

**Prosper's chronicle: A critical edition and
translation of the edition of 445**

Deanna Brook's

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Supervisor: Dr. R. W. Burgess
Department of Classics and Religious Studies
Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to further research into Prosper's chronicle and to counter Theodor Mommsen's conclusions that Prosper made no editorial changes between the 445 and 455 editions of his chronicle. The ultimate result will be to prove that there were significant and deliberate alterations made by Prosper and to create a critical edition and translation of the chronicle of 445. The methodology includes establishing Prosper's place in the Latin chronicle tradition, his alleged role as secretary to Pope Leo, his supposed residence in Rome and his theological views. Mommsen's edition will then be used to compare the manuscripts of the 445 and 455 editions and to determine what differences exist. This comparison will show that Prosper not only continued his own chronicle but also edited it between 445 and 455. We will then fill the void left by Mommsen when he created only one edition by providing a critical edition and translation of the 445 chronicle for the first time.

Cette thèse a comme visée de pousser la recherche sur la chronique de Prospère et de réfuter les conclusions de Theodor Mommsen selon lesquelles Prospère n'aurait pas édité son texte entre l'édition de 445 et celle de 455. Les objectifs de cette thèse sont de démontrer que sa chronique connut des changements significatifs et délibérés, et de créer une première édition critique et une première traduction anglaise de la chronique de 445. La méthodologie inclut établir la place de Prospère dans la lignée des chroniques latines ainsi qu'une mise au point sur le rôle de secrétaire du Pape Léo qu'aurait assumé Prospère, sur son établissement probable à Rome et sur sa pensée théologique. L'édition de Mommsen a été utilisée pour comparer les versions des manuscrits de 445 et de 455 et pour déterminer quelles en sont les divergences. La comparaison démontre non seulement que Prospère travailla à la rédaction de sa chronique, mais encore qu'il l'édita entre les années 445 et 455. Puisque notre thèse apporte une première édition critique et une première traduction anglaise de la chronique de 445, elle comble dès lors le vide laissé par Mommsen lorsqu'il ne fit qu'une édition unique.

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Introduction

The fifth century was a period of great change within the Western Roman Empire. In 395, Theodosius I died, leaving the eastern half of the empire to his son Arcadius and the western half to the younger Honorius, permanently separating the Roman Empire into two halves. At the end of the year 406, Vandals, Alans and Sueves crossed the frozen Rhine river and moved into Gaul, an event which would cause turmoil in the region for many years. Following this, numerous usurpers arose throughout the west, primarily Constantine in Britain, Maximus in Spain, and Attalus in Rome. In 410 Rome was sacked by the Goths, and in 418 the Romans permanently settled them in Aquitaine as a client kingdom.

In 431, Saint Jerome's *Chronici canones*, a translation into Latin and continuation of Eusebius' work of the same name, found its way into the hands of a Gallic writer named Prosper. His continuation of Jerome, as well as his numerous other works, provide a unique view into this Roman world which was rapidly coming to an end and which would survive only twenty more years after Prosper concluded his historical account.

Few concrete details survive about Prosper's early life, but it would seem that he was born around 390 in the region of Aquitaine to a family of Gallo-Roman aristocratic background.¹ It is also certain that he received an advanced education in Aquitaine, given the quality of his written Latin and the strong educational reputation of the region during the beginning of the fifth century.² The only direct evidence which pertains to Prosper's early life is contained in a short Latin biography written in the late fifth-century by Gennadius, a Latin biographer who continued Jerome's *De uiris illustribus*, and in references made in his own work and the work of others.³

By the 420s Prosper had left his native region of Aquitaine and had relocated to Marseille, perhaps owing to the Vandal invasions and subsequent settlement of the Visigoths, a predominantly Arian group, in Aquitaine. It is from Marseille that the first securely dateable reference to Prosper originates in the form of a letter sent from Prosper to Augustine, bishop of

¹ Valentin 1900: 124-126, especially the bottom of 125; Muhlberger 1990: 48; Humphries 1996: 158; Hwang 2009: 38-41 argues for an earlier date of 388. For general accounts of his life see Mommsen *Chron. min.* 1; Valentin 1900; Muhlberger 1990; and Hwang 2009.

² Hwang 2009: 47; Valentin 1900: 127

³ This includes his own work *De prouidentia dei* (Marcovich 1989) and scattered references found in authors such as Cassiodorus, Bede, and Ado of Vienne. Gennadius' full entry concerning Prosper can be found in appendix

Hippo Regius in late 426 or early 427.⁴ It was sent as Prosper became aware of growing criticisms being voiced by monks at Marseille about Augustine's theological views, particularly with regards to grace and predestination.⁵ These criticisms were of growing concern to Prosper and despite the fact that he was a layman, Prosper threw himself into theological matters and became deeply involved in the Pelagian controversy which arose in Gaul during this time.⁶ His defense of Augustine of Hippo and attacks on Pelagianism came to define his position within the ecclesiastical sphere. It is for this reason that in 431, Prosper, along with Hilary,⁷ travelled from Gaul to Rome. It was here that they met with Pope Celestine and petitioned for papal aid against the growing number of ecclesiastical dissidents.⁸

It is almost certain that Prosper first discovered Jerome's *Chronici canones* during his visit to Rome in 431 with Hilary. It would also seem likely that this is where he obtained the further information which he then used to continue Jerome's work. Prosper's work consisted of two parts: the first was an epitome of the *Canones*, while the second was a continuation of it from 378 until 433. While Prosper's chronicle was itself continued in the sixth century by Victor of Tunnuna and Marius of Avenches, Prosper first continued his own work, not once but twice, in 445 and 455. Therefore, three well established publication dates of Prosper's chronicle can be determined: 433, 445 and 455.

The first edition of the chronicle appears to have been published in 433. Of the three publication dates, this date is the least supported by the manuscript tradition, since no extant manuscript contains solely this edition. However, evidence for this edition can be found in the 455 edition, known from manuscripts M, Y and H. In these three manuscripts there is a *supputatio* (or summing up of the years) embedded in the text at the year 433. The inclusion of a

⁴ *Apud Aug., ep.* 225 (CSEL 57: 454-468).

⁵ In the early fifth century Augustine began to develop the view that Adam's original sin had left a permanent mark on humanity. Consequently free will had become corrupted and only divine grace made salvation possible. He even went so far as to argue that God had chosen the saved before all time, an opinion which was met with little enthusiasm by many other Christians. Brown 2010: 367-377, 400-410; Muhlberger 1990: 49-50.

⁶ Pelagius was a British monk who developed his doctrine, known as Pelagianism, around the year 400. He denied the role of original sin, spurring Augustine's harsh rebuttal, and further contended that it was possible to live without sin, thus restricting the role of divine grace. Largely as a result of Augustine's influence, Pelagius was condemned and excommunicated in 418, dying shortly thereafter. The controversy which arose in Gaul in the 420's once again dealt with a later developed version of Pelagianism that is often called Semi-Pelagianism. Mathisen 1989: 37, 122-140; Brown 2010: 340-353.

⁷ It is not clear exactly who exactly this Hilary was. Mommsen believes that this was Hilary, the then bishop of Arles (1892: 343). Mathisen believes that Hilary was someone passing through and who was about to leave Marseille at this time. (1989: 124 n.31) Like Prosper, he was probably also a layman.

⁸ Markus 1986: 33; Mathisen 1990: 131-134; Muhlberger 1990: 50-51.

supputatio is not uncommon; *supputationes* can be found in Eusebius-Jerome at important chronological linchpin events such as the Trojan War, first Olympiad, rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem, and birth of Christ, as well as the end of the work as a whole. In continuations we would expect a *supputatio* at the end of the chronicle and so the inclusion of one would indicate an original endpoint. The fact that this *supputatio* is embedded within the text at the year 433 would indicate that Prosper originally concluded his chronicle at this point, since 433 is not the date of any historically or chronologically important event. The reason why this *supputatio* appears only in these three late manuscripts and is not present in any manuscripts of the 445 publication is unclear.⁹ Further evidence for the publication of 433 can be found in the blank spaces which occur in the years 433 and 434. In these years Prosper only listed the consuls for the year and did not include any events or entries. This anomaly also occurs in 445, 446, and 447 just after the second edition was published. It is also evident from the content of the chronicle that after 433 Prosper began to use another source which contained fewer events, but more detail which accounts for a shift from numerous short entries to fewer long entries.

The second edition of Prosper's chronicle appeared twelve years later in 445. While the 433 edition has not survived in any extant manuscripts, that of 445 fortunately can be found in a number of manuscripts. It would seem that the 445 edition enjoyed more popularity than did the earlier or later editions and became widely dispersed where it found immediate continuators. It appears to have found its way to Rome as well as to Vandal North Africa where two African continuations were written.¹⁰ This edition of the chronicle survives in a total of twelve manuscripts: the A family which comprises five separate manuscripts, the R family which contains two manuscripts, and individual manuscripts F, O, P, X and Z. In addition to these twelve manuscripts, which contain solely the 445 edition, two manuscripts represent a mixed redaction of the 445 and 455 manuscripts, these being B and H. Owing to the large number of

⁹ It could possibly indicate that these particular manuscripts follow the original edition of 433 with a continuation of 455 included to complete the work, but this cannot be easily confirmed since the 433 edition does not survive in any form which is separate from the later editions.

¹⁰ Muhlberger 1990: 115. The first African continuation covers 446-455 and can be found in Mommsen, *Chron. min.* 1 (= MGH AA: 9): 486-487. The second African continuation is attached to the end of an anonymous Roman account, which itself covers the period from 446-451, and continues the account to 457. It can be found in Mommsen, *Chron. min.*: 488-490. Of course Prosper was both used as a source and continued by numerous other authors, but the fact that his work was used in Vandal North Africa in the mid fifth century is of particular interest given the religious climate during this time.

surviving manuscripts and the use of this edition by other chroniclers, it can be concluded that it was widely read, a fact which may have influenced Prosper's decision to return to it in 455.

Ten years after the second edition Prosper returned to his work, updating and editing his 445 edition to create what became the final edition of 455. This final edition concludes in the second half of 455, indicated by the fact that he includes the Vandal sack of Rome, an event which occurred between 2 and 15 June 455. This edition of the chronicle is well represented in the manuscript tradition and there are four major manuscripts which preserve it: C, D, M and Y. In addition to these four manuscripts, the edition of 455 can also be found in the mixed redactions of B and H, which also contain elements of the 445 editions. There also exists remnants of the lost Speyer manuscript, which was very similar to M, in Phillipe Labbé's critical edition, published in 1657,¹¹ and Labbé's own corrections to manuscript Au. Since this edition is well represented and contains the most information, it has become the basis for all modern editions. It also seems likely that Prosper later returned to the 455 edition and made corrections, which would account for certain differences found between the MY and CD recensions of the 455 edition.¹²

It is clear that differences exist between the manuscripts traditions, but it must be asked how these differences came to exist. While extending his chronicle for each new publication date did Prosper also return to his work and edit certain passages, or are these changes the result of later scribal tampering? Since the most important evidence for the 433 edition remains embedded in the text of the 455 edition, it is impossible to determine what the original publication of the 433 edition contained or how, if at all, it differed from the editions of 445 and 455. However, the two later editions have survived in numerous enough manuscripts to allow for a comparison to determine which entries were altered.

In Mommsen's edition of Prosper's chronicle, he acknowledges an edition of 445, but denies that Prosper returned to the earlier material and made alterations. Instead he believes that the variants found in the 445 recensions of the manuscript tradition can be attributed to deliberate

¹¹ This is referred to as manuscript L by Mommsen. In actuality it is not a manuscript but a critical edition in its own right which Labbé created using the Speyer manuscript, manuscript Au, and the editions of Pontacus (1604), and Duchesne (1636).

¹² It would not be inconceivable to suppose that Prosper returned to his work and edited it after the 455 publication since there is a precedent for this. Eusebius himself returned to his chronicle and edited it in order to account for the *damnatio memoriae* of Crispus in 326. If Eusebius edited his work, it is perfectly conceivable to assume that Prosper may have done the same. See Burgess 1999: 56-57 and especially 67-68 on the removal of Crispus from Eusebius' chronicle.

scribal alteration and are not indicative of changes made by Prosper. Consequently he buries the differences between the editions of the 445 and of 455 in the *apparatus criticus*.¹³ The result is that it is not immediately apparent to the reader what differences exist between the 445 and 455 editions unless one is inclined to examine the *apparatus criticus* in detail.

Alternatively, Muhlberger is of the opinion that Prosper did return to his earlier work and made certain editorial revisions for the publication of the 455 edition. However, he accepts this position rather reservedly. He believes that the changes made to the material of the 445 manuscript was the matter of a few choice words or phrases altered rather sporadically. Ultimately he agrees with Mommsen in stating that the differences between the two editions of the manuscript seem rather few and insignificant.¹⁴

Upon closer examination of Mommsen's *apparatus criticus*, it can be seen that there are substantial differences both in wording and content between the manuscripts of the two editions. This would suggest that the differences between them were much more numerous and deliberate than either Mommsen or Muhlberger would lead us to believe. We will endeavour to determine precisely what differences exist between the manuscripts of the 445 and 455 editions and to establish reasons for the alterations. Above all, the purpose of this thesis will be to fill the gap left by Mommsen by creating a critical edition and translation of the chronicle of 445, neither of which have ever been done for this edition.¹⁵

The first chapter will provide an introduction to the history of chronicles and will place Prosper within the context of the Latin chronicle tradition, specifically as the first known continuator of Jerome. A discussion of Prosper's life and work will follow, addressing specific issues pertaining to common opinion surrounding Prosper's residence and especially his alleged role as a secretary to the pope. We will then address his chronicle, discussing the structure, content, use of Eusebius and Jerome and alternate publication dates which have been theorized.

The second chapter will examine the differences between the 445 and 455 editions of the chronicle. The only way to fully examine the differences between the two editions is to compare them with one another. In order to do this we will use Mommsen's *apparatus criticus*, into which he placed the variants found in the 445 edition. This will show that the differences between

¹³ Mommsen 1892: 376-380.

¹⁴ Muhlberger 1990: 57-60. Notably, Muhlberger also supports a fourth publication date of 451 which will be further discussed in chapter one. See Muhlberger 1990: 115-121.

¹⁵ Murray 2000 provides a translation of excerpts from Prosper's continuation. He uses Mommsen's edition and makes no attempt to distinguish between any recensions of the chronicle.

editions are consistent and planned and not the result of scribal alterations. As we will see, Prosper made changes both for the sake of style and vocabulary and for political, social and religious reasons.

As the alterations made by Prosper are deliberate and significant, there seems reason enough to treat the two editions of the chronicle as two entirely separate but related works. We must therefore fill the gap created by Mommsen when he created only one edition of the chronicle and edit an edition of the 445 text, with a translation, neither of which has been done before. Mommsen's *sigla codicum* and structure of numbered entries have been followed as closely as possible for the sake of direct comparison, but the manuscript recensions have been treated in an entirely new way.¹⁶ Chapter three will provide details about the fourteen manuscripts which contain the edition of 445 and distinguish them into three separate recensions. There will also be a short discussion of any relevant editorial decisions pertaining to the critical edition.

The final two chapters, four and five, will provide this new critical edition of Prosper's chronicle of 445 and the first translation of it into English. The critical edition will utilize the fourteen manuscripts of the 445 edition, all of which were used by Mommsen, and will cover the entirety of Prosper's continuation of Jerome, 378 CE until 445 CE.¹⁷ The emphasis will be on creating an edition of the chronicle of 445 which has not been contaminated by the manuscripts of 455, that is to say MY and CD. We will then create a translation of Prosper's second edition of his chronicle for the first time. At this point in time, there are only two complete English translation of the chornicle, one which uses Mommsen's edition and the other which uses the edition found in the *Patrologia Latina*.¹⁸

¹⁶ Exceptions to this adherence to Mommsen's structure can be found in the editorial decisions.

¹⁷ § 1166 to 1354 in Mommsen's edition

¹⁸ Murray 2000 uses Mommsen's edition (*Chon. min.* 1: 471-85. Another translation into English was done by Liam De Paor in 1993. It uses the edition found in *PL* 51.583 and does not best represent the true contents of Prosper's chronicle.

Chapter One

Terminology

Before we begin our examination of Prosper's chronicle, several terminological problems must first be addressed and resolved. It is therefore necessary to outline the definitions of the three major terms which will be encountered hereafter: *fasti* or *consular fasti*, *consularia* and chronicle.¹⁹ First, *fasti* or *consular fasti* refers to the unadorned lists of consuls organized by year. The term *fasti* takes its origin from the Latin word *fas*, meaning what is right, proper or permissible within divine law. Combined as an adjective with *dies*, that is *dies fasti*, the term originally designated month and day calendars which indicated appropriate days to do business and governed the civil and religious activities of Rome. However, by the end of the Republic, *fasti* had expanded beyond the annual month-day calendar and had come to refer to lists of past years. Since the Romans indicated years using the names of the consuls, these *fasti* were then a list of previous consuls, organized chronologically.²⁰ Therefore, the term *fasti* will be used below to refer to unadorned lists of consuls which are arranged in a chronological fashion.

On the other hand, *consularia* are a sub-genre of chronicles which developed as a native Latin chronographic form, independently of chronicles.²¹ *Consularia* developed as annotated *fasti* and were often used as a source by chroniclers, although they possess distinct characteristics which differentiate them from chronicles. First, since they are annotated *fasti*, they employ only consular dating and do not use further chronological systems as chronicles often do.²² In addition, *consularia* also employ standard terminology such as *hoc cons./his cons.* and *eo anno* to denote events which occurred in the year of the particular consuls. The defining characteristic of *consularia*, in opposition to chronicles, is that *consularia* are concerned with bare facts. They do not provide a context, explanations, or authorial comments and are not concerned with a literary presentation, only a factual one.²³

¹⁹ For the sake of brevity I have elected to omit a full discussion of the terminology problems which can be found in Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 1-62. This also discusses the use of the term 'annal' which will not be employed in what follows. See also "Consularia and fasti" in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*: 486 which provides a brief introduction to the above-mentioned terms *fasti* and *consularia*.

²⁰ Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 10-11.

²¹ Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 33; Cf. Croke 2001a who argues against *consularia* and does not acknowledge them as a sub-genre of chronicles.

²² Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 36.

²³ Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 35-44. Parallel examples of chronicles and *consularia* are also provided here.

Finally, the key term which concerns us here is chronicle. Unlike biographies and histories, chronicles were concerned with the orderly presentation of historical events in a ‘scientific’ way as opposed to a literary manner and for this reason tend to avoid superfluous text, although some chronicles are lengthier than others. The intent was to account for each year and the events which occurred within it. There are also several defining characteristics of chronicles. First, as discussed above, they are brief, tend to avoid excessive narrative and are rather paratactic in nature, that is to say that they juxtapose different kinds of events, giving each entry a similar sense of importance regardless of the content. They also deal with chronology in an annalistic (year-by-year) way, listing the events of each year in chronological order, and cover an extensive period of time, usually hundreds or thousands of years as opposed to a few years or decades.²⁴

History of Chronicles

Examples of the rich history of the chronicle can be traced as far back as Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Babylon, Hellenistic Greece and Rome both during the Republic and Empire. The most important influence for the development of the Latin chronicle tradition was the Greek chronicle which can be traced at least as far back as Demetrius of Phaleron, who composed his *Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφὴ* (*Register of Archons*) sometime during the end of the fourth or early third century BCE. Whatever the date, his role as the first known Greek chronicler is secure, although his work is not extant.²⁵ The earliest extant text that can be described as a chronicle is the *Marmor Parium* (Parian Marble) which was found on the Greek island of Paros. The Parian Marble is an inscribed stone dating to 264/63 BCE from which two large fragments survive. It deals with a combination of Greek and Athenian political, military, religious and intellectual history and while it likely had contemporary equivalents, it is the earliest preserved Greek chronicle.²⁶ From here there are further examples of Greek chronography in the writings of Eratosthenes whose work entitled *Περὶ χρονογραφιῶν* (*On Time Writings*) dates likely to around 222 BCE. This work dealt with historical events from Troy until the time of Alexander, but has

²⁴ See Muhlberger 1990: 8-47; Burgess 1993: 178-181; especially Burgess and Kulikowski 2013. Prosper’s chronicle extends from the birth of Adam until the events of 455 CE, thereby covering more than 5600 years of history.

²⁵ Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 83.

²⁶ Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 84-86.

also failed to survive.²⁷ This work had a great influence on Apollodorus, an Athenian who published his work, *Χρονικά*, in the middle of the second century BCE. This popularization used an archon-based model, but most Greek chronicles evidently seemed to have used the Olympiad dating system employed by Eratosthenes.²⁸ Apollodorus' work also represents the first occasion in which the word *chronica* was used to describe a chronicle. The popularity of Apollodorus' 'chronicle' meant that it came to be the word used to describe the genre.

It was through the influence of these Greek predecessors, especially Apollodorus, that the first Latin chronicles came to be written in the first century BCE by Cornelius Nepos (c. 110 – 24 BCE) and T. Pomponius Atticus (110 – 24 BCE). Both of these authors wrote chronological works in Latin during the first century BCE in imitation of the Greek chronicle tradition, specifically in imitation of Apollodorus. Nepos most likely published his three-volume work, a universal chronicle entitled, like Apollodorus', *Chronica*, around the early 50's BCE.²⁹ Like all early Greek or Latin chronicles apart from the Parian Marble, it no longer survives. In 47 BCE, a few years after Nepos published his work, his friend T. Pomponius Atticus also published a chronological work entitled *Liber annalis* which included all of Roman history.³⁰ The work itself survives in only a few fragments, extending from the capture of Troy until the year 155 BCE.³¹ These two authors helped to pioneer a new method of reckoning Roman history in relation to other chronological systems, making it possible to reconcile the histories of Rome, Greece and other nations with one another.³² These chronicles are the two about which the most is known, although it is likely that others were written. Aside from these, the Latin chronicle ceased to be written after the first century BCE, for reasons which we can only guess at. It is only in the fourth century that the Latin chronicle would reappear as a genre both through *consularia* and Jerome's translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronici canones* into Latin.³³

The world in which Nepos and Atticus wrote their Latin chronicles was immensely different from the world in which Eusebius lived. The Roman Republic had long since ended,

²⁷ Croke 1983: 119.

²⁸ Muhlberger 1990: 10-11; For a more detailed overview of the evolution of early Greek chronicles see Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 80-91.

²⁹ Conte 1994: 221-223; Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 91; See Cornelius Nepos in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 492.

³⁰ Conte 1994: 210; Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 91.

³¹ See Pomponius Atticus, Titus in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 1226.

³² Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 91-94.

³³ For a more complete discussion of the earliest Latin chronicles see Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 91-98; 175-187.

replaced by the Roman Empire. Similarly, in the past centuries Christianity had emerged as a growing religion in the east and in the early fourth century Constantine converted to Christianity, laying the foundation for a long series of Christian emperors, interrupted only briefly by Julian. It was in this newly emerging Christian world that the chronicle began to evolve and develop clear Christian purposes and a distinctive Christian chronicle emerged with the addition of the history of the Old and New Testaments as well as of the Christian church to the standard pagan chronicle narratives of the previous centuries.

Eusebius of Caesarea was the first chronicler to bridge the divide between the Greek Olympiad chronicles of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds and the developing genre of Christian apologetic chronography, despite many claims that Julius Africanus' was the first Christian chronicle. Africanus completed his work, the *Χρονογραφία* (*Chronographiae*) in 221, but it does not set forth history in a year by year fashion, as a chronicle should. Rather it is a treatise intended to discover and elucidate the development of Christian chronography in relation to the established Hellenistic chronology of Mediterranean history. So in fact, upon closer examination, Africanus' work was not a chronicle but an annotated chronograph which is a combination of chronographic material such as regnal and episcopal lists with analyses and explanations. Given that chronicles, as defined above, do not have regnal year tables or explanations, Africanus' work could not have been a chronicle.³⁴

In 311 Eusebius published his *Chronici canones* for the first time, but the final and most influential publication appeared in 325 and was modified in 326.³⁵ Since the time of Hippolytus, at the beginning of the third century, and afterwards, it was common for Christian writers to reckon time according to a 6000-year system.³⁶ In this system Jesus' birth was placed in or slightly after the year 5500. Unlike these previous authors, which included Africanus, who popularized the scheme, Eusebius refused to speculate on either the beginning or the end of the world. Instead he began his chronicle with Abraham, whom he saw as the first Christian, and continued without assuming a 6000-year system.

Eusebius organized his chronicle into a tabular form, a format that originated with him and was based on the six parallel columns of different Bible texts in Origen's *Hexapla*, which

³⁴ Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 30, 61 for a fuller description of chronographs.

³⁵ Burgess 1999 and Burgess and Kulikowski 2013: 123 provide this publication date; alternatively, Mosshammer 1979: 75 argues for a single publication date of 325; Croke 1983: 116 presents a publication date as early as the 280's with a republication *c.* 326; and a publication date of 303 is given by Muhlberger 1990: 15.

³⁶ Croke 1983: 121; Muhlberger 1990: 13-15.

presents the kings of the major nations in parallel columns. This format, called the *fila regnorum*, aimed to show the synchronicity of the various kingdoms. In order to do this he relies on three major chronological systems: years since the birth of Abraham, Olympiads and regnal years of kings, emperors, pharaohs and other leaders.³⁷ This effectively displays the chronology of the Old Testament and Jewish history in relation to the well known ancient kingdoms. Unfortunately for modern scholars, this influential work of Eusebius is lost, remaining extant only in Syriac excerpts, an Armenian translation and Jerome's translation into Latin, which alone preserves Eusebius' original format.

It is likely that Jerome first encountered Eusebius' work while in Antioch in 373-74. In 380 he travelled to Constantinople where he set about creating a Latin translation and reworking of the *Canones* from a version of the 325 publication.³⁸ Jerome's chronicle continues Eusebius from that date to 378, the year of Emperor Valens' death at Adrianople.³⁹ This was admittedly a hasty project, which he notes in his introduction, and he completed his translation, augmentation and continuation by the middle of 381.⁴⁰ The work began to circulate in 382 and became widely popular, a fact which is attested to by writers such as Prosper and Augustine, who just refer to it as 'the chronicle'. They do not elaborate that it is Jerome's *Canones*, but assume that 'the chronicle' is description enough for any reader.

Jerome's *Chronici canones* retains the complete content of Eusebius, but is distinctly characteristic of his own personality and interests. Most important, Jerome retains the structure and format of Eusebius' original work, preserving the parallel columns of the original. He made many additions to the work in the form of historical entries concerning elements of Roman history that Eusebius neglected or was unaware of. These additions generally relate to early Italian and Roman history and include many notices on famous Latin writers, both pagan and religious.⁴¹ He also included details about a few minor usurpers who had been omitted from Eusebius' account. However, Jerome was most notably interested in ecclesiastical affairs and as

³⁷ Muhlberger 1990: 17; Burgess 1999: 28.

³⁸ Burgess 2011: III.3; Muhlberger 1990: 19

³⁹ Muhlberger 1990: 19.

⁴⁰ Jerome writes "Itaque, mi Vicenti carissime et tu Gallene, pars animae meae, obsecro, ut, quidquid hoc tumultuarii operis est, amicorum, non iudicum animo relegatis..." (Therefore, my dearest Vicentius and you Gallienus, part of my soul, I implore that whatever this hurried and confused amounts to, you read it in the spirit of friends, not judges...). See Helm 1956 for a full edition of Jerome's work.

⁴¹ For these additions see Helm 1956. All original material added by Jerome to Eusebius' work is marked with an asterisk.

a result doctrinal struggles, particularly the struggle against the Arians in the fourth century, play a significant role in his continuation.⁴² Just as Eusebius' *Canones* had been continued by other Greek chroniclers in the fourth century as well as by Jerome, Jerome's work found continuators of its own in the western part of the Roman Empire during the fifth century. The three that survive are Prosper, the *Gallic Chronicler of 452* and Hydatius.⁴³

The *Gallic Chronicle of 452* is an anonymous continuation of Jerome from the mid-fifth century in Gaul. It is actually the second western continuation of Jerome, written two decades after Prosper, whom we will address shortly. Very few details are known about the Chronicler of 452 but it seems that he may have lived in Marseille, or an area near to it, around the same time as Prosper. Despite this fact, there are very few evident similarities in the theological sympathies of the two authors, although both write works which are heavily ecclesiastical.⁴⁴ In all of the manuscripts the text of Jerome is followed and both the layout and the major chronological structures of regnal years, Olympiads and years from Abraham are maintained.⁴⁵ The major manuscripts⁴⁶ often attribute the work to Prosper, mistakenly, owing to the fact that portions of Prosper's chronicle were used to extend it.⁴⁷ This use of Prosper would likely have involved the inclusion of a linking incipit and explicit to explain the source of the entries. Eventually Prosper's name was added to the incipit and explicit at the continuation of Jerome, attributing the entire work to Prosper rather than just the additional entries.⁴⁸

The third continuator of Jerome was Hydatius, a Spanish bishop who wrote shortly before 470.⁴⁹ In his work Hydatius retained the chronological structure of regnal years and Olympiads used by Jerome, while making the addition of Spanish Eras and his own system, Jubilees from the Ascension.⁵⁰ Brevity, a defining quality of the chronicle genre, was largely ignored by Hydatius in his work and he is quite easily the most detailed and verbose of the Late Antique

⁴² Muhlberger 1990:21.

⁴³ While this work will focus on continuations in the western portion of the Roman world, it should be noted that Marcellinus continued the work of Jerome in Constantinople in the sixth century.

⁴⁴ Muhlberger 1990:136.

⁴⁵ Burgess 2001: 52.

⁴⁶ These are L, B, M, C, P, D, as can be found in Burgess 2001: 63-64.

⁴⁷ In theory, the final three years of Prosper were added to the end of it to make up the intervening years between the end and the beginning of a continuation of Prosper. We know that in L the chronicle of Marius of Avenches, a continuation of Prosper, was added to the end and so the Prosper entries would have eliminated the blank years between 452 and 455.

⁴⁸ L attributes the work to Prosper in a similar entry to Prosper's own incipit and explicit, BMCPD all copy Prosper's incipit and explicit and the first entry of Prosper (§1166 and 1167).

⁴⁹ Muhlberger 1990: 193.

⁵⁰ Burgess 1993: 8.

chroniclers.⁵¹ The date of his death is unknown, but given the fact that he composed his chronicle late in life, having been born sometime around 400, it is generally assumed that he died shortly after the publication of his chronicle. While these are the two later continuators of Jerome, in 433 the *Chronici canones* found its first western continuator in the work of Prosper who wrote his own chronicle in southern Gaul.

Prosper

Prosper was born sometime around the year 390 in the region of Aquitaine.⁵² It is likely that he belonged to a family of Gallo-Roman aristocratic background and that, while living in the region of Aquitaine, he received a good education. It is not known precisely where in Aquitaine Prosper was born and educated, but Valentin supposes that it must have been Bordeaux, although no concrete evidence exists to support this claim.⁵³ The only direct evidence which pertains to Prosper's early life is contained in a short Latin biography written in the late fifth century and derives from references made in his own work and the work of others.⁵⁴ In his own work *De providentia dei*, Prosper tells of a decade-long slaughter in Gaul at the hands of the Vandals and Goths. As Prosper is the narrator of the poem, it provides insight into the early world in which he lived.⁵⁵

While it not uncommon for scholars to refer to Prosper as Prosper of Aquitaine, citing his place of birth, it is clear that this is not the only way in which various manuscript traditions, both of his own work and the work of later authors, provide his name. In a few cases he is referred to with the name Tiro, which basically means 'beginner', perhaps indicating that he was viewed as a novice. He is referred to in this way in two separate traditions of the chronicle, as Prosper Tiro in manuscript C, which dates to the ninth century and Tyro Prosper in the R family of

⁵¹ Burgess 1993: 8-9.

⁵² Valentin 1900: 124-126, especially the bottom of 125; Muhlberger 1990: 48; Humphries 1996: 158; Hwang 2009: 38-41 argues for an earlier date of 388. Gennadius is the first to say that he comes from Aquitaine, see Appendix One for Gennadius' biography of Prosper.

⁵³ Hwang 2009: 47; Valentin presupposes that Prosper was educated at Bordeaux, "On n'est pas mieux renseigné sur les circonstances de son éducation. Il est probable qu'il vécut à Bordeaux dans le calme des dernières années du quatrième siècle, à la veille des Invasions, et qu'il reçut là cette forte éducation littéraire que Tertullien considérait comme 'l'instrument indispensable pour toutes les conditions et tous les actes de la vie.' C'est sans doute ce que Gennade entend quand il appelle saint Prosper: 'Sermone scholasticus'." (1900: 127).

⁵⁴ As will be discussed throughout the chapter, authors such as Victorius of Aquitaine, Cassiodorus, Fulgentius and Bede all refer to Prosper but provide almost nothing in the way of biographical details. The only author to provide a biography of Prosper is Gennadius.

⁵⁵ The authorship of this work is often contested but now seems definitively to have been written by Prosper around 416. See Marcovich 1989: ix-xii.

manuscripts, which date to the tenth as well as the fifteenth centuries. Similarly this reading of his name can also be found in Bede's *De arte metrica*, who refers to Prosper Tyro as the author of the *Poema coniugis ad uxorem*, a work of disputed authorship.⁵⁶ This alternative name is accepted by Mommsen in the introduction to his critical edition, although with a certain amount of reservation. Considering the remaining manuscript evidence, both of the chronicle and other works, it is apparent that this was not a widely attributed name. In his own letter to Augustine, he refers to himself only as Prosper.⁵⁷ Similarly, near contemporary authors give no evidence of alternate names for Prosper. Victorius of Aquitaine, who wrote only two years after Prosper's final edition of the chronicle was published, refers to him only as 'sanctus et uenerabilis uir Prosper' and 'uir uenerabilis Prosper'.⁵⁸ Cassiodorus, writing in the sixth century, refers to him as 'sanctus Prosper', and Fulgentius, also writing in the early sixth century says he was a 'uir eruditus et sanctus'.⁵⁹ In contrast to these, the instances where the cognomen Tiro is applied are quite late in origin. Bede's reference could not possibly date before the early eighth century and manuscripts C and R date no earlier than the ninth century. In comparison to evidence which is far more contemporary to Prosper in its origin, it hardly seems likely that this was actually part of his name or a contemporary designation. It is therefore appropriate that, lacking any concrete evidence to the contrary, he should be referred to simply as Prosper, as is supported by the manuscript traditions.

The only detailed account of Prosper was written by a late-fifth-century priest named Gennadius, who continued Jerome's *De uiris illustribus* from the year 392 to 495.⁶⁰ In his short biography Gennadius refers to Prosper not as *presbyter*, *monachus* or *episcopus*, as he so often does with individuals of these ranks, but simply as Prosper, a man from the region of Aquitaine.⁶¹ Given that Gennadius is so meticulous in referring to ranks and titles, it is certain that Prosper was not a priest nor did he hold an ecclesiastical position. Rather, he was a layman, who was deeply interested in the religious controversies in Southern Gaul during this time and who devoutly supported Augustine's religious views.

⁵⁶ Bede, *de arte metrica*, ed. Keil: 257.21; Mommsen 1892: 343; Valentin 1900: 121-124.

⁵⁷ *Apud Aug.*, ep. 225 (CSEL 57: 454-468).

⁵⁸ *Cursus Paschalis*, praef. 7 in *Chron. min.* 1 (= MGH AA 9).

⁵⁹ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1.1.7, 1.17.2; Fulgentius, *Ad Monimum* 1.30.1, 2, 4, and 5.

⁶⁰ Gennadius wrote his continuation of Jerome at the end of the fifth century, probably around 480 with publication around 492-495, although there is a great deal of debate surrounding the actual publication of this work. See Richardson 1986: 353-357.

⁶¹ Gennadius § 85. For the full entry and translation see Appendix One.

It is Prosper's devoted defense of Augustine's theology which provides the first securely dateable reference to his life and residence in the 420s. In 426 or 427, Prosper became concerned about growing criticism regarding Augustine's theological views, specifically those dealing with divine grace and predestination, which arose in Marseille and other parts of southern Gaul.⁶² Despite the fact that he was layman, Prosper wrote to Augustine to inform him of the growing opposition.⁶³ His defense of Augustine of Hippo and opposition to Pelagianism came to define his position within the ecclesiastical sphere. It was also for this reason that Prosper travelled from Marseille to Rome in 431, in order to petition Pope Celestine for additional aid to combat the growing number of ecclesiastical dissidents.⁶⁴

In addition to the confusion surrounding alternative names, two other popular misconceptions concerning the life and work of Prosper must also be addressed. It is commonly believed that following his first trip to Rome in 431 he initially returned to Gaul, but remained only for a short time. It is thought that he then returned to Rome, where he permanently settled and wrote, at the very least, the final two editions of the chronicle. It is also thought that, while living in Rome, Prosper became further involved in ecclesiastical affairs and began to work as the personal secretary to Pope Leo, the successor of Pope Celestine, whom Prosper had met during his trip to Rome in 431. In examining the evidence, there is little reason to believe that Prosper worked as a secretary to Pope Leo or, for that matter, that he even resided in Rome during the latter portion of his life.

To begin with, the misconception that Prosper was a secretary to Pope Leo was first mentioned only in the last quarter of the ninth century by Ado of Vienne. While quoting Gennadius, he states that Prosper was the 'notarius beati Leonis'.⁶⁵ Gennadius himself made no reference to Prosper as a 'notarius'; he only mentions that Prosper was believed to have written

⁶² See note 5 for Augustine's theological views.

⁶³ *Apud Aug., ep. 225* (CSEL 57: 454-468). This letter is usually dated to 428-429, since eight of nine manuscripts of the letter name the current bishop of Arles as Hilary (well-known bishop from 429). But the ninth manuscript and other corroborating evidence show that the bishops name should actually be read as Helladius, who was bishop of Arles between 426 and 427. This obscure name was replaced by the similar and famous name of Hilary. The confusion between the two names is addressed by Chadwick 1945: 200-205. See also Mathisen 1989: 86-87; Muhlberger 1990: 49.

⁶⁴ Markus 1986: 33; Mathisen 1990: 131-134; Muhlberger 1990: 50-51.

⁶⁵ Ado of Vienne in his own chronicle writes "Sed et Prosper Aquitanicae regionis, notarius beati Leonis, a quo dictatae creduntur esse epistolae aduersus Eutychem de uera incarnatione Christi, et libero arbitrio male sentientem." (But also Prosper of the region of Aquitaine, secretary of the Blessed Leo, by whom letters are thought to have been dictated against Eutycheus concerning the true incarnation of Christ, and against his misconceptions about free will.)

certain of Leo's letters against Eutyches.⁶⁶ Similarly Bede, writing in 725, states that Prosper worked as Leo's assistant during the Easter conflict in 455.⁶⁷ In truth, aside from these references, the most direct of which relies on the comment of Gennadius who was writing forty years after Prosper's time, there is no contemporary evidence that Prosper worked for Pope Leo as a secretary. Most notably, Victorius, a contemporary of Prosper and fellow native of Aquitaine who lived in Rome and worked for Pope Leo's successor, makes no mention of the fact that Prosper and Leo were so closely connected when he refers to Prosper in 457. Given that Victorius was writing in Rome only two years after Prosper published the last edition of his chronicle, it would seem likely that he would have been aware of Prosper's alleged occupation and would have made a comment on it when referring to Prosper's chronicle. Furthermore, Cassiodorus, who, like Victorius, used Prosper's chronicle as a source and recommended his chronicle to Christian readers, and who wrote less than a century later, makes no mention of Prosper working for Pope Leo, despite his own close affiliations with Rome.⁶⁸

Evidence that he was a secretary to Leo is also often found by proponents of this theory in the content of Prosper's chronicle.⁶⁹ The argument is made that Pope Leo plays a central role in the events of the chronicle.⁷⁰ Given that Leo was pope from 440 until 461, and the chronicle ends in 455, it is not unsurprising that he would be mentioned more frequently than other popes who were more short-lived and were not Prosper's immediate contemporaries. With the exception of Innocent who was pope from 401-417, Leo had been pope longer than any of his predecessors when the final publication of the chronicle occurred in 455. Prosper was also a strong supporter of the popes, and papal activity often plays a role in his entries. It is therefore reasonable to expect a significant number of entries regarding papal activity, regardless of whether it is Leo or another pope.

Leo is mentioned a total of nine times in the chronicle, all of which are easily explainable without inferring that Prosper must have been either in Rome or working for Leo.⁷¹ Five references to Leo occur in regards to heresies, either Pelagianism, Manicheism or

⁶⁶ For Gennadius' full biography of Prosper see Appendix One.

⁶⁷ Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 43.

⁶⁸ Markus 1986: 36-40; cf Hwang: 2000: 196-198; Muhlberger 1990: 52 acknowledges the theory but is somewhat skeptical.

⁶⁹ James 1993 makes arguments from material outside of the chronicle to establish that Prosper was the secretary to Pope Leo.

⁷⁰ Holder-Egger 1876: 64; Valentin 1900: 135-137, 426; De Letter 1963: 12-13; Markus 1986: 34-5.

⁷¹ References to Leo occur in §1336, 1341, 1350, 1358, 1362, 1367, 1369, 1375, and 1376.

Miaphysitism.⁷² Since heresies are a central theme in the chronicle, these references are perfectly explainable within the context of the work. Furthermore, two entries which concern Leo are in regards to Attila's invasion of Italy and Geiseric's sack of Rome, two very important events which it would be remiss of Prosper to omit and which involve Leo as the bishop of Rome.⁷³ Of the final two entries which concern Leo, the first details his ascension to the papacy, an entry which occurs for each new pope and is therefore expected for Leo. It is longer than the previous entries concerning the elevation of new bishops, but this is because Leo was in Gaul and not Rome when he was elected, which might also help to explain Prosper's interest in him.⁷⁴ The second entry details the date of Easter in 455 and discusses Leo's capitulation to the east over the date. Since Prosper strongly supported the western church, it is not surprising to find an entry concerning Leo's capitulation as Prosper would have viewed it as a matter of great importance.⁷⁵ Prosper also quite vociferously opposes Leo's capitulation, which, had he been Leo's secretary, would hardly have been appropriate, especially given that he put his objections in writing. With these facts in mind, the argument that Prosper must be Leo's secretary owing to the large number of references to the latter is easily dismissed.⁷⁶ While it is clear that Prosper venerated Leo to a certain degree, including titles such as 'uir sanctus' and 'beatissimus papa Leo' in place of the standard 'papa', there is nothing in these entries which indicate either a personal affiliation or close proximity to the pope.⁷⁷

Similarly, it is commonly believed that sometime around the first publication of the chronicle in 433, Prosper returned to Rome where he remained and continued his chronicle in 445 and 455.⁷⁸ The reality is that there is no concrete evidence which would suggest that Prosper

⁷² These are §1336 (Pelagianism), 1350 (Manicheism), 1358, 1369 (Eutychianism), 1362 (Miaphysitism/Council of Chalcedon). Furthermore three of these, 1358, 1362 and 1369 do not deal directly with Leo but mention him only by name or designation in reference to people affiliated with him.

⁷³ § 1367 and 1375 respectively.

⁷⁴ § 1341. Prosper has taken the opportunity to explain the reason for Leo's absence at his election. His normal format is to indicate that X has been elected as the bishop of the Roman church, citing the sequential number of the new bishop in the line of Popes. He also provides the length of the bishop's occupancy of the See of Rome, but Leo was still Pope in 445 when the chronicle concluded so this is not part of the entry. It also appears that one of the emendations made by Prosper in the edition of 455 was to remove the length of the terms of each bishop, a fact which is reflected in Mommsen's edition. Consequently the length of Leo's reign was never included in any edition of the work and therefore does not appear in any manuscript traditions.

⁷⁵ § 1376.

⁷⁶ Markus 1986: 36-40.

⁷⁷ Prosper uses this terminology fairly frequently when speaking of Leo, see § 1350 (*uir sanctus*), 1358, 1369, 1376 (*sanctus papa Leo*), 1367 (*beatissimus papa Leo*) and 1375 (*sanctus Leo episcopus*).

⁷⁸ Markus 1986 successfully refutes the theory that Prosper worked as a secretary to Leo, however remains attached to the theory that Prosper did live in Rome.

either lived or worked in Rome. Since the theory that Prosper worked for Leo during his term as bishop of Rome has already been discounted, the argument that he resided in Rome as a result of this can be dismissed. A further argument for his residence in Rome is based upon the content of the chronicle, with is said to be decidedly focused on the affairs of Rome. Upon closer examination it is evident that Prosper is interested in the whole of the history of the western empire, including events from Britain, Gaul, North Africa and Italy, with little reference to the eastern empire.⁷⁹ While it is clear that there is a shift in Prosper's focus, this can be attributed to his sources. It is likely that, while in Rome in 431, Prosper had access to a much wider range of sources for compiling the earlier portions of his chronicle. Meanwhile, for his 445 and 455 publications he had a much more limited set of sources since he no longer had access to those in Rome as he did in 431.

Further evidence for Prosper's distance from Rome and his lack of connection with Pope Leo can be seen in Prosper's dating of the Council of Chalcedon. In his edition of 455, Prosper dates the council, to 453, not 451.⁸⁰ This is a significant error if one assumes that Prosper was working as Leo's secretary or if he even resided in Rome. Similarly, in his entry concerning the death of Valentinian III, he states that Valentinian was stabbed while travelling outside the city in a litter as opposed to his being assassinated while watching a military demonstration in a parade field outside his villa on the outskirts of Rome.⁸¹ His details concerning the assassination are inaccurate enough that it sheds doubt as to whether Prosper was living in Rome, where these specific details would have been readily available (and we know about them now because they were readily available). These significant errors indicate that Prosper was not living anywhere where he had easy access to accurate news about these fundamentally important events, but rather that he was writing from a distance and had no familiarity with the events about which he was writing. Now that Prosper's residence during the writing of the chronicle has been ascertained, let us return to our account of his life.

As discussed previously, Prosper was known as being a strong proponent of Augustine and avidly supported the latter's theological views.⁸² During the religious controversy of the fifth century in Marseille and other parts of southern Gaul, questions began to arise concerning

⁷⁹ Markus 1986: 33.

⁸⁰ § 1169

⁸¹ § 1375

⁸² See general introduction.

Augustine's rather stringent views on divine grace and predestination. The assertion made by Augustine, that the chosen had already been selected and the only way to reach salvation was through divine grace, was not met well by certain other ecclesiastical figures. It is certain that when Prosper wrote the original chronicle and published it in 433, he strongly supported Augustine and adhered to his theological views. The degree to which this devotion remained throughout Prosper's life is something which will be discussed in the next chapter when the two editions of 445 and 455 are compared. However, it is clear that Prosper's support of Augustine's theological views led him to write numerous other works in defense of the latter. In addition to his chronicle, which was his only historical work, Prosper also wrote numerous other poems and treatises in defense of Augustine.

One of Prosper's first works in defense of Augustine's theology was a letter, written roughly around the same time, 426 or 427, as his letter to Augustine. The letter was addressed to a certain Rufinus and is called the *Epistula ad Rufinum*.⁸³ This was closely followed by his letter to Augustine in which Prosper beseeches him for aid in combating those who were not entirely convinced by Augustine's views. After he received Augustine's response, two treatises entitled *De praedestinatione sanctorum* and *De dono perseuerantiae*, Prosper strove to defend him further by writing a long poem entitled *De ingratias* which upheld Augustine's teachings on salvation.⁸⁴ Shortly after Augustine died in 430, and although Prosper's theological views seemed to be waning slightly, he wrote another treatise, entitled *De gratia Dei et libero arbitrio contra Collatorem*, or simply *Contra Collatorem*, which was aimed against two leading Gallic monastic figures who opposed Augustine, John Cassian and Vincent of Lérins.⁸⁵ This of course was not the end of Augustine's influence on Prosper. He wrote two more major treatises in support of Augustine, the *Capitula seu praeteritorum sedis apostolicae episcoporum auctoritates de gratia Dei*, and the *De uocatione omnium gentium*. In the *Capitula*, Prosper set forth ten doctrinal points supporting grace and consequently Augustine, but it was a much more subdued approach than what was previously published. Similarly *De uocatione*, written around 450, while

⁸³ PL 51.73. For an English translation of the work see De Letter 1963: 21-37. It is unknown who exactly Rufinus was; it would seem that he was an acquaintance of Prosper's who had heard about the controversy regarding Augustine's views. This letter is often dated to 426-427 which corresponds with our dating of the letter to Augustine. It is often felt that the *Epistula ad Rufinum* was written before Prosper's correspondence with Augustine began, but it is clear that the two were written much closer together than what De Letter believes (he dates the letter to Augustine to 428).

⁸⁴ Muhlberger 1990: 50.

⁸⁵ Muhlberger 1990: 51; Mathisen 1989, especially 135-140.

supporting the idea of predestination and grace, stepped away from his previously inflexible defense of Augustine's theology.⁸⁶

The precise date of Prosper's death is unknown. It can be concluded that Prosper lived at least until 455, the year in which he published the final edition of his chronicle. Victorius of Aquitaine makes reference to Prosper in 457, but the reference does not indicate if Prosper was alive or dead at this point. Marcellinus *comes*, who wrote his own continuation of Eusebius-Jerome in sixth-century Constantinople, also makes reference to Prosper in the year 463 of his own work, citing his supposed involvement in the Eutychian controversy. But he is taking his information from Gennadius' biography of Prosper and knows nothing about the chronicle.⁸⁷ It is not specified if 463 was the year of Prosper's death and thus the reason for the reference.⁸⁸

The chronicle

Sometime after his visit to Rome in 431, Prosper set out to compose the first edition of his chronicle, a process which would continue for more than two decades. While it is often referred to as the *epitoma chronicon*, this is a title which is given to the work by Mommsen. Mommsen derived this name from the version of Prosper's original preface found in the A family, in which Prosper refers to the first part of his work as an *epitoma de chronicon* ('epitome of the chronicle'), referring to Jerome's chronicle, although the original form was likely *epitoma chronicorum*, as we can see from the similar reference to the text in Liberatus.⁸⁹ For some reason Mommsen seems to have turned the original *chronicorum* into transliterated Greek (χρονικῶν). The use of this phrase as a title ignores the fact that Prosper created not only an epitome of Jerome but also a continuation, as Prosper clearly explains in his introduction. The manuscript

⁸⁶ Muhlberger 1990: 52-53. For the *Capitula* see De Letter 1963: 178-185. This, of course, is only an overview of the major works for which Prosper is most well known in order to establish the development of his theological views. In addition to those mentioned both previously and in the above section, he also wrote the *Expositio psalmorum*, the *Sententiae* and the *Epigrammata*, which were, respectively, an epitome of Augustine's *Enarrationes*, a collection of ninety-two maxims from the writings of Augustine and a book of 106 epigrams also from Augustine.

⁸⁷ Croke 2001b: 17-19 but see 17-47 for a full history of Marcellinus and his chronicle.

⁸⁸ Muhlberger 1990: 54; Hwang 2009: 233-234. The latter is of the opinion that Prosper died shortly after 455, citing as his evidence the fact that Prosper did not continue his chronicle another time, but his argument depends on Prosper's having a connection to Pope Leo and that he lived for another ten years.

⁸⁹ For Liberatus, see Mommsen, *Chron. min.* 1: 347. Prosper's preface in the A family (Ar, t, and v) states: '*Incipit epitoma de chronicon, quibus et generationes ab Adam usque ad Abraham et a passione Domini omnes consules et quae secuta sint post finem Valentii usque ad quintum consulatum Valentiniani imperatoris adicimus*' ('Here begins an epitome from the chronicle, to which we have added the generations from Adam to Abraham, all the consuls from the Passion of the Lord, and those things which followed after the death of Valens to the fifth consulship of Emperor Valentinian.').

tradition does not provide a name for the work (if it ever had one) and so it seems fitting, given the limitations of Mommsen's title, to refer to the work simply as the chronicle, in line with the references of later authors.

Prosper's work consisted of two parts. The first was an epitome of Jerome's *Chronici canones* into a much more compressed, simplified format. This was followed in the second part by a continuation of Jerome from 378 until 433 and eventually 445 and 455. In his epitome of the original material presented in Eusebius-Jerome, Prosper made several important changes to the format and structure. First, Prosper greatly simplified the *fila regnorum* approach which had been created by Eusebius and copied by Jerome. He reduced the numerous *fila*, which in the first half of the work had spanned two pages, with up to nine kingdoms represented on a two-page spread, and their annual reckoning of time into a solid text with a single chronology that was calculated according to the reign. In doing so he was forced to abandon the practice of using regnal years of multiple kingdoms, years of Abraham and Olympiads, leaving the chronicle with no overall chronological guideline, just a note that each patriarch or ruler lived or reigned for so many years. However, Prosper did retain Jerome's *supputationes* and even included a few of his own in order to account for the passing years.⁹⁰

Having dispensed with the approach to the reckoning of time found in Eusebius-Jerome, Prosper was required to reckon time according to a single *filum*, that is according to a single group per time period. This meant that for the beginning of time he used the biblical patriarchs, then continued with the Hebrew judges and kings until the Captivity. After this he reckoned time according to the Persian kings, Alexander (Macedonian), the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt, and finally the Roman emperors, each succeeding dynasty the conqueror of the previous one.⁹¹ He continues this practice of chronological accounting by individual reigns until the time of the Passion, at which point he switches to the annual citation of Roman consuls in order to account for each individual year along with, it would seem, a reckoning of *anni a passione* ('years from the Passion'). In altering the structure of Eusebius-Jerome and using a structure of consuls in the post-passion period, Prosper became the first extant western chronicler to use *consularia* as a basis for the structure of his chronicle.⁹²

⁹⁰ Examples of these *supputationes* are §13, 28, 34, 106, 187, 361, 386.

⁹¹ Muhlberger 1990: 62.

⁹² Muhlberger 1990: 9.

In addition to altering the chronological structure of the work, Prosper also added to the already existing material presented in the Eusebius-Jerome portion of the text. When Eusebius first wrote the *Chronici canones* he was largely uninterested in addressing either the beginning or the end of time, and instead began with Abraham whom he saw as the first Christian, a structure which was upheld by Jerome. Prosper was more interested in presenting a full account of human history, and as a result augmented the beginning of the Eusebius-Jerome material with a list of biblical genealogies from Adam until Abraham.⁹³ He also expanded upon several entries concerning heresies and included supplementary entries to the previous material. Additionally he included certain entries from his consular *fasti*, §757 and 974, and several other notes concerning the deaths of emperors or the birth of Jerome which were of interest to him.⁹⁴

In total, the epitome of Eusebius-Jerome which Prosper wrote takes up 1140 entries of the total 1376 found in Mommsen's edition. In the epitome, entries 26 to 390, a total of 365 entries, cover two thousand years of history, from 2016 BCE until 28 CE, with §390 describing the passion. Prosper then begins to reckon time annually according to the consuls, which themselves comprise a further 352 entries. The entries under these consular pairs comprise the remaining 423 entries of the epitome. Given the brevity of the epitome which was created by Prosper, the later preference for readers and scribes was often to retain the full work of Jerome and attach just Prosper's continuation to it at the year 378. Consequently the chronicle survives in two forms: in manuscripts A, C and M the entirety of Prosper's work has been retained, including the epitome, while manuscript traditions B, F, H, P, R, X, and Z all begin in 378, using only Prosper's original material.⁹⁵

The second portion of Prosper's chronicle, his own continuation of the work of Eusebius-Jerome, extends from 378 until 433, 445 or 455, depending on the publication date. It is clear throughout his re-working of Eusebius-Jerome and throughout his continuation that Prosper made use of various sources. As was noted previously, Prosper was interested in the entirety of human history and so in his epitome of Jerome he included twenty-five entries from

⁹³ Muhlberger 1990: 61. This represents §1-25 in Mommsen's edition of the chronicle.

⁹⁴ The numerous additions and their sources will be discussed below.

⁹⁵ Manuscripts C and M are not used in this work but should be mentioned in reference to this. C closely follows the A family throughout the epitome but breaks off in the year 375, returning only in 437 where it now follows the 455 edition. Manuscript M is representative of the 455 publication and so is not consulted in the edition of 445. The only remaining manuscript, O, extends from 327-337, then breaks off and returns in 383.

Adam until Abraham, using the *Liber generationis* as his source.⁹⁶ In addition to this, Prosper also augmented several entries found in Eusebius-Jerome using Augustine's *De haeresibus* in order to expand upon descriptions of heresies, a central theme in the chronicle. Since Prosper opted to replace Jerome's regnal year structure with consuls, he required a source to create this consular chronology, and used *fasti* which were related to the *Consularia Vindobonensia* tradition.⁹⁷ In addition to the *Consularia Vindobonensia*, Prosper also appears to have had access to a recension of the *Descriptio consulum* with a continuation that extended from 378 until 425 which he used in conjunction with the above. For the inclusion of the popes, he appears to have had a list of the bishops of Rome at his disposal, but it was not at all accurate and the result is an inaccurate representation of when bishops were consecrated and for how long they were bishop of Rome. These were all used in conjunction with what we can assume are unknown classicizing histories, papal letters and documents, sources on the Vandal invasions, lists of recent consuls and other local sources.

In addition to the three concretely proven publication dates, 433, 445 and 455, two additional theoretical publication dates have been put forth. Mommsen, in his introduction to the chronicle, believes that the work underwent five separate publications, the first in 433 followed by ones in 443 and 445, then two final editions in 451 and 455. These two additional publication dates, 433 and 451, will now be discussed.

Let us begin with the 443 edition.⁹⁸ Mommsen bases his argument for a 443 publication date on the continuation of Prosper by Victor of Tunnuna. Since Victor's continuation begins in 444 with an *incipit* stating that Prosper continued down to that point, Mommsen views this as sufficient evidence for a 443 publication date.⁹⁹ The truth of the matter is quite different. First, other than Victor of Tunnuna, there is no evidence that an edition was published in 443. Moreover, Victor's chronicle does not follow a copy of Prosper as a continuation, but rather the entire work commences with the year 444 and the above mentioned *incipit*. Furthermore, in comparing Victor and Prosper we see the following:

⁹⁶ As *Liber generationis I* in *Chron. min.* 1: 91-93, 112-113.

⁹⁷ Burgess and Dijkstra 2012: 275-276. The *Consularia Vindobonensia* is also related to the *Consularia Scaligeriana*, the Berlin Chronicle, and the *Consularia Golenischevskia*.

⁹⁸ Muhlberger 1986. In this article he definitively disproves the existence of an edition of 443.

⁹⁹ Mommsen *Chron. min.* 2: 184, Victor of Tunnuna's *incipit* is as follows, '*Hucusque Prosper vir religiosus ordinem praecedentium digessit annorum: cui et nos subieciimus*' (Up to this point the religious Prosper arranged the order of the preceding years. To this we have added the following material).

Victor (447): ‘Eutyches presbyter et archimandrita cuiusdam monasterii Constantinopolitani apparuit, qui sui nominis haeresim condidit. hic etenim dominum nostrum Iesum Christum sic afferebat natum ex Maria semper uirgine matre, ut nihil in eo confiteretur humanae naturae...’

Prosper (§1358 = 448): ‘Hoc tempore Eutychiana heresis exorta est auctore Eutyche quodam presbytero, qui apud Constantinopolim monasterio celeberrimo praesidebat, praedicans Iesum Christum dominum nostrum beatae Mariae uirginis nihil maternae habuisse substantiae, sed sub specie hominis solam in eo uerbi dei fuisse naturam...’

Victor (450) : ‘ Theodosius imperator anno uitae suae LXII Constantinopoli moritur. Chrysaphius praepositus imperatoris amicitiiis Eutychetis male usus occiditur et Marcianus totius rei publicae consensu imperator efficitur.’

Prosper (§1361 = 450) ‘Theodosio imperatore defuncto et Chrysafio praeposito, qui amicitia principis male usus fuerat, interempto Marcianus consensione totius exercitus suscepit regnum, uir gravissimus et non solum rei publicae, sed etiam ecclesiae pernecessarius.’

It therefore is evident that Victor did not continue a 443 edition of Prosper, but used a 455 edition and completely replaced what Prosper wrote between the years 444 and 455 while using his chronicle as a source. From the content of Victor’s work it would appear that he did this in order to suit his sixth-century ecclesiastical needs, namely the extensive promotion of the Council of Chalcedon in order to support Chalcedonian Christianity as opposed to Miaphysite Christianity.

The second theoretical date of publication, 451, is put forth by Mommsen in his introduction and is accepted by Muhlberger. Muhlberger expounds at length on this edition, which he attempts to reconstruct based on the evidence found in the 445 and 455 editions and three *incipit* statements which are as follows:

1. Paris ms. lat. 4871: ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti incipit epitoma de cronicis quibus et generationes ab Adam usque ad Abraham et passionem domini omnes consules et que consecute sunt post finem Valentis usque consulatum Placidi Valentiniani Aug. et post Adelfi consulatum adiecimus.’
2. A: ‘incipit epithoma de cricon quibus et generationes ab Adam usque ad Abraham et a passione domini omnes consules et quae consecute sint post finem Valentii usque ad quintum consulatum Valentiniani imperatoris adiecimus.’
3. F: ‘fiunt ab Adam usque in consulatum Theodosi iunioris XVIII et Valentiniani Placidiae filii iunioris sexies adiecimus.’

Mommsen and Muhlberger believe that the consular pair provided in the Paris manuscript is evidence enough for an edition of 451, but the manuscript breaks off at entry 516 in 94 CE, and so it is impossible to ascertain when this manuscript actually concluded.¹⁰⁰ Mommsen, in his introduction, states that this manuscript was related to the A family of manuscripts, which has the only *incipit* of similar length and detail and he implies that A originally concluded in 451, although it now breaks off in 443. In fact, A originally concluded in 445 as can be proven through its connection to O and R which also concluded then. The greatest problem with these *incipit* statements is that none of them possesses a reliable set of consuls. Paris identifies the end point at the consulship of Valentinian (who was consul in 445, 450, 455) and after the consulship of Adelfius (451). A only presents a single consul, Valentinian for the fifth time (440), and is corrupt, giving only one of the consular pair. Furthermore, it continues beyond the end date that this consulship would imply, further proving that the date is corrupt. F is also perplexing since it provides the eighteenth consulship of Theodosius (444) and the sixth consulship of Valentinian (445), referring to the first of each pair of consuls from two years. All of these consular dates make little sense and cannot prove an edition of 451 ever existed. It is more likely that the problems with the consular dates found in the *incipit* are the result of scribal corruption or deliberate scribal alteration to take into account continuations of the 445 edition by other authors. This is not an uncommon occurrence, and evidence for it can be seen, for instance, in O which has an attached continuation to the year 451 and R which continues to 457.¹⁰¹

We are then left only with the editions of 443, 445 and 455. Of these three editions only the 445 and 455 remain in any form from which it is possible to create an authoritative text and compare the two works. Since Mommsen used all of the major manuscripts of both the 445 and 455 editions to create his own critical edition, we are able to examine his *apparatus criticus* to determine what differences exist between the two versions of Prosper's chronicle. Through this comparison we are then able to determine if the differences between the two editions were deliberate editorial changes made by Prosper or scribal alterations that occurred at a later date.

¹⁰⁰ Mommsen, *Chron. min.* 1: 345, 347; Muhlberger 1990: 115-121.

¹⁰¹ See Mommsen, *Chron. min.* 1: 486-93.

Chapter Two

A comparison of the 445 and 455 editions

We must now carefully examine Mommsen's *apparatus criticus* in order to compare each entry of the 445 edition with the 455 edition to evaluate what differences exist between the two. In his critical edition, published in 1892, Mommsen used manuscripts which represent both editions, those found in ours, as well as MY and CD, which represent two recensions of the 455 edition.¹⁰² Mommsen's edition suffers chiefly from how he viewed the various recensions of the manuscripts. He divided them into three distinct categories based upon the assumption that they all represent a single unified text until 445. The 445 edition was represented by AORV, the 455 by MY and BCDFHPXZ follow the main text of MY but are contaminated by AORV. The result is a critical edition which represents a mixed text. Mommsen accounted for the variants in the following ways: he provided the alternate readings in square brackets regardless of whether they were full entries of single words or phrases, he created parallel columns within the entries to account for two irreconcilable readings in the manuscripts, and he gave preference to MY and placed alternate readings in the *apparatus criticus*. Special attention has been paid to Mommsen's use of CDMY in contrast to his use of AFOPRXZ since the former represent the 455 edition and the latter represent the 445 edition. In this way it is possible to observe the variants that exist between the two and to try to understand why Prosper altered these entries.¹⁰³

It can clearly be seen that Prosper made certain stylistic changes when writing the edition of 455 by changing select vocabulary or rewriting large portions of text. In some cases there is little effect upon the end result and one choice simply appears to have been preferred over another. In §1294 and 1339,¹⁰⁴ we see examples of passages which have been re-worded for the sake of style alone:

¹⁰² Mommsen's *sigla codicum* can be found in *Chron. min.* 1: 342. Six major manuscripts are used by Mommsen which represent the 455 edition of the manuscript. MY form one recension of these, both cover the entire continuation. CD are a second recension, of which C covers the years 437 until 455 and D is appended to the Gallic chronicle of 452, thus extending only from 453 until 455 and therefore does not factor into the above comparison. BH are the final recension and are a mixed redactions of both the 445 and 455 editions. They are addressed in the third chapters and are used in our critical edition.

¹⁰³ In the comparison below the orthography has been taken from Mommsen.

¹⁰⁴ This part of §1339 appears marginally in *AstuvO* and in the text in FPXZ. In our edition it is listed as §1339b.

445: ‘...cuius prodicione Mauortius et Gallio dum Bonifatium obsident interempti sunt, moxque ipse a Bonifatio doli detectus occisus est.’

455: ‘...qui obsidentes Bonifatium prodente Sanoece occisi sunt, mox etiam ipso qui prodiderat interfecto.’

445: ...Carthago a Vandalis capta anno postquam Romana esse coeperat quingentesimo et octogensimo et quinto.

455: ...hanc autem captiuitatem Carthago subiit anno, postquam Romana esse coeperat, quingentesimo et octogensimo et quinto.

In both cases, Prosper has provided the same information but has chosen to re-work the sentences. Stylistically they are completely different, but the entry still retains the same information and intended meaning that it did in the 445 edition. In other cases Prosper was less drastic in altering the entries for stylistic purposes and only elected to change a select few words, as we can see in §1292:

445: ‘Patroclus Arelatensis episcopus a tribuno quodam Barnabo multis uulneribus laniatus occiditur. Quod facinus ad occultam iussionem Felicis magistri militum referebatur cuius impulsu creditus est etiam Titus diaconus uir sanctus Romae pecunias pauperibus distribuens interemptus.’

455: ‘Patroclus Arelatensis episcopus a tribuno quodam Barnabo multis uulneribus concisus occiditur. Quod facinus ad praeceptum Felicis magistri militum referebatur cuius impulsu etiam Titus diaconus uir sanctus Romae pecunias pauperibus distribuens interfectus.’

In this case, ‘concisus’ as opposed to ‘laniatus’ and ‘interfectus’ instead of ‘interemptus’ provide a similar enough reading so as not to change the intended meaning of the entry. Perhaps ‘laniatus’ provides a slightly more violent interpretation that does ‘concisus’, but the basic understanding is the same. It simply appears as though Prosper preferred certain vocabulary choices over what he had already written in 445 and so made certain stylistic changes. Although these changes offer little difference in the reading of the passage, there is one other alteration which gives a different implication in the 455 edition. The words ‘ad occultam iussionem’ have been altered to ‘ad praeceptum’, thereby removing the idea of subterfuge on the part of Felix. It seems that Prosper has removed certain implications of cunning on the part of Felix in regards to the murder of Titus and has instead introduced him as having an outright contempt for religious figures.

Like this, there are also other cases where select words have been changed which alter the intended meaning. One such example can be found in §1220:

445: 'Iohannes Constantinopolitanus et Theophilus Alexandrinus inlustres episcopi habentur...'

455: 'Iohannes Constantinopolitanus et Theophilus Alexandrinus episcopi sancti habentur...'

In this case the change, as small as it is, alters the implication of the entry. Prosper first indicated that these two bishops were considered famous, but in 455 returned and altered it to state that they are considered holy or sainted. It simply appears that Prosper wished to elevate them from the status of 'inlustres' to 'sancti', perhaps as a result of their reputations growing over time, and so he altered the entry to suit this.

Similarly we can see in §1278 an example of words which have been changed and provide a slightly altered reading, in addition to the omission and inclusion of certain other phrases.¹⁰⁵ This entry reads:

445: Hoc tempore exercitus ad Hispanias contra Wandalos missus est, cui Castinus dux fuit. Qui Bonifatium uirum bellicis artibus praeclarum inepto et iniurioso imperio ab expeditionis suae societate auertit. Nam ille periculosum sibi atque indignum ratus eum sequi, quem discordem superbientemque expertus esset, celeriter se ad Portum urbis atque inde ad Africam proripuit. Idque rei publicae multorum laborum initium fuit.

455: Hoc tempore exercitus ad Hispanias contra Wandalos missus est, cui Castinus dux fuit. Qui Bonifatium uirum bellicis artibus satis clarum inepto et iniurioso imperio ab expeditionis suae societate auertit. Nam ille periculosum sibi atque indignum ratus eum sequi, quem discordem superbientemque expertus esset, celeriter se ad Portum atque inde ad Africam proripuit. Idque rei publicae multorum laborum et malorum sequentium initium fuit.

The first change that is evident is Prosper's decision to alter 'praeclarum' to 'satis clarum'. This change gives the impression that Prosper is downgrading his opinion of Boniface from 'famous' to 'famous enough'. This is not entirely surprising given the events which followed Boniface's flight to North Africa, a fact which Prosper also includes in the 455 edition. It is clear that Prosper returned and added the words 'malorum sequentium' to his work. The original 'multorum laborum' clearly refers to the war which was fought against Boniface and the

¹⁰⁵ Muhlberger 1990: 58-59.

eventual arrival of the Vandals whom Castinus had been unsuccessful in defeating. The second portion, ‘malorum sequentium’ which Prosper added would seem to refer to the sack of Rome in 455. It appears as though Prosper felt the sack of Rome, the ‘subsequent evils’ as he calls it, stemmed back to Boniface’s rebellion in North Africa and so he felt the need to include this in the entry.

There also occurs in §1289 a conspicuous alteration to the accession of Valentinian.¹⁰⁶ The original entry found in the 445 edition reads:

‘Valentinianus decreto Theodosii augustus appellatur.’

The edition of 455 gives a different version of this entry claiming that

‘Valentinianus ab exercitu Augustus appellatur.’

Prosper has elected to modify the circumstances of Valentinian’s accession, stating that he was elected by the army rather than by his eastern college, the senior Augustus, as was customary. We know that Marcian receives significant praise from Prosper, likely owing to his involvement in the Council of Chalcedon,¹⁰⁷ and so it seems probable that Prosper made this change in order to further legitimize Marcian’s accession which had not been readily accepted by Valentinian III. Furthermore, Marcian was not a Theodosian by birth but had married into the dynasty, further weakening his claim to the purple. For the year 450 CE, Prosper writes that ‘Marcianus consensione totius exercitus suscepit regnum.’¹⁰⁸ By changing Valentinian’s accession, Prosper effectively created a parallel circumstance for the accession of both emperors and removed any implication that Marcian, a good Christian emperor in Prosper’s estimation, may have been a usurper.

There also occurs a significant number of alterations to entries which concern Placidia and her children, Valentinian III and Honoria. The first alternate reading that concerns Placidia can be seen at §1259. In 445 Prosper wrote:

¹⁰⁶ Muhlberger 1990: 59.

¹⁰⁷ Humphries 1996: 156.

¹⁰⁸ § 1361. ‘Marcian was elevated to the imperial power with the agreement of the whole army.’

‘Placidiam Theodosii imperatoris filiam quam Romae Gothi ceperant quamque Athaulfus coniugem habuerat Wallia pacem Honorii expetens reddit eiusque nuptias Constantius promeretur.’

Meanwhile, the 455 edition provide a slightly altered version which states:

‘Wallia Placidiam reddit, cuius nuptias Constantius promeretur.’

It is clear that, for the edition of 455, Prosper opted to include a much shorter entry which eliminated Placidia’s history. Aside from stating that Wallia returned Placidia, all references to her first marriage and the Goths have been eliminated from the entry. The removal of this entry alone could be the result of strained relations with the Goths which led to Prosper’s desire to remove this reference to Placidia’s previous marriage to a Gothic king. This would thereby remove any association between the Western imperial family and the Goths.

Similarly, in several cases, the names of members of the Western imperial family have been removed or altered to make the entry less specific. The first such entry, §1267 which announces Valentinian’s birth, has been altered between editions to eliminate the names of his parents. In 445 it reads ‘Valentinianus Constantii et Placidiae filius nascitur VI non. Iulias.’ But for the edition of 455 the words ‘Constantii et Placidiae filius’ have been removed. Similarly, in §1280, the names of Placidia’s children have also been removed. In this case ‘Placidia Augusta a fratre Honorio pulsa Orientem cum Honoria et Valentiniano filiis proficiscitur’ has been altered to read only ‘cum filiis’. The fact that these names have been removed in two places seems to more strongly imply that they were intentional alterations made by Prosper and not the result of later scribal tampering.

Likewise, we also find an indirect reference to Placidia which has also been altered in §1286:

445: ‘Theodosius Valentinianum amitae suae filium caesarem facit...’

455: ‘Theodosius Valentinianum consobrinum suum caesarem facit...’

The edition of 445 clearly refers to Valentinian as the ‘son of [Theodosius’] aunt’, this of course being Placidia. Meanwhile, the edition of 455 has changed ‘amitae suae filium’ to ‘consobrinum suum’, calling Valentinian the cousin of Theodisius rather than the son of his aunt. The essential meaning is the same and might otherwise be unremarkable if it were not for the number of other

references to Placidia which have been altered. It hardly seems likely that this alteration is coincidental or the result of later scribal alteration. Rather, it seems to have been an intentional change made by Prosper to eliminate another reference to Placidia. The most straightforward hypothesis, in this case, would stem back to the events of 450 when Honoria, Placidia's daughter and Valentinian's sister, sent a plea for help to Attila, king of the Huns, to save her from an unwanted marriage. The result of this plea was Attila's invasion of Gaul and a subsequent war. It seems that Prosper wished to disassociate Valentinian III both from Honoria and from Placidia who was forced to defend her daughter's actions.

There is also evidence which shows that Prosper made deletions to the text of certain entries between the two editions. In some cases Prosper has chosen to omit only select words from the text found in the 445 edition, while in other cases large portions of entries are missing. In §1197 we can see the removal of a select few words:

445: '...Arbogastes magister exercitus mortuo Valentiniano, cuius exitu grauabatur, Eugenium in Gallia imperatorem facit.'

455: '...Arbogastes magister exercitus mortuo Valentiniano Eugenium in Gallia imperatorem facit.'

There does not seem to be any obvious reason for the removal of 'cuius exitu grauabatur' except to remove any idea of guilt or burden from Arbogast. However, there are more obviously deliberate omissions found in §1222 and 1254:

445: 'Pollentiae aduersum Gothos uehementer utriusque partis clade pugnatum.'

455: 'Pollentiae aduersum Gothos uehementer pugnatum.'

445: 'Attalus Gothorum consilio et praesidio tyrannidem resumit in Gallia.'

455: 'Attalus Gothorum praesidio tyrannidem resumit.'

In both of these cases, Prosper has altered references to the Goths. Like the first entry concerning Placidia, these references to the Goths seem to have been altered as a result of strained relations with them. In the first case Prosper has eliminated the statement concerning a great slaughter to both sides of the armies at Pollentia, perhaps not wanting to admit that the Romans suffered any loss at the hands of the Goths. Similarly, when discussing Attalus' role as a usurper, he eliminates the reference to 'advice', instead only stating that Attalus had 'aid' from the Goths.

The most straightforward hypothesis is simply a desire to remove favourable statements about the Goths or any indication that they may have been more powerful than the Romans.

A similar omission of a few select words also occurs in §1336:

445: ‘...sed his insidiis Xystus papa diaconi Leonis hortatu uigilanter occurrens nullum aditum pestiferis conatibus patere permisit...’

455: ‘...sed his insidiis Xystus papa uigilanter occurrens nullum aditum pestiferis conatibus patere permisit...’

In this case, Prosper has simply removed the reference to Leo. Originally he states that Leo urged Pope Xystus to come down harshly on Julian of Eclanum, but by 455 he has removed this reference. The most likely explanation for this seems to be that Prosper learned Leo had never so acted and removed the incorrect reference.

There are also instances where a much larger section of text has been removed from certain entries. The most prominent example of this can be found in §1252 which in the edition of 455 states:

‘Eodem tempore Pelagius Britto dogma nominis sui contra gratiam Christi Caelestio et Iuliano adiutoribus exerit multosque in suum errorem trahit.’

But the edition of 445 includes a much longer entry which fully explains the doctrine behind Pelagianism. After ‘trahit’ it adds:

‘praedicans unumquemque ad iustitiam uoluntate propria regi tantumque accipere gratiae quantum meruerit, quia Adae peccatum ipsum solum laeserit non etiam posteros eius obstrinxerit. Vnde et uolentibus possibile sit omni carere peccato omnesque paruulos tam insontes nasci quam primus homo ante praeuocationem fuit: nec ideo baptizandos, ut peccato exuantur, sed ut sacramento adoptionis honorentur.’¹⁰⁹

In this case Prosper has returned and eliminated the entire explanation of the Pelagian doctrine. Pelagianism had been formally condemned at the council of Ephesus in 431 but Prosper still includes the explanation in his edition of 445, indicating that the condemnation of the doctrine was not the reason for the removal. It seems more likely that it is a reflection of Prosper’s

¹⁰⁹ The 445 edition also has ‘hac tempestate’ rather than ‘Eodem tempore’, but this is so minor a change that it does not alter much about the entry.

theological views which were becoming less Augustinian. However, it is strange that while the explanation of Pelagianism is missing from MY, there is still an explanation of Nestorianism for the year 428.¹¹⁰ Since Prosper removed the entire explanation of Pelagianism, one would think to find the explanation of Nestorianism also missing from the edition of 455. It is entirely conceivable that Prosper associated his views on Pelagianism with Augustine and not his views on Nestorianism which began to arise around the time of Augustine's death and so, in light of his changing theological views, he altered only one of the entries.

There is also another entry, §1288, which has been altered so that the last portion is missing from the 455 edition. The section omitted from 455 reads:

‘... Castinus autem in exilium actus est, quia uidebatur Iohannes sine conuentia ipsius regnum non potuisse preaesumere.’

Prosper has removed the entire entry concerning the fate of Castinus after the death of the usurper John. It is unclear as to why Prosper would eliminate this entry from the chronicle. It is also strange that he states only that Castinus was sent into exile and does not give a location. Typically Prosper gives the place to where the person has been exiled as we can see in §1220, John Chrysostom is exiled to Pontus, and in §1263 when Attalus is exiled to Lipara. Perhaps Prosper's sources are to blame and he simply did not have the information to fill in the blanks.

There are also cases where entire passages have been omitted from the text of the 455 edition. In two cases full entries have been removed from the text, these are:

§1205: ‘Hoc tempore Claudianus poeta insignis innotuit.’

§ 1247: ‘Eodem tempore Heros uir sanctus et beati Martini discipulus cum Arelatensi oppido episcopus praesideret, a populo eiusdem ciuitatis insons et nulli insimulationi obnoxius pulsus est inque eius locum Patroclus ordinatus amicus et familiaris Constantii magistri militum, cuius per ipsum gratia quaerebatur, eaque res inter episcopos regionis illius magnarum discordiarum materia fuit.’

There does not seem to be any sufficient explanation for the removal of the first entry. It is a simple statement concerning Claudianus' fame as a poet, but does not appear in MY. The second

¹¹⁰ §1297: ‘Nestorius Constantinopolitanus episcopus nouum ecclesiis molitur errorem inducere, praedicans Christum ex Maria hominem tantum, non etiam deum natum eique diuinitatem conlatam esse pro merito. Cui impietati praecipua Cyrilli Alexandrini episcopi industria et papae Caelestini repugnat auctoritas.’

entry is a bit more surprising to find removed from the 455 edition. This entry discusses Heros' removal as the bishop of Arles and his replacement Patroclus' appointment by Constantius.¹¹¹ It is clear in the entry that Prosper is a strong supporter of Heros and asserts that he was wrongly removed from the bishopric. As Augustine was also a strong proponent of Heros and Lazarus¹¹², it is entirely unsurprising to find these sentiments mirrored in Prosper's work.¹¹³ Heros was an ardent anti-Pelagian and, after he was expelled from Arles, he travelled to Jerusalem where he took up this theological position. It is his anti-Pelagian sentiments which draw Augustine and Prosper's admiration. It is unclear why this entry appears only in the 445 edition, especially given the length and complexity of the entry. Precisely because of this, it is almost inconceivable to assume that the removal of the entry was a simple oversight on the part of a later scribe but rather that it was an intentional editorial decision made by Prosper, perhaps as a reflection of his developing theological views which were becoming slightly less Augustinian.

It is clear from manuscript traditions of the two editions that there are two separate texts for the pre-445 material. As we have seen, Prosper returned to his work in the intervening years and made changes to the text for stylistic, political, social and religious reasons. The two editions clearly do not represent a single unified text as Mommsen believes.¹¹⁴ There are significant enough variants between the material found in the manuscripts of the 445, and those of the 455 edition to indicate deliberate alteration. They are not the result of later scribal tampering as Mommsen believes but can only be the result of deliberate editorial changes made by Prosper.

Furthermore, Muhlberger accepts that there are two editions but also believes that the alterations are so few and insignificant that they do not prove the existence of two separate texts for the material before 445. His interpretations are hampered by his adherence to Mommsen's division of the manuscript tradition. He identifies only two examples of substantial entries which are omitted from MY. These are entries §1285, which discusses the death of Exuperantius, and §1337, which discusses Vitericus, and he believes that they may have both been early

¹¹¹ In 412, Heros, who had been appointed as bishop of Arles by the usurper Constantine III, was removed from his position and replaced by Patroclus, who allied himself with Constantius. Heros had close ties to Tours and is called 'beati Martini discipulus'. See Mathisen 1989: 30-32, 35-41.

¹¹² Like Heros, Lazarus was removed from his position as bishop of Aix-en-Provence in the wake of Constantius' success against the usurper Constantine III.

¹¹³ Mathisen 1989: 38.

¹¹⁴ *Chron. min.* 1: 376.

interpolations.¹¹⁵ Both are marginal entries, the first appears only in AO and is not present in any of the other manuscripts and could very well be an interpolation. The second entry, §1337, is present marginally in AO and is in the text in FPXZ. Considering that the entry appears in almost all of the manuscripts of the 445 edition, it seems unlikely that it was an early interpolation. Rather it seems that it was an entry removed from 455 and not an interpolation into the 445 edition. He also identifies two main changes, §1278 to accommodate the Vandal sack of Rome and §1289, Valentinian's accession, as deliberate alterations, but he does not see these as sufficient evidence for separate traditions for the pre-445 material.

As we have demonstrated, there are significant portions of the pre-445 material which have been changed either through altered vocabulary, the omission of entries, or the inclusion of new material. These changes are numerous and significant enough that they indicate editorial decisions and not scribal tampering as Mommsen believes. It is also obvious that Mommsen's division of manuscripts is incorrect and is based upon the hypothesis that the manuscripts follow a unified text, which they do not. Clearly AFOPRXZ follow a text which is unique to the 445 edition of the chronicle and indicates that Prosper returned to his work ten years later and made revisions to the already existent material. It is therefore necessary to fill the void left by Mommsen when he created only one edition of the chronicle and to create a critical edition of the 445 translation with an accompanying translation of the text.

¹¹⁵ Muhlburger 1990: 60. §1285: 'Exuperantius Pictauus praefectus praetorio Galliarum in ciuitate Arelatense militum seditione occisus est, idque apud Iohannem inultum fuit.' §1337: 'Per idem tempus Vitericus rei publicae nostrae fidelis et multis documentis bellicis clarus habebatur.'

Chapter Three

Introduction to the text and translation

In order to create a critical edition of the 445 edition of the chronicle, fourteen separate manuscripts, all of which were identified and utilized by Mommsen, have been consulted. As has been established, the pre-445 material is not representative of a single unified text, as Mommsen believes, and so we have not consulted manuscripts CD and MY, which are representative of the 455 edition. The manuscript recensions have also been viewed in an entirely different way from Mommsen's interpretation. Mommsen viewed MY as the 455 edition, AORV as the 445 edition, and the remaining manuscripts as contaminated ones which followed the main text of MY. Since it has been established that the manuscripts of the 445 and 455 editions do not follow a unified text, a new interpretation of the recensions has been developed. The fourteen manuscripts which represent the 445 edition and which have been used in our edition are ABFHOPRXZ and they have been further broken down into three separate recensions, hereafter identified as recensions one (AOR), two (FPXZ), and three (BH).¹¹⁶

The Manuscripts

Recension One - AOR

This is the largest group, containing a total of eight manuscripts in three interrelated families. The A family contains five manuscripts, Ar, s, t, u, and v which bear certain traits that characterize the family. These five manuscripts all begin with Prosper's epitome of Jerome and continue until the year 443 (§1350), whereupon they all abruptly break off in the middle of a sentence, ending with the words 'fecit et prodere.' Obviously the now-lost parent of the five was for some reason defective at the end (a number of reasons can be surmised) and the scribes copied as much as possible before abruptly ending their own copies. In addition to the missing portion of the text, several entries, both additional and original to the text, appear in the margins, a trait which is also shared with O. In addition to the marginal entries found in the A family,

¹¹⁶ There also exists an epitome of the entirety of the chronicle, manuscript V, which has not been consulted in this edition since it is of poor quality and does not provide critical information for my edition. Mommsen's manuscript L is also conspicuously absent from this list. This is because manuscript L is not actually a manuscript of the chronicle but an edition of the entire chronicle which was published in 1657 by Philippe Labbé. Labbé used two previously published editions (Pontacus 1604 and Duchesne 1636), Au and the now-lost Speyer manuscript which was closely related to M (see *Chron. min.* 1: 354). Since it is impossible to tell what derives from editions, the lost manuscript or Labbé's own emendations, L was not consulted. As will be discussed in the description of manuscript Au, Au² refers to Labbé's copious notes which were made on this manuscript.

there are also the *anni a passione*. These *anni a passione*, which account for the passing of years from the Passion, are also found, sometimes very sporadically, in manuscripts O, C and V.¹¹⁷ The treatment of this chronological feature both in our edition and that of Mommsen will be discussed in the following editorial section.

Ar – Laurentianus S. Marco 638.¹¹⁸ This is an eleventh century manuscript written on parchment by a single hand in Carolingian minuscule. It is the oldest of the five manuscripts which form the A family but is clearly not from the same archetype as the other four manuscripts in the family, nor is it the parent of any of the others and it does not appear to be directly related to any of the other manuscripts. The text of Prosper finishes in the middle of 66r and is followed by Quodvultdeus' *Epistola CCXXI*, written in the same hand. The manuscript itself came to the convent of St Mark in Florence, with the books of Niccolo de Niccoli, sometime after his death in 1437. It is unknown where Niccolo de Niccoli obtained the manuscript prior to this but Mommsen believes that without a doubt the manuscript came to Italy from either Germany or France.¹¹⁹ The manuscript also includes a trait common to the A family, which is the inclusion of a symbol which resembles this ✕ to indicate important religious events such as the appointment of a new pope. These symbols always appear as marginal notations to the left of the particular event. It also has a tendency to use abbreviations for 'ae' quite often and employs the use of cedillas with common abbreviations to distinguish the difference between abbreviations such as 'pre' or 'prae'.¹²⁰

As – Laurentianus plut. 90 sup. 42.¹²¹ One of four fifteenth-century manuscripts belonging to the A family, it is written on paper in a minuscule handwriting and bears the signature of the scribe who completed the work. The explicit of the manuscript reads 'Epithoma finit Augustini et Orosii eius discipuli: finiui die VIII februarii MCCCCXVI. Constantiae. B. de Montepoliciano.' From this we know that the manuscript was completed on 8 February 1416 by

¹¹⁷ C has not been consulted for this critical edition, it closely follows A through the epitome but cuts off before our edition begins, returning only later and then following the edition of 455, which does not utilize *anni a passione*. Manuscript V does use these *anni* and indicates them as such in the text.

¹¹⁸ A description of this manuscript can be found in Mommsen *Chron. min.* 1: 358-359, but also see Zacharias, 1762: 53; Bethmann 1874: 727.

¹¹⁹ Mommsen *Chron. min.* 1: 358. "sed sine dubio hic quoque liber ex Germania Galliae in Italiam peruenit."

¹²⁰ Mommsen also makes note of a certain amount of rubrication which is evident in this manuscript. Unfortunately the images consulted for this edition are in greyscale and therefore any rubrication, or lack thereof, cannot be commented on further. It is notable that the four other manuscripts in the A family do not make use of any rubrication.

¹²¹ A description of this manuscript can be found in Mommsen *Chron. min.* 1: 359.

Bartolomeo Aragazzi of Montepulciano, a town in central Italy, while he was resident at Constance, a town in the very south of Germany. Like the previous manuscript in this family, Ar is not directly related to the others, but descends from a slightly different tradition from the others, as is indicated by, for instance, its lack of certain marginal notes which characterize the other four manuscripts of the A family.

At – Florentius Riccardianus 321.¹²² This is the second of four fifteenth-century manuscripts. It is written on parchment in a single hand throughout, which employed rustic capitals on the first page for Prosper's *incipit* and the beginning of the generations of Adam. The A of 'Adam' is also illustrated. It then switches to a humanist reproduction of Carolingian minuscule but has a tendency to use later abbreviations, indicating its fifteenth-century origin. The chronicle finishes with the statement 'finis istorie ecclesiastice s(an)c(t)i Augustini ep(iscop)i de heresibus eiusdem. Deo gratias Amen.' It also uses the same symbol found in manuscript Ar to indicate important ecclesiastical events. This is the first of three manuscripts, At, Au, Av which all form a strongly related sub-group within the A family. Since it is a later manuscript it has a tendency to prefer the use of 'e' over 'ae'.

Au – Berolinensis Phillipps 1879. Formerly 'collegii Parisiensis societatis Iesu' and Meermannianus n. 784 and called by Mommsen Berolinensis Cheltenhamensis 1879. It appears to have belonged in the collection of Jacques Sirmond, a Jesuit who bequeathed his library to the Jesuits' College in Clermont, Paris upon his death in 1651. It remained in Paris until the suppression of the Jesuits in 1763 when, in the following year, the library was sold and the manuscript passed into the possession of Gerard Meerman. The manuscript then appeared in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, having been sold to him by the son of Meerman during the dispersal of his father's library in 1824, where it was given the shelfmark Phillipps 1879.¹²³ Between 1886 and 1949, Sotheby's oversaw the sale of Phillipps' estate and the manuscript was sold to Königl. Bibliothek in Berlin in the summer of 1887. The manuscript remained in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, where it still resides today.¹²⁴ The front cover bears a blue and gold stamp which says 'Phillipp 1879 next to the words 'Melchioris sum'. It is a fifteenth-century manuscript which is written in an humanist reproduction of Carolingian script on paper. It is

¹²² A descriptions of this manuscript can be found in Mommsen *Chron. min.* 1: 359-360, but also see Bethmann 1874: 723.

¹²³ See Mommsen 1892: 360. Mommsen does not make it clear that this manuscript was part of the Phillipps collection, for this see Waitz 1879: 590.

¹²⁴ Burgess 1993: 25-26.

extremely similar to its counterparts At and Av in the family, bearing a striking resemblance to the latter. Its most notable feature is the fact that it has been heavily annotated by two separate hands. When creating his own edition in 1657, Labbé used Au, then in the Jesuit's College in Paris, and heavily annotated it, using the now-lost Speyer. While Mommsen often refers to these markings, which are representative of the 455 edition, as L or L^s, our edition refers to Labbé's notes as Au². In addition another hand has made a few small notations throughout. This second hand is referred to in the edition as Au³. This manuscript does not use the same embellishments as As and At to indicate important religious events, but uses marginal designs, usually a simple vertical line with embellishments, to indicate these events. In addition, the original scribe included drawings, primarily of pointing index fingers at various linchpin moments such as the beginning of Prosper's continuation, the invasion of Italy by the Goths and the sack of Rome by Alaric.

Av – Matritensis Bibl. nat. F 63.¹²⁵ This is a fifteenth-century manuscript as well and is signed with the following: 'Milo de Carraria scripsit apud urbem a(n)no a Natiuitate d(omi)ni' millesimo quatricentesimo quiquagesimo primo.' We know then that this manuscript was written by Milo of Carraria in the year 1451 in Rome. Like the previous manuscripts it is also written in a humanist reproduction of a Carolingian script. It is remarkably similar to manuscripts At and, especially, Au. Like Au, a pointing finger has been used in Av in order to indicate the beginning of Prosper's continuation. In addition to this, Av also uses similar vertical lines, although they are used to embellish around marginal notes, not to differentiate entries. The same symbol as is found in Ar and At is used to distinguish events within the Roman church. The first two features and their striking similarity to Au would perhaps indicate that the two manuscripts derive directly from a common archetype or at the very least influenced one another at some point in time. Mommsen states in his preface that 'collatum habui a Knustio,'¹²⁶ indicating that he never actually saw the manuscript himself. For this reason, while he alludes to a stronger relationship among At, Au and Av, he does not explicitly state or even realize how similar the manuscripts, especially the latter two, are.

O – Escorialensis Ovetensis R II 18. This is one of the earliest manuscripts of Prosper, from the seventh century, and is written in uncials. The codex is a partial palimpsest throughout,

¹²⁵ See Mommsen *Chron. min.* 1: 360; Ewald 1881: 306.

¹²⁶ Mommsen *Chron. min.* 1: 360.

especially folia 1-8, 25-34, 47-48, 59, 66, and 83-95.¹²⁷ While the non-palimpsest portions are written in uncials, the palimpsest portions are written in a western Gothic script, sometimes in cursive and other times in minuscule. It retains the years 327-337, and 383-445 of Prosper's chronicle, cutting off at the end of §1048 with 'ex cesarib(us) Agusti appellantur' and returning in §1179 with 'Arcadius Theudosi filius agustus appellatus'.¹²⁸ The space in between, a folio and a half on 47v and 48r, is filled with a section of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, beginning with 'ex libro ethimologiar(um) isidori,' and is written in a western Gothic minuscule hand.¹²⁹ This text of Prosper's edition of 445 is followed by a continuation to 451. It is always the case in manuscript O that names with 'eo' such as 'Theodosius' or 'Theophilus' are replaced with an 'eu', and so we find 'Theudosius' or 'Teudosius' and 'Theuphilus'. Similarly 'aug' often becomes 'ag' and so we find 'agustus' rather than 'augustus' and 'Agustinus' instead of 'Augustinus'. Like manuscript family A, it also contains a structure of marginal notes, but later trimming of the edges of the manuscript have caused a number of these notes to become largely indecipherable.

Rp – Parisinus 4860. Formerly Colbertinus 240.¹³⁰ In comparison to the remaining corpus of manuscripts, this is a fairly early rendition of Prosper, written in Carolingian minuscule during the tenth century in Mainz. Along with manuscript Rv (below) it forms the R family, both of which were copied from the now lost Reichenaviensis, from Reichnau.¹³¹ Although Prosper eliminated the various chronological structures which are found in Eusebius-Jerome, this manuscript retains a full complement of chronological systems. Each consular pair is also assigned a regnal year, in accordance with the reign of the current emperor. These regnal years are accurately calculated, unlike the ones which will be seen in the second recension. In addition to the regnal years, manuscript Rp also provides Olympiads and years from Abraham in the margins. Along with manuscript Rv, it contains a continuation down to the year 457, which follows on from the continuation found in O, which ends in 451.

Rv – Augustanus Vindelicorum 223. This is a fifteenth-century manuscript written on paper. Formerly of the Benedictine Abbey of Saints Uldric and Afra in Augsburg, afterwards

¹²⁷ von Hartel 1887: 130.

¹²⁸ These are copied directly from the manuscript and retain all spelling found therein.

¹²⁹ von Hartel 1887: 131.

¹³⁰ This is a very large codex which contains, in addition to Jerome and Prosper, authors such as Cassiodorus, Victorius of Aquitaine, Bede and Pliny. The full list of the contents of this codex can be consulted in Mommsen 1892: 364.

¹³¹ Additions made to Prosper both in text and as a continuation from the *Codex Reichenaviensis* (R to Mommsen) can be found in Mommsen *Chron. min.* 1: 488-490.

belonging to the Königliche Kreisbibliothek, it is now held at the Staats-und Stadtbibliothek in Augsburg. It begins Prosper's chronicle with the statement 'Incipit ex chronicis Tyronis Prosperi chronicorum Eusebii temporibus preter missis.' Like its partner manuscript it uses a full system of regnal years throughout Prosper's continuation but it lacks the years from Abraham and the Olympiads that are found in Rp. As stated above, this manuscript contains a continuation down to the year 457.

Recension Two – FPXZ

This is the next largest recension which represents the manuscripts of the 445 edition. There are a total of four manuscripts, ranging from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. All of the manuscripts follow Jerome's chronicle, rather than the epitome, which accounts for the structure of regnal years, Olympiads and years from Abraham found in them. Unlike the previous recension of manuscripts, recension two does not have any structure of marginal entries and all of the entries are *in textu*. A notable feature that differentiates the two recensions is the treatment of the length of each bishop's term in office. In the first recension the terms of the bishops are given in rounded, often incorrect, numbers, but in recension two the rounded numbers have been replaced with accurate measures in years, months and days from the *Liber pontificalis* with little regard for the chronology of Prosper. These terms for the bishops were for some reason removed by Prosper from the edition of 455, as can be seen in Mommsen's edition. In addition, all four manuscripts of recension two appear to have been, in some way or another, related to a now-lost Alcobaciensis manuscript, with X and Z being more directly related than F and P. These four manuscripts all have a continuation from 446-455 which is, without a doubt, of African origin.¹³²

F – Leidensis Freherianus Scal. 14. This is a ninth-century parchment manuscript, which once belonged to Marquard Freher in Augsburg, then Josephus Scaliger, and is now in the possession of Leiden University with the rest of Scaliger's papers. Like the R manuscripts, it retains a structure of regnal years along with each consular pair, but the regnal years are incorrect and progress continually throughout Prosper's continuation, failing to begin anew with the accession of each new emperor. These regnal years, along with Prosper's *incipit* and the announcements of new emperors, are all rubricated. In addition to the regnal years there are also

¹³² Mommsen *Chron. min.* 1: 367. For the *Additamenta Africana* see Mommsen 1892: 486-487. Here Mommsen states that manuscripts X and Z were '*descripti ex Alcobacensi deperdito*.'

a sparse number of years from Abraham presented, but a particularly interesting feature of them is that they occur every ten years, approximately where the *anni a passione* should appear in the manuscript, not where the years from Abraham should occur (as can be seen in Rp). A later hand has made note of this and has written *deest* in the place where the year from Abraham should have been placed, in addition to marking *cons(ulibu)s* after each consular pair.

P – Laurentianus Poggianus plut. 67 u. 15. This manuscript was written in 1408 by the famous early humanist Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini of Florence. This is attested to at the end of the manuscript where the following is written: ‘hunc librum scripsit Poggius Florentiae summo cum studio ac diligentia diebus XII Roman pontif residente iterum Senis cum sua curia. Valeas qui legis.’ Like the above manuscript, this one has retained a structure of regnal years which begin anew with Prosper’s continuation and are counted continuously until the end. These regnal years are always aligned and listed in the left margin, above which is written *Romano(rum)* on each page, following the pattern of Jerome. The right margin of each page is entitled *anni mundi* and, beginning with 5580, these are listed every ten years. A significant amount of rubrication also appears in the manuscript: all of the regnal years as well as the incipit of Prosper and each announcement of a new emperor. In addition, the beginning of each new entry is bracketed with alternating blue and red designs throughout the work. The word *Romanorum* as well as the announcement of new emperors are always bracketed in blue as well, while the words *anni mundi* are done in red bracketing. The manuscript almost always use ‘e’, rather than ‘ae’ and uses common fifteenth-century abbreviations.

X – Limogiensis 1. This is a twelfth-century manuscript written in Carolingian minuscule. Formerly owned by Bernard Gui, Bishop of Lodève, Narbonne, it was brought around 1600 to the library of the Jesuit College of Limoges and is now in the Limoges public library. It is a large codex which contains diverse works of Eusebius, Jerome, Prosper and Isidore. In addition to containing manuscript X of the 445 edition of Prosper’s chronicle, it also contains manuscript Y, one of the main manuscripts of the 455 edition. It uses a structure of regnal years which corresponds with the above two manuscripts; the years begin with Prosper’s continuation and are counted continuously until the end.¹³³ In addition it provides a structure of years from Abraham, all presented marginally. This manuscript tends to prefer writing out

¹³³ These are all presented in red, as are important titles. Towards the end of the manuscript there is also the use of green. The images used are presented in grey-scale and so this description can be found in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* 9: 448.

numbers fully, as opposed to using Roman numerals. The vast majority of the other manuscripts prefer Roman numerals, as does the text of Jerome's *Canones*, and so that has been followed in the edition. The manuscript has been lightly edited by one later hand. It ends in the words 'Explicit chronica Eusebii Hyeronimi p(res)b(yte)ri. Deo gra(tia)s Am(en),' from which the words 'Eusebii Hyeronimi presbyteri' have been struck out by this later hand.

Z – Matritensis Bibl. univ. 134. Formerly from Alcala-la-Real, Spain, this thirteenth-century manuscript is arranged in two columns of continuous text. It uses both blue and red ink, much like manuscript P, to frame the beginning of each new entry. Unlike P, which begins new entries on new lines, manuscript Z starts entries in the middle of the line and words are often continued onto the next line in order to preserve the boundaries of the columns. A later hand has annotated the text and marked with a slash, in very light pencil, where words are split and continued on the line below. There is, given the later date of the manuscript, a preference for medieval abbreviations and the use of 'e' over 'ae'. Additionally there are instances where 'eu' replaces 'eo' in names, such as 'Theudosius' for 'Theodosius'. Although this is found far less frequently than in O, where 'Theodosius' is the exclusive spelling, it does hint at the manuscript's Spanish origin. As Mommsen observes, the manuscript most closely follows X, both of which are related to the lost Alcobaciensis.¹³⁴ Like the other manuscripts in the second recension, Z is also followed by an African continuation until the year 455. In addition the codex also contains the work of Victor of Tunnuna, an African writer, who continued Prosper.

Recension Three – BH

The third and final recension of the manuscripts of the 445 edition comprises two manuscripts, B and H. The two manuscript combine various elements from the MY tradition of 455, manuscript C, and the parent manuscript of the first recension. As a result, manuscripts B and H represent a mixed redaction of the 445 and 455 editions.

B - Bruxellensis 1794. This is a tenth-century manuscript written in Carolingian minuscule. It uses a continual format, not beginning new entries on new lines but rather placing each entry one after the next to save space. The most striking aspect of this manuscript is that it does not contain any consular pairs. It has no overriding chronological structure, providing only the ascensions of emperors or appointing of bishops as chronological markers. However, these

¹³⁴ Mommsen *Chron. min.* 1: 367.

entries are treated as regular text and are not highlighted as they are in other manuscripts. In addition, the numbers which indicate their succession in the order of emperors or bishops have also been removed, although the length of the reign has remained, unlike in MY. Prosper's continuation begins with no preamble, just the words 'Valente a Gothis...'. A later hand has indicated that it is the beginning of what he calls the 'Chronicon cons(ulibu)s', meaning Prosper's chronicle, but a second hand has further indicated that it is, in fact, Prosper's chronicle. The manuscript is damaged and ends abruptly in §1342 with the words 'recipiende Cartha[...]

H - Hafniensis 454. A twelfth-century manuscript currently in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. It is this text of Prosper that contains many additions and a continuation from the *Consularia Hafniensia*. Like manuscript B, it is a mixed redaction of both the 445 and 455 editions of the chronicle. However, in addition to containing a mixed redaction similar to that found in manuscript B and the interpretations from the *Consularia*, H has a number of other interpolations from various sources. Throughout Prosper and the *consularia* continuation there are many interpolations from Isidore's chronicle and the *Liber pontificalis*. These interpolations have not been included in the *appartus criticus*, since they are not material original to Prosper but later additions from other sources and therefore do not represent textual variants in Prosper's work. At some point a second hand has annotated the text, for the most part adding marginal entries for material which the manuscript has omitted. This hand also added a marginal entry for an *ab urbe condita MCLXII*, an anomaly which also occurs in manuscripts At, u and v.

Editorial Notes

As has been previously noted, Mommsen's entry numbers have been used throughout this critical edition. However, the use of Mommsen's entry numbers, which were designed for a different version of the text, has created certain problems. In creating his own edition, Mommsen made an attempt to include as many alternative entries as possible, giving a place to individual entries which are found exclusively in one manuscript or manuscript family. As a result, one will notice that in the edition that follows certain entry numbers have been skipped. The majority of these entries are found only in manuscripts R or V. In the case of manuscript R, all entries which do not appear in AO, FPXZ or HB appear only in the *apparatus criticus*, along with the relevant entry number from Mommsen. There are also a few such other specific entries that need comment here:

1. §1214 is found only in manuscript V, which was not consulted in creating the critical edition and for this reason it does not appear in the *apparatus criticus*.
2. §1312-1318 represent the *supputatio* from the 433 edition that is found only in the 455 edition as discussed above. The *supputatio* does not appear in the edition of 445, having been deleted when Prosper began the continuation of his first publication. Of those manuscripts consulted, it appears only in manuscript H (from the edition of 455) and Labbé's annotations in Au.
3. §1329 and §1330 appear in the manuscripts in the reverse order from that which is found in Mommsen's edition, which follows the edition of 455. The only manuscript which was consulted that preserves this later re-ordering is manuscript B, and so the entries have been placed in the order in which they are found in the majority of the manuscripts.

Another shortcoming of Mommsen's edition is his inclusion of an *anni a passione* for each consular pair. In observing Mommsen's work, one will notice that each consular pair is given its own entry along with an *annus a passione*. In reality the *anni a passione* were only ever intended to appear every ten years from 29, the year of the Passion, not for every consular pair as Mommsen presented them. Furthermore, the *anni a passione* are only preserved in manuscripts A and O and appear to have been entirely removed from the later edition as well as from the second and third recensions of the 445 edition, shedding some doubt upon their originality in Prosper's work. The *anni a passione* for Prosper's continuation of Jerome which appear in A and O are as follows:

CCCLX – omitted from all manuscripts. (§1189)
 CCCLXX – as a marginal entry in ArtuvO, omitted from As. (§1209)
 CCCLXXX – as a marginal entry in Artu, omitted from AsvO. (§1231)
 CCCXC – included as a textual entry in A, omitted from O. (§1262)
 CCCC – as a marginal entry in Astuv, omitted from ArO. (§1293)
 CCCCX – as a marginal entry in Artuv, omitted from AsO. (§1325)

As discussed above, several other chronographic conventions have been employed with little regularity throughout the remaining manuscripts. Recension two employs regnal years, as does the R family, and Olympiads, years from Abraham and years *ab urbe condita* can be found throughout the various manuscripts. The only systems for dating which seem to have been employed by Prosper are the consular pairs, the reign of each Emperor, the duration of the tenure of each pope. These are the only chronological systems which have been employed in creating the critical edition and the remaining systems have been discarded since they are not original to Prosper's work. The *anni a passione* are arguably an original feature of the chronicle, but their absence from R, and the final two recensions is conspicuous enough to shed doubt upon this. The above list and relevant entry number are sufficient enough to indicate where these *anni a passione* may have appeared in the earlier editions of Prosper.

The entries for the bishops of Rome are drawn from recension number one, *AOR*, for one main reason. Prosper endeavoured, in his edition of 445, to note the years for the period during which each pope presided over the Roman church, in imitation of Jerome, whose figures he preserves in his epitome. Prosper's problem was that he seems to have had few sources for such information, but nevertheless he forced the years to work and fit within the chronological boundaries of his chronicle. A later scribe or reader to the archetype of recension two realized the inaccuracies of Prosper's chronological figures and replaced them with more accurate figures from the *Liber pontificalis*, which included years, months and days. These additions, although they are more accurate, do not fit Prosper's chronology, i.e. the years in which each papal accession entry is placed. The origin of these figures is the *Liber pontificalis*, which was not compiled until after Prosper's death, and the lack of correspondence between the figures and the actual chronology of the popes prove that the figures of recension two must be later additions.

Certain editorial conventions have also been established in order to offer a consistent orthography throughout the critical edition and to avoid filling the *apparatus criticus* with meaningless clutter. In all cases 'e' has been expanded to 'ae' where appropriate and this has not been noted in the *apparatus criticus*. Similarly, where 'e' has been hypercorrected to 'ae', such as in manuscripts Ar and O where 'ecclesia' becomes 'aeclessia', the more appropriate 'e' has been used and this has not been noted in the *apparatus criticus*. Additionally 'c' and 't' are often interchangeable and the orthography in the critical edition follows whichever convention is appropriate in each situation.

The choice of the spelling of names for both people and places must also be addressed. In the majority of cases the spelling of names has been drawn from the reading found in manuscript Rp, a tenth-century manuscript which is one of the earlier of the fourteen used. In cases where the reading in Rp is missing or corrupt, the chosen spelling has been drawn from a joint reading of F and X which are also early manuscripts in comparison to the remainder. The only names which appear in the *apparatus criticus* are those which are either incorrect, such as Valens for Valentinian (§1167), or where the manuscripts have provided a different readings for the declension of the name. The remaining orthographic variants of each name have not been noted in the *apparatus criticus* but have been listed in Appendix Two.

Finally, as noted above, manuscripts A and O both include a number of entries which appear in the margins as opposed to being placed in the text.¹³⁵ In all cases these entries have been included where they appear in manuscript recensions two and three. These entries have been marked as marginal entries in the *apparatus criticus*, but have otherwise been treated as every other entry. Entries which appear only marginally in A and O and do not appear at all in the remaining manuscripts have been noted only in the *apparatus criticus*. There do not seem to be any evident similarities among the marginal entries found in Prosper's continuation. There are a total of four marginal entries which deal with Exuperantius (§1285), Vitericus (§1337), the Vandal capture of Carthage (§1339), and Gaiseric's jealousy (§1348).¹³⁶ Muhlberger theorizes that these entries were an attempt on Prosper's part to retain, to some degree, the division of secular and ecclesiastical affairs found in Eusebius-Jerome.¹³⁷ However, there is little evidence to support this theory since both ecclesiastical and secular affairs are found in the main body of the text in addition to these secular events which are placed marginally. It should also be noted that all of the entries found marginally in AO are omitted entirely from R, indicating that the parent of this recension also possessed marginal entries which were dropped at some point by the parent of R. Unfortunately, no explanation for this bizarre distribution of marginal entries seems

¹³⁵ M and C also possess marginal notes.

¹³⁶ Mommsen further identifies §1177, 1237, 1246. All of these appear in the text in AO and in M are not actually marginal entries. All three entries begin with 'hoc tempore' and in the case of 1177, the 'H' has been rubricated. It would appear as though the 'H' in the two subsequent entries were left for the rubricator but were missed. A separate hand has indicated a small 'h' to the left of the entry but the lack of a rubricated H gives the impression that the entries are off-set from the remainder of the text. Subsequently, Mommsen indicated that they are marginal entries, although they are not.

¹³⁷ Muhlberger 1989: 63.

possible and though it was obviously a feature of the apograph of the first recension, it is impossible to know if they belonged to the original recension as written by Prosper.

Chapter Four

Sigla Codicum

- A Ar - Florence, Biblioteca di San Marco 638 (saec. XI)
As - Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenzia plut. 90 sup. 42 (saec. XV)
At - Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 321 (saec. XV)
Au - Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Phillipps 1879 (saec. XV)
Av - Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España F 63 (saec. XV)
- B Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1794 (saec. X)
- F Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Scal. 14 (saec. IX)
- H Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek 454 (saec. XII)
- O San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial R II 18 (saec. VII)
- P Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenzia plut. 67 u. 15 (saec. XV)
- R Rp - Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Lat. 4860 (saec. X)
Rv - Augsburg, Staats-und Stadtbibliothek 223 (saec. XV)
- X Limoges, Bibliothèque francophone multimédia 1 (saec. XII)
- Z Madrid, Biblioteca de Universidad Complutense 134 (saec. XIII)
-
- ^a Prima manus
^b correctio aut additio primae manus
¹ Prima manus
² correctio aut additio posterioris manus
³ correctio aut additio posterioris manus

Prosper's chronicle of 445: Critical Edition

Hucusque Hieronimus presbyter ordinem praecedentium digessit annorum. Nos quae consecuta
sint adicere curauimus. (1166)

Igitur Valente a Gothis in Trachia concremato, Gratianus cum fratre Valentiniano XLI regnat
annis VI. (1167)

Ausonio et Olibrio. (1169)

Gratianus post mortem patru Theodosium Theodosii filium in consortium adsumit imperii
eique regnum tradit orientis. (1170)

Ea tempestate Priscillianus episcopus de Gallecia ex Manicheorum et Gnosticorum dogmate
heresim nominis sui condidit. (1171)

Gratiano V et Theodosio. (1172)

Ambrosius episcopus pro catholica fide multa sublimiter scribit. (1173)

Syagrio et Eucherio. (1174)

Martinus episcopus Turinorum Galliae ciuitatis multis clarus habetur. (1175)

Antonio et Syagrio. (1176)

Athanaricus rex Gothorum apud Constantinopolim quintodecimo die quam fuerat susceptus
occiditur. (1177)

Merobaude II et Saturnino. (1178)

Archadius Theodosii imperatoris filius augustus appellatur. (1179)

1166 hucusque...curauimus *om. RB* presbiter *At* : praesbiter *F* : *om. H* ordine *Z* annorum digressit
P : annorum digessi(t) (*FZ*)*H* nos...curauimus *om. H add.* nunc ea secuntur a uiro religiosissimo Prospero
ac eruditissimo addita subponuitur pauca ex nostro adiuncta studio *H* nos quae *ex* nosque quae *As^b* :
que *Atuv* : nos quae *ex* nosque *Au²* consecutae *Ar* : consecute *Atuv* : consecuta *ex* consecute *Au²* : secuta
X adicere *AsP* : adicere *ex* adiscere *Au²* **1167** igitur *om. B* Trachia *ex* Trachias *F* : Tracias *X*
concremato intratus *Z* Romanorum XXXIX *post* concremato *ZH* frate *H* Valenti(n) (*Ars*)*tuv* :
Valentiniano *ex* Valenti *Au²* XLI] XXXVIII *Rp* : XV *Rv* : *om. ZBH* regnauit *AstuvPZ* : *om. H*
annos *Rv* **1168** Theodosius ordinatur imperator a Gratiano Sirmii ad quem Theofilus Paschale scribit
add. R **1170** in consorcium *Z* adsummit *Atuv* : adsumit *ex* adsummit *Au²* : adsumpsit *R* eiusque *A* :
eique *ex* eiusque *Au²* : que ei *Rv* tradidit *RFPZ* **1171** Gallis *R* : Gallecias *F* : Galletias *X*
ignosticorum *X* heresem *A* condidit sui *Z* **1172** V] quinquies *X* **1173** ambrosius (episcopus) *inter*
sublimiter *et* scribit (*F*)*P* mediolanensis *post* Ambrosius *H* multa *om. As* scripsit *RFX* **1175**
Galliae...habetur *om. R* multis] *Au²* : a multis *A* : miraculorum *Z* : in multis *BH* **1176** *post* 1177 *Rp* :
om. Rv Antonio *Au²RpZ* : Anthonino *Arv* : Antonino *AstuFPXH* **1177** Athanaricus...Gothorum *om. R*
apud Constantinopolim *post* susceptus *H* aput *F* quintadecima *R* qua *RPZB* fuerat *Au²* :
susceptus est *A* : susceptus *om. H* **1178** III Antonio et Syagrio *inter* occiditur *et* Merobaude *Rp* II]
om. Atuv **1179** imperatoris *om. O* filius *F^b* augustus *O* appellatus *ArtuvO*

Ricomedes et Clearchus. (1180)

Honorius Theodosii filius nascitur. (1181)

Romanae ecclesiae post Damasum XXXVI Seritius praefuit episcopus annis XIII. (1182)

In Britannia per seditionem militum Maximus imperator est factus. Quo mox ad Gallias transfretante Gratianus Parisiis Merobaudis magistri militum prodicione superatus et fugiens Lugduni captus atque occisus est. Maximus Victorem filium suum consortem regni facit. (1183)

Valentinianus XLII regnat cum Theodosio annis VII. (1184)

Archadius et Eudocia. (1185)

Hoc tempore Hieronimus presbyter in Bethleem, toto iam mundo clarus, habitabat, egregio ingenio et studio universae ecclesiae serviens. (1186)

Priscillianus in synodo Burdigalensi damnandum se intellegens ad imperatorum Maximum provocavit, auditusque Triueris ab Eudocia praefecto praetorio a Maximo gladio addictus est cum Eucrotia Delfidii rhetoris coniuge et Latroniano aliisque erroris consortibus.

Burdigalae quaedam Priscilliani discipula nomine Urbica ob impietatis pertinaciam per seditionem vulgi lapidibus extincta est. (1187)

Honorio nobilissimo puero et Eudocia. (1188)

Valentiniano III et Eutropio. (1189)

Theodosio II et Cynegio. (1190)

1182 Romae XXXVI Ursinus ordinatur post Damasum annis XIII *R* Romanae] *eras*. *O* : Romae *F* Dasum *Ar* : Damasum ex Damasus *O^b* : damasii *Z* episcopus *om*. *OFPXZB* : episcopus Seritius *H* XVI *FPXZ* **1183** Britanniam *F* seditione *R* : seditionem *Z* quimox *Rp* Gallias ex Gallia *X²* transfetante *AsF* : transfretavit *Av* Parisius *P* Merobaudis ex Merabaudis *O^b* : Merobaude *R* magistro *Rv* militum] militiae *H* et fugiens] *Aru²OPB* : effugiens *AstuvFZ* : est fugiens *H* : et *om*. *R* adque *O* Maximus...facit *om*. *A* : *add. in marg.* *Au²* suum filium *Z* fecit *O* facit...annis *om*. *H¹* *add.* facit Romanorum XXXVIII regnat Valentinianus cum Theodosio annis VII *H²* **1184** Romanorum XLII regnavit Valentinianus... *P* : Romanorum XL regnat Valentinianus... *Z* XLII] XL *Rp* : XVI *Rv* : *om*. *B* regnavit *As* VI *Au¹O* : VIII *R* **1186** hoc tempore *post* presbyter *R* prespiter *Rv* : preasbyter ex praebyster *F^b* : presbiter *H* habitat *Au* : habetur *OH* : habitavit *Rp* universali *FPXZH²* : *om*. *H¹* serviens *om*. *Z* **1187** synodo *Atu¹VOZH* se damnandum *P* ibi *inter* damnandum et se *O* intelligens *AstuvORvPZ* Maximi ex Maximum *Au²* prouolavit *Rp* : prouocavit *P* : properavit *Z* autusque *A* : auditusque ex autusque *Au²* : auctusque *O* : auditusque *H* intreueris *Z* ad *O* praetorii *ARv* : praetorio ex praetorii *Au²* a Maximo] maximi *BH* : *om*. *AOR* additus *Atv* : addictus ex aditus *Au²* : adductus *H¹* et *post* est *Au¹* rethoris *ArtuvFZB* : rethoris *O* : rectoris *Rp* : directoris *Rv* coniunge *Z* : coniugie *H* erroribus *RpZ* consortibus ex consorteibus *H* Burdegali *OZ* : Burdigalem *R* quandam *Rv* discipulam *Atu¹vRv* Urbam *Rv* impietates *A* : impietatis *O* **1188** nobilissimo puero] imperatore *R* : nepote *FPXZ* ex n.p.

Maximus tyrannus a Valentiniano et Theodosio imperatoribus in tertio ab Aquileia lapide
spoliatus indumentis regiis sistitur et capite damnatur. Cuius filius Victor eodem anno ab
Arbogaste est interfectus in Gallia. (1191)

Timasio et Promoto. (1192)

Itacius et Vrsatius episcopi ob necem Priscilliani, cuius accusatores fuerant, ecclesiae
communione priuantur. (1193)

Valentiniano III et Neoterio. (1194)

Tatiano et Symmacho. (1195)

Archadio II et Rufino. (1196)

Valentinianus ad uitae fastidium nimia Arbogastis magistri militum austeritate perductus
laqueo apud Viennam periit. (1197a)

Arbogastes magister exercitus mortuo Valentiniano, cuius exitu grauabatur, Eugenium in
Gallia imperatorem facit. (1197b)

Theodosius XLIII cum iam per XIII regnaret annos regnat cum Archadio et Honorio filiis
annos III. (1198)

Theodosio III et Abundantio. (1199)

Archadio III et Honorio II. (1200)

Iohannes monachus anachorita clarus habetur. Qui, ornatus prophetiae gratia, Theodosium
consulentem de euentu belli, quod aduersum Eugenium mouebat, uictorem futurum
praedixit. (1201)

Olibrio et Probino. (1202)

Theodosius Eugenium tyrannum uincit et perimit. (1203)

1191 tirranus *AsvZ* : tirannus *At* : tiranus *Au¹* a *om.* *ARvOB* Valentino *Rv* in *om As* tercio
miliario *H* expoliatus *H* damnatur] truncatur *Z* post Arbogaste *add.* comite *Au²B* Gallias *FXZ* :
Galliis *P* : *om.* *H* **1192** Promoto ex Pratomotico *H^b* **1193** accusato res *As* : acusatores *H* fuerunt *R*
1194 Valentiniano] Vetano *Ar* : Vatano *Astu¹v* **1197a** austeritate] auctoritate *H* perducitur *As* :
perducitur *Z* apud *OF* Vienne *Rp* perit *RvX* **1197b** Arbogasti *Asu¹Rv* militum et *inter*
magister et exercitus *Rv* : magister exercitus mag. *H* mortui *X¹* exitus *A* : exercitu *P* grauatur *AX* :
grauabatur ex grauatur *Au³* Galliam *Rv* : Gallias *FPXZ* fecit *OB* **1198** Romanorum XLI(II)
Theodosius... (*P*)*Z* XLIII *Atuv* : XLI *Rp* : XVII : *om.* *PZBH* cum regnaret (et) per annos XIII
regnat... *Ars(tu)v* annos regnaret *XZH* regnat *om.* *O* filiis *om.* *H* post §1198 *add.* Romanorum
XL regnauit Theodosius cum filiis Archadio et Honorio annis III *H* **1199** II post Abundantio *R* **1201**
monachus *OP* anachorita *OP* : anachoreta *R* habebatur *A* : habetur ex habebatur *Au²* Theodosio *AvR* :
Theodosio *O* consolente *OR* : consulentem *H* euento *O* : euentu ex euentu *X^b* aduersus *ArtuvP*
mouerat *Ar* : mouebatur *O* **1203** tyrannum *AtuvOZ* uicit *OZH* peremit *H*

Augustinus beati Ambrosii discipulus multa facundia doctrinaque excellens Hippone Regio in
Africa episcopus ordinatur. (1204)

Hoc tempore Claudianus poeta insignis innotuit. (1205)

Theodosius imperator Mediolani moritur. (1206)

Archadius XLIII cum iam regnasset annis XII regnat cum fratre Honorio annis XIII. (1207)

Archadio III et Honorio III. (1208)

Caesario et Attico. (1209)

Honorio III et Euticiano . (1211)

Romanae ecclesiae XXXVII episcopatum tenet Anastasius annis III. (1212)

Manlio Theodoro uiro clarissimo consule. (1215)

Cum hoc consulatum inierat Eutropius eunuchus qui mox et honore et uita exutus est. (1216)

Stilicone et Aureliano. (1217)

Gothi Italiam Alarico et Ragadaiso ducibus ingressi. (1218)

Vincentio et Frauuito. (1219)

Iohannes Constantinopolitanus et Theophilus Alexandrinus inlustres episcopi habentur. Sed
utrumque obscurauit discordia quae eo usque processit ut Iohannes a Theophilo oppressus
Pontum in exilium pergere cogeretur, cum tamen communionem eius maxima pars
episcoporum Romani pontificis exemplum secuta seruauerit. (1220)

Archadio V et Honorio V. (1221)

1204 doctrineque *Astu¹v* : doetrinaque *Z* Africae *Rv* : Affricam *Z* **1205** hoc tempore *om. R* hoc tempore...innotuit (moritur) *om. Au²(O)* insignis poeta *Z* innotuit] habetur *RH* **1206** Mediolano *R* **1207** inter moritur et Archadius *add.*] Romanorum XLII(II) (*P*)*Z* : Romanorum XLI regnauit Archadius cum fratre Honorio annis XII XLIII *Ar* : XLII *Rp* : XVIII *Rv* : *om. PZBH* annos *RB* regnauit *P* demum post regnat *H* XIII *A* : XV *Rp* : *om. H* **1210** concilium Carthaginis ubi(cum) Yponiensis concilii statuta firma(n)tur et inseruntur *add. Rp(v)* **1212** episcopus *O* : *om. R* episcopatum XXXVII *FPXZH* : XXXVII *om. B* tenet] ordinatur *R* annis III] annos III *At* : anno III *R* : annis III diebus XII *FPXZ* **1213** Eugenius occiditur *R* **1215** Mellio et Theodoro *Au¹* : Manlio et Theodoro *FPX* : Manlio et Theodoro *Z* : Gallio Theodosio *H* : Manlio *om. Rv* viro clarissimo] II *P* : viris clarissimis *Z* : *om. O* consule] SS *A* : *om. R* **1216** cum...est *om. B* : cum...Aureliano *om. H* consulatu *A* : consolatui *O* : consolatui *Z* ingerat *O* : inhierat *X* eunucus *O* ex *O* mox...est] ablato honore damnatus est *Au²* uita et honore *X* : *om. Rv* exutus est *AstO* : deiectus est *Rp* : defunctus est *Rv* **1218** ingresso *Rp* : ingressi sunt *Au²* **1219** Frauuito ex Ra frauuito *Rv^a* **1220** inlustres *om. A* episcopus *As* : episcopos *F* episcopi clari *Atuv* episcopi illustres *H* habebantur *Aruv* : habebatur *As* : habentur ex habebantur *Au²* sed] et *R* utrumquo *Ars* precessit *O* oppressus ex oppresus *Au²* exilio *ORvPZ* : exsilium *F* perurgetur *R* cogeretur *om. R* comunionem *Au* parte *AOR* : pars ex parte *Au²* romanae *Rp* ad exemplum *O* : exempla *H* seuauerint *Z* : seruauerunt **1221** V] II *H*

Pollentiae aduersum Gothos uehementer utriusque partis clade pugnatum. (1222)
 Romanae ecclesiae XXXVIII praeest episcopus Innocentius annis XIII. (1223)
 Theodosio Augusto I et Rumorido. (1224)
 Honorio VI consule. (1226)
 Stilicone II et Antemio. (1227)
 Ragadaisus in Tuscia multis Gothorum milibus caesis ducente exercitum Stilicone superatus
 et captus est. (1228)
 Archadio VI et Probo. (1229)
 Vandali et Alani Gallias traiecto Rheno pridie kalendas Ianuarias ingressi. (1230)
 Honorio VII et Theodosio II. (1231)
 Constantinus in Britannia tyrannus exoritur et ad Gallias transit. (1232)
 Basso et Philippo. (1233)
 Archadius imperator Constantinopoli moritur. (1234)
 Honorius XLV cum Theodosio fratris filio regnat annis XV. (1235)
 Honorio VIII et Theodosio III. (1236)
 Vandali Hispanias occupauerunt. (1237)
 Attalus Romae imperator factus qui mox priuatus regno Gothis cohaesit. (1238)
 Varane uiro clarissimo consule. (1239)
 Roma a Gothis Alarico duce capta. (1240)

1222 Pollentiae *post* utriusque *FP* aduersus *OP* pugnantium *Atv* : pugnatum *ex* pugnantium *Au*² :
 pugnato *Z* : pugnatum est *RB* **1223** XXXVIII *om. B* praeest] ordinatur *R* annis XIII] annis XV
 mens(ibus) II diebus XXI (*F*)*P*(*XZ*) : annis XVI *H* **1224** uiro clarissimo *inter* Theodosius *et* augustus
Rp augusto *add. Au*² : *om. AO* I] primo *Av* : semel *XZ* : *om. ORP* Rumoridu *O* **1225**
 Carthaginese concilium habitum de donatistis *R* **1226** XI *As* consule] et consulibus *AO* : et
 Aristeneto (consule) *R*(*F*) : et Aristeneto consulibus *X* : et Aristeneto (consule) (*P*)*Z* : *om. H* **1227** II]
 iterum *R* **1228** Tusciam *AP* militibus *H* ducentem *A* : ducente *ex* ducentem *Au*² exercitu *RpFP*
 a Stilicone *Atuv* **1230** traiector Heno *H* pridie] III *R* Ianuarii *AH* **1231** VI *H* **1232**
 tir(r)annidem *A*(*t*)*uv* **1234** Constantinopolim *Artu*¹*vH* **1235** Romanorum XLV regnauit Honorius
 cum...XVI *P* : Romanorum XLIII Honorius cum Theodosio...*Z* : Romanorum XLII regnauit Honorius
 cum... *H* XLIII *Rp* : *om. Rv* regnauit *AR* : *om. H* XVI *ex* XV *Au*² **1236** II] *om. Au*¹ III *add. Au*²
1237 occuparunt *AtPB* **1238** Attalus...cohaesit *om. B* priuatur *A* : priuatus *ex* priuatur *Au*² cessit
*Aru*¹*vO* : cesit *As* : cohaesit *ex* cessit *Au*² : coesit *Rp* : caesis *Rv* : adhesit *H* : *om. At* **1239** Varanae *Ar* :
 Flavio Varane *ex* Verane *Au*² : Flavio (Varane) Varrone (*F*)*P* : Fevarane *X* : Fluvarane *Z* : *om. As*
 consule] consulibus *hs A* : cunsule *H* capta et euersa *H* **1240** *post §1246 A*

Et ob hoc solus fuit Orientalium partium consul, quod et sequenti anno obseruatum est. (1241)

Theodosio Augusto IIII consule. (1242)

Constantinus per Honorii duces Constantium et Vlfulam apud Arelatense oppidum uictus et captus est. Cuius filium Constantem in Hispania regnare orsum Gerontius comes, in Maximum quendam tyrannidem transferens, interemerat. (1243)

Honorio VIII et Theodosio V. (1244)

Maximo in Hispania regno ablato uita concessa eo quod modestia humilitasque hominis affectati imperii inuidiam non merebatur. (1245)

Gothi rege Athaulfo Gallias ingressi. (1246)

Eodem tempore Heros uir sanctus et beati Martini discipulus cum Arelatensi oppido episcopus praesideret a populo eiusdem ciuitatis insons et nulli insimulationi obnoxius pulsus est inque eius locum Patroclus ordinatur amicus et familiaris Constantii magistri militum, cuius per ipsum gratia quaerebatur eaque res inter episcopos regionis illius magnarum discordiarum materia fuit. (1247)

Lucio uiro clarissimo consule. (1248)

Huius collega in consulatu Heraclianus fuit, qui nouarum in Africa rerum reus et honorem amisit et uitam. (1249)

Burgundiones partem Galliae propinquam Rheno obtinuerunt. (1250)

Jovinus et Sebastianus fratres in Gallia regno arrepto perempti. (1251)

1241 post §1246 *A* : et ob...merebatur (§1245) *om. B* solos *Astuv* alter et] est *Rp* : in *P* obseruatus *A* **1242** post §1246 *A* (a) Theodosio augusto IIII consulibus *hs Ars(t)* : a Theodosio annis IIII consulatum habens *Au¹* : a Theodosio annis IIII consulibus *hs Av* augusto *om. R* III viro clarissimo consule *H* consulatu *P* post consule *add. suo FPXZ* **1243** per...Ulfulam *om. R* ducis *AtuvO* Arelatensem *FPXZ* : Arelatensis *H* opidum *Au* et *om. Ar* captus *om. Ar* est *om. AORH* filius *H* Constantinum *Rv* Hispaniis *R* seorsum *Ar* : orsus *At* comes *om. R* quemdam *H¹* tyrannidem *AtuvOZ* interemerat *Av* **1245** humilitatisque *ORpFPXZ* affectat *A* : affectari *P* : affecta *Z* affectatimperit *R* imperrii *X* **1246** arege *R* : regi *B* ingresso *FP* **1247** Heros uir] Hirosur *Atuv* Arelatensis *A* opido *Au* praesideret et *H* insonis *AtuvZ* : insomps *H* : *om. O* nullis *PZ* insimulatione *Ar* : insimulationi *As* : insimulationibus *FPXZ* noxius *FPXZ* est *om. As* in quo *ARpH* : inique *O* : in quem *F* : in qua *Z* loco *ArZBH* ordinatus *Rp* Constantini *Z* eaque res *om. R* res] per *O* in terepiscopos *Rp* episcopus *Astuv* regiones *H¹* **1248** clarissimo uiro *Rp* consulibus *A* : consul *Rp* **1249** *om. B* coglega *H* in consulatu *O* : *om. A* Herodianus *R* reos *Z* et uitam amisit *R* honore et uita exutus est *Au²* **1250** propinquantem *FPXZ* : propinquare *H* rhenum *P* **1251** Gallias *RvFPXZ* abrepto *RFPZ* : ad repto *Atuv* : arrepti *O* perempti *AvOF* : perempti sunt *R* : perempto *X*

Hac tempestate Pelagius Britto dogma nominis sui contra gratiam Christi Celestio et Iuliano adiutoribus exserit multosque in suum errorem trahit, praedicans unumquemque ad iustitiam uoluntate propria regi tantumque accipere gratiae quantum meruerit quia Adae peccatum ipsum solum laeserit non etiam posteros eius obstrinxerit. Vnde et uolentibus possibile sit omni carere peccato omnesque paruulos tam insontes nasci quam primus homo ante praeuaricationem fuit nec ideo baptizandos ut peccato exuantur sed ut sacramento adoptionis honorentur. (1252)

Constantio uiro clarissimo consule. (1253)

Attalus Gothorum consilio et praesidio tyrannidem resumit in Gallia. (1254)

Honorio X et Theodosio VI. (1255)

Attalus a Gothis ad Hispanias migrantibus neglectus et praesidio carens capitur et Constantio patricio uiuus offertur. (1256)

Athaulfus a quodam suorum uulneratus interiit regnumque eius Vallia peremptis qui idem cupere intellegebantur inuasit. (1257)

Theodosio VII et Palladio. (1258)

Placidiam Theodosii imperatoris filiam quam Romae Gothi ceperant quamque Athaulfus coniugem habuerat Vallia pacem Honorii expetens reddit eiusque nuptias Constantius promeretur. (1259)

Romanae ecclesiae XXXVIII episcopatum suscepit Zosimus annis III. (1260)

1252 Bruto *Rp* : Brito *P* gloriam *O* exerit *Artuv PB* : exexit *Rv* multo et *B* herrorem *F* trait *O* : thrait *H* unumquenque *P* ad...tantumque *om. B* iustitia *O* propria uoluntate *X* uoluntate *O* tantumque *Z* acciperet *H* gratiae accipere *Rv* meruit *OP* : eruerit *Rv* qui *ORv* in ipsum *P* leserat *H* non...obstrinxerit *om. R* etiam] autem *O* : *om. Av* cuius *P* obtrinxerit *O* : obstrinxerit *X* : obtrixerit *Z* : obstruxerit *H* nolentibus *Rp* post sit *add.* ut non etiam posteros eius per(s)trinxerit *Rp(v)* omnia *R* : omnibus *B* peccato *Ar* : peccatis *B* nam *A* praeuaricatione *Z* **1253** VIC *O pro VC* consulibus *AO* post consule *add.* (et) Constante *Rv(H)* **1254** Attalus...offertur *om. B* a Gothorum *R* consilio *X* tyrannidem *As* : tyrannidem *AtuvZ* resummittit *O* : presumit *RH* Gallias *RFXZ* : Galliis *P* **1256** Athaulfus *Av* a *om. H* neglectus *OH* et praesidio] epresidio *Rp* Constantio...offertur *om. R* uius *OH* **1257** Athaulfus ex a Taul Attalus *Rv²* gothorum rex post Athaulfus *Z* socrum *R* peremptis *ArOFX* : perempti Vuallia *Rv* quidem *ARpX^a* : quidam *Rv* : si quidem qui eum *H* capere *H* intelligebantur *AstuPZ* : intelligebatur *Rv* : conabantur *H* **1258** VI *R* post Palladio *add.* consulibus *FZ* **1259** Placidia *A* filia *A* Goti Romam *O* : Gothi Romae *B* : Gothi *om. Atuv* caeperant *ArX* : coeperant *AsRpB* : ceperunt *FP* quamquem *O* : que *H* habuerat ex habent *H²* Vuanliam *Rp* : Vualliam *Rv* reddi *As* : reddidit *OZ* **1260** episcopatum XXXVIII *FPXZH* XXXVIII *om. B* suscipit *RvFP* annis III] anno I mens(ibus) VIII diebus VIII (*F*)*P(XZ)*

Quo tempore Pelagianis iam a Papa Innocentio praedamnatis Afrorum uigore ac maxime Augustini episcopi industria resistebatur. (1261)

Honorio XI et Constantio II. (1262)

Honorius Romam cum triumpho ingreditur praeunte currum eius Attalo, quem Liparae uiuere iussit exulem. (1263)

Honorio XII et Theodosio VIII. (1264)

Hoc tempore Constantius seruus Christi ex uicario Romae habitans et pro gratia dei deuotissime Pelagianis resistens factione eorundem multa pertulit quae illum sanctis confessoribus sociauerunt. (1265)

Concilio apud Carthaginem habito CCXIII episcoporum ad Papam Zosimum synodalia decreta perlata sunt quibus probatis per totum mundum heresis Pelagiana damnata est. (1266)

Valentinianus Constantii et Placidiae filius nascitur VI nonas Iulias. (1267)

Monaxio et Plinta. (1269)

Romae XL episcopatum agit Bonifacius annis IIII. (1270)

Constantius pacem firmat cum Vallia data eidem ad habitandum secunda Aquitanica et quibusdam ciuitatibus confinium prouinciarum. (1271)

Theodosio VIII et Constantio III. (1272)

Constantius ab Honorio in consortium regni adsumitur. (1273)

1261 a Pellagianis *At* : Pelagius *FXZ* : Pelasgius *P* papam *B* praedamnatus *FPXZ* uigore] industria *Au*² ac] hac *O* : et *FPX* : *om.* *Z* maximae *AuORpXH* : maximeque *Z* episcopi *om.* *As* industria] scientia *Au*²*FPXZB* : industria (et) scientia (*B*)*H* **1262** VI *As* **1263** Roma *Artuv* : Rome *O* triumpho *AOR* : triumphans *FPXZ* praeuntem *Atu*¹*vO* curru *F* : curium *Z* eius *om.* *Z* Attalum *H* La Lipare *As* exulem iussit *FPXZ* exsulem *B* **1264** VIII] XIII *As* post VIII add. consulibus *FZ* **1265** uigario *Ars* : iugaria *Atuv* pro gratia *ex* pro pro gratia *Ar* Pelagianus *Z* Pelagianis deuotissime *O* factionem *AsO* eorumdem *At* pertulitque *AstuvRv* : pertulit que *ex* perrotulit que *O* : pertulit qui *Z* illis *FP* **1266** consilio *Ars*^a*tu*¹*v* : concilio *X* : consilio *H* inter concilio et apud add. autem *BH* aput *ORvF* abito *O* CCXIII] ducentorum amplius *A* : amplius *R* episcoporum *O* sinedale *As* : sinodali *Atu*¹*vO* : synodi *R* : sinodalia *Z* : synodalia *B* : senodalia *H* perlatas *F* : prelata *P* : prolata *Z* : perdata *H* sunt *om.* *FP* herasis *B* dampnata *Ar* **1267** noscitur *P* VI nonas] V nonas *AR* : VI non *P* : *om.* *OH* Iulii *Atuv* : Iulius *H* : *om.* *O* **1268** Carthag(in)is concilium contra (pleg *erad Rv*^a) Pelagianos add. *Rp(v)* **1269** Maximo *FPXZ* : Maximos *H* pinta o consulibus *H* **1270** Romae ecclesiae *Ar* : Rome ex Romeque *O*^b : Romanae ecclesiae *R* XL *om.* *ArZ* agit] suscepit *Rp* : suscipit *Rv* annis IIII] annis III mens(ibus) VIII diebus VI (*F*)*P(XZ)* post § 1270 *ins.in marg.* hoc tempore fuit III scisma Culalio anti papa per Honorium cesarem eiecto quod durauit annis II anno domini CCCCIIII *Atuv* **1271** Constantinus *O* : Constantius patricius *Au*²*BH* firmat *ex* firmam *F*² in Vallia *Z* datam *B* eidem data *H* inhabitandum *AOR* : hitandum *Z* secunda *om.* *AvP* a quae tanica *As* cunfinium *H* pro prouinciarum *Ar* **1272** *om.* *O* **1273** Constantio *X* ob *Atuv* adsumuntur *Au*¹ : adsumitur *OFRH*

Hieronimus presbyter moritur anno aetatis suae XCI pridie kalendas Octobris. (1274)

Agricola et Eustasio. (1275)

Constantius imperator moritur. (1276)

Honorio XIII et Theodosio X. (1277)

Hoc tempore exercitus ad Hispanias contra Vandalos missus est, cui Castinus dux fuit. Qui Bonifacium uirum bellicis artibus praeclarum inepto et iniurioso imperio ab expeditionis suae societate auertit. Nam ille periculosum sibi atque indignum ratus eum sequi, quem discordem superbientemque expertus esset, celeriter se ad Portum urbis atque inde ad Africam proripuit. Idque rei publicae multorum laborum initium fuit. (1278)

Mariniano et Asclepiodoto. (1279)

Placidia Augusta a fratre Honorio pulsa ad Orientem cum Honoria et Valentiniano filiis proficiscitur. (1280)

Romanae ecclesiae XLI praesidet episcopus Celestinus annis VIII. (1281)

Honorius moritur et regnum eius Iohannes occupat coniuente, ut putabatur, Castino, qui exercitui magister militum praeerat. (1282)

Theodosius XLVI Romanum imperium tenet. (1283)

Castino et Victore. (1284)

Theodosius Valentinianum amitae suae filium caesarem facit et cum augusta matre ad recipiendum occidentale emittit imperium. Quo tempore Iohannes dum Africam, quam Bonifacius obtinebat, bello reposcit ad defensionem sui infirmior factus est. (1286)

Theodosio XI et Valentiniano Caesare. (1287)

1274 presbiter *At* : praespice *Rv* Octubris *AtuvO* : Octobres *XRvBH* **1276** Constantinus *OZ* **1278** misus *Av* becillis *Ar* : bellicis *ex belicis* *H^b* perclarum *XF* indempto *Ar* : indepto *Astuv* sociatate *O* adque *O* superbientemque *Ar* : superuientemque *O* esse *F* portam *H* inde *om.* *P* prorupuit *Au* : prorupit *Av* idque] adque *O* labore *Z* initium *H* inter laborum et initium *add.* et malorum sequentium *Au²* **1280** horientem *Ar* Honoria] Honorio *RZHB* filius *X* : *om.* *Rp* proficiscuntur *At* : profisciscitur *Rv* **1281** praesidet episcopus] episcopatum suscepit *Rv* : episcopatum suscepit *Rp* annis VIII] annis VIII mens(es) X diebus XVII (*F*)*P* : annis VIII mensibus X diebus XVII *XZ* **1282** conibente *FZH* : coniubente *P* : conhibente *B* : coniuente *A²* : coniuente...praeerat *om.* *AOR* exercitu *H* militum] milicie *H* **1283** *add. in marg.* *B²* Romanorum XLVI regnauit Theodosius annis *P* : Romanorum XLIII imperium tenet Theodosius *Z* : Romanorum XLIII regnat Theodosius minor Archadii filius annis XXV *H* XLIII *Rp* Romanorum *A* post tenet *add.* annis XXVIII *R* **1284** Victorino *R* **1285** Hac tempestate (hoc tempore) superantius pictauus prefectum praetorii galliarum in ciuitate Arelathensis militum seditione occisus est idque apud Iohannem in ultimum (in ultum *Au³*) fuit *in marg* *Art(u)vO* **1286** matre sua *P* orientale *Arsu²* : orientalem *Atuv* : occidentalem *FRp* mittit *ArRP* : amittit *As* : *om.* *O* dum *ex* cum *P²* optinebat *ArORvBF* **1287** Valentiniano] Valtano *O* Caesar] consulibus *As* : consule *R* : *om.* *FPXZ*

Placidia Augusta et Valentinianus Caesar mira felicitate Iohannem tyrannum opprimunt et regnum uictores recipiunt. Data uenia Aetio eo quod Huni, quos per ipsum Iohannes acciuerat eiusdem studio ad propria reuersi sunt. (1288a)

Castinus autem in exilium actus est, quia uidebatur Iohannes sine coniuentia ipsius regnum non potuisse preaesumere. (1288b)

Valentinianus decreto Theodosii augustus appellatur. (1289)

Arelas nobile oppidum Galliarum a Gothis multa ui oppugnatum est, donec imminente Aetio non impuniti abscederent. (1290)

Theodosio XII et Valentiniano II. (1291)

Patroclus Arelatensis episcopus a tribuno quodam Barnabo multis uulneribus laniatus occiditur. Quod facinus ad occultam iussionem Felicis magistri militum referebatur cuius impulsu creditus est etiam Titus diaconus uir sanctus Romae pecunias pauperibus distribuens interemptus. (1292)

Hierio et Ardabure. (1293)

Bonifacio cuius intra Africam potentia gloriaque augebatur bellum, ad arbitrium Felicis, qui ad Italiam uenire abnueret publico nomine inlatum est ducibus Mauortio et Galbione et Sanoece, cuius prodicione Mauortius et Galbio dum Bonifacium obsident interempti sunt, moxque ipse a Bonifacio doli detectus occisus est. Exinde gentibus, quae uti nauibus

1288a felicitate] uelortate *Rv* tyrannum *AtuvOZ* opprimint *P* : oppremunt *H* uictorem *FX* eo *om.* *FP* Huni quos] iniquus *As* : unicus *B* isum *Rv* Iohannis *H* acceperat *AORH* : acciperat *F* : accreuerat *B* eius *Ars* eiusdem studio *om.* *Atu^lv* reuersa *H^a* exsilium *F* **1288b** uidebaturque *Rv* Iohannem *P* : Iohanni *Z* conhibentia *At* : conibentia *FX* : comitiua *P* : conibencia *Z* : cohibentia *B* : coniuentia *ex* conuentia *H²* potuisset *RvXH* suscipere *erad.* *inter* potuisse *et* praesumere *O* **1289** post Theodosii *add.* ab exercitu(s) *Au²(B)H* appellatus *H* **1290** sup Arelas *add.* Arilas idem est quod Arleas *X²* multa VI *Artv* : multa uim *Au* : multa in *H^l* uiobpugnatum *Z* oppugnantium *Atuv* est *om.* *AOR* done *Ar* imminentem *Astuv* : imminente *ORp* inpunito *R* abscinderetur *As* : absciderent *Atuv* : accederent *R* **1291** post Valentiniano *add.* Augusto *Au²PZH* : Augustis *FX* **1292** tribone *As* : tribono *Atu^lv* quondam *O* barbaro *Au²RPZ* uolneribus *Rv* laniatus] concisus *Au²* creditur *Rp* est *om.* *R* aetiam *O* distribuens *add.* in *marg.* *B²* interemptus est *R* : interficitur *FX* : interfectus *PZ* **1293** Hierio] Honorio *Z* **1294** Bonifacius *RXZ* cuius *om.* *XZ* intra Africam *om.* *P* *add.* in Africa post gloriaque *P* agebatur *Z* quia *Au²BH* Italia *Z* abnueret *ex* abnuerat] *Ar^b* : abnuerat *ex* abnueret *Au²* : abnueret *ex* abnuerit *Av²* : adnuebat *Rp* : abnuebat *Rv* : annueret *P* : abnueratur *Z* : abnuerat *B* : abnuerit *H* inaltum *AOR* est *om.* *AORH* aducibus *Z* prodicionem Auortius *Astu^lvORp* : prodicionem Mabortius *Rv* obsideret *As* : obsederent *O* interemti *ArF* : interemtis *O* ipse] etiam *B* : eciam *H* *inter* Bonifacio *et* doli *add.* ipse qui prodiderat *BH* dolo *RPZH* detrectus *Av* : detractus *H^l* : detrectus *H²* detectus occisus est] detentus est atque occisus *R* deinde *B* titi *Atuv* naues *O* ut in auuius *Rp* : ut in nauibus *ex* ut ingnauius *Rv^b*

nesciebant, dum a concertantibus in auxilium uocantur, mare peruium factum est bellicue
contra Bonifacium coepta in Sigisultum comitem cura translata est. (1294)

Gens Vandalorum ab Hispania ad Africam transit. (1295)

Felice et Tauro. (1296)

Nestorius Constantinopolitanus episcopus nouum ecclesiis molitur errorem inducere,
praedicans Christum ex Maria hominem tantum, non etiam deum natum eique diuinitatem
conlatam esse pro merito. Cui impietati praecipua Cirilli Alexandrini episcopi industria et
papae Celestini repugnat auctoritas. (1297)

Pars Galliarum propinqua Rheno, quam Franci possidendam occupauerant, Aetii comitis
armis recepta. (1298)

Florentio et Dyonisio. (1299)

Felice ad patriciam dignitatem prouecto Aetius magister militum factus est. (1300)

Agricola Pelagianus, Seueriani episcopi Pelagiani filius, ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui
insinuatione corrumpit. Sed ad actionem Palladii diaconi papa Celestinus Germanum
Autisiodorensem episcopum uice sua mittit et deturbatis hereticis Brittanos ad catholicam
fidem dirigit. (1301)

Theodosio XIII et Valentiniano III. (1302)

1294 certantibus *O* : concertaminibus *H* paruum *As* belli qui *H* cepti *Atuv*¹*PZ* : coepit *H* : *om.* *O*
in Sigisultum] in signis uultum *Artu*¹*vRpZH* : in sigis uultum *Asu*²*RvFXB* : insignisultum *P*
commitem *Av* : *om.* *R* curam *P* post est *add.* bellicue contra Bonifacium *Rv*^b et *del.* *Rv*^b **1295** genus
H Hispaniam *Au* : Spaniam *O* : Hispanias *F* : Hispaniis *P* transiit *Ars* **1296** post Tauro *add.*
consulibus *Z* **1297** Nestoriusque *Rp* post Nestorius *add.* qui *AOR* nouum opus *Z* molitur
ecclesiis *Rv* errorem *Au* et mariam *O* hominem] Iohannem *P* et hominem *add.* in *marg.* *P*² aetiam
O natum] tantumque *Z* eique] ei quod *Atuv* : ei *Z* diuinitatem ex diuitatem *Ar*^b conlata *Atuv* :
collatum *Z* cui] huic *FPXZ* impietate *H* Cirilli...industria *om.* *O* regnat *A* : repugnauit *R* :
repugnabat *H* post §1297 *add.* Lupus uir mire conuersationis relictis uxore diuitiis Lerinensium
abbatum eruditione perfectus Tricassinum episcopos ordinatur XIII kalendas Ianuarias *B* **1298**
Galliarum ex Gallicarum *Ar*² propinquam *AvRv* occupauerunt *O* Aetio comite *O* : ab Aetio comite
R : Aetico mitis *X* : Etio comiti *Z* armis *om.* *AOR* precepta *A* **1299** post Dyonisio *add.* consulibus *Z*
1300 felicem *RZ* patriam *Rp* : patricia ex pate *H*² dignitatem] ciuitatem *Z* profecto *OZ* Aetius]
eius *O* **1301** ex Agricola *FP* episcopus *X* Pelagiani episcopi *P* ecclesiae *A* Brast(h)aniae (*F*)*P*
: Britannie *add.* in *marg.* *P*² insinuat *As* : insinuatione *H* alter sui *erad.* post insinuatione *O*²
conrumpit *B* : corrumpit *H* ad *om.* *X* actionem] insinuationem *Au*²*X*²*BH* diaconii *Ar*
Autisiriensis ex Autisioiariensis *O*^b : uti siodorensem *H* episcopus *O* : et Lupum Tricassinum
episcopos *B* mittit et] mittit *Ar* : mittet *Astuv* : mittit ut *FPZ* : mittit et ex mittit ut *X*^b deturbatis *Rp* :
disturbatis *Rv* : deturbati *H* redegit *R* : dirigat *P* : dirigeret *Z* : redigunt *B* : dirigit *H* **1302** XIII] XII *O*
: XIII *Rv* III] IIII *R* *add.* consulibus *Z*

Aetius Felicem cum uxore sua Padusia et Grunnito diacono, cum eos insidiari sibi
praesensisset, interimit. (1303)

Augustinus episcopus per omnia excellentissimus moritur V kalendas Septembris, libris
Iuliani inter impetus obsidentium Vandalorum in ipso dierum suorum fine respondens et
gloriose in defensione Christianae gratiae perseuerans. (1304)

Basso et Antiocho. (1305)

Congregata apud Ephesum plus ducentorum synodo sacerdotum Nestorius cum heresi
nominis sui et cum multis Pelagianis qui cognatum errori suo iuuabant dogma damnatur.
(1306)

Ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Celestino Palladius primus episcopus
mittitur. (1307)

Aetio et Valerio. (1308)

Romanae ecclesiae XLII praeficitur episcopus Xystus annis VIII totius urbis pace et
consensione mirabili. (1309)

Bonifacius ab Africa ad Italiam per urbem uenit accepta magistri militum dignitate. Qui cum
resistentem sibi Aetium proelio superauisset, paucos post dies morbo extinctus est. Aetius
uero cum deposita potestate in agro suo degeret ibique eum quidam inimicus eius repentino

1303 *om. B cum eos...Augustinus om. R post Aetius ins. cum Au¹ (erad. Au³)R uxorem Rp sua om. AOR et Grunnito diacono] et Grunnitum diaconum RF : egrunnitum dyaconum P : et Grannitum diaconum X : et Grannitidum diaconum Z diacone Ar : diacunum O cum om. OFPXZ insidiari om. A sibi om. P post sibi ins. cum FPXZ prens isset As : presensissent Au¹ : presensitet O : presemisisset H interemit AvPZH* **1304** Aurelius Augustinus Au² : Augustinus ex Augustino H^b per omnia] permiam Ars : per dei misericordiam Atuv libri AOR Iuliani inter] Iulianunter H impetu O : impetum P subsedentium O gloriosa A : gloriosae Rp defensionem R Christianae gratiae] diuine gratiae Christianae As **1305** consulibus add. Z **1306** plus *om. Rp Nestorios B heresim ARFP cognominatum Z : cognitum H errori suo] sibi FPXZ errori suo iuuabant] erroris uotubabant Rv tubabnt Rp : iubabant F : inuenerant Z dampnatur X : dampnantur Z : dannantur H* **1307** alter ad Rp : at F Scotto Rv ordinatur AFPXZBH a *om. At ins. et inter Palladius et primus FPXZ* moritur A : missus est R **1308** et *om. At consulibus add. Z* **1309** XLII *om. B praeficitur] ordinatur Rp : ordinatus Rv Xystus episcopus B Xystus] xps H annis VIII] annis VIII diebus X (et) VIII FP(X)Z : IX H totius...mirabili om. R tocius Z orbis FPBH consensiones Atuv mirabilis ex mirabiles Ar^b : mirabiles Astv : mirabili ex mirabiles Au² : mirabile O* **1310** ab Africa *om. Z orbem B accepit R a magistri Rp : magistro Rv dignitatem AtuvRF inproelio R : praelio F : precio H superasset AR : superassed O : supera iussaet H post paucos dies H eum] cum RP inimici Au²BH eius om. AOR*

incursu opprimere temptasset, profugus ad urbem atque illinc ad Dalmatiam deinde per Pannonias ad Hunos peruenit, quorum amicitia auxilioque usus pacem principum et ius interpolatae potestatis optinuit. (1310)

Theodosio XIII et Maximo. (1311)

Aspare et Ariobindo. (1319)

Theodosio XV et Valentiniano III. (1320)

Pax facta cum Vandalis data eis ad habitandum Africae portione. (1321)

Eodem tempore Gundicarum Burgundionem regem intra Gallias habitantem Aetius bello obtrivit pacemque ei supplicanti dedit, qua non diu potitus est, siquidem illum Huni cum populo suo [ab] stirpe deleuerint. (1322)

Isidoro et Senatore. (1323)

Gothi pacis placita perturbant et pleraque municipia uicina sedibus suis occupant, Narbonensi oppido maxime infesti. Quod cum diu obsidione et fame laboraret per Litorium comitem ab utroque periculo liberatum est, siquidem per singulos equites binis tritici modiis aduectis strenuissime et hostes in fugam uerterit et ciuitatem annona impleuerit. (1324)

Aetio II et Sigisulto. (1325)

Bellum aduersum Gothos Hunis auxiliantibus geritur. (1326)

In Africa Gisiricus rex Vandalorum intra habitationis suae limites uolens catholicam fidem

1310 incursuque *Astuv* : occursu *Z* premere *As* : primere *AtZ* : perrimere *Au¹* : perimere *Av* temptassent *Au²BH* : temtasset *OF* : tentasset *P* orbem *B* adque *O* illic *OZ* : inde *H* Dalmatias *R* atque inde *ex* deinde *Au²* per *om. FPXZH* perannonas *O* amicitiam *Z* principum *H* et ius] et suis *As* : Aetius *RFB²* interpolatae *A* : interpellatae *PH* : interpollatae *X* potestans *P* **1311** *om. O* Maxima *Z* consulibus *add. Z* **1319** *om. O* Ariobinda *ARFP* **1320** III] tercio *H* consulibus *add. Z* **1321** inhabitandum *AuO* post habitandum *add. per* Trigetium in loco *FPXZ* portio *AOR* post portione *add. III* idus Februarias (Feberii) Hippone *FPX(Z)* **1322** *om. B* Gundicarum] regnum diacharium *H* Burgundiorum *A* rege *Astu* : reges *Z* obtrivit] optinuit *R* eis *AstuvH* supplicati *Av* : supplicanti *H* quia *O* potitus *ex* potius *O^b* Chunicum *Auv* cum] eum *P* : *om. H* ab stirpe] ac stirpe *AFPXH* : hac stirpe *O* : stirpe *R* : atque stirpe *P* deluerint *Atuv* : deluerunt *O* : deleuerunt *RFPX* **1323** Isidorus et Senator *A* consulibus *add. Z* **1324** placida *RpH* et *om. At* pleraque] plura *R* municipia *As* opido *Atu* maxe *ex* max *As²* quod *add. H²* cum] dum *A* : *om. H* obsidione diu *H* et *om. R* laborare *Astuv* : laborarent *O* pericul *ex* periculum *At^b* liberatus *FPXZ* Siquidem] quidem *FPXZ* aequites *H* binis] uinis *Rv* tritici *O* hostes *ex* hostem *O²* fugant *Z* uertureit *Ar* : uertit *AsR* : uertitur *Z* : uerteret *H* ciuitate *As* impleuerit] adiuuerit *AORp* : adiuuit *Rv* **1326** aduersus *AsORPH* **1327** *om. B* habitatinis *H* fide *Atu¹*

Arriana impietate subuertere, quosdam nostrorum episcopos, eatenus persecutus est, ut eos priuatos iure basilicarum suarum etiam ciuitatibus pelleret, cum ipsorum constantia nullis superbissimi regis terroribus cederet. (1327)

Valentinianus Augustus ad Theodosium principem Constantinopolim proficiscitur filiamque eius in matrimonium accipit. (1328)

Eodem anno piraticam barbari foederatorum desertores exercuerunt. (1330)

Per idem tempus IIII Hispani uiri Archadius, Probus, Paschasius, et Euticianus dudum apud Gisiricum merito sapientiae et fidelis obsequii cari clarique habebantur. Quos rex ut copulatiores sibi faceret in Arrianam sectam transire praecepit. At illi hoc facinus constantissime respuentes excitato in rabidissimam iram barbaro primum proscripti, deinde in exilium acti, tum atrocissimis suppliciis excruciat, ad postremum diuersis mortibus interempti inlustri martyrio mirabiliter occubuerunt. Puer autem Paulillus nomine frater Paschasii et Euticiani pro elegantia formae atque ingenii admodum regi acceptus cum a professione atque amore catholicae fidei nullis minis deturbari posset, diu fustibus caesus et ad infimam seruitutem damnatus est, ideo ut apparet non interfectus ne de superata saeuitia impii etiam illa aetas gloriaretur. (1329)

1327 Arriani *At* : Arrianam *Auv* : in Arrianam *R* pietate *Atuv* : impietatem *R* episcoporum *OF* post episcopos *add.* quorum Possidius et Monachus ac Seuerianus clariores erant *Au²* : quo apud allia Athenas dius et Nouatus ac Seuerianus clariores sunt *H* eatenus *R* ut eos] uicos *Ars* : in cos *Atuv* priuato *FP* : priuatus *Z* suarum *om.* *H* etiam] aetiam *O* : *om.* *Z* constantiam *R* superbissi *Av* : superuissime *O* : superbissime *Z* terroribus *At* cederent *R* : cederetur *H* **1328** a ex ad *O^b* principem *om.* *B* Constantinopolem *Ar* proficiscitur *At* : profisciscitur *Rv* eius *om.* *Arstv* accepit *ORpZH* **1330** post §1329 *B* pyriticam *Ars* : pirati cum *FX* : pyriticum *P* : pirate cum *Z* barbaris *Z* foederatorum desertores *om.* *AOR* **1329** tempore *Z* IIII] quatuor *AuR* Hispaniae *B* Frobus *P* Pascasius, Probus *B* aput *ORv* fideles obsequio *Z* cari clarique] *Au²* : clarique *AORFPXZB* : clari carique *H* quod *Rp* copulatores *Z* dilectiores *B* : copulatiores lectorum *H* sectam] perfidiam *BH* at] ad *As¹O* : sed *BH* reputantes exercitatio *Z* rapidissimam *R* proscripto *Ar^a* : proscribi *O* in *om.* *H* exilio *RZ* acti tum] atticum *Ar* : actitum *As* : acticum *At* : acti cum *Z* tumexi *O* tum...excruciat *om.* *R* atrocissimis suppliciis *Z* cruciat *P* : extruciat *H* ad] ac *R* diuersis ex diuersi *Au²* moribus *Rv* interemti *OF* : interempti ex interempti *P^b* inlustres *H* martyrio *AtuvORv* Paschasii] Paschasius *H* Euticiani et Paschasii *B* prelegantia *As* : pre elegantia *Rv* adque *O* ammodum *RpH* regi] rei *H* acceptus *Av* cum *om.* *P* appofessione *Z* adque *O* perturbari *R* possit *RpZ* fustibus diu *B* ad] in *O* infirmam *AH* : infamam *FX* : infamem *P* dampnatus *Ar* appareat *Av* : apparetur *P* interfectus] occisus *B* de *om.* *FPXZ* superata saeuicia] superitia *A* : superata peritia *OR* impii] imperii *As* : impii regis *Au²FPXZ* aetiam *O* glorieretur *At*

Theodosio XVI et Fausto. (1331)

Hoc quoque anno idem piratae multas insulas sed praecipue Siciliam uastauere. (1332)

Aduersum Gothos in Gallia quaedam prospere gesta. (1333)

Theodosio XVII et Festo. (1334)

Litorius, qui secunda ab Aetio patricio potestate, Hunis auxiliaribus praeerat, dum Aetii gloriam superare appetit dumque aruspicum responsis et daemonum significationibus fudit, pugnam cum Gothis imprudenter conseruit fecitque intellegi quantum illa, quae cum eodem periit, manus prodesse potuerit, si potioris consiliis quam sua temeritate uti maluisset, quando tantam ipse hostibus cladem intulit, ut, nisi inconsideranter proelians captiuitatem incidisset, dubitandum foret, cui potius parti uictoria adscriberetur. (1335)

Hac tempestate Iulianus Aeclanensis iactantissimus Pelagiani erroris adsertor, quem dudum amissi episcopatus intemperans cupido exagitabat, multimoda arte fallendi correctionis speciem praeferens, molitus est in communionem ecclesiae inrepere. Sed his insidiis Xystus papa diaconi Leonis hortatu uigilanter occurrens nullum aditum pestiferis conatibus patere permisit et ita omnes catholicos de reiectione fallacis bestiae gaudere fecit, quasi tunc primum superbissimam heresim apostolicus gladius detruncauisset. (1336)

Per idem tempus Vitricus rei publicae nostrae fidelis et multis documentis bellicis clarus habebatur. (1337)

Pax cum Gothis facta, cum eam post ancipitis pugnae lacrimabile experimentum humilius quam umquam antea poposcissent. (1338)

1331 XV A O Z consulibus add. Z **1332** om. R iidem P : idem ex diem H^b uastauerunt H **1333** om. A O R aduersus P prospere P : sprospere H **1334** XVI A consulibus add. Z **1335** om. R B secuinda H patricio om. A O auxilantibus O X Z : auxiliatribus F gloria Artuv superatuste H adpetit Auv aurispicum Atuv : aruspicium H significationibus P : sinnificationibus H fudit...fecitque om. Z pugna H inter imprudenter et conseruit add. cum Gothis in O intelligit Z H prodeesse As O potioribus Aru² P : potius ueris Z consilii Au¹ : consiliis X themeritate O : teneritate Z uti] addi O tanta Au¹ quando...hostibus] quando et ipse tantam in hostibus Z in hostibus X ut om. O consideranter Arsu O : consideranter Atv proelianas H captiuitem O dubitandam Z fore F pocius Z uictoria ex uictoriae F² asscriberetur Z : adscribetur H **1336** et Lanensis H lactantissimus A : lactantissimis Rp : iactantissimis Rv desertor A ammissi At : amessi FP episcopatum Z exagittabat Z correptionis Rv H : correononis B inrepens R sed om. R hiis Atuv : in his H diacuni O : dicti Rv : dyaconi P hortatur A : ortatu ORp Z : ornatu H occurens Atv additum Atuv permittit et] permittitur Z ita om. P de reiectione] de retectione R : deiectione F : defectione P : directione H bestiae] uestigia Rv gaudere fecit] gauderet Rp superuissimam O heresem FPX apostolicus O gladius ex gaudius O^b detruncasset AuOP **1337** in marg. Astuv O : om. ArRBH documenti F bellicis clarus] insignis As habetur Z **1338** eam] eis A : eandem O ancipicis H unquam AP ante P poposcisset A : poposcissent RpF

Aetio rebus quae in Gallia componebantur intento Gisiricus de cuius amicitia nihil metuebatur, Carthaginem dolo pacis inuadit omnesque opes eius, excruciat diuerso tormentorum genere ciuibus, in ius suum uertit. Nec ab ecclesiarum despoliatione abstinens, quas et sacris uasis exinanitas et sacerdotum administratione priuatas non iam diuini cultus loca, sed suorum esse iussit habitacula, in uniuersum captiui populi ordinem saeuus, sed praecipue nobilitati et religioni infensus, ut non discerneretur, hominibus magis an deo bellum intulisset. (1339a)

Carthago a Vandalis capta anno postquam Romana esse coeperat DLXXXV. (1339b)

Valentiniano Augusto V et Anatholio. (1340)

Defuncto Xysto episcopo XL amplius diebus Romana ecclesia sine antistite fuit mirabili pace atque patientia praesentiam diaconi Leonis expectans, quem tunc inter Aetium et Albinum amicitias redintegrandem Galliae detinebant. Quasi ideo longius esset abductus, ut electi meritum et eligentium iudicium probaretur. Igitur Leo diaconus legatione publica accitus et gaudenti patriae praesentatus XLIII Romanae ecclesiae episcopus ordinatur. (1341)

Gisiricus Siciliam grauiter affligens, accepto nuntio de Sebastiani ab Hispania ad Africam transitu celeriter Carthaginem redit, ratus periculosum sibi ac suis fore, si uir bellandi peritus recipiendae Carthagini incubuisset. Verum ille amicum se magis quam hostem

1339a Gallias *FXZ* : Galilea *H* componebantur] gerebantur *Ar^a* : conponebantur *ORF* amicia *H* nicil *O* metueabatur *et* mouebatur *H²* post metuebatur *add.* XIII kalendas nouembris *FPXZH* pacis] tempore pacis *Rv* eius] eiusque *A* : eius ad *P^a* diuerso...ciuibus] ciuibus diuerso genere tormentorum *X* ciues *Rv* in ius suum] in iussuum *Atv* : iniussuum *Au¹H¹* : uerus suum *Z* dispolatione *AORpZB* : depopulatione *P* uasibus *P* sacerdotium *Au¹* iussit esse *ORPH* saeuus] secius *Atuv* sed praecipue] sepraecipuae *F* praecipuae *RpH* nobilitatem *Rv* religioni] regioni *R* infensus] infestus *Z* : infessus *B* magis *om.* *A* an *om.* *R* intulisse *AstuvRZ* **1339b** *in marg.* *AstuvO* : *om.* *ArR* : hanc autem captiuitatem Carthago subiit anno postquam Romana esse coepit (ceperat) *B(H)* Roma *As* : Romanae *X* ceperat *AstuvOPZ* : caeperat *X* DLXXXV] 484 *As* : quadringentesimo octuagesimo quarto *AtuvO* **1340** Augusto *om.* *AOR* **1341** sine *om.* *Z* antistide *Rv* : antistue *F* patientiae *RpF* praesentiam] praesentia *Av* : aduentum *P* : *om.* *Ar* expetans *ORp* : exspectans *X* quem] qui *R* inter] in *Rv* : intra *Z* : *om.* *As* et] atque et *Rp* : atque *Rv* : *om.* *Z* redintegrandem] ret integrantem *Ar* : reintegrandem *Astuv¹* : integrande *R* : reintegrande *F* : reintegrande *P* : reintegrantem *X* detinebatur *Rv* : retinebant *P* quasi...probaretur *om.* *R* ut et *Ars* eligentium] elegantium *Ar* : elegantium *AtvOH* : eligentium *F* : eligendum *X* diaconus *om.* *AOR* accinctus *B* representatus *Z* XLIII *O* : *om.* *B* **1342** *B* finit uerbis recipiendae Cartha de *om.* *Rp* Sebastiano *FPXZ* transitu] transito *Rp* : transitum *FP¹H* : transitum faciente *P²* : transituro *Z* redit ratus] reditractus *Atuv* : rediit ratus *OFP* : reiteratus *Z* ac] hac *O* fore si] forensi *Atuv* : fore putans si *Z* Carthaginem *Atuv* : Carthagine *FX* uerum...fuit *om.* *R* uirum *H* amichum *At* se *om.* *H*

uideri uolens diuersa omnia apud barbarum animum quam praesumpserat repperit, eaque spes causa illi maximae calamitatis et infelicissimae mortis fuit. (1342)

Cyro uiro clarissimo consule. (1343)

Theodosius imperator bellum contra Vandalos mouet, Ariobindo et Ansila atque Germano ducibus cum magna classe directis, qui longis cunctationibus negotium differentes Siciliae magis oneri quam Africae praesidio fuere. (1344)

Dioscoro uiro clarissimo consule. (1345)

Hunis Trachias et Illiricum saeua populatione uastantibus exercitus, qui in Sicilia morabatur, ad defensionem orientalium prouinciarum reuertitur. (1346)

Cum Gisirico autem a Valentiniano Augusto pax confirmata et certis spatiis Africa inter utrumque diuisa est. (1347)

In Gisiricum de successu rerum etiam apud suos superbientem quidam optimates ipsius conspirauerunt sed molitione detecta multis ab eo suppliciis excruciatu atque extincti sunt, cumque idem audendum etiam ab aliis uideretur tam multis regis suspicio exitio fuit, ut hac sui cura plus uirum perderet quam si bello superaretur. (1348)

Maximo II et Paterio. (1349)

Hoc tempore plurimos Manicheos intra urbem latere diligentia papae Leonis innotuit, qui eos de secretis suis erutos et oculis totius ecclesiae publicatos omnes dogmatis sui turpitudines et damnare fecit et prodere incensis eorundem codicibus, quorum magnae moles fuerant interceptae. Quae cura uiro sancto diuinitus, ut apparuit, inspirata non solum Romanae

1342 uidere *O* aput *OF* barbari *Au*²*OH* animum] annum *Z* : *om.* *P* praesumpserat] proposuerat *Av* felicissimae *AO* **1343** VIC pro VC *Au*¹ **1344** Ariobinda *A* : Ariobinde *R* adque *O* in magna *Au* directus *O* : discretis *H* cunctationibus] cum rationibus *As* : cunctationibus *P* honori *AtuvO* : honeri *ArX* frueri *O* : fuerunt *P* : fuerit *H* **1345** Dioscoro et Eudoxio (Londosio) consulibus *F(P)XZ* : *add.* et Eudoxio *Au*²*R* consule *om.* *H* **1346** Trachiam *P* depopulatione *AOR* : apopulatione *Z* prouincialium *Au*¹ reuertit *FXH* : se uertit *Z* **1347** autem *om.* *H* a] et *R* : ab *FPXZH* : *om.* *O* Augusto Valentiniano *FPXZH* et *om.* *Z* ceteris *At* spatiis] partibus *A* Africae *AO* utrunque *A* **1348** *om.* *R* In...fuit (ut superaretur *om.* [*add.* *Au*²]) in marg. *AO* in] inde *Z* successu rerum] successo rem *Artuv* : suerum *As* : successorem *Au*¹ etiam *om.* *Au*²*P* apud *Au* : aput *OF* superbientes *H* conspirauerant *P* detecta] decreta *At* supplicitiis *ArP* cruciati *Z* atque] et *As* : adque *O* audiendum *AZ* : ad audiendum *H* suspicio] suplicio *Ar* exitionis fuerit *H* hac *om.* *X* **1349** consulibus *add.* *FPXZ* **1350** *A* finit uerbis fecit et prodere hoc tempore] huius temporis *H* Manicheos plurimos *Au* suos *Au* eructos *Atuv* : erutos ex erutiis *F^b* totius *Z* publicatos] duplicatos *Z* omnes] omnium *A* dogmatis *om.* *A* turpitudinem *A* : turpitudinis *H* et *om.* *A* dampnare *ZH* eorundem] eorum *R* quorum...imitati sunt *om.* *R* apparuit inspirata] adparum inspirato *O*

urbi, sed etiam uniuerso orbi plurimum profuit, siquidem confessionibus in urbe captorum qui doctores eorum qui episcopi quiue presbyteri in quibus prouinciis uel ciuitatibus degerent, patefactum sit, multique orientalium partium sacerdotes industriam apostolici rectoris imitati sunt. (1350)

Theodosio XVIII et Albino. (1351)

Hoc anno pascha domini VIII kalendas Maias celebratum est. (1352)

Atthela rex Hunorum Blebam fratrem et consortem suum perimit eiusque populos sibi parere compellit. (1353)

Valentiniano VI et Nomo. (1354)

1350 urbis *OZH^a* etiam] et *H* inter uniuerso et orbi *add.* profuit *H^a* confessionibus] a confessoribus *Z* in urbe captorum] in urbe captiuorum *X* : in urbe unaquaque catholicorum *Z* quiue] qui *PXZ* sit] fit *H* industria *H* apostholici *O* rectores *Z* **1351** et Albino consulibus et Albio consulibus *F* consulibus *add.* *FPXZ* **1352** hoc...celebratum est] *OXZH* : VIII maias pascha caelebratum est *Rp* : VIII kalendas maias pascha celebratum est *Rv* : *om.* *FP* VIII] VIII *H* caelebratum *X* post est *add.* nec erratum est quia in die XI kalendas Maias(diei) dies passionis fuit ob cuius reuerentiam natalis urbis sine circensibus fuit ob reuerentiam dominicae passionis (natalis urbis Romae sine circensibus transiit) *XZ(H)* **1353** *om.* *R* consortem in regnum suum *H* peremit *H* **1354** consulibus *add.* *FPXZ*

Chapter Five

Prosper's chronicle of 445 : Translation

Thus far did the presbyter Jerome arrange the order of the preceding years. We have taken care to add those events which followed. (1166)

Therefore, after Valens had been cremated by the Goths in Thrace, Gratian, the forty-first emperor, reigned for six years with his brother Valentinian. (1167)

Ausonius and Olybrius. (1168) 379

Gratian, after the death of his uncle, adopted Theodosius, the son of Theodosius, as a partner in the imperial college and assigned the reign of the East to him. (1170)

At this time, Priscillian, a bishop from Gallaecia founded a heresy under his own name from the doctrines of the Manichaeans and Gnostics. (1171)

Gratian for the fifth time and Theodosius. (1172) 380

Bishop Ambrosius wrote many things sublimely on behalf of the Catholic faith. (1173)

Syagrius and Eucherius. (1174) 381

Martin, a bishop of the city of Tours in Gaul, was considered famous for many things. (1175)

Antonius and Syagrius. (1176) 382

Athanaricus, king of the Goths, was murdered in Constantinople on the fifteenth day after he had been welcomed. (1177)

Merobaudes for the second time and Saturninus. (1178) 383

Archadius, son of the Emperor Theodosius, was proclaimed augustus. (1179)

Ricomer and Clearchus. (1180) 384

Honorius, the son of Theodosius, was born. (1181)

After Damasus, Sericius presided for fourteen years as the thirty-sixth bishop of the Roman church.

In Britain, Maximus was made emperor through a rebellion of his troops. Maximus soon crossed to Gaul and Gratian was then overthrown in Paris through the treason of his *magister militum* Merobaudes. He then fled to Lyon, where he was captured and assassinated. Maximus made his son Victor a partner in the imperial college. (1183)

Valentinian, the forty-second emperor, reigned with Theodosius for seven years. ¹³⁸ (1184)	
Arcadius and Bauto. (1185)	385
At this time the priest Jerome, already famous throughout the whole world, was living in Bethlehem, devoting himself to the universal church with an extraordinary intelligence and industry. (1186)	
Priscillian, learning that he was about to be condemned at the synod in Bordeaux, appealed to the emperor Maximus and, after his case had been heard at Trier by Evodius, the praetorian prefect, he was put to death by the sword by Maximus along with Eucrotia, the wife of the rhetor Delfidius, Latronianus, and other partners in his error. At Bordeaux, a certain disciple of Priscillian, by the name Urbica, was stoned to death by a riotous mob, on account of the stubbornness of her impiety.(1187)	
<i>Nobilissimus puer</i> Honorius and Euodius. (1188)	386
Valentinian for the third time and Eutropius. (1189)	387
Theodosius for the second time and Cynegius. (1190)	388
Three miles from Aquileia the usurper Maximus was stripped of his imperial garments, and condemned to death by the Emperors Valentinian and Theodosius. In the same year, his son Victor was killed in Gaul by Arbogast. (1191)	
Timasius and Promotus. (1192)	389
Bishops Itacius and Ursacius were excommunicated because of the murder of Priscillian, of whom they had been the accusers. (1193)	
Valentinian for the fourth time and Neoterius. (1194)	390
Tatianus and Symmachus. (1195)	391
Arcadius for the second time and Rufinus. (1196)	392
Valentinian, led towards a loathing of his life by the excessive harshness of Arbogast, his <i>magister militum</i> , hanged himself in Vienne. (1197a)	
After Valentinian's death, by whose demise he was inconvenienced, Arbogast, his commander of the army, made Eugenius emperor in Gaul. (1197b)	
Theodosius, the forty-third emperor, when he had already reigned for fourteen years, reigned with his sons Arcadius and Honorius for three years. (1198)	

¹³⁸ While the manuscripts provide seven years for Arcadius' reign, Prosper actually assigned him eight years in the chronology.

Theodosius for the third time and Abundantius. (1199)	393
Archadius for the third time and Honorius for the second time. (1200)	394
John, the anchorite monk, was considered famous. He was bestowed with the gift of prophecy, and when Theodosius inquired about the outcome of the war which he was undertaking against Eugenius, John predicated that he would be victorious. (1201)	
Olybrius and Probinus. (1202)	395
Theodosius conquered and destroyed the usurper Eugenius. (1203)	
Augustine, a disciple of the blessed Ambrose, and distinguished with much eloquence and learning, was ordained bishop in Hippo Regius in Africa. (1204)	
At this time, Claudian the famous poet, became known. (1205)	
Emperor Theodosius died in Milan. (1206)	
Archadius, the forty-fourth emperor, when he had already reigned for twelve years, reigned with his brother Honorius for thirteen years. (1207)	
Archadius for the fourth time and Honorius for the third. (1208)	396
Caesarius and Atticus. (1209)	397
Honorius for the fourth time and Eutychianus. (1211)	398
Anastasius was the thirty-seventh bishop of the Roman church for four years. (12112)	
Manlius Theodorus, <i>uir clarissimus</i> , consul. (1215)	399
Although the eunuch Eutropius started the year as consul with Theodorus, he was soon stripped both of this honour and his life. (1216)	
Stilicho and Aurelianus. (1217)	400
The Goths entered Italy under the command of Alaric and Ragadaisus. (1218)	
Vincentius and Fravitus. (1219)	401
Bishops John of Constantinople and Theophilus of Alexandria were considered famous. But a conflict eclipsed both, a conflict that grew to such proportions that John was crushed by Theophilus and forced to go into exile to Pontus, although, nevertheless, most of the bishops followed the example of the Roman pontiff and remained in communion with him. (1220)	
Arcadius for the fifth time and Honorius for the fifth time. (1221)	402
There was a hard-fought battle against the Goths at Pollentia with massive losses on both sides. (1222)	

Innocent presided as thirty-eighth bishop of the Roman church for fourteen years. (1223)	
Augustus Theodosius for the first time and Rumoridus. (1224)	403
Honorius, consul for the sixth time. (1226)	404
Stilicho for the second time and Anthemius. (1227)	405
After the deaths of many thousands of Goths, Ragadaisus was overcome and captured in Tuscany by Stilicho, commander of the army. (1228)	
Arcadius for the sixth time and Probus. (1229)	406
The Vandals and Alans crossed the Rhine and marched into Gaul on 31 December. (1230)	
Honorius for the seventh time and Theodosius for the second. (1231)	407
Constantine arose as usurper in Britain and crossed to Gaul. (1232)	
Bassus and Philip. (1233)	408
Emperor Arcadius died in Constantinople. (1234)	
Honorius, the forty-fifth emperor, reigned with Theodosius, the son of his brother, for fifteen years. (1235)	
Honorius for the eighth time and Theodosius for the third. (1236)	409
The Vandals occupied Spain. (1237)	
Attalus was made emperor in Rome. Having been soon afterwards removed from power, he allied himself with the Goths. (1238)	
Varanes, <i>vir clarissimus</i> , consul. (1239)	410
Rome is captured by the Goths under the command of Alaric. (1240)	
And, on account of this, there was only an eastern consul <this year>, which happened the following year as well. (1241)	
Augustus Theodosius, consul for the fourth time. (1242)	411
Constantine was conquered and captured by the generals of Honorius, Constantius and Ulfula in the town of Arles. <i>Comes</i> Gerontius had <already> killed his son Constans, who had begun to rule in Spain, once he had transferred power to a certain Maximus. (1243)	
Honorius for the ninth time and Theodosius for the fifth. (1244)	412
When Maximus had been removed from the imperial authority in Spain, his life was spared since the modesty and humility of the man did not prompt the ill-will <normally engendered by> the usurpation of power. (1245)	
The Goths entered Gaul under king Athaulf. (1246)	

At the same time Heros, a holy man and student of the blessed Martin, was expelled while he was presiding as Bishop of Arles by the people of that same city, even though he was innocent and guilty of no crime. In his place Patroclus was ordained, a friend and confidant of the *magister militum* Constantius, whose favour they (the people) were seeking through him (Patroclus). This incident was a source of great discord among the bishops of that region. (1247)

Lucius, *vir clarissimus*, consul. (1248)

413

Heraclian was Lucius' colleague in the consulship <this year>. Since he was responsible for an uprising in Africa, he lost both this office and his life. (1249)

The Burgundians obtained part of Gaul close to the Rhine. (1250)

The brothers Jovinus and Sebastianus were killed after seizing power in Gaul. (1251)

At this time Pelagius the Briton put forth the doctrine against the grace of Christ <that bears> his name with the help of Celestius and Julian, and drew many people to his error, by proclaiming that each man is guided to righteousness through his own free will and receives as much grace as he merits since the sin of Adam harmed himself alone and did not also hinder his descendants. For this reason it is also possible for those who so wish to be free from all sin and for all children to be born as innocent as the first man was before his transgression. And people are not to be baptized in order to be divested of sin, but so that they might be honoured with the sacrament of adoption. (1252)

Constantius, *vir clarissimus*, consul. (1253)

414

Attalus usurped power again in Gaul with the advice and assistance of the Goths. (1254)

Honorius for the tenth time and Theodosius for the sixth. (1255)

415

Attalus was abandoned by the Goths when they migrated to Spain, and lacking their assistance he was captured and brought alive before patrician Constantius. (1256)

Athaulf was wounded by one of his own men and died. Vallia usurped his throne, after having murdered those who were thought to desire the same thing. (1257)

Theodosius for the seventh time and Palladius. (1258)

416

Because he desired peace with Honorius, Vallia returned Placidia, daughter of the emperor Theodosius, whom the Goths had captured in Rome and whom Athaulf had married, and Constantius earned her hand in marriage. (1259)

Zosimus was the thirty-ninth bishop of the Roman church for three years. (1260)

At this time through the zeal of the Africans and especially through the diligence of Bishop Augustine, there was a resistance against the Pelagians, who had already been condemned by Pope Innocent. (1261)	
Honorius for the eleventh time and Constantius for the second. (1262)	417
Honorius entered Rome in a triumph with Attalus preceding his chariot, and he ordered him to live in exile on Lipara. (1263)	
Honorius for the twelfth time and Theodosius for the eighth. (1264)	418
At this time Constantius, servant of Christ and former vicar, was living in Rome and was devoutly resisting the Pelagians on behalf of the grace of God. At the hands of a faction of the Pelagians he endured many sufferings that united him with the holy confessors. (1265)	
After a council was held at Carthage, the synodal decrees of the two hundred and fourteen bishops were sent to Pope Zosimus, and after he had approved them, the Pelagian heresy was condemned throughout the whole world. (1266)	
Valentinian, the son of Constantius and Placidia, was born on 2 July. (1267)	
Monaxius and Plinta. (1269)	419
Boniface was the fortieth bishop of Rome for four years. (1270)	
Constantius made peace with Vallia, and Aquitaine and certain cities of neighbouring provinces were given to him to inhabit. (1271)	
Theodosius for the ninth time and Constantius for the third. (1272)	420
Constantius was elevated by Honorius as a partner in the imperial college. (1273)	
The priest Jerome died at the age of 91 on 30 September. (1274)	
Agricola and Eustathius. (1275)	421
The Emperor Constantius died. (1276)	
Honorius for the thirteenth time and Theodosius for the tenth. (1277)	422
At this time the army was sent to Spain against the Vandals under the command of Castinus. But through his inept and wrongful command he alienated Boniface, a man famous in military skills, from joining in his expedition. For since Boniface thought it dangerous to himself and an indignity to follow a man whom he had found disagreeable and proud, he quickly fled to the port of Rome and from there to Africa. Boniface's refusal was the beginning of many difficulties for the state. (1278)	
Marinianus and Asclepiodotus. (1279)	423

Placidia Augusta was exiled by her brother Honorius and travelled to the East with her children Honoria and Valentinian. (1280)

Celestine presided as forty-first bishop of the Roman church for nine years. (1281)

Honorius died and John seized the throne while, as it was believed, Castinus, who was commanding the army as his *magister militum*, turned a blind eye. (1282)

Theodosius, forty-sixth emperor, governed the Roman empire. (1283)

Castinus and Victor. (1284) 424

Theodosius made Valentinian, the son of his aunt, caesar and sent him along with his mother, the augusta, to reclaim the Western empire. At this time John became too weak to defend himself while he was re-conquering Africa through war, which Boniface occupied. (1286)

Theodosius for the eleventh time and Valentinian Caesar. (1287) 425

Placidia Augusta and Valentinian Caesar overthrew the usurper John with extraordinarily good fortune and the victors received the kingdom. Aetius was pardoned by Valentinian since it was through his efforts that the Huns, whom John had summoned through him, were sent back to their homes. (1288a)

However, Castinus was sent into exile, since it seemed that John would not have been able to seize the kingdom without his connivance. (1288b)

Valentinian was proclaimed augustus by decree of Theodosius. (1289)

Arles, a noble city of Gaul, was attacked by the Goths with great violence until they withdrew, not without casualties, since Aetius was drawing near. (1290)

Theodosius for the twelfth time and Valentinian for the second time. (1291) 426

Patroclus, bishop of Arles, was cut to pieces by many wounds at the hands of the tribune, a certain Barnabus, and died. This deed was attributed to the secret command of the *magister militum* Felix, through whose instigation it was believed the deacon Titus, a holy man distributing money to the poor in Rome, was also killed. (1292)

Hierius and Ardabur. (1293) 427

On the authority of Felix, war was officially begun against Boniface by the generals Mavortius, Galbio and Sanoex, since his power and fame were growing in Africa and he had refused to go to Italy. While they were besieging Boniface, Mavortius and Galbio were killed through the betrayal of Sanoex. Shortly thereafter, he himself was convicted of treachery and killed by Boniface. Thereafter access to the sea was granted to peoples who

did not know how to use ships, as they were summoned by the opponents as reinforcements. The command of the war which had been started against Boniface was transferred to *Comes* Sigisvultus. (1294)

The Vandal people crossed from Spain to Africa. (1295)

Felix and Taurus. (1296) 428

Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, endeavoured to introduce a new error to the Church, preaching that Christ was born from Mary only as a man, and not God as well, and that divinity was conferred upon him through merit. This impiety was opposed by the extraordinary zeal of Cyril of Alexandria and the authority of Pope Celestine. (1297)

A part of Gaul close to the Rhine, which the Franks had occupied in order to settle on, was recovered by the army of *Comes* Aetius. (1298)

Florentius and Dionysius. (1299) 429

After Felix was promoted to the rank of *patricius*, Aetius was made *magister militum*. (1300)

Agricola the Pelagian, the son of Severian the Pelagian bishop, corrupted the churches of Britain through the insinuation of his own doctrine. But following the petition of the deacon Palladius, Pope Celestine sent Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, in his own place and after the heretics had been overthrown he guided the Britons to the Catholic faith. (1301)

Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Valentinian for the third. (1302) 430

Because Aetius had perceived that they were plotting against him, he killed Felix along with his wife Padusia and the deacon Grunnitus. (1303)

Augustine, a most excellent bishop in all things, died on the 28 August. In his very last days amid the assaults of the besieging Vandals he responded to the books of Julian <of Eclanum> and gloriously persevered in his defense of Christian grace. (1304)

Bassus and Antiochus. (1305) 431

At a synod of more than two hundred clergy convened at Ephesus, Nestorius was condemned along with the heresy <bearing> his name along with many Pelagians who had supported this doctrine related to their own error. (1306)

Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestine and sent as the first bishop to the Irish who believed in Christ. (1307)

Aetius and Valerius. (1308) 432

Xystus was appointed the forty-second bishop of the Roman church with the singular agreement and unanimity of the whole city for eight years. (1309)	
Boniface came from Africa to Italy through Rome, after having accepted the office of <i>magister militum</i> . Although he had overcome Aetius who opposed him in battle, he died a few days later from an illness. But when Aetius had resigned his power and was living on his own estate and a certain enemy of his tried to defeat him there in a sudden attack, having fled to Rome and from there to Dalmatia, he then went through the Pannonias to the Huns. Relying on their friendship and help he obtained an armistice with the emperors and the right to take up his interrupted position. (1310)	
Theodosius for the fourteenth time and Maximus. (1311)	433
Aspar and Areobindus. (1319)	434
Theodosius for the fifteenth time and Valentinian for the fourth. (1320)	435
Peace was made with the Vandals and a part of Africa was given to them to inhabit. (1321)	
At the same time Aetius destroyed in battle Gundicarius, the king of the Burgundians who was living in Gaul, and he granted to him the peace that he sought. He did not enjoy this peace for long, since the Huns completely obliterated him along with his own people. (1322)	
Isidorus and Senator. (1323)	436
The Goths disturbed the peace agreements and occupied many cities in the neighbourhood of their territory, and they were especially hostile to the city of Narbonne. When that city had suffered for a long time from siege and famine, it was freed from both perils by <i>Comes</i> Litorius, since his cavalry strenuously transported two measures of wheat per man <to the city> and <then> he turned the enemy to flight and filled the city with grain. (1324)	
Aetius for the second time and Sigisvultus. (1325)	437
War was waged against the Goths with assistance of the Huns. (1326)	
In Africa, Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, wished to overthrow the Catholic faith with his Arian impiety within the boundaries of his own territory, and so he persecuted some of our bishops to such a degree that he deprived them of the authority over their basilicas and even drove them from their cities, since their perseverance would not yield to the terrors of that most proud king. (1327)	

Augustus Valentinian travelled to the emperor Theodosius in Constantinople and married his daughter. (1328)

In the same year barbarian deserters from the federates turned to piracy. (1329)

At the same time four Spaniards, Archadius, Probus, Paschasius and Eutychian, who had long been considered beloved and honourable by Gaiseric by virtue of their wisdom and faithful allegiance, were commanded by the king to convert to the Arian sect, in order that they might become more connected to him. But the barbarian was driven into the most savage anger after those men devoutly refused this act, and first they had their property confiscated, next were banished into exile, then tortured with the most atrocious punishments, and finally, being put to death in various ways, they succumbed admirably to an illustrious martyrdom. Moreover, a boy known by the name of Little Paul, the brother of Paschasius and Eutychian, who had been very much received by the king on account of his good looks and intelligence, was beaten for a long time with clubs and condemned to the lowest servitude since he could not be turned away by any threats from his profession and love for the Catholic faith. He was not killed, it seems, lest even <someone of> that <young> age might receive glory for having risen above the impious <king's> cruelty. (1330)

Theodosius for the sixteenth time and Faustus. (1331) 438

In that year also the same pirates devastated many islands but especially Sicily. (1332)

Certain measures against the Goths were successfully undertaken in Gaul. (1333)

Theodosius for the seventeenth time and Festus. (1334) 439

Litorius, who was second in power to the patrician Aetius, commanded the Hun auxiliaries.

He rashly joined battle against the Goths while he was striving to surpass the glory of Aetius and trusting in the responses of the diviners and the signs of demons. He made clear how much that army, which perished with him, would have been able to achieve, if he had <only> preferred to employ the advice of a better man than his own rashness, since he inflicted such destruction on the enemy that, if he had not fallen into captivity while recklessly fighting, it would have been doubtful to which side victory would have better been ascribed. (1335)

At this time Julian of Eclanum, a most boastful adherent to the Pelagian error, was incited by an intemperate longing for his long-lost bishopric, and so he endeavoured to sneak his way

into communion with the Church through his multifarious skill of deception, while presenting the appearance of correction. But at the urging of the deacon Leo Pope Xystus vigilantly opposed his treachery and allowed no avenue to be opened to his destructive efforts. And so he caused all the orthodox to rejoice at the rejection of the deceitful beast, as if then for the first time the apostolic sword was beheading a most proud heresy. (1336)

At the same time Vitericus was considered loyal to our state and famous for the many examples of his military prowess. (1337)

Peace was made with the Goths since they requested it more humbly than ever before after their lamentable experience of an inconclusive battle. (1338)

While Aetius busy settling affairs in Gaul, Gaiseric had nothing to fear from his friendship <with Aetius> and he invaded Carthage under a false peace. After the citizens had been subjected to various forms of torture, he took all of its wealth for himself. He did not abstain from despoiling the churches and he ordered that they be emptied of sacred vessels and stripped of the administration of the clergy, and that they no longer be places of divine worship but billets for his own men. He was savage towards all the ranks of the captive population, but especially towards the nobility and clergy, so that it was not discernible whether he was waging war more against man or God. (1339a)

Carthage was captured by the Vandals in the five hundred and eighty-fifth year after it had become Roman. (1339b)

Augustus Valentinian for the fifth time and Anatolius. (1340)

440

After the death of Bishop Xystus, the Roman church was without an overseer for more than forty days and with wonderful peace and patience it awaited the arrival of the deacon Leo, who at that time was detained in Gaul while he was restoring friendship between Aetius and Albinus. It was as if he had been kept away for so long that the merit of the chosen man and the judgement the electors might be tested. Therefore, summoned by a public embassy and presented to his rejoicing homeland, the deacon Leo was ordained forty-third bishop of the Roman church. (1341)

While Gaiseric was inflicting serious damage on Sicily, he received a report concerning the crossing of Sebastian from Spain to Africa. He quickly returned to Carthage, thinking that it would be dangerous to himself and his men if a man who was trained in the art of war was determined to recapture Carthage. In fact, although Sebastian wished to be seen more

as a friend than an enemy, he found everything about the barbarian's disposition to be different than he had supposed, and this hope was the cause for him of the greatest calamity and an unfortunate death. (1342)

Cyrus, *vir clarissimus*, consul. (1343) 441

Emperor Theodosius launched a war against the Vandals, sending the generals Ariobindus, Ansila and Germanus with a great fleet. Since they delayed their business for a long time, they were a greater burden to Sicily than a help to Africa. (1344)

Dioscorus, *vir clarissimus*, consul. (1345) 442

Because the Huns were laying waste to Thrace and Illyricum with savage plundering, the army, which was delayed in Sicily, returned for the defense of the eastern provinces. (1346) Moreover, peace was made with Gaiseric by Augustus Valentinian and Africa was divided between the two of them into specific regions. (1347)

Certain aristocrats of Gaiseric conspired against him, since, owing to the success of his endeavours, he was overly proud, even among his own men. But after their plot was detected, they were tortured to death by him in many ways. And when it seemed <to him> that the same plans were also being dared by others, the suspicion of the king became the ruin of so many men that he was losing more men through this anxiety for his own safety than if he were overcome by war. (1348)

Maximus for the second time and Paterius. (1349) 443

At this time the diligence of Pope Leo revealed that many Manichaeans were hiding in the city. After they had been rooted out of their hiding places and revealed before the eyes of the whole church, he forced them to condemn all the absurdities of their doctrine and to surrender their books for burning, a great pile of which had been seized. The diligence in this holy man was divinely inspired, so it seemed, and was of the greatest benefit not only to the city but to the whole world as well, since the confessions of those who had been captured in Rome revealed who their teachers were, who their bishops and presbyters were, and in which provinces or cities they lived. And many bishops in the east imitated the zeal of the apostolic leader. (1350)

Theodosius for the eighteenth time and Albinus. (1351) 444

In this year, Easter was celebrated on 23 April. (1352)

Attila, king of the Huns, killed his brother and co-ruler Bleba and forced his people to submit to him. (1353)

Valentinian for the sixth time and Nomus. (1354)

445

Conclusion

In 433, Prosper became the first western chronicler that we now know of to continue Jerome's *Chronici Canones*, a process which would continue for the next twenty-two years of his life. His chronicle bears witness to numerous important events which helped to define the trajectory of the Roman empire in the west. Through Prosper's work we see the final separation of the empire into two halves: never again would the entire empire be ruled by a single emperor. His work bears witness to the numerous usurpers who plagued the empire during the early fifth century and to the theological disputes and ecclesiastical decrees which shaped western Christendom. By the time Prosper concluded his work in 455, the Vandals, Goths and Huns had all played significant roles in altering the political, social and economic landscape in the west. In the concluding entries of his chronicle he provides an account of the death of Valentinian III and the end of Theodosian dynasty in the West, as well as the final and most violent sack of the city of Rome, which included the abduction of the augusta and her two daughters. Through his continuation of Jerome's *Canones*, Prosper provided a window into these important years and shed light upon the early processes that led from the Roman empire to the early Middle Ages.

Two main theories concerning Prosper's life, namely that Prosper was the secretary to Pope Leo and that he resided in Rome while writing his chronicle, have been disproven. It is commonly held that Prosper was Leo's secretary and the content of his chronicle is said to reflect this close relationship.¹³⁹ As has been shown, this stems from an inaccurate ninth-century quotation of a late-fifth-century biography. If one considers that Prosper had no personal or close affiliation with the bishop of Rome, it can then be seen how ecclesiastical affairs in Rome play as equal a role as any other event in his chronicle, including ecclesiastical affairs elsewhere in the empire. Similarly, it has been believed that Prosper resided in Rome while he was writing, at the very least, the last two editions of his chronicle. As has been demonstrated, he did not reside in Rome during this time but remained a resident of southern Gaul. This, of course, changes our perception of who Prosper was and the context in which he wrote his chronicle. He was not a first-hand observer residing in Rome and closely allied to the papacy. Rather he lived and worked far away in the south of Gaul. It is this distance from Rome and the papacy which allows us to view Prosper's chronicle in a different light than before.

¹³⁹ Holder-Egger 1876: 64; Valentin 1900: 135-137, 426; De Letter 1963: 12-13; Markus 1986: 34-5.

In comparing the two editions through the use of Mommsen's critical edition, it has been shown that Prosper returned to his work and made significant and deliberate changes. The variants which Mommsen hid in his *apparatus criticus* show that the material of the 445 edition differs greatly in certain places from that which is found in the 455 edition. Mommsen believed that the chronicle contained a unified text prior to the year 455 and that Prosper only created a continuation of his work, not a re-edited version.¹⁴⁰ It is also clear that there exist two distinct manuscript traditions: one that contains the manuscripts which conclude in 445, while the other has those which continue until 455. The variants between the material found in our recensions one, two and three, and the recensions of the 455 edition are significant enough to indicate deliberate alteration and to indicate that they are not the result of scribal tampering as Mommsen believed. While Muhlberger identifies certain variants between the two editions, he follows Mommsen's mistaken belief that the two editions bear witness to the same text prior to 445. His interpretations are hampered by his adherence to Mommsen's division of the manuscript tradition and although he identifies certain variants, he believes that they were also the result of later scribal tampering.¹⁴¹ We have demonstrated that there are significant portions of the text which differ from the edition of 455 and that Prosper returned to his work to make editorial changes for stylistic, political, social and religious reasons.

Mommsen's text presents only the 455 edition of the chronicle; the text of the 445 edition lies buried in his *apparatus criticus* from which it is very difficult to extract. Since it is clear that the edition of 445 differed from the later 455 edition, Mommsen's edition leaves a gap which must be filled. Therefore, we have created a critical edition of the 445 edition of Prosper's chronicle for the first time and produced an English translation of the work.

It still remains to be seen how Prosper treated his epitome. While it is clear that he made changes to his own continuation of Jerome, it is not yet clear if any changes were made to his epitome for the 455 edition. Giving the scarcity of manuscripts which preserve the epitome, this could prove to be difficult to determine. At the very least, an uncontaminated critical edition of the chronicle of 455 would be needed to facilitate such a comparison. For now we can be certain that Prosper did edit his own continuation of Jerome and that both editions were circulated and used by later authors both for their own continuations and as a source for their work.

¹⁴⁰ *Chron. min.* 1: 376.

¹⁴¹ Muhlberger 1990: 60.

Appendix One

Gennadius, *De uiris illustribus*, §85

Prosper, homo Aquitanicae regionis, sermone scholasticus et adsertionibus nervosus, multa composuisse dicitur, ex quibus ego Chronica nomine illius praetitulata legi, continentia a primi hominis condicione, iuxta Divinarum Scripturarum fidem, usque ad obitum Valentiniani Augusti et captivitatem Romanae urbis a Genserico, Vandalorum rege factam. Legi et librum adversus opuscula (suppresso nomine) Cassiani, quae ecclesia Dei salutaria probat, ille infamat nociva. Re enim vera Cassiani et Prosperi de gratia Dei et libero arbitrio sententiae in aliquibus sibi inveniuntur contrariae. Epistulae quoque Papae Leonis adversus Eutychen de vera Christi incarnatione ad diversos datae ab isto dictatae creduntur.

Prosper, a man from the region of Aquitaine, learned in discourse and vigorous in assertions, is said to have composed many works, from which I, for my part, have read a chronicle, which is called by his name, and which extends from the creation of the first man, according to the faith of the Divine Scriptures, until the death of Valentinian Augustus and the capture of the city of Rome which was done by Geiseric, King of the Vandals. I have also read a book (which was anonymous) against small works of Cassian, which the church of God finds salutary, but which Prosper himself charges as injurious. For in truth, contrary opinions have been found in some works of Cassian and Prosper concerning the grace of God and free will. Also letters of Pope Leo against Etycheus concerning the true incarnation of Christ which were sent to various people are thought to have been dictated by him.

Appendix Two – Names

People

Reading in Edition	Alternate Readings
Abundantius	Abundannus <i>P</i> : Habundantius <i>ArOX</i>
Aetius	Actius <i>X</i> : Aethius <i>B</i> : Ethius <i>B</i> : Etius <i>AtvZ</i>
Agricola	Agricola <i>O</i>
Alaric	Alarich <i>Z</i> : Halaric <i>A</i>
Albinus	Aluinus <i>Rv</i>
Ambrosius	Ambrosus <i>OFB</i>
Anatholius	Anatolius <i>OPXH</i>
Antemius	Anthemius <i>AFPH</i>
Antiochus	Anthiocus <i>ArsuvFZ</i> : Antiacus <i>H</i> : Anthiothus <i>Rv</i> : Antiocus <i>O</i>
Antonius	Anthoninus <i>Arv</i> : Antoninus <i>AstuFPXH</i>
Arbogastes	Arbocastes <i>B</i> : Arbogasstes <i>Av</i> : Arbogastrus <i>As</i> : Arbogastus <i>AuRv</i> : Argogastes <i>F</i> : Argouastes <i>O</i> : Aruocastes <i>AstuvO</i> : Aruogastes <i>Ar</i> : Aruogastus <i>AstuvH</i> : Ergobastis <i>O</i>
Archadius	Arcadius <i>AuOPZBH</i> : Harcadius <i>Atuv</i> : Harchadius <i>Astuv</i>
Ardabure	Ararbudabure <i>Rv</i> : Ardubure <i>Au</i>
Ariobindo	Ariouindo <i>AX</i> : Ariundo <i>H</i>
Asclepiodotus	Asclepiodotus <i>Auv</i> : Asclepiotus <i>As</i> : Asclepius <i>Rv</i>
Aspar	Asper <i>Av</i>
Athanasius	Ahitanaricus <i>F</i> : Aitanaricus <i>P</i> : Aithanaricus <i>AB</i>
Athaulfus	Atahulfus <i>Au</i> : Atalfus <i>H</i> : Ataulfus <i>ArstRpFX</i> : Athaulphus <i>AsPBH</i> : Attalfus <i>Rv</i> : Atthalphus <i>B</i>
Attalus	Adtalus <i>O</i> : Atalus <i>Au</i> : Athalus <i>RvH</i> : Atthalus <i>RpFZH</i> : Attolus <i>Z</i>
Atthela	Aethela <i>P</i> : Athela <i>X</i> : Atilla <i>Z</i> : Attila <i>H</i>
Atticus	Aticus <i>Atuv</i> : Catico <i>H</i>
Augustinus	Agustinus <i>O</i>
Aurelianus	Aurilianus <i>At</i> : Urelianus <i>As</i>
Bauto	Abauto <i>Z</i> : Bapto <i>H^l</i>
Bleba	Bleda <i>H</i> : Bleua <i>O</i>
Bonifacius	Bonefacius <i>FX</i> : Bonifatius <i>AstOFPZBH</i>
Burgundiones	Burgundi <i>Ast</i> : Burguntionem <i>P</i> : Burgurziones <i>F</i>
Caesarius	Cesarius <i>AtuvOXpz</i>
Cirilli	Chirilli <i>Z</i> : Cirillini <i>Av</i> : Cyrilli <i>ArsB</i> : Quirilli <i>RFP</i>
Clearchus	Clearchus <i>Rv</i> : Clearus <i>O</i> : Cleartus <i>P</i> : Cliarcus <i>Z</i> : Elearchus <i>A</i> : Elearcus <i>X</i>
Constantius	Constancius <i>H</i> : Contantius <i>O</i> : Constantious <i>H</i>
Cynegius	Cinegius <i>AstuvOFPZ</i> : Cinicius <i>H</i>
Cyrus	Cirus <i>AtuvXZH</i>
Delfidius	Adelfi <i>Rv</i> : Adelfidus <i>RpH</i> : Adelfius <i>Z</i> : Delfius <i>X</i> : Delphidius <i>P</i> : Delphidus <i>AOB</i>

Dioscorus	Dioschorus <i>Av</i> : Dyoscorus <i>F</i>
Dyonisio	Dionisio <i>AORvXZH</i> : Dionysio <i>P</i>
Eucherius	Eleucerus <i>P</i> : Eucerus <i>FX</i> : Eutherus <i>H</i>
Eucrotia	Euchortia <i>Atuv</i> : Euchrotia <i>ArsB</i> : Eucroti <i>RZ</i> : Eucrothius <i>H</i>
Euodius	Ebodus <i>R</i> : Eubodius <i>H</i> : Eudoxius <i>O</i> : Euuodius <i>AOBH</i> : Euuodus <i>Ar</i>
Eustasius	Custatius <i>Z</i> : Eustachius <i>PX</i> : Eustathio <i>Au²</i> : Eustatius <i>ArstuvOP</i>
Euticianus	Eustocianus <i>O</i> : Eutchianus <i>ArstuvBH</i> : Euthianus <i>Au</i> : Euthicius <i>X</i> : Eutichianus <i>A</i> : Eutichyanus <i>As</i> : Eutichus <i>X</i> : Euticius <i>RFPZ</i> : Eutitianus <i>F</i> : Eutitius <i>PZ</i> : Eutychianus <i>ArB</i> : Futitarius <i>P</i>
Faustus	Fistus <i>O</i>
Felix	Foelix <i>Rv</i>
Festus	Fistus <i>O</i>
Florentius	Florentinus <i>H</i>
Frauuitus	Brabitus <i>Z</i> : Fabritius <i>P</i> : Faustus <i>H</i> : Frabitus <i>FX</i> : Frauitus <i>AO</i>
Galbione	Caluio <i>Rp</i> : Galiuo <i>Atuv</i> : Gallio <i>Au²</i> : Galuio <i>ArstuvOR</i>
Gerontius	Geronontius <i>At</i> : Geruntius <i>AuH</i>
Gisiricus	Cesericus <i>H</i> : Gasericum <i>Z</i> : Geisericus <i>RZ</i> : Geisiricus <i>RFPXZ</i> : Gensericus <i>Atuv</i> : Geresicus <i>Z</i> : Gesericus <i>OPZH</i> : Gesiricus <i>ArsuOH</i> : Geysericus <i>P</i> : Geysiricus <i>P</i> : Gisericus <i>AtRp</i>
Gothi	Goti <i>O</i> : Gotni <i>H</i>
Grunnitus	Gerinnitus <i>O</i> : Grannitidus <i>Z</i> : Grannitus <i>X</i> : Grunitus <i>Au²vH</i>
Gundicarium	Gundicarum <i>Z</i>
Heraclianus	Aeclianus <i>O</i> : Eraclianus <i>H</i> : Heraclius <i>Atv</i>
Heros	Eros <i>X</i> : Hiros <i>Ars</i> : Hyros <i>O</i>
Hierio	Hiero <i>Rv</i>
Hieronimus	Hieronymus <i>Au²P</i> : Hyeronimus <i>X</i> : Ieronimus <i>Asv</i> : Iheronimus <i>OZ</i>
Huni	Chuni <i>AB</i> : Higni <i>Z</i> : Humi <i>Auv</i> : Hunni <i>At</i> : Hyni <i>H</i> : Ugni <i>OZ</i> : Unni <i>FPXZ</i>
Innocentius	Innocencio <i>Z</i> : Inocentius <i>Atuv</i>
Iohannes	Ioannes <i>Rv</i> : Iohanes <i>Atuv</i> : Iohanns <i>Z</i>
Isidorus	Isodoro <i>Rv</i> : Ysidoro <i>F</i>
Itacius	Itatius <i>AuH</i> : Ithacius <i>B</i>
Jovinus	Jovinius <i>Av</i>
Latronianus	Latranianus <i>ArstO</i> : Latrenianus <i>Au</i> : Latrentano <i>R</i> : Latrinianus <i>Av</i> : Latroniatius <i>H</i> : Latroruanus <i>Z</i>
Litorius	Latorius <i>R</i>
Lucio	Luciano <i>Au²FPXZ</i>
Manicheos	Maniceos <i>P</i>
Manlius	Mallius <i>O</i> : Maulius Theodorus <i>Z</i> : Mellius <i>A</i> : Theoderus <i>As</i> : Theudorus <i>O</i>
Theodorus	
Marinianus	Marianus <i>AvZ</i> : Maxinianus <i>As</i>
Mauortius	Mabornus <i>Rp</i> : Mabortius <i>RFZB</i> : Mauorcus <i>XH</i> : Mouortius <i>Artv</i> : Mortuus <i>Au¹</i>
Maximus	Maximinus <i>Rp</i> : Maximius <i>Z</i>
Monaxio	Monachio <i>A</i>
Neoterius	Necterius <i>H</i> : Neopheorius <i>X</i> : Neotheorius <i>FP</i> : Neotherius <i>A</i> : Neuterius <i>OZ</i> :
Nestorius	Hestoriatus <i>H</i>
Nomus	Nonius <i>P</i>

Olibrius	Elibrius <i>H</i> : Olybrius <i>As</i>
Palladius	Paladius <i>Auv</i> : Pallidius <i>Astu</i> ³ <i>v</i>
Paschasius	Pascasius <i>ArOFPHB</i>
Paterius	Patreius <i>Atuv</i>
Patroclus	Paroclus <i>FP</i> : Patroculus <i>At</i> : Patruelus <i>Z</i>
Paulillus	Paulellus <i>Z</i> : Paulisus <i>O</i> : Paullilus <i>Av</i>
Pelagiani	Pelasgiani <i>P</i>
Pelagius	Pelagus <i>O</i> : Pelasgius <i>P</i>
Philippus	Phylippus <i>ArZ</i>
Placidia	Placida <i>Z</i>
Priscillianus	Priscilianus <i>AtuvPH</i> : Prisscillianus <i>As</i>
Probinus	Prouinus <i>R</i>
Promotus	Promothus <i>PZ</i>
Ragadaisus	Radagaius <i>FX</i> : Radagaisus <i>Au</i> ^{ed} <i>ZH</i> : Radagasius <i>FPXZ</i> : Radagasus <i>P</i> : Radagausus <i>Ars</i> : Radigausus <i>Atuv</i> : Ragaisus <i>H</i> : Raidagausus <i>Av</i> : Raidigausus <i>Ars</i>
Ricomede	Richemere <i>A</i> : Ricomere <i>O</i>
Rufinus	Rafinus <i>Ar</i>
Rumoridus	Rumiridus <i>Z</i> : Rumondus <i>P</i>
Sanoece	Sanocce <i>B</i> : Sanoce <i>Atuv</i> : Sanuele <i>O</i> : Saonece <i>Rp</i> : Saonere <i>Rv</i> : Sinoce <i>Au</i> ² : Sinoece <i>F</i> : Sonice <i>Z</i> : Sonoece <i>X</i> : Synoce <i>P</i>
Scotti	Scothi <i>XB</i> : Scoti <i>ArtuvPH</i> :
Sebastianus	Sabastianus <i>O</i> : Sabastiaus <i>H</i> : Sebastinus <i>RvPXZ</i> : Sauastianus <i>At</i> : Seuastianus <i>Artuv</i> :
Seritius	Sericus <i>FP</i> : Siricius <i>ArtuvZ</i> : Siricus <i>O</i> : Sirius <i>As</i> : Syricius <i>B</i>
Seuerianus	Seberianus <i>X</i>
Sigisuultus	Segisuultus <i>B</i> : Sigisbultus <i>A</i> : Sigisuultus <i>OR</i> : Sigis uultus <i>FPXZ</i> : Sigiuultus <i>H</i>
Stilico	Fulico <i>Auv</i> : Stilicho <i>At</i> : Stiligo <i>X</i> : Stillico <i>ArRv</i> : Stillo <i>Rv</i>
Syagrius	Siagrius <i>AtvFPX</i> : Si agrius <i>Z</i> : Siargius <i>AuH</i>
Symmachus	Simachus <i>Astuv</i> : Simmachus <i>H</i> : Simmacus <i>OP</i> : Simmiacus <i>Z</i> : Symachus <i>Ar</i> : Symacus <i>F</i>
Tatianus	Tactianus <i>H</i> : Tazianus <i>X</i> : Titianus <i>F</i>
Tauro	Thauro <i>AvO</i>
Theodosius	Teudosius <i>H</i> : Theudosious <i>H</i> : Theodosius <i>OZH</i>
Theophilus	Pheophilus <i>Ar</i> : Teophilus <i>H</i> : Theofilus <i>AsRBH</i> : Theophylus <i>Ar</i> : Theufilus <i>O</i> : Thophilus <i>Z</i>
Timasius	Thimasius <i>FP</i> : Timatius <i>H</i> : Timosius <i>As</i>
Ulfula	Ulphila <i>Au</i> ² : Ulphula <i>Arstu</i> ¹ <i>v</i> : Ulpula <i>O</i>
Urbica	Umbiga <i>H</i> : Urbita <i>R</i> : Usbica <i>O</i>
Ursatius	Urasacius <i>Rv</i> : Ursacius <i>AsOFPB</i>
Valentinianus	Valentianus <i>H</i> : Valentinoianus <i>Rv</i>
Vallia	Vablia <i>H</i> : Valla <i>Arst</i> : Vuallia <i>ORvZ</i> : Vuanlia <i>Rp</i>
Vandali	Valdali <i>Ars</i> : Vuandali <i>ORpvXZBH</i> : Vuandoli <i>Rp</i> : Waldali <i>Ar</i>
Vincentius	Vincencius <i>Z</i>
Vitricus	Intricus <i>Astuv</i> : Vintericus <i>O</i>

Xystus Sistus *P* : Sixtus *ORvZ* : Syxtus *X* : Xistus *Atuv*
 Zosimus Cosmus *As* : Zosymum *F*

Places

Aeclanum Aclanum *Atv* : Atelenum *R* : Eclanum *O* : Eclanum *AuB* : Hacclanum *P* :
 Hecclanum *F* : Heclanum *XZ*
 Africa Affrica *AtuRvFXZ*
 Aquileia Aquilegia *Artuv*
 Aquitanica Aquaitanica *Ar* : Aquetanica *Atuv* : Aquitania *RZB* : Aquitanuca *O*
 Arelas Archilas *AuvRFPX* : Arcilas *O* : Arhilas *Ast* : Arilas *H*
 Arelatensis Acilatenis *O* : Arelatenis *P* : Arelathensis *Av* : Areliathensi *H* : Arhilatensis *Art* :
 Arilatensis *As*
 Autisiodorensis Ainsidorensis *X* : Altisidorensis *Z* : Antisidiorensis *At* : Antisidorensis *AuvP²* :
 Ausidorensis *FP¹* : Autisidiorensis *ArsRp* : Autisioiarensis *O^a* : Autisiriarensis
 O^b :
 Bethleem Bethlem *AstuB* : Betlem *O*
 Britannia Brastania *P* : Brasthanian *F* : Britania *AsZBH* : Britannia *AsPRvH* : Brittannia
 ArRvFXZ
 Burdigale Bordigale *BH* : Burdegale *ORvPZ*
 Burgundiones Burgandiones *As* : Burgunzones *PZ* :
 s
 Carthago Cartago *ORpZH* : Chartago *AvX* : Kartago *ArsBH* : Karthago *Ar*
 Dalmatia Dalmacia *R*
 Ephesus Effesus *ArsX* : Hephesus *H*
 Gallecia Gallechia *A* : Gallecias *F* : Galletias *X* : Gallicia *H* : Gallis *R*
 Gallia Galia *At* : Gaulia *H*
 Hippone Hipporegio *Au* : Hipponregio *Atv* : Hypponae Regione *Ar* : Hyppone Regio *ZBH*
 Regio : Ipponeregio *O* : Yppone Regione *R*
 Hispania Hyspania *Ar* : Ispania *AtuvZ* : Spania *ArsO* : Yspania *Z*
 Illiricum Hilliricum *XB* : Illyricum *P*
 Italia Ithalia *H*
 Lipara Libara *Rp* : Libera *Rv* : Lippara *Ar*
 Lugdunum Lucdunum *O* : Lugudunum *At*
 Mediolanum Midiolanum *X*
 Narbonensis Harbonensis *H*
 Pannonia Pannonnia *As* : Panonia *Auv* : Panponia *B*
 Parisiis Parasiis *Z* : Parisis *H* : Parisius *P* : Parrsiis *F* : Perisis *ArstvR* : Peridis *O* : Persis
 Au
 Pollentia Polentia *B*
 Rheno Heno *H* : Regno *RvO* : Rehenio *B* : Reno *AstuFXZH* : Theno *Z*
 Sicilia Scicila *At*
 Trachia Thracia *Au^{ed}B^{ed}RvP* : Trachia *F* : Tracia *XB* : Tratius *Z*
 Triueris Treueris *PZ* : Triberis *FRv*
 Turin Turon *ZB*
 Vienna Vihenna *O*

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Abbreviations

CSEL – Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

MGH – Monumenta Germaniae Historica

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