CHRONICA SVBDITA
HYDATII LIMICI
EPISCOPI GALLAECI

EDIDIT
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VOLUME TWO
OF
HYDATIUS:
A LATE ROMAN CHRONICLER
IN POST-ROMAN SPAIN

AN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL
STUDY
and
NEW CRITICAL EDITION
OF THE CHRONICLE

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INTRODUCTION

The chronicle of Hydatius is not a Classical text and therefore it cannot be treated like one. Hydatius did not write the polished and rhetorical clausulae of his earlier contemporaries Jerome and Augustine; his Latin is what we would call Late Latin and it is much cruder than any of the works we know Hydatius to have read—e.g. the Bible, Jerome, Pope Leo, Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus—and it betray many of the attributes of the much more "modern" Latin style which was growing up in Spain, Gaul, Italy, and Africa at the time. Though Hydatius' language is in general undifferentiated from most other contemporary late Latin (that is, there are no uniquely "Spanish" aspects about it) there are certain tendencies which may point to his Spanish birth, such as his proclivity for using the pluperfect of "esse" instead of "ire", something which existed in Old Spanish and still survives today in Portuguese alone of the Romance languages, and his (postulated) use of "germanus" for brother (Spanish hermano; Portuguese irmão) in §195.1 His spoken Latin was certainly cruder than his written Latin, for the tortuous and confused style which extends throughout the chronicle, especially in the introduction, betrays the enormous difficulty he had in producing what he probably regarded as a highly polished style.

Because we have no real idea of the exact form of the Latin which Hydatius spoke or wrote, we cannot place any preconceived editorial restraints upon the text. In fact, the meagre manuscript tradition forces the editor to use Phillipps 1829, B, as a base manuscript for all aspects of the text: structural, chronological, orthographical, and grammatical. A few alterations and omissions which occurred between the autograph and the early ninth-century date of B can be taken into account through other secondary witnesses but in general we must rely almost entirely on B. The major problems are not only that B has been heavily "corrected" by later readers, but also that its exemplar was badly corrupted and lacunose.

1 The spelling "Octubris" (42, 151, 173), which probably points solely to a Spanish origin, may be the work of the Spanish compiler rather than Hydatius himself; cf. the appearance of "octuber" in the Consularia Constantinopolitana s.a. 386.2 (Chron. min. I: 244). On this text, see pp. 35-50 of Volume One.
All readings from B are based on an excellent microfilm provided for me by the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin and were checked by me against the manuscript itself. Manuscript C, 1792 of Carpentras, is of no value since it was copied directly from B in the late sixteenth century. I cite it in the apparatus only when it preserves the first instance of an emendation which is accepted by later editors, since it often varies from B in much the same way as do the editions of San Llorente and Sirmond. The epitomes H and F, of the early 570’s and c.613, are important witnesses to the text and I have cited them in full in all cases, even when the readings are obviously corrupt, incorrect, condensed, or expanded. The lesser texts, G, I, P, and M, can often decide difficult cases among the variants of B, F and H depending on which variant they give support to. But because they depart so often from Hydatius’ wording, they are cited only when their readings are deemed to be helpful or interesting with regard either to the text itself or the author’s attitude towards it. This is also the case for c, the Consularia Constantinopolitana, and p, the Chronicle of Prosper, both witnesses to now-lost Gallic sources which Hydatius used to 440. Two major epitomes, S and T, are not cited in the apparatus; as will be explained in Chapter 3 below, their excerpts, like C, derive ultimately from B itself and hence are of no independent value.

The citation in the apparatus of the readings and conjectures of earlier editors is quite selective and again I present only those which appear helpful or interesting from the point of view of the text itself and the editor’s attitude towards the text and the history it describes. The number of citations could easily be doubled by including all those of San Llorente whose liberties with the text were rather extreme.

The bulk of the prolegomena to the text is made up of three chapters: the first describing in detail all the manuscripts and editions of Hydatius’ chronicle; the second explaining the methods adopted for determining the chronology and structure of the text; the third detailing the problems with the lacunae in B and the additional material in the epitomes, which could be fragments of the original chronicle or merely interpolations. These chapters are followed by a list of previous editions of B.

The text itself is prefaced with a table of Sigla, a Stemma Codicum and a
concordance of all witnesses for each entry in the chronicle. These are followed by two extended apparatuses, one dealing with orthography and textual errors, the other with the chronology of the manuscripts and of modern editions. These have been presented as separate chapters to save space at the foot of the pages of the edition itself and to present the material in an easily assimilated and comprehensively understandable format. The edition and apparatus criticus follow, accompanied by a separate expanded apparatus in which either various emendations are explained more fully or references are given to Volume One or Two where detailed explanations appear.

These are followed by the texts of all the witnesses to the chronicle reported in full: F, H, Alc, G, M, I, P, S, and T. Three of these texts, F, H and M, are recorded as they appear in the manuscripts from start to finish with no omissions. F is a photocopy of Krusch's text from MGH:SRM II; I have made no attempt to indicate variants from F2 even though it was not consulted by Krusch since they are of no importance for my purposes. H is a new critical text which I have prepared from a collation of the four surviving manuscripts. Only the most important variants have been noted; more extensive variants will be found in the main apparatus. I have followed Hm's orthography and used B as the mediator when faced with differing readings in Hm and Ho. H is followed by a variety of quotations made by Ioannes Vasaeus in 1552 from the now-lost Alcoba manuscript. M is a new text which I have made from the manuscript in Montpellier; it replaces the highly defective version printed by Mommsen (Chron. min. II: 10 and passim in apparatus). The remaining texts simply report the sections of the works which record material copied from the chronicle. I, P and S are copied from the published editions of the respective texts (Chron. min. II and MGH:SS VI), and G and T are new texts which I have made from the unique manuscripts. These complete texts allow the reader to see exactly the set-up and structure of each work in the case of F, H and M, or the complete entries which were not reported in my apparatus in the case of the other texts. This is unusual but then the tradition of the chronicle is unusual and one must come up with something other than Mommsen's parallel columns of text, an impossible arrangement when up to seven differing texts can be witness to a single entry.
I would like to thank the librarians at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, Catedral Toledo; the Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid; and the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine in Montpellier for providing me with photocopies and microfilm of MSS Hn, Ht, Hm, and M. I should also like to thank the staff of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris for microfiche of MS C. My greatest thanks go to the director and staff of the Handschriftenabteilung at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin, not only for providing me with the microfilm of MS B, but also for their kind and courteous help during my visit there.
CHAPTER 1:
MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

1. THE MANUSCRIPTS

Unfortunately no complete text of Hydatius’ chronicle exists, only one almost complete manuscript, a much later copy of this manuscript and many epitomes and excerpts. The codex optimus, or rather in this case, codex unicus, known today as B, is Phillipps 1829 of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin, a volume of 192 26-line folios, 287 mm x 262 mm, containing full texts of the Chronici canones of Eusebius-Jerome, the chronicle of Hydatius, the so-called Consularia Constantinopolitana, and the Liber generationis, though at some point it would seem to have contained a copy of Theophilus’ paschal laterculus. This manuscript was copied at Trier sometime around 830. That it was copied in Trier is demonstrated by a number of additions to the text. On an empty part of f. 8r after Jerome’s introduction there are three short poems taken from the Gesta Treuirorum in three different hands dating from the eleventh or twelfth centuries. There is also a unique laudatory interpolation in an entry concerning Maximinus of Trier in the Chronici canones, which strongly suggests that the codex was copied at the monastery of St. Maximinus in Trier.

At some point after c.469 and before 613 the Eusebius-Jerome-Hydatius book of chronicles which Hydatius had left fell into the hands of a Spanish compiler who added

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1 The outer right edge of the last folio is lost, along with most of ff. 192r and 192v. The liber ends on 192v and 192v is blank. In general the quality of the parchment towards the end of the manuscript is greatly inferior to that at the beginning.

2 “Theofilus Alexandrie episcopus subiectum laterculum infra de paschae obseruatione conscribit”; a marginal note in the Consularia 379.3 by a “manus antiqua” (Chron. min. I: 243).

3 On this manuscript, see Mommsen, Chron. min. I: 78 and II: 7-8; Rose (1893), 277; Fotheringham (1923), XIV-XV; and Helm (1984), xiv-xv. It is variously dated as eighth or ninth century; the date supplied here is my own and was kindly confirmed for me by Mr. Bruce Barker-Benfield of the Bodleian Library (“second quarter of the ninth century”). The following chapter should be read in consultation with the stemma codicum which appears below. This manuscript is called M in the editions of the Chronici canones; C in Mommsen’s edition of the Consularia (Chron. min.I: 205-47); and B in Mommsen’s edition of the Liber generationis (Chron. min.I: 89-132).

4 MGH:SS VIII: 131, 133 (adapted) and 136.

5 This interpolation can be seen in the apparatus criticus of Fotheringham’s edition, 318. On these points, see Rose (1893), 277.
the *Consularia* and the *Liber generationis* (and Theophilus?) to it (this text I call 8).\(^6\) The Spanish identity of this individual is proven by a number of factors. When 8 was copied out, someone added Spanish aeras to the text of the *Consularia* and used the characteristically Spanish spelling “octuber” in entry 386.2, and to the *Liber generationis* he added an interpolation concerning the Balearic islands, things no one outside of Spain would have done.\(^7\) Since the texts of Eusebius-Jerome-Hydatius and the *Liber generationis* of manuscripts B and F (the text of Fredegarius which was originally compiled c.613; see below) derive from the same hyparchetype,\(^8\) 8 (or a copy of it) must have passed into Gaul at some date before the year 613. This text next appears in Trier in the early ninth century when B was copied from it.

B is the only manuscript we possess which preserves the major body of the text along with the page format (26 lines per page) and marginal chronology as it must have appeared in the original (that is, following the format of Eusebius-Jerome\(^9\)). All other independent texts are epitomes or excerpts, rewritten and/or condensed to some extent and generally containing interpolations and suffering from a fair degree of corruption. Some remain very close to the original, others do not. They are not so much “manuscripts” of the original text, as “versions” of or “witnesses” to it. Even so, B too has suffered corruption and is seriously lacunose in a number of places, most especially in the first six pages of the chronicle after the preface.\(^10\) There are also a number of examples of entries and words falling out of the text unnoticed, smaller lacunae of several words and a great variety of scribal corruptions and later emendations. Nevertheless, in spite of its obvious deficiencies, B is the only starting point for any reconstruction of the chronicle.

One question which must be addressed at this point is whether any of the great

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\(^6\) On this, see Volume One, 46-9. These latter two texts appear in dual columns on each page, not a single column across the whole page as is the case with Hydatius and the last half of Jerome.

\(^7\) *Chron. min.* I: 202, 244 (see also Appendix 2 of Volume One) and 110.

\(^8\) On this, see Mommsen, *Chron. min.* I: 78-79 and Krusch, *MGH:SRM* II: 6.

\(^9\) On the original 26-line format of the *Chronici canones*, see Mosshammer (1979), 49 and 72, and on the format in general, see 25-6 and 67-73. See also below, 22.

\(^10\) On this, see below, 35-8.
number of corrections made by different later readers of B (which I for convenience classify together under the name of B\(^2\), or "the second hand") made any of their numerous corrections from another manuscript or not. Most corrections are simply of a grammatical and orthographic nature, changes of singular and plural, agreement, or case, in nouns and adjectives; active and passive, and singular and plural in verbs; adding or deleting letters; emphasizing correct word division; and adding punctuation. These hands were also responsible for the bizarre double-correction of the Olympiads, the addition of the missing years of Abraham in the margins and the correction and alteration of a number of regnal years.\(^{11}\) These changes, not all of which are correct, were probably accomplished through nothing more than a careful (or sloppy) reading of the text in front of the corrector. Some emendations are very clever, such as "antelatae" for "ante" (intro) and "urbis" for "ubi" (106). But the detectable errors in the alterations of a number of regnal years, and in certain textual emendations\(^{12}\) along with the numerous uncorrected errors of B\(^1\) prove that the second hands had no other codex from which to work and that all emendations were based on their own readings of the text. These emendations therefore are of no more value than those of a modern editor.

There also exists a late sixteenth-century copy of B, though it could well have been early seventeenth-century and made after B came into Sirmond's possession, now MS 1792 of the Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, Carpentras (France). This is a strange text, a collection of paper pages bound into a much larger codex which itself dates from the 1620's or 1630's,\(^{13}\) and presents an excellent copy of B (omitting the introduction and

\(^{11}\) On these, see below, 121-2, and 26, 29, 30-3, 37-8.

\(^{12}\) These include, e.g., "ydatius" for "ignarus" (intro), the addition of the incorrect "feria secunda" (34), "prodidit"? for "potuit", "sancto primus" for "sanctus et primus" (58), "Extant operis ipsius" for "Extant ipsius" (81), "XXVI" for "XXI" (82), "edidicit" for "edidit" (106), deletion of "De Gallis" (145), "depredatione grandi" for "depredatione et grandi" (172), "Idus" for "Kal." (191), "Dictynio Spinione" for "Dictynio Spino" (201), "omnes ciuis" for "comes et ciuis" (217), and "ordinatam et tabularum" for "ordinata metualarum" (236).

\(^{13}\) The volume had belonged to the library of Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc of Aix who died in 1637 and it contains a great number of texts dating from the 15th to the 17th centuries, including a number in the hand of de Peiresc himself (though not that of the chronicle). These were bound together at some point after 1621; see Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Vol. 34 (1901), xxiv-vi, and Vol. 35 (1899), 330-7. The folios are also numbered from 320-43 and 1933-56 which suggests they had been part of other codices in the past.
the lacunae) from 137r-151r with a number of emendations and cross references to Isidorus noted in the margin. This is followed by three blank pages and another copy of the same text from §§1 to 170 in two other hands, different from that of the first. The first hand of this second text is thin, widely ruled and widely spaced, almost cursive, and extends from §1 to "tyran-" of §48. This is followed by a thick, densely packed, ornate hand which follows from "-icus" of §48 to 145. The first hand then continues from 146-170 where it stops at the bottom of the page (159v). Folio 161r contains an excerpt from the Consularia, the years 291-337. This is the first text to offer a number of emendations later accepted independently by the editors (including the addition of the Fredibalus entry), but it is otherwise of no value for establishing the text of the chronicle.

The sources available to us for reconstructing Hydatius' text can be divided into four groups and B stands alone in Group I because of its relative completeness in content and structure. Group II consists of texts which are generally straight epitomes of Hydatius with a minimum of rewriting and interpolation: the traditions known as H and F; Group III consists of texts produced by compilers who used Hydatius as a source for works of their own: the Gallic chronicler of 511, Isidorus, the author of the Chronicon Luxoviense, Sigebert, and Theodorus; and Group IV contains the Consularia Constantinopolitana and the Epitome chronicon of Prosper, witnesses to Hydatius' major written source.

The earliest text of Group II is the tradition known as H; unfortunately this is rather short. It begins at §37 and ends with §235. The epitomator appears to have gotten tired of the text towards the end or was perhaps uninterested in the later material; in general much fewer entries are copied from the last third of the text than from the earlier sections. Even though it suffers from rewriting, condensation and some interpolation, H still provides a valuable check upon the text of B and preserves four entries and four Spanish aeras which are not found in B, as will be seen below, pp. 25, 39-41. At least four common errors in §8 and H—"exaurit" for "exauriunt" (48; BH), "mox" for "nox" (150; BH), "Hispal" (177; BH), and "caesa" (177; FHm)—as well as the common evidence of mutilation before §37 (see below, pp. 36-7) and the appearance of the annus Abrahae
2470 in both (see below, pp. 26-7), all suggest that both derive from a common exemplar which I call β.

The original text of H was copied in Spain sometime in the early 570's and briefly continued with the lengths of the reigns of the succeeding emperors and a final paragraph concerning Belisarius' conquest of Africa (534-5), the reconquest of Italy by Narses (552) and the loss of Italy to the Langobards under Alboin (568). It has been suggested that the epitomator of this work was Apringius, the bishop of Beja in Portugal, but there is absolutely no evidence for such a claim. The epitome at one time survived in at least nine different manuscripts but only four remain today: Hm, Hn, Ht and Hb. For his text of Hydatius Mommsen used only the first two; Flórez in the editio princeps of the H tradition in 1756 used Hb, Hm and Ht. The sources for these manuscripts are the now-lost Alcobaciensis (A) of the eighth or ninth century and the Osmensis (O), perhaps of the thirteenth century, and also lost. It is difficult to tell whether (O) was derived from (A) or from an earlier tradition, but there are great differences between the two. Hm is a thirteenth-century manuscript of the Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid n.134 (ff.40r-41v) copied directly from (A) and is our best witness to it. Before (A) was lost Johannes Vasaeus Brugensis recorded a number of readings from it in his Chronici rerum memorabilium Hispaniae of 1552 and some of these are helpful. In the mid-to late-sixteenth century Johannes Paez, chronicler to King Philip II of Spain, made a now-lost transcription of (O) and Juan Bautista Perez made three copies of this; these are the lost Hs, which Perez collated with (O), and the surviving Hn and Ht. Hs was left with his library to the cathedral of Segorbe, of which

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14 Fita (1902), 359. Vega (1940), XII rightly calls this attribution "totalmente errónea y disparatada".

15 See Mommsen, Chron. min. II: 8-9, and his references there to Villanueva, (1804), for the history of these manuscripts.

16 Two leaves of this manuscript, part of a continuation of Isidorus under the name of Isidorus Pacensis, are now in the British Library, Egerton 1934; see Catalogue of the Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part II: Latin (London, 1884), 87.

17 The Chronici rerum memorabilium Hispaniae (Salmanticae, 1552) was reprinted as Rerum Hispaniae memorabilium annales at Colonia in 1577 and in, for example, Andreas Schott's Hispaniae illustratae, etc. (Frankfurt, 1603), 572-727.
he was bishop, and it was described in detail by Villanueva in 1804 and Mommsen in 1894. Unfortunately, Perez’ library, and the manuscript, was lost or destroyed in the Spanish Civil War. Hn is now in the Biblioteca Nacional, n. 1376 (ff. 28r-31r) and Ht is in the Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares of the Catedral Toledo number 27.26 (ff. 29v-33r). Ambrosio de Morales also possessed a text which had once belonged to Florian Docampo but it too is now lost. The final text, Hb, was copied directly from (O) by Juan de Mariana around 1590 for Volume 5 of his seven volume collection of Spanish historical documents, and is now in the British Library, Egerton 1873 (ff. 24r-27v). It was acquired in 1791 from the Jesuits’ College in Toledo. The agreement of Hn, Ht and Hb represents the (O) text and I call it Ho to distinguish it from the actual lost manuscript. Of all these, Hm is the most important for it is the oldest and was copied directly from (A), the most accurate branch of the tradition.

Alain Tranoy, in the introduction to his text of Hydatius, following up a musing of Mommsen’s, suggested that Hm and Hn (he knew nothing of Hb or Ht) were derived from a lost hyparchetype, which he labelled “L”, once in the library at Lorsch, basing his belief on an entry from a tenth-century catalogue from the monastery there: “libellus Quinti Iulii Hilarionis de origine mundi usque ad resurrectionem Christi; item in eodem libello Hieronimi chronica excerpta; inde Idacii ab anno primo Theodosii Augusti usque ad Iustinianum in uno codice.” Tranoy believed that the description of Hydatius’ text as going down to Justinian was consistent with the additions at the end of the text of H. However, the additional material in H ends with Narses, Totila and Alboin, not Justinian, and the rest of the description bears no resemblance whatsoever to any of the manuscripts which contain the H tradition. Rather it mirrors exactly the manuscripts of group 4 of Fredegarius which start off with Hilarian’s *De cursu temporum* and are followed by epitomes of Jerome and Hydatius. These manuscripts, of course, also contain the entire text of Fredegarius with the continuations, but the Lorsch copy would appear to have contained only Books I and II since Book II ends with a version of the Belisarius

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18 I learned this from a personal communication with the archivist, 8/10/86.
19 Tranoy, I. 63, 66 and 70; Mommsen, *Chron. min.* II: 8. The catalogue is *Vat. Pal. Lat.* 1877.
20 See Wallace-Hadrill (1960), xlvi.
romance, which would account for the reference to Justinian. There is a surviving manuscript, Troyes 802, copied at Fulda in the early ninth century, 4a in Krusch’s text, which contains only Books I and II, but it would appear not to be the Lorsch manuscript which must therefore be lost.

In c.613 our largest epitome of Hydatius, F, was compiled in Burgundy by an unknown author. Having come upon 6 he excerpted Eusebius-Jerome-Hydatius and recopied the Liber generationis. To this he added Burgundian annals which continued down to 604 and an original chronicle for the years 604-613. It is impossible to tell where the Burgundian annals began, for a second compiler added excerpts from Gregory of Tours, Books I-VI, which ended in 584 where the annals now start; one cannot say how much was cut to avoid overlap with Gregory. The later history of this text, the Chronicle of Fredegarius, and the additions made to it, are of no importance here. Book II of the Chronicle, which contains the epitome of Eusebius-Jerome-Hydatius, is preserved in numerous manuscripts of Krusch’s groups 1-4, which extend from the eighth to the eleventh centuries with one of the fifteenth. The earliest copy, the one used by Mommsen for his text of Hydatius, Paris Lat. 10910, is dated in a colophon to 715 and is generally referred to as MS F for Hydatius and MS 1 for Fredegarius. However it is an atrocious piece of copying, done by an unintelligent Burgundian scribe who had difficulty reading his exemplar and as a result it is rather garbled. Krusch in his edition of Fredegarius believed that MS 1 was the source of all later manuscripts. Mommsen followed him in this and so was justified in using only MS F for Hydatius. However J. M. Wallace-Hadrill has subjected all the manuscripts to careful scrutiny and concluded that MS 1 is rather an offshoot of a tradition separate from all of the other surviving manuscripts, which are based on an unknown apograph. For my text I

21 Ibid., xii-xiii.
22 See Bischoff (1974), 67 and 78.
23 See Krusch, MGH:SRM II: 6.
26 MGH:SRM II: 14-5; see also Neues Archiv, VII, 250-8.
have used Krusch’s printed text carefully collated with an early manuscript of Group 2, British Library Harley 5251 (late ninth cent.; 2b). In general, then, when I refer to “F” below I mean the F tradition, not the single manuscript, though in practice for my purposes my collation has shown that there is no significant difference between them.

The earliest witness we possess to the text of the chronicle and the earliest text of Group III appeared barely forty years after Hydatius finished, when an unknown chronicler in 511 used the chronicle to produce virtually the entire text of his own chronicle between the years 409 and 428 (invasion of Spain [42] to death of Gunderic [89]). This chronicle, known as the *Chronica Gallica ad a. 511*, survives today only as an epitome in MS 134 of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, the same manuscript which preserves Hm, thus also originally appearing in (A); it was also contained in (O). The text is often heavily rewritten and sometimes interpolated but it is an invaluable early insight into the text and shows clearly that, where the two overlap, B is an accurate representation of the tradition.

The author used the first half of Hydatius’ text very fully for a large section of his own work, but failed to use the rest of the chronicle even though his own covered the same period. Since our text would seem to be an epitome it is hard to tell, but either the author abandoned Hydatius completely when he found other sources, or he was using only a partial text of the chronicle, one which was not only lacunose at the beginning, but also highly damaged and broken off at the end. It is difficult to explain however why “Eupronius episcopus Augustiduno sepelitur” appears after the battle of the Catalaunian fields, exactly the same place where Hydatius mentions a letter of his (§151). Why he picked this entry to record and how he completely misread it are a mystery. Thus at some time before 511 a mutilated version of the chronicle was circulating in southern Gaul, a text which I call α.

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28 On this manuscript, see *Catalogue*... (cit. n. 16), 84-5.
29 He probably also used Hydatius as a source for §§539 (36), 594 (107), 596 (108), 598 (115), and 616 (151), and perhaps 611 (146) and 612 (148).
30 See Mommsen, *Chron. min.* I: 626-7 and II: 8.
31 As was seen in Volume One, 64, Hydatius’ entry is the earliest reference to Euphranius, who actually died some time in the late 470’s.
Isidorus of Seville possessed a text of Hydatius which appears to have been relatively complete since the excerpts from it in his *Historia Gothorum Wandalorum Sueuorum* cover entries 6-250. Pseudo-Isidorus' entry on Hydatius mentions the preface but states that the chronicle only went down to the eighth year of Leo (§235).\(^{32}\)

The text of the *Historia* was composed in 624 and though there are numerous manuscripts used by Mommsen for the main body of his text,\(^{33}\) i.e. the *forma prolixior*, the earliest being of the ninth century, there is only one manuscript of the *forma breuior*, a shorter recension of the main text but just as important as the *forma prolixior* for our purposes here, since in many places it remains closer to the text of Hydatius than the longer version and records several entries which the longer does not. I tend to the opinion that MS P, the *forma breuior*, was compiled by someone with access to the texts of both Isidorus and Hydatius.

Based on a number of manuscript and spelling variants common only to H and Isidorus, the latter's text probably derives from the same tradition as H, which I call \(\gamma\). These similarities are as follows: B—"Spani per ciuitates et castella residui", HI—"Hispani per ciuitates et castella residua" (49); B—"Addace" and "abolito regni nomine", HI—"Atace" and "oblito regni nomine" (68); B—"Aquatunica", HI—"Aquitania" (69); B—"ministeriis" and "ecclesias catholicas", HI—"mysteriis" and "ecclesias" only (118); B—"in coniugium", HI—"in coniugio" (140); B—Thurismo, HI—Thurismundus/Turismundus (152); B—Rechila, -ae; HI—Rechila, -anis (114, 121).

We next meet Hydatius in the early eleventh century and the few abbreviated excerpts in the *Chronicon Luxovienne* which Mommsen called MS M after the location of this unique eleventh century manuscript, now in the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, of Montpellier, n. 151 (ff. 99v-100r).\(^{34}\) This chronicle (probably an autograph) goes down to the death of Conrad II in 1039 and includes a handful of

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32 *De uiris illustribus* 9 (*PL* 83: 1088-9); see Appendix 1 of Volume One. It is not known why this author mentions the eighth year of Leo (§235) rather than the second year of Anthemius. On Pseudo-Isidorus, see Volume One, 8 n. 11.

33 Including the University of Madrid manuscript n. 134 which contains the *Chronica Gallica* and Hm. The text is in *Chron. min.* II: 267-303 and the manuscripts are listed on p. 242.

34 *Chron. min.* II: 9-10 and see MGH.**SS** III: 219.
interpolated extracts taken from Hydatius along with his chronology which is often helpful in ascertaining the correctness of the chronology of B. The author added an enormous amount of chronological and astrological material which in some cases completely buries the original entries. He only extends his excerpts “usque ad VIII Leonis Augusti...et usque ad primum Antimi imperatoris annum” (i.e. §235), since by this point he is only interested in accessions and deaths of emperors, but his text went at least as far as §248 since he incidentally mentions the ordination of Simplicius.

Sigebert's *Chronographia*, written in Gembloux, Belgium, in 1105 (the first edition) shows a knowledge of the text from §5 to §253. The text exists in numerous manuscripts, including an autograph, and was edited by D. L. C. Bethmann in *MGH:SS* VI: 300-374. Most of the excerpts are just snippets and many are condensed, rewritten or both. The *Chronicon abbatiae Polidensis*, better known as Theodorus’ *Annales Palidenses*, which ends in 1182, on the other hand, is second only to Isidorus’ *Historia* for sheer volume of text culled from the chronicle, covering a large chunk of the preface and §§5 to 253 while suffering much less from rewriting than the latter does. The sections from Hydatius, ff. 40v-45r, have never been edited and the whole text exists in only one autograph manuscript, Laud misc. 633 of the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Neither of these works is of any help in establishing the text of the chronicle since both appear to be descended from B.37

Finally there is group IV, the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, originally composed in Latin in Constantinople in 388, and Prosper’s *Epitome chronicon*, first compiled in 433 in Gaul. For the first half of his chronicle Hydatius used some of the same sources as Prosper, including a version of the *Consularia*.38 Nothing more need be said here, but there are entries where the two texts can be of assistance in confirming a reading in

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35 These are modern titles; the MS has none of its own.
36 See Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c.435-1600 in Oxford Libraries* (Oxford, 1984), no. 619. The text of the original sections of the chronicle was edited by G. H. Pertz in *MGH:SS* XVI: 48-98 based on a copy of the Laud manuscript (right down to the marginalia) which he discovered in Göttingen. He tried to find the original but mistakenly believed that it was in Cambridge.
37 On this, see below, 44-6.
38 On this, see Volume One, 35-55.
Hydatius.

Such then is the history of the text of Hydatius as far as it can be ascertained. My stemma codicum is to a certain extent misleading since we have no way of ascertaining the detailed interrelationships of all the texts. I assume that since M was produced in Gaul it was based on an early Gallic copy of 8 but there is no way to prove this, and it could derive from a Spanish copy of 8 or even Β since we do not know whether 8 itself or just a copy of it was brought into Gaul. The appearance of Hydatius’ text in the chronicle of Fredegarius made it well-known in continental Europe but I have not followed the traditions based upon it.

2. THE EDITIONS

In spite of the apparent modern obscurity of the chronicle there have been numerous editions produced, really out of all proportion to the value of such efforts since in virtually all cases the editor based his text on a previous edition, not a manuscript. My edition below is in fact only the third produced from a complete, first-hand examination of B.39 The first editions were produced from F because of the great number of manuscripts of this version surviving, and these all appeared in the first decade of the seventeenth century edited by Canisius (1602; reprinted in 1725 edited by J. J. Basnage), Scaliger (1606 and 1609; reprinted in 1658 edited by A. Morus), and Schott (1608).

In the early seventeenth century, however, Jacques Sirmond discovered a new manuscript of Hydatius in a monastery at Metz. This new manuscript, which is in fact our B, was published in Rome in 1615, by Luis de San Llorente (under the name Paulus Profitius) based on a copy made from Sirmond’s manuscript.40 The same year Prudencio de Sandoval obtained San Llorente’s edition and republished it in Pamplona. Both of these editions of 1615 are good examples of the atrocities that could be committed against a text in the early days of textual criticism: there is unnecessary emendation, expunction (of words, phrases and whole entries), misreading of the manuscript, and a great number of typographical errors. Nevertheless, B was obviously

39 The editions of Sirmond and Mommsen are the first two. B was also consulted by de la Baune (Si3) and by Tranoy (only in microfilm it would seem).
40 For full bibliographical details of this and the following editions, see pp. 48-9, below.
a much better text than F and attention thus remained focused on it for the next 250 years.
F was thereafter ignored until Otto Krusch's complete edition of Fredegarius in 1888.41

After San Llorente and Sandoval, Sirmond himself, unhappy it seems with San Llorente's text, produced his own in 1619. He followed the manuscript quite closely, especially with regard to the chronological indicators which he left as they appeared, though he did make a number of additions and changes, some based, surprisingly, on San Llorente's text. The most notable of these alterations are the additions of papal entries on Anastasius, Zosimus, Boniface, and Leo (San Llorente had cut all papal entries before Leo) and the Fredibalus entry from F (62a); and the emendation of "Addace" in §68 to "Atace" and "quique" in §86 to "deinde", both from Isidorus (the latter three also adopted from San Llorente). Sirmond made a few minor corrections to his 1619 text for Duchesne in 1636 and in 1696 Jacob de la Baune, the editor of Sirmond's Opera, corrected a number of readings in the 1619 edition from the manuscript and made marginal notes of manuscript readings where they differed from Sirmond's text. However because the manuscript was lost (see below), it was not examined again for almost two hundred years and Sirmond's editions were reproduced by almost all subsequent editors: de la Bigne (1677), Sáenz de Aguirre (1694), Bouquet (1738), Flórez (1756), Galland (1774), Roncalli (1787), Garzón (1845; edited posthumously by P. F. X. de Ram; completed shortly before Garzón's death in 1762), de la Fuente (1855), and Garcia del Corral (1886, using Flórez' text; stops at the year 449).

The H epitome has been edited only once, by Flórez in 1756 who also provided the first commentary along with his edition of B. A much more detailed and extensive commentary was produced by Garzón for his edition.

It was 1894 before any attempt was made to combine all three traditions of the text, BHF, and this was done by Theodore Mommsen in MGH:AA XI (= Chronica minora II). Mommsen was the first scholar since de la Baune in 1696 to re-examine B for the text of Hydatius. He was followed by Alain Tranoy who produced an edition (which will be discussed below, pp. 20-1), with an introduction, French translation and

41 MGH:SRM II: 1-193.
commentary for *Sources chrétienes* in 1974. He does not appear to have relied very heavily upon the manuscripts. The most recent edition is that of Julio Campos who published an introduction, text, Spanish translation, and commentary in 1984. This edition sets textual criticism back over two hundred years, simply being Garzón's text emended from Mommsen with no examination of the manuscripts. The commentary is essentially a plagiarized Spanish translation of Garzón. The editor is completely ignorant of Tranoy.

Tranoy's is the only French translation; there are two other Spanish translations besides that of Campos, Garcia del Corral in 1886 (only up to 449) and Marcelo Macías in 1889-1900. There has been no English translation, but I am preparing one.

3. THE HISTORY OF MS B

Since its discovery in modern times manuscript B has had a rather interesting history, one which is worth retelling. Sometime between the twelfth and late-sixteenth centuries the manuscript was moved from Trier to a monastery in Metz where it was discovered at some date before 1615 by Jacques Sirmond who then took it into his possession.\(^42\) When he died in 1651 it passed to the library of the Jesuits' College in Clermont, Paris (Sirmond was a Jesuit himself) and was catalogued as Claromontanus 363. However, the French government suppressed the Jesuits in 1763 and the next year the entire library at Clermont of 850 volumes, with the exception of a few which went to the Bibliothèque Royale, was sold to a Dutch Baron, M. Gerard Meerman, for 120,000 francs.\(^43\) M. Meerman catalogued the manuscript as no. 715. This went all but unnoticed it seems, since, as is obvious from the above discussion, editors were happy enough using Sirmond's printed text, rather than the manuscript itself and so Claromontanus 363 vanished. In 1843 it was reported by Waitz that the manuscript may have passed to the Bibliothèque Nationale as Suppl. Lat 696, but it could not be found.\(^44\) In 1863 Mommsen lamented its loss.\(^45\)

\(^42\) He says in the preface to his 1619 edition of Hydatius: "nos Metensem...dicturi eramus, quod Meis olim exscriptum arbitremur; inde certe ad nos ex Monasterio non ignobili nee obscuro peruenit."


\(^44\) Pertz's *Archiv* 8 (1843), 13.

\(^45\) *CIL* 1,1 \(^1\), 484.
However, at some time between 1866 and 1872 it was brought to the attention of Alfred Schoene, who had completed his new critical text of Jerome’s *Chronici canones* in 1866 and was working on the companion volume of appendices, that a new manuscript of Jerome existed in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. (1792-1872), in Middle Hill, Broadway, Worcestershire. This was the missing codex Claromontanus 636/ Meermanus 715. As a consequence of the death of Meerman’s son, Jean, in 1815, the Meerman library had been dispersed at a massive sale in the Hague from 8 June to 3 July, 1824, and Phillipps had purchased 660 volumes, which accounted for about two thirds of the Claromontani codices. Phillipps’ death in 1872 his library of over 50,000 volumes was dispersed and much was eventually sold by Sotheby’s at auctions between 1891 and 1947. At the initial instigation of Theodore Mommsen, 621 of the Clermont-Meerman-Phillipps manuscripts were purchased by the Königlich Bibliothek in Berlin in the summer of 1887, including Phillipps 1829 (also called Middlehillensis or Mediomontanus, from the location of Phillipps’ library when the codex was discovered; it was subsequently moved to Cheltenham) which was given the number 127. After World War II the codex remained in what was by then called the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin where it is today.

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47 On the size of the Phillipps library, see Munby (1956), 166.
48 On these matters, see Munby (1960), 22-26; Rose (1893), intro; and in general, Munby (1960), I-VII; and *A Catalogue of the Phillipps Manuscripts Numbers 1388 to 2010*,(Cheltenham, 1886), pref.
In *Byzantion* for 1951 Christian Courtois, better known as an historian than a palaeographer or philologist, in an article entitled “Auteurs et scribes: remarques sur la Chronique d’Hydace”, 1 launched a massive assault on the received tradition of the chronicle, attempting to destroy the basis of Mommsen’s 1894 edition by claiming that much of what Mommsen had thought was Hydatian was in fact later scribal interpolation and tampering. The results were devastating. No manuscript other than B was of any real value and most of that was interpolated, corrupt and fragmentary. His arguments were accepted by all who read them2 and they were adopted for the 1974 edition of the chronicle by Alain Tranoy who continued further than even his predecessor dared. Through Tranoy’s edition Courtois’ interpretation has since become the orthodoxy among those who have had occasion to study Hydatius. Courtois, however, had never examined any of the manuscripts and his arguments were based solely on Mommsen’s often highly inaccurate text and apparatus. My own first-hand examination of the manuscript and careful study of the text have shown not only that Courtois’ basic arguments are completely in error but that Mommsen too missed a number of vital aspects of the true chronology of the chronicle. Because of the pervasiveness of Courtois and Tranoy’s interpretations and approaches I shall first discuss their flaws as a preface to this chapter.

1. INTRODUCTION

In his analysis Courtois erred seriously in two ways. First, he believed in the complete inerrancy of Hydatius and his text, that is, that Hydatius originally preserved what we now accept to be the “truth” about the events he describes. Second, because he believed that Hydatius doubled up transitional years, he concluded that there had to be a three-year lacuna in the text. Anything which contradicted these theories was simply

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1 Courtois (1951).
2 The first serious attack on Courtois has now been mounted by Steven Muhlberger in his forthcoming book, *The Fifth Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius and the Gallic Chronicler of 452*.
assigned to the realm of scribal interpolation and either deleted from the text or altered. That Courtois erred in the first assumption is shown by his numerous attempts to bring the chronology into line with modern accepted views. For instance, he “corrects” the placing of Asturias’ consulship of 449 in 450, the reference to Constantius’ death in his third consulship, and Honorius’ death in 424 instead of 423 (pp. 26-30). He then modifies the text of 420-428 to conform to “le schéma chronologique véritable” (p. 33) and does the same for the period 455 to 469 (pp. 35 and 38). He then attempts this for the years 449 to 455, cannot, and so is forced to posit various lacunae and question marks (pp. 45 and 49). In all cases he continually makes claim to be revealing and reproducing the “texte primitif”, “texte actuel” or “texte original” (pp. 28 and 30) and to be restoring the “bases de la chronologie hydatienne” (p. 38), but in actuality, he is simply forcing the text to conform to his own preconceived conceptions of how it ought to appear. In none of these cases there is there any textual, contextual or stylistic evidence for suspecting the passages which he alters; the alteration is based solely on a priori historical assumptions. As a result of these convictions he omits from the text as “interpolation[s] possible[s] ou probable[s], soit de l’ensemble soit d’une parti” §§ 15, 34, 35, 37a, 49 (aera), 52, 64, 65, 87, 99 (aera), 105, 108a, 127 (aera), 136, 150 (aera), 151, 173 (aera), 191, 192a (aera), 214, 221, 225, 244, and 247 (fall of Aspar). He claims that §§36, 43, 76, 191, 214, and 225 are not in their original positions and changes the dating (by various shifts and relocations) of §§74-86, 143, 146-157, 165-174, 183-185, 212-214, and 215-253. He also claims that the chronicle ends in 469 not 468.3 It is not hard to see that the entire structure of the chronicle as presented by Mommsen has been changed, leaving us with a completely different picture of the manuscript tradition, of Hydatius’ view of chronology and of his skill as an historian.

Tranoy went even further. For instance, in §58 Hydatius reports the discovery of the relics of St. Stephen a year early (414 instead of 415), so Tranoy shifts the regnal year “XXI” from 59 to 58, thus encompassing 58 within 415. Entry 66, in which Hydatius reports the earthquake of 419 in 418,4 is shifted from its position in the

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3 For all of this, see pp. 51-54.
4 In his text; it actually belongs in 417. See below.
manuscript and moved to a point after 71, in the year 419, becoming 71a. Again there are no textual reasons for these shifts, simply the belief that Hydatius could not have erred.

At this point it must be admitted that Courtois and Tranoy were not the first to approach Hydatius with these preconceptions. Flórez in his edition made a certain number of alterations in the early years of Theodosius I. He realized the confusion in the later sections but stopped short of altering the text; he made suggested corrections in an appendix. Courtois was more truly foreshadowed by Garzón's posthumous text. Garzón was just as radical as Courtois in his attack on the chronology and he altered vast sections of the text, moving regnal years and whole entries so that all accorded with his knowledge of the period. Neither Courtois nor Tranoy knew anything of these editions.

Courtois' other hypotheses concerning the doubling-up of transitional years and the three-year lacuna in the reign of Severus are disproven by an examination of the manuscript and a study of the text. Hydatius' treatment of transitional years as two separate calendar years has been discussed in Volume One, pp. 76-8. Severus' regnal years will be discussed below. Apart from the obvious flaws and presuppositions of his other conclusions, including the basing of his arguments solely on Mommsen's text, Courtois made no use of Isidorus' Historia Gothorum Wandalorum Sueuorum of 625, which predates the early ninth-century date for MS B, nor did he realize that H was composed in the early 570's. These works show that Courtois' "interpolations" and "corruptions" in B existed in other traditions from a very early date indeed, making the idea of such widespread interpolation and corruption very unlikely. His mistrust of MS M was also unfortunate as it is in many ways a very accurate, though by no means perfect, account of the chronology of B since it would seem to derive from the same tradition as B (that is, 8). In this chapter I shall attempt to explain Hydatius' understanding and use of chronology. In doing so I shall be setting forth the case for the

5 Flórez (1756), 403-11.
6 Some idea of Garzón's approach to the chronology can be seen in the "Apparatus criticus chronologiae" below, p. 79.
chronology of the new edition which I here present.

2. STRUCTURE

No previous edition of the chronicle has attempted to present its structure as it probably originally appeared. This edition copies the structure almost exactly from MS B, making major concessions only in so far as dividing the regnal years into separate entries for ease of use. My confidence in B as a mirror of the original structure is threefold: 1) Hydatius was continuing the *Chronici canones* in the same volume; 2) a variety of factors discussed in the First Volume, pp. 24-5, show how intent he was on imitating Jerome; 3) in MS B the structure exactly mirrors the structure of the *Chronici canones*. Each page is ruled into 26 horizontal lines with a large central space and a wide margin on each side. The historical events to be recorded are written within the central space as solid blocks of text, divided up by the regnal years of the emperors which are marked in the left margins in red. Three subsidiary chronological systems also appear in the margins, red Olympiad markers every four years and black *anni Abrahae*, or years from the birth of Abraham, and Spanish aeras, every decade. Most entries reporting an emperor's accession are in red uncials (perhaps originally rustic capitals) to mark them out from the rest of the text. For some peculiar reason the entry on the patriarchate of Flavian is also in red uncials (127); this may be an error on the part of the scribe but I have retained it in my edition, where all red uncials are represented by bold majuscules.

Also of note is the practice present throughout the entire text of marking important religious events and names (and a few other unrelated words as well) with a dot of orange ink. It is impossible to tell when this was done. For example, in the first few pages the following words are marked with a dot: Alexandriae (5); Ambrosius, Martinus (8); Romane (15); Priscilliani, condemnant, fide (31); Romanae (35); Constantinopolim (37); Hierosolimis, Eulogius, Epyfanius, Theofilus (38); Hieronimus (39); post, Ydatius, hunc (40); crassatur (48); Romane (52); Augustinus (53); Hierosolimis (58); Hieronimus (59); Alexandriar (61); Romanae (65); Vandalis (68); and Paulinus (81).
3. CHRONOLOGY

In the manuscripts there appear four major chronological systems: the Spanish aera, the year of Abraham, the Olympiad, and the regnal year. The first table of the "Apparatus criticus chronologiae", p. 74, shows the uncorrected layout of these as they appear in the manuscripts. Another system, the Jubilees, has been discussed in Volume One (pp. 160-1).

3a. SPANISH AERAS

In his text Mommsen reproduced various dates of the Spanish aera from B and H which appear within the text itself but refused to include two marginal aeras which appear in B at "Theod. IV" and "XIV" (A.D. 382 and 392), stating that though they were written by the first hand, "magis est, ut a librario ueniat quam ab auctore" (p. 6); Courtois wanted all but two deleted (p. 39). Hydatius was a Spaniard and to judge from contemporary inscriptions the use of the aera, which dated from 38 B.C., was a popular system of dating in northern and western Spain at the time, so it is a priori likely that he would have used this system in his chronicle. The presence of aeras within the text of B in two places (42, 214) shows that Hydatius did indeed use it at least twice. Further, Spanish aeras already existed in Hydatius' text of Jerome and still appear sporadically, although originally at ten year intervals, throughout the text of the Chronici canones which precedes Hydatius' chronicle in B. Under "Augustus V" there appears the following notice: "aera prima quesi ab hoc loco seruatur in annum imperii Valentis XIIII inuenitur CCCCXVI..." and at "Augustus X": "era prima ab hoc loco aliis uidetur aspicienda quod si ita est in XIIII Valentis annum imperii CCCCX repperitur." The former is correct and it is from this point that all decades are reckoned. The fact that in both cases these marginal notes look only as far as the end of Jerome's text and not

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7 On the Spanish aera, see DHEE 1: 800-1, s.v.; Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 353, and Grumel (1958), 218. All Spanish aeras can be checked in Grumel's tables, pp. 242-3.

8 The following Spanish aeras still appear in MS B of Jerome: 20, 110, 130, 150, 160, 170, 180, 190, 210, 260, 270, 290, 320, 330, 340, and 400. These appear in no other manuscript of the Chronici canones.

9 These interpolations appear only in this manuscript of the Chronici canones and can be seen in the apparatus criticus of Fotheringham's edition, 241 and 244.
Hydatius’ shows that they existed before Hydatius’ text was added. They were most likely included when the *Chronici canones* were first copied in Spain. It seems only natural that Hydatius would have continued this chronology into his own chronicle. The fact that most aeras are missing from the margin of B in Hydatius proves nothing since they (and, as we shall see below, the years of Abraham) are missing from the *Chronici canones* in many places as well.

Aeras also appear in M, the *Chronicon Luxoviense*, which, as has been seen in the previous chapter, is a work of Luxeuil in Gaul of the early eleventh century. It is virtually impossible that the compiler of this document, living in that place and time, could have correctly added the aeras to his entries independently. And why would he want to, since none of the entries concerned Spain? If he reports them it is because they were in his text or could be calculated from his text. M reports six aeras altogether and five of them are correct: 440, 460, 470, 490 and 503. The incorrect aera, 445, was calculated by the compiler from a previous indication: in M’s version of §27, aera 440 and “Hon. VIII” (miscopied in M as “VII”) appear, yet in the next entry (§37a), “Hon. XI” (three years later) is correctly reported while the years *ab incarnatione domini* and *a passione domini* as well as the aera are advanced five years. This implies that the correct figures “aera 440” and “Hon. VIII” and “XI” were in the text he was copying from, but that he had to calculate the others, including the erroneous aera, for 37a. Although aera 460 is incorrectly applied to a single entry made from two entries in Hydatius concerning the marriage of Constantius and Placidia, and the birth of Valentinian (§§62, 72), the entry itself is implicitly placed in “Hon. XXVIII” (i.e. between “Hon. XXVII” and “Hon. XXVIII”) which is aera 460.

In H the aeras occur more frequently, though scribal corruption has distorted a number of them. The first, aera 447, appears in §42. This figure appears in B, the *Consularia* and in the *Chronica Gallica ad a. 511*. Isidorus’ text also had the figure

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10 The appearance of the aeras in H is no proof of their appearance in Hydatius. Since H is Spanish they could have been added independently, as in Isidorus and the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*.

11 Ioannes Vasaeus, *Chronici rerum memorabilium Hispaniae*, Vol. 1 (Salamanca, 1552), s.a. 410, states quite distinctly that the now-lost Alcobaciensis from which our only-surviving copy of the *Chronica Gallica* was made (=Hm) had 447 and not 446 as Hm records (f. 39r).
447, though for some reason he used it to refer to the sack of Rome in 410 (actually aera 448; §§15, 71) which Hydatius placed in 409 (§43). Since he knew that Spain was invaded the year before the sack (not in the same year as Hydatius records) he calculated the figure 446 for the invasion (§§72, 85). Aera 457 of §49 in H is incorrect since it refers to a date eight years later. H reports 470, 490 and 500 accurately, and the date of 481 in §127 is certainly a slip for 480 since it appears in aera 480. The two remaining aeras were added by the epitomator of H: 494 and 495, dating, respectively, Theoderic’s invasion of Spain (§173) and Sabinus’ return from exile (§192a). Both are incorrect, the first appearing five regnal years after aera 490 (§148/9) and the latter eight. They are equally incorrect if calculated backwards from aera 500 (§214), which, because of the confusion in Hydatius’ chronology,12 is twelve years after aera 490. However, the invasion of Spain did in fact take place in aera 494 (=456) and in this case such an important date may have been remembered independently of Hydatius.13

The aeras recorded by BHM then are 420, 430, 440, 445, 447, 457, 460 470, 481, 490, 494, 495, 500, and 503. The date of 447 marks a special event and is part of a full dating system used within the text itself, and can therefore be omitted for our purposes here. As was seen above, 445, 457, 494 and 495 are the results of incorrect calculations or additions by the M and H epitomators, and 481 is likely an error for 480. The list is now reduced to 420, 430, 440, 460, 470, 480, 490, 500, and 503. One cannot help but be struck by the predominance of even decades in this list (and even in the first list above). Neither H nor M report any entry from “Hon. XVIII”, i.e. aera 450, the only decade missing from our list. The striking regularity and correctness of these texts on specific decades strongly suggests that Hydatius used the Spanish aeras in the margin every decade, following exactly the practice he observed in his copy of Jerome. The regular appearance of correct aeras in H and M thus can be attributed to the fact that the two epitomators had these dates in their texts in front of them. The other aeras only

12 See Volume One, 87.
13 Isidorus would appear to be following Hydatius when he dates §181 of “Avitus II” (the year of the invasion) to aera 495, but the actual invasion is described in the previous entry (Historia Suevorum 87-8), which may however indicate 494.
appear in H and M when there was something they wished to date and as a result they had to calculate the aeras themselves, as is the case with the incorrect calculations of 445, 457, 494 and 495, and the correct calculation of 503. This arrangement by decade has in fact survived in the margin at the beginning of B but a scribe at some point in the transmission decided not to, or was unable to, continue copying out the marginalia, which consisted of aeras, years of Abraham and jubilees.

3b. ANNI ABRAHAE

Mommsen did not include in his text the anni Abrahae, that is, the years from the birth of Abraham, even though they appear every ten years throughout B, because he judged them to be by a “manus antiqua, sed posterior”. This is essentially correct for most of the indications were added by a second hand. However three were written by the first hand: the first two and one in “Val. XXVIII”. Eusebius began his Chronici canones in a.A. I, and for the rest of the work he listed the anni Abrahae every decade; Jerome continued his practice. Following from the end of Jerome, whose last-marked decade in Hydatius’ text was 2390, incorrectly noted a year early in 373, Hydatius placed year 2400 in “Theod. V” (383).14 The next entry appears beside Olympiad 293, just before “Theod. XV” (393), ten years later. A second hand did not like the positioning of these (since they were a year early) and drew a line from the first down one year (to “Theod. VI” where it ought to have been) and from the latter down to “Theod. XV” while adding the same number correctly next to “Theod XVI”. The second hand then added the rest of the notations every ten regnal years next to “Hon. X”, “XX” and “XXX”, “Val. X”, “XX”, and “XXX”, and “Sev. I”. The second hand did exactly the same thing on the numerous occasions in the preceding text of Jerome where the years of Abraham were also incorrect or missing.15 However, the remains of an erased a.A. 2470 in the first hand are easily visible in B after “Val. XXVIII”. This annus Abrahae actually belongs

14 There is no 2390 by the first hand in B, but it ought to have fallen in 374 (“Val. X”) not 373 (“Val. IX”). However, in B all the years of Abraham as far back as “Diocl. XVIII” (=A.D. 303) are placed one year early.

15 The second hand corrected 2120, 2130, 2140 and 2380, and added 2010, 2020, 2040, 2070, 2080, 2090, 2100, 2110, 2330, 2340, 2350, 2360, 2370, and 2390 which were missing in the imperial section of the text alone.
with the Olympiad, which appears between “Placidia moritur” and “apud Romam” at the end of §148, and both refer to the next regnal year, “Val. XXVIII”, as can be seen from the similar situation at “Theod. XV” (post §22) where a year of Abraham has also moved above the correct regnal year along with an associated Olympiad. It is thus still in sequence with the years marked at “Theod. V” and “XV”. Confirmation of the originality of this date is provided by H which also reports a.A. 2470 at “Val XXVIII”. This number appears in an odd few words tacked onto the end of §147 after “in partibus Orientis”: “Valentiniani imperatoris decadas (Hm: decedat) -II’CCCCLXX”. Entry 150 follows. The “Valentiniani imperatoris” derives from §148. This year cannot have been independently added for a correct calculation would put 2470 at “Val. XXX”, as B did, and this year of Abraham appears in almost exactly the same place in H, between §§148 and 150, as it does in B where it is next to “Nam pridie...” in §149.

The Gallic chronicler of 452 continued Jerome and he too used the years of Abraham throughout his chronicle, so it seems likely that Hydatius would have done the same since he was also continuing the Spanish aeras. Since this system is present in the first hand of B and in H, and since it was a system used throughout the Chronici canones, I am inclined to believe that these dates are the work of Hydatius himself and that they originally appeared throughout the chronicle. That they are missing from B (in Hydatius and Jerome) is a result of the same corruption or error which caused the Spanish aeras to be dropped. I cannot explain however why both B and H have a.A. 2470 yet virtually no others. Perhaps they fell out of the transmission very early on (in or an apograph of it), except for 2470; this is supported by the fact that they do not appear in M. But then how did the epitomator of H know that they were decades and why did he include this one alone?

3c. OLYMPIADS

The Olympiads provide a difficult problem. It ought to have been very simple for Hydatius to have indicated an Olympiad every four years in the margin of his text just as

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16 On this shift of Olympiads, see section 3c. The two anni Abrahae which ought to appear at 413 and 433 (§§54, 100), both years which begin an Olympiad, very likely slipped back into the previous year (412, 432) along with the associated Olympiad (§§51, 99) and this is how they appear in my edition.
Jerome had done. However, B, the only manuscript that systematically records Olympiads (M also reports several), does not record them with any real regularity at all. Mommsen regularized all of these indications and placed them every four years in the line immediately before the regnal year which began the Olympiad. However, of the twenty-three Olympiads which appear in B, 290 to 312, only seven actually appear as Mommsen represented them (297, 300, 302, 305, 306, 307, and 310). All of the rest fall somewhere within the previous regnal year, sometimes even immediately after the number of the previous regnal year. In no case does any Olympiad fall back further than this, however; the regnal year following the Olympiad, however far away, is always the year to which it belongs. In at least two cases associated years of Abraham have also moved back with the Olympiad (§§22 and 149; cf. 52 and 99). As a result of these shifts, most of the Olympiads appear considerably earlier in B than in Mommsen's edition, in one case almost two manuscript pages (40 lines). It seems unlikely that this kind of misplacement could be the result of scribal error. A quick check of the *Chronici canones* shows that not even Jerome was as accurate as Mommsen tried to make Hydatius; his Olympiads too often stray back into the previous year, through they usually are correct, even in MS B. It would seem that in this, as in other instances, Hydatius is in some way imitating Jerome.

The shifts in B can be detected in M as well. For instance, M indicates that §82 falls within Olympiad 301 which Mommsen however places just before §84; but in B Olympiad 301 is placed at the beginning of §81 thus validating M's reading. Entry 99a (in M) has regnal year "VIII" and aera 470 in Olympiad 303. In Mommsen's text this is impossible since Olympiad 303 starts at "Val. VIII" (§100) which would be aera 471 if Mommsen had included aeras. However, in B Olympiad 303 appears in the middle of the first line of §99 (between "euocatus" and "in Italiam") which is in "Val. VIII" and aera 470, and thus there is no contradiction in M's testimony. It would therefore seem that the indications of the Olympiads in B are probably what was originally written in 6, which was probably the way Hydatius himself wrote it.

As E. A. Thompson stated, "The truth is that Hydatius did not set to work with the

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17 E.g. 162h, 163h, 167k, 168f, 181d, 186c, 190m, 220b, 2248, 230f, 232c.
systematic and Teutonic methods of a Mommsen. To be sure, he *ought* to have put his Olympiad dates immediately before his note of the first imperial year of each Olympiad. But his mind was not as tidy as that of Mommsen. His practice is here and there a little irregular and inconsistent."\(^{18}\) But why the Olympiads (and associated years of Abraham) should fall back more often and further in Hydatius than in Jerome (even in B), I cannot say. But there was no attempt on Hydatius' part to put the Olympiads in the middle of the year (i.e. July) in which they started, as Garzón accepted in his edition; it is hard to believe that Hydatius would have known this and technically each would have started the following summer anyway. Whatever the reasons for the Olympiads' slipping back, it would seem that Hydatius added them to the completed chronology of the chronicle; there is no evidence that he bothered to equate Olympiads with actual calendar years, i.e. aeras. He simply added an Olympiad every four calendar years (more or less).

3d. REGNAL YEARS

The regnal years of the text have caused the most problems because there is great disagreement over what Hydatius meant by them. This has been discussed in Volume One, pp. 75-6: based on Hydatius' own practice as revealed in the chronicle itself, each regnal year is a consular or calendar year which extends from January to December and within each year all events are placed in chronological order. Knowing this, we can locate the regnal year "Val. XXIII" which was missed by B\(^1\). FM indicate that it appears at 136. A second hand in B also placed it here, but a later hand erased it and moved it down a line to 137.\(^{19}\) But as was seen in Volume One, Hydatius would not have started a regnal year with December and then followed it with an entry dated to August (136-7), so it would appear that the second choice of the second hand is in fact correct.\(^{20}\) This places the eclipse in the correct year ("Val. XXIII" = 447) and maintains

\(^{18}\) (1982), 228.

\(^{19}\) Originally a brown line was drawn from "XXIII" to "XXIII" and then down to "Rechila". This was partially erased when B\(^2\)'s original "XXIII" at "Solis" was erased. That the first "XXIII" was written by B\(^2\) and not B\(^1\) is proven by the colour of the ink traces: it is the same weak red B\(^2\) used throughout the text for his corrections, not the dark crimson of the first hand.

\(^{20}\) Note that the comet of December 442 is placed correctly in "Val. XVIII" (= 442) not "Val XVIII".
the chronological order of months in "Val. XXIII" (July, December).

However, two problems arise immediately. "Maj. I" comprises more than a year, listing in order March, June, Easter, Pentecost, and May (§§186, 187, 189, 191), and the events of October to December 456 are spread over two regnal years ("Avitus I" and "II"). The problem in the first case is a copying error, the second a later scribal "correction". The fact that "Maj. II" in B consists of only three short entries whereas every other year surrounding it is much fuller is in itself already highly suspicious. Based on the evidence cited in Volume One, pp. 75-6, the indicator for "Maj. II" must, therefore, have slipped down from §189 (where it appears in my text) to §192 (where it appears in B). This shift puts March and June in "Maj. I" and Easter, Pentecost and May in "Maj. II". This evens out the amount of space allotted to each year and corrects the date of the solar eclipse from 457 to 458.

The second problem is even more obvious. "II" and "VI annus Marciani" were originally written by B at 172. For some reason B, which, as was seen above, pp. 6-7, has no independent authority, erased these and added them rather arbitrarily in the middle of a solid block of text (opposite "caelestis" at the end of 174). One possible reason for this is that it puts "Avitus II" roughly half-way between "I" and "III", rather than close to "I" as it was originally. The original appearance of "II" at 172 rather than 175 is also supported by the appearance in H of "VI annis (sic) Marciani" (= "Avitus II") at 173 and the large gap of c. 34 letters after 171. A gap at the end of a line, where there are no associated lacunae or rubrics, almost always indicates the end of a regnal year, though not every regnal year ends with such a definite break; many just run on into the next year.

There are other important differences between my chronology of regnal years and that of Mommsen, and it would be useful to explain here why these differences exist. The first chronological variation in my text appears at "Theod. VIII-VIII". B wrote

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21 There are obvious traces of abrasion and crimson ink in a small patch opposite "Legati" at 172 (the "II") and larger patches across the entire margin of the two lines immediately below. Ultraviolet light turned up no traces of letters.

22 There are only two exceptions, 51 and 200, and I have noted them in the edition.
"VII" at §12, "VIII" at 14 and "X" at 17, omitting "VIII". B\textsuperscript{2} erased the last "I" from "VIII" making it "VIII"\textsuperscript{23} and then added a new "VIII" at 16 rather than simply adding "VIII" at 13. The sequence of B\textsuperscript{1} is much better as it correctly dates Arcadius' quinquennalia\textsuperscript{24} and dates Priscillian to two consecutive years rather than 385 and 387.

The next is "Hon. V" to "X" (31-36). Mommsen placed the Council of Toledo (31), held in 400 (="Hon. VI"), in 399 ("Hon. V") and located a blank "VI", Olympiad 295 then a blank "VII" beneath 31. In B the first hand wrote only "III", "VI", "VI", "VIII", and "X", of which only the first and the last are correctly placed, and put the Olympiad in the middle of 31.\textsuperscript{25} The first "VI" was copied in the middle of 31 immediately before the Olympiad (at "Statuuntur") and the second next to 34 (="VIII"). Entry 36 (="VIII") was labelled "VIII".\textsuperscript{26} This section of the text is very lacunose—17 blank lines precede §31—and 31 itself is written in an unusually cramped and highly abbreviated style, almost as if the scribe were filling a lacuna he had originally left in the text. Entries 5, 6, 13, 76, and 146 are similarly cramped, perhaps for the same reason. The Olympiad was not, however, affected by the corruption of the surrounding regnal years and appears in its correct position.\textsuperscript{27} The Olympiad must be associated with "Hon. VII" since the previous one was associated with "Hon. III". Therefore entry 31, within which the Olympiad appears, must be under "Hon. VI" and "Hon. V" must therefore appear before 31. Thus Hydatius did in fact date the council correctly to the year 400.

The first hand copied "XXII", "XIII" (sic), XXIII, and "XXV" at 60, 63, 67, and 71. The second hand supplied the missing "X" in "XIII" and for some reason erased the "XXIII" at 67\textsuperscript{28} and moved it up to 64, the notice of the eclipse of 418, in order, it

\textsuperscript{23} The "I" is still clearly visible under the abrasion.

\textsuperscript{24} Correctly dated in the Consularia; on this source, see Volume One, 35-50, esp. 42.

\textsuperscript{25} It is possible that B\textsuperscript{1} also wrote the "V" which appears at the beginning of 31 since it would seem to be of the same colour of ink. However it is written as a "v" not a "u" as B\textsuperscript{1} does everywhere else. For this reason I cautiously assign it to another hand, though it makes little practical difference.

\textsuperscript{26} Again there is some problem in assigning hands to the last stroke of "VIII"; it could be by B\textsuperscript{1}.

\textsuperscript{27} Olympiad markers are large uncial rubrics and extend from the margin into the body of the text, and as a result are not as susceptible to loss as the smaller regnal years. As can be seen from the text, Olympiads survive in their original positions even in areas of large lacunae (§§18-31).

\textsuperscript{28} There are obvious traces of crimson ink and abrasion in the margin at "Vandali" consistent with
would seem, to correct the date of this well-known eclipse from 417 to 418.\textsuperscript{29} However, a number of factors support B\textsuperscript{1}'s original positioning of the regnal year. MS M also places the eclipse under “Hon. XXIII” not “XXIII”. There is a large gap after “...scripta declarant” (66), but none after “...barbarorum” (63); as noted above these gaps indicate the end of a regnal year. It also seems odd that B\textsuperscript{2}'s “Hon. XXIII” contains only a single entry while the one following it has seven. In fact no other regnal year has seven or more entries until “Val. XXXI”.\textsuperscript{30} With “XXIII” in its correct position before 67, both “Hon. XXIII” and “Hon. XXIII” have four entries. And finally, although the eclipse occurred in 418, the day of the week in 64 has been calculated as if the eclipse had occurred in 417.\textsuperscript{31} Thus 64 must have originally appeared under “Hon. XXIII” (=417) not “Hon. XXIII” (=418). The fact that this misdates the eclipse by a year and the papacy of Eulalius and the earthquake in Jerusalem by two years has no bearing on the validity of this emendation.

At “Val. XXV” Mommsen mistakenly put §139 under “Val. XXIII” when it is obvious from the manuscript that it belongs under “XXV”.

The greatest difference between the chronology of my edition and that of all previous editions appears under the years of Severus and Anthemius. In MS B Severus originally had four years (212, 218, 222, 231) and Anthemius only two (236, 245), not four and three; four, two and three; three and three; or six and three as previous editions have shown (for the following, see below, p. 75). A second hand, it would seem, noting the appearance of the eighth year of Leo in 235\textsuperscript{32} and realizing that the five years of Majorian and the four of Severus made nine years (from 185), erased the last “-I” from the regnal years at 222 and 231 and completely erased the regnal year at 218 to give Severus three years instead of four.\textsuperscript{33} These erasures were missed by all previous

\textsuperscript{29} This eclipse is mentioned in many other sources; cf. Table 4 in Volume One.
\textsuperscript{30} See Table 19 of Volume One.
\textsuperscript{31} Days of the week are never reported for such events in other sources and probably did not appear in Hydatius’ source. He was quite interested in reporting the day of week (see Volume One, 65 n. 84, 92, and Table 4) and so was forced to calculate it himself, albeit for the wrong year.
\textsuperscript{32} On the appearance of “Leo VIII” in “Sev. III”, see below.
\textsuperscript{33} There are still obvious traces of all the erased numbers in crimson ink amidst the abrasions.
editors. Since there were now only three years in Olympiad 311, a new year had to be inserted between Olympiad 312 and "Sev. III". This corrector therefore added a new "Anth. II" at 241 and made the existing "II" a "III". This was probably the same person who added the extra regnal years in the margin for Leo, from "vi" to "viii" (212, 222, 231, 236), as if to prove that his emendations were in fact correct. In carrying out this rather complicated exercise, the corrector missed the reference to Severus' death in his fourth year in the text at 231, now newly labelled as "Sev. III". This is the entry which has caused the most trouble for modern commentators and editors, especially Courtois. The problem was corrected by a later reader who increased each of the regnal years at 212, 222, and 231 by one (i.e. "Sev. I, II, III" became "Sev. II, III, IIII") and placed "Sev. I" opposite "Maj. V" (210), since there was no other obvious place for another regnal year. As can be seen from the "Apparatus criticus chronologiae" below, all editors, with the exceptions of Garzón and Tranoy who altered the text with no regard for the manuscript evidence, have accepted the emendations of the second or the third hand, either ignoring the fact that the emendations are all made in different coloured inks or, in Mommsen's case, the contradiction of the date of Severus' death in the testimony of the second hand. Why the first corrector went to all the trouble of correcting and adding regnal years rather than just emend the year of Leo from "VIII" to "VIIII" is unknown.

But then in our own time Christian Courtois undertook vast emendations of the text and posited a three-year lacuna, rather than emend the year of Severus in §231 from "III" to "III". There is also the example of the corrector of the Olympiads in B, described in the Appendix to the apparatus criticus below (pp. 121-2), who erroneously emended every Olympiad from 46 to 312. A later reader had to correct them all back again.

Apart from the evidence of the regnal years in B itself, that is, the marginal regnal years and the number "four" in entry 231, which supports four years for Severus and two for Anthemius, there is the earliest evidence we have for the chronology of this part of the text, the addition to the Consularia Constantinopolitana copied from the chronicle at some time in the sixth century by a Spanish compiler.\(^{34}\) As can be seen from

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34 See Volume One, 47-9.
Appendix 2 of Volume One, the compiler also gave Severus four years (aeras 500-503) and Anthemius two (aeras 504-5). MS M also labels the year of Anthemius' accession, i.e. Severus' last year, as aera 503, rather than 502, as would have been the case had Severus only been given three years. Unfortunately there is no other evidence from any source which would help in the establishment of these readings.

Against four years for Severus is the eighth year of Leo in 235. The appearance of the eighth year, rather than the ninth, implies only three years for Severus (or four for Majorian), not four. The major problem is that this figure appears not only in B, but also in FMI and Pseudo-Isidorus' biography of Hydatius in the de uiris illustribus, and therefore must have existed in β. H however states that 235 is the fourth year of Leo, but if “VIII” existed in β, it must have been in γ and H's exemplar as well. H's “quarto” must therefore be a scribal error for “VIII”. Either Hydatius has made a mistake in counting or the “VIII” is a corruption of “VIIII” influenced by the “octauo miliario de Roma” just above. That such an error could have occurred so far back in the manuscript tradition is not impossible. As was noted above, pp. 8-9, certain similarities and common errors in H and B show that β must have been corrupt in a number of ways, less than one hundred years after the composition of the original. The corruption of “VIII” to “VIII” probably occurred around the same time.

35 As was seen in Volume One, 49, the final consular entry (labelled "dui") is a later interpolation.
CHAPTER 3:
RECONSTRUCTING THE TEXT:
LACUNAE, FRAGMENTS AND INTERPOLATIONS

In the last chapter it will have become obvious that as regards the record of Hydatius’ original chronology B is far from perfect. This is also the case for its record of the text itself, which, though less prone to complete corruption, is still highly defective in a great number of places. It is here especially that the other witnesses to the text become truly important in corroborating, correcting and adding to the text of B. This will be only a general survey of the problems; detailed reporting is left to the *apparatus criticus* and its Appendix below. The result will be the closest I believe we can come to Hydatius’ original work based on the evidence we now possess.

It is impossible for anyone today to see Phillipps 1829, MS B, and not be completely taken aback by the vast lacunae in the earlier sections of the text. Mommsen is the only editor who admitted to the existence of these lacunae but he simply gave a brief list in his introduction (p. 7) of where they appeared in text, he did not say how large they were or note their appearance in the edition itself. However, these lacunae comprise 11.4% of the entire chronicle (103 full and partial lines of 901 are blank) and there are two blocks where there are 13 and 17 blank lines in a row, not including the marginal regnal years and an Olympiad.¹ The appearance of the lacunae is very strange. They do not affect the preface or any of the other texts in B and only begin after §3 with a gap of seven lines. They continue up to the beginning of §38, then stop completely for a total of 77 blank lines over a space of 147 lines: 52% of the text from 379 to 405 would therefore appear to be lost. There are no further lacunae until after §76 and there are 10 blank lines between 76 and the beginning of 81. There are six blank lines between 86 and 89. There is an interesting gap at the end of §90 where B has “quo ita ex extincto mox quo caeperat sena uigauit.” This ought to read “Quo ita extincto mox quo Gaisericus enauigauit” but obviously the scribe could not read “Gaisericu” and added the “s” he could read to the next word and misread that as well. There are two

¹ In counting blank lines I also include the gaps after the Olympiad markers except when these appear immediately before a regnal year.
blank lines after §110 and no further serious lacunae other than after §§192 (two lines) and 217 (three and a third lines). "Seuerum quarto" has also been lost in §232.\textsuperscript{2} Entry 242 is seriously corrupted and the scribe has left almost a whole before it blank and two blanks within the entry itself, one of about 14 letters and the other of about 26. There is obviously a lacuna between "de" and "Gothicorum", although there is no gap in the manuscript, but it is impossible to say what has fallen out because of the presence of the adjectival form "Gothicorum" which Hydatius elsewhere uses three times (116, "bello Gothico"; 192\textsuperscript{1}, 201, "Gothicus exercitus"); it must have been at least two nouns, one in the ablative after "de" and one in the genitive plural.

These lacunae were deliberately left blank by the scribe. Why? The conclusion must be that they were either blank or illegible in his exemplar. Certainly the small lacunae in 90, 232 and 242 show that there was at least some corruption in the exemplar. As we shall see, in three cases the epitomes preserve complete entries which perfectly fit lacunae in B. This leads one to the conclusion that at least some of the lacunae were left because there was corrupted and illegible text in the exemplar of B which the scribe did not want to leave out. Accordingly, he left the spaces so that they could be filled in at some future date when a better manuscript was obtained. This never happened, though there are a number of entries which are very cramped and abbreviated indeed, and could well be the result of copying text into blank spaces (5, 6, 13, 31, 76, 146). In this the scribe of B would appear to have been following the practice of earlier scribes who had left blanks their copies as well since most of the lacunae can be traced back to the sixth century.

A number of other interesting observations can be made. First, that these lacunae, with the exception of those which are filled by the epitomes since these are peculiar to B alone, must have existed before the beginning of the seventh century since none are filled by F which records virtually every entry at the beginning of the B. As noted above most lacunae appear between §§3 and 37. Interestingly enough, the Spanish epitome (H) does not begin until 37 and the material copied by the compiler of the Gallic Chronicle not until

\textsuperscript{2} See the Appendix to the apparatus criticus.
36, facts which suggest that these epitomators simply skipped over the first few lacunose pages of their exemplars. This means that the lacunae could have existed as early as 511. The question is, were these lacunae caused by age, wear, or accident, or were they original? This of course is unknowable but it does seem odd that such large sections in the middle of a codex could be damaged; most codices suffer their worst damage at the beginning or end. Did Hydatius die before he finished his work, having filled in the regnal year markers in his master copy but leaving the text blank to be filled in as he researched more intensely the earliest periods covered by his chronicle? Although this at first seems most unlikely, it actually is a distinct possibility for some lacunae at least because of the fact that most of the regnal years in the section between "Theod. XI" and "Hon. XIII" (excluding the corrupted section between "Hon. IIII" and "VII") were placed with a regular four or five lines per regnal year. From "Theod I" to "X", the section before §37 which appears to have been lacunose before 511, the number of lines allotted per year are irregular as one would expect: 10 (7 blank), 6 (1 blank), 5 (3 blank), 7 (3 1/2 blank), 6 (4 blank), 5 (3 blank), 1, 9, 6, and 8 (2 blank). But for "Theod XI" to "Hon. III" they are 4, 5, 5, 5, 4, 11, 5, and 5. Because of corruption "Hon. V" and "VII" were of unknown length, but "Hon. VI" is ten lines. "Hon. VIII" to "XIII" runs 4, 5, 4, 4, 4, and 4. Of the six completely blank years, five have five lines each and the other has four. "Hon. XXVII" (four blank lines) and the completely blank "Hon. XXIX" also have five lines each. "Val. II" (2 3/4 blank lines) has four lines. This looks suspiciously like the original format of Hydatius' draft copy set up with spaces left for additional material when it became available. What does seem unusual is that later copyists retained the blanks and did not close them up. In this the copyists were probably influenced by the strictness of adhering to the formatting and the 26-line page for the chronicle of Jerome.

Not all of the lacuna were left by Hydatius however. B's archetype was old and the

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3 I owe this observation to Steven Muhlberger.

4 Only "Theod XVII" is radically different, with 11 lines. However, if we consider this as the two regnal years it is("Theod. XVII" and "Hon. I") it also produces five lines per year with one left over which could originally have belonged to "Theod. XVI" which has only four lines.

5 "Val. III" (completely blank), however, has only three.
chronicle had sustained serious damage in the early pages, at 37a, 90, 99a, 192a, 217a/214a, 232, 242 and in numerous other places, damage which rendered the text illegible. Also subject to damage and omission were the Spanish aeras, years of Abraham and the regnal years. In B "Theod. VIII" and "Val. XXIII" were omitted by the first hand and "Hon. XXIII" was written as "XIII". There are more complicated errors of omission at "Hon. V" to "VIII" and these are discussed elsewhere. 6

We now come to a more difficult problem, that of ascertaining what in the texts other than B is authentic and what is interpolation. The foundation of my approach is that nothing outside of B is acceptable unless a strong case can be mounted for its inclusion. This differs from Mommsen's approach which would seem to have been to include everything and reject only the most suspicious. First of all, in the cases of Isidorus and the Chronica Gallica where the authors rewrite Hydatius and have used other sources, I ignore any additions presented since there is usually no way to tell their origin. 7 As well, none of these additions passes a tripartite analysis of style, plausibility and support, which I have used to determine the authenticity of the additions found in all texts. Hydatius has a distinctive style and this can often help to rule out possible additions, even when they are epitomized. Plausibility refers to a number of factors: would Hydatius have included such an entry; if it is a phrase or part of an entry, would it fit into the entry as it stands in B; can its omission be explained; can its appearance in this text (or these texts) be explained as an independent addition? Once an entry or phrase or word meets these two criteria it must have some sort of support, either externally from other texts or internally from B itself. Four different examples will explain how these criteria are applied.

Entry 37a is obviously Hydatian in its style, appears in FHM, is typical of the type of entry Hydatius would write, and there is a large lacuna in B at the very spot where FM indicate it belongs; it is therefore included as authentic. Of this there can be no doubt. Entry 192a concerning the return of Sabinus appears only in H and therefore has no

6 On all these omissions, see above, 23-4, 26-7, 29, 30-3, and Volume One, 160-1.
7 However in the Gallic Chronicle §555 is derived from Orosius VII.40.3 and §578 is taken from Chronica Gallica ad a. 452 92.
external support, but is stylistically Hydatian, falls exactly where there is a lacuna of the proper length in B and cannot have been an interpolation by the late-sixth century epitomator who used aeras not regnal years to date his excerpts. This notice of Sabinus' return after a twenty-year exile is placed twenty regnal years, but only 16 aeras, i.e. from aera 479 (124, 126) to 495, after his expulsion. If this were an interpolation by the epitomator of H (from what source?) Sabinus should have returned after a sixteen-year exile (following the aeras) or the entry should have been placed in aera 489 (following the regnal years). Entry 99a matches no lacuna in B but appears in H and M, is stylistically Hydatian and the chronological indications in M are consistent with its probable location in B; this is a borderline case, but is accepted mainly on the grounds of support and style. In the case of Heremigarius' being called a king in HF (90), however, I side with B since Hermeric is already called king in §71; Isidorus omits him from his narrative and would not have left out such an important detail (his claim that Hermeric was king from 409 implicitly denies such an identification); and it is easy to see from the context how such an addition could have arisen independently in the two texts which anyway disagree in their word order. I shall now examine the remaining additional material in each of the texts HFM, in that order, to discover whether or not any of it should be accepted as in the final text of B.

The first entry in H, 37, contains a phrase not included in B, "cognomento os aureum", referring to John Chrysostom, added at the end of the clause "Constantinopoli Ioannes episcopus predicatur insignis". I reject this as a marginal gloss because of its unusual position in the sentence and the fact that Hydatius only uses "cognomento" once (pref. 3), where it directly follows the name. Given Hydatius' weak knowledge of Eastern ecclesiastical affairs, surely if he were to call him anything he would call him "Ioannes Chrysostomus", as every other writer I have seen does. The "os aureum" appears to be part of a gloss on a gloss: "cognomento Chrysostomus" perhaps being the first with an added "quod est os aureum" or something similar, which was then shortened into what we have now. The gloss may derive from Isidorus' De uiris illustribus.

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8 The aera 495 is an incorrect addition by the epitomator himself; see above, 25.
9 §85 (Chron. min. II: 300).
"Ioannes Constantinopolitanae sedis episcopus, cognomento Chrisostomus...". 10

Entry 37a on the death of St. Martin certainly belongs to the chronicle as has been discussed above. This entry shows that the epitomator of H did condense his text and omit sections from it, with the resulting conclusion that text missing from H does not imply interpolation in B or elsewhere.

Entry 62b is a difficult problem. Though the other evidence of H indicates that the epitomator did not interpolate entire entries, the evidence of B shows that Hydatius never refers to himself unless he is involved in historical events, such as the embassy to Aëtius, the trials of the Manichees or his own kidnapping by the Sueves. It seems indeed almost impossible to believe that Hydatius would have included such a gratuitous personal entry in the body of the chronicle concerning an event he does not mention in the preface. The "entry" is not even a sentence: Hydatius does not write like this and the epitomator does not epitomize the chronicle in this way either. Most commentators since Mommsen have claimed that "ad deum conuersio" means that Hydatius became a priest, 11 but the use of the term in the fifth century would seem to be restricted to conversion to Christianity or, more commonly, the adoption of an ascetic life, usually that of a monk. 12 Both interpretations are virtually impossible given Hydatius' life as we know it. 13 The entry is highly suspicious, has no support of any kind elsewhere and is therefore rejected as an interpolation. Why the epitomator interpolated the comment that Hydatius became a monk, 14 adding that he had been a "peccator" no less, is unknown.

The death of St Augustine (99a/108a) does belong to the text as the similar wording of H and M shows: when one omits from M what has been interpolated from Bede Chronicle 480, "doctor eximius" and "cum uixisset...complesset", what is left mirrors 10 7, (Codoter Merino, 137).

11 "clericus factus est", (1894), 4. See also Seeck (1914), 40; Kappelmacher (1914), 876; Molé (1974), 285.

12 DuCange, II: 547; Tranoy (1974), I: 14, and II: 50-1; Lienhard (1977), 33; and this is how Hydatius himself uses it in §81.

13 Hence the refuge in "clericus factus est". This identification is mentioned neither by Hydatius in his preface nor by Pseudo-Isidorus, who only calls him an "episcopus" (see Appendix 1 in Volume One).

14 By the time of H, "conuersio" had come to mean this almost exclusively; see DuCange, loc. cit. (n. 12).
almost exactly what is in H. The verb in M, “transit”, is the same one used in 37a and might therefore be the correct form, but §222 (which does not appear in H) records a formula identical to H’s—“Nepotianus recedit e corpore”—and H outweighs M. Mommsen erred seriously though when he retained the link between 108a and 109, and ignored the chronological information in M. In H only entries 99, 108a and 109 appear here, and 108a and 109 are in fact a single entry in which the latter has been altered to make Augustine the subject of “ostendit”. However M indicates that the entry originally appeared in “Val. VIII”, Olympiad 303 and aera 470, all of which are 432 as was seen above, p. 28. As a result it is quite clear that entry 108a really belongs after 99, even though there is no lacuna here in B (or after 108).

Entry 214a, as Flórez pointed out, probably records the same portent detailed in F (§217a fin; see below). How the two originally fit together is hard to tell, but the references to Gallaecia in both confirm its authenticity as does the three line lacuna in B after 217. The “Aera D” in 214a in H was added from 214, which does not appear in H but was obviously in the exemplar.

There are two examples of gross alteration of the text by the epitomator of H, not including the interpolation of 62b. The first occurs in 99a and 109 as mentioned above and the second in 145 which H combines with 127 in a very clumsy manner indeed. In spite of these alterations, H is a fairly “clean” epitome; F however is a completely different matter. Apart from containing an incredible number of misreadings and lines of complete nonsense, it has suffered from obvious and extensive rewriting, condensation and interpolation. There are numerous examples of the latter especially. The most obvious is the massive interpolation in Chapter 53 concerning the Huns’ invasion of Gaul. It takes up a page and a half in Krusch’s edition (see below, pp. 138-40) and has nothing to do with Hydatius whatsoever. Another occurs at the end of the epitome in Chapter 56 (§244 in Hydatius): “medio Tholose ciuetatis sanguis erupit de terra et tota diae fluxit, signeficans Gothorum dominatione sublata, Francorum adueniente regno”.

15 See the text of H below.
16 p. 426.
17 See the text of H below.
This portent became so important that it later took on a life of its own. For instance, the following version appears in the *Historia Francorum* of Aimoinus monachus Floriacensis of A.D. 1008 which no where else has even a hint of familiarity with Fredegarius' text: "Apud Tolosam Galliae urbem e medio eius tota die sanguis largissimo fluxit riuo. Quod prudentes quique Gothorum, qui eadem regnabant in ciuitate, perditionem, Francorumque dixerunt portendere dominationem." A version based on the same source appears in Sigebert (A.D. 1105) who seems not to have used Aimoinus. An example of a bizarre interpolation occurs in Chapter 51 (§90 in Hydatius): "consederunt Wandali in Betaca an. liiii." Hydatius would never have written something so manifestly untrue. Another such howler appears at the end of the chapter (§§118, 119) where Gaiseric suddenly becomes a Suevic king and is succeeded by Rechila. In total there are over 70 interpolations of words and clauses throughout the text and they are printed by Krusch in large (sometimes spaced) type; with but two exceptions all can be dismissed as seventh-century additions. One of the exceptions is the entry on St. Martin and Sulpicius Severus discussed above (37a).

There is also one example of deliberate movement of text. The compiler took the lunar eclipse of §214 and placed it just before §225 in a series of excerpts which consists of §§211, 217, 217a, 218, 214, and 225. Entries 217a, 214 and 225 are portents and for maximum impact they are crowded around the entry which describes the battle of Orléans where Fredericus, the brother of the Gothic king, was defeated and killed by a Frankish army under Aegidius (218).

There is a major addition in chapter 50 (§19) which states that Theodosius the Great produced the *Codex Theodosianus* while in Rome with Honorius in 389. In spite of the confusion between the two Theodosii, father and grandson, this could well be authentic for there is a three line lacuna after §19 in B. However the passage is framed in the same

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18 I.ix (*PL* 139: 644). See Volume One, 182-3, for the original import of this portent.
19 s.a. 461, *MGH:SS* VI: 311: "Apud Tolosam urbem Galliae, ex eius medio tota die sanguis largissimo fluxit riuo; quod Gothi pro portento suae perditionis acceperunt". Cf. also the *Chronica* of Bernoldus (A.D. 1086) who is otherwise copying Cassiodorus: "Tolosae ubi sedes regni Gothorum erat, in medio ciuitatis sanguis e terra prorumpens tota die una profluxit" (*PL* 148: 1325).
words as another obvious interpolation in Chapter 37 of F thus proving it to be the work of the compiler.

There is little doubt that entry 25a is an interpolation as the repeated regnal year readily shows. The entry is interesting nevertheless for I know of no other source in Greek or Latin which reports Theodosius' final resting place as the church of St Laurence; he was in fact buried in the Mausoleum of Constantine in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. 20

The next additional entry is 62a in the middle of Chapter 50 concerning the capture of Fredibalus, king of the Vandals: “Fredibalum regi gentis Wandalorum sineullo certamine ingeniose captum ad imperatorum Honorium destinat.” While Krusch claims “Idacii esse nemo non uider” 21 and every editor of Hydatius has accepted it as authentic, stylistically it is obviously not Hydatian. Hydatius never refers to any king as “rex gentis -orum”, and only thrice even uses the expression “gens -orum” (12: “Creothingorum gens”; 150: “gens Unorum”; 171: “de Erulorum gente”). As well, of the twelve times that Hydatius uses the word “imperator” with the name of the emperor, eleven times it comes after the name, not before it. The twelfth example occurs in §247 where there are already two other examples of “imperator” following the name and in this case it is probably just variatio. Constantius is obviously the subject of “destinat” but this is impossible, and Vallia was obviously not interested in taking prisoners by stratagem. The most damning evidence however is the fact that there is no reference to this king in Isidorus' Historia Wandalorum (§73), an unlikely omission. 22

Entry 217a appears at first glance to be too bizarre for Hydatius, but the report of the date and the province, the seeming correspondence between H’s 214a and the last clause of this entry, and the three line lacuna in B at this point mark it as authentic, though the tortured structure must betray some epitomizing, if not confusion.

As a result then there are only two authentic additions to B contained in F, 37a and 217a, both supported from another witness; the rest are all alterations or interpolations.

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20 On the tomb of Theodosius, see Grierson (1962), 21, 23, 25-6, 42-3.
21 MGH:SRM II: 71, n. 5.
22 He therefore ought to appear in PLRE II as *!Fredibalus!* (cf. p. 484).
The *Chronicon Luxovienne*, or MS M, has been mentioned above in several places; it is necessary here only to draw all the comments together. All of the astrological material, *anno domini*, *anno mundi* and *ab urbe condita* dates as well as the inductions, are all interpolations. The notices of the deaths of St Martin, supported by HF, and Augustine, supported by H, are genuine, but that of the death of Jerome (cf. Hydatius §106) is not nor is the last clause of the entry on Augustine's death which has been copied from Bede.

* 

The final two texts to be discussed are Sigebert and Theodorus (S and T). The former is heavily rewritten and of little value for our purposes here, while on the other hand Theodorus preserves more than any other text of Group III with the exception of Isidorus. The sheer volume of the text of Hydatius preserved in such a generally uncontaminated state forces us to examine T closely in order to determine from what tradition its source derived and whether his text can be used to help reconstruct the chronicle.

Sigebert and Theodorus both shared a common source for their material from Hydatius (ε); this is proven by four similar entries which differ from Hydatius: 5, 13, 16, and 149. The most important of these are the virtually identical passages on Priscillian, each a single entry created by combining two entries from Hydatius (13 and 16) and two from Prosper (1171 and 1187), though Theodorus records five words from Prosper which are not found in Sigebert: "ex Manicheorum et gnosticorum dogmate", yet differs from Sigebert and Prosper by locating Priscillian in Gaul (instead of Spain [Sigebert] or Gallaecia [Prosper]) and using the word "errorem" instead of "heresim" as Sigebert and Prosper do. Likewise S and T agree against Hydatius in their wording in §5 concerning Theophilus' laterculus and both state that Hydatius' "terraemotus assidui" in Gallaecia were "pene assidui" (§149). Pertz, in his abbreviated first half of Theodorus' chronicle, believed Theodorus to have copied Sigebert. This is easily disproven. As far as the text they have taken from Hydatius is concerned, of the 25 entries Sigebert records, Theodorus displays only four (mentioned above) of 21 shared entries which
could be claimed to have been adopted from the former, the other 17 usually being much closer to Hydatius in length and wording than Sigebert’s reworked entries. T also has another 44 entries from Hydatius, not including pref. 2, 3 and 5, which are not in S.

The common source ε would appear to be based on a full text of Hydatius since it includes the preface (recorded by T) and §§5 and 253, and this text would appear to be B or a copy made from it. This is proven by a number of factors. First of all, S and T do not include any of the extra entries found in HFM and do include pref. 2, 3 and 5, and §§ 5, 13, 16, 46, 47, 66, 73, 126, 159, 176, 191, 215, 242, and 253 which appear in no extant tradition other than B. More specifically, there are echoes of unique aspects of B in both S and T. Sigebert reproduces a scribal error of B in §89: “manus in ecclesia ipsius ciuitatis extendisset” instead of “in ecclesiam”. T may be using the regnal years written by the second hand in B (see below). In §177 the four texts which report the last two words give three different versions: \textit{caesas nuntiant} (B), \textit{cesa nunciant} (HmF) and \textit{caesae nuntiantur} (Hn). Theodorus follows B: \textit{cesas nunciant}. In §215 he copies the entry exactly until he reaches the corrupted clause which he skips and then recrafts the rest of the entry using Hydatius’ words. His great interest in portents and signa led him to record §242 which is only in a fragmentary state in B. However, he only reports what still survives in B, no more; obviously his text was in the same state as B and he simply salvaged what he could. As a result of this analysis, we must unfortunately conclude that S and T are valueless in helping to establish the text of the chronicle since ε is only a reworked version of B.

ε appears to have been an interesting text for a number of reasons. The first is that it was contaminated by Prosper (see above) and Isidorus, as is shown in Sigebert by the use of “transfretauti”, s.a. 433 (§90, Hydatius; §74, Isidorus), and “miserabiliter”, s.a. 444 (§116, Hydatius; §24, Isidorus). The second is that at some point it claimed that Hydatius went down to the time of Zeno. Sigebert places the last entry in the chronicle, 253 (=468), in 490. He knows that this is the last entry of the chronicle and so follows it with the notice “Idacius...cronica...hucusque perduxit”. The end of the chronicle appears to have been placed in 490 because he believed that the aera inscribed on the fish
mentioned in 253 corresponded to the year 490 ("inscripta aera presentis anni").

Theodorus, on the other hand, states in his prologue that Hydatius continued to the tenth year of Leo, which may reflect the appearance of "Leo VIII" in 235 and the original two years of Anthemius but more likely it is based on the emended chronology of B^2 which incorrectly marked "Anth. I" as "Leo VIII" and gave Anthemius three years. However, at the end of his excerpts from Jerome Theodorus states that Hydatius' chronicle goes "ad tempora Zenonis" and records the end of the chronicle ("hucusque Idacius episcopus") in "Leo XVII" after the flight of Basiliscus to the baptistery in 476, the act which signals the beginning of the reign of Zeno. Like Sigebert he draws the final entry, 253, away from its correct location, splitting it, however, over two years, "Leo XV" and "XVI". He even moves §252 to "Leo XII", which still goes beyond the "Leo X" stated in the prologue. It would thus appear that he too found the indication of the end of Hydatius' chronicle, the "ad tempora Zenonis", in ε and interpreted it quite strictly as meaning "up to Zeno's accession". The notice in the prologue was either calculated early on and forgotten or blindly copied from some other source. He obviously never compared these two parts of his own chronicle. Sigebert seems to have thought it meant "up to the end of Zeno's reign" and hence chose a date of 490, though he notes Zeno's death two years later.

And so in final conclusion to this chapter we can say that, based on the evidence of other texts and witnesses to the original chronicle, there is unfortunately very little which can be found in the epitomes to fill in the massive lacunae of B. We must accept that about ten percent of the text is lost forever (if it ever actually existed).^23 There is no case for the interpolation of B, our main text, as proposed by Courtois, and the order of entries is likely correct, or if not there is no way we can now restore that order. Given the relative obscurity of the author and the text, and the place and period in which he wrote, we are really quite lucky to have B, in spite of its obvious corruption, for we could have been left with only Theodorus, F or even H. The survival, however imperfect, of B means the survival of not only the chronicle but the author and the world in which he lived.

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^23 HFM supply ten lines of the missing 103, or 1.1% of the total.
The final result can be viewed in the edition presented below. The format, it will be noticed, is quite different from that of Mommsen and Tranoy's texts since it follows B exactly.24 Another feature of this edition is the fact that I have indicated in the body of the text the location and size of every lacuna in B. I have also abandoned Mommsen's parallel texts and opted to try to retain the overall appearance of the original. The primacy of B has been established above and so it must stand alone as the framework upon which the reconstruction of the text rests. The other texts are corrupted in one way or another and so deserve no place in the edition. Mommsen's numbers have been retained everywhere, though eventually this numbering system will have to be abandoned and the entries renumbered, especially omitting the numbers Mommsen assigned to blank years. Mommsen also numbered all additional entries to B, no matter what the external support, with "a" (and in one case "b") and so there is no disruption when these must be excised. However the few which are kept ought to be assigned bona fide numbers as the retention of the "a" attribute somehow implies a lower level of confidence or authenticity in the entry which is not deserved. Some of Mommsen's entries have been cut in two and in one case three have been made into one; this numbering will also have to be corrected. I have also abandoned Mommsen's use of quotation marks and brackets to identify the sources of various sections in each entry; this is really of no value and such reporting can be done in the apparatus. The sources, complete and partial, for each entry are given in a concordance below.

24 See above, 22.
PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF MS B

**- text based on B  
* - B consulted

[editio princeps; based on apograph of B; I have not seen this text].

1615 Sandoval, Prudencio de. *Historias de Idacio obispo, que escrivio poco antes que España se perdiiese*, etc. Pamplona, 27-42. (reprinted 1634) [San Llorente's text].


1636 Sirmond, Jacques. in Andreas du Chesne (ed.), *Historiae Francorum scriptores coaetani, ab ipsius gentis origine ad Pipinum usque regem*. Vol. 1. Paris, 183-95. [Sirmond's 1619 text revised by Sirmond*].


1756 Flórez, Henrique. *España sagrada*. Vol. 4. Madrid, 345-85. [Sirmond's 1619 text with a number of minor textual changes; uses different page set-up and makes a number of chronological alterations to early entries].

1787 Roncalli, Thomas. *Vetustiora latinorum scriptorum chronica*. Vol. 2. Padua, 5-54. [Sirmond’s 1619 text with variants noted at the bottom of the page from Aguirre, Bouquet, Basnage (Canisius’ ed. of F), Scaliger (ed. of F), de la Baune, and du Chesne].

1845 Garzón, Juan Mateo. *Idatii episcopi chronicon correctionibus scholiis et dissertationibus illustratum*. ed. P. F. X. de Ram. Brussels. [Sirmond’s 1619 text with extensive chronological alterations and a large number of textual changes; written before Garzón’s death in 1762]. This text was reproduced in 1860 by J.-P. Migne in *PL* 74: 701-50.


1974 Tranoy, Alain. *Hydace: Chronique* (Sources chrétiennes 218; Paris). [Mommsen’s text with minor textual changes and extensive chronological alterations*].

SIGLA

CODICUM

B  Phillipps 1829; ff. 153r-172v; A.D. c.830
Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin DDR

B\(^a\)  primus manus  
B\(^b\)  correctio primi manus

B\(^1\)  primus manus  
B\(^2\), \(^3\)  correctio posteriorum manuum

C  1792; ff. 137r-151r, 153r-159v; fin. saec. XVI
Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, Carpentras (France)

Lat. 10910; ff. 60-68; A.D. 715 (plerumque = F et F2)
Bibliothèque National, Paris

F\(^2\)  Harley 5251; ff. 44r-51r, (Krusch 2b); fin. saec. IX
British Library, London

Hb  Egerton 1873; ff. 24r-27v; fin. saec. XVI
British Library, London

Hn  1376; ff. 28r-31r; fin. saec. XVI
Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

Ht  27.26; ff. 29v-33r; fin. saec. XVI
Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, Catedral Toledo

Ho  consensus trium supradictorum codicum ex ms. Osmense deperdito

Hm  134; ff. 40r-41v; saec. XIII
Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid

H  consensus quattuor supradictorum codicum H

Alc  lectio manuscripti deperditii Alcobacienisis, descripti a Iohanne Vasaeo Brugense,
*Chronici rerum memorabilium Hispaniae*, Tom. I (Salamanca, 1552).
AUCTORUM

G  *Chronica Gallica ad a. DXI*; A.D. 511
134; ff. 39r-39v; saec. XIII
Bibliotheca de la Universidad de Complutense de Madrid
(quoque in supradicto Alcobaciense).

I  Isidori *Historia Gothorum Wandalorum Sueorum*; A.D. 624.

P  Forma brevis Isidori *Historiae Gothorum Wandalorum Sueorum*, descripta ex
Isidoro et Hydatio.

M  *Chronicon Luxoviense*; A.D. 1039
H 151; ff. 99v-100r; Saec. XI
Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, Montpellier

S  Sigeberti Gemblacensis *Chronographia*; A.D. 1105

T  Theodori *Annales Palidenses (Chronicon abbatiae Polidensis)*; A.D. 1182
Laud. Misc. 633; ff. 1r, 40v-45r; A.D. 1182
Bodleian Library, Oxford

c  *Consularia Constantinopolitana*; fin. saec. V/ init. saec. VI

p  Prosperi *Epitome Chronicon*; A.D. 455

EDITORUM

Sa  Sandoval, 1615 (= San Llorente, 1615)

Si  Sirmond, 1619

Si  Sirmond, 1636

Si  Sirmond, corr. ex ms. de la Baune 1696

Fl  Flórez, 1756 (editio Si usurpata)

Ga  Garzón, 1845 (editio Si usurpata)
Si consensus Si\textsuperscript{1-3}, Fl et Ga
edd ante consensus omnium editorum ante Mommsen
Mo Mommsen, 1894 (plerumque = Mo et Tr)
Tr Tranoy, 1974 (solum si lectio dissimilis Mommsen)
edd consensus editorum

\textit{pon.} = ponit (-unt, -o) \quad \textit{semp.} = semper \quad \textit{om.} = omittit (-unt)
\textit{corr.} = corrigit (-unt) \quad \textit{dist.} = distinguit (-unt) \quad \textit{add.} = addit (-unt)
\textit{del.} = delet (-ent) \quad \textit{scr.} = scribit \quad \textit{prop.} = proponit (-unt)

In textu, quae includuntur:

{ }— delenda \quad < >— additio editoris
[lacuna]— descriptio manuscripti \quad [lacuna]— sententia editoris
STEMMA CODICUM

CENT.

5

HYDATIUS' AUTOGRAPH c. 469

α

G

β

δ

(H)

I

γ

(F)

Φ

F

(cF)

M

(B)

(A)

Hm

(O)

Hb Ht Hn (Hs)

(Ha)

(Hc)
KEY TO STEMMA CODICUM
(brackets indicate lost text)

α- partial, mutilated copy of apograph; pre-511

G- Chronica Gallica ad a. DXI (surviving only in Hm)

β- apograph, common source of γ and δ

γ- apograph; pre-570

δ- Spanish compiler; 5th-6th century; this or apograph of it enters Gaul pre-613

(H)- autograph of the Spanish epitome; early 570’s

(F)- autograph of original text of Fredegarius; 613

I- Isidorus’ Historia Gothorum Wandalorum Suevorum; 624

F- Paris Bibl. Nat., Lat. 10910; 715

φ- unknown apograph, source of cF; pre-8th to 9th century

cF- codices Fredegarii; 3 groups: 2, 3, 4; 8th-9th to 15th centuries

B- East Berlin Deutsche Staatsbibl., Phill. 1829; c.830

M- Chronicon Luxoviiense (MS M), Montpellier Bibl. Interuniv. H151; 1039

ε- unknown and undated partial common source for S and T

S- Sigebert’s Chronographia; 1105


(A)- Alcobaciensis; 8th-9th century

(O)- Osmensis; perhaps 13th century

Hm- Madrid Bibl. Univ. Compl., 134; 13th century

(Ha)- copy made by Juan Paez, 16th century

(Hc)- copy last owned by Ambrosio de Morales; 16th century

C- Carpentras Bibl. Inguimbertine, 1792; late 16th century

Hn- copy made by J. B. Pérez; Madrid Bibl. Nac., 1376; end of 16th century

(Hs)- copy made by J. B. Pérez; Segorbiensis; end of 16th century

Ht- copy made by J. B. Pérez; Toledo Arch. y Bibli. Cap., 27.26; end of 16th century

Hb- copy made by Juan de Mariana; London Brit. Libr., Egerton 1873; c.1590
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Because there is only one independent manuscript of the complete chronicle and therefore nothing against which to check its orthography, and because the orthography of the manuscript is itself inconsistent, it is virtually impossible to decide what should be accepted as the "correct" orthography for the text.\(^1\) Aside from the numerous regular types of orthographical variation in ordinary words, there is even great variation in the spelling of names where one would usually expect more consistency. Theoderic, for instance, is spelled six different ways: Theodericus, Theodoricus, Theudericus, Theudoricus, Theodor, and Theodorus. I have decided therefore to use the general rules followed by editors of mediaeval Latin and vernacular texts as regards orthography: "Si el manuscrito es único, creo que se deben respetar todas sus lecturas, no retrocediendo incluso ante una edición diplomática; toda corrección, en efecto, se basará en un criterio arbitrario, con la desventaja de desfigurar el único testimonio."\(^2\) All spelling has therefore been left in the form in which it was written by B\(^a\) unless there is an important reason for changing it, such as obviously uncharacteristic or mechanical errors, obvious hypercorrections, those which can be definitely ascertained from one of the epitomes, or those which would seriously interfere with a clear understanding of the Latin. As regards the latter, only the variants which affect the number of verbs, and the endings "-sis" and "-ses", and "-us", and "-os" of nouns and adjectives have been regularized; Hydatius' Latin is difficult enough without adding to the confusion. This may seem strange to classicists used to Latin texts in which consistency is the rule, but mediaevalists will accept this as standard practice and wonder what all the fuss is about.

I have below compiled a list of the major orthographical variants. For the names, in an attempt to discover the true orthography, I have included the orthography as recorded in the H and F epitomes and in Isidorus; these are of little value for common names, however, as the known form seems to replace Hydatius' on most occasions. At the end I

\(^1\) That is, correct for us. Probably by Hydatius' time to certain extent, and certainly at the time B was copied, there was no "correct" spelling for many words since pronunciation had shifted so much. See Grandgent (1907), §§131-344, pp. 60-143.

\(^2\) Gil (1973), 194; on orthography in general, see 193-208.
have compiled a list of the major orthographic characteristics of F and H. To avoid endless repetition neither these variants, nor those of the names, are cited in the textual apparatus. Unless otherwise stated all variants are accepted in the text.

**AE to E, E to AE and A to AE**

The most common orthographical variant of B is the appearance of “e” for “ae.” These are too numerous to list here but are easily spotted in the text. This variation is not surprising: in vulgar Latin it appears regularly in unaccented syllables before the third century, in stressed syllables from the fourth and was regular by the fifth.3 The oddest part is the amazing inconsistency in B. For example in entries 15, 52, 65, and 87 B has “Romane ecclesiae”. In §81 it has “uite beatae equatur”. Since “ae” and “e” sounded the same Hydatius (and later scribes) would simply have written the most familiar or convenient form for each word regardless of “consistency”.

There are a number of copying errors which suggest that in many places Hydatius, or one of the copyists before B, used “e” and that a later scribe expanded this to “ae.” These include §86 where the original “Spali euersa” was written as “Spalie uersa” and then changed to “Spalieae uersa”; 208 where the scribe has written “perfidere uertuntur” thinking the first to be an infinitive, when it should read “perfidae reuertuntur”; the meaningless “seuium” of 233 which should read “s(a)euium”; the “-que” of 16 which has been expanded to “quae” and the “quae” of 91, 201 and 243 which have been read as “-que” (i.e. originally “que”); the jumble “ducetio” in 107 which is a combination of “duce (A)etio”; the odd instance in 211 where the first hand (in a fit of absentmindedness?) has expunged the “A” of ROMAE; and the hypercorrections of 90 (“ceperat” to “caeperat”; cf. 107) and 1622, where “scelesta” has lost its “s-” and later been hypercorrected to “caelesta” which is the reading of B* (more of these hypercorrections will be listed below). On the other hand, B* readings of “sancta electionis” and “in Lusitania erigionibus” (pref. 1, 246) show that there were “ae”s in the text before B* came to copy it.

A lesser orthographical variant is the opposite of this, “ae” for “e”. These are

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3 Grandgent (1907), §§209-10.
caelebrantur (14), Caelenis (31), adsuaetae (48), Suaeui (49, 170), aecclesia (65, 186),
and caeteris (175). This is a later development on the whole than “e” for “ae”, but is still
a part of the same late shift in pronunciation which made no distinction between “ae” and
“e”.

These have all been retained in the text. Other similar-appearing examples would
seem rather to be examples of hypercorrection, that is, “e”s which were mistakenly
expanded to “ae”s. These are quae (=que, 16), persae (i.e., “per se” read as one word)
natorum (48), assiduae (100), ducae (110), (s)caelesta (162), and speciae (186). These I have not retained. Five of the above were expunged by B^2 (14, 100, 110) or
B^b (186bis).

There are also peculiar instances of “ae” for a long “a” (ablative): pestilentiae (48),
Lusitaniae (60), Spartariae (86), solitae (186), Galaciae (220), and haec (246). These are
probably all the result of confusion or correction on the part of the scribe in thinking that
the words in question were in fact different cases and as a result I have not retained them
in the text.

E/AE for OE

Only in “caeperat” (90) and “cepta” (107), the latter being the correct form of the
vowel shift5 and the former a hypercorrection (see above). Cf. “foederatos” (141), and
“fodere” and “foederis” (170).

H

Missing: Ydatius (intro, pref. 1, 40, 96, 98, 130, 201, 207), is (pref. 2), aud (pref.
3, 90, 92; cf. “haud” 150, 253), pasca (5), ydropis (25), Cartaginiensis (31), Atauulfus
(45, 57, 60), debaccantibus (48), exauriunt (48), Terasia (81), Ispalis (89), Uni (116,
150, 153, 154), spatorius (160), Eruli (171, 194), Esycius (177), ora (191, first), and
Antimius (234, 235, 247).

Added: Archadius (27), Danihelis (57, 118; this is the standard Vulgate spelling)
and Rechimer (176, 210, 247).

Y and I

Hieronymus (for Hieronymus; intro, pref. 3, 39, 40, 106), Hyeronimus (59),

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4 Grandgent (1907), §§174-5, 228, 244.
5 Grandgent (1907), §215.
Assiriis (pref 2), singrafus (pref 3), presbiter (pref 3, 39, 106), Hierosolima (pref 3, 39, 40, 58, 66, 106), Origiuss (31), Epyfanius (39; cf. Epifanius, 124), Siagrius (102), Conynbrica (229, 241; cf. Coninbrica, 231).

I for II
Mediolani (8), Agresti (102), Thoribi (135), Eufroni (151), Theodosi (164), Egidi (224), Procopi (234), Antimi (247), Gallis (abl., 8, 13, 17, 96, 145, 242; cf. Galliis, 153, 163, 210)

O and A
Arvagastes (17, 22), spatorium (160) and Vandoli (71, 192^ 200, 224, 238, 240, 247).

Dropped N/ Added N
Consummada (pref. 7) / succendens (60), and coniunge (81, 226).

The first two would appear to be simple mechanical errors of some sort and have not been retained; the latter however, because it occurs twice in three appearances of the word ("coniuge" in 162^2), has been retained since it may reflect an original form.

Confusion of singular and plural verbs

Plural for singular: retinentur (intro), habentur (5, 15, 18, 35, 39, 53, 81, 105, 109), and agebant (96).

Singular for plural: ornatur (pref 1), exaurit (for "exauriunt", 48), agebat (69), ordinatur (101), mittitur (for "mittuntur", 111), iugulatur (160), remanserat (181), and occiditur (for "occiduntur", 199).

These would appear to be mechanical errors, probably the same as the added and missing "n"s above, though more than just an "n" is missing in 48, 111 and 199. The frequency of "habentur" in simple sentences with one obvious subject is a puzzle and for this reason I am almost tempted to retain it. All are corrected in the text.

C for G/ G for C
Creothingorum (12), Aucustas (17), and crassatur, crassatio (48, 49). Gallecia/-ci (all examples except 96, 106, 113, 196), indigata (201) and Conymbriga (241).

The change of "c" to "g" is quite regular in the late period and Middle Ages, and
one naturally expects to find it in manuscripts (cf. F below). As a result I believe that the unaltered forms "Callecia" and "Conynbrica" (Conin-) are probably original. The appearance of "c" for "g" in the first four words is highly unusual and the fact that it exists in such a common word as "Augustus" suggests that it existed in ¶. The appearance of "decuit" for "deguit" in the introduction of F may suggest an original reading in ¶ which was altered (correctly) by B. The other three words are rather uncommon and the scribe of B seems not to have noticed the misspelling and therefore did not correct them. "Crassatur" and "crassatio" are supported by Hm which proves conclusively that they existed at least before 570, certainly in ¶ and probably in Hydatius' autograph; the same is probably true for "Creothingorum", "augustus" and "decuit".

M for N
quendam (138) and Conymbriga (241).
I for E/E for I
L/E: disscripsi (intro, pref. 5), Callicia/-i (2, 49, 68, 74, 96, 97 190, 196, 219), Carthaginiensis (for-em, 49; for -ses, 134), Baliharicas (86), uenientis (for -tes, 106), Hispaniensis (for -ses, 135), Terracensensis (for -ses, 158), familiaris (for -ses, 162\(^1\)), iurationi (170), Richiarius (173), spirat (187), Fretiricus (for Frede-, 218), mensi (225), ligati (224), Antimius (234, 235, 247), and rigionibus (246).
E/I: Lemica (for Lim-, pref. 1), meram (for mir-, pref. 1), presedere (109), Emeretensem (130), Elerdensi (for Her-, 142), Asturecensis (173, 249), Rechimer (176, 210, 247), nationes (186), ordinationes (186), flumine (190), nomine (210), and ciues (217).

The spelling of Gallaecia is an interesting problem. Mommsen believed that Hydatius wrote "Callaecia" (p. 13, note to line 12) but this is unlikely; at least a few instances of the "-ae-" form would have survived in B. The odd examples of "-a-" (91, 173, 178, 220) do not seem to point to an "-ae-" form, for "ae" never appears as such elsewhere. I cannot, however, explain them for there are no other examples of "i" or "e" changing to "a", but an investigation of the manuscripts of other texts (such as Orosius) shows that the same variation in "Gallaecia" occurs elsewhere. The variation of "i" and
“e” is probably the final change in a process which saw the original “-ae-” shift in pronunciation to “-e-” and then to an “-i-”. The few examples of “-i-” are probably scribal alterations of the original “-e-”. The real puzzle is why there is such variation when so many other names are spelled consistently all the way through. These variations may well be Hydatian.

**Locative “Constantinopolim”**

11, 37, 106, 109, 146, 185 (cf. usual “Constantinopoli”, 84, and “De Constantinopolim”, 234).

This is an odd development, to say the least, but can be paralleled from virtually every other manuscript I have examined which has the locative.\(^6\) It must have been seen as some abbreviated form of “apud Constantinopolim” but why it tends to appear for Constantinople so much more than any other city is a mystery. In Hydatius the ablative takes over from the locative for every other place except Rome (“Romae”) and there is the strange case of “Ravennam” reported in F and Hm (76) which may be authentic.

**T for C / C for T**

T/ C: prouintia (31, 106, 133, 150, 172), patritius (60bis, 84), aetclesia (66), pernitisosa (144), Martianus (154bis,165, 166), conditiones (155), Galletios (197), and ditionem (223).

C/ T: Aquacuncia (69), Aecium (98), Bonifacius (99) and sacerdocii (248).

In all cases except 66 and 69 the “c” and “t” are interchangable because of the following yod which made them sound the same. All are retained.

**Hispania, Spanus, and Spalis**

B always reads “Hispania” and “Spanus” (see below under “Names” for references). “Spanus” is earlier than B since at one point a scribe wrote “nationes panus” (2) instead of “natione spanus” thus concealing the adjective from correction. In every case but one B reads “Hispalis” (including once where the “H-” was omitted; see above). The sole case of “Spalis” appears because a scribe before B had confused the text of 85,

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\(^6\) One also often finds hypercorrections of a correct “Constantinopolim” as in Hm, “ad Constantinopoli” and, e.g., Prosper 1101 and 1096, *Chron. min.* I: 455 and 456.
“Carthagine, Spartaria et Spali euersa,” and read it as if it were one noun and two adjectives, “Carthagines partariae et spaliae uersa” and as a result the name of the city Hispalis was not seen and therefore was not corrected. A similar error occurs in H which also reads “(H)ispalis” in every place but one (139). Here the text should read “Spali Censurius iugulatur” but the scribe has written “Spalicem Surius iugulatur” and thus hidden the reference to the city. These two errors strongly suggest that Hydatius wrote “Spalis” (at least it was in β).

O and VM

-o for -um: eodem (145), imperio (1622), Framtano (188), Portocale (195), and prolixo (253). -um for -o: Marcellinum (234) and paruum (253). These have not been retained. A similar situation occurs with “regno” (45, 60, 70, 75, 89, 152, 156) and “regnum” (114, 137, 238) in the clause “succedit in regno”, and I have corrected the latter three examples since both F and H always have “regno”.

Aduersum/ aduersus

Because this is a common variation in other authors as well, I have retained both “aduersus” (56, 218, 233) and “aduersum” (59bis, 99, 120, 200, 236, 247bis).

Double Consonants

Added: disscripsi (intro, pref. 5), commitem (17, 92, 151, 218), Arrianus (37, 40, 89, 118, 120bis, 232), camellorum (174), famma (218), pressidet (221), and affricam (236).

Missing: quinquenalia (14), ingresus (19), eclesia (31, 118, 141bis, 145, 186, 201), quatuor (48), Galiarm (51), efecta (73), brachium (90), alata (109), succesor (128), ilas (134), paladio (1622), rediderant (168), misi (197), Galatiae (for Calleciae, 220), and inopportunitate (236).

“Eclesia”, “quatuor”, “brachium”, and “camellorum” are not really errors at all.7 All of the above have been retained, except “eclesia” which is always a correction by B2 of “ecclesia”.

O and U

O for U: singrafor (for -feus?, pref. 3), Eodoxiam (37), consulate (76), Censorius

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7 Grandgent (1907), §§42 (1), 162 (and n. 2) and 163.
(98, 111, 139), Sonericus (193), Mansuetos (155), exercito (173), interito (198), and legatos (219, 237). U for O: Octubris (42, 151, 173), episcopus (67), supradictu (98), and Augustudunensis (for Augusto-, 151).

Pref. 3, §37, 76, 98, 151, 173, 198 and "October" (note the modern Spanish "Octubre") have been retained. "Censurius" and "Surn-" are the correct forms (see below, "Names").

M

**Added:** cognitionem (pref. 5), Carthaginem (56), pacem (60), conflictum (99), preceptionem (128), inruptam (142), responsam (145), pertendentem (174, 200), multituidinem (186), ordinantem (234), occasum (242), telam (243), regem (249), and formam (253).

**Missing:** subdita (pref 3), blasphemissima (31), interitu (48), ecclesia (89), Betica (123), Hispali (177), caesa (177), Scallaui (206), relicta (216), Septebri (224), Conynbrica (229), sanguine (244), degratu (247), and omniu (253).

None of these has been retained.

F for PH

Always, except blasphemissimam (31), blasphemiis (135), prophetas (48), prophetiam (118; cf. profetia, 57), and Symphosius (31, 101). The misreading of "profetia" as "profecti a" suggests that "f" for "ph" dates back at least to 8.

V for B

Aruagastes (17, 22) and Scallauis (206)

D and T

Aut (pref. 3, for "aud"). aput (6), aliquod (for "-ot", 126), ed demolitis (for "et dem-"), 186), and Fretiricus (for "Fredericus", 218; cf. "Fretimundus" (111), = "Fredemundus").

Only 6 and 218 have been retained.

Other points

"Terraconensis" and "Terracona" instead of "Tarra-" (77, 125, 158, 170, 172).

secuntur (intro) and subsequuntur (pref. 5)
"ut" for "et" (intro, 218, 252) and "et" for "ut" (pref. 5).

Confusion with "per": praetium (92, 98, 99), imprator (162\textsuperscript{1}) and proceanum (224).

Susscriptione (31).

indignussimus (intro)

Optinet (155, 206) and elabsam (223).

Added "c" in "predictus" (18) and "profectia" (57)

Copying first letter of next word at end of previous word, e.g. uolumines subdito (pref. 4), migrata ad (132), legatia ad (170), directas sueuos (201), manus sueuorum (201), and urbes suscipiunt (219).

"z" for "s" in "vizu" (253).

"Terra-", indignussimus, secuntur, 31, 155, 206, 223, and 253 have been retained.

**NAMES**

(all variants have been retained except where marked with *)

Aetius (92, 95, 96, 99\textit{quater}, 103, 110\textsuperscript{2}, 112, 150, 154, 160, 162\textsuperscript{1}, 167) / Aecius (98) / Etius (108)

F Agecius (always)

Hm Aecius, Abetius (92) / Ho Aetius

Agiulfus (139)

F Agyulfus

H Agiulfus

Aioulfus (180, 187)

F Agiulfus (187)

Jordanes Agriulfus (*Get* 233)

Antimius (235, 247) / Antimus\textsuperscript{*} (234)

F Antimius, Antemius (F2)

H Anthemius (234)

Atauulfus (45, 57, 60)
F Adaulfus

Hm Ataulfus / Ho Athaulfus, Ataulfus, Athaulphus, Ataulphus

C Ataulfus

I Athaulfus

Barcilona (60, 129, 132)

F Barcilona

H, C, I Barcinona (Ho sometimes Barchinona)

Betica (49, 60, 67, 74, 77, 90, 114, 123, 134, 192 \textsuperscript{1}, 193, 194)

F Betica, Beteca, Beteta (F2),

Hm Betica (49), Bethica / Ho Baetica (Hb), Betica, Bethica

I Baetica

Callecia (106, 113) / Gallecia (pref 1., 16, 31, 100, 106, 113, 130, 131, 149, 159, 172, 174, 177, 180, 181, 186, 193, 201, 214, 219 \textit{ter}, 253) / Gallicia (2, 49, 68, 74, 96, 97, 190, 219) / Gallacia (91, 173, 178) / Galacia (220)

F Gallicia (always)

Hm Gallecia / Ho Gallecia, Galletia

I Gallicia, (Gallecia, 68)

Callici (96, 196) / Galleci (100, 135, 220) / Gallecii (188, 204) / Galletii (197)

F Gallicies (96, = Galliciis),

Censurius (100, 121) / Censorius* (98, 111, 139)

F Caesarius comes (139)

H Censurius (121, 139), (Hm Consurius 121)

Conimbrica (231) / Conynbrica (229) / Conymbriga (241)

F Conembra

I Conimbrica

Cyrila (192 \textsuperscript{1}, 193, 219, 220)

F Cyrola (influenced by Chapter 60, \textit{MGH:SRM} II: 84-5)

Hm Chirilla (192), Cirila (193) / Hb, Hn Cyrilla / Ht Cirilla (192, 193)

I Ceurila (abl) (192), Ceurilas (nom., P) (193)
Egidius (217, 218, 224, 228)
   F Aegidius
   I Aegidius (217)
Epyfanius (39) / Epifanius (124)
Framtane (nom. 189) / Framtano* (accus. 188) (accepted: "Framtanum")
   I Frantan (accus. 188), Frantan (abl. 189)
Fredericus (156, 158) / Fretiricus (218)
   F Fredericus, (Fridericus F2) (156), Fridericus (218)
   H Fredericus (156)
   I Frigdaricus (156)
Gaisericus (89, 90ter, 115, 118, 120, 144, 167, 209, 216bis)
   F Gaisiricus
   H Gaysaricus, Gaysericus (rarely)
   I Gesericus (Geisericus, P)
Heremigarius (90)
   F Ermengarius
   H Ermigarius
Hermericus (71, 91, 100, 114, 122)
   F Ermenrichus (71), Ermenricus (114)
   H Hermericus (122)
   I Hermericus
Hieronimus (intro, pref. 3, 39, 40, 106) / Hyeronimus (59)
   F Hieronimus
Hierosolima (pref. 3, 39, 40, 58, 66, 106) / Hierusalem (174) (cf. the same variants in
the Vulgate)
   Hm Ihierosolima / Hb, Hn Hierosolyma / Ht Hierosolima
Hispalis (123, 124, 139*, 177) / Ispalis (89) / Spalis (86)
   F Spali (89), Spale (123), Spalae (139), Spalens (177)
   Hm Ispalis, Yspalis (86, 89), Spalis (139) / Ho Hispalis (86, 89), Spalis (139)
I Spalis (86, 89)
Hispania (intro, 42, 46, 48, 49, 60, 74, 86, 90, 125, 134, 155, 173, 1921, 200)

F Spania

Hm Ispania, Yspania / Ho Hispania

I Spania

Hispaniensis (135)

Maldras (nom. 195, 198) / Maldras (accus. 181, 188) / Maldarem (accus. 188) /
Maldare (abl. 193) / Maldere* (abl. 190)

F rege Maldra (accus. 181), Maldare (abl. 193), Maldras (nom. 195, 198)

I Masdram, Maldram (accus. 181), Maldrum (accus. 188), Maldra (abl. 190),
Maldra (nom.198), Masdrae (gen. 226)

P Masdram (nom., 188), Masdram (accus. 190).

Marcianus (147, 154, 157, 1621, 169, 177, 184) / Martianus (154bis, 165, 166)

F Marcianus (always)

Hm Marchianus (147, 157), Marcianus (165, 169, 173, 177) / Ho Martianus

I Marcianus

Massilia (181)

I Massila

Rechiarius (137, 140, 142, 172, 175, 178) / Richiarius* (173)

F Richiarius

Coins: Richiarius

H Rechinarius (137), Rechiarius (140 [Hm Reciarius], 142)

I Recciarius

Rechila (114, 119, 121, 123, 137) (decl. -a, -ae)

F Rychila, Rachila (F2) (114); Richyla, Richila (F2), Rychila (F2) (119, 123,
137) (decl. -a, -ae)

H Richila (119, 121 [Hm Recila], 123, 137) (decl. -a,-anis)

I Reccila (decl. -a,-anis)

Rechimer (176, 210, 247)
F Richymer, Rychimirus
I Reccimer (210)

Rechimundus (193, 202, 203, 219)
F Richymundus
I Reccimundus (202, 203)

Remismundus (220bis, 223, 226bis, 233, 237, 238, 251)
F Remusmundus (237), Richymundus, Richimundus (F2) (251)
I Remismundus (226, 237)

Spanus (2, 49)
F Spanus (2)
Hm Ispani / Ho Hispani (49)
I Spanus (2)

F Suaeui
H Sueui
I Sueui

Sunericus (197) / Suniericus (201, 206, 212) / Sonericus* (193)
F Sunnerico (193), Sunnarico (201)
H Sunericus (193, 212)
I Sunericus (P) (193), Suniericus (P), Sumericus (201, =Suniericus)

Theodericus (116, 156bis) (116 ref. to Theoderic I) /
Theodor (gen. -is) (129, 142, 150, 152) (Theoderic I only) /
Theodorus (140, 150) (Theoderic I only) /
Theodoricus (70, 173, 177, 233, 237) (70 ref. to Theoderic I) /
Theudericus (158, 170, 175, 182, 205, 208, 213, 218, 220, 230) /
Theudoricus (174, 176, 178, 186, 1921, 193, 197, 217, 226) /
F Th. I: Theudor, Theodericus (F2) (§70); Theuderico, Theoderico (F2) (§116); Theudori, Theodori (F2) (§140); Theudor, Theodorus (Chapt. 53 interpolation).

Th. II: Theudericus (Chapt. 53 interp.); Theudericus, Theodericus (F2) (always).

H Theudericus (140, 142 [-dor- Hn]), Theodorus (150bis, 152), Theodredus (Hm 152); Th. II: Theudericus (156bis, 173, 213), Theodericus (193, [213 Hm])

I Th. I: Theoderidus; Th. II: Theudericus (156, 178, 217, 226, 237), Theudoricus (174, 175, 192), Theodericus (226)

Theodosius (intro, Pref. 6; 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 36, 42, 44, 82, 84bis, 106, 146, 147, 164))

F Theudosius

Hm Theodosius, Theodosius / Ho Theodosius

Thurism (152, 156)

F Thoresmodus, Tursemus (Chapt. 53 interp.); Turismo, Torsimoduus (F2) (§156)

H Thurismundus (152, 156)

I Turismundus

Vallia (60, 63, 67, 70)

F Vallia (Vallea F2)

H Walia

I Vallia

Vandali (42, 49bis, 60, 67, 68bis, 71, 74, 77, 86, 89, 90, 131, 132, 176, 200, 227, 236, 247) / Wandali (177) / Vandoli (71, 192², 200, 224, 238, 240, 247)

F Vandali, (§42, 49 first, 60, 77, 90, 197 (interp.)) / Wandali (F2 always) 49, 67, 68, 71bis, 89, 90 176, 200bis, 227, 236, 240, 247bis)

Hm Wandali / Ho Vandali

I Wandali

Uni (116, 150, 153, 154)

F Chuni

Hm Hugni / Ho Ugni (150)
I Huni

Ydatius (intro, pref. 1, 40, 96, 98, 201, 207)

F Adacius, Adatius (F2), Udacius (F1)

Hm Idatius / Ho Idacius

Major Orthographical Variants in F and H
Not Cited in Apparatus Criticus

F:

- e for ae
- iae for ii
- y for i
- g for c
- ae for e
- i for ii
- u for o
- t for c
- c for t
- t for th

Ho:

Generally follows modern conventions, except the names noted above

Hm:

- c for t
- t for c
- e for ae
- ch for c
- Affrica
- Cartagin-
- Hemerita (once)
- Euticete

NOTE ON PUNCTUATION

I have tried to be consistent in my use of punctuation (no other editor was) and I apologize for any lapses. Generally I have punctuated rather heavily, to help with the clarity and interpretation. All clauses beginning with relative connectives are set off from the preceding clause with a semi-colon. All regular subordinate adjective and adverb clauses are set off with a pair of commas; all defining subordinate clauses are set off with only one comma at the end. This usually does not apply to short clauses of two or three words unless for some reason I felt it helped. The days of the week are also set off with a pair of commas.
APPARATUS CRITICUS CHRONOLOGIAE

To place within the regular apparatus criticus at the bottom of the page of the following edition a comprehensible account of the variety of changes made to the chronology of the chronicle by the various editors is an impossible task. Lists of such variant readings would have to take into account not only the shifts of regnal years, Olympiads, years of Abraham, and Spanish Aeras, but also the shifts of whole entries from one place to another. Furthermore, such a record would give the reader no overall understanding of the shifts made to the chronology (especially in the confusing years of Severus and Anthemius) by the individual editors. I have therefore opted for a different approach. Using marginal regnal years as a base, I have plotted all entry numbers, Olympiads, years of Abraham, and Spanish Aeras on the following eight pages for the editions which offer the most important variations in chronology, Sandoval (1615), Sirmond (1619), Flórez (1756), Garzón (1845), Mommsen (1894), and Tranoy (1974), prefaced by the evidence of the manuscripts themselves without entry numbers (these can be found in the edition). No editions before Mommsen had entry numbers and so I have used Mommsen’s numbers. Mommsen did not rearrange the entries, so his order is that of the manuscript, which makes his numbers a good basis for all of the editions. The only problem is that Mommsen also numbered empty years; I have ignored these numbers in the following charts (20, 21, 23, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 41, 79, 88), which accounts for the lack of some continuity. Any numbers other than these missing from the charts is because they were omitted by the editor (i.e. 35, 52, 65, 87, 105 in Sandoval’s text, 52 in Flórez’ text and 164 in Garzón’s).

Abbreviated names of the emperors run down the left hand side of each column and their associated regnal years, in Roman numerals, run down next to them. I have used Roman numerals even though the editors before Mommsen used Arabic. The small Arabic numbers are the entry numbers. The position of Olympiads is marked by an “o”, years of Abraham by an “A”, and Aeras by an “E”. To reproduce each of these numbers in full would needlessly complicate the charts (already rather busy) and so I have chosen
markers instead. The numbers all follow the order of B as shown in the first table except where noted at the bottom of each page. In the editions of Sandoval, Sirmond, Flórez, and Garzón the Olympiads, years of Abraham and Spanish Aeras are in the margin of the text and are opposite the entry whose number follows the marker in the charts below. For Mommsen and Tranoy the Olympiads appear within the text at the head of the respective regnal year before the entry whose number follows the marker. I have also noted in full all additions to the text of B, again using Mommsen's "a" and "b" system. For those before Mommsen this means just 62a, the entry on Fredibalus.
**APPARATUS CRITICUS CHRONOLOGIAE**

**CHRONOLOGY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>HON XVI</th>
<th>VAL</th>
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<tr>
<td>I 290(B)</td>
<td>XVII 457(H)</td>
<td>XVIII 481(H)</td>
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<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>XVIII 298(BM)</td>
<td>XIX</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV 420(B)</td>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>XX</td>
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<tr>
<td>V 2400(B)</td>
<td>XX</td>
<td>XXI 306†(B)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI 291(B)</td>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>XXII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>XXII 299(BM)</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>XXIV 307(M)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>XXIV</td>
<td>XXV 307†(B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X 292(B)</td>
<td>XXV (Aa)</td>
<td>XXVI</td>
<td></td>
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<td>XI</td>
<td>XXVI</td>
<td>XXVII 48y from A</td>
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<td>XII</td>
<td>XXVII 300†(BM)</td>
<td>MAR XXVIII 490(HM)</td>
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<td>XXVIII 460(BM)</td>
<td>308(BM) 2470(BH)</td>
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<td>XIV 2934302410(B)</td>
<td>XXIX</td>
<td>XXIX/II</td>
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<td>XV</td>
<td>XXX 301(BM) 21y from A</td>
<td>XXX/III</td>
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<td>VAL I</td>
<td>XXXI/IV 36y from Aa</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVII 294(M)</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>AV I/V 309(B)</td>
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<td>HON</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>II/VI 494(H)</td>
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<td>IV</td>
<td>III/VII</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>V 302†(B)</td>
<td>MAJ I</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>LEO II 20y from Ab495(H)</td>
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<td>VII</td>
<td>III 310†(B)</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>X 296(BM)</td>
<td>XI</td>
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<td>XV</td>
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<td>XV 297†(B)447(BHGc)</td>
<td>XVI</td>
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</table>

**KEY:** OLYMPIADS, AERAE HISPANIAE, and ANNI ABRAHAE

† indicates Olympiad placed immediately before correct regal year (year on left). All others fall somewhere within previous year and thus appear one year before correct year.

B indicates B¹. Regnal years are B¹; corrections by B² and B³ are noted on the next page.
### APPARATUS CRITICUS CHRONOLOGIAE

**ALTERATIONS TO LAST SEVEN REGNAL YEARS**
**BY LATER HANDS IN MS B**

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<td>Maj/Leo/Sev</td>
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### CHRONOLOGY OF SANDOVAL’S EDITION

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<td>XVIII 51 O 53</td>
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<td>III 6</td>
<td>XIX 54-56</td>
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<td>IV 7-8</td>
<td>XX 57</td>
<td>XXI 130-133</td>
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<td>XXI 58-59</td>
<td>XXII 134</td>
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<td>VI 10-11</td>
<td>XXII 60 O 61-62, 62a</td>
<td>XXIII 135</td>
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<td>VII 12-13</td>
<td>XXIII 63</td>
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<td>XXIV 64, 66-70</td>
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<td>XXV 71-73</td>
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<td>XII 107-108 O 109</td>
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<td>XIII 110-111</td>
<td>II 241 O 242-244</td>
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<td>XV 115-119</td>
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<td>XV 0 42-47</td>
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No years of Abraham or Aeras.

Olympiads 290-312. Missing 311.
**Chronology of Sirmond’s Edition**

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Olympiads 290-312.
Years of Abraham 2400-2480.
Aeras 420 and 430.
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Years of Abraham 2400-2480.

Aeras 420 and 430.
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Years of Abraham 2395, 2400-2480 every ten years.

Spanish Aeras 420 and 430
Olympiads 290-312.
No Years of Abraham or Aeras.
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Olympiads 290-312.

No Years of Abraham or Aeras.
HVCVSQVE A SANCTO HIERONIMO ET IPSO, SICVT IN CAPITE ISTIVS
uoluminis praefatio prima declarat, cognomine Eusebio historia in aliquantis
Hispaniarum prouincis conscripta retinetur; cui siquid postea subdit in locis quibus
deguit, certo stili studio declaratur. Verum ad haec ignarus indignussimus omnium
5 seruorum dei Ydatius seruus Iesu Christi dei et domini nostri que secuntur ab anno
primo Theodosii Augusti et comperi et discripsi breui antelatae praefationis indicio.

YDATIVS SERVVS DOMINI NOSTRI IESV CHRISTI VNIVERSIS
FIDELIBVS IN DOMINO NOSTRO IESV CHRISTO ET SERVIENTIBVS
EI IN VERITATE, SALVTEM
10 1. Probatissimorum in omnibus uirorum studia, quos praecipue in fide catholica et
conuersatione perfecta testes ueritatis diuini cultus docet adsertio, ut ornantur decore
dictorum, ita et commendantur honore meritorum, ut meram in omni opere suo
obtineat ueritas firmitatem. Verum Ydatius prouinciae Galleciae, natus in Lemica
ciuitate, mage diuino munere quam proprio merito summi praesul creatus officii, ut
15 extremus plage, ita extremus et uitae, perexiguum informatus studio seculari, multo
minus docilis sanctae lectionis uolumine salutari sanctorum et eruditissimorum
patrum, in praecedentii opere suo pro capacitate proprii sensus aut uerbi ostensum ab
his secutus exemplar.

2. Quod primum Eusebius Caesariensis episcopus, qui ecclesiasticas sui numeri
libris scripsit historias, ab initio Nini regnantis Assiriis et sancti Abrahae patriarchae

HVCVSQVE...indicio| inter extrema Hieronymi uerba et eius computationem in fine Chronicorum
canonum pon. B; F pon. haec uerba post adsertio primi paragraphi praefationis; om. C edd ante
descripsi F: describi F2 antelatae B2: ante B1: ante factae F 7 Ydatius...consummanda om. Sa 9 ei] se F
10 studio F 11 conversazione| perersione F2 testis FGa duine F: diu me F2 ut ornantur...
consummanda om. F ornantur edd: ornatur B 12 miram C edd 13 obtineat] obtineant edd ante
ueritas CMo: ueritatem B: om. edd ante 14 creatus edd: cretus B 16 sancta electionis B salutari
sanctorum...patrum, in] dist. Mo: salutari, sanctorum...patrum in dist. B edd ante 17 in praesentii opere
sum Mo ostentum ab his om. Ga 19 Quod primum] Quorum primus C edd ante 20 regnantis om Ga
Hebreis et reliquorum contemporales is annos regum in uicesimum Constantini Augusti, quo imperabat, annum Greci sermonis chronograpiae concludit historia.

3. Post hunc successor singrafus perfectus uniueris factorum dictorumque monimentis Hieronimus presbiter, idem Eusebius cognomento, de Greco in Latinum scripturae huius interpres a uicesimo anno supradicti imperatoris in quartumdecimum Valentis Augusti annum subditam textit historiam.

Esto ut in sanctis quibus deguit Hierosolimorum locis a memorato Valentis anno, in tempus quo in presenti uita durauit, forte quam plurima de his que sunt insecuta subiecerit, quia aud umquam, dum ualuit, a diuERO stili opere cessauit; (quem quodam tempore propriae peregrinationis in supradictis regionibus adhuc infantulus uidisse me certus sum; 4. qui post aliquot annos beato, ut erat, mansit in corpore.) Si tum proprio operi quod subdidit aliqua subiuixerit, apud eos, ad quos scriptorum eius omne opus uel summa peruenit, certa et plena cognitione est. Sed quoniam in cuiusdam studii sui scriptura dixisse eum constat debacchantibus iam in Romano solo barbaris omnia haberit permixta atque confusa, opinamur ex huius indicio sermonis in hoc per se annorum uolumine subdito, de successione temporum ab ipso nihil adiectum.

5. Tamen quia ad nostri temporis cursum, ut superior lectio docet, dissertatio defluxit annorum, cum membrana huius historiae curam contigisset expertis, mentem monuit inperiti ut de cognitis, etsi in omnibus inpari gressu, uel uestigiis se substerneret praecessorum. Quae fideli suscipiens cordis intuitu, panim ex studio scriptorum, partim ex certo aliquantorn relatu, partim ex cognitione, quam iam lacrimabile propriae vitae tempus offendit, quae subsequuntur adiecimus.

6. Quorum continentiam gestorum et temporum qui legis ita discernes: ab anno primo Theodosii Augusti in annum tertium Valentiniani Augusti Placidiae reginae filii

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ex supradicto a nobis conscripta sunt studio: vel ex scriptorum stilo vel ex relationibus indicantum. 7. Exim inmerito adlectus ad episcopatus officium, non ignarus omnium miserabilis temporis erumnarum, et conclusi in angustias imperii Romani metas subdidimus ruitoras et, quod est luctuosius, intra extremam uniuerse orbi Galleciam deformem ecclesiastici ordinis statum creationibus indiscretis, honestae libertatis interitum et uniuerse propemodum in diuina disciplina religionis occasum ex furentium dominatione permixta iniquarum perturbatione nationum. Haec iam quidem inserta sed posteris in temporibus quibus offenderint reliquimus consummenda.

ROMANORVM XXXVIII THEODOSIVS PER GRATIANVM IN CONSORTIVM REGNI ADSVMPTVS CVM IPSO ET VALENTINIANO IVNIORE REGNAT ANNIS XVII. (1)

I Theodosius natione Spanus de prouincia Gallicia ciuitate Cauca a Gratiano Augustus appellatur. (2) Inter Romanos et Gothos multa certamina conseruntur. (3) [lacuna septem versuum]

II Theodosius Constantinopolim ingreditur in primo consulatu suo, quem cum Gratiano agebat Augusto. (4)

CCLXL OLYMPI

Alexandriæ XXI habetur episcopus Theofilus uir eruditissimus insignis; qui a primo consulatu Theodosii Augusti laterculum per centum annos digestum de pasce observatione conscribit. (5)

III Aithanaricus rex Gothorum aput Constantinopolim XV die ex quo a Theodosio fuerat susceptus, interiit. (6) [lacuna trium versuum]

III Gethi infida Romanis pace se tradunt. (7) VII Ioboleus [382 ccccxx [lacuna uni versus] ex quo Dominus ascendit

Ambrosius in Italia Mediolani episcopus, Martinus in Gallis Turonis episcopus et uitae meritis et patratis miraculis uirtutum habentur insignes. [vac. c. 24 litt.] (8)

V Theodosius Arcadium filium suum Augustum appellans regni facit sibi esse consortem. [vac. c. 13 litt.] (9)

VI Honorius nascitur filius Theodosii. [vac. c. 13 litt.] (10)
Legati Persarum ad Theodosium Constantinopolim ueniunt. [vac. c. 32 litt.] (11)

CCLXL I OLYMPI

VII Creothingorum gens a Theodosio superatur. (12)

VIII Priscillianus declinans in heresem gnosticorum per episcopos quos sibi in eadem prauitate collocerat, Aula episcopus ordinatur; qui aliquot episcoporum conciliis auditus Italian petit et Romam, ubi ne ad conspectum quidem sanctorum episcoporum Damasi et Ambrosii receptus, cum his cum quibus fuerat redit ad Gallias. Inibi similiter a sancto Martino episcopo et ab aliis episcopis hereticus iudicatus appellat ad Caesarem quia in Gallis hisdem diebus potestatem tyrannus Maximus obtinebat imperii. (13)

VIII Arcadii quinquenalia caelebrantur. [vac. c. 10 litt.] (14)
Romane ecclesiae XXXVI habetur episcopus Siricius. (15) XXXVI EPS

Priscillianus propter supradictam heresem ab episcopatu depulsus et cum ipso Latronianus laicus aliquantique sectatores sui apud Treuerim sub tyranno Maximo ceduntur. Exim in Galleciam Priscillianitarum <ingreditur heresis>. (16)
X Maximus tyrannus occiditur per Theodosium tertio lapide ab Aquileia V [388]
kI. Aucustas et eodem tempore uel ipso anno in Gallis per Aruagastem
commitem filius Maximi nomine Victor extinctus est. (17)
Cynegius Theodosii prefectus habetur inlustris; qui factis insignibus predictus et
usque ad Aegyptum penetrans gentium simulacra subuertit. (18)

CCLXLII OLYMPI

[lacuna uni versus]

XI Theodosius cum Honorio filio suo Romam ingresus est. (19) [389]
[lacuna trium versuum]

XII [390]
[lacuna quinque versuum]

XIII [391]
[lacuna quinque versuum]

XIII Valentinianus iunior apud Viennam scelere comitis Aruagasti occiditur et [392]
ccccxxx Eugenius tyrannus efficitur. (22)

CCLXLIII OLYMPI

[lacuna duorum versuum]

XV [393]
[lacuna quinque versuum]

XVI Eugenius a Theodosio Augusto superatus occiditur. (24) [394]
[lacuna trium versuum]

XVII Theodosius ualitudine ydropis apud Mediolanium defunctus est anno [395]
regni sui XVII. (25)

Et ipse annus qui Theodosii XVII, ipse Arcadii et Honorii in initio regni

eorum primus est. Quod ideo indicatur ne olympiadem quinque annorum turbes; adiectio in hoc loco tantum propter regnantum inserta principium. (26)

ROMANORVM XL ARCHADIVS ET HONORIVS THEODOSII FILII DEFVNCTO PATRE REGNANT ANNIS XXX. (27)

[lacuna trium versuum]

II

[lacuna duorum versuum]

CCLXLIII OLYMPI

[lacuna duorum versuum]

III

[lacuna quinque versuum]

III

[lacuna quattuor versuum]

V

[ vac. ]

VI

In prouincia Cartaginiensi in ciuitate Toleto synodus episcoporum contrahitur, in quo quod gestis continetur, Symphosius et Dictinius et alii cum his Galleciae prouintiae episcopi Priscilliani sectatores heresem eius blasphemissimam cum adsertore eodem professionis suae subscriptione condemnant. Statuuntur quaedam etiam obseruanda de ecclesiae disciplina,

CCLXLV OLYMPI communicante in eodem concilio Ortigio episcoxo qui Caelenis fuerat ordinatus sed agentibus Priscillianistis pro fide catholica pulsus factionibus exulabat. (31)
VII     [ v a c . ] [401]
VIII Solis facta defectio III idus Novembris. (34) [402]
CCCCXL Romanae ecclesiae XXXVII habetur episcopus Innocentius. (35) XXXVII EPS [lacuna duorum versuum]
VIII Theodosius Arcadii filius nascitur. (36) [403]
<XII-CCCCXX> [lacuna quattuor versuum]
X    [lacuna uni versus] [404]

CCLXLVI OLYMPI

Constantinopolim Iohannes episcopus predicatur insignis; qui ob fidem catholicam Eodoxiam Arcadii uxorem infestissimam patitur Arrianam. (37)

XI Martinus episcopus sanctus et uir apostolicus transit ad dominum carne deposita; cuius uitam et mirabilia quae fecit Seuerus uir summus discipulus ipsius qui et chronica alia quam haec sunt ab initio Genesis usque ad sectam Priscillianistarum perniciosissimam conscripsit, exequitur. (37a)

XII Hierosolimis Iohannes, Caesarea Eulogius, Cypro Epypafianus, Alexander Theofilus qui supra episcopi habentur insignes. (38)
Hieronimus in presbiterio preditus in Bethleem lude uicinia consistens praecipuus habetur in cunctis. (39)

XIII Post suprascriptos sane Arrianos qui Hierosolimis ante Iohannem episcopi fuerint, Ydatius qui haec scribit scire non potuit. Hunc uero

sanctum cum sanctis Eulogio, Theofilo et Hieronimo uidit et infantulus et pupillus. (40)

XIII[III] [v a c. ]

CCLXLVII OLYMPI

XV Alani et Vandalii et Sueui Hispanias ingressi aera CCCCXLVII. Alii III [409]
kl. ali1 III idus Octubris memorant die, tertia feria, Honorio VIII et
Theodosio Arcadii filio III consulibus. (42)

Alaricus rex Gothorum Romam ingressus. Cum intra et extra urbem caedes
agerentur, omnibus indultum est qui ad sanctorum limina confugerunt. (43)

Placidia Theodosii filia, Honorii imperatoris soror a Gothis in urbe capta. (44)

Alaricus moritur; cui Atauulfus succedit in regno. (45)

Barbari qui in Hispanias ingressi fuerant, caede depredantur hostili. (46)

Pestilenta suas partes non segnius operatur. (47)

XVI Debaccantibus per Hispanias barbaris et seuiente nihilominus pestilentiae [410]
mal0 opes et conditam in urbibus substantiam tyrannicus exactor diripit et
milites exauriunt. Fames dira crassatur adeo ut humanae carnes ab humano

natorum suorum sint paste corporibus; bestie occisorum gladio fame

pestilenta cadaueribus adsuaetae quoque hominum fortiores interum

primus et om. FG1: cum P ingessi sunt Hm ara H G CCCCXLVII B1H(A1c): om. F;
CCCXLVI I Alii IIII kl. ali1 om. FH primus ali1 IIII om. Sa IIII (om. Hn) idus H: III idus B
consulibus] cos. Ho 42 romanam Ht et om. F2 aegeretur HtHn: aegerent Aguirre hominibus H
configerant Ho 44 honoris Hm imperatore F sed non F2 capta est F 48 debaccantibus BFHm
per om. H et seuiente nihilominus om. F et seuiente] et sueuis Galleciam ante H 2 malum opes
conditas H opes condeta in urbis (urbe F2) F substanciaisque Ho: substanciaque Hm 3 milites BH:
miles edd exauriunt scrispi: exaurit BHo edd: exharuit Hm et milites exauriunt om. F crassatur B:
classatur Hm: grassatur FHo adeo om. F: a deo Ho humani carnis F ab] et Hb 4 u1 om. F
fames Hb fuerunt F persaenatorum B: per seatorum Hb: per seatorum Ht: perse natorum HnHm:
per se om. F 5 sint] fuerunt H paste] in pasce Hm: baste F bestiae B2 6 pestilentia H:
H: horum Sa
eorumque carnibus paste passim in humani generis efferantur interitum. Et
ita quatuor plagis ferri famis pestilentie bestiarum ubique in toto orbe
seuientibus predicte a domino per prophetas suos adnuntiationes
implentur. (48)

XVII Subuersis memorata plagarum crassatione Hispaniae prouincis barbari
ad pacem ineundam domino miserrante conversi, sorte ad inhabitandum sibi
prouinciarum diuidunt regiones. Galliciam Vandalis occupant et Suaeui sitam
in extremitate Oceani maris occidua. Alani Lusitaniam et Carthaginiensem
prouincias et Vandalis cognomine Silingi Beticam sortiuntur. Spani per
ciuitates et castella residui a plagis barbarorum per prouincias dominantium
se subiciunt suruituti. (49)

Constantinus post triennium inuase tyrannidis ab Honorii duce Constantio intra
Gallias occiditur. (50)

XVIII Iouinus et Sebastianus frateres intra Galiam et in Africa Heraclianus pari
<CCCCL> tyrannidis inflantur insania. [vac. c. 25 litt.] (51)

CCLXLVII OLYMPI Romane ecclesiae XXXVIII praesidet episcopus
<II-CCCCXXX> Bonifatius. (52) XXXVIII EPS

Augustinus Hipponeregiensis episcopus habetur insignis; inter cuius studia
magnifica Donatistas ab eo dei adiutorio superatos probata fides demonstrat
actorum. (53)

XVIII Ioinus et Sebastianus oppressi ab Honorii ducibus quorum [lacuna], [Ioinus et Sebastianus] Narbona interfeci sunt. (54)

Gothi Narbonam ingressi uidemiae tempore. (55)

Heraclianus mouens exercitum de Africa aduersus Honorium Vtriculo in Italia in conflictu superatus effugit ad Africam caesis in loco supradicto L milibus armatorum. Ipse post Carthagine in aede Memoriae per Honorium percussoribus missis occiditur. (56)

XX Ataulfus apud Narbonam Placidiam duxit uxorem; in quo profetia

Danihelis putatur inpleta, ut ait filiam regis austri sociandam regi aquilonis, nullo tamen eius ex ea semine subsistente. (57)

Hierosolimis Iohanne quo supra episcopo presidente sanctus et primus post Christum dominum martyr Stephanus reuelatur. (58)

XXI Hyeronimus qui supra precipuus in omnibus, elementorum quoque peritissimus Hebreorum, in lege domini quod scriptum est diurna nocturnaque meditatio continuus studia operis sui reliquit innumera. Ad ultimum Pelagiani sectam cum eodem auctore adamantino ueritatis malleo contruit. Aduersum hos et aduersum alios hereticos extant eius probatissima monimenta. (59)

XXII Ataulfus a patritio Constantio pulsatus, ut relicta Narbona Hispanias

peteret, per quendam Gothum apud Barcilonam inter familiares fabulas iugulatur; cui succedens Vallia in regno cum patritio Constantio pace mox facta Alanis et Vandalis Silingis in Lusitania et Betica sedentibus aduersatur. (60)

**CCCLXLVIIII OLYMPI** Alexandrineae ecclesiae post Theofilum qui praesederit ignorauit haec scribens. (61)

Constantius Placidiam accepit uxorem. (62)

**XXIII** Vallia rex Gothorum Romani nominis causa intra Hispanias caedes magnas efficit barbarorum. (63)

Solis facta defectio die XIII kl. Aug. qui fuit quinta feria. (64)

Romanae aetclesiae XXXVIIIIII presidet episcopus Eulalius. (65)

Durante episcopo quo supra grauissimo terre motu sancta Hierosolimis loca quassantur et cetera, de quibus ita gestis eiusdem episcopi scripta declarant. (66)

**XXIII** Vandali Silingi in Betica per Valliam regem omnes extincti. (67)

Alani, qui Vandalis et Sueuis potentabant, adeo cesi sunt a Gothis ut extincto

Addace rege ipsorum pauci qui superfuerant abolito regni nomine

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Gunderici regis Vandalorum, qui in Gallicia resederat, se patrocinio subiugarent. (68)

Gothi intermisso certamine quod agebant per Constantium ad Gallias reuocati sedes in Aquatunica a Tolosa usque ad Oceanum acceperunt. (69)

Vallia eorum rege defuncto Theodoricus succedit in regno. (70)

XXV Inter Gundericum Vandalorum et Hermericum Sueuorum reges certamine orto Sueui in Nerbasis montibus obsidentur ab Vandalis. (71)

Valentinianus Constantii et Placidiae filius nascitur. (72)

In Gallicana regione in ciuitate Biterris multa signa efecta terrifica Paulini episcopi eiusdem ciuitatis epistola enarrat ubique directa. (73)

XXVI Vandalii Sueuorum obsidione dimissa instante Astirio Hispaniarum comite et sub uicario Maurocello aliquantis Bracara in exitu suo occisis relicta Gallicia ad Beticam transierunt. (74)

Honorius apud Rauennam Constantium consortem sibi facit in regno. (75)

CCC OLIMPI

XXVII Constantius imperator Rauenna moritur in suo tertio consulato. (76) [lacuna quattuor versuum]

XXVIII Castinus magister militum cum magna manu et auxiliis Gothorum bellum in Betica Vandalis infert; quos cum ad inopiam ui obsidionis artaret adeo ut

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se tradere iam pararent, inconsulte publico certamine conflagens auxiliorum
fraude deceptus ad Terraconam uictus effugit. (77)

Bonifatius palatium deserens Africam inuadit. (78)

XXVIII

[423]

<l-CCCVXL> [lacuna quinque versuum]

XXX Honori actis tricennalibus suis Rauenna obiit. (80) [424]

[lacuna uni versus]

CCCI OLYMPI Paulinus nobilissimus et eloquentissimus dudum, conversione ad deum
nobilior factus, uir apostolicus, Nola Campaniae episcopus habetur insignis;
cui Terasia deconiunge facta soror testimonio uite beatae equatur et merito.

Extant ipsius egregii studia predicanda. (81)

ROMANORVM XLI THEODOSIVS ARCAIID FILIVS ANTE ALIQVOT
ANNOS REGNANS IN PARTIBVS ORIENTIS DEFVNCTO PATRE POST
OBITVM HONORII PATRVI MONARCHIAM TENET IMPERII CVM
ESSET ANNORVM XXI. (82)

I Johannes arripit tyrannidem. (83)

Theodosius Valentinianum amitate suae Placidiae filium Constantinopoli [425]
Caesarem facit et contra Ioannem mittit; sub quo a ducibus qui cum eo per
Theodosium missi fuerant, apud Rauennam primo anno inuase tyrannidis
occidit et Felix patritius ordinatur et magister militum. (84)
Valentinianus, qui erat Caesar, Romae Augustus appellatur. (85)
Vandali Biliaricas insulas depredantur quique Carthagine Spartaria et Spali
euersa et Hispaniis depredatis Mauritaniam inuadunt. (86)

II [vac. c. 30 litt.]
Romane ecclesiae XL praesidet episcopus Caelestinus. (87)
[lacuna duorum versuum]

III [lacuna trium versuum]

III Gundericus rex Vandalorum capta Ispali cum impie elatus manus in ecclesiam ciuitatis ipsius extendisset, mox del iudicio demone correptus interiit; cui Gaisericus frater succedit in regno, qui, ut aliquorum relatio habuit, effectus apostata de fide catholica in Arrianam dictus est transisse perfidiam. (89)

CCCII OLYMPI

V Gaisericus rex Vandalorum de Beticae prouinciae litore cum Vandalis omnis eorumque familias mense Maio ad Mauritaniam et Africam relictis transit Hispaniis; qui priusquam pertransiret, admonitus Heremigarium Sueuum uicinas in transitu suo provincias depraedari, recursu cum aliquantis suis facto predantem in Lusitania consequitur; qui aud procul de Emerita, quam cum sanctae martyris Eulaliae iniuriae spreuerat, maledictis per

85 qui erat om. F 86 bariarica B\textsuperscript{a}; biliaricas B\textsuperscript{b} Mo: balearicas HGI edd ante praedantur G quiue B\textsuperscript{h}m Tr: et G\textsuperscript{h}o: deinde IC edd carthagine spartaria GH: carthagines partariae B hispali euersa H: spalies uersa B euersa ante carthagine G et ispali depredata spania arreptis nauibus mauritaniam petunt rege geresico G 87 om. Sa II ad inuadunt pon. B XLI Si Gun ad III scr. B\textsuperscript{a}: del. B\textsuperscript{b} 89 impias manus in ecclesiis uellet extendere G manus B ecclesiam GHC: ecclesia B: ecclesias P cum insidias aeclesiarum intenderit (intenderet F2) F demone om. F: demonio l cui...perfidiam om. F habet edd ante ariana B\textsuperscript{b} 90 CCCI B\textsuperscript{2}: corr. B\textsuperscript{3} uandalorum FH: om. B de...litore om. F cum vandalis om. F2 2 cunctaque eorum familia F familis] camelis Sa mense Maio om. FL ad om. F mauritania in africam transit F: transit H\textsuperscript{m}H\textsuperscript{n}: transfretauit l relictis et Hispaniis om. F 3 qui priusquam...enauigauit om. FL interfecit ermengario regi suaeuorum iniuria sancti (sanctae F2) eulaliae in eodem ac si nollens ulciscetur consederunt wandali in betaca an. LIII F amnonitus H\textsuperscript{m} 4 Sueuum] sueuorum regem H: regii suaeuorum F recurso H\textsuperscript{m} 5 predante lusitaniam H ultio (ultero H\textsubscript{t}) consequitur diuina H aud B\textsuperscript{1}H\textsuperscript{m}: haud B\textsuperscript{2}; aut H\textsuperscript{t}H\textsuperscript{n} 6 quam om. H martyri E. iniurias praebuisset H maledictis] multis edd ante
Gaisericum caesis ex his quos secum habebat, arrepto, ut putauit, Euro
uelocius fugae subsidio in flumine Ana diuino brachio precipitatus interiit;
quo ita extincto mox quo caeperat Gaisericus enauggait. (90)

VI

Sueui sub Hermerico rege medias partes Gallaciae depredantes per
plebum, quae castella tutiora retinebat, acta suorum partim caede, partim
captuutate pacem quam ruperant familiarum que tenebantur rehibitione
restaurant. (91)
Per Aetium commitem aud procul de Arelate quaedam Gothorum manus
extinguitur Anaolso optimate eorum capto. (92)
Iuthungi per eum similiter debellantur et Nori. (93)
Felix, qui dicebatur patricius, Rauenna tumultu occiditur militari. (94)

VII

Aetius dux utriusque militiae Noros edomat rebellantes. (95)
Rursum Sueui initam cum Gallicis pacem libata sibi occasione conturbant; ob
quorum depredationem Ydatius episcopus ad Aetium ducem, qui
expeditionem agebat in Gallis, suspicit legationem. (96)
Vetto, qui de Gothis dolose ad Galliciam uenerat, sine aliquo effectu redit ad
Gothos. (97)

VIII

Superatis per Aecium in certamine Francis et in pace susceptis
Censurius comes legatus mititur ad Sueuos
supradictu secum Ydatio redeunte. (98)
Bonifacius in emulationem Aetii de Africa per Placidiam ascendit>

CCCIII OLIMPI euocatus in Italian ad palatium redit; qui depulso Aetio in locum
<II-CCCCL> eius succedens paucis post mensibus in to aduersum Aetium conflictu de
uulnere, quo fuerat percussus, interiit; cui Sebastianus gener substitutus per
Aetium de palatio superatus expellitur. (99)
Sanctus insignis Augustinus episcopus recedit e corpore. (99a)

VIII Regresso Censurio ad palatium Hermericus pacem cum Gallecis, quos praedabatur assidue, sub interuentu episcopali datis sibi reformat obsidibus. (100)
Symphosius episcopus per eum ad comitatem legatus missus rebus incassum frustratur arreptis. (101)
In conuentu Lucensi contra uoluntatem Agresti Lucensis episcopi Pastor et Siagrius episcopi ordinantur. (102)
Aetius dux utriusque militiae patricius appellatur. (103)

X Sebastianus exul et profugus effectus nauigat ad palatium Orientis. (104) Romane ecclesiae XLI habetur episcopus Xystus. (105) <XLI EPS>

XI Hierosolimis Iuuenalem episcopum praesidere Germani presbiteri
Arabicae regionis exinde ad Calleciam uenientis et aliquorum Grecorum relatione comperimus, adiicientibus Constantinopolim eum cum aliis et Palestinae prouintiae et Orientis episcopis euocatum sub presentia Theodosii Augusti contracto episcoporum interfuisse concilio ad destruendam Hebionitarum heresem, quam Atticus eiusdem urbis episcopus prauo stultissime secte resuscitabat ingenio. Quo uero tempore sancti Iohannes, Hieronimus et alii, quos supradiximus, obierint uel quis nomine Iohanni ante Iuuenalem successerit, sicut et fuisset cognitionem est in breui seniorem

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quendam, referentum sermo non edidit. (106)

XII Narbona obsideri cepta per Gothos. (107).
Burgundiones, qui rebellauerant, a Romanis duce Etio debellantur. (108)

CCXIII OLYMPI Vno eodemque tempore Alexandriæ Cyrillum episcopum presedere et Constantinopolim Nestorium hereticum Cyrilli ipsius ad eundem epistola et heresem destruentis et regulam fidei exponentis ostendit.
Haec cum aliis habetur alata. (109)

XIII Narbona obsidione liberatur. (110)
Aetio duce et magistro militum Burgundionum caesa XX milia. (112)
lacuna duorum versuum
Rursus Censurius et Fretimundus legati mittuntur ad Sueuos. (111)

XIIIII Gothorum caesa VIII milia sub Aetio duce. (112)
Sueui cum parte plebis Calleciae cui aduersabantur, pacis iura confirmant. (113)
Hermericus rex morbo oppressus Rechilam filium suum substituit in regno; qui Andeuotum cum sua quam habebat manu ad Singillionem Beticae fluvium aperto marte prostrauit magnis eius auri et argenti opibus occupatis. (114)

XV Carthagine magnâ fraude decepta die XIII kl. Novembris omnem
Africam rex Gaisericus inuadit. (115)

Bello Gothico sub Theoderico rege apud Tolosam Litorius Romanus dux

edidit $B^2$
108 reuellabant $F$ a om. $F$
Romanis a duci $F$ ducei odebellantur $B^1$; corr. $B^2$
sunt perdomati $F$
109 CCCIII $B^2$: corr. $B^3$
qui ante uno eodemque pertinentem ad Augustinum in 99a add. $H$
Cyrillo episcopo præsidente $H$ presidere $B^2$
Constantinopolis $H$ nestorio eteticum (haereticum $Ho$) ebione (Nebione $Ho$) $H$
 ad eundem om. $H$
epistolam eorumdem (-dam $HbHt$) heresem (-sim $Ho$) $H$
exponentes $Hm$
habentur $B$ edd ante; habetur $Hm$
allata $B^2$ $Hm$
habitura dilata (data $HtHn$) $Ho$
110 liberatur. Aetio dist. $BF$ SaTr: magistro militum. Burgundionum dist. $SiMo$
Nar. obs. lib. om. $F$
ab Agecio om. $F$ duce $B^1$; corr. $B^2$
111 censorius $B$
mittitur $B^a$; corr. $B^b$
112 qui eis auxiliauerant post Gothorum add. $F$
VIII milia caesa sunt $F$
milia om. $Hm$
sub aetio duce om. $F$
113 galleciae $B^2$; om. $F$
114 rex suaeorum $F$
regno $B^1$
qui... quem postea Betae fluuioum gotii prostrauerunt auri et argenti opibus occupatis $F$
quicum magna parte exercitus
missus andeuotum romanœ militiae ducecum cum multis copiis $B$
bacticae provinciae $I$ sed non $P$
opibus]$copiis $I$
115 cartago $F$
magna $FH$: om. $B$ edd
XXV ante die add. $Ho$
$XV$ $Hm$
die...inuadit om. $F$
die om. $C$ edd ante; die decimo $Si^3$
116 bellum $F$ apud tolosa $F$ d. R. $F$
Romano rum $Sa$
inconsultius cum auxiliaris Vnorum manu inruens caesis his ipse uulneratus capitur et post dies paucos occiditur. (116)

Inter Romanos et Gothos pax efficitur. (117)

Gaisericus rex elatus impie episcopum clerumque Carthaginis depellit ex ea et iuxta prophetiam Danihelis demutatis ministeriis sanctorum ecclesias catholicas tradidit Arrianis. (118)

Rechila rex Sueuorum Emeritam ingreditur. (119)

**XVI**

Gaisericus Siciliam deprehendens Pancormum diu obsedit; qui damnati a catholicis episcopis Maximini apud Siciliam Arrianorum ducis adversum catholicos precipitatur instinctu ut eos quoquo pacto in impietatem cogeret Arrianam. Nonnullis declinantibus aliquanti durantes in catholica fide consummavere martyrium. (120)

Censurius comes, qui legatus (missus) fuerat ad Sueuos, resedens Martyli CCCV OLYMPI obsessus a Rechila in pace se tradidit. (121)

**XVII**

Rex Sueuorum diuturno per annos VII morbo adflictus moritur Hermericus. (122)

Rex Rechila Hispali obtenta Beticam et Carthaginensem provincias in suam redigit potestatem. (123)

Sabino episcope de Hispali factione depulso in locum eius Epifanius ordinatur fraude, non iure. (124)

Asturias dux utriusque militie ad Hispanias missus Terraconensium caedit

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multitudinem Bacaudarum. (125)

XVIII Cometae sidus apparere incipit mense Decembri quod per menses aliquot [442

CCCCLXXX uisum sub sequentis in pestilentia plagae quae fere in toto orbe diffusa est, 

praemisit ostentum. [vac. c. 18 litt.] (126)

CONSTANTINOPOLITANE ECCLESIAE DEPVLSO NESTORIO 
PRESIDET EPISCOPVS FLAVIANVS. (127)

XVIII Asturio magistro utriusque militiae generius successor ipsi mittitur [443

<II-CCCCLX>Merobaudis, natus nobilis et eloquentiae merito uel maxime in poematis 

studio ueteribus conparandus. Testimonio etiam prouehit statuarum. 

Breui tempore potestatis suae Aracellitanorum frangit insolentiam 

Bacaudarum. Mox nonnnullorum inuidia perurguente ad urbem Romam sacra 

preceptione reuocatur. (128)

XX Sebastianus illic quo confugerat, deprehensus sibi aduersa moliri de [444

Constantinopoli fugit admonitus et ad Theodorem regem Gothorum ueniens 

conquesitam sibi, qua potuit, Barcilonam hostis factus ingreditur. (129)

CCCVIOLYMPI In Asturicensi urbe Galleciae quidam ante aliquot annos [445

XXI latentes Manichei gestis episcopalibus deteguntur quae ab Ydatio et Thoribio 

episcopis qui eos audierant, ad Antoninum Emeretensem episcopum 

directa. (130)

Vandali nauibus Turonio in litore Galleciae repente aduecti familias capiunt 

plurimorum. (131)

Sebastianus de Barcilone fugatus migrat ad Vandalos. (132)

Per episcopum Romae tunc presidentem gesta de Manicheis per prouintias 

diriguntur. (133)
XXII  Vitus magister utriusque militiae factus ad Hispanias missus non exigue manus fultus auxilio, cum Carthaginienses uexaret et Beticos, succedentibus cum rege suo illic Sueuis, superatis etiam in congressione qui ei ad depredandum in adiutorium uenerant, Gothis, territus miserabili timore diffugit. Sueui exim ilas prouincias magna depredatione subuertunt. (134)

XXIII  Romanae ecclesiae XLII presidet episcopus Leo; huius XLII EPS scripta per episcopi Thoribi diaconem Peruincum contra Priscillianistas ad Hispanienses episcopos deferuntur; inter que ad episcopum Thoribium de observatione catholicae fidei et de heresum blasphemiis disputatio plena dirigitur, quae ab aliqubis Gallecis subdolo probatur arbitrio. (135)

Solis facta defectio die X kl. Ianuariae qui fuit tertia feria. (136)

XXIII  Rechila rex Sueuorum Emerita gentilis moritur mense Augusto; cui mox filius suus catholicus Rechiarius succedit in regno, nonnullis quidem sibi de gente sua emulis, sed latenter. Obtento tamen regno sine mora ulteriores regiones inuadit ad predam. (137)

Pascentium quedam urbis Romae qui de Asturica diffugerat, Manicheum Antoninus episcopus Emerita comprehendit auditumque etiam de prouincia Lusitania facit expelli. (138)

CCCVII OLYMPI

XXV  Per Agiulfum Spali Censurius iugulatur. (139)

Rechiarius accepta in coniugium Theodori regis filia auspicatus initio regni Vasconias depredatur mense Februario. (140)
Basilius ob testimonium egregii ausus sui congregatis Baucaudis in ecclesia Tyriassone foederatos occidit. Vbi et Leo eiusdem ecclesiae episcopus ab hisdem qui cum Basilio aderant, in eo loco obiit uulneratus. (141)

Rechiarius mense Iulio ad Theodorem socerum profectus Caesaraugustanam regionem cum Basilio in reditu depredatur. Inrupta per dolum Elerdensi urbe acta est non parua captiuitas. (142)

**XXVI** Asturii uir inlustris ad honorem prouehitur consulatus. (143)

Sebastianus exul factus ad pernitosam sibi, sicut post exitus docuit, Gaiserici confugit potestatem. Paruo post tempore quam uenerat per eum iubetur occidi. (144)

De Gallis epistolae deferuntur Flauiani episcopi ad Leonem episcopum missae (cum scriptis Cyrilli episcopi Alexandrini ad Nestorium Constantinopolitanum) de Eutychete Hebionita heretico et Leonis episcopi ad eundem responsa, quae cum aliorum episcoporum et gestis et scriptis per ecclesias diriguntur. (145)

**XXVII** Theodosius imperator moritur Constantinopolim anno aetatis sue XLVIII. (146)

**POST QVEM XLII STATIM APVD CONSTANTINOPOLIM MARCIANVS**

A MILITIBVS ET AB EXERCITV, INSTANTE ETIAM SORORE
THEODOSII PVLCHERIA REGINA, EFFICITVR IMPERATOR; QVA SIBI IN CONIVGIVM ADSVMPTA REGNAT IN PARTIBVS ORIENTIS. (147)

XXVIII Valentiniani imperatoris mater Placidia moritur apud Romam. (148) [451

In Gallia terre motus assidui, signa in caelo plurima ostenduntur. [vac. c. 17

OLYMPI  ltt.] Nam pridie non. Aprilis tertia feria post solis occasum ab

aquilonis plagae caelum rubens sicut ignis aut sanguis efficitur intermixtis per
igneum ruborem lineis clarioribus in speciem hastarum rutilantium
deformatis. A die clauso usque in horam noctis fere tertiam signi durat
ostensio, quae mox ingenti exitu perdocetur. (149)

Gens Vnorum pace rupta depraedatur provincias Galliarum; plurime ciuitates

effractae. In campis Catalaunicis haud longe de ciuitate quam effrregerant

Mettis, Aeetio duci et regi Theodori, quibus erat in pace societas, aperto marte
configens diuino caesa superatur auxilio. Bellum nox intempesta diremit.

Rex illic Theodorus prostratus occubuit. CCC ferme milia hominum in eo
certamine cecidisse memorantur. (150)

Multa anno signa procedunt. VI kal. Octubris a parte orientis luna fuscatur. In
diebus insequentis paschae uisa quedam in caelo regionibus Galliarum

epistola de his Eufroni Augustudunensis episcopi ad Agrippinum commitem
facta uidentur ostendit. Stella cometes a XIII kal. Iulias apparere incipit,
que tertio kal. diluculo ab oriente usque post occasum solis ab occidua parte
mox cernitur. Kal. Aug. a parte occidentis apparat. (151)
Occiso Theodore Thurismo filius eius succedit in regno. (152)
Vni cum rege suo Attala relictis Gallis post certamen Italiam petunt. (153)

XXVIII SECUNDO regni anno principis Martiani Vni qui Italiam
praedabantur, aliquantim etiam ciuitatis inruptis, diuinitus partim fame,
partim morbo quodam plagis caelestibus feriuntur. Missis etiam per
Martianum principem Aetio duce caeduntur auxilliiis pariterque in sedibus suis
et caelestibus plagis et per Marciani subiguntur exercitum et ita subacti pace
facta cum Romanis proprias uniuersi repetunt sedes; ad quas rex eorum
Attala mox reuersus interit. (154)
Ad Sueuos Mansuetus comes Hispaniarum et Fronto similiter comes legati pro
pace mittuntur et optinent conditiones iniunctas. (155)
Thurismo rex Gothorum spirans hostilia a Theoderico et Frederico fratribus
iugulatur; cui Theodericus succedit in regno. (156)

XXX TERTIO regni anno principis Marciani regina moritur Pulcheria
mense Iulio. (157)
Per Fredericum Theuderici regis fratem Baucaude Terraconenses caeduntur ex
auctoritate Romana. (158)
In Gallecia terrae motus et in sole signum in ortu quasi altero secum concertante
monstratur. (159)
Aetius dux et patricius fraudulenter singularis accitus intra palatium manu ipsius Valentiniani imperatoris occiditur et cum ipso per spatorium eius aliqui singulariter intromissi iugulantur honorati. (160)

His gestis legatos Valentinianus mittit ad gentes ex quibus ad Sueuos uenit Justinianus. (161)

XXXI QVARTO regni anno principis Marciani per duos barbaros Aetii familiares Valentinianus Romae imperator occiditur in campo exercitu circumstante anno aetatis suae XXXVI et regni XXXI. (162)

Post quem mox Maximus ex consulibus XLIII Rome Augustus appellatur; qui cum imperator factus relictam Valentiniani sibi duxisset uxorem et filio suo ex priori coniuge Paladio, quem Caesarem fecerat, Valentiniani filiam in coniugium tradidisset, magnorum motuum, quos uerebatur, perturbatione distortus et quia in occisorum per Valentinianum et in ipsius interitum Valentiniani ambitu regni consilia scelesta patrata contulerat, cum imperium deserere uellet et Romam, uix quattuor regni sui mensibus expletis in ipsa urbe tumultu populi et seditione occiditur militari. (162)

Ipso anno in Galliis Auitus Gallus ciuis ab exercitu Gallicano et ab honoratis primum Tolosa, dehinc apud Arelatum Augustus appellatus Romam pergit et suscipitur. (163)

Vsque ad Valentinianum Theodosi generatio tenuit principatum. (164)
OBTINET MONARCHIAM. (165)

Per Auitum, qui a Romanis et euocatus et susceptus fuerat imperator, legati ad
Martianum pro unianimitate mittuntur imperii. (166)

Gaisericus sollicitatus a relictâ Valentiniani, ut malum fama dispergit,
priusquam Auitus Augustus fieret, Romam ingreditur direptisque opibus
Romanorum Carthaginem reedit, relictâm Valentiniani et filias duas et Aetii
filium Gaudentium nomine secum ducens. (167)

Sueui Cartaginenses regiones quas Romanos rediderant, depredantur. (168)

I MARCIANVS ET AVITVS CONCORDES PRINCIPATV ROMANI [456
VTNVTR IMPERII. (169)

CCCVIII OLYMPI Per Augustum Auitum Fronto comes legatus mittitur ad Sueuos.

V ANNVS Similiter et a rege Gothorum Theuderico, quia fidus Romano esset imperio,
legati ad eisdem mittuntur ut tam secum quam cum Romano imperio, quia
uno essent pacis foedere copulati, iurati foederis promissa seruarent.

Remissis legatis utriusque partis atque omni iurationi uiolata Sueui
Terraconensem prouinciam, quae Romano imperio deseruiebat,
inuadunt. (170)

De Erulorum gente septem naibus in Lucensi litore aliquanti aduecti, uiri ferme
CCCC expediti superuentu multitudinis congregate duobus tantum ex suo
numero effugantur occisis; qui ad sedes proprias redeuntes Cantabriarum et
Vardulliarum loca maritima crudelissime depredantur sunt. (171)
Legati Gothorum rursum ueniunt ad Sueuos; post quorum aduentum rex Sueuorum Rechiarius cum magna suorum multitudine regiones prouvintiae Terraconensis inuadit acta illic depredatione et grandi ad Galleciam captiuitate deducta. (172)

Mox Hispanias rex Gothorum Theodoricus cum ingenti exercito suo et cum voluntate et ordinatione Auiti imperatoris ingreditur, cui cum multitudine Sueuorum rex Rechiarius occurrents duodecimo de Asturencsi urbe miliario ad fluuium nomine Vrbicum III non. Octubris die, VI feria, inito mox certamine superatur. Caesis suorum agminibus, aliquantis captis plurimisque fugatis ipse ad extremas sedes Gallaciae plagatus uix euadit ac profugus. (173)

Theudorico rege cum exercitu ad Bracaram extremam ciuitatem Galleciae pertendente V kal. Nouembris, die dominico, etsi incruenta, fit tamen satis maesta et lacrimabilis eiusdem direptio ciuitatis. Romanorum magna agitur captiuitas capituumorum; sanctorum basilicae effractae; altaria sublata atque confracta; uirgines dei exim quidem abductae, sed integritate seruata; clerus usque ad nuditatem pudoris exustus; promiscui sexus cum paruulis de locis refugii sanctis populus omnis abstractus; iumentorum pecorum camellorumque horrore locus sacer impletus; scripta super Hierusalem ex parte caelestis irae renouauit exempla. (174)

Rechiarius ad locum qui Portum Cale appellatur, profugus regi Theuderico captiuus adducitur; quo in custodiam redacto, caeteris qui de priori

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certamine superfuerant, tradentibus se Sueuis, aliquantis nihilominus interfectis regnum destructum et finitum est Sueuorum. (175)

Hisdem diebus Rechimeris comitis circumuentione magna multitudo Vandalorum quae se de Carthagine cum LX nauibus ad Gallias uel ad Italiam mouerat, regi Theudorico nuntiatu occisa per Auitum. (176)

Esycius tribunus legatus ad Theodoricum cum sacrīs muneribus missus ad Galleciam uenit nuntians ei id quod supra in Corsica caesam multitudinem Wandalorum et Auitum de Italia ad Gallias Arelate successisse; orientalium naues Hispalim uenientes per Marciani exercitum caesam nuntiant. (177)

Occiso Rechiario mense Decembri rex Theudoricus de Gallacia ad Lusitaniam succedit. (178)

In conuentus parte Bracarensis latrocinantum depredatio perpetratur. (179)

Aioulfus deserens Gothos in Gallecia residet. (180)

Suei qui remanserant in extrema parte Galleciae, Massiliae filium nomine Maldras sibi regem constituunt. (181)

Theudericus Emeritam depredari moliens beatae Eulaliae martyris terretur ostentis. (182)

III

Auitus, tertio anno posteaquam a Gallis et a Gothis factus fuerat imperator, caret imperio Gothorum promisso destitutus auxilio, caret et uita. (183)

In Orientis partibus septimo anno imperii sui moriur Marcianus. (184)
110

ROMANORVM XLIII MAIORIANVS IN ITALIA ET
CONSTANTINOPOLIM LEO AVGVSTI APPELLANTVR. (185)

I

Theudoricus aduersis sibi nuntiis territus mox post dies paschae, quod 
457
fuit II kal. Aprilis, de Emerita egreditur et Gallias repetens partem ex ea 
quam hæbebat multitudine uariae nationis cum ducibus suis ad campos 
Galleciae dirigit; qui dolis et periuriis instructi, sicut eis fuerat imperatum, 
Asturicam, quam iam praedones ipsius sub specie Romanae ordinationis 
intrauerant, mentientes ad Sueuos qui remanerant iussam sibi expeditionem, 
ingrediuntur pace fucata solita arte perfidiae. Nec mora promiscui generis 
reperta illic caeditur multitudo; sanctae effringuntur aecclesiae; altaribus 
direptis et demolitis sacer omnis ornatus et usus aufertur; duo illic episcopi 
inuenti cum omni clero abducuntur in captiuitatem; inualidior promiscui 
sexus agitur miseranda captiuitas; residuis et uacuis ciuitatis domibus datis 
incendio camporum loca uastantur. Palentina ciuitas simili quo Asturica per 
Gothos perit exitio. Vnum Couiacense castrum tricesimo de Asturica 
miliario a Gothos diutino certamine fatigatum auxilio dei hostibus et obsistit et 
praeualet. Quam plurimis ex eorum manu interfectis reliqui reuertuntur ad 
Gallias. (186)

Aioulfus dum regnum Sueuorum spirat, Portu Cale moritur mense Junio. (187)

Sueui in partes diuisi pacem ambiunt Galleciorum; e quibus pars Framtanum, 
pars Maldras regem appellant. Solito more perfidiae Lusitaniam depraeadatur 
pars Sueuorum Malدارem sequens. Acta illic Romanorum caede praedisque

185 XLIII b^F: XLV b^a: XLVII regnuit (regnat Hio) H italiam BM: -am FHm Constantinopolim 
BM: -pole F: -poli H Leo] ideo Hm 186 aduersus F sibi om. F quod...Aprilis om. F II kal. 
Duo illic om. F episici clerici captiuantur domebus tantur incendia F Palentina...Gallias om. F

187 Agiulfus F Tr sperat F: aspirat Sa mense Junio om. F 188 framtano B: -nem C edd ante: 
frantan I Maldram C edd ante (bis) appellat edd ante depraeadantur B^2 illuc I aromanorum B
contractis ciuitas Vlixippona sub specie pacis intratur. (188)

II

Framtane moritur per pascha et pentecosten. (189) [458

Iubente Maldare Sueui in solitam perfidiam uersi regionem Galliciae adherentem

flumine Durio depredantur. (190)

Quinto kal. luni die, quarta feria, ab ora quarta in horam sextam ad speciem

lunae quintae uel sextae sol de lumine orbis sui minoratus apparuit. (191)

Gothicus exercitus duce suo Cyrila a Theudorico rege ad Hispanias missus

mense Iulio succedit ad Beticam. (1921)

Legati Gothorum et Vandolorum pariter ad Sueuos ueniunt et

reueruntur. (1922)

Sabinus episcopus Hispalensis, post annos XX quam certauerat expulsus, de

Galliis ad propriam redit ecclesiam. (192a)

CCCX OLYMPI

III

Theudoricus cum duce suo Sunericus exercitus suis aliquantam ad Beticam [459

dirigit manum. Cyrila reuocatur ad Gallias. Sueui nihilominus Lusitaniae

partes cum Maldare, alii cum Rechimundo Gallecaie depredantur. (193)

Eruli maritima conuentus Lucensis loca nonnulla crudelissime inuadunt ad

Beticam pertendentes. (194)

Maldras germanum suum (fratrem) interfecit et Portum Cale castrum idem

hostis inuadit. (195)

Inter Sueuos et Callicos interfecit aliantis honestis natu malum hostile

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Ciuitas 1: omnis B etiam post ciuitas add. I 189II hic pono ego: ad 1921 pon. B franthan I:

-nes C edd ante 190 Iubente Maldare om. F maldere B Mo: Maltra C edd ante galleceiae B2

adherentem flumium F: -te fluio F2 flumine B2l circa litora manentes post Durio add. F 191


om. FI Legati...reuertuntur om. FH ueniuntur B2: corr. B2 192a appareat solum in H: lacuna duorum uersuum in B Era CDXCV (CCCCXV Hm) ante Sabinus add. H annis Hm expulsis


aliquantam partem F: aliquam p. F2: aliquanta Hm: aliquam tam Ho manum om. F Sueui...

depredantur om. H nihilominus om. F lusitaniam F partes om. F Maldrf edd ante maldare regi

et F Remismundo Si gallicias F 194 aeroli F macitima B2a: corr. Bb maritima...inuadunt

om. F 195 germanum suum fratrem B: germano sonm (= suum) fratre F: germanoso nomen fraire

F2 interfecit BF: -ficit SiMo portocale B portugali castro F idem hostis om. F 196 gall- B2
miscetur. (196)

Legati a Nepotiano magistro militiae et a Sunerico comite misi ueniunt ad
Galletios nuntiantes Maiorianum Augustum et Theudoricum regem
firma inter se pacis iura sanxisse Gothis in quodam certamine
superatis. (197)

III

Maldras in fine mensis Februarii iugulatus merito perit interito. (198) [460
Per Sueuos Luco habitantes in diebus paschae Romani aliquanti cum rectore suo
honesto natu repentino securi de reuerentia dierum occiduntur
incursu. (199)

Mense Maio Maioranus Hispanias ingreditur imperator, quo Carthaginiensem
provinciam pertendente aliquantas naues, quas sibi ad transitum aduersum
Vandolos praeparabat, de litore Carthaginensi comoniti Vandali per
prodiiores abripiunt. Maiorianus ita a sua ordinatione frustratus ad Italiam
reuertitur. [vac. c. 25 lit.] (200)

Pars Gothici exercitus a Sunierico et Nepotiano comitibus ad Galleciam directa
Sueuos apud Lucum depraedatur habitantes; que Dictynio, Spinione et
Ascanio delatoribus spargentibus ad terrorem propriae uenena perfidia
indigata recurrit ad suos. Ac mox hisdem delatoribus quibus supra
Frumarius cum manu Sueuororum quam habebat impulsus capto Ydatio
episcopo VII kal. Aug. in Aquaflaviensi ecclesia eundem conuentum grandi
euertit excidio. (201)
Rechimundus uicina sibi pariter Auregensium loca et Lucensis conuentus maritima populatur. (202)

Inter Frumarium et Rechimundum oritur de regni potestate dissensio. (203)

Galleciorum et Sueuorum pacis quedam umbra conseritur. (204)

A Theuderico legati ad Sueuos ueniunt et recumint. (205)

Suniericus Scallauim, cui aduersabatur, optinet ciuitatem. (206)

Ydatius qui supra tribus mensibus captiuitatis inpletis mense Nouembri miserantis dei gratia contra uotum et ordinationem supradictorum delatorum redit ad Flauias. (207)

De rege Theuderico legati gentis perfide reuertuntur. (208)

Gaisericus rex a Maioriano imperatore per legatos postulat pacem. (209)

V

Maiorianum de Galliis Romam redeuntem et Romano imperio uel nomine res necessarias ordinantem Rechimer liuore percitus et inuidorum consilio fultus fraude interfecit circumuentum. (210)

ROMANORVM XLV SEVERVS A SENATV ROMAE AVGVSTVS APPELLATVR ANNO IMPERII LEONIS QVINTO. (211)

I

Nepotianus Theuderico ordinante Arborium accipit successorem. (213)

In prouincia Gallecia prodigiorum uidentur signa diuersa. AERA D VI non.

Mar. pullorum cantu ab occasu solis luna in sanguinem plena conuertitur.

Idem dies sexta feria fuit. (214)

Antiochia maior Isauriae inobaudiens monitis salutaribus terra dehiscente
demergitur, <episcopo> tantum ipsius ciuitatis cum aliquantuis qui eum obaudientes timori domini sunt secuti, de interitu liberatis, turrium etiam solis cacuminibus extantibus super terram. (215)

Gaisericus Valentiniani relictam Constantinopolim remittit. Filiae ipsius una Gentoni Gaiserici filio, alia Olybrio senatori urbis Romae iure matrimonii copulantur. (216)

CCCXI OLYMPI Agrippinus Gallus comes et cius Egidio comiti uiro insignis inimicus, ut Gothorun mereretur auxilia, Narbonam tradidit Theudoricu. (217)

Mense Junio in Gallicia coruscatione uillae exuste <et> greges ouium concremati. Carnes concisse pluiaie de caelo mixtae cadunt. Duo aduliscentes carne in inuicem soledati adhaerentes sunt mortui. (217a) In conuentu Bracarense duorum natorum portentum cum his cum quibus fuerat, superatus occiditur. (214a)

II Aduersus Egidium commitem utriusque militiae, uirum et famma commendatum et deo bonis operibus conplacentem, in Armoricana prouincia Fretiricus frater Theuderici regis insurgens cum his cum quibus fuerat, superatus occiditur. (218)

Cum Palogorio uiro nobili Galleciae, qui ad supradictum fuerat regem, Cyrila legatus ad Galleciam ueniens euientes ad eundem regem legatos obuiat Rechimundi; qui regressi in celeri reuertentem Cyrilam in Lucensi urbe suscipiunt; post cius mox egressum de Gallecia Sueui promissionum suarum ut semper fallaces et perfidi diversa loca infelicis Galleciae <more>
Per Theudericum ad Sueuos Remismundus et Cyrila cum aliquantis Gothis qui prius uenerant, remittuntur. Cyrila in Galatia remanente, Remismundo mox recurrente ad regem inter Gallecos et Sueuos indisciplinata perturbatio dominatur. (220)

Romanae ecclesiae XLIII pressidet episcopus Hilarus. (221)

III Nepotianus recedit e corpore. (222)

Frumario mortuo Remismundus omnibus Sueuis in suam ditionem regali iure reuocatis pacem reformat elapsam. (223)

Mense Maio supraddicti uiri Egidii ligati per Oceanum ad Vandolos transeunt, qui eodem cursu Septembri mense reuertuntur ad suos. (224)

XIII kal. Aug. die, secunda feria, in speciem lunae quintae sol de lumine suo ab hora tertia in horam sextam cernitur minoratus. (225)

Legatos Remismundus mittit ad Theudoricum, qui similiter suos ad Remismundum remittit, cum armorum adiectione uel munera, directa et coniunge quam haberet. (226)

Vandali per Marcellinum in Sicilia caesi effugantur ex ea. (227)

Egidius moritur, alii dicunt insidiis, alii ueneno deceptus. Quo desistente mox Gothi regiones quas Romano nomine tuebatur, <inquadunt>. (228)

Sueui Conynbricam dolose ingressi familiarum nobilem Cantabri spoliante et captiue abducunt matrem cum filiis. (229)

Legati eodem anno duabus uicibus a rege Sueuorum mittuntur ad regem Theudericum; ad quem et Arborius proficiscitur euocatus. (230)
Reuersi legati Sueuorum obisse nuntiant <Seuerum quarto> imperii sui anno. Qui supra remittuntur ad Coninbricam. (231)

Aiax natione Galata effectus apostata et senior Arrianus inter Sueuos regis sui auxilio hostis catholicae fidei et diuinae trinitatis emergit. De Gallicana Gothorum habitacione hoc pestiferum inimici hominis uirus aduectum. (232)

Sueui aduersus Aunonensem seuiunt plebem. Qua de causa legati a Theodorico ad Remismundum mittuntur in cassum spretique ab eo mox redeunt. (233)

De Constantinopoli a Leone Augusto Antimius frater Procopi cum Marcellino alisque comitibus uiris electis et cum ingenti multitudine exercitus copiosi ad Italiam deo ordinante directus ascendit. (234)

**ROMANORVM XLVI ANTIMIVS OCTAVO MILIARIO DE ROMA AVGVSTVS APPELLATVR ANNO LEONIS IMPERII VIII MENSE AVGVSTO.** (235)

Expeditio ad Affricam aduersum Vandalos ordinata metabularum commutatione et naviagationis inopportunitate reuocatur. (236)

Per Theodoricum Salla legatus mittitur ad Remismundum regem Sueuorum; qui reuersus ad Gallias eum a fratre suo Euerico repperit interfectum. (237)

Euericus pari scelere quo frater succedit in regno. Quo honore prouectus et crimine legatos et ad imperatorem et ad regem dirigit Sueuorum; quibus sine mora a Remismundo remissis eiusdem regis legati ad imperatorem, alii ad

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Vandolos, alii diriguntur ad Gothos. (238)

De Aunonensi plebe, cui Sueuorum adversabatur hostitas, Opilio cum uiris secum <de> rege profectis et cum aliquantis qui cum ipso missi fuerant, reuertitur. (239)

Gothi qui ad Vandolos missi fuerant, supradictae expeditionis rumore perterriti reuertuntur in celeri. Pariter et Sueui qui post legatos more solito per diuersa loca in praedam dispersi fuerant, reuocantur, sed paucis post mensibus ipse rex Sueuorum ad Lusitaniam transit. (240)

Conymbriga in pace decepta diripitur. Domus destruuntur cum aliqua parte murorum habitatoribusque captis atque dispersis et regio desolatur et ciuitas.

[vac. c. 36 litt.] (241)

CCCXII OLYMPI Legati de [lacuna] Gothicorum reuersi referunt portenta in Gallis uisa aliquanta: in conspectu [lacuna c. 14 litt.] similem ipsi de continuo paruisse sollem alium uisum [lacuna c. 26 litt.] solis occasu (242); congregatis etiam quodam die concilii sui Gothis tela que habebant in manibus, a parte ferri uel acie alia uiridi, alia roseo, alia croceo, alia nigro colore naturalem ferri speciem aliquandiu non habuisse mutata (243); medio Tolose ciuitatis hisdem diebus e terra sanguinem erupisse toteque diei fluxisse curriculo. (244)

II Legatorum Sueuorum reditum aliquanta Gothorum manus insequens [468 Emeritam petit. (245)

Vlixippona a Sueuis occupatur ciue suo, qui illic preerat, tradente Lusidio. Hac
re cognita Gothi qui uenerant inuadunt et Sueuos depraedantur pariter et Romanos ipsis in Lusitaniae rigionibus seruientes. (246)

Legati qui ad imperatorem missi fuerant, redeunt nuntiantes sub praesentia <regis> sui magnum ualde exercitum cum tribus ducibus lectis aduersum Vandolos a Leone imperatore descendisse directo Marcellino, pariter cum manu magna eidem per imperatorem Antimium sociata; Rechimerium generum Antimi imperatoris et patricium factum; Asperem degradatum ad priuatum uitam, filium eius occisum, aduersum Romanum imperium, sicut detecti sunt, Vandalis consultentes. (247)

Hilaro defuncto sex sacerdocii sui annis expletis XLIII Romanae ecclesiae Simplicius episcopus ordinatur. (248)

Aunonenses pacem cum rege faciunt Sueuorum; qui et Lusitaniae et conuentus Asturecensis quaedam loca praedantes inuadunt. (249)

Gothi circa eundem conuentum pari hostilitate deseuiunt; partes etiam Lusitaniae depraedantur. (250)

Lusidius per Remismundum cum suis hominibus Sueuis ad imperatorem in legatione dirigitur. (251)

Durissimus extra solitum hoc eodem tempore annus hiberni, ueris, aestatis, autumni in aeris et omnium fructuum permutacione diffunditur. (252)

Signa etiam aliquanta et prodigia in locis Galleciae peruidentur. In flumine Minio de municipio Lais miliario ferme quinto capiuntur pisces IIII noui uizu

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hac re cognita C edd: haec recognita B  lusitania erigionibus B\(^1\): -ae rig- B\(^2\) in Lusitania seruientes Ga 247 Legati...uale om. F  regis add. ego uandalos B\(^2\) sociata C edd: socrata B  degratu B\(^1\): -um B\(^2\) sicut uisi Sa  detectique B edd exercitus leonis aduersus uandalus cum tribus ducibus discendit rychimirum (richemerus F2) generum antimiae imperatores et (om. F2) patricium factum adfatim degradato ad priuatum uitam filium eius occiso aduersus romanorum imperium conuentique sunt uuandali consolentis F 248 expleti B\(^1\): corr. B\(^2\) XLIII Sa: XLV B SiMo  XLV EPS B  249 regem B\(^4\): corr. B\(^6\) 250 circa om. F  circueundem B\(^1\): corr. B\(^2\) conuentum] tempore F  pari om. F  hostitate] hoste legate F  desaeuiunt B\(^2\) partem F  depraedanti B\(^1\): depraedantur B\(^2\): depraedantibus (-tes F2) F  251 Lusidius per om. F  richymundum cum suauuis ad imperatore (-em F2) transeuntem F  hominibus Sueuis] hostibus Sa  252 solem F  tempore om. F  hibernus hiemis et aestatem F  in aeris et omnium om. F  et B\(^2\): ut B\(^1\) omniu B\(^1\): corr. B\(^2\) fructuumque mutatione F  253 pices B  uisu B\(^2\)
et specie, sicut retulere qui ceperant Christiani et religiosi, Hebrais et Grecis litteris, Latinis autem aerarum numeris insigniti, ita CCCLXV anni circulum continentes. Paruo mensum intervallo haud procul de supradicto municipio in speciem lenticulae uiritissimorum, ut herba quaedam, forma granorum plena amaritudine defluxit e caelo; et multa alia ostenta quae memorare prolixum est. (253)
APPENDIX
APPARATVI CRITICO

As an introductory note it should be pointed out that the sigla B^2 and B^3 do not indicate specific hands, simply the sequence of emendation.

Pref. 1. 17- “in praecedenti opere suo”: I am not sure why Mommsen felt obliged to emend this to “in praesenti opere sum”, a most unlikely change both palaeographically and stylistically. The reading of B as it stands is perfectly comprehensible and goes with “ostentum ab his”, referring to Eusebius and Jerome in the Chronici canones.

Pref. 5. 39- “curam”: I retain the manuscript reading against Mommsen’s emendation and take “expertis” as a dative of reference: “...although the pages of this history had (previously) been a concern for the experts...”. I cannot see “contigisset” with a dative and an ablative as Mommsen suggests.

Pref. 7. 47-54- “Exim...consummanda”: The problems here are those of punctuation and interpretation. Mommsen put commas after “officium”, “Romani”, “et”, “luctuosius”, “Gallaeciam”, “indiscretis”, and “offenderint”, and colons after “ruituras” and “inserta”. This makes “Romani” a genitive with “erumnarum” after “ignarus” and all the accusatives after “Gallaeciam” (in apposition to “haec”?) somehow related to “inserta” (sc. “sunt”?). This cannot be correct. What are the “metas...ruituras”? What is the construction after “et quod est luctuosius...”? Surely we must punctuate first after “erumnarum”; this produces two adjective phrases “Exim...officium” and “non...erumnarum”, of which the first, given Hydatius’ freedom in omitting “esse” with perfect passives, is likely a clause. The “et” is a coordinating conjunction between “adlectus (sum)” and “subdidimus”. The following sentence has one verb, “subdidimus”, and two separate groups of objects, “metas” on the one hand, and “statum”, “interitum” and “occasum” on the other. The first refers to the Roman empire and events which concern it. The second, which is contrasted with the first with the phrase “quod est luctuosius, intra extremam uniuersi orbis Galleciam”, concerns Gallaecia. Hydatius is thus setting
up the contrast of the contents of his chronicle: he will be describing the woes of the empire and, what is more lamentable, the woes of Gallaecia. The words “haec iam quidem” point indubitably to a new sentence (“haec” referring back to “metas”, “statum”, etc.) and this sentence (=“inserta sunt”) is contrasted with the final sentence, where the “consummanda” refers back to “haec”.

Pref. 7. 52- “dominatione”: The MS reading of “dominantem” is obviously wrong and Mommsen’s “dominantii” is little better. Indeed, he seemed to realize it was awkward and offered an explanation which did little to clarify the situation: “uidetur significari ex furientium nationum iniquarum (nimium barbararum) perturbatione permixta dominanti (scilicet Romanae).” If he had wanted a noun he should have had “dominante” anyway. Hydatius never uses two single unconnected descriptive adjectives to modify a single noun (the closest he gets is in the introduction, where he has one single adjective and an adjective phrase combined with a noun phrase in opposition, all to a rather bizarre effect: “ignarus indignussimus omnium servorum dei Ydatius servus Jesu Christi, etc”) so “furientium iniquarum nationum” is unlikely to be correct. This understood, the structure of the phrase shows that “dominantem” must be in the place of a noun, which can only be “dominatione” = “ex (furientis dominatione nationis) permixta (iniquae perturbatione nationis)”. This accurately describes the situation in Gallaecia in the second half of the chronicle after the “perturbatio” of the Goths has disrupted the “dominatio” of the Sueves in the invasion of 456-7.

4-5- CCLXL OLYMPI: The bizarre tale of the Olympiads has been alluded to above in Chapter 2 and will be explained here in detail as an example of the type of emendations scribes can get involved in. B¹ wrote the Olympiads correctly every four years up to Olymp. 45 (f. 87v). He then skipped one by mistake and marked Olymp. 46 (instead of 47) eight years later. Four years after that he wrote Olymp. 48 correctly and all the rest of the Olympiads in B to 312 were written more or less correctly. Some inattentive reader with time on his hands (whom I have labelled B² in the apparatus) noticed the jump from Olymp. 46 to 48, but not the gap of eight
years between Olymp. 45 and 46. Intent on correcting this error he started with
Olymp. 48 and reduced every single Olympiad in the manuscript by one. A later
reader (B3) noticed the gap between 45 and 46, correctly wrote Olymp. 46 in it,
and had to go back over the rest of the Olympiads from 46 to 312 increasing each
by one. Sometimes the corrections are rather more complicated depending on the
accuracy of the various hands, but most Olympiads are noted in the apparatus in the
following form: "CCC B2: corr. B3" where B1 and B3 are assumed to be what is
in the text ("CCCI").

13- On the placement of "VIII" here and "VIII" at §14, see above, pp. 30-1.
- "fuerat": All previous editors have emended this to "iuerat" (a form as unlikely in the
fifth century as the first; see Grandgent (1907), §423, pp. 177-8; Palmer (1951),
274) here and in 219, but left the example in 218. This is a not unknown vulgar
Latin usage which was retained in the pluperfect of Old Spanish and modern
Portuguese—"fuera, fueras" and "fora, foras" are both "I had been" and "I had
gone"—and the perfect of modern Spanish and Portuguese—"fui, fuiste" and "fui,
foste", "I was" and "I went" (see also Lathrop (1980), §198, pp. 147-8).

14- The traces of the erased "-I" are still visible.

16- "ingreditur heresis": B has nothing here. All previous editors have supplied
"haeresis inuasit", but Hydatius never follows "inuadere" with "in". "Ingredi" is
the only verb with the required sense which is followed by "in" but even this occurs
only once (42). I have used the full form "ingreditur" since it appears more often
(4, 119, 129, 167, 173, 186, 200) than "ingressus" (42, 43, 55, 229) or
"ingressus est" (19, 46). The same is true for "heresis" (113, 16, 31, 106, 109,
135) over "secta" (37a, 59, 106). The order is the typical Hydatian pattern of
penultimate verb and this gives a tardus (600/600). The reading "secta ingressa"
would give a perfect planus (60/060).

19- On the omission of the passage from F, see above, p. 42.

25a- On the omission of this entry, see above, p. 43.

26- "Quod...principium": The MS has "turbes adiectio in"; Sirmond, followed by
Mommsen, altered this to “turbet adiectio, in”. The main problem would seem to be the second person, though there is also the unusual rhythm in “annorum turbes” (a ditrochaicus, 60/60), whereas “turbet adiectio” would give a perfect tardus (60/0600) and would seem stylistically more suitable. However, sense must overrule *cursus*. “ne olympiadem quinque annorum turbet adiectio” means “so that the addition of five years does not disturb the Olympiad”. Tranoy translates “Nous l’indiquons pour la raison suivante: il ne faut pas que l’adjonction, insérée seulement à cet endroit, de la première année des règnes ne perturbe l’olympiade de cinq ans”; this makes little sense (the five-year Olympiad already contains the “addition of the first year”) and is based more on Courtois’ interpretation of overlapping transitional years than the actual Latin (the translations of Macías—lo cual se advierte, á fin de que la adición de aquel año imperial, hecha aquí únicamente para distinción de los reinados, no altere la Olimpiada, resultando ésta de cinco años—, del Corral—Lo que se hace notar para que no se crea que es de cinco años; la olimpiada anotada al margen es sólo para determinar los hechos de los Príncipes reinantes—and Campos—y se indica esto con el fin de que la suma de los cinco años no perturbe la olimpiada, haciéndolo constar solamente por insertar los príncipes reinantes—are also confused). “Adiectio” can only mean “an addition” and it has this meaning later in the chronicle (226, “cum armorum adiectione uel munerum”, where “cum...adiectione” means “along with”, “in addition to”), but Hydatius has not added five years to the Olympiad, he has added one. If we accept the emendation of “turbet” we must also alter “quinque annorum” to “quinti anni”: “the addition of a fifth year”. It is hard enough to imagine a scribe changing a third person verb to a second, but adding this alteration to the change as well is too much. However, the MS reading makes perfect sense: “so that you do not disturb the five-year Olympiad”; Olymp. 293 does contain five regnal years: “Theod. XV, XVI”; and “XVII” and “Hon. I” and “II”. In Hydatius’ time readers did not merely read, they added, deleted and corrected (for this one need only note the “corrections” made to the Olympiads described above and the other examples
with regard to the regnal years in Chapter 2 above); he was afraid that someone would notice the five years under Olymp. 293 or the jump from “Theod. XVII” to “Hon. II” and “correct” them unless they were explained. ¹ The second person need cause no worries: it had been used three times before by Hydatius (in the interpolation on the Reuelatio Thomae and twice in pref. 6). “Adiectio” is now the subject of its own clause with the verb “inserta (est)” and refers to the extra (fifth) year taken into the Olympiad (“in hoc loco... inserta”) because of the beginning of the reign. The phrase “propter regnantum... principium” is perverse, to say the least; “regnantum” must mean “regni eorum”, but it still does not really explain Hydatius’ reasons.

31- V, VI, VII, VIII, VIIII: The difficulties encountered at this point are numerous. As noted above, p. 31, this section of the text appears to have suffered from damage and/or corruption at some point. B¹ appears to have written “IIII”, “VI” (at “Statuuntur”), “VI” (at 34), “VIII” (at 36), and “X” (just above the Olympiad). A second hand seems to have added a “V” at the beginning of 31. Though the ink seems to be the same as that of B¹, the style of lettering (“v” instead of “u”) is not. This hand (or another, since the “v” form does not appear again) also added another “VI” below the Olympiad in 31, changed the “VI” at 34 to “VII” and the “VIII” at 36 to a “VIIII”. A third hand, with a very different style and rather poor quality red ink, made the final corrections, turning B²’s “VI” into a “VII” and the “VII” at 34 to an “VIII”. I cannot imagine why it took so many attempts to get the sequence from “V” to “X” correct. In spite of the confusion, the placing of the regnal years is fairly secure. As explained above, p. 31, “V” must come before 31 which itself must be under “VI”. The ages of Theodosius in §§82 and 146 place his birth in “VIIII”; in the exemplar of F his birth was placed in “VIII” and his ages were increased by a year to correspond with this earlier birthdate. “X” must come before the Olympiad at 37 which belongs to “XI”. M dates 34 to “VII” but also to aera CCCCXL which is “VIII” and the correct year of the eclipse. The former figure is

¹ As it was a second hand felt it necessary to add a “I” in the margin opposite §25.
more easily the product of scribal error, so 34 is placed under “VIII” and “VII” is left empty above it.

- “sectatores”: On Mommsen’s emendation, see Thompson (1982), 229.

37a- On the acceptance of this entry, see above, pp. 38, 40.

42- “alii III kl. alii III idus”: On this reading, see Volume One, pp. 64-5.

48- “milites exhauriunt”: This renders a rare 600/0600 (dispondeus dactylicus, 4.2% of cursus forms in the chronicle), while the editors’ reading, “miles exaurit”, gives a perfect planus (60/060, 31.7%). However, it is difficult to see how “miles” could have been corrupted to “milites” next to a singular verb (unparalleled in the text) and it is a fact that there are a number of examples elsewhere in the text of plural verbs becoming singular (pref. 1, 69, 101, 111, 160, 181 and 199). This suggests that it is more likely that the verb is corrupt, not the noun. As a result, in spite of the cursus, I have opted to emend the verb, not the noun.

49- “sita”: Once again the rationale behind Mommsen’s emendation seems weak. The Vandals take Gallaecia while the Sueves occupy “occidua”, a neuter accusative plural noun, which is modified by “sita in...”. Following B’s reading the Sueves get “Galliciam...sitam in extremitate...occidua”, where “occidua” is a feminine ablative singular adjective.

54- Another odd reading from B. Previous editors just dropped the “quorum Iouinus et Sebastianus” but I cannot see how the “quorum” could have mistakenly slipped into the text at this point along with a repeated “Iouinus et Sebastianus”. The latter could at least have been copied in error from the line above. The words are missing from F but could have been skipped by Fredegarius if they were corrupt in his exemplar as well. I am inclined to believe that there is a lacuna of some size hidden here.

56- “L milibus”: The appearance of “uno XX” in Hm and “uno et uiginti” in Ho could arise if in the archetype, γ, as in Hm, “milia” always appeared as “M”. From that a sloppy “L M” could be taken as “I XX”, corrected slightly by Hm and completely by Ho.
59- “adamantino ueritatis malleo”: The original “malleo” was somehow copied as “melle” (the “o” apparently lost in the following “co-”) and a later corrector or copyist then changed “adamantino” to “adamantina” to agree with it. The editors’ reading is confirmed by, for example, Vigilius Thapsensis, Contra Eutychem V.7: “...vitreas sententias uertitatis malleo obterendas...”, and Johannes Maxentius, Dialogus contra Nestorianos prol. (ACOec IV.2., p. 14.29), “...prolatasque in medium malleo ueritatis conterre...”.

62a- On the rejection of this entry, see above, p. 43.

62b- On the rejection of this entry, see above, p. 40.

67- For the reasons behind the repositioning of “XXIII”, see above, p. 29.

82- There is no trace of the erased figure behind the “-VI” of B² in Theodosius’ age beyond a definite “-I”, even under ultraviolet light. The figure from H is correct based on the method of counting used in §146 and in F, where the years are advanced one over those in BHM because his birth is placed a year earlier.

90- “Heremigarium Sueuum”: On the acceptance of this reading, against HF, see above, p. 39.

98- “VIII Ioboleus...”: On this addition, see Volume One, pp. 160-1.

99a- On the acceptance and placement of this entry, see above, pp. 39, 40-1.

110- For some reason Mommsen put “Aetio...militum” with “...liberatur” even though B¹ punctuates after “liberatur” and F, omitting 110¹, reports “Aetio...milia”. There is no historical reason for the change either, since Litorius freed Narbo from the siege. “obsidione liberatur” gives a trispondaicus (60/0060) which is more than twice as common (7.5%) as the medius (60/600; 3.4%) of “magistro militum”.

121- H for some reason omits “missus” and as was seen above in 13 “fuerat” on its own can mean “had gone”. As a result I bracket “missus” as a possible interpolation.

129- “de Constantinopoli”: I have emended “e” to “de” here since Hydatius always uses “de” with cities and places for “motion away from, out of” (cf. 232 where “de” has become “ad”). The only exception is the set phrase “ex ea”, referring once to Carthage and once to Sicily (118, 227).
137- **XXIII**: B²FM place this regnal year at §136, while B³ places it at 137 (it was omitted by B¹). The layout of the text itself gives no hint (it is a solid block) so, as was discussed above, p. 29, we must look to Hydatius’ general practice with regard to regnal years. Based on this, 136 must appear at the end of “Val. XXIII”, not the beginning of “XXIII”. This is supported by §126, a comet of 442, also dated to December and placed in the appropriate regnal year for the calendar year 442 not the next one (that is, it is not dating from Valentinian’s *dies imperii* of 23 October, but according to the consular or calendar year).

140- “auspicatus initio regni”: This phrase has caused problems for every reader of the text, it seems. The epitomator of H omitted “auspicatus” and replaced it with “in”. Fredegarius omitted it completely. Isidorus reversed the order but kept the grammar and the compiler of P added an “in” before “initio”. Modern editors have opted for “initium”, and this includes Mommsen who nevertheless saw fit to leave “initio” in his text of Isidorus. I have sided with BI and thus take “auspicatus” as an adjective (“lucky, fortunate”) since the participle (“beginning, entering upon”) seems rather tautological with “initium”.

- “mense Februario”: This is extremely peculiar. It does not appear in FHI, its *cursus* is a rare dactylicus with a hiatus unique in the chronicle (60/00600) and “Vasconias depredatur”, the final clausula if “men. Feb.” were removed, is a perfect velox (600/0060). Because of this I am seriously inclined to bracket or remove these words completely; however I cannot imagine how they came to be added and whence.

149- “pridie non. Aprilis tertia feria”: As was noted in Volume One, p. 92, this date may have suffered some corruption. The argument for such corruption which follows cannot be proven so I have retained the manuscript readings. “pridie non. Aprilis” appears only in B; F also reports “tertia feria”. Entry 186 shows that Hydatius wrote “II” rather than “pridie”. Thus an original “III” could have been miscopied as “II” and then “corrected” to “pridie”. On the other hand an original “IIII” could have been copied as “III” then written as “tertia”. However, with the exception of
“VI” in 173 and “VIII” in 235 Hydatius always writes small numbers as words, so of the two options the former is the more likely.

151- “VI kal.”: This has been changed to correspond to the correct date since the loss of a “I” is an easy scribal slip.

167- “ut malum fama dispergit”: Again I side with B against Mommsen. “Malum” is supported by BHF and “dispergit” is a transitive verb and would thus seem to require an object. “Malum” here means “evil report, libel”.

172- II: On the shift of the regnal years, see above, p. 30.

177- “Arelate” might be expected to be an accusative here, but it would seem to have a pregnant sense: “Avitus had withdrawn from Italy, headed for Gaul, and was then in Arles”. Note too the double meaning of “succedere” drawn out by the use of “de”—“cedere, abire”—and “ad”—“accedo” (See Du Cange VII: 644). On “caesam” see my forthcoming paper, “A New Reading for Hydatius Chronicle 111 and the Defeat of the Huns in Italy”.

181 (and 187)- “Aioulfus”: This is one of the great puzzles of the chronicle: Is Aioulfus (180, 187) the same as Agiulfus (139)? B makes a clear distinction between the two but F gives “Agiulfus” at 187 (it omits 180) and calls the “Agyulfus” in 139 a “nobilem Gothum”. This latter description must be based on an identification with the Goth of 187. Thus far we could with confidence state that the two were different and that Fredegarius had simply made his own identification based on the similarities of the names. However, Jordanes in his Getica (233) describes the Gothic invasion of Spain in some detail and also refers to “Aioulfus” but calls him “Agriuulfus”, obviously the same name as 139. Jordanes wrote in the sixth century and Fredegarius in the seventh so the former could not have used the later and there is no evidence that the latter used the former. This rather muddies the waters but the evidence of B does suggest that Hydatius gave the individual(s) two separate names, as he did Rechimund and Remismund, and I have followed B. (cf. Claude (1978), 654 (nrr. 1-2) for a short discussion and bibliography).

181ff- “Maldras”: As can be seen in the App. crit. orth., p. 68, there is some serious
confusion here over the forms of the name. The accusative “Maldras” (181, 188) is most peculiar since the other forms show that it must have declined “Maldras, -daris”, which is itself bizarre enough. I have decided to retain the two “incorrect” accusatives since it is hard to see them as simple scribal errors. As can be seen in the apparatus, other witnesses to the text are of no help (see Schönhfeld (1911), s.v. “Maldras”, p. 159).

183- One of the more puzzling episodes in the history of the text of the chronicle is a passage in the 1679 edition of Evagrius’ *Historia Ecclesiastica* (2.7) by Henricus Valesius (Henri de Valois) (seen most easily in *PG* 86.2: 2519). Here Valois claimed that MS B reads “Tertio anno Avitus septimo mense posteaquam”, etc. Both Flórez and Garzón took him at his word, yet the MS is as Sirmond, Mommsen and I have presented it. It is possible that Valois had seen B at Clermont but I cannot imagine how he read what he claims he saw.

186- “II Kal. Aprilis”: The manuscript has “V Kal.” but Easter was on this date (March 28) only in 381, 392, 465, 471, and 476, nowhere near the date of this event, whereas it was on March 31 (“II Kal.”) in 457, the date of “Maj. I” (see Grumel (1958), 310).

188-9- “Framtane”: As can be seen in the App. crit. orth., p. 67, there is also some serious confusion over the form of this name. The “Framtano” accusative of 188 I take as a typical “-o” for “-um” error of which there are a number in B (App. crit. orth., p. 63). Once again other witnesses to the text are of no help (see Schönhfeld (1911), s.v. Framtane, p. 89).

189- II: On the position of the regnal year, see above, p. 30.

192a- On the acceptance of this entry, see above, pp. 38-9.

193- “Rechimundo”: There seems little doubt that this is the Remismundus who eventually became king of the Sueves, but such problems are historical, not textual, and all examples of “Rechimundus” are retained as they appear in B. (cf. Volume One, 139 n. 10)

195- “germanum suum {fratrem}”: B as it stands seems rather overstated, to say the
least, and is at odds with Hydatius' usual sentence structure. There are six other examples of noun, adjective and “suus”: in omni opere suo (pref. 1), in praecedente opere suo (pref. 1), in suo tertio consulato (76), egregii ausus sui (141), cum ingenti exercitu suo (173), cum suis hominibus Sueuis (251). In all of these “suus” either comes first or last in the sequence, never in the middle. The only two places where “suus” does come in the middle is noun+suus+name: “amitae suae Placidiae” (84) and “a fratre suo Euerico” (237). In fact, in 46 out of 55 examples “suus” comes after the noun. Since “germanus” is a perfectly acceptable word for “brother” and ended up being the Spanish and Portuguese word for it (hermano and irmão), I am inclined to see the “fratrem” as an explanatory interpolation.

201- There is nothing technically wrong with the reading of B but the correlation of the mixed constructions “Sueuos apud Lucum” (“the Sueves at Lucus”) and “habitantesque Dictyni” (“and those living at Dictynium”) is rather awkward, as is the “-que” after the main verb, the floating “indigata” (on which see below) and most especially the missing relative (“quae”= “et ea”) to link this clause with the preceding (this is so common a practice in the chronicle as to be almost overused; see Volume One, p. 241). It is also unusual that the name of this otherwise unknown settlement is also a man’s name (cf. §31). If we accept that the peculiar “-que” is “quae”, as it is in 91 and 243, these difficulties disappear and the structure improves. The “Sueuos apud Lucum...habitantes” are the same as those in 199 (“Per Sueuos Luco habitantes...”) and there are now three delatores, Dictinius, Spinio (no less strange a name that Ospinio) and Ascanius (for the structure of this list, cf. §40: “Eulogio, Theofilo et Hieronimo”). The cursus is of little help: “depredantur habitantes” is a trispondaicus (60/o060) which, though rare (7.5%), is only slightly more common than the dactylicus (600/o600) of “habitantesque Dictynio” (4.2%). Julio Campos stumbled across this reading, it would seem, by accident.

- “indigata”: This is an understandable misspelling of “indicata” (a regular “g” for “c”) which probably goes better with “delatores” than B2’s “indagata”.
215- The obvious falsity of "Antiochia maior Isauriae" has led a number of editors to question this reading, including Mommsen. De la Baune's suggestion of "Antiochia maioris Syriae" (accepted by Campos) is very neat but I can find no evidence for this particular usage in the fourth or fifth centuries (see Barnes (1982), 206, 224, 260 and 263, and Jones (1964), 1458 and 1460). The only example I know is CIL II.4111 from Tarraco of the early third century. Gregory of Tours thought that Antioch was in Egypt (IV.40), which is further off than Hydatius.

- It is impossible to know who the missing "eum" is before "tantum", but Mommsen's conjecture of "episcopo" is suitable.

217a- "Carnes...cadunt": "Pluuiiae" is dative, not nominative; cf. Chron. can. 245d: "lana caelo pluuiiae mixta defluxit".

218- On the appearance of this regnal year and the other regnal years under Severus and Anthemius, see above, pp. 32-4. The traces of ink in the manuscript are quite obvious and they are definitely the crimson ink of B³. The positioning is certainly correct for H dates 217a-214a to aera D ("Sev. I") and Marius Aventicensis dates the battle of Orléans (§218) to 463 (="Sev. II").

219- "more solito": "Solito" on its own without a preposition or comparative doesn't mean anything and is never used elsewhere by Hydatius who employs "solita arte" or "solito more" (186, 188, 240). "More" comes first here, as it does in 240, because "solito depraedantur" forms a perfect velox (óoo/o0ó0), while "more depraedantur" renders the less common trispondaicus (ó0/o0ó0) and "more" after the verb an even rarer ditrochaicus (ó0/o0ó0).

228- "inuadunt": I have put this last out of stylistic considerations (cf. §168) and because it forms a perfect planus (ó0/o0ó0).

231- "Seuerum quarto": The reading "quarto imperii sui anno" has been changed from the manuscript's "imperii sui anno IIII" out of stylistic considerations. Hydatius always constructs his regnal year phrases with either "anno/ annum" or the number at the beginning of the phrase; he never places the dependent genitives first, as in B. These come either after the ablative or accusative phrase (e.g. "primo anno inuase
tyrannidis") or in between the noun and ordinal number (e.g. “quarto regni sui anno”) (intro, pref. 3ter, pref. 6bis, 25, 84, 146, 154, 157, 1621, 1622, 165, 184, 211, 235. Cf. also 207). As well, with one exception (235), small numbers appear in words not figures. In this case, therefore, I suggest that “quarto” must have originally appeared before “imperii”; at some point it became illegible or dropped out and a reader simply supplied the “III” from the marginal notation next to “anno”. This was later incorporated into the text. The name “Seuerum” at some point was also lost since it does not appear in B1. It probably appeared originally either after “Sueuorum”, where it was lost through homoeoteleuton, or after “nuntiant”, where it was lost through the same defect which caused the “quarto” to be lost.

232- “De Gallicana”: Mommsen supplied “a” for B’s “ad”, but Hydatius never uses “a, ab” with this meaning (see below on §239), and Isidorus preserves the correct “de” anyway.

235- VIII: On this difficult problem, see above, p. 34.

236- “metabularum commutatione”: As has been mentioned in Volume One, p. 94 n. 45, this passage does not admit of easy interpretation. To judge from the entry in Isidorus’ Glossarium (=“prospera nauigatio”) this reading existed in the MSS at the beginning of the seventh century at least. It has been left as it appears in B.

239- “<de> rege”: Obviously the “rege” of B cannot stand on its own; the contrast of the sentence between the “uiri” who set out with Opilio “rege” and the “aliquanti” who had originally been sent with him (to the king), shows that the “uiri” must have returned with him from the Gothic king, hence I have added “de”. Hydatius never uses “a, ab” when he means “motion from or away from”, unless one counts “ab episcopatu depulsus” (16), which may have been copied from his source.

242- On this entry, see above, p. 36. It is hard to understand why Mommsen split this section with three infinitives based on “referunt” into three entries when 247, with its three infinitives (“fuisse” implied twice) based on “nuntiantes”, was kept together.
"sub praesentia <regis> sui": Hydatius' only other use of this phrase appears in 106: "sub presentia Theodosii Augusti". "Sui" on its own is very difficult. It seems best to add a noun since Hydatius never elsewhere uses "suus" on its own other than the regular usage of "sui" = "uiri sui".

- "sicut detecti sunt": Both B and F support the reading "detectique" and all editors have faithfully reported it, but I cannot possibly imagine what the "-que" is doing here or what it means.

"ita...interuallo": This is rather difficult to sort out but there seems to be no trouble with the Latin, only the interpretation. B² punctuates after "interuallo" without any authority (or sense it would seem). Tranoy alone correctly punctuated after "continentes" taking "paruo mensum interuallo" (changing it to "mensium" for some reason) with "haud", where it would mean "Within the space of a few months"; a peculiar expression it must be admitted, but not excessively woolly for Hydatius' often twisted syntax (see TLL, s.v., p. 2294, 3a). It is similar to expressions such as, for example, "post non grande temporis interuallum" (Chronici canones 241) or "post non multum temporis interuallum" (244ε), and "paruo temporis interuallo" (Augustine, Ep. 11*. 23.3 (CSEL 88: 67), used by Consentius of the Balearic Islands). The clinching point is that "circulum continentes" is a perfect velox (600/0060), while "mensum interuallo" is a trispondaicus (60/0060); the former outnumbers the latter in chronicle in final clausulae about 25.7% to 7.5%. 
THE TEXT OF THE F EPITOME
(FREDEGARIUS' CHRONICA II.49-56)
(c.613)
(ex B. Krusch, MGH:SRM II: 69-77)

49.4 Gens Hunorum Gotus vastat, qui a Romanis sine armorum congre ssione suscepti, per avaricam Maximi ducis fame ad revellandum quoacti sunt. Superati in congressione Romanis, Goti funduntur in Tracia. Valens de Ancyria exire coepulmus, Christia nus de esilio revocat. Lacrimabile bellum in Tracia, praesidio, Romanorum legiones a Gotis victi, usque ad internicionem caesi sunt. Ipse imperator Valens cum sagitta saecius fugerit et ab dolore nimium scepere acco laberetur, ab cuiusdam villio casam deportatus est; quo sequentibus barbarus, et incissa domo, sepulturique caruit.

49.4 Ab Urbe coudita usque ad extremum huius operis ann. iunt anni 1131 hoc modo: sub regibus ann. 240, sub consolibus ann. 464, sub augusta et caesaribus ann. 427.

10 A quinto decimo Tiberiae anni praedicatione domini nostri Iesu Christi, 546. Ab Abraham suppotantur anni 942. Ab Adam usque ad diluvium anni 2242 P. Fieri sunt ab Adam victi, usque ad internicionem caesi sunt. Ipse imperatur Valens cum sagitta sua. Distinguit prologo, quem Idaecius chronico integro praemisit, sumpta sunt; quae sequuntur chronicon Hieronymiani.

49.4 Quando praeceperunt littera 2a. 3; Ydacius 4r. c2.)

15 Ab Abraham suppontant ann. 942. Ab Adam usque ad diluvium anni 2242. Fuit ab Adam usque ad quarto decimo Valentinis ann. 2a. 3; Valentinius iterum omnis anni 558. 3. Et quia diescece varietatibus temporum et incursionibus barbarorum ita cuncta mixta sunt, ut gestorum veritas, quae historiciori possit, ad plenum reperire non potest.

+ Adacius servus domini nostri Iesu Christi universis fidelibus in domino nostro Iesu Christo et servientibus in veritate salutem. Piobatissimorum in omnibus virorum studio, A quinto decimo Tiberiae anni praedicatione domini nostri Iesu Christi, f. A secundo ann. is Abraham suppotantur anni 942. Ab Adam usque ad diluvium anni 2242. Fieri sunt ab Adam victi, usque ad internicionem caesi sunt. Ipse imperatur Valens cum sagitta sua. Distinguit prologo, quem Idaecius chronico integro praemisit, sumpta sunt; quae sequuntur chronicon Hieronymiani.

15 Adacius servus domini nostri Iesu Christi universis fidelibus in domino nostro Iesu Christo et servientibus in veritate salutem. Piobatissimorum in omnibus virorum studio, A quinto decimo Tiberiae anni praedicatione domini nostri Iesu Christi, f. A secundo ann. is Abraham suppotantur anni 942. Ab Adam usque ad diluvium anni 2242. Fieri sunt ab Adam victi, usque ad internicionem caesi sunt. Ipse imperatur Valens cum sagitta sua. Distinguit prologo, quem Idaecius chronico integro praemisit, sumpta sunt; quae sequuntur chronicon Hieronymiani.

15 Ab Abraham suppontant ann. 942. Ab Adam usque ad diluvium anni 2242. Fuit ab Adam usque ad quarto decimo Valentinis ann. 2a. 3; Valentinius iterum omnis anni 558. 3. Et quia diescece varietatibus temporum et incursionibus barbarorum ita cuncta mixta sunt, ut gestorum veritas, quae historiciori possit, ad plenum reperire non potest.

+ Adacius servus domini nostri Iesu Christi universis fidelibus in domino nostro Iesu Christo et servientibus in veritate salutem. Piobatissimorum in omnibus virorum studio,
THE TEXT OF THE F EPITOME


52. Post quem 42. Marcusianus a militantibus et ab exercito, instante etiam Pulcerios, sororem Theodosiae, regina, effectur et ipsi sublimatur in regno; eamque Valerianus liberata est. Chinis repedantes in Trecasis in Mauriacensiam consedentis citius venientes c conperisset d, sanctum Anianum Aureliensis episcopum ad Theudo vndere: si praevalebant Chinis haec contra Gothis defendere, medietatem Galliae ab Hispali danter re[>edantrecas Sisimodus f. Theodoro, re] arii. De iac 4c:) 2a. 3. 40 danter 1; re[>edantrecas Sisimodus 2a. 3. 4a*. 6].


Cap. 51. 52. 1. 2a. 3. 4a*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*. Cap. 53. 1. 2a. 3. 4a*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*.

Cap. 51. a) c. et om. H. l. 2a. 3. 4b*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*; sed infra occiditur captor 2a; capitur et occidetur (occiditur 46b*. 5b*) 3. 4a*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*; b) an. postea add. 1; Anno 16. 2a. 4a*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*. 17. a. Idac. c) G. n. 46b*. 5b*. d) in palae pr. (?) m. corr. spale 1; in Spale 2a. 3. 4a*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*. initiapodera 46b*:

Hispalii Idac. et in 1. C. (Cesaris 46b*; Caesar 46b*) Censorius Idac. comes (comex 3; iussu; ras. 1 46b*; cum 4c) 2a. 3. 4b*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*; f) Theodori 2a cum Idac.; Theudorae 3. Theodora 4b*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*; g) deprehenditur 46b*; deprehenditur 4c; (non 44a*); h) om. 46b*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*; i) 48. 4a* cum Idac. 5a. 6b*. 7b*.

Cap. 52. 1. 2a. 3. 4b*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*; 15. habet 3. 5a. 6b*. 7b*; 52. 1. 2a. 3. 4a*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*; cum Idac.; cimilitibus 4a*; d) sublimatur 2a. 3. e) suus add. 2a; f) plaga (p. om. 46b*. 5b*).

De iac 4c:) 2a. 3.

Cap. 53. 1. 2a. 3: 55. 4b*. 6b*. 7b*; 2a. 3. 4c); 3. 4a*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*; b) ruerunt 2a. 4c; om. 3. c) veniens 2a. 4a*. d) et add. 2a. 3. 4c). e) Aureliensis Auriliensis 4c. 1; 2a. 3. 4b*; 1. Aureliensis 3; Aureliensis 46b*. 1. praevaluerat 2a. g) Erectus 2a. 3; 4c; 1. Aemetera 1. b) precipitare 2a. i) partem 1. 2a. 3. 4a*. j) partem 2a. 3. 4a*. k) ligare 2a. 3. l) G. — sunt om. 46b*. 5b*. 6b*. 7b*; habens 4a. 6a*). m) reperi-

dantur 1.; repedantescus Simonius F. Theodoro, om. n. Maur. — Thores 2a; repedantuscus 4b*. 5b*; 7b*.

1) Flavio ed.; cf. N. Arcbi VIII, p. 478. 2) Hare non qui procedit tribut Idac. 3) Per A. Idac. 4) effectur imperator Idac. 5) Marcusianus Polichemium in matrimonium duxit. 6) Valentinianus imp. mater Placidia mortiitur apud R. Idac. 7) Gallia cum Gallicia confunditur. 8) caedum rubens sicut i. Idac. 9) deprehenditur provincialis Galliarum Idac. 10) Hac.


50. Pagatnatumque est in quinto miliario de Trecas loco nuncupato Maurica in Campania; Securus
cauponiam. Thoresmodus, filius Theodorus, qui ei successit in regnum, collectura Gothorum exercito, patrem ulciscens, cum Attilanem et Chunis Maurico contigit certamine; ibique tribus disaebus uterque falange in invicem proelians, et innumerabiles multitude genti occubuit. Agecius cum esset strenuissimus consiliis, per noctem ad Attilanem veniens, dicit ad eum: ‘Optabilem duxeram, ut tua virtute regnum hanc a perfidis Gothis potuisses ferere, sed nullatenus fieri potest; usque nunc cum minimis pugnatoribus proelias, hac noethe Theudericus, germanus Thoresmodi, cumminia multitudinem et fortissimum Gothorum pugnatores advenit. Haec non sustineas; adque utinam vel evadere possis!’ Tunc Attila dedit Agecio decem milia soledorum, et per ingenio Pannoniam repedaret. Ipsaque nocte Agecius ad Thorismodo icurrit, dicensque ei causam consimilem, quod apud vilis Chunorado pugnatores usque nunc pugnaverit: nam maxima multitude et fortissimi pugnatores ab Pannonias ipsaque nocte Attilanem advenerant, et assidue fraterum suum Theuderici tissarius Gothorum occupasse, regnumque adrepere; nisi festinus ad resedendum pergerit, periculum ad degradandum haberit. Acceptis idemque Agecius a Tursemodo decimam milia soledum, ut suo ingenio a persecutionem Chunorum liberati Gothi, ad suas proprias regiones remirent, praecepitque suis, ut unusquisque nocte ubi manebat, decimam sparsim focus faceret, ut inmensa multitude semolarent. Quievit hoc proelium Agecius consilium: Gallia ab adversariis liberatur. Postea cum a Tursemodo regi et Gothis haec factio perlata fuisse, requirentis promissionem Agecius emplendam, et ille renuuerit, per pacis iuris urbiculum aureum gemmis ornatum, pensante quinquecentas libras, ab Agecio Cap. 53. 1. 2. 3. 4a. 4b. c1-2. Sisimodus 2a; cf. p. 73, 4. 50. d) sic 2a. 3. 4a. e) regionem corr. regionem 1. f) potuisses 45* c1-2. g) sustineas 4a. 4b. c1-2. h) idemque pr. m., solerum sec. m., soledorum terrae m. 1; similae: aureorum. i) ut 2a. 1. idqii 2a; id quo, 2a. d) 3. idemque 4a. 4b. c1-2. g) omn. 4a. 4b. c1-2. i) advenerat 2a. 3. 4a. 4b. c1-2. m) in aura (aures 2a. 4a. 4b. c1-2. 2a. 3. 4a. 4b. c1-2. 2a. 3. 4a. 4b. c1-2. m) gestorum. 3. 4) resistendum sec. m. 1. p) pergerit corr. pergeret 1. q) decim corr. decem 1. r) sole: pr. m., soledos sec. m. 1. s) et p. 4a. 4b. c1-2. t) quosque 2a. 3. 4a. 4b. c1-2. u) persecutus 2a. 3. 4a. 4b. c1-2. v) maenabat 2a. 3. 4a. 4b. c1-2. w) sparsus focos 2a. 3. 4a. 4b. c1-2. x) semolarint corr. simularent 1; similarent 3. 4a. c1-2. (non 46*). y) paucis 3. z) 1. (libras 2a. 4a. 4b. c1-2). q) (quinquaginta 2a. 3. 4a. 4b. c1-2. 4b.). Sulp. (Holder-Figler p. 74): Tricassium pugnat loco Mauriacos; Greg. Tur. 1. 1. De Mauriacesi compaonia doctissime dissertavit Longnon, ‘Geographie’ p. 334 sqq.; v. 4b. 50. c) medum questionem retracavit 25 Girard, ‘Le campus Mauriacus’, in ‘Revue historique’ 1885, p. 322. 1) Greg. I. I.: expletoque bello, sit Aetius Thorsimodo: ‘Festina velociter redire in patriam, ne, insistente germano, a patris regno priveris’. Similia Iordanes Get. c. 41. habet: ille (scil. Aetius) vero metuens, ne, Hannes funditus interemptis, a Gothis Romanum praemergere imperium, praebet hac suasioni consilium, ut ad sedes proprias remeret, regnumque, quod pater relinquisset, arripiat, ne Germani eius, opibus adsumptis paternis, Veseogotharum regnum pervadant. Apud Gregorium Aetiusipse pugnavit alique cum sociis Huni vicis. Quo facto, praebet Gothos etiam regem Francorum, quos Ferdegario quoque teste patricius secum habuit, dolo omoiit, ut spolia solus caperet, nunc hic Huni invicti fraudem succurrat. Nescit Theodorus apud Gregorium Aurelianis certit, sed in ipso Mauriacus campo. 2) Cf. infra lib. IV, c. 73: Huius beneficiae repensionem misit surium aureum nobilissimum ex tissarius Gothorum, quem Tursemodur ex ab Agecio patricio acceptaret, Dagoburtum dare promisit, peputamentum auri pondus quinquentus; Doin V, p. 92, n. 1. Orbiculums idem ac tabula quae Salomonis dictur videtur esse; v. Lemke, ‘Gesch. von Spanien’ I, p. 421 seqq. Ceterum Brunichildis regina basilicae 5. Germani Aultissidorensi missorium argenteum donasse dictur, qui Thorsimodi nomen scriptum habet; pensat libras 37; habet 30
conposiciones causa transmittetur Tursemodo; et haec iurgia quieverunt. Quae species
devisse sine usque hodiernum ditem. Gothorum thensauris pro ornatum veneratur et
140 tenetur 1.

An. 2. princeps c Marciani Chuni in Aetaliam inruunt 1, eamque subacti
15 anno obtenta 4 monarchia, per Aetum, qui a Romanis advocatus et susceptus fuerat
140 imperator, legati ad Marcianum pro usianimitate 5 mittuntur imperia. Gaisiricus sollicitat 6
140 qui re Romanis per urbica 6 urbicem 6 vivum cum Ricario regis sui successit
140 regi, consulibus 2a. 3. 4a 4. 12. 3. 44. 1.

54. In ipso anno Avitus Gallus ab exercito Gallicano 4 primo Tolosa, dehinc apud
140 Arlato 4. 2. 3. 4a 4. 12. 3. 44. 1.

54. In ipso anno Avitus Gallus ab exercito Gallicano 4 primo Tolosa, dehinc apud

Capp. 53. 54. 1. 2a. 3. 4a. 5a. 6a. 2.

Cap. 53. a) qui 2a. 3; qua 4c 2.
10 b) in add. 2a. 3; c) princeps 3; d) quandam 2a. 3;
10 quondam 4a 2; quandam 4a 2.
15 e) feriuntur 1. Idac. f) subacti 1. Idac.
20 g) ut h. l. 1 cum Idac.
25 h) Frederico 1; Frederico 2a. 45a 3; c2; Frederico 3; Frederico 4a. 1. i) suigatur 1. Idac.
30 j) annorum princeps (principia 4c 2) 2a. 3. 4c 2; ubi sequent
35 a) princeps 3; quondam 2a. 3.
40 b) Marcianus 1. Idac. c) quadragesimus quartus 2a. 3. 4a. 5a. 6a. 2.
45 Cap. 54. a) om. 2a. habet 3; 45a 2.
50 b) Galleano 3. c) Arbato 2a.
55 d) quadragesimus quartus 2a. 4a. 5a. 6a. 2;
60 e) animi saeitate 2a. 4a. 5a. 6a. 2; f) a om. Fred. 9; g) ut Idac.
65 b) fuerit 2a.

70 hist. de l'Yonne' I, p. 337; Digoî, 'Histoire d'Anstrasif' II, p. 140.

1) Sicemandus rex, qui

2) Italicum potestum 1. Idac.
3) ipse 1. Idac. 4) obtinet


6) cum voluntate et ordinacione 1. Idac.
7) duodecimo

8) Avitus Gallus 1. Idac.
9) Romanorum magna agitatur captivitas captivorum 1. Idac.
10) lacrymabilis eiusdem direpito

11) civitatis 1. Idac.


Capp. 54. a) successisse Idac.; b) tia 1. 2a. 4a*; Spalensis 3; Hyspalens 465a; Spalense 462a. Hispali Idac. c) om. 2a. d) regem aldr a 2a. 3. 4a*; regem nealdra 465a. e) consentiunt 2a. 4a*; consensient 3; consequent 465a. f) tia 1. 3; mollens 2a; mollens 4a*. g) distitus 2a. b) Marcianus 1 tantum habet; talpus. scer.: add. 3.

Capp. 55. a) om. 2a. 3; 56. 465a. b) 41. 3. c) adversus 4a. c; adversarius 465a. d) expectationem 2a. e) fugantur a solita 465b. c. f) cebetur corr. ceilur 1, et sic 4a; ceilur 2a; ceilur 3; caelit caelitus (sic) 4a; celeriter 465b; celerit 465b cum Idac. g) et c. 2a. h) spirit Idac. I) Gotheus 3. k) Theorico h. l. 2a. l) Simnerico 465a. c (non 46a); Sunericum Idac. 40 m) Gallia 2a. 465a. c. n) tia 1; germaniano nomen 2a. 3. 4c*; germano suum 3. 465a; germanum suum 465a; germanum suum 465b. o) gorian 2a. p) sic 1. 4a*; repetit 2a. 3; repetit 465b. q) Sunericorum corr. 3. r) Nepuciano 2a. s) depraedatur 2a; ad 2a. 3. 4a*; t) om. 2a. u) Anno quinto M. r. 7. M. 2a. 3; V. anno M. 4a. b*; c; M. V. a. r. 4a*. v) ita pr. m., suaeuorum sec. m. 1; suaeuorum 2a. 3. 4c*; sueuorum 465a; invadere Idac.

1) Eusicyc tribunus legatus — missus Idac. 2) Post molliens Idac. addit: bestiae Eulalies martyris terrettur ostentis. 3) a Galliss et a Gothis cod. Idac. 4) mentientes om. Fred. 5) ad Galliecius Idac. 6) ita a sua o. frustratus Idac. 7) ad Gallieciim directas cod. Idac. 8) De rege Th. 1. gentis perfidae revertuntur Idac. 9) postulat 50 pacem Idac. 10) nomine om. Fred.
56. a Romanorum 45. Severus a senato Romae agustus appellatur an. b imperiae Leonis 5.

Africae comis et cives invexus Aegidio insinis inimicus, ut 4 Gothorum fideretur, Narbonum tradit Theuderic. Mense Iunio in Gallicia coruscationem villae exu.t. gregis ovium concrescitur, carnis concise, pluviae de caelo mixtæ cadent; 

duo adolescentes, carne in 4 invicem soledati adhaerentes, sunt mortui. In Armoricana provincia Fridericus, frater Theuderic regis, insurgens, cum his cum quibus fuerat superatus occidetur. Luna 15. tuue conversa est in sanguine. In speciea lunae quinta sol ab 1 hora tercia usque 1 hora tertia descensus. Magnus delictum non cognoscitur. Wandalis per Marcellinum in Sicilia caesi aefugantur. Aegidius comes veneno perit. Romanorum 46. regnat Antimius; Romam agustus appellatur an. 6. 


Exercitus Leonis adversus Wandalus cum tribus ducibus discendit. Rychimirum generum Antimiae imperator, et patricium factum, adfatim degradato ad privatam vitam, filium eius occisus, adversus Romanorum imperium, conventum proprium deservit. Gothi 

40 undem tempore hoste legati 11 deserviunt, partem etiam Lusitaniae depraedant ebus. Richymundum cum Suevis ad imperatorem transeunte. Durissimus extra solodum hoc eodem diae fluxit, signet, Gothorum dominatione sublata, Francorum adveniente regno. 

Rychimirum cum Suaevis ad imperatore transeuntem. Durissimus extra soleto hoc eadem diae fluxit, signet, Gothorum dominatione sublata, Francorum adveniente regno. 

15 tempore hoste legato 11 deserviunt, partem etiam Suevin in conventu Bracarensi duorum notatorum portusnuntium. Richymundum cum Suevis ad imperatorem transeunte. Durissimus extra solitudinem hoc eodem diae fluxit, signet, Gothorum dominatione sublata, Francorum adveniente regno. 

Rychimirum cum Suaevis ad imperatore transeuntem. Durissimus extra soleto hoc eadem diae fluxit, signet, Gothorum dominatione sublata, Francorum adveniente regno.
Constantinopoli Iohannes episcopus predicatur insigne cognomento os aureum, qui ob fidem catholicam Eudoxiam uxorem Archadii infestissimam patitur Arrianam. (37)

Beatissimi Martini uitam et mirabilia quae (qui Hm) fecit Seuerus uir summus discipulus ipsius, qui et chronicam aliam (om Ho) quam hie sanctus (Ho) ab initio Genesis usque ad sectam Priscillianistarum pernitosissimam conscriptit, exequitur. (37a)

Alani et Wandali et Sueui Ispanias ingressi (+sunt Hm) era CCCCLVII III\(^{10}\) idus Octobris Honorio VIII\(^{9}\) et Theodosio Archadii filio III\(^{9}\) consulibus. (42)

Alaricus Rex Gothorum Romam ingressus. Cum intra et extra urbem cedes agerentur (-erat Hn), hominibus indultum est qui ad sanctorum limina configerunt (-runt Ho). (43)

Placidia Theodosii filia Honorii imperatoris soror a Gothis in urbe capta. (44)

Alaricus moritur cui Ataulfus succedit in regno. (45)

Debaccantibus Ispanias barbaris et Sueuis Galleciam ante nichilominus pestilencie malum opes conditas in urbibus substanciasque tirannicus exactor (ex auctor Hm) diripit et milites exhaurit (exharuit Hm). Fames dira crassatur (clas- Hm; gras- Ho) adeo (a Deo Ho Hm\(^{2}\)) ut humane carnes ab humano genere ui famis fuerint deuorate. Matres quoquo necatis uel coctis per se natorum suorum fuerunt paste (in pasce Hm) corporibus. Bestiae occisorum gladio fame pestilencia cadaueribus quo usque homines forciore interimunt, eorumque carnibus paste passim in humani generis efferuntur interitum. Ita quatuor plagis ferri famis pestilencie bestiarum ubique in toto orbe seuientibus predicte a domino per prophetas suos annunciationes implentur. (48)

Era CCCCLVII subuersis memorata plagarum crassatione Ispanie prouinciis barbari ad pacem ineundem (iucundam HtHn) domino miserante conuersi sorte ad (om Hm) inhabitandum prouinciarum sibi diuidunt regiones. Galleciam Wandali occupant et Sueui sitam in extremitate maris Oceani occidua, Alani Lusitaniam et Cartaginem
prouinciam et Wandali cognomine Selingi Beticam sortiuntur. Ispani ciuitates et castella residua plagis barbarorum prouincias dominantium sue subiugant seruituti.

(49)

Eraclianus mouens exercitum de Africa aduersus Honorium Utriculo (Ut. Hon. Hm) in Italia in conflictu superatus effugit ad (de Hm) Affricam, cesis in loco supradicto uno XX (uno et uiginti Ho) armatorum. (56)

Gothi Narbonam ingressi uindemie tempore (55)

Ataulfus apud Narbonam Placidiam duxit uxorem, nichil tamen ex eius semine subsistente ex ea. (57)

Ihierosolimis Iohanne episcopo presidente sanctus et primus post Christum dominum martyr Stephanus revelatur. (58)

Ataulfus a patricio Constancio pulsus relictus Narbona Ispanias petens (potens Hm) per quendam Gothum (Gothorum Ho) apud Barcino nasu inter familiares fabulas iugulatur, cui succedens Walia in regno. Cum patricio Constantio pace mox facta Alanis et Wandalis Silingis in Lusitania et Bethica sedentibus aduersatur. (60)

Constancius Placidiam accepit uxorem. (62)

Idatii ad deum (ad d. om Ho) conuersio peccatoris. (62b)

Walia rex Gothorum Romani nominis causa intra Ispanias cedes magnas efficit barbarorum (63)

Wandali Silingi in Bethica per Waliam regem extincti. (67)

Alani qui Wandalis et Sueuis potentabant (-bantur HtHn; -bat Hm) adeo (a Deo Hm) cesi sunt a Gothis ut extincto Atace rege ipsorum. Pauci qui superfuerunt Gunderici regis Wandalorum, qui in Gallecia resederat, se patrocinio subiugarent, oblii regni nomine. (68)

Gothi intermisso certamine quod agebant per Constancium ad Gallias reuocati sedes in Aquitania a Tholosa usque ad Oceanum acceperunt. (69)

Walia eorum rege defuncto Theudericus succedit in regno. (70)

Valentinianus Constancii et Placidie filius nascitur. (72)

Honorius apud Ravennam Constancium sibi facit in regno consortem. (75)
Constancius imperator Ravennam (-enae Ho) morit. (76)

Bonifacius palacium deserens Affricam inuadit. (78)

Honorius actis tricenalibus suis Ravenna (-enae Ho) obiit. (80)

Paulinus nobilissimus et eloquentissimus dudum conversione ad deum (dominium Ho)
nobilior factus uir apostolicus Nola (-lae Ho) Campanie episcopus habetur
insignis, cui Tharasia de coniuge facta soror testimonio uite beate equatur et merito
(marito Ho). (81)

Romanorum XLUS IIIUS Theodosius Archadii filius ante aliquot annos (-is Ho) regnans
in partibus Orientis defuncto patre post obitum Honorii patrui monarchiam tenuit
imperii cum esset annorum XXI. (82)

Theodosius Valentinianum amite sue Placidie filium Constantinopolim (-li Ho) Cesarem
facit. (84)

Valentinianus qui erat Cesar Rome Augustus appellatur. (85)

Wandali Balearicas insulas depredantur quique (et Ho) Cartagine Spartaria et Ispaniis
euersa et Ispaniis depredatis Mauritaniam inuadunt. (86)

Gundericus rex Wandalorum capta Ispani cum impie elatus manus in ecclesiam ciuitatis
ipsius extendisset mox dei iudicio demone correptus interit, cui Gaysaricus frater
succedit in regno. Qui ut aliquorum relatio habuit effectus apostata de fide catholica
in Arrianam dictus est transisse perfidiam. (89)

Gaysaricus rex Wandalorum de Bethice prouincie littore Wandalis omnibus eorumque
familiis mense Maio ad Mauritaniam et Affricam relictis transiit (-sit HbHt)
Yspaniis. Qui priusquam pertransiret admonitus Ermigarium Sueuorum regem
uicinas in transitu suo prouincias depredari recurso cum aliquantis suis facto
predante Lusitaniam ultio consequitur diuina. Qui aud procul de Hemerita cum
sancte martyri Eulalie inuiorias prebuisset maledictis per Gaysaricu cum eis
(iis Ho) quos secum habebat arrepto (a retro Hm) ut putauit Euro uelocius fuge
subsidio in flumine (fluuo Ho) Ana diuino brachio precipitatus interit. Quo ita
extincto mox quo ceperat Gaysaricus nauigat. (90)

Aetio comite haud procul de (om Ho) Arellato quaedam Gothorum manus extinguitur
ANEALSO OPTIMATE EORUM CAPTO. (92)

ERA CCCCLXX BONIFACIUS IN EMULATIONEM AECII DE AFFRICA PER PLACIDIAM REUOCATUS IN ITALIAM. (99)

SANCTUS INSIGNIS AUGUSTINUS RECEDIT E CORPORE (99a) QUI UNO EODEMQUE TEMPORE ALEXANDRIE CIRILLO EPISCOPO PRESIDENTE ET CONSTANTINOPOLI NESTORIO ERETICO EBIONE (Neb- Ho) CHIRILLI IPSIUS EPISTOLAM EORUMDEM (−dam HbHt) HERESEM DESTRUENTIS ET REGULAM FIDEI EXONENTIS (−tes Hm) OSTENDIT. HEC CUM ALIIS HABETUR ALLATA (Habitura dilata Hb; habitura data HtHn). (109)

GOTHORUM CESÆ VIII .M. (om Hm) SUB AECIO DUCE. (112)

CARTAGO MAGNA FRAUDE DECEPTA XV (XXV Ho) DIE XLIIL KALENDARUM NOUEMBRIS.

OMNEM AFFRICAM GAYSARICUS INUADIT. (115)

INTER ROMANOS ET GOTHOS PAX EFFICITUR. (117)

GAYSARICUS REX ELATUS EPISCOPIUM CLERUMQUE CARTAGINIS DEPELLIT (depulit Ho) EX EA ET IUXATA PROPHETIAM DANIELIS DEMUTATIS MISTERIIS SANCTORUM ECCLESIAE TRADIDIT ARRIANIS. (118)

RICHILA REX SUEUORUM EMERITAM INGREDITUR. (119)

CENSURIUS (Con- Hm) Comes qui legatus fuerat ad Sueuos rediens Myrtili (Miser- Hm) oppressus a (ad Hm) Recilane in pace se tradidit. (121)

HERMERICUS REX SUEUORUM DITUARNO PER ANNOS VII MORBO AFFLICTUS INTERIIT. (122)

RICHILA YSPALI OBTENTA BETHICAM ET CARTAGINENSEM PROUINCIAM IN SUAM (in suam om Hm) REDIGIT (−egit Ho) POTESTATEM. (123)

SABINO EPISCOPO DE ISPALI Factione depulso in locum eius Epiphanius ordinatur fraude non iure. (124)

ERA CCCCLXXXI CONSTANTINOPOLITANE ECCLESIE DEPULSO NESTORIO PRESIDE ET EPISCOPIUS FLAVIANUS. (127)

RICHILA REX SUEUORUM EMERITA (−ae Ho) DEGENS MORITUR MENSE AUGUSTO, CUI MOX FILIIUS SUUS CATHOLICUS RECHINARIUS SUCCEDIT IN REGNO. (137)

NONNULLIS QUIDEM DE GENTE SUA EMULIS LATENTER (137) PER AGIULFUM SPALICEM SURIUS IUGULATUR. (139)
Reciarius accepta (-to Ho) in coniugio Theuderici regis filia in initio regni Vasconias depredatur (populatur Ho). (140)

Rechiarius mense Iulio ad Theudericum socerum prefectus Cesaraugustam regionem cum Basilio in reditu (-um Hm) depredatur. Per dolum Yllerdense urbe acta est non parua captiuitas (-tatis Hm). (142)

De Galliis epistole deferuntur Fauiani episcopi †ad Leonem episcopum misse cum scriptis Chirilli episcopii† († † om HtHn) Alexandrini ad Nestorium Constantinopolitanum Tebionem. Quo depulso (pulso HtHn) substitutus Fauianus scribit ad Leonem de Euticete. (145)

Theodosius XLUS IIIUS imperator moritur Constantinopoli anno etatis sue XL° III°. (146)

Post quem statim apud Constantinopolin (-li Hm) Marchianus XLUS IIIUS (+imperator Ho) a militibus et ab (om Hm) exercitu, stante etiam sorore Theodosii Pulcheria regina, efficitur imperator. Qua sibi in coniugio assumpta regnat in partibus Orientis. (147)

Valentiniani imperatoris decadas (-dat Hm) II·CCCCLXX.

Era CCCCLXXXX (-LX Hm) gens Hugnorum pace rupta depredatur prouincias Galliarum. In campis Catholonicis et Mettis cum gente eius ducis gens regis Theodorio, quibus erat in pace societas, aperto Marte conflagrins (−geris Hm) diuino cesa superatur auxilio. Bellum mox ea tempestate societatem dirimit. Rex illic Theodoreus prostratus occubuit. CCC .M. (om Hm) ferme hominum in eo certamine cecidisse memorantur. (150)

Occiso Theodoro Thurismundus eius filius succedit in regno. (152)

Thurismundus rex Gothorum spirans hostilia a Theuderico et Frederico fratribus iugulatur, cui Theudericus succedit in regno. (156)

Anno primo principis Marchiani regina moritur Placidia mense Iulio. (148, 157)

Valentinianus Rome imperator occiditur anno etatis sue XX° VI° et regni XX° I° (II° Hm), post quem mox Maximus ex consulibus XLUS VUS Rome Augustus appellatur. (162)
Usque ad Valentinianum Theodosii generatio tenuit principatum. (164)

Romanorum XLUS VIUS Marcianus IIIO iam regni sui anno obtinet monarchiam. (165)

Gaysaricus sollicitatus a relictâ Valentiniani, ut malum fama dispersit, priusquam Abitus Augustus fieret, Romam ingreditur direptisque opibus Romanorum Cartaginem reedit, relictam Valentiniani et filias duas et filium Gaudencium nomine secum ducens. (167)

Sueui Cartaginenses regiones quas Romani (-is Hb) reddiderant depredantur. (168)

Marcianus et Abitus concordes principatum Romani utuntur imperii. (169)

VI annis Marciani era CCCCLXXXIII (-LXIII Hm) Ispanias rex Gothorum Theudericus cum ingenti exercitu suo cum uoluntate et ordinatione Abiti imperatoris ingreditur. (173)

Orientalium naues Ispali uenientes per Marcianii exercitum cesa nunciant (caesae nuntiantur Ho). (177)

Theudericus Emeritam depredari moliens beate Eulalie martyris terretur ostentis (182) VII anno (om Hm) imperii sui moritur. (184)

Romanorum XLVII regnauit (regnat Ho) Maiorianus in Italia (-am Hm) et Constantinopoli Leo (ideo Hm) Augusti appellantur. (185)

Gothicus exercitus duce suo Chirilla Theuderico rege Yspanias missus mense Iulio succedit ad Bethicam. (192)

Era CCCCLXXXXV (CCCCXV Hm) Sabinus episcopus Ispalensis post annos (-is Hm) XX quam certauerat expulsis (-sus HtHn) de Galliis ad propriam redit ecclesiam. (192a)

Theodericus cum duce suo Sunericus exercitus sui aliquanta (aliquam tam Ho) ad Bethicam dirigat manum. (193)

Cirila reuocatur ad Gallias (193)

Romanorum XLUS VIIIUS Seuerus a senatu Rome Augustus appellatur anno imperii Leonis V (om HtHn). (211)

Sunericus redit ad Gallias (om HtHn) (212)

Nepocianus Theoderico ordinante Arborium accepit successorem. (213)
Era D in conuentu Bracharense duorum natorum portentum uisum; IIII Legione (legiones Hm; legionen HbHt; legion Hn) simile memoratur. (214a)

Romanorum XLUS VIIIIUS Anthemi (Ancumi Hm) Augustus appellatur anno Leonis imperii quarto mense Augusto. (235)

Fiunt simul omnes anni Leonis XI.

Romanorum LIUS Zenon cuius anni non inueniuntur.

Romanorum LIUS Anastasius regnat annis XX tribus.

Romanorum LIIUS Iustinus (Losericus Hm) regnauit (regnat Iust. Ho) annis VII.

Romanorum LIIIUS regnauit Iustinianus (Iust. regnat Ho) annis XXX tribus [Alipius Tagastensis Augustinus Yppone regio et Possidonius Chalamensis (+ Hm)] qui Iustinianus cum patricio Belesario exercitum in Affricam (ca Hm) dirigens super Wandalos et regem eorum Gelimirum quem celeriter oppressum una cum gente sua uinctum (+cum Hb) catenis aureis Iustiniano imperatori presentandum direxit. Narsen eunuchum in Italiam (-ia Hm) contra Thothilem regem (r. T. Ho) dirigit cumque (cum Ho) Thotila per XII annos manus Romanorum diutissime dimicavit, sed Narseus Thotilam superans omnem Italiam (-a Hm) Romano imperio subiecit, qui postremo tempore uite sue (uit. s. tern. Ho) ipsam prouinciam Italiam Alboino (Albino Hm) regi Longobardorum tradidit.
THE TEXT OF THE LOST ALCOBACIENSIS
AS RECORDED BY IOHANNES VASAEVS BRUGENSIS
(1552)

In Alcobaciensi codice antiquo dicitur Idacius Galleciae episcopus. (420)

42. Aera CCCCXXXXVII...IV idus Octobris. (410)

57 and 60. Idacius scribit 'Athaulphus Narbone Placidiam uxorem duxisse et inde a
Constantio Partitio pulsum, Hispanias petisse. (417)

62b. Eodem anno Idacius scriptor Hispanus ad dominum consuensis est, ut ipse de se
testatur. (420) / Siquidem Idacius in chronico suo testatur, se anno demum Honorii
decimo, hoc est, anno Domini plus minus quadringentesimo decimo septimo, ad
Deum esse conversum. (388)

68. Wallia Alanos qui Vandalis et Sueuis dominabantur, in eas rededit angustias Atace
rege ipsorum caeso, ut pauci qui cladi superfuere, Gunderico in Gallecia
Vandalorum regi se iuxinerint ac subiecerint. (421)

69. ...a Tolosa usque ad Oceanum, ut inquit Idacius. (421)

70. [Theoderic called Theodorus]

71 (=90). Hermericum Sueuorum quem Idacius Ermigarium appellat. (423)

89. [present in the text] (425) Gayzaricum Idacius nominat. (430)

90. Traiectus uero Vandalorum in Africam fuit mense Maio, ut inquit Idacius... Sed
Idacius auter est, praedantem Lusitaniam, quum haud procul Emerita S. Martyri
Eulaliae iniurias inferret, ultione diuina peremptum. Cuius depraedationis quum
Gaysaricus (ita enim appellat, ut diximus, Gizericum Vandalorum regem) in
Africam transire parans admonitus esset, recursu cum aliquum multis suorum facto,
maleficos et impios fudit fugavitque. Ermigarius uero (ita Hermericum idem
nominat) cum eis quos secum habebat, arrepto, ut putauit, euro uelocius fugae
praesidio, in flumine Ana diuino brachio praecipitatus interiit. Quo ita extincto,
mox quo coeperat Gaysaricus enauigat. (433)

124. Sabino episcoopo Hispali per factionem expulso in locum eius Epiphanius ordinatur
fraude, non iure. (441)
150. ...supra trecenta hominum millia caesa. (453)

192. ...mense Iulio, ut inquit Idacius. (457)

192a. Eodem anno Sabinus episcopus Hispalensis, post uiginti annos, quam certauerat, expulsus ex Galliis ad propriam rediit sedem. (457)

214a. Idacius scribit hoc anno in conuentu Bracarensi uisum portentum duorum natorum, sed quae subiungit, assequi non potui, ita mendosus erat liber. (462)

--. Euricus principio regni continuo Lusitaniam depredatur, ac missis exercitibus, Pompelonem, Caesaraugustam, Tarraconensem prouinciam, atque etiam Hispaniam superiorem in potestatem suam redigit. Sanctus Isidorus. Idacius decimo sexto Leonis anno factum dicit, ut suo loco dicemus. (470)

--. Gauderit comes Gothorum, Hispanias per Pompelonem, Caesaraugustam et uicinas urbes obtinuit. Heldefredus quoque obsessa Tarracone, maritimis urribus potitus est. Idacius et Severus (475)
THE TEXT OF THE CHRONICA GALLICA AD A. DXI

36. Natus Archadio in Oriente filius Theodosius iunior. (539)

37a. Obiit sanctus Martinus episcopus (538)? Seuerus uitam sancti Martini scribit (542)?

42. Alani et Wandali et Sueui Gallias ingressi sunt. (547)

42. Alani, Wandali et Sueui Ispanias ingressi era CCCCXLVII (Alc; VI Hm). (552)

43-44. Alaricus Romam ingressus; capta Placidia. (553)

45. Mortuo Alarico Ataulfus rex Gothorum. (554)

49. Alani Cartaginensem et Lusitaniam sortiuntur et pars Wandalorum qui Silingi dicebantur Bethicam insederunt. Reliqui uero Wandali cum Sueuis Galleciam sortiti sunt. (557)

55 and 57. Gothi Narbonam ingressi, ubi Ataulfus Placidiam duxit uxorem. (559)

60. Occiso Ataulfo apud Barcinonam Valia regnat Gothis qui mox pace cum Constantino patricia facta Alanis et Wandalis, qui Lusitaniam et Bethicam tenebat, bellum infert. (562)

62. Constancius patricius redditam Placidiam duxit uxorem. (563)

67-68. Valia extinguit Alanos cum rege eorum Addace et Silinguos qui erant Bethica Wandali. (564)

69. Iubente Constantino intermisso bello, quod intra Galleciam supererat, reuersi Gothi ad Gallias sedes accipiunt a Tholosa [in Burdegalaml ad oceanum uersi. (565)

71. Inter Gundericum, qui Wandalis, et Hermericum, qui Sueuis regnabant, dissensione orta Sueui a Wandalis in Erbasorum montibus obsidentur. (567)

72. Valentinianus nascitur [Rauenna]. (569)

74. Wandali omissa Sueuorum obsidione relictâ Gallecia Bethicam transierunt. (568)

75-76. et Constancius in consorcium regni assumitur et [post mensem sextum] moritur. (570)

78. Bonifacius Affricam inuadit. (571)

80. Honorius actis tricennabulis suis moritur Rauenna. (575-6)

83. Johannes [ex primicherio notariorum] arripit tirannidem. [Post annum occisus].
(578)

84. [Theodosius post Honorium patruum suum cum] Valentiniano amite filio [regnat annis XXX]. (579)

86. Wandali Balearicas insulas predantur et euersa Cartagine Spartaria et Ispali, depredata Spania [arreptis nauibus] Mauritaniam petunt rege Geserico. (584)

89. Nam Gundericus frater ipsius, dum capta Yspali impias manus in ecclesiam uellet extendere, demone correptus mortuus est. (584)

107. Narbona a Gothis obsessa. (594)

108. Burdiones uicti ab Aezio patricio. (596)

115. Cartago capta a Genserico (598)

146. Obiit Theudosius iunior Constantinopolim (611)?

147. Marchianus post Theudosium Constantinopolim regnat (614)?

148. Obiit Placidia Rome. (612)?

151. Eupronius episcopus Augustiduno sepelitur. (616)

7. Gothi...inito foedere Romano se imperio tradiderunt (11)


43. [Post hoc igitur uotum adgressi urbem] omnibus [et mors et captiuitas] indulta est, qui ad sanctorum limina confugerunt. (15)


Lusitaniam et Carthaginensem provincias, Wandali [autem] cognomine Silingi Baeticam sortiuntur. Spani [autem] per ciuitates et castella residua plagis [adflicti] (p.a. om.P) barbarorum dominantium sese seruituti (barbaris dominantibus se P) subiciunt. (73) / Sueui...omnem Galliciam cum Wandalis occupant. (85)


63. Vallia...Romani (+quoque P) nominis causa (+intra Hispanias P) caedes magnas barbaris [intulit]. (22)

67. Wandalos Silingos in Baetica omnes [bello] extinxit. (22)

68. Alanos, qui Wandalis et Sueuis potentabantur, adeo caesit, ut extincto Atace rege ipsorum pauci qui superfuerant oblitio regni nomine Gunderici regis Wandalorum, qui in Galleia resederant, se [regimini] (patrocinio P) subiugarent. (22)

69. [Vallia...(deinde) per Constantium [Romanum patricium] ad Gallias reuocatur P) [data ei ab imperatore ob meritum uictoriae] (+ad habitandum P) [secunda] Aquitania [cum quibusdam ciuitatibus confinium prouinciarum] usque ad Oceanum. (22)

70. Anno imperii Honorii et Arcadii XXV Vallia rege defuncto Theoderidus succedit in regnum. (23)

71. Gundericus...[dum rupto foedere pacem Sueuorum gentem] (Sueuos P) in Erbasis montibus obsideret. (73)

74. ...[relict]a obsidione Sueuorum (S. o. r. P)...(ad Baeticam transit (transierunt 22) P). (22, 73)

86. Balearicas Tarraconensis prouinciae insulas depraedatur, [deinde] Carthagine Spartaria euersa Spalim [destruit]...(73)

89. Gundericus...qui...[inreuerenter] manus in basilicam...ciuitatis ipsius extendisset, mox dei iudicio...daemonio corruptus interiit. (Gundericus...capta Spali cum [inreuerentes] in ecclesias ipsius ciuitatis manus extendisset, mox dei iudicio

90. [Hic (qui P)] de Baeticae prouinciae litore cum Wandalis omnibus eorumque familiis (c.W.o.e.f. om.P) ad Mauritaniam et Africam relictis Spaniis (relicta Spania P) [transfretauit]. (74) / Wandalis [autem] Africam transeuntibus...(85)

100. Gallici...quos Hermericus assidua [uastatione] depraedans...pacem cum eis fecit. (85)


118. ...[sacerdotes ecclesias] pellit...et iuxta prophetiam Danielis demutatis mysteriis sanctorum ecclesias [Christi hostibus] tradidit. (75)

119. Reccila...Emeritam [obsessam] ingreditur. (85)

120. [Deinde] (om.P) Siciliam depraedatur, Panormum obsidet... (75)

122. Hermericus...quo morbo [diutissime] per annos septem [oppressus interiit] (P). Hermericus [autem pater eius] per annos septem diuturno [langore affectus interit]. (85)

123. Reccila...[post obitum patris] Spali obtenta Baeticam et Carthaginensem prouincias in suam potestatem redigit. (86)


140. [Hic] accepta in coniugio Theuderedi regis [Gothorum] filia (+in P) initio regni (+sui P) auspicatus Vasconias depraedatur. (87)

149. [Nam] adsiduis terrae motibus [factis]...ab aquilonis plagae caelum rubens sicut ignis aut sanguis effectus est permixtis per ignem ruborem lineis clarioribus in specie hastarum rutilantium deformatis. (26)


151. Multa [eodem tempore caeli et terrae] signa processerunt...a parte orientis luna fuscuta est. A solis occasu stella cometes apparuit. (26)

152. Anno primo imperii Marciani Turismundus filius Theuderedi [prouehitur] ad regnum. (30)

153. Huni [autem usque ad internicionem paene caesi] cum rege suo Attila relictis Gallis Italiam [fugient]...(27)


156. Turismundus...[ipsis regni sui exordiis ferialis ac noxius] hostilia inspiraret [et multa ageret insolentius], a Theuderico et Frigdarico est fratibus [interfectus]. (30)


170. Tarraconensem prouinciam, quae Romano imperio deseruiebat, inuadit. (87)

miliario apud fluuium, qui Vrbicus [appellatur], inito mox certamine superatus est caesis suorum agminibus, aliquantis captis plurimisque fugatis. Ipse [postremum rex telo] sauciatus fugit. (31)


182. ...dum Emeritensem urbem depraedare moliretur-(beatissimae Eulaliae martyris terretur ostentis. P)-[sanctae] martyris Eulaliae ostentis [perterretur]. (32)

186. Mox aduersis sibi nuntiis territus de Emerita egressus Gallias repetit et partem [exercitus] cum suis ducibus iterum ad campos Galliciae dirigit, [qui caesa Asturicensi regione rursum] reuertuntur ad Gallias. (P 32)


189. Frantan mortuo...(88)


192. [Nec mora] Gothicus exercitus duce Ceurila a Theudorico ad Hispanias missus succedit ad Baeticam (P). [Mox deinde partem unam exercitus duce Ceurila ad
193. [Post quem] sequenti anno Sunericus cum alia parte exercitus dirigitur et Ceurilas reuocatur ad Gallias. (P 33)

198. Maldrax [autem tertio regni anno a suis] iugulatur. (88)


203. Inter Frumarium et Reccimundum (+Masdrae filium P) oritur de regni potestate dissensio. (89)

209. Gesericus...ab imperatore postulata pace...(77)

210. Maiorianus...a Reccimero fraude circumuentus [occiditur]. (76)

216. Gesericus...Valentiniani relictam Constantinopolim remittit, [quarum] unam ex filiabus [suis] filio [suo Unerico] iure matrimonii copulauit. (77)

217. [In Gallias autem] Agrippinus comes et ciuis Aegidio comiti [Romano aemulus] ut Gothorum mereretur auxilia, Narbonam tradidit Theuderico. (33)

223. Frumario mortuo Remismundus omnibus Sueuis in suam diciem regali iure reuocatis pacem [cum Gallicis] reformat. (90)

[regem Gothorum] mittit, [a quo etiam per legatos et] arma et coniugem quam haberet [accepit]. (90)

232. [Huius tempore] Alax natione Galata effectus apostata et Arrianus inter Sueuos regis sui auxilio hostis catholicae fidei et diuinæ trinitatis emergit de Gallicana Gothorum [regione] hoc pestiferum uirus [adferens]... (90)

237. Sallanem [quoque] legatum [denuo] Theudericus mittit ad Remismundum; qui reuersus ad Gallias Theudericum ab Eurico fratre suo repperit interfectum. (33)


240. Remismundus...ad Lusitaniam transit. (90)

241. Conimbricam pace decepta diripit. (90)


246. Olisipona [quoque] ab [eo] occupatur ciue suo qui illic praerat tradente Lusidio. (90)

99v

1. Theodosius per Gratianum in consortium regni assumptus regnat cum eo et [cum] Valentiniano fratre eius annis XVII.


27. [Anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCX et a passione CCCLXV, ab urbe autem condita MXLVIII.,] olymp CCXCIII Archadius et Honorius filii Theodosii [post obitum patris] regnauerunt annis XXX.

34. Eorum anno VII facta est eclipsis solis III idus nouembris [IIIId feria in prima luna anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCIII, olymp CCXCV, Aera CCCXL, anno a mundi conditione quinquies millesimo et DCII, in XXIII parte scorpii luna nona].

37a. [Anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCVIII et a passione CCCLXXV, ab urbe autem condita anno MLVII.,] olymp CCXCVI, [Aera CCCXLV, inductione VI beatus] Martinus vir apostolicus transit ad dominum carne deposita [III id Nouembris feria I, luna XV, anno etatis sue LXXI et episcopatus XXIII,] anno [autem] Archadii et Honori XI.

58. Eorum anno XX olymp CCXCVIII in Hierosolimis Johanne episcopo presidente sanctus et primus martyr Stephanus reuelatur [anno post passionem domini CCCLXXXIII].

--. [Ipsorum quoque anno XII [ex Bede Chron. 476] Hieronimus divinae legis interpres apud Bethleem Iudae [II kl Octobris migravit ad dominum (ex Bede Chron. 480) anno etatis suae nonagesimo primo, mense sexto, anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCXI inductione III. Si hunc mensem sextum uis scire, ab Aprili incipe computare, qui est initium et anni mensis].

64. [Anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCXXI olymp CCXCVIII eclipsis solis facta est XIII kl Aug quod fuit III feria [luna XXVIII in secunda parte leonis anno imperatoris Honorii XXIII].]
75. [Ipse uero] XXVII anno imperii sui apud Rauennam Constantium patricium sibi consortem facit in regnum.


76. Constantius III [anno id est primo] consulatu suo moritur anno XXVIII Honorii.

80. [Post deinde] Honorius actis tricennalibus suis [et ipse decessit].

82. [Anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCLI et a passione CCCXCVII] olymp CCCI Theodosius Archadii filius [post obitum patris] regnauit in partibus Orientis [deinde] post obitum Honorii patrui [sui] monarchiam tenet imperii cum esset annorum XX [post duos (lacuna of 4-5 letters; prob. annos)].

84. Valentinianumque [Constantii et] Placidiae amittae suae filium apud Constantinopolim [consortem sibi facit regni regnauit annis XXVII].

99a. Eorum anno VIII, olymp CCCIII, Aera CCCCLXX sanctus insignis Augustinus episcopus [et doctor eximius (ex Bede Chron. 480)] transit ex corpore, [cum uixisset annis LXXVI, in clericatu uel episcopatu annos ferme XL complesset].(ex Bede Chron. 480)

136. [Ipsorum quoque anno XXIII anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCLII et a mundi conditione m anno quinquies millesimo et DCLI] olymp CCCVII eclipsis solis facta est X kl Ian [luna XV] quod fuit III feria [ab hora IIII us in sextam et ab hora VIII usque in nonam. In hoc enim mense uicibus nouem obscuratus est sol et in hoc anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCLII in XV parte scorpii et in sexta parte sagittarii in anno quoque sequenti ab incarnatione domini CCCXLIII IIII Non Iunii luna VIIIII in III feria ab occiduo fuscatur tertia hora noctis].

146. Theodosius [filius Archadii obiit] anno XXVII imperii sui aetatis suae anno XLVIII.

147. Post quem Martianus statim imperator factus [anno CCCCLI qui fuit ultimus annus Theodosii et primus Martiani] instante Pulcheria sorore Theodosii qua sibi in coniugium sumpta regnat in partibus Orientis [annis VII].

162. Eius quoque anno IIII Valentinianus [moritur] XXXI anno imperii sui

184. [et ipse decessit].

185. [Deinde] Maiorianus in Italia et Constantinopolim Leo Augusti appel[...nt[...].

210. Maiorianus quinto anno regni sui interficitur


Hucusque ex ystoria beati Idatii usque ad VIII Leonis Augusti posui et usque ad primum Antimi imperatoris annum, quo in tempore post Hilarium Romanae aecclesiae XLVII Simplicius sedem tenebat.
5. Teophilus Alexandriæ episcopus cyclum de observatione paschae per centum annos digestum, quem laterculum uocauit, ab hoc anno incohauit, hoc est a primo consulatu Theodosii. (382)

6. ...Athanaricus...confoederatus Theodosio et ab eo Constantinopolim inuitatus, mox XV die ex quo uenerat, ibidem obiit. (383) (ex Prosper?)

9. Thedosius Archadium filium suum Augustum facit. (385)

13. [Priscillianus in Hispania episcopus condens heresim sui nominis (ex Prosper), aecclesiam perturbat]....Super his auditus in conciliis episcoporum Romam petit, ibique a sanctis Damaso et Ambrosio repudiatus, in Galliis quoque [in synodo Burdegalense (ex Prosper)] a sancto Martino alisque hereticus iudicatus, ubi se damnandum intellexit, imperatorem Maximum appellat.

16. A quo auditus et episcopatu pulsus, [Treueris ab Euodio prefecto (ex Prosper)] perimitur cum multis suis sequacibus...(386)

43. Alaricus... ad sanctorum limina confugientibus indulget. (413)


49. Wandali, Alani, Sueui regiones Hispaniarum ad habitandum inter se trifariam compartiti et in tribus regnis diuisi, colliduntur inter se intestino bello. (422)

81. Paulinus Nolanus...cui Terasia ex coniuge soror facta, aequatur beatae uitae testimonio et merito. (403)

86. Wandali Mauritaniam inuadunt. (425)

89. Gundericus rex Wandalorum, capta Hispali, cum impie elatus manus in aecclesia ipsius ciuitatis extendisset, mox Dei iudicio a demone correptus interiit. Cui Gensericus frater in regno succedens regnauitannis XLVIII. Hic, ut fertur, de fide catholica in Arrianam sectam apostatauit. (429)

90. Gensericus...cum Wandalis et omnibus eorum familiis ad Africam transfretauit.
(433) (cf. Isidorus Historia Wandalorum 74)


118. ...episcopum et omnem clericum ecclesiae Carthaginiensis expulit, loca sancta aut suorum habitacula fecit, aut Arrianis contradidit, et catholicos ubique persequi iussit. (446)

148. Placidia mater Valentiniani Romae defuncta est. (451)

149. Terremotus [pene] assidui et signa plurima in caelo ostenduntur. Vespere ab aquilone caelum efficitur rubens ut ignis, intermixtis per ignem ruborem clarioribus lichnis in astarum speciem deformatis. (452)

150. ...Conserto prelio in campis Catalaunicis, pugnatum est usque ad diremptionem noctis.... (453)

151. Luna obfuscatur, cometes apparat, et multa alia. Quae non esse otiosa ostendit instans rerum consequentia. (452)

156. Thurismodus rex Wisigotharum a fratribus suis Friterico et Theoderico iugulatur. Theodericus frater eius in regnum ei succedens...(456)

160. Valentinianus imperator Etium patricium interficit. (455)

163/166. Auitus a Romanis imperator constituitur. (457)

175. Theodericus rex Wisigotharum Sueuos in Hispania uincit, et regno eorum destructo, regno suum eo usque extendit. (457)

244. Apud Tolosam urbem Galliae, ex eius medio tota die sanguis largissimo fluxit riuo; quod Gothi pro portento suae perditionis acceperunt. (461)

253. In Mineo Hispaniae fluuiio piscis capti sunt, in quorum squamis uidebatur inscripta aera presentis anni. (490)

Idatius Lemicae Hispaniarum urbis episcopus cronica sua a primo Theodosii consulatu inchoata hucusque perduxit. (490 = two years after Theoderic invades Italy and two years before Zeno dies)
THE TEXT OF THE CHRONICON ABBATIAE POLIDENSIS
THEODORUS' ANNALES PALIDENSES
(1182)

Incipit prologus considerationis cronicorum.

[Preface:]

2. Eusebius Cesariensis episcopus, qui eccles<iae>asticam conscribit historiam, librum cronicorum, hoc est de temporibus, confecit, et a Nino (a quo Ninius) qui primus regnauit in Assirias et a patriarcha Abraham a quo Hebrei sumere principium reliquorum regnorum et regum contemporales annos usque in uicesimum imperii Constantini Augusti annum, Greci sermonis concludit historia.

3. Post hunc successor perfectus uniuersis factorum dictorumque monimentis, presbyter Ieronimus cognomento (a patre) Eusebius, [examinans et collaudans opus ipsius et] de Greco in Latinum transferens, a uicesimo anno supradicti regis usque ad quartum decimum Valentis annum texuit historiam, [nonnulla adiciens que intermissa uidebantur, in Romana maxime historia, quam Eusebius non tam ignorasse ut eruditum, sed ut Grece scribens, parum suis necessarium perstrinxisse uidetur--from Jerome's preface].

5. Deinde Idacius Flaviensis episcopus a Graciano (Romano) et Theodosio (Constantinopolis rege) qui post Valente (Valentinianum) inperauerunt, cursum annorum rerumque gestarum partim ex studio scriptorum, partim ex certo aliquorum relatu, partim ex propria cognitione quae subsecuntur adiecit usque ad decimum Leonis inperatoris annum. Postea sequitur opus Theodori...

(in margin of 4r: Hucusque Ieronimus, abhinc usque ad tempora Zenonis opus est Idacii Flaviensis episcopi)

5. [Eo tempore] Theophilus Alexandrie episcopus ciculum de obseruatione pasche per centum annos digessit, [quem] laterculum [uocauit]. (Grat. II)

V?)?

7. [Inter hec] Theodosius Archadium filium suum consortem imperii fecit. (Grat. VI)

13. [In Gallia Priscillianus episcopus ex manicheorum et gnosticorum dogmate, errorem sui nominis condens (ex Prosper)], conciliis episcoporum auditus Romam petit, ibique a sanctis Damaso et Ambrosio repudiatus, in Galliis quoque [in sinodo Burdegalense (ex Prosper)] a sancto Martino aliisque patribus hereticus iudicatus. [Ubi se damnandum intellexit, inperatorem Maximum appellat (ex Prosper)]. (Grat. VIII)

16. [A quo auditus et (ex Prosper)] episcopatu pulsus, [ab Euodio prefecto Treveris (ex Prosper)] perimitur cum aliis suis sequacibus. (Grat. VIII)

18. Cinegius Teodosii prefectus factis insignibus clarus, usque ad Egiptum penetrans gentilium simulacra subuerit. (Theod. II)

34. Solis etiam defectio facta est. (Theod. IX)

43. [Post Radagaisum] Alaricus rex Gothorum [Italiam intruit, ipsoque] Romam ingresso cum intra et extra urbem cedes agerentur omnibus indultum est qui ad sanctorum limina confugerunt. (Arc. VI)

44. ...(Athaulfus) Placidiam Honorii sororem in urbe captam [auferens]...(Arc. VI)

45. Cui succedens Athaulfus... (Arc. VI)

46. Barbaris [uero prouinciam uastantibus]...(Arc. VI)

47. ...pestilentia suas partes non segniius operabatur. (Arc. VI)


49. Subuersa memoratis [malis] Hispania, barbari ad inhabitandum sibi diuidunt regiones. (Arc. VI)

57. Athaulfus [supra memoratus rex Gothorum] Placidiam [sororem Honorii antea
captuatam] duxit uxorem, [cui rei assimilatur] prophetia Danielis [que] ait filiam regis austri sociandam regi aquilonis, nullo tamen semine [subsequente]. (Theod. VI)

60. Vallia successor eius pacem fecit cum [Honorio]...(Theod. VII)

63. ...et [propter] Romanos intra Hispanias cedes magnas fecit barbarorum. (Theod. VII)

64. Solis defectio facta est. (Theod. VIII)

66. Terremotu sancta loca quassantur Ierosolimis. (Theod. X)

73. In Gallicana regione in ciuitate Biterris multa signa terrifica [contigisse], Paulini eisdem [urbis] episcopi [testatur circumquaque] directa. (Theod. XI)

75 and 76. Honorius Constancium regni consortem fecit, [qui paulo post] moritur apud Rauennam (Theod. XIII)


103. Ecius dux utriusque milicie [scilicet Constantinopolitane et Romane ueniens Romam] patricius appellatur. (Val. V)


108 and 110. Ecius Burgundiones rebelles [expugnat], cesis XX milibus...(Val. XIII)


116. [Item in] bello Gothico sub Theodoro [ipsorum] rege Litorius dux wileratus capitur et occiditur. (Val. XIII)

117. [Deinde] inter Romanes et Gothos pax [conponitur]. (Val. XIII)

118. ...et episcopum clerumque depellens ecclesiam catholicarum tradidit Arrianis. (Val. VIII)


126. Comete sidus per aliquot menses usum subsequentis pestilentie premisit ostentum.
136. Solis defectio. (Val. XVII)

149. [Primo igitur anno Marciani qui est a domini ea iearn CCCCXLV,] in Gallecia terremotus [pene] assidui et signa plurima in celo ostenduntur. [Vespere] ab aquilone celum efficitur rubens ut ignis intermixtis per ignem ruborem clarioribus lineis, in hastarum speciem deformatis et fere in horam noctis [nonam] durat signi ostensio, quod mox ingenti exitu perdocetur...[Signa igitur prius ostensa non esse ociosa ostendit, instans rerum consequentia]. (Marc. I)


152. ...rex Theodorus ibi occubuit (from 150) cui filius Thurismo succedit. (Val. XXIII)

153. [Item] Huni cum rege suo Attila relictis Gallis Italiam petunt...(Val. XXIII)

154. Italian...quam aliquantis ciuitatibus irruptus depredati sunt. [Exinde] Huni plagis celestibus partim fame partim morbo [fatigantur], missis etiam a Marciano principe Ecio duce ceduntur auxiliis et [sic demum] pace facta cum Romanis sedes repetunt proprias. (Val. XXIII)

156. Thurismo rex Gothorum spirans hostilia a Teoderico et Friderico fratibus iugulatur cui Teodericus successit in regno. (Val. XXIII)

159. In Gallecia fit terremotus et in sole signum, [nam] in ortu [suo] quasi altero secum [pugnante uidetur]. (Marc. III)

160. Ecius patricius [cum in multis uirtutibus clarus esset quia semper uirtus inuidiam

162. [Sed mors Ecii non inpune cessit. Nam sequenti anno (ex Paul the Deacon, H.R. 14.xv)] per duos barbaros Ecii familiare Valentinianus in campo occiditur, circumstante exercitu...Quo mortuo Maximus inuasit imperium et Eudoxie regine [ui sociatur] et filiam Valentiniani ex alia uxor filio suo coniunxit. (Marc. V)

163. [Post hec] Auitus [Rome regnauit annos tres]. (Marc. VI)

164. ..in quo (sc. Valentiniano) Theodosii generatio [finita est]. (Marc. V)


176. Isdem diebus multitudo Wandalorum que se de Cartagine cum LX nauibus ad Gallias uel ad Italian mouerat, regi Teoderico nunciat occisa per Auitum. (Marc. VI)

177. [Hispani etiam] uenientes, orientalium naues per Marciani exercitum cesas nunciat. (Marc. VI)

182. [Deinde] Emeritam depredari [cupiens], beate Eulalie [inibi requiescentis] terretur ostentis. (Marc. VI)

per Gothos perit exicio. Vnum Coviciense castrum, a Gothis diu fatigatum, auxilio dei hostibus obsistit et preualet; quam plurimis eorum interfectis, reliqui reuertuntur ad Gallias. (Leo I)

191. [His diebus medio die per tres horas] sol minoratus apparuit, ad [modum] lune quinte uel sexte. (Leo I)

214. [In pleniluuio quoque] ab occasu solis luna in sanguinem conuersa [uidebatur] (with 191). (Leo I)

215. Antiochia maior Isaurie, inobediens monitis salutaribus terra dehiscente demergitur, cacuminibus turrium super terram [apparentibus], solis deum timentibus de interitu liberatis. (Leo IIII)

241. Conimbriga [ciuitas] in pace decepta [a barbaris] diripitur; domus destruuntur cum aliqua parte murorum habitatoribusque captis et dispersis et regio desolatur et ciuitas. (Leo VI)


243. [In conuentu etiam] Gothorum tela que habebant in manibus a parte ferri alia uiridi, alia roseo, alia croceo, alia nigro colore [uisa sunt] aliquandiu naturalem [colorem] non habuisse mutata. (Leo VII)

244. Medio Tolose ciuitatis [uisum est] e terra sanguinem erupisse totoque diei fluxisse curriculo. (Leo VIII)

252. Durissimius extra solitum [ipso] tempore annus hiberni ueris estatis autumni in aeris et omnium fructuum inmutatione diffunditur. (Leo XII)

253. In flumine Minio capiti sunt pisces IIII specie et uisu noui, sicut retulere qui ceperant Christiani et religiosi. [Erant enim] Hebreis et Grecis literis, Latinis autem aerarum numeris insigniti CCCLXV annorum circulum continentes paruo mensium interuallo. (Leo XV) [In eadem regione] in [formam] lenticule uiridissimorum, ut herba quedam, forma granorum, plena amaritudine defluxit de celo, et multa alia ostenta que memorare [longum] est. (Leo XVI)

--after Basiliscus flees to baptismy (476): Hucusque Idacius episcopus. Deinde Theodorus describit annales.