, Ambrosiana Library, manuscript H 85 inf, years 1401-1500.

¹⁴⁷ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 146 note 1.

¹⁴⁸ H. Kretschmayr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 540 apud A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica cit.*, p. 125; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 408. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1360*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 37 [= 8022], 14th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁹ F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 238, 262 note 4. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1453*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 2034 [= 8834], 15th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

¹⁵⁰ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 121-122; Idem, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 142. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 51 [= 8528], 16th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁵¹ A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica cit.*, p. 121-122, 125.

¹⁵² A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 146 note 1. See Anon., *Cronaca di tutte le Casade della Nobil Città di Venetia*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 791 [= 7589], 16th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 111-112.

(3712)¹⁵³, Ci 2413¹⁵⁴, Ci 2675¹⁵⁵, PD 312c¹⁵⁶, L 117¹⁵⁷, N 137 sup¹⁵⁸, Q 85 sup¹⁵⁹, F 6147¹⁶⁰. Manuscript It. VII, 2567 could be added, since its similarities with It. VII, 519 put us in a first instance to consider it as another version for the chronicle of 'Trevisan'¹⁶¹.

A. Carile's meticulous classifications of Venetian chronicles did not include It. VII, 519 in any particular category, the scholar considering that it is about a contamination among more families (C, B, b, and D)¹⁶². In exchange, the groups proposed by R. Loenertz¹⁶³ establish for our codex the place in B2 family ("underclass Veniera"), along with the following codices: It. VII, 793¹⁶⁴, It. VII, 10¹⁶⁵, It. VII, 1565¹⁶⁶, It. VII, 1568¹⁶⁷, A. St. I 59 (*olim* 940)¹⁶⁸, Ci 301 (3712)¹⁶⁹, It.

¹⁵³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 146 nota 1. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, Cicogna fonds, manuscript 301 [= 3712], 16th century.

¹⁵⁴ F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 238, 262 note 4. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, Cicogna fonds, manuscript 2666 [= 2413], 15th century.

¹⁵⁵ A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica cit.*, p. 125. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, Cicogna fonds, manuscript 2675 [= 2815], 16th century.

¹⁵⁶ A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 146 note 1. See Anon., *Cronica de tutte le Casade Nobili de Venetia*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, Provenienze Diverse fonds, manuscript 312c, 16th century.

¹⁵⁷ A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica cit.*, p. 125. See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine al 1441*, Milan, Ambrosiana Library, manuscript L 117, 15th century.

¹⁵⁸ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 125. See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine al 1244. Parte prima*, Milan, Ambrosiana Library, manuscript N 137 sup, years 1501-1600.

¹⁵⁹ A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 146 note 1. See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dalla sua fondazione sino all'anno 1367* [in miscellanea], Milan, Ambrosiana Library, manuscript Q 85 sup, 15th century.

¹⁶⁰ A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica cit.*, p. 125. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta, dalla fondazione della città al 1454*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Foscarini fonds, manuscript VIII [= 6147], end of the 15th century.

¹⁶¹ See above, note 69.

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 138 ff.; see also Nicola Flocchini, review of A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, in "Studi veneziani" 14 (1972), p. 385-396 (393 note 41).

¹⁶³ Apud A. Carile, *La cronachistica cit.*, p. 215.

¹⁶⁴ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della città al 1478*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 793 [= 8477]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 112-113.

¹⁶⁵ Antonio Donà, *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 687 al 1479*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 10 [= 8607], 17th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 24-25. For this chronicle, see also recently Ş. Marin, *Venice, Byzantium and the Muslims (prior to 1345) According to the Chronicle Ascribed to Antonio Donato*, "Vizantijskiy Vremennik" 101 (2017), p. 299-322 (esp. 299-306).

¹⁶⁶ See Anon., *Memorie Venete, ossia Epoca Veneziana di Autore Anonimo, ricopiata da originale esistente presso S. E. Marco Flangini, Senatore, da Antonio Maria Dinarelli [...], dall'anno 687 al 1479*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 1565 [= 9574], 18th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

¹⁶⁷ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della città sino all'anno 1556*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 1568 [=8016], 16th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

¹⁶⁸ See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Venice, State Archives of Venice, Storia Veneta 55 (*olim* 940), 15th century.

¹⁶⁹ See above, note 153.

VII, 68¹⁷⁰, It. VII, 791¹⁷¹, Co 1421¹⁷², Ci 2666 (2413)¹⁷³, and It. VII, 37¹⁷⁴. According to Loenertz, B1 family would include the codices that might be ascribed to "Enrico Dandolo".

Once N. Trevisan regarded as author of the chronicle, it has been insisted upon its originality in presenting certain events specific for the history of Crete¹⁷⁵ and upon the fact that 'Trevisan's' initiative would be inserted in a larger effort not only in compilation, but also in a critical review over the data at disposal¹⁷⁶. This tendency would have been due to the chronicler's familiarity to certain Venetian-Candiote milieus and therefore to the more intimate knowledge of Cretan inhabitants' psychology¹⁷⁷. This fact led F. Thiriet to the possibility of existence for some details borrowed from Byzantine sources, such as Choniates, for the period between 1171 and 1185 of the Venetian-Byzantine relationship¹⁷⁸.

It has also been referred to the use of documents, so that it has been concluded that many passages of the chronicle would be translated directly from Latin of the official documents¹⁷⁹. Certainly, from our viewpoint, which regards the author of It. VII, 519 as a 16th century anonymous, the account of the *provveditore* of Candia Nicolò Trevisan would be also regarded as a largely used primary source.

As for the working method with the sources, it has been noted how the copier of It. VII, 519, instead of choosing one version against another or of integrating them, transcribed both and synthesized them¹⁸⁰. When making this statement, S. Collodo referred particularly to the manner of description of the legend of Attila. However, when analyzing another event, that is the constitutional reform in 1297, F. Lane noted a completely different method, that is that our chronicle described this episode twice¹⁸¹.

Conclusions:

Among the around 1,000 codices representing the Venetian chronicles written between the 11th and 18th centuries, I selected a manuscript that has led to

¹⁷⁰ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1555*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 68 [= 8317], 16th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁷¹ See above, note 152.

¹⁷² Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia, va dalla fondazione al 1486*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, fonds Correr, manuscript 1421, years 1601-1625.

¹⁷³ See above, note 89.

¹⁷⁴ See above, note 148.

¹⁷⁵ G. Luzzatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 127; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 408, 412, 413.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 407.

¹⁷⁷ Idem, *Les chroniques cit.*, p. 291; Idem, *La Romanie vénitienne cit.*, p. 17. See also Idem, *L'importance cit.*, p. 409, 412.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 409 note 2.

¹⁷⁹ V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 98; see also Margarete Merore, *Der grosse Rat von Venedig und die sogennante Serrata von Jahre 1297*, "Vierteljahrschrift fuer Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte" 21 (1928), p. 33-113 (99) apud D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 2 note 2; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 408-409; M. M. Sarnataro, *op. cit.*, p. 131 note 25; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 2 note 2, 13 ff.

¹⁸⁰ S. Ozoeze Collodo, *Attila cit.*, p. 549.

¹⁸¹ F. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 238, 262 note 4.

several controversies, especially regarding its authorship. After presenting in detail the features of this codex, this study makes an investigation upon the authorship, which many times has been attributed to a certain Nicolò Trevisan, one of the Venetian *provveditori* sent to Crete in order to pacify the revolt broken out in this island between 1363 and 1366. Relying upon the codex itself, it result clearly that the possibility that Nicolò Trevisan be the one who wrote the entire chronicle has no substantial basis, a conclusion that had been more or less only supposed by other historians. Thus, the Venetian statesman had only written a small part, that is the account regarding his activity in Crete, and nothing more. Taking this conclusion into consideration, the date of the chronicle should also be reconsidered, by rejecting any possible question mark concerning its belonging to the 16th century.

On such a basis, the relationship between this chronicle and many others written by various Venetian chroniclers in the period between the sixth decade of the 14th century and the first half of the 16th century should be reversed. Therefore, the chronicle in manuscript It. VII, 519 at Marciana National Library in Venice should be regarded not as a source for these latter, but as being influenced by them.

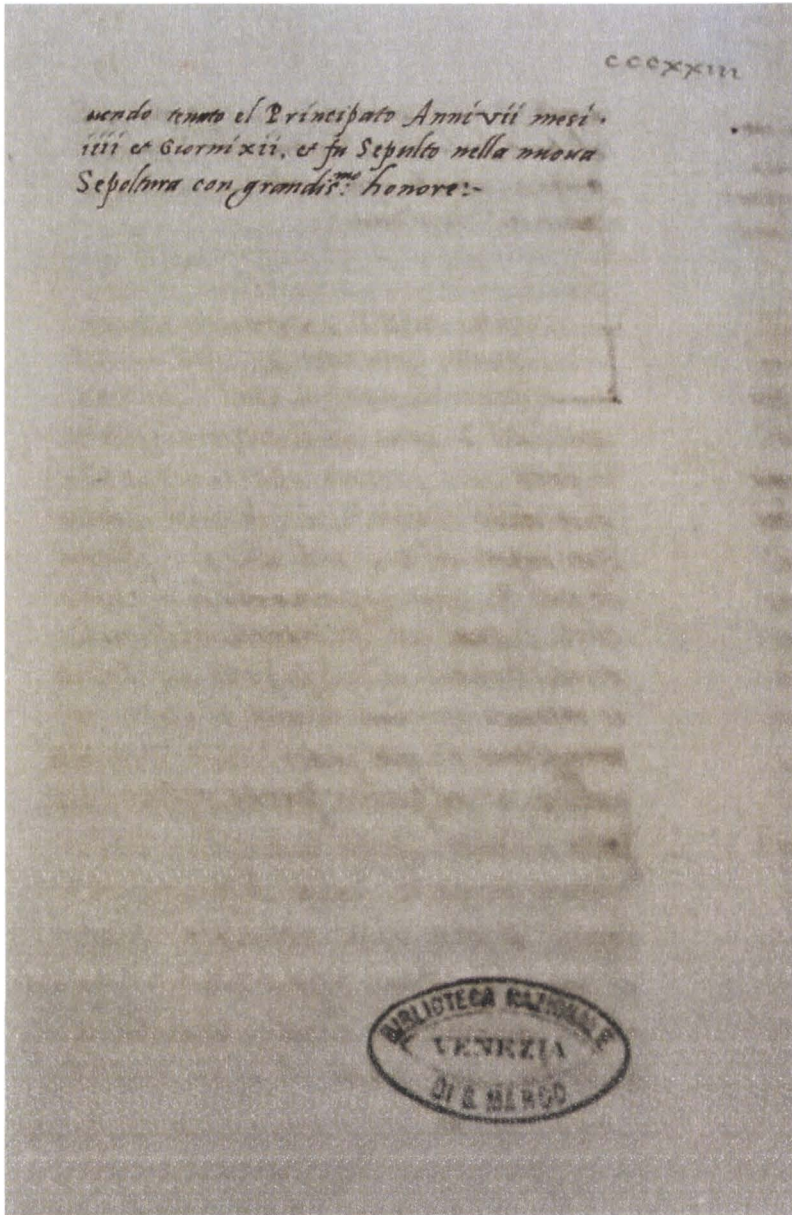


Figure 2. Page 340b, coll. 1 of manuscript It. VII, 519 (the end of the chronicle)



Figure 3. Page 119a, colls. 1-2 of manuscript It. VII, 519, with the note saying: “Notta che ser Nicolò Triuisan, / che fo provedador in la ditta isola de Candia, scrisse quel che segui e la copia son questa che de sora ho scritto.”

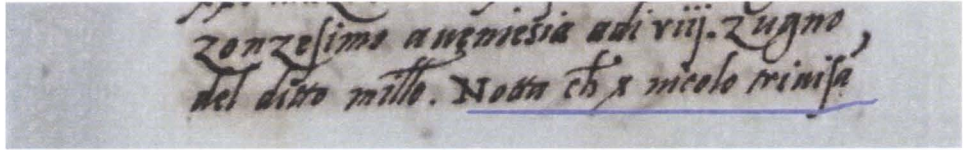


Figure 4. Page 119a, coll. 1 of manuscript It. VII, 519 (detail)

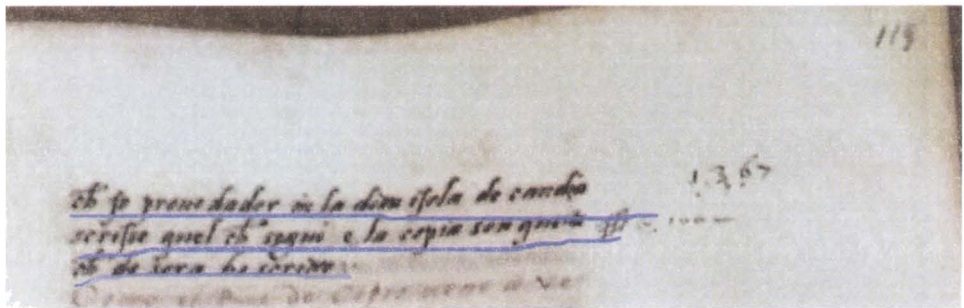


Figure 5. Page 119, coll. 2 of manuscript It. VII, 519 (detail)



Figure 6. Page 118, colls. 1-2 of manuscript It. VII, 519, with the note saying (coll. 1): “Del mese de Mazo me fo scritto a mi Nicollo Triuisan, per ser Pantalon Barbo, et per li compagni de Candia che io me douesse mouer con la mia oste dalla Cania, et caualchar uerso le parte de Pisero, a danno di nemisi [...]”

*Cronica
Trevisan

C 172*

*El mese de mazo me fo scritto a
mi nicolle trevisan, per s pantalo
barbo, et per si compagni de can-
dia, che io me dovesse muouer con la mia
oste dalla cania, et caualchar verso le
parte de pisera, adanno di nemisi per
uostre le sue bianche, contro sia ch' anche
loro uolena caualchar dal suo ladi e per
si bel mundo scriuer aretino a m, ande
Zane, acio che da tre bande li nemisi
fose molestadi. in bona gratia de maria
da doman di xxvj de mazo me parti
dala cania et caualchi verso le parte de
pisera con homeni. el x. da canalo tra
soldadi et ofidadi et con pedoni cccc. fra.*

Figure 7. Page 118, coll. 1 of manuscript It. VII, 519 (detail)