

Miika Kuha

Transmission of Knowledge in  
Venetian Fourteenth-Century  
Chronicles



JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN HUMANITIES 334

Miika Kuha

# Transmission of Knowledge in Venetian Fourteenth-Century Chronicles

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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

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Outi Merisalo

Department of Language and Communication Studies, University of Jyväskylä

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Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities

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## ABSTRACT

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Finnish summary

Diss.

The doctoral thesis analyzes eight Venetian chronicles written c. 1340–1390. It looks into the transmission of these texts by examining their mutual relationships and by reconstructing the textual tradition of individual works. The research was conducted by using the book historical method in which an individual volume is examined from the perspective of textual history, its physical features and ownership history to give a global view of its genesis and functions. The method combines textual criticism and comparative textual analysis with codicological and palaeographical research. The results show that Venetian fourteenth-century chronicles generally had a limited early circulation. This is indicated by the significant impact of the structure and contents of their earliest manuscripts on the textual tradition of these chronicles during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The key finding of the present thesis is that several of the examined texts derive from the *Chronica brevis*, a brief Latin chronicle of Venice written by the doge and prehumanist Andrea Dandolo (1306–1354). The interpretation challenges the prevalent theory linking these texts to twelfth- and thirteenth-century chronicles that are not preserved. The new model significantly clarifies the picture of Venetian history writing and provides a new research orientation for scholarship on the history of medieval and early modern Venice.

Keywords: Venice, history writing, chronicles, medieval, textual transmission, book history, Andrea Dandolo, Benintendi de' Ravagnani.

**Author's address** Miika Kuha  
Department of Language and Communication Studies  
P.O. Box 35 (F 204)  
FI-40014 University of Jyväskylä, Finland  
miika.t.kuha@jyu.fi

**Supervisors** Prof. Outi Merisalo  
Department of Language and Communication Studies  
University of Jyväskylä

Dr. Raija Vainio  
Department of Language and Communication Studies  
University of Jyväskylä

**Reviewers** Prof. Lidia Capo  
Dr. Marino Zabbia

**Opponent** Dr. Marino Zabbia

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Research for the present thesis begun in Rome in 2011 during the course on medieval studies organized by the *Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales*. The research stay in Rome and the lectures I had the pleasure to listen to during the course were the starting point of the present project. Initially, it aimed at the *editio princeps* of the *Chronica Venetiarum*, a Latin chronicle of Venice by Benintendi de' Ravagnani, who was one of the most important figures of Venetian prehumanism. A preliminary version of the edition, my licenciate thesis, was completed by the end of 2013. By that time, I had become member of the research project *Tralmar* (*Transmission of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, no. 267518, 2013–2017, Academy of Finland and the University of Jyväskylä), which gave me the opportunity to do further research on Venetian history writing with the ultimate aim of improving the edition. The research stays during the *Tralmar* years, especially those in Venice, Turin, Paris and Berlin, changed the direction of the present project as they led to unexpected findings. From that point onwards, I have worked intensively to verify the most important of these, a new model explaining the sources and origin of several Venetian chronicles. The model is presented in the fourth and final article of the present doctoral thesis.

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Becoming member of the *Tralmar* project made most of the research for the doctoral thesis possible. I worked for the project for almost four years in 2013–2017 and it also provided funding for several research stays abroad. Prior to *Tralmar*, the project was funded on three occasions by the Reinhold Ekholm foundation. Their support was fundamentally important since it gave me an opportunity to effectively begin my Venetian studies. I also wish to thank the Foundation Institutum Romanum Finlandiae for granting me the Wihuri research fellowship for the academic year 2013–2014. I extend my thanks to the University of Heidelberg and the German Center for Venetian Studies for the travel grant to participate in the course on Venetian studies organized by the two institutions.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

### *Primary sources*

<i>Brevis</i>	Andrea Dandolo, <i>Chronica Brevis</i>
<i>Extensa</i>	Andrea Dandolo, <i>Chronica per extensum descripta</i>
<i>Chron. Ven.</i>	Benintendi de' Ravagnani, <i>Chronica Venetiarum</i>

### *Libraries*

BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BEU	Biblioteca Estense Universitaria
BMCVe	Biblioteca del Museo Correr
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
BNC	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II
BNU	Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
KSRL	Kenneth Spencer Research Library
PUL	Princeton University Library
SBB-PK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz

## LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

- Article 1 Kuha, Miika (2012). Note intorno alla tradizione manoscritta di *Chronica Venetiarum* di Benintendi de' Ravagnani. *Arctos (Acta Philologica Fennica)* 46: 79-94.
- Article 2 Kuha, Miika (Accepted for publication). Un altro testo da recuperare: la Cronica attribuita a Benintendi de' Ravagnani. In G. Ortalli (a c. di), *Equilibri adriatici: Venezia-Ungheria-Zara e la guerra del 1345-1346*, atti del convegno (Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 13-14 febbraio 2014) (provisional title). Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti.
- Article 3 Kuha, Miika (2016). The Early Circulation of Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica per extensum descripta* in the light of the ms. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7. *Renæssanceforum* 11: 127-144.
- Article 4 Kuha, Miika (Accepted for publication). The Elaboration and Transmission of Historical Knowledge in Fourteenth-Century Venice - Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica Brevis* as a Catalyst of History Writing. *Viator* 48 (3).

## 1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The present thesis will examine the early transmission and transformation of eight Venetian chronicles written *c.* 1340–1390. The research objective is to explore patterns of transmission both by reconstructing the textual traditions of individual works and by examining the interdependence between the texts in question. While the textual traditions will be reconstructed by analyzing the manuscript witnesses of five works from the point of view of codicology and palaeography, the interdependence of the texts will be studied through a detailed comparison of the works.

The corpus consists of eight subcorpora. The manuscripts listed below are first-hand witnesses used in the present thesis, all examined in the original. In addition, a series of secondary manuscript witnesses have been studied in digital reproduction.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, three texts were examined in a printed version (subcorpora 1, 5 and 6).

**1.** Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica Brevis*, *c.* 1330–1342, Latin.

A concise history of Venice from the city's foundation until Dandolo's election as doge in 1342. The text was largely derived from the earliest local history, the *Istoria Veneticorum* by John the Deacon (tenth century). Edition: *Andreae Danduli Ducis Venetiarum Chronica Brevis, aa. 46–1342*, edited by E. Pastorello, *R.I.S.* 12/1, Bologna 1939, 351–373.

**2.** Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, *c.* 1340–1350, Latin, manuscripts used: Venice, BNM, lat. Z.400 (=2028); Turin, BNU, J.IV.7.

An extensive chronicle merging material from earlier Venetian chronicles with information from documentary sources and the universal chronicle *Historia Satyrical* by Paulinus Minorita (1270–1344). Apparently unfinished, it covers the period from the revelation of St. Mark until the year 1280. Edition: *Andreae Dan-*

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<sup>1</sup> A single manuscript was studied on the basis of a transcription (MA thesis by Angela Tufo, quoted in article 4). Several copies of subcorpora texts have been excluded from the present research because they rather illustrate later phases of the transmission. The latter are obviously beyond the scope of the present research.



*duli Ducis Venetiarum Chronica per extensum descripta*, edited by E. Pastorello, *R.I.S.* 12/1, Bologna 1939, 5–327.

3. Andrea Dandolo, *Cronicha de la citade et de tuta la provenza de Venexia*, c. 1340–1360, Venetian, manuscripts used: Modena, BEU, It. 106 (=α.t.6.32); Paris, BNF, It. 783.

An anonymous translation of the *Chronica Brevis* in Venetian with a series of concise additions. Both fourteenth-century manuscripts also present continuations, each one different. The continuation in the Modena copy has been attributed to Benintendi de' Ravagnani.

4. Anonymous, *Cronicha de tutta la provinça della çittade de uiniexia (=A volgare)*, c. 1340–1360, Venetian, manuscripts used: Venice, BMCVe, Correr 1013 and Correr 1499.

A rewritten version of no. 3, amplified with various materials, e.g. regarding the Trojan origins of Venice and the creation of the Stato da Màr. A plethora of later Venetian chronicles are based on this text. In the earliest manuscript it covers the period from the beginnings of Venice until the year 1361.

5. Anonymous, *Chronica compilata per illustrissimum dominum dominum Andrea Dandolo (=A latina)*, c. 1340–1360, Latin.

A Latin translation of the *A volgare* attributed in the manuscripts to Andrea Dandolo. The time span is the same as in the *Chronica Brevis*. It is generally assumed that the *A volgare* is actually a translation in Venetian of the *A latina*. Edition: *Cronaca «A Latina». Cronaca veneziana del 1343*, a cura di Negri di Montenegro, Caterina, Spoleto 2004.<sup>2</sup>

6. Piero Giustinian, *Cronica Veneciarum*, c. 1354–1358. Latin.

A chronicle mainly based on a retranslation of the *A volgare* into Latin. It presents substantial additions to the *A volgare* narrative taken from a variety of sources. It describes the history of Venice from the foundation until the year 1358. Edition: *Il codice autografo di Piero Giustinian: un esempio di genesi ed evoluzione della cronachistica medievale*, PhD thesis by Luca Fiori, University of Bologna, 2014.

7. Benintendi de' Ravagnani, *Chronica Venetiarum*, c. 1350–1360, Latin, manuscripts used: Princeton, PUL, Garrett 156; Venice, BNM, lat. XIV. 177 (=4607); Rome, BNC, San Gregorio 30; Venice, BMCVe, Gradenigo Dolfin 34. The present study covers all the presently known copies.

<sup>2</sup> Although the analysis of this text will be mainly based on the printed version, the structure of two early copies will be studied to illustrate its early transmission. These manuscripts are Venice, BMCVe, Provenienze Diverse 392c (studied in the original) and Munich, BSB, MS clm 14621 (Rat. S. Emm. 521) (studied in digital reproduction available on the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek website: <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0007/bsb00078744/images/index.html?seite=00001&l=de>).

An abbreviated and stylized version of no. 2 containing a very limited amount of original passages, e.g. a prologue and supplementary material regarding the legendary foundation of Venice on 25 March 421. It covers the period from the revelation of St. Mark until the year 976.

8. Rafaino Caresini, *Venetiarum Chronica*, c. 1380–1390, Latin, manuscripts used: Turin, BNU, J.IV.7; Venice, BMCVe, P. D. 142c. Several later copies were excluded from the present study (see n. 1).

A chronicle of Venice covering the period from the year 1343 until the year 1388. It is an important narrative source for the period especially as regards later events described in detail by the author. The chronicle contains a lengthy chapter dedicated to the War of Chioggia (1378–1381). Edition: *Raphayni de Caresinis cancellarii Venetiarum Chronica*, AA. 1343–1388, edited by E. Pastorello, R.I.S. 12/2, Bologna 1922, 3–74.

The present thesis will address the following research questions.

**A.** Which transmission patterns may be distinguished?

In article 1, *Note intorno alla tradizione manoscritta di Chronica Venetiarum di Benintendi de' Ravagnani*, this research question will be addressed through an analysis of the manuscript witnesses of subcorpus 7. To achieve this, the numerically limited textual tradition of the work is reconstructed through a comparison of variant readings. Significantly more complex textual traditions will be analyzed in articles 3 (*The Early Circulation of Andrea Dandolo's Chronica per extensum descripta in the light of the ms. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7*) and 4 (*The Elaboration and Transmission of Historical Knowledge in Fourteenth-Century Venice – Andrea Dandolo's Chronica Brevis as a Catalyst of History Writing*).

Article 3, which examines subcorpora 2, 7 and 8, also presents an analysis of variant readings, which reflect early scribal or possibly authorial interventions. In contrast to article 1, the analysis only covers the earliest manuscripts in subcorpora 2 and 8. The critical editions of the works were also used in this article. Article 4, furthermore, studies a highly complex transmission pattern produced through a series of interventions by persons involved in copying, translating and rewriting the works in question. For this article, five texts (subcorpora 1, 3–6) will be compared in detail.

**B.** How did the information change during the process of transmission?

The similarities between copies of individual works, on the one hand, and those between subcorpora, on the other, reflect a variety of strategies in both preserving and altering the texts in question. Changes in contents are studied in article 2 (*Un altro testo da recuperare: la Cronica attribuita a Benintendi de' Ravagnani*) through textual comparison (subcorpora 2 and 7). The article will attempt to

identify the motives for both rewriting the subcorpus 2 text and adding and omitting information during the process.

Article 3 will study resemblances and differences of subcorpora 2 and 7 by juxtaposing and comparing more passages from the two works. Here the comparison will also cover variant readings from subcorpus 2 manuscripts not registered in the critical edition of E. Pastorello. The comparative analysis of this material indicates similarities between the early manuscripts of subcorpora 2 and 7 bearing on the attribution of these texts.

The second research question is further addressed in article 4 connecting three anonymous works (subcorpora 4-6) to Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica brevis*. This article will analyze the textual processes leading from the subcorpus 3 text to those chronicles. It will examine changes in contents and style explained by both the translation of the texts and their partial rewriting. The article will propose an interpretation of the genesis of these texts substantially different from the influential one developed by A. Carile, who argued for all these texts deriving from lost chronicles composed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

C. What is the role of these works in the development of history writing in Venice?

The importance of the subcorpus texts in the development of Venetian history writing greatly differs from work to work. Moreover, there is diachronic variation in this respect, indicated by the circulation of individual works. Article 1 will analyze a work of little importance (subcorpus 7), while articles 3 and 4 examine highly significant works with a great deal of variation in early circulation (subcorpora 1, 2 and 8). The research has necessitated information on previous owners and readers of the manuscripts. In order to examine this aspect, a detailed codicological analysis of seven manuscripts was first conducted. Secondly, a series of printed and handwritten catalogues of book collections were studied. The reception of the subcorpus 7 text will also be analyzed through textual comparison with later Venetian chronicles and histories of Venetian literature susceptible of drawing on it. The identified passages will be discussed in articles 1 and 2.

Furthermore, the third research question will be addressed by examining the role of MS Turin, BNU, J.IV.7 in the textual history of two works (subcorpora 2 and 8). Article 3 will analyze this manuscript from the points of view of contents and specific readings. The third research question will also be addressed in article 4, demonstrating the decisive role of Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica brevis* for the development of history writing in Venice. The key finding of the thesis, presented in article 4, firmly links the *Chronica brevis* to the anonymous chronicle known as *A volgare*, which is the base text of a myriad of later Venetian chronicles.

## 2 BACKGROUND: A BRIEF HISTORY OF VENETIAN HISTORY WRITING

The history of Venetian history writing in the Middle Ages is commonly divided in two periods: before and after the historical works by doge Andrea Dandolo, which are also the key texts of the present study (subcorpora 1 and 2).<sup>3</sup> The difference between the two periods is so clear that Dandolo's chronicles have been termed the watershed, *spartiacqua*, of Venetian history writing.<sup>4</sup> They stimulated, as is shown in article 4, a rich production of historical texts reflected in the myriad of manuscripts with Venetian chronicles scattered in research libraries in Europe and North America. These texts were mainly written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on the basis of earlier narratives deriving from Dandolo's chronicles through a complex web of reworkings and translations.

By Dandolo's time, local history was already an established genre in Venice. The first known chronicle focusing on Venice and the nearby region, the *Istoria Veneticorum*, was written at the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>5</sup> This text, covering the period from the arrival of Lombards in Italy until 1008, is commonly attributed to a John the Deacon, who was involved in the ducal government at the turn of the millenium.<sup>6</sup> The *Istoria Veneticorum* had an important role in the later development of Venetian history writing. For instance, Dandolo's *Chronica brevis* substantially depends on it. Consequently, several *Istoria Veneticorum* parts later appear in Late Medieval Venetian chronicles, e.g. the initial chapter briefly describing the limits of the legendary first Venice, *Prima Venecia*, and its successor, the maritime second Venice, *Secunda Venecia*.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For an overview on the beginnings of Venetian history writing, see Fasoli 1970, 11–44. For the later evolution of the genre in Venice, see Carile 1969, Pertusi 1970, 269–332 and Dursteler 2013, 1–25. A list of Venetian medieval chronicles is in Zordan 1998, 27–29 and in Nanetti 2010, 1759–1813.

<sup>4</sup> Carile 1970, 83.

<sup>5</sup> Giovanni Diacono, *Istoria Veneticorum*. For the author, contents and sources of the chronicle, see Berto 1999, 7–24.

<sup>6</sup> Berto 1999, 7–8.

<sup>7</sup> Giovanni Diacono, *Istoria Veneticorum*, 48. *Brevis*, 351.

The local chronicles surviving from the following three centuries greatly vary in style, contents and structure. As in the case of the *Istoria Veneticorum*, very little is known about their authors. There are also questions pending as regards their date and textual boundaries. Moreover, texts with relatively little material on the history of Rialto and mainly focusing on other parts of the Venetian lagoon are also referred to scholarship pertaining to Venetian history writing. For example, the eleventh-century *Chronicon Gradense* describes the origin of a variety of early lagunar communities, such as Burano and Mazzorbo.<sup>8</sup> It stresses the institutional continuity between the Patriarchate of Aquileia and its alleged successor, the Patriarchate of Grado, which is also highlighted in many later chronicles of Venice (cf. article 4). The wide geographical scope of modern research on Venetian historiography is also shown by studies on such texts as the eleventh-century *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, a chronicle of the Patriarchs of Aquileia covering the period from 569 to 1045.<sup>9</sup>

Some of the early Venetian chronicles had a very complex transmission history, showing that a long tradition of rewriting historical texts already existed before Dandolo's time. The elaboration and accumulation of historical knowledge is demonstrated e.g. by the textual development of the *Chronicon Altinate*, which was written between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup> It is preserved in three manuscripts, each presenting the text in a conspicuously different arrangement. This has been explained by the separate circulation of individual quires before they were bound together.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the *Chronicon Altinate* quires were rewritten at several stages during a long period of time. As a result of these processes, the three extant versions present substantial differences.

The variety of approaches by Venetian historians is clearly demonstrated by the currently known thirteenth-century chronicles. The *Historia ducum Veneticorum*, an anonymous Latin chronicle covering the period from 1102 to 1229, stresses the importance of ducal government in the growth of Venice.<sup>12</sup> This is clearly stated in the prologue, from which several elements were transmitted to the Venetian fifteenth- and sixteenth-century chronicles through Dandolo's *Brevis*.<sup>13</sup> The *Historia ducum Veneticorum* was also characterised by a structure resembling that of works belonging to the *Gesta episcoporum* genre. It was divided according to ducal reigns, which was to characterize many other Venetian chronicles as well.

<sup>8</sup> *Chronicon Gradense*. Fasoli 1970, 31–33.

<sup>9</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*. Berto 2010, 429–430.

<sup>10</sup> The chronicle was edited by Roberto Cessi under the title *Origo civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum* (Roma 1933). Fasoli 1970, 33–44. For scholarly debates on the *Chronicon Altinate*, see Marin 2013a, 83–104.

<sup>11</sup> Fasoli 1970, 33–34.

<sup>12</sup> *Historia ducum Veneticorum*. For bibliography on this chronicle, see Marin 2010, 9–29. For the *Historia ducum* view on the ducal institution and the Veneto-Byzantine relations, see Berto 2016, 115–119, 125–127.

<sup>13</sup> *Historia ducum Veneticorum*, 72–73, *Brevis*, 351. For similarities between the prologues, see Arnaldi 1970, 139–140 and Zabbia 1999, 230–231.

Due to its detailed account of contemporary history, the Franco-Venetian history of Venice by Martin da Canal, *Les estoires de Venise*, from the origins until 1275, is a monumental work compared to the *Historia ducum Veneticorum*.<sup>14</sup> The chronicle is characterised by speeches and dialogues between the protagonists enriching the narrative. The Latin chronicle attributed to a Marco, probably written in the last decade of the thirteenth century, is a notably more heterogeneous and concise work compared to both the *Historia ducum Veneticorum* and the *Les estoires de Venise*.<sup>15</sup> The text, largely based on the *Chronicon Altinate* and the Martin da Canal chronicle, conspicuously lacks narrative unity due to the incomplete integration of materials.

The first half of the fourteenth century is marked by historical works with focus on a single event. The circulation of these texts varied. The brief narrative by the notary Bonincontro de' Bovi on the 1177 peace negotiations carried out by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III became very popular, as is shown by a series of luxury manuscripts transmitting the Latin-language text and its Venetian-language translation (cf. p. 61–62).<sup>16</sup> In contrast, the Latin-language history of the conflict between Venice and the Della Scala lordship in 1336–1339 by Jacopo Piacentino (*Bellum Veneto-Scaligerum*) is preserved in a single fourteenth-century manuscript.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the anonymous Latin chronicle, the *Cronaca Iadratina*, describing the revolt of Zara in 1345–1346 – a severe threat to Venetian possessions on the Dalmatian coast – had a very limited circulation.<sup>18</sup>

Generally speaking, the earlier Venetian chronicles were eclipsed by doge Andrea Dandolo's two historical works. They were part of his politico-cultural programme that aimed at strengthening the ducal institution and the Venetian legal system. Dandolo's policies also had a visual expression in several projects begun during his ducal reign to embellish St. Mark's, e.g. the restoration of the Pala d'Oro, the high altar retable.<sup>19</sup> Two important collections of Venetian documents were put together in Dandolo's ducal reign as well, the *Liber albus* and *Liber blancus* containing foreign treaties. Prior to his dogeship, Dandolo had already put together a collection of Venetian civil law, the *Summula statutorum*.<sup>20</sup>

The two historical works attributed to Dandolo are very different from each other. The *Chronica brevis*, probably composed prior to his election as doge, is a concise Latin chronicle of Venice organized according to ducal reigns. The

<sup>14</sup> Martin da Canal, *Les estoires de Venise*. For a detailed presentation of the chronicle, see Limentani 1972, xix–cccv.

<sup>15</sup> The Marco chronicle is still unedited. It is preserved in a single manuscript currently housed at the BNM. For this manuscript and scholarship on the Marco chronicle, see Marin 2016, 545–557.

<sup>16</sup> *Hystoria de discordia et persecutione*. For this text, see Zabbia 1999, 191–207.

<sup>17</sup> Jacopo Piacentino. *Cronaca della guerra Veneto-Scaligera*. The contents and the author are presented in Simeoni 1931, 3–17 and in Zabbia 1999, 213–224.

<sup>18</sup> *Cronica Iadretina*. For the chronicle, see Zabbia 1999, 224–228, 259–264 and the preface to the edition by Ortalli and Pittarello.

<sup>19</sup> For this aspect of Andrea Dandolo's dogeship, see Belting 2006, 141–153 and Pincus 2010, 245–271.

<sup>20</sup> For the codification projects, see Arnaldi 1970, 147–149, 156–158. For an edition of the *Summula Statutorum*, see Crescenzi 2007, 635–697.



structure thus resembles that of the *Historia ducum Veneticorum*, which Dandolo also used as a source for the *Brevis* together with other earlier chronicles of Venice, John the Deacon's *Istoria Veneticorum* in particular. The *Chronica per extensum descripta*, by contrast, is characterized by a series of local documents incorporated into the narrative and by its heavy dependence on a universal chronicle, the *Satirica Ystoria*, written by Paulinus Minorita (1270–1344) on the basis of one of the most influential historical works of the Middle Ages, the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais.<sup>21</sup> The *Extensa* is thus closely linked to the encyclopaedic tradition, fundamentally reshaping the ways of transmitting knowledge in the Late Middle Ages. Consequently, it was used as a repertory of historical information from which material was continuously taken to supplement other narratives on the Republic's past.<sup>22</sup>

Both the *Brevis* and the *Extensa* were a clear turning point in Venetian literary culture, since the amount of works on Venetian history considerably increases in the following decades. The texts written during and soon after Dandolo's reign are the object of the present study. They mainly derive, as is shown in article 4, from a *Brevis* translation probably composed c. 1340–1350 (subcorpus 3). This text was soon rewritten, enriched with material especially on the early history of Venice and the growth of the Venetian maritime possessions, the *Stato da Mâr*. The rewritten version of the *Brevis* translation is commonly known as *A volgare* (subcorpus 4). A retranslation of the *A volgare* back into Latin was probably completed in the 1350s. An anonymous Latin chronicle, a text known as *A latina* (subcorpus 5), and a Latin chronicle by Piero Giustinian (subcorpus 6) derive from this retranslation.

From c. 1350–1360 onwards there was an even more abundant production of Venetian chronicles mainly composed on the basis of Dandolo's historical works and the anonymous texts derived from it. The *A volgare* in particular becomes an important source text for compilers. For instance, the influential chronicle traditionally attributed to Enrico Dandolo mainly derives from this work.<sup>23</sup> On the whole, history writing became a very important genre in Venice, reflecting a growing interest of the elite in the past of the Republic. The central role of the patricians as patrons and readers of these texts is shown e.g. by the genealogical material – lists of Venetian noble families – included in several chronicle manuscripts. This is also indicated by the exceptionally high number of extant copies of these works, suggesting that a chronicle of Venice was a constituent part of a patrician family library. Moreover, Venetian noblemen were also actively engaged in history writing.<sup>24</sup>

Research on Venetian chronicles from the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance as historical sources is generally complicated by the multiple textual

<sup>21</sup> The connections between the *Extensa* and Paulinus Minorita's chronicle are presented in Pastorello 1939a, xxxii–xxxvii and in Arnaldi 1970, 184–188. For Paulinus Minorita's historical works, see also Heullant-Donat 1993, 393–425.

<sup>22</sup> For its role in shaping of the Giustinian chronicle and its later reworking, see Fiori 2014, cxii–cxvii, cxxxvi–cxxxvii, cxlii–cl and notes to the text.

<sup>23</sup> *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo*. Pesce 2010, xli–xlii.

<sup>24</sup> For Venetian noblemen as historians, see Melville Jones 2007, 197–221.

processes characterizing their development from fourteenth-century chronicles. By the early fifteenth century, these texts had already been rewritten and translated several times, each operator adding and omitting material and changing the text in other ways to suit a particular group of readers. Consequently, the identification of the textual boundaries between later versions of these chronicles is an arduous task. Research on their mutual interdependence is also complicated by the general dispersal of preserved versions in European and North American research libraries and the shortage of printed editions of individual texts. In addition, the lack of consensus on the origin of these texts has prevented their effective use. The present study aims at facilitating the understanding of the origins of Venetian chronicles by explaining their early textual development. The next chapter will present the long history of debates on and interpretations of the relationship of the chronicles examined in this study.



### 3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

#### 3.1 Antiquarian historians

Mid-fourteenth-century chronicles and their mutual interdependence have been the object of research for several centuries. Eighteenth-century antiquarian historians already underlined the importance of Dandolo's historical works. Apostolo Zeno (1668–1750), a famous poet and historian, calls the centuries prior to Dandolo *the childhood of history writing in Venice*.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, Zeno attributes three chronicles to Dandolo, a universal chronicle entitled *Mare magnum historiarum* and two others with a focus on local history, *Annali* and *Cronica Venetorum*. The universal chronicle mentioned by Zeno does not, however, correspond to the *Extensa*, since the latter is attributed the title *Annali* by Zeno.<sup>26</sup>

The confusion regarding Dandolo's writings is further demonstrated by Zeno's description of the shorter chronicle, the *Chronica Venetorum*, which is to be identified not with the *Brevis*, the shorter chronicle by Dandolo, but with a later reworking of the *Extensa*, a work not included in the corpus of the present study. This chronicle is transmitted in several manuscripts, the oldest one [Venice, BNM, lat. X, 259 (=3752)] dating from the early fifteenth century (cf. p. 53). Zeno also mentions an anonymous continuation to Dandolo's *Annali* covering the period 1280–1342.<sup>27</sup> Remarkably, this text is actually an extract of the *Brevis* covering the time gap between the *Extensa* and Rafaino Caresini's chronicle in a series of manuscripts. Otherwise Zeno provides correct information on Ravagnani's writings and includes remarks on manuscript witnesses. For Zeno, the *Chron. Ven.* is Ravagnani's *opus magnum* instead of his letters to Petrarch, which have later received much more scholarly attention.<sup>28</sup> The numerous vernacular

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<sup>25</sup> Zeno 1718, v. Durò l'infanzia della Storia Veneziana, che pure ebbe le sue età, e le sue crisi, fino a i tempi di Andrea Dandolo. The translations are mine.

<sup>26</sup> Zeno 1718, v–vi.

<sup>27</sup> Zeno 1718, v–vii.

<sup>28</sup> Zeno 1718, vii.

chronicles from the fifteenth century are only briefly mentioned in Zeno's treatise. He completely excludes the anonymous fourteenth-century chronicles.<sup>29</sup>

The history of Venetian literature by doge Marco Foscarini (1695–1763) generally gives a clearer picture of the chronicles produced in Venice during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>30</sup> This work also reflects, however, the lack of correct information in eighteenth-century Venice regarding the origin and authors of a plethora of local chronicles. Foscarini, for instance, mentions a chronicle writer called Piero Giustinian, possibly referring to the subcorpus 6 text, which is attributed to a homonymous author.<sup>31</sup> However, the chronicle discussed by Foscarini seems datable to the beginning of the fifteenth century, while the actual Giustinian chronicle was written in the 1350s.

### 3.2 The beginnings of modern scholarly research

Giovanni Monticolo (1852–1909) and Henry Simonsfeld (1852–1913) were pioneers of scholarly research on Venetian chronicles. Both scholars significantly advanced research on Venetian history writing through their editorial activity. For example, Monticolo edited the chronicle of Venice by John the Deacon,<sup>32</sup> while Simonsfeld published editions of the *Annales Venetici breves* and the *Historia ducum Veneticorum*.<sup>33</sup> Monticolo also contributed to research on Dandolo's chronicles by identifying and describing several important manuscript witnesses. They were later used by Ester Pastorello in her editions.<sup>34</sup>

Henry Simonsfeld, a disciple of Wilhelm von Giesebrecht and Georg Waitz, also uncovered many little-studied or unknown copies of works attributable to Dandolo. He presented and briefly described them in his influential study *Andreas Dandolo und seine Geschichtswerke*.<sup>35</sup> Simonsfeld, like Apostolo Zeno, attributed three historical works to Dandolo. These would have been the *Extensa*, the *Brevis* and the *A latina*. In Simonsfeld's classification *Recension A* denoted the *Brevis*, while the actual *A latina* was called *Recension B*. Furthermore, he also briefly discussed a third work, the *Recension C*, which is the unedited *Extensa* compendium already mentioned by Zeno.<sup>36</sup>

In support of the interpretation, Simonsfeld pointed out the attribution of the *Recension B/ A latina* to Dandolo in two of the three existant manuscript witnesses. He also claimed that a passage in the *Brevis* prologue suggested the existence of a more extensive historical work by the same author. The prologue,

<sup>29</sup> Zeno 1718, viii–ix.

<sup>30</sup> Foscarini 1752.

<sup>31</sup> Foscarini 1752, 115, 133–136, 143.

<sup>32</sup> *La cronaca veneziana del diacono Giovanni*. For biographical information on Monticolo, see Cessi 1934 and Barausse 2004, 83–84.

<sup>33</sup> *Annales Venetici breves, Historia ducum Veneticorum*. For biographical information on Simonsfeld, see Siemann 2010, 114.

<sup>34</sup> Pastorello 1939a, xxxii, 1939b, 333, Monticolo 1893, 503–515.

<sup>35</sup> Simonsfeld 1876.

<sup>36</sup> Simonsfeld 1876, 39–53.

in fact, advises the reader to consult a more ample chronicle by the same author for further information on Venetian history. Simonsfeld argued that this text was probably not the *Extensa* written after the *Brevis*. According to him, the prologue passage would have pointed instead to the *Recension B/ A latina*.<sup>37</sup>

Furthermore, Simonsfeld presented textual evidence in support of the connection between the *A latina* and the *Brevis*. There is in fact a considerable amount of similarities between the two chronicles. However, these passages may be explained by the textual process leading from the *Brevis* to the *A latina* through the vernacular versions. Consequently, some *A latina* passages actually resemble the respective *Brevis* parts, as will be shown in article 4. To evaluate Simonsfeld's arguments, it is useful to study some of the passages provided by the German scholar in support of his hypothesis. In table 1, the *A latina* and *Brevis* are juxtaposed to the *A volgare* and the *Brevis* translation (for a detailed comparison, cf. article 4). To facilitate the comparison, the parts connecting all the versions to each other are emboldened.

TABLE 1 Similarities between the *Brevis* and the *A latina*

<i>Brevis</i> , 354, lines 36–37	Modena, BEU, It. 106, fol. 4v	<i>A volgare</i> , Venice, BMCVe, Correr 1499, fol. 4r	<i>A latina</i> , 46, lines 5–7
Hic <b>ad fortificandum castrum</b> Brondeli personaliter <b>accedens</b> , a quodam Galla eius oculi evulsi fuerunt.	Questu <b>a fortificar el castello</b> de brondolo personalmente <b>andando</b> vno clamado per nome Galla gitando astudio li strepa li ogli.	Choncustu personalmente <b>andado a fortificar</b> el castello de brondolo vn per nome clamado Galla prese lo ditto doxe edepresente listropa ora dela testa liochi.	Hunc Deodatum ducem dum <b>ad fortificationem castrum</b> de Brondulo <b>accessisset</b> quidam nomine Galla capit et ei oculos eruit.
355, line 1	fol. 4v	fol. 4r	46, lines 3–4
hic in quo <b>deliquit</b> punitus fuit.	Questo doxe in ço chelo <b>pecha</b> de quello lo fo ponido.	In quello che llo <b>auea pechado</b> in quello caxo el fo ponido.	ut in eo quo <b>deliquerat</b> , puniretur.
355, lines 17–20	fol. 5r	fol. 4v	48, lines 9–15
patris <b>iusum</b> nequiter <b>adimplevit</b> ...venerabilis vir Fortunatus...ad Trivisanas <b>partes se reduxit</b> .	<b>la commession</b> de so pare maluaxiamente <b>ademplendo</b> ...el venarabel pare fortunado... <b>esise reduxe intriuxana</b> .	<b>per chomandamento</b> del pare con grande inganno in niquamente <b>ad impli</b> econfraudeuele intencion... uenarabile pare clamado per nome fortunado... <b>esise reduxe intriuxana</b> .	patris <b>iussum implevit</b> ...venerabilis pater Fortunatus... <b>ad partes trivisanas se invicem reduxerunt</b> .

<sup>37</sup> Simonsfeld 1876, 43.

The comparison clearly demonstrates that most of the material shared by the *Brevis* and the *A latina* were transmitted by the Modena translation and the *A volgare* (e.g. *adimplevit/implevit*). In addition, similarities arise from the coincidental use by the *A latina* translator of expressions also used by Dandolo (e.g. *deliquit*).

Simonsfeld's interpretation was criticized by Ester Pastorello in her thorough introduction to the *Extensa* edition. She underlined the fact that the number of historical works by Dandolo was clearly indicated in two reliable sources, Rafaino Caresini's chronicle of Venice and Marin Sanudo's *Le vite dei dogi*. Both texts refer to two, not three chronicles by Dandolo, the one being a concise, the other a more extensive narrative. Pastorello pointed out that the *Le vite dei dogi* passage purportedly attributing three chronicles to Dandolo had been misinterpreted by Simonsfeld due to an error in expanding an abbreviation.<sup>38</sup>

In the preface to her *Brevis* edition, Pastorello provided further evidence on the early circulation of Dandolo's historical works. She argued that the text called *Recension B* by Simonsfeld was related to the *Brevis* translation preserved in the Modena manuscript mentioned above. The theory was based on a comparison of contents revealing similarities between these texts, e.g. peculiar errors. This interpretation did not, however, attract scholarly attention despite rather ample textual evidence provided by the editor in the footnotes. Pastorello also pointed out passages possibly identifying the *Recension B* as a retranslation into Latin of the Modena version.<sup>39</sup>

Pastorello also suggested an attribution to Benintendi de' Ravagnani of the *Brevis* continuation preserved on the final leaves of the Modena copy. Like some other *Brevis* copies, this version extends the narrative beyond the year 1342. In support of the hypothesis, Pastorello drew attention to the time-span of the subsequent episodes until the judicial process against doge Lorenzo Celsi, which supposedly also ended Ravagnani's career. According to Pastorello, additional evidence was provided by a marginal note mentioning Ravagnani and the two other members of the delegation sent to King Louis of Hungary. The note was written by the same hand as the continuation, though in a different ink. Moreover, Pastorello corroborated her theory by listing additions which highlight Dandolo's ducal achievements.<sup>40</sup> Though evidence in support of the attribution is rather exiguous and could in fact point to a scribe of the ducal chancellery supporting the policy of Dandolo and his close collaborator Ravagnani, Pastorello's theory has been quite influential, as is shown by some recent studies.<sup>41</sup>

In comparison to Dandolo's chronicles, the *Chronica Venetiarum*, attributable to Ravagnani, received much less scholarly attention during the early decades of scholarship on Venetian chronicles. It was briefly analyzed by Georg Voigt, another German pioneer in Renaissance studies, in his study on the cir-

<sup>38</sup> Pastorello 1939a, xxix–xxx

<sup>39</sup> Pastorello 1939b, 334–335.

<sup>40</sup> Pastorello 1939b, 339

<sup>41</sup> E.g. Lanza 2005, Kohl 2010b, 1258–1259.

culatation and reception of Petrarch's letters.<sup>42</sup> Voigt's 1882 study represents a turning point in research on Ravagnani, since he focused, unlike antiquarian historians, on texts showing the influence of and the interest in Petrarch's writings. Despite this emphasis, Voigt was the first to point out the derivation of the *Chron. Ven.* from the *Extensa*. The German scholar also published the *Chron. Ven.* prologue from the Marciana copy.

The heavy dependence of the *Chron. Ven.* on the *Extensa* was also pointed out by Ruggero Bersi in a 1910 article on Sabellico's Venetian history.<sup>43</sup> In 1912, Vincenzo Bellemo, however, argued for an inverted chronological order of the two texts, partly deriving the *Extensa* from the *Chron. Ven.* For Bellemo, Ravagnani's many governmental duties would have prevented him from history writing both during and after the dogeship of Dandolo. Hence, Bellemo dated the *Chron. Ven.* to the period preceding Ravagnani's collaboration with Dandolo.<sup>44</sup> This view, however, is not supported by the contents and transmission history of these works.

### 3.3 Antonio Carile's studies as a turning point in research on Venetian chronicles

From the 1960s onwards, Antonio Carile's influential studies represent a turning point in the research on Venetian history writing. In contrast to previous scholarship, Carile focused on the anonymous texts from the fourteenth century onwards, which he organized in various groups and subgroups based on a comparison of parts present in most of these texts. These are the introductory part and the one describing the *Partitio terrarum imperii* in 1204. According to Carile, the evidence suggested the following groupings of fourteenth-century chronicles: *Famiglia A*, *Piero Giustinian*, *Enrico Dandolo e la Famiglia B* and *Famiglia b*. Furthermore, Carile divided the *Famiglia A* into three subgroups: *Famiglia A latina*, *Famiglia A volgare* and *Rielaborazioni della Famiglia A volgare*.<sup>45</sup>

Carile, like Pastorello, objected to Simonsfeld's attribution of three chronicles to Dandolo, pointing out significant stylistic and contextual differences between the *Brevis* and the *Recension B*, baptized *A latina* by Carile. Moreover, he underlined the fact that the *A latina* once refers to Dandolo in the third person.<sup>46</sup> Simonsfeld had interpreted this passage as a scribal intervention, which Carile found improbable due to its presence in a series of manuscripts preserving the text. According to Carile, the passage originally belonged to the text proper and clearly invalidated the attribution to Dandolo.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Voigt 1882, 64–66.

<sup>43</sup> Bersi 1910, 144.

<sup>44</sup> Bellemo 1912, 256–266.

<sup>45</sup> Carile 1969, 3–77.

<sup>46</sup> *A latina*, 117, line 81 de qua est noster dux, qui hodie est, dominus Andreas Dandolo.

<sup>47</sup> Carile 1969, 5–7.

Significantly, Carile did not connect the fourteenth-century anonymous chronicles to Dandolo's *Brevis*, linking them instead to lost historical texts circulating in Venice from the eleventh century onwards. According to Carile's theory, these texts, including the *Brevis*, would have derived from eleventh-century chronicles through several intermediate texts, which had later perished. For Carile, the long and complex transmission history explained the mutual interdependence of the fourteenth-century chronicles, which present a series of similarities while also showing a number of differences.<sup>48</sup>

Carile's theory and method were strongly criticized by Silvana Collodo, who indicated in her 1970 review article substantial problems regarding the editions published by Carile in his study. She also doubted the validity of Carile's division of texts, as there were long intervals between some copies of texts grouped together. Collodo found it improbable that these manuscripts, separated by centuries, could actually preserve texts showing enough similarities to justify their inclusion in the same family of chronicles. For Collodo, this was dubious, since the aspect of Venetian chronicles typically changed due to a series of modifications as they were copied and rewritten. In Collodo's view, the interventions probably produced enough variation to invalidate Carile's classification. Furthermore, Collodo argued that a comparison of a single episode did not provide a solid enough basis for classification.<sup>49</sup>

The theory of an eleventh-century archetype was rejected by Lidia Capo as well. In 1976–1977, she argued both in a review article and in a joint article with Girolamo Arnaldi that the source text of the anonymous fourteenth-century chronicles should instead be identified as the *Brevis*. Capo claimed that there was not enough textual evidence in support of Carile's classification. Consequently, the existence of the hypothetical intermediate versions leading from the extant thirteenth-century works such as the *Chronica di Marco* to the later versions seemed very dubious. Although Capo did not demonstrate the derivation of the anonymous chronicles from the *Brevis*, she stressed the importance of Pastorello's studies connecting the Modena manuscript to the *Recension B/ A latina*.<sup>50</sup>

Carile responded to criticism by Arnaldi and Capo by listing several incongruences in their articles. According to Carile, the key role of the *Brevis* was clearly incompatible with the idea, accepted by the critics, of the long and complex transmission processes leading to the myriad of late medieval Venetian chronicles. Carile argued, furthermore, that the methods of traditional textual philology were not adequate for examining instable texts such as Venetian chronicles. However, Carile provided no new evidence, be it textual or contextual, in support of his theory. Several important questions raised by the critics were thus left unanswered.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Carile 1969, 43–45.

<sup>49</sup> Collodo 1970, 17–30.

<sup>50</sup> Arnaldi & Capo 1976, 300–307. Capo 1976/1977, 413–423.

<sup>51</sup> Carile 1980, 111–114.



The early 1970s also saw the publication of Girolamo Arnaldi's influential article on Andrea Dandolo as a historian.<sup>52</sup> In his article, Arnaldi presented an interpretation of both the *Brevis* and the *Extensa* along lines notably different from that proposed by Giorgio Cracco in 1967. The latter scholar had analyzed the two texts in terms of Dandolo's policy of strengthening the ducal institution.<sup>53</sup> For Cracco, an important aspect of this project was Dandolo's cultural activity, his historical works in particular.

Arnaldi, by contrast, questioned the connection between the contents and structure of the *Brevis* and the policy later adopted by doge Dandolo. For Arnaldi, many *Brevis* elements were explained by its heavy dependence on earlier Venetian chronicles, which is apparent e.g. in the *Brevis* prologue closely following the thirteenth-century *Historia ducum Veneticorum*.<sup>54</sup> Arnaldi also briefly mentioned the *Chron. Ven.* at the beginning of the chapter dedicated to the impact of Dandolo's works on Venetian history writing. He described the text as a stylized version of the *Extensa*. Last but not least, he also mentioned the attribution of the Modena continuation to Ravagnani, thus accepting Pastorello's interpretation.<sup>55</sup>

### 3.4 Recent theories on Venetian history writing

During the 1980s and 1990s Venetian mid-fourteenth-century chronicles attracted less scholarly attention. For instance, Giorgio Ravegnani's 1986 article on Andrea Dandolo does not refer to any studies on these texts beyond works by Carile and Arnaldi.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Claudio Finzi's 1997 article on Venetian fourteenth-century history writing for the *Storia di Venezia* series describes the chronicles examined for the present thesis on the basis of 1960s and 1970s scholarship.<sup>57</sup>

Last two decades, by contrast, have seen a resurgence of scholarship on Venetian chronicles. Marino Zabbia analyzed a series of Venetian historical texts in his 1999 study on notaries as historians in fourteenth-century Italy.<sup>58</sup> The framework for his study was provided by Girolamo Arnaldi's seminal research on medieval historiography highlighting the role of notaries in the production of historical texts during the Late Middle Ages.<sup>59</sup> The inclusion of Dandolo's chronicles in Zabbia's work was justified by the vast amount of documents contained in the *Extensa*. This fact, together with some other indicators, points to the *Extensa* having been compiled in the ducal chancery. In his study,

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<sup>52</sup> Arnaldi 1970, 127–269.

<sup>53</sup> Cracco 1967, 401–407.

<sup>54</sup> Arnaldi 1970, 139–142.

<sup>55</sup> Arnaldi 1970, 246.

<sup>56</sup> Ravegnani 1986.

<sup>57</sup> Finzi 1997, 852–857.

<sup>58</sup> Zabbia 1999.

<sup>59</sup> Arnaldi 1963.

Zabbia also gave a detailed analysis of both Caresini's chronicle and the *Chron. Ven.*

Importantly, Zabbia discussed several constituent aspects of the *Chron. Ven.* neglected in previous research, such as the interest of the compiler in episodes pertaining to Rialto and the absence in the *Chron. Ven.* of a series of local documents characterizing the *Extensa*. Moreover, Zabbia, like Arnaldi, also mentioned the supposed connection between the Modena continuation and Ravagni.<sup>60</sup>

In addition, Zabbia also briefly discussed the genesis of the Venetian anonymous chronicles. For Zabbia, the criticism directed by Arnaldi and Capo towards Carile's theory was justified. Zabbia underlined, however, the substantial differences between the *Brevis* and the *A latina*, which rather connect the latter chronicle to the *Extensa*. In support of this connection Zabbia quoted a passage describing the reign of the legendary first doge Paulucius, elected, according to the *Brevis*, in 705. The argument was mainly based on the length of this dogeship, similar in the *A latina*, the *Extensa* and the earlier local chronicles. The *Brevis* chronology, in contrast, clearly differs from these texts.<sup>61</sup>

It is worth looking more closely at Zabbia's argument demonstrating the difficulties in examining Venetian chronicles. Indeed, a comparison with other contemporary texts provides a different picture of the evolution of the following passage. Table 2 shows that chronological information was modified by several authorial or scribal interventions. The passages indicating the length of the dogeship are emboldened.

TABLE 2 Chronology of Paulucius' dogeship according to Venetian mid-fourteenth-century chronicles

Giovanni Diacono, <i>Istoria Veneticorum</i> , 2.2–2.10., 94–98.	<i>Brevis</i> , 353, lines 26–31.	Modena, BEU, It. 106, fol. 4v [Paris, BNF. It. 783, fol. 4r].	<i>Extensa</i> , 105, lines 40 – 109, 4.
Temporibus nempe imperatoris Anastasii et Liuprandi Langobardorum regis...Paulitionem...duce m constituerunt...Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXXVII, mortuo Paulitione duce apud Civitatem novam, qui ducavit <b>annis XX, mensibus VI</b> , cui successit Marcellus dux.	Paulucius...laudatus fuit dux in Civitate nova, elapsis ab incarnatione Domini Nostri Yesu Christi annis septingentis quinque...cum dignitati prefuisset <b>annis novem mense uno</b> , feliciter de hac vita transivit.	Pavluço...fo electo doxe in lacityade noua. Passando dala incarnation del nostro signor Ihesum Christo. Anni .vij <sup>c</sup> . .v....abiando dogado. <b>Anni .viiiij. mense .j.</b> passa de questa uita presente.	Paulucius dux laudatus est anno Domini nostri Iesu Christi VI <sup>c</sup> LXXXVII <sup>o</sup> ...du m ducatum <b>annis XX, mensibus VI, diebus VIII</b> feliciter tenuisset, in Heralia mortuus et sepultus est.

continues

<sup>60</sup> Zabbia 1999, 245–251.

<sup>61</sup> Zabbia 1999, 239–241.



<p><i>A volgare</i>, Venice, BMCVe, Correr 1499, fol. 3r [Correr 1013, fol. 8v, Venice BNM, It. VII, 38 (=8748), p. 4].</p> <p>Polluço...fo ellecto doxe in la çitade eraclina laqual uiene clamada çita nuoua mo al presente chorando li anni del nostro signor vij. iiii...habiando dogado. <b>Anni .xx. emexi .vi. die .v.</b> passa de questa uita presente.</p>	<p><i>A latina</i>, 41, lines 1-8.</p> <p>Paulucius anno incarnationis dominicae 687 primus ad ducalem dignitatem...fuit promotus...Cum autem <b>annis xx mensibus sex et diebus quinque</b> ducasset, vita functus,...</p>	<p>Piero Giustinian, <i>Cronica Veneciarum</i>, 94, lines 9-13.</p> <p>Paulucius, anno incarnationis Domini-cae DCLXXVIII, primus ad ducalis dignitatis apicem...fuit promotus...Cum autem <b>annis XX, mensibus VI et diebus V</b> ducasset, vita functus,...</p>	<p><i>Venetiarum Historia</i>, 20.</p> <p>Paulucius anno incarnationis dominice DCLX primus ad ducalis dignitatis apicem...fuit promotus...Cum autem <b>anni XX, mensibus VI et diebus VIII</b> ducasset, filio ante defuncto, vita functus...</p>
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The comparison shows that the *Brevis* actually dates the first ducal election to the same year as John the Deacon's eleventh-century chronicle, the *Istoria Veneticorum*. The two texts, however, present a different length for the dogeship. The *Brevis* translation gives the same information as the *Brevis*, while the *A volgare*, although closely following the Modena and Paris texts, shows some modifications to the chronology. The source is probably not the *Extensa*, since the number of the days is clearly different from the *A volgare*.

Consequently, all three extant versions of the Latin retranslation of the *A volgare* (*A latina*, *Cronica Veneciarum* and *Venetiarum Historia*) give approximately the same duration for the dogeship. Each of these texts, however, date the election to a different year. The ducal chronology thus notably varies from one text to another. Hence, a partial comparison does not bring out all the development patterns of the fourteenth-century chronicles. The *Brevis* translation and the *A volgare* should also be included in studies clarifying the mutual relationships of these texts.

Recent years have also seen the publication of numerous articles by Şerban Marin on Venetian history writing. They cover a wide time span, from the earliest chronicles (e.g. *Chronicon Altinate*) until the writings of the Early Modern period such as the humanist histories by Flavio Biondo and Marcantonio Sabellico.<sup>62</sup> Marin's studies, however, mainly regard the fifteenth-century texts, particularly the chronicles preserved in the Marciana library. Like Carile, the Romanian scholar has examined and categorized a great number of texts on the basis of a single episode, that of the Fourth Crusade.<sup>63</sup> Marin has also published a lengthy article on Andrea Dandolo's historical works, which is characterized – like Marin's studies in general – by a rich bibliography.<sup>64</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that Marin ignores some recently published studies despite their relevance to the matter. For instance, Marin's 2017 book on the point of view of

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Marin 2010, 2013a, 2013b and 2014.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. Marin 2002, 2004 and 2008.

<sup>64</sup> Marin 2015.

Venetian chronicles on the city's early history includes a chapter discussing the perspectives of editing these texts and listing the existing editions.<sup>65</sup> Surprisingly, it does not mention Luca Fiori's highly important edition of the Giustinian chronicle, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

### 3.5 Some remarks on recent editorial activity

Finally, it is useful to discuss some recently published editions of the fourteenth-century chronicles. On the one hand, this scholarship greatly benefits current and future research on Venetian history. On the other hand, however, many editions exhibit editorial principles not most appropriate for constructing the critical apparatus and selecting material for the commentary. The main problem is that the editions are based on Carile's interpretation, which discourages a thorough comparison of the text under scrutiny with other contemporary chronicles. Consequently, the discussion and identification of the sources is inadequate for a substantial number of texts. The *A latina* apparatus, for instance, includes several passages from both the *Brevis* and the *Venetiarum Historia*. Consequently, it makes it possible to compare the texts, at least to a certain degree. However, the editor does not examine the differences in contents and style between the chronicles but limits herself to brief remarks in the preface.<sup>66</sup> In addition, the apparatus refers to John the Deacon's chronicle, which was not used by the *A latina* author. The information was transmitted from John to the *A latina* through the *Brevis*, as will be shown in article 4.

The difficulties in establishing and describing connections to earlier Venetian chronicles are further demonstrated by two recent editions of Venetian fourteenth-century chronicles, Roberto Pesce's edition of the Enrico Dandolo chronicle and Luca Fiori's edition of the *Cronica Veneciarum* by Piero Giustinian (our subcorpus 6). The introduction to the Enrico Dandolo chronicle only briefly mentions that the text mainly derives from the *A volgare*,<sup>67</sup> and the commentary rarely illustrates similarities between the two texts. Hence, the edition does not provide enough information either for evaluating the dependence of the chronicle from the *A volgare*, on the one hand, or for recognizing the abundant authorial innovations, on the other. The heavy dependence of this text on the *A volgare* should be more clearly illustrated, lest the original parts of the Enrico Dandolo chronicle not be recognized.

The *Cronica Veneciarum* edition, in contrast, presents both an ample introduction and an extensive commentary with plenty of information on documentary and narrative sources. Importantly, the editor provides a great deal of textual evidence in support of direct links between *Cronica Veneciarum* and earlier Venetian narratives.

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<sup>65</sup> Marin 2017, 201–210.

<sup>66</sup> Negri di Montenegro 2004, 3–6.

<sup>67</sup> Pesce 2010, xlii.

These passages are very important for the present study, since the editor aims at validating Carile's theory, according to which the *Cronica Veneciarum* would have derived from lost texts circulating in Venice during the thirteenth century (cf. p. 26–27). The passages presented and analyzed in detail in the introduction and in the commentary do not, however, exclude an intermediate role of the *A volgare* in transmitting the information of the earlier versions to the *Cronica Veneciarum* and to the *A latina*. This may be clearly demonstrated by comparing the passages with corresponding *A volgare* parts.<sup>68</sup> Table 3 juxtaposes the passages in question.

TABLE 3 The transmission of knowledge from the thirteenth-century chronicles to the *A latina*/*Cronica Veneciarum*.

<i>Cronaca di Marco</i> , Venice, BNM, It. XI, 124 (=6802), fol. 43r	Martin da Canal, <i>Les estoires de Venise</i> , 62 (1 LVI 5).	<i>Brevis</i>	Modena, BEU, It. 106
ad naturam contra pisanos	a Nature, ou il trovent .ij. nes de Pisans	–	–
fol. 43v	68 (1 LXVI 1)		
Stinalonga	Stinalonde	–	–
fol. 43v	70 (1 LXVII 4)	367, line 33	fol. 17r
Leo Veteranum	I'en apeloit leo Vetran	Leonem Vetranum	Lion uetran
<i>A volgare</i> , Venice, BMCVe, Correr 1499, fol. 16v	Piero Giustinian, <i>Cronica Veneciarum</i> , 69, line 17	<i>A latina</i> , 113, line 5	
ala matura delli pisani	ad Pixanorum Maturam	ad Pisanorum maritimam	
fol. 17v	75, line 7	118, line 11	
stina longa	Stinalonga	staria <...> longa	
fol. 17v	75, line 8	118, line 13	
Lion capilo [Venice BMCVe, Correr 1013, fol. 62r, lion bon chapillo; Venice, BNM, It. VII, 38 (=8748), p. 29 Lion Bo(n) Chapillo; Correr 1120, fol. 52v, lio bon chapelo].	Leonem Capilo Vetranum	Leonem Capillo veterem	

<sup>68</sup> Fiori 2014, xcix–ci.

The examples mainly pertain to material added by the *A volgare* author to the *Brevis* translation, which consequently also appear in the *Cronica Veneciarum* and the *A latina*. The information, as the editor demonstrates, derives from an earlier version resembling the Marco chronicle and the *Les estoires de Venise*, which were both written during the final decades of the thirteenth century. However, the comparison only indicates that the *A latina* was composed after both the *A volgare* and the *Cronica Veneciarum*. The chronological order of the latter two texts, by contrast, cannot be established on this basis. The only piece of evidence suggesting that the *Cronica Veneciarum* precedes the *A volgare* is the name form *Leo Capilo Vetranus* in the *Cronica Veneciarum*. It has an element, *Vetranus*, not present in the *A volgare* but included in both the *Les estoires de Venise* and the Marco chronicle. However, the name *Vetranus* could have been present in the *A volgare* version from which the *Cronica Veneciarum* and the *A latina* derive. The form could also be attributed to a later intervention during the process of rewriting, possibly added by Piero Giustinian, who made other modifications as well.

Generally speaking, any one passage evoked in support of a lost archetype for Venetian mid-fourteenth-century chronicles must be weighed against the substantial textual evidence that will be presented in article 4. This evidence clearly points to a close link between the *A volgare* and the *Brevis* translation. Isolated passages such as those discussed by the scholars mentioned above do not invalidate the abundant textual evidence in support of the main argument of the present thesis. i.e. the derivation of the subcorpora 3–6 texts from the *Brevis*, which proposes a new model for explaining the textual genesis of a series of Venetian chronicles.

## 4 METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

### 4.1 Knowledge gaps regarding Venetian mid-fourteenth-century chronicles

#### 4.1.1 Prospects for identifying new manuscript witnesses and underexplored chronicles

The key methodological question is the amount of the relevant mid-fourteenth-century chronicles and their manuscript witnesses known to scholars. Even though these texts are far better known than fifteenth- and sixteenth-century chronicles, there is indeed relevant material which has never been examined by specialists of Venetian history writing. For instance, the chronicle preserved in the manuscript Berlin, SBB-PK, Hamilton 196 has not been quoted in studies on Venetian historiography despite the probability of this volume being of the fourteenth century.<sup>69</sup>

Since it would be out of scope for the present study to examine the Hamilton chronicle in detail, a few remarks may suffice to indicate the interest of further search for texts. The Hamilton chronicle is probably a translation in Venetian of a chronicle resembling the *A latina* and Giustinian chronicles.<sup>70</sup> The source text was enriched with information taken from the *Extensa* and possibly from other sources as well. A connection of the Hamilton chronicle to the two Latin retranslations (subcorpora 5–6) is suggested e.g. by a passage describing the limits of the legendary *Prima Venetia*. Table 4 shows the development of this part from the *Brevis* to the Hamilton text.

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<sup>69</sup> It is a parchment volume of 44 leaves written in cancelleresca in long lines. The leaves measure c. 27.7 x 20.7 cm. The manuscript is organized in quires as follows: I<sup>2</sup>, II–VI<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> I am currently preparing an article on this chronicle. The article will be based on a paper given at the Seventh Book Historical Week at the University of Jyväskylä, 19 March 2016 (The practice of history writing in fourteenth-century Venice. Remarks on the ms. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ham. 196).

TABLE 4 Limits of the *Prima Venetia* in Venetian mid-fourteenth-century chronicles

<i>Brevis</i> , 353, lines 26–31.	Modena, BEU, It. 106, fol. 4v	<i>A volgare</i> , Venice, BMCVe, Correr 1499, fol. 3r	<i>A latina</i> , 41, lines 1–8.	Berlin, SBB-PK, Ham. 196, 3r
...que a Pannonie termino usque ad Adduam fluvium protelatur, cuius Aquilegia civitas extitit capud,...	Laqual prouentia aue so principio da le confine de panonia destendandose de fin ab Adda flume. Ela citade de Aquilea era cauo de questa prouentia.	Et quella provinçia avè in niçio so dalle chonfine de Pannonia, descendando infina alli lidi et fiumi. E in chao de questa provinçia era la çitade de Aquilegia,...	Dicta autem Venecia primitiva confines suos a Pannonie finibus assumebat, versus maris litora et extrema fluvium descendendo. Et Aquilegensis civitas tunc illius provincie metropolis habebatur, ut haec omnia in antiquis cronicis lucide declarantur.	Et aueua la ditta prima cittade con li suoi confini spacio et principio da la terra de panonia descendendo ale estremidade de li flumi inuerso i lidi del mare como pare anticamente per le croniche antige. Et in quello tempo la citade de Aquilegia era clamada Menopoli.

The derivation of the Hamilton chronicle from the Latin retranslation is indicated e.g. by the intriguing place name *Menopolis*, the ancient name of Aquileia according to this version. However, so far no other source seems to document such a place name. The form *Menopolis* must actually result from a palaeographical misinterpretation of the word *metropolis*, the Metropolitan see of Aquileia, which is mentioned in both the *A latina* and the Giustinian chronicle but neither in the *A volgare* nor the *Brevis*. The misinterpretation may be due to the ascender of the letter *t* extending just above the headline in the source of the Hamilton chronicle. Consequently, the author of the Hamilton chronicle may have interpreted the letter combination *tr* as the letter *n*.

Generally speaking, the Hamilton chronicle presents the same errors as the *A latina* and Giustinian chronicles – discussed in article 4 –, suggesting a strong link between these three texts. A direct derivation of the Hamilton chronicle from the *A volgare* seems improbable, considering substantial differences between the two texts as regards both style and contents. These elements point to the Hamilton chronicle being a translation in Venetian of a Latin retranslation. It seems to provide, therefore, further evidence on scribes and authors of Venetian chronicles crossing linguistic barriers (cf. article 4).

Further copies of presently known mid-fourteenth-century chronicles are probably still to be discovered. At present, there are still but few published catalogues of manuscripts containing Venetian chronicles. Carlo Campana's thorough study of chronicles in Venetian housed at the Marciana is one exception.<sup>71</sup> In addition, recent years have seen significant progress in this field thanks to

<sup>71</sup> Campana 2011.

the research project *Laboratorio di Cronache Veneziane e Ravennati* currently directed by Prof. G. Vespignani (University of Bologna). The research group has published an online catalogue of the Venetian chronicle manuscripts covering both the most important collections, such as the BNM, the BAV and the ÖNB, and several libraries with only a few items.<sup>72</sup>

However, despite providing a great amount of useful information – e.g. the Hamilton chronicle manuscript discussed above is briefly described on the website – the *Progetto cronache veneziane e ravennati* catalogue presents substantial lacunae. It leaves out several chronicle manuscripts from collections purportedly covered. For example, while the site lists five volumes housed at the BEU of Modena and one volume at the BNU of Turin, there is no reference to other relevant volumes kept at both libraries.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, a significant part of the manuscript descriptions only give the shelf-mark accompanied by a few remarks on contents and codicological features retrieved from catalogues of Venetian materials (e.g. the catalogue of the ÖNB Foscarini collection by Tommaso Gar).<sup>74</sup>

Şerban Marin's 2017 study discussed above (p. 31) provides an ample index of Venetian chronicle manuscripts.<sup>75</sup> It is divided in two parts, one covering the volumes consulted for Marin's study (all but two from the BNM), the other listing further manuscripts known to the author. It complements both the *Progetto cronache veneziane e ravennati* list and the ample selection included in Carile's 1969 study, providing e.g. indications on manuscripts at the Bucarest National Library (three volumes) and at the Andrighetti Zon Marcello Library of Venice (six volumes). Again, several volumes with Venetian chronicles are lacking.<sup>76</sup> Despite these lacunae, Marin's list, together with the *Progetto cronache veneziane e ravennati* website and Carile's list, give a valid starting point for cataloguing Venetian chronicle manuscripts.

<sup>72</sup> <http://www.cronachevenezianeravennati.it/home/index.jsp>

<sup>73</sup> The catalogues of the Latin and Italian-language manuscripts of the BEU of Modena indicate a number of items missing in the repertory (*Bibliothecae Atestinae MSS, Pars III and Pars IV*). The library preserves e.g. the following volumes with Venetian material: *Cronica veneziana in due libri fino al MCCCCXXIII*, It. 409 (α. J. 4. 22); *Istorie venete sino al 1400. T. 1*, It. 443 (α. H. 4. 18) and the second part of this work *Istorie venete dal 1400 al 1612. T. II.*, It. 444 (α. H. 4. 19); Andreas Navagerius, *Istoria della Repubblica Veneziana dal suo principio sino all'anno MCCCCXCVIII*, It. 462 (α. W.3.15); Andreas Dandulus, *Chronici magni liber IV, V et VI* and *Chronici compendium*, Lat. 443 (α. S. 4. 22) and the second part of the *Extensa, Chronici magni libri VII, VIII, IX et X*, Lat. 444 (α. S. 4. 23); Andreas Dandulo, *Chronicon Venetum*, Lat. 482 (α. G. 5. 8). The BNU of Turin houses at least three volumes not mentioned in the repertory: the fourteenth-century *Extensa* copy J.IV.7; the severely damaged N. III. 1. containing a chronicle of Venice in vernacular until 1446; N. III. 4 with a chronicle of Venice in vernacular. The last two are described in Peyron 1904, 76–79.

<sup>74</sup> Gar 1843.

<sup>75</sup> Marin 2017, 15–52.

<sup>76</sup> For instance, those at the BNU of Turin, the BEU and the Herzog August Library of Wolfenbüttel.



#### 4.1.2 Access to texts and availability of information on the transmission history

Generally speaking, the lack of critical editions is a major obstacle for the scholarly use of Venetian mid-fourteenth-century chronicles (cf. article 4). This, of course, is not exceptional but rather the usual situation for the study of Italian Late Medieval history writing. Among important texts still deprived of critical editions, we may quote Albertino Mussato's *Historia Augusta* and the *Chronica a mundi principio usque ad tempora Henrici VII* by Benzo d'Alessandria.

Moreover, even some recent editions of Venetian chronicles provide but little information on manuscript witnesses and sources, as shown on p. 31. Article 3 will list and discuss some of the material left out of the modern edition, published by Ester Pastorello in 1939, of the *Extensa* and Rafaino Caresini's chronicle.<sup>77</sup>

Problems arise from Pastorello's decision to rely on the supposed working copy of the *Extensa*, the manuscript Venice, BNM, lat. Z. 400 (=2028), with relevant readings of the other copies in the apparatus (cf. article 3). Though providing a short description of connections between the *Extensa* copies in the preface, Pastorello never constructed a *stemma codicum*. Consequently, there are substantial knowledge gaps regarding the transmission history and the reception of the *Extensa*. Furthermore, it is unclear how many *Extensa* copies are absent from Pastorello's preface, which does not even claim to cover all of the manuscript witnesses from the sixteenth century onwards. The *Extensa* copies have generally not been digitized, which further complicates research on the reception.

Two key texts of the present study, the *Brevis* translation and the *A volgare*, have only partially been edited. The *A volgare* transmission history is fairly well known compared to the textual tradition of the *Brevis* translation. Pastorello's *Brevis* edition only mentions the Modena copy, some readings of which are included in the apparatus. Since the edition provides a very limited amount of material from the Modena version, research on this text must start from a scratch. Today, however, the BEU website, with a digitized version of the Modena manuscript, provides access to the *Brevis* translation. At an early stage of this project this reproduction was consulted. A visit to the BU Estense made it possible to examine the manuscript in situ to gather further codicological information.

There are also other copies of the *Brevis* translation, e.g. the fourteenth-century manuscript Paris, BNF, It. 783, described in article 4. According to Simonsfeld's 1876 study mentioned above (p. 23–25) a fifteenth-century copy of this text is preserved in the BNM (Marc. It. VII, 319).<sup>78</sup> This volume was excluded from article 4 since the study in question mainly focused on later stages in the development of the *Brevis*. A detailed analysis of the transmission history of the *Brevis* translation would have further complicated the matter.

<sup>77</sup> Ester Pastorello (1884–1971) served as director of such important libraries as the BNM (1919–1920) and the BNU of Turin (1937–1947), Petrucciani 2013.

<sup>78</sup> Simonsfeld 1876, 40.



Since the *Brevis* translation has not attracted much scholarly attention, there are probably further copies to uncover. However, identifying manuscripts of this text is complicated by its *incipit* being identical to that of the *A volgare* in a series of witnesses. Due to several versions of the *Brevis* translation with continuations, the textual boundaries are somewhat unclear (cf. article 4).

The textual tradition of the *A volgare* was thoroughly examined by Antonio Carile for his 1969 study. Carile also published a *stemma codicum* and an edition of the initial part of the chronicle. A close examination of the earliest *A volgare* copies shows, however, that several variant readings are absent from Carile's edition. Despite these issues, the selection of *A volgare* copies for article 4 was based on Carile's reconstruction of its textual history. The problems with Carile's edition only became evident when researching for article 4. A complete re-evaluation of the *A volgare* transmission history would of course have been a very time-consuming project and beyond the limits of the present study.

Hence, three key copies from the upper branches provided the starting point for that study. Two are fourteenth-century copies (Venice, BMCVe, Correr 1013 and Correr 1499), the third one dating from the fifteenth century [Venice, BNM, It. VII, 38 (=8748)]. The analysis was mainly based on the oldest copy (Correr 1499) with relevant readings from the other two volumes.

The *Chron. Ven.* has not been edited, either. Three of the four known copies were described and collated for article 1, while the fourth manuscript was presented in article 3. Research on manuscript catalogues conducted for the present study has not uncovered any further copies of this text. However, due to the *Chron. Ven.* copies not having been correctly described in any single catalogue, research on this text has been relatively complicated.

The manuscript Venice, BNM, Marc. lat. XIV. 177 (= 4607) had already been indicated by Georg Voigt in his 1882 study on the transmission history of Petrarch's letters.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, the latest *Chron. Ven.* copy (the seventeenth-century manuscript Rome, BNC, San Gregorio 30) was presented by Ruggero Bersi in his 1910 article on the sources of Marcantonio Sabellico's *Historiae Rerum Venetarum*.<sup>80</sup> In contrast, the manuscript PUL, Garrett 156, was only recently identified by Lidia Lanza in her Ravagnani article for the *Compendium auctorum Latinorum medii aevi (500-1500)*.<sup>81</sup> In addition to these three manuscripts, Lanza's article refers to a fourth copy housed at the Museo Correr Library. Here, however, Lanza gives an imperfect shelf-mark without reference to the collection in which the volume would be included (Venice, BMCVe, 245). Lanza may have intended to refer to the manuscript Venice, BMCVe, Morosini Grimani 245, containing a text originally attributed to Ravagnani even though it only contains the *Extensa* and Caresini's chronicle.<sup>82</sup> Another BMCVe manuscript (Venice,

<sup>79</sup> Voigt 1882, 65.

<sup>80</sup> Bersi 1910, 115-116 & 433.

<sup>81</sup> Lanza 2005.

<sup>82</sup> The manuscript Venice, BMCVe, Morosini Grimani 245 includes at the beginning of the volume the same set of Venetian documents accompanying three of the *Chron. Ven.* manuscripts (cf. article 1). They are followed by the *Extensa*, an extract of the *Brevis* covering the years 1280-1342 and Caresini's chronicle. The volume thus

BMCVe, Gradenigo Dolfin 34) includes the *Chron. Ven.* This manuscript was already identified by Paul Oskar Kristeller.<sup>83</sup>

## 4.2 The comparison of variant readings

The *stemma codicum* of the *Chron. Ven.* manuscripts was constructed using the traditional Lachmannian method. The tradition is a closed one with some marginal additions in the second oldest copy [Venice, BNM, lat. XIV. 177 (=4607)]. The additions probably originate in a hitherto unidentified *Extensa* copy. Consequently, these *marginalia* also appear in the later copies. The comparison of the variants covers all of the chronicle.

In addition, a set of four texts (cf. article 1) accompanying all of the *codices descripti* was compared with several copies preserving the items in question. The aim of the operation was to identify the source of the marginal additions of the Marciana volume. Since the Marciana manuscript directly derives from the Princeton copy, information on the source of these supplementary texts might make it possible to identify the owner of the latter volume prior to its incorporation into the Canonici library (cf. article 1).

The textual tradition of the *Chron. Ven.* follows a notably different pattern compared to copies of the *Brevis* translation and reworkings. The *Chron. Ven.* copies do not present substantial modifications to the text. Indeed, all the manuscript witnesses of this text closely resemble each other.

A group of particular mistakes makes it possible to establish the mutual relationships of nearly all the manuscript witnesses, suggesting that there were no intermediate copies between them. Firstly, the Marciana copy is connected to the Princeton volume by a mistake in relocation. The former volume presents an omission due to a *saut du même au même* (same word on consecutive lines).<sup>84</sup> Secondly, the Correr copy also presents several omissions of the *saut du même au même* type directly linking it to the Marciana copy. The manuscript evidence points to only one lost copy (the archetype), the ancestor of the Princeton volume. This is implied by the contents and structure of the Princeton copy.

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preserves the same triad of chronicles as the Turin copy of the *Extensa* examined in detail in article 3. The Morosini Grimani 245 title preceding the *Brevis* fragment and Caresini's chronicle erroneously attributes the latter text to Ravagnani: *Chronica Venetiarum a Serenissimo Duce Andrea Dandulo scripta Tomus Secundus Cum continuatione Prædicte Historie Auctore Domino Benintendi Ravagnano Cancelario Magno Venetiarum.*

<sup>83</sup> Kristeller 1992, 275.

<sup>84</sup> For various types of omissions, see Willis 1972, 111–118.

### 4.3 The comparison of chronicles with unclear textual boundaries

#### 4.3.1 The comparison between the *Extensa* and the *Chronica Venetiarum*

The articles will also describe and analyze much more complex patterns of transmission compared to the anomalous *Chron. Ven.* tradition. While the latter was not substantially altered during the transmission process, there was a series of interventions modifying the others, especially the different *Brevis* versions (subcorpora 1 and 3–6). Consequently, the approach to these narratives shows significant variation. This, of course, is not exceptional, since the strategies of medieval authors and scribes greatly differed, as shown by scholarship on medieval literature. Some texts were repeatedly rewritten, while some others attracted much fewer interventions.<sup>85</sup>

The *Extensa* stands in the middle between the *Chron. Ven.* and the *Brevis* reworkings as regards the amount of textual variation between copies. Since Pastorello's edition does not cover all the variant readings, it is unclear whether the later manuscript witnesses should be called copies or versions.<sup>86</sup> For instance, the Turin manuscript variants illustrated in article 3 might be substantial enough to justify qualifying this version not as a copy but a reworking in its own right. Whether the Turin volume conserves an authoritative version of this chronicle is another matter (cf. p. 46).

The knowledge gaps concerning the textual development of the *Extensa* provide a major obstacle for research on the *Chron. Ven.*, the main reason being the heavy dependence of the latter text on the *Extensa*. Secondly, Ravagnani, who may have authored the *Chron. Ven.*, was very probably involved in composing the *Extensa*. Ravagnani's involvement in that project is naturally suggested by his role as Great Chancellor, head of the Venetian chancelleries, when the *Extensa* was composed. If the chronicle was written in the ducal chancellery, as it has been plausibly suggested, Ravagnani's contribution is highly probable. Moreover, he presented the *Extensa* to the Venetian public in a letter illustrating both the motives and the methods used by Dandolo. Hence, the mutual relationship between the *Chron. Ven.* and the different *Extensa* versions is crucial for understanding their genesis (cf. p. 46).

The textual comparison of these works was also complicated by the differences between the *Chron. Ven.* and the *Extensa* generally preventing a direct comparison of individual passages. Indeed, the *Chron. Ven.* provides very few indications on the *Extensa* copy that it was based on. The parts that are most easy to compare quite interestingly pertain to copious local documents inserted into the *Extensa*. Some of them are also present in the *Chron. Ven.* Despite their official status, the documents were thus slightly modified by *Extensa* scribes.

<sup>85</sup> For examples of complex textual transmission of medieval texts, see Göransson et al. 2016.

<sup>86</sup> I wish to thank the anonymous reviewer of the *Renaissanceforum* for pointing out some specific problems as regards this issue.

These changes, which are reflected in the *Chron. Ven.*, make it possible to compare the texts to a certain degree.

#### 4.3.2 The comparison between the *Brevis* and its reworkings and (re)translations

For article 4, a series of synoptical tables were assembled to illustrate the textual development from subcorpus 1 to subcorpora 3–6 texts. Through a great amount of comparable passages presented in tabular form, it is possible to demonstrate the strong links between the *Brevis* translation and the *A volgare*. However, this method of presenting evidence necessarily limits the number of texts that may reasonably be compared without compromising the readability of the tables. This was the main reason for excluding the Giustinian chronicle from the tables. Consequently, the mutual relationship between this text, on the one hand, and the *A volgare* and the *A latina*, on the other, needed to be examined in a special section placed at the end of the article.

A detailed description of the *Brevis* evolution through all of its early stages necessarily highlights the passages shared by the chronicles. Consequently, the accumulation of material during rewriting is only briefly discussed, since the analysis of the textual phenomena required a great deal of space. This unfortunately slightly obscures the overall picture of the process. The *A volgare* additions, for instance, would need to be studied in more detail. Overlooked by most of the scholarship on Venetian history writing, these *A volgare* parts provide, in fact, plenty of important material for understanding the points of interest of the Venetian historians of the 1350s. They will be the object of further study.

#### 4.4 Codicological and palaeographical analysis of the chronicle manuscripts

The information acquired through various comparative processes was complemented by analyzing the material aspect of a number of manuscripts. For this purpose, the original manuscripts were studied *in situ*. The transcriptions of the texts, by contrast, were mainly based on reproductions of the manuscripts.

The codicological analysis, such as studying the quire structure, provided valuable information on the textual tradition of individual chronicles. Relevant information on the transmission history of texts was also gathered by a palaeographical analysis of scribal hands within single manuscripts. The examination of this aspect contributed, among others, to a more precise datation of the Modena continuation attributed to Ravagnani. In addition, comparative art historical research was conducted to date the oldest *Chron. Ven.* copy on the basis of its decoration. It was compared to several fourteenth-century Venetian manuscripts with a similar miniature or miniatures currently held by the BNM and BMCVe. The prov-

enance studies also necessitated visits to research libraries, since many relevant library catalogues could only be consulted in a hand-written version.<sup>87</sup>

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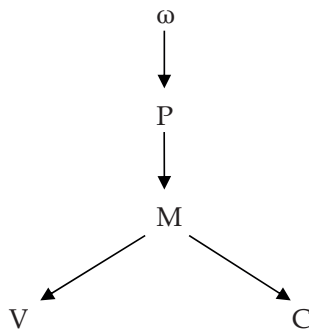
<sup>87</sup> For instance, the catalogues of the Contarini family library housed at the Venice, BNM [It. X, 220 (= 6409), It. X, 219 (= 10055), It. XI, 324 (= 7135) and It. XI, 328 (= 7330)].

## 5 RESULTS

### 5.1 Towards the *editio princeps* of the *Chronica Venetiarum* attributed to Benintendi de' Ravagnani

#### 5.1.1 Transmission history

Article 1 pertains to the textual tradition and contents of the *Chron. Ven.* attributed to Benintendi de' Ravagnani. The variant readings and codicological indicators clearly point to the following *stemma codicum*:



P = Princeton, PUL, Garrett 156.

Fourteenth century; parchment; ff. III + 20 + I; c. 26.4 x 18.6 (c. 17.3 x 11.7) cm.; I<sup>8</sup> II<sup>8</sup> III<sup>4</sup>.

M = Venice, BNM, lat. XIV. 177 (=4607)

Sixteenth century; paper; ff. I + 169 + I; c. 16.1 x 22.7 (c. 19.0 x 12.7) cm.; I<sup>4+2</sup> II<sup>10</sup> III<sup>12+1</sup> IV-V<sup>4</sup> VI-XI<sup>6</sup> XII-XIV<sup>4</sup> XV<sup>2</sup> XVI<sup>8</sup> XVII<sup>8+7</sup> XVIII<sup>4+1</sup> XIX<sup>8</sup> XX-XXVIII<sup>4</sup> XXIX<sup>2</sup>.

C = Venice, BMCVe, Gradenigo Dolfin 34

Seventeenth century; paper; I + 55 + I; c. 25.0 x 19.0 (c. 19.0 x 14.9) cm.; I<sup>7</sup> II-IV<sup>8</sup> V-VII<sup>6</sup> VIII<sup>6</sup>.

V = Rome, BNC, San Gregorio 30

Seventeenth century; paper; ff. 32; c. 28.7 x 20.3 (0.0 x 0.0)<sup>88</sup> cm.; I-VIII<sup>4</sup>.

FIGURE 1 *Stemma codicum* of the *Chronica Venetiarum*

Since the narrative abruptly ends in 976, the Princeton volume quire structure suggests that it was based on an earlier manuscript, possibly the working copy. This would explain why its scribe decided to abandon the quaternion structure and placed a binion at the end of the manuscript. The quire change thus indicates that the narrative was not interrupted by the scribe of the Princeton volume, the text having ended at the same point in its model. Otherwise, the quire structure would probably have been regular.

The first leaf of the Princeton copy is decorated with a portrait of a saint identifiable as St Mark. The miniature resembles those in liturgical manuscripts produced for St Mark's basilica in the middle decades of the fourteenth century, thus suggesting a date in the years either contemporary or immediately subsequent to the composition of the *Extensa*.

The first leaf also presents a polychromic garland and a partly erased coat of arms showing a figure, possibly an eagle or a horse rampant, on a red background. The coat of arms might resemble that of the Giustinian family, some members of which took a particular interest in history writing both in Ravagnani's time and afterwards. However, since the coat of arms is hardly identifiable, further evidence is needed to verify this hypothesis.

In contrast, the Princeton volume is probably not to be identified as the ancient parchment copy of the *Chron. Ven.* known to Apostolo Zeno. According to Zeno, the ancient copy had been previously owned by the diarist Marin Sanudo and was later housed in the library of the Contarini alla Carità family. To determine the history of this volume, research was conducted on the handwritten catalogues of the Contarini collections (p. 42) and the unpublished catalogue of the Seminario Patriarcale library. However, these catalogues included no further indicators on the ownership history.

The Marciana volume was copied from the Princeton manuscript probably in the sixteenth century. It is a paper manuscript currently part of a heterogeneous volume of historical texts, some of which were transcribed by Apostolo Zeno, the first known owner of the book. So far, the previous owners have not been identified. However, further information on the provenance might be gathered through an examination of the transmission history of the documents preceding the *Chron. Ven.* both in the Marciana volume and the later copies. These materials were written by the same hand as the chronicle, indicating that

<sup>88</sup> The manuscript will be examined *in situ* next July to complete the description.



the Marciana scribe added them. They include Ravagnani's letter of presentation of the *Extensa*, the epitaph of Andrea Dandolo and two documents pertaining to questions of dogal jurisdiction.

The Correr copy, a paper manuscript datable to the seventeenth century, directly derives from the Marciana volume. The direct connection between the two copies is indicated by several omissions of the *saut du même au même* type, as was mentioned above (p. 39). The manuscript previously belonged to Pietro Gradenigo (1695–1776), an important eighteenth-century literary figure, who wrote biographies of Great Chancellors of Venice.<sup>89</sup>

The copy housed at the BNC of Rome probably also derives from the Marciana volume. Several elements indicate that this volume was copied for the Camaldolese monastery of San Michele at Murano. The manuscript was probably transported to the Roman monastery of the same order (San Gregorio al Celio) during the first half of the nineteenth century. Confiscated by the Italian state in 1874, the volume went to the BNC of Rome.

### 5.1.2 Contents

The *Chron. Ven.*, as has already been shown by previous scholarship, is an abridged version of Andrea Dandolo's *Extensa* with a limited amount of material taken from other sources or attributable to the compiler of this text. Taken together, the *Chron. Ven.* additions and modifications show that the author aimed at clarifying the source text e.g. by highlighting the causal effect of some actions. Moreover, the *Chron. Ven.* generally presents a more elegant version compared to the *Extensa*.

The selection of material from the *Extensa* clearly shows that the *Chron. Ven.* author was mainly interested in episodes pertaining to Rialto and the nearby islands. The wide horizon of the *Extensa* is thus rejected. Consequently, the *Chron. Ven.*, despite giving some information on global history, generally presents the same contents as the Venetian chronicles written in 1350–1360.

The *Chron. Ven.* materials on global history mainly pertain to legendary episodes showing the decisive role of supernatural forces in determining the outcome of human enterprises. These elements thus point to a religious motive. The text also presents a series of dramatizing modifications and additions, suggesting that the writer was also interested in emotionally charged material. The legends, in fact, were suitable material for this reason as well, since they often add drama to the narrative.

However, the most conspicuous *Chron. Ven.* additions highlight the idea of the pre-eminence and special role given to Venice in Christendom. The importance of Providence in the birth of lagunar society and in the rise to naval power of the Serenissima is clearly indicated in the prologue, rich with quotations from the Bible. Some elements seem to aim at justifying the aggressive policies adopted by the Republic in expanding and defending her dominion in the nearby region and overseas. These operations were explained and legiti-

<sup>89</sup> Moschini 1809, 4–47, Zorzi 2001, 237–238, Vanin 2013, xxvii–xviii.



mized e.g. by promoting the idea of Venice as a guardian of justice. This idea is also stressed in the *Chron. Ven.* prologue.

The important role of Venice in the divine plan is also emphasized by some additions to the passage on the foundation of Venice, which was dated to 25 March 421 in the fourteenth-century chronicles. The *Chron. Ven.* enriches this part with biblical events and tales of martyrdom purportedly having taken place on the same day. This information, however, does probably not come from liturgical calendars, since they indicate a variety of dates for the events in question. Article 2 claims that the additions originate in a poem included in the *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine.

### 5.1.3 The author

The *Chron. Ven.* prologue raises questions as regards the attribution to Ravagnani. Significantly, it refers neither to Dandolo nor to his historical works as a source of or inspiration for the text. The absence of these elements is particularly important in view of Dandolo's and Ravagnani's close connection as government collaborators and pioneers of *studia humanitatis*. Furthermore, the prologue seems to differ in style from Ravagnani's texts. This observation, however, is based on a very limited amount of material because so few texts by the Great Chancellor have been preserved.

The theory of a misattribution of the *Chron. Ven.* – be it by the scribe of the Princeton copy or at an earlier stage of transmission – may be supported, moreover, by differences in contents between the prologue and the letter of presentation of the *Extensa* by Ravagnani. The letter not only describes the process of compiling the *Extensa* but also expresses some ideas on the scope of history writing. In contrast, both general reflection on the genre and information on the sources is conspicuously absent from the *Chron. Ven.* prologue.

The similarities between the *Chron. Ven.* and the second oldest *Extensa* copy (Turin, BNU, J.IV.7) would seem to exclude the derivation of the former text from the supposed working copy of the *Extensa*, currently housed at the Marciana library [Venice, BNM, lat. Z. 400 (=2028)]. However, a series of differences show that the *Chron. Ven.* and the Turin copy are not directly connected, either. The *Chron. Ven.* thus seems to derive from a lost *Extensa* copy located in the *stemma codicum* between the Marciana and Turin volumes.

This result is utterly important for the understanding of the early circulation the *Extensa*. If the *Chron. Ven.* author was indeed Ravagnani, the *Extensa* version on which it was probably the copy preserved and consulted in the chancellery and regarded as the official version. Consequently, the Marciana version would have been replaced in the chancellery by this remodeled text, from which the Turin volume and several later copies derive. If, by contrast, the *Chron. Ven.* writer was not Ravagnani but a less important figure, its derivation from a less authoritative *Extensa* copy would not be surprising. In that case, there would be no reason to question the high status given by previous scholarship to the Marciana copy of the *Extensa*.

## 5.2 The role of the ms. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7 in the circulation of Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica per extensum descripta* and the *Venetiarum Chronica* by Rafaino Caresini

Since Pastorello's *Extensa* edition there has been very little scholarly interest in the manuscript witnesses of this text. Having identified the above-mentioned Marciana volume as the working copy, Pastorello went on to base her edition on this particular volume. Some variant readings of the other copies are recorded in the apparatus but the principles guiding their selection is unclear, since Pastorello only briefly discusses this matter in the preface. Indeed, article 3 shows that a significant amount of variants of the Turin copy are absent from the apparatus.

As a result, the apparatus does generally not make it possible to connect individual Venetian chronicles to a particular *Extensa* copy. The problems arising from the apparatus are illustrated e.g. by the recent edition of the Giustinian chronicle discussed in article 3. Since this chronicle has plenty of material taken from the *Extensa*, the editor has aimed at identifying the particular copy that the information might have been taken from. With this intention, the editor compared the Giustinian chronicle passages to the respective *Extensa* parts on the basis of Pastorello's apparatus. In this case, however, Pastorello's edition provides particularly misleading information. In fact, the Turin copy presents nearly all the passages in question, contrary to what is claimed by the *Extensa* apparatus.

Generally speaking, the fact that much new information on the transmission history could be gathered from the Turin copy alone suggests that a codicological and textual analysis of the other copies would considerably further our knowledge of the circulation and reception of the *Extensa*. Since Pastorello only briefly described the later copies, further research would be needed in this field.

The Turin volume seems to be one of the most lavishly decorated *Extensa* copies. It is a parchment manuscript presenting a miniature and a garland on the severely damaged first leaf. Despite the damages suffered by the volume, it is possible to identify the figure as St Mark. The measures for the leaves are c. 20.8 x 13.1 cm, the writing frame (two columns) measuring c. 15.5 x 9.5 cm. The layout and the decoration highlight the division of the text in three hierarchical units, *libri*, *capitula* and *partes*, which is also apparent in the Marciana copy, although not as clearly as here. Notably, the partial rubrication of the smallest units, *partes*, suggests an interest in local history.

The Turin volume also includes an important copy of the chronicle of Venice by Rafaino Caresini. The manuscript was not used by Pastorello in her edition of this text, probably due to the dire condition of the Turin volume prior to the restorations made from the 1930s onwards. A specific lacuna and a word in Venetian inserted into the Latin narrative identify the Turin copy as the proba-

ble model of a group of important manuscript witnesses transmitting a revised version of the chronicle. Pastorello attributed this version to Caresini.

This group of manuscripts includes the following three witnesses:

Venice, BNM, lat. X, 237 (fifteenth century)  
 Venice, BMCVe, P.D. 142c (fifteenth century)  
 Paris, BNF, lat. 5874 (fifteenth century).

Importantly, Pastorello's edition indicates several readings present in these three copies but absent from the Turin copy. This invites further research on the genesis and development of Caresini's history of Venice. Furthermore, the Turin copy also includes an extract from the *Brevis* filling the chronological gap between the *Extensa* (ending in the 1280) and Caresini's chronicle (beginning from the 1342). The same *Brevis* extract accompanies Caresini's chronicle and the *Extensa* in a series of manuscripts showing the importance of the Turin volume in the development of Venetian history writing.

### 5.3 Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica brevis* as a catalyst of history writing in fourteenth-century Venice – new model explaining the genesis of Venetian mid-fourteenth-century chronicles

Article 4 includes a detailed comparison between several chronicles of Venice produced in the middle decades of the fourteenth century. These are 1) the *Brevis*, 2) a translation of this text into Venetian, 3) the *A volgare*, 4) the *A latina* and 5) the *Cronica Veneciarum* by Piero Giustinian. Article 4 argues for the derivation of these texts from the *Brevis* through a complicated textual process. The key finding is the connection between the *Brevis* translation and the *A volgare*, which explains how Dandolo's shorter chronicle was transformed into anonymous texts soon after it was composed.

The passages discussed in the article were divided into three categories according to the stage where the text was mainly transformed. The tables thus stress the gradual transformation of content during the process of rewriting and translating. The juxtaposition of the texts clearly shows that the *A latina* always reflects the modifications by the *Brevis* translator and the *A volgare* author. Moreover, the *A latina* generally presents the same material as the *A volgare*, which partly derives from unidentified narrative and documentary sources. Hence, the *A latina* must have been written after the *A volgare*, contrary to Carile's influential interpretation (cf. p. 26–27).

The following scheme describes the textual development. The arrows show the main derivation of the text of these chronicles. Important aspects, such as the degree and quality of the textual modifications and the role of other texts in the genesis of individual works, are left aside for the sake of simplicity.

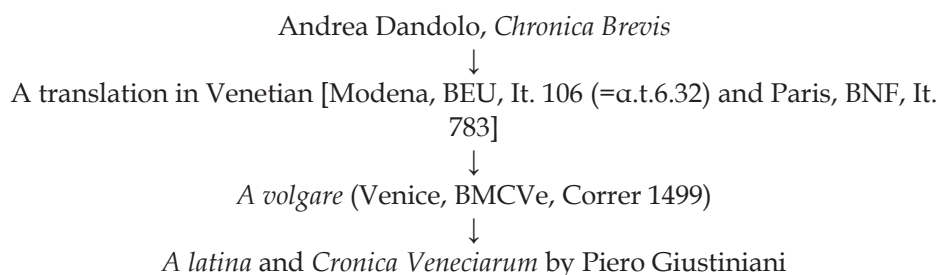


FIGURE 2 The early textual development of the *Brevis*.

The model significantly differs from Carile's interpretation, which links these texts to earlier versions, now lost, composed in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Article 4 thus claims that Lidia Capo was right in suggesting a derivation of the Venetian mid-fourteenth-century chronicles from the *Brevis*. Capo, and Pastorello before her, correctly indicated the Modena translation as the key text for research on their mutual relationships.

Though mainly examining the early textual development of the *Brevis*, article 4 also partly covers the transmission history of the Latin retranslations. The article points out some similarities between the *Cronica Veneciarum* and the *A volgare*, suggesting that the former text reflects an earlier stage in the evolution of the Latin retranslation. There was a lost early version of this text, on which the Giustinian chronicle was based. The *A latina*, by contrast, is a reworking of this intermediate version. Altogether, the evolution of the Latin retranslation further underlines the complexity of philological problems as regards the Venetian chronicles.

Article 4 also examines some of the numerous *A volgare* additions, most of the sources of which have as yet not been identified. A comparison with the Martin da Canal and the Marco chronicles suggests that neither of these texts is the main source of the additions. This is clearly indicated e.g. by some differences in dating the various naval operations of the first Genoese-Venetian war (1257–1270). However, there are passages possibly connecting the *A volgare* to some unknown text in Franco-Venetian closely resembling the Martin da Canal chronicle.

#### 5.4 Problems regarding the attribution of the Modena continuation to Benintendi de' Ravagnani

Article 4 also discusses new evidence as regards the continuation of the *Brevis* attributed to Ravagnani by Pastorello. The article presents some clear codicological and palaeographical indicators invalidating this hypothesis. The Modena manuscript, in fact, includes two brief continuations instead of one. This is shown by changes in script, which point to a third scribal intervention.

Hence, the Modena volume originally included a narrative ending in the year 1357. Secondly, the text was continued until 1358. Thirdly, some further notices extended the chronicle until 1361, the last episode being datable to 29 September. Consequently, the genesis of this *Brevis* version is a far more complex issue than assumed by Pastorello. It is clear, moreover, that the part highlighting Dandolo's merits and the passage continuing the chronicle until 1361 were not written by the same hand. This contrasts with Pastorello's hypothesis on a connection to Ravagnani, based on the time span covered and the sympathy shown to doge Dandolo's governmental efforts.

Pastorello also argued for a direct derivation of the Modena translation from the original version of the *Brevis*, shown e.g. by the accurate ducal chronology. For Pastorello, this also supported the attribution of the continuation to the Great Chancellor. However, a comparison between the Paris and Modena translations points to a much more complex transmission history for this text. There were intermediate stages in the transmission of the *Brevis* translation from the autograph to the Paris and Modena versions.

The structure and contents of the Paris copy further clarify the picture of how Venetian chronicles were produced during this period. This volume shows interventions in the final part of the volume similar to the Modena copy. Firstly, it continues the *Brevis* narrative with some remarks on Dandolo's dogeship. Secondly, a quire was added at the end of the Paris volume possibly to include further additions. The presence of a continuation in both Paris and Modena copies suggests that it was common practice to extend not only anonymous chronicles but also the *Brevis*.

## 5.5 The circulation of Benintendi de' Ravagnani's opera minora

The present study also includes some preliminary results on the manuscripts and prints transmitting Ravagnani's other works. The textual tradition of most of these texts is fairly well known since they belong to a set of writings by Petrarch and Venetian prehumanists already studied by Georg Voigt and Ludwig Bertalot.<sup>90</sup> This set is preserved in five manuscripts, all produced North from the Alps during the fifteenth century. The manuscripts include e.g. Ravagnani's preserved letters to Petrarch and his consolatory letter to the colleagues of the ducal chancellery after the death of Andrea Dandolo. Moreover, the consolatory letter has been preserved in an earlier copy in Vatican City, BAV, lat. 5223, a miscellaneous fourteenth-century volume.<sup>91</sup> This manuscript also preserves Ravagnani's letter of presentation of the *Extensa* transmitted in numerous copies of Dandolo's chronicle as well.

Ravagnani's speech to King Louis of Hungary had a much wider circulation probably due to an attribution to Petrarch in some copies. Article 3 pro-

<sup>90</sup> Voigt 1882, 23–48. Bertalot 1923–24, 307–337.

<sup>91</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see e.g. Kristeller 1967, 372–373.

vides a list of copies mostly based on catalogues of Petrarch manuscripts, especially those published in *Italia medioevale e umanistica*.<sup>92</sup> It includes seven items mostly datable to the fifteenth century. A preliminary analysis of the manuscripts suggests that the future edition of the speech should be based on Venice, BNM, lat. Z. 476 (=1944), the only fourteenth-century copy.<sup>93</sup> This manuscript was probably used for the first printed edition by Simone da Lovere and Andrea Torresano published in Venice in 1501.

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<sup>92</sup> E.g. Pellegrin 1961, 424–25. Four of the known copies were indicated in Mann 1974, 223.

<sup>93</sup> For a bibliography on and a description of the Venice, BNM, lat. Z. 476 (=1944), see Malandrino 2013–2014, 527–530.

## 6 DISCUSSION

### 6.1 *Desiderata* for further research

#### 6.1.1 A new critical edition of the *Chronica per extensum descripta*

The present study demonstrates the general lack of information as regards the production and transmission of Venetian chronicles. The knowledge gaps pertain to both the anonymous texts and to the works attributed to well-known figures such as doge Dandolo. Since anonymous texts most often lack (modern) editions, there is not enough information on the textual processes leading to individual works. While most of the key texts have been published, several editions cover but inadequately important aspects such as the transmission history and reception of the text. This is mainly due to the sheer amount of Venetian chronicles produced during the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Even though the present research was limited to the very first phase of this process, it was not possible to address all questions of importance, as was shown above (p. 41). Since the overall picture of the chronicle production becomes increasingly complicated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the history of Venetian history writing may be said to be largely underexplored. Future research making these texts accessible will probably provide plenty of new insights into the culture of the Serenissima.

Importantly, Pastorello's *Extensa* edition presents several information gaps. As shown in article 3, in particular the textual development of the chronicle is inadequately recorded in the apparatus. Consequently, a new *Extensa* edition based on a stemmatological analysis of at least a significant amount of copies (those prior to the seventeenth century) is needed. Such an edition is also a must for the study of a series of other texts partly or wholly derived from the *Extensa*. In the absence of a new edition, at least the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century copies should be thoroughly described in order to identify eventual later interventions shaping the text.



A stemmatological analysis of the *Extensa* copies could also show whether the importance of this text varied over time. If a notable part of the later copies actually derive from the Turin volume, as seems plausible, the *Extensa* circulation might have been rather limited during the latter half of the fourteenth century. This is also suggested by the derivation of a series of later copies of Caresini's chronicle from the Turin volume. Hence, Dandolo's universal chronicle seems to have been initially eclipsed by the local chronicles with a narrower focus such as the *Brevis* and its reworkings. The notable dimensions of the *Extensa* may have been a factor in this development. Indeed, the *Extensa* started to circulate more widely in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when there was a general increase in the size of chronicle manuscripts as regards both the dimensions of the leaves and their number per volume. This is probably explained by the growing use of paper in the production of books.

### 6.1.2 An *Editio princeps* of the *Extensa* reworkings

There are also significant knowledge gaps as regards the contents and transmission of the various *Extensa* reworkings. For instance, there is no printed edition of the chronicle baptized *Recension C* by Simonsfeld. This chronicle became very popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as is shown by the high number of copies. Despite its wide circulation, the *Recension C* has attracted very little scholarly attention.<sup>94</sup>

In addition, there are probably hitherto unstudied versions of the *Extensa* hidden in the insufficiently catalogued collections with Venetian chronicles. For instance, the manuscript Berlin, SBB-PK, Hamilton 667 preserves a drastically abridged version of the *Extensa*. The small dimensions of this book (it only measures *c.* 21.2 x 14.8 cm) and the consequent narrow perspective of the compendium very clearly distinguish this version from the *Recension C*.<sup>95</sup> It would seem that this pocket-size *Extensa* version has been neglected in scholarship on Venetian history writing, which again shows that the reception of Dandolo's chronicles is generally underexplored.

### 6.1.3 *Editiones principes* of the *A volgare* and the *Brevis* translation

*Editiones principes* of both the *A volgare* and the *Brevis* translation also are urgently needed to give access to these key texts.<sup>96</sup> The lack of an *A volgare* edition may be explained by the influence of Carile's theory, which substantially misjudges its role in the evolution of Venetian chronicles. Moreover, the *A volgare* became a very popular text in the fourteenth century and continued to circulate

<sup>94</sup> For a brief description of the *Recension C* contents and manuscripts, see Pastorello 1939b, 337. The oldest copy, Venice, BNM, lat. X, 259 (=3752) attributes this chronicle to Andrea Dandolo.

<sup>95</sup> For a description of the manuscript, see Boese 1966, 321.

<sup>96</sup> An edition is currently being prepared by Giorgio Vespignani. The project is mentioned in Parmeggiani 2013, 930.



widely in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Consequently, it has a particularly complex textual tradition, which may also have discouraged editors.

On the whole, the relative inaccessibility of both the *A volgare* and the *Brevis* translation for most scholars may have contributed to the general lack of alternative theories questioning Carile's. Since the key texts have been difficult to consult, it has obviously been difficult to challenge Carile's interpretation.

## 6.2 Re-evaluation of the Venetian mid-fourteenth-century chronicles

Generally speaking, the scholarship on Venetian history writing has paid more attention to the mid-fourteenth-century chronicles written in Latin than to those in vernacular. This is clearly shown by editorial activity. The *Venetiarum Historia* edition was already published in 1964, whereas the *editiones principes* of both the *A latina* and the *Cronica Veneciarum* only came out recently (cf. p. 31–33). The higher status given to Latin texts is also demonstrated by some modern repertoires generally listing and describing them. In contrast, the vernacular texts – together with the *Chron. Ven.* attributed to Ravagnani – rarely appear in these repertoires, which therefore give a particularly unclear overall picture of the Venetian history writing in 1340–1360.

For instance, the repertoire of Venetian history by Giorgio Zordan only mentions four of the chronicles examined for the present study: the *Brevis* and the *Extensa*, Rafaino Caresini's chronicle and the *Venetiarum Historia*.<sup>97</sup> By contrast, the far more detailed list of Venetian chronicles accompanying the edition of the Antonio Morosini chronicle also indicates, in addition to the four texts mentioned above, the *A latina*, the *A volgare* and the *Cronica Veneciarum* by Piero Giustinian. Even though this repertoire gives a much more complete picture of the Venetian chronicle production, some important texts are missing in it. For example, the *Brevis* translation is absent from the list, although vernacular versions of some other works, e.g. that of the Caresini chronicle, are mentioned.<sup>98</sup> The chronicle attributed to Ravagnani is missing in this repertoire as well.

The recently published *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* further illustrates the current state of knowledge on Venetian history writing. It gives information considerably different from that provided by the repertoires by Zordan and Nanetti. Firstly, the article on Andrea Dandolo's historical works only focuses on the *Extensa* without mentioning the *Brevis* at all.<sup>99</sup> Secondly, neither the *A latina* nor the *A volgare* are included in the *Encyclopedia*. Thirdly, this repertoire gives erroneous information on Piero Giustinian's *Cronica Veneciarum* and the *Venetiarum Historia*, claiming that they are redactions of a single work,

<sup>97</sup> Zordan 27–28, 1998.

<sup>98</sup> Nanetti 2010, 1786–93.

<sup>99</sup> Dell'Aprovitola 2010, 506.

not preserved. However, the *Venetiarum Historia* actually is derived from the *Cronica*.<sup>100</sup>

A new model for the origin of the mid-fourteenth-century chronicles presented in this study hopefully furthers understanding of their mutual relationships. To summarize, the present study proposes the following starting points for their scholarly use:

**A.** Both the *Brevis* translation and the *A volgare* are utterly important, since the metamorphosis of the *Brevis* starts from them. Future research on Venetian history writing should pay more attention to the gradual evolution of the *Brevis* through these two chronicles.

**B.** The *A latina*, the *Cronica Veneciarum* and the *Venetiarum Historia* derive from the *A volgare* and not the opposite. Hence, they lose much of their value as historical sources. Research on the first three texts should focus on the scribal and authorial modifications made during the processes of rewriting and retranslating. To identify these elements, a careful comparison between the Latin versions and the *A volgare* is needed.

### 6.3 How to approach the Venetian chronicles? The *Brevis* reworkings as a source for Venetian image of the past

#### 6.3.1 Case study A: differing views on the early lagunar society

The connection between the *Brevis* and other mid-fourteenth-century chronicles provides new research orientation for scholarship on the history of Medieval and Early Modern Venice. A much more nuanced comparison between these texts is henceforth possible due to the new model explaining their genesis. In essence, each chronicle can be compared to the text from which it was derived in order to identify the contribution of individual scribes and authors. These interventions transmit the differing views of the persons involved in history writing, reflecting the fluctuation and development of Venetian ideas on the past of the Republic.

As an illustration, I shall briefly discuss in the following the development of the passage describing the return of the inhabitants from the islands to the mainland after the departure from Italy of the Huns. This was seen as a crucial moment in Venetian history, since the remaining refugees formed the primitive lagunar society. For patrician humanists, in particular, the connection between the early inhabitants and the Roman nobility of the nearby region was a highly important matter.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Kohl 2010a, 443–444.

<sup>101</sup> King 1986, 132–140.

Firstly, the *Brevis* version of this passage does not stress the contribution of any particular section of the population. It simply claims that a majority of the earliest population left their insular dwellings as the Huns withdrew.<sup>102</sup> Secondly, and importantly, the *Brevis* translation presents interventions implying a different social composition of the early population from the remigration onwards. According to the *Brevis* translation, the returning majority would have been composed of people of lower social status, suggesting therefore that the population of the imaginary primitive Venice – that is, the people who remained in the islands – was mainly of noble origin.<sup>103</sup> This idea is clearly expressed by the translator both through slight modifications and substantial additions. The *A volgare* author further modified the phrase, giving, however, a less prominent role to the noblemen and thus promoting a more balanced view of early Venice.<sup>104</sup> All three Latin versions closely follow the *A volgare* version, which implies that their authors did not deem it necessary to make changes.<sup>105</sup>

Hence, a step-by-step comparison between these texts shows differing takes on the issue. A more comprehensive analysis of the chronicles conducted along similar lines would probably uncover much more variation as regards the role of different social groups. Several other aspects could be examined using a similar method, e.g. the relations between Venice and the two Empires or the development of Venetian institutions. It would be interesting to see, for instance, how the fourteenth-century chronicles and later narratives display and explain internal conflicts from the early history to the authors' own time. A study of this aspect would plausibly cast light on the development of the central idea of Venetian humanism, the *unanimitas*.<sup>106</sup>

### 6.3.2 Case study B: doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo (1339–1342) in chronicles' view

The views of Venetian chronicles on individual doges have already attracted scholarly attention. Antonio Carile pointed out differing views of the *A volgare* scribes as regards the policy and personality of Andrea Dandolo.<sup>107</sup> This observation provided the basis for Giorgio Vespignani's 2005 article on ducal ideolo-

<sup>102</sup> *Brevis* 352, lines 10–11...ipsorum (meaning nobiles and populares without distinction) pars tamen maior ad priora domicilia se reduxit. Sed qui in insulis remanserunt, Dei timore preposito, statum suum feliciter augebant.

<sup>103</sup> Modena, BEU, It. 106, fol. 2r elli se retorna ale soe p(ro)prie te(r)re et habitaxo(n) ço e la pa(r)te maçor como era li pouolani e lauoradori de te(r)ra. La parte menor como fo li nobelli eli çentilli che ça auea fate so habitaxo(n) su in le dite ysole romaxe pleni del diuin amor e temor loso stado gratiosam(en)te acresando...

<sup>104</sup> *A volgare*, Venice, BMCVe, Correr 1499, fol. 1v Elli çentili homini liq(ua)li auea ça fatto le soe habotacion in leditte isole torna in le soe terre e chosi pouulani e lauoradori deterra.

<sup>105</sup> *A latina*, 34, lines 39–40, *Cronica Veneciarum*, 3, lines 18–19, *Venetiarum Historia*, p. 18...plurimi tam nobiles quam populares relictis domunculis antedictis ad lares pristinos redierunt.

<sup>106</sup> As is commonly known, Margaret King saw the *unanimitas* as one of the most important themes of Venetian humanism (King 1986, 92–205).

<sup>107</sup> Carile 1969, 7–10, Carile 1970, 115–117.

gy in Venetian fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chronicles.<sup>108</sup> In his study, Vespignani examined a wide array of chronicles to illustrate their take on this matter. However, the comparative method used by Vespignani only reveals some of the variation between the texts, as will be demonstrated in the following through an examination of the view of the chronicles as regards doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo (1339–1342).

Indeed, most of the views of the chronicles do not receive any attention in Vespignani's study that only points out the positive judgement of the *A volgare*, the *A latina* and the *Venetiarum Historia* as regards the doge Gradenigo. As in the first case study, the comparison of the passages should of course start with the *Brevis*. The *Brevis* does not express any opinion on Gradenigo's character. Its description seems rather neutral, unless the absence of comments on Gradenigo's person is to be taken as a statement.<sup>109</sup> The *Brevis* translation takes a neutral position as well.<sup>110</sup> The *A volgare*, by contrast, inserts a favourable remark into the passage describing the ducal election of Gradenigo. Moreover, it further praises him in the final part of the chapter on Gradenigo's ducal reign. The *A volgare* eulogizes Gradenigo, as Vespignani already pointed out, as a beneficent leader but, most notably, for his goodwill towards noblemen. The *A volgare* also stresses Gradenigo's popularity by mentioning the exceptionally high number of votes given to him in the ducal election.<sup>111</sup>

Interestingly, both the *A latina* and Giustinian's *Cronica Veneciarum* lack the laudatory elements at the beginning of the chapter. These texts also substantially abridge the passage describing Gradenigo's merits. Furthermore, the *A latina* balances the description by emphasizing the severe famine that hit Venice during Gradenigo's reign. The *A latina* modifications to this part clearly underline the effects of this disaster to the lower classes.<sup>112</sup> *Cronica Veneciarum* also stresses the link between these adversities and Gradenigo. It adds, however, that by the end of Gradenigo's dogeship the problem had already been solved. The *Cronica Veneciarum* further mitigates the harsh judgement on Gradenigo by discarding the *A latina* reference to the suffering of the *populares*.<sup>113</sup> Lastly, the

<sup>108</sup> Vespignani 2005.

<sup>109</sup> *Brevis*, 372 line 36–p. 373, line 6.

<sup>110</sup> Modena, BEU. It. 106, fol. 21v.

<sup>111</sup> Venice, BMCVe, Correr 1499, fol. 25v Bartolomeo Gradanigo doxe nobellissimo et benivolo p(er) modo dellecion dalie letor e lo fo creado...26r Questo doxe fo un sauio ho(mo) et discreto et lialissimo signor tignudo in so tempo latera i(n) ogni bona pase et amaua etegniua molto apresso desi li suo(?) nobelli et grande cidadinj acressandoli in tute cose quanto lo podeua p(er) laq(ua)l cosa datuti li bonj ello era ben uoiudo et amado et p(er) le sue gran cortisie et bontade auance chello fosse citado doxe çeneral mentre de tuti lo uegniua onorado et ap(re)siado. Eallo ricordo detuti quelli che uiue no(n) fo homo mai eleto doxe p(er) eleçion che uegnisse tante ballote como costuj ni che plui solleue mentre fosse fato ben fo in tuto so tempo carastia de biaua efo gran fame.

<sup>112</sup> *A latina*, 155, lines 26–30 Iste dux fuit benignissimus, nobilis, sapiens et animosus nec non pacis amator et omnium nobiliorum augmentator, qua de causa ab omnibus nobilibus dilectus erat, sed toto suo tempore bladi fuit maxima caritudo et populares de suo dominio non modicum gravabantur.

<sup>113</sup> *Cronica Veneciarum*, 123, lines 1–4 Iste dux tamquam vir sapiens et pacificus, cunctis subditis et circavicinis, nec non omnibus suis nobilibus, se exhibuit gratiosum et Ve-

*Venetiarum Historia* begins the description of Gradenigo's reign with additional praise of Gradenigo, listing the doge's commendable qualities. The *Venetiarum Historia* also mentions the famine without either elaborating on or trying to mitigate this episode.<sup>114</sup>

A detailed analysis of the passages thus shows that subtle modifications made by scribes and translators may significantly change the overall tone of the narrative. Conversely, the overall picture becomes significantly blurrier if only some of these texts are compared with each other. This method, however, is fairly widespread, affecting scholarship in several fields. Problems arise e.g. from the common use of the *Venetiarum Historia* together with either the *Brevis* or the *Extensa* or both.<sup>115</sup> Even studies by specialists of Venetian history writing may examine the mid-fourteenth-century chronicles in this way. For instance, Dorit Raines, in her seminal study on the patrician self-image, mainly used the *Brevis* and the *Venetiarum Historia* to describe the fourteenth-century development of noble ideology.<sup>116</sup>

Although the effects of a somewhat non-analytical use of the *Venetiarum Historia* should of course be evaluated case by case, the two case studies presented above suggest that a more nuanced analysis of the textual development could reveal relevant variation between them. In particular, the passages shared by the *Brevis* and the *Venetiarum Historia* should be compared to those of the intermediate texts, since the latter are numerous indeed. Moreover, a great number of *Venetiarum Historia* passages are derived from *A volgare* additions, also warranting a comparison. In conclusion, it seems that scholarship on Venetian ideas would generally benefit from an approach based on the findings of article 4.

## 6.4 Towards an *editio princeps* of the *Chronica Venetiarum*

### 6.4.1 The *Chronica Venetiarum* reception in the light of the circulation of Venetian mid-fourteenth-century chronicles

Article 1 clearly shows that the *Chron. Ven.* edition should be based on Garrett 156, the source of the other three copies. The scholars using this text should of course consult the Princeton copy prior to the publication of the *editio princeps*. The direct derivation of the other manuscript witnesses from Garrett 156 sug-

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neciarum provinciam provide gubernavit; sed quasi toto eius tempore in Venecis bladi fuit maxima caritudo, licet in suo obitu civitatem frumento fulcierat affluenter.

<sup>114</sup> *Venetiarum Historia*, p. 223–224 Bartholomeus Gradenigo, vir modestus, humilis, placibilis, largus, nobilis et animosus...dux electus et publicatus est...Iste dux pacificus et benignus cunctis subditis et circavicinis nec non omnibus suis nobilibus se exhibuit generosum, sed quasi toto eius tempore bladi penuria magna fuit.

<sup>115</sup> E.g. Cohn 2008, 15. Devaney 2010, 140. Madden 1999, 97 and 2012, 337. Preto 1996, 296.

<sup>116</sup> For the sources and methods used in analyzing the chronicle tradition, see e.g. Raines 2006, 56–63.

gests, furthermore, that the *Chron. Ven.* remained in relative isolation despite the importance of the putative author and despite being quoted in some widely read works such as the *Decades* by Marcantonio Sabellico and the *Le Vite dei Dogi* di Marin Sanudo.<sup>117</sup>

Whether the textual tradition of the *Chron. Ven.* significantly differs from those of the contemporary Venetian chronicles is another matter. Was information on the past of the Republic generally available to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century readers? There is solid evidence in support of this having been the case. For instance, the *Brevis* and Caresini's chronicle circulated widely, which is probably explained by their suitability for continuations and reworkings. This is indicated by a large number of manuscript witnesses with additional material. Correspondingly, anonymous vernacular chronicles abounded especially from the fifteenth century onwards. It seems plausible, therefore, that readers and writers of history had an easy access to relevant information.

On the other hand, the translation practices described in article 4 invite to a re-evaluation of both the ways of circulation of Venetian historical texts and the approaches adopted by scribes and compilers of new versions. Indeed, the Latin retranslation of the *Brevis* suggests a limited circulation for this key text as well. The *A latina* author probably did not know the *Brevis* and therefore went on to translate the *A volgare*. This hypothesis seems plausible although it is not impossible, either, that the author of the *A latina*, though aware of the *Brevis*, preferred to translate the *A volgare* instead of supplementing the *Brevis* with fitting additions and modifications.

However, the theory of a limited access to historical texts during the fourteenth century is supported by the Hamilton chronicle, which we have identified as a Venetian retranslation of the *A latina* (cf. p. 34–35). If this interpretation is valid, the widely circulating *A volgare* was very probably unknown to the translator of the Hamilton text. Consequently, while the second half of the fourteenth century saw a growing production of Venetian chronicles, conditions or attitudes might not have encouraged the study of individual texts entailing such operations as a comparison of different versions. This would have necessitated, among other things, an extensive search for chronicle manuscripts.

Further studies on Venetian chronicles will probably clarify this picture by identifying more patterns and channels for the transmission of historical information, especially as regards fifteenth-century texts. However, evidence seems to point to the production and circulation of Venetian chronicles generally continuing along similar lines in the fifteenth century. This view is supported by a preliminary analysis of the transmission of the *De gestis, moribus et nobilitate civitatis Venetiarum* written by the Cretan Chancellor Lorenzo de' Monaci (1375–1429). It seems to have had a very limited circulation, which is shown by the relations of the oldest copy, the fifteenth-century Venice, BNM, lat. X, 143

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<sup>117</sup> Sanudo, *Le Vite dei Dogi*, 14. For the use of *Chron. Ven.* by Sabellico, see Bersi 1910, 115–122.



(=3523) with later manuscript witnesses.<sup>118</sup> The textual tradition of this work resembles, in fact, that of the *Chron. Ven.*

Research on transmission patterns would naturally also benefit from information on the circulation and use of texts belonging to other genres and for motives and conditions behind different modes of transmission. For instance, studies on the *Il milione* transmission have shown that scribes and translators repeatedly crossed linguistic barriers when producing new versions in a series of languages, e.g. Venetian, Latin and Anglo-Norman. It should be pointed out, moreover, that scribes working in Venice played a central role in the transformation of Marco Polo's work.<sup>119</sup> It is another matter whether the Venetian *Il milione* production was conditioned by the same mental and physical structures as that of the chronicles.

In the overall picture of the chronicle production, the *Chron. Ven.* thus stands apart. While the contents and style of reworkings and retranslations are generally characterized by a certain lack of ambition, the *Chron. Ven.* at least derives from a solid source text, the *Extensa*. Dandolo's universal chronicle was of course used by several other writers as well in enriching previous texts, but not as the main source. At the same time, it presents the same contents as other contemporary narratives, reflecting a general demand for relatively concise texts with focus on local events.

#### 6.4.2 The attribution of the *Chronica Venetiarum* from the codicological point of view

The material aspect of the Venetian chronicle production also seems to corroborate the connection between the *Chron. Ven.* and Ravagnani. Table 5 shows that texts attributed to the members of the Venetian prehumanist circle (Dandolo, Caresini and Ravagnani) were mainly transmitted in volumes of the highest esthetical quality even though there were some witnesses with modest decoration.<sup>120</sup> In contrast, the manuscript witnesses of the *Brevis* reworkings and retranslations seem generally to have had less elaborate decoration. The lavish decoration of Garrett 156 thus places it on the highest level in the hierarchy of chronicle manuscripts. This would seem to suggest that the patron commission-

<sup>118</sup> I will present some remarks on the *De gestis, moribus et nobilitate civitatis Venetiarum* manuscript tradition in an article which mainly focuses on one of its fifteenth-century copies (Venice, Biblioteca del Seminario Patriarcale, 724 = 798). The article will be based on a paper given at the final colloquium of the Tralmar project (Transmission of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, no. 267518, 2013–2017, Academy of Finland and the University of Jyväskylä) in Rome 26 July 2017 (The Reception of Humanist Historiography in Venice – Simultaneous copying of the *De gestis, moribus et nobilitate civitatis Venetiarum* by Lorenzo de' Monaci at the beginning of the sixteenth century).

<sup>119</sup> Gadrat 2010, 63–78.

<sup>120</sup> E.g. the *Brevis* copies of type 3. Notably, the *Hystoria de discordia* by Bonincontro de' Bovi was also transmitted in lavishly decorated volumes. For manuscript witnesses of this work, see *Hystoria de discordia*, 370 and 411–413.

ing it was quite convinced of the attribution of the *Chron. Ven.* to the Great Chancellor.<sup>121</sup>

Table 5 divides the manuscripts in four groups according to the following criteria:<sup>122</sup>

Type 1. One or more miniatures

Type 2. One or more illuminated initials

Type 3. Pen-flourished initials in red and blue

Type 4. Without decoration or with a single coloured initial at the beginning of the volume

TABLE 5 Decoration of Venetian fourteenth-century historiographical manuscripts

	<i>MS</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Size (mm)</i>
<i>Type 1</i>	BNU, J.IV.7	Dandolo, <i>Extensa</i>	Parchment	208x131
	PUL, Garrett 156	Ravagnani, <i>Chron. Ven.</i>	Parchment	264x186
	BNM, lat. IX, 70 (=3498)	Bovi, <i>Hystoria de discordia</i>	Parchment	266x200
	BMCVe, Correr 1497	Bovi, <i>Hystoria de discordia</i> (Venetian version)	Parchment	275x200
	KSRL, MS D35* <sup>123</sup>	Caresini, <i>Chronica</i>	Parchment	263x195
	BNM, It. VII, 770 (=7795)	Caresini, <i>Chronica</i> (Venetian version)	Parchment	-
<i>Type 2</i>	BNM, lat. X, 11 (=3551)	Dandolo, <i>Extensa</i>	Paper	-
	BMCVe, Correr 1499	<i>A volgare</i>	Parchment	294x220

<sup>121</sup> I wish to thank Dr. Zabbia for drawing my attention to the codicology of Venetian chronicle manuscripts as a potential approach to the question of authorship of the *Chron. Ven.* The comments regarded the paper that I gave at the conference *Equilibri adriatici: Venezia-Ungheria-Zarae e la guerra del 1345-1346 in Venice* the 14 February 2014.

<sup>122</sup> The table is modeled on those by Rhiannon Daniels for her study on the Late Medieval and Early Modern transmission of works by Boccaccio (Daniels 2009). It should be pointed out, however, that the table in question does not cover all the relevant manuscript witnesses of Venetian fourteenth-century chronicles. There are at least seven more volumes to consider: Dandolo, *Extensa*, BAV, lat. 5282 and lat. 5286; Bovi, *Hystoria de discordia*, Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Laud. 587, Paris, BNF, Nouv. acq. lat. 503, Venice, BNM, It. XI, 66 (=6730); Enrico Dandolo, *Cronica di Venexia*, Milan, Bibl. Ambr., H 85 inf; Piero Giustinian, *Cronica Veneciarum*, Venice, BNM, lat. X, 36a (=3326). These manuscripts will be examined in a future study on the material aspect of Venetian history writing.

<sup>123</sup> An asterisk marks the manuscripts as yet not consulted. The information on these items is based on on-line descriptions and reproductions. For the Kansas copy of Caresini's chronicle, see [http://ds.lib.berkeley.edu/MSD35\\_30](http://ds.lib.berkeley.edu/MSD35_30). The *Cronica Veneciarum* autograph is available through the Gallica portal: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9076651g.r=Latins%205877?rk=21459;2>.



Type 3	BNM, lat. X, 296 (=3542)	Dandolo, <i>Brevis</i>	Parchment	270x203
	BNF, It. 783	Dandolo, <i>Brevis</i> (Venetian version)	Parchment	213x144
	BEU, It. 106 (=a.t.6.32)	Dandolo, <i>Brevis</i> (Venetian version)	Parchment	233x172
	BNM, lat. Z. 394 (=2021)	Iacopo Piacentino, <i>Bel-lum Venetum Scaligerum</i>	Parchment	323x232
	BNF, lat. 5877	Piero Giustinian, <i>Cronica Veneciarum</i>	Parchment	310x235
Type 4	BNM, lat. Z. 400 (=2028)	Dandolo, <i>Extensa</i>	Paper	275x207
	BMCVe, Correr 1013	<i>A volgare</i>	Paper	295x210
	BMCVe, P. D. 392c	<i>A latina</i>	Paper	289x217

The table clearly shows that works by the most eminent cultural figures were reproduced in copies of high material quality. However, the proportion of the richly decorated books was probably lower than the table indicates, assuming that a larger amount of the less extravagant paper copies of the anonymous chronicles have perished compared to the lavish parchment volumes. The more expensive books of course had a greater chance of survival due to their value.

The codicology of Venetian fourteenth-century chronicles may reflect a division of readers of local history. Works by Dandolo and his collaborators – that is, mainly Latin chronicles – were perhaps valued by the highest social classes, whereas readers and possessors of volumes with vernacular chronicles may have been patricians of lower status or wealthy members of the bourgeoisie.

There might be some support for this theory in a letter by the learned nobleman Giangirolamo Natali (3 January 1374, i.e. 1375) to Ravagnani's disciple and close friend Paolo de Bernardo. Natali urges him to compose a work on the "deeds and ways of the present century" but Paolo de Bernardo refuses to comply, claiming that such a book would not attract readers.<sup>124</sup>

Interestingly, Natali refers to an alleged general shortage of texts on the past of the Republic, which is rather surprising given the intense chronicle production during the middle decades of the fourteenth century.<sup>125</sup> If this statement truly reflects Natali's knowledge of the matter, it may imply that he did not consider the current city chronicles as history writing in the same sense as ancient or classicizing contemporary works. This would seem more plausible

<sup>124</sup> *Responsio eiusdem Pauli de Bernardo ad epistolam suprascriptam*, p. 204, lines 94–96 Certe opus ipsum ad quod invitas, quantumque digestum, non in patria ipsa legeretur a quoquam.

<sup>125</sup> *Ad Paulum de Bernardo civem Veneciarum Teroisii commorantem*, p. 198, lines 102–105 Expectans, expectavi diutius, si quis forte vel naturali amore, quo vir est obligatus ad patriam, et virtute vel voluptate fame, que sola post mortuos homines vivit, facta moresque seculi presentis enarranda resumeret.

than Natali ignoring the existence of the numerous local histories written in the 1350–1370.

The reception of other works by Venetian prehumanists is quite different from that of their historical texts. The former are mainly preserved in fifteenth-century manuscripts produced north from the Alps (cf. p. 50), while the early copies of their writings on local history are not only luxury copies by the standards of Venetian chronicle manuscripts but highly sumptuous copies *tout court*. A preliminary comparison suggests that only a limited amount of Venetian fourteenth-century manuscripts, mainly liturgical and legal volumes, present a more elaborate and lavish programme of illustration.<sup>126</sup> History writing seems indeed to have been a highly important genre in Late Medieval Venice. Whether Venice invested more resources in producing historiographical volumes than other Italian city states, is another matter. To address this question, further information would be needed on the material aspect of history writing in medieval Italy.

In conclusion, while the *Chron. Ven.* contents seem to question the attribution to Ravagnani, there is also evidence pointing into the opposite direction. In contrast, the attribution of the Modena continuation to the Great Chancellor seems dubious. There is, in fact, very little evidence for a connection between this text and Ravagnani, as shown by the transmission history of the *Brevis* translation and the structure of the Modena copy. Hence, Pastorello's hypothesis should be rejected. As research on Venetian history writing will advance, the Modena volume will hopefully be quoted in many studies – not in connection with Ravagnani but as a distant ancestor of a myriad of local chronicles circulating or, possibly, remaining hidden in early modern Venice.

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<sup>126</sup> E.g. *Missale Romanum*, Venice, BNM, lat. III, 111 (=2116); *Epistolae Missarum*, lat. I, 101 (=2260); *Lectionarium Evangeliorum*, lat. I, 100 (=2089); *Statuto veneto* (A translation in Venetian of the *Statuta Veneta*, promulgated in 1242), It. II, 93 (=4841).

## YHTEENVETO (SUMMARY)

Tutkimus käsittelee Venetsian historiankirjoitusta ajanjaksolla 1330–1380. Se pohjautuu kahdeksaan latinan- ja venetsiankieliseen teokseen, joista merkittävimpiä ovat doge Andrea Dandololle attribuoitunut *Chronica per extensum descripta*, laaja universaalikronikka ja paikallishistoriaa yhdistelevä narratiivi, sekä *Chronica brevis*, joka kuvaa Venetsian historiaa varhaisvaiheista Dandolon dogekauden alkuun (v. 1342). Dandolon historiategokset aloittavat kaupunkikronikan kukoistuskauden Venetsiassa, jossa kirjoitetaan 1300–1600-luvuilla sadoittain paikallishistoriaan keskittyviä teoksia. Näistä valtaosa perustuu Dandolon *Chronica brevis* -teoksen käännökseen venetsian kielelle. Tutkimus luotaa *Chronica brevis* -teoksen varhaista kehityshistoriaa analysoimalla siihen pohjautuvia anonyymejä kronikoita. Tutkimus käsittelee myös Venetsian suurkansleri Benintendi de' Ravagnanille attribuoitua kronikkaa (*Chronica Venetiarum*) sekä hänen seuraajansa, Rafaino de' Caresinin laatimaa *Venetiatum Chronica* -nimellä tunnettua teosta.

Tutkimus käyttää kirjahistorian metodeja, joihin kuuluvat paleografian (kirjoitustyylien ja käsialojen tutkimus) ja kodikologian (kirjan materiaalsien aspektin tutkimus) menetelmät sekä traditionaalinen tekstikritiikki. Kirjahistoriallisessa tutkimuksessa pyritään luomaan kokonaiskuva tekstin syntyhistoriasta ja vastaanotosta tutkimalla sen versiohistoriaa sekä aikalaisten ja myöhempien lukijapolvien suhdetta kirjaan. Synkroninen kirjahistoriallinen tutkimus pyrkii esimerkiksi ajoittamaan käsikirjoituksia niiden kirjoitustyylin ja koristelun perusteella. Diakroninen näkökulma keskittyy myöhempien lukijoiden merkintöihin ja kirjojen omistajahistoriaan. Kirjahistoriallinen perustutkimus luo pohjaa muille tieteenaloille kartoittamalla ja tuomalla julki etenkin painotaitoa edeltävän ajan tekstejä. Venetsian historiankirjoituksen osalta tutkimustyö on vasta alussa, sillä vain harvasta teoksesta on julkaistu moderni kriittinen editio. Kronikkakäsikirjoitusten luettelointi ja kuvailukin on vasta alullaan. Tutkimuksen katvealueet koskevat etenkin 1400–1600-luvuilla laadittuja teoksia, mutta myös kuva 1300-luvun historiankirjoituksesta on epätarkka. Väitöskirja avaa uusia tutkimusmahdollisuuksia Venetsian historiankirjoitukseen nojaavalle tutkimukselle selkeyttämällä tätä kuvaa.

Ensimmäisessä artikkelissa tutkitaan Benintendi de' Ravagnanin latinankielisen Venetsian historian *Chronica Venetiarum* käsikirjoituksia ja tekstitradiotiota. Kyseessä on tiivistelmä ja mukaelma Andrea Dandolon *Chronica per extensum descripta* -teoksesta. Artikkelissa osoitetaan, että 1500–1600-luvuilla laaditut *Chronica Venetiarum* -käsikirjoitukset [BNM, lat. XIV, 177 (=4607), 1500-luku; BNC, San Gregorio 30, 1600-luku] pohjautuvat ainoaan nykyään tunnettuun keskiaikaiseen käsikirjoitukseen (PUL, Garrett 156). Venetsian-käsikirjoitus on tekstivarianttien perusteella kopioitu suoraan käsikirjoituksesta Garrett 156. Rooman-käsikirjoitus on vastaavasti suora kopio Venetsian-käsikirjoituksesta. Stematologinen sukupuu ei täten sisällä muita tekstiversioita. Käsikirjoitus Garrett 156 on ajoitettu koristelun perusteella 1340–1360-luvuille, joten se todennäköisesti laadittiin Ravagnanin elinaikana. Käsikirjoituksen ylellinen koris-

telu osoittaa, että kirjan toistaiseksi tuntematon teettäjä ja ensimmäinen omistaja oli korkeassa sosioekonomisessa asemassa kuten Venetsian varhaishumanististen historiategosten lukijat ylipäänsäkin. Tekstitradiitio puolestaan viittaa suppeaan lukijakuntaan 1300–1400-luvuilla.

Toisessa artikkelissa analysoidaan teoksen *Chronica Venetiarum* tyyliä ja sisältöä vertailemalla sitä Andrea Dandolon universaalikronikkaan, jota kirjoittaja käytti pääasiallisena lähteenään. Vertailu osoittaa, että *Chronica Venetiarum* pohjaa lähes yksinomaan Venetsian ja laguunin alueen menneisyyttä kuvaaviin osiin Dandolon teoksessa ja vastaavasti ohittaa yleistä historiaa kuvaavat jaksot kuten Rooman keisarikunnan myöhäisvaiheiden historian. Tässä suhteessa *Chronica Venetiarum* muistuttaa 1350–1360-luvuilla laadittuja anonyymejä kronikoita, jotka perustuvat Andrea Dandolon *Chronica brevis* -teokseen. Suppean maantieteellisen näkökulman lisäksi teosta leimaa uskonnollisävytteisen aineiston esilletuonti. Uskonnolliseen motiiviin viittaavat etenkin teoksen tärkeimmät Dandolon universaalikronikkaa täydentävät osat – prologi sekä Venetsian syntymyyttä koskevat lisäykset. Artikkelin kyseenalaistaa vallitsevan käsityksen Ravagnanista kronikan kirjoittajana. Tulkinta pohjautuu Ravagnanin oletettuun ja todennäköiseen rooliin teoksen *Chronica per extensum descripta* laatimisessa sekä tämän ja Dandolon läheiseen yhteistyöhön Venetsian hallinnossa (Ravagnani johti Venetsian kanslioita Dandolon doge-kaudella). *Chronica Venetiarum* ei näytä nousevan tästä kulttuuris-yhteiskunnallisesta taustasta, mihin viittaa etenkin anonyymi prologi, joka ei mainitse lainkaan Dandoloa tai tämän historiategoksia.

Kolmas artikkeli käsittelee Venetsian varhaishumanistisen historiankirjoituksen leviämistä käsikirjoituksen Torino, BNU, J.IV.7 valossa. Käsikirjoitus sisältää Andrea Dandolon universaalikronikan, ajanjaksoa 1280–1342 kuvaavan osan teoksesta *Chronica brevis*, Rafaino de' Caresinin historiategoksen sekä By-santin jakoa v. 1204 koskevan dokumentin. Dandolon universaalikronikan sisältävä osa kopioitiin vuosien 1359 ja 1370 välisenä aikana. Nykyisen muotonsa käsikirjoitus lienee saanut vuosisadan viimeisinä vuosina, jolloin siihen liitettiin muut historiategokset. Vaikka käsikirjoitus vaurioitui pahoin Torinon kansalliskirjaston palossa v. 1904, Dandolon universaalikronikan v. 1939 julkaistu kriittinen editio pohjautuu siihen osaltaan. Tämä tutkimus osoittaa, ettei kyseinen editio kuitenkaan sisällä kaikkia olennaisia Torinon-käsikirjoituksen tekstivariantteja, mikä vaikeuttaa lukuisten Dandolon universaalikronikkaa lainaavien historiategosten tutkimista. Toinen tulos on, että Benintendi de' Ravagnanille attribuoitu *Chronica Venetiarum* -teos kiinnittyy Dandolon kronikan Torinon-käsikirjoitukseen eikä sen vanhimpaan tunnettuun käsikirjoitukseen, jota pidetään teoksen työversiona. Havainto tukee tulkintaa, jonka mukaan Ravagnani ei olisi teoksen *Chronica Venetiarum* kirjoittaja. Torinon-käsikirjoituksella oli merkittävä rooli Venetsian historiankirjoituksen leviämisessä, mihin viittaa saman teoskokonaisuuden esiintyminen lukuisissa 1400–1600-luvuilla laadituissa käsikirjoituksissa. Torinon-käsikirjoituksen merkitystä alleviivaa, että se sisältää vanhimman version Rafaino de' Caresinin Venetsian historiasta. Caresinin kro-

nikan moderni kriittinen editio ei kuitenkaan huomioi käsikirjoitusta, mikä antaa aiheita teoksen tekstihistoriaan kohdistuvaan jatkotutkimukseen.

Neljäs artikkeli tutkii 1350–1360-luvuilla laadittuja anonyymejä kronikoita niiden synty- ja versiohistorian kannalta. Keskeinen tutkimustulos on, että *A volgare* ja *A latina* nimellä tunnetut kronikat pohjautuvat Andrea Dandolon *Chronica brevis* -teokseen. Laaja tekstivertailu osoittaa, että *A volgare* on mukaelma ja lisäksi täydennetty versio *Chronica brevis* -teoksen käännöksestä venetsian kielelle. *A latina* puolestaan on kronikan *A volgare* käännös latinan kielelle. Teoria poikkeaa merkittävästi vallitsevasta tulkinnasta, joka asettaa kyseiset teokset päinvastaiseen kronologiseen järjestykseen katsoen, että *A volgare* olisi käännetty teoksesta *A latina* venetsian kielelle. Tutkimustulos osoittaa vääräksi Antonio Carilen vaikutusvaltaisen teorian 1200-luvulla laaditusta ja sittemmin hävinneestä alkukronikasta, josta *Chronica brevis*, *A volgare*, *A latina* juontaisivat juurensa. Carilen tulkinta on ollut pohjana Venetsian historiankirjoituksen tutkimukselle 1960-luvulta nykypäivään, minkä seurauksena teosta *A latina* ja siitä juontuvia kronikoita (*Venetiarum historia* ja Piero Giustinianin *Cronica Veneciarum*) on tutkittu merkittävästi enemmän kuin niiden tosiasiallisia pohjatekstejä (*A volgare* ja *Chronica brevis* -käännös). Artikkelissa esitetty teoria vie pohjaa tältä tutkimustraditiolta sekä lukuisilta Venetsian 1300-luvun historiankirjoitukseen perustavilta tutkimuksilta. Artikkelin analysoi myös *Chronica brevis* -käännöstä jatkavaa tekstiä Modenan-käsikirjoituksessa. Kyseinen jatke käsittelee Venetsian historiaa vuosina 1342–1361. Tutkimus osoittaa, että käsikirjoituksen rakenne ja jatko-osan sisältö eivät tue laajalti hyväksyttyä tulkintaa, jonka mukaan tekstin olisi laatinut Benintendi de' Ravagnani.

Versiohistoriaa ja tekstien keskinäisiä suhteita koskevat tutkimustulokset pohjustavat ja tukevat editiohankkeita sekä avaavat uusia tulokulmia Venetsian historiankirjoitukseen nojaavaan aate- ja kulttuurihistorialliseen tutkimukseen. Tutkimustulokset viittaavat siihen, että Venetsian varhaishumanistien laatimat historiateokset tavoittivat alkuvaiheessa suppean lukijakunnan, kunnes niitä alettiin kopioida laajemmin 1400–1500-luvuilla käsikirjoitustuotannon muutenkin kasvaessa. Tulkintaa tukee sekä Benintendi de' Ravagnanin *Chronica Venetiarum* -teoksen versiohistoria että Torinon-käsikirjoituksen keskeinen rooli Andrea Dandolon universaalikronikan ja Rafaino de' Caresinin Venetsian historian leviämisessä. Dandolon *Chronica brevis* -teoksen monimutkainen vaikutushistoria kuvannee samaa ilmiötä. Väitöskirjan johdanto esittelee lisäksi 1350–1360-luvulla laaditun anonyymien kronikan, joka on todennäköisesti käännös *A latinaa* muistuttavasta latinankielisestä kronikasta venetsian kielelle. Kyseinen versio on säilynyt käsikirjoituksessa Berliini, SBB-PK, Hamilton 196. Tulos viittaa koko latiniteetin mittakaavassa harvinaiseen käännösketjuun latina-kansankieli-latina-kansankieli, jonka todentaminen on tutkimuksen merkittävin kontribuutio. Tutkimustulos korostaa kääntämisen merkitystä Venetsian historiankirjoituksen synnyssä ja leviämisessä, mitä näkökulmaa on tuotu aiemmassa tutkimuksessa hyvin vähän esille.

Tutkimus nostaa esille ongelmia, joita Venetsian historiankirjoituksen ja kulttuurihistorian tutkimukselle aiheutuu puutteista tekstieditioissa sekä siitä,

ettei useista avainteksteistä ole koskaan laadittu modernia kriittistä editiota. Väitöskirja esittää, että varsinkin *Chronica brevis* -käännöksen ja *A volgaren* ensieditioista olisi merkittävää tutkimuksellista hyötyä. Lisäksi tulisi painattaa ainakin Hamilton-kronikka sekä selvittää, onko muita *Chronica brevis* -versioita säilynyt. Näiden kronikoiden julkaiseminen antaisi mahdollisuuden tutkia Dandolon historiasteosten alkuvaiheen reseptiota kokonaisuudessaan ja loisi pohjaa Venetsian 1400- ja 1500-lukujen historiankirjoituksen tutkimukselle. Väitöskirja alleviivaavaa myös puutteita Dandolon universaalikronikan kriittisessä editiossa, joka on puutteellinen teoksen vastaanoton ja versiohistorian osalta huolimatta kronikan huomattavasta merkityksestä Venetsian historiankirjoituksen kehitykselle. Dandolon universaalikronikkaa käytettiin lähteenä useissa teoksissa, ja siitä laadittiin lukuisia mukaelmia ja tiivistelmiä. Kokonaiskuva teoksen leviämisestä ja vaikutuksesta on kuitenkin edelleen hyvin puutteellinen, eikä yksittäisiin versioihin juurikaan viitata nykytutkimuksessa. Tutkimusta edesauttaisi käsikirjoitusaineiston kartoittaminen sekä modernin kriittisen edition laatiminen tärkeimmistä versioista kuten Benintendi de' Ravagnanille attribuoidusta *Chronica Venetiarum* -teoksesta sekä anonyymistä 1400-luvun alkuun ajoitetusta tiivistelmästä, joka tunnetaan nimellä *Recension C*.

Väitöskirja havainnollistaa käytännön esimerkein, millaista tietoa Venetsian paikallishistorian tavoitteista ja ideologisesta taustasta saadaan tutkimalla *Chronica brevis* -teoksesta juontuvia tekstejä (*A volgare*, *A latina* sekä niihin pohjaavat teokset) niiden syntyhistoriaa koskevan uuden teorian pohjalta. Aiempi tutkimus on keskittynyt erityisesti latinankielisiin teoksiin (*Chronica brevis*, *Chronica per extensum descripta* ja *Venetiarum Historia*) ja pyrkinyt analysoimaan Venetsian 1300-luvun historiankirjoitusta näitä teoksia vertailemalla. Huomiolarvoista on tukeutuminen teokseen *Venetiarum historia*, joka on verrattain myöhäinen *Chronica brevis* -mukaelma, kuten väitöskirja osoittaa. Kyseinen lähestymistapa antaa huomattavan vinoutuneen kuvan teosten kirjoittajien motiiveista ja tavoitteista johtuen useiden *Venetiarum Historia* -teosta edeltävien tekstien sivuuttamisesta. Kuva tarkentuu merkittävästi, kun kutakin tekstiä verrataan sen tosiasialliseen lähteeseen seuraten ketjua *Chronica brevis* > *Chronica brevis* -käännös > *A volgare* > *A latina*/Piero Giustinian, *Cronica Venetiarum* > *Venetiarum Historia*.



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<sup>127</sup> The manuscript does not give a title to this work.

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**ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS**

**I**

**NOTE INTORNO ALLA TRADIZIONE MANOSCRITTA DI  
CHRONICA VENETIARUM DI  
BENINTENDI DE' RAVAGNANI**

by

Miika Kuha (2012)

Arctos (Acta Philologica Fennica) 46: 79-94.

## NOTE INTORNO ALLA TRADIZIONE MANOSCRITTA DI CHRONICA VENETIARUM DI BENINTENDI DE' RAVAGNANI<sup>1</sup>

MIIKA KUHA

In questo saggio presento alcune osservazioni riguardo alle testimonianze manoscritte di una delle numerose opere storiche scritte a Venezia nel Trecento.<sup>2</sup> La cronaca, intitolata *Chronica Venetiarum*, è attribuita a Benintendi de' Ravagnani, che fu una figura di spicco ed ebbe un ruolo importante nel preumanesimo veneziano, nonché nell'amministrazione della repubblica. Della *Chronica Venetiarum* di Ravagnani, finora inedita, fece uso per esempio Marcantonio Sabellico.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L'idea di indagare la cronachistica veneziana mi fu proposta dalla prof. Outi Merisalo la guida e l'incoraggiamento della quale hanno reso possibile questo lavoro. Ringrazio lei e il prof. Giuseppe La Grassa per la revisione linguistica del presente saggio. Voglio ringraziare inoltre prof. Raija Vainio per l'appoggio e consigli e prof. Anne Helttula per i suoi lavori nell'insegnarmi la filologia latina. La mia gratitudine va anche alla Fondazione Reinhold Ekholm per sussidi finanziari. Questo saggio riprende, ampliandole, due presentazioni tenute ai seminari di ricerca della Sezione di lingue romanze e classiche dell'Università di Jyväskylä nel 2011–2012.

<sup>2</sup> Il costante riscrivere delle cronache e degli annali su Venezia, soprattutto dal Trecento in avanti, dà luogo a problemi difficili nell'identificare ed attribuire opere storiche. Inoltre, i codici che trasmettono cronache sono numerosissimi e dispersi in varie biblioteche. Per questi problemi, v. A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Firenze 1969, dove il vasto materiale, per la maggior parte inedito, viene raggruppato in "famiglie" (A–E), oltre le quali Carile identifica varie rielaborazioni e recensioni mettendo in evidenza i rapporti fra le famiglie e testi attribuibili. Recentemente sono uscite le edizioni della cronaca di Enrico Dandolo, cioè la famiglia B di Carile – in realtà un testo anonimo – (*Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo, Origini – 1362*, a c. di R. Pesce, presentazione di A. Caracciolo Aricò, Venezia 2010) e della A latina (*Cronaca «A Latina». Cronaca veneziana del 1343*, a c. di C. Negri di Montenegro, Spoleto 2004).

<sup>3</sup> La ricezione della cronaca di Ravagnani non ha suscitato molto interesse. Oltre le poche pagine sulle citazioni nella cronaca di Marcantonio Sabellico (R. Bersi, "Le fonti della Prima decade delle "Historiae rerum Venetarum" di Marcantonio Sabellico", *Nuovo archivio veneto*

Le prime testimonianze di Ravagnani a servizio della cancelleria risalgono al 1336. Ascese rapidamente nella gerarchia e fu eletto notaio veneto nel 1342 prima di compiere i richiesti 25 anni.<sup>4</sup> Nel 1352 Ravagnani fu nominato gran cancelliere dopo la morte del predecessore Nicolo Pistorino, che Ravagnani aveva assistito tre anni da vicecancelliere. Nell'amministrazione della repubblica, caratterizzata dalla breve rotazione delle cariche, la curia Maggiore e il Gran cancelliere, che la dirigeva, rappresentavano la stabilità insieme al doge. Inoltre, a Venezia come a Milano, la carica del Gran cancelliere era la massima per i cittadini non nobili, detti cittadini originari. L'importanza di Ravagnani è dimostrata dalla sua presenza in varie ambascerie decisive: Nel 1355 partecipò alle trattative per chiudere la terza guerra veneto-genovese (1350–1355) e firmò il trattato nell'anno successivo. Negli anni 1357, 1358 e 1364 fu inviato tre volte a negoziare con Ludovico I, re d'Ungheria e i suoi rappresentanti. Ravagnani morì nel 1365.

È verosimile che Ravagnani incontrasse per la prima volta Petrarca durante le trattative fra Milano e Venezia. All'epoca il poeta laureato era al servizio dell'archivescovo Giovanni Visconti.<sup>5</sup> All'inizio del 1354 Petrarca si recò a Venezia con una delegazione di ambasciatori, mentre nella primavera del 1355 le trattative portarono Ravagnani a Milano, dove ebbe occasioni di incontrare il poeta. Le due epistole<sup>6</sup> di Ravagnani a Petrarca conservate ai nostri giorni illustrano i momenti

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19/2 [1910] 422–60) disponiamo degli elenchi che risalgono al Settecento. Apostolo Zeno (*Degli storici delle cose veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto...*, t. I, Venezia 1718) menzionò due autori (*prefazione*, 7): "Esso Benintendi è citato più volte dal *Sabellico* (le italiane di Zeno) nelle *Deche* e nell'opuscolo *de Venetis magistratibus*; da *Pier Giustiniano* nel libro IV.". G. degli Agostini fornì un'elenco più ampio (*Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scrittori veneziani...*, Venezia 1752–1754, rist. anastatica, Bologna 1975): "Di quest'Opera se ne sono serviti il *Sabellico* nelle *Deche*, e nel suo opuscolo *de Venetiis Magistratibus*; *Pier Giustiniano* nel Libro IV della sua *Storia*, il *Sansovino* nella descrizione della Città di *Venezia* in più luoghi, e *Girolamo Bardi*, dove ragiona della venuta in *Venezia* del Sommo Pontefice *Alessandro III*" (t. II, pars II, 327). In terzo luogo, si ricordi la nota di M. Foscarini (*Della letteratura veneziana libri otto...* Padova 1752): "Della Cronaca di lui fecero uso Marin Sanudo, il *Sabellico*, *Pier Giustiniano*, ed altri, fra' quali *Bernardo Trivigiano* nella *Laguna*." (vol. I, lib. I, 132–3, n. 75).

<sup>4</sup> Per cenni biografici v. V. Bellemo, "La vita e i tempi di Benintendi de' Ravagnani, cancelliere grande della veneta Repubblica", *Archivio veneto* 23 (1912) 237–84 e 24 (1912) 54–95.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. la biografia classica di Petrarca, E. H. Wilkins, *The Life of Petrarch*, Chicago 1961. Per il periodo in questione, si veda inoltre Wilkins, *Petrarch's eight year in Milan*, Cambridge, Mass. 1958, 50–77.

<sup>6</sup> Si tratta delle epistole *Reverende domine mi, si plus debito* e *Nerius noster*. Oltre i testimoni manoscritti, disponiamo della versione stampata nella seconda edizione delle opere di Petrarca, pubblicata a Venezia nel 1501 (*I. Librorum Francisci Petrarche...impensa domini Andree*

iniziali del rapporto tra i due, rapporto che durò fino alla morte di Ravagnani e che ebbe un'influenza decisiva sul preumanesimo veneziano.<sup>7</sup> Nella prima epistola, scritta probabilmente al mese di maggio 1355, Ravagnani esorta Petrarca a mantenere la promessa di inviargli una copia della propria epistola a Seneca (*Fam.* 24,5) allo scopo di farla trascrivere come già ne aveva trascritte due indirizzate a Cicerone (*Fam.* 24,3 e 4). Per quanto riguarda le convenzioni linguistiche, Ravagnani si serve nella prima epistola a Petrarca dell'apostrofe dell'esordio, nonché della seconda persona plurale,<sup>8</sup> mentre la sua seconda lettera al poeta, datata del

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*Torresani de Asula. 17. Junij. 1501*) che contiene anche una lettera di Ravagnani indirizzata ai notai della Curia Maggiore (inc. *Si conceptum sermonem*). Sono state tradite anche due lettere a Moggio da Parma, un filologo stimato da Petrarca (*Rem non novam e Non potest mi Modi*). L'edizione critica delle epistole a Petrarca in E. Rausa, "Le lettere di Andrea Dandolo, Benintendi de' Ravagnani e Paolo de Bernardo a Francesco Petrarca", *Studi Petrarqueschi* 13 (2000) 151–242.

<sup>7</sup> Dall'ampia bibliografia sui rapporti di Petrarca con veneziani si ricordino P. O. Kristeller, "Petrarch's "Averroists", A Note on the History of Aristotelianism in Venice, Padua and Bologna", *Mélanges Augustin Renaudet, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 14 (1952) 59–65; P. O. Kristeller, "Il Petrarca, l'umanesimo e scolastica a Venezia" in *La Civiltà Veneziana del Trecento*, Firenze 1956, 147–78; L. Lazzarini, *Paolo de Bernardo e i primordi dell'umanesimo in Venezia*, Genève 1930; L. Lazzarini, "'Dux ille Danduleus". Andrea Dandolo e la cultura veneziana a metà del Trecento", in G. Padoan (ed.), *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, Firenze 1976, 123–56; L. Gargan, "Il preumanesimo a Vicenza, Treviso e Venezia", in G. Arnaldi – M. Pastore Stocchi (cur.), *Storia della cultura Veneta II. Il Trecento*, Vicenza 1976, 143–70; G. Arnaldi, "Andrea Dandolo Doge-Cronista", in A. Pertusi (cur.), *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI, aspetti e problemi*, Firenze 1970, 127–269. L'epistolario di Petrarca fa presente il rapporto amichevole e la grande stima fra il poeta e Ravagnani, ambedue devoti a *studia humanitatis*. Il loro rapporto è messo in evidenza in una epistola di Petrarca indirizzata a Boccaccio (*Sen.* 3,1,7 settembre 1363) dove il poeta ricorda con affetto gli incontri con Ravagnani: *Beneintendus praeclarissimae huius urbis cancellarius, ..., cuius vespertinis congressus dum diurnis relaxatus curis, laeta fronte, pio animo, instructo navigio ad nos venit, et navigationes confabulationesque sub noctem, quam suaves sint, ..., nuper expertus tenes* (il brano tratto dal N. Mann, "Petrarca e la cancelleria veneziana", in G. Arnaldi – M. Pastore Stocchi (cur.), *Storia della cultura Veneta II. Il Trecento*, Vicenza 1976, 517–35). Nicholas Mann scopri anche un testimone inedito della corrispondenza fra Petrarca e Ravagnani ("O Deus qualis epistola!". A new Petrarch letter", *Italia medievale e umanistica*, 17 [1974] 207–43), alla Bodleian Library. Si ricava dall'epistola che alcune aggiunte alla fine della decima ecloga del *Bucolicum Carmen* di Petrarca risalgono probabilmente alle discussioni con Ravagnani. Sull'epistola in questione, v. inoltre N. Mann, "Benintendi Ravagnani, il Petrarca, l'umanesimo veneziano", in G. Padoan (ed.), *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, Firenze 1976, 109–22.

<sup>8</sup> Rausa (sopra n. 6) 197–201, *Reverende domine mi, si plus debito: Epistola missa domino Francisco Petrarce per dominum Benintendi cancellarium Venetorum, Reverende domine mi, si plus debito importunus infertusque sum, ascribite, quaeso, ferventi in vos devotioni mee que,*

26 gennaio 1356, fa vedere che aveva già adottato alcune delle formule promosse da Petrarca, cioè comincia *in medias res* ed usa la datazione classica.<sup>9</sup>

Ravagnani ebbe anche un ruolo chiave nel preparare la donazione della biblioteca di Petrarca alla Serenissima, l'episodio più famoso dei rapporti fra Petrarca e la Serenissima. Il progetto di trasformare la propria biblioteca in una biblioteca pubblica veneziana è discusso nell'epistola a Ravagnani del 28 Agosto 1362; ivi l'importanza della donazione a Venezia è pienamente messa in rilievo dal poeta. La donazione venne approvata dal Maggior consiglio al mese di settembre 1362, probabilmente su proposta dello stesso Ravagnani. In cambio, Petrarca ottenne il Palazzo Molin in Riva degli Schiavoni dove visse dal 1363 al 1368. La sua biblioteca invece non giunse mai a Venezia ma rimase a Padova dei Carraresi. Nel 1388, alla sconfitta dei Carraresi de parte di Giangaleazzo Visconti, una buona parte della raccolta sarebbe asportato dai milanesi; sarebbe finita alla biblioteca reale di Francia in seguito alla conquista francese di Milano nel 1494.<sup>10</sup>

Nelle proprie epistole indirizzate al Gran cancelliere<sup>11</sup> Petrarca non fa riferimento alle ricerche storiche di Ravagnani né alle sue idee in questo campo, che, s'immagina, dovettero fornire materiale per le loro discussioni. Petrarca non fa allusione neanche alla cronaca veneziana più importante in quel periodo, cioè la *Chronaca per extensum scripta*<sup>12</sup> pubblicata sotto il nome del doge Andrea Dandolo.<sup>13</sup> Questa cronaca fu l'opera fondamentale della storiografia veneziana

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*omnem a pavorem simul et roborem avertens, nimirum deviare facit a tramite rationis. Scio quidem nunquam erga vos ulla ex me merita precessisse unde tantum virum sic audaci fronte, tam crebris pulsare tediis ausus sim...*

<sup>9</sup> Rausa (sopra n. 6) 201–18, *Nerius noster: Epistola quedam missa per dominum Benintendi, cancellarium Venetorum, domino suo reverendo Francisco Petrarce. Nerius noster michi pridem apparuit, ad cuius primo complexum magna me subiit veneratio eius, dum eum esse memini qui se probitatibus suis fecerit amicitia tua dignum..Excute te ipsum et libera, festina, propera. Et virum illum velut divinum quoddam oraculum supplex adora* [Petrarca *Fam.* 7,7 a Cola di Rienzo; *excute acriter te ipsum*]...*Tuus Benintendi, Venetorum cancellarius, licet indignus. VII kalendas Februarii.*

<sup>10</sup> Sulla donazione si veda M. Zorzi, *La libreria di San Marco, Libri, lettori, società nella Venezia dei Dogi*, Milano 1987, 9–22.

<sup>11</sup> Rausa (sopra n. 6), 165–6. Queste sono *Fam.* 19,2; *Var.* 10 e 48; lettera d'Orville (cf. Mann 1974 e 1976, sopra n. 7).

<sup>12</sup> D'ora in avanti l'*Extensa*.

<sup>13</sup> Andrea Dandolo (1306–1354) fu eletto doge nel 1343. Sotto il suo dogato scoppiò la terza guerra fra Venezia e Genova. La repubblica fu anche gravemente colpita dalla peste nera negli anni 1347–48. Dandolo, un giurista, si interessò alla conservazione e riorganizzazione dei documenti (sulla codificazione dei documenti relativi ai rapporti esterni cf. p. 87). Contribuì



fino ai tempi di Marcantonio Sabellico (c. 1476–1506), apprezzata per la completezza e per i numerosi documenti inseriti nel testo, che ne fecero un repertorio importante per i compilatori delle cronache familiari, diffusissime a Venezia negli ultimi decenni del Trecento. L'*Extensa* portava anche il titolo *mare magnum*, che mette in evidenza il carattere enciclopedico dovuto in gran parte all'ampio uso che vi è fatto della *Historia Satyrice*, una cronaca universale scritta da Paolino Minorita (c. 1274–1344).<sup>14</sup> Nello schema cronologico fornito dalla *Historia Satyrice* venne inserita una storia di Venezia tratta dalle cronache locali insieme a molti documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia. L'*Extensa* inserisce dunque fatti locali in un quadro storico generale.

Ho fatto posto alla *Extensa* del doge Andrea Dandolo anche perché risulta quasi l'unica fonte della *Chronica Venetiarum*. Infatti, quest'ultimo testo è giustamente ritenuto un compendio dell'*Extensa*. È evidente che la dipendenza rende l'opera di Ravagnani pressapoco inutile dal punto di vista storico, il che spiega il poco interesse degli storici moderni nonostante l'importanza politica dell'autore e l'uso della *Chronica Venetiarum* da parte degli storici veneziani successivi.<sup>15</sup> Tenendo pur conto dell'esiguo valore storico dell'opera di Ravagnani, occorre notare alcuni aspetti dell'esperienza storiografica del Gran cancelliere.<sup>16</sup>

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anche all'introduzione della cultura umanistica a Venezia. Prima del 1343 scrisse un'altra cronaca, *Chronica brevis*, che copre la storia di Venezia dagli inizi al 1342. Oltre i saggi segnalati nella nota 7, v. E. Pastorello, "Introduzione", *Andreae Danduli Ducis Venetiarum Chronica per extensum descripta R.I.S.*, 12, 1, Bologna 1939, iii–lxxxii; M. Zabbia, *I notai e la cronachistica cittadina italiana nel Trecento*, Roma 1999, 229–45; H. Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo und seine Geschichtswerke*, München 1876. Una bibliografia esauriente di fonti e studi in G. Ravagnani, "Dandolo Andrea", *Diz. Biogr. Italiani*, vol. 32, 1986.

<sup>14</sup> Paolino Minorita, vescovo di Pozzuoli dal 1324, scrisse trattati su vari temi (per esempio *De regimine rectoris*) e compilò tre cronache universali, *l'Epithoma*, *Compendium* e *Satyrice ystoria*, le due ultime da ritenersi riscritture dell'*Epithoma*. I. Heullant-Donat, "Entrer dans l'histoire Paolino da Venezia et les prologues de ses chroniques universelles", *MEFRM* 105 (1993) 381–442.

<sup>15</sup> Va segnalata la mancanza dell'opera in G. Zorban, *Repertorio di storiografia veneziana testi e studi*, Padova 1998, e nel repertorio della cronachistica veneziana, annesso alla recente edizione della cronaca di Antonio Morosini da A. Nanetti (*Il Codice Morosini, il mondo visto da Venezia* [1094–1433] II, Spoleto 2010, 1759–813).

<sup>16</sup> Le note proposte in seguito elaborano e completano le osservazioni di Marino Zabbia che nel proprio saggio sulla cronachistica trecentesca italiana fece un confronto accurato ma da sviluppare fra la *Chronica Venetiarum* e l'*Extensa*. Zabbia (sopra n. 13) 245–51. Zabbia, che non conosceva il codice più antico, usò l'uno dei due moderni, quello marciano (il codice marciano sarà discusso alle pagine 90).

In primo luogo, vorrei esaminare le modifiche al testo dell'*Extensa* operate da Ravagnani. Dai riscontri fra le cronache deriva che molte delle aggiunte di Ravagnani – alle quali Zabbia rinvia in modo generale<sup>17</sup> – risultano stilistiche e esplicative. Per esemplificare l'ampiezza ed il modo di rielaborazione conviene analizzare un brano tratto dall'episodio che descrive l'assedio di Aquileia da parte degli Unni nel 452. Le aggiunte di Ravagnani sono segnalate in grassetto.

*Chronica Venetiarum*, Garrett 156, 2v

*Aquilegiam potenter obsedit. Cuius adventum multi ex christicolis loci ipsius antea formidantes cum sanctorum reliquijs parvulis mulieribus et thesauris ad gradense castrum confugiunt. Interim urbem ipsam diutina obsidione fatigans fatigatus et ipse **et pene de ipsius acquisitione desperans** dum ciconias conspexisset extra urbem pullos rostris ferentes uno impetu uolitare illo fretus auspicio menia ciuitatis acrius expugnare contendit tandemque post cruentum bellum in quo ex hunnis ultra viiiij ciuium uero ultra ij ceciderunt non ualentes intrinseci multitudinem hostium tollerare statuis **in similitudinem hominum** ad muros ciuitatis **ne deserta uideretur** appositis **clam** rege nonaduertente Gradum commigrant. **Qui cum diebus aliquot in statuarum aspectu fuisset delusus. cum sicut eius erat moris spaciandi causa falconem dimisisset ad predam auisque super unam ex statuis diucius resedisset postque eam intuetur immobilem** circumuentum se astucijs incolarum indignans **uacuum urbem ingreditur** eamque solo sterni et demoliri funditus imperauit.*

*Chronica per extensum descripta*, p. 58<sup>18</sup>

et cum veniret Aquileiam, illi, reliquias sanctorum, cum parvulis, ac mulieribus, et thesauris in castro Gradensi tutauerunt: Athila autem longa obsidione fatigatus, cum cichonie uno impetu ex urbe volarent, et pulos rostris forinsecus exportarent, hoc augurio fultus, urbem acrius impugnavit: mortuisque ex parte Athile VIII<sup>m</sup>, Aquileiensium vero II<sup>m</sup>, eidem non valentes resistere multitudini, Aquileienses muros ciuitatis statuis muniverunt; et sic, non advertente Athila, Gradum quasi omnes fugierunt; interim ille falcone dimisso cum super unam ex sta-

<sup>17</sup> Zabbia (sopra n. 13) 248: "tali passi vengono riproposti col medesimo ordine con cui compaiono nell'Estesa in una versione lievemente elaborata sul piano linguistico."

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Pastorello (sopra n. 13).

tuis resedisset advertens Athila dolum, indignans sic eos manus suas efugisse, civitatem destruxit.

Si vedano per esempio *in similitudinem hominum e ne deserta videretur*, che chiariscono l'intrigo degli aquileiani per fuggire dalla città assediata a Grado. L'autore sottolinea così la piuttosto ovvia somiglianza fra le statue ed i soldati come l'effetto altrettanto manifesto del gioco di prestigio.

La rielaborazione suggerisce un'ambizione di comporre una versione più elegante, coerente e leggibile dell'*Extensa*. Su questa base si spiega anche il netto contrasto fra lo schema narrativo dell'*Extensa* ed il racconto della *Chronica Venetiarum*, fatto già segnalato da Zabbia.<sup>19</sup> L'*Extensa* è ordinata in libri, capitoli e *partes*, queste ultime di varia dimensione che va da una frase a periodi di decine di frasi. Ne facilitano l'uso gli indici posti all'inizio di ogni libro. L'*Extensa* costituisce, dunque, un testo di consultazione.<sup>20</sup> La *Chronica Venetiarum* invece è divisa in capitoli, segnalati nel codice più antico, il Garrett 156,<sup>21</sup> con iniziali colorate nei due codici moderni con uno spazio bianco fra i capitoli. Il testo del Garrett 156 è anche articolato in paragrafi tramite piè di mosca (¶) a partire dalla carta 8v, che descrive l'introduzione dell'istituzione del dogado. La necessità di sottodivisioni si può spiegare con l'estensione dei singoli capitoli che coprono ciascuno un intero dogado ai ff. 9r (il dogado di Ursus), 10r (Mauricius) e 10v (Johannes).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Zabbia (sopra n. 13) 247.

<sup>20</sup> Arnaldi (sopra n. 7) 209. È noto il processo di compilazione attraverso il codice di lavoro dell'*Extensa*, il Marc. lat. Z. 400 (= 2028). Secondo Pastorello (sopra n. 13, xl) Dandolo stesso avrebbe partecipato al lavoro dell'amanuense trascrivendo il testo degli atti della sinodo di Grado (cf. p. 87) nel libro sesto. Le altre mani presenti nel codice non sono invece state collegate con individui della Curia Maggiore. Evidentemente, un risultato fondamentale sarebbe l'identificazione della scrittura del Gran cancelliere fra di queste. Il Bellemo (sopra n. 4) 240 accenna a due firme autografe, la prima del 1336. Questa firma incomincia *Ego fran beneintendi notarius*, da dove risulta che la cancellazione fu probabilmente registrato da un'altro amanuense, evidentemente con il nome Francesco. L'altra firma segnalata da Bellemo si trova in un atto del 1356, purtroppo da me non ancora visto. C'è anche una nota di pugno di Ravagnani nel registro del Senato (*A.S.V. Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 17, 1141).

<sup>21</sup> V. pagine 87–90.

<sup>22</sup> A proposito della ristrutturazione da parte di Ravagnani va osservato lo scarso apprezzamento di Petrarca nei riguardi di raccolte di sentenze e compilazioni in generale, la tradizione nella quale l'*Extensa* sembra integrarsi (osservazioni sull'atteggiamento di Petrarca in R. Fubini, *L'umanesimo italiano e i suoi storici, origini rinascimentali – critica moderna*, Milano 2001, 37–8). Il modello degli storici antichi e del livianeggiante Albertino Mussato

In secondo luogo, è interessante la scelta del materiale. Sotto questo aspetto Ravagnani si allontanò dall'*Extensa* abbandonando la maggior parte del materiale riguardo alla storia fuori la laguna e concentrandosi sulle vicende locali. Gli episodi della storia universale scelte da Ravagnani illustrano miracoli e vicende di reliquie, ad esempio i presagi della peste che avrebbe devastato l'Italia e la Grecia (Gallia, 552; Garrett 156, 3v); la peste romana del 590, sconfitta grazie alle cerimonie ordinate da Gregorio Magno, con la comparsa dell'arcangelo Michele in segno della fine dell'epidemia (7r); l'invasione di Gerusalemme ad opera dei persiani e l'asportazione della Vera Croce nel 614 (7v); la vendita delle reliquie di Agostino nel 722 a Liutprando, che le fece collocare nella chiesa di S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro a Pavia (8v).

I motivi religiosi sono presenti anche nel prologo<sup>23</sup> che è la parte più originale di *Chronica Venetiarum*, siccome l'*Extensa* comincia *in medias res* con la rivelazione di San Marco. Il prologo prosegue da una concezione provvidenziale dove Venezia è protetta e aiutata da Cristo e la repubblica ha il ruolo di propugnatrice della cristianità e della giustizia, *clipeus christianitatis, infidelium malleus, libertatis mater, refugium miserorum, summaque conservatrix iustitiae*. Le fondamenta di Venezia sono gli apostoli, i profeti e i martiri.<sup>24</sup> Riflettono tal orien-

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è assente nell'*Extensa* nonostante l'interesse recente per le opere di Livio; basterà ricordare che Paolo de Bernardo, notaio della Curia Maggiore ed un membro importante del circolo preumanista a Venezia, redasse una collazione della prima deca di Livio (Parigi, BNF. Lat. 5727; Lazzarini, *Paolo de Bernardo...*sopra n. 7, 134–7). La differenza fra la prospettiva dell'*Extensa* e le idee estetiche e letterarie correnti nell'ambiente veneto del periodo è stata messa in rilievo da Girolamo Arnaldi (sopra n. 7, 230) che spiega la scelta del modulo con l'ampia documentazione dell'*Extensa* dovuta a motivi politici. La preferenza sarebbe dunque data agli argomenti giuridici.

<sup>23</sup> Garrett 156, 1r. Una trascrizione del prologo tratta dal codice marciano (la descrizione, v. p. 90) in G. Voigt, *Die Briefsammlungen Petrarca's und der Venetianische Staatskanzler Benintendi*, München 1882 (rist. anastatica da Kessinger Legacy Reprints), 65.

<sup>24</sup> Garrett 1r, *super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum ac martirum edificata noscatur, ipso angulari lapide Christo Jhesu, nimirum, si eo, qui plantavit irrigante, incrementumque dante, in magnos honorum titulos excelsaque fame preconium breui tempore sit erecta*. Un approccio tutt'altro si trova nella lettera di presentazione dell'*Extensa*, scritta da Ravagnani in data 5 dicembre 1352. In quella sede Ravagnani insistette sulla mancanza di storici per fare rivivere la memoria dei fatti ammirevoli dei veneziani, giustificando così i lavori in corso per la redazione della cronaca pubblica. Uno spazio cospicuo occupa un elogio del doge Dandolo al quale fa seguito un saggio di materiale presente nella futura cronaca: *ut ex ipsius vestri ducis laboribus in presentiarum aliquam odoris fragrantiam sentientes*. Si tratta del patto del 1149 fra il doge Domenico Morosini e il patriarca Enrico Dandolo che posero fine alla lotta per l'investitura dei prelati veneziani. Per illustrare il contenuto e l'utilità dell'opera, Ravagnani

tamento pure alcune aggiunte, per esempio la lunga lista di eventi – soprattutto casi di martiri – che dovrebbero aver coinciso con il giorno della fondazione di Venezia, 25 maggio.<sup>25</sup>

La terza notevole differenza fra la *Chronica Venetiarum* e l'*Extensa* si manifesta nell'uso dei documenti che furono inseriti nel testo della seconda in gran copia e che le dettero un aspetto nettamente distinto dalla cronachistica veneziana precedente. La documentazione di una cronaca cittadina si inquadra nel progetto di riordino della documentazione pubblica dal quale uscirono due raccolte sotto il dogado di Andrea Dandolo, cioè il *Liber Albus*, che conteneva documenti relativi ai rapporti politici e commerciali con gli stati d'Oriente, e il *Liber Blancus* per i documenti relativi ai rapporti italiani.

Benchè Ravagnani, come i suoi subalterni nella Curia Maggiore, partecipasse molto probabilmente alla redazione dell'*Extensa*, la sua cronaca contiene soltanto quattro documenti, cioè la lettera di Cassiodoro ai tribuni marittimi di Venezia nel 537; l'atto del sinodo di Grado nel 579 riguardo alla concessione di metropoli a Venezia e in Istria a Elia, patriarca di Grado; la lettera del papa Pelagio II che conferma tale atto; ed in quarto luogo, la lettera di Gregorio III al doge e al patriarca.<sup>26</sup> La lettera di Cassiodoro (*Var.* 12,24) fu usata da Dandolo e Ravagnani per respingere l'idea secondo la quale Venezia non fosse stata fondata prima dell'avvento dei longobardi. Tale lettera contiene, infatti, la prima descrizione del primitivo regime lagunare, proponendo l'immagine idealizzata di una società priva d'invidia che vive nell'uguaglianza perfetta, circondata e protetta dall'acqua: *Paupertas ibi cum diuitibus sub aequalitate conuiuit. Unus cibus omnes reficit, habitatio similis uniuersa concludit. Nesciunt de penatibus inuidere et sub hac mensura degentes euadunt uitium, cui mundum esse constat obnoxium.*<sup>27</sup>

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si servi, dunque, di un documento che metteva in evidenza il carattere ufficiale dell'opera (Arnaldi, sopra n. 7, 211–219).

<sup>25</sup> *Chronica per extensum descripta*, p. 53...*et circa ostia fluminis Prealti insulam sive tumbam ad opus mediatum satis abilem eligentes, anno Domini nostri Iesu Christi CC<sup>o</sup>CCXXI<sup>o</sup> die XXV marci felicitis urbis Rivoalti nova fundamenta iactarunt; decretumque est...*

*Chronica Venetiarum*, Garrett 156, 2r *anno domini. ccccxxj. die. xxv. marcij, ipsa die, qua incarnatus est christus. qua passus est. qua parens noster formatus est Adam. qua decimas Melchisedech obtulit. qua passi sunt Johannes babtista. petrus. paulus et Jacobus, vt facile intelligatur, ex tanti celebratione diei quam grata deo nostro hec sancta edificatio uisa est Insulam seu tumbam satis abilem eligentes noue Venetie fundamenta strauerunt. prouidentes...*

<sup>26</sup> Zabbia (sopra n. 13) 250–1. Nonostante la grande importanza dell'*Extensa*, l'inserzione dei documenti in una opera storica fu estranea alla cronachistica veneziana posteriore. Zabbia osserva che i documenti vengono meno già negli ultimi libri dell'*Extensa*.

<sup>27</sup> *Cassiodori Senatoris Variae*, ed. T. Mommsen, in *M.G.H., A.A.*, T. XII, Berlino 1894, 379–

La *Chronica Venetiarum* è tradita da tre codici. Il più antico, il trecentesco Garrett 156, si conserva alla Firestone Library dell'Università di Princeton, alla quale fu donato da un collezionista americano, Robert Garrett (1875–1961), nel 1942. Prima di Garrett il codice appartenne a William Harris Arnold (1854–1923) il cui ex libris si vede sul foglio di guardia. Arnold acquistò il futuro Garrett 156 nel 1903 in una vendita all'asta della collezione di Walter Sneyd (1809–1888) che aveva comprato il codice da Giovanni Perissinotti, nipote di Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727–1805), famoso bibliofilo veneziano.<sup>28</sup> Non è escluso che l'epistolario di Canonici possa presentare ulteriori indicazioni, visto che contiene numerosi riferimenti alle raccolte del collezionista.<sup>29</sup>

Il Garrett 156 è un codice membranaceo di lusso, con una legatura antica in piatti di legno, coperti con marocchino rossastro dove si vedono fori per i fermagli su tutti i lati esterni.<sup>30</sup> Le coperte sono decorate da linee incise che forma-

80. Sulla lettera si veda anche A. Carile e G. Fedalto, *Le origini di Venezia*, Bologna 1978, 157–8 e 174–82.

<sup>28</sup> Una breve descrizione con l'elenco dei possessori in S. De Ricci e W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada, vol. I, The Library of Robert Garrett, Garrett building*, Baltimore 1935–1940, 897. Sulla collezione di Canonici si ricordi l'accurato studio di I. Merolle, *L'abate Matteo Luigi Canonici e la sua biblioteca*, Firenze – Roma 1958. A proposito della storia del codice prima dell'Ottocento, si nota anche l'accenno di Apostolo Zèno al codice sanudiano che secondo lo studioso fu il testimone più antico della *Chronica Venetiarum* (Zèno, sopra n. 3): "il suo titolo e principio, giusta il codice antiqua di carta pecorina, che se ne conserva nella libreria di Casa Contarini alla Carità, e che anticamente era di quella di Marino Sanuto, figliuolo di Leonardo, segnato *num. 1772...*". Se sarà o no possibile riconoscere questo codice nel Garrett 156, resta incerto. Manca tuttavia ogni pezza d'appoggio per tale identificazione essendo il codice privo d'una nota di possesso del diarista o, evidentemente, di qualsiasi traccia dell'indicazione "*num. 1772.*". Si aggiunga che anche un possessore o lettore del Garrett era d'opinione contraria come si legge nell'etichetta incollata sul verso del secundo foglio di guardia: "La cronaca di Benintendi de' Ravignani anche in altro codice de' Contarini alla Carità comincia e finisce come in questo. Ved. Foscarini della Letteratura Veneziana. p. 132." Riferi all'opera di Marco Foscarini (sopra n. 3) che offrì la stessa informazione che lo Zèno. L'etichetta non sembra essere scritta da Canonici (l'esemplare della scrittura dell'abate in J. B. Mitchell, "Trevisan and Soranzo: Some Canonici Manuscripts from two eighteenth-century Venetian Collections", *Bodleian Library Record* 8 [1969] 125–35). Nei cataloghi manoscritti della biblioteca dei Contarini alla Carità non si trovano tracce della cronaca di Ravagnani [questi sono Marc. It. X, 220 (= 6409), It. X, 219 (= 10055), It. XI, 324 (= 7135) e It. XI, 328 (= 7330)].

<sup>29</sup> La maggior parte dell'epistolario si conserva alla Biblioteca estense a Modena; v. N. Vianello, "Canonici, Matteo Luigi", *Diz. Biogr. Italiani*, vol. 18, 1975 (consultato su [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-luigi-canonici\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-luigi-canonici_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)). Alcune osservazioni sulla storia del Garrett 156 anche alla pagina 90 (n. 40).

<sup>30</sup> I fogli si misurano 264 x 186 (cc. 4 e 13), lo specchio di scrittura 174 x 118 (cc. 4r e 16r). Il



no ornamenti vegetali e figure geometriche. Le ultime richiamano il motivo del nodo di Salomone. Ricco di ornamentazione è inoltre il lato retto del primo foglio dove si trova una fantasiosa ghirlanda policromatica che fiancheggia lo specchio di scrittura e si avvolge intorno ad una miniatura ed un blasone.<sup>31</sup> La miniatura rappresenta un santo barbato ai capelli lunghi, vestito in un mantello rosso e una camicia verde. Il santo benedice tenendo in mano un libro, con ogni probabilità il proprio Vangelo. Non presenta, nondimeno, il leone di San Marco. Al centro del margine spicca uno stemma parzialmente cancellato; sussiste invece integro il fondo rosso sul quale si distingue un profilo, forse di un'aquila.<sup>32</sup>

Il codice consta di due quaternioni ed un binione preceduti e seguiti da due fogli di guardia. Contiene la sola cronaca, che finisce tronca al f. 18v. Il testo copre la storia di Venezia dagli inizi marciali fino al dogado di Pietro I Urseolo.<sup>33</sup> Il cambio di struttura indicherebbe quindi che non si tratti di un autografo, se non si assuma che fosse la intenzione di Ravagnani di finire proprio a questo punto o un

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codice presenta una doppia numerazione antica in alto a destra. I numeri più moderni si vedono su tutte le carte tranne i fogli 10 e 12 dopo i quali la numerazione risulta erronea. Venne dato il numero 10 alla carta undicesima, ed il numero 11 alla tredicesima. Dal foglio tredicesimo in avanti si continuò a numerare tutti i fogli in ordine senza correggere l'errore. Tutte le ultime carte portano dunque un numero sbagliato. Le tracce di una numerazione più antica nell'angolo superiore a destra (sui fogli 8r, 12r, 14r, 15r, 16r, 18r) indicano che le carte furono tagliate. Gli interventi possono forse essere attribuiti al lettore quattrocentesco che aggiunse nel margine esterno del f. 8v "Paulucius dux" in *italica*. Le altre aggiunte marginali come pure il testo, su una colonna, sono scritte in una rotonda libraria di modulo oblungo.

<sup>31</sup> Somiglia al Ravenna, Bibl. Class. 11, datato del 1344 novembre, che contiene un breviario dei cistercensi (*I Manoscritti datati della classense e delle altre biblioteche della provincia di Ravenna*, a.c. di M. G. Baldini, Firenze 2004, 22).

<sup>32</sup> Secondo De Ricci e Wilson (sopra n. 28, 897) potrebbe essere l'aquila della famiglia Baldovino. È opportuno paragonare a questo anche lo stemma dei Giustinian, sempre con l'aquila, segno della loro leggendaria origine imperiale (sulla storia della famiglia si veda P. H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani, A Venetian of the Quattrocento*, Roma 1969, 5–10). L'ipotesi è suggerita dalla similitudine con lo stemma che figura nel catalogo della *Proles Nobilium Venetorum* [Marc. Lat. X. 35. Ho consultato la riproduzione in R. Cessi (ed.) e F. Bennato (ed.), *Venetiarum historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano filio adiudicata*, Venezia 1964], l'elemento significativo risultando essere la banda azzurra che circonda il fondo rosso. Il Garrett 156, nello stesso modo, presenta un cerchio blu intorno allo stemma. Si conoscono vari Giustinian che vissero nei tempi di Ravagnani. Occorre notare Giustiniano Giustinian, conte di Zara nel 1351, podestà di Chioggia (1345 e 1354) e forse il padre del cronista Pier Giustinian (Cessi e Bennato, 21–2).

<sup>33</sup> Tutti e tre i testimoni presentano *incipit* ed *explicit* identici. Garrett 156: *Inc. Ihesus dominus deus noster quaque in re pro fundamento suscipitur, expl. Hic habuit coniugem Feliciam nomine, que unicum.*



po' più avanti. Sembra inverosimile che avrebbe voluto cominciare a trascrivere un binione dopo due quaternioni. L'esistenza di un archetipo sembra suggerita anche da alcuni errori evidenti tra i quali è da segnalare uno sbaglio banale in un riferimento biblico del prologo. L'autore si riferisce alla prima lettera ai corinzi (2,9): *Oculus enim non uidit. nec audiuit. nec in cor hominis ascendit, quanta praeparauit deus diligentibus se*. Per eliminare l'occhio fornito dall'udito venne poi aggiunto nel margine *auris* da inserire fra *nec et audiuit*.

Il codice Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana XIV. 177 (= 4607) risale al Cinque o al Seicento. Fece parte della collezione di Apostolo Zèno (1668–1750) sotto il numero 225.<sup>34</sup> Il codice di Zèno è cartaceo, evidentemente, e eterogeneo, composto di fascicoli di vario formato e varia età, che furono messi insieme probabilmente da Zèno stesso. Si tratta di una raccolta di opere storiche, alcune delle quali trascritte da Zèno, ad esempio *Chronicon Patriarcharum Aquileiensium* e *De modernis gestis* di Marzagaia, un umanista veronese del primo Quattrocento.

I fogli che contengono la *Chronica Venetiarum* furono invece redatti da un'altra mano che trascrisse pure i documenti che precedono la cronaca. Questi sono: un rapporto di Andrea Dandolo dove si difende la giurisdizione del doge nei confronti dei capellani di S. Marco; la già menzionata lettera di Ravagnani per presentare l'*Extensa*<sup>35</sup>; la formula di investitura dei cappellani; ed in fine, l'epitaffio di Andrea Dandolo.<sup>36</sup> Gli stessi documenti figurano nello stesso ordine

<sup>34</sup> La descrizione del codice in P. Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia non compresi nel catalogo di G. Valentinelli, vol. III*, Trezzano sul Naviglio 1985, 235–7. Figura anche sul foglio 259r del antico catalogo manoscritto dei codici zenoniani compilato da Marco Forcellini, *Catalogo dei codici di Apostolo Zeno*, [Marc. It. XI. 285 (= 7165)]. Il codice è legato con piatti di cartone, il dorso e gli angoli dei piatti in pelle. Sul dorso si vede l'etichetta con la collocazione attuale "Manoscritti 4607 Marciani". Il foglio attaccato al piatto superiore ospita un'altra etichetta "MSS. LATINI/ CL. 14 NO. 177/ PROVENIENZA:/ Zeno Apostolo/ 255/ COLLOCAZIONE/4607", e l'ex libris della marciana. Sul recto del foglio di guardia troviamo due note a mano, "Benintendi chronica, et alia/ XLIX. 6." e sopra di questa da altra mano "Class. XIV./ Cod. CLXXVII.". Al centro del foglio si trova l'ex libris di Zèno. Apostolo Zèno fu un poeta, drammaturgo e storico. L'ampio epistolario di Zèno riveste valore di fonte per la storia culturale veneziano (<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/apostolo-zeno/>).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. p. 86, n. 24.

<sup>36</sup> Il corpo che contiene la cronaca di Ravagnani ed i documenti (delle misure 161 x 227) ospita anche l'indice del codice, scritta da altra mano rispetto alla cronaca. È composto di tre fascicoli il primo delle quali presenta varie irregolarità: consta di foglio di guardia incollata al tallone (ovvero al prolungamento) del sesto foglio (6r, la formula della investitura; 6v, l'epitaffio). Allo stesso tempo il bifoglio 4–5 (4r–5v la lettera di Ravagnani) fu attaccato al tallone del f. 1, cioè del foglio dell'indice. Fra di questi si trova un bifoglio regolare, ff. 2–3, il primo

all'inizio del terzo codice, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, San Gregorio 30, che molto probabilmente fu copiato dal codice marciano nel Sei o Settecento. Oggi si conserva dunque nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma dove giunse nel 1874 dal monastero camaldolese di San Gregorio al Celio in seguito alla confisca delle collezioni delle corporazioni religiose romane. Il codice appartenne originariamente al monastero dello stesso ordine a Venezia, situato all'isola di Murano, da dove fu portato a Roma in conseguenza della soppressione del monastero sotto il dominio francese nel 1810.<sup>37</sup>

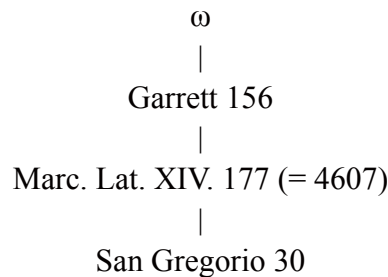
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bianco, il secondo con il rapporto del doge (3r–3v). Si notano inoltre i tre tipi di carta, quello della foglia di guardia, quello dell'indice e quello della carta prevalente sulla quale furono scritti i documenti e la cronaca. La composizione suggerisce, quindi, la mancanza di un foglio che originariamente avrebbe formato un bifoglio con l'attuale f. 6. Va aggiunto che i due altri fascicoli portano la cronaca (7r–25r, 25v–29v bianchi), il primo quinione, il secondo un senione più una carta dello stesso tipo aggiunta al foglio iniziale. Questa anomalia di formato non interessa però l'ambito testuale.

<sup>37</sup> P. Veneziani, "Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II", *I fondi, le procedure, le storie, Raccolta di studi della Biblioteca*, Roma 1993. V. Carini Dainoti, *La Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele al Collegio Romano*, Firenze 1956, 50–1. L. Merolla offre una descrizione dettagliata nella sua *La biblioteca di San Michele di Murano all'epoca dell'abate Giovanni Benedetto Mittarelli, i codici ritrovati*, Manziana 2010, 366. Il codice, cartaceo, si misura 287 x 203 e consta di otto binioni regolari. Sulla provenienza attestano lo stemma camaldolese nel timbro a secco sui fogli iniziali nonché la legatura tipica dei libri manoscritti del convento con piatti in cartone grigio, sul dorso in carta marrone. Sul dorso è apposta un'etichetta verde dove si legge "Danduli Chronic. Ven.". A proposito della descrizione dei contenuti sembra legittimo rilevare che Merolla segnalò "Chronicon" il titolo della parte che contiene proprio la cronaca di Ravagnani, benchè nel codice si legga, in accordo con il codice marciano, "Chronica Venetiarum secundum Benintendi Cancellarium ejus". Il titolo ridotto appare strano visto che tutti gli altri titoli vengono riprodotti nello stesso modo tra virgolette senza però delle modificazioni. Allo stesso tempo la studiosa aggiunge una nota alla cronaca nella quale non fa menzione di Ravagnani: "il testo del ms. risulta essere un estratto rispetto all'edizione confrontata: Andreae Danduli Venetorum ducis Chronicon Venetum a pontificatu sancti Marci ad annum usque MCCCXXXIX". Il San Gregorio 30 figura anche nell'antico catalogo della libreria di S. Michele del 1779, composto da J.-H. Mittarelli, che offre una descrizione più fedele (*Biblioteca Codicum Manuscriptorum Monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum prope Murianum*, 1779, 123–4): "Epistola in commendationem Chronicorum editorum per Andream Dandulum Ducem Venetiarum, data Consiliariis civitatis Venetiarum In cod. chartac. in fol. num. 778. Incipit Si non minus ille dies illos, quibus conservamus etc. Vide Dandulus Andreas. Epistola data est: anno 1352. secundo nonas decembris, una cum rescripto circa Investituram, quam a Duce Venetiarum debent recipere Praelati. Sequitur deinde opus, cui titulus: Chronica Venetiarum secundum Benintendi Cancellarium ejus usque ad annum 976 ... Benintendi Chronicon incipit: Jesus Dominus Deus noster. Finit. Hic, nempe Petrus Urseolus, uxorem habuit Feliciam nomine, quae unicum etc.".

Dalla collazione dei tre testimoni presentati risulta numerosi elementi di congiunzione fra il Garrett (P) ed il marciano (M) in confronto con il San Gregorio (V). Allo stesso tempo ci sono molte varianti comuni fra il M e il V che permettono di separare quest'ultimo codice dal P.<sup>38</sup> Le poche lezioni comuni del V con il P risultano invece correzioni o occasionali varianti grafiche.<sup>39</sup>

La collazione delle tre versioni suggerisce quindi uno stemma semplicissimo, un tronco senza rami:



<sup>38</sup> In questa sede un elenco esauriente sarebbe eccessivo. Basterà invece fare vedere alcuni esempi:

P celebratione	M V celebritate
P fuerant	M V fugerant
P providentia	M V prudentia
P dixerim	M V dicam
P M dum	V duas
P M uxorem	V uxores
P M aeris	V aer
P M deferentes	V differentes

<sup>39</sup> P V consequentur	M consequetur
P V aquis	M acquis
P V Gradense	M Grandense
P V interrogaretur	M iterrogaretur
P V litteram	M literam
P V Venetiam	M Vetiam
P V omnes	M omes
P V quoddam	M quodam
P V Sicque	M Sique
P V sepulcro	M sepulchro
P V remanentes	M remantes
P V excludendam	M excludendam

Si noti la prima lezione *consequentur* che presenta la variante *consequetur* nel marciano incompatibile con il soggetto plurale (*devoti et fideles*). La lezione scorretta si ripeté nel San Gregorio ma venne corretta in un secondo momento con un segno abbreviativo, un caso eccezionale in questo ultimo codice.

A sostegno dello stemma proposto si aggiunga una omissione, *saut du même au même*, che risale probabilmente ad un errore nel Garrett. Fra i sottoscrittori dell'atto del sinodo di Grado (cf. sopra p. 87) si raffigura due volte un *Albinus presbyter*, le occorrenze su righe consecutivi, la prima delle quali fu espunta. Al copista del Marciano sfuggì il raddoppiamento. Dalla prima firma passò direttamente al *Marcianus*, che segue la seconda occorrenza di *Albinus*, omettendo le tre firme interposte, *Sercius*, *Dorotheus* e *Laurencius*. Si trova la stessa omissione nel San Gregorio.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Il legame fra il Garrett 156 ed il Marc. Lat. XIV. 177 (= 4607) da luogo a un'ipotesi sul possessore del primo. I quattro documenti del codice marciano sono traditi anche da due codici antichi dell'*Extensa*, dal quattrocentesco Vat. Lat. 5842 e dal suo apografo Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) [la pubblicazione più recente dei documenti in Pastorello (sopra n. 13, civ–cvi) che riproducesse il testo del Vat. Lat. 5842 ad eccezione del rapporto di Dandolo che trasse dal documento, collocato in A.S.V. Commemoriali 5, c. 9r]. Dal confronto delle lezioni della lettera di Dandolo (secondo la trascrizione di Pastorello, l'originale alla BAV non ho ancora visto) risulta che il Marc. Lat. XIV. 177 (= 4607) non discende dal Vat. Lat. 5842 ma fu molto probabilmente copiato dal Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584).

Ad esempio:

Vat. Lat. 5842 Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) – Marc. Lat. XIV. 177 (= 4607)

memoria sita est – memoria est

haereditas relinquitur filiis – relinquitur haereditas filiis

Nec tamen, opus tantum – Nec sane tantum opus

Vat. Lat. 5842 – Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) – Marc. Lat. XIV. 177 (= 4607)

in vobis debuit – debuit in vobis – debuit in nobis

si non alia – et si non alia – etsi non alia

quin immo – Quinimmò – quinimò

utique – utque – uti erat

in presentiarum – impraesentiarum – in presentiam

Vat. Lat. 5842 – Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) Marc. Lat. XIV. 177 (= 4607)

praerogativam habuisse – praerogativam plurimam habuisse

Va segnalato inoltre la contaminazione del codice marciano, presente nella lettera di Cassiodoro (cf. p. 97). La consultazione di un'altra fonte si spiega forse sulla base degli sbagli e lacune che si trovano nel Garrett. Più che alla corruzione del testo modello, questi sarebbero da attribuire all'incompetenza del copista dell'ultimo (cf. pp. 89–90). Due delle tre lezioni introdotte dal *M* figurano nel Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584):

*P* uob(is) more auium domus est *M* Uobis more Auium domus est, *marg.* aliquantulum

aquatilium *V* more auium domus est, *interl.* aquatiliium *super* auium, Marc. Lat. X. 10

(= 3584) aquatiliu(m) aviu(m) more

*P* pro p[lacuna] uellor(um) utunt(ur), *M* pro [lacuna] utuntur, *marg.* pauore fauore

uellorum, *V* pro pauore uelorum, utuntur, Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) pro pavore

velor(um)

Problematico, quindi, il *favore vellorum* che è assente nella tradizione manoscritta dell'*Extensa*. Troviamo la lezione altrove in vari luoghi, per esempio nella *Cronaca di Venezia* di Lorenzo de'

A questo punto delle mie indagini è ancora troppo presto identificare Ravagnani come l'autore della *Chronica Venetiarum* o emettere un'altra ipotesi – semmai sia possibile arrivare ad una proposta solida in questo campo.<sup>41</sup> Essendomi limitato all'esame dei codici della cronaca ed al confronto fra questa e la *Chronica per extensum descripta* di Andrea Dandolo, resta ovviamente da studiare una parte cospicua del materiale fondamentale relativo al rapporto della *Chronica Venetiarum* ed il suo supposto autore.<sup>42</sup>

*University of Jyväskylä*

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Monaci, scritta all'inizio del Quattrocento e nell'edizione muratoriana dell'*Extensa*. Si aggiunga che *pavore velorum* è la lezione di tutti i codici delle *Variae*.

Prima della Marciana il Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) faceva parte della libreria del monastero di SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Alla fine del Settecento la collezione soffrì dai furti che causò l'acquisto dei libri più preziosi da parte della biblioteca Marciana nel 1789. Un furto si rivelò nel 1778 e le indagini indicarono che il ministero di Russia e Canonici stesso furono in possesso dei libri rubati. Identificati i libri del monastero ambedue furono costretti di restituire i volumi la maggior parte dei quali ritornarono ai monachi (Zorzi, sopra n. 10, 299). Fra i libri spariti, s'immagina, figurava forse il futuro Garrett 156.

<sup>41</sup> Sarà interessante fare un confronto fra *Chronica Venetiarum* e *Chronica Jadratina*, una cronaca sulla guerra di Zara (1345–1346), che è stata attribuita a Ravagnani (Voigt, sopra n. 23, 62–3; Bellemo, sopra n. 4, 148–50) e Careisini (Arnaldi, sopra n. 7, 151). Ce ne sono due testimoni, una versione in latino in un codice quattrocentesco [(Marc. Lat. X. 300 (= 3801)], ed un volgarizzamento trecentesco pubblicato da Iacobo Morelli sotto il titolo *Istoria dell'assedio e della ricupera di Zara fatta da Veneziani nell'anno MCCCXLVI. Scritta da autore contemporaneo* (Venezia 1796). La discussione più ampia e critica si trova sulle pagine di Zabbia (sopra n. 13, 259–64) secondo il quale sembrerebbe improbabile una attribuzione a Careisini, insufficienti d'altro canto le prove per identificare l'autore in Ravagnani. Osserva comunque il rilievo dato alla guerra di Zara in una continuazione della cronaca breve di Dandolo, un'altra opera storica attribuita a Ravagnani che resta inedita nonchè poco studiata. Un volgarizzamento di codesta cronaca si conserva a Modena nella Biblioteca Estense [It. 106 (alpha T.VI.32)].

<sup>42</sup> Importante sarà l'esame dei codici più antichi dell'*Extensa*. Vanno segnalate le lezioni comuni fra la *Chronica Venetiarum* ed il codice torinese dell'*Extensa* (Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino I. IV 7), una copia di lusso, che fu redatto prima del 1370 dal notaio Giovanni da Pola (Pastorello, sopra n. 13, l–li):

Marc. Lat. Z. 400 (= 2028) (il codice di lavoro, cf. n. 20) – Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino I. IV 7 – *Chronica Venetiarum*  
 Archichiron nomine et cognomine Entinopi – architector ||| nominatione – Architecti Euripo  
 gencium multitudo copiosa...habitaret – conflueret et habitaret – multitudo gentium copiosa conflueret  
 perniciose rei exitum – exemplum – pernitiosum in hoc exemplum

## II

### UN ALTRO TESTO DA RECUPERARE: LA CRONICA ATTRIBUITA A BENINTENDI DE' RAVAGNANI

by

Miika Kuha

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(Accepted for publication)

*Un altro testo da recuperare: la Cronica attribuita a Benintendi de' Ravagnani*<sup>1</sup>

*Il presente saggio analizza una cronaca su Venezia, la Chronica Venetiarum, attribuita al Gran cancelliere e preumanista veneziano Benintendi de' Ravagnani (c. 1318–1365). Saranno messi in rilievo i punti di interesse ed il metodo dell'autore tramite un confronto tra l'opera e la fonte principale, la Chronica Extensa del doge Andrea Dandolo. Saranno esaminate in particolare le aggiunte e modifiche, che dimostrano la consapevolezza dell'autore riguardo alle mancanze e ai punti deboli del suo testo di base nonché il suo interesse per le storie fantastiche. Si discutono inoltre alcuni aspetti dell'opera che sembrano scoraggiare l'attribuzione tradizionale della Chronica Venetiarum al Gran cancelliere.*

Il codice Garrett 156 di Harvey S. Firestone Library dell'Università di Princeton trasmette un'opera storica veneziana, intitolata *Chronica Venetiarum secundum Benintendi Cancellarium eius* (in avanti *Chron. Ven.*), che, come suggerisce il titolo<sup>2</sup>, sarebbe stata scritta dal Gran cancelliere Benintendi de' Ravagnani (c. 1318–1365). Piuttosto che come cronista, l'autore è noto come uno dei membri più importanti del circolo di Petrarca a Venezia e stretto collaboratore del doge Andrea Dandolo. Il ruolo di Ravagnani nel preumanesimo veneziano è stato oggetto di diversi studi centrati sull'amicizia del Gran Cancelliere con Petrarca che culminò nel celebre progetto del Poeta di trasformare la propria biblioteca in una biblioteca pubblica collocata a Venezia. In questa sede, però, non tratteremo le opere più note e studiate di Ravagnani, ovvero le sue epistole, due delle quali indirizzate a Petrarca<sup>3</sup>.

Non diversamente dalle epistole, la cronaca attribuita a Ravagnani è nota agli studiosi da secoli. Citiamo ad esempio gli appunti di Apostolo Zeno che qualifica la cronaca di *opus magnum* di Ravagnani e ne fornisce l'*incipit*, l'*explicit* e lo stato di apparente incompiutezza, la narrazione

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<sup>1</sup> Le ricerche sulla cronaca attribuita a Ravagnani fanno parte del progetto *Transmission of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Tralmar, no. 267518), finanziato dall'Accademia di Finlandia e l'Università di Jyväskylä e diretto dalla professoressa Outi Merisalo che tengo a ringraziare per i consigli dati in ogni fase della ricerca. Sono grato al prof. G. La Grassa e alla prof.ssa Merisalo anche per la revisione linguistica del presente saggio. I miei ringraziamenti vanno inoltre alla prof.ssa Raija Vainio e al dott. Samu Niskanen, del progetto *Tralmar*, per il loro aiuto.

<sup>2</sup> Il Garrett 156, l'unico testimone medievale dell'opera, risale al Trecento. La tradizione manoscritta della *Chron. Ven.* è stata discussa in altra sede: M. KUHA, *Note intorno alla tradizione manoscritta di Chronica Venetiarum di Benintendi de' Ravagnani*, «Arctos (Acta Philologica Fennica)», 46 (2012), pp. 79-95. Sul codice Garrett 156 si veda inoltre *Garrett 156*, in *Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library*, I, a cura di D. C. SKEMER, Princeton 2013, pp. 365-366.

<sup>3</sup> N. MANN, *Petrarca e la cancelleria veneziana*, in *Storia della cultura Veneta*, II, *Il Trecento*, G. ARNALDI e M. PASTORE STOCCHI, Vicenza 1976, pp. 517-535; L. LAZZARINI, «*Dux ille Danduleus*». *Andrea Dandolo e la cultura veneziana a metà del Trecento*, in *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, a cura di G. PADOAN, Firenze 1976, pp. 123-156; N. MANN, *Benintendi Ravagnani, il Petrarca, l'umanesimo veneziano*, ivi, pp. 109-122; L. LAZZARINI, *Paolo de Bernardo e i primordi dell'umanesimo*, Genève 1930; N. MANN, «*O Deus qualis epistola!*». *A new Petrarch letter*, «Italia medievale e umanistica», 17 (1974), pp. 207-43; E. RAUSA, *Le lettere di Andrea Dandolo, Benintendi de' Ravagnani e Paolo de Bernardo a Francesco Petrarca*, «Studi Petrarqueschi», 13 (2000), pp. 151-242; M. ZORZI, *La libreria di San Marco, Libri, lettori, società nella Venezia dei Dogi*, Milano 1987.



interrompendosi dopo i primi anni del dogado di Pietro Urseolo I<sup>4</sup>. È conosciuta pure da tempo la dipendenza diretta della *Chron. Ven.* dalla cronaca maggiore del doge Andrea Dandolo, intitolata *Chronica per extensum descripta* (in avanti l'*Extensa*)<sup>5</sup>, fatto rilevato per prima dal filologo tedesco Georg Voigt nel 1882<sup>6</sup>. La *Chron. Ven.* è infatti una versione abbreviata dei primi tre libri dell'*Extensa*<sup>7</sup>.

Per appurare il metodo e gli interessi dell'autore conviene dunque confrontare i due testi. L'esempio seguente è tratto dall'episodio fondamentale per tutta la tradizione storica veneziana, la *traslatio Sancti Marci*:

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<sup>4</sup> A. ZENO, *Degli istorici delle cose veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto*, I, ... *Le istorie veneziane... da Marcantonio Coccio Sabellico*, Venezia 1718, p. viii:

[...] si segnalò sopra tutto con la Cronica di Venezia, che però non condusse a fine, non avendola, per quanto mi sia occorso vederne, portata oltre il Principato del Doge Pier Orseolo I. Il suo titolo e principio [...] si è questo: *Chronica Venetiarum secundum Benintendi cancellarium ejus. Ihesus Dominus Deus noster quaquam in re pro fundamento suscipitur*, ec. Termina con queste parole: *Hic habuit conjugem Feliciam nomine, quae unicum [...] il resto è mancante.*

<sup>5</sup> L'opera, in sette libri, presenta una storia di Venezia dalla rivelazione dell'angelo a Marco (collocato nel 42 d.C.) fino all'anno 1280. Si fonda in sostanza sulle notizie storiche della cronaca universale di Paolino Minorita (con il titolo *Historia Satyrica*), unite all'informazione che venne tratta dalle cronache veneziane. Sulle fonti e sulla composizione dell'*Extensa* si veda l'ampia prefazione dell'editore Ester Pastorello (E. PASTORELLO, *Introduzione*, in *Andreae Danduli Ducis Venetiarum Chronica per extensum descripta*, Bologna 1939, pp. III-LXXXI).

<sup>6</sup> G. VOIGT, *Die Briefsammlungen Petrarca's und der Venetianische Staatskanzler Benintendi*, München 1882, p. 65: «[...] einen fast wörtlichen Auszug aus der Chronik Dandolo's, dem nur hier und da einige Bemerkungen beigefügt sind.» Vincenzo Bellemo, l'autore della biografia più ampia di Ravagnani, suggerì che il Gran cancelliere avesse redatto la *Chron. Ven.* prima della composizione dell'*Extensa* – prima del dogado di Dandolo difatti – essendo stata la cronaca di Ravagnani il testo di base dell'ultima. Per rispetto di Dandolo, Ravagnani non avrebbe voluto scrivere un compendio dell'*Extensa* mentre viveva il doge. Poi, dopo la morte di Dandolo, non avrebbe avuto l'occasione di dedicarsi alle indagini storiche in quanto occupato dagli affari governativi (V. BELLEMO, *La vita e i tempi di Benintendi de' Ravagnani, cancelliere grande della veneta Repubblica*, «Archivio veneto», n. ser., 23 (1912) 237-284 e 24 (1912) 54-95).

<sup>7</sup> A Ravagnani è stata attribuita anche una continuazione della *Chronica Brevis* del doge Dandolo, tradita dal codice BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE E UNIVERSITARIA DI MODENA, It. 106 (a T.VI.32). Contiene una esposizione in volgare degli anni 1342–1361 – cioè dal ducato di Dandolo fino a quello di Lorenzo Celsi (1361–1365) – indipendente dalla continuazione di Careisini. Che fosse stata composta da Ravagnani, fu un'ipotesi di Ester Pastorello (E. PASTORELLO, *Introduzione*, in *Andreae Danduli Ducis Venetiarum Chronica Brevis*, aa. 46–1342, Bologna 1939, pp. 333-347). L'ipotesi è basata sul riguardo dell'autore per Dandolo, sull'arco cronologico e sulla menzione di Ravagnani in una aggiunta – il nome di Ravagnani fu aggiunto a quelli degli ambasciatori inviati dal doge Dolfino al re d'Ungheria. Le notizie che l'opera presenta sono piuttosto scarse (la continuazione copre i fogli 22v–25r alla fine del codice). Citiamo ad esempio le righe dedicate alla guerra di Zara sui ff. 22v–23r:

In questo tempo la cita de Çara se reuella ad dominio dogal e fe uegnir lo Re dongaria inlo adiutorio apresso la dita citade de Çara con gran çente. E sapudo questo lo dito doxe se armada grande de galie, e de soldadi da chauuallo, et da pe, e mandalli ala dita citade, Capetanio dele dite gallie si fo lo nobel homo Piero ciuran. E Capetanio de terra fo lo nobel homo Marcho çustignan, e de presente fe far una bastia e forteça fortissima denanti la porta dela dita Çara, e combatando fortemente descaça lo dito Re de Campo, e prese deli Castelli de la dita citade, çofo Sen Michele Sen Damiani, desfaçando quelli in fina ali fondamenti, e molti deli diti çaratini, presi e menadi a Venexia in carcere. E per assedio fo tanto astreti chelli uene a misericordia al dito doxe. E cosi fato paxe retorna la dita citade al dominio dogal como era da prima, façando far intro la dita citade un castello fortissimo, e molti deli diti çaratini fo mandadi a confin in Venexia.

L'Extensa, p. 147

Iacebat autem in clamide de serico involutum, et clausum in eodem a capite usque ad pedes, multis sigillis. Portant itaque beate Claudie corpus, et mantellum a tergo scindunt, indeque corpore beati Marci extracto, beate Claudie corpus imponunt, sigillis intactis manentibus. Tanta autem civitatem replevit odoris fragrantia subito, ut cuncti stuperent miraculum: nonnulli quoque dubitarent corpus evangeliste fore submotum. Currunt proinde ad ecclesiam, capsam aperiunt, clamidem sigillatam inveniunt: sic, delusi, ad propria redierunt.

Ad navem autem portantes, superpositis herbis et carnibus porcinis, querentibus quid portarent ostendunt; at Saraceni horrentes; "Ganzir, Ganzir", clamaverunt. In navi quoque recluserunt in velo, donec recederent, propter Saracenos naves perscrutantes.

*Chron. Ven.*, Garrett 156, f. 13r-13v

Corpusque ipsum in clamide serico sub multorum sigillorum testimonio collocatum excipiunt, clamidem a tergo sigillis intactis scindentes, et corpus beate Claudie pro eo ibidem submittentes. Tanta autem odoris fragrantia tunc civitatem replevit ut multi concurrent dubitantes ne sanctus thesaurus auferatur ab eis, et diligenter querentes dum clamidem sigillatam inveniunt contenti recedunt.

Veneti uero **ipsum corpus beatissimum**<sup>8</sup> in **sportulis quibusdam caute** portantes superpositis herbis et porcinis carnibus dum a Saracenis inquiritur quid portent. Kançir, Kanzir **id est carnes porcinas uociferant. Quas carnes cum Saraceni multum abhorreant sine ullo impedimento ad naues ipsos ire permittunt.** In navi uero intra uella corpus ipsum inuoluunt **antenis iam alligata**, ne a Saracenis solitis perscrutari nauigia in recessu **posset quomodolibet inueniri.**

I due brani servono ad illustrare una differenza d'approccio nell'adattare il testo della fonte. Il primo brano è privo di aggiunte mentre sono numerose nel secondo. Si osservi che sia i cambiamenti che la ristrutturazione delle proposizioni nella prima parte condensano leggermente il testo del capitolo. Si trovano tuttavia ritocchi attribuibili ad interessi stilistici e logici.

Per quanto riguarda questi ultimi si noti ad es. l'aggettivo «contenti» alla fine del primo brano. Sostituisce «delusi» dell'originale che sottolinea il risultato dell'intrigo descritto. I due autori della traslazione, Buono da Malamocco e Rustico da Torcello, avrebbero tagliato il mantello avvolto al corpo dell'evangelista servando tuttavia intatti i numerosi sigilli. Poi avrebbero messo al posto di San Marco le reliquie di Beata Claudia. È decisiva quest'ultima operazione visto che il fetore emanante dal corpo dell'Evangelista già aveva attirato cittadini incuriositi, che comunque finirono per allontanarsi, ingannati dalla vista delle reliquie in apparenza intatte. Con una leggerissima modifica drammatizza la fine dell'episodio aggiungendo un'interpretazione dello stato emozionale dei cittadini ignari della truffa e persino contenti.

Si veda inoltre il rimaneggiamento delle prime due frasi, che serve ad abbreviare il racconto tramite l'eliminazione della ripetizione (ad es. «beate claudie corpus») e di parole superflue («sigillis intactis» invece di «sigillis intactis manentibus»). Nell'abbreviare la narrazione lo scrittore fece uso

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<sup>8</sup> Qui, ed in avanti, le aggiunte di *Chron. Ven.* sono segnalate in grassetto.

anche di costruzioni participiali come nella prima frase: «excipiunt – scindentes –submittentes» sostituisce «portant – scindunt – extracto – imponunt».

Dal punto di vista delle aggiunte e dei mutamenti, il secondo paragrafo presenta un aspetto tutto diverso. Nella prima frase del testo corrispondente dell'*Extensa*, manca l'oggetto del verbo «portare», che si legge invece nella *Chron. Ven.* («ipsum corpus beatissimum»). La *Chron. Ven.* presenta inoltre «in sportulis» («in ceste»), usate per portare reliquie – una aggiunta che contribuisce a rendere più credibile la trama: Come si sarebbero potuto nascondere le reliquie sotto la carne, se il corpo non fosse stato messo in qualche recipiente? L'autore spiega anche il significato della battuta dei saraceni («Kançir, Kanzir id est carnes porcinas») e la ragione della loro reazione («Quas carnes cum Saraceni multum abhorreant sine ullo impedimento ad naues ipsos ire permittunt»).

Le aggiunte più sostanziali della *Chron. Ven.* sono nella lunghezza di alcune frasi. Ne citiamo quella relativa alla data di fondazione di Venezia. L'anno della fondazione fu fissata al 421 probabilmente già nel secolo XII, la data del 25 marzo essendo invece più recente. La data precisa appare per la prima volta in una cronaca scritta qualche anno prima dell'*Extensa*, probabilmente intorno al 1334 da un "magister Iacobus physicus de Clugia" che s'identifica nel famoso medico ed orologiaio padovano Jacopo Dondi dall'Orologio (1293–1359)<sup>9</sup>.

L'episodio venne accolto nella cronaca di Dandolo da dove confluì nella *Chron. Ven.* Ivi, fu arricchito da storie bibliche e da martiri, che dovrebbero aver coinciso con il giorno della fondazione.

L'*Extensa*, p. 53

[...] et circa ostia fluminis Prealti insulam sive tumbam ad opus meditarum satis abilem eligentes, anno Domini nostri Iesu Christi CC<sup>o</sup>CCXXI<sup>o</sup> die XXV marcii felicis urbis Rivoalti nova fundamenta iactarunt; decretumque est [...]

*Chron. Ven.*, Garrett 156, 2r

anno domini .ccccxxj<sup>o</sup>. die .xxv<sup>o</sup>. marcij **ipsa die qua incarnatus est Christus, qua passus est, qua parens noster formatus est Adam, qua decimas Melchisedech obtulit, qua passi sunt Johannes babtista, Petrus, Paulus et**

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<sup>9</sup> M. MERORES, *Un codice veneziano del secolo XIV nell'«Haus-Hof-Und Staatsarchiv» di Vienna*, «Nuovo archivio veneto», n. ser., 29 (1915), pp. 139-166; V. LAZZARINI, *Il preteso documento della fondazione di Venezia e la cronaca del medico Jacopo Dondi*, «Atti dell'IVSLA», 75 (1915-1916), Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti, pp. 1263-1281. Jacopo Dondi, conosciuto meglio come l'autore di un lessico farmacologico con il titolo *Aggregator*, era originario di Chioggia come Ravagnani, ancora in età puerile quando Dondi incominciò ad esercitare medicina lì alla fine degli anni 1310 (T. PESENTI, *Dondi dall'Orologio, Iacopo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XLI, Roma 1992, pp. 104-111). Il figlio Gabriele (1328–1383) appartenne alla cerchia di Petrarca e Ravagnani, che ricordò nella propria lettera indirizzata a Paolo de Bernardo (LAZZARINI, Paolo de Bernardo, pp. 111-113, l'edizione della lettera alla p. 184).

**Jacobus vt facile intelligatur ex tanti celebratione diei quam grata deo nostro hec sancta edificatio uisa est**  
Insulam seu tumbam satis abilem eligentes noue Venetie fundamenta strauerunt. Prouidentes [...] <sup>10</sup>

All'inizio figurano l'incarnazione e la Crocefissione che vennero collocate al 25 marzo già nell'antichità. Ci sono inoltre la creazione di Adamo e l'incontro di Abramo e Melchisedec, quest'ultimo sacerdote e re di Salem, che sacrificò pane e vino per consacrare la vittoria di Abramo sui re di Mesopotamia. L'episodio è raccontato nella *Genesi* (14,17–20).

Le integrazioni non coincidono con il calendario dell'anno ecclesiastico. Com'è noto, la *Depositio Petri et Pauli* è celebrata il 29 giugno <sup>11</sup>. A nostro avviso, la fonte sarebbe da identificare in un breve poema per celebrare l'Annunciazione, *Salve festa dies que vulnera nostra coherces* <sup>12</sup>, che conviene confrontare con il nostro testo:

Salve festa dies, que vulnera nostra coherces  
Angelus est missus, est passus in cruce Christus  
Est Adam factus et eodem tempore lapsus  
Ob meritum decime cadit Abel fratris ab ense.  
Offert Melchisedech; Ysaac supponitur aris.  
Est decollatus Christi Babtista beatus.  
Est Petrus ereptus, Iacobus sub Herode peremptus.  
Corpora sanctorum cum Christo multa resurgunt.  
Latro dulce tamen per Christum suscipit amen.

Le righe 1–2 ricordano l'annunciazione e la crocefissione. Seguono quasi tutti gli altri episodi e personaggi presenti nel nostro testo, i martiri di Giovanni Battista, Pietro e Giacomo il Maggiore

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<sup>10</sup> Tracce dell'amplificazione si riscontrano nella cronaca su Venezia di Marco Antonio Sabellico dove la *Chron. Ven.*, una delle fonti del primo libro, viene menzionata con il nome «Commentarii» (R. BERSI, *Le fonti della Prima decade delle «Historiae rerum Venetarum» di Marcantonio Sabellico*, «Nuovo archivio veneto», n. ser., 19 (1910), pp. 422-60; 20 (1910), pp. 115-162.). Nel passo dedicato al giorno di nascita, però, il Sabellico non evocò la *Chron. Ven.*, bensì indicò come la fonte «divinae litterae». M. Antonii Sabellici *Historiae Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita libri XXXIII*, a cura di A. ZENO, *Degli istorici delle cose veneziane*, pp. 14-15: «In eo fere omnibus convenire video, VII. Calend. Aprilis primordia urbis coepisse [...] Divinae literae testantur, eodem die ipsum humani generis parentem a Deo optimo formatum: ipsum quoque Dei filium in Virginis utero conceptum [...]». La notizia della creazione di Adamo nel contesto della giorno di nascita di Venezia si legge pure nelle *Vite dei dogi* di Marino Sanudo che sembra averla tratta da Sabellico ripetendo anche il riferimento a «divinae litterae». *Le Vite dei Dogi di Marin Sanudo*, a cura di G. MONTICOLO, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XXII, parte IV, Città di Castellano 1900, pp. 2 «nel qual zorno, ut divine testantur littere, fu formato il primo nostro padre Adam al principio di la creatiom dil Mondo; nel qual etiam la beata vérzene Maria di l'anzolo Cabriel fo anonciata, et il fiol di Dio nel suo ventre introe e poi naque Cristo che fo la redemption nostra.»

<sup>11</sup> Vada detto che il *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* fece memoria della Passio Jacobi (Giacomo il Minore) proprio il 25 marzo (R. PLOTINO, *Giacomo il Minore*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VI, Roma 1965, pp. 401-410). Adamo e Melchisedec sono ricordati in alcuni martirologi il 25 marzo insieme con altri santi del Vecchio Testamento. Com'è noto Melchisedec ebbe un ruolo centrale nella leggenda su Adamo e Eva del *Sinassario etiopico* e degli *Annali* di Eutichio: Noè avrebbe dato a Melchisedec l'incarico di seppellire sul Calvario il corpo di Adamo, conservato nell'Arca durante il diluvio universale. Sarebbe rimasto lì per servire davanti il corpo. In quel luogo, poi, avrebbe incontrato Abramo (F. SPADAFORA, *Melchisedech*, ivi, IX, Roma 1967, pp. 291-296).

<sup>12</sup> *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, XV, pars prima, Pia dictamina, Reimgebete und Leselieder, a cura di G. M. DREVES, Leipzig 1893, p. 22-23.

nonchè le due scene suddette. Registriamo anche l'unica integrazione, *Paulus*, forse attribuibile ad una volontà di collocare i martiri di Pietro e Paolo nello stesso giorno. La corrispondenza tra il poema e l'elenco della cronaca risulta dunque netta. Segnaliamo inoltre l'omissione, per ora inspiegabile, di tre scene, cioè la caduta dell'uomo, il fratricidio di Caino ed il sacrificio di Isacco.

La popolarità contemporanea del testo venne dimostrata da Maria Laura Tomea Cavazzoli in un recente saggio sulla dipendenza dal poema delle pitture del Battistero di Parma, eseguite verso la metà del Duecento<sup>13</sup>. Il poema si legge ad esempio nella *Legenda Aurea*, l'autore della quale l'avrebbe tratto dal leggendario del domenicano Bartolomeo da Trenta, intitolato *Liber epilorum*<sup>14</sup>. In assenza di ulteriori indicazioni, la fonte delle integrazioni della *Chron. Ven.* sembra proprio il leggendario del genovese, un'opera popolarissima nel tardo Medioevo.

L'orientamento prettamente religioso della *Chron. Ven.* è attestato anche da un'altra aggiunta notevole, il prologo, che mette in rilievo la protezione divina evidente nella storia di Venezia nonché il ruolo di propugnatrice della cristianità della Repubblica lagunare. Venezia viene qualificata per esempio di «clipeo della cristianità» e «martello degli infedeli»<sup>15</sup>. Venezia si sviluppò sotto la protezione degli apostoli, profeti e martiri, *in primis* di Gesù, il promotore dell'ascesa dello Stato di Venezia<sup>16</sup>.

Occorre notare l'assenza, già segnalata da Marino Zabbia, di vari elementi tipici del prologo di un'opera storica. Il prologo non presenta nessuna considerazione sul carattere dell'opera, nessun cenno alle cronache precedenti o a fonti di altro tipo. Non si trovano neppure le solite riflessioni metodologiche dell'autore né chiarimenti sui motivi che l'abbiano spinto alla stesura dell'opera. È significativa soprattutto l'assenza di qualsiasi riferimento a Dandolo, un'assenza che il Zabbia

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<sup>13</sup> M. L. Tomea Cavazzoli, *Una testimonianza figurativa e brevi note sul carne Salve festa dies, quae vulnera nostra coherces* (AH XV 5), «Aevum», 85 (2011), 489-508.

<sup>14</sup> *Iacopo da Varazze Legenda aurea con le miniature del codice Ambrosiano C 240 inf.*, Testo critico riveduto e commento a cura di G. P. MAGGIONI, Firenze 2007; *Bartolomeo da Trento. Liber epilorum in gesta sanctorum*, Edizione critica a cura di P. EMORE, Firenze 2001.

<sup>15</sup> *Chron. Ven.*, Garrett 156, 1r «Christianitatis clipeus, infidelium maleus, libertatis mater, refugium miserorum, summaque conservatrix iustitie».

<sup>16</sup> Il prologo è essenzialmente imperniato su tre riferimenti biblici: *Chron. Ven.*, Garrett 156, 1r «Oculus enim non uidit, nec auris audiuit, nec in cor hominis ascendit quanta preparavit deus diligentibus se», 1 Co 2,9 «sed sicut scriptum est quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit quae praeparavit Deus his qui diligunt illum»; *Chron. Ven.*, Garrett 156, 1r «si eo qui plantavit irrigante incrementumque dante», 1 Co 3,6-7 «ego plantavi Apollo rigavit sed Deus incrementum dedit itaque neque qui plantat est aliquid neque qui rigat sed qui incrementum dat Deus.»; *Chron. Ven.*, Garrett 156, 1r «super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum ac martirum edificata noscatur ipso angulari lapide Christo Jhesu.», Ef 2,20-22 «superaedificati super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Jesu, in quo omnis aedificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum Domino: in quo et vos coaedificamini in habitaculum Dei in spiritu.»

spiega sulla base della prassi di usare materiale tratto dall'*Extensa* senza menzione dell'autore o della fonte<sup>17</sup>.

A questo punto conviene porsi il problema dell'attribuzione della *Chron. Ven.* a Ravagnani, amico e collaboratore di Dandolo. Sembra poco probabile che il Gran Cancelliere avesse scritto un prologo per una sua opera storica senza qualsiasi riferimento alle indagini storiche del doge<sup>18</sup>. Ricordiamo che Ravagnani – che probabilmente partecipò in larga misura alla redazione dell'*Extensa*<sup>19</sup> – presentò al pubblico l'opera storica del doge in una lettera (datata del 5 dicembre del 1352) densa di motivi elogiativi dell'istituzione ducale<sup>20</sup>. Nella lettera occupano uno spazio cospicuo proprio l'elogio di Dandolo ma anche la giustificazione del lavoro dello storico, che fa rivivere la memoria dei fatti ammirevoli. Spicca inoltre la brevità e la semplicità del prologo in confronto con l'ampiezza della lettera di presentazione dell'*Extensa*. Benchè le poche righe del prologo (tredici in

<sup>17</sup> M. ZABBIA, *I notai e la cronachistica cittadina italiana nel Trecento*, Roma 1999, p. 261.

<sup>18</sup> L'affetto di Ravagnani verso Dandolo è dimostrato dalla sua lettera del 1355, redatta circa un anno dopo la morte del doge ed indirizzata ai notai della cancelleria: il doge sarebbe stato a Ravagnani come un padre. Il gran cancelliere ricordò ivi anche la dolcezza dei colloqui fra di loro (inc. *Si conceptum sermonem*, in *Epistole Ivii eiusdem poete* (= Petrarca): *et aliorum...Venetiis* 1501). Sull'epistola si veda LAZZARINI, «*Dux ille Danduleus*», pp. 123-125. Al preambolo di Ravagnani vada paragonato quello della cronaca del suo successore, Rafaino Caresini. Nel prologo di Caresini si trovano un cenno elogiativo a Dandolo, chiamato «lo specchio di giustizia, di eloquenza e di tutte le virtù» e la famosa menzione delle opere storiche del doge – l'una ampia e seria, l'altra più breve e scritta in uno stile elegante (*Raphayni de Caresinis cancellarii Venetiarum Chronica*, AA. 1343-1388, a cura di E. PASTORELLO, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XII, parte II, Bologna 1922, p. 3). Le righe di Caresini sembrano riflettere meglio del prologo della *Chron. Ven.* gli ideali dai quali proseguirono sia l'attività edilizia di Dandolo come le sue cronache, miranti a corroborare e glorificare l'istituzione ducale. Sulla linea governativa di Dandolo si veda G. CRACCO, *Società e Stato nel Medioevo Veneziano (Secoli XII-XIV)*, Firenze 1967. L'arte del periodo di Dandolo è stata oggetto di numerosi studi, elencati ad es. in D. PINCUS, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*, Cambridge 2000 ed in H. BELTING, *Dandolo's Dreams: Venetian State Art and Byzantium*, in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557): perspectives on late Byzantine art and culture* (a cura di S.T. BROOKS), New Haven 2006, pp. 138-153. Uno sguardo d'insieme più ampio si trova in M. MURARO, *Petrarca, Paolo Veneziano e la cultura artistica alla corte del doge Andrea Dandolo*, in *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto* (a cura di G. PADOAN), Firenze 1976, pp. 157-168.

<sup>19</sup> La partecipazione di Ravagnani è suggerita soprattutto dal ruolo chiave della cancelleria ducale nella stesura dell'*Extensa*. Uno sguardo d'insieme delle opinioni in G. ARNALDI, *Andrea Dandolo Doge-Cronista*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI, aspetti e problemi* (a cura di A. PERTUSI), Firenze 1970, pp. 127-269.

<sup>20</sup> Una trascrizione della lettera si legge nell'appendice dell'edizione dell'*Extensa* (PASTORELLO, *Introduzione*, pp. civ-cv). Lo studioso trasse il testo da uno dei testimoni quattrocenteschi della cronaca più ampia di Dandolo, il BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA (in avanti = BAV), lat. 5842, che oltre le dette opere ospita una raccolta di documenti veneziani (ff. 204r-257v), la cronaca di Rafaino Caresini (ff. 164v-199v) ed una versione ampliata ed elaborata della *Chronica Brevis* di Dandolo che copre il periodo dalla fine dell'*Extensa* all'inizio della continuazione di Caresini (160r-163v). Il codice faceva parte della biblioteca del domenicano Costantino Gaetano (J. RUYSSHAERT, *Costantino Gaetano, O.S.B., chasseur de manuscrits: contribution à l'histoire de trois bibliothèques romaines du XVIIe s.: L'"Aniciana", L'"Alessandrina" et La "Chigi"*, Città del Vaticano, 1964). Si ha un testimone più antico dell'epistola di Ravagnani nel codice BAV, lat. 5223 che trasmette pure l'epistola del gran cancelliere indirizzata ai notai della curia Maggiore (le due opere sui ff. 85r-87r). Il codice, redatto all'inizio del Quattrocento almeno in due momenti, presenta un'ampia collezione di orazioni e di epistole da vari autori tra i quali Paolo de Bernardo, Antonio de Romagno e Gasparino Barzizza. Sul codice si vedano T. CASINI, *Tre nuovi rimatori del Trecento*, «Il propugnatore», n. ser. 1 (1888), pp. 313-366; P.O. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum: a Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries*, II, *Italy: Orvieto to Volterra [and] Vatican City*, Londra 1967; P. PIACENTINI, *L'"Expositio" di Pietro da Mantova alla prima lettera a Lucilio*, in *Seneca: una vicenda testuale*, Catalogo di mostra, Firenze, Biblioteca medicea laurenziana, 2 aprile-2 luglio 2004, a cura di T. DE ROBERTIS e G. RESTA, Firenze 2004, pp. 230-231.



totale) non forniscano molto materiale per il confronto, conviene sottolineare il carattere ben più classicheggiante della lettera in confronto con il proemio<sup>21</sup>.

Il proemio sembra essere una parte integrale dell'opera, conforme alle varie altre aggiunte di materiale religioso che s'incontrano nella *Chron. Ven.* Tra queste figurano passi di qualche sostanza come quello sull'intervento diabolico con il quale vengono spiegate le lotte sotto il dogado di Orso<sup>22</sup>. Secondo la *Chron. Ven.* «Inimicus humani generis» provoca i disordini, mentre invece l'ablativo assoluto dell'*Extensa* – «civilibus bellis exortis» – non individua un'iniziatore. A questo passo vanno aggiunte varie espressioni discrete, ad. es. «in virtute domini» e «adiuvante christo» – locuzioni che riconoscono l'influsso divino sugli avvenimenti terrestri<sup>23</sup>.

Gli interessi dell'autore sono attestati anche dalla scelta del materiale. Sotto questo aspetto la *Chron. Ven.* non riflette che vagamente le prospettive ambiziose dell'*Extensa*, che rappresenta un tentativo di combinare informazione tratta dalle cronache veneziane con la storia universale. L'autore della *Chron. Ven.* pose invece l'accento sulla storia locale abbandonando la maggior parte del materiale riguardo alle vicende extralagunari.

Per illustrare l'approccio dell'autore conviene studiare l'indice del tredicesimo capitolo del settimo libro dell'*Extensa*, dedicato al dogado di Giovanni Galbaio (787–802). Le «partes» che figurano nella *Chron. Ven.* sono state sottolineate.

L'*Extensa*, p. 105

Capitulum XIII<sup>o</sup>. De ducatu Iohannis, habens partes 26.

pars 1 De signo crucis

pars 14 De eiectione Contantini augusti

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<sup>21</sup> Ad es. il proverbio tratto dalle *Filippice* con il quale Ravagnani enfatizzò l'aspetto utilitaristico della storiografia: «vita enim mortuorum in vivorum memoria sita est», cf. *Phil.* 9,10 «Vita mortuorum in memoria est posita vivorum». Si noti un'altra espressione ciceroniana nel prologo: «una tantum fidelis custos rerum memoria», cf. *de orat.* 1,5,18. «Memoria est thesaurus omnium rerum et custos». Ravagnani espresse inoltre dubbi quanto alla propria capacità di enumerare e descrivere le numerosissime buone azioni di Dandolo – il topos di modestia da aspettarsi in un prologo: «Quid enim labores moderni, quid inclyti Ducis vestri solertes vigiliae, quid enim circa rempublicam diligentia studiosa, quid denique ceterarum dotium eius preciosissimus chorus, quas, cum potius divinas quam humanas existimem, non facile numerare, sed difficilius scribere possem, sibi sperare queunt, si fama veterum extincta cernatur, quae semper in vobis debuit viguisse?»

<sup>22</sup> L'*Extensa*, p. 114. «Hic Ursus dux, postquam tenuerat ducatum annis xi<sup>s</sup>, mensibus v, inter Venetos civilibus bellis exortis, nequiter occisus est»; *Chron. Ven.*, Garrett 156, 9r «Post hec **inimico humani generis inter Venetos seminante zinzaniam** ex qua intestina et ciuilia bella inter eos plurima sunt exorta ipse dux cum sedisset in ducatu annis .xj. mensibus .v. **inter tumultus ciuiles predictos** fuit nequiter interfectus».

<sup>23</sup> *Chron. Ven.*, Garrett 156, 11v «naues ascendunt et in aquarum plenitudine obuiam eis uadunt, ac **in uirtute domini** pontem dissoluunt»; *Chron. Ven.*, Garrett 156, 17r «Henricus imperator collecta undique sua potentia apud ciuitatem Metisburg occurrit eisdem. Et...ipsos **adiuante Christo** posuit in conflictum et cunctos pene deleuit.»



pars 2 De Henrico duce foroiuliense  
pars 3 De sinodo VIIa in Constantinopoli  
pars 4 De concordancia cantus  
pars 5 De translacione Studii  
pars 6 De Constantino V<sup>o</sup> imperatore  
pars 7 De coniuracione contra Carolum  
pars 8 De Heresi Feliciana  
pars 9 De basilica Aquisgranensi  
pars 10 De Mauricio consorte ducis  
pars 11 De Christophoro I<sup>o</sup> episcopo olivolensi  
pars 12 De fundacione ecclesie sancti Moysis  
pars 13 De Leone III papa

pars 15 De Hereni imperatrice  
pars 16 De apparicione sancti Michaelis  
pars 17 De laudibus exhibitis Karolo  
pars 18 De Karolo Magno imperatore  
pars 19 De eiectione Hereni auguste  
pars 20 De Nikiphoro imperatore Constantinopolitano  
pars 21 De exempcione Venecie ab imperio  
pars 22 De ratione divisionis imperii  
pars 23 De occisione Iohanis patriarche  
pars 24 De Fortunato patriarcha gradensi  
pars 25 De palio concesso patriarche  
pars 26 De exilio ducum Venecie

Si osservi in primo luogo l'assenza nella *Chron. Ven.* di tutti gli episodi di importanza globale, ad es. l'incoronazione di Carlo Magno (no. 18) o le notizie sugli imperatori d'oriente (nos. 14, 15, 19 e 20). Vennero tralasciate altresì le «partes» di contenuto artistico e culturale, quale la quarta, la quinta e la nona, dedicate rispettivamente all'introduzione del canto gregoriano in Francia, alla fondazione leggendaria dello Studium Parisiense da parte di Alcuino, Rabano Mauro ed Claudio e Giovanni Scoto, alla costruzione della cattedrale imperiale di Aquisgrana. Fa vedere la mentalità localistica del compilatore anche la mancanza della seconda parte, «De Henrico duce foroiuliense», omessa come la maggior parte delle notizie sulla storia del vicino ducato di Friuli.

La cronaca accoglie invece tre passi di materiale politico-ecclesiastico alla fine del capitolo. Questi passi descrivono vicende così veneziane come gradensi degli anni 802–804. Importa notare che – abbandonata la maggioranza delle *partes* originali – la storia del dogado di Giovanni nella *Chron. Ven.* è pressappoco uguale alla versione che si legge nella *Chronica Brevis* di Dandolo nonché nella *Cronaca A Latina*, *Cronaca A Volgare* e nella cronaca attribuita a Enrico Dandolo<sup>24</sup>. A differenza della *Chron. Ven.*, queste quattro opere non contengono però notizie né sulla fondazione della chiesa di San Moisè (no. 12), né sulla miracolosa guarigione dalla lebbra di Sergio (no. 16), duca di Senigallia, ad opera dell'arcangelo Michele.

Riflette la mentalità dell'autore proprio quest'ultima «pars», che è da collocarsi tra i numerosi elementi leggendari confluiti nella *Chron. Ven.* In effetti, questa categoria raccoglie la maggior parte degli episodi del ramo universale dell'*Extensa*. Segnaliamo per esempio le storie su Attila, tra altre quella dell'imperatore Marciano che si sarebbe sognato un arco rotto, presagio della morte di

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<sup>24</sup> *Cronaca «A Latina». Cronaca veneziana del 1343*, a cura di C. NEGRI DI MONTENEGRO, Spoleto 2004, p. 48; *Andreae Danduli...Chronica Brevis*, p. 355; *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo, Origini-1362*, a cura di R. PESCE, Venezia 2010, p. 19-20., *A Volgare* = BAV, Ottob. lat. 1120, ff. 41v-42r (il codice vaticano della famiglia A Volgare è segnalato in A. CARILE, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Firenze 1969).

Attila accaduta la stessa notte. L'autore dette spazio anche ai presagi della peste del 552, alla vittoria di Eraclio I su Cosroe «in uirtute cuiusdam ycone», ed infine all'invenzione di una lamina d'oro profetica a Costantinopoli nel 797<sup>25</sup>.

Talvolta le intervencioni servono a drammatizzare ulteriormente un evento miracoloso. Nel caso dell'alluvione del fiume Adige sarebbe stata sommersa la chiesa di San Zeno, senza che l'acqua penetrasse però all'interno dell'edificio – «fenestris apertis», aggiunge l'autore della *Chron. Ven.*, benchè le finestre fossero aperte. Inoltre, infuriava un temporale, tale un temporale estivo – o, secondo la *Chron. Ven.*, più forte di temporali estivi<sup>26</sup>.

Tirate le somme, un confronto tra la *Chron. Ven.* con la fonte principale, l'*Extensa*, mette in rilievo il tono prettamente più religioso del nostro testo. Emerge altresì la predilezione dell'autore per storie fantastiche. Sembra profilarsi dunque un individuo lettore assiduo di legendari, autore di una cronaca forse più accessibile dell'*Extensa*. Se le tendenze sopra dimostrate mettano in discussione l'attribuzione dell'opera a Ravagnani – oppure puntino in direzione di lui – è difficile dirlo data la scarsità di scritti del Gran Cancelliere tramandatici. Il prologo invece sembra dare causa ai dubbi sull'identità dell'autore.

Ulteriori indicazioni circa la composizione dell'opera si possono forse ricavare da un esame – che resta da fare – sui rapporti testuali tra la *Chron. Ven.* ed i codici più antichi dell'*Extensa*. In questo momento sembra probabile che l'autore non abbia adoperato il testo trasmesso dal codice marciano dell'*Extensa*, ritenuto il codice di lavoro<sup>27</sup>. Alcune lezioni invitano invece ad esaminare il testo del codice torinese, copiato tra gli anni 1359–1370<sup>28</sup>. Spero di poter verificare presto quest'ipotesi tramite un esame approfondito di quest'ultimo testo.

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<sup>25</sup> *Chron. Ven.*, Garrett 156, ff. 3v, 7v e 10r-10v.

<sup>26</sup> L'*Extensa*, p. 86 «[...] aquae ad summum fenestrarum sancti Zenonis ascenderent; nec tamen ecclesiam intraverunt. et tonitrua tanta fuere quanta fieri solent estivo tempore.» *Chron. Ven.*, Garrett 156, 6v-7r «[...] fluius ecclesiam sancti Zenonis exrescendo superauit, sed tamen ipsius sancti meritis **fenestris apertis** ecclesiam non intrauit [...] **ferre contra naturam** sunt audita **tam horrenda** tonitrua quanta **in estate unquam fuerunt.**»

<sup>27</sup> Il BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA, lat. Z. 400 (=2028). Una descrizione del codice in PASTORELLO, *Introduzione*, pp. xxxvii-xlvi. Il codice è composto di otto fascicoli cartacei con quattro fogli di guardia membranacei, le ultime aggiunte probabilmente nel Quattrocento da parte del primo proprietario privato del codice, Ambrogio Contarini (defunto nell'anno 1491). Si ricava dal codice che vari amanuensi, probabilmente membri della cancelleria ducale o curia maggiore, parteciparono alla trascrizione della cronaca. Le persone che trascrissero il codice non sono identificate, tranne una che è Dandolo stesso, la scrittura del quale appare nel libro sesto. Le righe scritte dal doge contemplano gli atti del sinodo di Grado nel 579, il che dimostra l'interesse di Dandolo per la documentazione della cronaca, l'aspetto per il quale l'*Extensa* si caratterizza particolarmente.

<sup>28</sup> Il BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE DI TORINO, I. IV 7. In PASTORELLO, *Introduzione* (pp. 1-1i) si legge qualche cenno sul codice in questione: è un codice membranaceo, trascritto da un notaio che s'identifica in Giovanni Ferrarese da Pola. Sarebbe stato scritto «da una mano sicura, con aste diritte e ferme, la divisione delle parole precisa, l'ortografia

*Miika Kuha*  
*Hirvirinne 2 B 1*  
*40520 Jyväskylä*  
*Finlandia*  
*miika.t.kuha@jyu.fi*

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emendata nelle doppie e ammodernata». Secondo lo studioso presenta numerosi errori. Alcuni di questi suggeriscono che non sia stato tratto dal codice di lavoro ma da una testimonianza intermedia oggi perduta. Siccome l'autore della *Chron. Ven.* rimaneggiò spesso il testo della fonte, sono ovvie le limitazioni del confronto testuale. Fatte tutte le cautele, ci sono lezioni in supporto del legame fra il Garrett 156 ed il codice torinese. Con le lezioni di due vada confrontato il testo del codice di lavoro:

BNM, lat. Z. 400 (=2028) Archichiron nomine et cognomine Entinopi  
BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE DI TORINO I. IV 7 – architector ||| nominatione –  
*Chron. Ven.* Garrett 156 Architecti Euripo

BNM, lat. Z. 400 (=2028) gencium multitudo copiosa...habitaret  
BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE DI TORINO, I. IV 7 conflueret et habitaret  
*Chron. Ven.* Garrett 156 multitudo gentium copiosa conflueret

BNM, lat. Z. 400 (=2028) perniciose rei exitum  
BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE DI TORINO, I. IV 7 exemplum  
*Chron. Ven.* Garrett 156 pernitiosum in hoc exemplum

È suggestiva la prima variante del nome di uno degli primi abitanti di Rialto, «Archichiron Entinopos», che l'*Extensa* ricorda come un fabbricante di barche, originario della Grecia e rappresentante dunque dell'elemento orientale della popolazione primitiva. Il copista del codice torinese sbagliò nel trascrivere il nome corrotto in «architectus», che è anche la lezione della *Chron. Ven.* dove si riscontra inoltre il cognome «Euripo» invece di «Entinopos».

### **III**

**THE EARLY CIRCULATION OF ANDREA DANDOLO'S  
CHRONICA PER EXTENSUM DESCRIPTA IN THE LIGHT OF  
THE MS. TURIN, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE  
UNIVERSITARIA, J.IV.7.**

by

Miika Kuha (2016)

Renaissanceforum 11: 127-144.

# THE EARLY CIRCULATION



of Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica per extensum descripta*  
in the light of the ms. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale  
Universitaria, J.IV.7<sup>1</sup>

By Miika Kuha

*This article examines the early circulation of the universal chronicle of the doge and prehumanist Andrea Dandolo (1306–1354). The focus of the present study is to give new insights in the transmission of Dandolo's chronicle – and in general in the Venetian textual culture of the period – by analysing its second oldest manuscript witness, the ms. J. IV. 7 of the Turin National University Library. It will be argued, furthermore, that the Turin copy is closely linked to an early reworking of Dandolo's chronicle, the *Chronica Venetiarum* attributed to the Gran Chancellor Benintendi de' Ravagnani (c. 1318–1365). Both *Chronica Venetiarum* and the Turin copy reflect the response of contemporary readers to Dandolo's chronicle as it started to circulate outside the ducal chancellery.*

## Andrea Dandolo's historical works

During the decades after and before the dogeship of Andrea Dandolo (1342–1354)<sup>2</sup>, history writing flourished in Venice both in vernacular and in Latin.

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<sup>2</sup> See the Dandolo bibliography in Ravegnani 1986. The last two decades have seen the publication of a number of studies dedicated to Dandolo's dogeship, especially as regards his artistic patronage. For the latter aspect, see Pincus 2010 and Belting 2006. On

These are the beginnings of the so-called Patrician chronicle, a term used to describe the role of the leading men of the Venetian Republic as patrons and authors of historical works.<sup>3</sup> The historiographical production of the period also reflects the important role of the chanceries as centres of learning and dissemination of knowledge in the Late Middle Ages. In Venice, as elsewhere, various members of the chanceries were involved in history writing.<sup>4</sup>

The key figure of this phase of Venetian historiography was the doge Andrea Dandolo, described by some contemporaries as wise and learned, by others as untrustworthy.<sup>5</sup> The historians of the early modern period remembered Andrea Dandolo as a man of letters connected to Petrarch, who spent a long time in Venice.<sup>6</sup> For Flavio Biondo, he was the only Venetian man of letters worth mentioning before Carlo Zeno (1334–1418), humanist and hero of the War of Chioggia.<sup>7</sup> The two surviving letters from Dandolo to Petrarch were known to the wider public through several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century copies, both manuscript and printed, of Petrarch's Latin works.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to his correspondence, Dandolo's two chronicles, the *Chronica brevis* and the *Chronica per extensum descripta*,<sup>9</sup> were widely read in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance but only published in print as late as the eighteenth century (Muratori 1728).<sup>10</sup> The first chronicle was probably written before Dandolo's election as doge. Despite its conventional structure and contents, the *Brevis* was pivotal in the proliferation of history writing in Venice during the latter half of the fourteenth century. In

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Dandolo's role in Venetian prehumanism, see Mann 1976a & 1976b, Lazzarini 1930 & 1976.

<sup>3</sup> Melville Jones 2007. For an ample bibliography on history writing in Venice, see Fiori 2014.

<sup>4</sup> For the production of historical works by members of the chanceries, see Zabbia 1999.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion on differing contemporary views with regard to Dandolo's dogeship, see Carile 1969, 7–10, 47 and Vespignani 2005, 184–190.

<sup>6</sup> Superbi 1628, III, 96–97, Egnazio 1554, 67–68.

<sup>7</sup> Biondo 2005, 160. "Habuit semper hactenus urbs Veneta viros maritimorum bellorum et mercaturae gloria claros. Sed ante patrum aetatem nullo decorata est viro litteris ornato, praeter quam Andrea Dandolo duce, quem Francesco (*sic!*) Petrarchae testimonio doctum fuisse scimus."

<sup>8</sup> For a description of the manuscripts and prints preserving the Venetian collection of Petrarch's letters, see Voigt 1882, Rossi 1933, L–LX and Rausa 2000. The latter study contains a critical edition of Dandolo's letters to Petrarch.

<sup>9</sup> In the following the titles *Brevis* and *Extensa* will be used.

<sup>10</sup> The oldest printed version was published in the eighteenth-century *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* vol. 12. It includes the *Extensa*, an extract of the *Brevis*, and the chronicle of Venice written by Rafaino Caresini. The circulation of manuscripts containing these texts will be sketched below p.140. The modern editions of the *Brevis* and *Extensa* were published by Ester Pastorello in 1938 (Dandolo 1938a & 1938b).

contrast to earlier chronicles, mostly anonymous, the *Brevis* was invested with the honour and dignity stemming both from the connection to the ducal institution and from the great deeds associated with the House of Dandolo.<sup>11</sup>

The *Extensa* greatly differs from the *Brevis* both with regard to contents and structure. It covers the history of Venice from the revelation of St. Mark during his travel across the Venetian lagoon until the year 1280, a narrative merging local and universal history. It is particularly the latter aspect, a wider perspective, that distinguished the *Extensa* from previous works on the city's past. Compared to other medieval Venetian chronicles, the *Extensa* was a monumental work drawing extensively on both local documents and the universal chronicle, *Satirica Ystoria*, by Paulinus Minorita.<sup>12</sup>

**The aspect of *Chronica per extensum descripta* in the manuscript Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7**

The process of compiling the *Extensa* is illustrated by Ester Pastorello, the editor, through a codicological and palaeographical analysis of the oldest manuscript of the work, now Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. Z. 400 (=2028). On the basis of its physical and textual structure, Pastorello argued that this manuscript would have been the working copy produced in the ducal chancery.<sup>13</sup> The organization of the text shows that it was meant to be used as a reference work. The chronicle was rigidly divided into books (*libri*), chapters (*capitula*), and smaller units called *partes*, usually consisting of a few sentences only. Since there is most often neither a chronological nor a thematical connection between the adjacent *partes*, the chronicle conspicuously lacks narrative coherence. Furthermore, each book is preceded by a table of contents indicating the titles of the *capitula* and *partes*.

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<sup>11</sup> This aspect of the *Brevis* is discussed in Arnaldi 1970,145–147. Cracco (1967, 401–407) analysed the *Brevis* in terms of Dandolo's policy of elevating the status of the dogeship and of reconciliation between the patricians and the plebeians. For a bibliography on Dandolo's historical works, see Marin 2010–2011 (published in 2015).

<sup>12</sup> Paulinus Minorita and his historical works are presented in Heullant-Donat 1993. In the *Extensa*, the information on global history was counterbalanced by a conclusive metatext at the end of each book explaining the transformations of Venice. As the metatexts have largely been neglected by scholars, with the exception of Zabbia 1999, 234, we shall resume the contents here: 1) the beginning of the fifth book (the *Extensa* beginning from the fourth book) marks the foundation of the city of Rialto (Dandolo 1938a, 47,27–29); 2) the Metropolitan seat of Aquileia is transferred to Grado in the sixth book (76,31–33); 3) the first doge Paulucius is elected in the seventh book (102,37–39); 4) the important removal of the seat of government from Malamocco to Rialto by the doge Agnellus Particiacus is described in the eighth book (133,1–3); 5) the beginnings of Venetian hegemony in the Adriatic are described in the ninth book (187,35–36); 6) the tenth book is introduced with a brief mention of the first ducal elections, starting with the doge Sebastiano Ziani (253,3–4).

<sup>13</sup> Pastorello 1938a, XXXVII–XLIX.



Despite auxiliary paratextual elements facilitating the consultation of the manuscript, the structure of this first version of the *Extensa* is far from optimal for a reference work. The text is written in long lines with only two vertical lines and the number of the *pars* in the interlinear space [the word *p(ar)s* together with the number] separating the units. No doubt due to various *partes* being rather difficult to locate, corresponding marginal titles were sometimes added. Since these marginalia, together with the vertical lines, the numbers in the interlinear space, and the tables of contents seem to have been added after the transcription of the text proper, it has been suggested that the original plan would have been to articulate the text on two hierarchical levels only, those of the *libri* and the *capitula*, the division in *partes* having been created afterwards.<sup>14</sup> An examination of the manuscript reveals, however, that the majority of the *partes* are also separated by a gap on the line. This gap is clearly wider than a space between words. The beginning of a new *pars* was also highlighted with a point on the base line (*punctus*) and a majuscule letter. Normally, the scribe marks sentence limits and other pauses with hair-line strokes (*virgulae suspensivae*), sometimes with *punctus elevati* both followed by a minuscule letter.<sup>15</sup> The idea to divide the *Extensa* in *partes* is therefore not a later addition.

Pastorello's introductory chapter also includes brief descriptions of the most important manuscript witnesses with some remarks on their mutual relations. The editor did not provide a full *stemma codicum*. Consequently, several questions regarding the early dissemination of the *Extensa* are pending. To address some of these questions, we shall compare the Marciana ms. to its earliest copy, now Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7.

Pastorello's short description is still the most detailed study on the Turin ms. It is partly based on Giovanni Monticolo's remarks made before the volume was severely damaged in the 1904 fire. According to Monticolo, a colophon identified the scribe as Giovanni Ferrarese da Pola, notary, who made the copy in the years 1359–1370. Monticolo also lists a series of documents and a history of Venice written by Rafaino Caresini, Grand Chancellor of Venice. This text was a continuation of Dandolo's shorter chronicle.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Zabbia 1999, 235.

<sup>15</sup> For the present article ff. 1r–9r were examined.

<sup>16</sup> Pastorello 1938a, L–LI, for Monticolo's remarks, see Sanudo 1900, 361–362, n. 1. There are short descriptions of the Turin ms. in Vinay 1947, 218, Giaccaria 1986, 48–49, Cosentini 1922, n. 1409 and Peyron, *Appendice*. So far it has not been possible to identify either the person who commissioned the volume or any early owner. Two Venetian chronicles are mentioned in Giulio Torrini's catalogue of the Ducal Library (Torrini 1659, 52 & 53 both titled “*Chronica de Venetia Ms.*”) and three similar works in the eighteenth-

Since many leaves damaged in the fire were restored in 1937–38, 1949–1963, and 2009, it is now possible to get a better picture of the physical characteristics and contents of the volume.<sup>17</sup> It is a parchment manuscript written in *littera semitextualis*<sup>18</sup> in two columns. While all of the volume suffered some damage, the leaves in the inner part of the volume, least exposed to fire and water, are fairly well preserved. For one of them, f. 46, the measures are *c.* 20.8 x 13.1 cm.; most of the inner and probably some of the upper and lower margins are, however, missing. On the same leaf, the columns measure *c.* 15.5 x 4.3 cm., the intercolumnal space being *c.* 0.9 cm. The dimensions of the letters and columns also vary from leaf to leaf depending on the amount of twisting caused by water.

The Marciana and Turin manuscripts differ in layout. In the Turin volume the *partes* are separated from each other by a line return, coloured *pie-de-mouche* (blue and red alternating) and, occasionally, an empty space at the end of the first line of the new unit. The beginning of each chapter, *capitulum*, is also highlighted with a rubric and with a red or blue initial. Furthermore, the manuscript, not unlike the Marciana volume, is divided into books, *libri*. There is a blank space at the end of the last page of each book, so that a new book always begins on a new page. The beginning of each book presents a rubric and an initial taller than the secondary initials

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century catalogue of the Royal Library (Machet 1713, 667 “Cronica de Venezia M.S. no 153.154.155”). The absence of the name of the author makes it improbable that in particular the Machet catalogue entry would refer to the Turin ms. More likely, both catalogue items regard the other chronicles of Venice still held by the Turin National University Library, such as N.III.1. For the catalogues and the formation of the Royal Library, see Giaccaria 1984.

<sup>17</sup> For the restoration, see Giaccaria 1986, 49. While the leaves restored in 2009 are kept unbound in a box, in the earlier operations leaves were attached to paper and bound inside covers. During the rearrangement, several leaves were misplaced. Despite information on some of the accidents in the present volume, it is somewhat difficult to consult the manuscript. Here is the correct order of the leaves. The *Extensa*: 1r–5v, 10, 7, 6, 9, 107, 11–17, 104, 19–20, 8, 22–92, **118 (97)**, **117 (98)**, **121 (99)**, **124 (100)**, **122 (101)**, **119 (102)**, **125, 120 (104)**, **126 (105)**, **123, 127 (107)**. A fragment of the *Brevis* covering the years 1280–1342: 93r–94r. *Raphayni de Caresinis cancellarii Venetiarum Chronica*: 94v–99, 101, 100, 102–103, 18, 105–106, 109, 108, 21, 110–111, 113, 112, 114–115. Part of the *Partitio terrarum imperii Romanie*: 116. The numbering corresponds to the present order of the leaves both in the volume and in the box holding the recently restored unbound leaves. The folio numbers of the latter are marked in bold. For the unbound leaves, also the page number in the upper right-hand corner is indicated in parentheses. The unbound leaves cover the final part of the *Extensa* from the dogeship of Jacopo Tiepolo onwards (295,1 Pastorello, f. 118 inc. “q(ui) se in na-”).

<sup>18</sup> The scripts are identified according to the classification system developed by Albert Derolez (Derolez 2003).

marking the beginning of a chapter.<sup>19</sup> In the Turin ms. the three-tiered structure of the *Extensa* is thus made obvious to the reader, from *partes* to *libri*.

The Turin volume lacks the tables of contents present in the Marciana ms. This would seem to contradict both the referential concept of the *Extensa* and the three-tiered structure of the Turin ms., facilitating the retrieval of information. It is plausible that a plan to add tables of contents existed but was never carried out.

The Turin ms. seems uncompleted, which is shown e.g. by the frequent absence of rubrics for the *partes*. Three fairly well-preserved leaves in the middle of the manuscript (ff. 29v–30r and f. 32v), which have rubrics for all the 32 *partes* of these leaves, give, however, an idea of what the volume was supposed to look like.<sup>20</sup> The rubrics mostly correspond to the titles contained in the table of contents of the Marciana ms. The model of the Turin ms. thus seems to have contained the titles of the *partes* or at least part of them.

There are also other leaves with rubrics pertaining to *partes* in the Turin volume. On several folios, they serve to highlight episodes and documents regarding Rialto and surroundings. Some further rubrics pertain to facts of general interest, such as prince-electors.<sup>21</sup>

While some of the *partes* pertaining to key episodes in the history of Venice were rubricated, many others were not, e.g. the *pars* on the translation of St. Mark's relics.<sup>22</sup> The first rubricated *pars* contains Cassiodorus' letter on the society of the Venetian lagoon. Since the letter eulogizes the early Venetians, it became central to the myth of Venice.<sup>23</sup> The text also circulated independently, e.g. in two fifteenth-century miscellaneous manuscripts containing orations and poems by humanists. In these manuscripts, the letter is placed next to a text on the legend of the foundation of Venice. Both the letter and the legend probably originate in the *Extensa*.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Both types of initials are situated in an empty space left by the scribe inside the column. The rubric of the ninth book exceptionally occupies the last two lines of f. 61r, while the book begins from the verso side of that leaf.

<sup>20</sup> They correspond to Dandolo 1938a 90,10–93,13 & 99,14–100,33.

<sup>21</sup> The rubrics on ff. 23r (on the pope John III, Dandolo 1938a, 73,7–8), 34r (on the synod of Aquileia, *ib.* 116,16–18), 62v (on prince-electors, *ib.* 196,16–21).

<sup>22</sup> Dandolo 1938a, 146,24–147,38 lat. J.IV.7, 46r–46v.

<sup>23</sup> There is an edition of the letter in Cassiodorus 1894, 379–380. For the letter, see also Carile & Fedalto 1978, 157–158 and 174–182.

<sup>24</sup> The manuscripts are Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ham. 254 and Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, H.III.8. For a description of the Turin manuscript, see Kristeller 1967, 181 and Cipolla & De Sanctis & Frati 1904, 546. The catalogue of the Hamilton Latin manuscripts attributes the legend passage to the *Chronica Venetiarum* by Benintendi de' Ravagnani (Boese 1966, 126), a compendium of

### The Turin copy and the *Chronica Venetiarum* attributed to Benintendi de' Ravagnani

An early compendium of the *Extensa*, titled *Chronica Venetiarum secundum Benintendi* (sic!) *cancellarium eius*, represents a similar approach to the *Extensa*.<sup>25</sup> The *Chronica Venetiarum* mainly uses *Extensa*'s material on local events, most of the universal history being left out. Even the structure is different. The *Chronica Venetiarum* is divided into chapters in general corresponding to single dogeships. In the oldest manuscript witness, the Princeton University Library, Garrett 156 (fourteenth century), these chapters are marked by an initial in red or blue. Some of the chapters are also divided into smaller units by a *pied-de-mouche* situated in the middle of the text. The layout is typical of fourteenth-century Venetian chronicle manuscripts.

The title attributes the text to the Venetian prehumanist Benintendi de' Ravagnani, Grand Chancellor, head of not only the chanceries of Venice but of the entire civil service of the Republic.<sup>26</sup> He is best known for his correspondance with Petrarch. Six of the letters survive, two from Benintendi to Petrarch, the other four by the poet. These letters, together with Benintendi's correspondance with the humanist Moggio Moggi of Parma, circulated in manuscripts and editions that also preserved Dandolo's letters. Several other works have also been attributed to Ravagnani, e.g. an oration to King Louis of Hungary and a continuation of the *Brevis*.<sup>27</sup>

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the *Extensa* that will be discussed below. A comparison of the Turin manuscript, the Berlin manuscript, and the *Extensa* with the *Chronica Venetiarum* would seem to invalidate this hypothesis. Firstly, there are readings present in the Turin and Berlin manuscripts as well as the *Extensa* but absent in the *Chronica Venetiarum*. Secondly, the Turin and Berlin manuscripts show no traces of the modifications and additions that the author of the *Chronica Venetiarum* made to the passage. It was enriched e.g. by accounts of biblical events and martyrdoms purported to have occurred on the day that Venice was founded. For details on the legend passage, see Kuha 2012, 86–87.

<sup>25</sup> For the manuscript tradition, see Kuha 2012. To the three copies described in that article should be added Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Gradenigo Dolfin 34. The Correr manuscript was copied from Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. XIV. 177 (=4607), which is shown e.g. by some omissions caused by *saut du même au même*. The author is currently preparing a critical edition of the *Chronica Venetiarum*. The edition will be based on an unpublished Licenciante thesis discussed at the University of Jyväskylä on 18 January 2014 (*Benintendi de' Ravagnani, Chronica Venetiarum: Edizione critica con introduzione*).

<sup>26</sup> For a biography of Ravagnani, see Bellemo 1912.

<sup>27</sup> For Ravagnani's works, see Bellemo 1912. In addition to the manuscripts of the Venetian collection of Petrarch's letters, there are at least two copies that preserve Ravagnani's letters. These are Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, L III 35 (the second letter of Ravagnani to Moggio Moggi, inc. "Rem non novam") and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 5223 (letter from Ravagnani to his colleagues in the ducal chancery, inc. "Si conceptum sermonem" and the letter of presentation of the

The material selected for the *Chronica Venetiarum* was most probably rewritten in order to increase the readability of the text. To use St. Bonaventure's famous terminology in his prologue to the commentary on the Sentences, the author seems to be closest to a compiler (*compilator*) who "copies the words of someone else and adds material, not of his own, but someone else's".<sup>28</sup> Yet, to say that he merely copies, does not cover all of the operation, since the source text is often radically altered. There is also material absent in the *Extensa*. A close look at the additions reveals that they often clarify the text, e.g. by making causalities more evident. The author modified those specific passages like a *commentator*, who "uses someone else's material and his own, but mostly someone else's and his own as a supplement added for clarification".<sup>29</sup>

The *Chronica Venetiarum* also supplements the *Extensa* with a brief prologue emphasizing the providential role of Venice as guardian of justice and refuge of the faithful in terms borrowed from the Bible.<sup>30</sup> The prologue seems an integral part of the chronicle that also evidences several other re-

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*Extensa*, inc. "Frequenter sciscitatus sum"). The letter of presentation is also transmitted in numerous *Extensa* manuscripts and three copies of the *Chronica Venetiarum*. The oration to King Louis (inc. "Quanta de virtutibus et probitatibus") has a more complex transmission history. Seven copies are currently known: 1) Fiecht bei Schwaz, Stiftsbibliothek der Benediktinerabtei St. Georgenberg-Fiecht, 183; 2) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 1152; 3) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 14579-14585; 4) Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, lat. H. III. 4; 5) Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, M. IV. F. 61; 6) Milan, Biblioteca dell'Università Cattolica del S. Cuore, Visconti di Modrone 2 and 7) Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Z. lat. 476 (=1944). The Marciana copy, a luxury manuscript of Petrarch's works, is the only fourteenth-century one containing the oration. This manuscript was probably used by Simone da Lovere and Andrea Torresano, who published a printed edition of Petrarch's Latin works in 1501 (*1501 Librorum Francisci Petrarche Impressorum Annotatio...Impressis Venetiis: impe(n)sis d(omi)ni Andree Torresani de Asula : per Simonem de Luere, Anno Incarnationis Christi M.CCCCCJ. die. XXVIJ. Marcij. Feliciter.*). The volume also contains Ravagnani's oration. The printed edition presents all of the marginalia of the Marciana manuscript written by two different hands (the fourteenth-century hand *a* writes the marginalia from *prudencia* to *fides* and *Jacobus Apostolus* at the end; the fifteenth-century hand *b* writes the names of Andrea Contarini and Michele Faledro, members of the delegation to King Louis with Ravagnani). For the Marciana manuscript, see Rotondi 1935 and Belloni 1983, 44. The print is described in Rossi 1933, xciii. On the attribution of historical works to Ravagnani, see Voigt 1882, 62–63, Pastorello 1938b, 338–340, Arnaldi 1970, 151, Zabbia 1999, 224–228 and 259–264, Ortalli & Pittarello 2014, 33–43.

<sup>28</sup> "Aliquis scribit aliena, addendo, sed non de suo; et iste compilator dicitur". The terminology of the prologue is discussed in Minnis 1979, 415.

<sup>29</sup> Minnis 1979, 416. "Aliquis scribit et aliena et sua, sed aliena tamquam principalia, et sua tamquam annexa ad evidentiam". For examples of the modifications, see Kuha 2012 and Zabbia 1999, 246–251.

<sup>30</sup> For the prologue, see Kuha 2012, 86.

ligiously motivated modifications and additions. Like in many chronicles of Venice, the identity of the writer is not revealed. The prologue also lacks reference to both the aims and methods of the writer. More importantly, it does not mention Dandolo's historical works or the ducal institution, which seems problematic, since Dandolo and Ravagnani were close collaborators. The prologue, therefore, raises doubt on the identity of the writer.

Since the Marciana ms. must have been known to Ravagnani, it is important to compare the *Chronica Venetiarum* with the early witnesses of the *Extensa*. The comparison also gives information on the earliest diffusion of the *Extensa*, since the Princeton manuscript of the *Chronica Venetiarum* (p. 133) was written during the dogeship of Dandolo or soon afterwards. This is indicated by the miniature on the first leaf which resembles those of a Roman Missal made for St. Mark's Basilica in the middle decades of the fourteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

A comparison between these texts is often hampered by the numerous modifications present in the *Chronica Venetiarum*. Although the order and structure of the sentences is mostly similar, there are considerable differences in vocabulary and spelling. The parts that seem to show fewer divergences are the documents and letters, abundant in the *Extensa*. The legal and esthetic values associated with the documents thus probably prohibited large-scale interventions to these parts.

The *Chronica Venetiarum* only contains four of these. The first item in common is Cassiodorus's letter (see p.132), which unfortunately provides little material for comparison. This is due to the poor condition of the leaves in that part of the Turin ms. The leaves containing the second and the third items are much better preserved. These are the acts of the synod of Grado in 579 and the letter of pope Pelagius confirming the transfer of the Metropolitan seat to Grado.

The following example is taken from the subscriptions at the end of the acts of the Synod. To facilitate the comparison, the parts omitted in the Turin ms. and the *Chronica Venetiarum* are emboldened, while the modification connecting the two is in italics. The *Chronica Venetiarum* and the Turin volume also share an addition (*similiter*) which is underlined.

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<sup>31</sup> I wish to thank Susy Marcon (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana) for her kind help with the datation. The Missal manuscript is now Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. III. 111 (=2116).

*Extensa*, p. 83, ll. 35–39

Virgilius episcopus **sancte ecclesie** scarauaciensis superueniens **sancto synodo his gestis sinus relictis** (sub)subscripsi

Laurentius presbiter superueniens **in Sancta sinodo**, locum *faciens viri beatissimi Frontei* episcopi **sancte ecclesie** feltrine, **his gestis michi relictis** subscripsi.

Martianus episcopus **sancte** ecclesie patenatis superueniens **sancta** sinodo, **his gestis michi relictis** subscripsi.

*Extensa*, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7, 27r

Virgilius episcopus scarauaciensis subscripsi superueniens subscripsi

Laurentius presbyter similiter superueniens locum *tenens* episcopi feltrensis subscripsi

Martianus episcopus ecclesie patenatis superueniens sinodo subscripsi

*Chronica Venetiarum*, Princeton, Garrett 156, 6v

Virgilius episcopus scarauaciensis superueniens subscripsi

Laurentius presbyter similiter superueniens locum *tenens* episcopi feltrensis subscripsi

Martianus episcopus ecclesie pathenatis superueniens sinodo subscripsi

The subscriptions clearly show substantial differences between the Turin and Marciana manuscripts, thus reflecting authorial or early scribal interventions. Despite some modifications, the Turin ms., however, generally corresponds to the Marciana ms. The *Extensa* scribes, thus, mostly seem to have preserved the text they were copying.<sup>32</sup> Importantly, the passage also indicates a connection between *Chronica Venetiarum* and the Turin volume. It is evident, consequently, that the *Chronica Venetiarum* was not based on the Marciana ms. There are, however, some differences between the Turin ms. and the *Chronica Venetiarum*, which possibly indicate that the connection is not direct.<sup>33</sup>

It should be pointed out that a considerable amount of readings of the Turin ms. was left out of the modern edition. Most of the omissions are probably due to the dire condition of the manuscript before the restoration, while some variant readings may have been deliberately discarded by the editor. It is difficult to determine why a particular reading is not present in the appa-

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<sup>32</sup> By contrast, the vernacular chronicles of Venice written in the Late Middle Ages were subject to extensive scribal interventions. For the transmission of Venetian chronicles, see Carile 1969.

<sup>33</sup> Pastorello argued (1938a, LI) that the Turin ms. does not contain the revised official version, since it presents numerous errors.



ratus, since the editorial principles are only briefly described.<sup>34</sup> The apparatus also lacks any remarks on the legibility of the Turin ms. Consequently, it is of very little help in reconstructing the Turin text.<sup>35</sup> To give an example, none of the differences between the Turin and the Marciana manuscripts indicated above are registered in Pastorello's apparatus.<sup>36</sup>

**The role of the Turin copy in the transmission of Andrea Dandolo's chronicles and the *Venetiarum Chronica* by Rafaino Caresini**

As we already mentioned (p.131), significant parts of the Turin ms. have been recovered since Pastorello's edition.<sup>37</sup> The most valuable of them is no doubt the chronicle of Venice written by Rafaino Caresini (c. 1314–1390), and placed after the *Extensa* in the volume (ff. 94v–115v).<sup>38</sup> This section,

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<sup>34</sup> Pastorello 1938a, LXXVI: "Benchè la riproduzione della stesura originale tolga valore alle varianti delle copie, pure sono date, ogni qual volta presentino: o una diversa forma di nome proprio, o una costruzione sintattica più corretta, o un dato di fatto comunque osservabile, le letture diverse dei codici già singolarmente indicati più sopra."

<sup>35</sup> The problems of Pastorello's apparatus are demonstrated by a recently published edition of Piero Giustiniani's Latin chronicle of Venice, partly based on the *Extensa*. According to the editor of Giustiniani's chronicle, the author would have used a version close to that in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 5842, a fifteenth-century copy of *Extensa* (Fiori 2014, CXII–CXIV). Most of the passages supporting the argument are, however, also present in the Turin ms. contrary to the information given by Pastorello's apparatus. The passage regarding the election of Domenico Gradenigo may be found on f. 66r, the notice on the voluntary submission of Dubrovnik in 1251 on f. 124r of the Turin ms. Even the third passage quoted by the editor was probably to be read in the Turin ms. before the fire. On the severely damaged leaf, which would have contained the text in question, the last word of the penultimate line of the chapter ends in *-em*. The last words of the passage reads in Pastorello's edition "ad pristinam subiectionem pie recepti sunt" (Dandolo 1938a, 304). The ending *-em* close to the end of the chapter may only be explained by the presence of the addition in the Turin ms. Without this addition, the chapter would have ended in the words "annulo et pastorali baculo, congruis temporibus, uti valeat". As the part of the f. 91, which would have presented the fourth passage quoted by the editor, perished in the fire, it is impossible to verify its contents.

<sup>36</sup> Here are some other examples: Dandolo 1938a, 58,31 *virgo quedam nobilis T* (= Turin ms.) *virgo quedam*, 59,2 *processit T procedit*, 59,3 *adiacentem marg. contiguum T contiguum*, 61,5 *quibus nunc repatriantibus T quibus repatriantibus*, 73,21 *arcerato marg. obturato T obturato*, 81,1 *in ecclesia T in ipsa ecclesia*, 81,7 *Elias episcopus sancte eiusdem T episcopus sancte eiusdem*, 81,26 *incesu T incursu*, 82,14 *per inmissionis tue veneramde (sic) confrater breviarium, consentientibus T per immissio [lacuna] consentientibus*. This list is based on a comparison between the parts of the *Extensa* present in the *Chronica Venetiarum*.

<sup>37</sup> The Caresini chronicle was mentioned in two descriptions made before the fire, i.e. Peyron, *Appendice al Pasini* and Sanudo 1900, 361–362.

<sup>38</sup> Some of the leaves containing Caresini's chronicle were subsequently misplaced. The correct order is presented in note 17 above. Only one leaf of the third codicological unit has been recovered. The leaf, situated at the end of the present volume (f. 116), has a passage

though written in a different hand (*littera hybrida*), has a decoration (pen-flourished blue and red initials) and layout (in two columns) similar to those in the codicological unit containing the *Extensa*. The two units seem thus to have been conceived as being transmitted together.

The Turin ms. is one of the most important witnesses of Caresini's chronicle. It presents a word in Venetian vernacular (*açovade*) in the middle of the Latin narrative, a distinctive variant shared by three other key copies, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. X, 237 (fifteenth century), Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Provenienze Diverse 142c (fifteenth century) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5874 (fifteenth century). Pastorello identifies the text of the Marc. lat. X, 237 as the source of the Venetian translation of Caresini's chronicle.<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, Pastorello derives the text present in the Paris manuscript from an early copy revised by the author. This revised text had a lacuna, which would have been reproduced by the scribe of the Paris manuscript only. Pastorello was later able to identify the source of this copy in the Cor-

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from the *Partitio Romanie* written in two columns (see the edition in Tafel & Thomas 1856, 464–488) with rubrics distinguishing single chapters. The third chapter and the beginning of the fourth are only partly preserved, and the outer margin is missing as well. The first chapter, though preserved, is barely readable. The *Partitio* was written in *littera semitextualis* but not in the *Extensa* hand. Originally, the volume also contained other documentation pertaining to the Fourth Crusade. The documents, identified by Monticolo (according to Pastorello, they correspond to Tafel & Thomas 1856, 358–373 and 444–452), were probably situated at the beginning of the manuscript. This is where Peyron located them in the nineteenth century (Peyron, *Appendice* “Danduli Andreae Chronicon Venetum, I. IV. 7, fol. 5 – Raphaini de Caresinis Chronaca Veneta, I. IV. 7 fol. 109b – Pacta varia cum Ducibus Venetiarum pro passagio terrae Sanctae I. IV. 7 – Sacramentum Theobaldi Comitis Trecensis et Palatini id. fol. 1b – Sacramentum Nuntiorum Balduini Comitis Flandriae factum in clito Domino Henrico pro passagio terrae sanctae I. IV. 7 fol. 1”). The folio numbering shows that the leaves containing the documents were added later. There are scant traces of the oldest folio numbers in the upper right-hand corner on the recto side of some of the leaves (e.g. on the ff. 56r and 71r). Later folio numbers are placed in the upper right-hand corner below the older numbers and in the middle of the lower margin. The numbers in the lower margin were probably made after the documents had been added to the volume. Those numbers always give a figure four units higher than the folio number. This must have been the number of the leaves of the codicological unit in question.

According to Monticolo, the Turin ms. also contained a letter from the bishop of Capri to the doge Giovanni Dolfin written in 1359 (Sanudo 1900, 361–362). The letter would have been in the same hand as the *Extensa* and contained on f. 82 B (according to the old folio numbers) or 86 B (according to the later numbers). Despite severe damage to this part, Monticolo's indications make it possible to locate the beginning of the letter to the left column on f. 82v (the fifth line from the bottom, Dandolo 1938a, 264,32) and the end to the left column of f. 83v.

<sup>39</sup> Pastorello 1922, XV–XVI. For a description of the Marc. lat. X, 237, see Fiori 2014, LXXVIII–LXXIII.

rer manuscript, briefly described in her edition of the *Extensa*. The lacuna, in fact, also occurs in the Correr manuscript, highlighted by a marginal note similar to that in the Paris manuscript.<sup>40</sup> This lacuna closely links these copies to the Turin ms., which shows a gap in the same place, similar in dimensions to the lacuna of the Paris and Correr manuscripts (from two to three lines).<sup>41</sup> The Turin and the Paris manuscripts also seem to preserve the same revised version of Caresini's chronicle, different from the text in Marc. lat. X, 237.<sup>42</sup>

The Caresini apparatus registers, however, a number of variants connecting the Paris manuscript with the other copies and separating it from the Turin copy.<sup>43</sup> These readings should be verified, since the apparatus was compiled according to principles observed by Pastorello in editing the *Extensa*. Consequently, it does not indicate if part of a copy is missing. This also concerns the Paris manuscript, which is partly damaged. The apparatus does not give the exact location of the unreadable or missing parts.<sup>44</sup>

The Turin ms. also contains part of the *Brevis* covering the period from the end of the *Extensa* (a. 1280) to the beginning of Caresini's chronicle (a. 1342).<sup>45</sup> This section, unsurprisingly placed between the *Extensa* and Caresini's chronicle (f. 93r–94r), was copied by the same scribe as Caresini's chronicle. The presence of the section in the Turin manuscript is particularly important, because the *Extensa* circulates with the same texts in a number of manuscripts. A similar triad of Venetian chronicles is transmitted by the Paris and Correr manuscripts and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vati-

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<sup>40</sup> Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Provenienze Diverse 142c, 159v deficiu(n)t hic due line.

<sup>41</sup> Pastorello 1922, XVI–XIX. The lacuna belongs to a passage relating the death sentences passed on the leaders of the Cretan rebellion of 1363–1364. In the Turin ms. the lacuna occurs at the end of the inner column on f. 97r.

<sup>42</sup> The Turin ms. was compared to the extracts from the other versions presented in Pastorello 1922, XVIII–XIX.

<sup>43</sup> For example Caresini 19,2 laedere non valuit *T* minime ledere valuit, ib. 24,9 Thadeus Iustiniano *T* Thadeus, ib. 33,16 Vir Hugo *T* Egregius Vir Hugo, 33,20 domina Valentina *T* Illustrissima Valentina.

<sup>44</sup> The Paris manuscript belong to a seventeenth-century bibliophile Raphaël Trichet du Fresne (1611–1661), librarian to Queen Christina of Sweden at the time of her abdication (Pastorello 1922, XVII). Du Fresne's collection contained c. 22000 volumes including 107 Greek and 91 Latin manuscripts (Callmer 1977, 74–76 and Delisle 1868, 269–270). In 1662 the collection was sold to the Royal Library in Paris. According to Élisabeth Pellegrin (1986, 202 & 208), the Paris manuscript would have been in the library of Pierre Michon Bourdelot, Queen Christina's physician when Trichet du Fresne was working for the Queen. Bourdelot's library was sold to Christina in 1654 (Nilsson Nylander 2011, 59–60).

<sup>45</sup> In Muratori's edition (see note 10 above) the extract has the title "Andreae Danduli tomus secundus incipit cum continuatione Raphayni Caresini D. Benintendio Ravagnino Magno Cancelliario Venetiarum".

cana, lat. 5286 (fourteenth century) and lat. 5842 (fifteenth century). A series of later copies also contain the three texts.

### Conclusion

The study of Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7 gives important new information on the early circulation of Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica per extensum descripta*. Its layout and decoration highlight the three-tiered structure of the text more clearly than the oldest extant copy, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. Z. 400 (=2028). Moreover, the partial rubrication of the Turin ms. shows an interest towards material pertaining to the local history.

The comparison between the Turin manuscript and the *Chronica Venetiarum* attributed to Benintendi de' Ravagnani indicates that the two texts are closely connected. Consequently, the *Chronica Venetiarum* cannot derive from the Marciana manuscript, the assumed working copy of the *Extensa*. The study of these texts has also revealed a series of Turin readings unregistered in the modern edition. It is necessary, therefore, to examine at least the Turin manuscript when studying texts connected to the *Extensa*.

The Turin manuscript also contains one of the key copies of Caresini's chronicle, quite obviously linked to the manuscripts Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Provenienze Diverse 142c and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5874. The combination of texts in the Turin manuscripts furthermore suggests that it is the archetype of several later copies. Hence, a thorough analysis of the later copies would probably uncover plenty of new data on the reception of Dandolo's historical works.

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**IV**

**THE ELABORATION AND TRANSMISSION OF HISTORICAL  
KNOWLEDGE IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY VENICE -  
ANDREA DANDOLO'S CHRONICA BREVIS AS A CATALYST  
OF HISTORY WRITING.**

by

Miika Kuha

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