

SOME NOTES ON THE VENETIAN CHRONICLE ASCRIBED TO DANIELE BARBARO, PATRIARCH OF AQUILEIA. THE SO-CALLED “BARBARO GROUP” (I)*

ȘERBAN V. MARIN^{**}

The paper focuses upon a Venetian chronicle whose paternity has been ascribed to Daniele Barbaro, elected Patriarch of Aquileia. The first part of the article inventories and analyzes in detail the manuscripts considered as belonging to the “Daniele Barbaro” group housed at the Marciana National Library in Venice. To these are added descriptions of other manuscripts belonging or ascribed to the same group by various scholars (Antonio Carile, V. Lazzarini, etc.), preserved in other libraries or archives (the Querini Stampalia Library, the Civic Library in Padua, the National Library in Vienna, etc.).

Keywords: Daniele Barbaro; Marciana National Library, Venice; Venetian chronicles; sixteenth century; manuscripts

Among the Venetian chronicles, this particular chronicle has the greatest number of extant copies, a fact that has been emphasized repeatedly by various scholars.¹ They are faithful copies, for which reason one should integrate all of them into one and the same chronicle without separating them, as it has been done for other Venetian chronicles, which are considered to belong to a common stock, but with some relevant differences. Unlike these, the manuscripts that include this chronicle present a particular faithfulness, a fact that has convinced us to classify them under the denomination of “Barbaro group.”²

* This work was possible with the financial support of the Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007–2013, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under the project number POSDRU/89/1.5/S/61104 with the title “Social sciences and humanities in the context of global development – development and implementation of postdoctoral research.”

** Romanian National Archives, Bucharest, Romania; serbmarin@gmail.com; serban.marin@mai.gov.ro.

¹ Fr. Thiriet, “Les chroniques vénitienes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l’histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* (École française de Rome) 66 (1954): 241–292 (246–247, 249, 258); Idem, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge. Le développement de l’exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII^e–XV^e siècles)* (Paris: De Boccard, 1959), 16; Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado – La congiura* (Florence: Sansoni, 1963 [1897]), p. 105 note 2; Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1969), 160; Edward Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of Syracuse University. The Complete Catalogue* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse UP, 1983), 49.

² The expression “Barbaro group” has also been used by Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 246 and O. Tůma, “The Dating of Alexius’s Chrysobull to the Venetians: 1082, 1084, or 1092?,” *Byzantinoslavica* 42 (1981): 171–185 (185). Unfortunately, the Czech scholar exemplifies this

Among the “Barbaro” codices, the greatest number is housed at the Marciana National Library in Venice, as follows:

M 40 (8635)³ and M 41 (8023)⁴

They are mentioned in the Marciana catalogue as “*Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1413*” (according to the “Ital. VII” catalogue), respectively “*sino al 1413, attribuita a Dan. Barbaro*” (according to the “Soggetti Veneti” catalogue), and as seventeenth-century copies, a fact also noticed by Fr. Thiriet⁵ and partially by A. Carile, who dates M 40 to the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries.⁶ M 40 covers 381 pages, numbered by the librarians, and has a calligraphic and very clear writing. On the contrary, the writing of M 41 is rather irregular. In the case of M 41, one should add that it originates in the Amedeo Svajer collection (no. 622), and the flyleaf specifies: “*Cronaca Veneta dal principio de 425 al 1455,*” a period that is confirmed by the title on the front page written in capital letters: “*Cronica di Venetia dal svo principio dell’anno del’ Sig(no)re 425 insino all anno 1455,*” but invalidated by the content itself. The codex has in addition an unnumbered table of contents, preceding the chronicle, while the chronicle has a particular numbering (pp. 1–315). Although the text is continuous, from page 285 there is another handwriting, more careful, but paradoxically more illegible.

M 42 (8491)⁷

It has the same features as M 40 and M 41, with the addition that the “Ital. VII” catalogue mentions the ascription to Daniele Barbaro between brackets. At the same time and unlike the previous two codices, M 42 is dated to the eighteenth century, despite the fact that Fr. Thiriet regards it also as belonging to the

“group” through two codices at the Marciana National Library that have nothing in common with our chronicle, that is M 788 and M 796.

³ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247; Pietro Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. italiani – Classe VII (nn. 1–500)*, ed. Giulio Zorzanello (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1956), 14 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

⁴ S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 vols. (Venice, 1853–1861), 3:147 (note 5); Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247; Zorzanello, *Catalogo (nn. 1–500)*, 14 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

⁵ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247.

⁶ Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

⁷ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247; Zorzanello, *Catalogo (nn. 1–500)*, 14 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

seventeenth,⁸ while A. Carile dates it even earlier, to the sixteenth.⁹ Along with M 41, M 42 originates in the Am. Svajer collection (no. 566); it has 444 pages, numbered by the copier with an intelligible and calligraphic writing, and presents titles inserted on the margin of the text. Right before the incipit, on page 1a, there is the mention of “*Cronica Veneta*” as a title.

M 76 (7731)¹⁰

It is entitled “*Cronaca Veneta dall’anno 421 fino al 1413*” (according to the “Ital. VII” catalogue), respectively “*sino al 1413, attribuita a Dan. Barbaro*” (according to the “Soggetti Veneti” catalogue) and belongs to the seventeenth century.¹¹ The codex comes from Amedeo Svajer (no. 655) and numbers 428 pages, pretty calligraphically written and having the subchapters’ titles written on the margins of the text proper. Although it has a title on page 1a, namely “*Cronica di Venezia dall’anno 421 sino 1413,*” one of the researchers that consulted it emphasized on the front page that it is: “*Cronica di Venezia dalla sua Fondazione 421 sino l’anno 1413,*” and added at the bottom of the same front page that: “*E’ con diuerse principi la Cronaca attribuita a Daniele Barbaro* [underlined in the manuscript] *vedi i codici XL–XCII–CCCLVII della classe settima.*”

M 92 (8575)¹²

In the catalogue at Marciana, it is presented as “*Daniele Barbaro. Cronaca Veneta a lui attribuita dall’origine della Città fino al 1423*” (according to “Ital. VII”), while the “Soggetti Veneti” catalogue mentions “*sino al 1413, attribuita a*

⁸ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247.

⁹ Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

¹⁰ Zorzanello, *Catalogo (nn. 1–500)*, 24 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

¹¹ Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

¹² Romanin, *Storia*, 3:16 (note 1); H. Simonsfeld, “La Cronaca Altinate [III],” trans. C. S. Rosada, *Archivio Veneto* 11, tome 21, pt. 2 (1881): 167–202 (184); Idem, “Appendice agli studi sulla Cronaca Altinate,” *Archivio Veneto* 12, tome 24, pt. 1 (1882): 111–131 (120); cf. Desimoni *apud* Aug. Prost, “Les chroniques vénitiennes. Second mémoire,” *Revue des questions historiques* 34 (1883): 199–224 (210), who names it “*la Cronaca ascritta a Daniele Barbaro*”; Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247, 248; Zorzanello, *Catalogo (nn. 1–500)*, 31 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Ovidiu Cristea, “La suprématie maritime à la fin du XIII^e siècle. Un point de vue de Marino Sanudo Torsello,” *Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia* (hereafter: *Annuario. IRC*) 4 (2002): 172–176 (174 note 17); Idem, “Rivalitatea venețiano-genoveză în Marea Neagră: campanile lui Giustiniano Giustiniani (1323, 1328),” *Revista istorică*, n.s., 25, nos. 1–2 (2004): 89–106 (p. 94 note 28).

Dan. Barbaro.” It is a volume of 409 pages,¹³ dated by Fr. Thiriet to the sixteenth century¹⁴ (despite the mention in the catalogue that dates it to the seventeenth) and ends with a description of the year 1423.¹⁵ This finishing year corresponds to the one mentioned in the Marciana “Ital. VII” catalogue, but contradicts the one in the “Soggetti Veneti” catalogue, which regards the chronicle as finishing with the year 1413. In this case, the French scholar is right, since he notes that M 92, as an exception to the other codices of the “Barbaro group,” has the following explicit: “[...] e possima poi è sopra tutte le misure tristissime; quanto al dano e alla vergogna seguita non x’è più attempo de far remedio,”¹⁶ which agrees with the events mentioned for the year 1423. Thus, there is an addition of ten years to the “Barbaro” chronicle. As for the date of this codex, one should mention A. Carile’s option, which dates it to the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, perhaps in order to reconcile the information in the catalogue with Thiriet’s opinion.¹⁷ My personal analysis of this codex reveals that it has an extremely careful writing, while the text is adorned on its margins. As a fact, the complete lack of paragraphs is to be noticed. The front page mentions: “CRONACA VENETA attribuita a Daniele Barbaro.”

M 125 (7460)¹⁸

It is a manuscript that includes more chronicles, among which the last one (pages 443–563¹⁹ or 443–568²⁰) is entitled “*Cronaca Bemba dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1413*” (according to “Ital. VII”), respectively “*sino al 1413, attribuita a Bembo*” (according to “Soggetti Veneti”). Despite these indications, Fr. Thiriet considers that it is one of the numerous copies of the chronicle of Daniele Barbaro, thus having no connection to the Bembo family, and that the copier discloses himself as writing “*nella casa di San Marco nel 1725.*”²¹ Although I did not consult it personally, I could not fail to notice the discrepancy between this statement and the date proposed by the catalogue at Marciana, that is the seventeenth century.²² Nowadays, the codex M 125 can be consulted exclusively as a microfilm, Pos. Marc. 141.

¹³ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., 247, 248.

¹⁶ Ibid., 248.

¹⁷ Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

¹⁸ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” p. 249 note 1, 258; see also Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero*, p. 105 note 2.

¹⁹ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 258.

²⁰ Ibid., 249.

²¹ Ibid., 258.

²² See also Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero*, p. 105 note 2.

M 126 (7442)²³

The codex originates in the Svajer collection (no. 729). It is a manuscript named in the “Ital. VII” catalogue “*Giovanni Bon. Storia Veneta dall’origine della Città fino al 1413,*” title accompanied by the well grounded notice that: “*Meglio che a Giovanni Bon, dovrebbe asscriversi questa Cronaca a Daniele Barbaro.*” The reason for the presence of Giovanni Bon as the supposed author comes from the title written on the second introductory page in capital letters: “*Historia Veneta raccolta, et descritta dal nob(el) ho(mo) s(er) Zvanne Bon l’anno M.DC.XX,*” a fact that should rather clarify the copier’s name, which is followed by an explanation: “*E’ la Cronaca attribuita a Daniel Barbaro [underlined in the manuscript] v. il Codice XL. classe VII. il cod. XCII. cl. VII il Cod. CCCLVII Classe VII.*” This title also clarifies the dating issue, that is the year 1620. Therefore, the dating to the seventeenth century proposed in the catalogue and by A. Carile²⁴ is confirmed. In his turn, Fr. Thiriet overcomes the inconvenient of the ascription to G. Bon, when noticing that “*l’incipit et l’explicit autant que la présentation des faits la rattachent sans aucun doute au groupe Barbaro.*”²⁵ The title is very carefully adorned with images of flowers, birds, and the Venetian lion, all of them colorful. Another more vague title, in capital letters, is inserted on the first front page, namely “*Historia Veneta.*” The chronicle is preceded by an analytic and alphabetic table of contents,²⁶ extending on 26 unnumbered pages. The chronicle itself has a particular numbering that contains 376 pages,²⁷ while the text is clearly disposed and has the paragraphs’ titles on the margins.²⁸

M 357 (7492)

It is a codex coming from Apostolo Zeno (no. 343) and it was omitted in Thiriet’s and Carile’s investigations. Catalogue “Ital. VII” at Marciana presents it as “*Cronaca Veneta di ... [sic!] Savina,*” adding between brackets that “*è quella attribuita à Daniele Barbaro.*” The verso of the front page mentions, obviously in another handwriting than the codex itself: “*Questa è la prima parte dell’Istoria Vineziana scritta nel 1610 da ... [lacuna in the text] Sauina [underlined in the*

²³ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247; Idem, *Romanie*, 16; Zorzanello, *Catalogo (nn. 1–500)*, 47 apud Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1 and apud Silvano Borsari, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo* (Naples: Univ. di Napoli, 1966), p. 28 note 38; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ See *ibid.*

²⁸ Ibid.

manuscript], *Segretario del Consiglio di dieci. La seconda parte finisce nell'elezione di Antonio Grimani Principe di Venezia con queste precise parole: E gli successe Antonio Grimani [underlined in the manuscript], cioè a dire nel 1521.*” There are two additions meant to clarify these notes: “*Non è del Savina ma è quella attribuita a Daniel Barbaro, e in proua vedi l'altro codice cl. VII num. XCII,*” respectively “*termina con questo a p. 1295 alle parole non si piu conseguire* [underlined in the text].” The codex has 1311 pages numbered on both sides by the copier and presenting a tiring enough writing. The mention of a member of the Savina family (perhaps Girolamo) cannot solve the dilemma of the identity of the copier, but rather proves that the copy was made in the year 1610, thus confirming the dating to the seventeenth century proposed by the catalogue at Marciana.

M 537 (8311)²⁹ and M 540 (8000)³⁰

According to the incipit and the content, both these codices should be put in connection with the “Barbaro” group.³¹ For both of them, the catalogues at Marciana have the same note: “*Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della Città sino all'anno 1423*” (according to “Ital. VII”), respectively “*sino al 1423*” (according to “Soggetti Veneti”), thus making no reference to Daniele Barbaro, probably because of the finishing year that does not correspond to any of the “Barbaro” codices, excepting M 92. Both these codices are dated by the catalogue to the sixteenth century, a detail rejected by A. Carile, who dates M 537 to the seventeenth century³² (on another occasion, to the year 1600³³), and M 540 to the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries.³⁴ The Italian scholar might have been tempted to move the latter to the eighteenth century because of a note on the front page, which, besides the title (“*Cronica di Venezia dalla fondazione della Città sino all'anno 1423. ca*”), mentions: “*Di Franc(es)co Maria Preti 1736.*” Nevertheless, this piece of information does not refer necessarily to the copier’s name and the year when the copy was done, but rather to the owner’s name and the year when the manuscript was in the property of F. M. Preti. Codex M 537 could be consulted only as a

²⁹ Ibid.; P. Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. Italiani – Classe VII (nn. 501–1001)*, ed. Giulio Zorzanello (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1963), 10–11 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1, pp. 162, 163; Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

³⁰ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247; Zorzanello, *Catalogo (nn. 501–1001)*, 12 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Raymond-J. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi, dynastes vénitiens dans l'archipel, 1207–1390* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1975), 313.

³¹ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247.

³² Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1, p. 162.

³³ Ibid., 162, 163.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 160 note 1.

microfilm. As to M 540, it represents the donation of Giacomo Morelli (no. 329); it counts 562 pages, numbered by the copier and written in a fair handwriting.

M 780 (7288)³⁵ and M 781 (7289)³⁶

They belong to the donation of Girolamo Contarini, divided in two volumes. The flyleaf mentions: “*Daniele Barbaro. Istoria Veneta dall’origine della città fino all’anno 1521*,” in relative concordance to the catalogue “Ital. VII” at Marciana: “(Daniele Barbaro). *Istoria Veneta dall’origine della Città fino all’anno 1521. T. II*” (taken over by M. M. Sarnataro³⁷), while the catalogue “Soggetti Veneti” considers as the finishing year the one mostly used for the codices of the “Barbaro group”: “*sino al 1413, attribuita a Dan. Barbaro.*” Except for the first pages, the codex is not numbered.³⁸ The manuscript is dated to the seventeenth century, as A. Carile also notices,³⁹ although M. M. Sarnataro places it a century earlier,⁴⁰ and it has an extremely fine handwriting.

M 789 (8475)⁴¹ and M 790 (7294)⁴²

Both of them are mentioned in the catalogues at Marciana under the same name: “*Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città fino all’an. 1413*,” with the additional note that, “*E’ la stessa che quella attribuita a Daniel Barbaro*” (according to “Ital. VII”), respectively that “*sino al 1413, attribuita a Dan. Barbaro*” (according to “Soggetti Veneti”). They originate in the Girolamo Contarini collection.

³⁵ Romanin, *Storia*, 1:79 (note 3); *ibid.*, 3:184 (note 1); Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247; Giuseppe Alberigo, “Barbaro, Daniele Matteo Alvise,” in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 6 (Rome, 1964), 89–95 (95); Zorzanello, *Catalogo (nn. 501–1001)*, 80–81 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Maria Maddalena Sarnataro, “La rivolta di Candia del 1363–65 nelle fonti veneziane,” *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., 31 (1996): 127–153 (p. 127 note 1).

³⁶ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247; Alberigo, “Barbaro,” 95; Zorzanello, *Catalogo (nn. 501–1001)*, 81 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Sarnataro, “La rivolta,” p. 127 note 1.

³⁷ Sarnataro, “La rivolta,” p. 127 note 1.

³⁸ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247; Sarnataro, “La rivolta,” p. 127 note 1.

³⁹ See also Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

⁴⁰ Sarnataro, “La rivolta,” p. 127 note 1.

⁴¹ Romanin, *Storia*, 3:29 (note 2); Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247.

⁴² Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247; Borsari, *Studi, passim*; Zorzanello, *Catalogo (nn. 501–1001)*, 84 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; cf. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi*, 313; Andreas Kiesewetter, “Preludio alla quarta crociata? Megareites di Brindisi, Maio di Cefalonia e la signoria sulle isole ionie (1185–1250),” in *Quarta crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, and Peter Schreiner (Venice: IVSLA, 2006), 1:317–358 [p. 340 note 91, with referral to J. K. Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo Conqueror of the Archipelago, 1205–1211* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915)].

M 789 is a volume that Thiriet describes as numbering 290 pages,⁴³ but personally I counted only 266 pages. The handwriting is fair and intelligible, a detail also noted by the French scholar, who considers it as “*serrée, mais très soignée*,”⁴⁴ also mentioning a “*présentation claire et chronologie assez précise: les dates et les faits essentiels sont notés en marge*.” Both the catalogue at Marciana and Fr. Thiriet date the manuscript to the seventeenth century⁴⁵; the detail is right, since the front page offers additional information: “*Laus Deo. Historia Venetiana Rescritta dal Sig(no)r Zuane Querini. Dell’anno 1612*,” which more clearly elucidates the year when the copy was made. This last detail is reinforced by the title before the incipit (“*Historia di Venetia M DC XII*,” p. 1a), and also offers the copier’s name, namely Giovanni Querini. Immediately after the last phrase typical of the “Barbaro” chronicle, the manuscript adds that: “*Finisse del anno 1413*” (p. 266b). As for the codex M 790, Fr. Thiriet names it “*Cronica del Trevisano della città di Venezia*,” and notes that, despite this mention, it is nothing but another copy of the “Barbaro” chronicle.⁴⁶ I must confess that I could not find anywhere in this codex a reference to the Trevisan family. The manuscript is a thick volume of 459 pages⁴⁷ and, according to Thiriet, has a “*lâche et peu soignée*” handwriting, while the yellowed ink makes it less clear,⁴⁸ an inconvenient that I was personally confronted with, although the handwriting seems acceptable. The French scholar neglected to date the codex M 790, but the catalogue at Marciana and A. Carile place it in the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ According to J. K. Fotheringham, it is the most faithful copy preserved of the “Barbaro” manuscripts.⁵⁰

M 973 (8959)⁵¹

It comes from the donation of Giovanni Rossi.⁵² Regarding it, “Ital. VII” at Marciana specifies: “*Storia di Venezia dal suo principio sino l’anno 1413. E’ la*

⁴³ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ See also *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

⁵⁰ J. K. Fotheringham, “Genoa and the Fourth Crusade,” *English Historical Review* 25 (1910): 26–57 (p. 44 note 67). At the same time, the scholar confesses that he did not examine all the manuscripts of the chronicle that pass under the name of Daniele Barbaro.

⁵¹ Zorzanello, *Catalogo (nn. 501–1001)*, 142 *apud* Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

⁵² A brief presentation of the donation of Giovanni Rossi (1776–1852) towards Marciana in 1852, in Susy Marcon, “Manuscript Works of Giovanni Rossi Donated to the Library,” *Biblioteca Marciana Newsletter* 4 (2002): 19.

Cronaca stessa de' Codd. XL, XLI, XLII, LXXVI, XCII, DCCLXXX, DXXLXXXIX [sic! = DCCLXXXIX], DCCXC, DCCCCLXXIII, attribuita a Daniele Barbaro,” while the “Soggetti Veneti” catalogue mentions: “*sino al 1413, attribuita a Dan. Barbaro.*” The codex belongs to the eighteenth century, a detail mentioned not only in the catalogue, but also by A. Carile.⁵³ It is possible that this dating was influenced by the note on the front page, saying: “*ISTORIA DI VENEZIA. Dal suo principio sino l'anno 1413. MSS Di S(er) Vettor Molin fu Avogador di Comun. 1772.*” However, this note does not prove that Vittorio Molin was the copier, but rather the owner in 1772 of the manuscript. Unfortunately, I was not able to consult this codex minutely, although I noticed that it is slightly modified when compared to the other “Barbaro codices.” A more attentive analysis would clarify its affiliation to this group. The manuscript numbers 281 pages.

M 1606 (9634)

It is presented by the “Ital. VII” catalogue as “*Pietro Navagero. Cronica di Venezia dall'anno 421 al 1414. E' quella stessa che in altri esemplari è attribuita a Daniel Barbaro [underlined in the catalogue]*” and is dated to the eighteenth century. It is almost certain that these data were taken from the mention on the front page, in capital letters, which specifies: “***Cronica di Venezia del N(obel) H(omo) s(er) Pietro Navagier Cavalier fu Amb(asciato)r a Carlo V Imp(erato)r. Dall'anno 1421 [sic!] sino l'an(no) 1414. M(ano)s(critto) del N(obel) H(omo) s(er) Vettor Molin d' [?] Beneto^ad^o [?] da S(an) Pantaleon fu Avogador di Commun. 1773.***”⁵⁴ Like in the case of M 973, the mention does not settle the dating issue, but only clarifies the owner's name, the same Vittorio Molin as for M 973, who owned this codex in 1773. At the same time, the ascription of the chronicle to Pietro Navagero, a sixteenth-century ambassador, could create confusion; but any doubt disappears when consulting the text, which definitely demonstrates that this is another codex of the “Barbaro group.” The copier fully used the red color, in order to underline the first letter of each paragraph, the titles and the doges' names. The manuscript originates in the donation of Giovanni Rossi (no. 163) and counts 236 pages, numbered by the copier. Without artistic adornments, it offers one of the most pleasant handwritings among the copies of the “Barbaro group.”

M 1692 (9145)

In the catalogue at Marciana, it is presented as “*Giovanni Bon. Cronaca di Venezia dal principio della Città fino all'anno 1260*” (according to “Ital. VII”),

⁵³ Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

⁵⁴ In bold what in the manuscript is emphasized by the red color.

which also refers to the codex M 126. This ascription seems to originate in the mention on the cover: “*Cronica Venitiana Manuscrita Fatta da Zuane Bon, Dalla sua Fon[...], el Copista sin[...]*.” Here and there deteriorated, so that one could not decipher entirely the text, the mention still allows us to infer Giovanni Bon’s position as a copier. His name is also noted on the front page, in a smaller handwriting than the rest and also deteriorated: “*Cronica venetiana di [...] Z B Zuanne Bon. M DC XX.*” It also offers a detail referring either to the year when the codex was copied, or the year when it was in G. Bon’s possession, in which case he might have been the owner and not the copier, or the owner and the copier at the same time. Anyway, the catalogue at Marciana regards it as belonging to the seventeenth century. The manuscript has an inaccurate handwriting; sometimes there are some drawings, but they seem to be naive and written also in ink, just like the text itself. The manuscript has not been preserved entirely, since it ends abruptly, in the middle of a phrase, when narrating events occurred in 1260: “[...], *et essendo li detti Curzolani mal trattati et tiran(n)egiati di i Viceregenti del*” (f. 243b), the sequel on a possible subsequent page being “*predetto Zorzi.*”

M 2169 – M 2171 (9155–9157), in three volumes

Catalogue “Ital. VII” mentions: “*Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1311. E’ la Cronaca attribuita a Daniele Barbaro come quella contenuta nei Codici XL–XLI della stessa Classe che terminano più coll’anno 1413,*” and dates the codex to the seventeenth century. In its turn, the “Soggetti Veneti” catalogue refers to the three volumes by the following title: “*sino al 1311 (attribuita a Daniele Barbaro).*”

M 2173 (8706)

Despite the description provided by the flyleaf, namely that this codex includes “*Scritture, decreti, terminazioni ecc. dei deputati allo spoglio dei libri nel Magistrato de Governatori dell’entrate durante la deputazione del Proc^{re}. di S. Marco Girolamo Giustinian,*” it is a chronicle partially to be included in the “Barbaro group.” It has a pleasant and intelligible handwriting. The text begins with Marino Zorzi’s dogeship, with the following incipit: “*Fu creato Marin Zorzi, che fu in ordine il quarantesimo giunto à di 23 d’Agosto 1312, et certo con pochissima sua contentezza, [...]*.” The first part of the chronicle ends at page 169a, when referring to the election of Doge Tommaso Morosini (1382), from which point onward the handwriting changes and a new numbering begins. This last part comprises 49 pages and ends according to the majority of the other “Barbaro” codices, that is with the year 1413, more exactly with the election of Tommaso Mocenigo as doge, having the same explicit (p. 49a).

M 2270 (9173)⁵⁵

It is a codex that compelled Fr. Thiriet's attention. It covers the period between 1312 and 1414, and ends with the same explicit as the "Barbaro group" of codices.⁵⁶ Therefore, Thiriet concludes that it is nothing but a partial copy,⁵⁷ although it could very well be the source of some of the "Barbaro" codices or even a working draft. The manuscript has 299 pages.⁵⁸

M 2479 (10458)

Acquired by the Marciana Library in 1915, it is called in the catalogue "Ital. VII": "(Barbaro, Daniele). *Cronaca Veneta dalle origini al 1413*." The page numbering belongs to the copier and it is made on both sides. The end of the chronicle in 1413 is contradicted by the text itself, which offers a completely different explicit than the rest of the "Barbaro" codices, namely: "[...], *resti mai interrotta, et contaminata la grandezza, et la purità de suoi heroichi pensieri*" (p. 846). Afterwards, the manuscript inserts a summary, written by another hand and not followed by any text, strictly referring to the first events and to those during Doge Giovanni Dandolo's term of office (1280–1289) (p. 847). Some unnumbered loose leaves follow, comprising various notes calligraphically written, which the copier seems to have used when writing the chronicle. The handwriting of the chronicle is clear and well-ordered and offers titles on the margins of the text. The catalogue at Marciana dates this codex to the seventeenth century.

M 2551 (12443) – M 2552 (12444)

These are two volumes originating from the Phillipps Library in Cheltenham (no. 4964), which the catalogue "Ital. VII" at Marciana names "*Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1415*" and then adds that "*E' la cronaca di Daniele Barbaro (1514–1570), ma in questo codice il testo è attribuito a Pietro Navagero che fu Ambasciatore a Carlo V Imperatore*." The same catalogue dates the manuscript to the seventeenth century. In its turn, the catalogue "Soggetti Veneti" mentions only "*fino al 1415*." The flyleaf says it more directly: "*Cronaca detta di Daniele Barbaro sino al 1423*." As in the case of manuscript M 1606, the details referring to Pietro Navagero rely on the mention placed as a title before the incipit of the first volume: "*Cronica Di Venezia Dal Suo Principio Dell'Anno del Signore CCCCXXI Sino all'Anno*

⁵⁵ Thiriet, "Chroniques," p. 249 note 1, pp. 259–260.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 259–260.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

MCCCCXV Del III s(er) Pietro Nauagier K(auallier) Fù Amb(asciato)re à Carlo V. Imperatore” (p. 1). There is another title on the front page of the first volume, with no detail about its paternity, specifying: “*Cronica di Venetia dal suo prencipio dell’A(n)no del Sig(no)re 421 sino all’Anno 1415 ≈ Tomo Primo.*” The first volume ends when referring to the voyage to the West of Emperor Baldwin II of Constantinople, with an addition on the last line of the page: “*Il resto è nel Tomo Secondo*” (p. 558). The text is followed by an alphabetic index, unnumbered but well prepared. As for the numbering of the chronicle itself, it belongs to the copier and is made on both sides. The codex is handsomely adorned, and the handwriting is legible and pleasant.

M 2553 (12445)

It is presented in the catalogues as “*Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1415, di Daniele Barbaro (pure attribuita a Pietro Navagero, come nel ms. precedente)*” (according to “Ital. VII”), respectively as “*fino al 1415*” (according to “Soggetti Veneti”), and dated to the seventeenth century.

M 2554 (12446)

It is one of the codices originating from the Phillipps Library (former Phillipps 5200), mentioned in the catalogue at Marciana as “*Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1275, di Daniele Barbaro ma quì anonima*” and dated to the seventeenth century according to the same catalogue. Not consulted in my previous studies,⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Șerban Marin, “Venice and *translatio imperii*. The Relevance of the 1171 Event in the Venetian Chronicles’ Tradition,” *Annuario. IRC* 3 (2001): 45–103 (p. 55 note 68); Idem, “Venetian and Non-Venetian Crusaders in the Fourth Crusade, According to the Venetian Chronicles’ Tradition,” *Annuario. IRC* 4 (2002): 111–171 (157); Idem, “The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople. The Representation of Tommaso Morosini in the Venetian Chronicles,” *Quaderni della Casa Romena* 2 (2002): 49–90 (p. 56 note 37); Idem, “The Venetian ‘Empire’. The Imperial Elections in Constantinople on 1204 in the Representation of the Venetian Chronicles,” *Annuario. IRC* 5 (2003): 185–245 (p. 189 note 70); Idem, “*Dominus quartae partis et dimidia totius Imperii Romaniae*. The Fourth Crusade and the Dogal Title in the Venetian Chronicles’ Representation,” *Quaderni della Casa Romena* 3 (2004): 119–150 (p. 137 note 86); Idem, “A Precedent to the Fourth Crusade. The Anti-Byzantine Campaign of Doge Domenico Michiel in 1122–1126 According to the Venetian Chronicles,” *Annuario. IRC* 6–7 (2004–2005): 239–266 (p. 244 note 71); Idem, “Veneția și căderea unui imperiu. Reprezentarea momentului 1261 în cronistica venețiană,” *Revista istorică*, n.s., 14, nos. 3–4 (2003): 211–254 (p. 227 note 62); Idem, “I valacchi nella cronachistica veneziana: tra realtà e finzione,” in *Dall’Adriatico al Mar Nero: veneziani e romeni, tracciati di storie comuni*, ed. Grigore Arbore Popescu (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2003): 112–127 (124); Idem, “Giustiniano Partecipazio and the Representation of the First Venetian Embassy to Constantinople in the Chronicles of the *Serenissima*,” *Historical Yearbook* 2 (2005): 75–92 (p. 86 note 70); Idem, “The Venetian Community – Between *Civitas* and *Imperium*.”

the manuscript has a legible although pretty tiring handwriting, to which a second hand inserted the titles of various subchapters on the margins, but only partially (p. 1a–40b and 92–124). The numbering of the pages belongs to the author/copier and is placed in the top right corner of each page. One should note an almost complete lack of paragraphs. Unlike the other manuscripts ascribed to Daniele Barbaro, which normally end with the years 1413–1414, M 2554 finishes in 1275, having the following explicit: “*intrò in l’administration Dogal nei anni del Nostro Signor 1275 il mese di Settembrio, et fò il quarantesimo, che hauesse quel Grado*” (p. 376b), referring to the beginnings of Jacopo Contarini’s dogeship (1275–1280). This difference from the other “Barbaro” codices could lead to the conclusion that the remainder of this codex was lost and that a second volume would follow. This latter hypothesis is enforced by the note on p. 1a, that offers the title of “*Cronica di Venetia. Parte Prima*” and allows us to conclude that a second part was to exist or at least the copier finished his work when referring to the election of J. Contarini as doge. When examining the manuscripts of the Phillipps Library, G. Castellani did not notice any similitude with the numerous “Barbaro” codices at Marciana, simply mentioning: “*Cronicon di Venetia,*” when dealing with codex Phillipps 5200.⁶⁰ Previously, the manuscript had been in the property of Lord Guilford.⁶¹

M 2652 (12838)

It is a codex that I did not consult directly, but I relied upon the notes offered by Anne-Laure Keiser in 1999, to whom I would like to express my gratitude. They refer strictly to the events of the Fourth Crusade. On closer examination, I concluded that it is another codex of the “Barbaro group.” Dated to the seventeenth century, the manuscript is named “*Cronica De i Dozi di Venetia Cominzando dal 1147 sino al 1413 che fò eletto Doze Thoma Mozenigo,*” thus comprising only a part (including the end) of the “Barbaro” chronicle.

M 2659 (12851)

It is the manuscript that I relied upon when referring to the manner in which the Venetian historiography represented the Hungarian campaign led by Stephen II

A Project of the Capital’s Transfer from Venice to Constantinople, According to the Chronicle of Daniele Barbaro,” *European Review of History* 10, no. 1 (2003): 81–102 (p. 87 note 25); Idem, “O alianță matrimonială veneto-bizantină în secolul al XI-lea – între realitate și legendă,” *Revista istorică*, n.s., 17, nos. 5–6 (2006): 157–182 (178).

⁶⁰ C. Castellani, “I manoscritti veneti contenuti nella collezione Phillipps in Cheltenham (contea di Gloucester),” *Archivio Veneto* 37 (1889): 199–248 (218).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Lackfi in Friuli and Veneto.⁶² Called “*Cronica di Venetia, sino al sec. XV*” (according to “Ital. VII”), respectively “*sino al sec. XV in.*” (according to “Soggetti Veneti”) and dated to the sixteenth century, this version of the chronicle ends with 1423, like M 92, M 537 and M 540, having the same explicit (p. 349b). The numbering of the pages is made on both sides and belongs to the copier, while the handwriting is less calligraphic and has many erasures and corrections.

*

Antonio Carile preferred to use other codices than those mentioned above (the only exception being M 537⁶³), the manuscripts at Marciana of the “Barbaro group” being enumerated by the scholar only in a footnote.⁶⁴ The codices that A. Carile refers to are as follows:

University Library in Padua (BUP), code 377⁶⁵ (sixteenth century⁶⁶)

This codex comprises three fascicles from various periods: the first is from the fifteenth century and includes a writing referring to B. Tiepolo’s conspiracy over nine pages; the second is from the end of the sixteenth century and it is a paper entitled “*Saggio della Storia del Commercio di Venezia,*” covering 42 unnumbered pages; finally, the third one is also from the second half of the sixteenth century and represents our chronicle on 296 pages.⁶⁷

Correr Civic Museum in Venice, Provenienze Diverse 366c⁶⁸ (second half of the sixteenth century⁶⁹ or the sixteenth century⁷⁰)

The codex has the mention: “*Navagero, Historia Veneziana,*” certainly relying on the title inserted at the very beginning: “*Historia Veneziana dall’origine della città, 421, sino l’anno 1413 con le cose più notabili successe nella Republica scritta da Messer Andrea Navagero che fu ambasciatore alla maestà*”

⁶² Ș. Marin, “Un transilvano a Venezia: il vaivoda Steffano Lackfi II e la guerra del 1372–1373 tra Venezia, Padova e Ungheria nella cronaca di Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo,” in *L’Italia e l’Europa Centro-Orientale attraverso i secoli. Miscellanea di studi di storia politico-diplomatica, economica e dei rapporti culturali*, ed. Cristian Luca, Gianluca Masi, and Andrea Piccardi (Brăila-Venice: Istros Editrice, 2004): 61–79 (p. 70 note 80); see also Idem, “I valacchi,” 124.

⁶³ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 162.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 160 note 1.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 161; also listed by Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

⁶⁶ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 161, 163.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 161.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 161–162; also listed by Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

⁶⁹ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 161.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 163.

dell'Imperatore Carlo Quinto,⁷¹ which takes over the ascription from other codices to the ambassador to Emperor Charles V, but with a difference regarding the first name (Andrea, respectively Pietro). Previous to the chronicles, there are 11 pages of indices and four blank pages, all of them numbered.⁷² Before the incipit typical of the “Barbaro” chronicle, there is the mention: “*Narationi de' principi di Venetia*.”⁷³ The chronicle ends at p. 598.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 6086⁷⁴ (second half of the sixteenth century⁷⁵)

The codex has many blank and unnumbered pages: 61 before and 24 after the chronicle itself.⁷⁶ Another title, “*Cronica di Venezia*,”⁷⁷ is inserted before the chronicle, while the ending adds: “*F(ini)s*” (p. 351b).⁷⁸

Syracuse University Library, Leopold von Ranke collection, no. 47⁷⁹ (seventeenth century⁸⁰)

The codex has the mention written on the front page by Ranke⁸¹: “*Cronaca Barbaro*.”⁸² Before the usual incipit, the copier added the title of “*Historia della Republica di Venetia fino all'anno 1413*” (p. 1).⁸³ On the front page there is another note belonging to L. von Ranke that mentions: “*In un altro esemplare veduto presso il Francese ascritta a Pietro Navagero, Kav(alie)r, Amb(asciato)re p(e)r Carlo V; Galiccioli dice: La Cronaca attribuita a Barbaro o*

⁷¹ Ibid., 161.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 161–162.

⁷⁴ Marco Foscarini, *Della letteratura veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* ([Bologna], [1976] [reprinted of Venice, 1854] [first edition: 1752]), p. 177 note 3; Aug. Prost, “Les chroniques vénitiennes [I],” *Revue des questions historiques* 31 (1882): 512–555 (546); Carile, *Cronachistica*, 160; also listed by Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49; Kiesewetter, “Preludio,” p. 340 note 91, p. 343 note 105.

⁷⁵ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 160, 163.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 160.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.; Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 48–49.

⁸⁰ Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 and note 1, p. 163; Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 48.

⁸¹ Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

⁸² Carile, *Cronachistica*, 160; Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

⁸³ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 160; see also Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 48.

*Navagero ...*⁸⁴ On the back cover, the owner's name is mentioned in capital letters: "*Bibliotheca Laurentii Antonii de Ponte P. V.*," along with the da Ponte family coat of arms.⁸⁵ The manuscript has 587 pages.⁸⁶

University Library in Padua (BUP), cod. 1923⁸⁷ (seventeenth century⁸⁸)

The codex is bound in leather. Before the regular incipit of the "Barbaro chronicles," it mentions: "*Cronica Veneta dal principio della fondazione sino all'anno 1413*" (p. 1b). The last page of the chronicle and of the manuscript (p. 220) is half torn off, while the text ends as follows, referring to the year 1310: "[... B]aiamonte con altri congiurati, e con [...] alle quali con ogni industria e sollecitudine," being interrupted in the middle of the phrase. Thirteen pages follow and A. Carile rightly considers that a second volume dealing with the period up to 1413 was to follow.⁸⁹

Correr Civic Museum, Cicogna 2618 (2178)⁹⁰ (seventeenth century⁹¹)

It includes three blank pages before the chronicle. This latter covers pages 1–240, ending with the word "*F(ini)s*" (f. 240r),⁹² after the regular explicit.

Correr Civic Museum, Wcovich-Lazzari b. 94⁹³ (seventeenth century⁹⁴)

It has 409 unnumbered pages and includes exclusively our chronicle. A note on the back mentions: "*Cronica Veneta di incerto autore.*" There is also a loose leaf inside the codex that belongs to Em. A. Cicogna: "*Nota che la Cronaca detta Bembo al codice Marciano Miscellaneo classe VII, CXXV marca CVIII 4 é la stessa che la cronaca attribuita a Daniel Barbaro.*"⁹⁵

⁸⁴ Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁸⁶ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 160; Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 48.

⁸⁷ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 161; also listed by Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

⁸⁸ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 161, 163.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 162; also listed by Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

⁹¹ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 162, 163.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 162.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 162–163; also listed by Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

⁹⁴ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 162, 163.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 162.

Correr Civic Museum, Archivio Morosini e Grimani 374⁹⁶ (seventeenth century⁹⁷)

It is an unnumbered codex, also comprising some blank pages: three before and eleven after the chronicle. The latter numbers 309 or 390 pages,⁹⁸ also unnumbered. After the end of the chronicle, there is the word “*F(inis)*.”⁹⁹

Correr Civic Museum, Correr 1329¹⁰⁰ (seventeenth–eighteenth centuries¹⁰¹)

It is a codex of 609 pages.¹⁰² Before the incipit of the “Barbaro group,” the year “421” (p. 1)¹⁰³ is placed.

In the end, A. Carile also presents a derivational sketch of all these manuscripts,¹⁰⁴ among which he adds codex M 537, although we are not able to understand on which criterion he established the manner in which one codex was copied after another. Moreover, A. Carile’s sketch misled Ed. Muir, who concludes that the Ranke manuscript is different from the others, everything relying upon the variations in abbreviations,¹⁰⁵ a detail that I do not consider to be a proper criterion for separating this codex from the others in the “Barbaro group.”

When referring to our chronicle, V. Lazzarini relied upon a codex that he quotes as Correr, Ms I, 131 and that would be dated to the sixteenth century, with the necessary question marks.¹⁰⁶ I must confess that I am unable to identify this codex among those at the Correr Museum exposed by A. Carile, for which reason I advance the hypothesis that there has been a change in inventory.

There was also a manuscript Querini 504 considered as belonging to the “Barbaro group,”¹⁰⁷ but I personally have not detected it in the catalogues at the Querini Stampalia Library. It is possible that this had been the inventory in the times of H. Simonsfeld, and Thiriet and Carile took over Simonsfeld’s information,

⁹⁶ Ibid., 163; also listed by Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

⁹⁷ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 163.

⁹⁸ From this point of view, A. Carile, *ibid.*, is inconsistent.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 162; also listed by Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

¹⁰¹ Carile, *Cronachistica*, 162, 163.

¹⁰² Ibid., 162.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 163.

¹⁰⁵ Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

¹⁰⁶ Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero*, p. 105 note 2.

¹⁰⁷ Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 246; Carile, *Cronachistica*, p. 160 note 1.

without consulting this library. Actually, they took it over erroneously, since Simonsfeld did not ascribe this manuscript to Daniele Barbaro, but just compared it with M 92,¹⁰⁸ the only one that he had regarded as belonging to Barbaro.

Querini Stampalia, IV. 117 (168)

In exchange, among the manuscripts at Querini Stampalia I identified a codex that beyond any doubt should be included in the “Barbaro group” and that could be the one consulted by H. Simonsfeld, but having another inventory number: Querini Stampalia, IV. 117 (168).

It is presented in the catalogue of the Querini Stampalia Library as “*Cronaca delle origini di Venezia – dai principii sino a Pietro Badoer o Partecipazio Doge – 942. Sec. XVII?*,” with an explanatory addition saying that “*Manifestamente è una copia non compiuta d’una cronaca molto più antica della trascrizione,*” while the catalogue “Soggetti” regards it as “*Cronaca dalle origini di Venezia sino al 942.*” The front page gives only the title of “*Cronaca dell’Origine di Venezia,*” the reason for referring only to the Venetian origins being certainly that the text ends abruptly in the middle of the events of 942, connected to the death of Doge Pietro Partecipazio (939–942), with the following explicit: “*In questo tempo fecero i Galatazzi, et Alboregni edificar la Giesia di San Saluador in Muran, stette Piero Badoer tre anni in dominio, et uenudo a morte*” (f. 74b), along with the catchword “fo” with which a following page would begin. Therefore, it is a partial copy of our chronicle, from which only the first 74 pages were preserved. When consulting the incipit and the events of the period prior to 942, it results clearly that it belongs to the “Barbaro group.” The codex was not numbered by the copier, but by the librarians at Querini Stampalia.

Civic Library in Padua, C.M. 780 I

I have also noticed the presence of a “Barbaro” chronicle in the catalogue of the Civic Library in Padua, inventoried as C.M. 780 I. It is a codex of 620 pages dated to the eighteenth century. The title is: “*Historia di Venetia dalla sua origine fino all’anno 1413,*” with the additional mention that “*E’ la nota Cronaca attribuita a Daniele Barbaro.*”

It was affirmed that the National Library in Vienna (once Staatsbibliothek) preserves many codices of the “Barbaro” chronicle¹⁰⁹ as well. By comparing them with the impressive number of codices at Marciana, one could conclude that the

¹⁰⁸ Simonsfeld, “Appendice,” 120–131.

¹⁰⁹ H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, vol. 3 (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1920), 558 *apud* Thiriet, “Chroniques,” p. 247 note 1; Thiriet, “Chroniques,” p. 247 note 1.

presence of the “Barbaro group” in the Viennese main library is rather feeble. M. Foscarini credited Daniele Barbaro with more copies,¹¹⁰ among which he mentioned only those in his possession, under the numbers XVII and CXXIII. Foscarini regarded the first one as being of modern writing covering the period between the city’s foundation and 1413.¹¹¹ Once transferred to Vienna, this manuscript was inventoried as 6173.¹¹² Later T. Gar described this manuscript, named “*Cronica Veneta dal principio della città al 1413*,” as having 433 pages, with the dates on the margins, being well written, and in good state of conservation. Gar dated it to the sixteenth century.¹¹³

As for CXXIII, Foscarini considered that it was older and that it starts with the year 1228, thus lacking the beginning, and, on the other hand, that it ends with the year 1501.¹¹⁴ At the same time, Foscarini remarked some differences between the two codices in his possession,¹¹⁵ although in the end he affirmed that it should not be excluded that both of them were the work of one and the same author.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is enough to convince us to exclude the latter from the “Barbaro group,” as T. Gar also seemed to feel inclined to.¹¹⁷

According to Ed. Muir, the catalogue provided by Tommaso Gar includes also codex CCLIX n. 6422¹¹⁸ (sixteenth century), regarded as another copy from the Foscarini collection. However, the reference to T. Gar¹¹⁹ brings us to XVII n. 6173, since the inventory mentioned by Muir could not be found in the enumeration of T. Gar. Therefore, it is a confusion of the American scholar.

In his study about the Gradenigo family, Fr. Rossi makes many references to the chronicle, under the name of “*Cronaca veneta attribuita a Daniele Barbaro*,” but using another manuscript kept at the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, inventoried as *Miscellanea codici*, I, *Storia veneta*, n. 56.¹²⁰

¹¹⁰ Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, p. 177 note 2.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 129 note 2, p. 177 note 3.

¹¹² Tommaso Gar, “I codici storici della collezione Foscarini conservata nella Imperiale Biblioteca di Vienna,” *Archivio Storico Italiano* 5 (1843): 281–430 (288); Prost, “Chroniques vénitiennes [I],” 546; Ernst Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel*, vol. 1, *Geschichte der Kaiser Balduin I. und Heinrich 1204–1216* (Homburg, 1905), p. 6 note 2; G. B. di Sardagna, “Di alcune dinastie latine nella Grecia. I Giustiniani di Venezia – I de Corogna,” *Archivio Veneto* 31 (1886): 147–167 (p. 152 note 3); also listed by Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

¹¹³ Gar, “Codici,” 288–289. When I recently reached the National Library in Vienna (June 2011), the manuscript was not in free access, since it was exposed in an exhibition.

¹¹⁴ Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, p. 177 note 3; also listed by Prost, “Chroniques vénitiennes [I],” 550.

¹¹⁵ Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, p. 177 note 3.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Gar, “Codici,” 289.

¹¹⁸ Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, 49.

¹¹⁹ Gar, “Codici,” 288–289.

¹²⁰ Franco Rossi, “Quasi una dinastia: i Gradenigo tra XIII e XIV secolo,” in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo*, ed. Marino Zorzi and Susy Marcon ([Venice]: Edizioni della Laguna, 2001): 155–187 (183).

As it is natural since they belong to the same group, almost all codices have the same incipit and explicit. The incipit is as follows: “*Quali siano stati li principii della provintia di Venetia e che genti gli siano venuti ad habitare ...*,”¹²¹ while the explicit has the following text: “*... tanto e cosa certa che quel che grandemente se desidera, il più volte non si può conseguire.*”¹²² In some cases, the verb “*conseguire*” is replaced by “*ottenere*” (M 42, M 126, PD 366c, Co 1329), practically having the same meaning. In the case of the codices that continue that narration up to 1423 (M 92, M 357, M 537, M 540, M 2659), the explicit is as follows: “[...] *et alla vergogna seguita non si è più à tempo di far li rimedio.*”¹²³ Actually, the addition of the period between 1414 and 1423, up to the dogal election of Francesco Foscari (1423–1453), corresponding thus to the dogeship of Tommaso Mocenigo, is extremely succinct in comparison to the rest of the chronicle, insisting rather on the listing of the electors of doges Mocenigo and Foscari than on the events themselves. A different explicit is provided in some cases where the last pages were lost (M 1692, M 2554, Querini IV. 117, BUP 1923). At the same time, an apparently different incipit is the one in M 76: “*Popoli Venetiani per auanti dalla sua fondatione della Città emmo non Venetiani, ma Insulani chiamati, e perciò si vede, che Theodorico Re di Gotti, moltiss[^]mi anni doppo il principio suo hauendo uinto l’Italia [...]*,” but this detail should not exclude this codex from the “Barbaro group.” Practically, it is the second phrase in the chronicle’s text as it results from all the other manuscripts, while the copier omitted the first one; as for the remainder, the codex completely corresponds to the “Barbaro group.”

¹²¹ See also Thiriet, “Chroniques,” 247.

¹²² See also *ibid.*

¹²³ See also *ibid.*, 248, referring to M 92.