

CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE PLACE OF *CHRONICON
ALTINATE* IN THE VENETIAN HISTORICAL WRITING

ȘERBAN V. MARIN

(National Archives OF Romania, Bucharest)

The author makes a survey of the manner in which the chronicle traditionally called *Altinate* has been regarded in the modern historiography. He rejects Roberto Cessi's reconstruction of this chronicle and approaches the matters of *Altinate's* manuscripts, editions, dating, paternity, sources and influences.

Keywords: Venetian chronicles, manuscript tradition of *Altinate*, data proposed by predecessors.

When speaking of the two century gap in the Venetian historical writing between the 11th century work of Giovanni Diacono and the 13th century *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, Lidia Capo¹ neglects – willingly or not – other Venetian historical attempts, including a series of texts from the so called *Origo Civitatum Italiae seu Veneticarum*², where Roberto Cessi gathered in 1933 various chronicles that had been hitherto considered separately. Three of these writings had already imposed as *Chronicon Gradense*³, *Chronicon Altinate*, and *Chronica de singulis patriarchis nove Aquileie*⁴, inappropriate names in the view of the editor who, based on the prologue to the first review, argues that the original uniform writing was in fact a history of the origins of the Italian cities⁵. The same year (1933), R. Cessi published *Studi sopra la composizione del cosiddetto Chronicon Altinate*, unfolding ideas and solutions similar to those from the introduction to his edition. He calls *Gradense* “il tanto discusso frammento torcellano-gradense del cod. Vaticano-urbinato, che passa sotto il nome di Chronicon Gradense”⁶ and stresses that “la

¹ Girolamo Arnaldi and Lidia Capo, *I cronisti di Venezia e della Marca Trevigiana dalle origini alla fine del secolo XIII*, in *Storia della cultura veneta. Dalle origini al Trecento*, Vicenza, 1976, p. 387–411 (393).

² *Origo Civitatum Italiae seu Veneticorum (Chronicon Altinate et Chronicon Gradense)* (ed. by R. Cessi), Rome, 1933 [Hereafter, *Origo*].

³ Hereafter, *Gradense*.

⁴ Hereafter, *Singulis*.

⁵ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xxiii. For the method adopted by R. Cessi, see also Elisabetta Barile, in Elisabetta Barile, Piero Falchetta, Alessia Giachery, Piero Lucchi, Susy Marcon, Helena Szépe, Camillo Tonini, Viola Venturini, *Catalogo*, in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* (ed. by Marino Zorzi and Susy Marcon), [Venice], 2001, p. 337–403 (342).

⁶ R. Cessi, *loc. cit.*, p. xx.

pressunta autonomia [emphasis mine: of *Altinate*] *del pseudo Chronicon Gradense* [...] *è un mito e il suo legittimo posto è proprio nel disegno dell'Historia* [...]”⁷, making it part of the first writing of *Altinate*⁸. As for *Altinate* itself, Cessi repelled its traditional title, which regarded as “*una ridicola mistificazione*”⁹.

As a matter of principle, the first stage of editing should be the publication of each manuscript, leaving potential comparisons to analysts, and thereby avoiding even greater confusion. Perhaps the most illustrative example is that of the writings from *Origo*. Different manuscripts have been successively copied for centuries in an attempt to “make order”. Following the same tradition, the previous editions¹⁰ did nothing but create even much more confusion. Unfortunately, the solution suggested by Cessi does not spare us the trouble of floundering in front of various texts. Ever since the investigations conducted by H. Simonsfeld, it has been thought that under the name of *Altinate* hid a compact and diverse mass of excerpts from chronicles and catalogues dating from the most disparate periods¹¹. The whole conundrum in the evolution of these writings is described as follows: “*Dal tempo dello Ziani invece cominciò la trista vicenda di spostamenti e di corruzioni, che portò alla confusione attuale.*”¹².

The method followed by R. Cessi was for the most part positively accepted, not only through the references made by several scholars to his edition, but also through the use of the title *Origo*, while his view on the dynamics of the chronicle enjoyed a quasi-unanimous approval¹³. Against this wave of opinion, others passed merely unnoticed, such as G. Marzemin who, although has no negative attitude towards the methodology advanced by Cessi, criticised the fact that the editor gave no historical examples¹⁴. In addition, A. Carile applies the label of “cosidetta

⁷ Idem, *Studi sopra la composizione del cosiddetto «Chronicon Altinate»*, “*Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano e Archivio Muratoriano*” 49 (1933), p. 1–116 (44), apud Bruno Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca. Un secolo di studi sul Chronicon Altinate*, “*Quaderni veneti*” 7 (1988), p. 155–180 (177).

⁸ *Gradense* had been annexed to the chronicle *Altinate* and in both forms of the latter (according to the manuscript from the patriarchal Seminar of Venice and from Dresden, respectively), edited under “*Archivio Storico Italiano*” patronage as *La cronaca veneta detta Altinate di autore anonimo in latino* (ed. by Antonio Rossi), “*Archivio Storico Italiano*” 8 (1845), p. 116–129 – where it is listed as the 4th book of *Altinate*, based on the codex H V 44 from the patriarchal Seminar of Venice – and as *Cronichon Venetum vulgo Altinate quod prius editum an. MDCCCXLV iuxta codicem Patriarch. Veneti Seminarii denuo prodit ex ms. codice Reg. Bibliothecae Dresdensis* (ed. by L[ui]gi Polidori), “*Archivio Storico Italiano*” 5, appendix, 1847, p. 73–84), which made no distinction between *Gradense* and *Altinate* [cf. Marino Zorzi, *Introduzione alla mostra*, in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* cit., p. 11–24 (16)].

⁹ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. vii.

¹⁰ See *infra*.

¹¹ Enrico Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo e le sue opere storiche* (transl. by Benedetto Morossi), “*Archivio Veneto*” 14 (1877), part I, p. 49–149 (104).

¹² R. Cessi, in *loc. cit.*, p. xxxii.

¹³ See, for example, B. Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca* cit., p. 175 and *passim*.

¹⁴ Giuseppe Marzemin, *Carlo Magno a Venezia e le sue promesse* [excerpt from “*Memorie storiche forogiuliesi*” 33–34 (1937–1938), p. 65–80], p. 70 note 2.

[emphasis mine] *Origo*¹⁵, and in particular A. Limentani deems tendentious¹⁶ the criteria followed by Cessi in his edition. At the same time, T. S. Brown opines that “Cessi was probably right in seeing the text develop gradually over the period 1081-1204 from heterogeneous elements, but his renaming of it as the *Origo Civitatum Italiae* has received less general acceptance”¹⁷.

We concur with A. Limentani and believe that Cessi did nothing but renew the “overlaps and corruptions” produced in the previous centuries. In fact, the reconstruction of the original versions of the chronicles has been a highly hazardous component feeding theories and doubts. For this reason, we maintain our preference for the approach through manuscripts.

Moreover, one should discard both the chronicle *Singulis* and *Gradense* as once separated from *Altinate* from investigating strictly the Venetian historical writing, since they do not deal with the subject of the Venetian history and focus on certain communities within Veneto region (Aquileia and Grado, respectively) with no relevance in the evolution of the city of Venice.

Manuscripts:

Several manuscripts whose individualisation is an extremely difficult endeavour have been considered in relation with these chronicles regarded for so long as separate entities. Also, their presentation by scholars did nothing but complicate the possibility of any evidence. This was doubled by the changes in the reference codes of manuscripts. There are only three manuscripts regarded as the most important (due to their age)¹⁸, currently in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. Lat. 5273), Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden (F 168), and the patriarchal Seminar of Venice (H V 44), all three from the 13th century.

H. Simonsfeld argued that the manuscript from the Vatican (V) was the oldest of the three¹⁹ since the emperor list ends with John II Komnenos²⁰, in perfect

¹⁵ Antonio Carile, *Le origini di Venezia nelle più antiche cronache veneziane*, in *In Memoria di Sofia Antoniadis*, Venice, 1974, p. 27–40 (31).

¹⁶ Alberto Limentani, in Martino da Canal, *Les estoires de Venise. Cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275* (ed. by Alberto Limentani), Florence, 1972, p. xxxiii note 1.

¹⁷ T. S. Brown, *History as myth: medieval perceptions of Venice's Roman and Byzantine past*, in *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* (ed. by Roderick Beaton and Charlotte Roueché), Aldershot, 1993, p. 145–157 (153).

¹⁸ H. Simonsfeld, in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft fuer aeltere deutsche Geschichtskunde*: I, 397 f. apud Enrico Simonsfeld, *La Cronaca Altinate* (transl. by C. S. Rosada), “Archivio Veneto” 9, tom XVIII, 2nd part (1879), p. 235–273 (238); see also *ibidem*, p. 260; G. Marzemin, *op. cit.*, p. 70 note 2; B. Rosada, *I secoli della letteratura veneta*, December 2002 [= http://www.provincia.venezia.it/istruzione/pubblicazioni/lett_veneta.pdf], p. 9. When making reference to the manuscripts, *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille*, I: *Secoli V–IX* (ed. by R. Cessi; reprinted by Carlo F. Polizzi), Venice, 1991 [Padua, 1942], p. 4, he considers also the codex Marc. Lat. X. 141.

¹⁹ E. Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo* cit., p. 104.

²⁰ Idem, *La Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 261; see also Idem, *La Cronaca Altinate* (transl. C. S. Rosada), “Archivio Veneto” 11, tom XXI, 2nd part (1881), p. 167–202 (173).

agreement with the ending of the patriarchal and episcopal catalogues²¹. The codex from the Vatican was considered by H. Simonsfeld in his edition from *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

The manuscript from Dresden (D) comes from Bernardo Trevisan²² and was consulted in his library by B. de Montfaucon and Apostolo Zeno²³. Also, the 1847 edition of F. Polidori was based on it. The imperial catalogues go to the accession to the throne of Henry I of Hainault²⁴. On the other hand, it does not present the genealogy of the Frankish kings²⁵. The codex attaches the 2nd book of *Gradense* to the chronicle *Altinate*²⁶ and is currently listed under the reference code F 168²⁷.

The codex from the patriarchal Seminar (S), with the original reference code B III 10²⁸, then H V 44, and currently 951²⁹, belonged to Marino Sanudo di Leonardo (listed in his library under the number 2784³⁰) as indicated by an unquestionable autobiographic note on the first page³¹. After a short alleged stop in the library of the Trevisan family (in the 17th and 18th centuries)³², and a period

²¹ Idem, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 261. On the other hand, R. Cessi believed this codex reproduces a tradition lacking the continuations from the manuscripts of Dresden and the patriarchal Seminar, which makes it the most recent, see R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xi, note 1.

²² H. Simonsfeld *Venetianische Studien*, I: *Das Chronicon Altinate*, Munich, 1878, p. 9 apud Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitienes. Second mémoire*, "Revue des questions historiques" 34 (1883), p. 199–224 (215); see also *ibidem*, p. 203 and 215; R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xi. For the description of the codex in possession of B. Trevisan, see also the reference from R[inaldo]. F[ulin], *Saggio del catalogo dei codici di Emmanuele A. Cicogna*, "Archivio Veneto" IV, part I (1872), p. 59–132, 337–398 (71). Also, Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* (introd. by Ugo Stefanutti), [Bologna], [1976] [reprinted of edition Venice, 1854] [first edition: 1752] remarks the use of the chronicles by B. Trevisan (p. 151 note 4) and the fact that he was the owner of not so few anonymous chronicles (p. 162), and of a precious genealogical book (p. 201 note 1).

²³ See *infra*. Without noting its presence in Dresden, M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 120 note 1, notices its use by Montfaucon during the period when it belonged to B. Trevisano; also *ibidem*, p. 125 note 2 makes reference to the excerpt operated by Zeno on the chronicle.

²⁴ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 261; R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xi, note 1.

²⁵ E. Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo* cit., p. 104.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 90.

²⁷ Cf. <http://www.cini.it/pdf/fondi/microfilmoteca.pdf>.

²⁸ Thus quoted by E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 239, retaken by B. Rosada, *Storia* cit., p. 156.

²⁹ Susy Marcon, in E. Barile *et alii*, *Catalogo* cit., p. 340. For a detailed description of the codex, see *Ibidem*, p. 340–342.

³⁰ R. F[ulin], *Saggio* cit., p. 69, 70; G. Berchet, *Prefazione*, in Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii*, I, Venice, 1879 [= <http://www.liberaliberal.it/biblioteca/licenze/>], p. 67 note 194, 80; S. Marcon, *loc. cit.*, p. 340. Number 2748, according to R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 90.

³¹ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 238; R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 69; Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 203 and 215; M. Zorzi, *Introduzione* cit., p. 16; S. Marcon, *loc. cit.*, p. 340.

³² The acquisition of the codex by Bernardo Trevisan was first circulated by Bernard de Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum, sive monumentorum veterorum, bibliothecarum, muaeorum ... notitiae singulares in itinere Italico collectae*, Paris, 1702, p. 77 and Apostolo Zeno, *Dissertazione intorno al tempo del Principato, e del Monarcato di San Pietr'Orseolo, I di questo nome, Doge della Repubblica di Venezia, indiritta a Monsignor Fontanini, Camerier d'onore di Nostro Signore*, "Giornale de' letterati d'Italia" 9 (1712), p. 361–444; it is in fact a confusion with the codex from Dresden, as noticed by Susy Marcon, in *loc. cit.*, p. 340.

when it was thought to be lost (mid-18th century)³³, Count Francesco Calbo-Crotta “P. V.”³⁴ came into its possession. In 1815, he entrusted the codex for study to the abbot Sante della Valentina³⁵. Later on, in 1827³⁶, the Count donated it to the library of the Seminar together with other manuscripts he owned³⁷. It is entirely written by the same 13th century hand³⁸, although a more accurate dating suggested by Susy Marcon draws attention to three stages, i.e. the first/second decade of the 13th century, the fourth and fifth decades, and the second half of the 13th century, respectively³⁹, which immediately leads to the conclusion of several writings, presumably by different transcribers. Other scenarios for dating this codex had been previously suggested: around 1210 (Montfaucon, Ap. Zeno, Rossi), soon after 1205 (Cicogna), between 1237 and 1249 (Monticolo)⁴⁰. Notwithstanding the general opinion, S. Marcon promotes the thesis of relinquishing the single dating on the grounds that the codex was made of separate fragments and partly independent from one another⁴¹. Moreover, as opposed to other manuscripts, it also contained the genealogy of the Frankish kings⁴² and other dispersed materials⁴³, including the chronicle *Gradense* and excerpts from the pseudo-*Altinate*⁴⁴. R. Cessi argues that the transcription must have been completed during the dogeship of R. Zeno and before his death in 1268 as inferred from the autograph additions to the first “*postillatore*” of S, which does not exceed that period⁴⁵. The edition by A. Rossi was based on this manuscript.

³³ M. Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana* cit., the 1752 edition, p. 112 apud S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

³⁴ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 69; M. Zorzi, *Introduzione* cit., p. 16; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 340. About Fr. Calbo-Crotta it is known that he was indeed mayor (*podestà*) of Venice (1818–1827).

³⁵ Paolo Zannini, *Relazione academica*, in *Sessione pubblica dell’Ateneo Veneto, tenuta nel giorno XXVII di Novembre MDCCCXV*, Venice, 1817, p. 107–122, p. 114–115 apud S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 340. For Sante della Valentina (1748–1826), considered by Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia veneziana*, Venice, 1847, p. 507 as one of the Venetian distinguished priests, see *Necrologia di don Sante della Valentina cappellano della Scuola di S. Rocco, scritta dall’ab. D. Pietro Bettio bibliotecario della Marciana*, Venice, 1826.

³⁶ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 238; R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 69; 1832, according to M. Zorzi, *op. cit.*, p. 16 and S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

³⁷ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 238; R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 69; M. Zorzi, *op. cit.*, p. 16; S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

³⁸ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 239, also for technical information and content; for this dating, see R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 69, and M. Zorzi, *op. cit.*, p. 16; see also S. Marcon, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 342.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² E. Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo* cit., p. 112.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 117.

⁴⁴ Idem, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 239; R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xx, note 1; for *Gradense* in this manuscript, see also Giovanni Monticolo, *Prefazione*, in *Cronache Veneziane antichissime*, I, Rome, 1890, p. xiv, retaken by Dorit Raines, *Alle origini dell’archivio politico del patriato: la cronaca «di consultazione» veneziana nei secoli XIV–XV*”, “Archivio Veneto”, 5th series, 150 (1998), p. 5–57 (9 note 1); see also Zorzi, *op. cit.*, p. 15, 16, 17, 18.

⁴⁵ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xi note 1.

There are also two other modern copies in the Cicogna collection⁴⁶: Ci 274 and Ci 617. The first dates from the 19th century and is a copy made by the abbot Sante della Valentina (deceased in 1826⁴⁷) as indicated by the title: “*Cronica dell’anonimo Altinate scoperta ed illustrata dal sig. d. Sante della Valentina veneziano, cappellano dell’arciconfraternita di s. Rocco*”⁴⁸. As for the codex Ci 617, E. A. Cicogna gave no additional details⁴⁹, and it is not known why A. Prost believed it was copied by Michele Angelo Doria⁵⁰.

Still related to these chronicles, a series of other codices have been highlighted: Marc. Lat. X 305⁵¹, Barb. 247⁵², one belonging to Thomas Phillipps⁵³, two manuscripts from Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris⁵⁴, and one from the Foscarini collection in Vienna⁵⁵.

A. Prost also mentions in his repertoire the codex Vat. Lat. 5275⁵⁶, but it seems to be a printing error. It is very likely that Prost was considering the codex Vat. Lat. 5273.

Facing such a multitude of codices and taking into account that none of the manuscripts corresponds entirely, a difficulty enhanced by the opinions of different scholars, our investigation will focus only on the three manuscripts thought to be the oldest: Vatican Vat. Lat. 5273 (V), Dresden F 168 (D), and the one from the patriarchal Seminar of Venice H V 44, previously B III 10 (S).

Of the above mentioned three, the editors of *Archivio Storico Italiano* relied on the codices S and D, whereas H. Simonsfeld used and showed preference to the codex V in his edition from *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*⁵⁷. According to G. Monticolo, the manuscripts S and D are closer to the text of Giovanni Diacono⁵⁸

⁴⁶ Also signalled by Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 203 and 215.

⁴⁷ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*. For the history of this codex, see *ibidem*, p. 69–71.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 90.

⁵⁰ Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁵¹ E. Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo* cit., p. 89; see also C. Castellani, *I manoscritti Veneti contenuti nella collezione Phillipps in Cheltenham (contea di Gloucester)*, “Archivio Veneto” 37 (1889), p. 199–248 (218).

⁵² Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia sacra sive de episcopis Italiae*, 9 volumes, Rome, 1643–1662, V, coll. 1082 D apud M. Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, “Revue des questions historiques” 31 (1882), p. 512–555 (542).

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 542, who does not give details. It is likely to be the one considered by C. Castellani, *op. cit.*, p. 218, who makes reference to the codex 5194 from Cheltenham, under the name of *Cronicon Venetum, saec. XI*, presumably a very old and valuable copy, which Castellani hesitates to take for *Altinate* or *Sagornina*.

⁵⁴ Aug. Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 543, listed under the reference codes Ital. 787 and 1215.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 542 (Foscarini 1); it is in fact “*Cronica di Giovanni Sagornino*”, i.e. the chronicle of Diacono.

⁵⁶ *Idem*, *Les chroniques... Second mémoire*, p. 203 and 215.

⁵⁷ Noticed also by R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. vii note 1.

⁵⁸ For this chronicle, see Giovanni Diacono, *Historia Veneticorum* (ed. by Luigi Andrea Berto), Bologna, 1999; see also *Cronache Veneziane antichissime* (ed. by Giovanni Monticolo), I, Rome, 1890, p. 59–171; *Cronaca veneziana di Giovanni diacono* (ed. by Mario De Biasi), I–II, 1986–1988. On our turn, we reviewed the viewpoints about this chronicle, see Șerban Marin, *Cronistica venețiană și mitologia politică a cetății din lagune în evul mediu. Mitul originilor* [The Venetian Chronicles and the Political Mythology of the City in the Lagoons in the Middle Ages. The Myth of the Origins], PhD thesis, University of Bucharest, 2008, p. 308–315.

than V⁵⁹, while E. Besta adds that if S and D were given preference against V, then the text would no longer seem as absurd⁶⁰. Following into the footsteps of Simonsfeld to an extent, Bruno Rosada has recently emphasised some differences between the three manuscripts and shows that the texts of the Iliac and Frankish legends do not appear in all of the three manuscripts (i.e. the Iliac in V, the Frankish in V and S)⁶¹, that the legend of Longinus and Narses can be found in all three⁶² or that the excerpt on antiquity from Aeneas to Caesar appears both in D and S⁶³. The same Rosada has recently stressed the “*fortissime differenze*” between the three manuscripts⁶⁴, a theory we concur with and will further analyse separately, unlike R. Cessi’s attempt to combine them.

Roberto Cessi noted that there is no direct and immediate relation between the three manuscripts so that none was used to compile the other. He took on this theory from H. Simonsfeld⁶⁵. Nevertheless, the Italian scholar undertook to establish certain relations between them⁶⁶ and did not hesitate to contradict Simonsfeld, who seemed to have preferred the “less accurate version”, following V with poise, and regarded S or D, or either one or the other, or even both at the same time as giving a rather imperfect version than manuscript V. Cessi stressed that “*io nutri seri dubbi sopra questo processo, anche perchè, per es., V in proprio segna un peggioramento nelle lezioni già scorrette*”⁶⁷ and “*se è vero che V raccoglie la tradizione più antica nello sviluppo della materia, non è ditto che esso conserve la lezione più genuina.*”⁶⁸ He further spoke of the necessity to show reservation in preferring a codex against the others⁶⁹.

Despite these explanations, R. Cessi had mentioned from the very beginning that “*la stessa tradizione manoscritta [emphasis mine: of Origo] [...] non sembra dare troppi aiuti per chiarire il mistero; [...]*”⁷⁰ and drew attention to the fact that “*si tenga presente che non tutti i codici hanno conservato tutti i frammenti*”⁷¹. As a result, he structured what he considered the three reviews of the chronicle in a sequence with no relation to the three manuscripts, but in an order considered

⁵⁹ G. Monticolo, *I manoscritti e le fonti della cronaca del diacono Giovanni*, “*Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico italiano*” 8 (1889), p. 37–328 (224).

⁶⁰ Enrico Besta, *I trucchi della cosiddetta cronaca altinate*, “*Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*”, 74 (1914–15), 2, p. 1275–1330 (1278).

⁶¹ B. Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca* cit., p. 163.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 166.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 176.

⁶⁴ *Idem*, *I secoli della letteratura veneta* cit., p. 9.

⁶⁵ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 243, retaken by R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xi; also, B. Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca* cit., p. 157.

⁶⁶ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, pp. xi–xviii; for example, the episcopal catalogues deal with slightly different writings amongst the three codices, cf. *ibidem*, p. xviii.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. xv–xvi.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. xlvi.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. xvii.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. ix.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. xlvi.

logical and chronological by him⁷². In Cessi's view, the text of the codex V was an *editio secunda*, while the *prima editio* was made of the writings of D and S, which reappears in *editio tertia*⁷³. Therefore, Cessi's original theory was that the three manuscripts had been inconsistently mixed resulting in the diverse and successive re-writings of different excerpts⁷⁴.

Editions:

The first edition of the chronicle *Altinate* was published by courtesy of *Archivio Storico Italiano*. Volume VIII of this periodical appeared in 1845, under the supervision of Antonio Rossi, and comprises the version given by manuscript S⁷⁵. Two years later, an annex to volume V of the same periodical unveiled the version of manuscript D, edited by F. Polidori⁷⁶. Aug. Prost mixed accidentally the two pieces of information when he noted that the 1845 edition by A. Rossi was based on the manuscript from Dresden⁷⁷.

Although P. Kehr showed scepticism towards a new edition⁷⁸, H. Simonsfeld published one in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, where he gave preference to a third manuscript, i.e. the one from the Vatican⁷⁹. The edition, preceded by minute investigations in "*Archivio Veneto*"⁸⁰, was the basis for some of the studies undertaken on the chronicle. In parallel, the editor published in "*Neues Archiv*"⁸¹ an excerpt from the writing, an edition which we did not have at hand. Based on the edition by Simonsfeld, G. Marzemin made a partial translation into Italian, including the episode referring to Charlemagne⁸².

When presenting the codices of E. A. Cicogna's private library, R. Fulin commented on the chronicle *Altinate* that "*uno dei nostri giovani amici, il quale apparecchia un largo e dotto lavoro sulle antiche cronache veneziane*"⁸³. One could infer that he was pointing at Giovanni Monticolo. Nevertheless, the *Cronache veneziane antichissime* by Monticolo did not cover the chronicle *Altinate*, although in the footnotes to *Singulis, Gradense*, and Giovanni Diacono there were several

⁷² Gina Fasoli, *I fondamenti della storiografia veneziana*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi* (ed. by Agostino Pertusi), Florence, 1970, p. 11–44 (33).

⁷³ B. Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca* cit., p. 176.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ "*Archivio Storico Italiano*" 8 cit., p. 1–228.

⁷⁶ "*Archivio Storico Italiano*" 5, appendix, cit., p. 9–128.

⁷⁷ Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques... Second mémoire* cit., p. 203

⁷⁸ Paul Kehr, *Rom und Venedig bis ins XII. Jahrhundert*, "Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken" 19 (1927), p. 1–180 apud R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. x.

⁷⁹ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 14, 1883, p. 1–69.

⁸⁰ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit.

⁸¹ *Compendium historiae Troianae-Romanae* (ed. by H. Simonfeld), "Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtkunde" 11 (1886), p. 239–251 apud E. Simonsfeld, *La Cronaca Altinate* (transl. by C. S. Rosada), "*Archivio Veneto*" 11, tom XXI, 2nd part (1881), p. 167–202 (174); see also G. Monticolo, *I manoscritti e le fonte* cit., p. 148 note 3; E. Besta, *I trucchi* cit., p. 1328.

⁸² G. Marzemin, *Carlo Magno* cit., p. 72–76.

⁸³ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 71 note.

references to this chronicle⁸⁴. Moreover, Monticolo made the promise of a second volume to *Cronache antichissime*, which was meant to include the chronicle *Altinate*⁸⁵, but he never fulfilled his wish⁸⁶.

Ultimately, the 1933 edition by R. Cessi proposed a new version to the chronicle *Altinate*⁸⁷.

Dating:

The issue of dating has been seriously hindered by the issue of the relations between the different manuscripts and implicitly different texts, especially that no clear solution had been reached until R. Cessi engaged in this matter. Another hindrance was the way in which all of the texts had been regarded as mutually inclusive. Cessi himself argued that the general investigation of the three reviews leads to the conclusion that there is no direct and immediate relation between them, and that none had been used to compile the other as indicated by H. Simonsfeld⁸⁸.

In fact, Cessi's thesis is based on the importance of the catalogues presented in these texts, which he deems "*i documenti più notevoli perchè ad essi dobbiamo risalire per la definizione del problema cronologico*"⁸⁹.

The chronicle *Altinate* was originally placed around the year 1200 by M. Foscarini⁹⁰ since the series of doges and patriarchs end with Pietro Ziani (elected in 1205) and Angelo Barozzi, respectively (elected in 1201)⁹¹. L. Streit seemed to share the same opinion when, speaking of the Fourth Crusade and referring to the chronicle *Altinate*, called the author "*il cronista contemporaneo di Venezia*"⁹². Also, H. Morf was right to speak of the 13th century⁹³, and E. A. Cicogna agreed

⁸⁴ G. Fasoli, *I fondamenti* cit., p. 12.

⁸⁵ Ugo Balzani, *Le cronache italiane nel medio evo*, Milan, 1900 [1884], p. 138 note 2; see also N. Iorga, *Les commencements de Venise*, "Académie Roumaine. Bulletin de la section historique" 18 (1931), p. 101–143 (104).

⁸⁶ By error, Freddy Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne*, excerpt from "Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, publiés par l'École Française de Rome", 1954, p. 241–292 (241) lists the chronicle *Altinate* within the writings from G. Monticolo, in *Cronache Veneziane antichissime* cit.; similarly, Lidia D. Sciama, *A Venetian Island: Environment, History and Change in Burano*, New York, 2003, p. 59 makes reference to a hypothetical Monticolo edition to the chronicle *Altinate*; it is in fact the chronicle *Gradense*.

⁸⁷ See *supra*.

⁸⁸ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 243, retaken by R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xi.

⁸⁹ Apud B. Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca* cit., p. 176.

⁹⁰ M. Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana* cit., p. 120.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 124 note 2.

⁹² Lodovico Streit, *Venezia e la quarta crociata* (transl. by R. Fulin), "Archivio Veneto" 8 (1878), tom 16, part I, p. 46–94 and 239–271 (254) [*Venedig und die Wendung des vierten Kreuzzuges gegen Konstantinopel*, Anklam, 1877]. See also Donald M. Nicol, *La quarta Crociata* (transl. by Patrizia Colombani), in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, II: L'età del comune* (ed. by Giorgio Cracco and Gherardo Ortalli), Rome, 1995, p. 155–181 (178), who regards the writing as quasi-contemporary with those events.

⁹³ H. Morf, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire de la légende de Troie en Italie et en Espagne*, "Romania" 21 (1892), p. 18–38 and 24 (1895), p. 174–196 (191).

that the writing dates from the 13th century with the following comment: “*l’anonimo Altinate è l’unico cronista, che mancava, veneziano nel secolo XII.*”⁹⁴ On the other hand, one could notice Roberto Galli’s overstatement of the chronicle *Altinate* early dating⁹⁵. According to him, the compilation under discussion should cover original excerpts dating no later than the 6th century (the episode related to Narses and Longinus etc.)⁹⁶. Overall, Galli had dated it as follows: parts I-III between 568 and 572, while part IV between 827 and 829, and had suggested that Narses was the embodiment of two different characters, one from the 6th century (Justinian’s notorious general) and the other (a later homonym) from the 9th century⁹⁷. Such statements were rejected by H. Simonsfeld⁹⁸, A. Gaudenzi⁹⁹, and E. Besta¹⁰⁰, while R. Cessi considered they had developed “*con pari disinvoltura e superficialità*” transforming myth into pure history¹⁰¹.

Nevertheless, the fact that some parts from *Altinate* preceded Giovanni Diacono continued to be generally accepted¹⁰². Furthermore, S. Romanin advanced the theory that the author of *Altinate* had been contemporary with the episode of Enrico Dandolo’s blinding on command of Manuel I Komnenos¹⁰³, but this statement was meant to illustrate that the chronicle “*avrebbe a meritare fede sopra ogni altro*”¹⁰⁴. The same Romanin contradicted himself by originally declaring the chronicle *Altinate* “*antichissima tra le Cronache veneziane*”¹⁰⁵, although later on he would call Giovanni Diacono “*antichissimo de’ cronisti veneti*”¹⁰⁶. In Simonsfeld’s view, however, the primary foundation of the chronicle dated from the first half of the 10th century, judging by the “*barbarica*” Latin used in the text¹⁰⁷. According to him, this foundation was enhanced through additional texts, such as the Charlemagne

⁹⁴ R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁹⁵ R. Galli, *La storia di Venezia dal principio del VI alla fine del XII secolo rinnovata. Le scoperte in una Cronaca*, “Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti”, 6th series, 4 (1886), p. 762 ff. and Idem, *Venezia e Roma in una Cronaca del secolo VI. Pagine nuove di storia*, “Nuovo Archivio Veneto”, new series, 1 (1901), p. 259–372.

⁹⁶ Apud R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. vii note 1.

⁹⁷ Apud B. Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca cit.*, p. 166–167.

⁹⁸ E. Simonsfeld, *Sulle scoperte del Dott. Roberto Galli nella Cronaca Altinate. Risposta del Dott. Enrico Simonsfeld*, “Archivio Veneto” 35 (1888), p. 117–134.

⁹⁹ Andrea Gaudenzi, *Il Costituto di Costantino*, Rome, 1919, p. 36 apud Roberto Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, I: *Duca e Popolo*, Venice, 1963, p. 30 note 5.

¹⁰⁰ E. Besta, *Nuove ricerche sul Chronicon Altinate*, “Nuovo Archivio Veneto”, new series, 15 (1908), p. 7 ff. and Idem, *I trucchi cit.*, p. 1275 ff., apud R. Cessi, in *Origo*, vii note 1.

¹⁰¹ R. Cessi, *Venezia ducale cit.*, p. 30–31 note 5.

¹⁰² E. Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo cit.*, p. 87; U. Balzani, *Le cronache cit.*, p. 279; C. Castellani, *I manoscritti cit.*, p. 205; and recently B. Rosada, *I secoli della letteratura veneta cit.*, p. 9, who suggests the 9th and 10th centuries for some parts of *Altinate*.

¹⁰³ S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 volumes, Venice, 1853–1861, II, p. 97.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 117 note 1.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, III, p. 369.

¹⁰⁷ E. Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo cit.*, p. 104–105; two years later in Idem, *Cronaca Altinate cit.*, p. 273 will place them towards the middle or at least the end of the 10th century.

episode¹⁰⁸ (thought to have been compiled between 1056 and 1065)¹⁰⁹, the legend of Longinus and Narses (between 1008 and 1056¹¹⁰; before 1070¹¹¹; between 1082 and 1084¹¹²), or the catalogues of patriarchs and bishops annexed during the 11th century¹¹³. The addition of other materials continued to the 13th century (following the death of Doge P. Ziani in 1229), when the manuscripts already dispersed were appended several other texts¹¹⁴, such as the lists of Byzantine emperors¹¹⁵ ending with Baldwin II (1228-1261)¹¹⁶. With regard to the latter text, H. Simonsfeld made the assumption that it had not been completed in Venice or anywhere else but Byzantium, and that a copy had been brought to Venice not sooner than the end of the 11th century, given that it stops in 1081 with Alexios I¹¹⁷. There had been other additions as well¹¹⁸. This view (that the 10th century represents the core of the chronicle with subsequent changes going to mid-11th century) was embraced by G. Monticolo¹¹⁹, C. Cipolla (at first)¹²⁰, and even B. Schmeidler¹²¹, under reservation, thus becoming a concept generally accepted throughout the 19th century¹²². According to B. Rosada though, the reason why Simonsfeld placed *Altinate* in the 10th century was his strong belief that *Gradense* had originated from an excerpt of this chronicle, which, at that time, was considered as a work by Giovanni Diacono¹²³.

¹⁰⁸ Idem, *Andrea Dandolo* cit., p. 105, 111–112; Idem, *Cronaca Altinate III*, p. 167–171.

¹⁰⁹ Idem, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 266, also taken on by G. Monticolo, *I manoscritti e le fonti* cit., p. 241 and Ruggero Bersi, *Le fonti della prima decade delle Historiae Rerum Venetarum di Marcantonio Sabellico*, “Nuovo Archivio Veneto”, new series, 10 (1910), tom 19, 2nd part, p. 422–460 and 10 (1910), tom 20, part I, p. 115–162 (149); see also G. Marzemin, *Carlo Magno* cit., p. 71.

¹¹⁰ G. Monticolo, *I manoscritti e le fonti* cit., p. 246.

¹¹¹ Cf. Wustenfeld apud R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xxvi note 1.

¹¹² Cf. Bernhard Schmeidler, *Zum Chronicon venetum*, “Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde” 31 (1906), p. 457–467 who based his theories on what resulted from the chrysobull of 1028 and on the date of the fall of Antioch, apud R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xxvi note 1. As for Besta, at first he rejected B. Schmeidler’s opinions and adopted G. Monticolo’s notes, see E. Besta, *Nuove ricerche* cit., p. 11 and R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xxvi note 1. Further on, E. Besta, *I trucchi* cit., would come back to this dating incriminating the entire work of being false.

¹¹³ E. Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo* cit., p. 105.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*; Idem, *Cronaca Altinate III*, p. 172–173.

¹¹⁶ Idem, *Andrea Dandolo* cit., p. 118.

¹¹⁷ Idem, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 260.

¹¹⁸ For further details, see Idem, *Cronaca Altinate III*, p. 174–175.

¹¹⁹ G. B. Monticolo, *La cronaca del diacono Giovanni e la storia politica di Venezia sino al 1009*, “Archivio Veneto” 25 (1883), p. 1–22; Idem, *I manoscritti e le fonti* cit., p. 219 ff., retaken in R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. vii, note 1.

¹²⁰ C. Cipolla, *Ricerche sulle tradizioni intorno alle antiche immigrazioni nella laguna. Il Chronicon Altinate in confronto col Chronicon Gradense*, “Archivio Veneto” 27 (1884), p. 338–373; 28 (1884), p. 104–131; 29 (1885), p. 331–353; 31 (1886), p. 129–146, 423–442, retaken in R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. vii, note 1. At some point, C. Cipolla, *Ricerche*, p. 138 argues that the author of *Altinate* cannot have lived prior to 940, given the expressions “*nacione*” and “*nacione parentorum suorum*”. He would later on change his opinions, in Idem, *Il Chronicon Altinate*, “Nuovo Archivio Veneto” 26, p. 275.

¹²¹ B. Schmeidler, *Zum Chronicon* cit., p. 457–467 apud R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. vii note 1.

¹²² G. Fasoli, *I fondamenti* cit., p. 13.

¹²³ B. Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca* cit., p. 160.

The first to have raised serious questions on the alleged age of the core of the chronicle was E. Besta¹²⁴, whose thesis will be eventually endorsed by C. Cipolla¹²⁵ with certain restraints. In fact, Cipolla had previously expressed his reservations¹²⁶ with regard to the dating of the chronicle, placing it with many hesitations in the 11th century. Besta based his theory on the fact that all of the episodes from the primitive corpus, regarded as a single corpus¹²⁷, cannot be prior to the second half of the 11th century¹²⁸, in particular 1143¹²⁹. To be convincing, Besta adopts the “state of mind” of the writing as argument, showing that when the author was fabricating the legend of Longinus, his fellow-citizens, “*assidue in negotii insudantes*”, had already set sail across the seas dominating the continental markets or at least aspiring to. We are thus dealing with a powerful and prosperous Venice, provided with a large and well-equipped fleet, given the trade between East and West. Therefore, “*tutto ciò, osservavo non poteva essere avvenuto prima che l’opera geniale di Pietro Orseolo avesse scossa la egemonia bizantina e mutata la soggezione in alleanza.*”¹³⁰ He also noted that the privileges granted in the Western Empire were mentioned in a form which proved that not only the Carolingians were given consideration, but their successors as well. Consequently, there would be evidence traceable back to the reign of Otto the Great¹³¹. This way, Besta came to push even farther the origins of the writing. Taking into account how Venice is depicted as equally threatened by the Eastern and Western emperors, he asked himself rhetorically “*queste minacce da parte dell’impero d’Occidente non ci ricondurrebbero ai tempi di Federico I e quelle di Oriente ai tempi di Manuele Comneno?*”, and concluded that this chronicle dates from the 12th century¹³². Another argument would be that the legend of Attila, so often invoked in the chronicle cannot have been created before the 12th century¹³³.

A. Gaudenzi also opted for the first half of this century¹³⁴, but from a different perspective, i.e. identifying the author as Giacomo Veneto, a little known character, who was living in Constantinople at that time. The comprehensive studies undertaken by L. Minio-Paluello on this character led to the definite refutation of both this theory and the dating¹³⁵. A rather intermediate hypothesis was advanced

¹²⁴ E. Besta, *Nuove ricerche* cit., p. 5 ff., retaken in R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. vii note 1; see also E. Besta, *I trucchi* cit., p. 1324.

¹²⁵ C. Cipolla, *Ricerche sulle tradizioni* cit., apud R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. vii note 1.

¹²⁶ Apud R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. vii note 1.

¹²⁷ E. Besta, *I trucchi* cit., p. 1275, 1322.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 1276.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 1322.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 1323.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 1324.

¹³² *Ibidem*.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, pp. 1324–1325.

¹³⁴ A. Gaudenzi, *Il Costituto di Costantino* cit., p. 53–57 and 61–62.

¹³⁵ Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, *Il «Chronicon Altinate» e Giacomo Veneto*, in *Miscellanea in onore di Roberto Cessi*, I, Rome, 1958, p. 153–169; see also B. Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca* cit., p. 178–179.

by G. Castellani, based on the chronicle discovered in Great Britain, *Cronica Venetum, saec. XI*. He could not decide if it was an *Altinate* or a Diacono, and hence conceded “*fra l’XI e il XII secolo*”¹³⁶.

Based on his principle of the three reviews to the writing called *Origo*, R. Cessi advanced the following dating theses: for the first period he proposed the time frame from 1092 to 1118, relying simply on the chronological elements of the catalogues, in particular the imperial one¹³⁷. For the second review, he set a time frame from 1145 to 1180¹³⁸. As for the third review, Cessi refrained from defining it in exact terms, adding that “*non oltre il tempo dello Ziani e non prima della composizione di almeno una parte delle addizioni della seconda edizione*”, and admitting how he cannot satisfy the desire of an exact dating¹³⁹. As a result, D. Raines suggests a broader concept, referring to the first decades of the 13th century¹⁴⁰, as previously promoted by B. Cecchetti¹⁴¹.

R. Cessi’s theories have been entirely embraced by Gina Fasoli¹⁴², who regards them as “*plausibile dal punto di vista critico ed accettabili dal punto di vista storico*”¹⁴³, A. Carile¹⁴⁴, G. Arnaldi-L. Capo¹⁴⁵, or M. Belozerskaya and K. Lapatin¹⁴⁶. Although concurring with this general preference¹⁴⁷, G. Ortalli still preserves certain reservations on the grounds that some parts had been written in a period preceding even Giovanni Diacono¹⁴⁸. Before this mixture of opinions, Giorgio Cracco unveils his entanglement: “*del XII o forse XIII secolo: la datazione è un rebus [emphasis Cracco]*”¹⁴⁹.

¹³⁶ C. Castellani, *I manoscritti* cit., p. 205.

¹³⁷ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xxiii. For this dating, see also D. Raines, *Grado nel mito delle origini del patriato veneziano*, in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* cit., p. 99–118 (103) (who suggests 1081–1118).

¹³⁸ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xxv–xxvi; see also Idem, *Venezia ducale* cit., p. 30 note 5; G. Fasoli, *I fondamenti* cit., p. 35; D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹³⁹ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xxx.

¹⁴⁰ D. Raines, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁴¹ Bart. Cecchetti, *Di alcune fonti della storia veneta fino al secolo XIII*, Venice, 1867, p. 9.

¹⁴² G. Fasoli, *I fondamenti* cit., p. 13, who makes reference to R. Cessi, *Le origini del ducato veneziano*, Naples, 1951, p. 114 note 3; R. Cessi, *sopra la composizione* cit., p. 40 ff.

¹⁴³ G. Fasoli, *op. cit.*, p. 32–33.

¹⁴⁴ A. Carile, *La coscienza civica di Venezia nella sua prima storiografia*, in *La coscienza cittadina nei comuni italiani del Duecento*, Todi, 1972 (11–14 ottobre 1970: Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla spiritualità medievale, XI), p. 97–136 (122); cf. idem and Giorgio Fedalto, *Le origini di Venezia*, Bologna, 1978, p. 44.

¹⁴⁵ G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *I cronisti* cit., p. 394 note 26.

¹⁴⁶ Marina Belozerskaya and Kenneth Lapatin, *Antiquity Consumed: Transformation at San Marco, Venice*, in *Antiquity and its Interpreters* (ed. by Alina Payne, Ann Kuttner, Rebekah Smick), Cambridge, 2000, p. 83–98 (87 – with the remark that *Chronicon Altinate* was written probably in the 12th century).

¹⁴⁷ Gherardo Ortalli, *I cronisti e la determinazione di Venezia città*, in *Storia di Venezia* cit., p. 761–782 (763).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁹ Giorgio Cracco, *Un “altro mondo”. Venezia nel medioevo. Dal secolo XI al secolo XIV*, Turin, 1986, p. 15. Also, B. Rosada, *I secoli della letteratura veneta* cit., p. 9 speaks of the “*incerta datazione*” of *Altinate*, and then tends to place certain parts in the 9th and 11th centuries.

In our case, however, after investigating the chronicle of Giovanni Diacono and apprehending that the part on the origins did not belong to the “dogal chaplain” but to a 13th century writer accustomed with the writings of Paul the Deacon and Bede the Venerable¹⁵⁰, it results that *Altinate* is the first text to be dealing with the issues on the origins of Venice and its first centuries of existence (at least the first two reviews as structured by R. Cessi).

Even though we salute the efforts made by Roberto Cessi to establish the development stages of these writings, we stick to our basic principle of dating the manuscripts at hand by taking into account that all three of them date from the 13th century. In the chronological thread of events, we shall place these writings in that particular century, despite R. L. Wolff’s opinion that the chronicle *Altinate* dates from mid-11th century¹⁵¹ and Marino Zorzi’s thesis that they transmit, at least partly, traditions and texts older than the 11th century¹⁵². J. Poucet, however, adopts a compromise solution suggesting 11th-12th centuries¹⁵³. As for T. S. Brown, he takes refuge behind the idea that the dating issue, as well as the nature of these writings, is extremely complicated, and that most of authorised voices embrace Cessi’s view¹⁵⁴.

Paternity:

The chronicle *Altinate* was only once ascribed to an author. The sole paternity is the one advanced rather intensely by A. Gaudenzi¹⁵⁵. Presuming that all the parts made a single corpus (in agreement with the latest theses promoted by E. Besta at the time, 1914–15¹⁵⁶), then publishing and partially demonstrating through other research the letter addressed by Giacomo Veneto to the bishop of Ravenna, Mosè, with regard to the forgery of the Nicæan canon, Gaudenzi identified in this clerick, who had translated into Latin many of Aristotle’s works, the author of our chronicle. According to Gaudenzi, this connection was based on linguistic affinities. Nevertheless, this thesis was swiftly rejected by R. Cessi¹⁵⁷ with the exception of two arguments “*forse più probativi*”. The first relates to the fact that the body of writings is a ridiculous mystification (idea borrowed from Besta¹⁵⁸), whereas the second relies on the relationship with the political and religious episode where Giacomo Veneto and Mosè played an important role¹⁵⁹. Yet, Cessi’s hesitations did

¹⁵⁰ Marin, *Cronistica venețiană*.

¹⁵¹ Robert Lee Wolff, *Romania: the Latin Empire of Constantinople*, “Speculum” 23 (1948) [reprinted in idem, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople*, London, 1976: II], p. 1–34 (8).

¹⁵² M. Zorzi, *I Gradenigo e i libri*, in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* cit., p. 227–242 (228).

¹⁵³ Jacques Poucet, *Le mythe de l’origine troyenne au Moyen âge et à la Renaissance: un exemple d’idéologie politique (Antenor, fondateur de Venise, II)*, in <http://bcs.fltr.ucl.ac.be/FE/05/anthenor2.html#France>, p. 21.

¹⁵⁴ T. S. Brown, *History as myth* cit., p. 153.

¹⁵⁵ A. Gaudenzi, *Il Costituto di Costantino* cit., p. 53–57 and 61–62.

¹⁵⁶ See *supra*.

¹⁵⁷ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xxxv.

¹⁵⁸ See *supra*.

¹⁵⁹ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xxxv.

not pass unnoticed by Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, an expert in Giacomo Veneto's thinking¹⁶⁰, who showed that, although Cessi "*ha avuto occasione di mettere in evidenza parte dell'elemento fantastico nella attribuzione a Giacomo Veneto di quell' conglomerate para-storico [emphasis mine: Altinate]*", he did not plunge deeper into this rejection¹⁶¹. He then proceeded to dismantle one by one Gaudenzi's arguments¹⁶² and left no room to retort at the end: Giacomo Veneto is a "[...] *uomo di superiore dottrina, di ampi interessi, di rigidità scientifica non comune. C'è da sperare che il suo nome non venga più collegato, nemmeno per vaga ipotesi, a scritture storico-politiche del tipo del «Chronicon Altinate»*".¹⁶³

As for the rest, another theory that circulated was that we are dealing with an author who was at least "*uomo colto e fino*"¹⁶⁴ or with a religious traditionalist more profound than Giovanni Diacono¹⁶⁵.

Eventually, Cessi brought forward a "saving" solution arguing that, in the face of the great number of circulating text and manuscripts, "*è certo improprio parlare di un [emphasis Cessi] autore*", but of at least three¹⁶⁶.

On the other hand, the name of *Altinate* raised a series of question marks. If in the 18th century Marco Foscarini stressed that "*piacque ad alcuni di chiamar questo anonimo con tal soprannome [emphasis mine: Altinate], perochè s'occupa in modo particolare nei fatti d'Altino, ricca un tempo e famosa città*"¹⁶⁷, and a century later this view was echoed by the editor A. Rossi, who agreed that "*è probabile assai che si chiamasse fin dal principio Altinate, per essersi l'anonimo suo autore occupato più specialmente delle cose di Altino*"¹⁶⁸, the same opinion turned further into stupefaction for the simple reason that there are only few lines dedicated to the town of Altino (namely, its destruction and the exodus of its citizens)¹⁶⁹. While Apostolo Zeno and B. de Montfaucon¹⁷⁰ avoid using the name of *Altinate*¹⁷¹, this title became commonly used in the 19th century, even though H. Simonsfeld once admitted that "*questo nome, a nostro avviso inesatto, ma che noi manterremo dacchè una buona volta si è adottato*"¹⁷². N. Iorga also raised

¹⁶⁰ See L. Minio-Paluello, *Jacobus Veneticus Grecus, Canonist and Translator of Aristotle*, "Traditio" 8 (1953), p. 265–304; Idem, *Giacomo Veneto e l'aristotelismo latino*, in *Venezia e l'Oriente fra Medio Evo e Rinascimento*, Florence, 1966, p. 53–74.

¹⁶¹ Idem, *Il «Chronicon Altinate» e Giacomo Veneto* cit., p. 153.

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 153 ff.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 169.

¹⁶⁴ E. Besta, *I trucchi* cit., p. 1321.

¹⁶⁵ T. S. Brown, *History as myth* cit., p. 152.

¹⁶⁶ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xxxiii; see also T. S. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 153 – when he speaks of the compilers of the chronicle *Altinate*.

¹⁶⁷ M. Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana* cit., p. 124.

¹⁶⁸ Antonio Rossi, *Sulla Cronaca Altinate. Commentario*, in *Chronicon Venetum quod Altinate nuncupatur e bibliotheca Patriarchalis Seminarii nunc primum editum ...*, "Archivio Storico Italiano" 8 (1845), p. 1–228 (5), retaken in B. Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca* cit., p. 155–156.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 156.

¹⁷⁰ Quoted by A. Rossi, *loc. cit.*, p. 6–7.

¹⁷¹ B. Rosada, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

¹⁷² E. Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo* cit., p. 104.

serious objections when speaking of “*cronica populară a Veneției, cuprinsă în compilația care se numește, într-un mod cu totul nelogic și greșit, «Chronicle of Altinum»* [“the people’s chronicle of Venice, included in the compilation named, in a completely illogical and wrong manner, «Cronica din Altinum»”, translation mine], [...]”¹⁷³. Indeed, it could very well be named *Cronaca Torcellana* or *Cronaca Gradense* or generally *Cronaca Veneta*.

The replacement of the old names of *Altinate* and *Gradense* became one of the foundation elements for the new thesis advanced by Cessi, which enabled him to propose the title of *Origo civitatum Italiae*. In the case of *Gradense*, R. Cessi solved the issue by reducing it to a simple annex to *Altinate*. As for *Altinate* itself, he came to the conclusion that it was “*una ridicola mistificazione*”¹⁷⁴. Yet, even under the terms of the new dynamic theory proposed by Cessi, *Altinate* and *Gradense* continued to be regarded as separate works¹⁷⁵.

Sources:

It has been illustrated that the introduction to the first edition unveils the author’s wish to become acquainted with the history of “*Antiquorum ystorias scire desiderans, ipsarum principium oportet cognoscere*”¹⁷⁶. T. S. Brown sees behind this statement “the early hagiographic traditions about St Mark, a poem written on the mainland around 800 about the Huns’ destruction of Aquileia, and a number of irrelevant legends from other cities dealing with quite separate attacks by the Goth Totila and the Magyars”¹⁷⁷.

Once established the existence of a 13th century pseudo-Diacono¹⁷⁸, who wrote about the first period (ante-764) of the history of Venice¹⁷⁹, it should become generally accepted that this writing automatically relinquished its potential position as source for the writings gathered under the name of *Origo*. On the other hand, major events from the period following 764, presented in texts from the first half of the 11th century, laid at the core of the several re-writings of *Origo*, such as the Charlemagne episode, the Hungarian invasion in the Venetian region under Doge Pietro Tribuno (888–912), the tragic events from the dogeship of Pietro Candiano IV (959–967), or the events from the dogeship of Pietro II Orseolo (991–1008).

Once excluded the possibility of any influence by Diacono for the period prior to 764, one could proceed to listing the other potential sources for the chronicle *Altinate*, such as the ones analysed hitherto.

The tripartite text comparisons Paul the Deacon (*Historia Langobardorum*)-*Altinate*-“Diacono” made once the subject of investigation of G. Monticolo¹⁸⁰, but

¹⁷³ N. Iorga, *Istoria comerțului cu Orientul* (transl. by Gheron Netta), Bucharest, 1939, p. 47.

¹⁷⁴ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. vii. See *supra*.

¹⁷⁵ G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *I cronisti* cit., p. 394.

¹⁷⁶ See also Tiziana Plebani, *Leggere e ascoltare le storie delle famiglie veneziane*, in *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo* cit., p. 83–98 (85).

¹⁷⁷ T. S. Brown, *History as myth* cit., p. 153–154.

¹⁷⁸ Marin, *Cronistica venețiană*.

¹⁷⁹ See *supra*.

¹⁸⁰ G. Monticolo, *I manoscritti e le fonti* cit., p. 221–222, 224–226.

“non si può ammettere che i due autori [emphasis mine: *Altinate* and “Diacono”] abbiano tratta la materia da quella fonte l’uno indipendentemente dall’altro”, especially that the similarities between the two Venetian chronicles appear also in excerpts with no correspondence in the work of the Lombard writer, and that they share some common errors, which are inexistent in the text of Paul the Deacon¹⁸¹. Now that a new hypothesis has been formulated, that the excerpts ascribed to Diacono dealing with the period prior to 746 must be placed in the 13th century, one can infer that *Altinate* is the chronicle which relied on Paul the Deacon, and this happened through an intermediate, then it could not have been Giovanni Diacono. In other cases though, the similarities between *Altinate* and pseudo-Diacono “si possono appunto spiegare con l’utilizzazione delle stesse fonti, meglio che con una diretta rielaborazione della cronaca”¹⁸².

It was noticed that the genealogy of the Frankish kings (present in the manuscripts S and V and missing from D) broadly coincides with *Chronica regum Francorum*¹⁸³. As a matter of fact, D. Raines argues that the structure of excerpts pertaining to the Venetian medieval history was influenced above all by the techniques used in the Carolingian texts as illustrated by the “minor annals” with event annotations on the sides of Pascal’s tables¹⁸⁴. At the same time, it was thought that one of the imperial catalogues did not seem to have been compiled in Venice or anywhere else but Byzantium, and that a copy was brought to Venice not sooner than the end of the 11th century, given that it stops in 1081 with Alexios I¹⁸⁵.

Another element was the use of old documents, which does not appear to have been unfamiliar to the anonymous writer¹⁸⁶, despite Enrico Besta’s suggestion that “bisogna andare a rilento nel presupporre l’uso di fonti documentarie”¹⁸⁷.

To simplify this issue without going into details, B. Rosada draws attention to how many problems could cause the acknowledgment of the potential sources of *Altinate*¹⁸⁸, yet still agrees to the likelihood that both *Gradense* and *Altinate* derived from the same source, which could have been an oral one. Unfortunately, he neglects to give any supporting details¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 224.

¹⁸² G. Fasoli, *I fondamenti* cit., p. 31. A text analysis would have definitely better illustrated this statement.

¹⁸³ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*, III, p. 213–214; see also E. Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo* cit., p. 112; Idem, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 265, 266–268; B. Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca* cit., p. 178.

¹⁸⁴ D. Raines, *Alle origini dell’archivio politico* cit., p. 9. For the origin of these techniques, most certainly monastic and dating from the 8th century, see Michael McCormick, *Les annales du haut moyen âge*, Turnhout, 1975, p. 15–16.

¹⁸⁵ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate* cit., p. 260.

¹⁸⁶ G. Monticolo, *Spigolature d’archivio (secolo XI–XIV)*, “Nuovo Archivio Veneto”, tom III, part I, 2 (1892), p. 351–386 (374), with strict reference to *Singulis*; see also *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia* cit., I, pp. 4–5 (with reference to what was hitherto called *Cronicon gradense*), 7–13 (reference to *Singulis*), 27 (idem), 28–29 (idem), 31 (idem); T. Plebani, *Leggere e ascoltare* cit., p. 85.

¹⁸⁷ E. Besta, *I trucchi* cit., p. 1276.

¹⁸⁸ B. Rosada, *Storia di una cronaca* cit., p. 155.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 170.

Influences:

At the time when *Gradense* and/or *Altinate* were thought to be the oldest Venetian historical texts, Giovanni Diacono had been perceived for long as influenced by them. Then, when the time of their creation was moved to a later period, culminating with R. Cessi (i.e. the 11th–13th centuries), Diacono became to be regarded as their source. Now, by suggesting the separation of the two parts of Diacono and considering that the excerpts related to the first centuries of Venetian history belong to a 13th century anonymous writer, the relationship is reversed again. It is true that Diacono wrote before the anonymous writers of *Altinate* did, but he only created the part post-746 culminating with the part corresponding to his time when he was a first class witness¹⁹⁰. The anonymous writer of pseudo-Diacono keen on universal history only wrote in the 13th century, i.e. after *Altinate*¹⁹¹. As a result, the potential affinities between the texts lead to determining the influence of *Altinate* on this 13th century pseudo-Diacono, bringing forward once more the relation between source and influence. Thus, Cessi's *dictum* that “quanto poi alle interferenze del Chronicon del diacono Giovanni con il nostro frammento [emphasis mine: *Gradense*], non sarà male avvertire che esse risultano più naturali invertendo il rapporto: l'opera del diacono Giovanni è fonte, anziché derivazione”¹⁹², as well as Lidia Capo's statement¹⁹³ loses validity, especially since the comparisons between what we call *Altinate* and what we call “Diacono” related mostly to what Giovanni Diacono had not written, namely the issue of the origins of the city and its first centuries of existence.

Furthermore, the scholars proceeded to analyse the relation between *Altinate* and pseudo-Diacono on the subject of the two cities of Venice¹⁹⁴, the Longinus legend¹⁹⁵, the bishops mentioned in the text (Torcello, Olivolo, etc.)¹⁹⁶, the excerpts on Constantine the Great¹⁹⁷, the alleged synod held in Grado by the patriarch Elia¹⁹⁸, the description of the origins of Torcello and Grado, and the catalogue of patriarchs of Grado¹⁹⁹. Yet, G. Monticolo's conclusion on *Gradense* and *Singulis* as “Diacono”'s sources²⁰⁰ recurs, even though his assumption (on dating) was false.

By establishing that *Altinate* preceded pseudo-Diacono, it can be concluded that different excerpts from Paul the Deacon went through the filter of *Altinate*

¹⁹⁰ Marin, *Cronistica venețiană*.

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹² R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xxii.

¹⁹³ G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *I cronisti* cit., p. 394 note 26, where Capo shows that Cessi put an end to Monticolo's views on the relations between Diacono and *Altinate* and *Gradense*, and that “è ormai da escludere che questi due ultimi testi siano da annoverarsi fra le fonti di Giovanni”.

¹⁹⁴ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate II*, p. 70.

¹⁹⁵ *Idem*, *Venetianische Studien* cit.; see also Monticolo, *I manoscritti e le fonti* cit., p. 224.

¹⁹⁶ C. Cipolla, *Ricerche sulle tradizioni* cit., p. 130 ff.

¹⁹⁷ G. Monticolo, *op. cit.*, p. 224–226.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 162–163.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 219. Certainly, the completion of these catalogues with the names post-764, the starting point in the work ascribable to Giovanni Diacono, cannot influence the work of the latter.

²⁰⁰ G. Monticolo, *op. cit.*, p. 253; M. Zorzi, *Introduzione* cit., p. 19.

before being taken on by the 13th century writer. As for the common errors that do not appear in the Lombard historian²⁰¹, they come to prove even more the influence of *Altinate* on the anonymous author that we call “pseudo-Diacono”.

The influences of *Altinate* were examined also in relation with other chronicles unanimously regarded as posterior, such as *Historia Ducum Venetorum*²⁰² (concerning details from the Fourth Crusade²⁰³) and Martino da Canal²⁰⁴, Marco²⁰⁵ (the issues on universal history²⁰⁶, the issue of the origins²⁰⁷, the relations with Byzantium in the context of the events from 1171–1172²⁰⁸, several other comparisons²⁰⁹, the fact that Marco accepts with no excessive reservations to read *Altinate* simply because he regarded it as a “canonical” text raised to this status through the tacit consensus of different chroniclers²¹⁰, the concrete detail that Marco’s notes were derived from the manuscript S²¹¹), Andrea Dandolo²¹² (lists of emperors, patriarchs, and

²⁰¹ Noted by G. Monticolo, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

²⁰² *Historia Ducum Venetorum*, in *Testi Storici Veneziani (XI–XIII secolo)* (ed. by Luigi Andrea Berto), Padua, 2000 [1999], p. 1–83.

²⁰³ A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence, 1969, p. 176 and note 5, 177 and note 1, 185. The reference is made to an *additio* to the codex from Dresden.

²⁰⁴ H. Morf, *Notes pour server* cit., p. 193 note 1; A. Carile, *Le origini di Venezia* cit., p. 36–37; G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, *I cronisti* cit., p. 395 (who notes that both of the 13th century writings start where the “catalogues of doges” end); see also L. Capo, *Rassegna di studi sulla cronachistica veneziana*, “Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo” 86 (1976–1977), p. 387–431 (397), retaken by Luigi Andrea Berto, in *Testi storici veneziani (XI–XII secolo)*. *Historia ducum Veneticorum*. *Annales Venetici breves*. *Domenico Tino*, *Relatione de electione Dominici Silvi Venetorum ducis*, Padova, 2000 [1999], p. xxvii note 6. For the relation with Martino da Canal, see also the comparative texts offered by A. Limentani, in Martino da Canal cit., p. xxxiii–xxxiv, and their explanations, cf. *ibidem*: xxxiv–xxxv; see also T. S. Brown, *History as myth* cit., p. 154; T. Plebani, *Leggere e ascoltare* cit., p. 89 (for the legend of Troy). In general, for this 13th century chronicle, see Martino da Canal, *Les estoires de Venise. Cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275* (ed. by Alberto Limentani), Florence, 1972; Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise* (transl. and ed. by Laura K. Morreale), Padua, 2009; see also our recent article, Ș. V. Marin, *A Chanson de Geste in the 13th Century Venice: the Chronicle Written by Martino da Canal*, “Medieval and Early Modern Studies for Central and Eastern Europe” 2 (2010), p. 71–121.

²⁰⁵ For the chronicle ascribed to Marco, we are waiting for the edition prepared by Luigi Andrea Berto.

²⁰⁶ E. Simonsfeld, *Cronaca Altinate II*, p. 54.

²⁰⁷ A. Carile, *Le origini di Venezia* cit., p. 36–37.

²⁰⁸ L. Streit, *Venezia e la quarta crociata* cit., p. 76 note 2.

²⁰⁹ Silvana Collodo, *Temi e caratteri della cronachistica veneziana in volgare del Tre-Quattrocento (Enrico Dandolo)*, “Studi Veneziani” 9 (1967), p. 127–151 (140); T. S. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

²¹⁰ Elisa Paladin, *Osservazioni sulla inedita cronaca veneziana di Marco (sec. XIII ex.–XIV in.)*, “Atti del [Reale] Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti” 128 (1969–1970), p. 429–461 (455).

²¹¹ R. Cessi, in *Origo*, p. xi; similarly, see also Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago-London, 1981, p. 62.

²¹² For the two chronicles of Doge Andrea Dandolo, see *Andreae Danduli Ducis Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta aa. 46–1280 d. C.*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12 (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna, 1923, p. 5–327 and *Andreae Danduli, Chronica brevis*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12, part I (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna, 1938, p. 351–373, respectively.

doges²¹³, the Trojan episode²¹⁴, the conflict against Manuel I Komnenos²¹⁵, *Venetiarum Historia*²¹⁶ (from the perspective of the objective of the two writings, which is eventually reduced to lists of families)²¹⁷, Pietro Giustinian²¹⁸ (with regard to the election of the first doge²¹⁹), Marcantonio Sabellico²²⁰ (the Pepin episode²²¹), Marino Sanudo's *Vite dei Dogi*²²². Based on a detail related to the origins of the Gradenigo family and referring to D. Raines' studies, M. Zorzi concludes that the version offered by the chronicle *Altinate* was taken on by all of the subsequent chronicles²²³. This thesis was generalised by Tiziana Plebani in the matter of dissemination throughout chronicles of the lists of aristocratic families²²⁴. D. Raines goes even further to argue how these data were taken on from *Origo* by the chronicle of Pietro Giustinian and *Venetiarum Historia*²²⁵, as well as by other codices (M 33, M 48, M 105, M 720)²²⁶. In our opinion formulated a time ago, this chronicle is correlated to Diacono, the Dandolian *Extensa*, Lorenzo de' Monaci²²⁷,

²¹³ Ester Pastorello, *Introduzione*, in *Andreae Danduli Ducis Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta* cit., p. lxii.

²¹⁴ Silvana Ozoeze Collodo, review of H. Buchthal, *Historia Troiana. Studies in the history of medieval secular illustration*, London-Leiden, 1971, in "Archivio Storico Italiano" 130 (1972), 3–4, p. 553–561 (558).

²¹⁵ L. Streit, *Venezia e la quarta crociata* cit., p. 76 note 2.

²¹⁶ For this chronicles, see *Venetiarum Historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata* (ed. by Roberto Cessi and Fanny Bennato), Venice, 1964; see also our recent study, Ș. V. Marin, *Some Considerations regarding the Anonymous Venetiarum Historia (14th Century)*, "Historical Yearbook" 7 (2010), p. 177–194.

²¹⁷ R. Cessi, *Prefazione*, in *Venetiarum Historia* cit., p. xxxi–xxxiii, liv, lv; see also A. Carile, *Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romanie*, "Studi Veneziani" 7 (1965), p. 125–305 (190).

²¹⁸ For Pietro Giustinian, see Ș. V. Marin, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

²¹⁹ E. Simonsfeld, *Appendice agli studi sulla Cronaca Altinate*, "Archivio Veneto" 12, tom XXIV, part I (1882), p. 111–131 (117).

²²⁰ See *M. Antonii Sabellici, rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita, ad Marcum Barbadicum, Sereniss. Venetiarum Principem & Senatum, Decadis Primae*, in *Degl'Istorici delle Cose Veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per Pubblico Decreto*, Venice, 1718.

²²¹ R. Bersi, *Le fonti della prima decade* cit., p. 149.

²²² G. Berchet, *Prefazione* cit., p. 40. For the chronicle, see *Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 22 (ed. by Lodovico Antonio Muratori), Milan, 1733: *Vitae Ducum Venetorum Italicè Scriptae ab origine Urbis, sive ab anno CCCCXXI usque ad annum MCCCCXCIII*, p. 399–1252.

²²³ M. Zorzi, *Introduzione* cit., p. 21.

²²⁴ T. Plebani, *Leggere e ascoltare* cit., p. 89, 92; see also D. Raines, *Grado nel mito* cit., p. 105.

²²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 108, 110–115.

²²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 110–115.

²²⁷ See *Laurentii de Monacis Cretae Cancellari Chronica de rebus venetis Ab U. C. ad Annum MCCCLIV, sive ad conjurationem ducis Faledro* (editor Flaminio Corner), Venetia, 1758; see also our recent study, Ș. V. Marin, *A Venetian Chronicler in Crete. The Case of Lorenzo de' Monaci and His Possible Byzantine Influences*, in *L'Italia e la frontiera orientale dell'Europa. 1204–1669 / Italy and Europe's Eastern Border. 1204–1660. Convegno internazionale di studi, Roma, 25–27 novembre 2010* (ed. by Iulian Mihai Damian, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Mihailo St. Popović and Alexandru Simon), Frankfurt/Main-Berlin-Bern-Brussels-New York-Oxford-Vienna, 2012, p. 237–258.

M 102 (“E. Dandolo”)²²⁸, pseudo-Caroldo²²⁹, M 796, M 2571, M 74 and M 1833, hence the 4th category of chronicles, based on the presentation of Charlemagne in the Venetian chronicles²³⁰.

Another issue brought into discussion was the influence of *Altinate* beyond the Venetian chronicles, in particular on Sicard of Cremona²³¹. This thesis, circulated by Oswald Holder-Egger, the editor of the chronicle from Cremona (with reference to the Trojan episode), was rejected by E. Besta, who demonstrated that both writings were inspired by a third common source²³².

* * *

As shown above, we are dealing with three 13th century manuscripts, which represent the foundation of what is called the chronicle *Altinate*. However, despite the unprecedented solution proposed by Roberto Cessi, which is unsatisfactory and contradicting for our methodology, our intention is to relate to these three codices as they are. Considering that each was given preference by a specific editor (S – in the Rossi edition, D – in the Polidori edition, and V – in the Simonsfeld edition), we regard that the consequent studies should rely on these three editions and follow the presentation of events given in each codex.

In the case of *Gradense* and *Singulis*, we came to realise that both are distinctive materials, which cannot be integrated within what is called the Venetian chronicles. From the perspective of their contents, they are far from dealing with the history of Venice and the Venetian community.

²²⁸ For this chronicle, see *Cronica di Venezia detta di Enrico Dandolo. Origini–1362* (ed. by Roberto Pesce), Venice, 2010; see also our recent study Ș. V. Marin, *Codicele It. VII. 102 (8142) de la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana și chestiunea atribuirii către Enrico Dandolo*, in *Orient și Occident. Studii în memoria profesorului Gheorghe Zbucnea* (edited by Manuela Dobre and Rudolf Dinu), Bucharest, 2012, p. 113–144 [in print].

²²⁹ For this chronicle, see Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, *Istorie venețiene* (ed. by Șerban V. Marin), I–V, 2012.

²³⁰ Ș. Marin, *Veneția – între Carol cel Mare și Bizanț. Reprezentarea momentului 800 în tradiția cronicistică venețiană*, “Analele Universității București. Istorie” 47 (1998), p. 3–44 (24).

²³¹ Cf. *Sicardi episcopi Cremonensis Cronica – 1213* (ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, 31, Hannover, 1903, p. 22–183 (a different edition in 1903). On Siccardus (c. 1155 or 1150–1215), bishop of Cremona from 1185, and his *Chronicon* that goes to 1213, see, amongst others, Erich Komorowski, *Sicard Bischof von Cremona. Eine Studien zur Historiographie des XII. Jahrhunderts*, Königsberg, 1881; N. Iorga, *Cărți reprezentative în viața omenirii. Seria a II-a*, “Revista istorică” 13 (1927), 10–12, p. 329–361, 14 (1928), 1–3, p. 8–27, 14 (1928), 7–9, p. 233–289 (258–268); Ercole Brocchieri, *Sicardo di Cremona e la sua opera letteraria*, Rome, 1958; André Vauchez, *Innocent III, Sicard de Crémone et la canonisation de saint Homebon († 1197)*, in *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis* (ed. by Andrea Sommerlechner), Rome, 2003, pp. 435–455; Edward Coleman, *Sicard of Cremona as legate of Innocent III in Lombardy*, in *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis cit.*, II, Rome, 2003, p. 929–953.

²³² E. Besta, *I trucchi cit.*, p. 1296, who analysis the pluses and minuses from *Altinate* in relation with Sicard.