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The Tax Return (1515) of Marin Sanudo: Fiscality, Family, and Language in Renaissance Venice

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ABSTRACT

Marin Sanudo's finances, family relationships, and choice of written vernacular are the three focal points of the present study. These hitherto only partially explored issues are addressed via a little known primary source. Sanudo's handwritten submission for the Venetian *redesima* tax survey initiated in May 1514 is offered here in a philological first edition, with translation and contextualisation. His tax return discloses precise information about his housing interests, retail outlets, and overall income. It adds to our knowledge of the living arrangements in Ca' Sanudo at S. Giacomo dell'Orio and suggests both tensions and collaboration within the Sanudo clan. Linguistically the document is intriguing. Cross comparison confirms that Sanudo's written vernacular is not the linguistic impasto familiar from his historical works. His prose is revealed as less hybrid here than anywhere else in his output, with spelling, phonology, morphology, and lexis leaning strongly towards Venetian, and with Tuscan traits unobtrusive.

KEYWORDS

Venice; Renaissance; Sanudo; taxation; family; vernacular

Introduction

The Diaries of Marin Sanudo, written between 1496 (when Sanudo was 30) and 1533 (less than three years before his death), are probably the most detailed daily record of events compiled by a single individual in early modern Europe and, together with Samuel Pepys's shorter, private, and intensely personal diary, the most significant.¹ In conjunction with his other historical and documentary writings, unpublished like the *Diarii* until the modern period, they have become the indispensable source for any serious study of Renaissance Venice: from diplomacy to public spectacle, from politics to institutional practice, from the councils of state to the state of public opinion, from mainland possessions to overseas territories, from law-and-order to war, from the fabric and sights of the city to the lives of

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¹The c. 40,000 manuscript folio pages of Sanudo's Diaries, bound by him at his own expense into 59 volumes, are housed in Venice's Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (BNM), It. VII, 228–86 (= 9215–73). The only complete edition remains the monumental, splendid but imperfect *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto* ed. by Rinaldo Fulin, Federico Stefani, Nicolò Barozzi, Guglielmo Berchet, and Marco Allegri, 58 vols (Venice: Visentini, 1879–1903). Henceforth DMS followed by the volume and column numbers.

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individuals, and from religious life to fashion, prices, weather, and entertainment.² The qualities of his best work, particularly the Diaries and the *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae*, make Sanudo the pre-eminent Venetian historian of his generation.³

That Sanudo's *redecima* tax return has never been fully published can at first glance seem no more than a minor symptom of the centuries-long neglect of his more important writings. As is by now well known, the halting path to publication and appreciation of his histories, diaries, and documentary accounts began as late as the first half of the nineteenth century,⁴ accompanied by an even slower build-up of studies on his biography, books, and language that has only reached critical mass in recent decades.⁵ However, like much in Sanudo's paradoxical life and work this assumption needs to be nuanced. In reality his tax declaration came close to being the first discrete item of his prodigious written legacy to be transcribed directly from the archives by a major scholar and published in one of the volumes that initiated Sanudo criticism.

²For an example of the diarist's centrality see the reconstruction of Venetian theatrical life in the early decades of the Cinquecento, based on Sanudo's eyewitness accounts, in Ronnie Ferguson, 'Venues and Staging in Ruzante's Theatre: A Practitioner's Experience', in *The Renaissance Theatre: Texts, Performance, Design*, ed. by Christopher Cairns (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 146–59. Ironically, it is what makes Sanudo most valuable as a historical observer – unvarnished language and style, avoidance of uplift and teleology, wide net of curiosity, meticulous recording of information and documentation – that effectively debarred him in Renaissance Venice from the status of historian that he craved. For decades he even hesitated over how to title his endeavours, oscillating between assessments as downbeat as 'il successo di le cosse' (DMS, I, 1, 1 January 1496) and, on occasion, as pugnaciously grandiloquent as: 'la mia vera historia' (DMS, V, 5, 1 April 1503) or 'la historia d'i tempi, opera grande e copiosa' (DMS, XX, 532, 15 September 1515). By the time he was finally rewarded for his efforts by the Council of Ten with an annual pension of 150 ducats, but only on the grudging condition that he did not abandon his Diaries and that he make them available to Pietro Bembo for the latter's history of Venice (after having initially refused to do so), he could confidently call them: '53 volumi di questa ystoria et diaria' (DMS, LV, 596, 19 September 1531). Within two months his work and name were cited in the Senate by no less a personage than Alvise Mocenigo (DMS, LV, 103, 2 November 1531). At this point he appears to have considered himself, unequivocally, a historian: 'la fama ho de historico' (DMS, LVII, 173, 27 April 1530). He was not wide of the mark when he claimed in his letter to the Ten (September 1531): 'et questo è certissimo: niun scrittore mai farà cosa bona delle historie moderne, non vedando la mia diaria, in la qual è compreso ogni cosa seguita'. The letter is transcribed in Guglielmo Berchet, *Prefazione* to the 1903 volume of the DMS, pp. 114–16 (p. 115).

³On the qualities that distinguish Sanudo as a historian, both from other Venetian diarists of the period and from official Humanist historiographers, see the fundamental observations in Gaetano Cozzi, 'Marin Sanudo il Giovane: dalla cronaca alla storia', in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI: aspetti e problemi*, ed. by Agostino Pertusi (Florence: Olschki, 1970), pp. 333–58. They include documentary richness, accuracy and systematicity, and the relentless seeking out of primary sources to illuminate what he correctly recognised as key events and societal shifts. Robert Finlay's sweeping judgment that 'Sanudo's [sic] greatest weakness as a historian was not his lack of discrimination but his inability to impose an order on his sources, to perceive a pattern in the events he recorded' is no longer sustainable. Robert Finlay, 'Politics in the Diaries of Marino Sanudo', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33.4 (1980), pp. 585–98 (p. 587).

⁴It began with the publication by the Marciana librarian Pietro Bettio of a laudable but flawed edition of Sanudo's first historical work, the *Commentarii della Guerra di Ferrara tra li Viniziani ed il Duca Ercole d'Este nel 1482* (Venice: Picotti, 1829). This was followed by Rawdon Brown's edition of the youthful travelogue *Itinerario di Marino Sanudo per la Terraferma veneziana nel 1485* (Padua: Tipografia del Seminario, 1847), now superseded by *Marin Sanudo, Itinerario per la Terraferma veneta*, ed. by Gian Maria Varanini (Rome: Viella, 2014). Rinaldo Fulin, the driving force behind the project to publish the Diaries, then edited Sanudo's account of the French invasion of Italy: *La spedizione di Carlo VIII* (Venice: Visentini, 1883). The period of the great publication enterprise of the *Diarii* by Fulin and his team (1879–1903) also saw a scholarly partial edition by Giovanni Monticcolo of Sanudo's lives of the Doges: *Le vite dei Dogi di Marin Sanudo vol. 1* (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1900), now completed by Angela Caracciolo Aricò's editions: *Le vite dei Dogi (1474–1494)*, 2 vols (Padua: Antenore, 1989–2001) and *Le vite dei Dogi (1423–1474)*, 2 vols (Venice: La Malcontenta, 1999–2004). Caracciolo Aricò also published Sanudo's unique vernacular monograph on Venice: *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae ovvero La Città di Venetia (1493–1530)* (Milan: Cisalpina-La Goliardica, 1980), followed by a revised edition (Venice: Centro di Studi Medievali e Rinascimentali 'E. A. Cicogna', 2011).

⁵I confine myself to a selection of fundamental contributions. Berchet, *Prefazione*, pp. 8–164; Cozzi; Giorgio Padoan, 'La raccolta di testi teatrali di Marin Sanudo', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 13 (1970), pp. 181–203; David S. Chambers, 'Marin Sanudo, camerlengo a Verona (1501–1502)', *Archivio Veneto*, 108 (1977), pp. 37–66; Angela Caracciolo Aricò, 'Marin Sanudo il Giovane precursore di Francesco Sansovino', *Lettere Italiane*, 31.3 (1979), pp. 419–37; Finlay, 'Politics in the Diaries of Marino Sanudo'; Anna Laura Lepshy, 'La lingua dei *Diarii* di Sanudo', in her *Varietà linguistiche e pluralità di codici nel Rinascimento* (Florence: Olschki, 1996), pp. 33–51; David S. Chambers, 'The Diaries of Marin Sanudo: Personal and Public Crises', in his *Individuals and Institutions in Renaissance Italy* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998), pp. 1–33; Christiane Neerfeld, 'Historia per forma di Diaria'. *La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006); Angela Caracciolo Aricò, 'Marin Sanudo il Giovane: le opere e lo stile', *Studi Veneziani*, 55 (2008), pp. 351–90; Alfredo Buonopane, 'Marin Sanudo e gli antiquissimi epitaphii', in *Marin Sanudo, Itinerario per la Terraferma*, pp. 95–104; Illaria Morresi, 'Una visita alla biblioteca di Marin Sanudo', *Rinascimento*, 66 (2016), pp. 167–210; Francesco Crifò, *I 'Diarii' di Marin Sanudo: sondaggi filologici e linguistici* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).

The existence of the declaration was revealed as early as 1837 thanks to the enthusiasm and pioneering archival work of Rawdon Brown (1806–1883), an eccentric Englishman who had made Venice his home in the early nineteenth century, allied to the scholarship of his friend Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, the outstanding Venetian antiquarian and bibliophile of his day.⁶ Together they excavated the Sanudo manuscripts, some of which both Brown and Cicogna owned, revealing for the first time their untapped riches.⁷ Cicogna's monumental *œuvre* on Venetian inscriptions is filled with historical information about the city's families, including Sanudo's, and he quotes extensively on aspects of individuals and events from the *Diarii* without Italianising their distinctive vernacular.⁸ Brown had the foresight to appreciate Sanudo's cultural importance and the energy to publicise it in the three volumes of his modestly titled *Ragguagli*, with extensive commented extracts copied from the Diaries and an admirable endeavour to contextualise his life and work supported by copious footnotes and helpful indices.⁹ Together they devised and had installed the handsome inscribed and crenellated plaque commemorating Sanudo that still adorns the outer wall of the family house at S. Croce no. 1758.¹⁰

It was Cicogna who provided Brown with a handwritten transcription, carried out from the original, of Sanudo's tax return.¹¹ However, Brown only went on to publish part of it (the first four of the eleven paragraphs of the document) in his *Ragguagli*, in a footnote about the Sanudo house. Even a cursory comparison with the edition offered in the present study reveals the strengths and limitations of the Cicogna-Brown fragment.¹² Most of the essential information is conveyed and there is a genuine attempt to reproduce Sanudo's layout and spellings. Cicogna's interpretative transcription opens up Sanudo's abbreviations but with sometimes mixed results. The rendering of *Conseio d'i Pregadi* (1, l. 1) 'Senate' as *Consiglio de Pregadi* is plausible but philologically misleading, and *mio* 'my' in place of the abbreviated *nostro* 'our' (2, l. 4) is an unfortunate slip. There are other sporadic misreadings of the original, such as *che s'habia dar* instead of the original *ch'el se habia dar* 'that one should give' (1, l. 1), *luogo* 'place' for *fuogo* 'hearth, household' (1, l. 2), *et ancora* 'and again' for *e Andrea* 'and Andrea' (1, l. 4), *figlio di* 'son of' for *fo di* 'of the late' (1, l. 4) and *che* 'that' for *ch'è* 'that is' (4, l. 3). Finally, Cicogna mistook Sanudo's quirky <ch> nexus for <g>, leading him to transcribe *chiesia* 'church' (4, l. 1) as the more dialectal *gesia*. The passage from Sanudo's will that Cicogna also transcribed for Brown is more surefooted but still has errors.¹³ In Cicogna's defence Sanudo's handwriting is not always straightforward. His tax return in particular, with his characteristically dense *mercantesca* script less neat than usual, is tricky to decipher in places and Cicogna did not have our technological aids at his disposal. The remainder of his transcription of the return has not been located and, as far as I am aware, no other edition has ever been attempted.

⁶Cicogna called Brown 'il chiarissimo e amatissimo delle venete cose inglese sir Rawdon Brown abitante in Venezia da vari anni'. From a handwritten note on the flyleaf of Cicogna's manuscript copy of Sanudo's *De origine*, now in Venice's Biblioteca del Museo Correr (BMC), Cicogna MS 969.

⁷For the *Diarii* themselves Cicogna and Brown actually used the fine copy made by the last official historian of the Republic Francesco Donà (1744–1815) and now held in the BNM, It. VII, 419–77 (= 10065–123). Sanudo's original, taken to Vienna by the Austrian authorities in 1805, was only returned after 1866.

⁸Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols (Venice: Orlandelli, vol. I; The Author vols II–VI, 1824–53).

⁹Rawdon Brown, *Ragguagli sulla vita e sulle opere di Marin Sanudo*, 3 vols (Venice: Alvisopoli, 1837–1838), I, pp. 169–70, n. 2. On Brown see Alfredo Reumont, 'Rawdon Brown', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 149 (1985), pp. 170–83; *Rawdon Brown and the Anglo-Venetian Relationship*, ed. by Ralph A. Griffiths and John E. Law (Stroud: Nonsuch, 2005); John E. Law, 'Marin Sanudo: le opere, la fortuna storiografica', in *Marin Sanudo, Itinerario per la Terraferma*, pp. 81–94.

¹⁰The plaque was paid for by Brown, with Cicogna drafting the text. The inscription is in Roman monumental capitals with black infilling and mid-high inter puncts. Its language, style, and absence of abbreviation marks replicate early-sixteenth century Latin inscriptional practice in Venice, although the crenellated frame is anachronistic. It reads: MARINI · LEONARDI · F · SANUTI · VIRI · PATR / RERVM · VENET · ITAL · ORBIS · Q · UNIVERSI / FIDE · SOLERTIA · COPIA · SCRIPTORIS / AETATIS · SVAE · PRAESTANTISSIMI / DOMVM · VIXIT · OBIT · Q · PR · N · APR · MDXXXVI / CONTEMPLARE · VIATOR ('Passer-by: behold the house of Marin Sanudo, son of Lunardo, who died here on the 4th of April 1536. His writings on Venice, Italy and the whole world were among the most outstanding of their time for trustworthiness, intelligence and abundance'). Sanudo planned an epitaph for his own grave and laid out an inscriptional text in Latin in his will. Brown was the first scholar to publish the will, using an archivist's copy (Brown, *Ragguagli*, III, pp. 213–31), and the wording of Sanudo's ideal epitaph influenced Cicogna's inscription. In the end, nothing came of Sanudo's plans to be buried un fussily in the family plot in S. Zaccaria or S. Francesco della Vigna. His final resting place is unknown.

¹¹'Ecco la carta favoritaci dal Cicogna (Copia) 1514, 26 gennaio (m.v.)'. Brown, *Ragguagli*, I, p. 169.

¹²In this comparison as in my own edition, examples are referenced to the original, with paragraph numbers (in bold) followed by the relevant line number.

¹³Brown, *Ragguagli*, I, p. 183.

As one of only two surviving official declarations by Sanudo his tax return is self-evidently of historical interest. In particular it is a rich and unexplored source of information about Sanudo's financial and family circumstances at the moment of Venice's fundamental revision of tax policy during the war of the League of Cambrai, a process which he himself had just recorded and commented on. It also opens up a surprising perspective on Sanudo's written vernacular. In the present study I therefore mine this newly edited document to generate considerations of fiscality, family, and language that are largely new to Sanudo studies. The contextual section on tax introduces the *redesima* process itself, against the background of Venice's traditional fiscal arrangements and of its wartime contingencies. The following section on form and fiscality scrutinises the manuscript and layout of the historian's tax return, his assets as they are listed in the document, and how his bill owed to the state was calculated by tax officials at the Rialto. It raises the question of why such a well-informed and patriotic observer as Sanudo should have delayed declaring his rather modest taxable income for many months after the due date. The chapter on family matters then considers the exceptional number of relatives evoked in the document and the partitioning of the Sanudo *casa da statio* at S. Giacomo dell'Orio implied in it. It points out that the wording of Sanudo's return is suspiciously similar in parts to that of the *redesima* declarations of other members of the household. It concludes that underlying the historian's apparently anodyne submission are complex family dynamics, involving living arrangements, co-ordination of tax declarations and financial mismanagement, which have never hitherto been investigated. It also suggests that the murky aspects of Sanudo's finances, disclosed in passages of his Diaries and above all in his will, have been carefully papered over in his declaration. The edition itself, with the explicit criteria employed in its transcription and a full translation, follows these analytical chapters. I go on to use the information provided by the edition to undertake a close reading of Sanudo's language in the document, with his Diaries and will as comparative textual sources and the declarations of the other taxpayers in S. Giacomo dell'Orio as corroboration. This reading confirms that the familiar hybridity of Sanudo's prose, with its notoriously inextricable mix of Venetian, Tuscan, and Latin, is attenuated here. The historian's vernacular emerges, instead, as closer to the largely unmixed written *venexian* used by all other taxpayers in his district, including his own half-brother Antonio and cousin Anzolo. My conclusion brings together the interlocking strands of the study.

The Tax Return

Context

In the terminology employed by Sanudo himself the document under scrutiny is the official declaration (MidV, *nota*), by household (MidV, *rispetto al fuogo*), of his personal circumstances (MidV, *condition*).¹⁴ Imposed by decree (MidV, *parte*) of the Senate, such declarations would enable the authorities to accurately evaluate individual taxable income. With this information they would levy, at the rate of 10%, the *decima* Tenth tax (MidV, *dexima*) within the framework of the new Venetian fiscal survey, the so-called *redesima* of 1514. The *decima* was a property tax, calculated and levied on the assessed rental value of immovables owned by Venetians (resident in the city or Dogado) and on the value of declared produce grown on any landholdings (MidV, *possession*) owned by them on the Terraferma.¹⁵ The *decima* could be raised one or more times per year by Senate decree.

¹⁴The chronological framework of Venetian underlying the present essay is: Early Venetian [EV] c. 1200 – c. 1500, Middle Venetian [MidV] c. 1500 – c. 1800, Modern Venetian [ModV] c. 1800 – c. 1950, Contemporary Venetian [CV] c. 1950 – the present. Each boundary marks a watershed moment where societal or cultural events with linguistic repercussions altered the status and/or structure of Venetian. 1200 conventionally represents the appearance of *venexian* in written texts. Around 1500 Tuscan was achieving consensus status among Italy's elites and interfering with unmarked written Venetian. The grammatical codification of Tuscan → Italian that introduced writing-speech bilingualism to Venice was also imminent at that point.

¹⁵Taxpayers' returns had to specify the annual yields of what was grown on their holdings. The calculations of the tax officials show that they operated with a conversion chart allowing them to assign monetary value to yields by produce. The most lucrative emerge clearly as wine and wheat.

Until 1463 Venetian receipts were derived essentially from indirect taxation in the form of duties on goods and transactions, reinforced in emergencies by forced loans repayable with interest. These loans were calculated on a percentage (usually 1%) of the taxable real estate of the wealthier part of the population and were based on individual returns checked by a committee of *Savi*. It was the huge pressure on state expenditure of the hostilities with the Ottomans (1463–1478) and the increasing delays in loan interest repayments that led the authorities to resort, reluctantly but with increasing regularity, to direct taxation from 1463.¹⁶ This took the form of the non-reimbursable Tenth tax (MidV, *dexima persa*). It was based in principle on regular full declarations by individual Venetians of their circumstances, updated as and when these altered and validated by revised parish *estimi*. In reality, the *redesima* of 1514 was the first comprehensive survey carried out since 1463.¹⁷ After half a century of the fiscal status quo, the authorities were finally concerned to systematically revise their picture of the taxable immovables and land held by Venetian residents (essentially patricians, citizens, and better-off artisans), with exact details of location, legal standing, and rateable value. For the root-and-branch 1514 review handwritten returns were to be deposited by individuals within three months at the official tax office, the X Savi sopra le Decime, situated on the Riva del Vin just at the foot of the Rialto bridge.¹⁸ Two scribes (EV/MidV, *scrivani*) in the office then officially acknowledged receipt of the document, signing and countersigning it. The taxpayer, or their named representative, proceeded to guarantee the accuracy of the document by legal oath (in Sanudo's case he himself swore before the scribes). The Tenth tax to be applied to Sanudo and others was then calculated by a tax official on the basis of the new data supplied, with calculations, total taxable income after deductions and final *decima* amount recorded on the return itself. The trustworthiness of the declarations was to be cross-checked against a vast valuation exercise of property ownership in Venice and the Terraferma, with fines imposable on those underdeclaring. The returns were filed away in folders by date and ward of residence (EV/MidV, *confin* or *contrà*).

The practical problem in 1514 and in the preceding decades had been that the previous comprehensive survey of 1463 was obviously outdated and necessarily incomplete, even allowing for the fact that taxpayers were obliged to update their circumstances and that a vast paper trail had therefore been amassed over the years. In the context of five consecutive years of the war of the League of Cambrai, with its urban and rural devastation and huge government outlays in cash, exceptional levels of direct taxation were urgently required. The new review, backed by an independent register of rateable values (EV/MidV/ModV, *catastico* < Gk. κατάστιχον 'business register', literally '(register) by line'), had therefore become imperative for the state's finances. The much-delayed *redesima* was finally triggered by the huge fire that swept through the Rialto area on the night of 10 January 1514, wiping out the old tax documentation: a fire described by Sanudo in an astonishing piece of eyewitness reportage to rival Pepys's great fire of London narrative.¹⁹ His normal curiosity was sharpened because his own property interests were at risk. He was anxious in particular about the crucial money-spinning *ostaria di la Campana* ('the Bell Inn'), sited in a narrow *calle* off the Pescaria, that he would go on to declare in his tax return.²⁰ The inn was saved, but the

¹⁶On Venetian fiscal policy in our period see Giuseppe Del Torre, *Venezia e la terraferma dopo la guerra di Cambrai. Fiscalità e amministrazione (1515–1530)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1986); Luciano Pezzolo, *Il fisco dei Veneziani. Finanza pubblica ed economia tra XV e XVII secolo* (Verona: Cierre, 2003).

¹⁷The third *redesima* only took place in 1537.

¹⁸The election, powers and procedures of the X Savi are outlined by Sanudo himself. See Caracciolo Aricò, *De origine* (2011), p. 110.

¹⁹DMS, xvii, 458–64.

²⁰'Era un grandissimo fuoco e grandissimo vento de griego e tramontana con un fredo intollerabile. Et fu sonato campanò a Rialto dove tutti concorseno, sì quelli aveano volte e magazeni con mercadantie come li botegieri e altri aveano stabele a Rialto, tra li qual io Marin Sanudo fo di missier Lunardo vi corsi per aver parte in l'ostaria di la Campana, di la qual trazo el viver mio et paga di fitto ducati 205 oltra le botege da basso' (DMS, xvii, 459). The bricked-up front of the inn on the first floor, and the fronts of the shops beneath, can still be detected in the Calle de l'Ostaria de la Campana at the Rialto off the Campo de la Pescaria. The inn, first recorded in the 1340s, survived until the nineteenth century. Bartolomeo Cecchetti, 'La vita dei veneziani nel 1300. Parte II: il vitto', *Archivio Veneto*, 30.2 (1885), pp. 278–334 (p. 332); Giuseppe Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane* (Venice: Filippi, 1970), pp. 468–69.

blaze devastated the offices of the X Savi.²¹ While it is true that the authorities still had access to the amounts Venetians had paid in previous *decima* rounds, they had now lost the records legally detailing their property and landholdings.²² It became imperative to remedy this situation immediately in order to prevent loss of revenue. The Senate decree of 23 May 1514 spelled out the new measures:

Che per auctorità di questo Consejo, tutti quelli che per virtù di le leze nostre sono obligati pagar dexime fra termine de mexi tre proximi, siano tenuti dar in nota a l'oficio predito di X savii con suo sacramento la condition sua, *videlicet* tutte sue case et altri beni in questa terra et possession et altri beni di fuora ubligati pagar decime, et li acrescimenti per lor fati, o per compride, o per altro, et dove sono i beni et quello i scuodeno de cadauno in suo nome proprio particular, et distintamente senza alcuna diminution né fraude.²³

On 28 May 1514, the decree was publicised in all Venetian churches:

Fo publicato per le chixie di questa terra la parte presa in Pregadi, di dar in nota ai X savii cadaun la sua condition, per esser brusado i libri, in termine di tre mexi, *sub poena*.²⁴

Oddly enough, for a highly-informed patriot and stickler for protocol who had followed the legal process closely and reported on it, Sanudo only submitted his circumstances eight months later. The first taxpayer of his district to declare did so on 6 June 1514.

Form and Fiscality

The manuscript of Sanudo's tax return is in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Dieci Savi sopra le decime a Rialto, Condizioni di decima, busta 33 (S. Giacomo dell'Orio), filza 56/67. It is one of around 80 submissions in the folder, of which some 70 were handed in during the period immediately following the announcement of the 1514 *redesima*.²⁵ The remainder are updates submitted from 1517 to 1524. File 56/67 consists of two sheets of paper, *c.* 40 cm × *c.* 29 cm, designated *a*, *b* and *c*, *d*, respectively at the bottom by a scribe at the X Savi. Side *c* is blank while *d* displays the name of the relevant ward (*S. Iac^o de Lorio*, Sanudo's local parish) and underneath it the file number (*no. 56, no. 67*). Almost all of side *a* is taken up by Sanudo's return, written in black ink, irregularly bleached but still legible (Figure 1). Both pages have largish rips in the middle. These jagged tears, found on all submissions, are perforations caused by the desk pins that the declarations were stuck on by staff at the X Savi. They impede the reading of *afito* 'rent' (7, l. 1) and *ut supra* 'as above' (7, l. 2) but the context allows the lacunae to be confidently reconstructed. At the foot of the page are the two statements of receipt by the scribes (from patrician families), Tomado Michiel and Pandolfo Moroxini, the former confirming that Sanudo himself swore the oath (*zurada per el dito*): 1514. Adì 26 zener apresentada a io [sic] Tomado Michiel aj X Savij e zurada p(er) el dito. Pandolfo Morox(ini) aj X Savij s(oto)s(crivo). Side *b* displays the calculations of the tax official, first for Sanudo then for his brother Lunardo. The calculations are identical:

P(er) Mari(n) p(er) X^a de cond(ition) per la ½: duc(at)j 56 d(enari)j 4. Vie(n) ϵ p(arvorum) 11 d(enar)j 2 p(izoli)i
26 // Paga in fia v(echi)^a p(er) l(a) ½ 857 = ϵ p(arvorum) 11 d(enar)j 3 p(izoli) 20 // Cala p(er) p(izoli) 26.

²¹Essendo brusate tutte le scriture di l'ofizio d'i Diexe savii sora le decime, el qual è de l'importancia ben nota a questo Consejo, se die trovar via et modo, con meno strepito sii possibile, de reformar quelle et far li catastici, ch'è il fondamento di le decime, azio ogniun pagi el dover suo per subvenir la terra in queste importantissime occurrentie'. From the Senate decree of 23 May 1514 (DMS, xviii, 214–15).

²²Scrutiny of tax returns for 1514 and immediately succeeding years confirms that the authorities had access to the levy that individual Venetians had paid under the old tax regime (MidV, *in fia vecchia*) and also to the outstanding debt register (MidV, *fia d'i resti*). This information certainly came from the surviving records of the *Governadori dell'Intrade* who collected tax receipts and those of the *Cazude* who sold off the assets of debtors. See Caracciolo Aricò, *De origine* (2011), pp. 101, 275 for Sanudo's description of these offices.

²³DMS, xviii, 214–15.

²⁴DMS, xviii, 227.

²⁵I give approximate figures because a few items are missing and submissions are occasionally clumped.

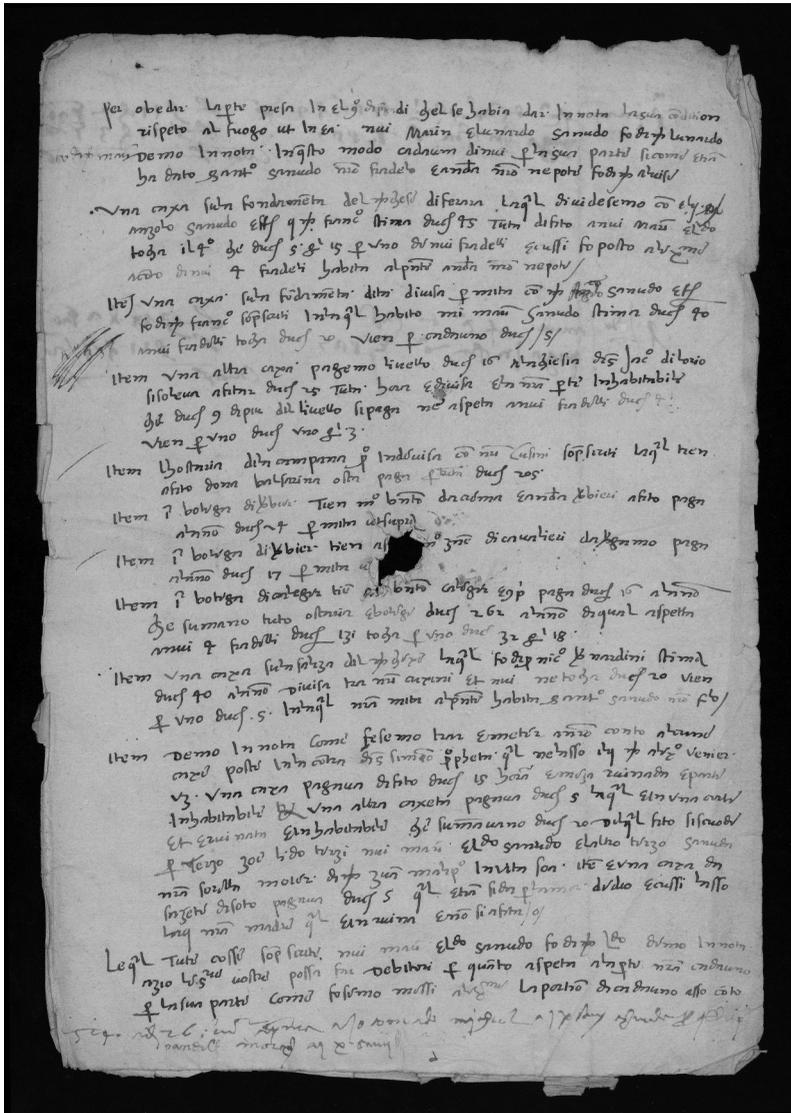


Figure 1. Sanudo's tax return, side a. © Archivio di Stato di Venezia.

P(er) L(unar)do Sanudo p(er) X^a de cond(ition): ƒp(arvorum) 11 d(enar)j 2 p(izoli) 26 // Paga in fia v(echi)^a p(er) l(a) ½ 857 = ƒp(arvorum) 11 d(enar)j 3 p(izoli) 20 // Cala p(er) p(izoli) 26.

They show, first, a taxable income of 56 ducats, 4 denari,²⁶ for each of the two brothers, yielding a *decima* payment each of £11 3d. 26p. in *lire di piccoli* (EV/MidV, *lire de pizoli*). Beneath this is recorded what they paid under the old system, again identical for both at £11 3d. 20p. The official then recorded the drop between the two (*cala per pizoli* 26). One notes that Lunardo Sanudo's name has been written in full while Sanudo himself is simply called, almost familiarly, *Marin*.

²⁶For comparison, Polo Antonio Miani in his long and highly complex submission (no. 13) declared 171 ducats, while Pandolfo Ferigo Moroxini (no. 3) declared an astonishing 376 ducats worth of assets. Sanudo's return is around average for the ward. However, it is important to bear in mind that the 56 ducats, 4 denari reported by him is not all real income, some of it simply being the notional value of his share of a property portfolio. His annual income boiled down to the rent due to him from the Campana inn ('di la qual trazo el viver mio': DMS, xvii, 459, 10 January 1514) and the three shops below it, cited in the return as 32 ducats, 18 *grossi*. At that point in time Sanudo apparently had no income from government posts or business investments.

Family Values

The prominence of family in Sanudo's will is normal.²⁷ In his tax return, it is quite remarkable. The Sanudo clan of S. Giacomo dell'Orio are revealed as occupying and sharing ownership of three different living quarters within the family *palazzo*. This *domus magna* straddles the southern area between the two main arteries radiating down from either side of the Fondaco dei Turchi at the approaches to the Ponte del Megio (Figure 2). The magnificent Fondaco structure on the Grand Canal in northern S. Croce, known at the time as the residence of the Marquis of Ferrara, gave its name to the two streets bounding the Sanudo dwelling and cited in the return: the *fondamenta del Marchese (di Ferrara)* (2, l. 1; 3, l. 1) and the *salizà dil Marchexe* (9, l. 1). Sanudo himself occupied one of the two discrete groups of apartments facing the *fondamenta* and canal (3, ll. 1–2), the Renaissance exterior of which is still in situ on what is now the *Fondamenta del Megio* (Figure 3).²⁸ According to both his



Figure 2. The area of the Sanudo residence in de' Barbari's view of Venice (1500). © R. Ferguson.

²⁷The autograph will of 4 September 1533 is in the ASV, Sezione notarile, Testamenti in atti di Girolamo Canal, no. 546 (busta 191), while the dictated codicil of 4 April 1536 is in the ASV, Sezione notarile, Testamenti, Notaio Diotalvi Benzon, no. 470 (busta 97). I cite them as *Testament* and *Codicil*, giving folio and paragraph numbers for the former and paragraph number for the latter.

²⁸For a contemporary description of the inside of Sanudo's house see Morresi, 'Una visita alla biblioteca'.



Figure 3. The Sanudo residence facing the Fondamenta del Megio. © A. Scarpa.

return and will, he also owned the freehold (*stabile libero*) on half of the *caxa* facing the *salizà*, occupied by his half-brother Antonio (9) and later by Antonio's son Hieronimo.²⁹ It is not without significance that the separate living areas of the family members cited are specified as houses (*caxa*: 2, l. 1; 3, l. 1; 9, l. 1). These self-contained quarters or town houses within a *domus magna*, common across the city, were known as *caxe da statio*.³⁰ The splitting and sharing of Ca' Sanudo is reflected in the repeated use of the verb *divider* (2, l. 1; 3, l. 1; 9, l. 2). The restructuring of the building in the summer of 1506 which produced the tripartite layout was a traumatic process that caused friction between the Sanudi and a fracas in the Collegio involving the Doge himself and his chief steward. The tone of Sanudo's eyewitness report of the incident suggests that he himself was relaxed about the outcome.³¹

²⁹*Testament*, fol. 3', 4.

³⁰*Caxa da statio* (or *stacio*) can also refer to a large residential house, usually in owner-occupation.

³¹'Da poi disnar fo consejo di X. Et si comenzò a far li muri in la *caxa*, divisa tra nui li Sanudi, per via di sora gastaldi, di comandamento dil principe, col suo gastaldo'. The following morning 'fossemo in Colegio a dolersi di Sanudi con Nicolò Brevio, gastaldo dil doxe. Et seguì gran parole; e il principe li admoni assai, e comandò la executione di la sententia e division, e cussi fu fata' (DMS, vi, 376, 15–16 July 1506).

The property portfolio shared by Sanudo and relatives is, to judge by the information in the return, rather modest although the estimated annual rental value of Ca' Sanudo itself was a very respectable 125 ducats. The portfolio is local and stretches across the *sestiere* from S. Simion Grando (*san Simion Propheta*: 10, l. 2) in the west (rental value 20 ducats), via S. Giacomo dell'Orio (*san Giacomo di Lorio*: 4, l. 1) worth 134 ducats, to the Rialto outlets in the contiguous *sestiere* of S. Polo in the east (5, 6, 7, 8) yielding 262 ducats.³² It is noteworthy that Marin and Lunardo declare no property or land on the Terraferma. Few Venetians of their standing were without a smallholding in the Padovano or Trevisano at this time.

Sanudo's relatives appear in nine of the eleven paragraphs of the document.³³ Aside from resident siblings, cousins, and a nephew one notes the following. The prestigious name of his father Lunardo, whom he venerated and who died in Rome on a mission as Venetian ambassador (*orator*) when Sanudo was 10 years old, frames the return at the start (1, l. 2) and, very unusually for a tax declaration, at the finish (11, l. 1).³⁴ A cluster of what feel like affectionate references stand out. They include his beloved sister Sanu(d)a (10, l. 6),³⁵ his mother,³⁶ and his mother's brother Alexandro Venier (10, ll. 2–3),³⁷ lord of Sanguinetto (Sanudo usually employs the dialect forms *Sanguanè*, *Sanguanedo*) in the Veronese, with whom Sanudo spent some of his teenage years and whose son, Marcantonio, was viewed by the diarist as the male heir he never had.³⁸ We learn (10, ll. 1–5) that Venier bequeathed to Marin and Lunardo the group of three houses in the S. Simion Propheta parish, in the upper storey of one of which Lunardo would eventually reside.³⁹ Discreetly present in the declaration is Lunardo himself, nine years Sanudo's junior and joint submitter, although it is clear whose is the guiding hand.⁴⁰ Curiously, Lunardo's actual

³²In the *De origine* (Caracciolo Aricò (2011), p. 27) Sanudo quotes different rental figures for inn and shops: 'in Rialto [...] el stabele qui è molto caro, testè siamo noi Sanuti, che in Pescharia nova habiamo un'hostaria chiamata "Della Campana", sotto tutto botteghe – ed è picciol luogo – e *tamen* di quel coverto si cava più di ducati 800 di fitto ogni anno – ch'è cossa meravigliosa dil grande fitto è questo – e per esser in bono sito l'hostaria vero paga ducati 250, che paga più ch'el primo pallazzo della Terra, et questo – dirò cussi – è il primo stabile de Venetia per tanto coverto'. Sanudo is keen to make a point here, but the rent of 250 ducats certainly refers to a later date than that of the tax return, and the 800 probably applies to all the shops beneath the inn, not just those belonging to the Sanudi.

³³On Sanudo and his relatives see Berchet, *Prefazione*; Matteo Melchiorre, 'Sanudo, Marino (il Giovane)', in *Dizionario Biografico degl Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 2017), xc, s.v. Sanudo's late wife Cecilia d'i Priolo and two illegitimate daughters, Candiana and Bianca, do not figure in the return, although the daughters are in his will (*Testament*, fol. 2^r, 2) and Cecilia's death is recorded in DMS, vii, 672, 27 November 1508: 'A di 27. A nona morite la mia carissima consorte Cecilia, stata zorni 49 amalata. Idio li doni requie et riposo'. His older half-brother Alvise, who initially compromised Marin's and Lunardo's legacy by using it to finance his sister's dowry, before fleeing to Syria, is mentioned here (1, l. 4). In a reference to the Syria escapade in his will (*Testament*, fol. 3^v, 6) Sanudo claims compensation from Alvise's son and heir Andrea who is cited in the return at 1, l. 4; 2, l. 4. Sanudo's eminent and benevolent paternal uncle Francesco, who steadied the situation and secured the young Marin's future, appears in 2, l. 2; 3, l. 2. On Francesco see Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni*, ii, pp. 112–13.

³⁴Anyone frequenting Sanudo is familiar with his trademark self-designation: io Marin Sanudo fo di (or de) m(isier) Lunardo. On headings and ex libris it becomes: Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii (patricii veneti).

³⁵A di 27, la matina. A hora di terza morite la mia carissima e dolcissima unica sorella uterina Sanua, moglie di sier Zuan Malipiero qu. sier Polo di Santa Maria Formosa, di una malattia fastidiosa, di laqual è stata la poverina martire in leto dal zorno di san Matia' (DMS, xxiii, 534, 27 January 1517).

³⁶Sanudo calls his mother 'chiarissima et exelentissima Madolina Letizia mia madre' (DMS, xxiii, 534, 27 January 1517). One wonders what to make of Sanudo's remarks in his will about her issuing exorbitant IOUs on him – when, as a young man strapped for cash, he asked for relatively small amounts from her – and also taking for herself his rent from the Bell Inn (*Testament*, fol. 4^r, 2). Was her behaviour disproportionate or was she already aware of profligate tendencies in her son that would lead him to live beyond his means? In this context David Chambers's tentative suggestion that Sanudo's later political career may have been hampered by rumours of financial extravagance during his one important posting, as *camerlengo* in Verona (1502–1503), may not be wide of the mark. Chambers, 'Marin Sanudo, camerlengo'. Not long after submitting his tax return he admitted having spent the astonishing sum of 2,800 ducats on his book collection, then numbering over 2,000 volumes (DMS, xxii, 172, 28 April 1516). The magnificent library of some 6,500 manuscript and printed books that he eventually amassed (*Testament*, fol. 2^r, 4) undoubtedly contributed to his straightened circumstances, as did his all-consuming commitment to his Diaries: 'diventato vecchio, infermo et povero, et più che povero, per non haver alcuna intrata, et è più de anni 30 che nulla ho guadagnato de officij, lassato di far li fatti mei, et atteso solo a scriver. Et si non fusse qualche mio parente che mi adiuta al viver, non haria mai potuto sustentar la mia vita'. Letter to the Council of Ten (September 1531) in Berchet, *Prefazione*, p.114.

³⁷The unexpected spelling *Venierum* in the return is the Latinisation of *Veniero*, the Veronese form of the Venetian patrician name.

³⁸When making him an executor Sanudo called him 'misier Marco Antonio Venier, signor di Sanguanè, qual sempre ho reputà per fiol, et li ho infinite obligation' (*Testament*, fol. 1^v, 3).

³⁹*Testament*, fol. 3^r, 5. Alexandro Venier died in November 1498 (DMS, ii, 101).

⁴⁰It emerges from a remark in the will that Marin and Lunardo had collaborated financially in the past by forming a *fraterna* company. *Testament*, fol. 4^r, 2. Their complicity was vividly exemplified on 1 February 1499 (*more veneto*) when Sanudo, then Savio ai Ordeni, used insider information about the imminent crash of the Garzoni bank to instruct Lunardo to withdraw, in the nick of time, the 500 ducats left to his mother in the bank by the executors of the estate of his recently deceased uncle Alexandro Venier. DMS, ii, 391.

place of residence is left ambiguous in the submission, although the assumption must be that he resided with his brother. One wonders if Lunardo already occupied his eventual dwelling at S. Simion Propheta, previously notified to the tax authorities. In the return it is vaguely classified by Sanudo as a ‘caxa, pagava de fito duc(at)j 15, è <hora> meza ruinada e parte inhabitabile’ (10, ll. 3–4). If deemed habitable its rental value would undoubtedly have increased. Does the embarrassment over this ambiguity, which might prove fiscally beneficial to his younger brother, explain the historian’s reticence to submit? One notices that Sanudo’s handwriting in the return is less assured than normal and that when describing the house in question he stumbles uncharacteristically over his wording, as he does in his final tortuous statement (11, ll. 2–3).

That the relations between the historian and his younger brother were complex is suggested by three disturbing extracts from the Diaries. On 19 December 1516, less than two years after submitting the *redesima* return, Sanudo spent a night in custody, an irate patrician Zuan Soranzo having made a citizen’s arrest on him for an allegedly unpaid debt.⁴¹ It is unlikely to be a coincidence that in April 1516 Lunardo had put Sanudo’s name up for an elected post that the diarist expressly considered too minor for him. Rather than accept, Sanudo had rashly promised to pay an unaffordable loan of 400 ducats to the Signoria.⁴² On 6 August 1516 he donated 500 ducats, via the Pisani bank, and was elected to the Senate with full voting rights.⁴³ A subsequent speech of his to the Senate, in the presence of the Doge, makes clear that the gesture had bled him dry.⁴⁴

However, it is Sanudo’s will – a mixture of self-justification, resentment, economic messiness, and generosity – that lays bare the choppy financial undercurrents of the diarist’s life. This murkiness involves Marin and the rather shadowy figure of Lunardo in particular but also draws in Sanudo’s more politically and financially successful half-brothers, Alvise and Antonio, and his apparently opportunistic nephew Andrea.⁴⁵ The testament discloses that soon after his tax submission Sanudo’s chronic money problems led him to take the drastic measure of selling off Lunardo’s share of the Bell Inn and nearby shops in order to cover his own debts. The share was bought up by Antonio and Andrea (son of the half-brother Alvise who years before had almost ruined Marin’s and Lunardo’s legacy) at a generous 8% interest. According to Sanudo, Lunardo himself went on to use 100 ducats of the cash realised from the sell-off to settle some debts of his own. To compensate for liquidating his younger sibling’s assets Sanudo thenceforth took it upon himself to pay Lunardo’s *decima* bills and cede his personal rental revenue to him. In a further complication, Sanudo’s own share of one of the three shops somehow fell into Andrea’s hands because of what is described as a ‘mix-up’ (*impiastro*) at the *Cazude* debt offices.⁴⁶ Finally, Sanudo planned in his will to leave his one-year-old nephew Marin, son of Lunardo, some of his most precious manuscript books upon the child’s coming of age. However, the legacy was conditional on his brother not

⁴¹‘La matina segui l’oribel caso etc. che credendo io andar a San Marco justa il solito, fui de quel traditor di Zuan Soranzo fo di sier Marco, con el qual ho lite zà anni 6 con lui, et è segurissimo di più de ducati 100, et per resto di do sententie ducati 47 pareva dovesse aver per conti vechii, et per farmi oltrazo, a San Cassan mi fece retenir, et andai a Santo Marco da Zuaneto Dandolo [. . .] Hor el di drio uscii fuora, e questa vendeta non lasserò ad altri’. DMS, xxiii, 343, 18 December 1516.

⁴²DMS, xxii, 156–57, 23 April 1516.

⁴³DMS, xxii, 409.

⁴⁴‘Son stà contento intrar questo anno d’i Pregadi con prestar a la Signoria tanto che ‘l sento più de le forze mie’. DMS, xxiv, 328, 3 June 1517.

⁴⁵On Antonio, Alvise and Andrea Sanudo, their political careers, and the donations they gave to further them, see Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni*, II, p. 133. Unlike Sanudo, his two half-brothers were buried in S. Zaccaria with inscribed tombs. Sanudo’s report of Antonio’s death, aged 71, is in DMS, lv, 209–10, 1 December 1531.

⁴⁶‘L’hostaria dila Campana, la mia parte dila qual Lunardo scuode i fitti, et do botege dabasso, e ave una sier Andrea Sanudo per certo impiastro a le Cazude [. . .] La mia parte di l’hostaria di la Campana, Lunardo ha scosso tanti anni el fitto in locho dila soa parte fo venduta per mi, et mai è stà translata dil mio nome [. . .] L’è vero che la soa parte di l’hostaria di la Campana et tre botege da basso, soe, fo vendute per mia causa per un debito havia con sier Zuan Soranzo. Et dita parte la comprò sier Antonio Sanudo e sier Andrea a raxon di 8 per 100, che li stabili di Rialto val 3 per 100, et di questi danari ditto sier Lunardo tolse ducati 100 per pagar diversi officij dove l’era debitor [. . .] Et è da saper sempre io ho pagà le dexime, e Lunardo scuodeva li fitti, come apar alle Cazude et ali Governadori’. *Testament*, fol. 3^v, 6–7; fol. 4^r, 2.

contesting the will.⁴⁷ In the end the plan came to nothing as Sanudo had to sell off his study to pay creditors.⁴⁸

In the *busta* for S. Giacomo dell'Orio there are cases where members of a family list their declaration on the same form (nos. 3–4, 9, 18, 24, 35–38, 39, 73–74). Sanudo went further. Not only did he submit jointly with his younger brother. He also appears to have been involved in the drafting of the submission of Antonio and Andrea. One's suspicion, aroused by a glancing remark in his return (1, ll. 3–4), is endorsed by the strikingly identical wording of parts of Antonio's and Andrea's own declaration ([no. 68], 28 September 1514). The sums declared are, of course, identical. It is noticeable, too, that the detail and order of retail outlets declared by his cousin Anzolo Sanudo and brothers (no. 33, 21 August 1514) again replicate his. On that same day Sanudo authenticated by oath the declaration (no. 32) of Anzolo's 21-year-old son Francesco. In the light of this family co-ordination, of the turmoil that lay just below the surface of his financial affairs, and of a tardy submission, Sanudo's laconic tax return looks a little less transparent.

The Text

Editorial Criteria

As in his Diaries and other writings Sanudo makes heavy use of abbreviations. I open these out within round brackets. Frequent are the following signs. Diagonal stroke on <m> *misier* 'Mr, Esqu(ire)' (except for two cases where it stands for the following <ar> on *marchese/marchexe* 'marquis'). Diagonal stroke on <s> *sier* 'Mr'. Diagonal stroke on indicating following <ar> or <er>. Diagonal stroke on <d> representing following <r>. Horizontal bar on the tail of <p> *per* 'for, by', <ar> or <ra>. Swash on <p> indicating following <r> or <re>. Line above <p> representing following <re>. Squiggle above <q> standing for <ua> or <ue>. Wavy line over <s> *san* 'saint'. Isolated <q> before a first name = *quondam* 'the late'. Bow over <nro>, <nra>, <nri> *nostro*, *nostra*, *nostri* 'our'. Ubiquitous is <n> or <m>, whether internal or final, signalled by a bow over the preceding vowel. The Tironian 9 stands for the segment <on> in *Conseio d'i Pregadi* (1, l. 1). The traditional Latin manuscript abbreviation <V3> on the end of the surname Venier (10, ll. 27–28) I transcribe as <um>. In a number of cases familiar names are simply shortened, with no abbreviation sign added, e.g., *Franc(esc)*^o (2, l. 2; 3, l. 2) and *S(igno)rie* (11, l. 2). I have left superscript letters unaltered. Sanudo writes *misier* in its abbreviated form as <m> bisected by a diagonal stroke. I prefer this spelling to *missier*, the later form of the word in Venetian. When Sanudo was writing, the dominant variant was *misier*, and the diarist was nothing if not a traditionalist. In any case, on the two occasions he wrote the word in full, he used *misier*.⁴⁹ Sanudo appears to make a careful distinction in the document between *sier* 'Mr' and the higher status *misier*. I have signalled the latter in the translation by placing 'Mr' before the name and 'Esq.' after it.

There are no letters missing by mistake in the original. I do not transcribe the illegible start of a word on 10, l. 4 (before *Una altra caxeta*) scored out by Sanudo. Words whose original position has been altered as an afterthought by Sanudo, employing a looped copy-editing sign, are placed within angle brackets. Letters or words added by Sanudo with an insertion mark are underlined and placed in angle brackets. Illegible passages are indicated conventionally by three dots within square brackets. Illegible passages that can be securely reconstructed are placed within square brackets. In most cases the distribution of upper- and lowercase letters in the original is not consistent. I follow modern practice, also regularising Sanudo's sometimes haphazard word-separation practice. I detach preposition and article, except on *del*, *dil* 'of the'

⁴⁷*Testament*, fol. 4^r, 3.

⁴⁸*Codicil*, IV.

⁴⁹In his *De origine* (Caracciolo Aricò (2011), p. 22), he admits (or deplores) that 'al presente tempo [...] a tutti si dà del misier'. In the *Diarii* he once uses *misier* in its figurative sense of 'father-in-law' (DMS, II, 778).

and *al* ‘at (the)’, and attach the article to compound relatives with *qual* ‘which’. Sanudo employs <u> for both /u/ and /v/. I distinguish them in my transcription following modern convention. Otherwise, I respect the diarist’s spelling variants and also retain final <j> = /i/. Short Latin inserts in vernacular prose came spontaneously to Venetian civil servants, notaries, and those patricians who like Sanudo had received a Humanist education. After careful consideration, I decided for the sake of clarity to italicise them here although they are not marked out in any way by Sanudo himself.

Accents are absent from Sanudo’s original. Those added to my edition follow modern Italian practice. I have also inserted apostrophes, which are never present in the original, e.g., *ch’è* for *che* ‘which is’ (2, l. 3), *l’hostaria* for *lhostaria* ‘the inn’ (5, l. 1) and *pre*’ for *pre* ‘priest’ (full form *prevede*) at 9, l. 1. I also add the apostrophe in *d’i Pregadi* and in the surname *d’i Cavalieri* (7, l. 1), where the partitive *di* in both cases was a Venetian rapid-speech variant of *dei* or *deli*. Punctuation is largely absent from the tax declaration as it is from most of Sanudo’s writings.⁵⁰ The modern punctuation I apply seeks to convey the rhythms of the diarist’s unadorned style. Sanudo clearly indicates his paragraphs by isolating the initial word (usually *item*) and by indenting the text that follows. Instead, I number each paragraph in bold and mark its end with a double slash. To further facilitate cross-referencing, lines in the edition are marked with a single slash and, unless they occur within a word, with a subscript number.

Edition and Translation

- (1) Per obedir la p(ar)te presa in el (Con)[se]¹⁰ d’i P(re)gadi ch’el se habia dar in nota la sua co(n)dition _{1/} rispetto al fuoco *ut in ea*, nui Marin e Lunardo Sanudo fo di m(isier) Lunardo _{2/} <fo d(e) m(isier) Mari(n)> demo in nota in q(ue)sto modo: cadaum di nui p(er) la sua parte sicome *etia(m)* _{3/} ha dato s(ier) Ant(oni)^o Sanudo n(ost)ro fradelo e And(re)a n(ost)ro nepote fo di m(isier) Alvisè. _{4 //}
- (2) Una caxa su la fondame(n)ta del m(ar)chese di Ferara, laq(ua)l dividesemo co(n) el *q(uondam)* m(isier) _{1/} Anzolo Sanudo e f(rade)lj *q(uondam)* m(isier) Franc(esc)^o, stimà duc(at)j 45 tuta di fito. A nui Mari(n) e L(unard)o _{2/} tocha il 4^o, ch’è duc(at)j 5 g(ros)ⁱ 15 p(er) uno de nui fradelli. E cussi fo posto a le (de)x(i)me _{3/} a co(n)to di nui 4 fradeli. Habita al p(resen)te And(re)a n(ost)ro nepote. _{4 //}
- (3) *Item*. Una caxa su la fo(n)dame(n)ta dita, divisa p(er) mità con m(isier) Anzo<1>o Sanudo e f(radel)j _{1/} fo di m(isier) Franc(esc)^o sop(ra)scrito, in laq(ua)l habito mi Mari(n) Sanudo. Stimà duc(at)j 40. _{2/} A nui fradelli tocha duc(at)j 20. Vien p(er) cadauno duc(at)j 5. _{3//}
- (4) *Item*. Una altra caxa, pagemo livello duc(at)j 16 a la chiesa di s(an) Jac(om)^o di Lorio, _{1/} si soleva afitar duc(at)j 25 tuta – hora è divisa e la n(ost)ra p(ar)te inhabitabile – _{2/} ch’è duc(at)j 9 di più dil livello si paga. Ne aspeta a nui fradelli duc(at)j 4½. Vien p(er) uno duc(at)j uno g(ros)ⁱ 3. _{3//}
- (5) *Item*. L’hostaria dila Campana, p(r)^o indevisa co(n) n(ost)ri cusini sop(ra)scritti, laq(ua)l tien _{1/} afito dona Balsarina osta. Paga per <1>uta duc(at)j 205. _{2//}
- (6) *Item*. 1^a botega di b(ar)bier, tien m(aistr)^o B(e)n(e)to da Crema e And(re)a barbieri. Afito paga _{1/} a l’an(n)o duc(at)j 24 p(er) mità *ut supra*. _{2//}
- (7) *Item*. 1^a botega di b(ar)bier, tien a[fito] m(aistr)^o Za(n)e d’i Cavalieri da B(er)gamo. Paga _{1/} a l’an(n)o duc(at)j 17 p(er) mità *u[ut supra]*. _{2//}
- (8) *Item*. 1^a botega di caleger, tie(n) [m(aistr)^o] B(e)n(e)to Caleger e (con)p(agni). Paga duc(at)j 16 a l’an(n)o. _{1/} Che sumano tuto ostaria e botege duc(at)j 262 a l’an(n)o, diqual aspetta _{2/} a nui 4 fradelli duc(at)j 131. Tocha p(er) uno duc(at)j 32 g(ros)ⁱ 18. _{3//}

⁵⁰To mark a pause Sanudo appears to use a mid-high period after *ea* and *nota* (1, l. 3) and similarly after *moier* and *soa* (10, l. 7). He employs the emphatic slash at paragraph end only twice (2, 9).

- (9) *Item.* Una caxa su la salizà dil m(ar)chexe laqual fo di p(re') Nic(ol)° B(er)nardini, stimà ^{1/} duc(at)j 40 a l'an(n)o, divisa tra n(ost)ri cuxini. Et nui ne tocha duc(at)j 20. ^{2/} Vien p(er) uno duc(at)j 5. In laq(ua)l n(ost)ra mità al presente habita s(ier) Ant(oni)° Sanudo n(ost)ro f(rade)lo. ^{3/}
- (10) *Item.* Demo in nota come fesemo trar e meter a n(ost)ro conto alcune ^{1/} caxe poste in la co(n)trà di s(an) Sim<u>o(n) P(r)°pheta, q(ua)l ne lassò el q(uondam) m(isier) Alex(andr)° Venier/u(m). Una caxa, pagava de fito duc(at)j 15, è <hora> meza ruinada e parte ^{3/} inhabitable. Una altra caxeta, pagava duc(at)j 5, laq(ua)l è in una corte ^{4/} et è ruinada e inhabitable. Che sum(m)avano duc(at)j 20. Dilqual fito si scuode ^{5/} per terzo, zoè li do terzi nui Marin e L(unar)do Sanudo e l'altro terzo Sanuda ^{6/} n(ost)ra sorella, moier di m(isier) Zua(n) Malip(ier)° in vita soa. *Item.* E una caxa da ^{7/} saze(n)te di soto, pagava duc(at)j 5, q(ua)l etia(m) si da p(er) amor de Dio – e cussi lassò ^{8/} la q(uondam) n(ost)ra madre – q(ua)l è in ruina e no(n) si afita 0. ^{9/}
- (11) Leq(ua)l tute cosse soprascrite nui Mari(n) e L(unar)do Sanudo fo di m(isier) L(unar)do demo in nota ^{1/} aziò le S(igno)rie Vostre possa far debitori, p(er) quanto aspeta a la p(ar)te n(ost)ra, cadauno ^{2/} p(er) la sua parte come fo semo messi a l'in(sie)me, la portio(n) di cadauno a sso conto. ^{3/}
- (1) To comply with the decree passed in the Senate that one should declare one's circumstances as per household, we Marin and Lunardo Sanudo, sons of the late Mr Lunardo Esq. (of Mr Marin Esq.), declare in the following way: each of us by individual share, as was also done by Mr Antonio Sanudo our brother and Andrea our nephew, son of the late Mr Alvise Esq.
- (2) A house on the embankment of the Marquis of Ferrara that we split with the late Mr Anzolo Sanudo Esq. and brothers, sons of the late Mr Francesco Esq. Overall rental value reckoned at 45 ducats. We Marin and Lunardo are liable for the fourth part of this, i.e., 5 ducats 15 *grossi* for each of us brothers. And that is how it was rated for the Tenth tax on the account of us four brothers. At present it is occupied by our nephew Andrea.
- (3) *Item.* A house on the said embankment shared half-and-half with Mr Anzolo Sanudo Esq. and brothers, of the late Mr Francesco Esq. mentioned above, in which I Marin Sanudo live. Valued at 40 ducats. We brothers are liable for 20 ducats. That comes to 5 ducats each.
- (4) *Item.* Another house (leased for 16 ducats from the church of San Giacomo di Lorio) that used to be rented out for 25 ducats all told is now split up, with our part uninhabitable, and that is 9 ducats more than the lease paid. We brothers are liable for 4½ ducats, which comes to 1 ducat and 3 *grossi* each.
- (5) *Item.* The Bell Inn, held in common with our above-mentioned cousins and let out to Mrs Balsarina the innkeeper. It pays overall 205 ducats.
- (6) *Item.* A barber's shop run by the barbers Master Beneto da Crema and Andrea. The annual rent yields 24 ducats, split in half as above.
- (7) *Item.* A barber's shop run by Master Zane d'i Cavalieri from Bergamo. It yields 17 ducats annually, split in half as above.
- (8) *Item.* A cobbler's shop run by Master Beneto Shoemaker and fellow workers. It yields 16 ducats a year. Altogether, inn and shops come to 262 ducats a year, of which we four brothers are entitled to 131 ducats. Each of us is liable for 32 ducats and 18 *grossi*.
- (9) *Item.* A house on the street of the Marquis, that once belonged to Father Nicolò Bernardini, valued at 40 ducats a year and shared with our cousins. We are liable for 20 ducats, which comes to 5 ducats each. At present Mr Antonio Sanudo our brother lives in our half of it.
- (10) *Item.* We declare that we have taken over and put on our tax account some houses located in the district of San Simion Propheta that were left to us by the late Mr Alexandro Venierum Esq. One house, that yielded 15 ducats rent, is now partly uninhabitable. Another small house, yielding 5 ducats, is in a courtyard and is derelict and uninhabitable. Altogether that comes to 20 ducats. This rent is collected in thirds, that is two thirds to us,

Marin and Lunardo Sanudo, and the other third to Sanuda, our sister, wife of Mr Zuan Malipiero Esq. when he was alive. And a terraced house below which yielded 5 ducats is also let out free, for charity, as was our late mother's wish. It is derelict and yields zero rent.

- (11) All the things itemised above we Marin and Lunardo, sons of the late Mr Lunardo Esq., do declare so that your Lordships can calculate what each of us owes – as we were jointly assessed – as per individual account.]

Language

At first glance the language of his tax return seems to stand out within Sanudo's vast production for its surprisingly limited hybridity. It is, therefore, potentially important evidence for the nature of Sanudo's own Venetian. In order to gauge precisely how mixed the language of his submission is, I weigh up the features in it that can be linked to the Latinising and Tuscanising components of the tripartite linguistic impasto that typifies the *Diarii*. I consider in parallel how prevalent such elements are among Sanudo's fellow taxpayers in his own parish. I then isolate those features that are more consistently Venetian than in the Diaries. I conclude by assessing the Venetian lexis of the return.

The question of Sanudo's language was long neglected. Two fine articles, the first by Gaetano Cozzi and the second by Laura Lepschy, brought the issue to the critical forefront.⁵¹ Not only did Cozzi highlight that Sanudo's rejection of Humanist Latin, and adoption of the vernacular, had profound consequences for the way he conceived and wrote history. He also intuited that the diarist's vernacular was essentially the written *koine* of Venetian officialdom, calling it the 'volgare cancelleresco veneziano' or 'veneziano cancelleresco'. Lepschy refined and enriched the latter intuition, giving a broader northern Italian cultural dimension to Sanudo's *koine*. Above all, she was the first to address the linguistic coherence of Sanudo's medium and to dissect his vernacular into its variably intersecting constituent components, Venetian, Tuscan, Latin. Subsequent critical work has developed these insights.⁵²

In Venice, the beginnings of the code-mixing trend that culminated in Sanudo are already detectable in official and high-register writing in the mid-fifteenth century. The process can be tracked in detail in the following decades through the vernacular decrees of the Ducal chancery and the statute-cum-membership books (*mariegole*) of the prestigious Scuola Grande confraternities in the city. At the outset Latinising elements were only sporadically visible in spelling, while Tuscan influence was generally limited to disambiguating third singular and plural verb forms (which are identical in all tenses in Venetian) and to the occasional maintenance of <t> in past participle endings as against the lenition of Venetian outcomes. The grammar of these texts remained essentially Venetian, with a high degree of predictability, and can be analysed as such.⁵³ The heyday of textual hybridity was reached in the decades either side of 1500. It was brought to an end by the imminent and puristic codification of the vernacular by Bembo on the basis of Golden Age Tuscan models. The pressure exerted by this codification not only ousted the composite written medium that came naturally to Sanudo. It fairly rapidly restricted the use of unmarked Venetian itself in the sixteenth century to occasional, sometimes unintentional, appearances in formal documents, although *venexian* maintained a modest and more lasting presence in letters, inventories, technical documentation and in the inscriptions of the trade-based Scuole Piccole confraternities.

⁵¹Cozzi; Lepschy, 'La lingua dei *Diarii* di Sanudo'.

⁵²See Ivano Paccagnella, 'La formazione del veneziano illustre', in *Varietà e continuità nella storia linguistica del Veneto* (Rome: Il Calamo, 1997), pp. 179–203; Lorenzo Tomasin, *Il volgare e la legge: storia linguistica del diritto veneziano (secoli. XIII–XVIII)* (Padua: Esedra, 2001), pp. 57–123; Ronnie Ferguson, *A Linguistic History of Venice* (Florence: Olschki, 2007), pp. 188–211; Ronnie Ferguson, *Saggi di lingua e cultura veneta* (Padua: Cleup, 2013), pp. 58–61; Crifò.

⁵³A typical example is the decree of the Council of Ten (19 May 1451), concerning the Scuole Grandi, which was immediately copied into the *mariegola* of the Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista. See ASV, Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista, reg. 8, fol. 33'. The contemporary vernacular captions on Fra Mauro's splendid *mappa mundi* are Venetian with a similarly light Tuscan patina. Ronnie Ferguson, *Venetian Inscriptions: Vernacular Writing for Public Display in Medieval and Renaissance Venice* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2021), pp. 282–90 [Corpus Inscriptions 62–66].

Francesco Crifò characterised the language of the *Diarii* as follows:

Nei *Diarii* la componente latina è tutt'altro che residuale: ogni aspetto della lingua, dalla grafia alla fonomorfologia, dalla sintassi al lessico, ne è pervasa [...] La base della lingua dei *Diarii* consiste però in sostanza di un composto insolubile di veneziano e toscano.⁵⁴

Does this description fit the language of Sanudo's tax return? As far as Latin is concerned, it corresponds only partially. Sanudo's trademark bureaucratic inserts do figure in the return, and more frequently so than in the other parish submissions: *ut in ea* (1, l. 2); *etiam* (1, l. 3; 10, l. 8); *quondam* (2, l. 1 passim); *item* (3, l. 1 passim); *ut supra* (6, l. 2; 7, l. 2). What is surprising is how little Sanudo's spelling in the tax return is influenced by Latin when compared both to the *Diarii* and even to some of the other *redesima* submissions. Latinising <h> on *habia* (1, l. 1), *ha* (1, l. 4), *habita* (2, l. 4; 9, l. 3), *habito* (3, l. 2), *inhabitabile* (4, l. 2; 10, l. 4), *hostaria* (5, l. 1), *hora* (10, l. 3), and etymologising <t> on *condition* (1, l. 1), *portion* (11, l. 3), are banal and frequent across the parish declarations. More interesting is the absence in Sanudo's submission of the Humanist-influenced etymological <ct> nexus which occurs with relatively high frequency in the *Diarii* and also from time to time in the tax returns:⁵⁵ *fito* 'rent' (2, l. 2; 5, l. 2; 6, l. 1; 10, l. 5), *afitar* 'to rent' (4, l. 2; 10, l. 9), *aspeta* (4, l. 3; 11, l. 2), *aspetta* (8, l. 2) and not (*a*)*facto*, *afictar*, or *aspecta*.⁵⁶ The same applies to the absence of the <pt> nexus found in the Diaries and sometimes in the other tax returns: *soprascrito* (3, l. 2; 11, l. 1), *soprascriti* (5, l. 1), and not *soprascripto/i*. It is noticeable that the etymologising *et* 'and' which dominates Sanudo's *Diarii* and will be five times less frequent than *e* in the tax declaration.

One's initial impression is that the language of Sanudo's declaration is hardly 'un composto insolubile di veneziano e toscano'. This is borne out by closer scrutiny. Tuscan influences on Sanudo's Venetian are light-touch compared to the *Diarii* and substantially in line with those affecting other S. Giacomo dell'Orio submissions. All our parish tax returns are in Venetian, with differences in tone and register conditioned by social background and education. Sanudo's does not stand out in this respect, and this is hardly surprising. He was not writing for posterity here but for precise Venetian officials whom he may well have known and who probably knew who he was. The residual Tuscanising elements found in it are arguably carry-overs from the Diaries. There is the preferential use of *di* over Venetian *de* 'of' (15 times as against 4) and the corresponding partitives, especially *dil* (4, l. 3; 9, l. 1) rather than Venetian (and Tuscan) *del* (2, l. 1). Forms such as *dil* are, in fact, better described as pseudo- or hyper-Tuscanisms, sometimes found in northern Italian chancery practice and appearing occasionally in the writing of educated Venetians.⁵⁷ Vowel raising is also present in the third-singular impersonal pronoun: *si soleva* (4, l. 2), *si paga* (4, l. 3), *si scuode* (10, l. 5) vs *se habia* (1, l. 1). Disambiguation of third-singular and third-plural verb forms is very frequent in the *Diarii*. This Tuscan influence appears occasionally in the return: *sumano* [...] *ostaria e botege* (8, l. 2) and *summavano ducatj 20* (10, l. 5) vs *tocha ducatj 20* (3, l. 3; 8, l. 3) and *vien* [...] *ducatj 5* (9, l. 3). It is common across the tax submissions, occasionally producing hypercorrect forms, such as *sono* agreeing with a singular subject, never found in Sanudo. Finally, there are two past participle endings with <t> preserved, *dato* 'given' (1, l. 4) and *ruinata* 'ruined' (10, l. 5), against four with Venetian lenition: *stimà* 'estimated' (2, l. 2; 3, l. 2; 9, l. 1) and *ruinada* (10, l. 3). Tuscan past-participle types with <t> occur sporadically in those tax declarations that show strong Humanist or chancery influence in their script. Lexically, *nepote* 'nephew' (1, 2, l. 4) is a near Tuscanism that may be influenced by Latin *nepotem*. *Nepote* is also Sanudo's preferred form in the

⁵⁴Crifò, p. 234.

⁵⁵For example, Ieronimo da(l)l Solimadi (submission nos 1 and 64) uses *dicto* 'aforementioned' and *ficto* 'rent'.

⁵⁶See Crifò, pp. 251–52.

⁵⁷Both *di* and *dil* are used by the elite patricians Antonio lustignan (submission no. 22) and Lodovico Venier, *doctor* (sub. no. 31). *Dil* and variants are also occasionally present in the diaries of Sanudo's near contemporary Hieronimo d'i Prioli. See *I Diarii di Girolamo Priuli* [AA. 1499–1512], ed. by Roberto Cessi (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1912–41). For the occurrence of *dil* in Milanese chancery writing see Maurizio Vitale, *La lingua volgare della cancelleria visconteo-sforzesca nel Quattrocento* (Cisalpine: Varese, 1953), p. 87.

Diarii, with the Venetian *nevodo* cropping up in the codicil to his will, his last recorded statement.⁵⁸

A few key features are more fully Venetian in the return than in the *Diarii*. In spelling one is struck by the high frequency of single consonants where Tuscan requires gemination: *rispetto* (1, l. 2), *sicome* (1, l. 3), *Ferara* (2, l. 1), *fradelj* (2, l. 2; 2, l. 4; 3, l. 1), *tocha* (2, l. 3 passim), *grosi* (2, l. 3 passim), *tuta* (2, l. 2), *fito* (2, l. 2 passim), *dita* ‘aforementioned’ (3, l. 1), *soprascrito* (3, l. 2), *afitar* (4, l. 2), *afito* (6, l. 1), *botega* (6, l. 1; 7, l. 1; 8, l. 1), *botege* (8, l. 2), *tuto* (8, l. 2), *meza* ‘half’ (10, l. 3), *soto* (10, l. 8), *aspeta* (11, l. 2). Truncated infinitives are dominant in the *Diarii*. Here they are exclusive: *obedir* (1, l. 1), *dar* (1, l. 1), *afitar* (4, l. 2), *trar* ‘take, extract’ (10, l. 1), *meter* (10, l. 1), *far* (11, l. 2). The same applies to Venetian rules for final vowel apocope or maintenance which here are respected in full:⁵⁹ *condition* (1, l. 1), *Marin* (1, l. 2), *misier* (1, l. 2 passim), *cadaum* (1, l. 3), *livello* (4, l. 1 passim), *inhabitabile*, *caleger* (8, l. 1), *barbier* (6, l. 1; 7, l. 1), *laqual* (9, l. 1), *sier* (9, l. 3), *dilqual* (10, l. 5), *moier* (10, l. 7), *madre* (10, l. 9), *laqual* (11, l. 1), *portion* (11, l. 3), *Malipiero* (10, l. 7), *amor* (10, l. 8). The masculine singular definite article in the return is twice Venetian *el* (1, l. 1; 2, l. 1), with one instance of *il* (2, l. 3), while the partitive *in el* (1, l. 1) for *nel* stands out.

Finally, the Venetian dimensions of Sanudo’s vocabulary – grammatical, semantic, and civilisational – catch the eye. These range from the phonologically Venetian *obedir* ‘to obey’ (1, l. 1), unexpectedly taking a direct object, to the verb *tochar*, with its preservation of the traditional <ch> nexus for /k/ and its meaning of ‘to be liable for’. Among terms for relatives one notes that *fradel(l)i* ‘brothers’ always manifests intervocalic T > /d/, *cuxini* ‘cousins’ (9, l. 2) preserves the traditional <x> = /z/ spelling (as do the ubiquitous *caxa* and *marchexe* ‘marquis’ at 9, l. 1), and *moier* ‘wife’ is preferred to Tuscan *moglie*. *Zoè* ‘that is’ (10, l. 6) and *aziò* ‘in order that’ (11, l. 2) have the Venetian voiceless affricate represented by <z> rather than the Tuscan palatal /tʃ/, while *lassò*, unlike Italian *lasciò*, has no voiceless fricative /f/. Among subject pronouns ‘we’ is always the traditional *nui* (1, l. 2 passim), with its relic metaphonic raising of stressed /o/ > /u/. Venetian indirect object pronoun *ne* ‘to us’ (9, l. 2) is used rather than Tuscan *ci*. Somewhat unexpectedly in a formal document, Sanudo employs the innovative disjunctive variant *mi* ‘me’ for the first-person subject pronoun rather than the expected *io* found traditionally and in some other returns. Interestingly *io* is preferred by Sanudo in the *Diarii*, in those passages where he refers to himself, and also in his will. The obligatory third-singular atonic subject pronoun clitic *el* appears in *ch’el se habia* ‘that one should’ vs Tuscan *che si abbia*. The spelling of *cosse* ‘things’ [kɔse] (11, l. 1) reveals the unvoiced intervocalic /s/ which has persisted into ModV/CV. The verbs *ruinar*, *sumar*, and *scuoder* have characteristic Venetian forms compared to Italian *rovinare*, *sommare*, and *scuotere*, as does the noun *mità* ‘half’ (3, l. 1 passim).

Present and past historic tenses in the return are Venetian, with the first person plural forms *demo* ‘we give’ (1, l. 3), *pagemo* ‘we pay’ (4, l. 1) prominent among the former and *dividesemo* ‘we shared, split’ (2, l. 1), *fesemo* ‘we had, did’ (10, l. 1), *fosemo* ‘we were’ (11, l. 3) among the latter.⁶⁰ The city, its inhabitants and its institutions are foregrounded in the submission. Very Venetian are the trade names *caleger* ‘cobbler, shoemaker’ (6, 7, 8, l. 1), with <g> = /g/, pronounced [kae’gɛr] in ModV/CV, *barbier* ‘barber’ (6, 7, l. 1), *osta* ‘landlady’ (5, l. 2), and *maistro* ‘master’ (6, 7, 8, l. 1), alongside *pre* ‘reverend, priest’ (9, l. 1) and the titles *misier* and *sier*. Sanudo records the names of the shopworkers running his shared outlets: *dona Balsarina* (for the inn: 5, l. 2), *Beneto da Crema* and his assistant *Andrea* (for the first barber’s shop: 6, l. 1), *Zane d’i Cavalieri da Bergamo* (for the second: 7, l. 1), and the master shoemaker *Beneto Caleger* (8, l. 1). One notices the role, here, of emigration from Venetian-occupied Lombardy. The Venetian monetary system figures with *ducati* and *grosi* ‘grossi’ (featuring Venetian voiceless single /s/ again)

⁵⁸Codicil, ll.

⁵⁹On singular nouns and adjectives, it deleted, and continues to delete, final /e/ and /o/ after the sonorants /n/ and /l/ on original paroxytones, but not on derivatives of original geminates.

⁶⁰The Italian equivalents of these present and past historic forms are *diamo*, *paghiamo* and *dividemmo*, *facemmo*, *fummo*.

and institutional life with *condition*, *livello* 'lease', *parte, fuoco, (a)fito, Consejo d'i Pregadi*,⁶¹ *dexime*, *conto* 'account' (10, l. 1; 11, l. 3). The topography of Sanudo's beloved Venice comes alive in *contrà* 'parish, ward' (10, l. 2),⁶² *corte* 'courtyard' (10, l. 4),⁶³ *caxa da sazente* 'annex or terraced house for rent' (10, ll. 7–8),⁶⁴ *salizà* 'early paved street in Venice' (9, l. 1),⁶⁵ *fondamenta* 'canal embankment with buildings on one side' (2, 3, l. 1),⁶⁶ and (*h*)*ostaria* 'inn' (5, l. 1; 8, l. 2).⁶⁷

Conclusion

While Sanudo's tax submission for the *redecima*, edited and presented here for the first time, is arguably a minor document within his vast output, our study has shown that it is nonetheless rich in potential insights for historians, linguists, and students of Venice. It reveals the real-estate portfolio, with precise values, from which the chronicler derived his living. It provides the names of the artisans who ran his establishments. It indicates locations for his properties that can be mapped on to de' Barbari's contemporary view of Venice. It shows how modest Sanudo's financial means were and, read alongside troubling passages in his will and Diaries, helps to contextualise the financial mismanagement that may, according to David Chambers,⁶⁸ have hampered his public career. At the same time, it puts into perspective Sanudo's remarkable and largely unrewarded efforts to record the events and key documentation of the crucial decades in Venetian history through which he lived. In addition, it sheds interesting light on the complex and sometimes strained dynamics of Ca' Sanudo at S. Giacomo dell'Orio and suggests that a reappraisal of Marin's relationship with his family, and in particular with his younger brother Lunardo, is necessary. Finally, it is unique in revealing a tantalising glimpse of Sanudo's native Venetian, largely shorn of its Tuscan and Latin elements and similar to that of his fellow parishioners.

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⁶¹Sanudo's spelling of the Venetian title of the Senate is quite common in his fellow taxpayers' submissions. One notes his maintenance of the traditional outcome of L + yod > /j/ in *Conseio* (also replicated in *moier* 'wife' at 10, l. 7). Lenition of T in *Pregadi* has gone no further than /d/, at least in writing, and the clipped form of *de(l)i as d'i* appears. However, there is evidence of considerable variation in these features in the returns, with outcomes such as *Conseio de Pregai* (Domenego Garuffa, sub. no. 17) where *de* replaces *d'i* and the degree of lenition on *Pregai* is complete. Like a few others, the patricians Alvixe Loredan (sub. no. 19) and Lodovico Venier (sub. no. 31) prefer *Conseio de Pregadi* and *Conseio d'i Pregadi* respectively, with L + yod > /dz/, the palatalised variant that would soon dominate in Venetian and become almost (but not quite) universal in ModV/CV.

⁶²Apocopated form of *contrada* 'ward, district'. Not recorded until 1535 according to M. Cortelazzo, *Dizionario veneziano della lingua e della cultura popolare nel XVI secolo* (Bologna: La Linea, 2007). However, the process of lenition leading to it (*contrata* → *contrada* → *contradha* → *contraa*) is already documented in the thirteenth century.

⁶³From Med. Lat. *curtis* 'yard, enclosure', it is the equivalent of Tuscan/Italian *cortile*.

⁶⁴*Caxa da/de/a sazente* is literally a 'tenant's house'. From EV *se(r)çente, se(r)zente, sa(r)çente, sa(r)zente* 'attendant, servant, scribe, tenant' < Old French *serge(a)nt, serjent* 'servant, vassal, liege, man-at-arms', itself from *SERVIENS* 'servant'. The term was borrowed into EV from the feudal tenure system of serjeanty for commoners in the Frankish Levant. Initially employed by the Venetians for land tenants in their overseas possessions, particularly Crete, it was subsequently applied to houses for rent in Venice itself, whether *caxete* attached to, or in the courtyard of, a *caxa da statio* or else purpose-built rows of dwellings to let. The hesitation over the presence of /r/ is the result of contamination with a Latin-influenced parallel tradition of designating a tenant as *segente* or *sigente* 'sitting' (EV *seço, seça, seçia* 'seat').

⁶⁵From MidV *saliz(z)o* 'flint(stone)', this is the earliest example of *salizà* that I know of. The term is not attested before 1548 in Cortelazzo, *Dizionario veneziano*, s.v. In ModV/CV it is *saliz(z)ada*, with the truncated (originally past participle) ending restored. It is still applied in street signs to a range of thoroughfares in the city such as the busy *Salizada S. Lio*.

⁶⁶A characteristically Venetian term, from the neuter pl. *FUNDAMENTA* OF *FUNDAMENTUM* 'foundation' treated as a feminine noun.

⁶⁷Compared to Ital. *osteria*, (*h*)*ostaria* shows typical Veneto raising of /er/ > /ar/. *Ostaria* in Venice clustered around the Rialto and S. Marco in the medieval and Renaissance periods. That the (*h*)*ostaria di la Campana*, owned by the Sanudi, was unusual in being run by a landlady (*dona Balsarina*) is evident from the surviving records: Cecchetti, 'La vita dei veneziani', pp. 329–33.

⁶⁸See above note 36.