

Some Considerations regarding Manuscripts It. VII, 1274-1275 at Marciana National Library, ascribed to Gasparo Zancaruolo

Șerban V. Marin

Keywords: *Medieval Chronicles; Medieval Manuscripts; Codicology; Venetian Historical Writing; 15th Century Venice; Marciana National Library*

It was in 1967¹ when an exchange of manuscripts took place between Marciana National Library in Venice and Braidense National Library in Milan. According to it, the manuscript that had previously been inventoried as It. VII, 1274-1275 at Marciana, representing an 18th century copy of the former codices It. VII, 49-50, which in the meantime became Braidense AG X 15-16, was released to the Milanese library; in exchange the 15th century original was returned to Marciana². The librarians at Marciana did not operate the changings in the catalogues, so that nowadays what is in the inventories It. VII, 1274-1275 is exactly the original of the chronicle dated in the 16th century. As another result of this exchange, what the scholars have regarded around five decades ago as It. VII, 49-50 or Braidense AG X 15-16 is today in the inventory It. VII, 1274-1275. The using paper notes: “*Cronaca Veneta ... Zancaruolo. 2 volume*”, while the Marcian catalogue “*Ital. VII.*”, beside the title of “*Cronaca Veneta supposta di Gasparo Zancaruolo, dall’origine della Città fino al 1446*”, with reference to It. VII, 49-50, one could find the information that it had been “*Ceduta alla Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense di Milano (in 1967)*” and its provenience is from Girolamo Contarini.

¹ 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 (37); Carlo Campana, *Cronache di Venezia in volgare della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Catalogo*, Padua 2001, p. 33, 123. In 1965, when gathering materials for his *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence 1969, Antonio Carile mentioned that the two volumes were already in the repository of Marciana, coming from Braidense on June 27, 1961, see *Ibidem*, p. 79 note 1, a detail that comes into contradiction of dating with the information delivered by G. Zorzanello.

² Lia Sbriziolo, *La cronaca Zancaruola: dall’esilio dalla Biblioteca Marciana al suo ritorno (1805-1969)*, “*Atti del Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*” 128 (1969-1970), p. 617-629 (618 note 5); Susy Marcon, in Elisabetta Barile *et alii*, *Catalogo*, in *Grado, Venezia. i Gradenigo* (ed. by Marino Zorzi & Susy Marcon), [Venice] 2001, p. 351; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 33, 123.

As for the catalogue delivered by Carlo Campana, it is about “*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1446, già attribuita a Gasparo Zancaruolo*”³.

Previously, the manuscript had followed a rather sinuous route. In the 16th century, the codex was probably in the library of the d'Este family in Ferrara⁴. When informing about this, Giulio Zorzanello refers to a quotation from G. B. Pigna, saying: “*il quale accordo [n. n. the one in 1412 between the Pope and the King of Naples] noi habbiamo cavato da una Cronica della città di Vinetia, che continua insino all'anno Mille quattrocento quarantasei; et è con altri simili libri nell'Archivio di questi Principi.*”, considering that the author of the history of the d'Este house would have referred to our codex⁵. Afterwards, it belonged first to senator Jacopo Soranzo⁶, under the number 39⁷. When the owner passed away in 1761 and his valuable library was dispersed⁸, the codex passed to the impressive collection of Amedeo Svajer⁹, under the number 636¹⁰, and only later it reached Marciana, that is in 1791¹¹ or, according to other scholars, in 1794¹², after its owner's death in 1789¹³. Once at Marciana, the manuscript, which had been a single one by then, was separated in two volumes, receiving the inventories of It.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

⁴ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 37 note 1, 55 note 45.

⁵ Gio. Battista Pigna, *Historia de Principi di Este*, Ferrara 1570, p. 419 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 55 note 45; see also S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 353 (but just as a possibility).

⁶ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 37 note 1, 55, 59; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

⁷ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 59; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

⁸ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 55-56.

⁹ R[inaldo] F[ilin], *Saggio del catalogo dei codici di Emmanuele A. Cicogna*, “Archivio Veneto”, 4 (1872), 1, p. 59-132, 337-398 (367, 368); J[acopo] Filiassi, *Saggio sopra i Veneti primi*, II, Venice 1781, p. 192 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 59 note 59; J[caopo] Morelli, *Monumenti veneziani di varia letteratura*, Venice 1796, p. 2-4 apud Maria Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana di Giorgio Dolfin*, “Atti del [Reale] Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti” 101 (1941-1942), 2, p. 515-546 (539 and note 2) and apud L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617; Enrico Simonsfeld, *La Cronaca Altinate* (transl. by C. S. Rosada), “Archivio Veneto”, 18 (1879), 2, p. 235-273 (236); Aug[uste] Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes. Second mémoire*, “Revue des questions historiques” 34 (1883), p. 199-224 (208); L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 618, 622; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 57, 58 and note 56, 60; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

¹⁰ E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208; L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 622; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 37 note 1, 59.

¹¹ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 367; H. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

¹² L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 622; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 37 note 1, 57 (however, when quoting from R. Fulin at p. 60, the scholar notes year 1791, not noticing the difference); S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

¹³ L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 622; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

VII, 49 and It. VII, 50¹⁴. In 1805, it was taken to Austria¹⁵, being borrowed by the librarian Jacopo Morelli to the Austrian agent Fr. S. Gassler¹⁶, archivist at the secret library of the court of Vienna and resident in Venice¹⁷, “*per uso di ufficio e per ricerche*”¹⁸. In the end, the Austrian agent left “*senza rimettermi dieci codici*”¹⁹, as Morelli concluded, among which our codex was included²⁰. Thereafter, it was regarded as being lost²¹ and rediscovered only in 1868 by Rinaldo Fulin and noted in 1873 by G. Sacchi²², but not on the Austrian territory, but at Braidense Library in Milan²³, inventoried as AG X 15-16. It was there where

¹⁴ E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 37 note 1.

¹⁵ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 367; B[artolomeo] Cecchetti, *Gli archivi della Repubblica Veneta dal secolo XIII al XIX*, Venice 1865, p. 35-37; E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208; Freddy Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne*, excerpt from “*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, publiés par l'École Française de Rome*”, 1954, p. 241-292 (279); L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 622; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 37, 60; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁶ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 279; L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 622; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 60; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

¹⁷ L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 622.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *Apud Ibidem*, p. 623.

²⁰ For the ‘cultural robberies’ of the Austrians, see also *Ibidem*, p. 622 note 21, but first and foremost Victor Cérésole, *La vérité sur les dépredations autrichiennes à Venise*, 2nd edition, Venice 1867, especially p. 53, for the ten manuscripts that remained in Vienna.

²¹ E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208. Among the ten codices, seven have still been restituted in 1868, according to R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 368 note 1.

²² G[iuseppe] Sacchi, *Notizie intorno alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Milano*, no place, 1873, p. 19-20 *apud* G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

²³ J. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 3 *apud* L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617; E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.* p. 236; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208, 218; Francesco Carta, *Codici, corali e libri a stampa miniati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Milano. Catalogo descrittivo*, Rome 1891, p. 114-119 *apud* G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62; E[zio] Levi, *I maestri di Francesco Novello da Carrara*, “*Atti del Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*” 67 (1907-1908), 2, p. 385-407 [edited again in *Poesia di popolo e poesia di corte nel Trecento*, Livorno 1915] (404-407) *apud* A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85 note 6; R[oberto] Cessi, *Alcune osservazioni critiche sulle Cronache Carraresi prima e seconda del secolo XIV*, “*Archivio muratoriano*” 1 (1909), p. 339-352 (344) *apud* A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86 and note 2; M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 279; *Idem*, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen age. Le développement de l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XIV^e-XV^e siècles)*, Paris 1959, p. 17; V[ittorio] Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado – La Congiura*, Florence 1963 [1897], p. 104 note 2; A. Carile, *Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romanie*, “*Studi Veneziani*” 7 (1965), p. 125-305 (203); *Idem*, *La cronachistica veneziana* *cit.*, p. 79-81, 88; L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617-618; F. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo*, in *In Memoria di Sofia Antoniadis*, Venice 1974, p. 58-64 (59); G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 37-38, 53 note 41, 60, 62; Dorit

it was consulted by H. Simonsfeld, M. Zannoni, Fr. Thiriet and the subsequent scholars. G. Zorzanello and S. Marcon consider that it had been sent to Milan in 1809²⁴, but there is no evidence to prove that. As a fact, A. Carile considers that the manuscript would have been transferred to Milan since 1805²⁵, thus neglecting the codex's staying in Vienna. At a certain moment, Maria Zannoni noted that, while she was writing her study dealing with the chronicle of Zorzi Dolfin (that is, in 1941-1942), our manuscript would have been transferred from Braidense to the Museum of Sforzesco Castle²⁶; however, the scholars that would deal with it afterwards continued to locate it at Braidense.

Consequent to the analysis that I personally made upon the codex, it results that the numbering of pages is due to the copyist and uses the Roman figures²⁷. The codex begins with a statement provided by the author, having the following incipit: "*Essendo Dato da la natura ali homini de voler Intender desiderar et saper cose diuerse noue et degne de memoria no Immittando tal disposition con el uni picol et debel inzegno Inssidando molto et longo tempo dando opera a voler Intender la nobilita dela dignissima Cita de Venezia [...]*" (p. i a)²⁸. A. Carile adds in front of this text an invocation formula, "*Iesu Maria*"²⁹, which I must confess that I have not detected. The text continues with the devastations inflicted by Attila in northern Italy (p. i b-ii a). The presentation of the Venetian noble families follows (p. iib-iii b), along with a list of their coats-of-arms, nicely adorned and disposed in alphabetic order (p. iiiii a-lvi b, lvii b-lviii a)³⁰, interrupted by a blank page (p. lvii a). The world chronicle, inserted in many other Venetian manuscripts, begins at p. lxi a, and is entitled "*Capitolo primo de la Chronica de la nobel Cita de Venexia e de la sua prouincia e destretto*"³¹. It has the following incipit: "*In questo tractado sie la Cronicha dela Magnifica et nobel Citade de uenexia e de tuto el suo destretto la qual cita de e stada hedificada da ueri e boni christiani [...]*"³² and refers to the mission of St Mark, as disciple of St Peter. This fragment

Raines, *Alle origini dell'archivio politico del patriziato: la cronaca «di consultazione» veneziana nei secoli XIV-XV*, "Archivio Veneto", 5th series, 150 (1998), p. 5-57 (36 note 106); S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

²⁴ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 60; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

²⁵ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 79 note 1.

²⁶ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

²⁷ See also *Ibidem*, p. 538 note 2; F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 280.

²⁸ See also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 79-80.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 79.

³⁰ See also E. Simonsfeld, *Appendice agli studi sulla Cronaca Altinate*, "Archivio Veneto" 24 (1882), 1, p. 111-131 (111); M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³¹ See also E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 111; M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 80; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 53 note 41.

³² See also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 80; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 53 note 41, both of them combining the title and the incipit.

of the chronicle is accompanied by a statue of the saint³³. The episode of St Mark's mission in Aquilea, along with other details of ecclesiastic history, continues by p. lxxv a and is completed by a list of the patriarchs of Aquilea and Grado (p. lxxv b). A page inserted in the text, presenting a double miniature: a holy warrior (probably, St Theodore) and the Marcian lion, as apotropaic symbols of the city of Venice (p. lxxvi a)³⁴ makes the passage to the legend of Attila, the Trojan legend, the episode of the foundations in the region of Veneto, the presentation of the Pagan kings subsequent to Attila and the Roman-German emperors, the ecumenical synods, and so on³⁵ (p. lxxvi b-cix b³⁶). The local chronicle of Venice is introduced by the formula saying "*Questo Tractado et Istorie de Pontifici Pappa et Imperadori schritti dauanti sono posti in questa Chronicha Venitiana solamente per deschiatar i fatti ele prodeze fatte per Venitianj de tempo in tempo come in esse appar. Ma da po inanci hauemo a tractar e ritornar sopra li fatti de Venitianj et seguitar el nostro primo proposito per dechiaration delo acressimento de nobel caxade e dela creation dei suo doxi et primari. E del suo Celeste Gouerno e bon portamento per lo qual essi hann acressiuto el suo stado Venitiano. Come fin in di dozi se comprende [...]*" (p. cx a). The first volume (It. VII, 1274) comes to an end when narrating the last days of the dogeship of Francesco Dandolo (1329-1339) (p. cclxxxi a)³⁷, and has the following excipit: "*I qual promessero per vinculo di sagramenti eser sempre fidelissimi a la dita cita.*"³⁸.

A. Carile does not mention the passage from one volume to the other. I note that the second volume of the chronicle, as it is nowadays in manuscript It. VII, 1275, has the same handwriting as the first one and continues the numbering of pages. The same conclusion was drawn by the description of Maria Zannoni, who considered 282 as the first page, and regarded as incipit of this volume the text saying "*Et nota che tanto quanto duro la dicta guerra ...*"³⁹. However, my conclusion is that this volume begins when narrating the dogeship of Giovanni Dolfin (1356-1361), and the first page is cccxiii b, concluding that it is about a caesura between the two volumes, between pages cclxxxii a and cccxiii b, respectively between years 1339 and 1356. It could result that this caesura did not exist when M. Zannoni consulted it, therefore before the transfer in 1967 of the two codices at Marciana. The information provided by Maria Zannoni was retaken by Fr. Thiriet, who did not consulted the codex directly⁴⁰. This second volume

³³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³⁴ See also *Ibidem*.

³⁵ See also *Ibidem*, p. 80-81.

³⁶ To p. ci b, cf. *Ibidem*, p. 81.

³⁷ See also M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

³⁸ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

comes to an end at p. cccclxxxviiiij b¹¹, its excipit referring to events on December 26, 1446, during the dogeship of Francesco Foscari (1423-1457), referring to the relationship with the Duchy of Milan, with the phrase saying: “*Non so quanto a questo li ueran fato.*”⁴² Maria Zannoni tended to suppose the existence of some other pages⁴³; although credible, it is just a simple hypothesis.

As a feature for the whole chronicle, I note the extremely elaborate handwriting, accompanied by coloured drawings and other decorative elements on the margin of the text⁴⁴ and the highlighting of the titles by using the red ink⁴⁵, thus resulting a very neat ensemble. The book link from Marciana is dated in the 18th century⁴⁶ and it represents the Marcian lion⁴⁷, while on the back of the both volumes an inscription says: “*Cronaca veneta fino al 1446*”⁴⁸. As for the numerous thumbnails, the pattern of miniaturist Plinio of London, from the period when he stayed in Venice, is noted⁴⁹. The excessive number of lists (magistracies, financial data, troops and *condottieri*, ambassadors, dogal electors, etc.) attracted attention of Dorit Raines, who analysed them in detail⁵⁰.

One should also note the appearance, at a certain moment, of the comparative references with the chronicle of Andrea Dandolo⁵¹.

⁴¹ See also M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 81; L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617 note 2; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 37 nota 1. As for J. Filiasi, *op. cit.*, II, p. 192 apud E. Simonsfeld, *La Cronaca Altinate* *cit.*, p. 236 note 1 (relying on a presentation delivered by R. Fulin) and apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 59 note 59, he considered it as counting 600 pages.

⁴² M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁴³ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2.

⁴⁴ See also F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 79, 88; L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617 note 2; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Marino Zorzi, *Introduzione alla mostra, in Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* *cit.*, p. 11-24 (20).

⁴⁵ See also L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617 note 2; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴⁶ L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617 note 2; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 36 note 106.

⁴⁷ L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617 note 2. For technical data, see also S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351-354.

⁴⁸ L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617 note 2.

⁴⁹ Lilian Armstrong, *Renaissance Miniature Painters & Classical Imagery: The Master of the Putti and his Venetian Workshop*, London 1981 and Idem, *The Hand-illumination of Printed Books in Italy 1465-1515*, in *The Painted Page. Italian Renaissance Book Illumination 1450-1550* (catalogue ed. by Jonathan J. G. Alexander), Munich-New York 1994, p. 182-192 apud S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

⁵⁰ D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 36, 44-47.

⁵¹ *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 this chronicle, see Șerban 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.

In his description, A. Carile (followed later by D. Raines) also notes the the composite feature of the writing, resulted from the presence of both a quasi-Gothic handwriting, thus proving a remarkable age of the codex, and a humanistic one⁵². The presence of the thumbnails, the coats-of-arms etc. makes it one of the most luxurious Venetian manuscripts, completing thus “*il quadro degli interessi e delle curiosità cui doveva soddisfare una cronaca veneziana del XV-XVI secolo*”⁵³.

A long time ago, E. Cicogna had referred to a copy of the “Zancaruola chronicle” owned by Domenico Angeloni Barbiani, municipal counsellor⁵⁴, but it is not clear if the scholar had had in mind one of the manuscripts that are now inventoried as It. VII, 1274-1275; as a matter of fact, Cicogna himself had noted between brackets that Angeloni’s manuscript is not common to the others⁵⁵; therefore, my viewpoint is that, in this case, it should be about another chronicle.

The 18th century copy (the former It. VII, 1274-1275, before 1967)

It is about two volumes of the same chronicle⁵⁶, representing faithful copies operated in the 18th century⁵⁷ (not the 16th, as A. Prost considered⁵⁸) upon codices It. VII, 49-50. The perfection of this faithfulness was noted especially by both H. Simonsfeld and M. Zannoni⁵⁹. The dating is according to catalogue “Ital.

⁵² A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 79; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 36 note 106. For the iconography of the codex, see also F. Carta, *op. cit.*, p. 114-119 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 70 note 4.

⁵³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 88 note 2.

⁵⁴ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208; C[arlo] Castellani, *I manoscritti Veneti contenuti nella collezione Phillipps in Cheltenham (contea di Gloucester)*, “Archivio Veneto” 37 (1889), p. 199-248 (219); F. Carta, *op. cit.*, p. 114-119 apud V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 104 note 2; Ernst Gerland, *Geschichte des Lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel, 1: Geschichte der Kaiser Balduin I. und Heinrich 1204-1216*, Homburg 1905, p. 6 note 2; M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280; Idem, *Una proposta di lega antiturca tra Venezia, Genova e Bisanzio nel 1363*, “Archivio Storico Italiano” 113 (1955), p. 321-334 (325 note 11); Idem, *La Romanie vénitienne* cit., p. 17; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 104 note 2; Pietro Zorzanella, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Veneziaq. Mss. Italiani – Classe VII (nn. 1002-1600)* (ed. by Giulio Zorzanella), Florence 1967, p. 64 apud G. Zorzanella, *op. cit.*, p. 60 note 62; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 79 note 1; L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 618; F. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* cit., p. 60 note 9; G. Zorzanella, *op. cit.*, p. 60 and note 62, 63; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

⁵⁷ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 369; C. Castellani, *op. cit.*, p. 219; F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 280; Idem, *La Romanie vénitienne* cit., p. 17; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 104 note 2; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 79 note 1; L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 618; F. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* cit., p. 60 nota 9; G. Zorzanella, *op. cit.*, p. 60; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

⁵⁸ Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁵⁹ E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236; M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

VII.” at Marciana for It. VII, 1274-1275. which ascribes the following title: “*Cronaca Veneta supposta di Gasparo Zancarnolo, dall’origine della Città fino al 1446.*” and makes reference to It. VII, 49-50, while catalogue “Soggetti Veneti” only mentions “*sino al 1446*”. It is about a codex originated in Contarini family’s collection⁶⁰, more precisely in Girolamo Contarini’s⁶¹, which reached Marciana in 1843⁶², from where it was released in 1967 to Braidense library, in exchange for the original⁶³.

According to the research enterprised independently by Maria Zannoni and Freddy Thiriet, the two codices number 695 pages⁶⁴. The first volume covers pages 1-337⁶⁵ and delivers the following incipit: “*Capitolo primo dela Chronica.*” (p. 38)⁶⁶, referring to the journey of St Mark to Aquilea⁶⁷, being preceded by the Trojan legend⁶⁸, a long list of the Venetian noble families⁶⁹ (disposed alphabetically, p. 2-37v)⁷⁰, a list of the doges and the main events occurred under the first doges⁷¹. This first volume ends as follows: “[...] *fo sepelido nela giesia de San Marcho nel tempo [sic!=tempio] deli Innocenti.*”⁷², while the second volume (pages 338-695)⁷³ continues the narration as follows: “*Marin Falier Cauallier e Conte de Valdemarin mentre che ...*”⁷⁴ and comes to an end saying: “*Non so quanto a questo li ueran fatto.*”⁷⁵, referring to the date of December 26, 1446⁷⁶. Ongoing, the main facts and the titles are emphasized by red colour⁷⁷.

Other copies

⁶⁰ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 369; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208; E. Gerland, *op. cit.*, p. 6 note 2; L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 618; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 60, 63.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

⁶² *Ibidem*. Probably due to a typo, Fulin notes 1483 as the year when Marciana came into its possession, see R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

⁶³ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 60 note 62. See also catalogue “Ital. VII.”.

⁶⁴ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2; F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 280.

⁶⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁶⁶ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁷¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2.

⁷² *Ibidem*.

⁷³ *Ibidem*; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁷⁴ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁶ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*.

Belonging to the 16th century⁷⁸, more precisely to 1579⁷⁹, another copy is detected in Em. A. Cicogna's collection, having number 2675; nowadays, it is preserved at Correr Civic Museum, inventory 2815⁸⁰. This codex includes only the first part⁸¹, more exactly before year 1354⁸², and has the following excipit: "*Fu sepelido [Doge Andrea Dandolo, emphasis mine] nella chiesa di s. Marco nel tempio dell'Innocenti (cioè nella cappella del Battisterio). Seguita dietro a questo in libro B ove comincia: Marin Falier cavalier e conte de Valdemarin*"⁸³. As a continuation of this first part, this B book was not seen by Cicogna among the codices of Agostino Correr, from whom he had bought it in 1844, as he confessed⁸⁴. According to the information delivered by Cicogna about the content of this codex⁸⁵, one could indeed conclude about the similarities with our codex, and its owner recognizes that it is substantially about a copy of the so-called "Zancaruola" chronicle⁸⁶.

On his turn, A. Carile brought another manuscript into attention: from Vatican Apostolic Library, inventoried as Barb. Lat. 4959⁸⁷, which G. Zorzanello places also in the 16th century⁸⁸. Its narration stops when dealing with year 1275⁸⁹.

I am not able to conclude whether these two copies from Correr and Vatican respectively do include the one and the same text as It. VII, 49-50, since A. Carile only integrates them in the same group of chronicles, that is review I of C family⁹⁰.

As for H. Baron, in a first instance he considered that our work has been preserved in only one manuscript of the 16th century⁹¹ (referring thus to It. VII, 49-

⁷⁸ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 367; E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁷⁹ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 52 note 40. As for A. Carile, *Partitio terrarum cit.*, p. 203, it would dated it at the beginning of the 16th century.

⁸⁰ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 367; E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 203; Idem, *La cronachistica veneziana cit.*, p. 82, 85; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 52 note 40, 60.

⁸¹ E. Simonstfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁸² R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 367; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208, 216; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 52 note 40.

⁸³ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁷ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 83-84.

⁸⁸ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 52 note 40.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁰ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 79-84 (for the two possible copies, p. 82-84).

⁹¹ Hans Baron, *A forgotten Chronicle of early Fifteenth-Century Venice. The copy in Newberry Manuscript F 87.1*, 2nd edition, in idem, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni. Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature*, Chicago-London 1968, p. 177 note 10.

50), but later he used the plural when indicating that it is known from the 16th century manuscripts⁹².

Paternity:

Closer to our days, G. Zorzanello justly demonstrated that M. Foscarini had referred to what is now codex It. VII, 2570⁹³ when he had mentioned in 1752 a chronicle “*o composta, o solo trascritta*” by Gasparo Zancaruolo⁹⁴ and that the same Foscarini had committed a confusion when considering that the work in possession of d’Este house and quoted by de G. B. Pigna was the one and the same with the one taken by him into account, that is with It. VII, 2570⁹⁵. It was because the text of the agreement between the Pope and the King of Naples is exactly with what one could read at p. 471b in It. VII, 49-50, while the codex of copyist Zancaruolo (that is, It. VII, 2570) neglects some articles of the agreement⁹⁶. Actually, it seems that Foscarini had strictly relied on the terminal year of the chronicles that Pigna had referred to, which had the following reference: “*il quale accordo noi habbiamo cavato da una Cronica della città di Vinetia, che continua insino all’anno Mille quattrocento quarantasei: et è con altri simili libri nell’Archivio di questi Principi.*”⁹⁷ On the other hand, it does not result from here any certitude that Pigna would have referred to our chronicle (It. VII, 49-50), since the only similar details are the excipit in 1446 and the presentation *in extenso* of the Papal-Napolitan agreement. The same elements are detected in other codices, such as It. VII, 47⁹⁸, It. VII, 48⁹⁹, It. VII, 2570. Henceforth, since Zorzanello had this argument as basis for the probability that this codex be at a certain moment in

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 188 nota 42.

⁹³ See Gasparo Zancaruolo, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1446*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana [hereafter, BNM], manuscript It. VII, 2570 [= 12462]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 163-164. For this manuscript, see Ş. Marin, *Crusades as Viewed from Venice. The Case of the Chronicle Transcribed by Gasparo Zancaruolo*, “*Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*” 33 (2015), p. 187-207.

⁹⁴ Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* (introd. by Ugo Stefanutti), [Bologna], [1976] [reprinted of ed. Venice 1854] [1st ed.: 1752], p. 164.

⁹⁵ G. B. Pigna, *loc. cit.*, p. 419; M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁹⁶ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 55 note 45.

⁹⁷ G. B. Pigna, *loc. cit.*, p. 419.

⁹⁸ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall’origine della Città fino all’anno 1446*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 47 [= 8139]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 31-32.

⁹⁹ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall’origine della Città fino al 1446*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 48 [= 7143]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 32. See also Ş. Marin, *The Crusading Elements in Venice. Fragments from the Chronicle transcribed by Bernardino Cavalli – Manuscript It. VII. 48 (7143) at Marciana National Library*, “*Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica*” 14-15 (2012-2013), p. 85-100.

the library of d'Este house, the conclusion for the 'halt' of the codex in that place does not seem so probable, but only hypothetical.

Anyhow, the testimony of Foscarini is regarded by G. Zorzanello as inaccurate¹⁰⁰. As a matter of fact, Zorzanello considers that Foscarini had not consult directly codex It. VII, 2570, but had relied upon a description of it when belonging to Soranzo collection¹⁰¹. It is about a description delivered by Francesco Melchiori, librarian of Soranzo house, who noted: "*Cronaca di Venezia dalla sua prima origine fino al 1446 descritta da s. Gasparo Zancariol*"¹⁰². It inserted a shortened version of the note that introduced Zancaruolo as copyist¹⁰³.

The truth is that Foscarini should not be completely 'blamed' for the confusion between two codices that has only the terminal year in common, for the simple reason that, before ascribing the text to Zancaruolo, he had included it in the group of anonymous chronicles. The phrase in its entirety used by Foscarini was: "*Quindi ripigliando la serie delle cronache anonime [emphasis mine] pertinenti all'età stessa, ne vedemmo una o composta, o solo trascritta da Gasparo Zancaruolo, nostro cittadino: [...]*"¹⁰⁴, and the detail at the beginning seems to have been ignored by Zorzanello.

Anyway, the expression used by M. Foscarini¹⁰⁵ led to the influence over the following scholars, by the confusion between our codex and It. VII, 2570, and the name of Zancaruolo was transferred forcibly over our codex, although initially as rejecting this ascription. A position of rejecting was adopted by Jacopo Filiasi, who clearly underlined: "*Questa Cronaca [...] non fu nota al Foscarini, per quanto io credo, e non è la Zancarola da questo nominata. Arriva al 1446 ed è anonima ancor essa. Ella è piena di buone notizie e di documenti... Io quasi credo che sia di mano diverse, ma scritta però da una sola mano. [...] Ella è posseduta dal Signor Amedeo Svajer.*"¹⁰⁶ A little later, however, Jacopo Morelli, "custode della Libreria di San Marco", in the foreword of his work, specifies: "*La Cronaca poi, per dire anche d'essa, dal principio della città sino all'anno 1446 condotta, e abbondante di belle e rare notizie, è parimente d'ignoto autore: né fu già opera di un Gasparo Zancaruolo, di che avea dubbio il Serenissimo Doge Marco Foscarini, [...], e il Zancaruolo. che fu dell'ordine Patrizio, e soltanto la Cronaca ricopiò, più tardi tanto è vissuto, che li tempi dell'uno e dell'altro non istarebbero insieme. Ad ogni modo Cronaca Zancaruola ella fu nominata anche da' moderni scrittori, che ne fecero uso, quando stava presso l'onorato uomo Amedeo Svaier: alla di cui morte*

¹⁰⁰ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 55.

¹⁰² *Apud Ibidem*, p. 53.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁴ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

¹⁰⁵ For the viewpoint of Foscarini, see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 84, 86-87.

¹⁰⁶ J. Filiasi, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 192 *apud* G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 59 note 59; see also E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236 (relying on the information sent by R. Fulin).

la Libreria di San Marco con più altre l'ha acquistata."¹⁰⁷ Therefore, as Zorzanello considers, Morelli was perfectly right "quando afferma che Zancaruolo era soltanto un copista e apparteneva all'ordine patrizio: sbaglia invece nel considerare esemplari della stessa cronaca il codice ex-svajeriano e quello descritto dal Foscarini (che hanno incipit diversi ed explicit non coincidenti), e poi confonde il primo col secondo che in quel tempo era ancora nella libreria Canonici [...]"¹⁰⁸ Also, those "moderni scrittori" to whom Morelli made reference could only be Cristoforo Tentori¹⁰⁹ and Giambattista Gallicciolli¹¹⁰, who certainly used the codex of Canonici (that is, It. VII, 2570, *olim* Soranzo 1075), but not our codex (Svajer 636 *olim* Soranzo 39, taken also into consideration by Filiasi)¹¹¹.

Meanwhile, the character of Gasparo Zancaruolo as author of our chronicle attracted gradually new and new followers. A partial example was Aug. Prost, who introduced Zancaruolo among what he called as "les chroniques qui portent le nom de leur auteur"¹¹² and continued to speak about "cronaca di Zancaruolo"¹¹³, although he expressed some doubts regarding the chronicle in Cicogna collection having number 2675, naming it as "Cronaca Veneziana supposta Zancarola, dall'origine al 1354"¹¹⁴, and in the end he considered the chronicle that was in those times in Milan as anonymous¹¹⁵. The same is the case of S. Romanin, who, although at a certain moment used the formula "cronaca detta [emphasis mine] Zancaruola"¹¹⁶, then he would use constantly the name of "Cronaca Zancaruola"¹¹⁷. Meanwhile, H. Simonsfeld had no restraints in mentioning the "codice milanese della cronaca Zancaruola"¹¹⁸. Unfortunately, such a careful study as the one of G. Baretta, not published even by now, although analyzing the prologue of our chronicle in detail in order to compare the text with

¹⁰⁷ J. Morelli, *loc. cit.*, p. 3 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 58; see also M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 539; see also L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617-618; about the opinions of Morelli, see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 84-85.

¹⁰⁸ G. Zorzanello, *La cronaca*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁹ D. Cristoforo Tentori Spagnuolo, *Saggio sulla storia civile, politica, ecclesiastica, e sulla corografia e topografia degli Stati della repubblica di Venezia ad uso della nobile e civile gioventù*, 12 volumes, Venice 1785-1790 (by 1756).

¹¹⁰ Giambattista Gallicciolli, *Delle Memorie Venete antiche profane ed ecclesiastiche raccolte da ~*. Libri tre, 8 volumes, Venice 1795.

¹¹¹ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹¹² Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, "Revue des Questions Historiques" 31 (1882), p. 512-555 (524).

¹¹³ Idem, *Les chroniques vénitiennes. Second mémoire cit.*, p. 208.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 216.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 218.

¹¹⁶ S[amuele] Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 volumes, Venice 1853-1861, III, p. 142 note 1.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, I, *passim*; II, *passim*; III, *passim*; IV, *passim*.

¹¹⁸ E. Simonsfeld, *Appendice cit.*, p. 111.

the one ascribed to Zorzi Dolfin, did not offer more than a summary reference to the chronicles, not dealing with the paternity at all¹¹⁹.

Despite the fact that, in the meantime, Carlo Castellani emphasized the existence of the real chronicle having Zancaruolo as copyist, that is the one on the British territory on those days (the present-day It. VII, 2570), under the name of "*Cronica veneta per Zancaruoli*"¹²⁰ (although Castellani himself put it erroneously in direct connection with the one in codex It. VII, 1274 and made reference to Foscarini¹²¹), the confusion would persist. It culminated with Fr. Carta¹²², who stated that Foscarini "*ebbe certamente a mano quest'esemplare di Brera [Braidense, emphasis mine]*". Confronted by the reality that the codex then at Braidense had no subscription of Zancaruolo, Carta imagined that this would have been lost in the meantime. Although he recognized that the text is "*manifestamente opera di più scrittori*", Carta concluded that "*parebbe naturale che egli [Zancaruolo, emphasis mine] fosse almeno autore della parte della cronaca più vicina ai tempi in cui scrisse.*"¹²³

This option was retaken in studies closer to nowadays, especially by Fr. Thiriet (who used the 18th century Contarini copy, at that moment inventoried as It. VII, 1274-1275) and S. Antoniadis (who consulted the original, It. VII, 49-50 at that moment). Thus, the very detailed data about the affairs in the Levant, especially about the revolts in Crete in the 14th century and, on the other hand, the so frequent presence of the name of Zancaruolo in the documents in Candia impressed Thiriet, leading him to the conclusion that Gasparo Zancaruolo would have been one of the Venetian colonists established in Crete¹²⁴, although the French scholar had initially noticed the great irregularity of the text¹²⁵, underlining the fact that the events in the 13th century, especially its last 30 years, are expelled

¹¹⁹ Giuseppe Baretta, *Codici latini e italiani alla Biblioteca Marciana provenienti da Gerolamo Contarini 1843*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. XI, 328 [= 7330], p. 289-293 apud M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

¹²⁰ C. Castellani, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*.

¹²² F. Carta, *op. cit.*, p. 117 note 1 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62 and note 67; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85; see also L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 618 note 8.

¹²³ F. Carta, *op. cit.* apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹²⁴ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 281-283, 291; see also G[ino] L[uzzatti], review of F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, in "Archivio Veneto", 5th series, 54-55 (1954), p. 126-128 (127-128); F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne* cit., p. 17; Idem, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* cit., p. 61; for the ascription without reserves to Zancaruolo, see also Franz Babinger, *Von Amurath zu Amurath. Vor- und Nachspiel der Schlacht bei Varna <1444>*, "Oriens" 3 (1950), 2, p. 229-265; O[ldřich] Tůma, *The Dating of Alexius's Chrysobull to the Venetians: 1082, 1084, or 1092?*, "Byzantinoslavica" 42 (1981), p. 171-185 (185); see also the critics of G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 63 and A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86, 88.

¹²⁵ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 281.

in only 15 pages and also in a huge disorder¹²⁶, and offering many examples of errors¹²⁷. In a subsequent article, Thiriet went even further and, in direct polemics with A. Carile¹²⁸, imagined that the chronicler would have used hypothetical “*grosse série de fiches*”¹²⁹, sent from father to son in Zancaruolo family of colonists. He concluded that, when referring to the events in Crete, “*il s’agit de l’oeuvre d’une famille et les Zancaruoli sont les auteurs successifs de la chronique de Gaspero*”¹³⁰. However, he expressed some doubts in a footnote, when indicating that it is about an “*opinion à mieux vérifier et à consolider, il est vrai.*”¹³¹

Sophia Antoniadis shared Thiriet’s viewpoint regarding the ascription towards Gasparo Zancaruolo¹³², starting from the conviction that “*Zancaruolo peut compléter, malgré ses inexactitudes, les récits de De Monacis et de Trevisan*”¹³³ and dedicating two studies to the Cretan revolt in 1363, relying upon the narrative of our chronicle¹³⁴. Her opinions would be retaken without critics by M. I. Manussacas, who regarded Zancaruolo as a 14th century eyewitness in Crete¹³⁵. In the end, S. Antoniadis notes that “*quant à moi je considère sans importance le nom de l’auteur*”¹³⁶.

Meanwhile, some attempts to reject the ascription towards Zancaruolo were expressed by other scholars, but without taking into consideration the existence of It. VII, 2570, that is the real codex having Zancaruolo as copyist, which migrated in Great Britain in the meantime, and limiting themselves to

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 281, 283; see also Idem, *La Romanie vénitienne* cit., p. 17; Idem, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* cit., p. 60.

¹²⁷ Idem, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 281.

¹²⁸ Idem, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* cit., p. 58-59, 59-60.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 64; see also the critics of G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

¹³¹ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 64 note 17; see also the critics of G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

¹³² A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹³³ Sophie Antoniadis, *Le récit du combat naval de Gallipoli chez Zancaruolo en comparaison avec le texte d’Antoine Morosini et les historiens grecs du XV^e siècle*, in *Venezia e l’Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento* (ed. by Agostino Pertusi), Florence 1965, p. 267-281 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 64 and note 73; see also L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 618 note 8; see also F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 58 note 1. See also S. 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. 27-36 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86 nota 7; see also L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 618 note 8; see also F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 58 note 1.

¹³⁴ S. Antoniadis, *O chronographos Zancaruolo kai h krhtikh epanastash tou 1363*, “*Krhtikh Chronika*”, 1961-62, p. 353-362 and Idem, *Le chroniqueur vénitien* cit. apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 64 and note 74.

¹³⁵ M[anousos 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, I, part II, p. 73-514 (492) apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 65 note 77.

¹³⁶ S. Antoniadis, *Le chroniqueur vénitien* cit., p. 28 apud F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 59 note 4.

contest the authorship of him. Thus, V. Lazzarini considered that the text “è manifestamente opera di più scrittori”¹³⁷, while E. Levi stated that our chronicle “fu messa insieme intorno alla metà del Quattrocento con materiale di ogni provenienza e di disparato valore; è un vero e proprio mosaico...”¹³⁸ In the same style, R. Cessi defined it as a “zibaldone”¹³⁹, while Maria Zannoni, confronted by the statements “di studiosi di tanta autorità”, had only the option to regard the fact that the chronicle did not belong to Zancaruolo as beyond any doubts, “ma una compilazione da più opere, messe insieme alla meglio forse da un patrizio del Quattrocento”. She added the detail that “il cronista stesso dichiara più volte di aver desunto da vari «historiografi»”¹⁴⁰ as argument. The lack of consistency of the work led to the opinion that it is about a compilation¹⁴¹. On the other side, the same lack of consistency led Thiriet to the opposite conclusion, considering it as a proof for the fact that the work could not be ascribed to more than one authors¹⁴², a reason that should not be rejected *a priori*.

Insisting upon Foscarini’s “maniera dubitativa o ambivalente” of approach¹⁴³, Lia Sbriziolo follows the pattern traced by Lazzarini, Levi and Cessi¹⁴⁴. However, her critics are directed especially to the manner followed in drawing conclusions over a chronicle from the perspective of several strict events, such as the siege of Zara in 1346 (Morelli)¹⁴⁵, the situation in 14th century Candia (Thiriet and Antoniadis)¹⁴⁶, *Partitio Romaniae* (Carile)¹⁴⁷, regarding R. Cessi’s article as the only example of a complete contribution for the study of our chronicle¹⁴⁸. Confronted by the “anti”-Zancaruolo attitudes, H. Baron expressed his own scepticism, speaking about “the so-called [emphasis mine] *Cronaca*

¹³⁷ V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 104, retaken by M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 539, F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 280 and note 1, A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85, G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹³⁸ E. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 386-387 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62 and note 69; the term has also been used by M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 539; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280 and note 2; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85-86; L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 619 and notes 9-10.

¹³⁹ R. Cessi, *op. cit.*, p. 339 and 344 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62; see also M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 539-540; see also L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 619 note 9.

¹⁴⁰ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 540; for Zannoni’s opinions, see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁴¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

¹⁴² F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

¹⁴³ L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 619.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 621.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 620.

Zancaruola¹⁴⁹” and “the unknown author” of it¹⁵⁰, indicating that there are solid reasons to doubt about the work’s origin in the 15th century¹⁵¹.

Although agreed by G. Zorzanello for the false ascription to Zancaruolo and for regarding this latter’s position as simple copyist¹⁵², all these opinions were stated in the absence of the Zancaruolian codex It. VII, 2570, so that they were not able to surpass the paradigm established by Foscarini, considering that this latter took exactly our codex into account. This is the opinion that a certain moment was embraced also by A. Carile, when considering that “*il Foscarini afferma di aver letto in calce al codice (in due volumi) ora Braidense la seguente nota: [...]*”¹⁵³. Among the scholars that expressed viewpoints before Zorzanello, Carile, when dealing with the “*questione dell’autore della cosiddetta cronaca zancaruola*”¹⁵⁴, noted that: “*Mi sembra invece che siano più esatte le impressioni del Levi e del Cessi. Il problema consiste nel dimostrare che tutto il corpo della cronaca era già costituito nel corso del XV secolo, prima dello Zancaruolo. [...]. Comunque la mia impressione è che tale cronaca sia strettamente legata al corpo della cronachistica del XV secolo, e che quindi lo Zancaruolo non sia stato che un copista.*”¹⁵⁵ Therefore, Carile continued to regard the manuscript brought by Foscarini into attention as the one that we deal with now, that is It. VII, 1274-1275, without considering the one that at that very moment was on British soil, nowadays It. VII, 2570. Despite his statement that “*fondare l’attribuzione della cronaca a un autore Gaspare Zancaruolo, sulla notizia del Foscarini, è manifestamente eccessivo: [...]*”¹⁵⁶, Carile continued thus to regard the codex as being completed in 1519, in accordance with the considerations of Foscarini, referring however to the present-day It. VII, 2570.

It was only by Zorzanello when the definite distinction between the two codices took place and Foscarini’s confusion was deciphered. The discovery of codex It. VII, 2570, so similar in handwriting with Gasparo Zancaruolo’s will, “*permette di stabilire con sicurezza, eliminando un equivoco durato quasi due secoli, che lo Zancaruolo non fu nè il copista, nè il compilatore, nè tanto meno l’autore della grande cronaca ex-braidense. [...]*”¹⁵⁷. The Italian scholar’s point of view has been embraced afterwards by St. Chojnacki, M. M. Samataro, D. Raines, M. Zorzi or E. Barile¹⁵⁸. On the other side, C. Imber continues to speak about the

¹⁴⁹ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177 note 10.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 188 note 42.

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 177 note 10.

¹⁵² In this sense, see also Cicogna apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹⁵³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 84; see also G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62 note 68.

¹⁵⁴ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 87; see also G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 65-66.

¹⁵⁶ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86-87.

¹⁵⁷ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁵⁸ Stanley Chojnacki, *Political Adulthood in Fifteenth-Century Venice*, “American Historical Review” 91 (1986), p. 791-810 (791); Maria Maddalena Samataro, *La rivolta di*

chronicle of Gaspare Zancaruolo¹⁵⁹; in the absence of any reference, one could not conclude whether our chronicle or the codex copied by Zancaruolo (It. VII, 2570) is taken into consideration.

Dating:

Regarding codex Ci 2675 (now Ci 2815, that comes to an end when referring to year 1354), the common conclusion is that he should be dated in the 16th century¹⁶⁰. At a certain moment, Giulio Zorzanello is more precise, indicating that the manuscript presents year 1579 for dating¹⁶¹, but he does not specify where exactly in the manuscript this date is noted. When placing it at the beginning of the century, A. Carile also does not provide details¹⁶².

The manuscript at Vatican that includes our chronicle, Barb. Lat. 4959 (which finished by narrating events in year 1275)¹⁶³ is also regarded as belonging to the 16th century.

There have been no objections to place the former It. VII, 1274-1275 (nowadays at Braidense Library) in the 18th century¹⁶⁴. Although not dating it, Simonsfeld admitted that it is about “*una copia più recente*”¹⁶⁵.

The opinions regarding our codices, now It. VII, 1274-1275 have been less sharp. The scholars that have analyzed strictly the handwriting of them have agreed to settle it in the 15th century¹⁶⁶. Certainly, for more precision, I would regard it as dated at the mid of this century, since the chronicle ends when narrating events in year 1446, being thus in complete accordance with the date proposed by J.

Candia del 1363-65 nelle fonti veneziane, “Studi Veneziani”, new series, 31 (1996), p. 127-153 (130 nota 18); D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 19 note 50, 36 note 106; M. Zorzi, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Elisabetta Barile, *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* cit., p. 353; Silvia Enzi & Dario Camuffo, *Documentary sources of the sea surges in Venice from AD 787 to 1867*, “Natural Hazards” 12 (1995), 3, p. 225-287.

¹⁵⁹ Colin Imber, *The Crusade of Varna 1443-45*, Hampshire-Burlington 2006, p. 186.

¹⁶⁰ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 236; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 216; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 52 note 40.

¹⁶² A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

¹⁶³ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 52 note 40.

¹⁶⁴ Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 218; C. Castellani, *op. cit.*, p. 219; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280; Idem, *La Romanie vénitienne* cit., p. 17; M. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 104 note 2; P. Zorzanello, *Catalogo 1002-1600* cit., p. 64 apud L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 618 note 5; L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617 note 3, 618 note 5; F. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* cit., p. 60 note 9; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 60, 62.

¹⁶⁵ E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

¹⁶⁶ J. Morelli, *loc. cit.*; G. Sacchi, *op. cit.*, p. 19-20, both apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 37 note 1; for this dating, see also Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208, 218; O. Tuma, *op. cit.*, p. 185; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

Morelli¹⁶⁷, E. Levi¹⁶⁸ and G. Zorzanello¹⁶⁹. It is despite S. Marcon proposes the version saying “*intorno alla fine dell'ottavo decennio*”¹⁷⁰. Anyway, the matter of dating these codices has been associated to a significant extent to the one originating in the ambiguous formula advanced by M. Foscarini¹⁷¹. Even those that have denied the paternity towards Gasparo Zancaruolo have had the tendency to settle year 1519 (clearly mentioned in the present-day codex It. VII, 2570) as the moment when our chronicle was written.

Contronted by the contradiction between the 15th century (as date for the codex) and the wrong interpretation of the information delivered by Foscarini (year 1519), some scholars have adopted solutions of compromise also when dating the codex. Thus, A. Carile considers that our manuscript is “*databile alla seconda metà del '400 o agli inizi del '500 (forse 1519)*”¹⁷², arguing just through the features of the handwriting¹⁷³ and confessing that his reference to year 1519 relies on the testimony of Foscarini¹⁷⁴. Anyhow, the confusion made by Foscarini regarding year 1519, although adopted in the end by Carile, who finally settles the codex then Braidense AG X 15-16 at the beginning of the 16th century¹⁷⁵ and also considers it as subsequent to another codex, that is It. VII, 51¹⁷⁶, which belongs clearly to the 16th century, does not convince the Italian scholar to give definitely up to the option for the 15th century as date for the manuscript, noticing some handwriting features specific to this century¹⁷⁷. Certainly, this conclusion sustained Carile's own theory, that is the setting up of C family of chronicles, which our chronicle would belong to, since the 15th century¹⁷⁸, more precisely between 1429 and 1455¹⁷⁹, “*almeno cinquant'anni prima dello Zancaruolo*”¹⁸⁰.

Lia Sbriziolo tends to the same compromise solution, that is to date the codex in 15th-16th centuries¹⁸¹. The scholar also speaks about a chronicle group already composed in the 15th century¹⁸², but without the developments and

¹⁶⁷ J. Morelli, *loc. cit.* apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁶⁸ E. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 386-387 apud M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 539 and apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁶⁹ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁷⁰ S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

¹⁷¹ See *supra*.

¹⁷² A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 79; see also, in the same sense. *Ibidem*, p. 141.

¹⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 79.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 79 note 4; see also *Ibidem*, p. 86-87.

¹⁷⁵ Idem, *Partitio terrarum cit.*, p. 203; Idem, *La cronachistica veneziana cit.*, p. 141.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 142.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 80.

¹⁷⁸ See especially *Ibidem*, p. 87.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 107; see also D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 36, 56.

¹⁸⁰ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

¹⁸¹ L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 617 note 3.

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 619.

therefore hesitations advanced by A. Carile. A compromise version is also promoted by Dorit Raines, who, following Carile's path, regards It. VII, 49 as belonging to the 15th century, with additions operated in 1519¹⁸³, but then she rightfully promotes the idea of placing it to the end of the 15th century¹⁸⁴, without any additional comment.

Anyway, the placement of the codex in the first part of the 16th century – as a copy written by Zancaruolo –, and of the initial author around the mid of the 15th century represents the version towards which the greatest number of scholar tends¹⁸⁵. Some of them opt definitely for year 1519 to date our codex¹⁸⁶, although later Maria Zannoni would regard the chronicle as a compilation due to a “*patrizio del Quattrocento*”¹⁸⁷, and Thiriet would considered Zancaruolo – to whom he ascribed the paternity beyond any doubts over the chronicle – as living in the 15th century¹⁸⁸. To a certain extent, A. Carile follows the same path; although moving the codex in the 16th century, he considers that the initial state of the chronicle should be placed in the 15th. This opinion is in complete contradiction to the one embraced previously by Aug. Prost. On the one hand, this latter settled the codex in the 15th century; on the other hand, he spoke about the “*auteur*” Zancaruolo as belonging to the 16th¹⁸⁹, thus being accidentally according to the truth, excepting the position of author for Zancaruolo.

On her turn, S. Antoniadis spoke about “*chroniqueur du XV^e siècle Zancaruolo*”¹⁹⁰; correctly with regard to the century, the statement is wrong when referring to the author's name. As for the version advanced by Manussacas, who spoke about Zancaruolo as author of a 14th century chronicle¹⁹¹ or as eyewitness of the events during the Cretan revolt¹⁹², one should not insist upon this hypothesis.

H. Baron had the option for the 16th century when dating the codex¹⁹³, and then of “*early sixteenth-century*”¹⁹⁴, probably under the influence of year 1519,

¹⁸³ D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 39 note 113. 56.

¹⁸⁵ J. Morelli, *loc. cit.*, p. 8 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85 note 8; E. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 386 note 3 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85-86.

¹⁸⁶ F. Carta, *op. cit.*, p. 114-119 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 79 note 4 and apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 37 note 1; E. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 386 note 3 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85 and note 7; M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538 note 2; F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 279; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 104 note 2; F. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* cit., p. 59; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 36 note 106.

¹⁸⁷ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 540.

¹⁸⁸ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 272, 285.

¹⁸⁹ Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 524.

¹⁹⁰ S. Antoniadis, *Le récit du combat naval* cit. apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹⁹¹ M. Manussacas, *op. cit.*, p. 476 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 64 note 77.

¹⁹² M. Manussacas, *op. cit.*, p. 492 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 64 note 77.

¹⁹³ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177 note 10.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 188 note 42.

although at a certain moment notes that “the date and place of the Zancaruolo chronicle are not conclusively known”¹⁹⁵. I must confess I have had the same hesitations, when oscillating between the 15th¹⁹⁶ and the 16th centuries¹⁹⁷ for dating this work.

Although these are simple hypotheses, they follow the methodology that I propose, that is to establish the dating depending on the codex at disposal. Under these circumstances, the codices It. VII, 49-50 represent, as mentioned above, a product of the 15th century.

Once with Zorzanello’s study in 1980 and the clarifications provided by it, that is the conclusive separation between Gasparo Zancaruolo as character (who wrote the codex It. VII, 2570 in 1519) and our codex (written by an anonymous in the 15th century, according to its handwriting), things returned to their natural position¹⁹⁸ also in their dating. It is despite the fact that, although later than Zorzanello’s study, D. Raines also follows a compromise solution¹⁹⁹.

Sources and influences:

It was considered that this chronicle represents, according to E. Levi’s expression, a “mosaico”²⁰⁰. The same scholar also indicated that the work was done by the juxtaposition of “materiale di ogni provenienza e di disparato valore”, which find their place with difficulty²⁰¹. Anyhow, the chronicler himself states many times that he extracted his material from various “*historiografi*”²⁰², while Maria Zannoni provided more quotations in which the supposed “Zancaruolo” refers to other chronicles²⁰³, thus trying to demonstrate that, among the large

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 177 note 10.

¹⁹⁶ Ş. Marin, *Venice and translatio imperii. The Relevance of the 1171 Event in the Venetian Chronicles’ Tradition*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia” 3 (2001), p. 45-103 (56).

¹⁹⁷ Idem, *Nicolae Iorga e la cronachistica veneziana*, “Quaderni della Casa Romena” 1 (2001), p. 48-65 (62).

¹⁹⁸ See, for instance, M. Zorzi, *op. cit.*, p. 20; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

¹⁹⁹ See *supra*.

²⁰⁰ E. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 386-387 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

²⁰¹ E. Levi, *op. cit.* apud M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 539; see also F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 280; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 62; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

²⁰² M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 540.

²⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 540-541. The scholar enumerated nine references in this sense. The greatest number of cases represents unidentifiable references, such as “*altre croniche*” (p. 122b), “*uno historiografo Venetiano*” (p. 138b), “*uno zerto historiografo*” (p. 327b, 231b), “*quello historiografo*” (p. 234a), “*libro el qual comprese [...]*” (p. 155a). Although more specific, other two references, that is “*istoriografo ravinatico*” (p. 178b) and “*unica e sola cronicha fata per uno suo familiar di Francesco Vechio Signor de Padoa*” do not clarify the chronicle taken into account. The only clear reference is to “*frate Jacomo de Voragine genovesi et Arciv^o de Zenoa*” (p. 241b).

quantity of chronicles in use²⁰⁴, the strongest influence refers to the dogeships of Domenico Michiel (1118-1129) and Giacomo Contarini (1275-1280), but also to the refuge taken by Pope Alexander III to Venice during the dogeship of Sebastiano Ziani (1172-1178), the confrontations with the ghibellin Ezzelino da Romano in the 13th century, and various events in the time of Doge Andrea Contarini (1368-1382)²⁰⁵.

Actually, the large quantity of previous chronicles in use is mentioned in the preamble, where the anonymous author declares his intentions: “[...] *io imittando tal disposition con el mio picol et debel inzegno, insudando molto et longo tempo dando opera a voler intender la nobilità dela dignissima città de Venesia, con non pocha difficultà cerchando et revedando molte et diverse croniche [emphasis mine], poptissimum per intender le caxade de ditta città e dei luogi che i son venuti in quella et a che modo e via sono sta admesse ala nobilità. Et in qual tempo havendomi assai satisfatto, ho statuido anchora satisfar agli altri [emphasis mine].* (p. i a)²⁰⁶.

Other general considerations referring to the dependence of our chronicle on 15th century other chronicles for the narration regarding the first centuries of Venetian history have also been advanced by A. Carile (who refers to C family of chronicles)²⁰⁷, Fr. Thiriet (who indicated that these influences affected the manner of composition²⁰⁸, the tribute paid to the previous chronicles being underlined also on other occasions²⁰⁹) or D. Raines (who, referring to the chronicles of Antonio Morosini²¹⁰, “Zorzi Dolfin”²¹¹, Pietro Dolfin²¹² and “Zancaruolo”, notes that they are not original excepting the final part and that “*forse per le scelte operate nella selezione del materiale per la narrazione storica.*”)²¹³

²⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 544.

²⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 541.

²⁰⁶ See also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

²⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 86, 87, 88.

²⁰⁸ F. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* cit., p. 62.

²⁰⁹ Idem, *Les chroniques venetiennes* cit., p. 285; G. Luzzatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 128.

²¹⁰ See *Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo vista da Venezia (1094-1433)* (ed. by Andrea Nanetti), Spoleto 2010. See also Ş. Marin, *Considerații asupra cronicii venețianului Antonio Morosini*, “Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie” 28 (2010), p. 169-191.

²¹¹ See Giorgio Dolfin, *Cronicha dela nobil città de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destretto, Origini-1458* (ed. by Angela Caracciolo Aricò), 2 volumes, Venice 2007, 2009. See also Ş. Marin, *The Venetian Chronicle in Codex M 794 (8503) at Marciana National Library – Ascribed to Giorgio Delfino and Transcribed by Nicolò Gussoni*, “Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review” 89 (2012), 2, p. 41-62.

²¹² See Pietro Dolfin, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, Venice, BNM, manuscripts It. VII, 2557-2558 [= 12449-12450]. 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.

²¹³ D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 33 note 97.

Regarding more concrete connections, it has been spoken about the more ancient chronicles, that is about loans that go to the text ascribed to Giovanni Diacono²¹⁴ and strong connections with chronicle Altinate²¹⁵, our chronicle being at various moments regarded as a translation in Italian of this latter²¹⁶, especially for the episodes regarding the origins²¹⁷, but also for events in the 12th century, such as the division of Venice in *sestieri* in the time of Doge Vitale Michiel II (1156-1172)²¹⁸.

The influence of the history of the Venetian chancellor in Crete, Lorenzo de Monaci²¹⁹ over our chronicle has been noted, in connection with punctual episodes (such as various contexts referring to Emperor Michael VIII Paleologus²²⁰, the siege of Zara at 1346²²¹, the conjuration of Doge Marino Falier²²², the rebellion of Candia in 1363-1365²²³) or generally²²⁴: J. Morelli regarded our chronicle as a simple copy from the chancellor's work²²⁵, and G. Zorzanello stated that, regarding books IX and X of de Monaci, everything that the supposed Zancaruolo did was to translate from Latin²²⁶. More restrained, E. A.

²¹⁴ J. Morelli, *loc. cit.* apud Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes. Second mémoire cit.*, p. 208; R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 369. See Giovanni Diacono, *Historia Veneticorum* (ed. by Luigi Andrea Berto), Bologna 1999.

²¹⁵ See *Origo Civitatem Italiae seu Veneticorum (Chronicon Altinate et Chronicon Gradense)* (ed. by R. Cessi), Rome 1933. See also Ș. 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.

²¹⁶ E. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

²¹⁷ Idem, *Appendice cit.*, p. 112; see also E. Barile, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

²¹⁸ E. Simonsfeld, *La Cronaca Altinate* (transl. by C. S. Rosada). "Archivio Veneto". 21 (1881), 2, p. 167-202 (178).

²¹⁹ See *Laurentii de Monacis Cretae Cancellari Chronica de rebus venetis ab U. C. ad Annum MCCCLIV, sive ad conjurationem ducis Faledro* (ed. by Flaminio Corner), 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 & Alexandru Simon), Frankfurt/Main-Berlin-Bern-Brussels-New York-Oxford 2012, p. 237-258.

²²⁰ Idem, *Veneția și căderea unui imperiu. Reprezentarea momentului 1261 în cronistica venețiană*, "Revista Istorică", new series, 14 (2003), 3-4, p. 211-254 (224 note 56).

²²¹ J. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 3 ff apud Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208 and apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 84; R. Fulin, *op. cit.* apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85 and note 1.

²²² V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 104; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85, 141.

²²³ M. M. Sarnataro, *op. cit.*, p. 130 note 18, 147 note 125.

²²⁴ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85 and note 1, 86 note 5, 107, 141 note 1; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 36 note 105.

²²⁵ J. Morelli, *op. cit.* apud R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 369; also apud Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

²²⁶ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 63-65; see also E. Barile, *op. cit.*, p. 349, 353.

Cicogna had considered that “*il cronista supposto Zancaruolo inserì nella detta Cronaca vari brani tradotti dal latino di Lorenzo de Monacis, ed altri tradotti dal latino del Sagornino, ed altri cavati dallo storico Chinazzo ecc.*”²²⁷ As for F. Thiriet, he even appreciated that de Monaci had been less detailed than our chronicler with regard to the events in Crete²²⁸, while S. Antoniadis was convinced that “*Zancaruolo peut compléter, malgré ses inexactitudes, les récits de De Monacis et de Trevisan*”²²⁹. What these two latter scholars did not note was exactly the fact that, to a significant extent, books IX and X of the history of de Monaci had been translated by the author of “Zancaruola”²³⁰ (just like the episodes referring to the earthquake in 1347 and the plague in 1348, retaken from book XVI of de Monaci²³¹), a fact that allowed G. Zorzanello to express his stupefaction that the two scholars “*evidentemente [...] non hanno molta familiarità*” with de Monaci²³².

Other possible sources for our chronicle have been taken into consideration: “*Cron. Iust.*” [that is, *Venetiarum Historia*²³³], for the foundation of Venice²³⁴; the work of Daniele Chinazzo for the Chioggian War in 1378-1381²³⁵; A. Morosini, for the dependence on which a comparative text is suggested, referring to the Genoese mission in Venice in 1413²³⁶ or considerations regarding the expedition at Gallipoli in 1416²³⁷; N. Trevisan²³⁸, in connection with the

²²⁷ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 369. See Daniele Di Chinazzo, *Cronica de la guerra da Veniciani a Zenovesi* (ed. by Vittorio Lazzarini), Venice 1958.

²²⁸ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 281; see also *Ibidem*, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* cit., p. 61, 62.

²²⁹ Apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

²³⁰ *Ibidem*; M. M. Sarnataro, *op. cit.*, p. 130 note 18.

²³¹ J. Morelli, *op. cit.* apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 58 note 56; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 58 note 56.

²³² *Ibidem*, p. 05.

²³³ See *Historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata* (ed. by Roberto Cessi & Fanny Bennato), Venice 1964. See also Ş. Marin, *Some Considerations regarding the Anonymous Venetiarum Historia (14th Century)*, “*Historical Yearbook*” 7 (2010), p. 177-194.

²³⁴ E. Simonsfeld, *Appendice* cit., p. 111.

²³⁵ J. Morelli, *op. cit.* apud Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208; R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 369; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

²³⁶ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 288-289.

²³⁷ S. Antoniadis, *Le récit du combat naval* cit..

²³⁸ See Niccolò 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*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 519 [= 8438]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 87. See also Ş. Marin, *Manuscript It. VII, 519 (= 8438) from Marciana National Library and Its Spurious Author, Nicolò Trevisan*, “*Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review*” 93 (2016), 1-2, p. 84-108.

conjunction of Doge Marino Falier²³⁹ and the battle of Gallipoli²⁴⁰; chronicles in 15th century codices It. VII, 89²⁴¹ and M 559²⁴² for the episode of *Partitio Romaniae* in 1204²⁴³, the chronicle in the 15th century codex It. VII, 788 for the period after 1423²⁴⁴. Other codices have also been taken into account in this sense: Ci 2606²⁴⁵, PD 236c²⁴⁶, F 6117²⁴⁷ and Co 1046²⁴⁸, for the expicit²⁴⁹, F 3458²⁵⁰, Metz 319²⁵¹, Phillipps 5024²⁵², Ambrosiana O 166 sup²⁵³, for the description of the Fourth Crusade²⁵⁴, and also Co 1337²⁵⁵, Co 1327²⁵⁶ for various events in the 15th century. A. Carile also notes connections with some codices at Ambrosiana Library

²³⁹ V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 104; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

²⁴⁰ Ovidiu Cristea, *Siamo Veneziani e poi Christiani: 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 44).

²⁴¹ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1410*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 89 [= 8391]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 50-51.

²⁴² Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia, detta di Pietro Dolfino, dall'origine della Città sino all'anno 1418*, Venetia, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 559 [= 7888]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

²⁴³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 81 note 5.

²⁴⁴ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

²⁴⁵ See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr [hereafter, MCC], fonds Cicogna, manuscript 2606 [= 592].

²⁴⁶ See Anon., *Cronica de Venetia*, Venice, MCC, fonds Provenienze Diverse, manuscript 236c.

²⁴⁷ See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, fonds Foscarini, manuscript CCXLIII [= 6117].

²⁴⁸ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dalle origini al 1446*, Venice, MCC, fonds Correr, manuscript 1046.

²⁴⁹ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 81 note 4.

²⁵⁰ See Anon., *Cronica di Venezia dal principio sino al 1410*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, fonds Foscarini, manuscript CCLX [= 3458].

²⁵¹ See Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, manuscript 319.

²⁵² Perhaps a typo for Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1410*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 2549 [= 12441], which in the former Phillipps collection had been inventoried as 5204. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

²⁵³ See Anon., *Cronica autentica de' Veneziani dall'origine al 1409*, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, manuscript O 166 sup.

²⁵⁴ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 81 note 5.

²⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 87; F. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* *cit.*, p. 59-60. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta, fino al 1443*, Venice, MCC, fonds Correr, manuscript 1337.

²⁵⁶ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 141, 142. See Nicolò Trevisano, *Cronica*, Venice, MCC, fonds Correr, manuscript 1327.

in Milan (N 137 sup²⁵⁷, L 117²⁵⁸), but they refer exclusively to elements in the preamble of the codex, previous to the chronicle itself.

At a certain moment, the large chronicle of Andrea Dandolo (*Extensa*) was regarded as possible source for C family of chronicles²⁵⁹, but this connection seems to be more probably through the mediation of de Monaci, especially because the dependence on this latter is more consistent, a fact available for also the invoked use of Marino Sanudo Torsello²⁶⁰ and Paolino da Venezia²⁶¹.

“Zancaruola” chronicle has also been put into connection with a so-called “*Cronaca Valiera*”²⁶², transcribed by Amadeo Valier, regular canonical of San Spirito in Isola²⁶³, which was in two 16th century volumes of Cicogna collection, that is Ci 296-297²⁶⁴, regarded by the owner himself as representing “*una delle più belle cronache che abbia veduto.*”²⁶⁵ As a matter of fact, Cicogna did not seem to embrace the hypothesis of a derivation of “Valiera” chronicle from “Zancaruola”, but argues for a common source²⁶⁶. This work comes to an end when narrating events in year 1514²⁶⁷. The interval between 1514 and 1620 would be added, being contained in a third volume (Ci 298), written in the 18th century²⁶⁸. Actually, Cicogna considered that both chronicles follow an older common work, which could be an anonymous chronicle that narrates by 1446²⁶⁹ and which would be used also by Marino Sanudo²⁷⁰. Another codex containing fragments from the

²⁵⁷ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 80 notes 1 and 2, 81 notes 1 and 2. See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine al 1244. Parte prima*, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, manuscript N 137 sup.

²⁵⁸ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 81 note 1. Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine al 1441*, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, manuscript L 117.

²⁵⁹ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 107; see also D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 36 note 105.

²⁶⁰ Apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

²⁶¹ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 107; see also D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 36 note 105.

²⁶² R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 78; see also Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208, 219. For a reference to a “*cronaca Valiera*”, see also S. Romanin, IV, p. 341 note 3, but the manuscript taken into account is not mentioned.

²⁶³ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 77, 78.

²⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 76-77, respectively 77; see also Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208, 219. See Anon., *Cronica veneta*, Venice, MCC, fonds Cicogna, manuscript 296 [= 3630]; Anon., *Cronica veneta*, Venice, MCC, fonds Cicogna, manuscripts 297-298 [= 3631].

²⁶⁵ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

²⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 78.

²⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 77; see also Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

²⁶⁸ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 77; see also Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208. See Anon., *Cronica veneta*, Venice, MCC, fonds Correr, manuscript 298 [= 3631].

²⁶⁹ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 78; see also Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

²⁷⁰ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 78. See *Marini Samuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 22 (ed. by Lodovico Antonio Muratori), Milan 1733, p. 399-1252.

chronicle transcribed by Amadio Valier was also in the possession of Cicogna (no 299)²⁷¹.

Among his codices, Cicogna also mentioned the anonymous inventoried as 2606, a 15th century codex entitled “*Cronaca Veneziana*”, which has an excipit pretty similar to the one in our codex, that is: “*adi XXVI de Dicembre li ambassatori del duca de Millà se parti de qui ... quillo seguira per l’avegnir vui el saverè. Per la nuova sora dicta et fo facto*”, interrupted also suddenly and followed by other materials²⁷². However, the reason that led Cicogna to this similarity was a punctual one, that is the manner of description of the Church of St Jerome²⁷³.

A. Baretta and especially Maria Zannoni provided more detailed comparisons with the chronicle ascribed to Zorzi Dolfìn, in its form from codex It. VII, 794, transcribed by N. Gussoni. In the case of A. Baretta, his study regarded strictly the prologue, indicating that the two chronicles are similar from the perspective of the introductions “*con poca varietà nella lezione, con qualche giunta od omissione e con alcune trasposizioni de’ capitoli. In seguito nella storia dei 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 [than in Zorzi Dolfìn, emphasis mine]; e in questa parecchie varietà nei racconti.*”²⁷⁴. While Baretta’s investigation restrained to the prologue, M. Zannoni’s study is much more comprising. It results from her analysis that the dependence between these two chronicles varies. Thus, it is available for the introductory legendary part – for which the scholar provided also a comparative text, the one that marks the passing to the local history of Venice²⁷⁵ – and continues to the dogeship of Antonio Venier (1382-1400), a moment from which “*la Zancaruola si allontana di molto dalla Dolfina per forma, abbondanza di particolari e notizie del tutto nuove. Non mancano tuttavia dei punti di contatto, riguardo più al contenuto che allo stile, [...]*”²⁷⁶; here, M. Zannoni offers some examples²⁷⁷, proposing another comparative

²⁷¹ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

²⁷² R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

²⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 340-341.

²⁷⁴ G. Baretta, *loc. cit.*, f. 289-293 apud M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 539; see also It. VII, 328 (7330): f. 289r-302r apud L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 621 note 17.

²⁷⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 541-542.

²⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 542.

²⁷⁷ It is about events in the times of the doges Pietro III Candiano (the establishment of the 12 Maries ceremony), Pietro Ziani (the list of the Venetian families sent to colonize Candia), Giovanni Dandolo (the retreatment of Giovanni Tiepolo to Mestre), Pietro Gradenigo (the relationship with Genua), Marino Zorzi (the siege of Zara), Bartolomeo Gradenigo (the miracle of St Mark’s ring), Andrea Contarini (the betrayal of some noblemen in the favour of the Carrarese, four of the five letters sent to captain Giovanni Barbarigo, a list of the families chosen for the Great Council), according to *Ibidem*.

text, with regard to a letter during the Chioggian War²⁷⁸. The parallelism is retaken when the narration deals with the second half of the dogeship of Michele Steno (1400-1413) and continues when referring to the period of Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-1423), where a correspondence almost *ad litteram* of the two works is attested²⁷⁹. As for the dogeship of Francesco Foscari (1423-1457), the narration in “Zancaruola” is shorter than in “Dolfina”²⁸⁰. For this latter period, another comparative text is provided related to the defeat in the Po region in 1431 from the side of the Milanese²⁸¹. In the end, Zannoni overturned the report between the two chronicles: while initially “Zancaruola” had been inserted among the sources of “Zorzi Dolfin”²⁸², in the end the scholar asked herself whether the report should not be in reverse²⁸³. This changing of viewpoint would be noted by H. Baron and A. Carile²⁸⁴, retaken by Baron²⁸⁵, but rejected by Carile, who proposed the solution according to which “*sono entrambe parti di una famiglia molto più vasta e profondamente differenziata e diramata di quanto non supponesse la Zannoni.*”²⁸⁶ In the case of F. Thiriet, although noting the fact that the reports between the two chronicles are far of being constant and therefore both of them preserve their originality²⁸⁷, exemplifying through a comparative text referring to the Genoese diplomatic mission in Venice 1413²⁸⁸, the French scholar constantly regards “Zancaruolo” as previous to “Zorzi Dolfin” and thus possible source for this latter; the example for this would be the relationships between Venice and Emperor Manuel I Comnenus²⁸⁹. Nevertheless, the French scholar’s subsequent article placed “Z. Dolfin” among the possible sources for “Zancaruola”²⁹⁰. In the end, I come to the same conclusion as Thiriet – the one of the dependence of manuscript It. VII, 794 on the ‘Zancaruolian’ one –, once established that the work in It. VII, 794 belongs to the 16th century, and thus later to codices It. VII, 49-50. Henceforth, the report established by Zannoni is again in reverse.

While investigating the report with the chronicle of “Zorzi Dolfin”, it was inevitable to reach the matter of report with the chronicle in codex It. VII, 2034²⁹¹,

²⁷⁸ *Ibidem.*

²⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 543.

²⁸⁰ *Ibidem.*

²⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 545-546.

²⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 538.

²⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 543, 544.

²⁸⁴ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 188 note 42; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86, 117.

²⁸⁵ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 188 note 42.

²⁸⁶ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

²⁸⁷ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 288.

²⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 288-289.

²⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 287.

²⁹⁰ Idem, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* cit., p. 63.

²⁹¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 544-546; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177 note 10; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117; F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 59, 63. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della*

although M. Zannoni indicated that the “Dolfina” prefers rather our chronicle than It. VII, 2034²⁹², exemplifying this tendency through the description of events in 1431²⁹³. Similarities with It. VII, 2034 were also noted by A. Carile, who referred to the manner of description of the legend of Attila²⁹⁴, the history of emperors of popes²⁹⁵, the legend of San Magno²⁹⁶, and provided comparative texts referring to years 1410 and 1432²⁹⁷.

The anonymous author of manuscript 87.1. at Newberry Library in Chicago was also put into connection with our chronicle²⁹⁸. Finally, H. Baron concluded about the influence of this chronicle on ours, including by moving “Zancaruola” in a later period than the 15th century²⁹⁹.

On his turn, Fr. Thiriet considered that also chronicle in codex It. VII, 95³⁰⁰ – supposed to belong to Donato Contarini – would follow closely our chronicle³⁰¹. The scholar did not provide examples in this sense, but relies on a rather frail argument, that is that the text of “Zancaruola” is highly richer than the one in It. VII, 95; therefore, his conclusion would be that Contarini “*a dû copier ou s’inspirer de Zancaruolo*”³⁰². The argument could always be in reverse, through the possibility that the author of our chronicle could also copy from the other chronicle and than to add the rich additional details, and also through another possibility, that is the use of one and the same source by both works.

As for the chronicles that are undoubtedly subsequent to “Zancaruola”, it has been invoked its possible influence on Pietro Dolfin³⁰³, codex It. VII, 48 (from the 16th century, regarded as “*une copie abrégée*” from our chronicle)³⁰⁴, M.

Città fino all'anno 1453, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII., 2034 [= 8834]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

²⁹² M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

²⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 545-546.

²⁹⁴ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 80 note 1.

²⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 81 note 1.

²⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 81 note 3.

²⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 87.

²⁹⁸ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 188 note 42; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 81. See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Chicago, Newberry Library, manuscript F 87.1.

²⁹⁹ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 188 note 42.

³⁰⁰ See Donato Contarini. *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1433*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 95 [= 8610]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 53-54.

³⁰¹ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 250-251.

³⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 251.

³⁰³ R. Cessi, *Introduzione*, in *Petri Delphini Annalium Venetorum Pars quarta* (ed. by Roberto Cessi & Paolo Sambin), Venice 1943, p. xxviii, xxix.

³⁰⁴ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

Sanudo³⁰⁵, It. VII, 51 (16th century)³⁰⁶, It. VII, 47 (16th century; for the excipit)³⁰⁷, It. VII, 519 (16th century, ascribed to Nicolò Trevisan)³⁰⁸, etc. A particular note should be made for codices It. VII, 51 and It. VII, 519, for which A. Carile also proposed comparative texts referring to events in 1410, 1432 and 1441³⁰⁹. A particular debate has resulted from the confusion with the codex that nowadays is inventoried as It. VII, 2570, various contacts being suggested by G. Zorzanello³¹⁰, but they were made exactly in order to underline not the similarities, but the differences, having in intention to prove the error about the paternity of our codex³¹¹. Speaking generally about the anonymous codices, Fr. Thiriet indicated that these latter refer particularly to the chronicles of A. Morosini, “Z. Dolfin” and “Zancaruolo”: “*même s’il ne les citent pas, l’imitation est évidente et souvent servile*”³¹². It has also been analysed the influence of our chronicles on Andrea Corner, who wrote in 1610 an extremely detailed “*Historia di Candia*”³¹³.

A. Carile’s classifications place our codex – under its name of Braidense AG X, 15-16 – on the first position of what the scholar named as review I, 1 of C family of chronicles³¹⁴, along with codices Barb. Lat. 4959 (the beginning of the 16th century)³¹⁵ and Ci 2675 (16th century)³¹⁶, although both of these chronicles had previously been regarded as representing the same chronicle³¹⁷. The other reviews of this rich chronicle group are³¹⁸: I, 2 (codices Co 876 – not dated initially by Carile³¹⁹, but then placed in year 1541³²⁰, Ambrosiana L 117 – 16th century³²¹, von

³⁰⁵ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177 note 10.

³⁰⁶ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 81 notes 1 and 4, 122, 131 note 1, 141, 142. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 51 [= 8528]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³⁰⁷ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 81 note 4.

³⁰⁸ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 141, 142; E. Barile, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

³⁰⁹ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 141-142.

³¹⁰ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 39, 52-53, 55 note 45, 58, 62, 66. See *supra*.

³¹¹ See *supra*.

³¹² F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

³¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 282 note 1; *Idem, Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo cit.*, p. 61.

³¹⁴ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 79-81; see also D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 39, 56; E. Barile, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

³¹⁵ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 83-84. See also G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 52 note 39.

³¹⁶ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 82. Year 1579, according to *Ibidem*, p. 105; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 52 note 39.

³¹⁷ See *supra*.

³¹⁸ For the derivation scheme of all these reviews, see A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

³¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 89.

³²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 105. See Pietro Cornaro [?], *Cronaca veneta, dalle origini sino al 1400*, Venice, MCC, fonds Correr, manuscript 876.

³²¹ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 88-89. The end of the 15th century, according to *Ibidem*, p. 105.

Ranke 59 – 16th century³²², Ci 2879 – 16th century³²³), II, 1 (codices It. VII, 413 – 15th century³²⁴, M 78 – 15th century³²⁵), II, 2 (codex It. VII, 2034 – the beginning of the 15th century³²⁶) and III (codices Ci 2606 – the mid of the 15th century³²⁷, Dresden F 160 – the end of the 15th century³²⁸, It. VII, 48 – year 1494³²⁹, Co 1046 – the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th³³⁰, PD 236c – the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th³³¹, Co 760 – the beginning of the 16th century³³², BNP *Italien* 318 – around year 1541³³³, It. Zan. 21 – 16th century³³⁴, Additional 8577 – 16th century³³⁵, It. VII, 47 – 16th century³³⁶, Ci 302 – year 1585³³⁷), to which Carile added codex Foscarini LXIII (6239) – 17th century³³⁸. As one could note, Carile is not usually constant with regard to the dating. On the

³²² A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 89. For this codex, see Edward Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of Syracuse University. The Complete Catalogue*, Syracuse, New York 1983, p. 62-63. See Anon., *Cronica della città di Venezia sin all'anno 1441*, Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University Library, fonds von Ranke, manuscript 59.

³²³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 89-90. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta*, Venice, MCC, fonds Cicogna, manuscript 2879 [= 3599].

³²⁴ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 90-91. The beginning of the 15th century, according to *Ibidem*, p. 105. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1398*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 413 [= 8712]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 83-84.

³²⁵ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 91. The beginning of the 16th century, according to *Ibidem*, p. 105. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'anno 1190 all'anno 1332*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 78 [= 9135]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 45-46.

³²⁶ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 91-92.

³²⁷ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 96. The end of the 15th century, according to *Ibidem*, p. 106.

³²⁸ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 93. See Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'849 al 1444*, manuscript F 160.

³²⁹ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

³³⁰ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 95-96.

³³¹ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 96-98.

³³² A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 92-93. See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dal 703 al 1413* (in miscellanea), Venice, MCC, fonds Correr, manuscript 760.

³³³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 98-99. The end of the 15th century, according to *Ibidem*, p. 106. Anon., *Croniche de Venetia fina al 1446*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds Italien, manuscript 318.

³³⁴ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 93-94. See Anon., *Cronica de Venetia*, Venice, BNM, fonds Zanetti, manuscript Zan. It, 21 [= 4763]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³³⁵ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 94. See Anon., *Chronicle of Venice, 703-1457*, London, British Library, manuscript Additional 8577.

³³⁶ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

³³⁷ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 94-95. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta*, Venice, MCC, fonds Cicogna, manuscript 302 [= 3675].

³³⁸ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 99. See Anon., *Annali veneti dal 1204 al 1246, Vol. I*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, fonds Foscarini, manuscript LXIII [= 6239].

other hand, D. Raines puts codex Ci 592³³⁹ in the centre of review III of C family, along with which she also mentions It. VII, 50, PD 236c, It. VII, 2569³⁴⁰.

Nevertheless, A. Carile would later speak about our codex (Braidense, at those times) in the context of the contaminations of C-B and b-D groups³⁴¹. As a matter of fact, the classifications led Carile to the conclusion that our work could not be studied without the chronicles' group in C, D and E families³⁴². Thus, the result could be a singular work, composed on the basis of a large use of previous materials, starting from B family³⁴³. On the other side, D. Raines regards C, I, 1 family as being the same with A family, but completed with documents, suggesting exactly codices It. VII, 49-50 as examples³⁴⁴.

R. J. Loenertz's classifications took also codices Braid. AG X 15 and It. VII, 1274 into account, by including them in C family³⁴⁵, along with: It. VII, 2051³⁴⁶, L. de Monaci's work, It. VII, 104³⁴⁷, It. VII, 550³⁴⁸, Ci 592, PD 236c, Ci 3675, M 796³⁴⁹, Ci 3518³⁵⁰, and Co 1337. Father Loenertz also put the manner of presenting the beginnings of the anti-Genoese war in 1294-1299 in connection with the one advanced by B1 family ("Enrico Dandolo")³⁵¹.

On my turn, I proposed a comparative text referring to the first part of the legend related to the supposed villain origins of Manuel I³⁵², when comparing the

³³⁹ D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 39-40.

³⁴⁰ D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 40 note 116. See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1446*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 2569 [= 12461]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

³⁴¹ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

³⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 88.

³⁴³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴⁴ D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³⁴⁵ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 217. For this family, see *Ibidem*, p. 216-217.

³⁴⁶ See Antonio Vituri, *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città fino all'anno 1396*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 2051 [= 8271]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

³⁴⁷ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1443*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 104 [= 8611]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 55-56.

³⁴⁸ See Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1442*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 550 [= 8496]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

³⁴⁹ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta da S. Marco Evangelista fino al 1457*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 796 [= 7613]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 114-115.

³⁵⁰ See Anon., *Cronaca veneta*, Venice, MCC, fonds Cicogna, manuscript 2754 [= 3518].

³⁵¹ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

³⁵² Cf. Ș. Marin, *Venice and translatio imperii cit.*, p. 81; Idem, *Imaginea împăratului Manuel Comnen în cronistica venețiană*, "Revista Istorică", new series, 11 (2000), 1-2, p. 31-57 (47).

text in our chronicles with other codices: It. VII, 2592³⁵³, It. VII, 2543³⁵⁴, It. VII, 1586³⁵⁵, It. VII, 1577³⁵⁶, It. VII, 798³⁵⁷, It. VII, 2560³⁵⁸, It. VII, 550, It. VII, 2563³⁵⁹, It. VII, 10 (pseudo-Donato)³⁶⁰, It. VII, 56 (pseudo-Erizzo)³⁶¹, It. VII, 2580 (pseudo-Veniera)³⁶², It. VII, 791 (pseudo-Veniera)³⁶³ and M. Sabellico's work³⁶⁴. On other occasions, I also inserted the chronicle contained in what is now codex It. VII, 1274 in 11a category of chronicles, along with It. VII, 78, It. VII, 2543, It. VII, 1577, It. VII, 1586, and It. VII, 56 (ascribed to Marcantonio Erizzo), relying upon the similarities in describing the following episodes: the beginnings of the Fourth

³⁵³ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1247*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 2592 [= 12484]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 171. See also Ș. Marin, *The Byzantines and the Muslims prior to 1239 seen from Venice, according to the Anonymous Chronicle in Codex It. VII, 2592 from Marciana National Library*, "Arheon. Časopis Arhiva Vojvodine" 3 (2020), 3, p. 269-306 [forthcoming].

³⁵⁴ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1356*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 2543 [= 12435]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 151-152.

³⁵⁵ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della città fino al 1450*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 1586 [= 9611]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³⁵⁶ See Anon., *Cronaca della Città di Venezia dalla sua fondazione fino all'anno 1400*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 1577 [= 7973]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³⁵⁷ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città sino all'anno 1478*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 798 [= 7486]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

³⁵⁸ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1432*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 2560 [= 12452]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

³⁵⁹ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1441*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 2563 [= 12455]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

³⁶⁰ See Antonio Donà, *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 687 al 1479*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 10 [= 8607]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 24-25. See also Ș. Marin, *Venice, Byzantium and the Muslims (prior to 1345) According to the Chronicle Ascribed to Antonio Donato*, "Vizantijskiy Vremennik" 101 (2017), p. 299-322.

³⁶¹ See *Cronaca Veneta attribuita a Marcantonio Erizzo, fino all'anno 1495*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 56 [= 8636]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 36. See also Ș. Marin, *Crusades seen through Venetian Eyes -- Between Being in Abeyance and Involvement. The Case of the Chronicle Ascribed to Marcantonio Erizzo*, in *Aut viam inveniam aut faciam. In honorem Ștefan Andreescu* (ed. by Ovidiu Cristea & Petronel Zahariuc & Gheorghe Lazăr), Iași 2012, p. 121-144.

³⁶² See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1556*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 2580 [= 12472]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 168-169.

³⁶³ See Anon., *Cronaca di tutte le Casade della Nobil Città di Venetia*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 791 [= 7589]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 111-112.

³⁶⁴ 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 Ș. 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.

Crusade³⁶⁵, the Imperial elections in Constantinople in 1204³⁶⁶ and the loss of Constantinople in 1261 (where our chronicle follows a version separated from the rest of category 11a)³⁶⁷. In other contexts, I noticed in addition similarities also with 11b category (It. VII, 798, It. VII, 2560, It. VII, 2563, It. VII, 550, It. VII, 794, It. VII, 46³⁶⁸, It. VII, 80³⁶⁹, It. VII, 628a³⁷⁰), and those that are closed to 11 category (pseudo-Barbaro³⁷¹, It. VII, 2580 and pseudo-Savina³⁷²). It is about the following events: the appointment of Boniface of Montferrat as commander of the participants in the Fourth Crusade³⁷³, the campaign in the Adriatic and Ionian Seas of the fleets commanded by Tommaso and Giacomo Morosini³⁷⁴, the title of *Dominus* ascribed to Doge Enrico Dandolo³⁷⁵ and the mission of Giustiniano Partecipazio to Constantinople (this latter being clearly inspired from categories 1

³⁶⁵ Idem, *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 (132-133).

³⁶⁶ 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 (224-225).

³⁶⁷ Idem, *Veneția și căderea unui imperiu* cit., p. 225-226.

³⁶⁸ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1444*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 46 [= 7603]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

³⁶⁹ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 1400 fino al 1684*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 80 [= 8026]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³⁷⁰ See Anon., *Cronaca breve Veneziana dalla origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1465* [in miscellanea], Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 628a [= 8049]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

³⁷¹ See Daniele Barbaro [?], *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1275*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 2554 [- 12446]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

³⁷² See Girolamo Savina [?], *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1616*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 134 [= 8035]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 64. See also Ș. 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 *Retrospectii medievale. In honorem Professoris Emeriti Ioan Caproșu* (ed. by Victor Spinei & Laurențiu Rădvan & Arcadie M. Bodale), Iași 2014, p. 427-453.

³⁷³ Idem, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders* cit., p. 145-146.

³⁷⁴ 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 (86).

³⁷⁵ 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 (136).

– *Venetiarum Historia*, It. VII, 2571³⁷⁶, It. VII, 2581³⁷⁷ and 2 – A. Dandolo's *Extensa* and especially L. de Monaci³⁷⁸.

As for the use of documents, the chronicle itself mentions that: “[...], *havendo io tratoli et haute parte de la Cancelaria de la ditta alma cità di Veniesia.*” (p. i a)³⁷⁹. This tendency was strengthened by the example provided by A. Carile for the vulgar version of *Partitio Romaniae* document³⁸⁰, or the one advanced by Fr. Thiriet, related to the very coherent presentation of the agreements of the peace treaty with Milan (1302-1303)³⁸¹ and the same for the agreement in 1412 between the Papacy and the King of Naples³⁸². However, the dearest theory of Thiriet was the one referring to the first order information that “Zancaruolo” had about Crete, a fact that made the chronicler extremely aware of the situation in the island³⁸³, regarded as having rich information, able to be detected in neither L. de Monaci, nor N. Trevisan³⁸⁴. In comparison with these two latter, “Zancaruolo” chronicle was regarded as being the most shaded³⁸⁵. In this context, the originality of the chronicle was emphasized with regard to the elements referring to Crete³⁸⁶, and therefore, “*sa nette indépendance*” in describing the Cretan revolts in the 14th century³⁸⁷. Later, the French scholar would shade his option, by paying attention to some hypothetical notes and diaries written by the members of the Zancaruolo family settled in the island. These information would have been passed from father to son before reaching Gasparo Zancaruolo himself³⁸⁸. This construction advanced by Thiriet (followed by S. Antoniadis) loses its entire consistency when G. Zorzanello would demonstrate how all the descriptions and details dealing with Candia were nothing but simple translations from L. de Monaci³⁸⁹, a fact that had

³⁷⁶ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1457*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 2571 [= 12463]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 164-165.

³⁷⁷ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1570*, Venice, BNM, manuscript It. VII, 2581 [= 12473]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

³⁷⁸ Ş. Marin, *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 (84).

³⁷⁹ See also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³⁸⁰ Idem, *Partitio terrarum cit.*, p. 203.

³⁸¹ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 60-61 și nota 11. For the use of documents, see also D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 39, 56.

³⁸² G. B. Pigna, *loc. cit.*, p. 419 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 55 note 45. See *supra*.

³⁸³ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes cit.*, p. 282-283; Idem, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo cit.*, p. 61-64; see also S. Antoniadis, *Le chroniqueur vénitien cit.*, p. 33 apud F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 61 note 12.

³⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

³⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 62.

³⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 61, 63, 64.

³⁸⁷ Idem, *Les chroniques vénitiennes cit.*, p. 291.

³⁸⁸ Idem, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo cit.*, p. 63.

³⁸⁹ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 64-65.

been noticed since the times of J. Morelli, who realized that “*la narrazione della congiura di Candia sarà presa da Lorenzo de’ Monaci ad litteram*”³⁹⁰. Consequently, our chronicler that had what Thiriet named as “*informations de premier ordre*”³⁹¹ at disposal is no one else than the chancellor of Crete from the first decades of the 15th century³⁹². Under these new circumstances, Antoniadis’ temptation to establish connections with Byzantine historians³⁹³ did not represent anything else than a mediation of de Monaci. In addition, even one of the strong arguments promoted by Thiriet, that is the priority given to a logical description than a chronological one³⁹⁴, falls in disarray, since the same working manner had been embraced by the same de Monaci.

Despite all the above elements, Lia Sbriziolo considered that the results of the matter of our chronicle’s source remained due rather to the intuition, not representing the conclusion of a thoroughgoing research³⁹⁵, although the scholar noted the contributions of Andrea Baretta and Maria Zannoni to the reports with Zorzi Dolfin’s chronicle³⁹⁶.

Editions:

In time, various fragments of our chronicle have been edited. Thus, as a beginning, J. Morelli published the passage referring to the siege of Zara in 1346³⁹⁷, with the intention to prove that this fragment represented nothing else than a copy from another chronicle, since the author speaks as being contemporary to the event³⁹⁸. Some other fragments were also edited by J. Filiasi³⁹⁹ or E. Levi (representing p. cccxxviii of the manuscript)⁴⁰⁰, and also by H. Simonsfeld (dealing with the period of the origins, having the demonstration of the dependence on Altinate chronicle as purpose)⁴⁰¹ or by S. Antoniadis (editing some passages in

³⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 65 note 76.

³⁹¹ F. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 281.

³⁹² G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 65 note 76; see also M. M. Sarnataro, *op. cit.*, p. 130 note 18.

³⁹³ S. Antoniadis, *op. cit.*; Idem, *Le récit du combat naval*, both apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86 and note 7.

³⁹⁴ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 282; G. Luzzatti, *op. cit.*, p. 128; F. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo* cit., p. 64 note 17.

³⁹⁵ L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

³⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 620-621.

³⁹⁷ J. Morelli, *loc. cit.*, p. i-xxxvii ff apud R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 368; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 84; G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 57-58.

³⁹⁸ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

³⁹⁹ J. Filiasi, *Memorie storiche dei Veneti primi e secondi*, Venice 1798, p. 59 and 60 apud E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 236; see also J. Filiasi, *Saggio* cit., II, p. 195-197 apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁴⁰⁰ E. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 404-407 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 85 note 6.

⁴⁰¹ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 112-120.

Greek and French translations from the period of the Cretan revolts)⁴⁰². On its turn, the episode of the Fourth Crusade was published by A. Carile, inside of review I, 1 of C family of chronicles⁴⁰³.

Freddy Thiriet proposed the publication of the chronicle, if not entirely⁴⁰⁴, at least its second volume⁴⁰⁵ or at least of the period beginning with the election of Marino Falier as doge (1354-1355)⁴⁰⁶. G. Zorzanello informed in 1980 that Sophia Antoniadis would have a commented edition in preparation, under the cure of Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini in Venice, but there are no data about the accomplishment of such an initiative⁴⁰⁷. Unfortunately, the chronicle has remained not edited by now, a fact noted by some scholars with a certain feeling of regret⁴⁰⁸.

⁴⁰² S. Antoniadis, *O chronographos* cit.; Idem, *Le chroniqueur vénitien* cit., both apud G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁴⁰³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 309-351.

⁴⁰⁴ F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne* cit., p. 17.

⁴⁰⁵ Idem, *Les chroniques vénitiennes* cit., p. 285; G. Luzzatti, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁴⁰⁶ F. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 285 note 2.

⁴⁰⁷ G. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁴⁰⁸ M. Manussacas, *op. cit.*, p. 476; Donald M. Nicol, *Venezia e Bisanzio*, [Milan] 1990 [original ed.: *Byzantium and Venice. A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, Cambridge 1988], p. 583 note 7; M. Zorzi, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Et non deo tunc quare dicitur iudicia guerra el fo depuendo ali x fimo x reb
 aprouede e altro obaidiu Guerra. Si como obaidiu pre de loco meho apu
 rera E fialchi ofeolo fo i pruzze i qlla. Ma feli dco ofeora de pun
 do adefime nela dita guerra

Come pla dita Guerra fo fato xxv p Cento Venetia.

Et habiundo ducado feliciter el pulito dcoce anj x mēsi viij et xxvij
 xxxij mōitū adū pmo nouēbus et honoratūmte fo fepulido nel caplo
 di fūmū mmoq



Bartolomeo Gradenigo fo dcoce dcoce en lordene andeo. Quando lo anj
 dcoce mō Signor Mccc xxxvij adi Nouēbris nela dita crea
 tio fo puisto erocouca l'esso gran g'oglio ch'nela liberta del mar g'ifero de
 adar aqlli de malancho et de pelicrema e de pastene e de poueyn. Kertm
 Questi sono XLij. ofeoreno el fo f'impio dcoce.

Al	Bartolomeo	Gradenigo	8	Pangrati	Zera
Al	Marcho	Iustinian paulare	8	Marcho	Fesharmj
Al	Marcho	Loredan paulare	8	Stephano	Bolegno
8	Andrea	Dandolo	8	Pelo	Tranfom
8	Nicolo	Contarini	8	Zuan	Sevaze
8	Zuan	Polani	8	Polo	Zen
8	Nicolo	Bolse	8	Biancho	Delfin
- 8	Nicolo	Dandolo	8	Marcho	Dede
8	Cenfo	Atudaro	8	Zuan	michel
8	Polo	Signolo	8	Andrea	Atalpiere
8	Andrea	Bondamici	8	Felippo	Barbarigo
8	Zuan	Bolani	8	Andrea	Damofte
8	Zuan	Cornet	8	Pietro	Nany
8	Pietro	Dachmal	8	Nicolo	Sevaze
8	Felixe	Vidal	8	Marcho	Quermj
8	Francē	Vener	8	Vetor	Corsio
8	Marrn	Badoer	8	Mari	Segrede
8	Marcho	Bafere	8	Nicolo	Crando
8	Dami	Coche	8	Michel	Felice
8	Pietro	Bragadin	8		
8	Dardi	Berme			

Come fo f'impio de Venetia da effi f'ormofa p' f'iam marcho San Zera et f'ian
 Nicolo

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 1275, p. cclxxxv b:
 The election of Doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo (1338)



Andrea dandolo dicto Conaresin fo electo doxe ano dñy. Mcccxlj. adi
 unj zener i di de sabado damatia era de etade de anj 25. mesi
 vno di s el qual plasia bonra et sapietia fo electo. vs? Questi sotto
 sepi sono xli ch aleseno el so pscripto doxe.

A	Marcho Iustigna pof	§	Nic° Canuelo	§	Zuan michiel
A	Marcho Marchin pof	§	Jacomo soaze	§	Andrea barbareo
§	Polo donado	§	Polo Signolo	§	Lumardo Mocenigo
§	Brizi polanj	§	Anzolo Samudo	§	Marcho Querinj
§	Piero barbarog	§	Nic° dala frascada	§	Dardi Delphin
§	Andrea bondimer	§	Marcho damosto	§	Cabriel Truissan
§	Zua Contarinj	§	Almoro zozzi	§	Nicolo pisanj
§	Antomo Dandolo	§	Marcho auonal	§	Andrea crizo
§	Zua Bradenigo	§	Nicolo balbi	§	Nic° venex fe doxe
A	Bridero damolin pof	§	Andrea dala sotana	§	Anzolo surcia
§	Pangran Capello	§	Dardi damula	§	Zuan foscarij
§	Piero da Canal	§	Marcho dalezze	§	Michel faliez
§	Piero mianj	§	Stefano belegno		
A	Marcho lozedá pof	§	Nicolo bolpe		

L Anno Mcccxlj fo edificado Imagazin p monitio de buare nel locho
 dito terra noua a s. Marcho. el qual locho pma era scouero de far
 naue et qillo locho sono fare tre galie grosse dauuazo p tre nobeli zoe p Zani
 dachanal zda p Nic° § piero badoer zda p Jacomo § Ambrosio mozesin
 zda p Zuanne Ideti feceno ature sue spexe le decé galie e ado al buazo
 esteteno mexi. xvij. ezom. vij. et badagno p galia io.

L Anno Mcccxljij fo pso pte ch decetero chele galie grosse pui no se
 potesseno fare i nimo locho saluo Alarsenal. Ech quelle se fazessio
 ature sue spexe. dela s^{ra} fornide de Cozerj ede artileria. E che esse galie se
 i carasseno al pu^o Incanro achi piu offerira h d esseno et squistio de esso p^o
 sono fare tre Galie possa fo i carade. Ed elitezade pmas i uerolamio mi-
 chel p l. xliij. §. eap sac Candia p l. xliij. §. eap Marcho Zerenigo.
 p l. xlvij. emezo liquali ado al suo buazo estere mexi. x. et zom. xxij.
 liquali badagno p galia due. Mcccc. fina Mcccc.

L El año del suo dogado p gsuatio dela fede Catolica lui fece liga cum
 papa climeto sexto E cu el Bra maistro de rodu. et cu el Re de cipro
 laqual fo fara grea i fidel eturchi asua dessactio. Et sequitio de zo fo ar-
 mato i venexia galie xvj. Cap de qille mis piero Zen. El qual felice
 mete nauigado ale pte de turchi p seno molti legni dessi et morti assai
 dessi. Et a poi reduto el pdco. Capitanio ad vno Castello dicto

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 1275, p. cclxxxv b:
 The election of Doge Andrea Dandolo (1342)

sebeito ante el melmore iusticia au bray de millan. E haiera mardo ma
 con cosa a facho ante i signora de ylesia. E el papa el re da Aragon. E lo
 signora signa non da rimona. El conte ralo di forte bray con tutte le fue
 compagna se assina msieme. Et ene al lugo ala massa e baguacanal
 e mardo a domandaz el passo de ferara per passar el suo exercito per andar
 a sechere el duc de millan. Et andar ai dani dela signoria. Et per el duc
 de millan molte mardo al duc mehere che lo dolesse darli el passo. Et
 per la nostra signoria fue mardo de qua miss francescho barbarigo el
 daniel. et doctor confortando et pregando. Et ale fin manando el duc
 marchese se lui desse el passo ala duc zente con molte et assai parole. et
 raxon per modo del duc marchese stete constante. E non li dete el passo.
 Ma per ale fin le duc zente passa. E disse el duc mehere che le duc
 zente li haiera finado el passo. E fue cana i f. cc. E tanti mille sono allo
 zadi furo quello iusticia. Et el duc li deba mandar danari auanti de la
 senoya lenarse per andar in lombardia.

1446 **A** Di xviij Decembrio i ambassadori del duc de millan se parde
 qui fiando paradi in desacordo con questa signoria. Impero che li
 non hano vondo aconzar i parti che la signoria li hano vondo far. Et duc
 de millan debia lassar ala signoria tutti grai daora e cassan literamente
 li non hano vondo. Impero che el duc duc sapudo de hauer molta sffide
 da molte parte per modo che se pensa valese e recatar el suo. E quello di
 compagny e dela liga. Non so quanto a questo li dexan fatto.

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 1275, p.
 cccclxxxiiij b:
 The excipit of the chronicle (1446)



Esendo bato dala natura ali Someni de poter veder
 veder de durar, e saper cose diuerse, noue p[er] que Dost
 me moria, io imitando saldispezi non con el mio p[er]betto
 e debel ingegno misudando meho ex longo tempo dancio de n
 a uoler in render la nobilita dola Signissima Citta de Ven
 Venetia con non poca difficulta certiano crederi li
 malis e diuerle Croniche Populum y ritender la
 de da dim citta e de luoghi Et i son uenuti in que
 era de modo e uia sono sta admetta alla nobilita
 in qual tempo Sauendo mi assai sanotato Se stauo de
 loro misfar agli altri, corrigandoli la mera p[er] p[er]
 uerita per mi qua sara araconda possendo si resp
 alla cose io breuiter qui di sotto delianco
 uendo io molti ex anni parti dala camera
 della diua alma Citta de Venetia la que

suplico l'edio prosperi e conserui in felicissimo Ando ex ancora
 altri luoghi

L'origine



Venice, Museo Civico Correr, fonds Cicogna, manuscript 2675 (=2815), p. [2a]
(detail)