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THE BODLEIAN MANUSCRIPT OF JEROME'S VERSION OF THE CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIUS

REPRODUCED IN COLLOTYPE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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PREFACE

THE present volume was undertaken by me in 1900 as a partial discharge of my duty as a Senior Demy of Magdalen College. It was originally intended that I should transcribe the Bodleian MS. of the Chronica and prefix to it an introduction. It soon appeared, however, that a photographic reproduction could alone do justice to the complicated arrangement of the MS., and the Delegates of the Press generously agreed to this change in the form of the work. On the advice of Mr. C. H. Turner, Fellow of Magdalen College, I undertook a tour of the different libraries in which the older MSS. of the Chronica are to be found, and I have since found several opportunities of amplifying my material on subsequent journeys. The chapter entitled 'The Value of the Bodleian MS.' was originally written in 1901, and, though it has been subjected to considerable revision since then, is based mainly on the results of my journey in 1900. In it I have attempted a simpler solution of the vexed question of the original form of the Chronica than that offered by Dr. Schöne in his Weltchronik des Eusebius, to which work I am indebted for the suggestion of most of the problems discussed by me. The further my researches have gone, the more I have been convinced that all forms of the Chronica are ultimately descended from one closely resembling that of the Fleury fragments (S), recently edited by Dr. Traube, that the differences of text between the best MSS. are far from serious, and that there should be no formidable difficulties in the way of an editor, armed with photographs of all the earlier MSS.

Mr. Turner had at one time hoped to contribute a chapter on the history of the MS., and the distinction between the two existing chapters of the Introduction was dictated by this hope. The pressure of other engagements unfortunately compelled him to leave this portion of the work in my less experienced hands, but Mr. Turner has amply repaid any disappointment by the elaborate treatment of du Tillet's MSS. which constitutes the fifth appendix to this volume.

The publication of the work has been somewhat delayed by the preparation of the appendices to the Introduction. The first of these is devoted to the Paris MSS., which, like the Merton MS., have not hitherto received the attention which their age warrants. References to these MSS. have also been inserted in proof into the chapter on the Value of the Bodleian MS. The second and third appendices were necessitated by the photographic method of reproduction. The appendix on the scholia

was kindly undertaken by Mr. R. L. Poole, Fellow of Magdalen College, to assist in the location of the scholiast and thereby of the MS. itself. The marginal references to this appendix are, however, mainly my own work. The fifth appendix is, as stated above, Mr. Turner's. The sixth and last was written by myself to accompany the photographs of the Udine and Paris MSS. (UW), which partially supply the lost pages of the Bodleian MS.

Needless to say, a work like this, with its constant reference to MSS., often in distant libraries, would have been impossible but for the assistance of many scholars. My thanks are due in the first place to Mr. Turner who has read the whole work, either in MS. or in proof, has furnished abundant suggestions and corrections, and has in short taken as much interest in it as if it had been his own. I must also acknowledge the uniform courtesy of the librarians at all the libraries I have visited, several of whom have also supplied me with special information on particular points. I should like to specify more particularly Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson and Mr. F. Madan of the Bodleian, the Rev. H. J. White of Merton College, Oxford, Dr. G. F. Warner of the British Museum, M. H. Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Sac. Nicolò Pojani of the Archiepiscopal Library at Udine, Dr. P. C. Molhuijsen of the University Library at Leiden, Dr. Mülinen of the Town Library at Bern, and M. Lecat of the Town Library at Valenciennes. I have also received valuable assistance from Professor K. Lake of the University of Leiden, Dr. F. Ehrle of the Vatican Library, Professor W. C. F. Walters of King's College, London, Professor R. S. Conway of the University of Manchester, Professor L. Traube of Munich, Dr. G. Biagi of the Laurentian Library at Florence, and Dr. G. Coggiola of the Library of Saint Mark at Venice. Assistance of a different, but not less valuable kind, has been received from the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, who have paid the cost of obtaining photographs of the Udine and Paris MSS., together with the travelling expenses incurred on my last journey to France and Italy.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

June 8, 1905.

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SYMBOLS EMPLOYED TO DESIGNATE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CHRONICA

- A Valenciennes, Bibliothèque de la Ville 495.
- B Bern, Stadtbibliothek 219.
- C Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 4859.
- D Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 4860.
- F Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit, Scal. 14.
- L London, British Museum, Add. 16974.
- M Berlin, Königliche Bibliothek, Phillipp. 1829.
- N Berlin, Königliche Bibliothek, Phillipp. 1872.
- O Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. II. 26.
- P Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit, Voss. Lat. Q. 110.
- Q Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 4858.
- R Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire, Section de Médecine, H. 32. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit, Voss. Lat. Q. 110 A.
- S Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 6400 B. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. 1709.
- T Oxford, Merton College Library, H. 3. 15.
- U Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, oto 14.
- V Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici script. eccl. 96.
- W Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 4870.

THE VALUE OF THE BODLEIAN MANUSCRIPT

THE Chronica is the title of a work by Eusebius in two books. The former, known as the Chronographia, consists of excerpts from chronological writers on all the principal countries of the ancient world, together with lists of kings and Olympic victors. It thus contains the materials for a skeleton outline of universal chronology, but it gives no events except such as are incidentally mentioned in a chronological connexion. The second book, called the Chronici canones, is a chronological table, extending from the birth of Abraham to the twentieth year of Constantine. It consists of one or two columns of events and of one or more columns of dates, which are cited by the years of Abraham, by Olympiads, and by the regnal years of kings, judges, archons, and emperors.

The original Greek of the *Chronica* is unfortunately lost, but it can often be restored with the assistance of excerpts and parallel passages, found in later chronologists, more especially in Georgius Syncellus. There is also extant an Armenian version of the whole work, which is somewhat defective at the end of the first and at the beginning and end of the second book. More famous is the Latin version by St. Jerome, of which the Bodleian MS. here reproduced is an exemplar. This version contains the whole of the second book, with numerous additions contributed by the translator, who has continued the Chronicle as far as the end of the reign of Valens. In addition to a few epitomes based on this Latin version, there is also in existence a Syriac epitome, supposed to be based on the Greek, but too brief to be of much value for the restoration of the original.

1. THE OLDER MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CHRONICLE.

Of Jerome's Latin, with which alone this Introduction is directly concerned, there are numerous MSS., of which eleven and fragments of a twelfth are not later than the tenth century. A description of all these older MSS., except C, D, Q, and T, is to be found in Schöne's Weltchronik des Eusebius (1900), pp. 24-31. I have inspected them all and will add a brief description of each MS., paying special attention to points which are of importance for a comparison with the Bodleian MS.¹:

O. Oxoniensis, Bodleianus MS. Auct. T. II. 26. This MS., to the photographic reproduction of which in the present volume this essay serves as preface, contains the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome, followed by a chronological summary occupying one leaf, after which comes the Chronicle of Marcellinus. The Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome extend to f. 144, but, as f. 60 is double, they really cover 145 leaves, of which ff. 1-32 are supplied by a fifteenth (?)-century hand, and present the text and arrangement of the 'Codices priores' of Scaliger². The remainder of these chronicles, extending from A. Abr. 555 to A. Abr. 2394, is in a fifth-century hand, the last leaf of Jerome's Chronicle is missing, and the one-leaf summary is apparently by the same or a contemporary hand. The fifth-century scribe or scribes, who are

¹ For descriptions of C, D, and Q, see appendix.

responsible for the greater part of the MS., write in an upright uncial hand, large uncials being employed for tabular matter and chronological landmarks in the first part of the Chronicle (down to A. Abr. 1496), and for all entries in the latter part, while small uncials are used for ordinary events in the first part. The large letters are invariably written upon the ruled lines, and the small writing is invariably crowded. Each page contains thirty lines (not twenty-six to thirty, as Hardy states), although the pages are of the same size as those of ANPS. There are no blank lines except where a new arrangement of the Chronicle is introduced at the end of the first part. The one-leaf summary mentioned above is in a sloping uncial hand, which also appears in the marginalia. There are also marginalia inserted about the year 1400.

Notices of this MS. have appeared:—by Mommsen in Hermes, 1889, pp. 393-401, and Chronica Minora, Vol. II, pp. 48, 49; by Sir E. M. Thompson, in Greek and Latin Palaeography, p. 197; in the Palaeographical Society's Series II, pl. 129, 130; and by Dr. E. G. Hardy in the Fournal of Philology, 1890, pp. 277-87. Hardy's notice is the fullest, but his statements cannot be accepted without verification. He is generally right on the readings of this MS., but has taken no pains over the citation of Schöne's MSS., and has sometimes quoted as peculiar to O entries for which Schöne cites all his MSS. Schöne in his Weltchronik des Eusebius used a collation of this MS. which Hardy had made for Mommsen.

For the history of this MS. see the second chapter of this Introduction.

S. This name is given to a number of fragments, found partly at Paris (Lat. 6400 B), partly at Leiden (Voss. lat. Q. 110 A), and partly at Rome (Vat. Reg. 1709). These fragments were all found bound up with other works, different in each case. They are all in uncials, and belong in Traube's opinion to the fifth century, though they had previously been assigned to the sixth or seventh. That they form part of the same MS. may be proved not only by the similarity of the handwriting, but by the fact that part of the margin has been cut away in both the Rome and the Paris fragments. (The Leiden fragments are too much mutilated to enable us to say whether their margin was treated in the same way.) There is also the closest similarity in the form of the Chronicle as preserved in all three, but if, as I hope to show, they preserve the original form, their similarity in this respect would be no proof that they belong to the same MS. A probable argument in favour of identity may be based on the fact that although the Rome fragments belong to the same part of the Chronicle as the Paris fragments, no leaf is included in more than one of the three sets of fragments. Traube believes that the MS. came originally from Italy. On the first leaf of the Paris fragments there is written, in a ninth-century hand, 'Codex beati Benedicti Floriac', from which it would appear that the Paris fragments at least belonged to the Abbey of Fleury in the ninth century. The position of these words would however suggest that they were written after the dismemberment of the MS.

The Paris fragments contain fourteen leaves, the Leiden fragments six, and the Rome fragments two. The division of pages is the same as in ANP, and there are the same twenty-six lines to the page as in these MSS. In respect both of form and of text NP agree so closely with S that they must certainly have been copied from it. I had made a collection of the more crucial instances where S or N differs from P as cited by Schöne, but Professor Lake assures me that the apparent instances are in almost every case to be explained by errors in Schöne's citations of P.

¹ The last page of the Rome fragments is separated by only one leaf from the first page of the Paris fragments.

The Paris leaves consist of the seventh quaternion of the MS., followed by the first, second, third, sixth, seventh, and eighth leaves of the eighth quaternion. Both quaternions are signed ¹. If, as seems likely, the previous gatherings are also quaternions, the MS. must have devoted one leaf more to the title and prefaces than MNP, and must have originally contained 167 leaves ².

In the use of large and small uncials this MS. agrees with O. Like O it makes use of the ruled lines in the first part 3 rather as a boundary between years than as a contrivance for keeping the writing straight; and an entry of any length is generally commenced not on the ruled line, but immediately under the preceding ruled line. Schöne 4 has not used any part of this MS. except the Leiden fragments, which he cites eighty-six times. I have noticed the following errors in his citations: 97d, 970^5 , 99a, $183t^5$, $187t^6$ should each be one year higher on the principle that the ruled line divides the years: similarly 99c should be one year lower. In 97i Schöne quotes S as reading X X as opposed to uicensimum: it actually reads uicesimum. In the same entry he quotes it as omitting regis after annum Cyri, where it really omits regis after Iosiae Iudaeorum. In 183u he wrongly cites it as omitting et. 187v tempore in the apparatus is probably a misprint for the manuscript reading tempore iam. In 97i, where S is cited for 97i, it may have read 97i. The following variants are omitted: 950 panathenaeon, 97a fuerunt, 97h iniit, 97 col. Lyd. om. est post destructum, 183s hierosolymarum, 183y sirmi, 187y hierosolymarum, 189b triumpharunt. Every one of these last eight readings which Schöne has overlooked appears to be the true reading as against Schöne's text.

A photographic reproduction of this MS., with a preface by Traube, has appeared as Supplementum I, in the Leiden series of *Codices Graeci et Latini*. See also Chatelain, *Uncialis Scriptura*, Pars I, tab. XIV, I, and Explanatio, pp. 24-6.

A. Amandinus, Valentianensis 495, now at the town library of Valenciennes, formerly at the Monastery of St. Amand. It contains the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome without any continuation. It belongs to the seventh century, and is written in uncials. The same use is made of large and small writing as in O and S, but the difference between the two sizes is much less pronounced in A. The smaller writing is crowded and is written extra small where exigencies of space demand this, and often where they do not. Sometimes however even the smaller writing is regulated by the ruled lines. This is specially the case towards the end of the first part of the Chronicle. Here, too, the size of the letters tends to approximate to that of the large letters, which are always regulated by the ruled lines. In the first three accessions noted in the latter part a slight difference in size between the writing used for tabular matter and for ordinary events can still be traced; and under A. Abr. 1522 the events 'Latini . . . discedit' (Schöne, 101 n, o) occupy three lines at the foot of a page, but are crowded into the space allotted to two. This appears however to be the last instance of crowding in this MS. According to the foliation the MS. should contain 167 leaves; one of these however is devoted to the title, while two leaves are missing after f. 125, and one leaf has been

¹ No signature can now be read on the Leiden fragments, but they are somewhat mutilated.

There is no uniformity among existing MSS. as to the division of lines and pages in the prefaces, and it is therefore impossible to infer from the space which they occupy in late MSS. how much space they would occupy in an earlier MS. I see no reason for supposing with Traube that there were two columns to the page for the prefaces in S. The arrangement in one column is found in all the older MSS.

* vide supra, p. 2.

* Eusebius, Vol. II.

⁵ In these three cases the MS. agrees with Schöne's text against the reading he cites.

accidentally omitted in the foliation after f. 105¹. The total number, including the title-page, must therefore have been 170². Each page contains twenty-six lines, and is of the same size as the pages of NOPS. The MS. corresponds very nearly page for page and line for line with NPS and the first part of M, but devotes more space to the preface than MNP do. It is also characterized by the frequent occurrence of blank lines, which suggests that some of the notices occupy less space in this MS. than in its archetype, and that the scribe has adopted this device in order that the next notice may begin at the same place as in the archetype. Facsimiles of this MS. appear in Schöne's Eusebius, Vol. II, pp. xx, xxi, and in his Weltchronik des Eusebius, pp. 6, 7. In neither case is full justice done to the crowding of notices of events, the significance of which Schöne does not appear to have realized, and in the latter facsimile the compositor has corrected an error of the scribe by placing the last eleven lines verso one line lower than they appear in the MS. The MS. was transcribed by Schöne for his edition.

B. Bernensis 210, the Bongarsianus of Scaliger ⁸, Aurelianensis or A of Pontacus ⁴. It contains the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome without any continuation. Pontacus states that it had belonged to the Abbey of Saint Benedict at Fleury 5. From dates given in the MS. (Schöne, Eusebius, Vol. II, p. xi) it would appear to have been written between 627 and 699 A.D. It is written in uncials, and contains seventy-six leaves without any of the continuations. The pages are much larger than in AOS, and the number of lines to a page varies from thirty-four to forty. Where the other MSS. spread the parallel columns over two pages, this MS. generally compresses them into one, and where the other MSS. compress them into a single page, this MS. makes a partition down the middle of the page and compresses them into either the right or left half of the page. It is throughout a very careless piece of work, and in the first part the scribe makes no attempt to keep the parallel columns even. Since however the right years correspond at the beginning of each page, it is clear that the scribe has retained the division of pages which he found in his archetype. Allowing for the number of years covered by each page and the space which must have been occupied by notices of accessions, it will appear that the archetype must have contained from twentyeight to thirty lines on each page. Small writing is used when exigencies of space demand it, and therefore for the most part in the first part of the Chronicle. In the latter part the writing is regulated by the ruled lines. In the first part the last few lines of a page are often left blank; often, again, the writing extends beyond the last ruled line. The chronological columns (or fila regnorum) are filled in recklessly and without regard to one another, and even after the columns have become few the constant misplacement of Olympiads shows what the scribe is capable of. The MS. was transcribed by Schöne and formed the basis of his edition. Facsimiles of it may be seen in his Eusebius, Vol. II, p. xxiv, and Weltchronik des Eusebius, pp. 8, 9. The typographical errors, although more numerous than in most of his facsimiles, do not affect any point of importance.

M. Middlehillensis, Phillipp. 1829, now at the Royal Library, Berlin. This MS. came originally from Treves (see Mommsen, *Chron. Min.*, I, p. 78). It belongs to the eighth or ninth century, and

- ¹ Since inspecting the MS. I have seen reason to believe that this error is counteracted elsewhere.
- ² Or 160.
- ⁸ Animadversationes. Scaliger's edition appeared under the title of Thesaurus Temporum, 1606.
- ⁴ Chronica trium illustrium auctorum Eusebii cett. Prosperi cett. ab Arnoldo Pontaco Episcopo Vazatensi cett. emendata et notis illustrata. Burdigalae, 1604.
- ⁵ This statement is confirmed by a notice in the manuscript, 'Hic est liber sancti Benedicti abb. Floriacensis cenobi.' See Schöne, Weltchronik, p. 24.

contains the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome, the *Liber Generationis*, and Hydatius. The Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome occupy 153 leaves, and the first line of f. 154. The pages are larger than in the other 26-line MSS.; but there are always twenty-six lines and no more to each page, and for the first part of the Chronicle the division of the pages corresponds exactly with that of ANPST; in the latter part the division is different from that of all other MSS. There is no distinction of large and small letters, and all notices of ordinary events are regulated by the ruled lines. This is not however the case with the tabular matter. A change in the writing, perhaps a change of hand, is made at the beginning of f. 73 a. A full collation of this MS. by F. Rühl appears in the fifth appendix to the first volume of Schöne's *Eusebius* (pp. 108-72), but cannot everywhere be relied on.

There is a full account of this MS. in Rose, Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, Band I, pp. 277-80.

- F. Freherianus, Leidensis MS. Scal. 14, the Freherianus of Scaliger and Pontacus. The latter editor has however sometimes confused this MS. (Fre.) with the Codex Fabritianus (Fab.). It is written in red, green, black, and purple ink, and belongs to the early part of the ninth century. For its descent from the MS. of Bonifatius, see Schöne, Quaestiones Hieronymianae, and Weltchronik des Eusebius, p. 276. The MS. is written on 190 leaves, and contains, in addition to Eusebius and Jerome, the 'Exordium,' the Chronicon consulare of Prosper, and a dedicatory epistle and a Carmen votivum of Bonifatius. The Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome occupy the space from f. 2 a to f. 176 a; f. 58 b and f. 59 a are however left blank, so that these Chronicles occupy in all a space of 174 leaves. In Schöne's statement, Weltchronik des Eusebius, p. 25, that it contains 167 leaves, 167 is probably a misprint for 176, an unfortunate misprint, because 167 happens also to be the number of leaves in A according to his computation. The pages of this MS. contain twenty-five lines each, and do not correspond exactly with those of any other MS. Down to f. 105 b med. the writing is entirely in uncials. The events are invariably crowded as compared with the dates, and are somewhat fantastically arranged on the page. After f. 105 b med. uncials are used for the tabular matter and chronological entries only, and ordinary events appear in minuscules. In this latter part the writing is always regulated by the ruled lines. A facsimile of this MS. appears in Schöne's Eusebius, Vol. II, pp. xxii, xxiii, where however the difference of type has nothing to correspond to it in the MS. This MS. was a favourite with Scaliger. It was used by Schöne for his edition, but his collation of it is less perfect than his collation of B.
- N. Middlehillensis Phillipp. 1872, now at the Royal Library, Berlin. This MS. came originally from Tours ¹. It belongs to the ninth or tenth century and contains the Chronicle only on 166 leaves. Minuscules are used for all entries in black ink, and uncials for everything in red. There are twenty-six lines on each page, and the division of pages corresponds with that in APS. The MS. has been inspected by Schöne, but never collated. Schöne comments on its resemblance in text and form to PS, and Traube holds that both N and P are copies of S; the readings of P supplied me by Professor Lake have convinced me that this view is correct. It has interesting marginalia derived from other families.
- P. Petavianus, Leidensis MS. Lat. Voss. Q. 110. This MS. contains the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome without any continuation. According to a statement in the MS. itself, it originally

¹ So Rose, Verzeichniss der lat. Handschr. der K. Bibl. zu Berlin, Band I, p. 276.

belonged to the Abbey of St. Mesmin, near Orleans. It was written in the ninth century ¹. Small minuscules are used for events in the first part of the Chronicle, large in the latter. In both parts tabular matter and chronological entries are for the most part in uncials, but these are sometimes replaced by large minuscules. Red letters are always uncial. Blank lines are of very rare occurrence. The correspondence of this MS. with N in the division of lines and pages is exceedingly close, and their correspondence with S is hardly less so. The MS. contains altogether 166 leaves, including two leaves devoted to the title, and 164 to the Chronicle. As Schöne suggested in his edition, the MS. is a copy of S. P was used by Pontacus and Scaliger, and its readings are cited by Schöne in his edition. His citations are however far from satisfactory.

- L. Londinensis, Brit. Mus. Add. 16974. This MS. belongs to the tenth century, and, from its title 'Liber monasterii sancti Trudonis,' it is clear that it belonged to the monastery of St. Tron in Belgium. It contains Jerome's Commentary on Matthew, the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome, the Chronicon Imperiale of Prosper, and the Chronicle of Marius of Aventicum. The Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome extend from f. 57 a to f. 109 a. The greater number of entries are in minuscules throughout, but all passages in red ink are written in uncials or in capitals. The pages are much larger than in most MSS., containing forty-two (occasionally forty or forty-one) lines apiece. There are several instances of blank lines, but these can generally be explained by the context. The interest of this MS. lies in the fact that it is the oldest of the 'Codices priores' preferred by Scaliger. Mommsen in Hermes, 1889, p. 398, calls attention to the independence of its text. It is however the work of a very negligent scribe. A displacement of a part of the preface affords some evidence as to the division of pages, and therefore as to the size of the page in one of the archetypes of this MS. Schöne 2, 31 huic (cod. hoc) uolumini . . . 5, 28 alterum Darii (cod. alterum Darii annum DXLVIII et inde) is placed after 8, 8 anno Cecropis. Assuming that the lines were of the same length as in the 26-line MSS., this displacement implies a length of about thirty-one lines to the page in the archetype. I have personally made a complete collation of this MS. It was also collated for Mommsen, and a few of the readings are cited from this collation in Schöne's Weltchronik: the collation itself is accurate enough, but nothing is said of certain important features in the form of the Chronicle as preserved in this MS, on which see below.
- T. Oxoniensis Mertonensis H. 3. 15 (Coxe cccxv) is written in red, black, and green ink, and probably belongs to the ninth century. The MS. is written on 156 leaves (not 154, as Coxe 2) and contains the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome without any continuation. It inserts however, after the preface of Eusebius, two short treatises, entitled respectively, 'Interpretatio sancti Hieronymi de nominibus gentium' and 'Demensuratio provinciarum.' These two treatises, which have escaped Coxe's notice, occupy between seven and eight pages. After Jerome's Chronicle come four chronological summaries, headed respectively, 'Reges gentium diversarum qui fuerunt vel quantum regnaverint,' 'Ordo plenarius succedentium sibi temporum,' 'Item secundum Severum,' 'Item secundum Africanum.' At the foot of the 'Ordo plenarius' are the words 'Continet itaque omnis canon secundum Hieronimum annos II. ccc.xcv.' There is no title-page. Jerome's preface therefore begins on f. 1 a, and the two prefaces extend to f. 4 a. After the two short treatises mentioned above two pages are lest blank and the Chronicle proper begins on f. 9 b and extends to f. 149 b.

¹ At the request of the abbot Peter, and therefore about 840 A.D. See Chatelain, *Uncialis Scripiura*, Explanatio, p. 26, and Traube, *Codices Graeci et Latini*, Suppl. I (Leiden, 1902), Praef., p. xviii.

² Catalogue of MSS. in College Libraries at Oxford.

The prefaces and Chronica therefore occupy in all 145 leaves. There are some German verses in a late, perhaps fourteenth-century hand, on ff. 9 a, 156 a, b, from which it would appear that the MS. was at some date in Germany. The pages have been prepared throughout for tabular matter by means of horizontal and perpendicular ruled lines, but this preparation is somewhat imperfect for the first eight leaves, which precede the commencement of the Chronicle proper. There is no distinction between large and small writing as in AOS, but uncials are employed throughout for tabular matter, i.e. for the notices in the 'fila regnorum,' and for everything in coloured ink, while minuscules are generally employed elsewhere. There are however a number of notices in capitals, and very occasionally uncials appear in the text. The division of pages is almost identical with that in AMNPS for the first part of the Chronicle (to A. Abr. 1496), but the MS. occasionally deviates from their lines of division and afterwards returns to it. In the latter part of the Chronicle the division of pages does not agree with that of any other MS. known to me. The pages are larger than in most MSS., resembling in point of size those of M. The MS. is ruled so as to allow twenty-six lines to the page, but in the prefatory matter (ff. 1-8), in Jerome's Chronicle, and in the summaries at the end, the two lines ruled for headings are used for the text, so that here there are twenty-eight lines to the page. In Eusebius's Chronicle, properly so called, there are twenty-six lines to the page as in ACMNPS. In the omission of headings in Jerome's Chronicle the MS. agrees with B. For other points of agreement with B, see p. 20 below. Throughout the whole MS. the writing is regulated by the ruled lines, but notices are sometimes finished below the last ruled line. On ff. 70 b, 71 a, both in the first part, there are only twenty-five ruled lines. Blank lines are of frequent occurrence in the latter part, so that here also it is probable that the MS. is a page-for-page reproduction of its archetype¹. No reference is made to this MS. in any work bearing directly on the Chronica, but it is frequently referred to by Dodwell in his Dissertatio Singularis, appended to Pearsonii Opera Chronologica, Londini 1688, see p. 18, &c. On pp. 98, 99 he prints at length the chronological summary entitled 'Item secundum Africanum.'

§ 2. The Form of the Chronicle in the older Manuscripts.

The critical questions, which have made all attempts at editing the *Chronica* so tentative, turn on the form rather than the text of the work, and a solution of the difficulties which attend the question of form will probably furnish the means of properly estimating our materials for the text. The question of form may be treated under three heads: (1) The form as preserved in our MSS.; (2) The form of Jerome's version and Chronicle; (3) The form of the original Greek of Eusebius.

The simplest classification of MSS. in respect of form is that of Scaliger into 'Priores' and 'Posteriores.' The 'Priores,' which curiously enough are almost invariably later in date than the 'Posteriores,' present the Chronicle in the shape of a number of columns of dates with a column for events at the right-hand side of the page. This column will be broad or narrow according as the other columns are few or many. In every case the Chronicle is compressed within the width of one page. The 'Posteriores' on the contrary place the column for events second, third, or fourth on the page, so that there are often columns of dates on each side of it. Down to A. Abr. 1504 the columns are always spread over two pages, and there is a column for events on each page. The columns of dates are usually known as the 'fila regnorum,' the column for events as the 'spatium historicum.' After this date there is only one column for events, and the columns are all compressed within the limits of a single page. All the MSS. noticed above, with the

¹ See my observations on this feature in A, supra, p. 4.

exception of B and L, preserve this latter arrangement 1. B adopts this arrangement for a few pages, but afterwards compresses the two pages of the other MSS. of this family into one, and the single pages into the left- or right-hand half-pages, without materially displacing the columns for events. L adheres through the greater part of the Chronicle to the arrangement characteristic of the 'Priores,' but curiously enough starts a second column for events at the very point where the 'Posteriores' discontinue it. Events are now placed in the second and fourth columns, the total number of columns being either four or five. This arrangement is maintained as far as A. Abr. 1919, after which the normal arrangement of the 'Priores' is resumed. This difference in respect of form carries with it a difference of text in Jerome's preface (see Schöne II, p. 2, ll. 12-25), where an explanation of the use of different colours of ink, suited only to the arrangement of the 'Priores,' is inserted in none of the MSS. noticed above except L. In L this preface occurs twice over, on the first occasion with the insertion, but without the following lines (2, 26-32 cognoscant), on the second occasion without the insertion, but with the following lines 2. It would appear therefore that this passage, on which Scaliger based his preference for the 'Priores,' is not a part of the original Jerome, but an interpolation, intended to explain a new use of colours in some early MS. of the family known as the 'Priores.'

As noticed above (p. 2), the break in the Chronicle at A. Abr. 1496 is characterized not merely by a rearrangement of the matter on the page, but, in the case of AOS and to some extent P, by a change in the size of the writing, and its relation to the ruled lines on the page. All MSS. of the Chronicle are written on leaves prepared by lines ruled both horizontally and vertically. The vertical lines are intended to mark off the different columns, but are not always in keeping with the arrangement of columns in the part of the Chronicle in which they appear. The horizontal lines enable the scribe to adhere to the lineation of his archetype, and thus make it possible to copy the original, column by column, without disturbing the synchronisms of different columns. In O a whole series of dates in one column is frequently displaced by one line, and the same phenomenon occurs in other MSS. This shows that in these instances the copying was done column by column. In OS there is down to A. Abr. 1496 a marked and consistent distinction between the large uncials which are written on the ruled lines and the small uncials which are written much more closely, the former being used for the fila regnorum, for chronological comments or landmarks, and for a few of the events recorded in red ink, and the latter being used for ordinary events. After this date the large letters only are found. It will be noticed, from the description of the MSS. above, that traces of this distinction survive in AFP3. As has been observed on p. 3, the ruled lines serve in OS to mark the boundaries between years; in the later MSS, they tend to do no more than regulate the writing.

The next question concerns the position of these events. A chronological notice, or an event which is regarded as a landmark, is often allowed to stretch across the whole page, or at least across both columns of events. In the former case the columns of figures are interrupted until the notice is finished. In L ordinary events are often allowed to interrupt the 'fila regnorum' in this way. In a more ordinary case however the record of an event begins in one of the columns for events opposite the date to which it belongs, and is continued in that column till it is finished. In the latter part of the Chronicle where many events often belong to the same year and where there

¹ It is also found in O.

In both forms of the preface the readings of L compel us to classify its archetype with the 'Priores' rather than the 'Posteriores.'

is only one column for them, they are written one below the other in the same column, and care is taken, or should have been taken, that no new date should appear in the 'fila regnorum' until the last event of the year has been commenced. Correctness of arrangement was secured in the first part of the Chronicle by the use of crowded writing for events, and the abandonment of this practice in the later MSS. has led to the displacement of several events, which can only find room some lines below their proper place.

As to the position of the columns for events, the following account applies to all MSS. except B, D, and L. On left-hand (verso) pages the column for events is to the right of the first column for dates where only two columns for dates exist, and to the right of the second column where three or more columns exist. On right-hand (recto) pages the same rule obtains, except that where there are five columns for dates the column for events stands to the right of the third column. B's deviations from this rule would be of no importance, had they not led Schöne into the belief that the position of this column depended on the importance of the country whose chronology stood to the left of it and not to the number of columns on the page. In the latter part of the Chronicle, i. e. from A. Abr. 1497, the events are always placed to the right of the first column for dates. The arrangement in L has already been noticed (p. 8). Where the two columns exist in the 'Posteriores' the left-hand page is as a rule employed for events in sacred history, the right-hand for events in profane. Some exceptions to this rule will be commented on hereafter (p. 13).

The next point that calls for notice is the use of red and black ink. F uses four colours, red, green, purple, and black, for the first part of the Chronicle, and each column of dates is as far as possible in a different colour. Events take their colour from the column to the left of them. Afterwards sometimes two, sometimes three colours are used, but the arrangement is peculiar to F. In L years of Abraham, accessions of kings, &c., and every tenth year in each of the 'fila regnorum' appear in red ink, as also a few events, including all eclipses. T uses green for years of Abraham down to the first Olympiad, for the numbers of Olympiads, for marginalia, for some headings, and for some of the entries in uncials, mostly of the nature of chronological landmarks. Otherwise it obeys the rule given below. In the remaining MSS.2 the following rule is almost universally observed. The 'fila regnorum' are alternately in red and black ink, but sometimes an exception is made where two 'fila' are separated by a column of events. Down to the first Olympiad the extreme left-hand column is always red; afterwards the Olympiads are entered in this column in red ink, while the accessions and regnal years are in black. (ANOPS are agreed throughout as to the use of colours for different columns; B presents a small, and M a large number of differences. M has the Olympiads in black ink.) Accessions and other matter belonging to the red 'fila' are red in all MSS. except M. Some events, consisting mainly of notices of prophets, are in red ink. In O the thalassocracies are generally in red ink. The accessions of emperors are often in red ink. In B all events are in black ink.

From the particulars given above about the individual MSS. it will be observed that AMNPST have twenty-six lines on each page³, and that the pages of ANOPS are all of the same size, viz. that of the photographs published in this edition. It has been shown that B is derived from an archetype of twenty-eight to thirty lines to the page, O has thirty lines, and L, which has forty-two lines, may go back to an archetype with thirty-one lines. F has

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Gorgonium dicit ' (196g) is the only exception to the use of green for marginalia in T.

twenty-five lines. All our MSS therefore support a square form for the page as opposed to the tall pages which are found in B and L, and which Schöne supposes to have existed in Jerome's first edition of the Chronicle.

One last feature of the Chronicle in its present form consists of the marginalia. There is one group of marginalia, some of which may be found written by the first hand in the margins of all the MSS. except S¹. L seems to be the only MS. where any number of these find their way into the text². In fact so long as originals were copied line for line such notices could hardly be inserted in the text. This group of marginalia consists of jubilees, persecutions, and eras, with a few glosses. O has in addition to these marginalia, inserted in upright uncials by the first hand, a long series of marginalia in sloping uncials, apparently by the same hand. These consist for the most part of abstracts of entries in the text, but contain also some of the marginalia which are found in other MSS., but had not been included among the upright marginalia of O. Schöne's method of indicating marginalia is a little confusing. He sometimes quotes a MS. as having the passage in the margin, and at other times marks its position as to the left of the extreme left column or to the right of the extreme right column. Mommsen's comparison of O with F is unfortunately vitiated by the fact that it was impossible for him to discover from Schöne's edition what passages belong to the margin and what to the text.

§ 3. THE FORM OF THE CHRONICLE IN JEROME.

There can be little doubt that the two-page arrangement for the earlier part of the Chronicle goes back to Jerome. It is, as has been shown (p. 9), presupposed in the existing bicolumnar arrangement, especially in the position of the second column. The comparatively late date of the 'Priores,' coupled with the arbitrary character of so much of the text of L, compel us in the absence of other evidence to regard their form of the Chronicle as the later, though it seems extravagant to say with Schöne³ that the bicolumnar arrangement could never have been devised to supersede the simpler unicolumnar, for L itself, as has been seen (p. 8), substitutes the bicolumnar for the unicolumnar arrangement for the period extending from A. Abr. 1505 to 1919. The uniformity of so large a number of MSS. in respect of the number of lines to the page (see p. 9), the actual division of pages (see p. 2), and the size of each page (see p. 9), is an evidence of the care with which those MSS. have been copied, and creates a presumption in favour of that arrangement going back to Jerome's own study.

As regards the number of lines to the page the consensus of ACMNPST is in reality supported by O as well. The fact that its pages are of the same size as those of ANPS is in favour of its arrangement being derived from a common source. It is an interesting fact that its nearest relative M belongs to the 26-line group. The repetition in red ink of the heading 'troia capta' under the year 835 can be explained by the fact that a new page begins in the 26-line MSS. at this point, whereas in O the repetition, which does not come at the beginning of a page, is not easily explicable by the context. Furthermore O, unlike F and L, preserves a line-for-line if not a page-for-page agreement with the 26-line MSS. throughout the earlier part of the Chronicle. It does indeed ignore their spacing of the long notices which break the columnar arrange-

¹ S is too defective to enable us to speak with certainty; it seems however to have contained 67 c. The margin is mutilated here, but there are traces of an entry in uncial characters. All the other MSS except L have 67 c in the margin. L omits it altogether; but this omission must be fortuitous, as it belongs to a series which is regularly represented in L.

² L also inserts in the margin many passages which the other MSS. place in the text.

⁸ Weltchronik des Eusebius, p. 32.

ment, but is generally careful to preserve their spacing when the columns are merely broken for accessions. It preserves, like them, the normal break of two lines for an accession, with almost the same exceptions, as for instance the one-line breaks for Omri and Pinaches, and the three-line breaks for Deborah, Ægeus, Atreus, Latinus Silvius, Carpentus Silvius, Ahab, &c. It is even possible that O may have been intended to consist of the same number of pages, not only of the same sized pages, as ANPS. After f. 162 in Marcellinus, which appears in O as the supplement to Jerome, there is a change in the preparation of the pages, which seems to indicate that the two remaining quires were subsequently added. As the fifth-century part of O begins at f. 33, and was apparently preceded by about thirty-two leaves 1 , and as two different leaves are each numbered 60, and as one leaf is missing, the original number of leaves should be 162 - 32 + 32 + 1 + 1 = 164 leaves. P contains 166 leaves, including two leaves devoted to the title, and this appears to have been the normal size of the Chronicle in the 26-line MSS.

The double column of text for the earlier part of the Chronicle appears, as will be shown hereafter, to go back to Eusebius. If this is so, the position of the second column in relation to the division between two opposite pages ought to go back at least to Jerome. The unanimity of the 26-line MSS. and O as to the principles which govern the use of red and black ink renders it probable that this distinction also goes back to Jerome. O S also agree, as we have seen, in the use of large and small letters (see p. 3), and, as traces of this distinction survive in A F N P Q, it probably goes back to Jerome.

So far then as we can judge, Jerome's Chronicle would appear to have been of the same form as is preserved to us in the fragments known as S. It is hardly necessary to add that his Chronicle would contain none of those marginalia which run through all our MSS. except S³. We are indeed fortunate in the fact that the form of the Chronicle compelled interpolations to appear in the margin or nowhere.

Schöne has in his Weltchronik des Eusebius propounded an ingenious theory, that the Chronicle went through several editions in the life-time of Jerome, L representing the first edition, M O representing a transition stage, and A N P S representing the final edition, which he calls the 'editio Romana.' F is, as he conclusively shows, descended from a text edited after Jerome's day. In his opinion B is a representative of an older text than A N P S, but sometimes represents an older, sometimes a later, text than M O.

On the size of the writing and of the pages Schöne is silent; he does not appear to have received full information on this point. He thinks, however, that the MSS. which are uniform in the division of lines and pages may be taken as representing the last stage of the Chronicle with a square form for the page, and traces a gradual diminution in the size of the page from that of L, on which he has no information, but which he justly infers to be tall, through B with its thirty-four to thirty-nine lines, O with thirty to twenty-six, down to the twenty-six lines of the 'editio Romana.' But, as has been shown above, the archetype, or at least one archetype, of L would appear to have contained about thirty-one lines only (see p. 6), the archetype of B

¹ The space occupied in P by this part of the Chronicle suggests that thirty-four leaves of thirty lines each would be the space occupied in O. The first preserved gathering, which begins at f. 33, is signed IIII; this suggests that it was preceded by three numbered quaternions, and one unnumbered, thirty-two leaves in all.

² This coincidence may of course be a mere accident. The two 26-line MSS most nearly related to O in text (M and T) coincide with ANPS in the division of pages in the first part of the Chronicle only.

³ On this exception see above, p. 10 note.

must have had thirty to twenty-eight lines (see p. 4), and even O with its thirty lines appears to be derived from a 26-line archetype (see p. 10). There seems, therefore, to be no case for a belief in the tall form of page in the original Chronicle. L deserves specially little attention, because it is unlikely that any attempt would be made to retain the number of lines to the page, when the form of the Chronicle was entirely recast 1.

Schöne is more successful when he attempts to base his theory of successive editions on textual differences, but the cases he quotes do not all support his contention². In his first instance (181 h) it is clear that 'quadraginta missus' is a correction of the mistranslation 'Athlamos' for $\delta\theta\lambda\alpha$ μ' . The latter reading, or one derived from it, is found in BLMN wars. OQT, the corrected reading in AFNPR. From this it follows that the correction was either made by Jerome after the archetypes of BLMOQT were written, or by a scribe in the archetype of AFNP. The correction could only have been made by some one with the Greek before him. In his second instance (93 f) L and kindred MSS. have 'subuertit,' representing καθαιρεῖ, while all the 'Posteriores' have 'emundauit', representing καθαίρει. Here it seems possible that L retains Jerome's original reading 4, and that Jerome himself made the correction before the archetypes of ABFMNOPT had been written. We might infer, therefore, that the archetype of L had escaped some corrections which Jerome afterwards introduced into his text. The third instance (197 v) had been previously discussed by Mommsen⁵. In this case 'Probus praefectus Illyrici,' which is found with variations in LMN marg. O, has been altered for political reasons into 'Illyrici Equitius comes,' which is found with variations in ABFNPOT. Here the alteration must either have been made by Jerome or some very early scribe, or else have been introduced into BQT from the family AFNP. It is significant that in this case BQT adopt the later text, whereas in the first instance they had preserved the older. Schöne's fourth instance (198 f) is the notice of Melania, which, according to Rufinus⁷, Jerome struck out of his copies of the Chronicle after it had been written. It appears in its proper position in all our MSS. except P, where it is written at the bottom of the page, its proper position being indicated by the sign /. It is easy to see that if the passage had once been struck out, it would easily find its way back, because its omission reduced the number of lines on this page from twenty-six to twenty-one, leaving five blank lines into which it could be interpolated from another MS. The notice in Rufinus seems at least to prove that Jerome did make occasional corrections in his text, and we should therefore be the more ready to attribute other corrections to him. In the present case contamination would be so easy that it is difficult to say whether any other MS, than P is derived from a source in which this passage was omitted. In the fifth instance P places 198 r after 198 s, that is, at the foot of the page, and reads 'Rufinus' instead of the second 'Florentinus.' From a passage in Rufinus (Apol. ii. 25) which he quotes, Schöne attempts to show that 'Rufinus' was the original reading, but the argument is far from conclusive. I will not deal with the longer list of passages which Schöne himself regards as less decisive, the discussion of which occupies pp. 168-228 of his Weltchronik des Eusebius, but

¹ Schöne, Weltchronik des Eusebius, pp. 131-7.

N records in its margin the two variants 'destituit' and 'subuertit.'

⁴ There is, however, some difficulty in explaining 'destiuit' as a variant derived from 'subuertit.' It could more easily be introduced by a scribe who took 'emundauit' for a mistranslation.

⁵ Hermes, 1889, p. 399.

⁶ Schöne (op. cit., p. 97) makes an extraordinary attempt to support the originality of the 'tamquam' of L in this passage against the obviously genuine but misunderstood 'ante.... quam' of the other MSS.

⁷ Apol. ii. 26.

I will add two passages, where, as in 93 f, L appears to be alone in favouring a reading afterwards revised. In 95 c L has 'purior aetas,' instead of the 'Thalus' of the other MSS.\(^1\) Here 'purior aetas' is a possible translation of the poetic noun $\theta d\lambda os$ (an obvious mistake for $\Theta a\lambda \eta s$), which Jerome afterwards transliterated as a proper name, though he did not correct the orthography\(^2\). In 91 k L agrees with the Armenian in reading 'Eliachim' for 'Ioachim' on both occasions where the word occurs. This makes it probable that 'Eliachim' represents Eusebius's text and that Ierome afterwards substituted the more familiar name.

It will be observed that in no two of the instances quoted above from Schöne does the correction make its appearance at the same point in the supposed development of the Latin Chronica. In the second instance L alone has the unrevised reading, in the third L is reinforced by MO, in the first it has the additional support of BQT, in the fourth it is supported not only by all these, but also by AN, and in some measure by P, while in the fifth instance the supposed original is found in P alone. As the argument from form in favour of a systematic re-editing of the Chronica has broken down, it will be all the easier to adopt the view that any modifications introduced into the text were not made at any one date, but were suggested from time to time by the discovery of errors or by personal or political considerations.

§ 4. THE FORM OF THE CHRONICLE IN EUSEBIUS.

We are now in a position to attack the central problem connected with the Chronica, What was the form of the Greek Chronica of Eusebius, and is it better represented by the Armenian or by Jerome's Latin version? The Syriac epitome is of no value for the question of form, but on the whole supports the text of Jerome rather than that of the Armenian version. The Armenian and Latin differ in certain details, but their most striking difference in form is in the position of the columns for events. In the Armenian the Chronicle is always compressed within the width of a single page and there is a column for events on each side of that page. Events in sacred history are nearly always placed on the left side, while events in profane history are distributed over both sides. position of these columns in Jerome has been described above. It will be observed that the two columns are only used for the first part of the Chronicle. From a comparison between the two versions it appears that passages common to both always appear in Jerome's left-hand column if they belong to sacred history, and nearly always in his right-hand column if they belong to profane. Passages, on the other hand, which are peculiar to Jerome are distributed almost at random between the two columns. Now since the passages common to both versions must go back to Eusebius, it would follow that those passages whose position in Jerome's Chronica depends on their reference to sacred or profane history must belong to the original Chronicle, and, since Jerome does not regulate the place of his own additions by any such reference, the classification into sacred and profane events must belong to the original Greek of Eusebius. Jerome's version therefore retains the form of the original throughout the earlier part of the Chronicle, so far as the arrangement of events in columns is concerned. It is not unlikely that it does so in the latter part also, since the substitution of the single for the double column for events takes place roughly at the close of Old Testament history, after

¹ N T alone have 'Thales.'

³ 'Purior aetas' may of course have been substituted by some scribe who failed to understand 'thalus.'

³ pp. 9, 11. ⁴ See Schöne, Weltchronik des Eusebius, pp. 14, 15, and elsewhere.

which the bicolumnar arrangement would have been rather pointless. When Schöne¹ attempts to demonstrate that the position of the columns of events goes back to Eusebius, it is not so easy to follow him. As stated above², their position depends on the division of pages and the number of parallel columns in Jerome, not on the importance of different countries. Schöne's table³ is wrong in placing the first column of events to the right of the Hebrews instead of the Assyrians for the years of Abraham 1–460, and in placing the second column of events to the right of the Macedonians instead of the Lydians for the years 1271–1344. The question of the position of the columns must therefore be determined by the more general questions of retention of form instead of determining them.

An interesting confirmation of the adherence of Jerome to the original Greek in small points of form is supplied by the reading Thalcamenes for Alcamenes found in OR (Schöne, 75 Lac. Tit.). Thalcamenes is probably the correct reading, although historically an incorrect form. Thus L has Talcamenes, M Thalcamenis, B Chalcamenis, N Tharcamenes, and P Tarcamenes, so that this spelling is represented in all families of MSS. The title, according to the principles on which Jerome's version is drawn up, should run as follows:—

Lacedaemon. VIIII Alcamenes a. xxxvii, suggesting the Greek

AAKEAAIMON O AAKAMENHC ETH AZ

This at once explains the origin of the form Thalcamenes, and it is significant that the name Thalcamenes in MO is not preceded by a numeral, as are the names of the other Lacedaemonian kings. The numeral VIII in Schöne's text is probably a misprint for VIIII, in which case the appearance of a false numeral VIII in B suggests that it was supplied by a scribe and was absent from the original text. The leaf of the Armenian on which the name of Alcamenes ought to appear is unfortunately lost, but as numerals are never placed before the names of kings in the Armenian, it may be assumed that in it no numeral stood before the name of Alcamenes. It would therefore follow that in the use of numerals before the names of kings in records of accessions the Latin version of Jerome has followed the original Greek, while the Armenian has departed from it.

A cogent argument is adduced by Schöne ⁵ in favour of the correspondence in form between the Greek and the first edition of the Latin *Chronica*, from a passage in Jerome's Preface ⁶, in which he states that he has dictated his work with great rapidity. The dictation of elaborate tabular matter is not easy, and Schöne is of opinion that the 'fila regnorum' were transliterated from the Greek by a scribe, the correct interval being allowed for each gap, and that Jerome then dictated a translation of the text. That this was the case in the earlier part of the Chronicle is rendered extremely likely by the form of the Chronicle. The use of small writing for events renders the 'fila regnorum' independent of the space occupied by ordinary entries, and the columns of regnal years are only broken for accessions of kings and the longer notices on chronological landmarks. If therefore Jerome retained the form of his original, he would be able not only to interpret at length without fear of crowding, but also to add new events without disturbing the outlines of his work. Schöne, who has overlooked the distinction between large and small writing, preserved in O S, imagines that the spacing of the original was retained even in the latter part of the *Chronica*. This however appears to be impossible. Here the interval between one date and the next depends entirely on the space occupied in Jerome's Latin by

Weltchronik des Eusebius, pp. 60 and following.

Pp. 9 supra.

Op. cit., p. 60.

Relichronik des Eusebius, pp. 76, 81.

Pp. 1, l. 15 (Schöne).

the events belonging to the former date, and is therefore dependent not merely on the length or brevity of his translations, but on the presence or absence of additions of his own. The fact that here events as well as dates appear in large letters seems to imply that they were dictated pari passu, and as the columns of dates are no longer numerous, there being often only one such column, there should no longer have been any difficulty in dictating the dates along with the text. It would appear, therefore, that in the earlier part of the Chronica there is an exact correspondence in form between the Greek of Eusebius and Jerome's Latin, while in the latter part the correspondence is more vague. In the division between opposite pages, and in the position of the columns for events, it would facilitate the work of the scribe greatly if he followed the arrangement of the original. The same would apply to the number of lines on each page, though of course in the latter part of the Chronica, where the boundary between pages depends on the length of the text, no correspondence between Jerome's pages and those of the original can be assumed. Whether the distinction between red and black ink goes back to Eusebius it is difficult to say. There would be no difficulty in marking out for a scribe what columns he was to write in red ink 1.

One more question about the original Greek remains. Did Eusebius issue two editions of his Chronica, and if so does the Armenian represent the older, and Jerome's Latin the later edition? It is at least unlikely that the form of the Armenian goes back to Eusebius, because the other form alone agrees with the main intention of the Chronici Canones, viz. the establishment of the antiquity of the Jewish religion and scriptures as compared with the history and literature of the heathen world. My inspection of the MSS, of Jerome has shed no new light on the differences in text between the two versions, unless we include under this head the placing of Olympiads. In the Armenian the numbers of the Olympiads are noted against years of Abraham evenly divisible by four. L, as representing the 'Codices priores' of Jerome is not perfectly consistent, but generally places them one year later. Schöne in his edition always places the mention of an Olympiad in the column of years of Abraham in the line immediately above that occupied by a year of Abraham which when divided by four leaves a remainder of one. This suggests that the number of the Olympiad is intended as a heading for the next four years, and that the first year of each Olympiad is intended to coincide with the following year of Abraham; and historians have generally assumed that this is the case. The divergence between the Armenian and the accepted interpretation of Jerome may however be explained by a comparison of the MSS. ABFMNOPST of Jerome. All these habitually place the Olympiads in the column of regnal years which stands furthest to the left of the page or of the two pages, as the case may be; they do not however place the Olympiads against any particular year of Abraham or regnal year, but always in the space between two regnal years. Where this space consists of several lines, the Olympiad may appear either on the first or on the last, or on any intermediate line. It therefore bears an equally close relation to the year above and the year below, and it is not surprising that if the Olympiads were so placed by Eusebius, the Armenian translator should in compressing the Chronicle have placed them in the year above, and the archetype of the 'Codices priores' should, also for the sake of conciseness, have placed them in the year below. It is, however, possible that Eusebius adopted the rule of placing the Olympiad in the first of the lines intervening between the regnal years in question, since in the earlier part of the Latin Chronica, in which Jerome would appear to have adhered most closely

¹ Eusebius in his 'Canons' for the Gospels has two series of numbers, in black and red; therefore the system was familiar to, and actually used by him.

to the form of his original, the Olympiads are nearly always so placed. Why Eusebius adopted this method I do not profess to be able to say, but one explanation that has occurred to me is that Eusebius recognized that the Olympiads did not begin at the beginning of any Calendar year, and that in consequence he chose to note the commencement of a new Olympiad between two regnal years. Be this as it may, the difference between the Armenian and the Latin in respect of the placing of Olympiads can no longer be adduced as an argument in favour of the existence of two editions of the original. The other arguments, which have been frequently set forth, and most recently in Schöne's Weltchronik des Eusebius, pp. 260-7, remain, and the question is still open whether they form a sufficient basis for such a theory.

§ 5. THE TEXT OF THE CHRONICLE: RELATION OF O TO OTHER MSS.

There is less to be added to the discussion of the text of the Chronicle than to that of the form, because the MSS. have been more carefully inspected on points connected with the text than on points connected with the form. Since, however, errors on questions of form have led to some misinterpretations of the more strictly textual evidence, a review of the materials for the classification and filiation of the MSS. will not be out of place.

The first and simplest method of classification is that suggested by Mommsen in *Hermes*, 1889, p. 401, according to which the continuations will be the criterion of the descent of the MSS. The obvious defect of this method as applied to the early MSS. is that most of the classes it creates do not contain more than one of our MSS. They would fall into the following groups:

Without any cont	inuatio	on.	•						ABCNPQS(?)T
Chronicon Consul	lare of	Pros	per						DF
" Imperi Marius of Aventic	iale of	Pros	per}	•	•	•	•	•	L
Hydatius					•			•	M
Marcellinus .	•			•		•	•	•	O
[Fasti Hydatiani	•	•	•		•		•		R]

This scheme would of course be useful for a classification of MSS. yet to be discovered; and any new MS. which might be discovered with Marcellinus as a continuation would of course be deserving of inspection. But for the MSS. to which I have confined my attention the scheme is useless, because, apart from DF, the only class which contains more than one member is constituted solely by a negative qualification.

More important is the classification by form. Here we have first of all the distinction between the 'Priores' (L) and the 'Posteriores' (ABFMNOPQST). Within the latter group ANPS are united by their agreement in pagination and lineation, while F, M, O, Q, and T stand each by itself. We must, however, be very careful in our employment of this criterion. Schöne in his edition of Eusebius supposed P to be descended from S, because of their close similarity in text and still closer similarity in form, and Traube supposes both N and P to have been copied from S for the same reasons. The argument from form loses its weight when it appears that the supposed peculiarities in part go back to the original, and in part are shared with A, and even with MSS. of other families, while a study of Schone's apparatus would show that while APS are closely allied, the differences between S and P are more numerous than those between S and A. In like manner Schöne abandoned the idea of collating N because of its close resemblance to S

in text, but more especially in form. The instance he cites on p. 31 of his Weltchronik des Eusebius proves only a general family resemblance between NPS. The argument from the text will be discussed later (p. 18).

M appears to Schöne to have affinities with ANPS, with which he believes it to correspond page for page throughout (*Weltchronik des Eusebius*, p. 54), and also with O with which it is said to correspond generally in the division of pages (op. cit., p. 126 note). As a fact it corresponds with ANPS in the earlier part of the Chronicle only, and with O not at all.

The most valuable material for a classification of the MSS. is after all to be obtained by means of an inspection of their text. I venture to think that Mommsen and Hardy, and in one instance Schöne himself, have erred in attaching to marginalia a critical importance which strictly belongs to the text alone. In the text the rule is for a MS. to be copied from a single archetype; contamination is the exception. In the margin contamination is probably the rule, and two MSS. must not be classed together because they both omit or both insert a particular marginal entry. Neglect of this rule or a failure to elicit from Schöne's edition the true distinction between text and margin vitiates the list which Mommsen has compiled of agreements of FO against M, and militates seriously against the unique character which he attributes to O.

Schöne's attempt to trace the different MSS. back to different stages in the development of Jerome's work has been discussed above (pp. 11-3). The different MSS. will also be found compared in respect of their text in the Introduction to the second volume of Schöne's edition, in Mommsen's article in Hermes, 1889, pp. 393-401, and in Hardy's article in the Fournal of Philology, 1890, pp. 277-87. The close relation between M and O is sufficiently proved by the passages cited by Mommsen and Hardy; it remains after Hardy's instances have been checked by comparison with O itself, and with the readings of M as cited by Schöne, and could be supported by many other instances. The cases where FO agree against M are, as has been stated above, of another character. Of these Mommsen quotes:—

- (I) 137 (Caesar) where FO have 'mens. VII,' M 'mens. VIII,' ABP 'mens. VI.' Mommsen cites R as reading 'VI,' but according to Schöne it reads 'septem' (with FO). To these we may now add CDL N^{marg.} T which read 'mens. VII' (with FOR), and N which reads 'mens. VI' (with ABP). Here the deviation of M is probably fortuitous, and undeserving of attention 1.
- (2) 137 p where FO are quoted as omitting the words 'ab hoc loco Antiocheni sua tempora computant,' which are found in ABMPR. The position of the index letter p in Schöne's edition indicates that even in ABMP this passage is in the left margin (where it is also found in DQT), not in the text. R would appear to have it in the right margin. It is absent from CFL altogether, and in O appears among the sloping marginalia. This passage, therefore, cannot fairly be cited as evidence on the text?
- (3) 189, where FO are cited as omitting 'secundum Antiochenos anni CCCLI' against the other MSS. There is nothing in Schöne's edition to indicate that these words belong to the margin. I find, however, by inspection of the MSS, that in ADNPQ they are in the margin, and that in CLM they are actually omitted, so that M really agrees with O. They do not

¹ The passage is omitted in Q.

² Hardy, loc. cit., p. 285, mentions the presence in the margin of O of a paraphrase of this entry, but has not noticed that the entry itself is also to be found there.

- appear in the text of S, but may have been in the margin which is lost. In T they are in the text. R is cited by Schöne in Vol. I as omitting these words, so that they are only contained in the text of BT and margin of ADNPQ. I presume that their connexion with the words 'Persecutionis I' is at least supported by Schöne's quondam favourite, B.
- (4) 139 f, where FO are cited as omitting 'Cicero ut quibusdam placet interficitur in Caietis,' against ABMPR. The words in question are actually omitted by F. In O they appear among the sloping marginalia mentioned above (p. 17). In AM they appear in the margin, as Schöne appears to indicate, and as I have myself observed. In DNQT also they appear in the margin only. In CL they appear in the text, and, if Schöne could be relied on, this would appear to be the case with BPR as well. In P however they are in the margin only. Here again it will be seen that the difference between M and O is more imaginary than real.

To these passages Hardy adds:-

- (1) 117 n, where F omits the words 'Ab hoc loco Edesseni sua tempora computant,' which appear in O among the sloping marginalia only. As CLT alone have this passage in the text, no importance can be attached to it.
- (2) 147 s, where FO are cited for 'blanditias,' A for 'blandimentas,' P for 'blandimenta,' B M for 'blanditiam.' FO are further supported by C L Q T, and practically by D R which read 'blandicias,' and an inspection of the MS. has shown me that 'blanditias' is also the reading of M. N has 'blandimentas.' Here Hardy has been misled by an error in Rühl's collation of M.
- (3) 173 m, where FO are cited for 'Maximinus,' ABMP for 'Maximus.' To the latter group we might add DLNR. M however does not as a fact read 'Maximus,' but 'Maximus' with 'mi' superscribed, so as to correct this to 'Maximinus.' CQT have 'Maximinus.'
- (4) 189 t, where Hardy cites FO for 'Cinalense,' ABMP for 'Cibalense.' 'Cinalense' here is an obvious misprint for 'Ciualense.' This reading is also supported by CL, while 'Cibalense' is supported by DNQRS'. M however is not correctly cited. According to Rühl, whose statement I have verified, it reads 'ciuilense,' the line over the 'e' and the letters 'nse' being erased so as to leave 'ciuile.' This reading of course presupposes an older 'ciualense,' so that the authority of M is on the side of CFLO, not on that of ABDNPQRST.

Thus Mommsen's attempt to demonstrate that O represents an ancient source, independent alike of the corruptions common to ABFP and to ABMP, has broken down. MO must be treated as a single family, probably the best family, of which O is the older and better representative.

A N P S are rightly regarded as a single family, which is of interest because of its uniformity in the division of pages and even of lines, which in the first part of the Chronicle at least appears to go back to the original ². S indeed is in other respects also the best representative of the original form of the *Chronica* ³. But the fact that spatial difficulties have often compelled A to displace events by a few lines or a few years ought not to be allowed to weigh against its

¹ T has 'Cebalense.'

² See p. 11 above. The close resemblance of ANPS to one another in text renders it impossible to infer from their agreement in paging that they preserve more than the paging of the archetype of their family. It is significant that the two MSS. M and T which, though not belonging to this family, preserve its paging for the first part of the Chronicle, are quite independent in the latter part.

³ Its general arrangement is identical with that of O except in the division of lines and pages, but S preserves better those ornamental devices, traces of which are to be found even in L.

claim to be a good representative of this family in questions of text. N P, as has been stated above (p. 2), are both copies of S. The following instances where S agrees with O or M O against A P as cited by Schöne, might appear to tell against this descent.

p. 55 (Schöne). Here the column of Latin kings is headed 'primus rex Latinorum post captam Troiam' in OS. These words appear in the text in L. No MS. is cited for them, but Schöne does not usually cite variants in headings. The heading is omitted in T.

63 a Solomonem OS: Salomonem ABFLMPR: Salamonem T. (Here P really has Solomonem with OS.)

67 b Bithynia ORST: Bithinia AFP: Bythinia L: Bythiniam M: Bitynia B. (Here the agreement of AFP in error against OST may be purely accidental.)

97 k init LMORS: init AFPT: hinit B. (Here S has dots above and below the middle i in init, as though some scribe had wished to omit it. P however really has init.)

183 s, 187 y, 191 a Hierosolymarum OST: Hierusolymarum AFMPR. (Here P really has Hierosolymarum.)

189g Maximinus FMOST: Maximianus ALPR: Maximus B. (P really has Maximinus.)

189 q Maximinus ABMOST: Maximianus AFLP. (P really has Maximinus.)

In 53 δ the omission of 'et' after 'similiter' is really supported by A, as also are the 'fuerunt' in 97 a, and the omission of 'est' after 'destructum' in 97 Lyd. tit., though Schöne notes A's reading in none of these cases. This renders me more suspicious of his citations of A elsewhere.

The following variants of S would appear from Schöne's edition to be important.

63 a S alone reads CCCCLXXXI. (P really has the same.)

189 d Diocletiani anno RS: anno Diocletiani (Diocliciani, Diocliciane, Diodiocletiani) ABFLMOPT. (P really has Diocletiani anno.)

189 k obit BM S: obiit AFLOPRT.

The more crucial instances having broken down, it is impossible to build a case against the descent of P from S upon 67b and 189h.

F is an interesting MS., inasmuch as it is the result of a deliberate recension ¹. Hardy gives instances both of the agreement of F MO against the other MSS. and of the agreement of MO against the other MSS., including F. Some of these however are of small importance, while others are based on erroneous information. The following will be interesting as showing that F often sides with ANPS when in error, though not so often as B does, and that it occasionally sides with MO even when in error. I have corrected Hardy's and Schöne's errors and added the readings of other MSS. where known to me I have also added a few readings which I have noted myself. The reading which I prefer is in each case given first.

Agreement of F with AP against MO.

1150 demisso (demiso) LMOQT: dimisso ABDFNPR.

133 b Lucilius DLMOT: Lucius ABFNPQR.

155 h luxuriae ABFNPRT: luxoriae LMOQ.

181 & quadraginta missus AFNPR: Athlamos (Athalamos, Athlans mons, Atlans mons) BLMN marg. OQT. See p. 12 above.

197 v Probus praefectus Illyrici (with variants) LMN marg. O: Illyrici Equitius comes (with variants) ABFNPQT.

Agreement of F with MO against AP.

43 b Nysam (Nicam, Nisam, Nisan, Nysan) BDFLMOQRT: Mysan (Misan) APS.

45c alligabat BDLT: allegabat (adlegabat) FMN marg. OR: allegebat ANPQ.

45g iudex (iuiudex) DFLMNOQT: ABPR om.

61 i uel Cumae (Comae) om. FLMO: add. ABDNPRS: quae nunc Cumae T1.

61 / Andronico ALNPRS: Androco (Andraco) FMOQ: Androco uel (siue) ab Andronico BDT.

61 m bellum FLMOT: excidium ABDNO marg. PQRS.

99 γ Hystaspis (Histaspis) FMOT. Hydaspis (Hidaspis, Idaspis) ABDNPQR. In M this passage appears in the margin only.

139 e Popili (Popilii, Pompilii) BLNPRT*: Pupili A: populi FMOQT.

143i construit FLMOQT: construxit ABNPR.

147 s blanditias (blandicias) FLMOQRT: blanditiam B: blandimenta (blandimentas) ANP.

163c Pontiam FLMN marg. OR: Pontianam ABNPQT.

173 m Maximus ABLNPR: Maximinus (Maxinus, but see p. 18 above) FMOQT.

189 t Ciualense F L (M) O: Cibalense (Cebalense) A B N P Q R S T.

191 b uilla sua Spalato (Aspalato) F L M O R T: uillae suae (uillas suas) palatio A B N P Q S.

The agreement of F with MO is therefore interesting wherever it occurs, but not decisive. B is of less importance, because it is copied with less care, and presents fewer instances of agreement with MO against AF. BMO should be a valuable combination, where we can be sure that it is not fortuitous. BT alone, or almost alone, is not an uncommon combination, e.g. 45 c alligabat BDLT: 61 f perseuerabat: 61 l Androco uel (siue) ab Andronico BDT: 67 a in Samaria: 119 a Samaritanorum: 133 s aetatis BFT: 137 o primus Romanus: 145 v nascitur: 161 o Romanos. Schöne, being without MO, attached excessive weight to the readings of B which occasionally presents the readings of the MO family. His apparatus often cites AFP

for readings which appear to be peculiar to B.

L is a valuable addition to our stock of MSS. It preserves some readings which must have been corrected by Jerome himself, and which do not appear in the 'Codices Posteriores,' and it seems to be independent of both families, MO and ANPS. It is clear that it owes its present form to the work of an editor, who has not displayed any excessive care. There is a constant displacement of matter, and many of the synchronisms of the original have been destroyed. The editor has often attempted to compress Jerome's text by a change in the construction and often throws two notices into one. Less often he breaks one up into two. Many of these changes betray a defective understanding of the text. The faults of the editor are enhanced by those of the scribe. The MS. is full of errors, and its readings may be regarded as valueless where they are not supported by a MS. of another family. The readings quoted above will show how it escapes the errors of AP². In three of them, 61 l, 139 e, 173 m, it escapes errors of MO. The same is the case in the following instances:—

45 h Philammon R: Filammon (Filamon) ABFLNO*P: Filiammon MO: Fidamon T.

¹ Q omits the entry 61 i, but has the words 'uel comcce' at the end of 61 h.

² 189 q is however an exception.

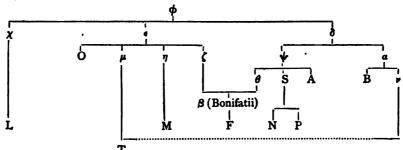
T seems to be more closely related to MO than to AP. I have not found an instance where it sides with AP against BMO, but there are several instances where it sides with ABP against MO, and still more where it sides with MO against ABP. It contains some corrections of errors which are found in almost all MSS., and perhaps go back to Jerome; thus in 75 Lac. Tit. T alone has 'Alcamenes'; in 95c NT alone have 'Thales.' Its agreements with B are curious, and it has clearly been contaminated from some source akin to B. This fact reduces its value when found in agreement with that MS. It has also one curious agreement with L in 181 k, where both MSS. read 'Atlans (Athlans) mons.' The corrections and contamination may well be the work of the same editor. There appears to be no common principle governing the degree to which F and T respectively present the readings either of the MO or of the ANPS family. T ought to be valuable where O is defective, as M is the only other representative of the MO family.

Sundermeier¹ attempted by means of Augustine's orthography of proper names to prove that he used a text more closely resembling that of AP than that of B. It is interesting to observe that, whatever may be the value of Augustine's orthography, it approaches that of L still more closely.

Next to a combination of MO with the ANPS family, LMO would appear to be the best combination; where O is defective, LM should be sufficient. M by itself is a treacherous guide. We must however be careful, especially when dealing with dates, to assure ourselves that the combination is not fortuitous.

The consensus of the best MSS is in favour of a fairly correct orthography. The false orthography which defaces Schöne's edition receives little support from L or from O or from S, and might well be replaced by one more consistent with that of Jerome's other works.

If it is necessary to draw up a genealogical tree of the different MSS., the following should be as good as any:—



No introduction to the Bodleian MS. would be complete without some account of the marginalia. I have indicated above² the different kinds of marginalia that exist. There is one class common to all MSS. which is generally represented in O by the upright marginalia, though some of these are omitted in O as in other MSS. Another class, peculiar to O, appears

¹ Quaestiones Chronographicae, Bremae, 1896.

² p. 10.

in sloping uncials; it is very seldom that the sloping marginalia in O represent the marginalia common to other MSS. The upright marginalia in O call for no special notice 1. They are all either glosses or chronological notes; they appear irregularly in MSS. of the same or of different families, and throw little light on the history of the MSS. The sloping marginalia on the other hand are for the most part abstracts of select entries in the text. Schöne has accordingly suggested that they are selections made from Jerome to form the first part of the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Against this it may be urged that the notices 'de frumentis, &c.' on 35a, 'Atheniensium reges, &c.' on 48a, 'de temporibus, &c.' on 48b, 'acta Neronis, &c.' on 115 b, and 'episcopi apud, &c.' on 136 b are unintelligible apart from the text. Moreover these marginalia are in the same hand as the text of O, or at least in a contemporary hand, while the Chronicle of Marcellinus is in a later hand. Sometimes, however, the sloping marginalia are not mere abstracts. 76 b 'Nabuchodonosor . . .' is of the nature of a gloss, while 117 b 'Vespasianus capitolium . . .' is at once an abstract and a supplement. The same applies to 120a 'Ignatius . . .', 122a 'Augusta . . .', and 140b 'Sarmata discipulus . . .' The following marginalia combine the nature of an abstract with that of a synchronism or of a chronological note:-

```
ex Aethna...
41 a Cyzicus ...
                                                 86 b
                                                 87 b filosophi post . . .
48 b arca testamenti...
                                                 89 b Alexander Filippi 3...
49 b dād eo ...
                                                 90 a Alexandria condita ...
50 b templum ...
58b Elias...
                                                94 a liber sapientiae . . .
                                                       Carthago in ...
61 a quidam Cartaginem ...
                                                100 b Cicero nascitur 8...
66 b Roma parilibus....
67 b Esaias et ... 2
                                                102 b
                                                       Vergilius nascitur . . .
                                                105b
                                                       Sallustius Crispus . . .
73 b Hieremias propheta ...
7.5 b 'Nabuchodonosor . . .' and 'Dani-
                                                108 a Vergilius Brundisi . . .
                                                119a Iosephus Dometiani . . .
        hel . . . '
                                                119b Iohannes apostolus...
80 b Aggaeus...
                                                127 a sub Seuero...
81 a Pythagoras...
                                                       Tertullianus sub . . .
84 b Socrates nascitur ...
                                                136 b CCCXVIII synodus ...
85 a Hippocrates medicus . . .
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78 b 'Medorum regnum . . .' is of the nature of a supplementary chronological note, not of an abstract.

¹ The following is a list of the upright marginalia in O:—

55 b	principium LX	= Schöne	67 c	131 a	iobeleus iuxta	Schöne	183 <i>aa</i>
[66 b	See p. 23.]			131 a	VIII persecutio		183 <i>gg</i>
84 a	principium LXXI	"	103 <i>x</i>	132 b	initium iobelei	>>	185 22
99 b	prius nomen			134 b	iobeleus secundum		189 <i>aa</i>
119a	II persecutio	99	161 <i>xx</i>		X persecutio	99	189 <i>dd</i>
120 a	III persecutio))	163 uu	140a	iobeleos secundum	,,	194 mm
129 b	VI persecutio	29	179 <i>yy</i>	141 b	Corgonium dicit	**	196 <i>gg</i>
120 h	VII persecutio	••	181 22	1			

This is an abstract of a passage omitted from the text of O, but found in ABFLMPRT. See Schöne 83 f.

³ The information contained in these entries must be derived from a foreign source.

The following marginalia are misplaced:—

50 b 'templum Solomonis . . .' fifty-two lines too high.

76 a 'in agone . . .' about thirty-seven lines too high.

100 b 'Gaius Marius . . .' placed by confusion against the entry 'Gaius Lucilius . . .'

116 b 'Vespasianus apud . . .' placed by confusion against the entry 'Vespasianus duobus . . .'

134 b 'Galerius Maximianus victus . . .' placed by confusion against the entry 'Galerius Maximianus superato . . .'

The displacement of 50 b suggests that the error arose in transferring this series of marginalia from one 26-line MS. to another; the copyist has placed this note on the right line of the page, but one leaf too early. This suggestion is confirmed by the reading excidium, 52 a in O, 61 m (Schöne). This reading is found in ABNPQRS, but not in the text of O nor in FLMT. It seems probable, therefore, that the series of abstracts was originally made in a 26-line MS. allied to ABNPQS, and was copied from this into the margin of another 26-line MS., from which it was copied into O¹. I will attempt to show hereafter that these marginalia must have been added after the text and upright marginalia had been written.

There remain a number of sloping marginalia which are either found in other MSS. or are similar in character to those found there.

The following is a complete list of these:-

66 b. 'a Salmanassar².' This appears to be in the margin of AFMP, and in the text of BL. In RT it appears in the Median column. See Schöne 81 a.

66 b 'hoc in . . .' These words are in the margin of FP, and appear from Schöne to be in the text of A, and to be omitted by B. They are omitted by L, but in the form adopted by the 'Priores' they would be meaningless.

81 b 'ideo secundus...' In M N this passage is in the margin, as I have discovered by personal inspection. It is omitted by L, and would appear from Schöne's edition $(99 \, q)$ to be in the text of ABFPR. If so, it must have made its way there through the margin. In T it appears in the Persian column.

91 b 'ab hoc...' This passage appears in the text of LT. It is omitted by F, is in the margin of P, and would appear from Schöne's edition (117 n) to be in the margin of ABMR.

104 a 'Antiocheni annorum suorum numerum XC Caesares computant.' 'XC' here is probably a copyist's error for 'a C.' The whole passage is a paraphrase of the marginal notice 'ab hoc loco . . .' which occurs under the next year. This proves that the ordinary marginalia must have already existed in the MS. in which the abstracts were first inserted.

104 a. 'ab hoc loco...' This passage is in the margin of APT and is omitted by FL. According to Schöne (137 p) it is also in the margin of BMR.

105 a 'Cicero ut . . .' = Schöne 139 f, for which see p. 18 above.

109 a 'Tertullianus in . . .' This passage is in the text of AL, and would appear from Schöne (145q) to be in that of R also. According to Schöne it is in the margin of BFP. It is also in the margin of T.

¹ The presence in 67b (above) of the abstract of a passage wanting in the text of O is further evidence that the abstracts were not made from the text of O.

² If this is not rather to be regarded as belonging to the upright marginalia.

III b 'principium LXXXI...' This passage is in the margin of APT and the text of L. It is omitted by F, and from Schöne 149 f it would appear to be in the margin of BMR.

127 b 'in hoc anno iobeleum a maioribus inuenimus observatum id duodecimo anno Seueri et CCLI Antiochenae urbis.' This passage is, according to Schone (177 l), omitted by M, but appears in the text of A and the margin of B F P R. It is also in the margin of L T.

It will be observed that no passage is found both in the upright and in the sloping marginalia of O. But the latter contain many passages similar in character to those which appear among the upright marginalia. Compare especially 131 a 'iobeleus...,' 132 b 'initium...,' 134 b 'iobeleus...,' 140 a 'iobeleos...' with 127 b above. It is clear therefore, that the scribe who copied the sloping marginalia into O carefully avoided repeating the upright marginalia, which must therefore have been in O already. By combining this result with that obtained on p. 23 above, we learn that abstracts were first inserted in a 26-line MS., allied to ABNPS, and already containing some of the ordinary marginalia; from this they were transcribed into another 26-line MS., and from this they were transcribed, along with such of the ordinary marginalia as were not already present, into O.

The sloping hand which appears in these marginalia is also to be found frequently throughout the entire MS. in corrections and in crowded writing at the end of a line or below the last complete line of an entry or of a page. Thus on f. 40 a 'tus sit' below the last line is in this hand; on f. 123 a (Hadr. 19) we have first a correction in this hand and then an addition; on f. 124 a the last words 'ferfi uisus' are in this hand; on f. 132 a, l. 21 is finished in this hand; on f. 138 a, l. 25, the word 'Constantinopolim' is supplied in this hand; on f. 130 b the entry 'Nouatus . . .' is corrected in this hand. On f. 135 b the entry 'pax . . . reddita' is, with the exception of the first word, in this hand. Note also the growing approximation towards this hand in the upright marginalia towards the end of the MS. On ff. 131 a, 135 b 'VIII persecutio ualeriani,' 'X persecutio...' seem to pass out of the one hand into the other. It is therefore probable that the upright and sloping uncials belong to the same scribe. If so, the summary on f. 145 should also be by the original scribe. Traube 1 has argued that because this summary is only brought down to 442 A.D., it cannot have been copied into O much later than that date; otherwise it would have been continued. He therefore dates the sloping hand in O about 450 A.D., and suggests that the upright hand must in consequence be placed between 400 and 450. The argument is not convincing, but there is nothing to prevent both the upright and the sloping hand from belonging to the middle of the fifth century.

The later marginalia will be dealt with in the next chapter.

¹ op. cit., Praef., p. xi.

THE HISTORY OF THE BODLEIAN MANUSCRIPT

THE more recent history of our manuscript is not difficult to trace. It was acquired from some unknown source by Jean du Tillet, Bishop of Meaux, who died in 1570. Pontacus borrowed it from him, and cites it by the name of Meldensis (M) in his edition of the *Chronica*. Sirmond, also, in the preface to his edition of Marcellinus 1, refers to it as belonging to the library of du Tillet. It next passed to the Jesuit College of Clermont at Paris, for which Sirmond may have borrowed it. When the Clermont library was sold in 1764, it was acquired by Meerman, and, on the sale of his library in 1824, it was bought by Gaisford for the Bodleian. Du Tillet had received authority from Francis I to collect MSS. from French libraries, and, as will be seen hereafter, there are reasons for supposing that the Bodleian MS. was in the south of France about 1400.

Traube has expressed the opinion that the MS. was written in Italy, but professes his inability to specify the place more exactly, or to state when it was removed from Italy. The examples of early uncial writing are not sufficiently numerous to render the task of dating the MS. altogether simple. When attention was first called to it, it was supposed to belong to the sixth century, but Traube now places it in the fifth century, and this opinion is confirmed by the opinions of other scholars which have been communicated to me. Many of my readers will probably be able to determine the palaeographical question better than I can3. Traube has, as we have seen above 4, endeavoured to find a further argument for an early date in the supposed fact that the chronological summary on f. 145 is brought down to 442 A.D. He is of opinion that if it had been copied into our MS. at any distance of time from that date, it would have been continued. This is, however, far from being a safe conclusion. Of all Schöne's MSS. B is the only one in which the chronological summary at the end of Jerome's Chronicle is continued to a date approaching that of the MS. In ALMP there appears to be no continuation. In F the summary is brought down to 444 or 445 A.D., and in R to 443 A.D., while the family of Marcellinus MSS. derived from O all continue the summary to 442 A.D. and no further. As it is impossible to throw all these MSS. back to the fifth century, we must abandon the attempt to date O by the absence of a further continuation.

It is doubtful, however, whether Mommsen and Traube have not erred in supposing that this summary was continued to 442 A.D. in O. The summary as it now stands in that MS. only extends to 435 A.D., and the date 442 A.D. rests on the supposition that the supplement to the summary began on the lost leaf and included the words, quoted by Mommsen ⁵ from

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¹ Marcellini v. c. comitis Illyriciani chronicon multo quam antea emendatius et auctius, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1619. f. ã i, and *Opera Varia* (Parisiis 1696), tom. ii, p. 347, cited by Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, II, p. 48.

² Op. cit. p. xii.

⁸ While not venturing to express any opinion on the palaeographical evidence as to the date of the MS., I would commend to the notice of palaeographical students the frequent use at the ends of lines of minuscule forms or of forms which are losing their uncial character.

⁴ p. 24.

⁵ Chronica Minora, II, p. 49.

Paris. 4870, and found in other MSS. descended from O: 'A Valente VI et Valentiniano iuniore usque in consulatum Eudoxii colliguntur anni LXIIII, ac per hoc a XV Tiberi anno, quo dominus predicare incepit, in consulatum Eudoxii et Dioscori fiunt anni CCCCXI.' But it is clear that the supplement to Jerome's summary must at some date have stood, as it now stands in O, without these words. If we begin the supplement where it now begins at the top of f. 145 a in O, we have first of all a part down to 'CCCXCII' (l. 4) or possibly down to MCLXXV (1. 6), contributed originally by some scribe in the year 421 A.D., and then a further continuation by some scribe of the year 435 A.D. As the passage quoted above only dates from 442 A.D., the supplement to Jerome's summary as it now stands in O must, when first written, have followed immediately after Jerome's own summary. It is moreover doubtful whether the passage quoted had originally any connexion with the supplement to the summary, as found in O. If it was written in order to bring that summary down to the time of the scribe who wrote it, why was it not placed at the end of the existing supplement? If on the other hand it was originally inserted in a MS. where there was no supplement to the chronological summary, the most natural place for it would be that which it occupies in Paris. 4870, &c., at the end of Jerome's summary. There is therefore no reason to assume a priori that the supplement of 442 A.D. was copied into O along with the supplements of 421 A.D. and 435 A.D., and the fact that the supplement to the summary, as preserved to us, begins on a new quaternion, in a sloping and no longer in an upright hand, and with the first words of the supplement as it must have existed before the supplement of 442 A.D. was inserted, suggests that the scribe who inserted this supplement intended it to begin exactly where it does begin in our MS. Where then did the passage quoted come from? It must have been in O, because no one would have any motive for inserting it after the year 442 A.D.1, and if it was in O it must have been on the last leaf, and, as we have seen, it appears to have been no part of the summary copied into the MS. on f. 145. Now, as we have seen above, the sloping marginalia were copied from a MS. of another family after O was completed. The presumption therefore is that the summary was copied along with them, and that it had no place in the archetype The archetype of O did however contain marginalia, represented by the existing upright marginalia², and there is therefore nothing improbable in its having contained at the end an entry carrying Jerome's summary down to 442 A.D. This would explain the peculiar position of that continuation in Paris. 4870, &c. On this hypothesis 442 A.D. should probably be the date of the archetype of O, as it cannot be shown that any of the notes inserted by the scribe himself were of his own composition. The sloping marginalia ought to be the composition of a scribe who wrote in 421 or 435 A.D. They are often of a chronological character, and their author would be a likely person to add to the chronological summary at the end of the work.

The account of this MS. in the Palaeographical Society's Series regards ff. 33-81 a and 81 b-144 as the work of two different hands, and is followed in this respect by Madan in his Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Vol. I, p. 441. Traube tacitly corrects this error, which is due to a failure to recognize that the distinction between large and small writing belongs to the form of the *Chronica*, and does not imply a difference of scribes.

The sloping uncial writing found in the marginalia and summary were originally regarded

1 p. 24.

2 See p. 22 note.

as somewhat later in date than the upright uncials of the text of the *Chronica*, but Mommsen and Traube regard the hands as contemporary. Thompson 1 calls attention to the presence of the cursive forms of b and d in the summary, and it is interesting to observe that the same features may be observed in the text in the cases, especially numerous towards the ends of lines, where the upright uncials degenerate into sloping uncials, cf. 'duxerit' (f. 128 a, l. 30); 'reddita' (f. 135 b, l. 27); 'nisibi' (f. 138 b, l. 25). The presence of tails, generally curling to the left, which becomes more common as the transition to minuscule writing advances, is very frequent in the sloping uncials of O, but is not uncommon in the text. Cf. 'iudaei' (f. 115 b, l. 19), and observe the letters p, q, and even m on ff. 115-119. Compare also 'habetur' (f. 70 a, l. 8). There seems therefore to be no reason for regarding the marginalia and chronological summary as the work of a different scribe from the text of the *Chronica*.

An interesting feature of O is the appearance of a cross at the top left-hand corner of each quaternion. Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson informs me that this cross, which does not appear in the Marcellinus portion of the MS. is really the XPI sign and constitutes an invocation of Christ, such as is not uncommon at the beginning of gatherings in later MSS., but is not found in any earlier than this. I have discovered a similar, but smaller sign at the beginning of two of the three quaternions of S, of which the first leaf remains. It is difficult to be sure about the last quaternion. A cruciform arrangement of an ordinary entry in sacred history is common not only in S, but in most of the early MSS. The occurrence of the sign at the beginning of each quaternion both in O and in S suggests that it may go back to Jerome. Another feature which may go back to Jerome is the distinction between Roman and Greek numerals for the signatures of the earlier and latter parts of the Chronicle respectively. As the distinction between these two parts belongs to the original form of the Chronicle, it is not improbable that the difference in the signatures is also part of the original form.

Marcellinus and a continuation were added to this MS. towards the end of the sixth century, and the last leaf or leaves of this continuation must have been lost at an early date, since their contents are omitted by a whole family of MSS. descended from O. A hand, perhaps of the sixth century, has inserted the words 'Lacaedaemonior' IIII. Labotes XXXVII.' on f. 53 a. From this time we have little clue to the history of the MS. till we come to the close of the Middle Ages. Several missing dates in the 'fila regnorum' have been supplied by a thirteenth-century hand. Examples of this are to be seen on ff. 69 b, 71 b, 72 b, 75 a, 88 a, 108 a. About the year 1400 what are now the first thirty-two leaves were supplied by a hand belonging apparently to the south of France. Very shortly after this date a whole mass of marginal notes was contributed by one or more south French² hands. These notes are to be found in the fifteenth-century as well as the fifth- and sixth-century parts of the MS. The hand is rather a troublesome one; but Mr. R. L. Poole of Magdalen College has kindly made a selection of the more important of these marginalia, which are printed in Appendix IV to the present volume. I had hoped to find in the authors cited some clue to the identity, or at least to the locality of the scholiast. But my researches have proved unsuccessful. I append, however, a list of the authors cited for the benefit of any scholar who may wish to pursue the inquiry further.

¹ Greek and Latin Palaeography, p. 197.

² So the palaeographical scholars whom I have consulted. But see p. 63, below.

- 1. Bede, Chronica Maiora; Commentary on Acts; Historia Ecclesiastica.
- 2. Nicolaus Trivet, Annales ab Origine Mundi ad Christum.
- 3. Augustine, De Civitate Dei; Epistola ad Generosum.
- 4. Gulielmus de Nangis, Chronica ab Adam.
- 5. Hugo de S. Victore, De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum.
- 6. Josephus, Antiquities; De Bello Iudaico.
- 7. Jerome, Epistolae; Commentaries on Ezekiel and Daniel; Adversus Iovinianum; De Viris Illustribus; Apologia adversus Libros Rufini; De Situ et Nominibus.
- 8. Justin.
- 9. Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Historiale.
- 10. Petrus Comestor, Historia Scholastica.
- 11. Titus Livius, Decade I.
- 12. Orosius.
- 13. Paulus Diaconus, Historia Romana.
- 14. Jordanis, Romana; Getica.
- 15. Solinus, Polyhistor.
- 16. Sextus Rufus, Breviarium.
- 17. Cicero, De Officiis.
- 18. Valerius Maximus.
- 19. A. Gellius.
- 20. Solomon Rashi, Commentaries on Ezekiel and Daniel.
- 21. Nicholas de Lyra, Commentaries on 1 Esdras, Judith, Daniel, and Esther.

- 22. Isidore, Chronicorum Epitome.
- 23. Justinian, Digest; Code.
- 24. Helinandus, apparently cited from Vincent of Beauvais.
- 25. Tertullian, Adversus Iudaeos, apparently cited from Jerome and Vincent.
- 26. Raveñ.
- 27. Prologus super Livium.
- 28. Ado Viennensis, Chronicon.
- 29. Africanus.
- 30. Ptolemy, Almagest.
- 31. Prohoemium Codicis Theodosiani.
- 32. Egesippus, De Excidio Urbis Hierosol.
- 33. Martyrologium.
- 34. Regino Prumiensis.
- 35. Seneca, Ludus.
- 36. Eusebius, Ecclesiastica Historia.
- 37. Suetonius.
- 38. Martyrium S. Clementis.
- 39. Liber Pontificalis.
- 40. Martinus Oppaviensis, Chronicon.
- 41. Bernardus Guidonis, Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum.
- 42. Sicardus Cremonensis.
- 43. Deusdedit Cardinalis, Canones.
- 44. Sigibertus (?).
- 45. Cassiodorus, Historia Tripertita.
- 46. Roderic of Toledo, De Rebus Hispaniae.
- 47. Ambrose, De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio.

Mr. Poole has verified a few of these references, and I have verified almost all the remainder. The references to Raven, Africanus, and the *Prohoemium Codicis Theodosiani* have however baffled me. With few exceptions the authors quoted are Latin, and it is probable that in all the exceptional cases a Latin version was used. There is a large preponderance of the works of mediaeval French writers and comparatively few of Italian writers among the citations, a fact which confirms the opinion that the hand is south French rather than Italian.

The references to Livy are perhaps the most striking. First among these deserves to be mentioned the notice (f. 103) of a prologue containing Jerome's date of the birth of Livy. Frigell² mentions two MSS. containing some such prologue, viz. Vaticanus Palat. 875, written about 1445 A.D. and Venetus S. Marci 362, written about 1453 A.D., both apparently written in Italy, though the latter is by a German scribe. The prologue as it appears in the Venice MS. is printed by Valentinelli, Bibliotheca MSS. ad S. Marci Venet. 1873, Tom. vi. p. 12; and Dr. Ehrle has kindly sent me a transcript of the prologue from the Vatican MS. Professor Walters of King's College, London, has since informed me that he has found a copy of this prologue

¹ The reference to Africanus may well have been taken from a chronological summary at the end of a MS. of the *Chronica*. Compare the summaries at the end of T.

² Collatio codicum Livianorum, Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1878, p. 11.

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in a Paris MS. of Livy, and M. Omont has kindly identified the MS. and sent me a collation of its text of the prologue, with some information on the history of the MS. The Paris MS. (Lat. 5740) belongs to the fourteenth century, and, as appears from a note in the MS., was presented by Pope Clement VII. to his secretary, Jean Muret, in 1393 A.D. Another note by the same hand runs as follows: 'Dominus Iohannes Brevis Coxe,' which implies that the MS. belonged to Jean Courtecuisse, who died, as Bishop of Geneva, in 1423 A.D., but had resided in Paris up to the previous year. The following is the text of the prologue according to the Paris MS.: 'Titus liuius actor presentis operis historiographus fuit, ut refert beatus Hieronimus in libro quem scripsit de temporibus. pataui ortus est anno ab urbe condita DCLXXXXIIII. anno tertio olympiadis centesime septuagesime none, eo quo anno natus est M. Messala coruinus orator eximius, qui diuo ottauiano augusto primum dein tyberio cesari adherens anno urbis DCCLXXI. olympiadis centesime nonagesime ottaue anno ultimo imperii tyberii anno tertio obiit pataui anno etatis eius septuagesimo septimo, quo anno obiit ouidius naso poeta egregius in scithia apud thomos opidum relegatus. Et hodie pataui cernitur eius saxeus tumulus in monasterio sancte iustine cum huiusmodi saxo incisis litteris. V·F· | T·LIVIVS | LIVIAE . T . F . | QVARAE. L | HALYS | CONCORDIA | LIS PATAVI | SIBI ET SVIS | OMNIBVS.' It is clear that '159' in the scholium on Jerome is an error for '179,' the date against which the scholium is entered, and which is actually given in the prologue just quoted. It is important to notice that this is not in Jerome the date of the birth of Livy, but of the Catilinarian conspiracy on which Jerome cites Livy as an authority. The prologue must have been originally written between 1360 A.D., the date of the discovery of the supposed tomb of Livy at the monastery of St. Justina (the inscription on which, still to be seen in the Salone at Padua, it reproduces almost word for word and line for line), and 1393 A.D., the date when the MS. containing it was presented to Muret. MSS. containing this prologue cannot therefore have been widely distributed by 1400 A.D., but it is important to note that the Paris MS. does not agree with the readings or the foliation of Livy as cited by our scholiast. The following readings cited from Livy are peculiar and might conceivably prove useful in identifying the MS. in question, if it has not disappeared. On f. 73 b thirty-four years are ascribed to Ancus, and on ff. 79 b, 82 b forty-seven years are assigned to Tarquinius Superbus. There are references by number to the leaves of a Livy MS. on ff. 88, 90 b.

I have also attempted an investigation of the MSS. of Trivet's Annales ab Origine Mundi. Five MSS. of this work are known to me to be in existence, Londinensis Reg. 13 B xvi, Paris. 4929, 16018, 16019, and Berolinensis Phill. 1846. Of these Paris. 4929 is dated 1462, and the Berlin MS. is described as belonging to the latter half of the fifteenth century, while the London MS. appears never to have been out of England. Paris. 16019 was apparently in the Sorbonne before the end of the fourteenth century, and contains no handwriting at all resembling that of the Jerome scholiast. Paris. 16018 does contain a few somewhat similar notes, and formerly contained the Rhythm of Orosius, and the Chronicle of Martinus Oppaviensis (now 16017) as well as Trivet. It was written in 1367, and bequeathed to the Sorbonne by Guillaume de Sauvarville, Canon of Rouen, in 1385. It is interesting, though, of course, not conclusive that these two MSS. of Trivet's Annales and a MS. of the prologue to Livy should all have been at Paris in 1400 A. D.

After the numerous apparent clues to the history of this MS., it is rather disappointing to be compelled to admit that all we know is that it was written in Italy in the fifth century, and was in France about 1400, where it was probably found by du Tillet in the sixteenth century, and so made its way to Meaux, Paris, the Hague, and Oxford.

APPENDIX I

THE PARIS MANUSCRIPTS

In addition to the fragments of S (Lat. 6400 B) there are in the National Library at Paris three manuscripts of the *Chronica* old enough to deserve a notice in this volume. The following description is the result of notes which I took on a recent visit to Paris. Various points of detail are noticed in their proper place in my Introduction.

Q. Parisinus Lat. 4858 is written in red and black ink, and belongs to the middle of the ninth century. It contains the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome without any continuation, followed by a fragment of the Quicumque vult. According to the foliation the MS. should contain 100 leaves, but one leaf has been missed in the enumeration after f. 101 and there is a hiatus of one leaf after f. 103, so that the MS. must have originally contained III leaves. The pages have been prepared throughout for tabular matter by means of horizontal and perpendicular lines, and, contrary to the practice of most MSS., the number and position of the perpendicular lines vary according to the number and position of the different columns in the MS. The prefaces are written in minuscules, but the Chronicle proper begins with a very close reproduction of the form presented in O. This form is gradually modified as the work proceeds, till it becomes typical of a ninth-century MS. The first three pairs of opposite pages contain thirty lines each; the next pair contains twenty-nine, and the next two pairs again thirty; after this the number of lines to a page is for most of the first part of the Chronicle fixed at thirty-three, but afterwards varies greatly, sometimes reaching as high as thirty-eight. The writing is at first in uncials, but occasional minuscule letters appear on the first page; on the third pair of pages the greater part of one event is written continuously in minuscules; after this minuscules become more and more common; they first appear in the 'fila regnorum' on one of the sixth pair of opposite pages, and gradually replace uncials for entries in black ink both in the 'fila regnorum' and in the 'spatium historicum.' In the latter part of the Chronicle the rule is established that uncials are employed for everything in red ink, and minuscules for everything in black. At the beginning of the Chronicle there is also the same distinction between large and small writing as in AOS, and the same crowding of events as compared with the 'fila regnorum.' This distinction is maintained with very few exceptions as far as the fall of Troy. In the remainder of the first part of the Chronicle the rule is for writing to be regulated by the ruled lines, and crowding is the exception. I have not noticed the occurrence of any blank lines. There are occasional references to this MS. in Schöne's Weltchronik des Eusebius.

D. Colbertinus, Parisinus Lat. 4860, formerly Colbert. 240 and Regius 3730 a, was written in black ink between the years 939 and 954, according to a statement in the MS. itself. It appears to be copied from a Codex Augiensis of 840 A.D.¹ It is clear from several notices in the MS. itself that it was at Mainz in the tenth century. It contains the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome, the Chronicon Consulare of Prosper, the Chronicles of Cassiodorus and Jordanes, and various other chronological works. The unipaginal arrangement is maintained throughout; in the first part of the Chronicle there are no special columns for events, but events are entered against any column of dates, as in the edition of Pontacus. The Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome occupy in all forty-six leaves, and there are from forty-one to

¹ See Mommsen, Chronica Minora, Vol. I, p. 363, note 2.

forty-three lines on each page. There is a notice of this MS. by Mommsen in *Chronica Minora*, Vol. I, pp. 363-5.

C. Colbertinus, Parisinus Lat. 4859, formerly Colbert. 1398, apparently the Pithoeanus of Pontacus, is written in red and black ink, and belongs to the tenth century. As in T, there is no title-page. It begins with a table of contents, apparently applying to some other MS.; then come the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome without continuation, followed by the 'Ordo plenarius' as in T. At the foot of this are the words 'Continet...II. ccc. xcv' as in T. Then comes a summary headed 'Incipit secundum Severum' (also in this place in T). These are followed by 'cons. ordenari post opus sancti ieronimi constitutum,' and by extracts from some work, beginning with 'liber primus, cap. viii:—in huius sacri monasterii,' and ending with 'numquam accedere temptauisset.' At the end of the MS. is the signature 'P. Pithoue' (Petrus Pithoeus). The MS. is written on 156 leaves, of which the Chronica occupy 152. There are twenty-six lines on each page. The bipaginal arrangement common to 26-line MSS. is continued as far as A. Abr. 1968. Red ink is used (as in L) for accessions, a few events, and every tenth year in each of the 'fila regnorum.' From A. Abr. 1117 to A. Abr. 1979 uncials are used throughout; elsewhere the writing is mainly in minuscules.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PASSAGES IN RED INK

All matter entered in this list is in red ink: everything else is in black ink.

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(1) The following fila regnorum 1:
ff. 33 a-45 a Assyriorum, Sicyoniorum, Atheniensium
  45 b-48 a Assyriorum, Sicyoniorum , Latinorum
  48 b-54 a Assyriorum, Atheniensium, Lacedemonio-
               rum<sup>8</sup>, Corinthiorum
  54 b-62 a Assyriorum, Hebraeorum Isl<sup>4</sup>, Lacedemo-
               niorum, Corinthiorum
  62 b-65 a Medorum, Hebraeorum Isl, Lacedemonio-
               rum, Corinthiorum
  65 b-67 a Hebraeorum Iuda, Hebraeorum Isl, Latino-
               rum, Lydorum
  67 b-71 a Hebraeorum, Atheniensium 5, Lydorum
  71 b-74 a Hebraeorum, Lydorum
  74 b-80 a Iudaeorum, Lydorum 6
  80 b, 81 b Iudaeorum captiuitas
       82 b Romanorum
  87 a-90 a Macedonum 7, 8, 9
       91 a Asiae
  91 b-92 b Syriae, Asiae
 93 a-101 a Syria 10
104 a-107 b Alexandriae
107 b11-117a Iudaeorum
     135 b Anni persecutionis
    (2) Olympiads 19, 18, 14, 15, 16,
    (3) Accessions of emperors.
    (4) The following passages:
         33 b = Schöne 35d apud hebraeos
44 b, 45 a, l. 18 = post 53 a, \beta troia capta, troia capta
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ff. $46a = 55$ <i>Lat</i> .	latinis tribus
48b = 57i	profetabat samuhel
49 b = 61 b	david hebraeos
50b = 61c, e	hebraeorum asaf
51a = 61g	pelasgi obtinuerunt
51 b, 52 a = 63 in filis	solomon est
52b = 63c, e	hebraeorum sameas
53b = 65 <i>Isr</i> .	apud XXII
54 a = 63 g	tertio XVIIII
54 b = 65 Iud.	I alterum in XLII et iustus,
54 b, 55 b = 65 f, 67 a	hebraeorum anani
56 a = 67 d	thraces obtinuerunt
56a = 67d	thraces obtinuerunt
57 b = 69 a	apud heliezer
58 b = 69 c	quarto XXIII
58b = 69f	profetabant eliseus
58b = 69g	elias rapitur
59 b = 69 k	ionadab habetur
59b = 71c	hebraeorum occiditur
60 a = 71 b	quinti xxv
60 b <i>bis</i> = $71 g$	elisseus moritur
62 a = 73 d	VII obtinuerunt
63 b = 75 f	profetabant ionas
64b = 79 Tit.	olympias prim a
$64 \mathbf{b} = 79 \boldsymbol{\beta}$	secundum uictor
$65 \cdot \mathbf{a} = 77 d$	aegyptii optinuerunt
65 a = 77 Lyd.	lydorum xxxvi

¹ The headings are always black.

² On f. 47 b (= Schöne 57 Sic.) 'reges . . . sunt' is black.

⁴ On f. 60 b (= Schöne 71 Isr.) the last I in XVII is black.

⁵ On f. 70 b (= Schöne 85 Ath.) 'athenis . . . princi' is black.

On f. 75 a (= Schöne 89 Lyd.) 'xxxvI...xv' is inserted in black by a later hand.

On f. 87 a (= Schöne 109 Mac.) 'XI, XII' are black.

On f. 87 b (= Schöne III Mac.) 'post quem' before 'pausanias' is black.

On f. 88 b (= Schöne 113 Mac.) 'post quem' before 'ptolomaeus' is black.

³⁰ On f. 96 a (= Schöne 125 Syr.) 'XII' is inserted in black by a later hand.

¹¹ Red ink is used for the Jewish column as soon as the Alexandrine column ceases,

^{&#}x27;xix olimpiad', 'xx olimpiad''(f. 69b), 'xxix olimp'(f. 71b), 'xxx olimp' (f. 72b), 'xxix olimp' (f. 76b), 'Clxii olimp' (f. 99b), 'CXCI olimpiad' (f. 108 a), are inserted in black by a later hand.

¹³ On f. 80b the last I in the figures LXII, LXIII, LXIIII is black.

¹⁴ On f. 94 b 'olimpiad' 138⁷ is written in black by a later hand over 'CXXXVIII' in red.

¹⁸ On f. 131 b the last I in 'CCLXII' is black.

¹⁶ On f. 135 a CCLXXI is written in black by a later hand over an entry in red ink erased. On f. 135 b Ol. 272 has apparently been entered in black and subsequently erased. On f. 136 a 'CCLXXIV' is written in black by a later hand over 'CCLXXIIII olymp' in red ink erased. On f. 141 a CCLXXXIIII is inserted in black by a later hand.

ff. $65 a = 79 Tit$.	olympias prima	ff. $90b = 115 Pers$.	alexander
65 a = 79 €	primam olimpiadem	90b = 115 <i>y</i>	lydiam
65 b = 79 c	profetabant supra	91 a = 117 e	iudaeorum onias
65 b – 7 9 <i>f</i>	profetabant oded	92a = 117v	iudaeorum pontifex
66 b = 81 Tit.	prima israhel	92a = 119g	iudaeorum pontifex
67 a = 81 n	mare XVII	92 b = 119 in fil.	demetrius tradidit
69 a = 83 m	mare cares	95a = 125a	iudaeorum
70 a = post85Aeg	7.12 post quem	97 b = 127 d	romani perse
72a = 87c	post LXVIII	101 b = 133 o	huc cessit
73 b = 89 b	hebraeorum habetur	104a = 1370	gaius caesar
73b = 89 <i>i</i>	hieremias orsus	109 b = 145 r	ihs nascitur
73b = 89 m	olda profetabat	109 b = 145 t	colliguntur xv
74 b = 89 s	profetabant hieremias	111 b = 149e	DXLVIII
75 b = 91 Å	anno ioacim	111 b = 149e	MLX
75b – 91 n	in habentur	111b = 149e	MDXXXVIIII
76b = 93a	profetabant baruc	111b = 149e	Tixliii
76 b — 93 ð	iudaea capitur	111b = 149e	DCCCCXLII
76 b = 93 8	nabuchodonosor	111 b = 149 e	DCCXLII
	CCCCXLII	111b = 149g	ihs salutarem
76b = 93 Iud.	hebraeorum hierusalem	111 b = 149 h	ihs suos
77 b = 95 a	in danihel	111 b = 149 i	ihs prophetias
78 b = 95 Med.	cyrus regnauit medorum	112b = 149k	ex obpresserint
78 b = 95 q	cyrus homi	113b = 153f	petrus primus antio
79 b = 97 a	• profetabant filius	116a = 157 m	petrus paulus
80 b = 99 m	apud maximus	116b = 157 q	post XI
80 b = 99 p	profetabant malachias	117a = 159 in fil.	XLII
81 b = 99 a	secundo IIII	117 a = 159 in fil.	CCXXXVII
81 b – 99 γ	in qua	117a = 159 in fil.	DXC
$82 a = 99 \delta$	clemens clementis	117a = 159 in fil.	MCII
82 b = 101 b	templum zacharia	125 b = 173 n	antoninus suum
82 b = 101 e	XVII xerxis	135 a = 189 d	XVIIII sunt
84 b = 105 d	eamardocaeo	135 a = 189 <i>Tit</i> .	persecutionis ·I·
85 b = 107 d	neemias minister	136b = 191 <i>in fil</i> .	huc subiecimus
86a = 107s	neemiam hierusa	137a = 192m	constans
88a = 111 Aeg.	posquem	138a - 193f	constantinus
89b = 115i	iudaeorum maximus	140 b = 195 i	antonius monachus
90a = 115q	alexander babylonem	143a = 197 e	gratianus
	inter	144 b = 198 k	ualentinianu s

FOTHERINGHAM

F

APPENDIX III

TEXT OF PASSAGES NOT CLEARLY LEGIBLE IN MANUSCRIPT OR COLLOTYPE

f.33 a l.4, 5 4 marg.		70 h 00	latumias carceres compedes catenas exilium metalla excogitabat
20 marg.	uxorem habuit asterius cretensium rex	79 b 28 marg.	lucretiam regno pulsus
	ex quo genuit minoem radamanthum	_	anacreon lyricus poeta cognoscitur
	et sarpedonem	b 16 <i>marg.</i>	
b 4 marg.	•		tempore tarquinii superbi fuerunt
35 a 25 marg.	fabula raptus proserpinae et orci	SIA 8 marg.	pythagoras philosofus clarus habetur qui
43 b 5, 6	assyriorum XXVI tautanes XXXII apri calidonii et maleagri fabula	b Amare.	post annos CCLXII ab urbe condita fuit
44a 5 46a 17	mychenis post necem aegisti	u 4 marg.	ideo secundus annus bis scribitur quia unus annus in magorum fratrum
48a 9 marg.			septem menses computantur
49a Từ.	primus corinthiorum rex: aegyptiorum	83 b I	tione urbis
58b 29 marg.		21	filius darii XX
	latinorum qui undecimus ab aenea	84 a 27 marg.	xippae termae
	regnauit	b 30 <i>marg</i> .	magister eorum qui
62 a 23 marg.	•	85 b 10 marg.	consulibus eiectis facti
	didit	86 a 10 marg.	romae rursus consules creati
63 b 22 marg.	mater remi et romuli uirgo uestalis electa uiua defossa est infantes iuxta ripam	19 marg.	democritus empedocles zeno parmenides ceterique philosophi
	fluminis faustulus repertos uxori aecae	22 marg.	hippocrates medicus post CCCX an
	laretinae alendos tradit quae pulchri- tudine quaestum faciens lupa appellata	90 a 9	imperium hostes pugna
	est unde etiam nunc lupanaria	91 a 8	redactis plurimos captiuorum in aegyptum transtulit iudaeorum pontifex maximus
25	filia eius adimendi ram uiua defossa	b 3	maccabaeorum
30 64 a 12 marg.		93 b 24	cartaginienses XC romanorum naues in sicilia capiunt metallo consule in fugam uerso
67 b 28 marg.	hoc in primis anni romuli gestum est sed	29	macedonum imperio recedentibus
	quia pagina uacabat hic scriptum	94 a 13 marg.	
68 b 28 marg.	an uno quod tempus interregnum dictum		stituitur
	est	95 b 14 marg.	thera insula subito emersit
	olda mulier profetes	96 a 12 marg.	eumenes eumenia in fryga condidit
75 b 9 marg.	nabuchodonosor rex chaldaeorum capto ioacim rege hierosolymae etiam uasa templi in babyloniam transtulit eo tempore quo tarquinius priscus romanis regnabat	23	cum ab antiocho per legatos hannibal reposceretur cui se a scipione uictus sociauerat ad prusiam regem bithyniae transfugit quem cum rursus per flamini- num etiam ab eo senatus repeteret et
2, 6, 9,	XVIII, XVIIII, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII,		tradendus
10, 11, 16, 17	XXIIII	23 marg.	hannibal ueneno se interficit qui etiam
75 b 9 17	profetabant hięremias baruc minio erasum MCCCCX	b 25	apud libyssam bithyniae sepultus est
	danihel ananias azarias tempore tar-	97 b 15 marg.	romani perse interfecto macedonas et
·······a·	quinii prisci fuerunt in babylone pro- fetantes	16	illyrios et galatas liberos esse iusserunt galatas liberos (beros erasum)
76b 22 marg.	regnauit regno medorum extraneus	98 a 15 marg.	P. terentius comoediarum scribtor liber-
	tarquinius superbus uincla taureas fustes		tate donatus in arcadia moritur

98 a 20	andriam antequam edilibus uenderet	107 b 25 marg.	qui voluntate et patras deductae
23	caecilio multum se miranti legit iudas aduersum demetrii duces inito proelio occiditur tribus annis ponti- ficato gesto	108 b 5 109 a 14 18 marg.	plurima conciderunt
26	aristarcus grammaticus agnoscitur	29 marg.	contra iudaeos
27	dux iudaeorum ionatha frater iudae baccide duce demetrii iudaea expulso pontificatum suscipit	b 27 110b 18 marg.	l (post triumfarat) erasum oboedius in exilio moritur et iuxta tomos sepelitur
b 28 marg.	an LVI alii tm antiquiorem eam dicunt	26	hyrcania
_	CXVI	27	fenestella historiarum scribtor
29	XV corr. XXXV	112 a 10	noctem (noctem erasum) uersus ut
99 a 13	inter lineas manu marginali rum inter- ficit		stellae in caelo uisae sint terraeque motus in bithyniae nicenae urbis
101 & 20	romanos testamento		multas
23	seleucus ab antiocho filio cyziceni uiu(us e)xuritur		terrae motu facto in bithynia aedes pluri- mae nicae ruerunt
24	titus lucretius poeta nascitur qui postea amatorio poculo in furorem uersus cum aliquot libros per interualla insaniae conscripsisset quos postea cicero emun- dauit propria se manu interfecit anno aetatis XLIIII	15	huius rei quod saluator isto anno passus sit euangelium praebet iohannis in quo scribitur post XV an tiberii caesaris tribum (corr. tribus) annis dominum praedicasse iosephus etiam uernaculus iudaeorum scribtor circa
b 22	cicero sic refert memoria teneo pueris nobis (prim)um latinae docere coepisse plotium quendam	28	pilatus praeses secreto noctis imagines caesaris in templo statuerit et haec prima seditionis
102 b 15 marg.	uergilius nasgitur minor ciceronem an XXXV pompeio et crasso consulibus	b 28	dogmate ad tiberium referente tiberius rettulit ad
18	M. porcius casto (corr. cato) stoicus	113b 3	petronio praefecto
	philosofus agnoscitur	9 marg.	caesaris et arae consecratae sunt
18 marg.	marcus pomcius (corr. porcius) cato stoicus	27	interpres petri aegypto et alexandriae XPM adnuntiat
103 a 28 marg.	titus liuius historiarum scribtor pataui nascitur	29	primus antiochiae episcopus ordinatur euodius
b 30	diodorus siculus (clarus erasum) graece scri	114 a 29 marg.	palaemon grammaticus interrogatus quid inter stillam et guttam esset ait gutta
104 & 25 marg.	prohibitae mulieres lecticis et margaritis		stat stilla cadit
	uti quae (nec uiros erasum) nec uiros nec liberos haberent et minores essent au XLV	115b 15 marg. 116a 17 marg.	nero ut similitudinem troiae ardentis musonius et plutarchus philosofi insignes habentur
30 marg.	antonius mensem quintilem iulium dici decernit	26 marg.	uespasianus iudaeam uastat athuc.magi- ster militiae
ibid.	G. iulius caesar in curia idibus martiis	117 a 11	publici (ci manu marginali)
105 b 7 marg.	occiditur et fasces dolabella suscipit	b 27 marg.	titus cum nihil uno die praestitisset dixit amici diem perdididi
10 marg.		118a 11	romanae ecclesiae secundus constitur
5 *	XXXAII		episcopus clemens ann XII : .
30	medio transactis	119b 7 marg.	apostolus iohannes exilio solutus efesi
			habitauit
107 b 10 marg.	sibi m onarchia		
107 b 10 marg. 16 marg.		24 marg.	iohannes apostolus , passionem domini LXVI
	pilades pantomimus chorum primus et	24 marg.	iohannes apostolus , passionem domini

		1	• • • • • • • • •
120 a 2 marg.	traianus omnes prouincias superat et		andrinae eccl. pulsus ab eo haesim
	ctesifontem et babyloniam occupat		instituit
	plinius secundus sub traiano fuit	130 a 17 marg.	CCCXVIII synodus ap nicaeam propter
121 b 19 marg.	nicomedia sub hadriano ruit et nicaeae plurima tunc euersa sunt		arrianos facta XVII an imperii con- stantini
6 H 4 H 4 H 4 H 4 H 4 H 4 H 4 H 4 H 4 H	athenienses ab hadriano imperatore leges	23 marg.	
27 marg.	petentes accipiunt	23 marg.	priuatus occiditur
100 o 10 mans	quadratus discipulus apost' et aristides	29	interficitur
122 a 13 marg.	filosofus	b 14 marg.	
08 mara	augusta appellata est uxor hadriani se-	5 14 marg.	constantinus martyris luciani matris
20 marg.	cunda post dometiani uxorem		suae nomine nuncupauit
h 20 wara	basilides alexandriam haeresim gnosti-	20 marg.	
o zymang.	corum excitat	25 marg.	
122 2 28 mars.	ualentinus et cerdo magister marcionis	137 a 3	tempora non
223 4 20 1141 5.	sub hadriano romam uenerunt	b 14 marg.	
126 a 24 mare.	commodus mense septembrio nomine suo		episcopo baptizatus in arrianum dogma
	appellauit qui etiam commodianas		declinat
	thermas aedificauit	138b 11 marg.	sapor rex persarum christianos perse-
127 b 14 marg.	thermae antiochiae aedificatae sunt		quitur
28 marg.	et CCLI antiochenae urbis	140 a 25	donatus a quo supra donatianos in africa
128 a 24 marg.	caracalla se rogauerit		dici memorauimus carthagine
	iudicio exercitus imperauit	141 a 4 marg.	andreae
130 a 20 marg.	filippus macedoniae ciuitatem filippus	•8 marg.	
	suo nomine aedificauit		synodus arimino et seleucia
29	inferiore budaliae		constantinopolitanae urbi
, ,	nouatus presb'	26 marg.	hilarius libro pro se constantio ap con-
131 a 26 marg.	ualerianus imp ut persecutionem indixit		stantinopolim porrecto ad gallias redit
	a sapore rege persarum captus usque	27	constantinopolim pellitur
	ad senectutem ei seruit	b 7	presbyteros qui
29 marg.	sapor rex persarum usque cappadociam nastat	11 marg.	gallia per hilarium ab arrianorum fide reuocata est
b 17 marg.	odenatus decurio palmyrenus persas ita	24 marg.	
	agresti manu uastauit ut ad ctesifonte		tium de gabata
	castra poneret	26	athanasi ab arrianis
132 a 26	dux cognomento francus cuius familia	142 a 21	forte hostium equite conto ilia perfossus
	hodie apud antiochiam perseuerat		interiit
b 15	constantinopolim et (et manu marginali)	143 b 28	prouincias quas regebat quam a barbaris
19	quo apud	1	uastarentur erasit
133 a 10	exercitus nouam	1448 7	descenderunt
11	est condere	Ъ9	ualens lege data monachos militare iussit
b 3 134 & 16 marg.	cadaueris		nolentes fustibus interimet
• •	priuatu habitu	145 a 18	II secunda persecutio a dometiano fratre titi qui nonus regnauit orta est anno
17 22 marg.		Ì	imperii eius XIIII a quo etiam iohannes
aa muu g.	duce romana dicione recesserat octabo	1	euangelista in insula quae pathmos
	obsidionis mense cepit		appellatur relegatus apocalypsim uidit
135 a 1 marg.	terrae motu sub diocletiano facto tyrii et	22	III tertia persecutio facta est a traiano
6·	sidonae multa opera innumerabiles		qui XI regnauit ān imp eius X
	populos ruina sua obpresserunt	25	qui XVII regnauit
11 marg.	diocletianus nicomediae maximianus	27	regnauit primus
	mediolani purpuram deposuerunt	28	electus inconsulto senatus ann
136 a 13 marg.	arrius presbyter alexandri episcopi alex-	30	an imperii eius primo

APPENDIX IV

SCHOLIA

- f. 2 c Ad tranquillo] Suetonius Tranquillus.
- f. 3 B Ad Quadragesimo secundo vel 41.
- f. 4 D Ad secundum minorem] ac
 - Ad anni quingenti quadraginta octo] Immo sunt 440 anni.
 - In marg. infer.] isti duodecim superfluunt et solum fuerunt quingenti Nam eusebius errauit errauit [sic] atribuendo amon regi iuda 12. annos qui solum duobus regnauit errat etiam in iosia filio suo de vno anno et in ioachat de vno ut ibi probat beda¹. Et istos duos annos substrahit de parte sequenti que debet habere .440 annos
- ¹ Chronica maiora, 133, 139.
- f. 5 B Ad sexta decima potestas] thebanorum ut in c. precedenti et statim tangit
- f. 5 b Ad Anni M.decce.l.] immo solum .1946.
- f. 36 In angulo super. marg.] dinastia secundum treuet dicit potestas eligendi regem uel imperatorem que potestas aliquo tempore erat in vna ciuitate quandoque in alia secundum quod eficiebantur maiores nec erat in hoc certum tempus ordinatum dicit autem quod egipcii post xviii. dinastiam que erat diapolitanorum ceperunt vti suo imperatore primusque de suis regnauit super eos sethus annis 55.
- ² Nicolai Triuet Annales ab origine mundi ad Christum, sub anno 1949 (Codex Londinensis Reg. 13 B xvi).

- Sub Primus sethus] durauit annis nouemdecim hec dinastia.
- f. 37 Super Tro] troi
 - Post Confingitur] id. Augus. de ci. dei li. xviii. c. 13.
- f. 41 Super Ipsipyile] ipsiphile
- f. 41 b Ad abimelech] non fuit rex super totum israel sed solum super sichimitas secundum W².

Super thola] in samre

- Post xxii] treuet dicit quod uero xxiii vt patet iudic. x. c. et reprihendit Guillelmum Sancti Dionisii cuius cronicam in sequentibus exhoc dicit deficere continue in anno uno.
- ad annum 2820 (Codex Londinensis Reg. 13 E iv). op. cit. 2722. Gulielmum de

Nangis 2823.

⁸ Gulielmi de Nan-

gis Chronica ab Adam,

- f. 43 b Ad Hebreorum] vide iudicum xii. c.
- f. 44 Super maleagri] meleagri.
 - Post troia capitur] W dicit anno 15. id recitat [?] triuet super anno 2796 tamen inpugnat ex eo quod anno .7. post troie capt[iuitatem] scribitur regnasse michenis egistus secundum ipsum eusebium
- op. cit. 2868.
- f. 44 b Super hebraeorum] hic deficiunt .x. anni quibus ante labdon iudicauit israel agilon ut patet iud. c. xii. secundum Bedam bed
- 6 Chron. mai. 67.

- Ad acalon] zabulonites
- Super labdon] de efraym
- Ad Troia capta] scilicet labdon fortasse alia manu.
 - sicut dicit treuet beda hic ponens troie capt[iuitatem] non ponderauit quod eusebius obmisit .x. annos iudicature achilon quos ipse beda ponit secundum hebreos et quod non concordauit cum eo in annis iosue. Caue quod eusebius
- 9 op. cit. 280g.

APPENDIX IV

1 Post 480 saltem uno minus deletum.

² Potius 962. Chron.

op. cit. 2828. 4 Chron. mai. 75.

Hugonis de S.

Maximis Circumstan-

tiis Gestorum Liber

(Codex Cheltenhamensis 12200, £ 103).

4 Antiq. x. 8, § 4.

' ibid. vl. 14, § 9. ibid. 13, § 5.

• Hoe reperire non

10 Hieron.

11 Potius 28, op. cit. 2928. 13 Hoc de *Epheso* 1 & 15.

narrat, il. 4, § 15.

18 Sc. carthaginem

14 Chron. mai. 86.

lxxii. 4.

epist.

mai. 76.

Victore

potui.

bene ponit annos 480 ab exitu de egipto usque ad edificacionem templi Salomonis

f. 46 Post claxuiii durauit

Sub regnauit aeneas] Idem Aug. de ci. lib. 18. c. 19.

f. 47 Post descensus vide etiam anno xx. regni saul.

f. 47 b Ad dececlxii] Augustinus xuiii. libro [c. 19 supra lineam insertum] de ci. dei dicit 959. beda 972.8

Super carni] quia ydolis carnem offerebant

f. 48 Super siluius] qui et postumus

Ad xxuiiii] nichol· treuet⁸ per errorem dicit hic 39 sed primum ponit beda⁶ et hugo⁵ f. 48 b Ad saul xl] idem Augustinus de ci. libro 18- c. 20. et ita habetur actuum xiii. iosephus dat samueli · 15 et sauli 20 iose· libro · 106 vbi agit quantum regnatum sit apud iudeos dicit saul regnasse 20. annis et tamen si bene uideatur communiter

sibi in ceterum libro 6 in fine dicit saul regnasse cum samuele 18. annos et post eius mortem duos idem etiam posuerat prius de samuele et quod ante saul rexerat post heli 12 al. 15 annis

f. 49 b Ad Codrus]—et quia in hoc facta est gelus translacio ideo fit etiam denominacio anniuersalis ab eo per W * post eusebium

Ad ann xl] idem augustinus de ci. libro 18. [c.] 20 [?]

Super erystheus] rex lacedemoniorum

f. 50 b Ad deceel] hoc anno dauid cepit iherusalem

Super codrus rex atheniensis

f. 51 b Ad Solomon filius dauid xl] xii. annorum tantum erat cum regnare cepit patre uiuente ut uult ieronimus in epistola ad uitalem presbiterum 10 et dicit triuet quod fuit inunctus anno 39 11 regni dauid

Post troianum bellum ann cxliii] iustinus libro · I · 15 ponit eam 18 longe prius conditam f. 52 ab amazonibus

Ad egressus israelis] quintus annus erat solum incohatus sed uide quia Beda 14 ponit solum annos 480 nec c ix libri regum habet opositum clare quia quod ibi dicitur de quarto anno refertur ad annos regni salomonis ut ibi satis patet in principio capituli et in fine. Et nota quod secundum veritatem hebraicam. ultra annos hic enumeratos per eusebium sunt addendi .x. pro iudice aylone quem ipse transiliit et tunc ab ingressu terre promisse usque ad edificacionem templi essent .ix. iubilea precise [sed hec esset contra sex 18].

£ 52 b Ad laosthenes] consecracio templi

f. 54 Ad clxxuiii] alii scribunt 177

f. 54 b Ad Asa] Nota quod iste cepit regnare anno xx. regni ieroboam ut legitur iii reg. c. xv.

Super atys alius frater vocatus est capis secundum triuet 16 f. 55

> Ad xxiiii] triuet 17 ponit 23 sed primum ponunt beda 18 et hugo 10 et v. [?] 19 20 unde ipse triue[t] addit annum unum post agripe 40 annos

f. 55 b Ad Nabad] iste incepit regnare anno secundo asa regis iuda ut 3 reg. 15 et ibi sequitur quod fuit mortuus nabad isto capitulo ante asa.

Ad ioed alias ioel

Baas iiii] iiii linea perscripta deletum, et supra additum est xxiiii annis et cepit regnare anno to regis asa ut scribitur iii. reg. 15

18 Haec verba addita sunt fortasse alia menu.

¹⁶ op. cit. 2986. ¹⁷ ibid. 18 Chron. mai. 91. 19 Item Cod. Paris. 14872, f. 55 b.
20 Vincentii Bellovacensis Speculum Historiale, ii. 66.

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f. 55 b Ad xl] Hic deficit annus unus f. 56 Sub capis] hic condidit capuam
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[Dehine excerpta tantum praebebimus.]

f. 56 b Ad Ambri] Comestor dicit .iii. reg' articulo 34¹ contencionem et diuisionem populi ante regnum istius de qua habetur iii. reg. xvi. durasse per tres annos et io dicitur regnasse . . .

Ad xxxuiii] legitur .iii. reg. xvi. hoc anno cepisse regnum achab. sed ut scribit comestor articulo 34° hic est uicium scriptoris sed pro po vide expresse iii. reg. c. ulto.

f. 57 b Ad Achab] iosephus libro uiii dicit eum regnasse annis xx. et mensibus .ii.⁸ et ita recitat comestor articulo 35.⁴ et ita uidetur uerius quia cepit regnare anno 38. asa et filius eius ochozias anno 17. iosaphat ut etiam dicit comestor in fine 4. regum ⁵ et vide quod scripsi infra in ochozia / tene textum

Ad Abdias] Inc. aug' de ci. libro 18. c. 44.

f. 58 Ad tiberinus] ab hoc fluuius dictus est qui prius ambula dicebatur uel albula

f. 58 b Ad ioram]... sed uerius uidetur quod solum tribus ut concurat mors eius et ocosie de quo sequitur

f. 59 b Ad uii] beda e ponit solum ui [idem legitur ii para. 22] et idem uidetur ponere comestor nisi ponatur anno incerto pro completo sed eusebius sequitur lxx. ut dicit beda et accedit 4 reg. xi sed patet quod solum 6.

f. 60 b Ad aremulus] titus liuius 10 et orosius hunc uocant Romulum. 11 sed eutropius 12 beda 18 et comestor 16 dicunt ut eusebius

f. 62 b Post supputantur mccxl] triuet 15 secundum bedam 16 ponit 1448. / iordanis 17 tenet cum eusebio et ponit reges 36 sed beda computat tempus usque ad cirum . . . triuet dicit quod assirii perdiderunt hic monarchiam sed multos reges habuerunt orosius li. 2. c. 17 18 dicit quod regnum assiriorum prius ad medos transiit ut hic postea ad scithas caldeosque et rursus ad medos uaria sorte | clarius uero dicit libro 5 c. ii. 19 quod uicto sardanapalo potestas babilonie fuit apud medos sed [aliter postea inter lineas scriptum] proprietas apud caldeos . . .

f. 63 Ad macedonum primus rex uide aug. de ci. dei libro xii. c. xi.

Ad calcem] secundum triuet ²⁰ macedonia olim dicebatur emachion et ciuitas principalis edessa quam iste crebrius uocauit egeam et populum egeadas secundum iustinum lib. uii.²¹

f. 63 b Sub ionas W 32 dicit ioel de tribu ruben

Ad zacharias] comestor²⁸ tangit hic quod necesse est regnum uacasse post ieroboam xxiii. annis uel istum regnasse tantundem.

Ad quae cum septimo] idem eutropius 34 sed triuet 25 dicit quarto

f. 64 Ad siluius] W so dicit quod regnauit annis 44 / et dicit quod fratrem suum primogenitum expulit regno idem beda so et eutropius so

Ad xliii] triuet ** probat [...* o] quod solum xxii....

f. 64 b Ad pueri cum adoleuissent] iero in quadam exposicione super ·6· alis seraphim adicit quod Romulus natus est anno quo mortuus est osias rex iuda ut aparere debet ex hiis que in hoc libro scripsit.

In marg.] nota quod solinus 22

1 cap.33 (ed.1503).

² cap. 33.

Potius annis xxii, Antiq. viii. 13, § 1, cap. 34. cap. 47.

6 Chron. mai. 108.
7 Supra lineam
addita.
8 vic'.
9 loc. cit,

¹⁰ i. 3. 9.

¹¹ Potius Aremulum
Orosius, i. 20. 5.

¹² Potius Paulus in
Historia Romana, p. 7,

22, ed. Droysen.

15 Chron. mai, 110.
16 iv. reg. cap. 17.
18 op. cit. 3145.
18 Beda, Chron. mai, 115, re ipsa ponit 1240,

17 Rom. 40.
18 i. 19, ed. Zangemeister (1889).
19 ii. 2.
20 op. cit. 3153.

²¹ cap. 1.

22 op. cit. 3264.

²⁶ iv. reg. cap. 47. ²⁴ Pauli Hist. Rom.

p. 7, 30.

so op. cit. 3181.

so op. cit. 3268.

Thron. mai. 117.

Pauli Hist. Rom,

p. 7, 29.

so op. cit. \$178.

verbum haud
satisclarum autrasura.

Hieron. epist.

Solini Polyhist. cap. 2, p. 5 (ed. 1543).

f. 64 b Ad posuit | uero primo fuisse hunc ludum olim actum sed postea intermissum ponunt actores secundum triuet Ad calcem] pocius uidetur secundum triuet 1 quod prima olimpias processit per 1 op. cit. 3181. 15 annos cum secundum bedam et martirologium commune christus natus sit anno to olimpiadis 193 et faciunt annos 771 / nec mireris quod eusebius ponit christum natum olimpiade 194 quia ipse addit annos regis amon ut Et infra, alia manu] Numerus olimpiadum eusebii uel Ieronimi uidetur clare conuenire ei quod legitur .2. maca. .4. c.2 item quod ipse ponit hic de africano et 2 2 Macc. iv. 18? super anno dominice passionis ⁸ op. cit. 3283. Ad Boccoris xliiii] W.3 et Vinc[entius] dicunt xlvi f. 65 Potius xliv, Specuf. 65 b Post transtulit Iero. libro po super ezechielem. s incipit hic illos 390 annos... lum Historiale, i. 97 (ed. Venet. 1591).

⁵ lib. i, ad Ez. iv. liberati iudei per istoriam libri hester . . . propter quod ipsemet iero, in fine dicit ibidem uideri pocius incipiendum a tempore manaem regis israel . . . 4 seqq. f. 66 b Supra Isaie. 8. c. legitur quod adhuc lxv- anni et non esset cap[tus] siue damascus et c. quia inferri posset ad tempus inter finem regni assiriorum et principium 6 cap. 2. romanorum ut declarat orosius lib. 2.6 licet non all[egat] ysaiam ⁷ cap. 2, p. 4. Post condita et est xi kal maii secundum solinum et n. triuet op. cit. 3200. Ad idem] solinus ponit hec fuisse . . . ° cap. 2, p. 5. Ad alcmeon ii] ab hinc non fuerunt apud athenienses reges ad uitam sed per 10. op. cit. 3311. pagm^u. (†)
op. cit. 3318. annos tantum secundum W.10 et habebant hic se pagani 11 [?] Ad an cel W 12 dicit 240 18 loc. cit. Ad calcem] Iero in po super eze-13 dicit hanc captiuitatem per salmanasar fuisse factam anno vi- ezechie regis iuda ut sacra regum narrat istoria s. iiii. regum xviii-14 cap. 4, § I.
15 Hic adnotatur sed de alia precedenti legitur iiij. regum .xv. f. 67 in capite] Nota quod de tempore condicionis urbis uarie scribunt istoriographi nam alia manu In alio libro est 414 sed pocins debet, &c.

16 Atramento minus orosius li. ii. 14 scribit eam conditam olimpiade vi. scilicet post euersionem troie anno 404.18 / eutropius secu[ndus] concordat in olimpiade set a troia dicit nigro parum lucide annum 429 16 Solinus dicit anno 433 incipiente olimpiade 7.17 Euseb[io] conscriptum. Eutropius, cordant augustinus 18 et beda 19 sed triuet 20 dicit se mirari de beda qui non sequitur i. 1 habet 394, Paulus autem 419.

17 Solini Polyhist. 70, sed hebraicam ueritatem secundum quam urbis condicio atribuenda est octavo anno ioachari qui secundum eum tercius olimpiadis quinte et ab euersione cap. 2, p. 5.

18 De Civitate Dei, troie 427. xviii. 22.

19 Chron. mai. 125. Alia manu nota quod solinus a uidetur pre ceteris examinasse quia . . . loc. cit. Ad sibylla] et dicit W 22 quod ista fuit prophetisa sublimior... f. 68 ³¹ loc. cit. Post capitur] et per 80 annos eis subdita secundum W 23 ²² op. cit. 3322. ²⁴ ibid. 3336. ²⁴ Sexti Rufi Brevif. 68 b Ad calcem . . . et idem festus 4 et solinus 25 Ad Gyges] de hoc dicit tullius de officiis e quod habuit annulum inuisibilitatis f. 71 25 loc. cit. f. 72 Ad archilochus] huius libros secundum ualerium 77 ex urbe sua lacedemonii iusserunt ²⁶ iii. 9, § 38. ²⁷ Valerium Maxiexportari ne inficeret iuuenum mores. mum vi. 3, ext. 1. f. 72 b Ad secundum hebraeos] et hanc sequitur iero. super ezechiel libro i. 28 idem beda 20 et iose.30 et tex- iiii regum c. 21 et triuet 29 Chron. mai. 133. Antiq. x. 4, § 1. Ad fraortes] hic secundum orosium libro primo si semper pugnauit contra asirios et ³¹ Hist. i. 19, § 4. f. 73 Ad celebratur] hic secundum ualerium 32 adulteranti filio oculum unum eruit reli-⁵⁹ vi. 5, ext. 3.

qu[um] sibi ut satisfaceret legi, &c.

- f. 73 b Ad iosias xxxii] secundum io. regnauit 32 ut recitat beda et triuet li. iiii. habet libri regum et parali ponunt solum de 31. [super lin. idem ponit beda] et iere- dicens esse 23- annos a .xiii regni iosie usque ad quartum filii eius et tunc cepisse regnare nabug'...
 - Ad ancus] hic condidit hostiam ciuitatem. Et dicit festus quod regnauit 34. annis 4 solinus dicit idem titus liuius et dicit solinus quod obiit olimpiade 408
- f. 74 b Ad priscus xxxuii] festus dicit 38 solinus dicit 37 et titus liuius 38
 - Ad miraculum] immo esset imposibile nisi eusebius addidisset iosie unum annum ex quo dederat tot annos amon et alios superflue in ioachim ubi dicit beda?
- Ad panetios istoriam ponit agellius noctium atticarum 10
- f. 75 b Supra] ab anno quarto ioachim computat scriptura regnum nabug' [iere- 25] quia ex eo non solum caldeis et iudeis sed etiam asiriis egipciis moabitis aliisque gentibus innumeris dominari cepit secundum triuet . . .
 - Ad revertitur] in ii. esdr. c. i legitur . . . magī in istoriam iiii regum articulo 48 11 dixit quod uoluit eum ducere babilonem sed postea remisit eum in iherusalem retentis obsidibus et nobilibus pueris sicut Daniel et socios . . . [?] uero rediens in iherusalem occidit eum . . .
- f. 76 Ad alyattes xiviiii] melius dicunt 24 15 secundum N. triuet et male quia erauit in tempore capcionis babilonis
- f. 76 b Supra Beda 18 ponit solum annos a fundacione templi 430 Roa [?] quia ut supra uisum est eusebius sequendo lxx dat xii annos amon qui solum [?] debet habere ii . . .
- f. 77 b Ad mccccxxx] hoc anno nabug' optinuit siriam inferiorem et egyptum et iudeos qui transfugerant misit in babilonem ideo quidem hic incipiunt computare annos 70transmigracionis secundum triuet 16 et hic interfectus est ieremias secundum uin[cencium] 15 sed contra facit finis libri iere.
 - Ad ann. ix Iudaeorum] hic moritur nabug' magnus et succedit alius nabug' secundum uincencium in spec. li. 3.16 c. 117 et idem W. in cronico fran.17
 - Ad mccccxl] iosephus li. x.18 ubi ponit istoriam macabeorum scribit daniel . . .
 - Ad ann. xiiii Iudaeorum] hic cadit uisio eze- que ponitur xl- c- et dicit Rab[binus] Salon in principio eze quod hic annus fuit iubileus 19 ideo dicit tex[tus] xl. c. in exordio anni antonomasice scilicet iubilei
 - Ad ann. xuiiii Iudaeorum Iste est annus 30. transmigracionis . . . istud scribitur in alio libro super anno xii. captiuitatis secundum uinc[encium] in spe. Ii. 3.20 cap. 117 dicit nabug' obiisse . . .
- f. 78 b In capite] Orosius de ormesta mundi li. 2. c. 2 21 dicit quod babilon fuit capta per cirum ...
 - Ad ann. xxui Iudaeorum]...io. c. 52 in fi.28...io. li. x.25...c. 1. baruc... In marg.] dicit orosius li. 1. cap. 1724....
 - Ad Cyrus annis xxx] Magister Nichol. de lira 25 recitat opinionem rabi salomonis et hebr'...

ut etiam Nichol. . . .

- f. 79 Ad Croesus xu.] iustinus 26 et orosius 2 scribunt hunc cresum . . .
- f. 79 b In capite] triuet 28 recitat cirum . . . et sic uocatur in istoria iudith
 - Ad romanorum uii] sol[inus]:9 dicit 25. festus dicit 34. titus liuius dicit 47 30 [?] paulus in istoria longobardorum at dicit tempore tarquinii Cirum liberasse iudeos.

- 1 Potius 31, Antiq. x. 5, § 1.

 Chron. mai. 139. op. cit. 3339. Potius 24, Sexti Rufi Breviarium 2; item Solinus cap. 2, p. 5, Livius i. 35. I. Potius 41, Solinus loc. cit.
 6 Potius 37, Sextl Rufi Breviarium 2. cap. 2, p. 5.
- i. 40. I. * Chron. mai. 139. AuliGelliiNoctes Atticae xiii. 28.
- 11 Comestor iv. reg.
- 18 Potius 35, op. cit. 3354-
 - 18 Chron. mai. 142.
- 16 op. cit. 3368. 18 Vinc. Bellovac. Spec. Hist. ii. 114.
- 16 Li. 2, in ed. Venet. 1591.
 - 17 op. cit. 3483. ¹⁸ cap. 7.
- 19 Ita, teste Arturo Cowley, rab. Salomo Rashi in comment. in Ezech. i. 2, p. 511 (ed. 1713).
 20 Li.2, in ed. Venet. 1591.
- 21 Hist. il. 2, § 9. 22 Iosephi Antiq. x. 11, § 2.
- 24 i. 19, § 10.
 25 Ad I Esdrae i.I. tom. I. 330 b (ed. Mentelin).
 - 24 vii. Í, § 3.
 - ²⁷ ii. 6, § 12.
 - 28 op. cit. 3412.
- ²⁹ cap. 2, p. 5. ³⁰ Sextus Rufus, 2, et Livius, i. 60. 3,
- habent 25.
 Si Pauli Historia Romana, p. 14, 1.

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Danielis capp. 17,
                       f. 79 b Ad uicesimum annum ciri] comestor super esdram art. v. et vi.¹ dicit de anno
18.
                                     tercio ciri . . .
  <sup>2</sup> Antiq. xi. 2, § 2.
                       f. 80 b Ad cambyees uiii] iosephus libro xi antiquit[atum 3] ponit ... beda 3 concordat cum
    Chron. mai. 153.
                                     eusebio vsidorus 4 tacet
  Vide Chron. min.
119, in Mommsen,
                                Ad historia conscribitur] sed ut dicit nicholaus de lira non est verisimile iudeos
Chron. Min. Vol. II.
                                     tantum fuisse au er sos . . . sed magister in istoriis ad hec bene respondet
  Ad Iudith iv. 2,
tom I. 354.
v. 25, tom. II.
                                Ad fratres Magister nicholaus de lira super Daniel c. ix.º et uiii.º et xii.º et plenius
                                     super hester et super iiii. c. esdre 10 dicit post cambisem . . . et in hoc sequitur
195 b.
  v. 5, tom. IL 191.
Potius xi. 2, tom.
                                     opinionem rabi sal[omonis] 11 et hebreorum . . . iosephus libro xi 12
                       f. 82 b Ad an. ii] bis computat istum annum propter uii menses magorum qui precesserunt
II. 198.
  cap. i. I, tom. I.
                                     ita continetur in alio libro
360.
                                Ad cext] ergo ista rubrica male situata hic quia desecerunt .x. anni Ideo titus liuius
    v. 6, tom. I. 332.
  11 Ad Dan. xi. 2,
                                     dicebat tarquinium regnasse 47 annis 18 sed beda 14 et eutropius 15 dicunt cum
p. 786.
                                     eusebio de 35.
  18 cap. 2, § 1 seq.
18 Livius, i. 60. 3,
                                Super ut quibusdam] hanc orosius 16 sed titus liuius 17 244.
habet 25.
                                Ad xu lapidem] aug. de ci. libro 3. c. 14. in fi.18 dicit
  14 Chron. mai. 152.
  18 Eutropius in bre-
                                Ad coxliii] hec uarietas occurrit quia uarie incipiunt olimpiades ut declarat N. triuet 19
viario ab urbe condita,
                                     uel propter iiii [?] añ regni enee.
p.14.11(ed. Droysen),
habet 24. Item Paulus
                               Ad discedit] et creauerunt tribunos plebis ut sf de origine iuris l. ii. § hiisdem **
                       f. 83
in loc.
                       f. 83 b Ad Xerxes hic aduersus grecos . . . secundum Bedam n
  16 ii. 4, § 13.
17 loc. cit.
                       f. 84 b Ad Ezr s de hester] iosephus 22 qui hec ponit dicit . . .
10c. cit.

18 cap. 15,ed. Dombart (1877).

19 Vide supra ad 64b.

20 Dig. i. tit. ii. § 20.
                                Ad perdiccas xxuiiii] tamen infra non dat sibi nisi 27. Guillelmus 33 uero dat sibi 28
                       f. 85 b Ad xx persarum] africanus ut recitat iero. super 9. c. danielis 2 ponit hunc annum 20
                                     artaxersis fore secundum olimp. 83.
  21 Chron. mai. 164.
  18 Antiq. xi. 5, 6.
                               Ad hippocrates | ypocras
    op. cit. 3604.
Hieronymus in
                       f. 86 b Ad plato nascitur] ex uirgine et apolline secundum quosdam ut recitat iero. libro
Dan, ix. 24.
25 Hieron.
                                     primo contra iouinianum 25 / De platone habes ff de nundinis l. ii. 36
                adv.
                                Ad nothus an xuiiii] hic notat beda 27 . . .
Iovin. i. 42, p. 309.

26 Dig. l. tit. xi.
                       f. 87 Ad amarteus saites] triuet ** ponit hec anno desolacionis iherusalem. Et ea eciam
  27 Chron. mai. 177.
                                     satis concordat cronica fran[corum] so et triuet . . .
  op. cit. 3542.
Gulielmus
                                Ad xciii olymp.] Macedon xiii regnauit orestes secundum N. triuet so
Nangis, 3652.
                       f. 87 b [Citantur Triuetus (op. cit. 3548), Hieronymus libro primo super Ezechiel, Nicholas
  op. cit. 3545.
                                     super Daniel c. ix., W (bis).]
                                Ad farnabazus] hec tradit iero. in libro contra iouianum 31 sed iustinus 32 dicit eum
  <sup>31</sup> Hieron. op. cit. i.
44, p. 311.
22 v. 8, § 14.
                                     combustum in cubiculo
                                Ad socrates] obiit autem etatis sue anno 99 secundum iero, in epistola ad nepo-
                                     [cianum] que incipit petis a me "
  38 Hieron. epist. lii.
p. 256 (de Isocrate).
                                In capite] sed titus liuius prima decade libro 524 scribit hec sub anno ab urbe condite
                       f. 88
    cap. 40, § 1.
                                     .360. sed postea in fine libri eiusdem dicit hec fuisse anno 365. ab urbe condita */
  25 v. 54, § 5.
                                     sed [proximo? **] contra hec facit ipse libro 6. fol. 2.**
  56 Erasum.
    Cap. 2. 6 3 1
                               Ad bellum famosum] dicit W 34 quod pestilencia amiserunt totum excercitum . . .
  28 op. cit. 3673.
                               Ad galli...romam inuaserunt] duce gallorum brennio qui erat frater regis britannie
                                     maioris sed in gallia manebat / huius excercitus pars se collocauit ingalacia
                                     secundum W. Sequitur alia ut uidetur manu: orosius libro 3 in principio 40
  29 op. cit. 3675.
  40 cap. I, § I.
                                     scribit hec super anno ab urbe condita 364.
                               Ad magno terrae motu] hec ponit W 41 super anno artaxersis 22
  41 op. cit. 3680.
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f. 88 <i>b</i>	Ad cii olymp.] W 1 scribit post alexandrum regnasse perdiccam 4. annis et post	¹ op. cit. 3692,
	perdiccam dicit philippum	3696.
	Ad dionysius] mortem dionisii seu interfeccionem scribit W ^a super anno 18 artaxersis	² op. cit. 3676.
	Ad aristoteles] hec scribit W super anno 33 artaxersis	³ op. cit. 3691.
f. 89	Ad alexander nascitur] hec scribit W super anno 10 ochi et dicit quod fuit	4 op. cit. 3708.
	tunc per 25 dies tempestas et cum tunc neptanabus rex egipti non esset exul non uidetur uera historia quod genuerit al[e]xandrum	
f. 89 <i>ð</i>	Ad cuiiii olymp.] anno ab urbe condita 409 sed in tito liuio prima decade libro 7.5 uidetur dici de anno 400	* сар. 33, § б.
	cx olymp.] idem iero, super daniel. et idem helinandus sed ysodorus vocat eum xersem tertullianus argū secundum triuet	⁶ vii. 5, p. 665. ⁷ Chron. min. 126. ⁸ Adv. Iudaeos.
	Ad sunt ciuium cix milia] arma ferencium cum socii Romanorum ab eis	сар. 8, р. 614.
	defecissent W 10	op. cit. 3614.
	Ad construit] iosephus libro xi c. 7 11	¹¹ Antiq. xi. 7, § 4.
f. 90	Ad mallius torquatus] uide titum liuium libro. 8. prime decadis 13 Et ita fere in-	19 cap. 7.
	ferius 18 ad alexandria condita	18 ibid. cap. 24, § I.
	Ad alexandria condita] et macedoniam capta egipto esse constituit	
	secundum N. triuet 16	¹⁴ op. cit. 3622.
f. 90 <i>ð</i>	secundum aug. de ciuit. dei libro xii c. xi sed triuet ponit 18 et concordat	¹⁸ ор. cit. 3б24.
	eusebium et bedam 16 et vinc[encium] 1	 Chron. mai. 198. Spec. Hist. iv. 38.
	de alexandro tangit titus liuius prima decade libro uiii. post principium sed ualde 1.	•
£ 01	ar[ticulo] fol. 62.16 et libro 9 fol. 73 19	¹⁸ viii. 3. 7. ¹⁹ capp. 17–19.
f. 91	theofrastus] hunc dicit W successisse aristotili apud achademiam	³⁰ op. cit. 3744.
•	secundum W. qui dicit bellum samnitum durasse per 49 st annos	²¹ Potius 59, op. cit. 3746.
f. 92	ad x alexandrinorum] lisimachia in tracia condita est secundum W. ²³ ad xxii macedonum] hec scribit W. ²⁶ super anno 24 ptolomei	²⁵ op. cit. 3750. ²⁸ op. cit. 3764.
	septem secundum W.24	²⁴ op. cit. 3776.
f. 92 å	ut W. ¹⁶	28 ibid. (1).
020	secundum bedam **	26 Chron. mai. 219.
	triuet ** atribuit	²⁷ op. cit. 3672.
	hos objectit W ss	28 op. cit. 3783.
f. 93	hec ponit W. ³⁹	op. cit. 3792.
f. 94	iste secundum bedam 30	²⁰ Chron. mai. 220-
	anno ab urbe condita 507· tiberis inundans rome maxima dampna dedit secundum Raueñ	
f. 94 <i>8</i>	hec scribit triuet ⁹¹	⁸¹ op. cit. 3726.
	de morte huius habetur in secundo machabeorum.	
f. 95	hic phtolomeus secundum bedam 32 hec autem atribuit triuet 21	²³ Chron. mai. 226. ²³ op. cit. 3752.
f. 96	W 44 scribit 10000	Mic desunt 8 folia
	hec atribuit triuet ²⁸	de codice Londinensi.
	titus liuius	
f. 96 <i>ð</i>	hec atribuit triuet **	⁸⁶ op. cit. 3774.
	hunc obmisit ysodorus ethmiol. [?] quinto [?] 37	⁸⁷ Habet in Chron. min. 141.
	scacius [i.e. statius]	•
	quidam mediolanensem ferunt mortuus est al. qui ad mediolanense ferunt	

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit. 3778.
                                 triuet 1 dicit hunc antiochum. . . . Ergo secundum triuet . . .
                                 hoc anno secundum mentem .N. triuet 2 . . .
  <sup>2</sup> op. cit. 3780.
                                 ... quia beda errauit ... ut patet iose. libro 13 c. 6 ...
                        f. 97 b idolum ponitur . . . secundum triuet *
  <sup>8</sup> op. cit. 3786.
                                 cliii] in alio libro est 154
  <sup>4</sup> Vincentii Spect
                                 in spe. [?] libro 6. c. cc.4 scribitur hoc super anno 8 antiochi
lum Historiale, v. 66.
                                 nichol. triuet * scribit eusebium collocasse . . .
    loc. cit.
    т Мас. сар. б.
                                 ... secundum comestorem 6 licet justinus aliter dicat 7
    xxxiv. 3, § 6.
  op. cit. 3793.
                                 Nichol. triuet 8 dicit . . .
                                 Id. N. triuet . . . et probat per librum machabeorum
  10 Chron. mai. 226.
  11 loc. cit.
                         f. 98
                                 beda 10 ponit . . .
  12 op. cit. 3811.
13 Chron. mai. 232.
                                 nichol. triuet dicit . . .
  14 loc. cit.
                                 N. triuet scribit 11 . . . et dicit triuet . . .
18 Petr. Comestor.
Hist. scol., Macab. c.
                                 ... secundum triuet 13
                         f. 99
xiv.

op. cit. 3927.

2824.
                                 ... unde quia beda 18 ponit ... et ita etiam uult eusebius ut patet infra ... triuet 16
                                       dicit quod ionathas . . .
  op. cit. 3824.

18 2 Mac. cap. 3.
                                 Simon adsumitur] hoc scribitur in alio eusebio post [...?] euergetis
  19 cap. 10.
20 2 Mac. cap. 3.
                         f. 99 b in hist. schol. ubi de macabeis. art. xv. 15 dicitur filius sed primum cum eusebio
   21 Chron. mai. 238.
                                       ponit W 16
   25 Chron. mai. 240.
                                  ... secundum triuet 17 post comestorem. 18 et iosep. li. 20 antiq. c. ultimo 19
  op. cit. 3850.
Potius 27, Chron.
                                 in historia scol.20 dicitur quod pactus est cum iohanne qui et hircanus dictus est
mai. 241.

** CodexLondinen-
                         f. 100 soter xuii] beda 31 scribit etiam xuii
sis (3878) 38 habet.
                         f. 100 b idem scribit beda 22 et tamen si computes precedentes omnes annos inuenies secundum
     cap. 10.
                                       hanc cronicam annos 486- et certe N triuet 32 asserit hunc regnasse . . .
  27 cap. 16.
   28 op. cit. 3855.
                                   alexander xxuii] beda dicit 26.4 et triuet dicit 28.5 sed iosephus libro 20. antiq. c.
   <sup>29</sup> cap. 16.
<sup>20</sup> VideLib. xl. cap.
                                        ultimo si dicit de 27. annis
                         f. 101 istoriam ponit orosius libro quinto **
  <sup>21</sup> op. cit. 3861.
                                   istud secundum hoc fuit per .101. annos ante christi nat' utroque computato. sed
op. cit. 3972.

so Hugonis de S.
Victore, De Tribus
Maximis C. G. Liber
                                        N triuet ponit fuisse duo prelia et duos marii consulatus et all[egat] oroșium
                                       libro .5.20
 (Codex Cheltenham-
                         f. 101 b philippus] de isto nil dicit iustinus o unde et triuet a dicit . . .
 ensis 12200, f. 102 b).
                                   anno secundo sequente secundum W.ss et Hugo s dat sibi ·2· annos.
   <sup>84</sup> op. cit. 3865.
   ss op. cit. 3878.
                                   hoc dicit triuet 34
   <sup>34</sup> op. cit. 3887.
                                   alexandra] cepit anno 505 a desolacione iherusalem secundum N. triuet ** . . .
                         f. 102
   Antiq. xiv. 4 (1)
Sic in prologo
                                   hoc ascribit triuet * . . . iosephus libro 15. c. * et eus. [?] . . .
                         f. 103
 super Livium codex
Vaticanus Palat. 875.
                                   Iero. de epi. ut habetur in prologo super titum liuium dicit hoc anno natum titum
   op. cit. 3903.
Chron. min. 153.
                                        liuium scilicet anno 3 olimp. 159 36
                         f. 103 b Ol. clxxxi 4] floruit eciam circa hec tempora titus liuius istoricus secundum triuet **
   41 Chron, mai. 254.
   42 Potius 541, op.
                                        et patet supra.
 cit. 3006.
Comestor, 2Mac.
                                   cleopatra xxii] isodorus 40 dicit duobus . . . sed beda 41 scribit ut eusebius
 cap. 16.
4 Chron. mai. 259.
                         f. 104
                                   optime concordat hic in tempore triuet dicens eum imperasse anno ab euersa
                                        iherusalem 542 48.
   45 Chron. min. 155.
   4 Antiq. xiv. 11, § 1.
                                    magister 4 in istoriis ponit eum imperasse annis tribus mensibus vii sed beda 4
   47 Adonis Viennen-
                                        et ysodorus 45 concordant cum isto.
 sis Chronicon, ad A.
    4784 (p. 72,
                                   idem iosephus 46 idem odo 47
                         f. 104 b Nichol. triuet 48 dicit quod antonius . . .
      op. cit. 3910.
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8, 6 2.

f. 104 b africanus solus dicit eum imperasse solum 55 annis et dominum iesum natum in 1 Hoc apud fragmenta Africani nusanno eius 40. quam inveni.

2 Oros. vi. 18.

3 op. cit. 3917.

4 op. cit. 3926.

5 Hugonis Floriacepit imperare secundum orosium libro 6. c. 162 anno ab urbe condita 710. et sic sequitur eusebium. f. 105 b triuet scribit herodem fuisse consecratum . . . secundum triuet et allegat hugonem censis 'Chronicon,' ed. Rottendorff, p. 39. Chron. mai. 262. floriacensem 5 . . . beda 6 scribit regnum herodis . . . f. 106 b Ol. 187 cleopatra hoc debet scribi in sequenti pagina super anno 22... beda 7 Chron. mai. 268. ponit hec sub anno 16. augusti et idem dicit triuet 8... ⁸ op. cit. 3925. quidam ab hoc loco] ut pthol[omeus] dig[...?] 3. c. 8 . uide quia eusebius statim Almagest. iii. 8. premisit . . . cum ptolom[eus] qui est antiquior . . . [uix legi potest.] f. 107 b hoc dicit triuet 10 . . . 10 op. cit. 3930. triuet 11 dicit sub anno 24 augusti herodem edificasse . . . 11 op. cit. 3934. hoc anno herodes magnifice templum domini decorauit secundum com[estorem] 12 et 13 2 Mac. cap. 25. triuet 18 sed iosephus libro xv. antiquitatum c. xi. dicit . . . 18 op. cit. 3935. istoria scol[astica] 14 ponit . . . 14 loc. cit. hoc anno concepta est beata uirgo secundum triuet 15 . . . 15 op. cit. 3937. f. 108 b hoc anno augustus apellatur pontifex maximus a senatu secundum triuet 16 16 op. cit. 3944. f. 109 b N. triuet 17 scribit augustum reclausisse . . . per triuet'. . . 17 op. cit. 3951. Et in prohemio codicis theodosiani expresse scribitur christum natum anno xi. augusti 18 Potius 47, Chron. beda ponit hoc anno 42 18 augusti mai. 269. f. 110 b . . . et iustinus li. 2. c. 4. dicit . . . f. 111 pilatus procurator | quidam ponunt hic de ymaginibus allatis in iherusalem cum signis militaribus et totum hoc uidetur fuisse sub anno xii- tiberii secundum 19 In Historia Evangelica. comestorem 19 articulo 28. et sic et 142. 20 et beda 21 20 cap. 138 (ed. f. 111 & istoria scolastica 22 ponit xix annos . . . in v. etimologiarum 25 1503). 21 Chron. mai. 271. egisipus libro ii. c. ix. 24 dicit . . . 23 Act. Apost.cap. I. 25 Isidori Chron. hec iero. recitans super dañ 25 epitomen tertulliani de ebdomadibus... min. 161 (?). f. 113 b cathedra sci p. apud antiochiam celebratur 8 kal. marcji et feria cathedre Romane 24 Egesippi De exscribitur in martirologio 15 kal. febr. 26 cidio urbis Hierosol. libro ii. c. v. (Migne, Patrologia Latina, xv. egisippus libro ·2·27 ponit solum xiii annos. Regin 26 scribit .7. menses . . . 2042).

25 ix. 24, p. 694.

26 Sic in Martyro-Iero. de illustribus uiris in principio 29 scribit . . . f. 114 b beda in actibus apostolorum in principio o dicit . . . logio Hieronymiano, Acta Sanctorum, Noclaudius moritur] idem sen[eca] in tragedia quam de eius obitu fecit ubi dicit quod vembris Tom. II. i, obiit 3° idus octobr' inter sextam et nonam 31 horam. pp. [10], [24]. Egisippus libro 4. 22 dicit . . . Regino Prumiensis col. 17 B (Migne). ... secundum Ier. de illustribus uiris. c. 5. cap. 1.

output

outpu ... secundum Iero. de illustribus uiris. 35 f. 115 b . . . secundum Iero. de illustribus uiris. c. 8. Ludus ii. 3. f. 116 biennio ante martirium petri et pauli secundum Iero. de illustribus uiris c. 12. cap. 20. ss cap, 2. s4 Potius 37, Hieron. anno 35. 24 secundum Iero. de illustribus uiris c. 5. f. 116 b post mens. uiii. et dies xxuiii imperii sui ut recitat b. Ier. [?] post tertullianum super in loc. Daniel 86 . . . et idem uult iosephus de bello iudaico libro 6 86 [?] 26 Potius iv. 11, § 4. f. 117 Iero. in epistola ad ebidiam que est 52 questione ix. 37 dicit quod christus orante pro ⁸⁷ Hieron.epist.cxx.

iudeis . . .

APPENDIX IV

¹ Eusebii Historia Ecclesiastica.	f. 117	hoc fuit anno secundo uespasiani ut in ec[clesiastica] istor[ia] 1 li. 3. c. 5. et hic
ibid. c. v, § 5.		scribit eusebius
,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,		libro 3. eclesiastice .c. iiii. 2 [?] dicitur quod tricies centena
	f. 117 b	titus] hic etiam dictus est Elius ut dicet infra in fine opni [?] adriani
* Titus 11.		et diebus 20 secundum suetonium *
4 Romana 264.		iordanis scribit quod titus eciam dictus est uespasianus
⁸ Epist. liii. 2.	f. 118	augustinus in epistola ad generosum ponit summos pontifices
op. cit. ad A. D.		clemens corr. in cletus] de regione uico patricii W. 6
81. Potius 13 et 15.		hunc uocat eusebius anacletum libro .3. ecl. istor. c. decimo et 12.7 et ita debet etiam
1000 15 00 15.		hic scribi secundum aliud exemplar
⁸ cap. 31.		Egisippus libro .4.º dicit domicianum
op. cit. 84.	f. 118 <i>8</i>	pantheon quod nunc est sancte marie et omnium martirum christi secundum W.
¹⁹ vii. 23, § 2. Item Paulus.		idem eutropius 10 Guillelmus scribit hoc super anno domini 90
¹¹ op. cit. 04.	f. 119	Guillelmus 11 scribit super anno 12. domiciani
ibid. 18 Potius c. 18, § 4.		Et hic dicit Guillelmus 19
Potius 20.		hireneus in quinto contra hereses et recitatur in tercio libro ecl. istor. c. 16.13 dicunt
15 Orosius vii, 11 habet 846.		hanc persequeionem fuisse in xv. anno domiciani Item c. 18.14 post egisippum et
16 Potius 8, Chron.		tertullianum scribitur
mai. 304. Adonis Viennen-	f. 119 <i>b</i>	Nota quod iero. de illustribus uiris c. 9. dicit
sis Chronicon, ad A.D.		anno ab urbe condita 847 quamuis eutropius dicat 850 secundum orosium li. 7.18
99, p. 81. 15 Chron. mai. 306.		et diebus 5 [?] 16 secundum bedam uel diebus uiii secundum odonem 17
Potius 68, Hieron.		diebus xu. secundum bedam 18
op. cit. 9. ** op. cit. 103.		hunc annum qui est 70 10 a passione christi ponit Iero. de illustribus uiris pro obitu
³¹ op. cit. 102.		b. iohannis. idem W. * dicens eum obiisse annorum 99.
³² Martyrium S.Cle- mentis, cap. 18 et		Guillelmus n ponit hic anacletum ex athenis
seq., Migne, Patr.		in legenda sancti clementis 22 dicitur quod traianus Iero. de uiris illustribus c. 15
Graeca, II, col. 627, &c.		dicit clementem obiisse
wiii. 3, § I. Item.	f. 120	armeniam recepit secundum eutropium ** secundum eu. *4
Paulus. 24 ibid. § 2.		et ibi tres prouincias tenuit secundum eutropium 25
²⁵ ibid.		anno xi. traiani secundum Iero. de illustribus uiris c. 16
²⁶ op. cit. 111. ²⁷ op. cit. 115.	f. 120 <i>b</i>	Guillelmus ²⁶ scribit hic euaristum
™ op. cit. 116.		hoc scribit W. 27 super anno 16. traiani
Potius II, op. cit.	f. 121	hoc de iudeis scribit W. ss super anno 17.
³⁰ op. cit. 121.	f. 121 <i>b</i>	hoc scribit W. super anno '1' 20 adriani
²¹ op. cit. 129. ²⁷ op. cit. 130.		W. 30 ponit hic alexandrum
³⁵ op. cit. 144.	f. 122	sub hoc anno xi. ponit W. 11 sixtum papam
⁸⁴ Ita in libro Pon- tificali codices C ⁸ E ^{1.4}		pater] eo quod rempublicam iustissimis legibus ordinauit secundum W. **
(ed. Mommsen in loc.).		[Dehinc ea tantum praebebimus quae aut ad scriptores nondum citatos referunt aut
Martini Oppavi- ensis Chronicon, ed.		aliquid memoria dignum continent.]
Weiland, p. 411, l. 33.		iudei xv. scribit hoc super anno 17 legitur [?] etiam in alio eusebio
Bernardi Guido- nis Catalogus Pontifi-	f. 123 <i>b</i>	in hoc pio redit W 23 ad concordiam de tempore summorum pontificum
cum Romanorum, Spi-		alii scribunt annis xi. mens. iiii. diebus xxi. secundum damasum 44 et marcium. 25
cilegium Romanum Tom. V, p. 20.	f. 124	secundum guid[onem] * post alios qui ponunt post clementem anacletum
⁸⁷ Potius decimo	f. 125 <i>6</i>	Ol. ccxxxix] hoc tempore uiuebat adhuc egisippus ut in prima parte speculi libro
(ed. 1591). ** col.461B(Migne).	_	undecimo 37 c. 112. Et idem iero. de illustribus uiris c. 22
89 op. cit. 194.	f. 127	sicardus cremonensis se scribit hunc iulianum inperasse. Et W so dicit mens. 7.
		·

f. 127 ... beda dicit xuii. in suo primo libro istorie ecl. britonum c. v. f. 127 b mortuo [deletum] seuero inperauit antonius caracalla filius eius aliquot annis ut patet x. de of. proconsul. l. obseruare et l. solent 1 Ol. ccxlv] in alio exemplari deficiunt anni scriptum super annis [... (erasum)] xuiii secundum eusebium libro sexto c. 18.3 guido suero scribit annis ix. mensibus vi. diebus x. uincencius in spec. iii l' ponit de eo. f. 129 b martinus scribit addendo mens. xi. diebus xi. 5 f. 130 ... concordat paulus post eutropium ... f. 130 & Iero in epistola pamachio et occeano que incipit schedule quas misistis 7... anastasi pape cui super illa materia Rufinus scripsit 8 . . . deusdedit cardinalis libro 21 [?] capitulo 125 °. scribit de hiis sub anno domini 244 Ol. cclix] hic debuit scribi de sixto papa xxiii. qui secundum guid' 10 sedit annis ix.... f. 131 de isto habes C. in quibus causis in integrum re non est necessaria li. ii. 11 f. 132 b anatolius laudicensis episcopus scripsit de racione paschali ciclos . . . et secundum hoc uidetur error in libro isto de duobus annis f. 134 et tamen constancius pater constantini fuit christianus ut patet in l. ii. C. de epi. et cli. 15 iordanus 15 scribit quod unusquisque principum istorum 4.... f. 134 b Sigibertus in istoria sua et recitatur in istoria fran [corum] 14 . . . f. 136 ... iordanus in istoria gothorum 18 ... licinius] sed tripertita libro 3° in fine 16 dicit eum baptizatum cum mors instaret non tamen hoc anno sed anno 21 const. uel circa [?] ut uult gui 17 sed secundum ysod. anno 17 const. 18 f. 136 b . . . ut tangit iero. in prologo libri interpretacionum hebraicarum 19 f. 137 nota quia communes cronici quos sequitur guido so scribunt iulium papam cepisse sedem anno domini 340. constantinus] et hic dedit romam beato siluestro et cetera que habentur in decretis a in istoria tripertita libro v. cap. xi. 22 scribitur de xv. aduerte tamen quod non computatur 2 in cathalogo ro. pon. per iero. quia liberium dicit 34 et damasum ponit infra fore 35 f. 139 b alibi legi quod una tantum communione constancio communicauit liberius sed rebaptizatus non fuit f. 140 b in libro deusdedit cardinalis 4 legi quod liberius . . . f. 142 b uinc. 25 et martinus 26 dicunt . . . f. 144 Ol. cclxxxviii] ab hinc incipit W # annotare principes et reges francorum . . . f. 144 b aliqui dicunt quod non statim assumpsit fratrem in inperium . . . et sic innuit Rodericus in istoria gothorum ... item ambrosius de obitu ualentiniani dicit... f. 146 Praefatio marcellini Cauendum est in ista cronica qualiter incipiat annos utrum scilicet secundum inicium consulatus a ianuario ut legitur in tripertita libro 5. c. 35. uel a septembri secundum indicciones f. 148 b idem ipse iero in epistola ad desiderium fol. 148. 30 . . . hoc consulatu obiit etiam [?] paula ut in eius epitaphio scribit iero. in epistolis si . . .

C de nouo codice confirmando aparet quod hoc fuit prius ... ut C. de emendacióne iustifi C. § hiis *2 [...?] et c de nec. [...?] enucl. l. ii. ante finem. 33

f. 173 b . . . C de ueteri iure enucle L ii. ad finem.

¹ Dig. i. tit. 16, §§ 4, 6.

Potius c. 21, § 1. ³ op. cit. p. 24. ⁴ Spec. Hist. viii. 93 (?). Ita codex A, p. 413, l. 25, ed. Weiland. ix. 3 (?).
Hieron. epist. lxxxiv. 7, p. 529.

8 Hieron. Apologia adversus Libros Rufini, ii. i, p. 491.

Collectio Canonum, i. 211-214 (?).

Bernardus Guidonis (ed. Maio) habet annis ii, mensibus xi, diebus vi,' p. 35.

11 Cod. ii. tit. 41.
12 Proclericis: Cod. i. tit. 3, § 2.
Romana 300. 14 Gulielmus de Nangis 305; sed non nominat Sigibertum. 15 110. 16 Casaiodori Historia Tripertita, iii.12. 17 Bernardus Guidonis, p. 51, vicesimo anno ponit. 18 Chron. min. 223 (?).

Hieron. praefatio in librum de situ et nominibus, p. 121. op. cit. p. 56.
Deusdedit, Coll. Can. iv. 1. ²⁸ cap. xii (Migne). ²⁰ Sc. Felix. ⁹⁴ Coll. Can. i. 232. ⁹⁵ Vincentius Bellovacensis, Spec. Hist. xiv. 48.

26 p. 462, l. 40, ed.
Weiland. op. cit. 376.
Rodericus Toletanus De rebus Hispaniae, il. 3.
29 De obitu Valentiniani consolatio, cap. 57, p. 1189. Hieron. xlvii. 3.

Hieron. epist. epist. eviii. 34.
22 Const. Cod. iii. \$ 4. Cod.i.tit.17, § 23.

APPENDIX V

JEAN DU TILLET: A NEGLECTED SCHOLAR OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

JEAN DU TILLET, otherwise Joannes Tilius, came from a family belonging to the Angoumois; was born on the Feast of the Purification (but in what year is apparently unknown); had for his first spiritual charge the parish of Chaniers in the Angoumois; first appears as a quite youthful writer in 1538; was consecrated bishop of St. Brieuc in Brittany in 1553; was translated to Meaux in 1564; and died in November 1570. He must be distinguished from his elder brother, the Sieur de la Bussière, who was also named Jean, was also the author of historical works, and also died in 1570. He must be distinguished further, it would appear, from yet a third Joannes Tilius, the author of a violent attack on the Papacy, Parallela sive Memorabilia de vita et moribus Pontificum, of which the preface is dated in 1576 (the copy in the Bodleian was published at Amberg in 1610); though the Bodleian catalogue includes the book under the writings of the bishop of Meaux.

The catalogues of Paris, Oxford, and London, the Apparatus Sacer of the Jesuit Ant. Possevin (II. A.D. 1606, p. 254), Gallia Christiana (VIII. col. 1649), and the Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon of C. G. Jöcher (IV. A.D. 1751, col. 1202), all contribute something to our knowledge of Jean du Tillet: but the best starting-points will be the account given of him in the next generation by J. A. de Thou (Thuanus) in his Historiae sui temporis, and the full list of his writings supplied by Theodor Hase to C. A. Heumann for the latter's preface to his reprint of du Tillet's edition of the libri Carolini (see below under no. 8, p. 55). These two authorities must be cited at length.

(a) Thuanus Historiarum sui temporis lib. xlvii (at the end of the year 1570: ed. Geneva, 1620, ii. 663, 664).

'Idem annus abstulit nobilissimum cognominum fratrum par, videlicet Tiliorum Engolismensi agro oriundorum; quorum Ioannes grandior natu Curiae protonotarius fuit, qui cura diligentia et summa in suo munere assiduitate non solum ingentes opes sed veram gloriam, et qua maiorem nemo nostrorum antea meruit, exacta iuris nostri et Franco-Gallicae omnis antiquitatis cognitione sibi comparauit. alter natu minor sacris addictus primum fani Brioci in Armorica et postea Meldorum episcopus fuit, qui a puero litteris instructior ad rerum nostrarum, qua frater eius excelluit, peritiam, etiam linguarum, iuris prisci Ro[mani] et ecclesiasticae antiquitatis exactam cognitionem adiunxit, perlustratis Francisci I permissu coenobiorum ac aliorum locorum toto regno celebrium, cum adhuc integrae essent, bibliothecis, atque inde peculiari sibi instructo librorum veluti penu copioso, ex quibus pleraque in vtroque genere venerandae antiquitatis monumenta publico dedit, eoque nomine magnam a sui et posteri aeui hominibus gratiam ac laudem meruit.'

(b) C. A. Heumann, Augusta Concilii Nicaeni II Censura, hoc est Caroli M. de impio imaginum cultu libri iv (Hanover, A.D. 1731), enumerates on p. 61 of his preface the following list of du Tillet's works, as supplied to him by Th. Hase (I abstain from giving the longer titles in full at this point) —

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Paciani . . . Paris, 1538. 4° [see below, no. 1].

Apostolorum et SS. Conciliorum . . . Paris, 1540. 4° [see below, no. 2].

Evangelium Matthaei Ebraice . . . Basle, 1552, and Paris, 1555. 8° [see below, no. 9].

Traité de la religion Chretienne. 1559. 12° [see below, no. 10].

E libris Constitutionum Theodosii . . . Paris, 1550. 8° [see below, no. 7].
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¹ I derive these last two facts from the preface to du Tillet's tract on the Apostles' Creed (no. 13, p. 56 below).

Response a vn Eucque aux Ministres de la nouvelle Eglise. 1566. 8°: also in Latin, 1564. 8° [see below, nos. 11, 12].

Traité du Symbole des Apôtres et douze articles de la foi. Paris, 1566. 8º [see below, no. 13].

Traité de l'antiquité et solemnité de la Messe. Paris, 1567 [see below, no. 14].

Auis aux Messieurs les Gentilshommes seduits par les piperies des Ministres des Eglises nouuelles. Paris, 1567. 8° [see below, no. 15].

Luciferi Episcopi Calaritani . . . Paris, 1568. 8º [see below, no. 16].

Chronicon de rebus Francorum . . . [see below, no. 3].

That is to say, twelve works in addition to the 'Libri Carolini de non adorandis imaginibus'; and to Hase's list I am able to add three more items, nos. 4, 5, and 6 below. Of these works, and more particularly of those of them which emanate from the scholar rather than the controversialist, something must now be said in detail: and this account of the books written by du Tillet will be succeeded by a similar (but it is to be feared more imperfect) account of the MSS. possessed by him.

I. BOOKS WRITTEN BY DU TILLET

1. A. D. 1538. D. Paciani Barcilonae integerrimi quondam Episcopi Paraenesis ad Poenitentiam. Altera eiusdem de Baptismo. Eiusdem Epistolae duae ad Sympronianum Noualianum. Accessit his tractatus eiusdem Sancti, aduersus Nouatianos. Hae Beati viri Christianae lucubrationes, nunc primum in lucem exeunt Lector pie, etiam si ab authore ante annos mille editae sint. Parisiis. In aedibus Carolae Guillardae, ad Solem aureum, via Iacobaea. 1538. [80.]

The preface is inscribed 'Ioanni Gagnaeio Theologo et ecclesiastae Regio Ioan. Tilius Salu.' The writer addresses Gagney as one of the foremost patristic scholars and editors of the time, who 'exemplaria veteris illius theologiae corrogas ex omnibus prope Galliae bibliothecis, quae in tuum hoc Gymnasium Parisiense conuehas, in exempla plurima transfusurus.' His own theological position is succinctly enough defined by a reference to 'the insane Luther and his synagogue': but about his position as a scholar we learn more from the epilogue to the book, headed 'Iacobus Borgardus pio Anagnostae S.' The 'pious, reader' is there told that 'exemplar perantiquum nobis benigne suggessit Ioa. Tilius adolescens id genus deliciarum ardentissimus: recognouit autem Godefridus Tilmannus Cartusiae Parisiensis ex professo monachus, sic tamen vt vestigia antiquitatis intacta reliquerit, seu sunt "intellego," "neglego," . . . "baptismum" uno et altero loco neutro genere.' The edition, in fact, is the young du Tillet's first adventure as a scholar and critic, and he works under guidance: but it was not long (as we shall see) before he produced on his own account, and the fact that the MS. of Pacian came from his hands suggests that he may already before 1538 have been entrusted with the remarkable commission from Francis I to visit the libraries of 'monasteries and other places' and to take MSS. from them, with which the passage quoted above from de Thou has already made us acquainted.

The Bodleian copy of this editio princeps of Pacian came from the Meerman sale, and belonged at an earlier period to the Le Tellier collection at St. Geneviève, as a printed slip pasted in the book records: 'Ex Bibliotheca quam 16000 Voll. constantem huic Abbatiae S. Genovesae Paris. Testamento legavit Car. Maurit. Le Tellier Archiep. Remensis.' In the margin of the book is a collation 'cum codice regio 800 annorum numero 5673' [or conceivably '3673']: and that this collation was made before 1693 is shown by the fact that the catalogue of the Le Tellier collection made in that year includes the item (p. 24: no. 415) 'Idem Pacianus: exemplar manu collatum ad cod. ms.' The number given, whether 5673 or 3673, does not suit either catalogue of the Paris MSS., that of A.D. 1740, still in use, or that of A.D. 1682. But that the MS. meant is really no. 3795 of the 1682 catalogue = no. 2182 of the 1740 catalogue, saec. xii (a MS. of Caesarius of Arles; the Pacian matter comes in the later part of the MS.), will not be doubted by any one

who consults the latest edition of Pacian, that of Ph. H. Peyrot (Zwolle, 1896); any more than that the MS. from which du Tillet derived his edition is the present Vaticanus Reginae 331, saec. x. These are the only two MSS. known, and the printed text agrees with the latter as regularly as the marginal collation does with the former. M. Omont suggests to me that the number 5673 is a confusion of 3795 read backwards; and this appears to be the most probable explanation of the error.

The above description is derived entirely from the copy in the Bodleian.

2. A.D. 1540. Κανόνες τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἀγίων συνόδων. Apostolorum et sanctorum conciliorum decreta. Hinc sarcienda ecclesiae concordia. Cum Regio priuilegio in quinquennium. Parisiis. Per Conradum Neobarium, Regium Typographum. M.D.XL. [80.]

The preface is dedicated to Cardinal François Tournon (successively Archbishop of Embrun, Bourges, Auch and Lyons): 'Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino D. Francisco Turnonio Cardinali, Iohannes Tilius Engolismensis S.P.D.' The book contains the Greek text, without translation, of the Apostolic Canons, and of the councils of Nicaea, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Sardica, Carthage, the council in Trullo, and the second council of Nicaea. The preface informs us that the source of the edition was a MS. of St. Hilary's at Poitiers, and the author promises (though it does not appear that the promise was fulfilled) a companion volume, from the same source, namely the 'canonical' writings of the Greek Fathers (or in other words the second portion of Greek Canon Law), 'quas itidem atque hos canonas a doctissimis diui Hilarii Pictauiensis canonicis . . . accepimus.'

This was the editio princeps, as far as I know (although it makes no claim to that effect), of the Greek councils. No reference is made to it in the first edition of the Greek with Latin version, that of Basle in 1559 (published by Andreas Gesner, but with no name of editor or translator: Thomas Barlow notes on the title-page of the Bodleian copy that Tilius' edition was the princeps): but in 1561 Gentianus Hervetus, canon of Reims, the translator of so many Greek patristic writings, dedicated to du Tillet a Latin version (the original text is not included) of the Greek councils and 'canonical' writings of the Greek Fathers, as well as of Photius' Nomocanon and Balsamon's commentaries, Canones sanctorum Apostolorum. Conciliorum Generalium et particularium. Sanctorum Patrum Dionysii . . . Photii Constantinopolitani Patriarchae praefixus est Nomocanon . . . Omnia commentariis amplissimis Theodori Balsamonis Antiocheni Patriarchae explicata et de Graecis conuersa, Gentiano Herueto interprete. E bibliotheca D. Io. Tilii Briocen. Episc. Parisiis. M.D.LXI. Apud Guil. Morelium.

In the preface ('Ioanni Tilio in primis reuerendo Briocensi Episcopo Gentianus Heruetus S.P.D.') Hervet addresses du Tillet as one who knew from early youth the value of ancient rules in the solution of modern difficulties, and 'permultis abhinc annis Graecorum conciliorum librum Pictauii a te inuentum Graece excudendum curasti.' Now, when they were both together at the council of Trent, du Tillet had urged him to publish his translation, and so it had come to pass that 'concilia a te Graece edita, ea nunc a me Latine versa, sed non sine magna accessione, tuo maxime hortatu et impulsu in lucem exeant.'

The description of du Tillet's edition of the Greek canons is drawn from a copy in my own possession; that of the two Latin versions from the copies in the Bodleian.

3. A.D. 1543 [1544]. De Regibus Francorum Chronicon, ad haec usque tempora studiosissime deductum. Parisiis. Ex officina Michaelis Vascosani, in uia quae est ad D. Iacobum, sub Fontis insigni. M.D.XLIII. Cum priuilegio. [folio.]

This chronicle extends from A.D. 420, the first year of King Faramund I, Anno Mundi 4381, to A.D. 1515, the first year of King Francis I, Anno Mundi 5476. The general arrangement appears to be imitated from the Chronicle of Jerome: the page is divided into four columns, the left hand one giving the Annus Christi, the next to that the Annus Regni (i.e. the years of the individual king, Faramund 1, Faramund 2, &c.), then

a broad column for events, and the last on the right the Annus Mundi. From 1516 to 1544 (Anni Mundi 5477 to 5505, Anni Francisci I. 2 to 30) the columns are continued as before, and the three columns with figures are filled up: but that for events is left blank.

The work is printed as an appendix to the 1544 edition of Paulus Aemilius' History of France: Pauli Aemylii Veronensis, historici clarissimi, de rebus gestis Francorum, ad Christianissimum Galliarum Regem Franciscum Valesium, eius nominis primum, libri Decem, ex postrema auctoris recognitione. Additum est de regibus item Francorum Chronicon, ad haec usque tempora studiosissime deductum, cum rerum maxime insignium indice copiosissimo. Parisiis. Imprimebat Michaël Vascosanus sibi, et Iohanni Roigny. M.D.XLIIII. Cum priuilegio ad triennium. [folio.] The History of Aemilius stops in the early years of Charles VIII, some thirty years before the point to which even this first edition of du Tillet's Chronicle is brought down.

In 1548 the Chronicle was republished separately in a small volume, with a continuation to the accession of Henry II (A.D. 1547, A.M. 5508), but still without the writer's name: Chronicon de Regibus Francorum, a Pharamundo usque ad Henricum II. Parisiis. Apud Vascosanum, uia Iacobea, ad insigne Fontis. M.D.XLVIII. Cum priuilegio Regis. [80.] Another edition (if it can properly be called another) is identical save for the name of the publisher: instead of 'Apud Vascosanum... Fontis,' it gives 'Apud Audoenum Paruum, uia Iacobea, ad insigne Lilii.'

In 1550 a folio edition appeared, brought down to the fourth year of Henry II (A.D. 1550, A.M. 5511), and this was the first which bore the author's name on the title-page: Io. Tilii Chronicon de Regibus Francorum, a Faramundo usque ad Franciscum Primum. Cui deinceps adiunximus quae a Francisco I. scientiarum ac disciplinarum parente, reliquis annis usque ad Henricum II. gesta sunt. Lutetiae. Ex officina M. Vascosani, uia Iacobaea, ad insigne Fontis. M.D.L. Cum privilegio Regis.

The edition of 1551 appears to be unchanged, except in size, from that of 1550: Io. Tilii Chronicon de Regibus Francorum, a Faramundo usque ad Franciscum Primum. Cui deinceps adiunximus quae a Francisco Primo usque ad Henricum II. gesta sunt. Lutetiae. Apud Vascosanum, uia Iacobaea, ad insigne Fontis. m.D.LI. Ex priuilegio Regis. [80.]

This Chronicle of du Tillet is not in any sense an edition or continuation of an earlier writer, but is an independent historical work of the author's, arranged, as it would seem, after the model of Jerome, the most famous chronicler of the ancient Western world. Even the Annales Tiliani (on which see below, MS. no. ix), the eighth century annals which owe their name to du Tillet as the possessor of the only MS. ever known of them, were only used subordinately, if they were used at all, in the composition of the Chronicle.

Of the above editions of the Chronicle those of 1543 and 1551 are described from the Bodleian copies: the rest I only came to know in Paris, the Vascosanus of 1548 at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Audoenus Parvus of 1548 and the folio of 1550 at the Bibliothèque Mazarine.

The Bibliothèque Nationale contains also a number of French versions, authorized and unauthorized, of the Chronicle under various different titles. The preface to the earliest of these that I saw (Rouen, A.D. 1551) quite frankly admits that the undertaking is not countenanced by the author: but it contains at the same time some interesting information about the genesis and history of the original work. Later on the Chronicle was given an authorized French form, with the name of Chronique abrégée des Roys de France, as an appendix to the Recueil des Roys de France of the author's brother, the Sieur de la Bussière.

4. A.D. 1548. In Christi nomine incipiunt capitula regum et episcoporum maximeque omnium nobilium Francorum ad reprimendas Neophylorum quasi fidelium diuersas adinuentiones. Cum priuilegio. Parisiis. Apud Iacobum Bogardum sub insigni D. Christophori e regione gymnasii Cameracensium. 1548. [160.]

In this book, which forms a sort of transition between the historical work that preceded it and the editions of Roman lawyers and legal codes which immediately followed it, are contained two ninth century

collections of Capitularies, those of Ansegisus and of Benedict the deacon (Benedictus Leuita), printed continuously in such a way that, after the four books of Ansegisus, Benedict's first book runs on as book v and his second as book vi. Ansegisus, abbot of Fontanelle, published in A.D. 827 a valuable collection of the Capitularies of Charles the Great, Lewis, and Lothair: Benedict, perhaps somewhat later in the same century, made a much larger compilation, of which, however, not more than a fourth part comes from genuine Capitularies, while the rest is made up from miscellaneous sources of all kinds. Du Tillet's edition contains Ansegisus complete, but Benedict only as far as chapter 289 of book ii, breaking off at the end of p. 448 in the middle of a word: and it was probably on account of this imperfection that it was kept back, as it appears, during the whole of du Tillet's lifetime, and only after his death did a few copies pass into circulation, one of which found its way into Baluze's hands, and is now in the library of the University of Göttingen, while another is at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The above account is drawn from Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges, i. 263—who also (p. 269) identifies du Tillet's MS. as Paris. lat. 4635 (olim Mazarin 4243), saec. x: see below MS. no. ii, p. 57—supplemented by my own inspection of the Paris copy. Neither this book nor the next is in the Bodleian.

5. A.D. (?). Of the same form and type as the preceding, according to Pertz, loc. cit., is a 16mo edition by du Tillet-without date, without name of place-of 'leges antiquae'; according to the same authority, a copy is in the public library of Hanover. I identify it without hesitation with the following 16mo book in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which has neither date, place, nor author's name given on the title-page: Libelli seu decreta a Clodoueo, et Childeberto, et Clothario prius aedita, ac postremum a Carolo lucide emendata, auctaque plurimum. In quibus haec habentur, Capitula ex Isidori iunioris Hispalensis episcopi Elymologiarum lib. v. Pactum pro tenore pacis DD. Childeberti et Clotharii regum. Decretio Clotharii regis. Recapitulatio legis Salicae. To this title-page correspond 127 pages of text, which have the running headline all through 'Leg. Sal.' Five other sections complete the book—each with a separate paging of its own—under the following printed titles (no other matter appears on the respective first pages): Antiquae Burgundionum leges [95 pp.]: Ripuariorum leges a Theodorico rege Francorum latae [56 pp.]: Lex Alamannorum quae temporibus Clotharii regis una cu principibus suis, id sunt, xxxiiii. episcopis, et xxxiiii. ducibus, et lxxii. comilibus, vel caetero populo constituta est [70 pp.]: Vetus lex Saxonum [15 pp.]: Antiqua Baiuuariorum lex [119 pp.]. A pencil note on the guard leaf states that the book belongs to the middle of the sixteenth century, that the editor was Jean du Tillet, bishop of Meaux, and that among its contents is the editio princeps of the Salic law. There c.n be hardly any doubt that either all or most of the law codes here published were derived from the same MS. as the Ulpian which is now to be described, that is to say, from Vaticanus Reginae 1128, saec. ix, on which see below, p. 58, no. iii.

6. A.D. 1549. XXVIIII Tituli ex corpore Vlpiani. Parisiis. Apud Guil. Morelium ex adverso aedis Remensium. 1549.

This Paris editio princeps of Ulpian was followed almost immediately by a reprint at Louvain: Ex Vlpiani corpore tituli xxvIII. Libellus sane utilis ad inuestigandum antiqui iuris usum. Louanii. Apud Martinum Rotarium bibliopolam iuratum. Anno m.d.l. [80.]: the colophon gives the end of the same year, 'Louanii, Typis Reyneri Velpii Diestensis. m.d.l. Men. Decemb.' The Paris book I have not seen, and no copy appears to be preserved in the libraries of Paris, Oxford, Munich, the British Museum, or the Vatican: but I have been fortunate enough to hear of a copy (catalogued as 272 F 12) in the University library at Leyden. Of the Louvain edition, which looks like a pirated reprint outside the limits of the French kingdom and its copyright, the Bodleian possesses a copy (which came in Selden's collection), bound up with a Louvain book of the same printer but of the succeeding year, Nicolai Clenardi Peregrinationum, ac de rebus

Machometicis epistolae elegantissimae . . . Louanii. Apud Martinum Rotarium. 1551: but this connexion is presumably a mere accident.

We learn from the preface, which is common to both the Paris and Louvain editions (it is inscribed 'Io. Tilius Eng. Emaro Ranconeto magno Senatu Regis consiliario S.', and dated 'Lutetiae Parisiorum Cal. Decemb. 1549'), that du Tillet had had the MS. of Ulpian in his possession for at least five years: it was so corrupt that he had waited in the hopes of coming across a better one, but now his friends would allow him to wait no longer. The editor of a corrupt text such as this had to decide whether to leave the corruptions as they stood in the MS. or to emend them freely: for his own part he chose the former course, and it was his rule, 'in huiusmodi uetustorum monimentorum reliquiis, ne quid detrahatur, addatur, immutetur, nisi se mendae luce clariores prodant. Nolumus enim de nostro quicquam adiici, liberumque de locis dubiis cuique iudicium reliquimus.' The libellus of Ulpian was attached in the MS. to the farrago of matter which Alaric had put together out of the Roman laws, and which, depraved as it was, the Germans had published 'superioribus annis' under the name of the Theodosian code [the reference is presumably to the edition of Jo. Sichardus, Basle, A.D. 1528]: of that code he himself intended to publish within a few months an improved edition, including a great part of it in its original form. Meanwhile, 'quasi primitias quasdam,' he issues the present booklet.

The Bodleian possesses two more early law collections which include Ulpian, Lyons A.D. 1553 and Paris A.D. 1555. Du Tillet's MS. of Ulpian and of the law-book of Alaric is the present Vaticanus Reginae 1128, saec. ix: see below, MS. no. iii, p. 58.

7. A.D. 1550. E libris Constitutionum Theodosii A. libri priores octo longe meliores quam adhuc circunferebantur: sed ab Alarico rege Gotthorum ita deminuti, vt vix decima pars in his hodie appareat eorū quae in Theodosiano codice continebantur. Posteriores octo integri, nunc primum post M. annos in lucem reuocati a Io. Tilio Engolism. Dicati Io. Bertrando V. C. Curiae Parisiorum praesidi, et ab interiori consilio Henrici II. Galliae regis optimi maximi. Cum priuilegio Regis et Curiae. Parisiis. Apud Carolam Guillard sub sole aureo, et Gulielmum desboys sub cruce alba, via ad diuum Iacobum. M.D.L. [80.]

In his preface, 'Io. Tilius Engolism. Lectori,' dated April, 1550, the editor tells us that only the last eight books had come into his hands [in their original and complete form], but that even the fragments of the earlier books, as contained in Alaric's compendium, had been collated with 'ancient manuscript copies,' and were restored to a much more correct form than had belonged to them in the 'Germanic edition' [i. e. Sichard's: see above under no. 6]: for he had both followed ancient orthography, and had cut out the explanations interpolated in the imperial Constitutions by Alaric or his chancellor Anianus. Du Tillet goes on to promise a new edition of Justinian's code with notes on that and on the code of Theodosius: at the same time, if he found the leisure for it, a much improved text of the Consular fasti: while he announces that he is also preparing another volume of the writings of the early jurisconsults. The whole passage is important enough to be set out in full in the original Latin: 'Quamquam autem quicquid hoc est operae a praecipuis nostris sacrarum literarum studiis semotum est, speramus tamen nos edituros aliquando propter summum in bonas literas studium, adnotatiunculas quasdam non inutiles, cum in has constitutiones, tum in ipsum Iustiniani Augusti codicem, quem longe integriorem quam adhuc erat, breui reddemus, vt post Florentinas pandectas his diebus publicatas, constitutiones itidem imperatorias in melius restitutas habere possis. Et si per ocium liceat, una Consulum catalogum multo certiorem et instructiorem edemus.... Hoc volumine veterum Imperatorum quod reliquum est, totum complexi sumus: alterum tibi de veterum Iurisconsultorum scriptis paramus.'

If we may suppose that the prefaces to the two last books, nos. 6 and 7, were both printed before either book was published, it would be possible that each of them should refer to the other as still future: and in that case the last sentence of the preface just quoted might be safely identified as referring to the edition of Ulpian. The promised edition of Justinian's code seems never to have appeared.

Of the two copies which I have seen of this edition of the Theodosian code, only that in the Bodleian possesses the preface from which the preceding account has been derived; but the earlier sheets of the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale are in some confusion, and the absence of the preface is probably accidental. On the other hand there is present in the Paris copy after the text, but in the Bodleian copy before it, a second preface addressed to Jo. Bertrandus (to whom the title-page tells us the book was dedicated) and dated in November 1549. The MS. of the eight complete books of the Code is there said to be 'literis grandioribus descriptus'; and this goes with other evidence to make it certain that the MS. in question is identical with Vaticanus Reginae 886, saec. vi (see below, MS. no. iv, p. 58): the MS. from which the fragments of the other books were corrected was no doubt the MS. referred to under nos. 5 and 6 above, Vat. Reg. 1128.

It has seemed convenient to treat together all du Tillet's contributions to Frankish and Roman law: but in order to do so the strict chronological order has had to be modified, for the theological work to which we now turn must have been actually issued somewhat earlier than one or two of the legal works.

8. A.D. 1549. Opus inlustrissimi et excellentissimi seu spectabilis uiri, Caroli Magni, nutu Dei, regis Francorum, Gallias, Germaniam, Italiamque, siue harum finitimas prouincias domino opitulante regentis, contra Synodum, quae in partibus Graeciae pro adorandis imaginibus stolide siue arroganter gesta est. Item, Paulini Aquileiensis Episcopi aduersus Felicem Vrgelitanum, et Eliphandum Toletanum episcopos libellus. Quae nunc primum in lucem restituuntur. Anno Salutis m.d.xlix. [160.]

No name or place is given: but the preface is entitled 'Eli. Phili. Christiano Lectori.' There is no doubt that the place was Paris: and there is equally no doubt that the editor was du Tillet. Indeed it seems to have been a quite open secret, for his authorship of the book is assumed by both its admirers and its detractors alike. The pseudonym of the preface is thus resolved: 'Eli. Phili.' stands for Elias Philyra: but John the Baptist was 'another Elias,' and tilia is the Latin for a linden tree, of which $\phi \lambda \hat{\nu} \rho a$ is the Greek, so that Elias Philyra = Jean du Tillet.

A treatise directed against the veneration of images was not likely to be palatable to the Papal side during the stress of the Reformation struggle, especially as the editor, who printed in large type, as an epilogue to the book, Psalm cxv [cxiii] with its references to 'the idols of the heathen,' did not conceal the fact that his own sympathies were on the side of the treatise he was editing. It is not surprising that some controversial writers both attacked the genuineness of these 'libri Carolini' and accused the editor of Calvinism: what is perhaps more surprising is that he nevertheless became a bishop four years after the publication, and ten years later was translated to another and less remote see.

A second edition, Cologne A.D. 1555, is mentioned in older authorities: but if it ever existed, it has become even more rare than the original, and that is rare enough. The machinery of the Roman Curia was set in motion against the book: it was included, even in du Tillet's lifetime, in the *Index librorum prohibitorum cum Regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentina synodo delectos, auctoritate Sanctiss. D. N. Pii IIII Pont. Max. comprobatus* (Bononiae, apud Ioannem Budrium, MDLXIIII: under the letter L and the heading 'Incertorum auctorum libri prohibiti')—probably the only book produced by one of the Tridentine Fathers themselves which appears there; again in the Index of Clement VIII (Romae, apud impressores camerales, A.D. 1596; p. 49)¹; under Alexander VII in 1667 (but now under the letter O), under Innocent XI in 1685, under Clement XI in 1717, and doubtless in other issues: and the bibliophile Gerhard Mastricht, we are told, was accustomed to show his copy to his visitors as the greatest rarity of his library. But in proportion to the desire on the one side to suppress the book, was the desire on the other to exploit a work written under the auspices of a Catholic emperor and brought to light by a Catholic bishop:

¹ The Vatican library possesses copies of these two editions of the Index, Barberini Z xiv 97 and Z xiii 108.

and du Tillet's edition was twice reprinted in Germany, by Melchior Goldast in the sixteenth and by C. A. Heumann in the seventeenth century. In the Imperialia decreta de cultu imaginum in utroque imperio tam Orientis quam Occidentis promulgata, nunc primum collecta, recensita et notis illustrata a Melchiore Haiminsfeldio Goldasto (Frankfort, A.D. 1608), pp. 67-598 contain the libri Carolini under the following title 'Caroli Magni, regis Francorum et Longobardorum, et Patricii Romanorum, Filii et Defensoris sanctae Dei Ecclesiae, Capitulare de non adorandis Imaginibus, contra Constantini VII. Imperatoris Constantinopolitani et Hirenae Matris Decretum, et Synodum Nicaenam II. Pseudo-septimam Oecumenicam siue Vniuersalem, compositum et publicatum in Concilio Francofordiensi, et Hadriano Papae missum, Anno Domini DCCXCIV. Editum ex bibliotheca et studio Ioannis Tilii Meldensis Episcopi.' Heumann's reprint, on the other hand, was limited to the work of du Tillet: Augusta Concilii Nicaeni II. Censura, hoc est, Caroli M. de impio imaginum cultu libri IV. Ad primam editionem recudi eos curauit ac subinde partim emendauit, partim illustrauit . . . Christoph. Aug. Heumannus, S. Theol. D. et Prof. Gymn. Regii Gotting. Insp. (Hanover, A.D. 1731). It is from the remarkably full and detailed preface to this latter work that the bibliography printed on p. 48 supra has been drawn.

Both the original edition of du Tillet, and the reprints of Goldast and Heumann, are described from copies in the Bodleian: I have seen no others.

9. A.D. 1555, &c. בשורת סחי. Evangelium Hebraicum Matthaei, recens e Iudaeorum penetralibus erutum cum Interpretatione Latina, ad vulgatam quoad fieri potuit, accommodata. Parisiis. Apud Martinum Iuuenem, sub insigni D. Christofori, e regione gymnasii Cameracensium. 1555. [160.]

The responsibility of du Tillet for this work does not appear to have extended beyond the discovery of the MS. on which it is based and the selection of an editor. When in Rome in 1553 [this was perhaps in connexion with his consecration to the see of St. Brieuc, to which he was nominated in that year], he acquired a MS. of a Hebrew translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew and sent it to Jean Mercier (Iohannes Mercerus), professor of Hebrew at the Sorbonne, in order that it might be published, together with an exact Latin translation and a dedication to the Cardinal (Charles) of Lorraine.

Du Tillet's letter to Mercier, which is printed in the edition of the text, is dated Nov. 27, 1554: and this alone would seem to disprove Heumann's statement (see p. 48 above) that the book was published at Basle in 1552 as well as at Paris in 1555. Perhaps Heumann mixed it up with an earlier edition of the Hebrew Matthew, which Sebastian Minster had issued at Basle in 1537 (with a dedication to Henry VIII of England): this was reprinted, without change but with the addition of a Hebrew version of the Epistle to the Hebrews, at the same town in 1557.

We have seen, in connexion with the edition of the libri Carolini, that du Tillet fell into some disfavour with the extremer Papal party, and therefore naturally with their champions the Jesuits. Bellarmine, in his 'Controversies' (Disputationes, tom. I: 1. de Verbo Dei, lib. ii. cap. 7), attacks the book now under discussion. Whether or no, he says, St. Matthew's Gospel was originally written in Hebrew, the Greek is the received text of the Church: 'quocirca non multum egemus Euangelio Hebraico quod Munsterus edidit; nec illo etiam, quod nuper edi curauit Ioannes Tilius, in quo multa desunt, multa superuacanea sunt, non pauca etiam immutata cernuntur; et Deus nouit vtrum id factum non sit ad detrahendam fidem Graecae et Latinae editioni, astutia videlicet Iudaeorum, ex quorum promptuariis Euangelium illud prodiit.' If Possevin, another Jesuit, appeals to Bellarmine's authority for the statement that du Tillet put forward an edition of the Greek Testament which was looked on with disfavour by the Church, the blunder is due simply to gross and inexcusable misunder-standing of the passage from Bellarmine just quoted.

Du Tillet had guarded himself indeed from saying that what he had discovered was the original of the Greek Gospel: but Bellarmine's critical acumen had divined the truth when he hazarded the assertion that the new Hebrew text was a Jewish forgery. However far superior du Tillet's text was to Münster's (for the latter's MS. suffered from numerous *lacunae*, and these he filled up by his own retranslations into Hebrew), there can

be no doubt that both forms go back ultimately to the same Hebrew original, an anti-Christian composition of a Spanish Jew, Shem Tobh b. Shaphrut of Tudela, in the year A.D. 1385. On this subject the reader may be referred to the father of Biblical criticism, R. Simon, *Histoire Critique des Versions du Nouveau Testament* (Rotterdam, A.D. 1690), pp. 231 seqq.; the account there given is derived, as Simon tells us, from the work of J.-B. Jonas, a converted Jew who in 1668 published at the Propaganda a Hebrew version of the four Gospels.

On the basis of the texts of the two sixteenth century editors, a new edition of the Hebrew Matthew was published in 1879: Des Schemtob ben Schaphrut hebraeische Übersetzung des Evangeliums Matthaei nach den Drucken des S. Münster und J. du Tillet-Mercier neu herausgegeben von Dr. Adolf Herbst (Göttingen). Dr. Herbst in an exhaustive preface collects all that is known of the history of the translation and editions, and shows that the translator worked directly from the Vulgate. It may be added that the few apparent variations from the Vulgate in the direction of the Greek may be explained away with much probability as intrusions of Old Latin readings into Vulgate MSS.: all but one of them, for instance, are found in the codex Brixianus (f) of the Old Latin Gospels.

Du Tillet's MS. is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds hébreu, 132 (olim Colbert 3924). The British Museum copy of his book contains annotations by Casaubon. I have not seen any copy of it myself, but derive my account from Bellarmine, Herbst, and the British Museum catalogue.

10. A.D. 1559. Jehan du Tillet, évêque de Saint Brieu, de la religion chrestienne. Paris. G. Morel. 1559. [160.]

Of the six controversial tracts which begin with no. 10, and which are all (except no. 12, which is a Latin version of no. 11) written in French, the Bodleian possesses not one. Nos. 13 and 15 I have seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale; the old catalogue of printed books in the same library (Théologie, part ii, A.D. 1742) mentions also the remaining four (nos. 10-12, 14), which all belonged to a single 'recueil,' but that 'recueil' has unfortunately disappeared. The gap caused by this loss at the Bibliothèque Nationale is filled as regards one of the books by the Bibliothèque Mazarine, where a copy is preserved of no. 12. Even for the other three the catalogue-titles, which I have scrupulously followed, provide some rectifications of the list in Heumann, especially in regard to the priority of the French tract no. 11 over its corresponding Latin form, no. 12.

I have therefore seen no copy of this book.

11. A.D. 1563. Epitre d'un évêque [Jean du Tillet] aux Ministres des églises nouvelles. Paris. G. Morel. 1563. [80.]

I have not seen this book: see above, on no. 10.

12. A.D. 1564. Ioannis Tilii Episcopi Briocensis epistola ad nouarum Ecclesiarum Ministros, e gallico latina facta P. M. interprete. Parisiis. M.D.LXIII. Apud Barbaram de Mascon Guil. Morelii viduam. Cum priuilegio. [80.]

I have seen a copy at the Bibliothèque Mazarine. The tract has no preface: it is dated at the end 'Brioci. xv. Nouēb. 1564.'

13. A.D. 1566. Iehan du Tillet evesque de Meaulx, du Symbole des Apostres, et des douze articles de la foy. Sur l'exemplaire imprimé à Paris, par la vesue Guil. Morel, Imprimeur du Roy. 1566. [80.]

I have seen two copies of this tract on the Apostles' Creed (which is not mentioned in Kattenbusch) at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

14. A.D. 1567. De l'antiquité et solennité de la messe, par Jean du Tillet, évêque de Meaux. Paris. J. Bienné. 1567. [16°.]

I have not seen this book: see above, on no. 10.

15. A.D. 1567? Advis d'un Prelat de France contre les piperies des Ministres des eglises nouvelles à Messieurs les Gentilshommes seduicts. M.D.LXXXVII. [80.]

The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses a copy of this tract, which I have seen: and a curious point arises out of it. For whereas Hase-Heumann's list gives the year 1567, the title-page of the Paris copy gives m.D.LXXXVII: and not only the title-page, but the preface (addressed to 'Monseigneur le Prince de Condé'), is signed 'a Paris le 7 de Nouembre 1587. Vostre tres-humble et tres-obeissant seruiteur I. du Tillet E. de Meaulx.'

16. A.D. 1568. Luciferi episcopi Calaritani ad Constantium, Constantini Magni F. Imp. Aug. Opuscula. Parisiis. MDLXVIII. Apud Michaelem Sonnium, sub scuto Basiliensi, via Iacobaea. [80.]

The preface is addressed to pope Pius V by 'Ioannes Tilius Episcopus Meldensis,' and is dated on Jan. 3, 1568. The contrast of tone between this and the prefaces to du Tillet's earlier editions impresses itself at once upon the notice. The high hopes of the Renaissance, the encyclopaedic enthusiasm for learning which plunged the young du Tillet in turn into Latin patristic and Greek conciliar literature, into French history and Roman law, into the iconoclastic controversy and the question of a Hebrew original to the Gospel, have given place to the cares of high office, to the dominant pressure of the religious controversy, and to the sombre pessimism of age. The editio princeps of the writings of Lucifer of Cagliari owed its appearance no longer to the editor's passion for the discovery and publication of the unknown, but to the singular appropriateness of the subject-matter to the temper of the times. The disorders engendered by the Arian struggle in the fourth century find their parallel in a gloomy picture of the state of contemporary France. Lucifer's attitude to Constantius suggests the prayer that the young and innocent king [Charles IX] might be divinely guided 'to demolish and destroy temples and groves and all idolatry, and to repress and extinguish all heresy.' The shadow of the coming massacre of St. Bartholomew lies heavy upon the pages of the latest preface that was penned by the gifted and versatile scholar, jurist, bishop, Jean du Tillet.

II. MSS. POSSESSED BY DU TILLET

Besides the Greek MS. of Canon law from Poitiers and the Hebrew MS. of St. Matthew's Gospel from Rome (see above, nos. 2 and 9), we have in one way or another knowledge of the following Latin MSS. as having belonged to du Tillet (those which he used for his own books are mentioned first)—

i. A MS. of Pacian (see above, p. 49). This is shown by the agreement of its readings to be identical with cod. Vaticanus Reginae 331, saec. x. The greater part of the magnificent collection of MSS. made by queen Christina and bought in 1690 by pope Alexander VIII was acquired from French sources before the year 1658. About the history of this particular MS., where du Tillet found it, and through whose hands it passed after his ownership of it and before queen Christina's, nothing more appears to be known.

ii. A MS. of the collections of Capitularies made by Ansegisus of Fontanelle and Benedict the deacon respectively (see above, p. 52). This is identified by Pertz (M. G. H.: Leges, i. 269) as Paris. lat. 4635 (olim Mazarin 4243), saec. x: and in fact the most cursory inspection of the MS. is enough to show that it served as a press copy for the edition. At the same time the very numerous alterations in what we may presume to be du Tillet's own handwriting show also that he must have had a second MS. at his disposal; moreover, soon after the commencement of book vi (book ii of Benedict), on fol. 153 a of Paris. lat. 4635 (which contains in all 240 leaves), the corrections cease and simultaneously the printed text appears to desert the MS. altogether.

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iii. A MS. containing fragments of Ulpian and the whole of the Lex Romana Visigothorum (see above, no. 6, p. 52). This is certainly to be identified (if only because no other MS. of the Ulpian is known) with Vaticanus Reginae 1128, saec. ix, of which the contents are as follows: fol. 1 Lex Romana Visigothorum; fol. 190 Ulpiani fragmenta; fol. 212 lex Burgundionum; fol. 233 lex Ribuariorum; fol. 242 lex Salica; fol. 259 lex Alamannorum. The four last sections were doubtless the source also of the corresponding portions of du Tillet's edition of the German codes (no. 5, p. 52). The MS., before it came to queen Christina, was in the possession of Alexander Petavius (Petau). It bears on fol. 241 a the name Gauzibertus: but there appears to be no reason whatever to suppose (as has generally been supposed) that it came from Fleury. According to Delisle, Cabinet des Manuscrits, i. 285, the MSS. of both the brothers du Tillet descended to another Jean du Tillet, 'greffier en chef du parlement,' who died in 1646. Apparently his library was then dispersed: Gabriel Naudé, librarian successively to cardinal Mazarin and queen Christina, bought 'du feu M. du Tylliet trois crochetées de manuscrits de toutes sortes, 125 livres.' Alexandre Petau did not sell his MSS. to queen Christina till 1650 (Delisle, op. cit., p. 288); and it is possible that those MSS. of du Tillet which came to the queen's collection from Petau's had only been acquired by the latter between 1646 and 1650.

iv. A MS. of books ix-xvi of the Theodosian code (see above, no. 7, p. 53). This MS., like the last, can be certainly identified, and like the last it passed into the Petau collection and so to queen Christina: it has on fol. 1 the note 'Alexander Pauli filius Petavius Senator Parisiensis [A.D.] 1647,' and is now catalogued as Vat. Reg. 886. It was written in the sixth century, probably in Gaul, possibly at Lyons, the great centre, according to Dr. Traube, for the reproduction of manuscripts of the Code: the signatures of the quaternions are in Greek letters, and there is some Greek writing in the codex itself. It is described at length in G. Haenel, Antiqua summaria codicis Theodosiani ex codice Vaticano cum codicis et summariorum descriptione nunc primum edidit Gustavus Haenel Lipsiensis (Lipsiae, A.D. 1834), and in Th. Mommsen, Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis: et leges nouellae ad Theodosium pertinentes (Berolini, A.D. 1905; pp. xliv-lvii, and tables ii, v). Like MS. no. ii above, it contains corrections in du Tillet's handwriting, which reappear in the text of his edition.

v. A MS. of the 'libri Carolini de non adorandis imaginibus' (see above, no. 8, p. 54). Du Tillet describes his own copy of the libri Carolini as 'exemplar huius libri uetustum in templo quodam maiore augustissimo ac totius Galliae antiquissimo repertum,' words which seem to point to Lyons, Reims, or St. Denis. The MS. was seen in du Tillet's possession by George Cassander, and is thus described by him in a letter to Joannes Molinaeus, A.D. 1560 (Georgii Cassandri Opera, ed. Paris, A.D. 1616, p. 1103: I owe this reference to H. J. Floss, De suspecta librorum Carolinorum a Joanne Tilio editorum fide, Bonn, A.D. 1860, p. 11): 'Vidi et alterum in Galliis apud quendam eruditum virum modo episcopum, ex bibliotheca quadam illustri scriptum, serico villato et aureis vmbilicis exornatum.' Later on the same MS. was seen by Paul Petau, who records (see A. Duchesne, Historiae Francorum Scriptores, ii. 352) that it contained at the end the following subscription, 'Ingelrannus abbas iussu Caroli Magni hunc librum scripsit et ad Adrianum papam tulit.' Du Tillet's MS. must be distinguished from another MS. which was already in his time in the Vatican library, and is spoken of by Augustin Steuch, the Vatican librarian (+ A.D. 1550: Opera, ed. 1591, iii. 226), as 'liber vetustissimus litteris Lomgobardicis scriptus, in bibliotheca Palatina'---by which, of course, is not meant the collection now called Palatine at the Vatican, which came from the sack of the Elector Palatine's library at Heidelberg. At the present time the Vatican library contains a MS. of the libri Carolini (Vat. 7207, saec. x), which belonged to Marienfeld in Germany and was brought to Italy by the cardinal legate Contarini: and as Contarini died in 1542, it is just possible that the MS. is that which was known in Rome to Steuch, but not possible that it was du Tillet's. But another MS. of the treatise, saec. ix-x, exists in the library of the Arsenal at Paris (Pertz, Archiv, viii. 361: H. Martin, Catalogue des manuscrits

de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, I [1885], p. 499): A. Reifferscheid (Index scholarum in Vniuersitate Litterarum Vratislauiensi per hiemem anni moccolexiii-lexiv...pp. 1, 2), however, denies that this MS. can be identical with du Tillet's. The question would appear to turn in the first place on the presence or absence of the subscription of Ingelrannus in the MS.

vi (and vi b?). A second MS used for the same volume contained apparently the Acts of the Council of Frankfort in 794, and the writing of Paulinus of Aquileia against Felix of Urgel and Eliphandus of Toledo: and of this MS. du Tillet tells us 'in alio praeterea musaeo supramodum etiam antiquo volumen aliquod reperi. . . . Continet autem, vt ab aliis negotiis discedam, huius concilii acta, seorsum de singulis rebus agentia quae confectae et definitae fuere. istaque secunda nominatur materia, prima vero haeresis Feliciana.' He goes on to quote two passages, the first 'Conuenientibus, deo fauente . . .' about Eliphandus and Felix, the second 'Adlata est in medium . . .' about the Second Council of Nicaea: these are Canons I and II of the Council of Frankfort (Labbe-Coleti, ix. 101). The other canons were first edited in the following century from a MS. of St. Remi at Reims by the indefatigable Jacques Sirmond, who also used for the rest of the Acts of the Council a MS. given by Hincmar of Reims to his cathedral church. Sirmond had no doubt that the St. Remi MS. was the same that du Tillet had used: 'Synodi porro huius' he writes (Concil. Antiq. Galliae, ii. 681, quoted by Labbe-Coleti, ix. 110), 'exceptis canonibus, integrum ac peruetus exemplar suppeditauit nobis bibliotheca ecclesiae Remensis, cuius ope multa passim emendata. Canonum vero, qui antehac desiderabantur, copiam nacti sumus ex vetusto item codice sancti Remigii, eodem ipso, quo usum constabat illum, qui primus libros Carolinos, et cum his primum et secundum huius Concilii canonem, dissimulato et interpolato nomine suo, in lucem dedit. Praeter hoc enim aliud antiquae notae canonum Francofordiensium exemplar, quod sciam, nullum est.' But Sirmond was certainly inexact in this latter statement, for Paris. lat. 4628 A, saec. xwhich, it is fair to add, was not at Paris in Sirmond's day—contains not only the book of Paulinus against Eliphandus and Felix (fol. 46 a Sancto incitante Spiritu . . .) but also the 'Capitula synodalia Caroli Magni,' or, in other words, the canons of Frankfort (fol. 55 a Conjungentibus Deo fauente . . .). This MS. belonged in the seventeenth century to a cleric of Poitiers: but a note at the end in a fifteenth-century hand records that 'Ce liure de pfit [='present'] est de l'abbaye de St. Denis en France. Henry de la Cloche.' It might therefore correspond well enough to du Tillet's description: for it contains a good deal of other matter beyond Paulinus and the council (e.g. Salic laws and the collection of Ansegisus), and St. Denis was even more truly than St. Remi a 'musaeum supramodum antiquum.'

Du Tillet further says 'accessit etiam mihi dono eiusdem exempli volumen cum hoc nostro: ex quo vtroque illum Paulini libellum hausi,' from which it is presumably to be gathered that he had at command two independent authorities for the text of Paulinus; but his words are (perhaps intentionally) so obscure that it is not easy to fix their exact force. To me it seems as though he means to say that he possessed (1) a MS. containing both Paulinus and the Synod of Frankfort, and (2) a MS. containing Paulinus only. If so, the latter should probably be identified with Vat. Reg. 192, of which foll. 1-101 consist of a ninth-century copy of the three books contra Felicem: the MS., before it came to queen Christina, had belonged to Alexandre Petau, and in earlier times to St. Ouen at Rouen, 'iste liber est de sco Audoeno Rothm'.'

vii. The MS. of the works of Lucifer (see above, no. 16, p. 57) is unhesitatingly identified by the latest editor, W. Hartel, in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. xiv (Vienna, A.D. 1886) with cod. Vat. Reginae 133, saec. ix—x, on the ground of the consensus of MS. and edition in errors great and small. No other MS. of Lucifer is known to exist or have existed: and it is therefore obvious to presume that the codex which du Tillet employed in the sixteenth century, and which queen Christina acquired in the seventeenth, is the one mentioned in two mediaeval catalogues of the library of the monastery of Corbie. In the later of these two catalogues, circa A.D. 1200 (Becker, Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui, Bonn, A.D. 1885, p. 283), the 245th item runs as follows: 'Iohannes diaconus super pentateuchum. Luciferi episcopi pro

Athanasio libri duo. de regibus apostaticis liber unus. de non conueniendo cum hereticis liber unus. de non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus liber unus. quod moriendum sit pro Dei filio liber unus. epistola Florentii liber unus. Athanasii libri duo. liber ad Constantium. Athanasius ad monachos.' This enumeration of the treatises of Lucifer corresponds substantially to the edition of du Tillet: and probably there would never have been any doubt about identifying du Tillet's MS. with that of Corbie but for the mention, as present in the Corbie MS., of the commentary of John the deacon on the Pentateuch. But it is reasonable to conclude that this supposed connexion in one MS. of the writings of John and Lucifer is due to some confusion in the catalogue: for (1) the treatise of John is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. lat. 12309, saec. xi, and not only forms a separate MS. in a separate binding now, but apparently always has done so; and (2) a somewhat earlier catalogue at Corbie, of the twelfth century (Becker, p. 189) reckons the two items separately, no. 191 'Iohannis Romani expositio in genesi,' no. 213 'Luciferi liber ad Constantium imperatorem' (the Pro Athanasio, which comes first in the more detailed enumeration of the later list, is addressed to Constantius, and opens with the words 'Cogis nos, Constanti . . .'). There need therefore be no question that du Tillet found his MS. of Lucifer in the monastery of Corbie, any more than that his MS. is that which is now in the Vatican.

So far we have been dealing with MSS. which du Tillet used himself: we now turn to various MSS. of which contemporary or later scholars made use under the title of 'codex Tilianus' or the like.

viii. Sirmond in his Concilia Galliae made frequent use of a 'codex Tilii Engolismensis.' Labbe drew from it a 'Chronicon Engolismense.' It is very likely that it was the same MS., then in the possession of Claude Hardy, from which Labbe's Concilia drew an unpublished index of titles to the Nicene canons and some other matter (Labbe-Coleti, ii. 48 'ex codice MS. V. C. Claudii Hardy,' 51 'in codice V. C. Claudii Hardy senatoris Parisiensis'). In 1647 it belonged to Alexandre Petau, who wrote a table of contents on the second leaf: from his collection it passed to queen Christina's, and is now Vaticanus Reginae 1127. It was unknown to Maassen, Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande (Gratz, A.D. 1870): but through the description in Duchesne, Le Liber Pontificalis I, pp. l, li (from which most of the present account is derived), it became known to me, and has been employed from the first in my Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima. It was written in the ninth century, perhaps about A.D. 825, and at the beginning of the eleventh century belonged to the abbey of St. Cybar at Angoulême: on intercalated pages between foll. 10 and 11 are Angoulême annals from 815 to 872, with various continuations up to 1000 A.D.: and on leaves at the end, after the collection proper, are miscellaneous notes, of dates down to the twelfth century, including on fol. 161 the names of the bishops of Angoulême. The main collection is described in Maassen, op. cit., pp. 613-24, from the sister MS. of St. Maur, now Paris. lat. 1451.

ix. Andreas Chesnius (André Duchesne) in his Historiae Francorum Scriptores, ii (Paris, A.D. 1636), p. 11, printed 'ex antiquo Codice MS. Ioannis Tilii,' a series of early Frankish annals from the year 708 to the year 807: and these were reprinted by Bouquet, ii. 642, v. 17, who first called them after du Tillet's name, and by Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, i (Hanover, A.D. 1826), pp. 4, 6, 219. The MS. of the 'Annales Tiliani' has completely vanished; indeed nobody since Duchesne appears to have seen it. The annals are most nearly related to the annals of St. Amand and of Lorsch, and their origin may be conjecturally placed somewhere in the region of north-eastern France.

x, xi. Franciscus Balduinus, primarily a Jurist, devoted himself also to the history of the African Church, especially in its relation to the Donatists, a subject which seemed to offer a striking parallel to the reform movement and schism of the sixteenth century: and from him we learn that his friend du Tillet possessed a MS. of Optatus Milevitanus' work against the Donatists, and a MS. of the Acts of the Conference at Carthage between Catholics and Donatists in the year 411. Balduinus' first publication under this head was an edition of Optatus in 1563: in his preface he tells us that the 'German edition' (i. e. the editio princeps by Cochlaeus, 1549) was

'mendosissimus': that he had emended 'sexcentos locos' by the help of a MS. of 'Claudius Espencaeus Theologus Parisiensis': that he had confidently relied on further aid to emendation 'ex codice Ioannis Tilii Episcopi Briocensis ut ueterum librorum, sic antiquitatum Ecclesiasticarum studiosissimi. sed quod iam propter absentiam doctissimi antistitis praestari non potuit, altera forte editio postea praestabit.' Three years later, in 1566, Balduinus followed up his edition of Optatus by a history (not an edition of the text) of the Carthaginian Conserence, Historia Carthaginensis Collationis, siue Disputationis de ecclesia olim habitae inter Catholicos et Donatistas, autore Franc. Balduino I. C., the preface of which is addressed 'R. D. Ioanni Tilio Episcopo Meldensi,' and is dated on the Calends of April, 1566. 'Cum hisce diebus' (begins the author) 'Optatum nostrum, quem ope tui codicis iterum emendatum rursus edere instituo, forte relegerem [he goes on to compare the religious crisis in the France of his own day with the similar circumstances of the African Church of old times] . . . Quid autem magni illi viri et veluti heroes [i. e. Marcellinus and Augustine] fecerint, tumultuantibus in Africa Donatistis, et quam secuti sint rationem eorum reuincendorum, ut magis intelligerem, tu ipse fecisti, qui mihi Collationis Carthaginensis Acta quaedam nondum euulgata communicasti 1.' Three more years elapsed, and in 1560 Balduinus was able to produce his promised new edition of Optatus: near the beginning of the 'annotationes in primum librum' we read that this second edition was to be almost as great an improvement on the first edition as that had been on its German predecessor, and the improvement would be due to two new MSS. 'quorum alterum Io. Tilio Episcopo Meldensi, alterum Macereo Theologo Parisiensi debemus.' The editor quotes du Tillet's MS. expressly in book iii of Optatus, in book iv, but more especially in book vii: for though this book was incomplete at the end in that MS., no less than six passages were given in it which occur in no other MS.: and while most of these passages are short enough, the two first extend over several pages each of Ziwsa's edition in vol. xxvi of the Vienna Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat. (1893).

The MS. of Optatus soon disappeared: Dupin about 1700 could find out nothing about it; but the presence of these passages in the seventh book (which, it may be added, Ziwsa accepts as genuine) would easily lead to its identification, should it ever turn up again.

On the other hand the MS. of the Acts of the Conference has had a nearly continuous known history. After Balduinus' death it passed into the hands of Angelus Vergetius, 'Graeci hominis sed Latine doctissimi,' and from him to Claudius Mondinus, a kinsman of the first editor, Papirius Massonus (Papire Masson). Masson's edition appeared at Paris in 1589 (the dedication is dated Oct. 1, A.D. 1588): Gesta Collationis Chartagini habitae . . . Papirii Massoni studio atque opera primum in lucem editum. The preface concludes with these words: 'nec plura hoc loco dicenda existimamus, quia Balduinus praeceptor meus in Iure Ciuili, qui Acta commodato tantum in veteribus adhuc membranis ab antistite Meldorum Tillio habuerat, elegantem in ea commentarium edidit.' Prefixed to the dedication is a further note which happily enables us to reconstruct both the earlier and later history of the MS.: 'Collationis Codex manuscriptus in veteribus membranis sic inscriptus est. Liber oblatus ad altare Sancti Stephani, voto Tulcherii Cononici. Deinde Acta Collationis seu gesta Continet.' The formula 'liber oblatus ad altare Sancti Stephani' is that of the books of the (then) cathedral church of Lyons²: and the manuscript of Masson is shown by the presence of this formula to be

¹ Near the end of his tract 'ad nouarum Ecclesiarum Ministros' (see above, no. 12, p. 56) du Tillet gives a marginal reference to the 'Catholic collatione contra Donatist, Carthaginis,' which he must have taken from the same MS.

² Manuscripts presented with this or a similar formula by the bishops Leidrad (A.D. 798-814), Agobard (814-840), Amolus (841-852), and Remigius (852-875), are still preserved in the library at Lyons: 'Leidrad licet indignus tamen episcopus istum librum tradidi ad altare sancti Stephani' (cod. 599 [515], Gregory Nazianzen translated by Rufinus: 608 [524] Augustine varia: compare the pamphlet of M. F. Desvernay, late librarian, Lettre de Leidrade évêque de Lyon... [Lyon, A.D. 1899] p. 31); 'Leidradus indignus episcopus istum librum tradidi ad altare sancti Stephani' (cod. 610 [526], Augustine contra Faustum): 'Liber oblatus ad altare sancti Stephani ex uoto Agobardi episcopi' (cod. 471 [401], Bede on Esdras): 'Liber oblatus ad altare sancti Stephani ex uoto Amoli episcopi' (cod.

that numbered Paris. lat. 1546 in the Bibliothèque Nationale; saec. ix, though the name of the canon of Lyons should have been given as Fulcherius, not Tulcherius. Further information about the history of the MS. since the date of Masson's edition is supplied by other notes and press-marks now to be found in it, e.g. 'P. Pithoei. Mons². Mondin aduocat me la bailli en eschange dun code Henry en feb. 1594': and after Pithou it appears to have belonged in turn to the original Jesuit library of Clermont (dispersed under Henry IV), to de Thou, and to Colbert.

Masson's edition contains further, as an appendix to the Collatio, the 'Gesta Purgationis Caeciliani et Felicis' and a fragment 'ex historis [sic] Passionis S.S. Datiui, Saturnini, Felicis Ampelii...' The former of these pieces is the well-known record of the official investigation into the charge made by the Donatists against the Catholic bishops, and especially against Felix, the consecrator of Caecilian of Carthage, of surrendering the sacred books in the persecution: and Masson notes (p. 33) that the source from which he derived it was 'antiquissimum sed non integrum exemplar librorum Optati Mileuitani, ex quo hanc illorum appendicem primum exscripsi A. C. P. P. MDLXIIII.' But it must not be supposed that this MS. is the codex Tilianus: it is the present Paris. lat. 1951, saec. xi, from Cormery-sur-Indre, and contains of Optatus only the seventh and part of the sixth book.

xii, xiii. Two MSS. of Latin poets belonging to the library of du Tillet were put at the disposal of his friend Elias Vinetus (Élie Vinet), who was also by origin his neighbour, as he came from the district of Saintes. The first of these was a MS. of the scholiasts of Persius, which is stated to have been used in Vinet's edition of 1563. I have seen a copy of a 1563 (Poitiers) edition by Vinet, 'Lucii Annaei Cornuti Grammatici antiquissimi commentum in Auli Persii Flacci Satyras, nunc primum formis editum,' but the preface mentions three MSS. only—one that he and a friend had discovered, another 'Francisci Bernae Santonensis,' and the last 'Ioannis Amaritonis Aruerni': nor do the notes on the satires themselves (pp. 81-92) mention any MS. of du Tillet's, though the colophon does tell us that Vinet, while at work on Persius in 1557, was resident in Angoulême. The second is Vinet's 'codex Tilianus' of Ausonius: in his editio maior of the works of that poet (the copy I have seen is one of Bordeaux, A.D. 1580) the 'Vita Ausonii' makes mention of an 'exemplar minus antiquum Ioannis Tilii Engolismensis'—less ancient, that is, than a Lyons codex in 'barbaric' (presumably Merovingian) writing—which is also quoted occasionally in the notes to the text. This MS. of du Tillet-Vinet appears to be now in the Leiden Library, Vossianus Lat. Q 107. Unlike most of du Tillet's MSS., it is of relatively late date: and unlike all those of his MSS. of which the origin is either certainly or probably known, it is not of French provenance, for it is thought to be the MS. which Ferrarius used for the Milan edition of Ausonius (1490), and that came from the library of the Dominicans of St. Eustorgio at Milan: see R. Peiper in the Jahrbücher für Philologis, Supplement-Band xi (1880), pp. 207, 213, &c. That du Tillet bought MSS. in Italy is stated in general terms by Blume, Iter Italicum, i. 49: but he quotes no facts in illustration, and perhaps was thinking only of the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, which we know du Tillet acquired in Rome (p. 55, supra).

xiv. The list of du Tillet's MSS. is closed by the oldest of them all, the Bodleian codex of the Chronicle of Jerome, with its continuation by Marcellinus, which is the subject of the present publication.

The results of the preceding inquiry indicate that we should look almost certainly to some monastery or cathedral of the centre or north of France as the source from which du Tillet acquired his MS. of the Chronicle: while the minute annotation to which the MS. was subjected about A.D. 1400 (see above, p. 27) proves further that it then belonged to a society where learning flourished and where books were numerous. Fleury is unlikely, for it possessed two other MSS. of the Chronicle (see above, pp. 2, 4): Tours and St. Mesmin are unlikely also, for they borrowed the older of the two Fleury MSS. in the ninth century 462 [391], Bede on I Reg.): 'Liber oblatus ad altare sancti Stephani ex uoto Remigii humilis episcopi' (cod. 463 [392], Jerome on Isaiah); 'Liber oblatus ad altare sancti Stephani dono Remigii episcopi' (cod. 609 [525], Augustine de doctrina christiana).

to copy it (see Traube, *Hieronymi Chronicorum codicis Floriacensis fragmenta*, pp. iii, iv, xii): as between the rest, Lyons, Corbie, Reims, St. Denis, and so on, my own conjecture would fall on St. Denis as perhaps the most probable of all localities. But such a conjecture claims no further recognition than to serve as a starting-point for future inquirers.

That the MS. was written in Italy (Traube, op. cit. p. xii) there can, I think, be little doubt. The only addition which I can make to the exhaustive treatment of its characteristics by the editor of this volume relates to a curious and (as far as I know) hitherto unnoticed feature of its palaeography, namely the occurrence of Greek forms of abbreviations. At Ann. Abr. 940, 980, and 2112 (foll. 49 b, 51 b, 119 a) we have pad for david: at Ann. Abr. 1005, fol. 53 b, and also in the column headings of every left-hand page (with one exception) from fol. 54 b to fol. 66 b, isl for israhem: at Ann. Abr. 1023, fol. 53 b, ilm for hiernsalem. At Ol. cci. 4, fol. 111 b, the scribe originally wrote ic for iesus, but then drew a line through it and went on to write ihs. And finally, on the upper margin of foll. 119 a, 119 b, a contemporary hand has scrawled tertive epc clemens an viiii, quartus epic—what followed on fol. 119 b is covered up by the writing of the late annotator and cannot be deciphered. Each one of these five abbreviations is rare or unheard of in extant Latin Christian documents, regular or common in Greek. What is especially noticeable about these Graecisms is that they are not confined to the fila regnorum, or even to the text as a whole, but occur in marginal additions also. They cannot therefore be all explained as simply survivals of the original use of either Eusebius or Jerome: they rather appear to indicate that the MS. was written at a time and place which still experienced the direct influence of Greek Christian writing on Latin.

Such relative completeness as this appendix may now claim could not have been attained without the unstinted and ungrudging assistance of many scholars. Chief among these must be named M. Henry Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Professor L. Traube of Munich, and Mgr. G. Mercati of the Vatican Library: but thanks are also due to M. Marais of the Bibliothèque Mazarine at Paris, M. G. Barringer of the Department of Printed Books at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Prof. K. Lake of the University of Leyden, and not least to the editor of this volume, both for the kindness with which he has welcomed this appendix to a place in it, and for the trouble which he has taken in verifying many of the references.

C. H. TURNER

Note I (p. 58, MS. iii). The MS. of Ulpian was accessible to Pierre Pithou, for a careful collation of it in his handwriting is preserved in his copy (now in the Bodleian, 8° I 24 Jur.) of the Brachylogos totius Iuris Ciuilis sine Corpus Legum; cui adiunctae sunt Institutiones T. Caii Iurecons., Vlpiani ex toto scriptorum ipsius corpore Tituli vndetriginta ex recenti reperto (Lugduni. Apud Mauricium Roy, et Ludouicum Pesnot. 1553).

Note 2 (pp. 58, 59, MS. v). A request addressed to the library of the Arsenal, with a view to further information about the MS. of the libri Carolini preserved there, has remained without effect.

Note 3 (p. 60, MS. viii). The MS. of Claude Hardy may perhaps have been not du Tillet's MS., but a sister MS., no. 562 in the Benedictine catalogue of the College of Clermont, which seems to have contained the same collection of canonical and other material as Vat. Reg. 1127 and Paris lat. 1451. What has become of this Clermont MS. I am unable to say: the greater part of it appears in the Meerman sale catalogue of A.D. 1824 as no. 583, but it did not pass into the Phillipps collection.

Note 4. At the last moment I learn from Dr. Mercati that in the preface to Menard's edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary (Paris, A.D. 1642) mention is made, among the codices employed, of a 'liber MS. Bibliothecae Tilianae, qui est ordo Romanus, cuius mihi copiam fecit vir clarissimus Ioannes Tilius.' The 'vir clarissimus,' as the date shows, must be that Jean du Tillet into whose hands the MSS. of his relative the bishop came, as recorded on p. 58 supra. Menard goes on to say that the MS. had lost its first gathering, that it had belonged to the church of Séez in the province of Rouen, and that it differed from the 'ordo Romanus' in several respects; that it contained at the end a list of popes ending with Sergius III [A.D. 904-911] and a chronicle extending from the Creation of the world to the 'forty-second year of Charles, successor after four years' interval of Charles and Carloman'—i.e. apparently a date about A.D. 928, near the close of the reign of Charles the Simple—but that elsewhere in the MS. a list of French kings is brought down to Henry I in the eleventh century: and that this seemed to be the date of the MS.

APPENDIX VI

DESCENDANTS OF THE BODLEIAN MANUSCRIPT

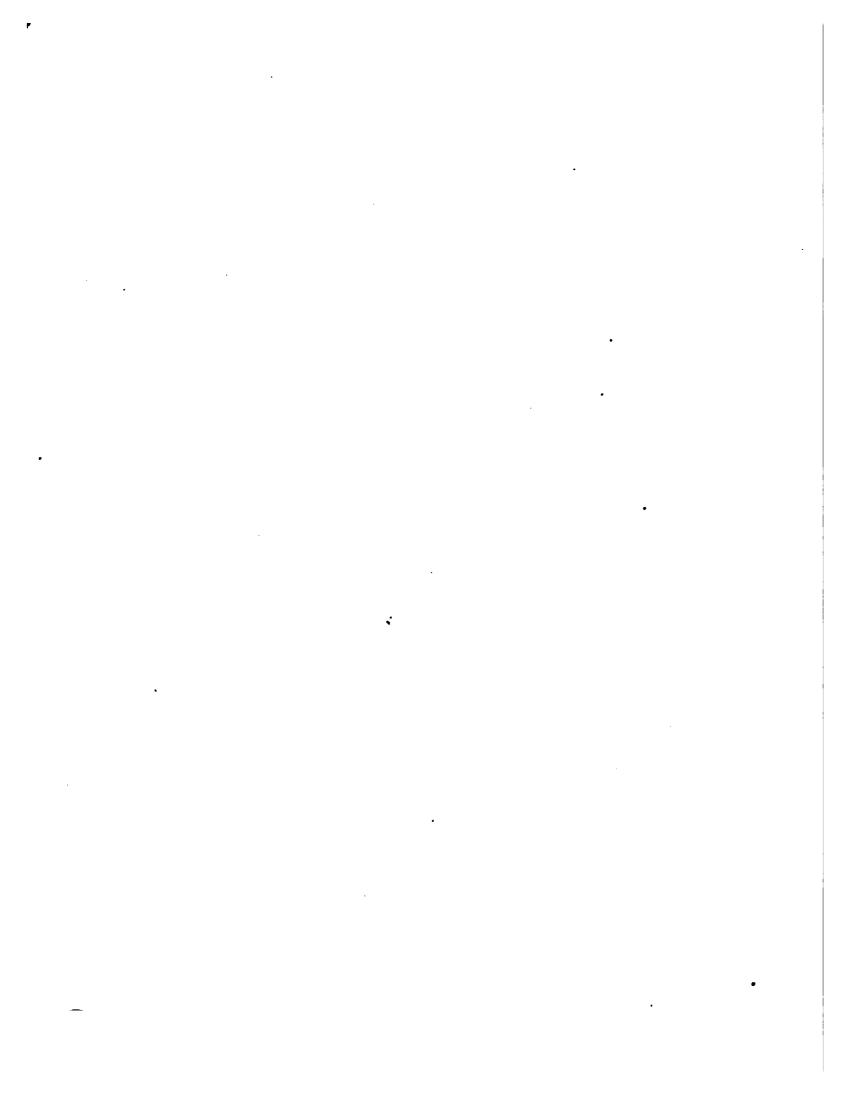
THE fact that thirty-three (perhaps thirty-five) leaves of the Bodleian Manuscript are missing, lends some importance to its descendants in so far as they make good this deficiency. The only descendants known to me have been detected by Mommsen's principle of classification, according to which the presence of Marcellinus as a continuation in any MS. is a suggestion that the MS. in question is akin to O. Among the MSS of Marcellinus is an eleventh-century MS in the archiepiscopal library at Udine, oto 14 (U), which Mommsen thas shown (Chronica Minora, II, p. 52) to be descended from O. This MS., as we shall see hereafter, contains Eusebius and Jerome as well as Marcellinus. There are also in existence nine MSS. of Marcellinus which Mommsen, adopting a suggestion of Bethmann's, regarded as descendants of U. Of these the Vienna and Venice MSS. do not contain Eusebius and Jerome at all; five others, including the Bodleian Canonici script. eccl. 193, insert Prosper between Jerome and Marcellinus and are therefore presumably of the L family, so far as the text of Eusebius and Jerome is concerned; I have found this presumption borne out by a comparison of Canonici script. eccl. 193, with some of the readings of L. There remain Paris. Lat. 4870 (fourteenth century) (W), and the Bodleian Canonici script. eccl. 96 (fifteenth century) (V), which may be descended from O in the part devoted to the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome. I have found that these two MSS., as also U, contain the notice 'Roma . . . adseritur,' found in the margin of O on f. 66 b. As this entry belongs to a class of sloping marginalia peculiar to O, its appearance in UVW renders it highly probable that they are descended from O in Eusebius as well as in Marcellinus. A further resemblance converts this probability into a certainty. These three MSS. contain instead of the complete Chronicle, the two prefaces followed by select entries. As the selection is the same in all cases, it must have been made by the scribe of U, or else all three must be descended from a common ancestor in which the selection was first made. A comparison of V with the photographs of O has shown me that in the first part of the Chronicle, where O spreads each year across two pages, the author of the selection has not adhered to the strict chronological order, but has completed his selections from each verso (left-hand) page of O before commencing those on the opposite recto (right-hand) page. This proves that his archetype corresponded page for page with O; but as I have shown elsewhere (p. 23), the sloping marginalia were copied into O, after the MS. was written, from a MS. with a different division of pages. It is therefore clear that the MS used by the author of selection was not an ancestor of O, but either O itself or a descendant.

A few details about these MSS. may not be out of place. U has been described by Mommsen (loc. cit., p. 50), who however has not mentioned that it is a palimpsest. The lower writing consists of one or more Latin works in red, black, and green ink, not much older than that with which we are concerned. The upper writing is in red and black ink, and comprises the Chronicle of Bede, the treatise 'de septuaginta duabus linguis,' the prefaces of Jerome and Eusebius to the *Chronica*, select entries from the *Chronica*, brief biographical notices of the emperors, and select entries from Marcellinus. There are 21-26 lines to a page. The photographs published herewith include the two prefaces, the entries selected from the lost leaves at the beginning of O, and a page containing part of the matter which must have stood in the lost leaf after f. 144 in O. After the last page represented by the photographs reproduced in this volume

there is a lacuna, and the next page begins with a mention of the consuls. A comparison with V W shows that the last words of the Chronicle proper, the chronological summary and list of persecutions, and biographical notices of the Latin and Roman kings are here missing. Mommsen explains the lacuna by supposing that this passage has been torn out of the MS., but I have a difficulty in accepting this view. The MS. consists entirely of quaternions with the exception of one gathering, where an odd leaf has been prefixed to a complete quaternion. The lacuna in question comes in the middle of a quaternion, so that if two leaves are here missing, the gathering must have been of ten instead of eight leaves, and the two missing leaves must have been the middle ones. It is true that in O itself, gathering 'viii' (ff. 72-81) contains ten leaves, while all the other extant gatherings are of eight, and therefore it is not impossible that U may have had a similar gathering of ten leaves, but it is difficult to believe in so remarkable a coincidence as that the one quaternion of ten leaves should be the only one except near the end of the MS. where a leaf or more is missing and that the two missing leaves of the quaternion should have been just those two which could disappear without leaving a trace behind. As the lacuna begins exactly at the end of a page and ends exactly at the beginning of a page in U, it is clear that if it were already absent when U was written, U must here be retaining the paging of its archetype, and, since V W contain the missing passage, they must be descended, not from U, as Mommsen held, but from some ancestor of U, itself a descendant of O.

W is also described by Mommsen (loc. cit.). It contains the same works as U, whose lacuna it supplies; but it begins with Eusebius, postponing Bede and the 'de septuaginta duabus linguis' till after the end of Marcellinus. It is in red and black ink and has 24 lines to a page. Its text closely resembles that of U, the differences, where not merely in spelling, being generally nothing more than slips of the pen on the part of the scribe of U. In some cases its readings might be explained as misreadings of U. Compare especially 'a iure legatis'='ani relegatis' (f. 42 b, l. 9 in U); 'nunc'='nuo' (f. 43 a, l. 21 in U), and 'fonnus'='fotinus' (f. 85 b, l. 8 in U). These readings would suggest that in spite of all difficulties W is really copied from U. On the other hand U is full of contractions, where W writes the words at length with a success which, if U were really the archetype, would argue extensive historical as well as palaeographical knowledge on the part of the scribe. The most striking instances that I have noticed where W has distinct readings, which seem to be more than a copyist's errors, are 'Galicia' (V 'Gallicia') for 'Galatia' (f. 85 b, l. 9 in U) and the apparently genuine marginal 'Syrus,' omitted in U, against the entry 'Syrus fuisse . . . ' (f. 49 a in U). The photographs appended to this volume include the two pages where the lacuna after f. 144 in O and the lacuna after f. 85 in U coincide.

V Venetus, of which ff. 1-89, including the *Chronica*, were written by Daniel Victurius, formerly belonged to Petrus Victus, afterwards to the Carthusian monastery at Venice, where it would appear to have been no. xxxi. It is now, as we have seen, in the Bodleian library. It is in black ink and contains 31-33 lines to a page. Coxe in his catalogue of the Canonici MSS. has overlooked the fact that it is a palimpsest, and I cannot say what the lower writing is. It contains the same works as W, and in the same order, with the addition of Nicholas de Lyra's *Libellus contra Iudaeorum perfidiam*, an epistle of Rabbi Samuel, and a treatise on the abominations contained in the Talmud. It is copied with much less care than W, and the scribe has often conjecturally amended obscure passages, so that it can be of little use to any one who has the readings of U and W before him. I have only used it myself because it has been more accessible to me than the other descendants of O.



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