

# The Muslims and the Byzantines Seen from Venice (from Muhammad to 1345), according to ‘*Veniera Chronicles*’ (I: From Muhammad to Doge Pietro Barbolano)

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The name of *Cronaca Veniera* has been adopted by various scholars when referring to three particular codices, that is M 1568<sup>1</sup> and M 791<sup>2</sup>, preserved at Marciana National Library in Venice, and von Ranke 69<sup>3</sup> from Syracuse University Library, New York. For the former two of them, the basis for this ascription has probably been represented by the two Marcian former catalogues, by both that of the codices’ class (“Ital. VII.” catalogue, for M 1568) and that on topics (“*Soggetti Veneti*” catalogue, for M 791 and M 1568). As for the codex at Syracuse University, the reason for this ascription has originated in one of the two inscriptions on the front page, ascribed to Leopold von Ranke himself<sup>4</sup>, with

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of Syracuse University. The Complete Catalogue*, Syracuse, New York 1983, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> 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 (251); Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado – La Congiura*, Florence 1963 [1897], p. 103 n. 1; Pietro Zorzanella, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. Italiani – Classe VII (nn. 501-1001)* (ed. by Giulio Zorzanella), Florence 1963, p. 84-85 apud Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence 1969, p. 70 n. 1; Raymond-J[oseph] Loenertz O. P., *Les Ghisi dynastes vénitiens dans l’archipel 1207-1390*, Florence 1975, p. 319; A Anne Markham Schulz, *The Sculpture of Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon and Their Workshop*, “Transactions of the American Philosophical Society”, new series, 68 (1978), 3, p. 1-81; Maria-Teresa Todesco, *Andamento demografico della nobiltà veneziana allo specchio delle votazioni nel Maggior Consiglio*, “Ateneo Veneto” 176 (1989) [= [http://venus.unive.it/riccdst/sdv/saggi/testi/pdf/Todesco%20demografia\\_corr.pdf](http://venus.unive.it/riccdst/sdv/saggi/testi/pdf/Todesco%20demografia_corr.pdf)], p. 22 n. 71, 23 n. 72; Maria Maddalena Sarnataro, *La rivolta di Candia del 1363-65 nelle fonti veneziane*, “Studi Veneziani”, new series, 31 (1996), p. 127-153 (132 n. 27); Reinhold C. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market. Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1300-1500*, Baltimore 1997, p. 59, 227.

<sup>3</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*. It is somehow strange the note of A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 146, who ascribes this notice to a handwriting from the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, as much as the Italian scholar refers to Marco Foscarini, Doge between 1762 and 1763!

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the following mention: “*Dalle citationi del Foscarini si ricava indubitam(ente) che questa è la cronaca chiamata Venier.*”<sup>5</sup>

### **Manuscript M 1568 (8016):**

According to the former catalogue of Marciana National Library – “Ital. VII.” –, codex M 1568 was entitled “*Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città sino all’anno 1556*”, with an additional note saying: “*E questa la Cronaca così detta Veniera*”, and dated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Meanwhile, the other former catalogue – that is, “*Soggetti Veneti*” – placed the codex in two different categories: “*sino al 1556. Veniera*” and “*sino al 1580. Veniera*” respectively. On its turn, the most recent catalogue due to Carlo Campana regards it simply as “*Cronache di Venezia*”<sup>6</sup>; in addition, it mentions a title, “*Cronaca Veneta fino al 1556*” written in the manuscript, which I must confess I did not note when consulting it. The codex comes from Giovanni Rossi (no 78) and A. Carile informs that the manuscript covers 439 leaves, among which 425-435 are blank<sup>7</sup>. However, consequent to my personal investigation, the last page would be 437b. The chronicle itself begins at p. 94b, being preceded by the coat-of-arms of the Venetian noble families (p. 1a-94a)<sup>8</sup>. Placed as a title, the chronicle’s incipit is as follows: “*Questo si è il trattato della cronicha della magnifica et nobel cita de Veniesia et de tutto il suo destretto la qual citade fu edificata da veri et boni uestiarii [A. Carile’s emphasis: cristiani<sup>9</sup>].*” (p. 94b)<sup>10</sup>. Practically, it is not yet about the chronicle itself, since the above phrases introduce a narration dealing with St. Mark’s apostolic activity in Aquilea (p. 94b-95b). This material is followed by the legend of the Paduan consuls in the lagoon (p. 96a-96b), which begins with the following invocation: “*Lanno della Natiuita del nostro Signor meser Jesu Cristo 421 al’ultimo anno de Papa Inocentio Primo*”, by the legend of Attila (p. 97a-98a) and only then by the local chronicle of Venice (p. 98b-344a), beginning with the ‘dogal’ election of Paoluccio Anafesto (697-717). The local chronicle comes to an end with the following excipit: “[...], *et nota che pocchi al presente se trouano, et non se troua facultà per ducati 40<sup>m</sup>.*”, and then by inserting a list of the electors for Doge Lorenzo Priuli (1556-1559)<sup>11</sup> (p. 437b). Carile mentions that the codex would contain a *zibaldone* of other notes, historical inclusively<sup>12</sup>, but I personally have not taken notice of them. As a

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*; Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> Carlo Campana, *Cronache di Venezia in volgare della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Catalogo*, Venice 2011, p. 125.

<sup>7</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>8</sup> See also *Ibidem*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>10</sup> See also *Ibidem* and C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>11</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*.

whole, the codex has a less accurate and hard legible handwriting, while the page numbering belongs to the copyist himself.

### **Manuscript M 791 (7589):**

According to catalogue “Ital. VII.”, codex M 791 also belongs to the 16<sup>th</sup> century and represents a miscellanea including “*Cronica di tutte le casade della nobil città di Venetia*” and “*Cronica Veniera*”, while catalogue “*Soggetti Veneti*” grouped it in category “*sino al 1580. Veniera*”. The title offered by C. Campana’s catalogue is that of “*Cronaca detta Veniera sino all’anno 1580*”<sup>13</sup>. It originates in the donation of Girolamo Contarini (no 93) and presents a title on the front page, pretty erased and therefore difficult to be legible, as follows: “*CRONICA DE TUTTE LE CASADE*”<sup>14</sup> [sic!] *della nobel citta di Venetia, cioe delli gintill’huominj, che sono vinuti ad habitar in questa, la qual fu edificata nelli anni del nostro Signor Jesu Christo CCCC XXJ. alli XXV Marzo il giorno della anu[n]tiatione della uergine Maria, con larme de tutti li gintill’homij de essa citta, che sono de pratiche [Carile’s emphasis: del grande] conseglio, et fu molti cassa [Carile’s emphasis: et di molti cittadini]*”<sup>15</sup>. F. Thiriet regarded it as a codex counting 207 leaves, among which only 199 are numbered<sup>16</sup>, but I have personally noted that 201a is the last page. Among these leaves, the first 49 are adorned with coloured signs of the Venetian patrician families<sup>17</sup>. The titles are also coloured in red, while each doge’s coat-of-arm is mentioned on the margin of the text on each page<sup>18</sup>. The incipit mentioned by F. Thiriet for this codex, “*Anno a nativitate Christi CCCCXXI*”<sup>19</sup> and the note that it refers to the legendary foundation of Venice, do not represent sufficient elements. Moreover, I must confess that I have been able to detect this note nowhere in this manuscript. The personal investigation of the codex convinced me to rather follow the incipit offered by A. Carile: “*Cronica dell’Inclita città di Venet(i)a et del suo Destreto la quale e circondata dal mare el fu edificata da ueri et Boni Cristiani, [...]*” (p. 1a)<sup>20</sup>. As a matter of fact, all these represents nothing but incipits of the world chronicles, while the local chronicle itself begins as follows: “*Come fu elletto primo Dose messer Poluzo Anafesto in Racliana*<sup>21</sup>. *Messer Poluzo Anafesto universalmente dalli Nobili ...*” (p. 55a)<sup>22</sup>. Neither Thiriet, nor

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<sup>13</sup> C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>14</sup> Capital letters in the manuscript.

<sup>15</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>16</sup> Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 251-252. For the filigrees in the manuscript, see A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 70 n. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>20</sup> See also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>21</sup> This first passage is settled as title, a detail not noticed by A. Carile.

<sup>22</sup> See also *Ibidem*.

Carile have noticed that it is about a clear separation inside of the codex: the world chronicle – meaning the foundation story and the Marcian legend, the legend of Attila (p. 1a-7b) has a particular page numbering, continued by several blank leaves (p. 8a-14b), while a new numbering starts once with the presentation of the noble families (p. 1a-48b, 53b-54a), among which references to the ‘founder’ Paduan consuls are inserted (p. 49a-53a). It continues with the chronicle itself, starting at p. 55a. As for the excipit, it is as follows: “*L’anno MDLXXX fu fatto il Ponte di pietra in Canaregio con collone come si vede il quale fino a questo tempo era stato di legname, del qual ponte per esser il più bello di questa città ho voluto farne mentione.*” (p. 201a)<sup>23</sup>. F. Thiriet noted the fact that, once narrating events in the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, that is since p. 184, the handwriting would have been completely different<sup>24</sup>. Thus, the French scholar suggested that it would have been about an addition completed by another copyist, who literally would get rid about the events occurred in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the last 20 leaves<sup>25</sup>. The local chronicle is very nicely adorned on the text’s margin, many drawings very well accomplished being present along with each doge’s coat-of-arms. As a whole, it is about a pleasant handwriting, but various problems are found when using the capital letters, which are completely random. The use of comma and period also represent a drawback, no rules being followed.

### **Manuscript von Ranke 69:**

Another manuscript, that is codex von Ranke 69 from Syracuse University Library, New York and which is microfilmed at the Institute of History of G. Cini Foundation in Venice, is also noted under the name of Veniera<sup>26</sup>. It is about a codex presenting miniatures with dogal stems<sup>27</sup>. It numbers 437 leaves<sup>28</sup>, and the cover is drawn with the coat-of-arms of the patrician family Nani, having the inscription: “*Bernardus Nanius Nob. Ven. Ant. Fil.*”<sup>29</sup>. It is also the following note on the front page: “*Dell’origine et accrescimento della città di Venetia et isole delle lagune principiato dall’anno CCCCXXI et molte altre cose notabili fino all’anno MDLVI.*”<sup>30</sup> As for the incipit, it is presented by Edward Muir as follows: “*Della vera origine, e principio di q(ue)sta Provincia, e Città nostra di Venetia sparpagna per tutte l’Isole de q(ue)ste Lagune da Grado, sin à Cavarzere, che adesso si chiama il Dogado,*

<sup>23</sup> See also Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 70; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>24</sup> Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>26</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*; Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>30</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

*diverse sono li openioni degli scrittori ...*"<sup>31</sup>, a version that is also noted by A. Carile, with the initial addition: "*Dell'origine et accrescimento di Venetia nel'isole delle lagune del 421.*" (p. 1a)<sup>32</sup> The chronicle finishes in this manner: "... *M. Lorenzo Priuli con piacere universale di tutta la città dopo la morte del Veniero à 14 di zugno 1556 fu eletto dose, quantunque egli non fosse Proc.re ma quando fu fatto dose era attualmente consegler.*" (p. 414a)<sup>33</sup> Another handwriting adds: "*Quale vive al di d'oggi.*"<sup>34</sup>, certainly referring to Doge Lorenzo Priuli (1556-1559). After the chronicle, a material entitled "*La congiura di Baiamonte Tiepolo*" (p. 419a-437b<sup>35</sup> or 419a-430b<sup>36</sup>) follows, along with some documents referring to Candia (p. 431a ff.)<sup>37</sup>, all these materials belonging to the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>38</sup>. Practically, I am not able to understand the mention that Ed. Muir has made at a certain moment, according to which *Cronaca Veniera* would be actually integrated among pages 33b and 383b<sup>39</sup>.

Beside these three codices, placed by scholars like Thiriet, Carile or Muir under the name of Veniera, the two classical catalogues at Marciana also credit other five chronicles with this name, that is M 68, M 2580, M 793, M 10, and M 1565.

### **Manuscript M 68 (8317):**

In catalogue "Ital. VII.", this codex is presented only as "*Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1555*" and dated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>40</sup>. Yet, according to "*Soggetti Veneti*", it is about another chronicle in "Veniera" group: "*sino al 1580. Veniera*", but also as "*sino al 1555*". On his turn, C. Campana names it as "*Cronaca detta Veniera, sino all'anno 1555 circa*"<sup>41</sup>. The beginning of the codex refers to the family of Balanzani ("*egregia casada di Balanzani*", p. 2b), including its genealogical tree (p. 3a) and the coat-of-arms (three swords on a blue background, p. 1b and 3a). The coat-of-arms on p. 1a is accompanied by another drawing on the top, representing a lady holding a sword in the right hand and balance of justice in the left one. The chronicle itself begins as follows: "*CRONICA*<sup>42</sup> *dell'inclita citta di Venetia et del suo destretto*

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>32</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 146-147.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 147; see also Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>34</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 147; see also Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>35</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>36</sup> Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 71-72.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 71.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>40</sup> The second half of this century, according to A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>41</sup> C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>42</sup> Capital letters in the manuscript, emphasized with red colour.

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*la quale è circondata dal mare et fu edificata da ueri & buoni cristiani*<sup>43</sup> and continues with the episode of the Trojan foundation and the origins of Venice, the legend of Attila (p. 4b-6b) and the other elements of the world chronicle. The local chronicle starts at p. 60b and the excipit (p. 196b) is: “*E il Principe Veniero che s’era alquanto conualuto de una graue infirmita hauuta l’accompagno fin alla galea capitana.*”<sup>44</sup>, but the last year that the narration refers to – on the contrary to the one mentioned in the catalogue – year 1553 (according to p. 196a), dealing with the election of Marcantonio Trevisano (1553-1554) as doge.

The dimensions of the codex are large, while the handwriting, although intelligible, is small. The page number belongs to the librarians, but it is noted only from time to time.

One could conclude that this manuscript was written or at least belonged at a certain moment to a member of the Balanzani family. That is why one could regard this codex under the name of “Balanzana chronicle”.

### **Manuscript M 2580 (12472):**

It is about a codex originating in the former Phillipps Library in Gloucester (no 3016), which is now at Marciana under the name of “*Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1556, preceduta da una storia di Attila*”. On the other hand, catalogue “*Soggetti Veneti*” makes two references: “*sino al 1556. Veniera*” and “*Istoria de Attila*” respectively, while the flyleaf indicates: “*Cronaca Veneta ditta Veniera sino al 1556 con famiglie nobili e stemmi miniati*”. On its turn, Campana’s catalogue uses the title of “*Cronaca detta Veniera sino all’anno 1556*”<sup>45</sup>. The pages are numbered from 4a. On the back of the previous page, [3b], it is a coloured drawing representing Jesus in triumph, holding a white flag with a red cross, descending from a cloud. In the bottom, it is a bearded man with long ears, lying with his hat and lacerated left side. The long ears could be regarded as diabolical symbol, maybe leading to the image of Attila, while the remainder of the details is human. The passing to the text is done by the following title: “*Comme Attila flagelum Dei naque, et à che modo el uene al mondo*”<sup>46</sup> (p. 4a), and the incipit is: “*Dappoi la passion del nostro Signor Jesu Xpisto li sui apostoli fuono disperssi longamente per llo mondo, [...]*”<sup>47</sup> (p. 4a). The legend of Attila follows (p. 4b-7a), and afterwards a list of the Venetian patrician families is inserted, disposing them alphabetically, with each coat-of-arms in colours and a short presentation of the origin of each of them (p. 8a-102a). The coat-of-arms are taken on in the proper chronicle, when referring to each doge. The chronicle itself starts with the following title: “*Comme fu elletto primo dose misser Paulo*

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<sup>43</sup> See also in A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 69 and in C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>44</sup> See also in A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 69 and in C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 168.

<sup>46</sup> See also *Ibidem*.

<sup>47</sup> See also *Ibidem*.

*Anafesto in Radinea*" (p. 104a)<sup>48</sup>. The excipit is at p. 325b and refers to the election of Doge Lorenzo di Priuli (1556-1559): "*Ma a ditta ellettione per Dose, si ritrouò esser consegier*"<sup>49</sup>, and at this point it is interrupted, without mentioning the name of the respective counsellor. The handwriting is difficult enough, but the fact that each paragraph presents a title is helpful. The page numbering belongs to the librarians.

Since it was mentioned in G. Castellani's list of the inventories of the former Phillipps Library<sup>50</sup>, the number 3016 (mentioned on the manuscript) could demonstrate that it belonged previously to Cochrane Library.

### **Manuscript M 793 (8477):**

It is about a codex originating in the former collection of Girolamo Contarini (no 95)<sup>51</sup>. As presented by catalogue "Ital. VII." of Marciana, the title is "*Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della città al 1478*". On the other side, catalogue "*Soggeti Veneti*" makes two references to it: "*sino al 1478*" and "*sino al 1580. Veniera*", the year in the latter reference being certainly an error of transcription due to the librarians. According to Campana's catalogue, it is about "*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1479*"<sup>52</sup>. Although Freddy Thiriet counted 199 leaves for this codex<sup>53</sup>, I have personally numbered only 196. The manuscript is stained and deteriorated on the extremities<sup>54</sup> and the conservation state is bad<sup>55</sup>. Personally, I noted an extremely disorganized handwriting and also the absence of delimitations between the phrases: there are neither periods, nor capital letters, etc. The page number belongs to the copyist. The incipit is as follows: "*Questo sie il tratado de la cronicha de la magnificha e nobel zita de Ueniesia e de tuto el suo destreto la qual citade e sta edificada da ueri e boni Cristiani e si comenzaremo dapoi la pasion del nostro Signor misier Jesu Cristo*" (p. 1r)<sup>56</sup>, and continues with Christ's passion<sup>57</sup>. However, it is about the beginning of the world chronicle, as a matter of fact of a combination between its many versions, its narration being many times taken on through either the Trojan

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<sup>48</sup> See also *Ibidem*.

<sup>49</sup> See also *Ibidem*.

<sup>50</sup> See C. Castellani, *I manoscritti Veneti contenuti nella collezione Phillipps in Cheltenham (contea di Gloucester)*, "Archivio Veneto" 37 (1889), p. 199-248.

<sup>51</sup> See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 113. For Girolamo Contarini da San Trovaso, 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.

<sup>52</sup> See C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

<sup>53</sup> Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 254; the same in C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

<sup>54</sup> Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>56</sup> See also *Ibidem*, p. 254; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 35; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

<sup>57</sup> Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

legend, or the story of St Mark or Attila (p. 1a-43a), sometimes interrupted by attempts to insert the lists of noblemen, relics, churches, and so on. Various signs are to be noted along this world chronicle, written in pencil, referring to beginnings or ends of passages from other chronicles (“Z. Dolf.” – p. 1a, 27a, “Cron. Zanc.” – p. 32a, “Cron. Venier.” – p. 32b, 39b, 43a). At a first sight, I supposed that these references belong to Fr. Thiriet, but C. Campana regards them as belonging to A. Baretta<sup>58</sup>. The chronicle itself begins as follows: “*Meser Paoluzo pronominado Anafesto universalmente da li nobili et tuti altri habitanti in Racliana fu eleto uno cavo e primo chiamato doxe ...*” (p. 43b)<sup>59</sup>, while the excipit mentions: “*et questa e stada la prima dogaresa morise mai in palazzo[,] la qual poi el suo exiguio fo sepelida in la dita Giesia di San Zuam Polo.*” (p. 196a)<sup>60</sup>. Although Carile dates this event in 1479, the last year mentioned by the chronicler is 1478 (p. 194a), under Doge Andrea Vendramin (1476-1478), a detail that convinced the authors of the Marcian catalogue to settle this year as representing the end of the work<sup>61</sup>.

On the front page, one could find the following not caligraphic note, written with an emaciated ink<sup>62</sup>: “*1590. Laus Deo. Copia cauada da una cronica vechia et tolto senon li casadi che al presente se retrouano per i seruessi de molte altre che non si retrouano più in esser et copiado senon alcune cose signalate qual cronicha fo scritta senon fino in tempo de meser Zuane Mocenigo Doxe.*”<sup>63</sup>

### **Manuscript M 10 (8067)<sup>64</sup>:**

Catalogue “Ital. VII.” at Marciana National Library regards the chronicle in manuscript It. VII. 10 under the following name: “*Antonio Donà. Cronaca Veneta dall’anno 687 al 1479*”<sup>65</sup>. It also makes the additional mention: “*Più veramente è la così detta Veniera. Vedi il Cod. DCCXCI e il MDLXV*” and dates it in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. These data are somehow confirmed by the notes in the flyleaf: “*Cronaca Veneta detta Veniera sino al 1479. Sec. XVII*”, which refer

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<sup>58</sup> C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>59</sup> See also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>60</sup> See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 112. The version provided by A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 35 is: “*Adi 23 ottobrio [1479] el morite la dogaresa moier del presente doxe M.r Zuan Mocenigo ... laqual poi el suo exequio fo sepelida in la dita giesia di S. Zuane Polo.*” (p. 196b – sic!).

<sup>61</sup> For the use of this codex, see also R. C. Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

<sup>62</sup> See also Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 254; see also R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

<sup>63</sup> See also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 35 n. 3 (who, between “1590” and “*Laus Deo*”, inserts a “P”, which I must confess I did not notice); see also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

<sup>64</sup> For more considerations regarding this codex, 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.

<sup>65</sup> See also C. Castellani, *op. cit.*, p. 230.



thus to “Veniera” group. On its turn, the catalogue provided by C. Campana regards it as “*Cronaca detta Veniera sino all’anno 1479*”<sup>66</sup>. It is about a manuscript counting 143 leaves, numbered on both sides of the papers. Since the very beginning, it is entitled as “*Come fù elletto il primo Dose meser Poluzo Anafesto*” (p. 1a), starting the narration with year 667 – thus, it does not correspond to the note in the catalogue –, meaning a wrong date for the election of the first Venetian doge, that is Paoluccio Anafesto. The expicit is as follows: “[...], *et hauea con lui più di 200 persone di fameglia, et alla sua partenza fulli presentà confetti, e cera per ualor di ducati 500.*” (p. 143b).

The handwriting of the codex is rather difficult, but intelligible. Beside the chronicle itself, it is beyond any doubt that the manuscript includes no other material, such as legends of the origins of the city, lists of patrician families, and so on, which are present in the greatest number of Venetian chronicles.

### **Manuscript M 1565 (9574):**

Catalogue “Ital. VII.” of Marciana offers more information about this codex, originated in Giovanni Rossi collection (no 73), presenting it as “*Memorie Venete, ossia Epoca Veneziana di autore anonimo, ricopiata da originale esistente presso S. E. Marco Flangini Senatore, da Antonio Maria Dinarelli, dall’anno 687 al 1479*”. The data are taken on from the notes at p. 1a of the chronicle, saying that: “*Memorie Venete, ò sia Epocca Veneziana di auttore anonimo, ricopiata da originale esistente in mano di S. E. Marco Flangini Senatore, perciò nominata da me Antonio Maria Dinarelli Codice Flangini*”<sup>67</sup>. In addition, the same leaf provides the following mention: “*A 4 7mbre 1747. In Venezia*”<sup>68</sup> (p. 1a), which Carile attached to the previous one<sup>69</sup>, as if being about one and the same phrase. The same Marcian catalogue adds the following note: “*E la Cronaca, non di Antonio Donato, come nel Cod. X di questa classe, ma la così detta Veniera*”. The flyleaf is more succinct in information, but confirms partially that it is about “*Memorie Venete*”. As for “*Soggetti Veneti*” catalogue, it places the codex in two headings: “*dal 687 al 1479. Veniera*” and “*sino al 1580. Veniera*” respectively. On his turn, C. Campana entitles it as “*Cronaca detta Veniera, sino all’anno 1479*”<sup>70</sup>. The narration begins with presenting the first doge: “*Paulucio Anafesto. I*” (p. 1a) as a title, while the incipit is: “*Meser Paulo Anafesto universalmente dalli nobili e di tutti li altri abitanti d’Eracleana fu eletto un cavo e prima chiamato Dose del 687.*”<sup>71</sup> However, the reference of the copyist to year 687 is an error, since it is well known that the first doge was

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<sup>66</sup> C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>67</sup> See also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 71; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>68</sup> See also *Ibidem*.

<sup>69</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>70</sup> C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 71; C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

elected in Heraclea only in 697. At any rate, the narration continues with a list of the doges, to each of which events are attached. The chronicle comes to an end when referring to Doge Giovanni Mocenigo (1478-1485) in year 1479 (p. 136b), as follows: “*Adi 5 9mbrio venne à Venezia il Cardinal d’Ongaria, chiamato dal Papa a Roma, al qual li fo fatto grandissimo honor, e fattoli le spese co tutta la so fameia che sono persone più di 200, e alla soa partita presentolli confetti e cere [sic!] per libre 600. Il Fine*”<sup>72</sup>. To the 136 leaves, Carile adds other four not numbered leaves<sup>73</sup>, which I personally have not detected. The codex has an acceptable handwriting, and the page numbering belongs to the copyist himself.

### **Other manuscripts regarded as “Veniera” and the matter of paternity:**

Another ‘Veniera’ codices should also be added. First, it is about the one that Franco Rossi refers to as being located at the State Archives of Venice, inventory *Miscellanea codici*, I, *Storia veneta*, no 59<sup>74</sup>.

It has also been codex M 2046 (7803)<sup>75</sup> that Pietro Zorzanello and Elisabetta Barile have referred to under this name, but without any conclusive argument<sup>76</sup>. On her turn, Holly Hurlburt<sup>77</sup> puts codex M 2046 under the name of

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<sup>72</sup> See also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 71-72 (“*cose*” instead of “*cere*”); C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>73</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>74</sup> Franco Rossi, *Quasi una dinastia: i Gradenigo tra XIII e XIV secolo*, in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* (ed. by Marino Zorzi & Susy Marcon), [Venice] 2001, p. 155-187 (183 n. 7). See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Venice, State Archives, *Storia Veneta* 55 (*olim* 940), 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>75</sup> See Anon., *Origine delle famiglie patrizie Venete coi loro stemme e colori. Cronaca di Venezia dal principio della città fino all’anno 1478. Serie dei Dogi di Venezia fino a Francesco Contarini, 1623*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 2046 [= 7803], 17<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 138 (*Cronaca detta Veniera*, dating it in 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries).

<sup>76</sup> P. Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. Italiani – Classe VII (nn. 1601-2100)* (ed. by Giulio Zorzanello), Florence 1974, p. 103-111; Elisabetta Barile, in Elisabetta Barile, Piero Falchetta, Alessia Giachery, Piero Lucchi, Susy Marcon, Helena Szépe, Camillo Tonini, Viola Venturini, *Catalogo*, in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo*, p. 337-403 (356-357). Although the Marcian catalogue “Ital. VII.” presents it as “*Origine delle famiglie patrizie Venete coi loro stemme e colori. Cronaca di Venezia dal principio della città fino all’anno 1478. Serie dei Dogi di Venezia fine a Francesco Contarini, 1623*”, so that it does not establish any connection with the name of Veniera, and the same catalogue places it in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (as it is natural, taking into account the fact that the series of the doges comes to an end with Fr. Contarini, 1623-1624), the two scholars have considered that the chronicle in this codex would belong to the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and named it as “the so-called Veniera”.

<sup>77</sup> Holly S. Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice, 1200-1500: Wife and Icon*, New York 2006.

“*Cronaca Veniera*”. According to catalogue “Ital. VII.”, it is named as “*Origine delle famiglie patrizie Venete coi loro stemme e colori. Cronaca di Venezia dal principio della città fino all’anno 1478. Serie dei Dogi di Venezia fino a Francesco Contarini, 1623*” and is dated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Also under the name of Venier, Ed. Muir refers several times to manuscript PD 517b from Correr Civic Museum<sup>78</sup>.

Among all these manuscripts, it is difficult to establish a clear connection with the one that M. Foscarini referred to when speaking about ‘Veniera chronicle’. The beginning of the local chronicle, “*Missier Poluzo Anafesto universalmente*” is the same with the one in all the other codices, but the page where Foscarini placed it (p. 12, “*dopo alcuni fogli preliminari*”<sup>79</sup>) does not correspond with any of the manuscripts that I have taken into consideration above. Moreover, the excipit saying that “*confetti e cere per l. 100*” refers to events occurred in 1479, dealing with the arrival in Venice of a Hungarian cardinal<sup>80</sup>, a detail that could not be detected in the codices above – except for M 10 and M 1565 –, which ends by narrating events in the second half of the subsequent century.

Henceforth, it should be about a manuscript different than those presented above and that in addition presents in the end the copyist’s name and clarify the matter of dating: “*Exemplata per me Jo. Antonium Ferro, dum essem cancellarius clar. domini Joannis Jhieronymi Lauredani praetoris dignissimi Clodiae domini mei Colmi, 1537.*”<sup>81</sup>

In exchange, E. Cicogna mentioned a different note made by Foscarini to another chronicle regarded as “Veniera”, that is the one in Cicogna’s ownership itself, classified at number 1443<sup>82</sup>. It is about a codex that during two centuries had belonged to Balbi family, its incipit being “*L’anno della Natività del n(ost)ro signor Jesu Christo 421*” and ending by referring to the dogal election of Lorenzo Priuli, as follows: “*elleto doge essendo consiglier*”<sup>83</sup>. Cicogna also

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<sup>78</sup> Ed. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton 1981, *passim*.

<sup>79</sup> Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* (ed. by Ugo Stefanutti), [Bologna] [1976] [reprint of ed. Venice 1854] [first ed.: 1752], p. 159 n. 1. Those preliminary leaves are later presented as referring to the noble families, including those originated in Constantinople and Acre, as well as a catalogue of the characters in the Great Council at the *serrata* in 1297, cf. *Ibidem*, p. 159.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 159 n. 1.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>82</sup> R[inaldo] F[ulin], *Saggio del catalogo dei codici di Emmanuele A. Cicogna*, “Archivio Veneto” 4 (1872), part I, p. 59-132, 337-398 (112); see also Aug[uste] Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, “Revue des questions historiques” 31 (1882), p. 512-555 and 34 (1883), p. 199-224 (209, 220).

<sup>83</sup> R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 112.

noted that this chronicle would be in the possession of various libraries, but the Venetian scholar confessed that he had not seen a similar copy<sup>84</sup>.

It also remains unclear which manuscript was taken by S. Romanin into consideration when speaking about the Veniera chronicle<sup>85</sup>. The scholar referred only one time to a Veniera chronicle, as being in the ownership of E. A. Cicogna<sup>86</sup>.

In his introduction to Marcantonio Sabellico's *Istoria*<sup>87</sup>, Apostolo Zeno supposed that the author of the chronicle would have been Antonio Donato, and the reason for this paternity would be represented by the numerous details about Andrea Donato, Antonio's father, and by the stage where Pope Sixtus IV ennobled this latter as knight while being ambassador in Rome in 1476<sup>88</sup>. Nevertheless, as M. Foscarini noted, there would be no other evidence in this work to allow the ascription towards A. Donato<sup>89</sup>.

Although noting the name of 'Veniera', the modern scholars have excluded the possibility that the author would have been a member of the Venier family<sup>90</sup>. This patrician house has been ascribed only the ownership over one or more codices<sup>91</sup> or at most the position of copyist<sup>92</sup>. Thus, the chronicle has generally been named as "detta *Veniera* [emphasis mine]"<sup>93</sup>. In conclusion, the anonymity of this chronicle has largely been considered<sup>94</sup>.

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>85</sup> S[amuele] Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 volumes, Venice 1853-1861, III, p. 309 n. 2; IV, p. 274 n. 4.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 426 n. 1.

<sup>87</sup> See M. Antonii Sabellici, *rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita, ad Marcum Barbadicum, Sereniss. Venetiarum Principem & Senatam, Decadis Primae*, in *Degl'Istorici delle Cose Veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per Pubblico Decreto*, Venice 1718. See also Ş. Marin, *Marcantonio Sabellico's Rerum Venetarum and "the Definitive History of Venice". The Beginnings of the Official Historiography in Venice?*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 90 (2013), 1-2, p. 134-177.

<sup>88</sup> Apud M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 159 n. 1; apud also Ed. Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection* cit., p. 71. For this ascription, see also M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 158-159, A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 549, 209.

<sup>89</sup> M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 158-159, 159 n. 1.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 158; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252; Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>91</sup> M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 158, 159 n. 1; *Notizie Istorico-Critiche intorno la Vita e le Opere degli Scrittori Viniziani* (ed. by de Ugo Stefanutti), I-II, [Bologna] 1975 [reprint of ed. Venice 1752-1754], I, p. 161 n. 3 apud Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 71; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 524, 209; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252; Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>92</sup> A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 549, 209, 220; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 251; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103 n. 1; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 66, 70; R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

<sup>94</sup> It is according to the first inscription on codex von Ranke 69 apud Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 70-71; A. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 524; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252; R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p.

On the other side, when speaking about the author, one could advance the strictly hypothetical version of Bertucci Veniero's Annals, mentioned by Fr. Sansovino<sup>95</sup>. However, M. Foscarini confessed that he had not found any reference in this work<sup>96</sup>, although mentioning that Sansovino's expression of "*Bertucci Veniero p. lasciò gli Annali veneti, ed alcune dichiarazioni sopra le cose oscure d'Aristotele*" would present a similar version in a codex preserved at that time at Marciana, as M 25<sup>97</sup>. Consequent to this, Foscarini considered that those annals "*o sono perduti, o vanno confusi tra le scritture anonime*"<sup>98</sup>. By maintaining on the speculation field, I would also propose the version that the name of 'Veniera' would originate in the reference in the last passage of certain manuscripts (M 68, von Ranke 69) to Doge Francesco Venier (1554-1556). However, without having other elements at disposal, I might not advance more in this direction.

Consequently, I join the general opinion according to which this chronicle is nothing but anonymous. In addition, the linguistic differences among the codices at disposal or those connected to the phrase construction, and especially those regarding the content justify the adoption of this solution, as more as they prove that 'Veniera chronicle' should not be regarded as one single work.

It remains the case of codex M 1565. For the matter of paternity, it is useful the note at p. 1a, mentioned above and taken on in catalogue "Ital. VII." On its basis, it clearly results that the manuscript belonged in 1747 to Antonio Maria Dinarelli, that it represents the copy of another codex owed by senator Marco Flangini, and, the most important, that the author could not be identified even at those times, being regarded as anonymous. The same information allows the conclusion that the title that this work at the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century had was that of "*Memorie Venete, ossia Epoca Veneziana*".

## Dating:

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319. A singular opinion regarding the membership of the author himself to the Veniera family would result from the general considerations expressed by Dorit Raines, *Alle origini dell'archivio politico del patriziato: la cronaca «di consultazione» veneziana nei secoli XIV-XV*", "Archivio Veneto", 5<sup>th</sup> series, 150 (1998), p. 5-57 (33), when affirming that "*siamo di fronte quindi a una cronaca costituita da una parte narrativa e da un'altra diaristica, un insieme che spesso assumerà il nome dell'autore della seconda parte nei casi delle cronache Dolfin, Zancaruolo, Venier etc.*"

<sup>95</sup> Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia Città nobilissima et singolare*, 2 (ed. by Giustiniano Martinioni), Venice 1968 [1663], p. 500 apud M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 173 n. 4.

<sup>96</sup> M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 173 n. 4.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 173.

Among the seven manuscripts taken into account, five of them are dated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Taking their excipits into consideration, it results more clearly that they were written in the second half of this century.

As for the other two codices – M 10 and M 1565 –, they belong to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, respectively.

| <b>Codex</b> | <b>Excipit</b> | <b>Dating according to Marciana catalogues</b> | <b>Dating according to A. Carile, <i>op. cit.</i></b> | <b>Dating according to C. Campana, <i>op. cit.</i></b> |
|--------------|----------------|--|---|--|
| M 68         | 1553           | 16 <sup>th</sup> century                       | 16 <sup>th</sup> century ex.                          | 16 <sup>th</sup> century                               |
| M 2580       | 1556           | c. 1556  | not referred to                                       | 16 <sup>th</sup> century                               |
| M 1568       | 1556           | 16 <sup>th</sup> century                       | 16 <sup>th</sup> century ex.                          | 16 <sup>th</sup> century                               |
| M 791        | 1580           | 16 <sup>th</sup> century                       | 16 <sup>th</sup> century ex.                          | 16 <sup>th</sup> century                               |
| M 793        | 1479           | 16 <sup>th</sup> century                       | 16 <sup>th</sup> century                              | 16 <sup>th</sup> century                               |
| M 10         | 1479           | 17 <sup>th</sup> century                       | not referred to                                       | 17 <sup>th</sup> century                               |
| M 1565       | 1479           | 18 <sup>th</sup> century                       | 1747  | 18 <sup>th</sup> century                               |

Among the codices dated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>99</sup>, codex M 68 finishes the narration earlier than all the others, coming to an end when referring to the election as doge of Marcantonio Trevisano, in 1553.

M 2580 and M 1568 end when narrating the election of Lorenzo Priuli, in 1556. In the case of M 2580, the Marcian classical catalogue dates it around year 1556, but practically there is no basis for it, since the excipit could represent only a relative foundation for the dating. As for the chronicle in manuscript M 1568, it has been placed by A. Carile also in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>100</sup>. The end of this century is also the period when codex von Ranke 69 is dated<sup>101</sup>, with the additional mention at the end saying that, “*Quale vive al di d’oggi*”. Although written by a different hand, the detail proves that the work had been written during the dogeship of Lorenzo Priuli.

Codex M 791, that finishes later, when narrating events in 1580, during the dogeship of Niccolò da Ponte (1578-1585)<sup>102</sup>, has also been dated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>103</sup> or, according to the additional note of A. Carile, in the second half of this century<sup>104</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> The second half of it, according to A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 69, 75.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 66, 75.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 146; Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>102</sup> See Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103 n. 1; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 70 n. 1; R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 319; A. Markham Schulz, *op. cit.*, *passim*; M. M. Sarnataro, *op. cit.*, p. 132 n. 27.

<sup>103</sup> V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103 n. 1.

<sup>104</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 70, 75.

Regarding codex M 793, it belongs to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, according to the Marcian catalogue<sup>105</sup>. In comparison with the other 'Veniera' codices, which A. Carile places in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Bolognese scholar regards M 793 as being written in this century generally. Despite all these considerations, it is the detail on the front page mentioned above that refers to year 1590<sup>106</sup>. That is why I regard it as being later than M 68, M 2580, M 1568, and M 791. On the other side, year 1590 does not solve the matter of dating, since the respective note is made by another handwriting than the remainder of the chronicle, being thus able to refer to the year when the manuscript belonged to the library of one of the owners. Despite the excipit, referring to the death of the wife of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo (1478-1485), R. Loenertz considered that it is about a copy of a manuscript ending with year 1457<sup>107</sup>.

Due to the ascription to Antonio Donato, the dating of codex M 10 has also come under the influence of the paternity matters. Thus, it has been the 15<sup>th</sup> century to be regarded as period when the chronicle was dated, especially due to its finishing year, that is 1479<sup>108</sup>, but also as a consequence of the confusion with the Latin work of "the doges' lives", regarded as belonging to the same A. Donato<sup>109</sup>. It is despite the fact that this latter, in its version from Cochrane Library, has been dated a century later<sup>110</sup>. I prefer to rely upon only one certitude: the belonging of codex M 10 to the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>111</sup>, according to the Marcian catalogue, although even in this respect other datings have been considered, such as the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>112</sup>.

As for M 1565, the last year of narration is 1479 – in accordance to M 793 and M 10 –, which corresponds to the information in catalogue "Ital. VII." of Marciana. It contradicts one of the references in the other classical catalogue, "*Soggetti Veneti*", which, probably due to the contamination with other "Veniera" codices, places the excipit to year 1580. According to the Marcian catalogue, M 1565 is dated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The note at p. 1a, referring to year 1747, does not necessarily solve the matter of dating, although the hypothesis is

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<sup>105</sup> See also *Ibidem*, p. 35.

<sup>106</sup> See also Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 254; see also R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>108</sup> M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 159 n. 1; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 524, 549; C. Castellani, *op. cit.*, p. 230; R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

<sup>109</sup> M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 267 n. 1 and 2; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 548; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103 n. 2; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Agostino Pertusi, *Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica nel quattrocento*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi* (ed. by A. Pertusi), Florence 1970, p. 269-332 (305 n. 4); Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, Princeton, New Jersey 1986, p. 365.

<sup>110</sup> C. Castellani, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>111</sup> See also R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

<sup>112</sup> C. Castellani, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

embraced by A. Carile<sup>113</sup>. It could refer not to the year of writing, but to the one when the owner Antonio Maria Dinarelli got into its possession.

### Sources and influences:

The chronicle family that A. Carile alots in his classification is 'b' group of chronicles for M 68<sup>114</sup>, M 1568<sup>115</sup>, M 791<sup>116</sup> and M 1565<sup>117</sup>. In exchange, von Ranke 69, although regarded as belonging to the so-called 'Veniera' group, is inserted in what Carile calls "C-b contamination"<sup>118</sup>, together with codices *Italien* 351 from National Library of France in Paris<sup>119</sup> and two codices from Correr Civic Museum: Ci 2622 (2123)<sup>120</sup> and Ci 3009 (2234)<sup>121</sup>. As for M 793, it is regarded as a contamination of "A *volgare*" family<sup>122</sup>. Since at those times M 2580 was still in the United Kingdom, it was not taken by Carile into consideration. Meanwhile, M 10 was not taken into account for it surpasses the period that the scholar dealt with when referring to the Venetian codices (14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries).

Subfamily 'b' also includes other codices that still are not named as 'Veniera'. The most ancient among these codices is regarded by Carile as being Ci 2666 (2413)<sup>123</sup> from Correr Museum, although a little later the same scholar considers some passages (p. 96a-113b and 224a-256b) as dated "forse XVI<sup>th</sup>"<sup>124</sup>. Beside this, the following codices are enumerated: BUP 398<sup>125</sup> from Padua; DDR

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<sup>113</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 71, 75.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 69. As for M 68, P. Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. Italiani – Classe VII (nn. 1-500)*, p. 21 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 69 n. 1 refers to M 90, M 791, M 793, M 1565, M 1568.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 66.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 70.

<sup>117</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 71-72.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 146-147.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 147. See Anon., *Chronica Veneta dal primo doge Pauluzzo Anafesto fatto l'anno 708 fin a miser Lorenzo di Priuli fatto del 1556*, Paris, National Library of France, manuscript *Italien* 351, end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>120</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 147. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, manuscript Cicogna 2622 [= 2123], 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>121</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 148. See Anon., *Cronica veneziana*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, manuscript Cicogna 3009 [= 2234], 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>122</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 35. For the chronicles included in "A *volgare*", see *Ibidem*, p. 10-15.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 64. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, manuscript Cicogna 2666 [= 2413], 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>124</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 66. See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Padua, University Library, manuscript 398, 16<sup>th</sup> century.



449<sup>126</sup> from Correr; BUP 167<sup>127</sup> from Padua; PD 312c<sup>128</sup> from Correr; Morosini 327<sup>129</sup> from Correr; F 20<sup>130</sup> from Dresden; Ci 301 (3712)<sup>131</sup> from Correr; Vat. Lat. 6089<sup>132</sup> from Vatican; Co 1456<sup>133</sup> from Correr; Foscarini LXXXVII (6566)<sup>134</sup> from Vienna; Traspontina 5<sup>135</sup> from Rome; Co 1421<sup>136</sup> from Correr; Vat. Lat. 6087<sup>137</sup> from Vatican; Ci 1471-72 (2302-03)<sup>138</sup> from Correr. A. Carile groups together all these codices, although confesses that “*i codici che compongono questo gruppo si mostrano profondamente differenziati*”, a fact that he connects with the long transmission and the repeated transcriptions<sup>139</sup>. Later, however, when presenting the derivation scheme of this group of chronicles, the Italian scholar contradicts the previous statement when mentioning that “*i codici non sono profondamente differenziati, e le varianti più numerose sono quelle ortografiche.*”<sup>140</sup> At any rate, as I mentioned previously, a more attentive

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<sup>126</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 68. See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, manuscript Donà dale Rose 449, end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century-beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 73. See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Padua, University Library, manuscript 167, 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>128</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 74. See Anon., *Cronica de tutte le Casade Nobili de Venetia*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, manuscript Provenienze Diverse 312c, 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>129</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 66-67. See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, manuscript Morosini 327, end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>130</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 69-70. See Anon., *Cronaca dalla fondazione di Venezia (421) al 1556*, Dresden, Saxon Land Library, manuscript F 20, end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>131</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 70-71. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, manuscript Cicogna 301 [= 3712], 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>132</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 68-69. See Anon., *Cronica Venetiarum. Dalle origini all'anno 1428*, Vatican, Apostolic Library, manuscript Vaticani Latini 6089, 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>133</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 72-73. Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia e origine delle famiglie venete patrizie*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, manuscript Correr 1456, years 1601-1700.

<sup>134</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 73-74. According to *Ibidem*, p. 75, it is about the 17<sup>th</sup> century. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta dei Dogi e delle famiglie patrizie, dall'origine della città al 1627*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, manuscript Foscarini LXXXVII [= 6566], 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>135</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 65-66. See Anon., *Cronica in breve forma della inclita et m[agnifi]ca città di Ven[etia]*, Rome, Central National Library, manuscript Traspontina 5, 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>136</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Anon., *Conaca di Venezia, va dalla fondazione al 1486*, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, manuscript Correr 1421, years 1601-1625.

<sup>137</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 73. Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Vatican, Apostolic Library, manuscript Vaticani Latini 6087, 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>138</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 67-68. Anon., *Cronica Veneta d'autore incognito*, 2 volumes, Venice, Correr Civic Museum, manuscripts Cicogna 1471-1472 [= 2302-2303], year 1760.

<sup>139</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 75 n. 1.

examination also proves differences in information, although to a less significant extent.

Generally speaking, subfamily 'b' is regarded by Carile as essentially relying on 'B' family, which text would have been rewritten by another chronicler through the mediation of inserting new data<sup>141</sup>.

Manuscripts M 68, M 1568, M 791, M 793, M 10, and M 1565 were also classified by R.-J. Loenertz<sup>142</sup> in group 'B2' (the so-called "Veniera underclass"), along with the following codices: ASV I 59<sup>143</sup> from the State Archives at Venice, Ci 3712; M 519<sup>144</sup> from Marciana, Co 1421, Ci 2413, and M 37<sup>145</sup> from Marciana, while family 'B1' would gather the codices grouped around the chronicle ascribed to 'Enrico Dandolo'<sup>146</sup>. For the same reason as A. Carile, also R. Loenertz left chronicle in codex M 2580 aside.

As for the episode of the campaign led by Giacomo Dolfin in Romània in 1262, R. Loenertz connects codices M 68, M 791, M 793, and M 10<sup>147</sup> not only among them, but also again with ASV I 59<sup>148</sup>.

On my turn, I proposed a comparative text of M 2580, M 791, and M 10, dealing with the first part of the legend of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus<sup>149</sup> with other codices: M 2592<sup>150</sup>, M 2543<sup>151</sup>, M 1586<sup>152</sup>, M 1577<sup>153</sup>, M 798<sup>154</sup>, M 2560<sup>155</sup>,

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<sup>141</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 64. For 'B' family, see *Ibidem*, p. 213-215.

<sup>142</sup> Apud *Ibidem*, p. 215.

<sup>143</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Venice, State Archives, Storia Veneta 55 (*olim* 940), 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>144</sup> 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, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 519 [= 8438], 16<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 87-88 (Niccolò Trevisan et al., *Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1585*). 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.

<sup>145</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1360*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 37 [= 8022], 14<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 27 (*Cronica antica di Venetia*, dated in the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries).

<sup>146</sup> Apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 214. See *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo (origine-1362)* (ed. by Roberto Pesce), [Venice] 2010. See also Ş. 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 Zbucnea* (ed. by Manuela Dobre & Rudolf Dinu), Bucharest 2012, p. 113-144.

<sup>147</sup> R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 319 n. 6.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 319.

<sup>149</sup> Ş. Marin, *Venice and translatio imperii. The Relevance of the 1171 Event in the Venetian Chronicles' Tradition*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 3 (2001), p. 45-103 (82 for M 10, 83-84 for M 1580, 84-85 for M 791).

<sup>150</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1247*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 2592 [= 12484]. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 171 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno*

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M 550<sup>156</sup>, M 2563<sup>157</sup>, M 1274 (pseudo-Zancaruola)<sup>158</sup>, M 56 (pseudo-Erizzo)<sup>159</sup>, and with Marcantonio Sabellico's work<sup>160</sup>.

Afterwards, I grouped codices M 791 and M 10 in category 5, along with M 89<sup>161</sup> and also partially with 'Trevisan' (as a matter of fact, with codex M

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1253, dated in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries). 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 from Marciana National Library*, "Arheon. Časopis Arhiva Vojvodine" 3 (2020), 3, p. 269-306.

<sup>151</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1356*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 2543 [= 12435], 16<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 151-152 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1360*).

<sup>152</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della città fino al 1450*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 1586 [= 9611], 17<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 126 (*Cronache di Venezia*, dated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>153</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca della Città di Venezia dalla sua fondazione fino all'anno 1400*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 1577 [= 7973], 18<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 126 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1400*).

<sup>154</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città sino all'anno 1478*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 798 [= 7486], 16<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 115 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1425*, dated in the 15<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>155</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1432*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 2560 [= 12452], around year 1450. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 159 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1432*, dated in the 15<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>156</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1442*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 550 [= 8496], 15<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 92 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1442*, dated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>157</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1441*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 2563 [= 12455], 15<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 160 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1444*).

<sup>158</sup> See *Cronaca Veneta supposta di Gasparo Zancaruolo, dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscripts It. VII. 1274-1275 [= 9274-9275], 18<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 123 (*Cronaca di Venezia già attribuita a Gasparo Zancaruolo*); 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.

<sup>159</sup> See *Cronaca Veneta attribuita a Marcantonio Erizzo, fino all'anno 1495*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 56 [= 8636], 16<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 36 (Marcantonio Erizzo (?), *Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1495*). See also Ş. 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.

<sup>160</sup> See *M. Antonii Sabellici, rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita cit.*

<sup>161</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1410*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 89 [= 8391], 15<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 50-51 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1410*). See also Ş. Marin, *The Byzantines and the*

2567<sup>162</sup>). This classification was related to the manner of description of the following events: the visit to Constantinople of Doge Agnello Partecipazio's son<sup>163</sup>, the captivity of Pietro Badoaro in Bulgaria in the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>164</sup>, the arrival to Venice of the ambassadors of the non-Venetian participants to the Fourth Crusade<sup>165</sup>, Baldwin of Flanders' imperial election in Constantinople<sup>166</sup>, the dogal title of *Dominus* and the supposed return of Doge Enrico Dandolo to Venice<sup>167</sup>, the reconquest of Constantinople by Emperor Michael VIII in 1261<sup>168</sup>. As for the representation of Patriarch Tommaso Morosini<sup>169</sup>, I detached codex M 2567 from this category. On the other side, I included M 793 in category 9, meaning that group of chronicles that surprisingly offer very few lines to the Fourth Crusade. As for M 2580, I noted its originality, but approached it to category 11.

More general connections, without referring to various particular episodes, have been considered for M 791 with M 2034<sup>170</sup>, Marino Sanudo's *Vite*

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*Muslims prior to 1261 as Seen from Venice, according to the Anonymous Chronicle in Codex It. VII. 89 (8381) from Marciana National Library* [forthcoming].

<sup>162</sup> See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1444*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 2567 [= 12459], 16<sup>th</sup> century. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 162 (Nicolò Trevisan, *Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1444*). See also Ş. Marin, *Venice, Byzantium, and the "Infidels" (by 1377) According to the Anonymous Chronicle Preserved in Manuscript It. VII. 2567 from Marciana National Library*, "Thesaurismata" 46 (2016), p. 187-234.

<sup>163</sup> Idem, *Giustiniano Partecipazio and the Representation of the First Venetian Embassy to Constantinople in the Chronicles of the Serenissima*, "Historical Yearbook" 2 (2005), p. 75-92 (79).

<sup>164</sup> Idem, *Un fiu de doge la curtea țarului Simeon al Bulgariei. Cazul lui Pietro Badoaro*, "Revista Istorică", new series, 18 (2007), 3-4, p. 375-391 (378).

<sup>165</sup> 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 (126).

<sup>166</sup> 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 (219).

<sup>167</sup> Idem, *Dominus quartae partis et dimidia totius Imperii Romaniae. The Fourth Crusade and the Dogal Title in the Venetian Chronicles' Representation*, "Quaderni della Casa Romena" 3 (2004), p. 119-150 (131, 141).

<sup>168</sup> Idem, *Veneția și căderea unui imperiu. Reprezentarea momentului 1261 în cronistica venețiană*, "Revista Istorică", new series, 14 (2003), 3-4, p. 211-254 (219).

<sup>169</sup> Idem, *The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople. The Representation of Tommaso Morosini in the Venetian Chronicles*, "Quaderni della Casa Romena" 2 (2002), p. 49-90 (65, 79-80).

<sup>170</sup> Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1453*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 2034 [= 8834], 15<sup>th</sup> century, microfilm Pos. Marc. 145. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 137 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1443*).

*de' Dogi*<sup>171</sup>, the chronicle ascribed to Zorzi Dolfin (M 794)<sup>172</sup>, M 90<sup>173</sup>. Speaking about the manuscript at Syracuse University, Ed. Muir also refers to manuscript M 69<sup>174</sup>, which includes a chronicle copied by Roberto Lio in year 1630, but the same scholar notes the fact that the incipit and excipit are different than the ones in our chronicle<sup>175</sup>.

### **Editions:**

By nowadays, the manuscripts that pass under the name of '*Cronaca Veniera*' have never been into consideration for editing. I notice R. Loenertz's initiative to provide the passages in M 68 (page not numbered), M 791 (p. 72b), M 793 (p. 76b), and M 10 (p. 39b) referring to the Venetian campaign of Giacomo Dolfin in the Levant in 1262<sup>176</sup>.

When editing the subfamily 'b', A. Carile also provided the editing of a fragment from codices M 68<sup>177</sup>, M 1568<sup>178</sup>, M 791<sup>179</sup>, and M 1565<sup>180</sup>, referring to *Partitio Romaniae* episode. As for manuscript von Ranke 69, it is present inside of the edited version of the so-called '*C-b*' contamination<sup>181</sup>.

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<sup>171</sup> M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 159 n. 1. See *Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 22 (ed. by Lodovico Antonio Muratori), Milan, 1733: *Vitae Ducum Venetorum Italicè Scriptae ab origine Urbis, sive ab anno CCCC XXI usque ad annum MCCCCXCIII*, p. 399-1252. See also Ş. Marin, *Some Notes Regarding the Muratorian Version of Marino Sanudo's Le Vite dei Dogi*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 98 (2021), 1-2, p. 12-45.

<sup>172</sup> Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252; V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103 n. 1. See Zorzi Dolfin, *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della Città sino all'anno 1458*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 794 [= 8503], 16<sup>th</sup> century, microfilm Pos. Marc. 143; see also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 113-114 [Giorgio (Zorzi) Dolfin, *Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1478*]. Zorzi Dolfin, *Cronicha dela nobil cità de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destretto. Origini-1458* (ed. by Angela Caracciolo & Chiara Frison), 2 volumes, Venice, 2007-2009. See also Ş. Marin, *The Venetian Chronicle in Codex M 794 (8503) at Marciana National Library – Ascribed to Giorgio Delfino and Transcribed by Nicolò Gussoni*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 89 (2012), 2, p. 41-62.

<sup>173</sup> P. Zorzanello, *op. cit.*, p. 21 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 69 n. 1. See C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 51 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1462*, dated in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries).

<sup>174</sup> See Roberto Lio, *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1558*, Venice, Marciana National Library, manuscript It. VII. 69 [= 7727-7730], year 1630. See also C. Campana, *op. cit.*, p. 41-42 (*Cronaca di Venezia sino all'anno 1558*, dated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>175</sup> Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>176</sup> R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

<sup>177</sup> A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 301-302, and the references at p. 305.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibidem*, and the references at p. 303.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibidem*, and the references at p. 305-306.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 301-302, and the references at p. 306.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 512-513, and the references at p. 514.

Ş. Marin, *The Muslims and the Byzantines, according to 'Veniera Chronicles' (I)*

For codex M 10 (ascribed to A. Donato), the fact that it remained unedited was noticed by now only by M. Foscarini<sup>182</sup>. Meanwhile, I personally published various fragments from this codex<sup>183</sup> related to Byzantium and the Muslims.

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Far of having the pretention to cover this lacuna, I present here below the excerpts referring to the relationship of Venice with the Muslims and the Byzantines according to seven versions of the chronicle called 'Veniera'<sup>184</sup>.

One could note that, for the events referring to the beginning of the Muslim history, they are only mentioned in M 1568, M 791, and (partially) M 68. There are of course some other events that do not correspond among these seven codices, although the main narrative is more or less the same. One could also notice that the copyists of the codices M 793, M 10, and M 1565 renounced to the titles of the chapters that are present in the other four manuscripts.

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<sup>182</sup> M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>183</sup> Ş. Marin, *Venice, Byzantium and the Muslims (prior to 1345) According to the Chronicle Ascribed to Antonio Donato* cit. p. 306-317.

<sup>184</sup> On this occasion, I refer here exclusively to the 'Veniera' manuscripts at Marciana National Library, leaving aside the codex at Syracuse University, New York, which I have not had the opportunity to consult by now.

|  |  |  |  |   |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|
| <p><b>M 68</b><br/>- episode missing</p> | <p><b>M 2580</b><br/>- episode missing</p> | <p><b>M 1568</b><br/><b>97b:</b><br/>Come nelle parte della Soria et Persia fo datto a quelli pupuli per Dio<br/><b>Maomet</b><br/>Nel sopra detto tempo se leuete nella parte della Soria et delle [sic:] Persia una sedicione per uno prete Romano, il qualle con sue simulationj dette a quelli populi per suo Dio Maomet de uil natione, per modo che tutti quelli populi a persuasione et simulatione del</p> | <p><b>M 791</b><br/><b>6a:</b><br/>Come vene in Italia Albuinio Re de Longo Bardi et doppio uene Astolpho Duchia<br/>Anchora dell' anno 563 [...]. Nel qual tempo si leuo nelle parte della Soria, et Persia una sedition per uno prete Romano, il quale con sue simulation dette a quelli populi per suo Dio uno Maomet, el qual era di uil nation per modo che tutti quelli populi a</p> | <p><b>M 793</b><br/>- episode missing</p> | <p><b>M 10</b><br/>- episode missing</p> | <p><b>M 1565</b><br/>- episode missing</p> |
|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|

| M 68   | M 2580                       | M 1568   | M 791  | M 793                        | M 10                         | M 1565                       |
|--|------------------------------|--|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <p><b>7b:</b><br/>Come Cosdra<br/>d' Soria prese<br/>Gerusalem. Poi<br/>lui fu destruto<br/>da Heracio<br/>Imperator il<br/>qual dona a'<br/>Venetiani la<br/>cariega de San<br/>Marco<sup>1</sup><br/>Correndo gli<br/>anni 648, vno<br/>Cosdra de Soria,<br/>el qual aderaua<br/>al Maomet, con<br/>il suo essercito<br/>uene alla cita<br/>de Gerusalem, et</p> | <p>- episode<br/>missing</p> | <p>redussero a<br/>quella bestial<br/>fede.</p> <p><b>97b:</b><br/>Come Cosdra<br/>de Soria prese<br/>Jerusalem poi<br/>fu rotto da<br/>Heracio<br/>Imperatore</p> <p>Vno Cosdra de<br/>Soria el qual<br/>adoraua Maomet<br/>uene del 648 con<br/>il suo esercito<br/>alla cita de<br/>Jerusalem, le<br/>quale prese et<br/>destrusse.</p> | <p>ditto Romano si<br/>ridussero a<br/>quella bestial<br/>fede.</p> <p><b>6b:</b><br/>Come Cosdra<br/>de Soria prese<br/>Gerusalem, poi<br/>lui fu destruto<br/>da Heracio<br/>Imperator il<br/>qual dono a<br/>Venetiani la<br/>cariega de San<br/>Marco</p> <p>Correndo li anni<br/>648, vno Cosdra<br/>de Soria, el qual<br/>adoraua el<br/>Macomet con il<br/>suo essercito<br/>uene alla cita de<br/>Gerusalem, et la</p> | <p>- episode<br/>missing</p> | <p>- episode<br/>missing</p> | <p>- episode<br/>missing</p> |

<sup>1</sup> The title is emphasized in red ink.



| <b>M 68</b>   | <b>M 2580</b>                   | <b>M 1568</b>  | <b>M 791</b>   | <b>M 793</b>                    | <b>M 10</b>                     | <b>M 1565</b>                   |
|---|---------------------------------|--|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <p>la prese, &amp; destrusse.</p> <p><b>7b:</b> Doppo Heraclio Imperator de Constantinopoli passato in Soria con certi nauilij da Venetia, et destrusse el ditto Re Cosdra, il qual Imperator poi ritorno à Constantinopoli, et porto con lui il legno della Santa Croce, et in segno d'amor el ditto Imperator mando à donar à Venetiani la cariega de miser San Marco Euangelista, sopra la qual el</p> | <p><b>- episode missing</b></p> | <p><b>97b:</b> Dopo Eraclio Imperatore de Constantinopoli essendo passatto in Soria con certi nauellij de Venexia destrusse el detto Re Cosdra il quale destrutto che fu l'Imperatore ritorno a Constantinopoli Et porto con lui el legno della Santa Croce. Et in segno d'amor egli mando a donar a Venetianj la cariega de San Marco</p> | <p>prese, et destrusse.</p> <p><b>6b:</b> Doppo Heraclio Imperator de Constantinopoli passette in Siria [sic!] con certe nauilij di Venetia et destrusse el detto Re Cosdra. Il qual Imperator poi ritorno a Constantinopoli et porto con lui il segno della Santa Croce et in segno de amor el ditto Imperator mando a donar a Venetiani la cariega de messer San Marco</p> | <p><b>- episode missing</b></p> | <p><b>- episode missing</b></p> | <p><b>- episode missing</b></p> |

| M 68  | M 2580                   | M 1568   | M 791  | M 793                    | M 10                     | M 1565                   |
|---|--------------------------|--|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <p>sedeua in Alessandria, la qual cariega fu posta nel Patriarcado de Grado loro cathedral della prouincia di Venetia.</p>                                  |                          | <p>Euangelista sopra la qual meser San Marcho sedeua in Alessandria la qual fu posta nel Patriarcado de Grado loco cathedral della prouincia de Venetia et cosi si conserua.</p> | <p>euangelista sopra la qual el sedeua in Alesandria, la qual cariega fu porta nel Patriarchado de Grado loco chatredal [sic!] della prouintia di Venetia.</p> |                          |                          |                          |
| <p><b>7b:</b> Come li Saraceni passorno in Italia<sup>2</sup> Correndo li anni 660 molti Saracini Barbari passorno in Cicilia, et fu la prima uolta che</p> | <p>- episode missing</p> | <p><b>98a:</b> Come li Saraceni passorno in Sicilia Molti Saraceni Barbari l'anno 660 passorno in Sicillia, e fu la prima uolta che uene in Italia.</p>                          | <p><b>6b:</b> Come li Saracini passorno in Italia Correndo li anni 660, molti Saracini Barbari passorno in Cicilia et fu la prima uolta che</p>                | <p>- episode missing</p> | <p>- episode missing</p> | <p>- episode missing</p> |

<sup>2</sup> The title is emphasized in red ink.

| M 68   | M 2580   | M 1568   | M 791  | M 793   | M 10   | M 1565   |
|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|
| loro ueneno in Italia.   |  |  | loro ueneno in Italia.   |   |  |  |
| <p><b>62b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio, 811-827):</b><br/>El ditto habbiando duo fioli uno chiamato per nome Justinian hauendolo mandato all'Imperator de Costantinopoli per Imbassador per hauer alcuni patti fecè armar con lui piu nauilij che trafegaua, et passaua in quelle parti.</p> | <p><b>109a (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio, 811-827):</b><br/>El ditto haueua duo fiogli l'uno chiamato Justinian, et mandolo dall'Imperator di Costantinopoli per imbassador per hauer alcuni patti, fecè armar con lui piu nauiglij, che trafegaua, et passauano in quelle parte.</p> | <p><b>104b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio, 811-827):</b><br/>[...], el qual Dose aucaua dui figlioli uno nominato Justinian, il quale fu mandato al'Imperator de Costantinopoli ambassiator per auer alcuni porti [sic! = patti] per piu nauilij armati che trafegauano et passauano in quelli parti, [...].</p> | <p><b>57b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio, 811-827):</b><br/>[...], el ditto habbiando duoi figlioli, vno chiamato per nome Justinian hauendo mandato all'Imperator de Costantinopoli per imbasciator per hauer a[l]cuni [sic!] patti fece armar con lui piu nauilij, che trafegaua, et passaua in quelle parte, [...].</p> | <p><b>48b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio, 811-827):</b><br/>[...] el ditto habbiando doi fioli uno chiamato Zustinian e l'altro Zuane el qual Zustinian habbiandolo mandato alo Imperador de Chostantinopoli per imbassador per uoler alguni patti fece armada chon lui piu nauilij chi trafegaua e passaua in quele parte [...].</p> | <p><b>8a (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio, 811-827):</b><br/>El ditto habbiando dieci [sic!] fioli uno chiamato per nome Iustinian, l'altro Zuane il qual Iustinian habbiandolo mandato a l'Imperator de Costantinopoli per inbasador per hauer alcuni patti fece armar con lui piu nauilij che trafogaua [sic!], et passaua in quelle parte[.].</p> | <p><b>3b-4a (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio, 811-827):</b><br/>El ditto abbiando do fioli, uno chiamato per nome Zustinian, e l'altro Zane, il qual Justinian mandolo a lo Imperator di Costantinopoli per imbasciator, per [4a] aver alcuni patti, fece armar con lui piu nauilij, che trafegava, e passava in quelle parti.</p> |

| M 68  | M 2580  | M 1568   | M 791   | M 793   | M 10   | M 1565  |
|---|---|--|---|---|--|---|
| <p><b>62b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>Giunto el ditto à Costantinopoli fu molto da quel Imperator accettato &amp; haue de gran doni, magnificando et conferendo con lui tutto quello per che era mandato; [...].</p> | <p><b>109a (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>Junto il ditto à Costantinopoli, fu molto da quello Imperator accettato, et haue de gran doni magnificando et conferendo con lui tutto quello, perche era mandato, [...].</p> | <p><b>104b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>[...], il quale giunto in quelle parti benignamente fu accettato da quel Imperatore, et aue grandi doni magnificando et confermando con lui tutto quello per il che era uenuto. [...].</p> | <p><b>57b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>[...], giunto el ditto a Costantinopoli, fu molto da quel Imperator accettato, et haue de gran doni, magnificando, et conferendo, con lui tutto quello, perche era mandato, [...].</p> | <p><b>48b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>[...], e zonto el ditto a Costantinopoli fo molto da quel Imperador azetado et haue grandoni magnificando tratando chonfer[m]ando [sic'] chon lui tutto quello che iera mandato [...].</p> | <p><b>8a (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>Zonto il dito à Costantinopoli fo molto da quel Imperator acceptado, et haue de gran doni magnificando, tratando, e conferendo con lui tutto quello perche era mandato, [...].</p> | <p><b>4a (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>Zonto à Costantinopoli fo molto dall'Imperator accettado, et ave di gran doni, magnificando, tratando, e conferendo con lui tutto quello perch'era mandato.</p> |
| <p><b>62b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>Nel tempo del ditto Dose</p>   | <p><b>109a (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>Nel tempo del ditto correndo li</p>   | <p><b>104b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>Come el corpo de San Marcho fu conduto a Venetia<br/><del>Nel tempo del ditto Dose</del></p>   | <p><b>58a (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>[...]. Nel tempo del ditto Dose</p>  | <p><b>49a (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>Anchora nel tempo de ditto</p>   | <p><b>8b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>Nel tempo del ditto Doxe</p>   | <p><b>4a (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):</b><br/>A sò tempo cioè dell' 800 adi 31</p>  |

| M 68  | M 2580   | M 1568   | M 791  | M 793  | M 10   | M 1565  |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|---|
| <p>correndo li anni del nostro Signor 800 addi ultimo Zener fu condotto il capo del beato Euangelista miser San Marco in Venetia da duo nobeli mercadanti che era in Alessandria, l'uno nominato Tribun da Torcello, l'altro Rustico Trandonico da Malamoco, per preghiere del qual glorioso Euangelista la nostra cittade è guardata &amp; essaltada sopra le altre cittade.</p> | <p>anni del nostro Signor 800 addi vltimo Zener fu condotto il capo [sic! = corpo] del beato Euangelista miser Ser Marco in Venetia da duo nobeli mercadanti, ch' erano in Alessandria, l'uno nominato Tribun da Torcello, l'altro Rustico Trandenigo da Malamoco per preghiere del qual glorioso Euangelista la nostra citta è guardata, ct exaltada sopra le altre citta, [...].</p> | <p>correndo gli anni 800 a el ultimo Zener fu condotto el corpo del beato Euangelista meser San Marco in Venetia da duo nobeli mercadanti li quali troue in Alessandria l'uno de quali e [sic!] nominato Tribun de Torcello l'altro Rustico [sic!]</p> | <p>correndo li anni del nostro Signor 800 addi vltimo Zener fu dutto il corpo del Beato Euangelista messer San Marco in Venetia da duo nobeli mercadanti che era in Alessandria, luno nominato Tribun da Torcello, laltro Rustico Trandonico da Malamoco per preghiere del qual glorioso Euangelista la nostra cittade e guardada e assaltada [sic! = exaltada.] sopra le altre cittade.</p> | <p>Doxe messer Anzolo Badoer lanno 800 ultimo Zener fu dato el corpo del Beado Euanzelista messer San Marcho in Uentexia da do nobeli marchadanti che iera in Alessandria luno nominado Tribun da Torzelo[,] laltro Rustigo Tradonico da Malamocho per i qual pregierie del glorioxo Uanzelista la nostra zitade e guardada e si e exaltada sopra le altre zitade a chompimento.</p> | <p>corando li anni del nostro Signor 800 ultimo Ziner [sic!] fu discoperto il corpo del beato Euangelist San Marco in Venetia da mercadanti che erano stati in Alessandria l'uno nominado Tribun da Torcello[,] Rustico Gradenigo da Mazorbo, ò pure da Malamocco per preghiere di quel glorioso Euangelista prottetor della città fò elletto in perpetuo acciò la guardasse sopra</p> | <p>Zener fu dato il corpo del beato Euangelista meser San Marco in Venetia da 2 nobeli marcanti, ch' era in Alessandria, l'un nomado Tribun di Torcello, l'altro Rustico Trandonico da Malamocco, per preghiere del qual glorioso Euangelista la nostra cittade è guardada, e essaltada sopra le altre cittade.</p> |

| M 68  | M 2580  | M 1568   | M 791   | M 793   | M 10   | M 1565   |
|---|---|--|---|---|--|--|
| - episode missing                                   | - episode missing   | guardata-et esaltata. <sup>3</sup><br>104b (under Doge Agnello Partecipazio):<br>Come fu fabricato il monesterio de San Zacharia [...] con parte del legno della Crose da Leon Imperator, et altre reliquie et doni [...]. | - episode missing   | - episode missing                                   | tutte le altre cittade.<br>- episode missing       | - episode missing                                  |
| 62b (under Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio, 827-829): | 109b (under Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio, 827-829):<br>Comme fu eletto Dose miser Justinian Badoer, et | 105a (under Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio, 827-829):<br>Come fu eletto Dose meser Justinian Badoer. Et   | 58a (under Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio, 827-829):<br>Come fu eletto meser Justinian Badoer Dose, & come | 49a (under Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio, 827-829): | 8b (under Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio, 827-829): | 4a (under Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio, 827-829): |

<sup>3</sup> The whole episode was erased later by the copyist.

| M 68  | M 2580   | M 1568  | M 791   | M 793   | M 10   | M 1565  |
|---|--|---|---|---|--|---|
| In tempo suo<br>l'Imperator<br>Michiel de<br>Constantinopoli<br>uogliando<br>conquistar<br>l'isola de Cicilia<br>mando al ditto<br>Dose à dimandar<br>soccorso &<br>aiuto; [...]. | <b>l'Imperator<br/>andò per<br/>conquistar<br/>l'isola de<br/>Cicilia, et<br/>domandò<br/>soccorso à<br/>Venetiani</b><br>[...] 810. In<br>tempo suo<br>l'Imperator<br>Michiel de<br>Constantinopoli<br>volendo<br>conquistar<br>l'isola de Cicilia<br>mandò al ditto<br>Dose à dimandar<br>soccorso et<br>aiuto; [...]. | <b>l'Imperator<br/>andando a<br/>conquistar<br/>l'Isola de<br/>Cicilia<br/>demandote<br/>soccorso a<br/>Venitianj</b><br>[...] Corendo gli<br>ani 810 nel<br>tempo suo<br>l'Imperator<br>Michiel de<br>Constantinopoli<br>uolendo<br>conquistar<br>l'isola de Cicilia<br>mando a<br>dimandar<br>soccorso al detto<br>Dose, [...]. | <b>l'Imperator<br/>conquistar<br/>l'isola de<br/>Cicilia, et<br/>dimando<br/>soccorso a<br/>Venetiani<sup>4</sup></b><br>[...] 810. In<br>tempo suo<br>l'Imperator<br>Michiel de<br>Constantinopoli<br>vogliando<br>conquistar<br>l'isola de<br>Cicilia, mando<br>al ditto Dose a<br>dimandar<br>soccorso, et<br>aiuto. | [...] in tempo suo<br>lo Imperador<br>Michiel de<br>Chostantinopoli<br>uoiano agiutar<br>[sic! = aquistar]<br>la ixola de<br>Cecilia mando al<br>ditto Dose<br>domandando<br>sochorso et<br>aiuto[.] [...]. | 810[.] In tempo<br>suo l'Imperator<br>Michiel de<br>Costantinopoli<br>uoelendo<br>conquistar la<br>isola di Cicilia<br>mandò al ditto<br>Doxe<br>dimandando<br>socoorso, et<br>aiudo[.] [...]. | 810.<br>L'Imperator<br>Michiel di<br>Costantinopoli<br>voiano<br>acquistar l'isola<br>di Cicilia mandò<br>à dimandar<br>soccorso al ditto<br>Dose; [...]. |
| <b>62b (under<br/>Doge</b>  | <b>109b (under<br/>Doge</b>  | <b>105a (under<br/>Doge</b>   | <b>58a (under<br/>Doge</b>  | <b>49a (under<br/>Doge</b>  | <b>8b (under<br/>Doge<br/>Giustiniano<br/>Partecipazio):</b>   | <b>4a (under<br/>Doge<br/>Giustiniano<br/>Partecipazio):</b>  |

<sup>4</sup> The title is emphasized in red ink.

| M 68  | M 2580  | M 1568  | M 791  | M 793   | M 10  | M 1565  |
|---|---|---|--|---|---|---|
| <p><b>Giustiniano Partecipazio):</b><br/>[...]; vnde lui con uolunta del pouolo mandoli nauilij armadi con homeni infiniti; et alle fin torno à Venetia con saluamento &amp; gran uittoria.</p> | <p><b>Giustiniano Partecipazio):</b><br/>[...], vnde lui con volunta del pouolo, mandoli nauilij armadi con infniti homini, et alle fin tornano in Venetia à saluamento et gran uittoria.</p> | <p><b>Giustiniano Partecipazio):</b><br/>[...], el quale con uolunta del pouolo li mando nauilij armadi con assae gente, li quale ritornorno a Venetia con uittoria, [...].</p> | <p><b>Giustiniano Partecipazio):</b><br/>Vnde lui con uolunta del pouolo mandati nauilij armadi co' homini infiniti, et alle fine tornò a Venetia con saluamento, et gran uittoria, [...].</p> | <p><b>Giustiniano Partecipazio):</b><br/>[...], onde lui chon uolunta del pouolo mandoli nauilij armadi chon homeni infiniti ale fin dito si torna a Uenexia chon saluamento e gran uittoria [...].</p> | <p>[...], onde lui con uolontà del popolo mandò li nauilij armadi con huomini infiniti, et alla fin tornò à Venetia con saluamento, et gran uittoria, [...]</p> | <p>[...]; onde lui con uolontade del puouolo mando li nauilij armadi con uomini infiniti, e alla fin tornò à Venetia à saluamento, e gran uittoria.</p> |
| <p><b>63a (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico, 837-864):</b></p>   | <p><b>110b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico, 837-864):</b></p>  | <p><b>105b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico, 837-864):</b><br/>Uenuta de Saracinj fin in Anchona et rotta del armata della Signoria<sup>5</sup></p>                               | <p><b>58b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico, 837-864):</b></p>  | <p><b>50a (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico, 837-864):</b></p>   | <p><b>- episode missing</b></p>   | <p><b>4b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico, 837-864):</b></p>  |

<sup>5</sup> Although referring to the immediately following episode, this title is settled previous to the election of Doge Pietro Tradomenico.



|   |   |   |   |  |  |   |
|---|---|---|---|--|--|---|
| <p><b>M 68</b></p> <p>[...] qual ottenuto uittoria dalla Imperial maieità de grande honore fu magnificato[.]</p>  | <p><b>M 2580</b></p> <p>[...], qual ottene uittoria dell'Imperial magesta, de grande honor, fu magnificado [.]</p>  | <p><b>M 1568</b></p> <p>[...] il quale auendo ottenuta uittoria, dalla Imperial magesta de gran onori fu ornato.</p>  | <p><b>M 791</b></p> <p>[...] dalla Imperial Magesta de grande honore fu Magnificato.</p>  | <p><b>M 793</b></p> <p>[...] qual otegniando uittoria de la Imperial Magesta de grande honore fo magnifichado [...]</p>  | <p><b>M 10</b></p>   | <p><b>M 1565</b></p> <p>[...], qual ottegnudo uittoria da la Imperial Maestà de grand'onor fo magnificado.</p>  |
| <p><b>63a (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b></p> <p>Ad instantia dell'Imperator nominato Theodosio Patricio, armado fu tra gallic &amp; naue per numero LX, capetanio delle ditte Zuane predritto[.] [...].</p> | <p><b>110a (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b></p> <p>Ad instantia dell'Imperator nominato Theodosio Patricio, armando tra galic et naue per numero 60 capetanio ditti nauiglij miser Zuanne predritto, [...].</p> | <p><b>105b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b></p> <p>Anchora ad instantia de Teodosio Patricio Imperatore fu fatto armata de galee et naue numero 60 dalla qual el detto meser Zuane fu fatto capitanio[.] [...].</p> | <p><b>58b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b></p> <p>Ad Instantia dell'Imperator nominato Theodosio Patricio armado fu tra gallic, et naue numero 60 capitanio delle ditte Zuane predritto[.] [...].</p> | <p><b>50a (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b></p> <p>[...] dapo el dito zonse a Uenetia a instantia delo Imperador nominado Teodoxio Patricio fo armado tre galie et naue 60 capitanio de le ditte Zuane fiol</p> | <p><b>9b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico, 837-864):</b></p> <p>Ad istanza del Imperator Teodosio Patricio armado fo tra galie e naue 60 capitano delle dette meser Zuanne sopradeto[.] [...].</p> | <p><b>4b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b></p> <p>A istanza de Teodosio Patricio Imperator fo armade 3 gallic, e naue 60 capitano dito Zuane, [...].</p> |

| <b>M 68</b>   | <b>M 2580</b>  | <b>M 1568</b>   | <b>M 791</b>  | <b>M 793</b>  | <b>M 10</b>  | <b>M 1565</b>  |
|---|--|---|---|---|--|--|
| <p><b>63a (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>Il qual se haue lassato scorer fin à Taranto per prender certi legni de Saraceni; et Dio permesse per li nostri compagni [sic!] che per li ditti Saraceni fu messo à confusion, [...].</p> | <p><b>110a (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...], el qual se haue lassato scorer fin à Taranto per pigliar certi legni di Saracini, et Iddio permesse per li nostri peccati, che per li ditti Saracini fu messo à confusion, [...].</p> | <p><b>105b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...], il quale scorse fin a Taranto per prender certe legni de Saraceni, ma Dio per le peccati nostri permese che per li detti Saraceni fusse messa larmada a confusione, [...].</p> | <p><b>58b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...], il qual se haue lasciato scorrer fin a Taranto, per prender certi legni de Saracini, et Dio permesse per li nostri peccati che per li ditti Saracini fu messo à confusion[,].</p> | <p><b>50a (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...], el qual si haue lassado scorer fino a Taranto per prender zerti legni di Saraxini i Dio premese per li nostri pechadi che li diti Saraxini fu mesi a chonfusion[,].</p> | <p><b>9b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[,] il qual corse sino à Taranto per prender alcuni legni de Saracini, ma Iddio permesse per li nostri peccati che li Saracini ne confusero [...].</p> | <p><b>4b (under Doge Domenico Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...], il qual se avò lassato scorrer fin à Taranto per prendere certi legni de' Seracini, e Dio permasse [sic:] per li nostri peccati, che per li diti Seracini el fo messo a confusion; [...].</p> |
| <p><b>63a (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...], per la qual cosa Saraceni preserno gran uigoria; et</p>   | <p><b>110a (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...], per lla qual cosa Saracinj preseno gran uigoria, et</p>   | <p><b>105b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...], per il che li Saraceni preseno uigoria et uenero fin in Dalmatia</p>   | <p><b>58b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...], per la qual cosa Saraceni presono gran</p>  | <p><b>50a (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...], per la qual cosa i Saraxini prese gran uigoria e</p>  | <p><b>9b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...], e presero per tal uittoria grande ardimto, e che</p>  | <p><b>4b (under Doge Pietro Tradomenico):</b><br/>[...]; per la qual cosa i Seracini preseno gran uigoria, e</p>   |

| <b>M 68</b>  | <b>M 2580</b>   | <b>M 1568</b>   | <b>M 791</b>   | <b>M 793</b>  | <b>M 10</b>   | <b>M 1565</b>   |
|--|---|---|--|---|---|---|
| uencno fin in Dalmatia et in le spiaze di Ancona & Romagna.  | uencno fino in Dalmatia, et in le spiaze de Ancona, et Romagna.   | et nelle spiaggie de Anchona in Romagna.  | vittoria [sic! = g], et veneno fin in Dalmatia, et in le spiaze de Anchona et Romagna.   | uene fina in Dalmazia e in la spiaza de Anchona e dela Romagna.   | uencro fin in Dalmatia et in le spiagie di Ancona, e Romagna.   | veneno fin in Dalmazia in le spiaze d'Ancona, et la Romagna.  |
| <b>63b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I, 864-881):</b><br><b>Come Saraceni venno [sic!] fin in Istria<sup>6</sup></b>             | <b>110b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I, 864-881):</b><br><b>Come Saraceni veneno fin in Istria</b>                                 | <b>106b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I, 864-881):</b><br><b>Come Saraceni ueneno con gran numero de nauilij in Istria</b>                      | <b>59a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I, 864-881):</b><br><b>Come Saraceni ueneno fino in Istria</b>  | <b>50b-51a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I, 864-881):</b>   | <b>10b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I, 864-881):</b>   | <b>5b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I, 864-881):</b>  |
| Anchona in suo tempo Saraceni venneno con gran stuolo de nauilij & intorno nel Colfo scorrendo per la Dalmatia et tutte le parte | Anchona in so tempo Saracimi veneno de gran stuola de nauiglij, et intorno nel Colpho scorrendo per lla Dalmatia, et tutte le parte | Anchona in nel tempo del ditto Dose Saraceni ueneno con gran numero de nauilij et entromno in Colfo scorrendo per la Dalmatia et tutte le parte | Anchona in suo tempo Saracini veneno con gran stuolo de nauilij, et introrno nel colpho scorrendo per la Dalmatia et tutte parte dell'Istria | Anchona in suo tempo Saraxini uene chon gran stuolo de [51a] nauilii entro nel Cholfo schorando per la Dalmazia e tutte parte de l'Istria | Anchona in tempo suo la Signoria sentendo la uenuta de Saracini uenero con gran stuolo di nauilij nelli confini della Dalmatia, e nel | Saracini ueneno con gran stuolo di nauilij in Colfo, scorando per la Dalmazia, e tutte parte dell'Istria fin à Grao, [...]. |

<sup>6</sup> The title is emphasized in red ink.

| M 68   | M 2580  | M 1568   | M 791  | M 793  | M 10  | M 1565  |
|--|---|--|--|--|---|---|
| <p>dell'Istria fino a Grado, [...].</p> <p><b>63b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I):</b> [...], per la qual cosa el detto Dose con li Venetiani andò à soccorer &amp; defender tutte le sua contrade et le conseruo senza danno, [...].</p> | <p>delle Istria fino à Grado[,][...].</p> <p><b>110b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I):</b> [...], per lla qual cossa el ditto Dose con li Uenitiani andò soccorer, et deffender tutte le sue contrade, et le conserui senza danno, [...].</p> | <p>della Istria fino a Grado, [...].</p> <p><b>106b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I):</b> [...], per il che il detto Dose con consentimento del populo mando a socorere et deffendere tuto [sic! = e] le sue contrade et le conseruo senza danno alcuno.</p> | <p>fina à Grado, [...].</p> <p><b>59a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I):</b> [...], per la qual cosa il ditto Dose con li Venetiani andò a soccorer, et defender tutte le sue contrade, et le conseruo senza danno.</p> | <p>fina a Grado[,][...].</p> <p><b>51a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I):</b> [...], per la qual cosa el dito Doxe chon li Ueniziani ando a sochorer e defender le sue chontrade et etianadio chonseruo senza algun dano [...].</p> | <p>Istria fin à Grado[,][...].</p> <p><b>10b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I):</b> [...], per la qual cosa al [sic!=e] dito Doxe ando a socorer, e difender tutte le loro contrade, e le conseruò tutte senza danno, [...].</p> | <p><b>5b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio I):</b> [...], per la qual cosa il Dose co i Venetiani andò à soccorer, e diffender tutte le so contrade, e le conseruò senza danno.</p> |
| <p><b>64a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II, 912-932):</b></p>  | <p><b>111b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II, 912-932):</b><br/>Comme fu elletto Dose miser Orsso Badner ottene il dogado. Et vno suo ffollo</p>   | <p><b>108a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II, 912-932):</b><br/>Come meser Orsso Badoer fu eletto Dose, et uno suo figliolo ritornando da</p>   | <p><b>59b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II, 912-932):</b><br/>Come fu eletto Dose meser Orso Badoer et uno suo figlio ritornando da</p>  | <p><b>51b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II, 912-932):</b></p>  | <p><b>12a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II, 912-932):</b></p>   | <p><b>6a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II, 912-932):</b></p>  |

| M 68   | M 2580  | M 1568  | M 791   | M 793  | M 10  | M 1565  |
|--|---|---|---|--|---|---|
| <p>Costui haueua un figliuol per nome chiamato Piero; questo fu mandato per Imbasador all'Imperador de Costantinopoli.</p>                         | <p><b>ritornando da Costantinopoli fu preso</b><br/>[...]. Costui haueua un figliolo per nome chiamato Piero, el qual fu mandato per embassador all'Imperator de Costantinopoli, [...].</p> | <p><b>Costantinopoli fu preso</b><br/>[...] il qual Dose haueua uno figliolo nominato Piero il quale fu mandatto per ambasciattor a l'Imperattor di Costantinopoli [...].</p> | <p><b>Constantinopoli fu preso</b><sup>7</sup><br/>[...]. Costui haueua un figliol per nome chiamato Piero. Questo fu mandato per Imbasciator all'Imperador de Constantinopoli.</p> | <p>Costui haueua uno fiol chiamato Piero [e] questo fo mandado per imbasador alo Imperador de Chostantinopoli [...].</p>                 | <p>Questo haueua un fio per nome Piero il qual fo manda per imbasator à l'Imperator à Costantinopoli [...].</p> | <p>Aueua un fio nomado Pietro, che lo mandò imbasiator dall'Imperator di Costantinopoli, [...].</p>                     |
| <p><b>64a (under Doge Orso Participazio II):</b><br/>Il qual Piero fu riceuuto dignissimamente &amp; dignitate grandissime da quello acquisto.</p> | <p><b>111b (under Doge Orso Participazio II):</b><br/>[...], el qual Piero fu recepto dignissimamente, et dignitate grandissime da,</p>   | <p><b>108a (under Doge Orso Participazio II):</b><br/>[...] dal quale egli fu accettato benignamente, et aquisto grande dignita, [...].</p>                                   | <p><b>59b (under Doge Orso Participazio II):</b><br/>Il qual Piero fu riceputo dignissimamente et dignitate grandissime da</p>  | <p><b>51b (under Doge Orso Participazio II):</b><br/>[...] el qual deto Piero dalo Imperador fo receuuto dignissimamente e degnitate</p> | <p><b>- episode missing</b></p>   | <p><b>6a (under Doge Orso Participazio II):</b><br/>[...], quale fu degnamente recevudo, e dignitate grandissima da</p> |

<sup>7</sup> The title is emphasized in red ink.

| M 68   | M 2580                         | M 1568   | M 791                          | M 793  | M 10   | M 1565                         |
|--|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------|
| <p><b>64a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II):</b><br/>Tornando per terra à Venetia da Michel Bon Dose fraudolentement e fu preso. Il qual Michel era signor in Schiaunonia, et con tutta la sua compagnia fu mandato à Simon Re de Ongaria et li stette per certo tempo. Da poi cautamente da</p> | <p>quello acquistò, [...].</p> | <p><b>108a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II):</b><br/>[...], et ritornando a Venetia per terra fraudolentissima mente fu preso da Michel Don [sic:] signor in la Schiaunonia, et con tutta la sua compagnia fo mandato al Re Simon de Ongaria douc per certo tempo el stette doppoi cautamente fugite delli, e</p> | <p>quello acquisto, [...].</p> | <p><b>51b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II):</b><br/>[...].] Tornado per tera a Uentexia da Michel Bon Dose fraudolentement e fo prexo el qual Michel gera signor in Schiaunonia e chon tutta la sua chompagnia fo mandato a Simon Re de Hongaria e la stete algun tempo dapuo cautamente da</p> | <p><b>12a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II):</b><br/>[...] da meser Michiel Bon Doxe fraudolentement e fo preso il qual Michiel era signor di Schiuonia, et con tutta la sua zente fo manda à Simon Re d'Ongaria, e stete molto tempo; ma doppo qualche tempo cautamente se ne</p> | <p>quello acquistò, [...].</p> |
| <p><b>64a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II):</b><br/>Tornando per terra à Venetia da Michel Bon Dose fraudolentement e fu preso. Il qual Michel era signor in Schiaunonia, et con tutta la sua compagnia fu mandato à Simon Re de Ongaria et li stette per certo tempo. Da poi cautamente da</p> | <p>quello acquistò, [...].</p> | <p><b>108a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II):</b><br/>[...], et ritornando a Venetia per terra fraudolentissima mente fu preso da Michel Don [sic:] signor in la Schiaunonia, et con tutta la sua compagnia fo mandato al Re Simon de Ongaria douc per certo tempo el stette doppoi cautamente fugite delli, e</p> | <p>quello acquisto, [...].</p> | <p><b>51b (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II):</b><br/>[...].] Tornado per tera a Uentexia da Michel Bon Dose fraudolentement e fo prexo el qual Michel gera signor in Schiaunonia e chon tutta la sua chompagnia fo mandato a Simon Re de Hongaria e la stete algun tempo dapuo cautamente da</p> | <p><b>12a (under Doge Orso Partecipazio II):</b><br/>[...] da meser Michiel Bon Doxe fraudolentement e fo preso il qual Michiel era signor di Schiuonia, et con tutta la sua zente fo manda à Simon Re d'Ongaria, e stete molto tempo; ma doppo qualche tempo cautamente se ne</p> | <p>quello acquistò, [...].</p> |

| <b>M 68</b>   | <b>M 2580</b>   | <b>M 1568</b>  | <b>M 791</b>   | <b>M 793</b>   | <b>M 10</b>  | <b>M 1565</b>  |
|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| <p>quello fugi et uene a Venetia.</p>   | <p>cautamente da quello fugito, et vene à Uenetia, [...].</p>   | <p>uene a Venetia, [...].</p>  | <p>quello fugi e uene a Ueniexia [...].</p>  | <p>fugi e viense à Venetia [...].</p>  |  |  |
| <p><b>64a (under Doge Pietro Candiano II, 932-939):</b><br/>In suo tempo fu mandato uno suo figlio imbasador all'Imperador de Costantinopoli per certe differentie, dal qual Imperador fu ben uisto et li fu appresentato de molti doni, poi uenne a Venetia con grande honor. Il qual haueua nome Piero [...].</p> | <p><b>112a (under Doge Pietro Candiano II, 932-939):</b><br/>In suo tempo fu fatto vno suo figliol per imbasador all'Imperador de Costantinopoli per certe differentie, dal qual Imperador fu ben uisto, et li fu appresentato de molti doni, poi uenne a Venetia con grande honor, il quale haueua nome Piero [...].</p> | <p><b>108a (under Doge Pietro Candiano II, 932-939):</b><br/>[...], nel tempo del quale uno suo figliolo nominato Piero fu mandato a l'Imperatore de Costantinopoli per certe differentie, il quale dal detto Imperatore fu ben uisto, molti doni le furno apresentati et ritorno a Venetia con grande honor, il quale haueua nome Piero, [...].</p> | <p><b>59b (under Doge Pietro Candiano II, 932-939):</b><br/>In suo tempo fu mandato vno suo figlio imbasador all'Imperador de Costantinopoli per certe differentie, dal qual Imperador fu ben uisto, et li fu appresentato de molti doni poi vene a Uenetia con grande honor. Il quale haueua nome Piero, [...].</p> | <p><b>51b (under Doge Pietro Candiano II, 932-939):</b><br/>[...] in suo tempo fo mandado uno suo fiol imbasador alo Imperador de Chostantinopoli per zerte deferenzie dal qual Imperador lui fo ben uisto e fo prexentado de molti doni e poi uene a Ueniexia [e] chon grande honor fo rezeuudo el qual</p> | <p><b>12a (under Doge Pietro Candiano II, 932-939):</b><br/>[...] 934 nel quel tempo fo manda un so fiol imbasiator à Costantinopoli per certe diferenze, il qual dal dito Imperator fò ben uisto, e li fece molti donni, poi uene à Venetia con grande onor, [...].</p> | <p><b>6a (under Doge Pietro Candiano II, 932-939):</b><br/>Mandò un sò fiol Piero ambasador all'Imperator di Costantinopoli, che fo ben visto, e la fono apparecchiadi molti doni, e venne à Venetia con grande onor, [...].</p> |

Ş. Marin, *The Muslims and the Byzantines, according to 'Veniera Chronicles' (I)*

| M 68              | M 2580   | M 1568            | M 791             | M 793   | M 10  | M 1565            |
|-------------------|--|-------------------|-------------------|---|---|-------------------|
| - episode missing | 115a (under Doge Pietro Barbolano, 1026-1032): Correndo li anni 1028 fu portado à Venetia il corpo de Santa Helena, et la pala de San Marco, il corpo de Santa Lucia, il corpo de Santa Agatha, tutti da' Constantinopoli. | - episode missing | - episode missing | - episode missing<br>fio haueua nome Piero [...]. | 15b (under Doge Pietro Barbolano, 1026-1032): Correndo li anni di Christo 1028 fo portado à Venetia il corpo di Santa Ellena, e la palla di San Marco; il corpo di Santa Lucia, et il corpo di Santa Agata da Costantinopoli. | - episode missing |