

## SOURCES AND INTERPRETATIONS

### SOME CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE ANONYMOUS *VENETIARUM HISTORIA* (14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY)

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#### Manuscripts

There are two manuscripts to be included under the name of *Venetiarum Historia*.<sup>1</sup> Both of them are from Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, respectively Marc. Lat. X 36a (3326) from the 14<sup>th</sup> century and Marc. Lat. X 237 (3659), the latter being a 15<sup>th</sup> century faithful copy.<sup>2</sup>

#### Dating

As for the dating, we certainly cannot agree with E. Guidoboni and S. Tinti, who have particularly indicated our chronicle when discussing the 12<sup>th</sup> century Venetian sources.<sup>3</sup> Generally speaking, the few scholars that have dealt with this

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<sup>1</sup> We adopt this name following the proposal advanced by those who prepared the edition issued in 1964: *Venetiarum Historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata*, ed. by Roberto Cessi and Fanny Bennato, Venezia, 1964 (hereafter: *Venetiarum Historia*).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. v; see also J.K. Fotheringham, *Genoa and the Fourth Crusade*, in "English Historical Review," 25, 1910, pp. 26-57 (p. 52 note 97); Antonio Carile, *Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae*, in "Studi Veneziani," 7, 1965, pp. 125-305 (170, 190, 192, 215); Frederic C. Lane, *The Enlargement of the Great Council of Venice*, in vol. *Florilegium Historiale. Essays Presented to Wallace K. Ferguson*, ed. by J.G. Rowe and W.H. Stockdale, [Toronto], 1971, pp. 236-274 (p. 261 note 2). For the technical data of these manuscripts, see Giuseppe Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum. Codices mss. Latini*, vol. VI, Venetiis, 1873, p. 169 sqq. *apud Venetiarum Historia*, p. v; A. Carile, *Partitio*, pp. 190, 192; Elisabetta Barile, in Elisabetta Barile, Piero Falchetta, Alessia Giachery, Piero Lucchi, Susy Marcon, Helena Szépe, Camillo Tonini, Viola Venturini, *Catalogo*, in vol. *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo*, ed. by Marino Zorzi and Susy Marcon, Venezia, 2001, pp. 337-403 (359-360); for using the manuscript Lat. X 36a, see also Thomas Weigel, *Die Reliefsäulen des Hauptaltarciboriums von San Marco in Venedig. Studien zu einer spätantiker Werkgruppe*, Münster, 1997, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> E. Guidoboni and S. Tinti, *The Largest Historical Tsunami in the Northern Adriatic Sea: A Critical Review*, in "Science of Tsunami Hazards. The International Journal of the Tsunami Society," 7, 1989, 1, pp. 45-54 (49).

text have regarded it as being written “towards 1360,”<sup>4</sup> “a little before 1360,”<sup>5</sup> “around 1360,”<sup>6</sup> later than 1358,<sup>7</sup> and even in this particular year,<sup>8</sup> being a certitude that these opinions have relied upon the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century manuscript that refers to *Renunciatio Dalmacie et tituli*, an event occurred in 1358. As for the editor Roberto Cessi, he did not go into details with regard to the years in which the chronicle had been written, speaking only in general about the 14<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>9</sup> although A. Carile, in a less attentive lecture, considers that “*il Cessi propone il 1354 come data di composizione di tale cronaca.*”<sup>10</sup> As a matter of fact, in this passage,<sup>11</sup> the editors R. Cessi and F. Bennato referred strictly to the lists of the magistrates mentioned in the chronicle itself, adding that these had been continuously integrated in the text by 1358.

Dorit Raines offers a larger perspective when fixing the period of writing between 1355 and 1357, relying upon the additions made to two rosters in the manuscript, namely the list of the Venetian rectors in Modon, initially by 1355, which is completed with the name of the official in this dignity in 1357 by the same hand but with a different *inchiostro*, and that of the Venetian captains of Serravalle, where the name of Girolamo Michiel, elected in 1357, is subsequently added by the same hand.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the anonymous chroniclers still worked upon the text in those

<sup>4</sup> Maria Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana di Giorgio Dolfin*, in “Atti dell’Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti,” 101, 1941-1942, part II, pp. 515-546 (528); Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado – La Congiura*, Firenze, 1963 [1897], p. 99; Antonio Carile, *Aspetti della cronachistica veneziana nei secoli XIII e XIV*, in vol. *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi*, ed. by Agostino Pertusi, Firenze, 1970, pp. 75-126 (107); Giorgio Ravegnani, *Dandolo, Andrea*, in vol. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 32, Roma, 1986, pp. 432-440 (439).

<sup>5</sup> Vittorio Lazzarini, *I titoli dei dogi di Venezia*, in “Nuovo Archivio Veneto,” n.s., 2, 1903, V, part I, pp. 271-311 (307).

<sup>6</sup> Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Firenze, 1969, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Silvana Collodo, *Temi e caratteri della cronachistica veneziana in volgare del Tre-Quattrocento (Enrico Dandolo)*, in “Studi Veneziani,” 9, 1967, pp. 127-151 (137).

<sup>8</sup> David Jacoby, *The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261): The Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance*, in “Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik,” 43, 1993, pp. 141-201 (p. 149 note 24).

<sup>9</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. v, xx, etc.; see also Donald M. Nicol, *La quarta crociata*, in vol. *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. II *L’età del comune*, ed. by Giorgio Cracco and Gherardo Ortalli, Roma, 1995, pp. 155-181 (178).

<sup>10</sup> A. Carile, *La cronachistica*, p. 192 note 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xvii.

<sup>12</sup> Dorit Raines, *Alle origini dell’archivio politico del patriziato: la cronaca «di consultazione» veneziana nei secoli XIV-XV*, in “Archivio Veneto,” 5<sup>th</sup> series, 150, 1998, pp. 5-57 (24 note 63).

years. Unfortunately, D. Raines neglects exactly the chronicle itself, which ends with the events connected to the Venetian-Hungarian peace in 1358. Afterwards, the scholar speaks nonetheless about “*l’anonimo del 1358 in circa*,”<sup>13</sup> although in the final table of the article she refers once again to the period between 1355 and 1357 for the manuscript Marc. Lat. X 36a,<sup>14</sup> while St. Chojnacki considers that it had been written “*by 1358*.”<sup>15</sup>

In his turn, A. Carile, taken over by Vasil Gjuzev, places the period of composition between 1354 and 1358,<sup>16</sup> while Elisabetta Barile establishes the interval between 1355 and 1358,<sup>17</sup> although she mentions later: “*l’opera fu redatta attorno al 1360, e più precisamente tra 1355 e 1358*,”<sup>18</sup> referring to the editors Cessi and Bennato. Nevertheless, the two editors spoke at the indicated place about completely other elements.<sup>19</sup> As for Th. Madden, he regards the chronicles as being written around 1360,<sup>20</sup> that is at least one decade<sup>21</sup> or at least a few years after<sup>22</sup> the period when Andrea Dandolo’s long chronicles had been written.

By combining all these data with the detail that the chronicle had referred to the year 1358, we could establish the period between 1355 and 1360 when the anonymous chronicler had worked on this text.

### Paternity

For a long time it was considered that the author of this chronicle was Piero/Pietro Giustinian, the ascribing being the result of a confusion. Marco Foscarini referred in his work to the chronicler with this name.<sup>23</sup> Relying upon the

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 47.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 56.

<sup>15</sup> Stanley Chojnacki, *In Search of the Venetian Patriciate: Families and Factions in the Fourteenth Century*, in vol. *Renaissance Venice*, ed. by John R. Hale, London, 1973, pp. 47-90 (79 note 21).

<sup>16</sup> A. Carile, *Partitio*, p. 215; Vasil Gjuzev, *La Bulgarie, Venise et l’Empire latin de Constantinople au milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in “Bulgarian Historical Review. Revue bulgare d’histoire,” 3, 1975, 4, pp. 38-49 (42).

<sup>17</sup> E. Barile, *loc. cit.*, p. 359.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>19</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. xvii-xviii and note 5 *apud* E. Barile, *loc. cit.*, p. 359.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas F. Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice*, Baltimore-London, 2003, p. 2; see also Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis. Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression*, New Haven-London, 1976, pp. 76, 111.

<sup>21</sup> Th. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 220 note 103.

<sup>23</sup> Marco Foscarini, *Della letteratura veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa*, [Bologna, 1976], [first edition: 1752], pp. 157-158.

genealogies of Marco Barbaro, he identified a certain Pietro Giustinian the son of Giustiniano and placed him around the year 1410.

Consequently, the subsequent scholars have considered that Foscarini had to have in mind exactly the manuscript Marc. Lat. X 36a, although some of them have expressed some cautions more or less clearly: “*forse un Giustiniani*,”<sup>24</sup> “*il Chronicon che s’intitola dai Giustinian*,”<sup>25</sup> “*il Chronicon venetum attribuito a Pietro Giustinian*,”<sup>26</sup> “*non si sa con quale fondamento sia attribuito a Pietro Giustinian*,”<sup>27</sup> “*la cosiddetta Chronica Justinian*,”<sup>28</sup> while D. Queller, in the bibliography for his study about the Venetian patricians, used a question mark when referring to the name of Pietro Giustinian.<sup>29</sup>

In his turn, R. Cessi currently used the formula of “*l’anonimo giustiniano*”<sup>30</sup> and adopted the solution of a clear separation between this chronicle and the one that indeed belongs to P. Giustinian, when he underlined that “*Pietro Giustinian, che rielaborò la cronaca dell’anonimo [Venetiarum Historia, n. Ș.M.]*.”<sup>31</sup>

<sup>24</sup> H. Simonsfeld, *La Cronaca Altinate*, in “Archivio Veneto,” 9, XVIII, part II, 1879, pp. 235-273 (235); see also Idem, *Andrea Dandolo e le sue opere storiche*, ibidem, 14, 1877, part I, pp. 49-149 (126); *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, ed. by H. Simonsfeld, Hannoverae, 1883, pp. 72-97; cf. *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. vii-viii.

<sup>25</sup> V. Lazzarini, *I titoli dei dogi*, p. 307.

<sup>26</sup> Idem, *Marino Faliero*, p. 99; these doubts were surpassed *ibidem*, pp. 4, 8 and especially 248, the scholar accepting the Giustinian paternity, if not even Pietro’s; see also, later, Agostino Pertusi, *Le fonti greche del «De gestis, moribus et nobilitate civitatis Venetiarum» di Lorenzo de Monacis cancelliere di Creta (1388-1428)*, in “Italia medioevale e umanistica,” 8, 1965, pp. 161-211 (192 note 2); Donald E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade. The Conquest of Constantinople. 1201-1204*, [Leicester], 1978, p. 173 note 71; Alan M. Stahl, *The Coinage of Venice in the Age of Enrico Dandolo*, in vol. *Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, ed. by Ellen E. Kittell and Thomas Madden, Urbana-Chicago, 1999, pp. 124-140 (125); Franco Rossi, *Quasi una dinastia: i Gradenigo tra XIII e XIV secolo*, in vol. *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo*, ed. by Marino Zorzi and Susy Marcon, pp. 155-187 (156); Filippo de Vivo, *Historical Justification of Venetian Power in Adriatic*, in “Journal of the History of Ideas,” 64, 2003, 2, pp. 159-176 (162 note 12).

<sup>27</sup> M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

<sup>28</sup> A. Carile, *Partitio*, p. 170; see also D.M. Nicol, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Th. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Christiane Neerfeld, *Historia per forma di Diaria. Venezianische Gegenwartchronistik um 1500*, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, Bonn, 2001 [[http://hss.ulb.uni-bonn.de/diss\\_online/phil\\_fak/2001/neerfeld\\_christiane/0235.pdf](http://hss.ulb.uni-bonn.de/diss_online/phil_fak/2001/neerfeld_christiane/0235.pdf)], p. 23.

<sup>29</sup> Donald E. Queller, *Il patriziato veneziano. La realtà contro il mito*, Roma, 1987, p. 458.

<sup>30</sup> Roberto Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, vol. II/1, Venezia, 1965, pp. 198 note 1, 203 note 3, 208 note 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 206 note 2.

As for B. Kedar or A. Kiesewetter, they have clearly stated that it is an anonymous chronicle.<sup>32</sup> At the same time, G. Ortalli or G. Saint-Guillain explicitly affirm that the author of *Venetiarum Historia* is not identified.<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile, Cesare Foligno had noticed the existence of a codex at the British Museum, inventory King's 148, having the title of *Miscellanea storica* and dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (more precisely, in 1564, according to p. 197 in the manuscript).<sup>34</sup> He also had offered a large description of it.<sup>35</sup> Although late, this codex attributes explicitly his paternity to Piero, the son of Giustiniano Giustinian (cf. f. 16r: "*Cronica Venetiarum per annos Domini divisa sub brevi titulo compilata Petro Justiniano Justiniani filio authore*"<sup>36</sup>).

Therefore, despite Dorit Raines' opinion, who considers them two versions of one and the same chronicle and puts both of them under the name of Pietro Giustinian,<sup>37</sup> and the confusion of S. Borsari, who believes that the Cessi-Bennato

<sup>32</sup> B. Kedar, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 122, 156, 232; Andreas Kiesewetter, *Preludio alla quarta crociata? Megareites di Brindisi, Maio di Cefalonia e la signoria sulle isole ionie (1185-1250)*, in vol. *Quarta crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino*, ed. by Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, Peter Schreiner, vol. I, Venezia, 2006, pp. 317-358 (340 note 91, 346 note 115, 354 note 155).

<sup>33</sup> Gherardo Ortalli, *Venezia, il mito, i sudditi. Due casi di gestione della leggenda tra medio evo ed età moderna*, in vol. *Studi Veneti offerti a Gaetano Cozzi*, [Vicenza], 1992, pp. 81-95 (92); cf. Guillaume Saint-Guillain, *Les conquérants de l'Archipel. L'empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades*, in vol. *Quarta crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino*, ed. by Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, Peter Schreiner, vol. I, pp. 125-237 (159).

<sup>34</sup> C. Foligno, *Codici di materia veneta nelle biblioteche inglesi (continua)*, in "Nuovo Archivio Veneto," n.s., 5, X, 1905, part I, pp. 89-128 (97).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 97-104.

<sup>36</sup> Antonio Carile, *Note di cronachistica veneziana: Piero Giustinian e Nicolò Trevisan*, in "Studi Veneziani," 9, 1967, pp. 103-125 (110); *Idem*, *La cronachistica*, pp. 38-39; see also C. Foligno, *op. cit.*, p. 98; *Venetiarum Historia*, p. viii. For this identification, see also A. Carile, *Partitio*, p. 189.

<sup>37</sup> Dorit Raines, *Grado nel mito delle origini del patriziato veneziano*, in vol. *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo*, ed. by Marino Zorzi and Susy Marcon, pp. 99-118 (117 note 40 and *passim*); for the taking over without discrimination of the Giustinian ascription, see also W. Heyd, *Le colonie commerciali degli Italiani in Oriente. Dissertazioni*, vol. I, Venezia-Torino, 1866, *passim*; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*, vol. I, Amsterdam, 1983, *passim*; V. Lazzarini, *I titoli dei dogi*, pp. 285 note 1, 286 note 3, 292 (using the expression of "*l'autore del cronicon che s'intitola Giustinian*," retaken at pp. 299-300, 307), 293 note 4; Frederic C. Lane, *Venetian Merchant Galleys, 1300-1334: Private and Communal Operation*, in "Speculum," 38, 1963, 2, pp. 179-205 (187 note 32); Andrea Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia nella vita pubblica e privata*, Milano, [1966], p. 58; Mario Poppi, *Ricerche sulla vita e cultura del notaio e cronista veneziano Lorenzo de Monacis, cancelliere cretese (ca. 1351-*

edition was to have the London manuscript King's 148 into consideration,<sup>38</sup> there are two different chronicles, namely the London manuscript that includes Giustinian's real chronicle and the one at Marciana that has remained anonymous.<sup>39</sup> This clear distinction represents the result of the investigation

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1428), in "Studi Veneziani," 9, 1967, pp. 153-186 (*passim*); Alberto Limentani, *Canal, Martino*, in vol. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 17, Roma, 1974, pp. 659-662, *passim*; V. Gjuzeev, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago-London, 1981, p. 63 (although he expresses his doubts about the Giustinian ascription a few lines after); Donald E. Queller and Irene B. Katele, *Venice and the Conquest of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, in "Studi Veneziani," n.s., 12, 1986, pp. 15-43 (17 note 5); Irene B. Katele, *Piracy and the Venetian State: The Dilemma of Maritime Defense in the Fourteenth Century*, in "Speculum," 63, 1988, 4, pp. 865-889 (884 note 125); D.M. Nicol, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Immagini di un mito*, in vol. *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. IV *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura*, ed. by Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, Roma, 1996, pp. 579-601 (593); Alan M. Stahl, *Zecca: The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages*, Baltimore, 2000, p. 467; Stanley Chojnacki, *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society*, Baltimore, 2000, p. 351; Gerhard Rösch, *The Serrata of the Great Council and Venetian Society, 1286-1323*, in vol. *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*, ed. by John Martin and Dennis Romano, Baltimore, Maryland-London, 2002 [2000], pp. 67-88 (70, 71); Gherardo Ortalli, *Quando il doge diventa santo. Fede e politica nell'esperienza di Pietro I Orseolo*, in "Studi Veneziani," n.s., 41, 2001, pp. 15-48 (24); Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 note 149, 214; Șerban Marin, *Dominus quartae partis et dimidia totius Imperii Romaniae. The Fourth Crusade and the Dogal Title in the Venetian Chronicles' Representation*, in "Quaderni della Casa Romana," 3, 2004, pp. 119-150 (127-128); Emily Sohmer Tai, *Marking Water: Piracy and Property in the Pre-Modern West*, 2003 [= <http://www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/seascapes/tai.html>], note 13; Ovidiu Cristea, *Rivalitatea venețiano-genoveză în Marea Neagră: campaniile lui Giustiniano Giustiniani (1323, 1328)*, in "Revista istorică," n.s., 15, 2004, 1-2, pp. 89-106 (95; the scholar thinks "Pietro" could be Giustiniano Giustiniano's son); Juergen Schulz, *The New Palaces of Medieval Venice*, Philadelphia, 2004, p. 236; Sandra Origone, *Genova e Venezia al tempo della quarta crociata*, in vol. *Quarta crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino*, ed. by Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, Peter Schreiner, vol. I, pp. 97-124 (109 and note 38); Lucia Travaini, *La quarta crociata e la monetazione nell'area mediterranea*, *ibidem*, pp. 525-553 (545 and note 2); Holly S. Hurlburt, *The Dogressa of Venice, 1200-1500: Wife and Icon*, New York, 2006; Eugenio Carminati, Silvia Enzi, Dario Camuffo, *A Study on the Effects of Seismicity on Subsidence in Foreland Basins: An Application to the Venice Area*, s.a. [= <http://www.earth-prints.org/bitstream/2122/1069/1/Carminati-Camuffo-Enzi-revised-text.doc>].

<sup>38</sup> Silvano Borsari, *Venezia e Bisanzio nel XII secolo. I rapporti economici*, Venezia, 1988, p. 136 notes 9 and 10.

<sup>39</sup> F. Lane, *The Enlargement*, *passim* was right when he resorted to the same approach.

undertaken by R. Cessi and F. Bennato, who consider that we are in front of two parallel versions, both originating in a previous archetype.<sup>40</sup> The derivation scheme proposed by the two editors illustrates this point of view:

[A]	→ Marc. Lat. X 36a (14 <sup>th</sup> c.)	→ Marc. Lat. X 237a (15 <sup>th</sup> c.)
	→ [G]	→ King's 148 (16 <sup>th</sup> c.), <sup>41</sup>

with the specification that the Giustinian version is more abridged than what we call nowadays *Venetiarum Historia* (that is, manuscript Marc. Lat. X 36a).<sup>42</sup>

Consequently, besides the archetype manuscript, Cessi and Bennato invoked a manuscript, also lost, that was to be faithfully copied by the codex at the British Museum. This lacking link was completed by A. Carile, who brought another manuscript into discussion, namely Lat. 5877 at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which contains between pages 1 and 42 the chronicle that represents P. Giustinian's text as it was known through the manuscript King's 148. A detailed analysis performed by A. Carile<sup>43</sup> demonstrates that, despite some insignificant differences, this is the codex that had been in front of the copiers in 1564 and even more, that the manuscript in Paris represents the autograph from the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This is despite the doubts expressed afterwards by Adriana Razzolini about the fidelity of the codex King's 148 to the manuscript Paris. Lat. 5877, which are not supported by sound arguments.<sup>44</sup>

Being constantly faithful to the principle according to which each manuscript represents an independent unit, we cannot but subscribe to the method employed initially by R. Cessi and F. Bennato and then by A. Carile. Therefore, we exclude the ascription to P. Giustinian of the chronicle contained in the Marciana manuscript Lat. X 36a, which maintains thus its anonymous feature. With regard to the author, we could only assert along with G. Arnaldi and L. Capo that we encounter “*un'espressa intonazione patrizia*”<sup>45</sup> or that “*la penetrazione dell'umanesimo [...] é già in parte visibile nel Caresini, che mette la cultura al servizio di Venezia, e nella Venetiarum Historia, che se ne fa sporadicamente bella*

<sup>40</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. v-ix.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. ix.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. xv; see also D. Raines, *Alle origini*, p. 26, who notices that *Venetiarum Historia* speaks about Doge Orso Badoer on two pages (see *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. xxvi-xxvii), while the version ascribed to P. Giustinian gets rid of this dogeship in no more than two lines.

<sup>43</sup> A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica*, pp. 111-115; *Idem*, *La cronachistica*, pp. 39-43.

<sup>44</sup> Adriana Razzolini, *Considerazioni sulla piu' antica cronaca veneziana in volgare (ms. Correr 1499, sec. XIV)*, in “Archivio Veneto,” 5<sup>th</sup> s., 144, CIX, 1977, pp. 5-35 (27 note 79).

<sup>45</sup> Girolamo Arnaldi and Lidia Capo, *I cronisti di Venezia e della Marca Trevigiana*, in vol. *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 2 *Il Trecento*, Vicenza, 1976, pp. 272-307 (299).

[in utterance, n. Ș.M.].”<sup>46</sup> To the same extent, we could also agree that, consequent to his hostile attitude against the dogeship of Andrea Dandolo,<sup>47</sup> the anonymous author reflected the political ideas in current use at that moment among the Venetian patricians.<sup>48</sup> Just as when depicting the episode of Doge Marino Falier’s conspiracy, the chronicler’s position is not anti-dogal anymore, but against those that condemned the doge.<sup>49</sup> All these are personal attitudes of the chronicler, who was in the middle of the debates among various families leading the Republic, but we have no possibility of making any progress regarding his identity.

Besides this social-political identification of the anonymous author of *Venetiarum Historia*, G. Arnaldi and L. Capo made an attempt, also relying on the chronicle’s text – to sketch his personality, a depiction which is not quite flattering. Thus, he seems to have been a “*uomo di limitatissime capacità, non solo come storico, ma, diciamo, come politico: non possiede alcuna limpida visione dei fatti, alcuna propria linea né nelle scelte della politica estera, né nelle questioni interne, ma ha dalla sua un grande amore per la legalità e per la giustizia e una piena familiarità con i nobili.*”<sup>50</sup> G. Arnaldi and L. Capo also underlined the lack of an option regarding the Venetian foreign policy, since the chronicler neither approves nor rejects the Venetian wars.<sup>51</sup>

As for the chronicle’s title, we maintain the version suggested by the two editors, that is *Venetiarum Historia*, still noticing the consistency with which A. Carile names the work *Cronica Venetiarum*.<sup>52</sup>

### **Editions**

The *Venetiarum Historia* was entirely edited only in 1964, by Roberto Cessi and Fanny Bennato, who relied upon manuscript Marc. Lat. X 36a. Although it has been remarked that this edition lacks critical notes<sup>53</sup> and that it does not publish some “*modus scribendi*” formulae of the dogal office that are present in the manuscript,<sup>54</sup> it is still praiseworthy.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 306.

<sup>47</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. 225.

<sup>48</sup> A. Razzolini, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>49</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. 243-245 and *apud* G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

<sup>50</sup> G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 298 note 108.

<sup>52</sup> See also E. Barile, *loc. cit.*, p. 359.

<sup>53</sup> A. Carile, *La cronachistica*, p. 109 note 1; G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 300 note 118.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 299 note 113.

Previously, when editing *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, H. Simonsfeld completed the lacuna referring to the period between the dogeship of Sebastiano Ziani and the Fourth Crusade inclusively by inserting the respective passage from the chronicle that we call nowadays *Venetiarum Historia*.<sup>55</sup> Thus, we could consider it as a first partial edition of our chronicle, although the method observed by Simonsfeld has been rightfully criticized.<sup>56</sup> Thereafter, R. Fulin and G. Monticolo recommended the editing of the chronicle,<sup>57</sup> but this expected event took place only in 1964, as we mentioned above.

### Sources and Influences

Along with Andrea Dandolo's brief chronicle and the work of Raffaino de' Caresini, *Venetiarum Historia* has been regarded as one of the main sources that had influenced the vulgar chronicles,<sup>58</sup> whose long career began just a few years after our chronicle had been written.

Although the chronicler does not mention his sources, probably as a result of his intention to present it as a personal work,<sup>59</sup> the main source of *Venetiarum Historia* is considered to be Andrea Dandolo's *Extensa*.<sup>60</sup> Sometimes this source is followed *ad litteram* (for instance, the entire period from Doge Rainieri Zen to Doge Jacopo Contarini<sup>61</sup> or when referring to various events in the 14<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>62</sup> but also when mentioning the relationship between Doge Domenico Michiel and the Patriarch of Jerusalem during the "Venetian crusade,"<sup>63</sup> the conquest of the

<sup>55</sup> *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. XIV, p. 72 sqq.

<sup>56</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xxxv note 21.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p. lv; see also J.K. Fotheringham, *op. cit.*, p. 52 note 97.

<sup>58</sup> S. Collodo, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 140-141; G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Claudio Finzi, *Scritti storici-politici*, in vol. *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. III *La formazione dello Stato patrizio*, ed. by Girolamo Arnaldi, Giorgio Cracco, Alberto Tenenti, Roma, 1997, pp. 825-864 (859).

<sup>59</sup> As R. Cessi, in *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xliii asserted. An exception is represented by the quotation of Benintendi Ravignani, four times in the last ten pages of the chronicle, see G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

<sup>60</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. xxiii, xxv-xxx, xl; A. Carile, *Partitio*, p. 190; G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, pp. 297, 299, 300, 304; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 63; D. Raines, *Alle origini*, pp. 24, 26; Fr. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 183 note 12; E. Barile, *loc. cit.*, p. 359; G. Saint-Guillain, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>61</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xxxi.

<sup>62</sup> O. Cristea, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>63</sup> R. Cessi, *Venezia ducale II*, p. 208 note 3.

Aegean archipelago,<sup>64</sup> the campaign against Messembria in 1257,<sup>65</sup> some miraculous elements<sup>66</sup>). On other occasions, the anonymous chronicler resorts to insignificant stylistic alterations<sup>67</sup> or completions from other sources. Actually, the contribution of *Extensa* represented the tool that allowed Cessi and Bennato to establish the relationship between the *Venetiarum Historia* and the chronicle of Piero Giustinian<sup>68</sup> and to conclude that the manuscript King's 148 reflects more faithfully the Dandolian pattern,<sup>69</sup> while our chronicle offers a more extensive reconstitution of the events.<sup>70</sup> The two editors presented a list of the passages that are comparable with the *Extensa*<sup>71</sup> and also proposed some comparative excerpts referring to the siege of Pola in 1198<sup>72</sup> or to the anti-Norman campaign promoted by Doge Pietro Polani,<sup>73</sup> to which A. Razzolini added the episode of the embassy sent by Doge Vitale Falier to Constantinople, the latter event being completely tributary to Dandolo's chronicle.<sup>74</sup>

H. Simonsfeld had also insisted upon the similarities of various other passages, such as when referring to the period of the doges Aurio Mastropiero (1178-1192) and Enrico Dandolo (1192-1205) and to the Fourth Crusade,<sup>75</sup> or to the campaigns initiated by Ordelafo Falier in Dalmatia.<sup>76</sup> R. Cessi and S. Collodo also compared other episodes, such as the relationship with Padua in 1110-1111<sup>77</sup> or the Dalmatian campaign in 1115,<sup>78</sup> while Fr. Rossi noticed the almost similar manner of presenting some details referring to the Gradenigo family.<sup>79</sup> Th. Madden also noted that the *Venetiarum Historia* offers an abridged version of the *Extensa*

<sup>64</sup> G. Saint-Guillain, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-158 (with the mention that the eventual amendments to the Dandolian text are exclusively stylistic, see *ibidem*, p. 159), 184 note 145, 228 note 270.

<sup>65</sup> V. Gjuzelev, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>66</sup> B. Kedar, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem* (with several examples).

<sup>68</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. viii-ix.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. xiv-xv; S. Collodo, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

<sup>70</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xiv.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. ix-xiv.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibidem*, p. xiv note 12.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. xlv-xlv.

<sup>74</sup> A. Razzolini, *op. cit.*, p. 23 note 59; see also V. Lazzarini, *I titoli dei dogi*, p. 285 note 1.

<sup>75</sup> H. Simonsfeld, *La Cronaca Altinate*, in "Archivio Veneto," 11, XXI, 1881, part II, pp. 167-202 (189-195).

<sup>76</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 196.

<sup>77</sup> R. Cessi, *Venezia ducale II*, p. 198 note 1; S. Collodo, *op. cit.*, p. 140 note 57.

<sup>78</sup> R. Cessi, *op. cit.*, p. 203 note 3.

<sup>79</sup> Fr. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 183 notes 12 and 27.

when dealing with the reconciliation between the Dandolo and Badoer families under Doge Pietro Polani.<sup>80</sup>

However, the influence of Dandolo's *Extensa* is not reduced to the content, but it is noticeable even in the structure of the *Venetiarum Historia*. Thus, D. Raines observes that the anonymous' work is structured on the Dandolian pattern, although it presents some differences with regard to the content, for instance in offering priority or not to foreign events – battles, data about the naval forces, and so on.<sup>81</sup> It is also to be noted the taking over of the Dandolian scheme, which relies upon the dogeships and, inside of each dogeship, is analytical.<sup>82</sup> To the same extent, the affection towards legacy and justice should be regarded as a Dandolian influence.<sup>83</sup>

One should not neglect the fact that the anonymous chronicler of the *Venetiarum Historia* made an effort not to retake the elements of world history from the *Extensa*, basically limiting himself to the passages on Venetian history. G. Arnaldi and L. Capo<sup>84</sup> exemplify by the long passage referring to King Manfred of Sicily, which is reduced to the text of the commercial and political agreement between this monarch and Venice,<sup>85</sup> and the chronicle continues by inserting some details about the patricians' interests, thus proving concern for the present-day affairs, which is not to be found out in Dandolo's work.<sup>86</sup>

It is natural that the partial dependence on *Extensa* comes to an end when presenting the events in 1280, when Dandolo's chronicle is over. Practically, from that moment on (meaning the dogeship of Giovanni Dandolo), a new part of our chronicle begins, regarded as "*interamente originale*,"<sup>87</sup> although there is no noticeable difference in the manner of writing, neither in form, nor in substance.<sup>88</sup> Consequently, the Dandolian aspect is not altered in any way, although the pattern had ceased to exist.<sup>89</sup>

Despite this large dependence on *Extensa*, our chronicle has also been regarded as being a part of the group of "*cronache di consultazione*,"<sup>90</sup> thus

<sup>80</sup> Th. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 220 note 103; for the event, see *ibidem*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>81</sup> D. Raines, *Alle origini*, pp. 24, 26.

<sup>82</sup> G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, pp. 297, 300.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 298.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 297.

<sup>85</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. 168.

<sup>86</sup> G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 297 note 107.

<sup>87</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xxiii.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>90</sup> Marino Zorzi, *Introduzione alla mostra*, in vol. *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo*, ed. by Marino Zorzi and Susy Marcon, pp. 11-24 (20).

depending on the other Dandolian chronicle, namely *Brevis*. In this sense, some scholars have noticed that the anonymous chronicler follows the *Brevis* chronicle especially when dealing with the city's foundation,<sup>91</sup> and this idea is illustrated by some short comparative passages.<sup>92</sup>

Moreover, modern scholars have pointed out some influences from the *Brevis* also for the part of the *Venetiarum Historia* regarded as original (post-1280).<sup>93</sup> The comment of G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, according to which we are in front of a chronicle “*che segue il solco del Dandolo – pur se del Dandolo* [as person, n. Ș.M.] *parla male*,”<sup>94</sup> is both ironical and real.

Some similarities with the Altinate chronicle have also been noticed. For instance, H. Simonsfeld had no doubts that our chronicler had had the S codex of the Altinate chronicle in front of him<sup>95</sup> and insisted upon the congruity between the two works.<sup>96</sup> The scholar revealed the identity between the indices of the noblemen families<sup>97</sup> or when comparing the passages of Trojan history,<sup>98</sup> of the visit of Pope Alexander III to Venice,<sup>99</sup> of the campaign in the Levant of Doge Domenico Michiel.<sup>100</sup> He went even further by proposing the completion of the lacuna between books V and VI of the Altinate chronicle through what he called “*Chronicon Justiniani*,”<sup>101</sup> thus retaking the method followed when editing *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*.<sup>102</sup>

Therefore, according to Simonsfeld's option, the Altinate chronicle and not the *Extensa* seems to have been the main source for our chronicle. On the other hand, E. Besta asserted that “*rispetto alle cronache [...], come quelle del Dandolo*

<sup>91</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. xxiv-xxvi, lii-liii; A. Carile, *Partitio*, p. 190; G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 297; D. Raines, *Alle origini*, p. 25.

<sup>92</sup> H. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate*, p. 189 (referring to the dogeship of Domenico Michiel); R. Cessi, in *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. xxiv (talking about the *didascalia* at the very beginning of the chronicle); xxiv-xxv (the Trojan foundation); A. Carile, *Aspetti*, pp. 87-88 (about the very beginning of the text).

<sup>93</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xxxi.

<sup>94</sup> G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

<sup>95</sup> H. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate*, p. 188.

<sup>96</sup> Idem, *Andrea Dandolo*, p. 125; Idem, *Cronaca Altinate*, p. 187.

<sup>97</sup> Idem, *Cronaca Altinate*, p. 235; see also *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xxxi; G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 299; D. Raines, *Alle origini*, p. 24.

<sup>98</sup> H. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate*, p. 187; see also R. Cessi's opinion, in *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

<sup>99</sup> H. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 189.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 188.

<sup>102</sup> See *supra*.

*o del Caresini o del Giustinian [Venetiarum Historia, n. S.M.] le coincidenze con le narrazioni del Chronicon altinate dovranno costituire un elemento di sfiducia anzichè di credito*<sup>103</sup>; thus, by a simple stroke of the pen, Besta dissolved the entire construction of H. Simonsfeld!

A more punctual analysis of the relationship between the Altinate chronicle and our work was performed by R. Cessi, the editor of the *Venetiarum Historia*. Although he admitted that the main guide for our chronicle is still the Dandolian text when dealing with the Trojan origins,<sup>104</sup> he expressed his perplexity regarding the doubts of E. Besta<sup>105</sup> and offered two comparative passages referring to this particular episode.<sup>106</sup> Still, R. Cessi had to admit that, despite the fact that the purpose seems to be analogue between the two chronicles, our chronicle offers a more detailed narrative.<sup>107</sup>

In the end, the using of the Altinate chronicle seems more ample only when presenting the lists of the noble families<sup>108</sup> or generally speaking when narrating the ancient Venetian history.<sup>109</sup> At a given point, A. Carile writes about a relatively similar approach of an *additio* of the Altinate chronicle and of *Historia Ducum Veneticorum* on some passages about the Fourth Crusade,<sup>110</sup> but, when referring to the edition of H. Simonsfeld,<sup>111</sup> he has in mind the part taken over by the editor from the *Venetiarum Historia*. These comparisons are not to be relied on, especially as A. Carile himself offers later, when dealing with another episode, an example of differences in the text.<sup>112</sup>

Alberto Limentani suggests a possible influence of the chronicle of Martino da Canal on the *Venetiarum Historia*,<sup>113</sup> while L.A. Berto notices some succinct

<sup>103</sup> Enrico Besta, *I trucchi della cosiddetta cronaca altinate*, in "Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti," LXXIV, 1914-15, 2, pp. 1275-1330 (1330).

<sup>104</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xxxi.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibidem*, p. liv.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidem*, p. xxxii.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibidem*, p. xxxiii; D. Raines, *Grado*, pp. 108, 110-115; E. Barile, *loc. cit.*, p. 359.

<sup>109</sup> O. Cristea, *op. cit.*, p. 95. For the use of the Altinate chronicle, see also A. Carile, *Partitio*, p. 190.

<sup>110</sup> Idem, *La cronachistica*, p. 176.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 176 note 4.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 185.

<sup>113</sup> Alberto Limentani, *Martino da Canal e l'Oriente Mediterraneo*, in vol. *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. by Agostino Pertusi, vol. I *Storia-Diritto-Economia*, Firenze, 1973, pp. 229-252 (252, with the mention that "*il fatto non è nemmeno del tutto sicuro*"); Idem, *Canal, Martino*, p. 662; Idem, *Martino da Canal e «Les estoires de Venise»*, in vol. *Storia della cultura veneta. Dalle origini al Trecento*, Vicenza, 1976, pp. 590-601 (600).

details common to Martino da Canal's and Pietro Giustinian's texts.<sup>114</sup> Nevertheless, a possible influence of this chronicle has been regarded with skepticism.<sup>115</sup> As for the use of *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, it has been sometimes emphasized<sup>116</sup> and regarded as being among the most notable.<sup>117</sup> *Historia Ducum Veneticorum* was used to a significant extent in the same manner as A. Dandolo's chronicles, that is "spesso in forma letterale, con qualche riduzione o qualche alterazione verbale senza troppo discostarsi dallo schema formale e sostanziale."<sup>118</sup> However, the scholars have proposed the comparison in describing the anti-Norman campaign promoted by Doge Pietro Polani<sup>119</sup> (1130-1148) and in addition have presented the passages in the two chronicles that could be regarded as similar.<sup>120</sup>

Certainly, once established the separation between the *Venetiarum Historia* and P. Giustinian's chronicle, one could follow a possible influence of one upon the other, although it is not clear which one influenced the other. In this sense, Silvano Borsari even noticed the common method in presenting the episode when Doge Vitale Falier obtained the title of duke of Dalmatia and Croatia, which he compared also with codex Co 1499 and with manuscript Cod. Lat. 14621 at Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.<sup>121</sup> Despite all these resemblances, R. Cessi and F. Bennato referred to a common source for both chronicles.<sup>122</sup> Going even further, A. Carile, according to his derivation schemes, refers to a 13<sup>th</sup> century archetype, from which both chronicles were to descend, along with the A Latin and A Vulgar families, the *Brevis* and even the chronicle ascribed to Marco,<sup>123</sup> as follows:

<sup>114</sup> Luigi Andrea Berto, in vol. *Testi storici veneziani (XI-XII secolo). Historia Ducum Veneticorum. Annales Venetici breves. Domenico Tino, Relatione de electione Dominici Silvi Venetorum ducis*, Padova, 2000 [1999], p. xxvi.

<sup>115</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. xxxiii-xxxv; G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

<sup>116</sup> H. Simonsfeld (who used our chronicle in order to complete the lacunae in *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, see *ed. cit.*, p. 72 ff.); *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. xxxv-xl, liv; R. Cessi, *Venezia ducale II*, p. 203 note 3 (in connection with the prologue of the Dalmatian campaign in 1115; however, afterwards our anonymous chronicler comes back to Dandolo's *Extensa*); A. Carile, *Partitio*, p. 190; Idem, *La cronachistica*, p. xii.

<sup>117</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xxxv.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibidem*, p. xxxvi.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. xliv-xlv.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. xxxvi-xl.

<sup>121</sup> S. Borsari, *op. cit.*, p. 136 and note 11.

<sup>122</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xv and *passim*.

<sup>123</sup> A. Carile, *La cronachistica*, pp. 43-44; see also D. Jacoby, *op. cit.*, p. 149 note 24; E. Barile, *loc. cit.*, pp. 358, 359.

- x → Marco (1292)  
 → x → abridged version  
     → *Brevis*  
     → A Vulgar  
     → P. Giustinian  
     → A Latin  
     → *Venetiarum Historia*.<sup>124</sup>

Just like the one proposed by R. Cessi and F. Bennato, Carile's scheme relies upon chronicles whose existence could only be supposed and which he considers lost. This scheme has not been always accepted,<sup>125</sup> because of this reason and also of some others, such as the fact that, for instance, Marco and P. Giustinian have nothing in common<sup>126</sup> and that A. Carile strictly uses some particular episodes (that is, the introduction and the Fourth Crusade) in order to demonstrate various dependences and derivations.<sup>127</sup>

However, we can mention here the comparable passages of the two chronicles taken into account: the prologue,<sup>128</sup> Pietro Polani's campaign against the Normans in Southern Italy,<sup>129</sup> the dogeship of Vitale Michiel,<sup>130</sup> the siege of Pola under Doge Enrico Dandolo,<sup>131</sup> the fights in 1357 against King Louis of Hungary,<sup>132</sup> the end of the text.<sup>133</sup> At the same time, when editing the text about the origins and the *Partitio Romaniae* in the London and Paris codices of Pietro Giustinian's chronicle, A. Carile makes many references to our chronicle.<sup>134</sup>

In his turn, R. Loenertz considers the two manuscripts, Marc. Lat. X 36a and Marc. Lat. X 237, as starting points for what he has defined as the category A of Venetian chronicles, along with the manuscript King's 148 at the British Museum (ascribed to Pietro Giustinian) and a certain codex at Archivio di Stato di Venezia, inventory I 57 (*olim* 941), t. IV, which would represent a vulgar version of this

<sup>124</sup> A. Carile, *La cronachistica*, p. 45.

<sup>125</sup> G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-304 and note 132.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 304.

<sup>127</sup> Silvana Collodo, *Note sulla cronachistica veneziana. A proposito di un recente volume*, in "Archivio Veneto," 5<sup>th</sup> s., 91, 1970, pp. 13-30 (14 and *passim*).

<sup>128</sup> A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica*, p. 117.

<sup>129</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. xlv-xlv.

<sup>130</sup> S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri*, p. 137 note 48.

<sup>131</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xiv note 12.

<sup>132</sup> S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri*, p. 138 note 49.

<sup>133</sup> A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica*, p. 118.

<sup>134</sup> Idem, *La cronachistica*, pp. 253-259, respectively 291-292.

chronicle family.<sup>135</sup> Nowadays, M. Zorzi notices an approach to the anonymous M 89, relying upon a structural analogy.<sup>136</sup>

As for us, we initially included this chronicle along with Sanudo's *Le vite de' dogi*, when referring to the election of Tommaso Morosini as patriarch of Constantinople<sup>137</sup> and to the campaign in the Ionian Sea of the same character.<sup>138</sup> Nevertheless, we approached it later to the first category of chronicles, along with codices M 2571 and M 2581, in the following contexts: the election of Baldwin of Flanders as Latin emperor,<sup>139</sup> the dogal title of *Dominus* (although we noted here an approach to the second category, comprising the *Extensa*, and Lorenzo de Monacis', Pietro Dolfin's and Andrea Navagero's chronicles),<sup>140</sup> Doge Domenico Michiel's anti-Byzantine actions,<sup>141</sup> Giustiniano Partecipazio's embassy to Constantinople.<sup>142</sup> Finally, when dealing with the events in 1261, we resorted to its insertion in the second category of chronicles.<sup>143</sup>

In time, scholars have raised the question of the usage of official documents by our chronicler,<sup>144</sup> some of them being reproduced.<sup>145</sup> On the whole, it has been

<sup>135</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 212; for this chronicle family, see *ibidem*, pp. 210-212.

<sup>136</sup> M. Zorzi, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>137</sup> Șerban Marin, *The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople. The Representation of Tommaso Morosini in the Venetian Chronicles*, in "Quaderni della Casa Romena," 2, 2002, pp. 49-90 (61).

<sup>138</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 76.

<sup>139</sup> Idem, *The Venetian 'Empire.' The Imperial Elections in Constantinople in 1204 in the Representation of the Venetian Chronicles*, in "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia," 5, 2003, pp. 185-245 (214-215).

<sup>140</sup> Idem, *Dominus quartae partis*, p. 128.

<sup>141</sup> Idem, *A Precedent to the Fourth Crusade. The Anti-Byzantine Campaign of Doge Domenico Michiel in 1122-1126 According to the Venetian Chronicles*, in "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia," 6-7, 2004-2005, pp. 239-266 (251-253).

<sup>142</sup> Idem, *Giustiniano Partecipazio and the Representation of the First Venetian Embassy to Constantinople in the Chronicles of the Serenissima*, in "Historical Yearbook," 2, 2005, pp. 75-92 (77).

<sup>143</sup> Idem, *Veneția și căderea unui imperiu. Reprezentarea momentului 1261 în cronică venețiană*, in "Revista istorică," n.s., 14, 2003, 3-4, pp. 211-254 (215).

<sup>144</sup> V. Lazzarini, *I titoli dei dogi*, p. 286 nota 3 (about Doge Vitale Falier's title); *Venetiarum Historia*, pp. xx, liii; A. Carile, *Partitio*, p. 190; Idem, *La cronachistica*, p. 193 (about the agreement in March 1204); O. Cristea, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>145</sup> Some examples of the usage the official documents: R. Cessi, *Venezia ducale II*, p. 192 note 1 (transfer of the Episcopate of Malamocco), 204 note 4 (a privilege granted to a monastery in Dalmatia in 1116); Th. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 208 note 18 (a donation in 982 from Doge Tribuno Memo to Abbot Giovanni Morosini) and note 35 (a treaty, nowadays lost, between Doge Domenico Selvo and Emperor Henry III).

noticed even a critical feature of the author, exemplified by the method of contaminating between A. Dandolo and Altinate when presenting Doge Pietro Tradonico<sup>146</sup> or the two versions of the episode in 1177 offered by Dandolo and *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, finally Dandolo's being preferred.<sup>147</sup>

As for possible sources from outside of the Venetian space, they had a very scanty influence upon the *Venetiarum Historia*.<sup>148</sup> For instance, when presenting Doge Marino Falier's conspiracy and in order to sustain the anti-popular option the anonymous chronicler quotes Aristotle's *Politikon*<sup>149</sup>; this however does not necessarily mean he used Aristotle's opus, since it could have been a widely circulating expression.

Along with *Brevis* and the chronicle of Raffaino de' Caresini, *Venetiarum Historia* has been regarded as one of the most important sources for the subsequent chronicles written in vulgar language.<sup>150</sup> It was used especially for the period after 1342, absent in Dandolo's *Brevis*.<sup>151</sup> Nonetheless, concrete references to this possible influence take into consideration only codex M 37<sup>152</sup> and the chronicle ascribed to Enrico Dandolo,<sup>153</sup> and passages to demonstrate them refer only to the dogeship of Vitale Michiel<sup>154</sup> and to the confrontations with Louis of Anjou in 1357,<sup>155</sup> both compared with the chronicle ascribed to Enrico Dandolo. With interrogatory marks, it has been noticed the possibility of using the *Venetiarum Historia* by Caresini<sup>156</sup> and by the chronicle ascribed to Nicolò Trevisan.<sup>157</sup> *Venetiarum Historia* has also been enumerated among the sources of Lorenzo de Monacis,<sup>158</sup> although this latter does not mention it explicitly,<sup>159</sup> and of the chronicle ascribed to Zorzi Dolfin.<sup>160</sup> It has also been regarded as having the same

<sup>146</sup> G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 297 note 103.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 297.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 299.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 298.

<sup>150</sup> S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri*, pp. 137, 140-141; G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Cl. Finzi, *op. cit.*, p. 859.

<sup>151</sup> S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri*, p. 138.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 137 note 46.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibidem*; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>154</sup> S. Collodo, *Temi e caratteri*, p. 137.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 138.

<sup>156</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. xxiii.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibidem*, p. xxii; Fr. Lane, *The Enlargement*, p. 240.

<sup>158</sup> A. Pertusi, *Le fonti*, p. 192; A. Carile, *La cronachistica*, p. 194 – both studies, for the episode of the Fourth Crusade.

<sup>159</sup> M. Poppi, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

<sup>160</sup> A. Carile, *La cronachistica*, p. 117; Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 69 note 149.

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method of presentation as Marino Sanudo's chronicle when describing a detail referring to the Gradenigo family.<sup>161</sup>

The present paper intends to clarify some more or less controversial aspects of a particular Venetian chronicle, namely the anonymous *Venetiarum Historia*. Far from having the pretension to offer a definite answer to all the issues raised, we are aware that the solutions we present here could in their turn become new questions with regard to this writing. That is why the article makes an attempt to offer various opinions expressed in time by scholars that have dealt with the *Venetiarum Historia* more or less tangentially. In addition, we expressed our own points of view concerning the following aspects: the manuscripts, the dating, the (supposed) paternity, its possible sources and influences, and the situation of its editing.

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<sup>161</sup> Fr. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 183 note 27.