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It has been a great desideratum of Classical Scholarship for a long time to prepare a modern English translation of Jordanes' 'Getica' after Mierow's old one (published in 1915)<sup>1</sup> and 'Romana' (as far as I know this is the first English translation) with historical and philological commentaries. The well-known Belgian authors have been working together on the edition and interpretation of late antique sources for a long time their corpus of the fragmentary late antique historians was published also in 2020.<sup>2</sup> In this paper I intend to deal with this new volume on Jordanes.

In the volume besides the translations and the commentary one can find a more than 100 pages long introduction (pp. 1–104). Here, all data, all views (several times heavily disputed) were summarized concerning Jordanes' life (pp. 2–9), the exact dates of writing of the 'Romana' and 'Getica' (arguing for 551) (pp. 9–13), how, why and where they were written (during Jordanes' stay at Constantinople). The historical background was separately studied (in the 540s Justinian's *recuperatio imperii* became unsuccessful in Italy, Germanus' mission) (pp. 13–19). The authors in these chapters could use the results of their own research, too, published recently.<sup>3</sup> In the part dealing with the Romana (pp. 19–30), besides the structure of the work, the most important problem was exactly what the genre was: *breviarium* or *chronicon*? It has been argued a lot for both pro and contra. The authors used Jordanes' own term given in the title that refers both: *De summa temporum, vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum* but they correctly added the works is rather a mixed narrative chronography, *breviarium, gesta* (that used several *chronica* as its main source, e.g. Jerome's *Chronicon* until 380). Jordanes himself added also that his work is a *breviarium* (Rom. 1 *abbreviatio chronicorum*, 6 *storiuncula*). The main object of the Romana is also noteworthy. Despite its title Romana, Jordanes dealt with the events from the Creation of the world (c. 8–84), and he studied the Roman history only in the latter part of the work (c. 85–388). The main topic of this part was Roman military successes and contrary to the first part, the events concerning the salvation history became less important. On the other hand, Jordanes' orthodoxy based on his Chalcedonism can be observed in the entire work. The structure of the Roman history is also based on the wars of Rome (following Florus' and Festus' *breviaries*), as they follow each other in the following order:

Wars of Rome

1. In Italy
2. overseas wars (Sicily, Africa)
3. in the East
4. in the West.

## BOOK REVIEW



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<sup>1</sup>Mierow, C.Ch. (1915). *Gothic history of Jordanes in English version. With an introduction and commentary.* Princeton.

<sup>2</sup>van Hoof, L., and Van Nuffelen, P. (Eds.) (2020). *The fragmentary Latin histories of Late Antiquity (AD 300-620). Edition, translation and commentary.* Cambridge.

<sup>3</sup>van Hoof, L., and Van Nuffelen, P. (2017). The historiography of crisis: Jordanes, Cassiodorus and Justinian in mid-sixth-century Constantinople. *JRS*, 107: 275–300.

The *Getica* was studied in the second part of the introduction (pp. 31–64). Determining the genre of *Getica* seems to be much easier as the author himself called it *epitoma* of Cassiodorus' XII-volume-long *Historia Gothorum* or simply *libellus* (c. I.1). On the other hand, studying the sources of the work it becomes more and more clear that this term does not cover the truth. The title of the work given in the manuscript tradition *Historia Getarum* or *De origine actibusque Getarum* also refers to the Cassidorean work (I.1). The latter one, otherwise, follows the title of Tacitus' *Germania* but Jordanes used the word *actus* instead of *situs* as he aimed to compose a historical work (and not a geographical one). The most disputed question of the work how exactly Jordanes followed the original history of the Goths, whether it was a simple epitoma, "second edition" (Momigliano) or it was Jordanes' own work, much more than a simple? In his introductory chapter Jordanes himself mentioned that he added several Greek and Latin sources: I.3 *Ad quos et ex nonnullis historiis Grecis ac Latinis addedi convenientia*. Summarizing the dispute, the authors came to the plausible conclusion that the main part of the *Getica* is based on Cassiodorus but Jordanes following his own intentions altered the Cassidorean work with his own insertions based on other sources in order to illustrate his own aims better. The best example for his using of sources is chapter XXXIV.178 dealing with route to the court of Attila where he followed Priscus of Panium. As the part in question survived in Frag. 8 of Priscus one can clearly see Jordanes how freely transformed his source according to his own intentions. On the other hand, the structure of the *Getica* follows the Cassidorean work but several *excursus* can be attributed to Jordanes:

- I. Prehistory of the Gothic tribe-island of Scandza
- II. Joint history of Goths
- III. History of the Visigoths
- IV. History of the Ostrogoths.

It is noteworthy to see that the Hun history (the main enemy of the Goths) was separately inserted to books III and IV (121–129, 178–228, 254–267). Another important question of the research of the *Getica* whether the composer of the work (mainly Cassiodorus) could have used genuine Gothic (mainly oral sources) still available in the court of Theoderic at Ravenna or, instead, the author must have used only antique written sources. The ideological message of Cassiodorus' and Jordanes' works was the same: Romans and Goths only together can be successful. That is why common military operations had a special significance already in Cassiodorus, cp. in case of the battle at the Catalaunian fields (Aetius' and/or Thorismud's victory over Attila (on this kind of interpretation of the event – where the Romans and Goths must have won – see Hyun Kim's works). The same message had to be re-interpreted by Jordanes following the events in the 540s in Italy and Germanus' campaign marriage (and sudden death) in 551. He continued Cassiodorus' work in this sense, too, and invented and inserted more successful Roman–Goth campaigns as the joint recapture of Pannonia in 427 (see below)

and made the doublet of Attila's Gaulish campaign (the second, completely fictitious, battle between Attila and Thorismud (225–228). He needed this "campaign" as Thorismud and the Goths following Theoderic's death left the battlefield.

The authors examined the modern interpretations of the *Getica* and its various ideological aspects with special interest (pp. 37–41): the traditional primordial point of view, the theory of the ethnogenesis based on Wenskus' research and the constructionist approach. As all supporters of these hypotheses interpret the *Getica* according to their own point of views the interpretation of the work, its sources and ideological message will always be different. The beginnings, the prehistory of a nation was important for the first school, the second one supposed the existence and survival of ancient traditions (important in the point of view of the *Traditionskern*, the third one refutes the survival of a similar tradition and emphasizes the use of Greek and Latin sources. In this point of view, it is also important how Jordanes supported Justinian's policy, especially in the *Romana*. The orthodox historian could hardly support the emperor's religious policy but he accepted the restauration of the empire as far as it was successful but following Cassiodorus he saw the solution in the unification (Visigoth–Ostrogothic under Theoderic and Romans and Goths). That is why the two basic subjects of the *Getica*: 1. migration (of the Goths from Scandza towards the direction of Italy, from the periphery to the centre) 2. Jordanes' primordialism are important. Jordanes interpreted all important (hostile) German tribes including the Vandals, the Gepids and somehow even the Huns (besides the Amazons, Parthians) as (degenerated in the case of the Huns) relatives of the Goths. From the primordial point of view the fictitious identification of the Goths with the Getae–Dacians (cp. the description of Dacia c. 74–75), or Scythians (cp. the Scythian name used for the Goths in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries as in the case of Dexippus' *Scythica*) became important. The superiority of the Goths over their enemies was always emphasized by Jordanes, even the problem of the period under the Hun rule was solved by him with Thorismud's fictitious victory. Similarly, from the primordial point of view the genealogy of the Amal dynasty has a special importance (c. 78) and their superiority over the Balths. All these passages must come from Cassiodorus (he concretely mentions the genealogy in *Variae* IX.25 and XI.1 who also calculated with 17 Amal kings).

The authors, in the longest chapter, studied Jordanes' sources in their chronological order (pp. 65–99), esp. they examined the direct or indirect use of these *auctores*. This kind of use of sources is one of the biggest problems of the Jordanes research. In several cases they could not and did not find the final solution or their suggestion can be disputed, but in each case they intended to look for a moderate position and exactly and correctly enumerate all hypotheses. Naturally, the two above-mentioned main questions are how and to what extent Cassiodorus–Jordanes used a genuine Gothic tradition (epic poems or praise songs) and in the *Romana* and the *Getica* Jordanes used/abridged a main source, i.e. in the *Getica* Cassiodorus' *Historia Gothica* and in the *Romana* Symmachus the Younger's historical

work. In the former case this is an undeniable fact (only the extent is questionable). The authors have absolutely right when they say the *Getica* should be accepted as a standalone work even if it was a pure *epitoma* of Cassiodorus. The *Getica* was much more than a simple *epitoma*, several other authors were cited as Jordanes himself emphasized. Jordanes in several cases changed the Cassidorean work if it was important in the point of view of his own message and inserted passages/date from other Greek and Latin authors in order to illustrate his intentions better. W. Ensslin's hypothesis (based on one of Mommsen's observations), that in the *Romana* in most cases he would have been used Symmachus' Roman history, has heavily been rejected by recent research (including the authors' new edition).<sup>4</sup> Van Liet and van Nuffelen offered another plausible solution: the *Romana* is a work of compilation using several different sources in each period. Its longest sections are based on Florus (c. 87–209), Jerome's *Chronicon* and the breviaries of Eutropius, Aurelius Victor and Festus (c. 210–235). For 5<sup>th</sup>-century Roman history Jordanes would have used Orosius and Marcellinus Comes' works. If this observation is true, the data of the *Getica* concerning the year 427 that is extremely important from the point of view of the late history of Pannonia, must be interpreted in another way as Tibor Nagy did (see below).

Examining the manuscript tradition of Jordanes' works, the authors accepted Mommsen's original observation (they also followed G. Galdi's excellent linguistic analysis). According to this hypothesis, the group 'a' of the manuscripts using vulgar Latin forms can be much closer to the archetype than the other ones. The group 'c' using Classical forms can be explained by Carolingian corrections (despite the fact that Mommsen could not use the Palermo codex (discovered only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century). The new edition of Giunta and Grillone did not change this observation, but they were absolutely right that group 'b' standing somewhere between 'a' and 'c' should deserve a new and deeper examination. Jordanes' *Getica* really influenced the posteriority as it was remained history of a 'Barbarian' nation in Late Antiquity that was followed by several others as the *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, or Paulus Diaconus' and Gregory of Tours' works. Jordanes' earliest citation can be observed in the work of Anonymous of Ravennai Geographus where he mentioned Jordanes several times *sapientissimus cosmographus* or *chronographus* (I.12, III.12, IV.5, 7, 14, 20, V.30, 125).

The translations and commentaries were followed by an Appendix where the authors deal with several longer (than a footnote) historical questions (pp. 371–378). Here they examined the problem of the identification of the Hun Balamber and Goth Valamer names (Get. 248–249) that must be rejected from the point of view of the Hun studies as the name is epigraphically attested (IScM II, 260) and its perfect Iranian etymology (Baran bar) is given by János Harmatta. I shall return to the question of Gratian's supposed treaty (Get. 141) (see below). Beremud's Hispanian route, its date, Hermanaric's succession, the stay of the Goths in Macedonia

or Moesia in the 470s (including Theoderic Strabos role) were clearly interpreted. On the other hand, the last question (Leo's *foedus*) seems to me more than problematical. It is hardly believable that the Emperor did not have to deal with the status of the entire Carpathian Basin including Pannonia and the former Dacia and it is almost sure that he was the one who concluded *foedera* with the Goths and Gepids following the collapse of the Hun Empire. Constantinople strongly needed a stabile situation in the Danubian region too.

Five useful maps were prepared in order to better illustrate the volume, but some minor mistakes must be observed. The Langobards moving Pannonia, for instance, never occupied the left-bank areas of the Danube (Map. 4). Unfortunately, the Gepids were depicted in the Vojvodina and their main areas (Partium/Transylvania) and Srem region (Pannonia II) were omitted. The Vandals did not move together with the Alans to the Great Hungarian Plain, but they moved to NE Hungary at the end of the second century as the finds of the Przeworks culture clearly show (Map. 3). The glossary explaining the Latin terms became rather short (pp. 391–393). The selection criteria are not always clear and in several cases the definitions are unsatisfactory (as the term *patricius* with special 5<sup>th</sup>-c. use was much more difficult). The volume ends with full bibliography and the index (pp. 395–442, and 443–467).

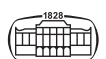
The authors made several observations during their work that are strongly connected to Pannonia and the Pannonia-research. Some of them must surely be refuted:

### 1. The Vandals in Pannonia

Jordanes in two passages of his *Getica* (XXII.115, XXXI.161) mentions<sup>5</sup> that following a defeat by Geberich's Goths around 335 AD (XXII.114), the remnants of the Vandals (*perpauci*) moved to Pannonia (in both provinces) based on a *foedus* concluded by Constantine. After 60 years, they would have moved to the West (in the direction of Raetia/Noricum, Gallia, Hispania, finally, Africa). As no other source attests this event, the anti-Vandal Goth historian's credibility have been questioned, mainly based on L. Schmidt's observations and it was connected to the well-known and attested reception of the Sarmatians in 334 (*Hier. Chron.* 233f, *Chron. min.* I p. 234, *Origo Const.* VI.32). Despite this fact, the battle between the Goths and Vandals and their reception have been accepted by several scholars, as the authors of this volume did and even the archaeological material of the Vandals in Pannonia was attempted to point out. The story given by Jordanes (if he did not was the one who invented it) may go back to Cassiodorus, who might have used a 4<sup>th</sup> century Ostrogothic tradition. On the other hand, it is suspicious that Cassiodorus in his *Chronicon* did not mention the event at all (*Chron. min.* II p. 151). The course of the story seems to be problematical: few Vandals who survived would have been settled by Constantine the Great in Pannonia where (in both provinces) they would have lived sixty years (*utramque Pannoniam resedere*). The given reason for their escape from Pannonia is surely false,

<sup>4</sup>van Hoof, L., and Van Nuffelen, P. (Eds.) (2020), pp. 146–165, Nr. 14.

<sup>5</sup>van Hoof, L., and Van Nuffelen, P. (Eds.) (2020), pp. 277, n. 440, 296, n. 552.



because of the fear of the Goths (*metu Gothorum*) that must be changed to the Huns even if the data would have been true. If there is a historical basis of the story in the Gothic tradition it must be connected to the events in 334 AD and following the treaties with the Goths and Sarmatians (*Eus. vita Const. IV.5, Iul. Or. I.9D, Caes. 329A, Lib. LIX.29, Eutrop. X.7, Sóz. I.8.9, Orig. Const. VI.31, Socr. I.18.4, Philost. II.5, Jord. Get. XXXIV.178* (cp. Amm. XXVII .5.1), Constantine would have concluded a *foedus* with the Vandals too. Later, somehow it was combined with the reception of the Sarmatians or with the Goths *foederati* after 382 who lived in Roman soil. Pannonia came into play because the Vandals could have left the Carpathian Basin across the Pannonian provinces in the direction of Raetia in 401 AD. After the historian's calculations, there was sixty-year-long interval between the *foedus* and their getaway that is how the story of the Pannonian rule of the Vandals might have born. On the other hand, the Vandal tradition in Africa did not know anything about the Pannonian stay, and according to Procopius' account (*Proc. Bell. Vand. III.3.1, 22.3, VIII.5.5*), the *famine* was given as reason for their western migration, too. The Vandals also knew about their compatriots who stayed at home, in the Maeotis (that, according to the definition given by Procopius, includes the entire Barbaricum between the Danube and the Black Sea (III.22.3–14). In this tradition Pannonia did not have any kind of role that is why it can rather be connected to Jordanes who might have invented the whole story.

## 2. Gratian's foedus and the Pannonian foederati

The authors in the volume delt several times with Gratian's *foedeus* that he would have concluded with Alatheus and Saphrac and their people would have settled down in Pannonia in 380 as *foederati*.<sup>6</sup> This passage could have been the only evidence for this treaty, but László Várady founded the entire history of Pannonia after 376 to the stay of this people.<sup>7</sup> This mythical *Drei-Völker-Koalition* became ineradicable part of the Pannonia research although the philological and archaeological evidence totally contradicts this theory as it has been pointed out several times.<sup>8</sup> It seems to be useful to examine all relevant sources again.

<sup>6</sup>van Hoof, L., and Van Nuffelen, P. (Eds.) (2020), pp. 287–288, n. 502–505, 372–373.

<sup>7</sup>Várady, L. (1969). *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens 376–476*. Budapest.

<sup>8</sup>Heather, P. (1991). *Goths and Romans 332–489*. Oxford, pp. 310–321; Kovács, P. (2000). A grave from the Hun period at Százhalombatta. In: Kovács, P.: *Matrica – Excavations in the Roman fort at Százhalombatta* (1993–1997). *Studia classica – Series historica* 3. Budapest, pp. 121–171 = Hun kori sír Százhalombattán. *ComArchHung*, 2004: 123–150; Kovács, P. (2016). Some notes on the 'Pannonian' foederati. In: Faure, P., and Wolff, C. (Eds.), *Les auxiliaires de l'armée romaine. Des alliés aux fédérés. Actes du 6<sup>e</sup> congrès international de Lyon sur l'armée romaine, 23–25 octobre 2014*. Collection Études et recherches sur l'occident romain - CEROR 51. Lyon, pp. 575–601; Bierbrauer, V. (2011). Zur archäologischen Nachweisbarkeit der Alatheus-Safrax-Gruppe in Pannonien. In: Konrad, M., and Witschel, Ch. (Hrsg.), *Römische Legionslager in den Rhein- und Donauprovinsen – Nuclei spätantik-frühmittelalterlichen Lebens? Abhandlungen/Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge* 138. München, pp. 114–140.

XXVII.140 *Sed Theodosio principe pene tunc usque ad disperationem egrotanti datur iterum Gothis audacia divisoque exercitu Fritigernus ad Thessaliam praedandam, Epiros et Achaia digressus est, Alatheus vero et Safrac cum residuis copiis Pannoniam petierunt. 141 Quod cum Gratianus imperator, qui tunc a Roma in Gallis ob incursione Vandalorum recesserat, conperisset, quia Theodosio fatali desperatione succumbente Gothi maius saevirent, mox ad eos collecto venit exercitu, nec tamen fretus in armis, sed gratia eos muneribusque victurus, pacemque, victualia illis concedens, cum ipsis inito foedere fecit.*

XXVIII.142 *Vbi vero post haec Theodosius convaluit imperator repperitque cum Gothis et Romanis Gratiano imperatore pepigisse quod ipse optaverat, admodum grato animo ferens et ipse in hac pace consensit, Aithanaricoque rege, qui tunc Fritigerno successerat, datis sibi muneribus sociavit moribusque suis benignissimis ad se eum in Constantinopolim accedere invitavit.*

Jordanes' account can be summarized as follows:

1. Because of Theodosius' sickness Fritigern' people invaded Epirus and Achaea, Alatheus and Saphrac raided Pannonia (c. 140).
2. Instead of a counter-attack Gratian (who because of Theodosius' sickness had to protect the East, too) concluded a treaty with the Goths (with both parts, i.e. with Fritigern and Alatheus-Saphrac, too) and provided supplies for them (c. 141).
3. The concluded *foedus* was accepted by Theodosius who invited Athanaric (according to him, follower of Fritigern) to Constantinople (c. 142).

Fortunately, the same story is also remained in Zosimus' *Nea historia*, moreover, it seems highly likely that both authors used Eunapius as common source.<sup>9</sup> According to Zosimus' account the event happened as follows:

**Zosimus IV.34.2** Τοῦτο γὰρ δὲ ἡγουμένου δύο μοῖραι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον Γερμανικῶν ἐθνῶν, ἡ μὲν ἡγεμόνι Φριτιγέρνω χρωμένη, ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀλλόθεον καὶ Σάφρακα τεταγμένη, τοῖς Κελτικοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπικείμεναι κατέστησαν εἰς ἀνάγκην τὸν βασιλέα Γρατιανὸν ἐνδοῦναι σφίσι, ἀπολιπούσαις τὰ ἐν Κελτοῖς, διὰ τοῦ Ἰστρου Παιονίαν καὶ τὴν ἄνω Μυσίαν καταλαβεῖν· ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ λόγος τε καὶ σπουδὴ τέως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς συνεχοῦς τούτων ἐφόδου. 3 Διαπλεύσαντες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Ἰστρον, διανοοῦμενοι τε διὰ Παιονίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἥπειρον διαβῆναι, περαιωθῆναι δὲ τὸν Ἀχελῶν καὶ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιθέσθαι, τροφὰς πορίσασθαι ψήθησαν πρότερον, Ἀθανάριχόν <τε> παιτὸς τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκυθῶν ἄρχοντα γένους ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ μηδένα κατὰ νῶτον τὸν κωλύοντα τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιχείρησιν ἔχειν. 4 Ἐπιθέμενοι τοίνυν αὐτῷ σὺν οὐδεὶ πόνῳ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἦν ἀπανέστησαν ...

1. Fritigern's and Alatheus' peoples based on the treaty with Gratian occupied Pannonia and Moesia (34.2).

<sup>9</sup>van Hoof, L., and Van Nuffelen, P. (Eds.) (2020), pp. 80–81.





2. The latter ones intended to invade Epirus and Greek cities, but first, they wanted to collect supplies and reckon with Athanaric (34.3).
3. They invaded him and expelled from his residence (34.4). Based on Ammianus XXXI.4.13, we know Athanaric occupied Caucaland where earlier Sarmatians lived, i.e. in the Bánát or SW Transylvania.<sup>10</sup> Based Ammianus and Themistius, it is also attested, that Athanaric was defeated by the Goths and he had to flee (XXVII.5.10 and *Or.* XV.190c–191b).<sup>11</sup> Wherever Athanaric was attacked, in Caucaland or in Roman territory, it is sure that happened outside Pannonia, therefore Alatheus and his people surely left Pannonia, as one can find in the story given by Zosimus. That is why further examination of this hypothesis seems to be useless.

### 3. The enigmatic entry of the 427 and the sources of Marcellinus Comes and Jordanes

One of the latest data on the existence of Roman Pannonia in the 5<sup>th</sup> century concerns the year 427 and it says that following a fifty-year-long Hun occupation Pannonia was retaken by the Romans. As the story can be found in the *Getica* and Marcellinus Comes' *Chronicon* as well several attempts have been made to interpret this data, who were the Romans (East or West Rome),<sup>12</sup> but the source of the passages has also heavily been debated.<sup>13</sup> Based on historical reasons, neither West, nor East Rome cannot be excluded (cp. the route of the Byzantine army in 425 across Sirmium and Dalmatia against the usurper Iohannes), but it is sure that Jordanes interpreted the event as a Western Roman campaign as he added the Goths to the Roman army. Here, I intend rather to deal with the sources.

<sup>10</sup>Patsch, C. (1928). *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Südosteuropas, III.: Die Völkerbewegung an der unteren Donau in der Zeit von Diokletian bis Heraklius, 1.: Bis zur Abwanderung der Goten und Taifalen aus Transdanuvien*. SAWW Phil-hist. Klasse 208/2. Wien–Leipzig, pp. 64–67; Klein, K.K. (1957). Kaukaland „Siebenburgen“ – Die „genitalis terra“ des Herzogs Athanarich. Zu Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI 4, 13. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 79: 302–307.

<sup>11</sup>Cedilnik, A. (2011). Der römisch–gotische Friedensschluss im Jahre 382. *Byzantinoslavica*, 69: 19–26.

<sup>12</sup>For the historical problems of the passage see Kovács, P. (2020). Constantius heros. Notes on the history of Pannonia in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. *ActaArchHung*, 72: 80–81; Kovács, P. (2021). Pannonia vége és a hunok [The end of Pannonia and the Huns]. *Studia Epigraphica Pannonica*, 12: 92–94.

<sup>13</sup>Mommsen, Th. (1882) (Ed.). *Iordanis Romana et Getica*. MGH AA V. Berlin, pp. XXIX, XXXIX; Mommsen, Th. (Ed.) (1894). *Chronica minora, II*. MGH AA XI. Berlin, p. 54; Enßlin, W. (1949). *Des Symmachus Historia Romana als Quelle für Jordanes*. SBAW 1948/3. München, p. 72; Nagy, T. (1967). Reoccupation of Pannonia from the Huns in 427 (Did Jordanes use the *Chronicon* of Marcellinus comes at the writing of the *Getica*?). *ActaAntHung*, 15: 159–186; Várady, L. (1976). *Jordanes-Studien*. Die Werke des Jordanes und das „*Chronicon*“ des Marcellinus Comes. Die Selbständigkeit des Jordanes. *Chiron*, 6: 441–488; Croke, B. (Ed.) (1995). *The Chronicle of Marcellinus. A translation and commentary (with a reproduction of Mommsen's edition of the text)*. Byzantina Australiensia 7. Sydney, p. 77, Nr. 427.1; Gusso, M. (1995). Contributi allo studio della composizione e delle fonti del *Chronicon* di Marcellinus Comes. *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*, 61: 557–622, esp. 572; van Hoof, L., and van Nuffelen, P. (Eds.) (2020), pp. 88–89, 97, 299, n. 563.

The story was given as follows:

**Marcellinus Comes Chron. Min. II p. 76** *Pannoniae, quae per quinquaginta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur, a Romanis receptae sunt.*

**Jordanes Getica XXXII.166** *Nam duodecimo anno regni Valiae, quando et Hunni post pene quinquaginta annorum invasam Pannoniam a Romanis expulsi sunt . . .*

Examining Jordanes' works, it has become clear that his main source for the *Getica* was Cassiodorus' *History of the Goths*, but W. Enßlin tried to point out that the author used similarly Symmachus' works for the *Romana*. If it would be true Jordanes data for 427 was independent from Marcellinus Comes. It seems to be sure that insertion of the story into the history of the Visigoths written by Cassiodorus was made by Jordanes. Adding the Goths to the Roman army against the Huns is a phenomenon used by Jordanes quite often, if Cassiodorus did the same, the historical context was never unrealistic (as in the case of the battle at Catalaunum). If the story would have been composed by Cassiodorus (and abridged by Jordanes) we should look for a common source of Cassiodorus and Marcellinus Comes (as T. Nagy did). Because of the insertion all the attempts to point out Goths in Pannonia before 455 (as P. Heather did) are unreasonable (cp. *Theoph. Conf. Hist.* AM 5931 p. 94). The authors of this volume who also edited the fragments of Symmachus earlier have absolutely right as they emphasize that it cannot be proven that Symmachus' works would have been known and used in Constantinople. That is why it is more realistic that Marcellinus Comes never used this work. It is also important to observe that there are only stylistic differences (cp. the table) between Marcellinus' and Jordanes' passages:

#### The similarities and differences of Marcellinus and Jordanes concerning the year 427

-	Marcellinus	Jordanes
Province	Pannoniae	Pannonia
Verb of occupation	<i>retinebantur</i>	<i>invasa</i>
Mention of Pannonia	Clause	Accusativus absolutus
Time	<i>per quinquaginta annos</i>	<i>post pene quinquaginta annorum</i>
Invaders	<i>a Romanis</i>	<i>a Romanis et Gothicis</i>
Goths	-	+
Predicate	<i>receptae sunt</i>	<i>expulsi sunt</i>

The different verbs and the accusative absolute can be explained by the late Latin used and beloved by Jordanes. Based on these observations it seems more plausible that Jordanes used Marcellinus here too or they had a common source. According to B. Croke, this could have been an Eastern Latin *Chronicon* (Mommsen's mysterious Ignotus?),

but the use of the *Consularia Italica* cannot be excluded either as the *Consularia* for the given period did not survive.<sup>14</sup> Because of the lack of other sources the problem cannot surely be solved. On the other hand, it is striking that Jordanes' *Romana* that used several times Marcellinus for the 4<sup>th</sup> century history does not include this story. It is also noteworthy to observe that Jordanes slightly corrected with the adverb *paene* the fifty-year-long interval of the Hun occupation (maybe he calculated with the events of 376 (when the Goths crossed the Danube) or 378 (Hadrianople).

Despite these observations I can tell that the volume, the translation and the commentaries, esp. the long preface meet all the expectations and finally, a modern and good English translation of Jordanes' works is available. In the preface one can find all problems, hypotheses concerning the historian's life, works and esp. his sources with plausible explanations. The above-mentioned contradicting solutions concerning minor questions given by me can hardly affect the positive opinion. The only obstacle of the widespread use of the work can be its unusually high price (£ 110).

<sup>14</sup>Croke, B. (1995), pp. XXIV–XXV.

