

Some Notes Regarding the Muratorian Version of Marino Sanudo's *Le Vite dei Dogi*

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Sanudian and pseudo-Sanudian manuscripts of *Le vite dei Dogi*:

Originated in the donation of Girolamo Contarini da San Trovaso – dated in 1843¹ – manuscript It. VII, 800 (7151) is presented in the former catalogue “Ital. VII” of Marciana National Library under the name of *Marino Sanudo. Cronaca Veneta (Vite dei Dogi)*, in the catalogue provided by Carlo Campana as “Marin Sanudo il Giovane, *Vite dei dogi*”², while on the reverse side it is written: “*MARINO SANUTO / CRONACA VENETA / O / VITE DEI DOGI*”³. Nowadays, it could be consulted only as microfilm. Along with It. VII, 801, it is the codex that the modern scholars have usually referred to when dealing with Marino Sanudo's *Le Vite dei Dogi*⁴. Thus, it has been regarded as the autograph of this

¹ Patricia H. Labalme, review of *Le vite dei dogi (1474-1494)* (ed. by Angela Caracciolo Aricò), I, Padua 1989, in “Renaissance Quarterly” 46 (1993), 6, p. 810-812 (810). For G. Contarini and his library, see also *Sulla famiglia patrizia Contarini e specialmente sul ramo de' Scrigni di san Trovaso*, [1843], apud Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia veneziana*, Venice 1847, p. 399.

² Carlo Campana, *Cronache di Venezia in volgare della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Catalogo*, Venice 2011, p. 116.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 volumes, Venice 1853-1861, V, p. 23 n. 1; Carlo Errera, *I crociati veneziani in Terra Santa (dal concilio di Clermont alla morte di Ordelafo Falier)*, “Archivio Veneto”, new series, 19 (1889), 38, 2, p. 237-277 (250 n. 1); Ester Pastorello, *Introduzione*, in *Andreae Danduli Ducis Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta aa. 46-1280 d. C.*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12 (ed. by E. Pastorello), Bologna 1923, p. 5-327 (xxix) apud Girolamo Arnaldi, *Andrea Dandolo doge-cronista*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi* (ed. by Agostino Pertusi), Florence 1970, p. 127-268 (138 n. 1); Hans Baron, *The Anti-Florentine Discourses of the Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-23): Their Date and Partial Forgery*, “Speculum” 27 (1952), 3, p. 323-342 (338 n. 2); Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado – La Congiura*, Florence 1963 [1897], p. 103 n. 4; Antonio Carile, *Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romanie*, “Studi Veneziani” 7 (1965), p. 125-305 (202); Idem, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence 1969, p. 157; G. Arnaldi, *op. cit.*, p. 138 n. 1; Frederic C. Lane, *The enlargement of the great council of Venice*, in *Florilegium Historiale. Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* (ed. by J. G. Rowe & W. H. Stockdale), [Toronto] 1971, p. 236-

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work⁵, although at his time Em. A. Cicogna initially considered that the original of the work had been lost⁶. Actually, it presents a note at the beginning saying: “*Marini Sanuti Leonardi filij Patricij Veneti de origine urbis Venete et vita omnium Ducum Venetorum Incypit feliciter*”⁷. The incipit mentions: “*La cita di Veniexia Al prexente In italia primaria et potentissima ne la region di Venetia*”⁸, while the explicit says at p. 506a: “*Remanentibus in sua firmitate omnibus aliis ordinibus dicti colegij bladorum.*”⁹.

It is about a 16th century codex¹⁰ – as the Marcian codex also states – that follows the narration by year 1423¹¹. It is continued by It. VII, 801 (7152)¹²,

274 (266 n. 37); P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 810; Deborah Howard, *Venice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500*, New Haven 2000. It is possible that it is about the manuscript that has also been taken into account also by Petre Diaconu, *Kilia et Licostomo ou Kilia=Licostomo?*, “*Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*” 25 (1986), 4, p. 301-317 (315 n. 74), when referring at a certain moment to “Marino Sanudo, *Cronaca Veneta a [sic!] vita dei Dogi*, Biblioteca Marciana, autographe”, after which the scholar added between brackets: “Bibliothèque de l’Académie de la R. S. de Roumanie, Archives V. A. Urechia, XI, Varia 13”, information that is not quite clarifying. As for S. Romanin, beside the reference to manuscripts It. VII, 800-801 and to the Sanudian version in the edition of Muratori (see *infra*), he often noted “*Sanuto ms. alla Marciana*” or similar versions (see S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, III, p. 30 n. 1, 104 n. 1, 181 n. 1, 186 n. 1, 337 n. 2; IV, p. 39 n. 2, 447 n. 1), “*Sanuto Cronaca autogr. alla Marciana*” (*Ibidem*, III, p. 50 n. 1) that could be codex It. VII, 800, but on other occasions he referred simply to “*Sanudo ms.*” (*Ibidem*, III, p. 241 n. 4, 283 n. 2, 311 n. 1; IV, p. 8 n. 1, 54 n. 2, 54 n. 4, 365 n. 6, 418 n. 2, 432 n. 1, 435 n. 1; V, p. 99 n. 1), which are not so clearly to the autograph codex, especially as it could be about one of the Cicogna manuscripts, also mentioned on other occasions (*Ibidem*, IV, p. 300 n. 7, 347 n. 1), sometimes even along with the inventories, that is 675-676 (*Ibidem*, IV, p. 322 n. 1), 920 respectively (*Ibidem*, IV, p. 500 n. 2). Many other references to the Sanudian chronicle in the work of S. Romanin (volumes II-V) do not offer information about the source used, and they could very well to deal with any of the manuscripts above or to the Muratorian version.

⁵ G. Berchet, *Prefazione*, in Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii*, I, Venice 1879 [= <http://www.liberliber.it/biblioteca/licenze>], p. 37 n. 60, 73; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 338 n. 2; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, 103 n. 4; A. Carile, *Partitio Terrarum cit.*, p. 202; Idem, *La cronachistica veneziana cit.*, p. 157; G. Arnaldi, *op. cit.*, p. 138 n. 1; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁶ R. F[ulin], *Saggio del catalogo dei codici di Emmanuele A. Cicogna*, “*Archivio Veneto*”, 4 (1872), 1, p. 59-132, 337-398 (92), also with references to M. Foscarini and Rawdon Brown.

⁷ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹ Cf. *ibidem*.

¹⁰ V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103 n. 4; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

¹¹ V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103 n. 4; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

which reaches year 1494, according to the Marcian catalogue, although C. Campana notes that this second volume covers only the period between 1474 and 1494, for the interval 1423-1474 the autograph being lost, so that one could consult these years only in other copies¹³. It is for certain that this is the codex that Cicogna had taken into consideration in 1850. Cicogna's assertion saying that "*nell'anno 1843 dalla eredità del fu Girolamo Contarini pervenne alla Marciana l'autografo della Cronaca*"¹⁴ would be retaken by A. Prost, when affirming that "*le manuscrit autographe de Sanudo venant de la succession de Girolamo Contarini este entré à la bibliothèque Saint-Marc en 1843.*"¹⁵, exactly because of the detail referring to the provenience, since the Marcian catalogue confirms that it would have been G. Contarini's donation. Further on, it was considered that the manuscript would have contained three volumes, but the second one – corresponding to the period between 1419 and 1473 – was missing and nothing was known about it¹⁶. For this missing period, Cicogna and Prost referred to a copy due to Pietro Foscarini the Elder, also dated in the 16th century¹⁷, and C. Campana to It. VII, 125, It. VII, 758 and cod. Estense¹⁸.

A little later Marcian codex is also It. VII, 520 (7280), which reaches year 1503 and could be dated in the 16th century according to the catalogue and also to C. Campana¹⁹, more precisely – according to A. Carile – at the beginning of this century²⁰. Originated in Jacopo Morelli's library²¹, this codex was the basis of A. Carile's edition of the passage referring to *Partitio Romaniae* along with the autograph²². In the former catalogue, it is presented as *Cronaca Veneziana, ovvero Vite dei Dogi di Venezia sino all'anno 1503*, thus involving Sanudo's name only indirectly, through the title of *Vite dei Dogi*. On the other turn, C. Campana does not mention the person of Sanudo when referring to this manuscript and simply names the codex as *Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1503*. However, at a certain moment, there is a mention saying: "*Questo principio di Cronicha è copiato da una de miser Zuanfrancesco Malipiero fu del*

¹² A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157. Incipit: "*hessendo morto il suo precesor adi primo decembrio*", explicit (at p. 367b): "*fu observata un tempo poi interotta*" and (at p. 379a): "*henrico octavo*", apud C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

¹³ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

¹⁴ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 106 n. 1. See also S. Romania, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 188 n. 1.

¹⁵ A. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes. Second mémoire*, "Revue des questions historiques" 34 (1883), p. 199-224 (209); see also *Ibidem*, p. 218.

¹⁶ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 106 n. 1; S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 188 n. 1; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

¹⁷ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 106 n. 1; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

¹⁸ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 88.

²⁰ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157; see also G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²¹ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 811; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

²² A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

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Mag.^{co} ms Andrea, insieme cum la figura, per che l'altro principio et figura copia da una Cronicha qual era stata del q. ms Marin Sanudo fu del Mag.^{co} ms Lunardo²³. The incipit (at p. 119^r) is: “La Citta di Vinetia al presente In Italia Primaria et Potentissima nella Region di Vinetia nel ultimo seno del mar Adriatico²⁴” and the text ends by saying at p. 540b: “In loco del quale fu fatto Giuliano ostiense Cardinale che poi si nomino Giulio 2^o.”²⁵

The 17th century codex It. VII, 1607 (8699) has also been taken into consideration. Originated in Giovanni Rossi's donation, it is entitled as *Marino Sanuto. Cronaca veneta dal principio della Città fino all'anno 1367* in the catalogue²⁶ and *Chronica Veneta dal principio della città fin all'anno 1367* by C. Campana²⁷, information that, according to the notices in the Marcian catalogue, is wrong, since it comes to an end by narrating events in year 1378²⁸. The Sanudian paternity is also noted by C. Campana: “Marin Snaudo il Giovane, *Chronica Veneta*”²⁹. The incipit is the same as the codices already mentioned: “La Città de Venetia al presente in Italia primaria, et potentissima nella raggionde [sic!] Venetia³⁰” and the excipit says: “In questo anno essendo per avanti venuto à Venetia 6 galie.”³¹.

On its turn, the 17th century codex It. VII, 787 (8178)³² originates in Girolamo Contarini's donation and is entitled as *Marino Sanuto. Cronaca Veneta, dal principio della Città fino all'anno 1378*, according to the catalogue, and as “Marin Sanudo il Giovane, *Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1378*” by C. Campana³³, although the other Marcian catalogue, that is “Soggetti Veneti”, establishes another ending year: “sino al 1456”. The incipit is: “La Città de Venetia al presente in Italia primaria, et potentissima³⁴” and the explicit is the

²³ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ “*Cronaca veneta dal Sanuto dalle origini al 1367*”, cf. A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

²⁷ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

²⁸ See also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157. The error had been also noticed by G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 76, who also adds that it would have belonged to the minorite friars in the order of San Bonaventura in Venice.

²⁹ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² The 18th century, according to Pietro Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. Italiani – Classe VII (nn. 501-1001)* (ed. by Giulio Zorzanello), Florence 1963, p. 83 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157 n. 5 and to A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157. G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 75 noted that the manuscript contains a copy of a part of the chronicles that narrates the events by year 1378.

³³ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

³⁴ Cf. *ibidem*.

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Despite the existence of the autograph at Marciana (It. VII, 800), L. A. Muratori relied his edition of Sanudo's chronicle on a manuscript from Modena belonging to the Este family. It is a later codex – from the 17th century³⁶ – and it is not known if it had been copied from the original with the possible interpolations or from another copy³⁷. Regarded as different than the autograph through the mediation of some subsequent additions applied to the chronicle³⁸, there are two 19th century copies of it. One of them is preserved at Marciana, It. VII, 758 (9443)³⁹, acquired in 1840 and named in the Marcian catalogue “It. VII” as *Marin Sanuto P(atrizio) V(eneto). Apografo della Cronaca di Marino Sanuto dal 1474 al 1494 circa, trascritto dal Codice italiano M^o 454 della Biblioteca Estense di Modena nell'anno 1840*⁴⁰; the codex begins by noting: “[1]474 Piero Mocenigo Doxe. Essendo morto il suo Precesor adi p^o xbrio” and ends at p. 538 with this explicit: “*non si facci de cetera più cene di compagni, ma ben disnari sotto gravissime pene. Fo observata un tempo poi interotta.*”⁴¹; it is followed by *Summario di successi di Baiazet Imp.^r di Turchi fino dell'anno 1494*, a bull of Pope Alexander VI and *Il Nome di tutti li Re di Anglia*⁴²; the codex also includes the *Diarii* of Girolamo Priuli for years 1494-1500⁴³. The other copy from the Modenese version is at Correr Civic Museum, in codices Ci 3767-3768⁴⁴.

Sanudo's chronicle is also present in a partial version in codex It. VII, 125 (7460)⁴⁵, inside of a miscellanea including many other materials, chronicles

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 106 n. 1; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

³⁷ Cicogna became aware of these doubts by Girolamo Tiraboschi, at those times (1850) custodian of Estense Library, see R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 106 n. 1.

³⁸ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

³⁹ P. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 73 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157 n. 2; A. Carile, *Partitio terrarum cit.*, p. 202; Idem, *La cronachistica veneziana cit.*, p. 157; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 104, 116.

⁴⁰ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 104 only notes “*Apografo del Tomo II. della Cronaca di Marino Sanuto tratta dal Manoscritto Estense N^o. 454 fra gli Italiani*”, without noting the reference to year 1840.

⁴¹ Cf. *ibidem*.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁴ A. Carile, *Partitio terrarum cit.*, p. 202; Idem, *La cronachistica veneziana cit.*, p. 157.

⁴⁵ See also G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 74; S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 186 n. 2; Robert Finlay, *Politics and History in the Diary of Marino Sanuto*, “*Renaissance Quarterly*” 33 (1980),

included. Inside of this manuscript, between leafs 241 and 425, the Sanudian chronicle covers the period between 1423 and 1481⁴⁶, and is named as *Cronaca Veneziana di Marino Sanudo dall'anno 1423 fino al 1481*, according to the note in the former catalogue, and as *Cronica Sanuda* according to C. Campana⁴⁷. According to Campana, it is about a copy of the lost autograph in It. VII, 800-801⁴⁸. The former catalogue of Marciana referred also to codices DCCC and DCCCI and informs that the work belongs to the 17th century; on his turn, C. Campana dates the entire codex as belonging to the 16th-18th centuries⁴⁹.

There are many copies of the Sanudian chronicle at Correr Museum, inside of Cicogna collection. Thus, one could note the 16th century codex Ci 1001⁵⁰, unde the title of *Cronaca veneziana estratta dalle Vite de' Dogi di Marino Sanuto il giovane, dal principio al 1475*. It is about a copy accomplished by Andrea Morosini and that covers the period between 697 and 1475⁵¹, an excerpt from the Sanudian chronicle⁵² having the following excipit: "*et un altra al duca di Borgogna*". Cicogna noted the differences from the version of Muratorian edition, inserting some examples in this sense at a certain moment⁵³. A. Prost also considered codex Ci 1001 as more precious than the one of Modena used by Muratori⁵⁴.

On the other side, codices Ci 1105-1106⁵⁵, divided in two volumes "*per comodo*", as Cicogna himself noted⁵⁶, are the result of the initiative promoted by Senator Francesco Donato in the 18th century – and not made by him, as Romanin and Prost considered⁵⁷ –, that is to charge a copyist with the departure to Modena and with the setting up of a copy from the codex used by Muratori⁵⁸.

4, p. 585-598 (587 n. 16); P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 811; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 58-59, 116.

⁴⁶ See also Freddy Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitienes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne*, "Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, publiés par l'École Française de Rome", 1954, p. 241-292 (258). Period 1423-1482, according to S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, p. IV, p. 186 n. 2.

⁴⁷ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 59

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

⁵⁰ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209, 218.

⁵² G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁵³ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁵⁴ A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁵⁵ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 105-106; S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, III, p. 310 n. 1; IV, p. 188 n. 1; G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁵⁶ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁵⁷ S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 188 n. 1; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁵⁸ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 105; S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 188 n. 1; G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

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The codex resulted from this initiative and entered on Donà-Balbi channel⁵⁹, in the possession of Cicogna is entitled *Vite dei dogi di Venezia di Marino Sanuto dal principio al MCCCCLXXIV*⁶⁰. Thus, it remained uncovered the fragment referring to the period between 1475 and 1493 of the codex used by Muratori, for which Cicogna himself commissioned the Modenese librarian Antonio Lombardi with the copying of the missing fragment, so that in 1840 this latter passage also reached Marciana⁶¹. Curiously, other codices in Cicogna collection, considered by A. Carile as including the Sanudian chronicle, are not present even in Cicogna's list; it is about codices Ci 969-970 from the 16th century⁶² and Ci 2549 from the same century⁶³, while Ci 2677, mentioned by Carile in the same context along with Ci 2678⁶⁴, corresponds to another chronicle, that is the one ascribed to Antonio di Matteo di Corato⁶⁵. On her turn, Rona Goffen mentions codex Ci 1920 that would contain Sanudo's *Cronica*⁶⁶, information that I have not verified.

The Foscari collection in Vienna includes codex CXV n. 6819 that represents *Cronaca di Marin Sanuto dal principio della Città di Venezia al 1355. P. I*, dated in the 17th century and providing a good writing and conservation⁶⁷. Tommaso Gar informed about the fact that this copy of the first part of Sanudo's chronicle would have been accomplished by Patriarch Giovanni Tiepolo in 1600 and also that the other part (post-1355) would have not been detected among the

⁵⁹ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 105; for the ending year, see also A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209, 218.

⁶¹ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 99, 106.

⁶² A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit., p. 157; see also R. Finlay, *La vita politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, Milan 1982 [*Politics in Renaissance Venice*, Rutgers, New Jersey 1980], p. 42 n. 24; Donatella Calabi, *The Market and the City: Square, Street and Architecture in Early Modern Europe*, Burlington-Aldershot 2004, p. 5.

⁶³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157; see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 811 (who names it as Ci 2459).

⁶⁴ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁶⁵ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 369-372; see also G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 98. See Antonio di Matteo di Curato, *Cronaca Veneta*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 162 [= 8037], 15th century. See also Carlo Campana, *Cronache di Venezia in volgare della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Catalogo*, Venice 2011, p. 67 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1457*, dated in the 16th century). See also Ş. Marin, *Venice, Byzantium, and the Muslims (by 1345), According to the Chronicle Ascribed to Antonio: Manuscripts It. VII, 162-163 (8037-7653) from Marciana National Library* [forthcoming].

⁶⁶ Rona Goffen, *Giovanni Bellini*, New Haven 1989, *passim*.

⁶⁷ Tommaso Gar, *I codici storici della collezione Foscari conservata nella Imperiale Biblioteca di Vienna*, "Archivio Storico Italiano" 5 (1843), p. 281-430 (299); see also A. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, "Revue des questions historiques" 31 (1882), p. 512-555 (549).

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Foscarini codices⁶⁸. According to T. Gar's opinion, this copy would correspond to the printed version of Muratori, therefore to the codex of the Este family⁶⁹.

A *Cronica Ducum Venetorum vel s. XVI* was noticed on the British territory, at Cochrane Library in 1889, under the number 3052. It was mentioned by G. Castellani and considered as a version of Sanudo's *Vite dei dogi*⁷⁰. Meanwhile, codex Add. 8575 from the British Museum (nowadays, at British Library) has included the 18th century *Origine della città di Venezia e vita dei Dogi (321-1493)*⁷¹, a manuscript numberting 526 leaves⁷². In connection to it, C. Foligno considered that it would have been written by more handwritings dated in various periods⁷³. Its incipit is as follows: "*Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii patricii Veneti de origine urbis venetae et vita omnium ducum incipit feliciter. La città di Veniexia al presente in Italia primaria e potentissima nelle regione di Venetia ...*" (p. 1), and the chronicle ends: "[...] *che il ditto ducha debba haver assignado le dette fubelli.*" (p. 526), referring to a passage from the treaty concluded with the Duke of Milan in May 1428⁷⁴.

Beside It. VII, 800-801, other codices have been regarded as Sanudo's autographs. It is about It. VII, 157 (7771), originated in Svajer collection (no 276)⁷⁵ and It. VII, 158 (8183), ex-Svajer (no 1126), entitled *Sanudo. Repertorio della cronaca veneta* in the former Marcian catalogue⁷⁶, respectively *CRONACA VENETA DI MARINO SANUDO COD. MS* (on the cover) and *SOMMARY di Storia Veneziana di Marino Sanudo Autografo* (in the text, p. 1a), according to C. Campana⁷⁷, this latter note thus regarding it as autograph. Nevertheless, another note is mentioned as title a little later (p. 2a), saying: *Sumario di Cronicha di Veniexia tratta da una avi da ms p^o dolfim fo di ms Zorzi la qual fo extratta di la*

⁶⁸ T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 299; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157 and n. 6.

⁶⁹ T. Gar, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

⁷⁰ C. Castellani, *I manoscritti Veneti contenuti nella collezione Phillipps in Cheltenham (contea di Gloucester)*, "Archivio Veneto" 37 (1889), p. 199-248 (211).

⁷¹ C. Foligno, *Codici di materia veneta nelle biblioteche inglesi (continua)*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", new series, 5 (1905), 10, 1, p. 89-128 (96); A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁷² C. Foligno, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁷³ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*. For this manuscript, see also <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/TourCollGen.asp>. See also Marino Sanudo [?], *Lives of the Doges from the origins to 1437*, London, British Library, manuscript Additional 8576, 18th century.

⁷⁵ See also Lia Sbriziolo, *La cronaca Zancaruola: dall'esilio dalla Biblioteca Marciana al suo ritorno (1805-1969)*, "Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 128 (1969-1970), p. 617-629 (624 n. 24); Christiane Neerfeld, «Historia per forma di Diaria». *La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, Venice 2006, p. 232.

⁷⁶ See also L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 624 n. 24.

⁷⁷ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

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*Cronicha di ms andrea dandolo*⁷⁸, thus expressing some doubts regarding the Sanudian paternity. In addition, It. VII, 157 is nothing but a compendium⁷⁹ (*sumario*, as mentioned above) dated in the 16th century, which is presented in the former catalogue as “*Marino Sanudo. Sommarj di storia veneziana dall'anno 746 al 1499*”⁸⁰. The incipit refers to: “746 Carlo magno Imperador mori monacho a Viena”⁸¹ and the end is: “*eramo al balotar 1507*”⁸². As for It. VII, 158, also from the 16th century, it represents a completely different chronicles, the one ascribed to Antonio⁸³, just that at a certain moment a note in the manuscript says: “*MARINI SANUTI LEONARDI F. IN CHRONICA VENETORUM. REPERTORIUM OPTIMUM ET NECESSARIUM*”⁸⁴. However, it has nothing to do with the Sanudian text⁸⁵.

An abridged version – although regarded by Cicogna as “*fidelissima*”⁸⁶ – is the copy in the 18th century codex Ci 2619 at Correr Civic Museum⁸⁷, under the name of *Sommarij di Storia Veneziana di Marino Sanudo copiati dal suo autografo*⁸⁸. In addition, this latter codex would also contain several short additions to these *Sommarii di storia Veneziana, sive Repertorium*, for the period 1494-1507⁸⁹ and then for the one by 1646⁹⁰. Cicogna supposed that this latter copy would have been accomplished because of the initiative of Senator Francesco Donato from the Marcian codex It. VII, 158⁹¹, mentioned above; then,

⁷⁸ Cf. *ibidem*.

⁷⁹ P. Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. Italiani – Classe VII (nn. 1-500)* (ed. by Giulio Zorzanello), Florence 1956, p. 58 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157 n. 3; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁸⁰ G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 74 noted it as *Sommario di storia Veneziana di Marino Sanudo* and considered that it represents an excerpt of the chronicle of Pietro Delfino. For this chronicle, see Pietro Dolfìn, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscripts It. VII, 2557-2558 [= 12449-12450], 18th century. For the manuscripts, see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 157-158. See also Ş. Marin, *Crusades seen through Venetian Eyes. The Case of Pietro Dolfìn*, “*Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica*” 10-11 (2008-2009), p. 207-259.

⁸¹ Cf. C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁸² Cf. *ibidem*.

⁸³ See above, n. 65.

⁸⁴ Cf. C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁸⁵ In this sense, see also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁸⁶ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 363.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 362-363; A. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitienes. Second mémoire* *cit.*, p. 219; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁸⁸ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 362; see also G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 80 (who regarded it as being copied by Francesco Donà).

⁸⁹ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 362; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁹⁰ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 362; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁹¹ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 362.

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in 1805, it would have reached the Imperial Library of Vienna, and in 1845 would have been redeemed for Marciana⁹².

Another autograph codex from Marciana, that is It. VII, 760 (8582) has also been taken into account⁹³. Catalogue "Ital. VII" presents it as *Sanuto Marino. Cronaca della creazione di alcuni Dogi, da Sebastian Ziani (1172) fino a Leonardo Loredan (1502)*, while C. Campana regards it as "Marin Sanudo il Giovane, *Adizioni*"⁹⁴. It is about a miscellanea dated in the 16th century (although C. Campana dates it in the 15th/16th centuries⁹⁵). It numbers 86 leaves and has the inscription saying "*Cronica delle creazioni di alcuni dogi ecc. Autografo di Marin Sanudo*"⁹⁶ on the front page. The incipit is: "*Qui sarano Alcune Adizioni a la cronicha di Veniexia principiando 1442. Ms franc^o foscari ser^{mo} doxe de veniexia*"⁹⁷ (thus proving that it contains only references to the 15th century), while the explicit says: "*E quel che per la maor parte de quelli fosse deliberado fosse mandado ad exequation.*"⁹⁸ As Maria Zannoni stated, "*all'incontro del titolo, il manoscritto sanudiano non ha nulla a che fare con le cronache, anzi non esiterei a chiamarlo un quaderno d'appunti del grande cronista, poiché contiene vari brani disparati ed incompleti.*"⁹⁹, including the chronicle ascribed to Zorzi Delfino¹⁰⁰.

Two other codices in Cicogna collection, Ci 920-921 are also placed under the name of M. Sanudo¹⁰¹. They are both from the 16th century¹⁰² and

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 362-363; for this 'route', see also G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 97-98, 99.

⁹³ 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 (518 and n. 2), 531-532, 544; H. Baron, *A forgotten Chronicle of early Fifteenth-Century Venice. The copy in Newberry Manuscript F 87.1*", in *Idem, From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni. Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature*, Chicago-London 1968 [first ed., in *Essays in history and literature presented by fellows of the Newberry Library to Stanley Pargellis*, Chicago 1965, p. 19-36], p. 181-182 and n. 32. For the manuscript, see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁶ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 531.

⁹⁷ C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁹⁸ Cf. *ibidem*.

⁹⁹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 531-532.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 533, 536; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 181-182 and n. 32. For this chronicle, see Zorzi Delfino, *Cronicha dela nobil cità de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destretto. Origini-1458* (ed. by Angela Caracciolo & Chiara Frison), 2 volumes, Venice 2007-2009. For the manuscript, see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 113-114. See also Ş. Marin, *The Venetian Chronicle in Codex It. VII, 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.

¹⁰¹ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 92-99; S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 468 n. 2, 488 n. 2, 493 n. 3, 495 n. 1 (available only for Ci 920); A. Probst, *op. cit.*, p. 213, 222.

Cicogna considered that they should be examined together¹⁰³. Among them, Ci 920, which is named as “*Cronaca Marino Sanuto*”¹⁰⁴ and ends with the author’s presentation: “*del magnifico m(e)s(er) Marin Sanudo q(uondam)ser Lunardo*”¹⁰⁵, represents a copy accomplished by Giovanni Tiepolo in 1587¹⁰⁶ from another version transcribed by Pietro Contarini son of Catarin¹⁰⁷ and includes materials dated in 1586 and 1587¹⁰⁸. The name ascribed to it by S. Romanin was *Edificazione di Venetia* and it is considered as a simple *cronachetta*¹⁰⁹. The second codex is named as *Miscellanea di Cronaca Veneta di Marino Sanuto*¹¹⁰ and represents excerpts between 1483 and 1494¹¹¹; it is also about a copy provided by Giovanni Tiepolo¹¹², and both of them were bought by Cicogna from Cocco family¹¹³. Although not dating it, A. Prost considered on his turn that it would represent a copy accomplished by Giovanni Tiepolo¹¹⁴.

Fragments of the Sanudian chronicle could also be detected in codices Ci 2588 and Ci 2589, both dated in the 17th century¹¹⁵. The first of them includes the narration for the period between 1474 and 1482 and was written by the same Giovanni Tiepolo¹¹⁶. As for codex Ci 2589, it would include the period 1485-1494, while Cicogna considered it as similar to the version from Este, copied in 1840 for Marciana¹¹⁷.

Another Sanudian codex is the compilation accomplished by his own hand upon other chronicles, gathered in manuscript Marc. Lat. X, 290 (3800), under the title of *Fragmenta diversorum Chronicorum*, dated in year 1512¹¹⁸. On his turn, S. Mantovani also mentions the Marcian codex Lat. XIV, 267 (4344), including “*MARIN SANUDO, Miscellanea*”¹¹⁹.

¹⁰² R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 92 and 97, respectively.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 96, 98.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 92-96.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 92.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 92, 96.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 93.

¹⁰⁹ S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 488 n. 2.

¹¹⁰ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 97-99.

¹¹¹ A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 213. Actually, the year of beginning is 1483.

¹¹² R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 97, 98.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 98.

¹¹⁴ A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹¹⁵ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 338-339; see also G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹¹⁶ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 339.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁸ Dorit 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 (52 n. 146).

¹¹⁹ Sergio Mantovani, *L'assedio di Ficarolo (Maggio-giugno 1482)*, in *Tra terra acqua e terra. Storia materiale in Transpadana*, Ferrara 2001 [= <http://www.deremilitari.org/>]

It would have been an anonymous to accomplish the 17th century *Estratti dalla Cronaca Veneziana di Marino Sanudo*, from 1485 to 1494, excerpted from codex Ci 2589¹²⁰.

Editions:

Being not about a historian to write from official commission, Sanudo's chronicle has remained unpublished until the issue of the edition of the Muratorian corpus. L. A. Muratori enterprised this initiative in the 22nd volume of it¹²¹, thus resulting an edition intensively used by the scholars both previous and after a new edition of the collection be published in the 20th century. Muratori edition has been criticized many times, being regarded as “*infedele e mancante*”¹²², “*copia [...] adulterato*”¹²³, defective¹²⁴, unsatisfactory¹²⁵, “*malamente pubblicate*”¹²⁶, and “in an italianized and mutilated form”¹²⁷ and presenting lacunae¹²⁸, inaccuracies¹²⁹ or omissions¹³⁰. The reasons for these negative considerations rely upon the use of the Este codex instead of the

resources/articles/mantovani.htm] [= http://www.topoi05.com/Zanetti/L'assedio_di_Ficarolo.pdf], n. 225-228.

¹²⁰ A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 218-219.

¹²¹ Cf. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 22, 1733. The columns between which the chronicle is inserted are presented differently; thus, for instance, colls. 399-1284 according to Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Étude sur Antonio Morosini et son oeuvre. Annexes et tables*, în *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini. Extraits relatifs a l'histoire de France* (ed. by G. Lefèvre-Pontalis), IV, Paris 1902, p. 173 and 182; colls. 406-1251 according to Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 242 n. 3; colls. 405-1252 according to Silvano Borsari, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo*, Naples 1966, p. 13; colls. 398-1252 according to Franco Gaeta, *Storiografia, coscienza nazionale e politica culturale nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, in *Storia della cultura Veneta dal primo quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, 3/I, Vicenza 1980, p. 1-91 (82 n. 241). Personally, I have noted colls. 399-1252, while the chronicle itself begins at coll. 405.

¹²² R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 105.

¹²³ According to Francesco Donato's note on the copy accomplished after the manuscript at Este, apud *Ibidem*, p. 105.

¹²⁴ S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, III, p. 50 n. 1; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

¹²⁵ G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo il giovane: dalla cronaca alla storia*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi* *cit.*, p. 333-358 (341 n. 1).

¹²⁶ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 82 n. 241.

¹²⁷ P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 810.

¹²⁸ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 105, 106; H. Baron, *The Anti-Florentine Discourses* *cit.*, p. 338 n. 2; Angela Caracciolo Aricò, introduction apud P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 811.

¹²⁹ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 99; S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, III, p. 50 n. 1, 310 n. 1; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 338 n. 2.

¹³⁰ Apud R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 99. See also Em. A. Cicogna, *op. cit.*, p. 82; R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 106 n. 1, 363; S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 188 n. 1.

original¹³¹ – although V. Lazzarini did not notice this use, but only the fact that Muratori had completed the original text at leaves 109b-200b!¹³² –, the forced translation into Italian of the original Venetian dialect¹³³ – a fact first time underlined by Andrea Baretta, deputy librarian at Marciana¹³⁴ –, the many lacunae in describing the events in the 15th century¹³⁵, and so on¹³⁶. However, the most virulent critic was Em. Cicogna, by starting from the presentation of Marino Sanudo by the scholar G. B. Verci in *Dizionario Bassanese*. The latter noted that in Muratori edition there are “*omnessi moltissimi tratti interessanti per la Storia della Repubblica, singolarmente cominciando dal 1400*”¹³⁷. It is probably the reason for which S. Romanin did explicitly refer to the Muratorian edition in only one particular case¹³⁸, for all the others referring directly to manuscript versions¹³⁹; the same method was followed by C. Errera or H. Baron, who directly made references to the Sanudian manuscript It. VII, 800¹⁴⁰. Actually, as it has been noted, the Muratori edition observed neither the version of the codex of Este and perpetrated many times digressions even from this one: thus, when speaking about the eulogies on the occasion of the death of Doge Michele Morosini (1382), Romanin noted a typo and referred to what he called “*la copia autentica del Codice estense*”¹⁴¹, that is to codex Ci 1105¹⁴². It is the same case when speaking about a diploma dated in 1437, which would have to be present at coll. 1051 of the Muratorian edition; but, as the same Romanin considered, “*Non è per altro a far le meraviglie di tale omissione, perché si sa che il Muratori o chi fu da lui incaricato delle copie delle Storie inserite in quella preziosa Raccolta, più e più cose lasciò fuori che leggonsi negli stessi*

¹³¹ A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157. As a matter of fact, Muratori was not able to have codices It. VII, 800 and It. VII, 801 at hand, since they reached Marciana only in 1843, see P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 810.

¹³² V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103 n. 4; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹³³ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 106 n. 1; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 338 n. 2.

¹³⁴ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 106 n. 1.

¹³⁵ Apud *Ibidem*, p. 99, 106 n. 1; see also A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

¹³⁶ See also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 180 n. 2.

¹³⁷ Apud R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 99. See also Em. A. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane* apud R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 106. This detail remains valid, although H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 338 n. 2 considered that the omission of facts in Muratori edition is first and foremost available for the events following Tommaso Mocenigo's dogeship.

¹³⁸ S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, III, p. 282 n. 1.

¹³⁹ Certainly, there are many cases in which S. Romanin did not mention exactly the version used, fact that does not allow us to generalize more in this direction.

¹⁴⁰ C. Errera, *op. cit.*, p. 250 n. 1; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 338 n. 2.

¹⁴¹ S. Romanin, *op. cit.*, III, p. 310.

¹⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 310 n. 1.

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*Codici de' quali si è servito*¹⁴³. Thus, the scholar resorted once again to codices Ci 1105-1106, accomplished by the former Senator Francesco Donato¹⁴⁴.

It is rather natural that various scholars have resorted to Muratori edition when taking into account events occurred after the dogeship of Sebastiano Ziani (1172-1178). Nevertheless, by acting in this manner, they have estranged from the original Sanudian text, following the one of the 16th century copyist! Actually, Sanudo's *Vite* are many times referred to¹⁴⁵. The fact could be explained by the celebrity of the same Sanudo's *Diarii*. Due to the modern research, this celebrity has been transferred upon Sanudo's chronicle. However, this latter is not a distinguished work, but is closer in many respects to the usual anonymous chronicles only very few scholars have referred to¹⁴⁶. When asking why this let's say injustice, the answer could be found out in this reputation of Sanudo's diary, and not of his chronicle.

The republishing of the Muratorian corpus in the 20th century includes a new edition of Sanudo's chronicle, due to G. Monticolo¹⁴⁷, this time replying on the codex belonging indeed to Sanudo, that is It. VII, 800. This time, it is about a critical edition¹⁴⁸, taken into account by the scholars¹⁴⁹ and well appreciated¹⁵⁰,

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*, IV, p. 188 n. 1.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁵ Maybe on the second place in a quantitative analysis, after Andrea Dandolo.

¹⁴⁶ For instance, I do not see the reason for which the importance ascribed to *Vite* reaches amazing levels, while – for offering only one example – the chronicle ascribed to Marcantonio Erizzo in codex It. VII, 56 (see *Cronaca Veneta attribuita a Marcantonio Erizzo, fino all'anno 1495*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 56 [= 8636], 16th century; for the manuscript, see 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) is almost completely ignored.

¹⁴⁷ *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 22, 4 (ed. by Giovanni Monticolo), Città di Castello 1900, colls. 966-1224. For the necessity of this edition, see also G. Monticolo, *Per l'edizione delle Vite dei Dogi di Marin Sanudo nella nuova ristampa dei RR.II.SS.*, "Archivio muratoriano" 1 (1906), p. 153 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157. As appendix, the edition also includes the chronicle of Bonincontro de Bovi, p. 370-417 apud Filippo de Vivo, *Historical Justification of Venetian Power in Adriatic*, "Journal of the History of Ideas" 64 (2003), 2, p. 159-176 (162 n. 12), and the poem of Castellano da Bassano, p. 485-519 apud V. Lazzarini, *Il preteso documento della fondazione di Venezia e la cronaca del medico Jacopo Dondi*, "Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 75 (1915-1916), 2, p. 1263-1281 (1269 n. 5).

¹⁴⁸ For various notes of G. Monticolo (and A. Segarizzi) in the edition's foreword, see G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 37; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 143 n. 3, 173 n. 3; V. Lazzarini, *I titoli dei dogi di Venezia*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", new series, 2 (1903), 5, 1, p. 271-311 (290 n. 2, 291 n. 2); Ruggero Bersi, *Le fonti della prima decade delle Historiae Rerum Venetarum di Marcantonio Sabellico*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", new series, 10

but missing the part narrating the events following to the death of Doge Sebastiano Ziani in 1178¹⁵¹. The new editor had many expectancies: “*Il primo volume a stampa conterrà l'introduzione dell'opera ed il racconto dal doge Paoluccio al 1280.*”¹⁵²; however, his unexpected death interrupted this extremely promising work.

Partial editions have been accomplished afterwards, completed by A. Carile (referring to the episode of *Partitio Romaniae*)¹⁵³ or by Angela Caracciolo

(1910), 19, 2, p. 422-460 and 10 (1910), 20, 1, p. 115-162 (126 n. 1, 143 n. 2, 145 and n. 1, 146 n. 1 and 2, 149 n. 1 and 4); V. Lazzarini, *Il preteso documento della fondazione di Venezia* cit., p. 1271 n. 4; E. Pastorello, *op. cit.*, p. lviii; Gina Fasoli, *Nascita di un mito*, in *Studi storici in onore di Gioacchino Volpe per il suo 80° compleanno*, I, Florence 1958, p. 447-479 (474 n. 1); H. Baron, *A forgotten Chronicle* cit., p. 177 and n. 8, 181 n. 29 and 30, 191 n. 54; P. H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani. A Venetian of the Quattrocento*, Rome 1969, p. 7 n. 11; Silvana Collodo, *Note sulla cronachistica veneziana. A proposito di un recente volume*, “Archivio Veneto”, 5th series, 91 (1970), p. 13-30 (14); A. Carile, *Aspetti della cronachistica veneziana nei secoli XIII e XIV*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi* cit., p. 75-126 (78 n. 1); S. Ozoeze Collodo, *Attila e le origini di Venezia nella cultura veneta tardomedioevale*, “Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti” 131 (1972-73), p. 531-567 (567 n. 141); S. Borsari, *Per la storia del commercio veneziano col mondo bizantino nel XII secolo*, “Rivista Storica Italiana” 88 (1976), 1, p. 104-126 (106 n. 7); Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 82 n. 241; O. Tůma, *The Dating of Alexius's Chrysobull to the Venetians: 1082, 1084, or 1092?*, “Byzantinoslavica” 42 (1981), p. 171-185 (184 n. 38); Donald E. Queller & Irene B. Katele, *Venice and the Conquest of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, “Studi Veneziani”, new series, 12 (1986), p. 15-43 (26 n. 34); Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Immagini di un mito* (transl. by Matteo Sanfilippo), in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, IV: Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura* (ed. by Alberto Tenenti & Ugo Tucci), Rome 1996, p. 579-601 (599 n. 20); Idem, *Venise: une invention de la ville (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, no location, 1997, p. 245 n. 1.

¹⁴⁹ It is strange how Callegari Erminio, *Il sacco di Costantinopoli nel 1204 e il bottino veneziano*, “Porphyra”, Supplemento 3, 2005, 255 pages [= <http://www.porphyra.it/4crociata.pdf>] pretends that refers to Monticolo's edition, although he deals at that moment with events occurred in 1205-1206! The fact leads to the conclusion that the scholar used second hand references to the chronicle's text.

¹⁵⁰ See especially G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 341 n. 1; see also S. Ozoeze Collodo, *op. cit.*, p. 567 n. 141.

¹⁵¹ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 242 n. 3; A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit., p. 157 and n. 1; S. Ozoeze Collodo, *op. cit.*, p. 567 n. 141; Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 82 n. 241. Despite the evidence, G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 341 n. 1 names it as a complete edition!

¹⁵² G. Monticolo, *loc. cit.*, p. 3.

¹⁵³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 519-520.

Ş. V. Marin, *The Muratorian Version of Marino Sanudo's Le Vite dei Dogi* Aricò (for the period between 1423 and 1494)¹⁵⁴, also focusing upon manuscript It. VII, 800.

Dating:

Regarding the year when the Sanudian chronicle ends with, many data have been advanced, certainly depending on the manuscript at each scholar's hand.

Practically, the only clear indication about the period when Sanudo worked at his *Vite dei dogi* was delivered by M. Foscarini, who made reference to the dedication to Poliziano's works printed by Aldo Manuzio in 1498 and offered as present to Sanudo. It is clearly mentioned that it was in that year when our historian had already finished his chronicle for several months¹⁵⁵. It could be another point that Sanudo could very well retake the work at his chronicle later, by continuing to work until 1500-1501, and Foscarini considered that that sequel is impossible to belong also to Sanudo, at least from the viewpoint of style and phrasing¹⁵⁶.

Anyhow, other possibilities have also been proposed. Thus, Hans Baron considered the interval between 1490 and 1530 as period when Sanudo wrote his chronicle¹⁵⁷, after the same scholar had stated in a previous study that Sanudo had "written two generations after [Tommaso] Mocenigo's death"¹⁵⁸. In the meantime, G. Roesch speaks about "the end of the Quattrocento"¹⁵⁹. The period was relatively accepted also by Fr. Gaeta, who considered that our historian began the work at *Vite dei dogi* somehow in the moment when Marcantonio Sabellico had already published *Rerum Venetarum libri*¹⁶⁰ and that he continued to work unceasingly until 1530¹⁶¹. Afterwards, the scholar retook the idea by

¹⁵⁴ See *Le vite dei dogi (1474-1494)* (ed. by Angela Caracciolo Aricò), I, Padua 1989 (see also the review of P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*); *Le vite dei Dogi 1423-1474* (ed. by Angela Caracciolo Aricò & Chiara Frison), 2 vols., Venice 1999-2004.

¹⁵⁵ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 179 n. 1 and 2.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁷ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁵⁸ *Idem*, *The Anti-Florentine Discourses* cit., p. 323.

¹⁵⁹ Gerhard Rösch, *The Serrata of the Great Council and Venetian Society, 1286-1323*, in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797* (ed. by John Martin & Dennis Romano), Baltimore, Maryland-London 2002 [2000], p. 67-88 (85).

¹⁶⁰ See *M. Antonii Sabellici, rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita, ad Marcum Barbadicum, Sereniss. Venetiarum Principem & Senatam, Decadis Primae*, in *Degl'Istorici delle Cose Venetiane, i quali hanno scritto per Pubblico Decreto*, Venice 1718. See also Ş. Marin, *Marcantonio Sabellico's Rerum Venetarum and "the Definitive History of Venice"*. *The Beginnings of the Official Historiography in Venice?*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 90 (2013), 1-2, p. 134-177.

¹⁶¹ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

considering that Sanudo would have continued to elaborate the chronicle for more than 30 years¹⁶². D. S. Chambers also dated the work at “c. 1520”¹⁶³. Although all these terms seem plausible, I do not know on which basis were they proposed.

Less precise versions have also been advanced. Thus, speaking generally, H. Baron named the chronicler as “the great encyclopedic collector and historian of about 1500”¹⁶⁴, O. Tüma noted that the work should be dated “from the turn of the sixteenth century”¹⁶⁵, and D. Queller spoke about “the great sixteenth-century chronicler of Venetian affairs”¹⁶⁶. On her turn, Patricia Fortini Brown considers that Sanudo would have written towards the end of the 15th century¹⁶⁷. In addition, Baron also offered a proposal for dating by referring to the chronicle of Pietro Delfino, whom he considered that “composed his work shortly before Sanudo began to write the later portions of his *Vite*.”¹⁶⁸ Temporal comparisons between the chroniclers had also been proposed by R. Cessi, when considering that Sanudo's *Diarii* and Delfino's *Annali* would have been written simultaneously¹⁶⁹, and by A. Prost, who regarded our historian as contemporary with Marcantonio Sabellico¹⁷⁰.

Paternity:

Practically, whether there is no doubts about the ascription to Marino Sanudo the Young of the autograph It. VII, 800-801, one could not know who was the copyist of the manuscript edited by L. A. Muratori. As a matter of fact, the so many differences between the Sanudian original version and the one in Muratori edition, so often underlined since the times of Em. A. Cicogna, lead us to the conclusion that it is about a distortion of the Sanudian chronicle operated

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 84.

¹⁶³ D. S. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice 1380-1580*, London 1970, p. 26.

¹⁶⁴ H. Baron, *A forgotten Chronicle* cit., p. 193.

¹⁶⁵ O. Tüma, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

¹⁶⁶ D. E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade. The Conquest of Constantinople. 1201-1204*, [Leicester] 1978, p. 9.

¹⁶⁷ P. Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity. The Venetian Sense of the Past* [= <http://www.yale.edu/yup/chapters/067003chap.htm>].

¹⁶⁸ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 176. See also, in the same sense, Stanley Chojnacki, *In Search of the Venetian Patriciate: Families and Factions on the Fourteenth Century*, in *Renaissance Venice* (ed. by John R. Hale), London 1973, p. 47-90 (76 n. 4), who regards Sanudo as “his [n. n. Pietro Delfino's] slightly later fellow patrician, Marino Sanuto”.

¹⁶⁹ R. Cessi, *Introduzione*, in *Petri Delphini Annalium Venetorum Pars quarta* (ed. by R. Cessi & Paolo Sambin), Venice 1943, p. xxvi. For the contemporaneity between the two chroniclers, see also Francisc Pall, *Considerazioni sulla partecipazione veneziana alla crociata antiottomana di Nicopoli (1396)*, “Revue des études sud-est européennes” 7 (1969), 1, p. 187-197 (189).

¹⁷⁰ A. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes I* cit., p. 517.

by the copyist in the following century, so that the latter is transformed in compiler. Henceforth, one could speak about two different works, a fact strengthened by Carile's subsequent considerations, according to which some additions of the Muratorian edition on the original text could be detected¹⁷¹, as in the case of the act of *Partitio Romaniae* in 1204¹⁷². The same was the case with G. Arnaldi, who noticed several changes from the Sanudian chronicle when referring to various details of the dogeship of Andrea Dandolo (1343-1354)¹⁷³. It is true, the greatest number of these differences refers to events that are beyond my investigations, since they deal with episodes in the 15th century. However, there is no guarantee that the one who made the copy, once his originality demonstrated, would have not proceeded in the same manner for the period previous to 1400. Consequently, when one refers to the chronicle in the Muratorian version, it is not about Marino Sanudo's *Vite dei Dogi*, but about an anonymous chronicle, accomplished by a copyist with slight desires of compiler, who did not put himself under some restraint to intervene in the Sanudian original text. Therefore, when consulting the text in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, one is confronted by a 'pseudo-Sanudo'.

At the same time, since it is about nothing more than a copy due to an anonymous chronicler, it is not necessary to insist upon Sanudo's lifetime (1466-1536)¹⁷⁴.

¹⁷¹ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157; see also S. Chojnacki, *op. cit.*, p. 82 n. 45.

¹⁷² A. Carile, *Partitio terrarum cit.*, p. 202.

¹⁷³ G. Arnaldi, *op. cit.*, p. 138 n. 1.

¹⁷⁴ For the life of Marin Sanudo, see, among others, Rawdon Brown, *Ragguagli sulla vita e sulle opere di Marino Sanudo detto il iuniore*, 3 volumes, Venice 1837-1838; G. Berchet, *op. cit.*; Giuseppe de Leva, *Marino Sanuto*, "Archivio Veneto" 36 (1888), p. 109-126; G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*; Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 27-33; A. Caracciolo, *Lineamenti di cultura e civiltà dell'umanesimo e del rinascimento. Parte seconda: Umanesimo veneziano*, no year [= http://lettere2.unive.it/caracciolo/Cultura_Venezia.htm#sanudo]. For the other works, see Marino Sanuto, *Commentarii della Guerra di Ferrara tra li Viniziani ed il Duca Ercole d'Este nel MCCCCLXXXII* (ed. by Pietro Bettio), Venice 1829; Idem, *De bello Gallico sive de rebus in Italia gestis a Carolo VIII et Ludovico XII Galliae regibus ab anno MCCCXCIV usque ad annum MD* (ed. by L. A. Muratori), in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptoris*, 24, Milan 1738, col. 5-166 (as a matter of fact, the work represents the first volume of Girolamo Priuli's diary, and by error is regarded under Sanudo's name, according to Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 250); Idem, *La spedizione di Carlo VIII in Italia* (ed. R. Fulin), Venice 1873; Idem, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae, ovvero La città di Venetia (1493-1530)* (ed. by A. Caracciolo Aricò), Milan 1980. The work that made a real career among the modern scholars is undoubtedly the Sanudian diary; see Idem, *Diarii (1496-1533)* (ed. by R. Fulin & Federico Stefani & Nicolò Barozzi & G. Berchet & Marco Allegri), 58 volumes, Venice 1879-1903; Idem, *I Diarii (1496-1533). Pagine scelte* (ed. by Paolo Margaroli), Vicenza 1997. See also *Intorno ai Diarii veneti scritti da Marino Sanudo il giovane in volumi LVIII, documenti per la prima volta pubblicati* (ed. by Pietro Bettio), Venice 1828. The autograph of it is in

manuscripts It. VII, 228-286 (9215-9273), cf. Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 232. See C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 72-74. Selections of these *Diarii* have been published in the meantime, under the title of *Venice, Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo* (ed. by P. Labalme & Laura Sanguineti White; transl. by Linda Carroll), Baltimore 2006. Beside the plentiful use of these *Diarii* in a great number of general studies referring to the last years of the 15th century and the first decades of the following one, many other articles relied exclusively on them, see Georg Martin Thomas, *Martin Luther und die Reformations Bewegung in Deutschland vom Jahre 1520-1532 in Auszuegen aus Marino Sanuto's Diarien*, Ansbach 1883; Antonio Favaro, *Lo Studio di Padova nei Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", new series, 36 (1918), p. 65-128; Franz Babinger, *Marin Sanuto's Tagebuecher als Quelle zur Geschichte der Safawija*, in *A Volume of Oriental Studies* (ed. by Edward G. Browne), Cambridge 1922, p. 28-50; Mario Brunetti, *Banche e Banchieri veneziani nei "Diarii" di Marin Sanudo (Garzoni e Lippomano)*, in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, II, Milan 1950, p. 26-47; Giangiorgio Zorzi, *Notizie di arte e di artisti nei Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, "Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 119 (1960-61), p. 471-604; Maria Nallino, *L'Egitto dalla morte di Qâ'it Bay all'averno avvento di Qânsuh al-Guri (1496-1501) nei Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, "Atti. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei" 20 (1965), p. 414-453; Carla Boccato, *Dai Diari di Marin Sanudo: deliberazione del Maggior Consiglio che introduce l'uso della lingua volgare nei testamenti*, "Giornale economico. Periodico mensile della Camera di commercio industria e agricoltura di Venezia" 4 (1972), p. 586-588; R. Finlay, *Politics and History cit.*; Paolo Morawski, *Notizie dalle (future) "Indie d'Europa": Polonia, Lituania e Moscovia nei Diarii di Marin Sanudo – Anni 1496-1519*, "Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi" 21 (1987), p. 43-88; Walter Zele, *Aspetti delle legazioni ottomane nei Diarii di Marin Sanudo*, "Studi Veneziani", new series, 18 (1989), p. 241-284; A. Caracciolo Aricò, *Il Nuovo Mondo nei Diarii di Marin Sanudo il giovane e nelle Lettere di Angelo Trevisan*, in *Antonio Pigafetta e la letteratura di viaggio nel Cinquecento* (ed. by Adriana Chemello), Verona 1996, p. 47-67; David Sanderson Chambers, *The Diaries of Marin Sanudo: Personal and Public Crises*, in *Idem, Individuals and Institutions in Renaissance Italy*, Aldershot 1998, no IX, p. 1-33; P. H. Labalme & L. Sanguineti White, *How to (and How Not to) Get Married in Sixteenth-Century Venice (Selections from the Diaries of Marin Sanudo)*, "Renaissance Quarterly" 52 (1999), 1, p. 43-72; Eugen Denize, *Ștefan cel Mare în I Diarii lui Marino Sanudo*, "Studii și materiale de istorie medie" 22 (2004), p. 137-151; Șerban V. Marin, *Moldavia and Wallachia in Marino Sanudo's Diaries*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 87 (2010), 2, p. 158-178; 88 (2011), 2, p. 163-187; 89 (2012), 2, p. 178-210; 90 (2013), 1-2, p. 268-285; 91 (2014), 1-2, p. 127-141. For the diaries, see also G. M. Thomas, *Zu den Diarien Marino Sanudo's*, "Historische Zeitschrift" 39 (1878), p. 382 ff; Cesare Cantù, *Diarj di Marin Sanudo*, "Archivio Veneto" 35 (1888), p. 409-428; Andrea Fedi, *Stile e struttura nei Diarii di Marin Sanudo (Style and structure in Marin Sanudo's Diarii)*. *Dissertation Thesis, University of Toronto, 1994*, Ann Arbor 1996; Anna Laura Lepschy, *La lingua dei Diarii di Sanudo*, in *Idem, Varietà linguistiche e pluralità di codici nel Rinascimento*, Florence 1996, p. 33-51; P. Margaroli, *Introduzione*, in *Marin Sanudo, I Diarii (1496-1533). Pagine scelte* (ed. P. Margaroli), Vicenza 1997, p. 1-27.

Sources and influences:

Confronted to the situation according to which one would take the Muratorian version into account and that G. Monticolo's edition is only partial, and taking into account the fact that Muratori edition relies upon a later manuscript dated in the 17th century and originated in the library of Este family, I would refer exclusively to the opinions of those scholars that have relied their investigations on the 18th century Muratori edition and leave aside those that have been based upon Monticolo's edition and therefore on Sanudo's autograph manuscripts, It. VII, 800-801. It is despite the fact that not few scholars have considered Muratori edition – and implicitly the Modenese manuscript – as the original text of Marino Sanudo.

Thus, as sources for the chronicle edited in Muratori's version, M. Foscarini noticed the insertion “*ad ogni tratto passi di annali vecchi senza che l'autore abbia volute aggiustrali allo stile suo proprio, o nel giro della sentenza, o nella scelta delle parole, e nemmeno farne avvertito chi legge. Ciò non ostante si manifestano le più volte essi da per se, e per la varia dicitura, e perchè esprimono fatti antichi, come se fossero presenti.*”¹⁷⁵ However, another opinion says that Sanudo reproduced these ancient chronicles by abridging and adjusting or paraphrasing their content¹⁷⁶. Concretely, among these “ancient annals”, passages that follow word by word the Altinate chronicle have been emphasized¹⁷⁷, while the examples have been illustrated by the references to the campaign in the Aegean Archipelago of Doge Vitale Michiel II (1156-1172)¹⁷⁸. Actually, the Altinate codex now preserved at the Patriarchal Seminar inventoried as H V 44 was in the ownership of Marino Sanudo himself¹⁷⁹, according to what is written on its frontpage: “*N. 2784 est Marini Sanuti*

¹⁷⁵ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

¹⁷⁶ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁷⁷ Enrico Simonsfeld, *La Cronaca Altinate I* (transl. by C. S. Rosada), “Archivio Veneto”, 9 (1879), 18, 2, p. 235-273 (235-236); for the use of Altinate chronicle, see also G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 40. 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.

¹⁷⁸ E. Simonsfeld, *La Cronaca Altinate III* (transl. by C. S. Rosada), “Archivio Veneto”, 11 (1881), 21, 2, p. 167-202 (178 and n. 4).

¹⁷⁹ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 69; G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 67; H. Simonsfeld, introduction to Anon., *Historia Ducum Veneticorum* (ed. by H. Simonsfeld), in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, 14, Hannover 1883, p. 72-97, p. 1, taken on by D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 52 n. 146; Bruno Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca. Un secolo di studi sul Chronicon Altinate*, “Quaderni veneti” 7 (1988), p. 155-180 (157); Marino Zorzi, *Introduzione alla mostra*, in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* (ed. by M. Zorzi & S. Marcon), [Venice] 2001, p. 11-24 (16).

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Leonardi filii."¹⁸⁰ It has also been considered the study that Sanudo did of the chronicle of Giovanni Diacono¹⁸¹.

Sanudo had also Andrea Dandolo's work¹⁸² at disposal, being aware of its many versions, since he mentions when narrating this dogeship that: "*Scrisse due cronache di Venezia fino al suo tempo, latine, una grande e l'altra brieve*" (coll. 609)¹⁸³, to which he adds a third possible Dandolian work, a hypothetical *Mare Magnum*, which would have dealt with the noble families of Venice and would have been preserved by the Council of Ten¹⁸⁴. It has also been maintained that Sanudo would not only have known Dandolo's work, but that he would have also used it abundantly¹⁸⁵, although "*il più spesso senza capirlo*"¹⁸⁶. Sanudo would have been aware of the work of Dandolo's follower, Raffaino Caresini, which finished when narrating events in 1388. Indeed, he quotes Caresini when referring to a letter of Bernabò Visconti towards the Venetian Signoria dated in June 1380 (colls. 710-711)¹⁸⁷.

¹⁸⁰ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 69, but also 90 – when describing codex no 617 from Cicogna collection); G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 67 n. 194, 80; B. Rosada, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁸¹ G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 40. See Giovanni Diacono, *Istoria Veneticorum* (ed. by Luigi Andrea Bertò), Bologna 1999. See also Ş. Marin, *One Chronicler or More? Considerations regarding the Chronicle(s) ascribed to Giovanni Diacono*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 95 (2018), 1-2, p. 23-64.

¹⁸² See *Andreae Danduli Ducis Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta* cit. See also Ş. 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.

¹⁸³ Apud G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 184 n. 2.

¹⁸⁴ E. Pastorello, *op. cit.*, p. xxx; about this third hypothetical work of the doge-chronicler suggested by Sanudo, see also Adriana Razzolini, *Considerazioni sulla piu' antica cronaca veneziana in volgare (ms. Correr 1499, sec. XIV)*, "Archivio Veneto", 5th series, 144, 109 (1977), p. 5-35 (20).

¹⁸⁵ G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 40; E. Pastorello, *op. cit.*, p. lviii; G. Arnaldi, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Vasil Gjuzev, *La Bulgarie, Venise et l'Empire latin de Constantinople au milieu du XIII^e siècle*, "Bulgarian Historical Review. Revue bulgare d'Histoire" 3 (1975), 4, p. 38-49 (42) (for the expedition against Messembria in 1275); D. E. Queller & I. B. Katele, *op. cit.*, p. 21 n. 24 (for events during the First Crusade).

¹⁸⁶ E. Pastorello, *op. cit.*, p. lviii. For the taking on from Dandolo or from *Venetiarum Historia* of an episode referring to Gradenigo family, see also Franco Rossi, *Quasi una dinastia: i Gradenigo tra XIII e XIV secolo*, in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* cit., p. 155-187 (183 nota 27). See *Venetiarum Historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adjudicata* (ed. R. Cessi & Fanny Bennato), Venice 1964. For this chronicle, see also Ş. Marin, *Some Considerations regarding the Anonymous Venetiarum Historia (14th Century)*, "Historical Yearbook" 7 (2010), p. 177-194.

¹⁸⁷ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 184 and n. 1. See *Raphayni de Caresinis Cancelarii Venetiarum, Chronica, aa. 1343-1388*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (ed. by E. Pastorello), 12, 2, Bologna 1923. For the character of Caresini (1314-1390), chancellor of

Sanudo also speaks about Biondo¹⁸⁸ when dealing with the legendary episode of foundation in 421; as G. Cozzi stated, Sanudo would have taken either *Italia illustrata*¹⁸⁹, or *De gestis et origine Venetorum*¹⁹⁰ into account. At a certain point, he also quotes Sabellico (p. 199 in It. VII, 800)¹⁹¹.

While there is more or less clear evidence for the chronicles above, hypotheses have also been formulated for other possible sources among the Venetian chronicles. Thus, the manuscripts in Sanudo's library have been taken into consideration, so that they would have been able to be at the senator's hand for his compilation. Thus, one should note the 15th century *Cronica di uenesia* [sic!], dated "1465 a di decembrio", which counts 197 leaves and on which leaf 2b is written: "N. 3679. Est Marini Sanuto Leonardi filij"¹⁹². Sanudo also possessed a Venetian chronicle dated in 1465, nowadays at Colombina Library in Seville¹⁹³. Once ascribed to Gasparo Zancaruolo, codices It. VII, 49-50 present the following inscription dated on May 3, 1805: "Ricevuta dall'archivario Gassler all'ab. Morelli di tre codici manoscritti, cioè Marin Sanudo, Sommario di storia veneziana, in *º; e dello stesso, Repertorio della cronaca veneta, in 8º; e cronaca veneta supposta del Zancarolo, to. II, in fº"¹⁹⁴. The first two of them are identified by Lia Sbriziolo as being the autograph in It. VII, 157 (7771) = Sanudo, *Sommari di storia veneziana dall'anno 746 al 1499*, and It. VII, 158 (8183) = Sanudo, *Repertorio della cronaca veneta* respectively¹⁹⁵, both of them mentioned above. Also in connection with the supposed "Zancaruola", Cicogna considered that both it and the so called "Valiera" (Ci 296-298) would follow a common older work that could have been an anonymous chronicle that narrates

the Republic, see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 146, 147 and n. 1; A. Carile, *Caresini, Raffaino (Raffain, Raphainus, Raphaynus, Raphael de Caresinis)*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 20, Rome 1977, p. 80-83.

¹⁸⁸ See Blondi Flavii Forliviensis, *De Origine et Gestis Venetorum Liber*, in *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae* (ed. by Johann Georg Graevius), V, 1, Leyden 1722, p. 1-26. See also Ș. Marin, *Flavio Biondo's Venetian History and the Debatable Beginnings of the 'Public Historiography' in Venice*, "Revista Istorică", new series, 25 (2014), 1-2, p. 101-121.

¹⁸⁹ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 342. For the use of Biondo, see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 811.

¹⁹¹ Apud V. Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero* cit., p. 103. For the use of Sabellico, see also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 811.

¹⁹² Claus Wagner, *Sulla sorte di alcuni codici manoscritti appartenuti a Marin Sanudo*, "La Bibliofilia" 73 (1971), 3, p. 247-262 (257-258).

¹⁹³ Idem, *Altre notizie sulla sorte dei libri di Marin Sanudo*, "La Bibliofilia" 74 (1972), p. 185-190 (185) apud D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 52 n. 146.

¹⁹⁴ L. Sbriziolo, *op. cit.*, p. 624. For these codices, see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 33-34.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 624 n. 24.

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by year 1446¹⁹⁶ and that Sanudo himself could have used it¹⁹⁷. In connection with codex It. VII, 803 of Caroldo's chronicle¹⁹⁸, it has been noted that it presents on leaf 1 a note written by a hand that belonged to Sanudo. Thus, it has been considered that the whole manuscript It. VII, 803 would have belonged to Sanudo's library, but this supposition is far of being real, since the reference is exclusively done to three letters inserted in the Carolidian manuscript, and not to the ensemble¹⁹⁹. A. Pertusi also added the manuscript that includes Filippo da Rimini's testimony about the fall of Constantinople in 1453, in the Marcian manuscript Lat. XIV, 250 (4717), which has the following inscription: "n. 756. *Est Marini Sanuti L. filio*"²⁰⁰.

Some similarities with codex It. VII, 37 have also been taken into account, since this manuscript presents an astrological figure of the first day of existence of Venice, which illustration is to be found also in Sanudo's chronicle²⁰¹; the use of the family name of Anafesto for the quasilegendary Duke Paolo also seems to originate in It. VII, 37, but it could be read also in codex Ci 2113 and in the chronicle ascribed to a certain "Enrico Dandolo"²⁰²; at this point,

¹⁹⁶ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 78; see also A. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes. Le second mémoire cit.*, p. 208.

¹⁹⁷ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁹⁸ See Jan Jacopo Caroldo, *Miscellanea di Storia Veneta* [in miscellanea], Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII, 803 [= 7295], p. 19-144, 16th century. For the codex, see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117. For Caroldo's chronicle, see Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, *Istorie veneziene* (ed. by Ș. V. Marin), 5 volumes, Bucharest 2008-2012. See also Ș. Marin, *A 16th Century Venetian Chronicle in France Microfilm Collection of the National Archives of Romania. The Case of Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo and His Compilers*, "Revue Roumaine d'Histoire" 46 (2007), 1-4, p. 41-68.

¹⁹⁹ J. Chrysostomides, *Studies on the Chronicle of Caroldo, with special reference to the history of Byzantium from 1370 to 1377*, "Orientalia Christiana Periodica" 35 (1969), p. 123-182 (181).

²⁰⁰ A. Pertusi, *La lettera di Filippo da Rimini, cancelliere de Corfù, à Francesco Barbaro e i primi documenti occidentali sulla caduta di Costantinopoli (1453)*, in *Memoria Antoniadis*, Venice 1974, p. 120-157 (122-123 and n. 9).

²⁰¹ S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri della cronachistica veneziana in volgare del Tre-Quattrocento (Enrico Dandolo)*, "Studi Veneziani" 9 (1967), p. 127-151 (131). See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1360*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 37 [= 8022], 14th century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁰² S. Collodo, *op. cit.*, p. 140 n. 50. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, fond Cicogna, manuscript 2611 [= 2113], 15th century. For this chronicle, see *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo (origine-1362)* (ed. by Roberto Pesce), Venice 2010; see also Ș. Marin, *Codicele It. VII. 102 (8142) de la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana și chestiunea atribuirii către Enrico Dandolo*, in *Orient și Occident. Studii în memoria profesorului Gheorghe Zbucă* (ed. by Manuela Dobre & Rudolf Dinu), Bucharest 2012, p. 113-144.

I would add that there are many other codices that retook this version, for which reason it is practically impossible to establish which one of them could have been the basis for our chronicle from this viewpoint. Returning to the matter of the transmission of the chronicle supposed to belong to “Enrico Dandolo”, Silvana Collodo added a general statement, according to which the ideas and facts of the 14th century historiography are to be detected also in Sanudo²⁰³, as the 15th century annals would have been also retaken²⁰⁴.

In connection to “Zancaruola” chronicle, it has been noted how it took information from Altinate chronicle when referring to the episode dealing with Doge Vitale Michiel II's campaign in the Aegean Archipelago, with the note that Sanudo did the same²⁰⁵. “Zancaruola” has been also regarded as transmission channel for the information in chronicle It. VII, 2034 towards Zorzi Delfino and Sanudo, but “the date and place of the Zancaruolo chronicle are not conclusively known”²⁰⁶. In his directory, A. Prost also mentioned a “*Continuazione al repertorio di Corato fino al 1494*” as having Sanudo as author²⁰⁷, so that a dependence on the chronicle of Antonio was suggested, but there are no additional data regarding the latter. Also, H. Simonsfeld annotated on the codex ascribed to Camillo Abbiosi: “*benütz Marino Sanudo dem Jüngsten, ist aber stellenweige etwas ausführliches.*”, detail that convinced F. Thiriet to view the possibility of its use by Sanudo²⁰⁸, but without offering concrete proofs in this sense.

According to A. Carile's classifications, Sanudo would have used a text close to E, 1 family, in the branch of codex F 6260 when describing the *Partitio Romaniae* episode²⁰⁹. As for the episode of Doge Marino Falier's conspiracy, it has been stated that Sanudo would have narrated the same facts and almost the

²⁰³ S. Collodo, *op. cit.*, p. 140 n. 50.

²⁰⁴ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

²⁰⁵ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate III* cit., p. 178 n. 4. For this chronicle, see Ş. Marin, *Some Considerations regarding Manuscripts It. VII, 1274-1275 at Marciana National Library, ascribed to Gasparo Zancaruolo*, “*Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review*” 94 (2017), 1-2, p. 44-84.

²⁰⁶ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177 n. 10.

²⁰⁷ A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

²⁰⁸ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 251. See Camilo Abbiosi detto il Seniore di Ravenna, *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della Città fino all'anno 1443*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 2052 [= 8981] (17th century). See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 140 (Camillo Abbiosi, *Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1443*, dated in the 16th century). See also Ş. Marin, *Byzantium and the Muslims prior to 1345 seen from Venice, According to the Chronicle Ascribed to Camillo Abbiosi of Ravenna*, “*Revista Istorică*”, new series, 27 (2016), 1-2, p. 167-179.

²⁰⁹ A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit., p. 157. See Donato Contarini [?], *Cronaca veneta dall'origine della città all'anno 1433*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Foscarini Fond, manuscript LXX [= 6260], 15th-16th centuries.

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same words as the chronicle ascribed to Nicolò Trevisan²¹⁰ (p. 199-200b in It. VII, 800), and would have then inserted another narration of the same episode (p. 200-203), followed from p. 203 by the first description copied from “Trevisan” (from p. 203)²¹¹. It was also the 16th century codex It. VII, 1662 that presents the same description as Sanudo for Falier episode²¹². On its turn, the anonymous codex It. VII, 551 was used by E. Besta in order to correct the error detected in the version of the manuscript edited by Muratori under the name of M. Sanudo²¹³. M. Foscarini also noted a passage from the Sanudian chronicle that makes reference to a certain chronicler named Zaccheria da Pozzo²¹⁴.

All the above comparisons refer to strict well-determined passages and, so much the less conclusive, to simple hypotheses that are not able to prove a general influence upon our chronicle. However, none of these chronicles is explicitly mentioned in the text of *Le vite*. In exchange, beside the brief references to Dandolo, Biondo, and Sabellico, one could note constant references to: “Contarena”, “Veniera” and, much more abundantly, “Dolfina”. While the mention of “Contarena” chronicle has led some scholars to establish connections with Donato Contarini²¹⁵ – for instance, the similar manner in presenting the illustrations for the foundation of Venice in 421²¹⁶ –, and the use of “Veniera” – mentioned by Foscarini as source for Sanudo²¹⁷ – could not clarify which

²¹⁰ 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, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 519 [= 8438], 16th century. For the manuscript, see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 87-88. 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.

²¹¹ Apud V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

²¹² *Ibidem*, p. 104 n. 1. For the manuscript, see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 129-130.

²¹³ E. Besta, *La cattura dei Veneziani in Oriente per ordine dell'imperatore Emanuele Commeno e le sue conseguenze nella politica interna ed esterna del comune di Venezia*, “Antologia Veneta” 1 (1900), 1, p. 35-46 and 2, p. 111-123 (45 n. 4). See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'origine della Repubblica sino all'anno 1296*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 551 [= 7281], 17th century. For the manuscript, see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 92-93.

²¹⁴ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 159 and n. 3.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 175 nota 1; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 192-193; A. Pertusi, *Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica nel quattrocento*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi cit.*, p. 269-332 (295). See Donato Contarini, *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1433*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 95 [= 8610], 15th century. For the manuscript, see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 53-54.

²¹⁶ Mario De Biasi, *Leggenda e storia nelle origini di Venezia*, “Ateneo Veneto”, 172 (= 23, new series) (1985), p. 77-101 (82).

²¹⁷ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 159 n. 1. There are many manuscripts in the former catalogue at Marciana that are regarded as “Veniera”: It. VII, 68 (see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 41); It. VII, 2580 (see *ibidem*, p. 168-169); M 1568 (see *ibidem*, p. 125); M 791 (see *ibidem*,

manuscript having this name refers to our chronicle, the matter of the relationship with “Dolfina” has given birth to many discussions.

Thus, first and foremost, behind the denomination of *Cronaca Dolfina* so often used by Sanudo, it has been either Pietro Delfino's chronicle²¹⁸, or the one ascribed to his father Zorzi – preserved only in manuscript It. VII, 794²¹⁹ – to be taken into account. The first who brought this dependence into a more developed discussion was G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, who had in intention to establish an influence originated in Antonio Morosini's chronicle²²⁰, idea that had been previously embraced by A. Prost²²¹. In this sense, the numerous references to *Cronaca Dolfina* operated by Sanudo's chronicle in its Muratorian version led the French editor of Morosini to state that “*une série complète de ces citations [emphasis mine, Sanudo's] équivaudrait à une restitution de maint fragment de*

p. 111-112); M 793 (see *ibidem*, p. 112-113); M 10 (see *ibidem*, p. 24-25; see also Ş. Marin, *Venice, Byzantium and the Muslims (prior to 1345) According to the Chronicle Ascribed to Antonio Donato*, “*Vizantiyskiy Vremennik*” 101 (2017), p. 299-322); M 1565 (see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 125). For “Veniera: chronicles, see Ş. Marin, *The Muslims and the Byzantines Seen from Venice (from Muhammad to 1345), according to 'Veniera Chronicles' (I)* [forthcoming].

²¹⁸ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 108-109, 342, 343, 344-345 – presenting the fragments in which Sanudo quotes from this chronicle, 350, 351-352; G. Monticolo, in Sanudo, *Le Vite, passim*, apud G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 173 n. 3; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 173, 178-180, 183; R. Cessi, *Introduzione*, in *Petri Delphini cit.*, p. xxv-xxvi, xxix, xxxi-xxxv; Paolo Sambin, *Di una ignorata fonte dei Diarii di Marin Sanudo*, “*Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*” 104 (1944-1945), p. 21-53 (*passim*); V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 102 and n. 4; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 176, 177, 191; Fr. Pall, *op. cit.*, p. 189; S. Chojnacki, *op. cit.*, p. 76 n. 4; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 63; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 54; P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 811; Chr. Neerfeld & Anja Wolkenhauser, *Pietro Dolfin di Giorgio: Ein venezianischer Humanist und seine Bibliothek*, “*Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*” 39 (2004), 3, p. 407-440 (416); A. Caracciolo Aricò, *Lineamenti di cultura e civiltà cit.*. One should note that also codex Ci 921, copied by Giovanni Tiepolo, presents at a certain moment the heading entitled “*Casade nobili mancade ...*”, with the specification that “*Questo ho tratto da una cronaca de ser Piero Dolfin qual ha al presente Dom(enic)o Ant(oni)o Loredan*”, according to R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 97.

²¹⁹ G. Monticolo, in Sanudo, *Le Vite, passim* apud H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177 n. 10; M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 531-537; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari nella Cronaca di Giorgio Dolfin*, “*Nuova Rivista Storica*” 26 (1942), 6, p. 201-215 (214); H. Baron, *The Anti-Florentine Discourses cit.*, p. 339 n. 2; Idem, *A forgotten Chronicle cit.*, p. 177, 181-183, 191, 192; Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 75 n. 145; A. Caracciolo Aricò, *Nel gran mare delle cronache cit.*, p. 17 n. 1 (with reference to the period between 1423 and 1474 of the Sanudian chronicle). For the ascription to Nicolò Gussoni instead of Zorzi Delfino, see Ş. Marin, *The Venetian Chronicle in Codex It. VII, 794 cit.*, especially p. 45-47.

²²⁰ See *Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo vista da Venezia (1094-1433)* (ed. by Andrea Nanetti), Spoleto 2010. See also Ş. Marin, *Considerations regarding Antonio Morosini's Chronicle*, “*Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review*” 97 (2020), p. 100-120.

²²¹ A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

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*l'oeuvre correspondante de Pietro Delfino, permettant par instants de suppléer le texte original [emphasis mine, of Delfino]"*²²². The reconstitution of the Dolfinian text by resorting to *Le vite de' Dogi* led Lefèvre-Pontalis to proceed in this way even for the period between 1422 and 1449, in which Sanudo ceased to make explicit references to *Cronaca Dolfina*²²³: the last reference is for June 15, 1421 – meaning the narration of a fight between a Venetian squadron and a group of Genoese corsairs in the harbour of Gaeta (coll. 939 in Muratori edition), then the mention of Dolfina is retaken when referring to March-December 1449 – the mention of the Venetian armaments against King Alphonse V of Aragon and Naples (coll. 1134 in Muratori edition) – and definitely stop when narrating year 1468 – the renewal of the league of Lodi that brought peace in the Italian peninsula in 1450 (coll. 1185)²²⁴. For the lacunae in the events of 1422-1449 and post-1468, explained by Cicogna through the fact that Delfino had already referred to events occurred in a period closer to Sanudo's times²²⁵, Lefèvre-Pontalis – inspired in this sense by Em. Cicogna's notes²²⁶ – resorted to another text of Sanudo, that is *Sommarii di Cronaca Veneta*, in which the quotations from *Cronaca Dolfina* do not cease²²⁷. Inside of these *Sommarii*, the reference to P. Delfino begins since the incipit: "*Sumario di Cronicha di Veniexia tratta da una avi da meser Piero Dolfin fo de meser Zorzi la qual fo extracta da la Cronicha di meser Andrea Dandolo [...]"*²²⁸. Having this as starting point, Cicogna even proposed the correction of the Muratorian version of Sanudo by the use of the Dolfinian text²²⁹, while Lefèvre-Pontalis could follow his own demonstration. Thus, the French editor maintained that, although nowhere in *Vite dei Dogi* one could detect A. Morosini's chronicle²³⁰, one should still admit the assertion that Sanudo, when declaring his use of the Dolfinian work, would be actually inspired through the latter's mediation from Morosini's work²³¹, regarded as "*prototype et source perpétuelle de la Cronaca Dolfina*"²³². One could thus explain the "*singulière et persistante connexité*" between *Le Vite* and

²²² G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 178-179.

²²³ *Ibidem*, p. 179; see also R. Cessi, *Introduzione*, in *Petri Delphini cit.*, p. xxvi.

²²⁴ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

²²⁵ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 352.

²²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 345, 351-352.

²²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 345, 351-352; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 179-180, 183.

²²⁸ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 362.

²²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 350.

²³⁰ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 183; see also H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

²³¹ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 183; see also H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 176; Fr. Pall, *op. cit.*, p. 189, 194; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Chr. Neerfeld, *Historia per forma di Diaria cit.*, p. 75 n. 146.

²³² G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 183; see also Fr. Pall, *op. cit.*, p. 189; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

Morosini's text²³³, so that Sanudo's text itself seems to be "*ou inspiré ou imité du texte qui compose l'oeuvre d'Antonio Morosini*"²³⁴. These successive uses convinced H. Baron to exclaim: "Here, then, the body of our historical information stems from a largely unprinted source from the first decades of the fifteenth century [emphasis mine, Antonio Morosini's chronicle], adopted and adjusted by a late fifteenth-century chronicler [emphasis mine, Pietro Delfino], and, after 1500, cast by Sanudo into the form in which it is still read today"²³⁵. According to Lefèvre-Pontalis, the indirect dependence on Morosini would have been available also for the period between 1361 and 1388, in which it had been considered that A. Morosini would have translated Raffaino Caresini's chronicle²³⁶. Anyhow, it becomes more striking afterwards, idea illustrated by the comparative texts referring to the achievement of Argos and Nauplion by the *Serenissima* in 1388²³⁷, to the situation of the Albanian coast in 1388 and 1394²³⁸, to the events occurred in year 1433²³⁹. From this point on, "*on peut affirmer qu'une très grande partie de l'oeuvre d'Antonio Morosini se trouve absorbée dans le texte général et courant des Vite de' Duchi*"²⁴⁰, with the mentioning that the use is still not complete and that there are some sections not detectable in Morosini or others that Sanudo avoided to copy²⁴¹. At any rate, starting with the events in 1433, when the chronicle of Morosini – already becoming a diary – is interrupted, the narration in *Le Vite* becomes appreciably abridged²⁴².

On her turn, when investigating the sources for the chronicle ascribed to Zorzi Delfino (It. VII, 794), Maria Zannoni also enumerated manuscript It. VII, 760²⁴³. Since it is about a Sanudian codex, the scholar concluded upon Z. Delfino's influence upon *Le Vite*²⁴⁴. This hypothesis was brought further on by Hans Baron, who maintained how, through the mediation of Zorzi Delfino, Sanudo extracted his information from the chronicle in manuscript It. VII,

²³³ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

²³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 184.

²³⁵ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

²³⁶ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

²³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 185-186.

²³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 186-187.

²³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 189.

²⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 187.

²⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 187-188.

²⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 189. For the chronicle of Morosini as pattern for the historical diaries prior to Sanudo, see also S. Collodo, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

²⁴³ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana* cit., p. 522, 531-537; see also H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 181, 182, 192. See Marino Sanuto, *Cronaca della creazione di alcuni Dogi (da Sebastian Ziani (1172)) fino a Leonardo Loredan (1502))* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 760 [= 8582], 16th century.

²⁴⁴ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 544; Idem, *Il drama dei Foscari* cit., p. 214.

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2034²⁴⁵, by stating that “the influence of «2034» chronicler on Sanudo is similar to that of Morosini in both extent and mode of transmission”²⁴⁶. Baron also referred to a codex on the same category as the one inventoried as 87.1. at Newberry Library²⁴⁷, and offered comparative texts from all these chronicles²⁴⁸, including those referring to the occupation of Rhodes in 1125²⁴⁹. Consequently, “he [emphasis mine, Sanudo] drew upon Antonio Morosini by using Pietro Dolfin, and similarly upon the author of the «2034» by leaning heavily on Giorgio Dolfin, [...], [who] had consulted a chronicle of the «87.1» type.”²⁵⁰

Regarding the relationship with other Venetian chronicles, I have personally grouped the the Muratorian version of the chronicle ascribed to Marin Sanudo in category 7, along with the chronicle of Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo. It was when referring to the representation of the arrival in Venice of the messengers of the participants to the Fourth Crusade²⁵¹, which I have regarded as a combination between the versions advances by categories 2 (Andrea Dandolo's *Extensa*, L. de Monaci²⁵², P. Delfino, A. Navagero²⁵³) and 6 (It. VII, 2544²⁵⁴, It. VII, 2570²⁵⁵). As for our chronicle, however, I have noticed the extreme

²⁴⁵ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 176-177, 181-183, 191, 192. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1453*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 2034 [= 8834], 15th century, microfilm Pos. Marc. 145. For the manuscript, see C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

²⁴⁶ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

²⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 182-183, 191-194.

²⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 182, 182-183.

²⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 191-192.

²⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 191.

²⁵¹ Ş. Marin, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders in the Fourth Crusade, According to the Venetian Chronicles' Tradition*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia” 4 (2002), p. 111-171 (127-128).

²⁵² 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 Ş. 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-Vienna 2012, p. 237-258.

²⁵³ See *Storia della Repubblica Veneziana scritta da Andrea Navagero patrizio veneto*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 23 (ed. by L. A. Muratori), Milan 1733, p. 923-1216. See also Ş. Marin, *Venice, Byzantium, and the Muslims (prior to 1345) According to the Chronicle Ascribed to Andrea Navagero*, “*Revista Istorică*”, new series, 26 (2015), 5-6, p. 441-475.

²⁵⁴ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1382*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 2544 [= 12436], 16th century. See C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

²⁵⁵ See Gasparo Zancaruo, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1446*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 2570 [= 12462], around year 1519. See C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p.

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compilatory feature in narrating the Fourth Crusade. That is why I have also noticed a presentation of the events according to category 3²⁵⁶ (It. VII, 2592²⁵⁷, M. A. Sabellico) and another one completely independent²⁵⁸. Beside this case, the separation between the Sanudian and Carolidian chronicles becomes more and more visible, although I have continued to place both of them in category 7, when presenting the following episodes: the campaign of the fleet led by Tommaso Morosini in the Ionian Sea²⁵⁹, the election of Emperor Baldwin I of Constantinople²⁶⁰ (although in this particular case the chronicler also introduces an independent version²⁶¹), the achievement of the title of *Dominus* by Doge Enrico Dandolo (also in two versions)²⁶², the crusade of Doge Domenico Michiel²⁶³, the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople²⁶⁴. In addition, I have noted similarities with category 6 (It. VII, 2544 and It. VII, 2570) also when presenting the supposed passing away of Count of Saint Pol²⁶⁵ or with categories 2 (*Extensa*, Monaci, P. Delfino, Navagero) and 3 (It. VII, 2592, Sabellico) also for the election of Tommaso Morosini as the first Latin patriarch of

163-164; see also 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.

²⁵⁶ Ş. Marin, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders* cit., p. 124.

²⁵⁷ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1247*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII, 2592 [= 12484]. See C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 171. See also Ş. Marin, *The Byzantines and the Muslims prior to 1239 seen from Venice, according to the Anonymous Chronicle in Codex It. VII, 2592*, "Arheon. Časopis Arhiva Vojvodine" 3 (2020), 3, p. 269-306.

²⁵⁸ Idem, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders* cit., p. 125.

²⁵⁹ Idem, *The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople. The Representation of Tommaso Morosini in the Venetian Chronicles*, "Quaderni della Casa Romana" 2 (2002), p. 49-90 (76).

²⁶⁰ 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 (222).

²⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 218.

²⁶² Idem, *Dominus quartae partis et dimidia totius Imperii Romaniae. The Fourth Crusade and the Dogal Title in the Venetian Chronicles' Representation*, "Quaderni della Casa Romana" 3 (2004), p. 119-150 (132).

²⁶³ Idem, *A Precedent to the Fourth Crusade. The anti-Byzantine Campaign of Doge Domenico Michiel in 1122-1126 according to the Venetian Chronicles*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 6-7 (2004-2005), p. 239-266 (259).

²⁶⁴ Idem, *Venice and the Loss of Constantinople. The Representation of the Events of 1261 in Venetian Chronicles*, "Il Mar Nero. Annali di archeologia e storia" 5 (2001-2003), p. 209-239 (218).

²⁶⁵ Idem, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders* cit., p. 144.

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Constantinople²⁶⁶. I have also noticed a relative dependence on *Extensa* when presenting the mission of Giustiniano Badoaro in Constantinople, episode which is narrated twice²⁶⁷.

Among Marino Sanudo's sources, M. Foscarini also mentioned Pietro Damiano, although expressing the possibility to be about Pietro Calò (Pietro da Chioggia)²⁶⁸ or the chronicle of Benintendi de' Ravignani²⁶⁹.

The chronicle was also inserted in the bibliographic list offered by Girolamo Ramusio for *De bello Constantinopolitano* of his father, Paolo²⁷⁰, while M. Foscarini noticed that, in book X of the Latin poem composed by the Riminese Francesco Modesto, the latter had declared that he had extracted material from Marino Sanudo's chronicle²⁷¹.

From outside the Venetian chronicles' milieu, it was another chronicle taken into consideration, that is the one now contained in the Marcian manuscript Lat. X, 74 (3446), *Matthaei Palmeri de temporibus cum excerptis ex annalibus Venetorum Petri Delphini*, compiled in 1464²⁷². In connection to it, one could launch the hypothesis according to which this would have been the chronicle that Sanudo took into account when speaking about *Cronaca Dolfina*. It has also been noted that Sanudo had personally copied from the Dominican Enrico of Rimini²⁷³, whose manuscript, Lat. XIV, 266 (4502), p. 252-253 was in Sanudo's hands, and a note is inserted to the end of the text: "*Ego Marinus Sanuto habui a domino Alovisio de Molino sapienti consilio dum essem in consilio sapiens ordinum. 1502.*"²⁷⁴ One could also add *De Recto Regimine*, a 15th century work of Bishop Paolinus of Nola, which is listed among the manuscripts in the Sanudian library²⁷⁵.

²⁶⁶ Idem, *The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne* cit., p. 61.

²⁶⁷ Idem, *Giustiniano Partecipazio and the Representation of the First Venetian Embassy to Constantinople in the Chronicles of the Serenissima*, "Historical Yearbook" 2 (2005), p. 75-92 (80).

²⁶⁸ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 132 and n. 1.

²⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 146 n. 2.

²⁷⁰ Paolo Rannusio Venetiano, *Della guerra di Costantinopoli per la restituzione de gl'imperatori Comneni fatta da' signori Venetiani et Francesi l'anno MCCIV. Libri sei*, Venice, 1604; the work was also published in its Latin original two times, in 1609 and 1634.

²⁷¹ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 252 n. 2.

²⁷² D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 52 n. 146.

²⁷³ It is about the author of *Tractatus de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus* (Strasbourg 1472), who lived in the 13th century. See Carla Casagrande, *Enrico da Rimini*, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 42, Rome 1993 [= [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/enrico-da-rimini_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/enrico-da-rimini_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)].

²⁷⁴ David Robey & John Law, *The Venetian Myth and the «De Republica Veneta» of Pier Paolo Vergerio*, "Rinascimento", 2nd series, 15 (1975), p. 3-59 (13).

²⁷⁵ Cl. Wagner, *Sulla sorte di alcuni codici* cit., p. 259.

A specific insistence has been proposed for the use of the secret documents and public acts²⁷⁶ by Sanudo, that is for the main source of copyist of the manuscript in Modena. In this sense, it has been staked on his position as senator that would have allowed him the access to the state secret archive²⁷⁷. However, although this political position would have permitted access, it does not necessarily mean the allowance to publish those documents. As a matter of fact, the permission to have access to the documents of the Chancellery for Sanudo, attested on August 20, 1515 “*ab annis duobus supra*”, “*pro pleniori rerum veritate, quae in hystoria pars est potissima*”, presents the clause according to which, “*finito opere, illud non edat nec alicui ostendat, nisi prius exhibeat Capitatibus Consilii I, et deliberetur quid de eo fiendum*.”²⁷⁸ On the other side, it would be afterwards, in September 27, since Sanudo was already member of *Consiglio dei Pregadi*, when the disposition is taken for him to have shown “*omnes secretae scripturae, litterae et libri Cancellariae superioris in praesens et in dies*.”²⁷⁹. As a matter of fact, Sanudo had begun to collect material even before the beginnings of his political career, by extracting information referring to 14th-15th centuries from the Notary Office of the College²⁸⁰. However, I repeat: all these references are about the character of Marino Sanudo, and not about the 17th century copier of his work, whose copy represented the basis of the Muratorian edition in 1733. On the other hand, a reverse situation is registered by A. Carile, that is the presence in the Muratorian edition of the act of

²⁷⁶ M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 180 and n. 2; E. Besta, *op. cit.*, p. 45 n. 4, 111 n. 1; G. Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 81 n. 238; Leopoldo Usseglio, *I marchesi di Monferrato in Italia ed in Oriente durante i secoli XII e XIII* (ed. by Carlo Patrucco), 2, Turin 1926, p. 249 n. 3; Eugenio Musatti, *Storia di Venezia*, 3rd ed., 1, Milan 1936, p. 72 n. 4; G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione* cit., p. 224; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 157, 202; G. Cozzi, *Marino Sanudo* cit., p. 340; D. Robey & J. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 9-10; M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, *L'action diplomatique et militaire de Venise pour la défense de Constantinople (1452-1453)*, “*Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*” 13 (1974), 2, p. 247-267 (250 n. 22); Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 81, 82, 84; O. Tüma, *op. cit.*, p. 179; P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 811; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 52, 53; Thomas F. Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice*, Baltimore-London 2003, p. 208 n. 35, 212 n. 105; Guillaume Saint-Guillain, *Les conquerants de l'Archipel. L'empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades*, in *Quarta crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino* (ed. by Gherardo Ortalli & Giorgio Ravegnani & Peter Schreiner), I, Venice 2006, p. 125-237 (136) (who considers this use of the archives as being exaggerated).

²⁷⁷ See also P. H. Labalme, *op. cit.*, p. 811, who also notes that Sanudo had access to the documents of the Chancellery twice, in 1515 and 1516.

²⁷⁸ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 81 n. 234.

²⁷⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Marc. Lat. X. 359 (3708), *Notabilia Saec. XIV e XV ex Notatoriis Venetis per Marinum Sanutum Iuniorum* apud D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 52 n. 145; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 52; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *Historia*, p. 29 n. 6.

Partitio Romaniae and respectively its absence in the Sanudian autograph It. VII, 800²⁸¹.

Generally speaking about the method followed by Sanudo over the use of the sources, it has been noted that he used a large number of chronicles²⁸², gathered data everywhere possible²⁸³, began to collect and study as many chronicles and histories as possible, consulted documents, meticulously registered all the notes extracted about the past and contemporary facts and characters, so that he put together an enormous quantity of material embracing the whole Venetian history²⁸⁴. Therefore, H. Baron names Sanudo as “the great encyclopedic collector”²⁸⁵. Although they represent a mosaic of fragments from the previous chronicles, *Le Vite* were written with an exigent selection from the material at hand²⁸⁶, so that Sanudo’s scruple for first hand documentation has been emphasized²⁸⁷, a fact that transformed him in an exceptional diarist, while his appetite for systematically collecting data proves him as “*un diarista di eccezione*”²⁸⁸. Sanudo has been regarded as the one who organized the multiple data of the anonymous chronicles²⁸⁹, and *Le Vite* proves to be the classical Venetian chronicle, which structures depended on the dogal narration units, as Sanudo himself confessed: “[...] *ho certo assai et non senza grandissima fatica, con continui studij già, e feci l’opera assa’ grande et degna per la material in sé, picciola rispetto all’ autore, ch’è la Vita di i Dosi che sono stati ab urbe condita fin a [toa] Serenità, et le cose fatte sotto di loro, secondo varij annali et historici*”²⁹⁰. The chronicle itself proves a tendency to create a compendium rich in documents, lists, etc.²⁹¹, such as the list of the rectors sent in the Dalmatian cities in 996, the holy relics of saints buried in the Church of San Zaccaria in 1001, the names of the participants to the First Crusade²⁹², etc.

Beside these positive statements, some less appreciative considerations have been pointed out, starting from the same premises of the sources in use. Thus, it has been noted that, by presenting various versions of one and the same fact (the reference has been to Marino Falier’s conspiracy) without debate and

²⁸¹ A. Carile, *Partitio terrarum* cit., p. 202.

²⁸² G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

²⁸³ E. Pastorello, *op. cit.*, p. lviii.

²⁸⁴ G. Cozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

²⁸⁵ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

²⁸⁶ S. Ozoeze Collodo, *Attila e le origini* cit., p. 566-567.

²⁸⁷ Fr. Gaeta, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

²⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 84.

²⁸⁹ A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit., p. 157, 201-202.

²⁹⁰ Sanudo, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae, ovvero La città di Venezia (1495-1530)* (ed. by A. Caracciolo Aricò), Milan 1980, p. 5 apud D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 53 and n. 149.

²⁹¹ D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

²⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 53 n. 151.

judgment, Sanudo proves uncertainty in his narration and lack of critics in establishing the importance of the sources²⁹³. It has also been referred to his incapability to manage the huge number of the documents studied and annotated by him²⁹⁴.

Despite the data above, there are also some cases in which the sources used by our chronicler have not been established. Thus, when referring to the number of the Venetian ships participating in the First Crusade, it has been considered that “*attinge a qualche fonte che non possiamo determinare*”²⁹⁵.

As for the chronicler's intention regarding the chronicle's circulation, one should note his own declarations, according to which he preferred to write in vulgar and not in Latin exactly in order to be understood by everybody²⁹⁶.

²⁹³ V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²⁹⁴ G. Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione cit.*, p. 224.

²⁹⁵ C. Errera, *op. cit.*, p. 250 n. 1; see also D. E. Queller & I. B. Katele, *op. cit.*, p. 19 n. 14.

²⁹⁶ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 82; A. Caracciolo Aricò, *Lineamenti di cultura e civiltà cit.*