

THE CHRONICLES OF SPAIN:

A DISCUSSION OF SOME TRENDS IN SPANISH
HISTORY FOUND IN THE CHRONICLES OF
HYDATIUS OF LEMICA, JOHN OF BICLARO,
ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, AND THE CHRONICLE OF
ZARAGOZA

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ABSTRACT

This thesis intends to examine four chronicles from fifth, sixth, and early seventh century Spain and discuss the different approaches to the history of that period that the chronicles of Hydatius of Lemica, John of Biclaro, Isidore of Seville, and the Chronicle of Zaragoza display. Firstly, each of the writers will be discussed in turn, along with the implications of their choice to use the format of a chronicle to record the past. Then, their sources of information will be examined, because all four chronicles do not have access to the same quantity of information from parts of the world other than Spain. After these matters are dealt with, we will analyse the way in which changing political and social realities affect the presentation of historical events in our chronicles, including the use of appropriate technical terms. Finally, the treatment of religious issues will be examined, and once again we will see how the changes of their times altered the style of these chronicles. In all of this, it is apparent that attitudes in Spain to the recent past changed during this period, because of the political, religious, economic, and social upheavals caused by the disappearance of the Roman Empire in Spain and the rise of the kingdom of the Visigoths.

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PREFACE

A deliberate attempt has been made to standardise the naming of places, regions, and people in this thesis. Thus, Spain, rather than Spain and Portugal, has been used to indicate all five of the Roman provinces. However, the various provinces of Spain are identified by their Roman names, and not by their modern equivalents. It is now popular among a number of historians to use Galicia for the old Roman province Gallaecia, but that practice has not been adopted in this thesis for two reasons: firstly, Galicia does not include all of Roman Gallaecia; secondly, and more importantly, if one uses Galicia for Gallaecia, should one also use modern equivalents for the other provinces? The concept of identifying Baetica as Andalusia, or Tarraconensis as Catalonia, involves the introduction of a set of regional identities that are anachronistic, so the solution is to use Roman names for all the provinces of Spain.

Place-names prove to be rather complicated, since to use either all modern or all ancient names creates problems. To use modern names for cities in the western empire seems acceptable, so we use Rome instead of Roma and Zaragoza instead of the more cumbersome Caesarea Augusta. However, there are problems in the east, where many important sites are known by older names, such as Constantinople, now Istanbul, and Nicaea, now named Iznik. Rather than have Constantine I convene the Council of Iznik in 325, we have chosen to use ancient place-names in the eastern empire, and modern English versions in the west.

English translations of Latin documents in this thesis are in most cases my own, and any inaccuracies are my fault. In the case of the Chronicle of John of Biclaro, however, K.B. Wolf's translation of the text into English has been used, and any unusual interpretations of the Latin text are his, and not mine. For all four

chronicles, I have used Mommsen's editions in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica as my latin texts.

Finally, all dates are A.D. unless noted otherwise in the text.

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Any errors of fact, translation, or punctuation are, of course, mine, and mine alone.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Chronicle of Zaragoza</u>	<u>Chronicle of Zaragoza</u> . ed. T. Mommsen. <u>Monumenta Germaniae</u> <u>Antiquissimi</u> 11, <u>Chronica Minora</u> 2, pp.222-223.
<u>Historica, Auctores</u>	
<u>De viris illustribus</u>	Isidore of Seville. <u>De viris illustribus</u> . ed. J.-P. Migne. <u>Patrologia Latina</u> 83, col.1081-1106.
Eusebius	Eusebius. <u>De Laudibus Constantini</u> . tr. H.A. Drake. <u>In Praise of Constantine: A</u> <u>Historical Study and New Translation of</u> <u>Eusebius' Tricennial Orations</u> . Berkeley, 1976. pp.83-102.
Hydatius	Hydatius. <u>Chronicle</u> . ed. T. Mommsen. <u>Monumenta Germaniae</u> <u>Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi</u> 11, <u>Chronica Minora</u> 2, p.13-36.
Isidore	Isidore of Seville. <u>Chronicle</u> . ed. T. Mommsen. <u>Monumenta Germaniae</u> <u>Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi</u> 11, <u>Chronica Minora</u> 2, pp.424-481.
John	John of Biclaro. <u>Chronicle</u> . ed. T. Mommsen. <u>Monumenta Germaniae</u> <u>Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi</u> 11, <u>Chronica Minora</u> 2, pp.221-220.

Mommsen

T. Mommsen, ed. Monumenta Germaniae
Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 11,
Chronica Minora 2.

Oxford Latin Dictionary

P.G.W. Glare, ed. Oxford Latin Dictionary.
Oxford, 1968-1982.

PL

J.-P. Migne, ed. Patrologia Latina.

INTRODUCTION

R. Collins, in his article "Merida and Toledo: 550-585," wrote that a problem with our sources for sixth century Spain is that they concentrate on the exceptional events of their times: the wars, assassinations, natural disasters, and the activities of the powerful; rather than on the mundane aspects of life at that time.¹ As he pointed out, this emphasis presents problems not only for social historians, but also for any historians who want to acquire a broad picture of Spain during a period of transition, from antique to medieval, from Roman to Gothic. Unfortunately, we lack the diversity of sources needed to fill in these missing details in the history of Spain.

This thesis cannot provide such a portrait of past times; what it seeks to do is provide some insights into how four chroniclers from these formative transitional centuries, Hydatius of Lemica, John of Biclaro, Isidore of Seville, and the anonymous author (or authors) of the Chronicle of Zaragoza, dealt with the great changes that were occurring around them, how they conceptualised both recent history and events long past. This survey does not examine events that occurred before 379, the year in which Hydatius' Chronicle began: thus, only the last part of Isidore's Chronicle, from chapter 352 onwards, falls within the scope of this thesis. Likewise, the final dates considered come from the 620s, and the very end of Isidore's account.

All four of our sources were written within this period: Hydatius' Chronicle around the year 470, the Chronicle of Zaragoza in the latter half of the sixth century, John's Chronicle in 590, and Isidore's Chronicle in the 620s. Between them, they cover the entire two and a half centuries we discuss in this thesis, some more thoroughly than others. In the following pages, emphasis is placed on their interpretations of past events, rather than a narrative of those events they considered

¹ R. Collins, "Merida and Toledo: 550-585," in E. James, ed., Visigothic Spain: New Approaches (Oxford, 1980), pp.190-191.

important enough to preserve for posterity. Because of this, it is necessary to provide a brief account of the historical events that they recorded.

At the beginning of this period of history, the Visigoths had just defeated the army of the eastern Roman Emperor at the battle of Adrianople (378).² The Visigoths moved slowly across the northern edge of the Mediterranean, from the Balkans to Italy, where they sacked Rome in 410.³ At about the same time (409), Spain, which had been a part of the Roman Empire for several centuries, was invaded from Gaul by a coalition of barbarian nations: Sueves, Alans, Hasding Vandals, and Siling Vandals.⁴ In the mayhem and violence that followed, the Roman Empire lost control over most of Spain. The Sueves, who feature most prominently in Hydatius' Chronicle, occupied Hydatius' native Gallaecia.

Within a few years of this invasion, most of the barbarians who had entered Spain in 409 had either left Spain or been killed. In the 410's, Wallia, king of the Visigoths (416-419), cooperated with the Empire and destroyed the Alans and the Siling Vandals in exchange for food.⁵ After Wallia's death, the Visigoths were settled in Aquitaine.⁶ In the next decade, the Hasding Vandals, who had dominated the peninsula after the departure of the Visigoths, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and invaded Africa, where they established a kingdom which lasted until 533.⁷ After the Hasding Vandals, the Sueves became the dominant power in Spain until 456, when the Roman Empire once again persuaded the Visigoths to enter Spain and attack the barbarians there.⁸ After the Battle of the Paramus Field, the power of the Sueves was broken: their sphere of influence was restricted to the Gallaecia, in the north-west

²A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602, 4 vol. (Oxford, 1964), v.1 p.152-154.

³Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 pp.183-186; J.B. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire, 2 vol. (London, 1923), v.1 pp.174-184.

⁴Bury, History, v.1 pp.185-192; Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 p.187; R. Collins, Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000 (New York, 1983), pp.15-17.

⁵Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 p.188; Bury, History, v.1 pp.203-204; Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.19.

⁶Bury, History, v.1 pp.204-205; Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 p.188; Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.19.

⁷Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp.19-20; Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 pp.189-191; Bury, History, v.1 pp.244-249, 254-260.

⁸Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 p.241; Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp.20-23.

corner of Spain, where their kingdom lingered on until it was conquered and incorporated into the Visigothic kingdom in 585.⁹

From the 460s onwards, the Visigoths played the greatest role in the history of Spain. Their military power dominated the peninsula, and by the end of the fifth century the Roman Empire could make no claim to rule over any part of Spain.¹⁰ When the Visigoths were defeated by the Franks at the Battle of Vouille (507), they lost their hold over most of Aquitaine.¹¹ In the decades after Vouille, the Visigothic kingdom grew progressively weaker, and the various regions of Spain moved out of their sphere of influence, either becoming independent or rejoining the Roman (now Byzantine) Empire in the 550s.¹² It was into this bleak situation that Leovigild, among the greatest of the kings of the Visigoths, came to power in 569.

Leovigild (569-586) rebuilt the kingdom of the Visigoths, reclaiming the independent regions and some of the Byzantine possessions,¹³ conquered the Sueves,¹⁴ and survived a revolt led by his elder son, Hermenegild.¹⁵ This revolt seems to have had some connection to the Arianism of the Goths, as opposed to the Catholicism of the provincials and of the Byzantine Empire.¹⁶ Although in this case, the Arian Leovigild won the struggle, his younger son and successor, Reccared I (586-601), accepted Catholicism in 588 and converted his Gothic subjects to Catholicism at the Third Council of Toledo (589).¹⁷ This concession to the majority religion on the part of Reccared eliminated the greatest barrier between the Visigoths and their subjects.

In the early seventh century, the consolidation of the now-Catholic realm of the Visigothic kings continued. Suintila (621-631) conquered the last Byzantine

⁹Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.49; E.A. Thompson, The Goths in Spain (Oxford, 1969), p.87.

¹⁰Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 p.246; Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.24.

¹¹Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp.7-8; Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp.31-32.

¹²Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp.8-19; Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp.32-40.

¹³Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp.44-45; Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp.60-64.

¹⁴Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp.87-88; Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.49.

¹⁵Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp.45-46; Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp.64-73.

¹⁶Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp.68-69, 71; Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp.46-48; J.N. Hillgarth, "Coins and Chronicles: Propaganda in Sixth Century Spain and the Byzantine Background," Historia, 15 (1966), *passim*.

¹⁷Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp.94-101; Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp.50, 53-56.

possessions in Spain, making the kingdom of the Visigoths correspond to the Iberian Peninsula, and their small holdings that still remained to the north of the Pyrenees.¹⁸ In about 250 years, Spain had changed owners, from the Roman Empire to the Visigoths. Our chroniclers stood at different points along this transition, and it is their perceptions of the past and their expectations of the future that we can now begin to discuss.

¹⁸Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.67; Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp.162, 168-169.

CHAPTER ONE:

CHRONICLERS AND CHRONICLES

It is a truism that documents, such as the chronicles discussed in this thesis, are not produced in a vacuum. All documents are shaped by their authors' opinions and perceptions, which in turn are affected by the environment in which the authors live. The outcome of these conditions is that we understand more about a particular document when we learn about its author and his world-view. Therefore, before discussing what we can learn from our chronicles we should first examine what we know about our chroniclers, both their personal backgrounds and the implications of the genre they chose to write in.

I: THE AUTHORS

Little is known about Hydatius that he does not tell us himself in his Chronicle. He is mentioned by name in two letters written in the 440s: Turribius' *Epistula ad Hydatium et Ceponium* (PL 54: 693-695), and one of pope Leo's letters (*Epistulae* 15.17 PL 54: 677-692).¹⁹ However, these tell us little more than that he was, as his Chronicle claims, one of the bishops involved in Turribius' campaign against the Manichaeans of Gallaecia (ch.130).²⁰ Also, an entry on Hydatius has been inserted into some manuscripts of Isidore of Seville's book, *De viris illustribus*, but this addition reveals nothing that is not in Hydatius' introduction to his own

¹⁹S. Muhlberger, The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius and the Gallic Chronicler of 452 (Leeds, 1990), p.195.

²⁰Turribius was a newly-appointed bishop, fervently orthodox, who disapproved so greatly of the lax conditions of the church in Gallaecia in the 440's that he decided to do something to cleanse the church of the unorthodox elements in it: Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, pp.236-239.

Chronicle.²¹ Instead, we must turn to our source himself to learn about the origins of Hydatius.

Hydatius identified himself for his readers' benefit as "Hydatius of the province Gallaecia, born in the city Lemica [Ginzo de Lima], made the leader of the highest office [i.e. the episcopate] more by divine favour than by his own merit."²² The location of Hydatius' see is not certain, but most historians regard Chaves as a strong possibility, because Hydatius was taken prisoner by a group of Sueves led by Frumarius in that church of that city (ch.201), and he returned to Chaves on being released (ch.207). Although Chaves is not known to have been an episcopal see, those who argue that Chaves may have had a bishop suggest that the bishopric may have ceased to exist during the turmoil of the fifth and sixth centuries, before the available sources resume late in the sixth century.²³

Throughout the Chronicle, which apparently he wrote late in his life,²⁴ Hydatius makes several references to events that personally involved him. The first of these references mentions the distinguished Christian leaders, including Jerome, that Hydatius saw when he was in the Holy Land as "a small child and ward."²⁵ This entry is dated to the year 407, so we can probably date Hydatius' birth to within the period from 390 to 400. S. Muhlberger suggests that, because Hydatius made a journey, possibly a pilgrimage, to the eastern edge of the Mediterranean, he came from a wealthy Christian family of some prominence in Gallaecia.²⁶ While this is an interesting idea, we know nothing about Hydatius' family other than whatever we can infer from his Chronicle, which never mentions them.

Hydatius noted in his Chronicle both his entry into the religious life in 416 (ch.62b) and his elevation to the position of bishop in 427 (preface). The first chapter

²¹*De viris illustribus* ch.9.

²²Hydatius preface 1: "verum Hydatius provinciae Gallaeciae, natus in Lemica civitate, mage divino munere quam proprio merito summi praesul creatus officii."

²³For example, see Muhlberger, *Fifth-Century Chroniclers*, p.199.

²⁴Hydatius preface 1; *De viris illustribus* ch.9.

²⁵Hydatius ch.40: "et infantulus et pupillus."

²⁶Muhlberger, *Fifth-Century Chroniclers*, p.197.

reads as follows: "The conversion of Hydatius, a sinner, to God."²⁷ This should not, however, be taken as a sign that Hydatius was not a Christian before 416, since we know that he travelled to Palestine nearly ten years earlier, and remembered that he saw various Christian holy men. Instead, this marks his entry into religious life. Although the word *conversio* usually implied conversion to the monastic life, Hydatius probably entered into the priesthood. Hydatius never mentioned that he had been a monk, and since he must have become a priest at some stage in his rise to the episcopate, it seems probable that this entry marked his ordination as a priest. The alternative, that this is a reference to his promotion to the episcopate, is not possible, since in his preface he dated this event to "the third year of the emperor Valentinian [III] son of queen Placidia,"²⁸ when he was "promoted undeservingly to the office of bishop."²⁹ In short, Hydatius became a priest in 416 and a bishop in 427.

Hydatius' Chronicle contains other references to himself : his mission as ambassador to Aetius on behalf of the Gallaecians in 431 and 432 (ch.96 and 98); his participation in Turribius' campaign against the Manichaeans (i.e. Priscillianists)³⁰ of Gallaecia in 445 (ch.130); and his arrest, imprisonment and release by the Sueves in 460 (ch.201 and 207). All of these snippets of information can be combined to create an image of Hydatius, as Muhlberger has done:

What Hydatius said about himself gives us no more than a few isolated glimpses of his life and career. Fortunately, the solid points of reference make it possible to sketch in a larger picture. Hydatius was evidently an important figure in provincial society, possibly from birth. His upbringing included world travel and a literary education. In early adulthood he took up the religious life, and eleven years later became a bishop. From this position of leadership, he acted - at least saw himself as acting - as a champion of the Roman community against Suevic oppression and a vigorous opponent of heresy.³¹

²⁷Hydatius ch.62b: "Hydatii ad deum conversio peccatoris."

²⁸Hydatius preface 6: "in annum tertium Valentiniani Augusti Placidiae reginae filii."

²⁹Hydatius preface 7: "inmerito adlectus ad episcopatus officium."

³⁰See below, p.85.

³¹Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.199.

This, then, is the sum of knowledge modern scholars have pieced together about the life of Hydatius.

The second of our sources, the Chronicle of Zaragoza, has no known author. R. Collins describes the history of this chronicle in his book, Early Medieval Spain. As it currently stands, the Chronicle was compiled in a 16th century copy of two lost medieval manuscripts, which contained extracts from the Chronicle of Zaragoza only as marginalia for other texts. Mommsen's edition of the text provides references to the original position of three of the entries in the Chronicle of Zaragoza: two to the Chronicle of Victor of Tunnuna and one to the Chronicle of John of Biclara.³² Because of this method of transmission, the Chronicle of Zaragoza is brief, sketchy, and lacks unity. In the past, it was thought that the single author of this work was bishop Maximus of Zaragoza (599-621), because the entry on him in De viris illustribus mentions that he wrote a historical work.³³ However, Collins argues that the Chronicle derives from two sixth century annals, rather than from the lost work of Maximus, although he chose not to prove his case in Early Medieval Spain,³⁴ but promised to do so in a later work.³⁵

A brief survey of the style and content of the entries in the Chronicle of Zaragoza leads us to agree with Collins: for example, the way in which the Chronicle records the murder of notables clearly differs in parts. The phrase "*interfectus est*" ("he was killed") is used in the entries *ad a.*461, 466, 492, 506, and 507. In entries *ad a.*544, 545, and 552, however, an ablative absolute construction is used: "*Thiudi [or Thiudisclo or Agilane] mortuo*" (with Theudis [or Theudiscus or Agila] dead"). Unfortunately, while evidence such as this supports the argument that the Chronicle of Zaragoza had two authors, it cannot prove the case. Ultimately, we know little more about the author(s) of the Chronicle of Zaragoza than that they almost certainly lived in that city.

³²Chronicle of Zaragoza *ad a.*457, 513,2, 568. The texts that Mommsen referred the reader to are Victor of Tunnuna's Chronicle *a.*457,3, 513, and John *a.*568,3.

³³De viris illustribus ch.46.

³⁴Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp.34-35.

³⁵Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.286.

Like these anonymous author(s), John said nothing about himself in his Chronicle. His prologue is much briefer than Hydatius' preface, and does not contain any autobiographical material. What we know of John comes from Isidore's book De viris illustribus ch.44. John was born c.540 in Santarem in Lusitania, "a Goth by birth" (*nativitate Gothus*). Despite his parentage, John was a Catholic, with a Roman name. He spent seventeen years studying in Constantinople, and was arrested and exiled to Barcelona for ten years upon his return to Spain. The traditional dates for these events are c.559-c.576 for his stay in Constantinople, and c.577-586 for his imprisonment in Barcelona, although Collins has argued that these dates should be moved forward three years.³⁶

While Isidore's account has John jailed for his refusal to adopt Arianism and reject his Catholic beliefs, modern historians argue against this, pointing out that other Spanish sources, including John's Chronicle, do not support this depiction of an Arian persecution in Spain before the revolt of Hermenegild. John wrote that, in 578, "king Leovigild had peace to reside with his own people."³⁷ It seems more likely, then, that John's lengthy stay in the Byzantine Empire was responsible for his detention by the Visigothic government, presumably because John was seen as someone who had Imperial leanings and thus a potential agitator or spy.³⁸

After his release from prison during the first few years of the reign of Reccared (586-603), John finished his Chronicle, which ended in 590; founded a monastery at Biclara (modern site unknown),³⁹ which provided the place-name by which he was identified; and became bishop of Gerona, at some time between 589 and 592.⁴⁰ It has been suggested that he may have begun the Chronicle during his

³⁶The traditional dates originate in Mommsen's commentary on John of Biclara in Chronica Minora, v.2 p.208, and are supported by K.B. Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain (Liverpool, 1990), p.2, and Thompson, Goths in Spain, p.81. The new dates are suggested in Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.42.

³⁷John a.578,4: "Leovegildus rex ... requiem propria cum plebe resedit."

³⁸See Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.42; Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp.80-83.

³⁹Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.42; Thompson, Goths in Spain, p.32.

⁴⁰Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers, p.2, explained that one Alicius signed on behalf of the see of Gerona at the Third Council of Toledo in 589, whereas John was the signatory at the Second Council of Zaragoza in 592.

stay in Constantinople, since his eastern information for the period 568-c.577 is fairly detailed.⁴¹ He probably died in the 620s.⁴² Unlike Hydatius, John did not write of his involvement in the events of his times, with one exception: when he described the plague that afflicted Constantinople in 573, he used the first person rather than the third person (ch.26); this reminds us that John was in Constantinople at the time. John's involvement in the events of his Chronicle went almost without mention on his part, surely a reflection of his relative importance during the period 568-590.

Isidore of Seville, Doctor of the Church, is the best known of all our authors, and needs the least introduction. He is famous for his extensive works on a great variety of secular and sacred subjects. His greatest work, the *Etymologiae*, was "an encyclopedia of all the secular and religious knowledge accessible in the 7th century,"⁴³ and remained a standard reference volume of scholars for many centuries after his death. Like the other bishops, Hydatius and John, he also has an entry in *De viris illustribus*,⁴⁴ added by his pupil Braulio, bishop of Zaragoza (631-651), which dwells on his achievements and provides a list of his important works. In the words of A. Humbert, "He [Isidore] was considered the most learned man of his age, called by God to rescue the monuments of ancient knowledge, to prevent Spain from falling into decadence, and to serve his contemporaries as tutor and protector."⁴⁵

Isidore was born about 560, perhaps in Cartagena, perhaps in Seville.⁴⁶ In his brother Leander's entry in *De viris illustribus*,⁴⁷ Isidore wrote that their father, Severianus, came from Cartagena, and one of Leander's letters to their sister Florentina "suggests that the family may, in fact, have moved from Cartagena to Seville under duress, perhaps as a result of the occupation of the city by imperial troops sometime between 552 and 555."⁴⁸ Isidore's approval of the Visigothic

⁴¹Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p.42.

⁴²E.P. Colbert, "John of Biclaro," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* v.7 (New York, 1967), p.1036.

⁴³A. Humbert, "Isidore of Seville, St.," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* v.7 (New York, 1967), p.675.

⁴⁴*De viris illustribus* ch.47.

⁴⁵Humbert, "Isidore of Seville," p.674; see also Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p.63.

⁴⁶Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, p.27, Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p.61.

⁴⁷*De viris illustribus* ch.41.

⁴⁸Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, p.13, referring to *De institutione virginum* 31.3 and 31.5.

conquest of the parts of Spain ruled by the Byzantine Empire may stem from a dislike of the Byzantines fostered by this forced relocation of his family.

His appointment as bishop of Seville occurred about 600, after Leander's death left that see vacant, and Isidore presided over the bishopric until his death on 4 April 636. Isidore's importance at the Visigothic court has been considered great by historians, but in recent times there has been a move away from this position. One of the points raised against this position is that Isidore, as bishop of Seville, could spend little time at the court in Toledo.⁴⁹ Most of Isidore's written works date from the period of his episcopate, and the Chronicle is no exception. Isidore's Chronicle was the latest of our sources to be written, originally concluding in 616 according to the Chronicle's first summary of the age of the world (ch.417).⁵⁰ However, later revisions extended the Chronicle into the 620s, both by the revision of the age of the world (ch.417)⁵¹ and by the inclusion of material on the conquest of the last Byzantine cities in southern Spain by Suinthila (ch.416b). With Isidore, the greatest writer of Visigothic Spain, our selection of chroniclers comes to a fitting conclusion.

II: CHRONICLES

A brief glance at all four of our sources shows that they share certain key characteristics. All deal with events on a year by year basis, with little or no explanation of the causes of events. Nor is there any real use of narrative as a vehicle for recording historical events. These features characterise them as chronicles, and these chronicles drew on the traditions of the consular annals of the city of Rome and the universal chronicle of the Greek east.

Annalistic history had long been a preoccupation for the Romans, who placed great importance on their records of the past. History in Rome grew from the lists of

⁴⁹For an example of the latter position, see Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.62.

⁵⁰Isidore ch.417 dates the current age of the world to the fourth year of the reign of Sisebut (612-621).

⁵¹Isidore ch.417 was rewritten twice, dating the current age of the world to first the fifth and then the tenth year of the reign of Suinthila (621-631).

consuls, priests, and other office-holders. The greatest of the early annals, the Annales Maximi, was originally the list of the days on which Roman citizens were permitted to conduct business or legal proceedings in the city of Rome, but "gradually began to include also the names of high officials, proper dates for religious functions, the deaths of priests and the names of their successors, and notes on fires, floods, famines, battles, laws, and treaties."⁵² The similarity of the interests of the recorders of the Annales Maximi and of our chroniclers is readily apparent.

By the fifth century A.D., the Consular Annals were among the most popular of this type of historical record. Consular Annals were annotated consular *fasti* ("records"),⁵³ which gave them a chronological framework of consular years to place events around. They contained secular themes, listed the accession dates of the emperors, and mentioned natural disasters. Although these annalists had access to material going back many centuries, the emphasis in these documents was placed on events since the reign of Constantine the Great (306-337), and so they catered to contemporary interest, rather than antiquarian inclinations.⁵⁴ The Chronicle of Zaragoza, which deals only with secular matters and maintains a list of consuls, follows in this tradition.

It also seems that Hydatius compiled one such work, named the Consularia Hydatiana, which exists in one ninth-century manuscript, where it immediately follows Hydatius' Chronicle. While there is some doubt as to whether Hydatius did write the Consularia Hydatiana, it is associated with his name and does contain references to church politics and dogma. These were not usually the subject matter of such annals but would have been of interest to a bishop such as Hydatius.⁵⁵

Although this Roman tradition of recording history was available to our chroniclers, Hydatius, John, and Isidore chose instead to develop the Greek idea of

⁵²E. Breisach, Historiography: Ancient, Medieval and Modern (Chicago, 1983), p.43.

⁵³Oxford Latin Dictionary, p.678: the relevant definition of *fasti* is 3, "the list of consuls who gave their names to the year, the chronological list."

⁵⁴For a lengthy discussion of the Consular Annals see Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, pp.23-46.

⁵⁵Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, pp.24-30.

universal history, and the universal chronicle of Eusebius, which was translated into Latin by Jerome. Eusebius' Chronicle had two parts: the first, a chronology of history from Abraham to 325; and the second, and more important, a "tabulated concordance of chronologies."⁵⁶ Jerome copied out the second part of Eusebius' work, and extended it to 378; this became the foundation of the universal chronicle, on which Hydatius and John based their works, and which Isidore recast in a different format.⁵⁷

Chronologies such as this one had existed in similar formats since the first century B.C., when parallel chronological tables first appeared in the Chronicle of Castor of Rhodes. Eusebius used earlier chronologies, such as a revised edition of Claudius Ptolomaeus' book of chronological tables (second century) and the work of the Christian writer Sextus Julius Africanus (*fl.* late third century), as sources for his own chronicle.⁵⁸ Tables such as those in Eusebius' Chronicle were parallel records of events happening in different kingdoms and nations at the same time. As each nation was conquered and incorporated into another, its column ended. The upshot of this was that, as time passed, there were fewer and fewer columns, until only the column of the Roman Empire remained. Thus, when Hydatius and John wrote continuations of the universal chronicle, they added to the one remaining column, that of the Roman Empire.

The influence of Eusebius and Jerome on later chroniclers was enormous.

Their combined Chronicle set a pattern which was kept to by later writers:

Jerome's translation of Eusebius has long been prized. It uniquely preserves a vast amount of chronological information, and Jerome deserves credit for providing the Latin world with this irreplaceable material. His Continuation was equally significant for the development of Latin historiography, for it was the precursor of further continuations. One important feature was the way Jerome joined his work to Eusebius' account with a very simple statement of authorship. This procedure showed how simple further continuation could be....His continuation of Eusebius served as an easily-imitated model for chroniclers who merely wanted to add a brief account of

⁵⁶I. Sterns, The Greater Medieval Historians: An Interpretation and a Bibliography (Lanham, Maryland, 1980), p.6.

⁵⁷For more on Jerome's continuation, see J.H.D. Kelly, Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies (London, 1975), pp.72-74.

⁵⁸For these writers, see Breisach, Historiography, pp.59, 73, 81.

their own times to an authoritative Christian world chronicle....It was a model with particular appeal to those interested in recording the recent history of the church.⁵⁹

Both Hydatius and John followed this example. Each in his turn listed the previous writers of the universal history that he was adding to: Hydatius was following Jerome, who had followed Eusebius; whereas John was adding to the account of Victor of Tunnuna, who had followed Prosper, who had, like Hydatius, continued from the end-point of Jerome, who had followed Eusebius.⁶⁰

Unlike the others, Isidore approached the universal chronicle in a new way. He acknowledged his predecessors, Julius Africanus, Eusebius, Jerome, and Victor of Tunnuna, and added that his Chronicle would extend to the reigns of the emperor Heraclius and king Sisebut.⁶¹ In this, he did not differ from John and Hydatius. However, Isidore then began his Chronicle with the creation of the world,⁶² and provided a summary of world history without using parallel tables. He used a "single universal chronology,"⁶³ and divided history into six ages, another innovation.⁶⁴ Biblical and non-Biblical material was mixed together rather than segregated, and Isidore treated the Bible as just one source among several.⁶⁵ However, a clear Christian bias still ran through the Chronicle. Isidore's new approach to the universal chronicle gave his Chronicle a different feel to the chronicles of Hydatius and John; they concerned themselves only with events of their own lifetimes, whereas Isidore attempted to cover a much broader period of time, and lacked their fine details. He continued the universal chronicle, but in a different way.

⁵⁹Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, pp.22-23.

⁶⁰Hydatius preface, John prologue.

⁶¹Isidore ch.1 and 2.

⁶²Isidore ch.3.

⁶³P.M. Bassett, "The Use of History in the *Chronicon* of Isidore of Seville," History and Theory, 15 (1976), p.280.

⁶⁴J.N. Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," La storiografia altomedievale, Settimane de studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 17 (Spoleto, 1970), p.291.

⁶⁵Bassett, "The Use of History," pp.279-280.

III: DATING SYSTEMS

Our chronicles use a wide variety of different dating systems, reflecting the diversity of this period, which predates the arrival in Spain of the concept of *Anno Domini*, invented by Dionysius Exiguus in the first half of the sixth century.⁶⁶ Each dating system is briefly described below.

Regnal years are linked to the length of time a particular ruler has been in power: each year is identified by how long ago the chosen ruler or rulers attained their power. Hydatius used imperial regnal years, and John used both imperial and Visigothic regnal years.

Olympiads were first used by Timaeus of Tauromenium in the 3rd century B.C.⁶⁷ Eusebius and Jerome used Olympiads in the universal chronicle, a practice copied by Hydatius. Each Olympiad contains four calendar years, which caused problems when Hydatius attempted to integrate Olympiads with regnal years, because they do not correlate directly with each other.

The indiction was a fifteen year taxation cycle initiated in 312. It appeared once in Hydatius (ch.37a), and once in John's Chronicle (ch.1).

Consular dates identify the year by the name or names of the ordinary consul or consuls of that year. The ordinary consulship was the most prestigious type of consulship, "whose holders entered upon office on the Kalends of January and gave their names to the year."⁶⁸ Because the consulship lapsed after Flavius Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius held the office in 541, it ceased to be a useful dating system for recent events.⁶⁹ References to consular dates appear three times in Hydatius (ch.4, 42, 76), and fifteen times in the Chronicle of Zaragoza.⁷⁰

⁶⁶O. Neugebauer, "On the 'Spanish Era'," Chiron, 11 (1981), p.379.

⁶⁷Breisach, Historiography, p.36.

⁶⁸Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.2 p.532.

⁶⁹Emperors continued to hold the consulship in the first year of their reigns, but dating by these consulships was effectively the same as dating by imperial regnal years. Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.2 p.533; Bury, History, v.2 p.348.

⁷⁰Chronicle of Zaragoza *ad a.* 461, 462, 463, 473, 490, 492, 494, 496, 497, 504, 506, 510, 513, 525, 531.

The Spanish Era began in 38 B.C., traditionally because Augustus pacified Spain in that year and imposed tribute over the entire peninsula.⁷¹ Recently, O. Neugebauer argued against this reasoning, proposing instead that the Spanish Era derived from the nineteen-year lunar cycle used to calculate the date of Easter, and that the starting date of the Era was no more than two cycles before the birth of Christ.⁷² Hydatius was once considered to be the first Spanish author to use the Spanish Era, but Neugebauer pointed out that the nine instances of the Spanish Era in Hydatius' text (ch.42, 49, 99, 108a, 127, 150, 173, 192a, 214) appear only in ninth century or later manuscripts, "obviously being later additions."⁷³

A.U.C. is the abbreviation for *Ab Urbe Condita*, "from the founding of the city." This chronological system was based on the legendary date of the foundation of Rome by Romulus in 753 B.C. Like the indiction, A.U.C. appeared once in the Chronicle of Hydatius (Ch.37a).

Annus mundi ("year of the world"), dates events by the absolute age of the world, from the creation onwards. Both John and Isidore calculated the age of the world at the end of their chronicles,⁷⁴ and Isidore used *annus mundi*, subdivided into the reigns of the Roman emperors, throughout the latter section of his Chronicle.

The Year of Abraham, which dates events by the number of years since the time of Abraham, was used by Eusebius in his Chronicle. It appears in the B Manuscript of Hydatius' text,⁷⁵ but according to S. Muhlberger, was clearly written in by another hand.⁷⁶

As one would expect, owing to this diversity, each of our chroniclers used a different dating system as their principal method of recording the events of their chronicles. Hydatius used Olympiads and the imperial regnal years, equating both the regnal years of the eastern and western emperors with each other, and the regnal years

⁷¹J.R. Strayer, ed., Dictionary of the Middle Ages, 12 vol. (New York, 1982-), v.11, p.389.

⁷²Neugebauer, "On the 'Spanish Era'," pp.371-380.

⁷³Neugebauer, "On the 'Spanish Era'," p.376.

⁷⁴John epilogue, Isidore ch.417.

⁷⁵The Berlin manuscript is the only extant copy of Hydatius' Chronicle. It provides the framework with which the other manuscripts are compared. Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, pp.200-204.

⁷⁶He examined the original manuscript itself: Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.202.

with the Olympiads. Since regnal years do not directly correspond to calendar years, which are what the Olympiads were reckoned by, Hydatius explained to his readers how he intended to unite these two chronological systems (ch.26):

And this year, which is the seventeenth of Theodosius, is the very first year I acknowledge of the reigns of those two, Arcadius and Honorius: it is indicated in this way so that the addition of the beginning of their reigns in this place does not throw the Olympiad into disorder with five years.⁷⁷

That is, there will only be four regnal years in each Olympiad, and the first year of the new emperor or emperors will be the same as the last year of the previous emperor(s). Unfortunately, Hydatius was unsuccessful at maintaining this standard of record-keeping, and the latter parts of his Chronicle are especially confusing and inaccurate.⁷⁸ A variety of other dating systems appear throughout Hydatius' text, mostly added, it seems, by later writers.

The Chronicle of Zaragoza is unlike our other three chronicles, both in format and compilation. Because it was compiled from marginalia, Mommsen dated each entry by *Anno Domini*, which provided a chronological structure that the Chronicle of Zaragoza otherwise lacked. The only indication that another dating system was used in the original Chronicle is the extensive series of consular dates, which dominate the middle portion of the text.

John did not use both regnal years and Olympiads, as Jerome and Hydatius did, but used only regnal years. His innovation was to reckon the date by the regnal year of both the sole emperor at Constantinople (since the position of western emperor had been abolished in 476) and, from 570 onwards, of the king of the Visigoths. The significance of this addition will be discussed in the third chapter.

Finally, Isidore introduced the *annus mundi* as the chronological framework upon which he developed his Chronicle. For convenience, he divided history into

⁷⁷Hydatius ch.26: "Et iste annus, qui Theodosii XVII, ipse Arcadii et Honorii initio regni eorum primus est: quod ideo indicatur, ne olympiadem quinque annorum turbet adiectio, in hoc loco tantum propter regnantium inserta principium."

⁷⁸For a fuller discussion, see below pp.39-41.

periods of time based on the reigns of various monarchs, who were, in the last portion of his account, the sequence of Roman emperors. Thus, in a way, he used regnal years, but not as Hydatius and John did. Now that we know about our chroniclers, the format of their chronicles, and their chosen methods to record the dates of events, we can begin to discuss what our sources tell us about conditions in Spain in these centuries.

CHAPTER TWO:

INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION

Before discussing the contents of these four chronicles, we should consider how our chroniclers knew of the events they described. This chapter assesses the types of information found in the chronicles of Hydatius, John, Isidore, and the Chronicle of Zaragoza, where this information came from, and what it tells historians about the conditions of the fifth, sixth, and early seventh centuries.

Most of our chroniclers listed their sources in their introductions , with the exception of the Chronicle of Zaragoza. Hydatius, who wrote most extensively on his sources, described the significance of the different kinds of material in his Chronicle (preface 5-7):

We have added what follows below partly from study of written authorities, partly from the trustworthy narration of some informants, partly from the knowledge which ere now our deplorable lifetime has encountered. You who read the continuation of deeds and times should divide it thus: from the first year of the emperor Theodosius [379] to the third year of the emperor Valentinian [427], the son of Queen Placidia, the account has been written from our own research, from written authorities and from the testimony of witnesses.⁷⁹

Here Hydatius is saying that for the period of time before he became a bishop, he was not personally involved in important affairs, but that after that event, his rank involved him more closely in matters and gave him access to information that would otherwise have been difficult to obtain.

⁷⁹Hydatius preface 5-6, translated in Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.205.

John also made use of diverse sources when he composed his Chronicle: as he explained matters, he had "taken pains to record, using a concise format, those things which have occurred in our own times. Part we have witnessed faithfully with our own eyes and part we have learned from the reports of trustworthy individuals."⁸⁰ On the other hand, Isidore did not describe how he learnt about the recent past in his introductory chapters, because the different approach of his Chronicle to world history meant that he depended on different resources, as we shall see below.

Information on historical events was thus obtained by our chroniclers in three different ways: through personal experience, by oral communication, and from documents. That is, the chronicles contain accounts of what the writer saw, what other people saw, and what other people wrote down. Examples of these different kinds of information abound throughout the chronicles, as demonstrated below.

Good examples of personal information include Hydatius' references to himself and his activities in various parts of his Chronicle (preface 1, 6 and 7, ch.40, 62b, 96, 98, 130, 201, 207), and John's use of the first person when describing the plague that afflicted Constantinople in 573 (*a.*573,4). Presumably, the entries in the Chronicle of Zaragoza that mention events in the city itself are based on the experiences of the writer(s), rather than being learnt second-hand (*ad a.*460, 504, 506, 541). Isidore's considerably more detailed chapters on Spanish events after the conversion of the Visigoths under Reccared (ch.408) are a reflection both of the increased importance of Visigothic Spain after that event in his world-view, and of his personal recollection of the significant events of his adult life.

Oral reports are identified in the text only by Hydatius,⁸¹ but they played a part in all of the chronicles as the source of information for most contemporary events. Examples from Hydatius' Chronicle of oral sources of information include the presbyter from the Holy Land who passed through Gallaecia in 435 (ch.106), Hesychius, an imperial ambassador, who came to Gallaecia in the middle of the 450's

⁸⁰John prologue.

⁸¹Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, pp.210-211.

(ch.177), and unnamed ambassadors who returned from a mission to the emperor in 468 with news of the latest Roman intrigues (ch.247). Hydatius also identifies instances when his source of information was rumour (ch.89, 167, and 228).⁸²

Documents, such as letters, histories, and even previous chronicles, were valuable sources of information. The Chronicle of Zaragoza contains a series of consular dates which shows that the proclamation of the new consuls still reached Tarraconensis in the late fifth and early sixth centuries.⁸³ Hydatius recorded the arrival of several episcopal letters in his Chronicle,⁸⁴ such as those written by bishop Paul of Beziers in 419 (ch.73) and pope Leo I in 447 (ch.135). His Chronicle also mentioned the letter of bishop Eufronius of Autun to count Agrippinus about a sign in the skies in 452 (ch.151). Isidore drew on many previous histories, including the chronicles of Eusebius, Jerome, Prosper, Victor of Tunnuna, Hydatius, and John.⁸⁵

Within each chronicle, the mix of these elements naturally varies, but there seems to be a general pattern for the use of these different sources of evidence. Oral evidence was apparently the most important source of information for the recent past, whereas written history became an increasingly important source for a chronicle as it moved further back in time, beyond the life of the chronicler. Personal information, while often included, was never the principal source of information, simply because it draws on the experiences of only one person. It supplemented, but never supplanted, the two other types of information in our sources, which accessed the knowledge of many people, from many times and places.

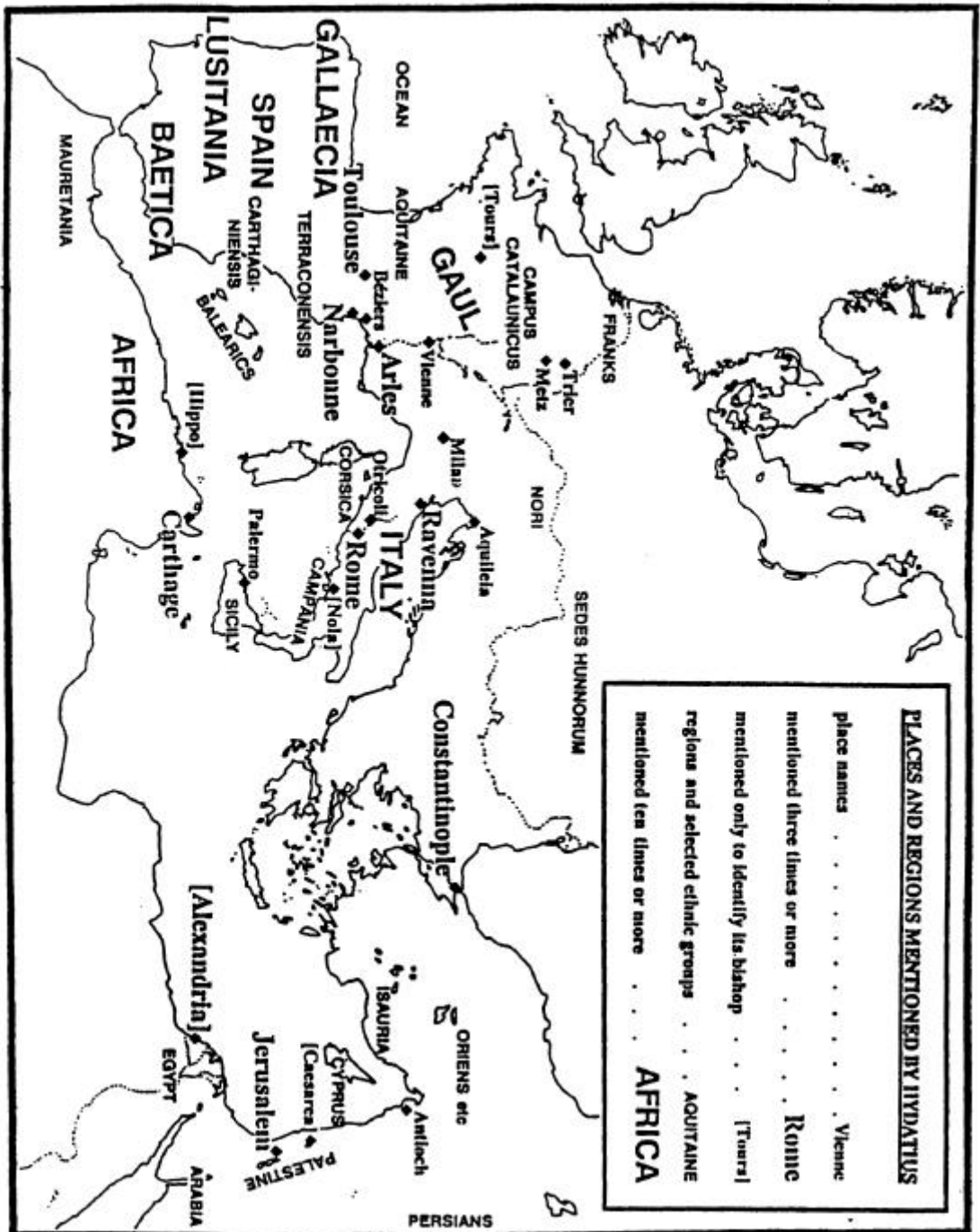
Now acquainted with the sort of information used by our chroniclers, we can turn our attention to the origins of this information. The following series of maps show the variety of places, regions, and some of the ethnic groups mentioned in each of the chronicles. They are inspired by a pair of maps in S. Muhlberger's book, The

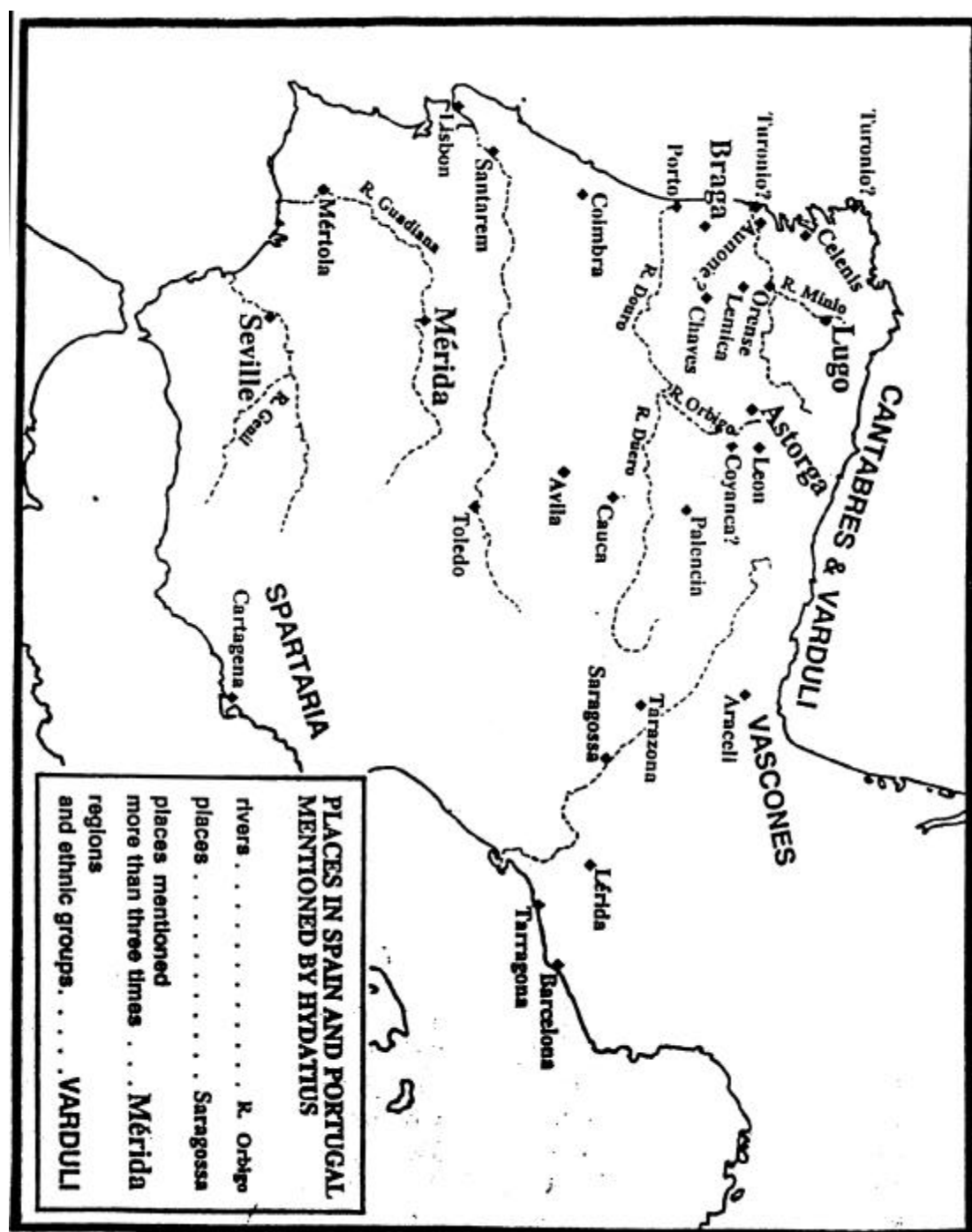
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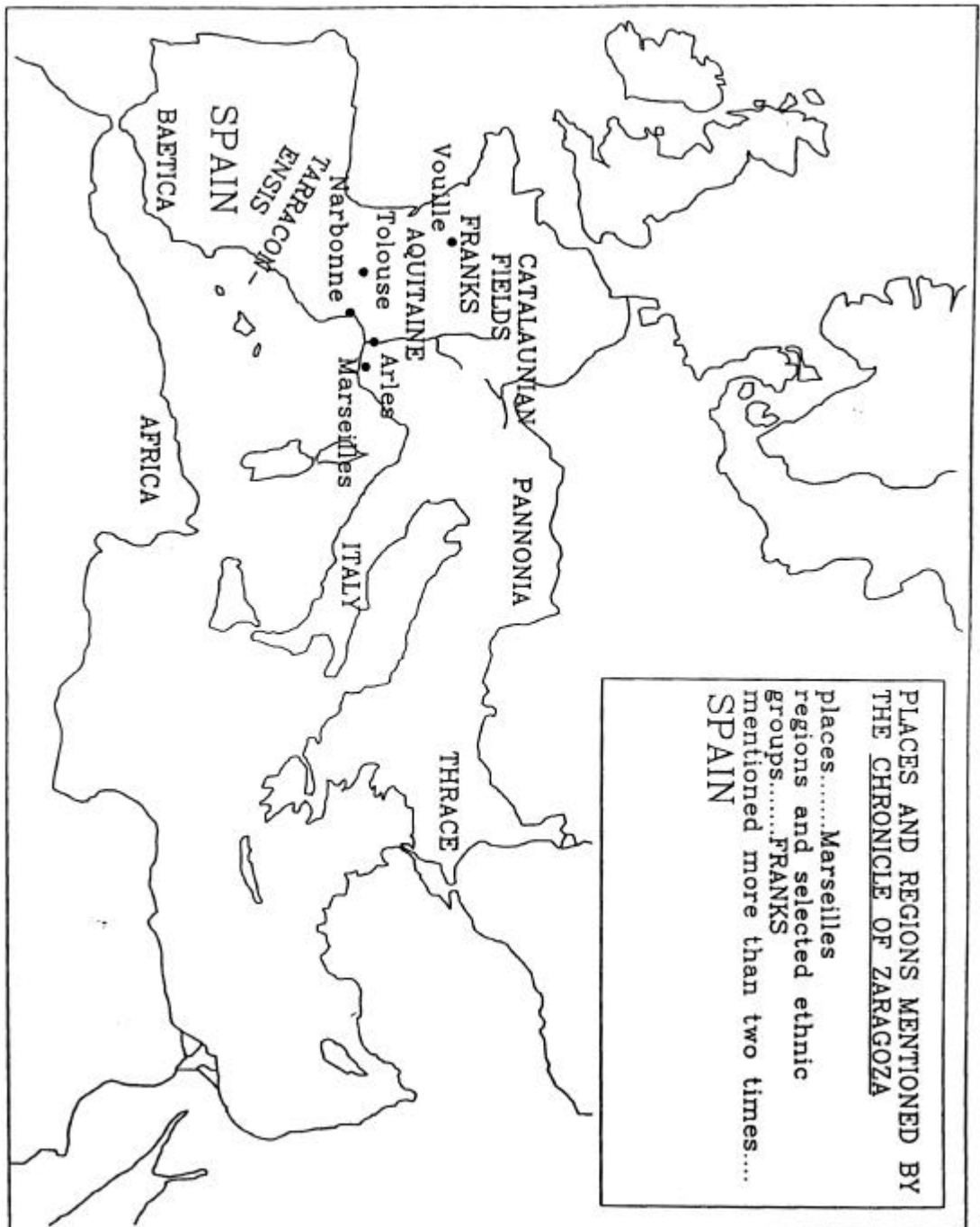
⁸³See above pp.15-16, 19-20, 22.

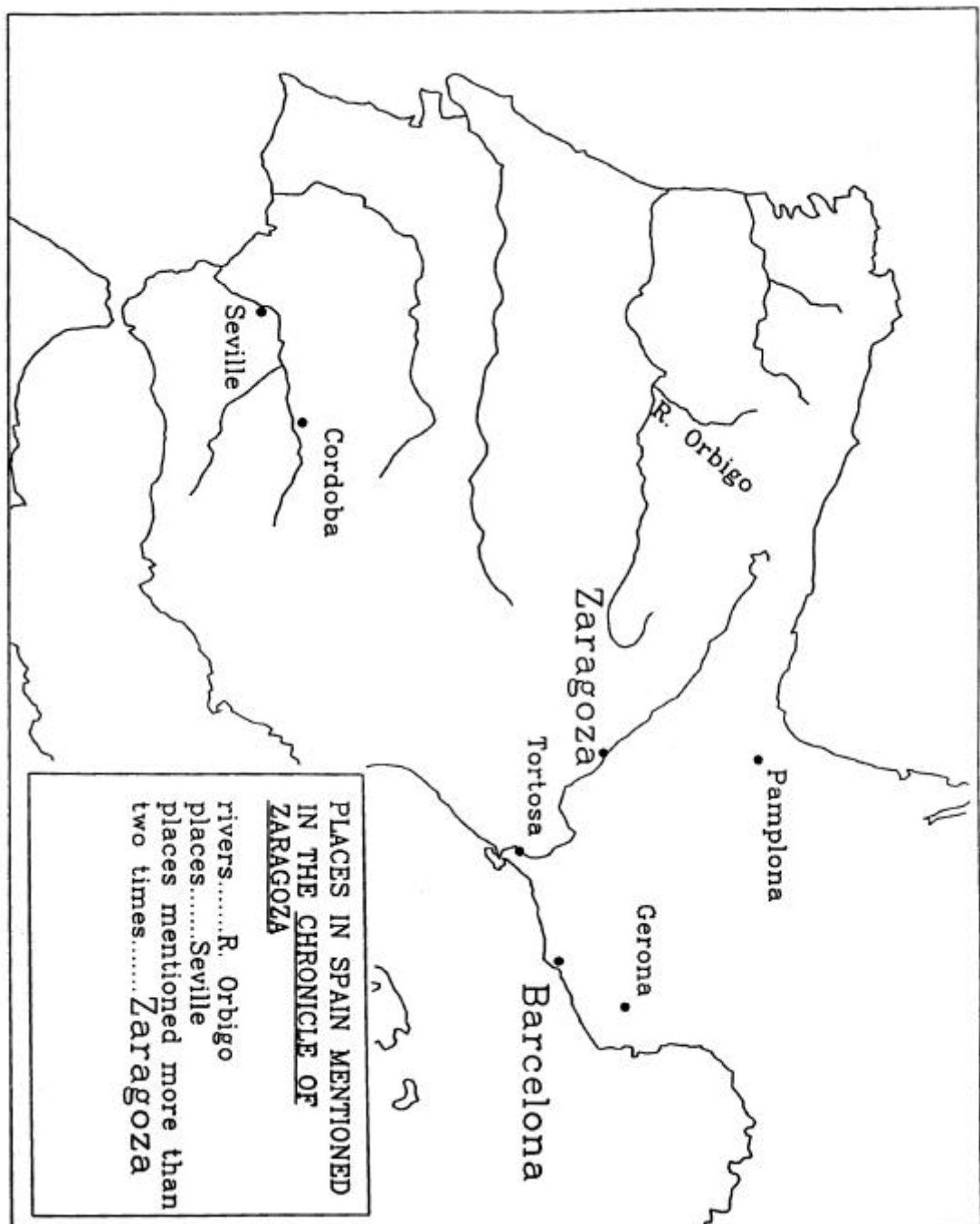
⁸⁴Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, pp.236-269.

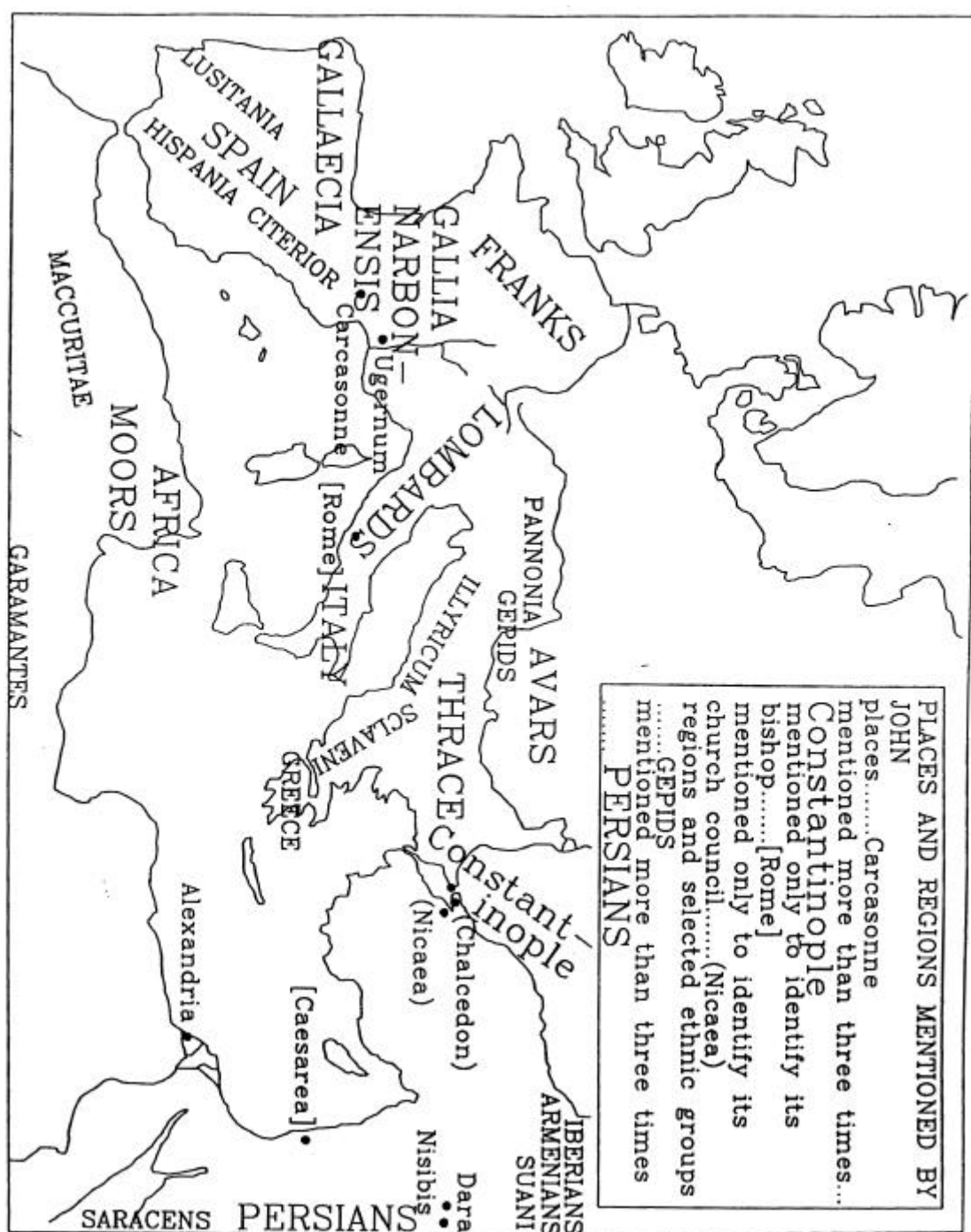
⁸⁵Mommsen's edition of the text contains references to the texts from which Isidore's entries come.

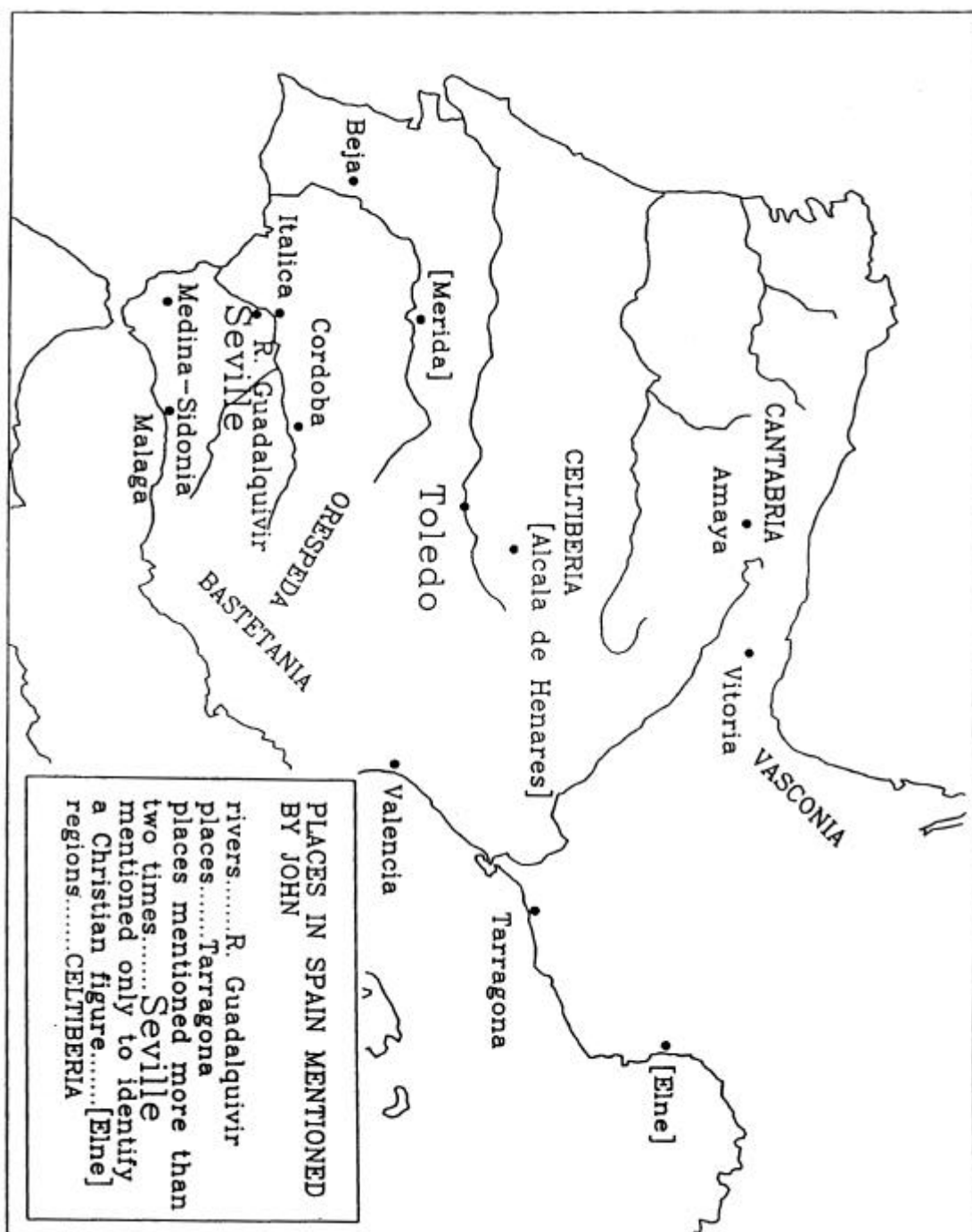


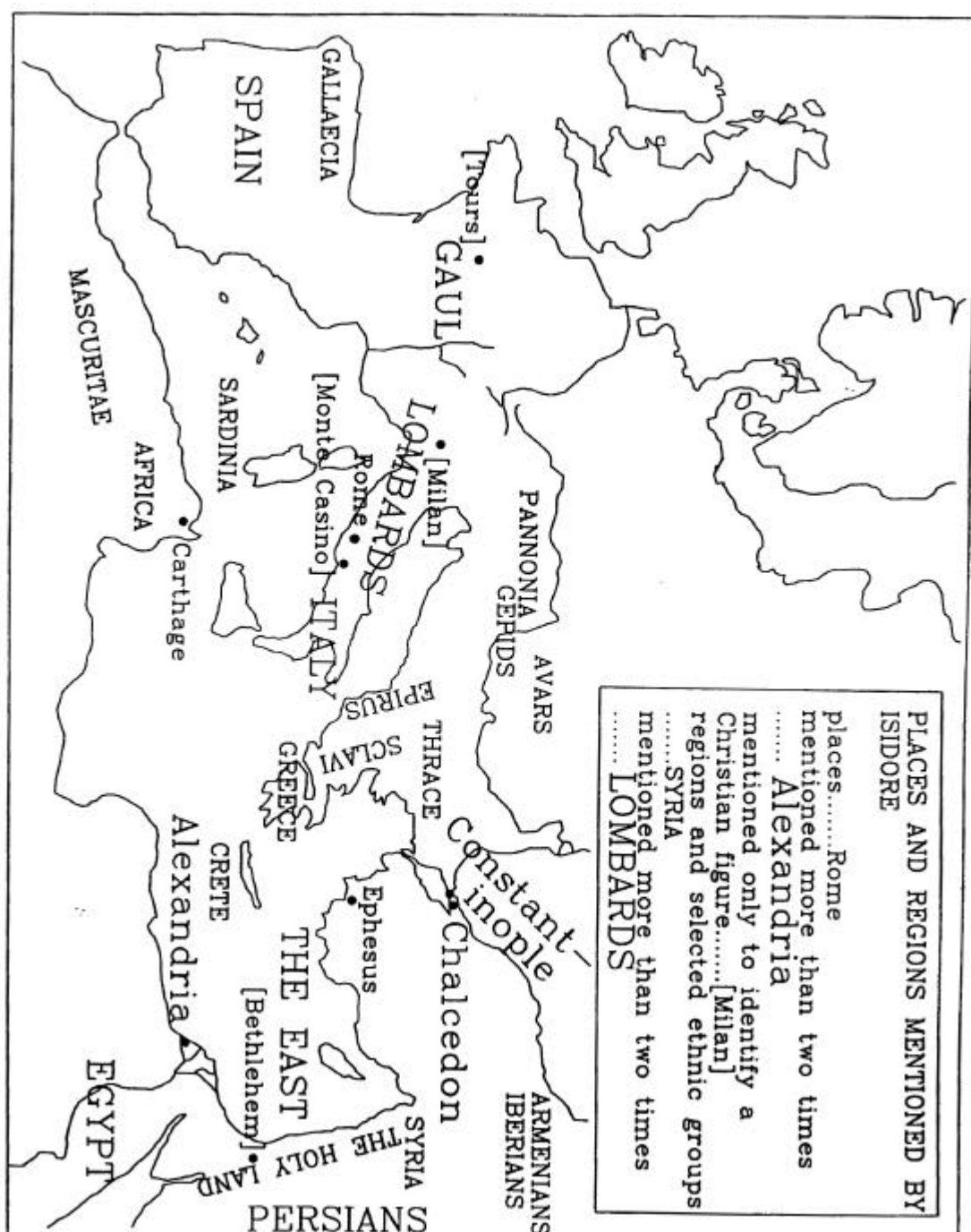


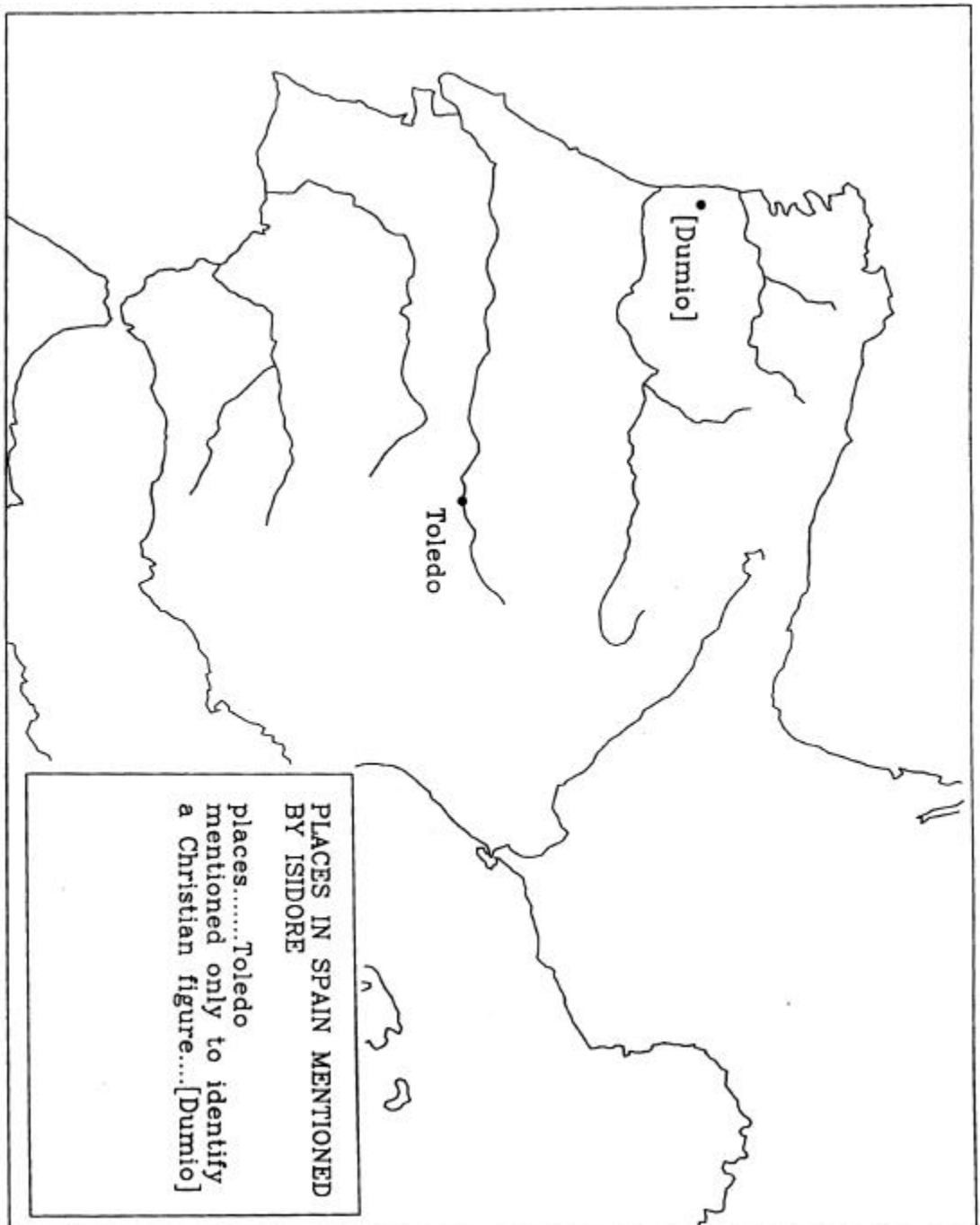












Fifth-Century Chroniclers.⁸⁶ Of these maps, the first two are reproductions of Muhlberger's maps, while the remaining six are derived from study of the chronicles of John and Isidore, and the Chronicle of Zaragoza: the data with which these maps were constructed is tabulated in the Appendix.

While the maps are not exhaustive, they do give a general impression of the variety of places each chronicle mentions. As we would expect, Hydatius mentions the most places in his Chronicle, which is after all the longest of our four sources. His references cluster around the western half of the Mediterranean, with the exception of the Holy Land, Egypt, and the imperial capital Constantinople. Within Spain itself, the concentration of sites in Gallaecia is obvious. In comparison, the very brief Chronicle of Zaragoza concentrates on events in southern France and northern Spain, with a smattering of references to places further away. The third chronicler, John, shows the most even distribution of references, both within Spain and throughout the Mediterranean world in general. This is not surprising, given that John spent time in both the east and in the west. Isidore's preoccupation with the history of the Roman Empire shows in the concentration of references in the central and eastern Mediterranean, with comparatively few mentions of places west of Italy and Africa. The sparseness of sites within Spain itself emphasises this bias.

There are, of course, limits to the usefulness of these maps. No distinction is made between references of different times, for instance; nor are all places or peoples mentioned in the chronicles presented here. Most limiting, however, is the fact that there is often no clear link between these places and the chronicler. For example, how did Hydatius know that Aetius defeated a rebellion of the Burgundians in 436 (ch.108)? How did John learn about the election of Authari to the kingship of the Lombards in 581 (ch.59)? We cannot know for certain. This problem also arises in Isidore's Chronicle, because, although he borrowed much of his information from previous writers, their accuracy is not certain either. How did Victor of Tunnuna learn about the heresy of Theodosius and Gaius in Alexandria, so that Isidore could

⁸⁶These maps originally appeared in Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, facing pp.218 and 246.

borrow this information for his own Chronicle?⁸⁷ We must now consider the origin of the information about foreign events found in our sources, in order to make full use of the maps.

Of our chroniclers, Isidore presents us with the fewest problems in reconstructing his sources of information: he relied heavily on previous chronicles, from which he chose the information he wanted to record. At the very beginning of his Chronicle, Isidore mentioned some, but not all, of the chroniclers in whose steps he planned to follow: Julius Africanus, Eusebius, Jerome, and Victor of Tunnuna (ch.1). Interestingly enough, he left out of this list Prosper and John, both of whom he used extensively. The *Consularia Italica* was Isidore's source for eastern events at the very end of his chronicle, such as the payments of gold to the Avars, Phocas' coup, and the Persian invasion (ch.409, 411, 412, 413). Most interesting is Isidore's frequent use of African sources, such as Victor of Tunnuna. The links between Spain and Africa can be seen in other works by Isidore as well: *De viris illustribus* is about mostly African and Spanish clerics.⁸⁸ From his African sources he acquired the unfavourable depiction of unorthodox Christian movements in the East, as well as the falsified description of Justinian I's religious position (ch.397a) and nearly all of his information on the Vandal kingdom of Africa. Unlike all the other chroniclers, we know much about Isidore's sources for events either foreign or past, and can thus explain some unexpected biases in his Chronicle.

Our other late sixth century source, John, also contains much material on events in the Eastern Mediterranean. Up to about 577, John's Chronicle is very detailed on Eastern events,⁸⁹ because he was in Constantinople during that time. Even after his return to Spain, he still found out about some eastern events, which he may have learnt from friends or letters. Not all of John's information was accurate: he records the conversion of the Persian emperor to Christianity (a.590,2), and while

⁸⁷Isidore ch.397b, which Mommsen records as being borrowed from Victor of Tunnuna's Chronicle a.538, 2.

⁸⁸Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p.63.

⁸⁹Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p.42.

the Persian emperor was closely allied with the Byzantines,⁹⁰ this report of his conversion was nothing more than a rumour. Unlike Isidore, John deals only with very recent events, and so we cannot point to a written source and state that a part of John's Chronicle comes from that document. Still, we can say that this document shows that communication across the Mediterranean was easy and frequent in the sixth century.

For the Chronicle of Zaragoza, we can say only that the city still received notification of the consuls for some years: the entries are too sparse to establish any sources that may have been used by the chronicler(s).

Our remaining chronicler, Hydatius, lived under markedly different conditions from John and Isidore. The chaos of the fifth century affected Hydatius' access to information from other parts of the Mediterranean world. After 409, communication within Spain was often disrupted by the various barbarian peoples who entered the peninsula. From about 450 onwards, the aggressive activities of the Vandals reduced trade, and thus communication, across the Mediterranean for the remaining twenty years of Hydatius' Chronicle. Describing the sixth century, E.A. Thompson wrote that:

There is no parallel now to the tumultuous years of the mid-fifth century, when the Western Empire was falling and Vandal fleets swept the Mediterranean. In those days the Galician chronicler, Hydatius, could learn nothing of Eastern events for years on end, and he was glad to set down in his chronicle even the remotest piece of information which reached him from the Orient. (Indeed, it is not certain that he knew much at times about events in Spain itself outside his native Galicia.)⁹¹

Under conditions such as these, Hydatius would have indeed struggled to compose a Chronicle. However, in this passage Thompson overstated the difficulty in travelling over the Mediterranean in the second half of the sixth century.

⁹⁰Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 p.311.

⁹¹Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp.20-21.

As J.W. Hayes has shown in his work, Late Roman Pottery, the conflict between the Vandal kingdom of Africa and the Roman Empire in the middle of the fifth century reduced the number of African pots found in the eastern Empire, but did not completely cut supply.⁹² Thus, "a similar though less marked decline may have occurred in the West also,"⁹³ since Hayes' maps show fewer finds of imported pots in Spain at this time than either earlier or later.⁹⁴ Thompson is right to stress that there were less impediments to trade in the sixth century, after the reconquest of Africa by the emperor Justinian, as the distribution of African pottery increases again after the early sixth century.⁹⁵ Still, one cannot say that Hydatius received next to no information from the east, since his Chronicle shows that this was not the case. Instead, Hydatius' information was obtained in a more haphazard manner: for example, episcopal letters ceased to reach Gallaecia,⁹⁶ which is why Hydatius knew nothing about the Council of Chalcedon. Muhlberger suggests that this is why the last parts of Hydatius' Chronicle are much less reliably dated than earlier sections, despite their proximity to the date of writing.⁹⁷

Hydatius' Chronicle contains great chronological faults in the years after 455, although this part of his Chronicle contains the most entries and is the most detailed. Muhlberger argues that nearly all of the chronological errors in Hydatius' text are the fault of Hydatius himself.⁹⁸ The information that was incorrect was material such as imperial dates, the papal list, and famous events outside Spain. Courtois argues in his article, "Auteurs et Scribes," that the Berlin Manuscript was very badly corrupted by medieval copyists, and should be emended, whereas Muhlberger suggests that the transmission of information was the cause.⁹⁹

⁹²J.W. Hayes, Late Roman Pottery (London, 1972), p.423.

⁹³Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, p.423.

⁹⁴Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, p.456-457, 463.

⁹⁵Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, p.423.

⁹⁶Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.208.

⁹⁷Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.212.

⁹⁸Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.204. He devotes a lengthy appendix to this question, pp.279-312.

⁹⁹Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, pp.283-284.

Courtois emphasises his own framework of imperial regnal years over events that occurred in Gallaecia, and that Hydatius dates by the day of the week and the date, such as astronomical events and major battles.¹⁰⁰ Hydatius himself said that there would be four regnal years in each Olympiad (ch.24); since this is indeed the case, how can there be a lacuna of years requiring an emendation to correct, as Courtois argues for? Such points make it difficult to disagree with Muhlberger, who wrote that "the logical conclusion is that Hydatius made several serious errors when he devised his imperial chronology."¹⁰¹

When faced with apparent errors in ms.B, Courtois's response was to deny that Hydatius could be responsible, and then make whatever changes would restore the presumed accuracy of the original chronicle. The changes proposed rest not on positive evidence, but on the presumption of Hydatius's invariable accuracy.¹⁰²

This "invariable accuracy" should be doubted: even before the problematic period of Hydatius' Chronicle, there are instances when his information from the East was inadequate. For example, he does not know when Arcadius died (ch.82); all he could say was that Theodosius [II] had been ruling for several years after his father's death when Honorius died.¹⁰³

Since we know that contact across the Mediterranean was reduced during the middle of the fifth century, we might expect Hydatius' Chronicle to indicate any other routes by which information reached Gallaecia. Indeed, there is some evidence, developed by Thompson, that Gaul was the source of some contemporary information in Gallaecia. In one entry in Hydatius (ch.145), letters from pope Leo come to him through Gaul, and not directly from Italy. Thompson points out that the Bacaudae¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.294. Examples in Hydatius' Chronicle include ch.42, 64, 151, 173, 174, 186, 214, 225.

¹⁰¹Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.296.

¹⁰²Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.287.

¹⁰³Hydatius ch.82: "Romanorum XLI THEODOSIUS Arcadii filius ante aliquot annos regnans in partibus Orientis defuncto patre post obitum Honorii patrum monarchiam tenet imperii, cum esset annorum XXI."

¹⁰⁴The Bacaudae were a rural phenomenon in Gaul and Spain from the third century onwards, disaffected peasant rebels who resisted Roman control (Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.2 pp.811-812).

and Sueves cut the routes across Spain itself,¹⁰⁵ and adds that "it is likely that contact was made across the open sea rather than across those vast and ambush-laden mountains."¹⁰⁶ Although there is only one instance of communication across the Atlantic explicitly mentioned by Hydatius, when Aegidius' ambassadors travelled to the Vandal kingdom and returned in 465 (ch.224), there are other instances where barbarians sailed over the Atlantic to pillage the coast of Gallaecia. The Vandals raided Gallaecia in 445 (ch.131), and the Heruls from Denmark¹⁰⁷ did likewise in 456 and 459 (ch.171, 194). In addition to these examples, Thompson cites evidence that there was regular sea-borne communication between western Gaul and Gallaecia in the sixth and seventh centuries.¹⁰⁸ Thus, Hydatius provides some evidence to support the view of the Atlantic as a thoroughfare, not a boundary, for trade and communication in the fifth century.

An example of the increasing problems with communication across the Mediterranean during the fifth century and of Hydatius' dependence upon oral information for much of his material is the inaccurate state of Hydatius' record of the patriarchs of the Christian church.¹⁰⁹ A characteristic feature of the Universal Chronicle first written by Eusebius and then expanded by Jerome was that it kept a complete list of all who held any of the five patriarchal sees. Hydatius attempted to continue Jerome's records of the accessions of patriarchs, but he did not succeed. Indeed, Hydatius felt obliged to apologise to his readers on two occasions, because he did not know who succeeded whom (ch.40, 61). When Theofilus (385-412) was succeeded by Cyril (412-444), whom Hydatius mentioned later in his Chronicle (ch.109), he wrote that "he who is writing these things does not know who held the

There are two variations of their name, Bacaudae or Bagaudae, both of which have the meanings "warrior" and "rebel" (C.E. Minor, "'Bagaudae' or 'Bacaudae'?", Traditio, 31 (1975), pp.318-322).

¹⁰⁵E.A. Thompson, Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire (Madison, 1982), p.144.

¹⁰⁶Thompson, Romans and Barbarians, p.143.

¹⁰⁷Thompson, Romans and Barbarians, pp.180-181, citing Procopius BG 6.15.27ff.

¹⁰⁸Thompson, Romans and Barbarians, p.172, citing Gregory of Tours, De Virtibus S. Martini, 1.11 (144-146), and a variation of the text of Vita S. Fructuosi.

¹⁰⁹The five patriarchs are the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

see of Alexandria after Theofilus."¹¹⁰ Hydatius did note the succession of bishops when he knew about a change, although he did not always get such matters right. For example, he knew that Nestorius had been deposed and that Flavian became Patriarch of Constantinople in the years after Nestorius' deposition, but he combined these two pieces of information together and made Flavian Nestorius' successor (ch.127), when in fact there were two intervening patriarchs, Maximian (431-434) and Proclus (434-447).

Such problems could be expected when Hydatius was dealing with distant information, such as the bishops of sees on the far side of the Mediterranean. His list of the popes, on the other hand, is far more comprehensive. He enumerates both their year of accession and their position in the sequence of popes, but even here Hydatius went badly wrong. His papal list runs as follows:

ch.15 (A.D.386) Siricius, the 36th pope
 ch.35 (A.D.402) Innocent, the 38th pope
 ch.52 (A.D.412) Boniface, the 38th pope
 ch.65 (A.D.41?) Theofilus¹¹¹
 ch.65 (A.D.418) Eulalius, the 39th pope
 ch.87 (A.D.426) Celestine, the 40th pope
 ch.105 (A.D.434) Sixtus, the 41th pope
 ch.135 (A.D.447) Leo, the 42nd pope
 ch.221 (A.D.463) Hilarius, the 43rd pope
 ch.248 (A.D.468) Simplicius, the 45th pope

As we can see, there are already problems with the enumeration of the popes:

Innocent is numbered 38th instead of 37th, and Hydatius called Simplicius the 45th pope rather than the 44th. Furthermore, the dates of every pope except Simplicius are wrong, and there is even an anti-pope in this list (Eulalius, who competed with Boniface for the see of Rome in 418). All of these problems become apparent upon comparison with the actual papal list:¹¹²

¹¹⁰Hydatius ch.61: "Alexandrinae ecclesiae post Theofilum qui praesederit ignoravit haec scribens."

¹¹¹This mysterious reference seems to have occurred by accident. Theofilus, patriarch of Alexandria, is mentioned in ch.61, a short length above this entry in Hydatius' text. Hydatius seems to have become confused and mentioned Theofilus in ch.65 when he meant Boniface.

¹¹²This brief list is taken from F. Gontard, *The Chair of Peter: A History of the Papacy*, tr. A.J. & E.F. Peeler (New York, 1964), pp.589-590.

A.D.384 Siricius, the 38th pope
 A.D.399 Anastasius, the 39th pope
 A.D.401 Innocent, the 40th pope
 A.D.417 Zosimus, the 41st pope
 A.D.418 Boniface, the 42nd pope
 A.D.422 Celestine, the 43rd pope
 A.D.432 Sixtus (III), the 44th pope
 A.D.440 Leo, the 45th pope
 A.D.461 Hilarius, the 46th pope
 A.D.468 Simplicius, the 47th pope

The obvious explanation for these terrible inconsistencies is that Hydatius did not receive accurate information about the incumbents of the episcopate of Rome. Unlike the debate about the imperial regnal years which inspired Courtois' article, no other explanation explains the inaccuracies in Hydatius' accounts of the popes.

The other continuator of the universal chronicle, John, did not even attempt to keep a record of the eastern patriarchs, not even of Constantinople, despite the time he spent in the east. However, he did mention the accession of a pope twice: Benedict I in 573 (*a.573,7*) and Gregory I in 587 (*a.587,2*). In both cases, John recorded the name of the previous pope, the name of the new pope, and the new pope's tenure in the office, though not their position in the sequence of popes.¹¹³ In both of these cases, John was out by about two years in dating the start of their reigns, as the following list shows:¹¹⁴

A.D.561-574 John (III)
 A.D.575-579 Benedict
 A.D.579-590 Pelagius (II)
 A.D.590-604 Gregory

Unlike Hydatius, John did not muddle up the order of papal succession, another indication of the increased international stability of his times.

¹¹³Obviously, in the case of Gregory this means that an addition was made to John's chronicle in the seventh century, since Gregory was pontiff until 604.

¹¹⁴Gontard, Chair of Peter, p.591.

The last of the religious chroniclers, Isidore, did not continue the lists of the incumbents of the five patriarchal sees, because he sought to condense the entire universal chronicle into a concise format, rather than merely extend the universal chronicle into his lifetime. Instead, he devotes his attention to the Ecumenical Councils. Hydatius and John only identify councils held in Spain, such as the synod at Toledo in 399 (Hydatius ch.31), Leovigild's Arian council at Toledo in 580 (John *a.*580,2), and the Third Council of Toledo in 589 (John *a.*590,1). Isidore, however, records a number of councils within the period from 378 onwards, such as the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 381, "in which all heresies were condemned" (ch.357); the Council of Carthage that condemned Pelagius' views (ch.374); the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus in 431, which opposed Nestorius (ch.378); and the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451, against the Monophysites Eutyches and Dioscorus (ch.381). Isidore also reports that Justinian "compelled all the bishops to condemn three chapters and proscribe the synod of Chalcedon," but he does not mention in his Chronicle that this was the position of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, held in 553 (ch.397a). This is another example of the bias he acquired from his African sources.¹¹⁵ The material came from previous written sources, rather than by word of mouth, and the superior quality of Isidore's eastern information when compared with Hydatius is apparent. Isidore, like John, lived in a more settled time than did Hydatius, but, unlike John, he provides different details about the recent history of the Christian church. In short, our chronicles present their information in different ways, as their writers intended.

¹¹⁵In this case, Victor of Tunnuna, Chronicle *a.*542, 1.

CHAPTER THREE:

LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY IN SPAIN

The fifth and sixth centuries were a period of change in the Iberian Peninsula, and one of the most significant changes was the transfer of political power in Spain, from the Roman Empire to the Visigothic kingdom. In the fifth century, temporal power in the provinces of Spain passed out of the hands of the Imperial government, because of the disruptive activities of various barbarian nations. Towards the end of the sixth century, the Visigoths emerged triumphant from among these different peoples, albeit after surmounting great problems. Thus, although the Roman Empire lost control of Spain in the fifth century, it was not until the end of the sixth century that the Empire relinquished its ideological sway. The transfer of real power eventually led to a similar transition in the world of ideas, once a suitably strong replacement had risen within Spain.

Because our sources concentrate on the events that led to changes within Spain during the fifth, sixth, and early seventh centuries, these chronicles are useful documents for the transition from a Roman Spain to a sub-Roman, Visigothic, Spain. Hydatius' earliest entries took pride in the promotion of the Spaniard Theodosius as emperor, to the extent of naming his city of origin.¹¹⁶ There is no mention of any authority in Spain other than that held by Rome. By comparison, the last reference to Spanish events in Isidore's Chronicle lauded Suinthila's conquest of the last parts of the Roman (Byzantine) Empire in Spain, as he becomes "the first of the kingdom to hold the monarchy of the whole of Spain."¹¹⁷ By the 620s, Spain had become a

¹¹⁶Hydatius ch.2: "Theodosius natione Spanus de provincia Gallaecia civitate Cauca a Gratiano Augustus appellatur."

¹¹⁷Isidore ch.416b: "Post quem religiosissimus Suinthila princeps bellum cum reliquis Romanis urbibus inicit celerique victoria totius Spaniae monarchiam regni primus obtinuit."

distinct political entity rather than being a part of the Roman Empire, and was not considered Roman. Indeed, it was felt that the Roman Empire had lost its right to rule within the bounds of Spain, a significant change.

The disappearance of effective Roman power during the fifth century was a dramatic change for the provincials of Spain. All of Spain had been Roman for about 400 years, and some cities and regions had been affiliated with Rome for up to 200 years longer. Spaniards had grown accustomed to Roman rule, and also to the ideological basis of Roman power, set out during the early years of the principate in the first century. In the *Aeneid* of Virgil, written about the beginning of the Christian Era but set over 1000 years earlier, Anchises, the father of Aeneas, predicted the destiny of Rome:

Roman, remember by your strength to rule
Earth's peoples - for you arts are to be these:
To pacify, to impose the rule of law,
To spare the conquered, battle down the proud.¹¹⁸

The Elder Pliny expressed similar sentiments in prose:

Italy has been selected by the gods in order to unite scattered empires, to soften customs and unite by the community of one language the diverse and barbarous dialects of so many nations, to bestow on men the intercourse of ideas and humanity, in a word - that all the peoples of the world should have one fatherland.¹¹⁹

Four hundred years later, Romans continued to see themselves as "founders and renewers of a world order valid for eternity."¹²⁰ The power of these words had not diminished over time.

Still, an important change had occurred since the reign of Augustus, because now the Roman Empire was officially Christian. The alliance between Christianity

¹¹⁸Virgil, *The Aeneid* 6.854-857, tr. R. Fitzgerald (London, 1984).

¹¹⁹Pliny, *Natural History* 3.5.39-40, in S. Katz, *The Decline of Rome and the Rise of Mediaeval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1955), pp.6-7.

¹²⁰G.B. Ladner, "On Roman attitudes towards Barbarians in Late Antiquity," *Viator*, 7 (1976), p.10.

and the Roman Empire led to a new justification of imperial authority, first propounded by bishop Eusebius of Caesarea in the famous oration, *De Laudibus Constantini*.¹²¹ This new ideology emphasised the dependence of the Roman Empire on the power of God, rather than the manifest destiny of Rome.

At the heart of Eusebius' argument is the belief that the Christian Empire on earth is the representation (*mimesis*) of the kingdom of God in heaven. Because conditions on earth are a reflection of heavenly circumstances, the emperor Constantine I has a unique role to play in human and divine affairs. He has both authority and responsibility on earth in imitation of Christ's authority and responsibility in heaven:

And this selfsame One would be the Governor of this entire cosmos, the One who is over all, through all, and in all, visible and invisible, the all-pervasive Logos of God [Christ], from whom and through whom bearing the image of the higher kingdom, the sovereign dear to God [Constantine], in imitation of the Higher Power, directs the helm and sets straight all things on earth.¹²²

It is assumed that Constantine will deliberately model himself on the example of Christ.

One direct result of this imitation is that Constantine, the only Roman emperor at that time, becomes the only ruler on earth with a legitimate claim to temporal authority. After all, there is only one Christ, so there can be only one Christian monarch in the world:

He [Constantine] grows strong in his model of monarchic rule, which the Ruler of All [God] has given to the race of man alone of those on earth. For this is the law of royal authority, the law which decrees one rule over everybody.¹²³

¹²¹This particular work by Eusebius is discussed at length and translated in H.A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations* (Berkeley, 1976). Other books that examine Eusebius' political philosophy include E.A. Isichei, *Political Thinking and Social Experience: Some Christian Interpretations of the Roman Empire from Tertullian to Salvian* (Christchurch, 1964), L.G. Patterson, *God and History in Early Christian Thought* (London, 1967), and M. Sordi, *The Christians and the Roman Empire* (London & Sydney, 1983).

¹²²Eusebius 1.6.

¹²³Eusebius 3.5.

Of all the rulers in the world, only Constantine can claim authority in imitation of Christ. In the Prologue, Constantine is "the model sovereign," in comparison with "the counterfeit variety" who oppose him and his power.¹²⁴ Furthermore, as a Christian ruler, he also has the responsibility to bring his subjects, that is, everyone in the world, to the heavenly kingdom of God.

As the Universal Savior renders the entire heaven and earth and highest kingdom fit for His Father, so His friend, leading his subjects on earth to the Only-Begotten and Savior Logos, makes them suitable for His kingdom.¹²⁵

In this way, Eusebius' argument cemented Constantine's claims to rule over the entire world.

Later writers, such as Pseudo-Dionysius (early sixth century) and Maximus the Confessor (seventh century), expanded Eusebius' ideas, applying them to the institution of the emperor, rather than to one occupant of that office.¹²⁶ Although Eusebius was an Easterner and wrote in Greek rather than Latin, his opinions are representative, though more clearly expounded, of general attitudes throughout the Roman world to the Christian Empire. He stood at the beginning of a large corpus of works that regarded the Empire and God to be firmly linked together. There are Western examples of this intellectual position dating from around the turn of the fifth century, when Christians widely accepted the alliance between their religion and their rulers. One example, Prudentius' poem *Contra Symmachum*, clearly shows that, for him, there was a connection between God and the Empire:

Let us rejoice, for Rome, now thrall to Christ,
Serves one true God and hates her former cults.

Would you, O Roman, have me tell the cause
Of your success and of the high renown
That has imposed your yoke upon the world?

¹²⁴Eusebius Prologue.5.

¹²⁵Eusebius 2.2.

¹²⁶Patterson, *God and History*, p.81.

God willed to join the peoples and the realms
 Of different languages and hostile cults
 Under the same empire and make all men
 Accept the bonds of one harmonious rule,
 So that religion might unite all hearts;
 For there can be no union worthy of Christ
 Unless one spirit reigns throughout the earth.

To curb this madness, God has everywhere
 Taught nations to accept the selfsame laws
 And Romans to become.

Come then, Almighty, to this peaceful earth!
 The world united now by peace and Rome
 Possesses Thee, O Christ. These two you will
 To rule all things, but not Rome without peace.¹²⁷

Furthermore, Orosius, a Spanish contemporary of Prudentius, is said to have considered the names "Roman" and "Christian" to be nearly synonymous in his historical work, Seven Books Against the Pagans 5.2.¹²⁸ This is debatable, as one can argue that "Roman" is being used here in a political, rather than religious, sense. Whatever the interpretation of this text, however, it is certain that when the barbarians entered Spain in 409, they disrupted a society whose political structures were legitimised by the connection between the emperors and the Christian God. Our chroniclers had to cope with the changes that this wrought, as "the Germanic migrations began to destroy much of the Roman imperial reality, and to put the idea of an eternal Christian Roman Empire to a severe test."¹²⁹

The transition of ideological authority was preceded by the transfer of real power from the Roman Empire to various barbarians. Hydatius, the first of our chroniclers, was a contemporary of the end of real Roman power in Spain. Throughout his Chronicle, he presents instances of Roman weakness, inactivity, and loss of control. For example, the failure of Censorius, the ambassador sent to Gallaecia by Aetius, to craft and enforce a stable peace between the Sueves and the

¹²⁷Prudentius, Contra Symmachum 2.441-442, 583-592, 602-604a, 634-637, in The Fathers of the Church, tr. M.C. Eagan, v.52 (Washington, 1965).

¹²⁸R.A. Markus, Christianity in the Roman World (London, 1974), pp.9-10.

¹²⁹Breisach, Historiography, p.88.

provincials of Gallaecia highlights the fact that the Imperial government was ineffectual outside Tarraconensis by the early 430s.¹³⁰ However, Hydatius never credited any institution other than the Roman Empire with the right to rule in Spain. The barbarians may have entered Spain, and they may have overpowered Roman attempts to subjugate them, but this did not give them a legal claim to rule over Spain.

Hydatius presented a traditional image of law-obeying Romans and law-breaking barbarians. Goths, Sueves, Vandals, Bacaudae, and other groups that opposed the authority of the Empire were treated unfavourably. Barbarians were considered bad, not because they were racially or culturally different, but because they did not follow the rules for society, which were, of course, Roman. Barbarians, including the Bacaudae, were nothing more than treacherous law-breakers:

The never-ending savagery, deceitfulness, and turbulence of barbarians bore witness to the virtues of legally ordered society; their existence justified the imperial regime as the hand that staved off chaos from engulfing the ordered world.¹³¹

Treachery formed an important part of Hydatius' view of barbarians. The actions of various barbarians, both Goths and Sueves, were described by him as *solita perfidia*, "their accustomed perfidy."¹³² Again, both races were typified as "faithless."¹³³ To Hydatius, it seemed that treachery came easily to barbarians such as the Sueves and the Goths.

Within Hydatius' Chronicle, there are several occasions when the Goths betray the Romans (ch.77, 97, 140, 143, 180, 183). However, Hydatius was not unfair to Goths acting on behalf of Roman authority, such as Wallia during his campaign against the other barbarians in the 410's (ch.60, 63, 67, 68, 69), or Frederic during his campaign against the Bacaudae of Tarraconensis in 454 (ch.158). Both Romans and barbarians could act on behalf of the Roman name or cause: *Romanum nomen* is used

¹³⁰Censorius' career as an ambassador to the Sueves: Hydatius ch.98, 100, 111, 121, 139.

¹³¹W. Goffart, "Rome, Constantinople, and the Barbarians," American Historical Review, 86 (1981), pp.280.

¹³²Hydatius ch.186 (Goths), 188, 190 (Sueves).

¹³³Hydatius ch.7 (Goths), 219 (Sueves).

with regard to both Wallia and the Roman general Aegidius (ch.63, 228). Theoderic was being faithful to his agreement with the *Romanum imperium* when he began his campaign against the Sueves in 456 (ch.170), although that swiftly changed. His betrayal of Roman interests after the defeat of Rechiarius can be seen in Hydatius' description of what happened when "the sad and lamentable plundering of that city [Braga] came to pass."¹³⁴ This event served as a reminder that the Goths had broken their promise to the Empire, and indeed they continued to do so. "The later cruelty of Theoderic's generals to the Gallaecians was all the more reprehensible because it was treachery, implemented under the pretext of following Roman orders (*sub specie Romane ordinationis*) (ch.186)."¹³⁵ In the opinion of Hydatius, the kings of the Goths had authority in Spain only when that authority was delegated to them by the Roman emperors.

After the detail of Hydatius comes the sketchy Chronicle of Zaragoza. This Chronicle lacks internal unity and personality, but it is a useful bridging document for the century that elapses between the conclusion of Hydatius' Chronicle and the beginning of John's Chronicle. As we would expect, the Chronicle of Zaragoza shows both continuities with the Roman past, and changes caused by the introduction of Gothic rule to Spain. It contains references to the arrival and settlement in Spain of the Goths during the 490's (*ad a.*494, 497). However, the Goths are not described as the legitimate rulers of Spain: their kingdom was in Spain, but was not Spain itself. Conversely, the involvement and presence of Romans in historical events is ignored. The entries describing the battle of the Catalaunian Fields (*ad a.*450) and of the Paramus Field (*ad a.*458) do not mention Romans in any way, although they were involved. There was a Roman contingent led by Aetius at the Catalaunian Fields, and the Goths had received permission from the Roman Empire to enter Spain before the battle against Rechiarius near the River Orbigo.¹³⁶ The sum total of references to

¹³⁴Hydatius ch.174: "etsi incruenta, fit tamen satis maesta et lacrimabilis eiusdem direptio civitatis."

¹³⁵Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.229.

¹³⁶Hydatius ch.150, 173, provides a much more detailed account of both these battles, and does not ignore the Roman contribution in both cases.

Roman involvement in the affairs of Spain is two, both of which refer to the emperor Majorian's activities in Spain in the early 460s.¹³⁷ Except for the consular dates, there is little evidence that the world had been Roman, or indeed, that there still was a Roman Empire in the east. However, some Roman practices did survive, and were mentioned in the Chronicle of Zaragoza: the circus of Zaragoza was still active early in the sixth century (*ad a.504*); the practice of sending a defeated tyrant's head to subject cities was followed (*ad a.506*);¹³⁸ and a man named Stephanus was given the Roman office of Prefect of the Spains in 529, which he held until 532 (*ad a.529*). Certainly Roman power had disappeared, but its practice had not been entirely forgotten.

The end of the sixth century saw the resolution of the problems caused by the dislocation of Roman society and authority in the fifth century. In the fifth and early sixth centuries, it was widely held that, as S. Katz writes, "the Roman Empire had never perished and that imperial might had not decayed but had been transferred to other monarchs."¹³⁹ Many of the barbarian kingdoms were, in theory, allies of the Empire, and could be seen as the local representatives of Roman authority. Ideological power was still vested in the Emperor, the image of God on earth, as Eusebius had argued in the early fourth century.

However, by the end of the sixth century this was no longer the case. Hillgarth points out, quite rightly, that the breakup of the empire in the west meant that the Eusebian model of universal imperial authority over both church and empire no longer functioned.¹⁴⁰ The Chronicle of Zaragoza, our least detailed chronicle, did not bother to justify the rule of the Goths over Spain; there was no sense of loss, of longing for, the empire in this impersonal and bland account of important events.

¹³⁷Chronicle of Zaragoza *ad a.460* (visit to Zaragoza), 461 (killed by Ricimir). Hydatius mentioned Majorian's visit to Spain in ch.200, and his death in ch.210.

¹³⁸Examples of similar displays can be found in M. McCormick, Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West (Cambridge-Paris, 1986), pp.18,36,46,48,57

¹³⁹Katz, Decline of Rome, p.142.

¹⁴⁰Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," p.264.

The intellectual conflict engendered by the dislocation of Roman power in the fifth century was solved during the second half of the sixth century, once Spain was reunited by the Visigoths. Both John and Isidore attempted to resolve this conflict between reality and ideology. Contemporaries could not help but notice the clear difference between the theoretical position of the emperor, and the real power possessed by the emperor. Hillgarth's summary of the trend in historical works of the later sixth century argues that the local kings are presented by their contemporaries as a substitute for the emperor within their kingdoms:

If you could not have the *Basileus* and *Autokrator* of Constantinople, the clear heir of Eusebius' Constantine, as your master, then you must find a Western Constantine to substitute for him. If you could not continue to maintain that you, as Romans, still dominated the world and could be plausibly identified with God's chosen race -since almost all Western Romans were now ruled by barbarians - then you could identify the local dominant tribe, Franks or Visigoths, as God's instrument, and attribute to its ruler the aura of Constantine, a little dimmed perhaps, but still visible.¹⁴¹

The authority of the Visigothic king was not emphasised until the end of the sixth century, after the impressive success of the reign of Leovigild. Leovigild reversed a trend towards Gothic weakness and territorial shrinkage that began with the loss of Aquitaine and Toulouse after Vouille in 507, and accelerated during the civil war between Agila and Athanagild (551-555). "Leovigild's reign saw the conclusion of a development that turned the Visigothic *regnum* into a Spanish *imperium*." ¹⁴² It is generally accepted that the reign of Leovigild led contemporary Spanish historians to think about the relationship between Roman and barbarian traditions, and to try to reconcile them.¹⁴³ By uniting nearly all of Spain under his rule, Leovigild reduced the possibility of reconquest by the Empire so much that the permanence of Visigothic rule seemed assured. However, the authority of the Visigoths was limited to their kingdom. Unlike the emperor, who was depicted by

¹⁴¹Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," pp.264-265.

¹⁴²H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, 2nd rev. ed., tr. T.J. Dunlap (Berkeley, 1988), p.245.

¹⁴³Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," p.265.

John as holding at least equal, if not greater, authority than the kings, the kings of Spain had no claim to legitimate authority elsewhere.

John depicts the Emperor as still possessing his old powers outside Spain. When people outside the Empire in the Caucasus and in Libya converted to Catholic Christianity, they not only adopted the Roman religion but also accepted Roman suzerainty.¹⁴⁴ In theory, the emperor still united all Christians under one monarchy on earth, just as they would be in heaven. The great change of John's Chronicle is that Leovigild is portrayed as a legitimate ruler inside the kingdom of the Goths, which is effectively Spain. Leovigild "wonderfully restored to its former boundaries the provinces of the Goths, which by that time had been diminished by the rebellions of various men."¹⁴⁵ There was now a second legitimate monarchy under God, that of the Visigoths in the west. Conflict with the Byzantines was minimised, so that the two legitimate authorities were not seen to be in conflict. John mentions that Leovigild recaptured the territory around Baza and the cities of Malaga, Sidonia, and Cordoba.¹⁴⁶ All of these places were part of the Byzantine Empire, with the possible exception of Cordoba, which may have been independent. John does not mention that Leovigild took these cities from the Byzantine Empire, so that Leovigild does not appear to be an enemy of the Romans.

Reccared's conversion fully legitimated the Gothic kingdom created by the efforts of Leovigild, and John emphasises the advent of Catholicism under Reccared. Thus, no mention is made of any persecution of Catholics under Leovigild, although favourable treatment for Arians is implied in *a.580,2*. Nor does John ever state that the Sueves were Catholics before the Goths were converted. By such omissions, John creates an image of the triumph of the Visigoths and Catholicism in Spain:

With Leovigild the *fragmentation* of the Iberian Peninsula, which had begun with the barbarian invasions of 409, was succeeded at last by *unification*, *political* unification in the 570s, *religious* unification in the 580s, attempted by Leovigild under the sign of Arianism and achieved, after grave crisis and

¹⁴⁴John 3 (Armenians and Iberians), *a.569,1* (the Garamantes).

¹⁴⁵John *a.569,4*.

¹⁴⁶John, *a.570,2*, *a.571,2*, *a.572,2*.

civil war, by his younger son and successor Reccared, under that of Catholicism.¹⁴⁷

Leovigild had created a kingdom in Spain powerful enough to mimic the authority of the Roman Empire elsewhere, but Reccared completed the process of imitation by converting himself and his kingdom to Catholicism.

Our last chronicler, Isidore, shares John's appraisal of the role of the Visigothic monarchy. Unlike John's Chronicle, Isidore's account does not focus on recent events in Spain, and so his account of the Visigothic rise to power in Spain is sketchy. Roman authority disappears sometime between the entry of Theoderic into Spain with a huge army in the 450s (ch.382) and the arrival of Byzantine soldiers at the request of Athanagild in the 550s (ch.399a). Isidore was prepared to record various conflicts between Goths and Romans, culminating in the reconquest of the last parts of Byzantine Spain by Suinthila in the 620s, making him "the first of the kingdom [of the Goths] to hold the monarchy of the whole of Spain."¹⁴⁸

As this passage implies, Isidore's Chronicle seems to indicate that Spain was a unit which could be ruled independently of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, this unit seems to have existed before the reign of Leovigild, because Isidore describes the independent regions which Leovigild conquers and being in rebellion against his rule, and not the rule of the Roman Empire: "Leovigild, king of the Goths, brought the various regions of Spain rebelling against him back into the power of his kingdom by vanquishing them."¹⁴⁹ Isidore was willing to go further than John in stressing the right of the Visigoths to rule in Spain, even in opposition to the Roman Empire.

A good example of one of the ways in which the trend discussed in this chapter can be followed through our sources is the treatment of regnal years. We mentioned in the first chapter how the Roman Empire was the last extant column in

¹⁴⁷Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," p.269.

¹⁴⁸Isidore ch.416b: "totius Spaniae monarchiam regni primus obtinuit."

¹⁴⁹Isidore ch.403: "Hac tempestate Leuuildus rex Gothorum quasdam Spaniae regiones sibi rebelles in potestatem sui regni superando redigit."

Eusebius' chronological tables.¹⁵⁰ While our chroniclers dated the passage of time by the regnal years of the emperors alone, they perpetuated the traditional position that the last kingdom that could hold authority in the world was the Roman Empire, and any chronicler who ceased to date by the emperors alone had clearly changed their perspective on past events.

Hydatius, who dated by the regnal years of both the western emperors and, where possible their eastern counterparts, exemplifies the older position on legitimate authority and the Empire. The Chronicle of Zaragoza implicitly supported this interpretation, although not using imperial regnal years, because it used consular dates, another Roman form. Both of the older chronicles did not change their dating, in part because it was not essential to their world-view that they do so.

A new perspective appears in John's Chronicle, in the year after the accession of Leovigild (*a.569,4*). For John, Leovigild was the important figure in the appearance of a power with legitimate authority in Spain which was distinct from the Roman Empire. Other Gothic kings, such as Athanagild and Liuva, did not receive such treatment, although John recorded both the accession and the death of Liuva (*a.568,3, a.573,2*), nor did the kings of other barbarians nations, such as the Sueves, Lombards, or Franks. It was a privilege accorded to the Visigoths alone.

Isidore did not follow John in this practice, and only mentioned Gothic regnal years in his summary of the age of the world (ch.417). However, Isidore sought to write a different kind of chronicle from John, and in his Chronicle, he divided history by the reigns of those whom he judged to have held the most authority at the various times, from the present back to Adam. The regal power originally held by Adam was passed through the Jewish patriarchs, judges and kings to the Persians; from them to the Ptolomies via Alexander the Great; and from the Ptolomies to the Romans, beginning with Julius Caesar and ending with Heraclius, the current emperor.¹⁵¹ In

¹⁵⁰See above p.17.

¹⁵¹Adam, ch.4, to Zedekiah, ch.163; the Exile, ch.167; Darius I, ch.170, to Darius III, ch.192; Alexander, ch.195; Pompey I, ch.196, to Cleopatra VII, ch.231; Julius Caesar, ch.233, to Heraclius, ch.414.

this tradition, there was no place for those who shared power, such as the Visigoths did with the Romans in John's account. Isidore gave the Goths a greater position than the other barbarian kings in his Chronicle, as we shall see in the next chapter, but he did not depict this superiority by raising them to be the equals of the emperors.

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE TECHNICAL TERMS OF AUTHORITY

In the previous chapter, our sources were examined to reveal the changing attitudes within Spain toward the issue of legitimate authority. It was argued that, as Spain entered the sub-Roman world in the fifth century, there was a transition in the balance of political and military power, and that the ideology of political authority was altered in the late sixth century to fall in line with this transition of power. Our focus then was on the relationship between the Roman Empire and the Visigoths, and how our chroniclers approached this relationship. Now, in order to further develop this line of investigation, the ways in which our four sources use certain technical terms will be examined.

Two words have been chosen for this particular purpose: *tyrannus* and *princeps*. They have been chosen because both are terms relating to the Roman ideology of power and authority, and as such are of especial interest to us. An examination of the usage of both *princeps*, a title used to distinguish the emperors since Augustus (27B.C.-A.D.14), and *tyrannus*, from which the English word "tyrant" derives, adds further detail to our knowledge of the transition of legitimate authority in Spain.

TYRANNUS

Within each of the sources, the word *tyrannus* is used to define certain individuals who sought to gain political power. This word had been in use as a

technical term for about a thousand years by the fifth century. The Oxford Latin Dictionary provides the following definitions:

- 1 (in general) A monarch, sovereign.
- 2 (in a Gk. city-state) An absolute ruler who governs outside the law, usu. one who obtains power without legal right (opp. a hereditary king).
- 3 (transf.) Any ruler, etc., who exercises authority in a cruel or oppressive way, a tyrant.¹⁵²

For the usage of this word in the fifth and sixth centuries, however, none of these three definitions is quite right. Those who are given the title of *tyrannus* are not necessarily cruel or oppressive, nor are they necessarily in power. Instead, all of the men entitled *tyrannus* attempted to seize power from those who rightfully held some form of legitimate authority, and failed.

This usage of *tyrannus* is incompatible with all three definitions given in the Oxford Latin Dictionary, in which the common factor is that a tyrant is the head of state. However, in our sources this is not the case: there are no instances of a ruler being called *tyrannus*. Indeed, the tyrant Athanagild became the king in the Chronicle of Zaragoza, and apparently ceased to be a tyrant after his accession ratified his claim to power.¹⁵³ The years of his revolt are not figured into the length of his reign, so a distinction has been made between his tenure as a *tyrannus* and as a *rex*.. This is the only example of a *tyrannus* becoming a legitimate ruler in our sources, since every other *tyrannus* failed to supplant the monarch whom he sought to usurp.

Another aspect of terminology is to consider the rebels who succeeded in overthrowing a legitimate ruler. If their revolt succeeded, as in the case of both Phocas and Heraclius,¹⁵⁴ they were not recorded as being tyrants before becoming emperor, but merely became the legitimate ruler in place of their moribund predecessor. Only once, in the Chronicle of Zaragoza (*ad.a.552*), was a now-

¹⁵²Oxford Latin Dictionary, p.1999.

¹⁵³Chronicle of Zaragoza *ad a. 552*: "Agilane mortuo Athanagildus, qui dudum tyrannidem assumpserat, Gotthorum rex efficitur. regnat an. XV [according to the chronicle, 552-568]."

¹⁵⁴Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 pp.314-316. The accessions of both men were noted by Isidore ch.411, 414.

legitimate ruler (Athanagild) referred to as having been a tyrant in the past. In all other cases, a *tyrannus* was someone who tried to take power illegitimately and failed.

Not only is there this change in the definition of *tyrannus*, there is also a transition within the chronicles in their application of this term. At first, only Roman emperors had to fear tyrants, but by the middle of the sixth century Gothic kings also faced the threat of tyrants. Such circumstances strongly imply that the Visigothic kings were perceived to hold some sort of legitimate authority in Spain by the mid to late sixth century. This development is readily apparent from an examination of our sources.

Hydatius names seven individuals as tyrants, all early in his chronicle: Magnus Maximus in the 380s (ch.13, 16, 17), Eugenius in the 390s (ch.22), Constantine III from 408 to 411 (ch.50), Jovinus, Sebastianus, and Heraclianus in the years immediately after the first sack of Rome in 410 (ch.51, 54, 56), and Johannes from 424 to 425 (ch.83, 84). By their names, all these men were Romans, or had chosen to adopt Roman cultural traditions, changing their names to reflect their integration into Roman society. Hydatius makes it clear that all attempted to seize imperial authority, and all failed to maintain their position against opposition from the imperial government. By comparison, Avitus, who successfully rose to the position of emperor with Visigothic help during the period of disorder following the death of Valentinian III in 455, was accorded the title of *Augustus* immediately in Hydatius' account, before his recognition by Marcian in 456.¹⁵⁵ For Hydatius, barbarians could kill their kings and replace them without being tyrants,¹⁵⁶ because the kings did not possess the protection of recognised legitimate authority. In this case, the rule did not apply to the barbarians, but only to the Romans.

Perhaps surprisingly, Isidore's pattern of usage corresponds with Hydatius' approach to the use of *tyrannus*, in that he only names as tyrants individuals who had also received this title from Hydatius. The entries from the year 379 onwards refer to

¹⁵⁵Hydatius, ch.163 (Avitus' accession), 166, 169 (recognised by eastern emperor).

¹⁵⁶Examples of the murder of kings in Hydatius include Thurismo (ch.156) and Theoderic(ch.237 and 238).

only two tyrants, Magnus Maximus (ch.359) and Eugenius (ch.364).¹⁵⁷ Both these tyrants rose and fell during the reign of Theodosius I (379-395), and it seems peculiar that Isidore chose not to mention any more Roman tyrants, as it is clear that he had access to other chronicles which contained such details. Perhaps Isidore's famous *brevitas* ("briefness") was the cause of this absence. However, there is another possible reason.

An explanation for this lack of tyrants can be found in Isidore's choice of the emperors whose reigns he used to record the passage of time. Hydatius regarded both the eastern and western emperors as equally important in this regard, although his information about the eastern emperors was not always good,¹⁵⁸ and his tyrants all arose in the western half of the Roman Empire. After Honorius, Isidore ignored the various emperors of the west, and divided the passage of time by the reigns of the eastern emperors alone. Because of this policy, Isidore's lack of information on the political events of the eastern empire prohibited references to unsuccessful tyrants. For the only region in which he could conceptualise the existence of tyrants, Isidore lacked the information which would have enabled him to identify any tyrants.

Our remaining sources, the Chronicle of Zaragoza and the Chronicle of John, demonstrate the intellectual transition of legitimate authority within Spain from Rome to the Goths in the sixth century. Although brief, the Chronicle of Zaragoza names four tyrants, Odovacer (*ad a.492*), Burdunelus (*ad a.496, 497*), Petrus (*ad a.506*), and Athanagild (*ad a.552*). Once again, this brief list raises several interesting points. The first three tyrants are all explicitly mentioned in the Chronicle as being killed by the Goths: Theoderic the Ostrogoth kills Odovacer, Burdunelus is captured and burnt to death by the Visigoths, and Petrus' head is brought to Zaragoza after he is killed by the Visigoths. These punitive measures suggest that these men resisted Gothic control; however, just because the Goths killed them does not mean that they were

¹⁵⁷Both of these entries are cited by Mommsen as originating with Prosper, but Mommsen does cite Hydatius as the origin of other chapters, such as ch.373 and 382, so he must have had access to the information in Hydatius about the other tyrants.

¹⁵⁸See above p.41.

rebels against Gothic power. Ignoring Odovacer, whom we know did not revolt against Gothic rule,¹⁵⁹ both Burdunelus and Petrus have Roman names, and both arose within Spain.¹⁶⁰ It is quite possible that they are described as tyrants because they did not receive authority to govern parts of Spain from the imperial government. They may have been rebels, but it seems probable that they were rebels against Roman authority, who happened to be killed by Visigoths rather than by Romans.

If the first three tyrants can all be passed off as tyrants against legitimate Roman authority, that cannot be said of the last of the tyrants, Athanagild. Before becoming king, Athanagild had "assumed the tyranny" (*tyrannidem assumpserat*). This is the first reference to a Gothic tyrant opposing a Gothic king, in this case Agila, and the certain implication of this passage is that the Gothic kingship was seen as possessing legitimate authority in Spain by the chronicler. This theme dominates John's account of the reigns of Leovigild and Reccared, where no person with a Roman name is described as a tyrant. The tyrants of John's Chronicle, when they are named, have barbarian names.

John's account focusses on the triumphal success of Leovigild and Reccared in forging one united Catholic kingdom in Spain. Thus, when Leovigild had conquered the various independent rulers of parts of Spain, he was described as overcoming tyrants who had resisted his legitimate claims to sovereignty and restoring peace: "with tyrants destroyed on all sides and the invaders of Spain overcome, king Leovigild had peace to reside with his own people."¹⁶¹ The conflict between Leovigild and his son Hermenegild is also presented as a revolt by a *tyrannus* (Hermenegild) against the legitimate ruler (Leovigild). Like Anathagild, Hermenegild "assumed the tyranny" (*tyrannidem assumens*).¹⁶² Here, we can see an important

¹⁵⁹The reign of Odovacer in Italy is dealt with in Bury, History, v.1 pp.406-426, Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 pp.244-247.

¹⁶⁰Burdunelus assumed the tyranny "in Hispania", whereas Petrus may have held power in Tortosa. The entry in the Chronicle *ad a.* 506 states that the Goths entered Tortosa, and that the tyrant Peter was killed and his head sent to Zaragoza, but no direct connection is made between these events by the chronicler.

¹⁶¹John *a.* 578,4: "Leovegildus rex extinctis undique tyrannis et pervasoribus Hispaniae superatis sortitus requiem propria cum plebe resedit ..."

¹⁶²John *a.* 579,3.

development, for unlike the fifth century account of Hydatius, where brother slew brother for the Gothic throne and the concept of legitimacy was unimportant, John emphasised the legality of Leovigild's rule.

The revolts against Reccared possess an element of religious controversy. The conspiracies against Reccared mentioned by John were led by Arians, such as Segga and bishop Sunna in 588 (*a.588,1*), or bishop Uldida and Queen Gosuintha in 589 (*a.589,1*). Even the revolt of Argimund, a "provincial duke" (*provinciae dux*), in 590 may have had Arian overtones, because it was an *impiam machinationem* (*a.590,3*). K.B. Wolf translated this phrase as an "impious conspiracy," but the word *impius* had a wider range of meanings than "impious", as shown by the Oxford Latin Dictionary:

- 1** Showing no regard for the divinely imposed moral duties governing men's relationships with the gods and between themselves. **b** (of actions, conduct, etc.).
- 2** (applied to objects, etc., associated with impious persons, or acts of impiety).¹⁶³

Definitions such as these enable us to argue that this conspiracy could be described as impious, or unpatriotic, or disloyal. Wolf's translation endorsed the religious interpretation of Argimund's plot, but this cannot be taken for granted, however convenient it may be. We know that there were Arian conspiracies against the Catholic king of the now-Catholic kingdom, but we cannot, in all honesty, be certain that Argimund's conspiracy was one of them.

While all of this is interesting, and supports the argument that the Goths were considered legitimate rulers within Spain by John, the most fascinating aspect of *tyrannus* in this chronicle has no relationship with the Gothic monarchy. Rather, it is the record of the last few Suevic kings, those who followed Miro. Miro's son, Eboric, succeeded him as king after Miro died at Seville in 583 (*a.583*). The next year, Eboric was replaced as king by Audeca, and the text reads as follows:

¹⁶³Oxford Latin Dictionary, p.846.

At this time Audeca illegitimately seized the kingship of the Suevi in Galicia [*sic.*: assumed the kingship of the Sueves in Gallaecia in a tyrannical fashion] and received in marriage Siseguntia, the widow of king Miro. He deprived Eboric of his rule and made him a monk in a monastery.¹⁶⁴

The year after Audeca came to power, the Sueves were conquered by the Visigoths under Leovigild, and Audeca was tonsured and sent to a monastery (*a.*585,2, 5).

However, there was a brief revival of resistance under another Sueve, Malaric:

Malaric illegitimately seized power [*sic.*: assumed the tyranny] in Galicia, as if wanting to be king. He was immediately defeated by king Leovigild's generals and was captured and presented in chains to Leovigild.¹⁶⁵

In the cases of both Audeca and Malaric, John uses forms of the phrase "assumed the tyranny." If we apply the definition of *tyrannus* outlined above to these cases, then we must argue that the Suevic monarchy in the 580s had some sort of legitimate authority, because Audeca's power is described using the word *tyrannis*.¹⁶⁶ The other rebel, Malaric, is not a real problem for us, since he attempted to revive the position of king of the Sueves after Leovigild "made Galicia a province of the Goths."¹⁶⁷ Malaric rose against Leovigild, who was clearly a legitimate ruler. John's treatment of Audeca, on the other hand, creates problems that cannot be ignored.

John's Chronicle *a.*584,2, clearly implies that Eboric was a legitimate ruler over the Sueves, in the same way that Leovigild was a legitimate ruler over the Goths. Why did John choose to write in this way? There are several possible reasons. The first, and simplest, is that the implications of this passage are unimportant. When he wrote, John used the technical term *tyrannis* without thinking of the consequences. However, the suggestion that John wrote in such a sloppy and imprecise manner

¹⁶⁴John *a.*584,2: "His diebus Audeca in Gallaecia Suevorum regnum cum tyrannide assumit et Sisegutiam relictam Mironis regis in coniugium accepit. Eboricum regno privat et monasterii monachum facit."

¹⁶⁵John *a.*585,7 "Malaricus in Gallaecia tyrannidem assumens quasi regnare vult, qui statim a ducibus Leovegildi regis oppressus comprehenditur et Leovegildo vinctus praesentatur."

¹⁶⁶The Oxford Latin Dictionary, p.1999, defines *tyrannis* as "1 The position or ruler of a *tyrannus* (sense 2). b The territory of a *tyrannus*. 2 (transf.) Any cruel and oppressive regime, tyranny."

¹⁶⁷John *a.*585,2.

seems unreasonable. Furthermore, John stated that Audeca was punished for this wrongdoing: "He suffered no doubt because he had made himself king in place of Eboric, son of king Miro."¹⁶⁸ For John to make a value judgement of this kind does not mesh well with the argument that he did not consider the implications of what he was writing.

Another possible answer is that Eboric was a legitimate king because the Sueves were orthodox Christians. This proposal rests upon the strong link between temporal power and Catholicism found in the Eusebian model for legitimate authority.¹⁶⁹ However, John elsewhere suggests that the Sueves were not Catholics, this being the implication of his comment that Reccared brought both the Goths and the Sueves to a true knowledge of God.¹⁷⁰ This makes Reccared's conversion look even better, since now his decision saves not one, but two peoples, from the fires of Hell; but it also makes attributing the authority of Eboric to his Catholicism rather problematic.

Likewise, Eboric's direct descent from the previous king, Miro, does not hold the answer to this question. While Eboric may be a legitimate king because he is Miro's son, we must still ask why Miro was a legitimate king. The answer has to be that we do not possess any evidence that Miro was a legitimate king: the only evidence we have concerns Eboric, and not his father.

The best explanation is that Leovigild's conquest of Galicia is justified by the illegal accession of Audeca, because Leovigild then overthrows a tyrant on behalf of legitimate authority. Simply put, if Audeca was a tyrant, then Leovigild's invasion of Galicia, ruled by the Sueves since the fifth century, could be seen as justified in a way that overthrowing the legitimate king of the Sueves could not. Unlike the rest of Spain, the Suevic kingdom was seen by John as a unit separate from the Gothic kingdom. His Chronicle presented Leovigild as re-uniting the Gothic kingdom of

¹⁶⁸John *a.*585,5.

¹⁶⁹See above pp.50-52.

¹⁷⁰John *a.*587,5: "... gentemque omnium Gothorum et Suevorum ad unitatem et pacem revocat Christianae ecclesiae. sectae Arrianae gratia divina in dogmate veniunt Christiano."

Spain, suppressing the revolt of Hermenegild, and then conquering, rather than reconquering, the kingdom of the Sueves. Because no mention is made of Eboric's heirs, if he even had any, Leovigild is presented by John as if acting on Eboric's behalf against the usurper Audeca. Then, after defeating Audeca, Leovigild had no choice but to rule over the Sueves since Audeca had consigned Eboric to a monastery.¹⁷¹ This suggestion explains John's references as excellent examples of propaganda, strengthening the image of Leovigild as a king who triumphs over tyrants, as any legitimate monarch should.

PRINCEPS

Princeps is used as a title by three of our chroniclers. Hydatius, John and Isidore all apply this title to some person in authority, and only the Chronicle of Zaragoza fails to mention the term. In classical Latin, *princeps* has several meanings concerned with rank or position. The possible political interpretations of the term include:

- 1** One who begins or originates, initiator, instigator, founder, proposer.
- 3** A leading member, chief man (of a group, state, class, etc.). **b** a leading citizen.
- 5** The person in charge, head; the leader.
- 6** (adopted by Augustus as a title to emphasize the non-military nature of his rule (c.f. sense 3b), but later acquiring the connotation of an autocratic ruler).¹⁷²

The application of this word to different individuals presents the interesting question of what relevance this term had to the three chroniclers who chose to use it.

The first of our sources, Hydatius, uses this technical term least often. The word *princeps* occurs in three passages within his chronicle (ch. 154, 157, 162), on each occasion as a title for the emperor Marcian (450-457). Marcian is the only

¹⁷¹John *a.* 584, 2.

¹⁷²Oxford Latin Dictionary, p. 1458.

emperor accorded this title, rather than the more common terms *Augustus* and *imperator*. *Imperator* is used of him once, when Marcian is proclaimed emperor (ch. 147), but *Augustus* is never used by Hydatius in a reference to him. We are led to the conclusion that Hydatius considered Marcian distinctive in some way, to the extent that a different title was needed to identify him.

Several possible explanations for this treatment come to mind. Marcian was the first recognised emperor since Valentinian II (375-392) who was not a direct member of the dynasty established by Theodosius I (379-395).¹⁷³ It is possible that Hydatius wanted to indicate the change of dynasty marked by the reign of Marcian, as the only time he uses the term *principatum* to distinguish the imperial power, he refers to the passing of the Theodosian dynasty.¹⁷⁴ However, this does not explain why the emperors who succeed Marcian in Hydatius' Chronicle are called *Augustus* and *imperator* rather than *princeps*, since they also were not members of the Theodosian dynasty. Following this line of reasoning, Hydatius saw Marcian as different from all other emperors, both his Theodosian predecessors and his non-Theodosian successors. Hydatius knew that Marcian had married into the Theodosian line (ch.147): it is possible that Hydatius wanted to indicate to his readers that Marcian, although not a direct member of the imperial dynasty founded at the beginning of his chronicle, was linked to it in a way his successors were not. Alternatively, the title *princeps* could indicate the role of the army in Marcian's accession.¹⁷⁵ While it would be convenient to claim that Marcian was named *princeps* because he called a church council, Hydatius never mentions the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451. In short, little can be said about the use of *princeps* in Hydatius' chronicle except that it implies that Marcian was distinctive in some way.

¹⁷³Hydatius ch.147.

¹⁷⁴Hydatius ch.164.

¹⁷⁵Hydatius ch.147: "Post quem XLII statim apud Constantinopolim MARCIANUS a militibus et ab exercitu instante etiam sorore Theodosii Pulcheria regina efficitur imperator."

Both John and Isidore use *princeps* more frequently than Hydatius, but, unlike the latter, neither uses the word exclusively to indicate a person holding the imperial power. In both chronicles, *princeps* is applied to both Roman emperors and to Visigothic monarchs. In general, both writers use *princeps* to indicate someone wielding a legitimate form of authority in the Roman manner, extending the concept as it occurs in Hydatius.

John uses *princeps* thirteen times in his chronicle, eleven times for Romans, and twice for king Reccared (586-601). His pattern of usage can be divided into four distinct groups within the text. The first four references occur early in his work, in entries dating from 574 to 576, at which time John was living in Constantinople. Both the emperor Justin II (565-578) and the *caesar* Tiberius II (*caesar* 574-578, emperor 578-582)¹⁷⁶ are titled *princeps* two times.¹⁷⁷ In this section of John's chronicle, there are many references to the emperor Justin and his successor, and *princeps* is but one of several technical terms used to refer to the emperor. *Princeps* is used twice in a similar manner as the title of the emperor when the current regnal year is enunciated.¹⁷⁸ There is no need to find a mysterious or complex reason for the use of *princeps* in these passages: John is making use of *princeps* as one of several terms that identify the emperor.

Of the remaining references, five occur in the same entry (*a.*590,1). In this passage, *princeps* is used twice for both Reccared and Constantine the Great, and once for Maurice, the current emperor. Leaving out the mention of Maurice, which only serves as a chronological reference point for the reader,¹⁷⁹ the other references help to emphasise a comparison John is trying to make in his narrative. The effect created by the similarity of titlature for Reccared and Constantine is enhanced by the

¹⁷⁶The word *caesar* was used to indicate a certain grade of authority possessed by an emperor's colleague. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, v.2 pp.322, discussed the difference between an *augustus* and a *caesar*: "a colleague might be like himself an Augustus, constitutionally his equal though junior in precedence, or a Caesar, who was a subordinate with limited powers."

¹⁷⁷John *a.*573,6 and *a.*576,1 for Justin, *a.*574,3 and *a.*575,3 for Tiberius.

¹⁷⁸These two references are to the years 568 ("ANNO II MEMORATI PRINCIPIIS") and 587 ("ANNO V MAVRICII PRINCIPIIS ROMANORVM").

¹⁷⁹John *a.*590,1: "... in octavum annum Mauricii principis Romanorum ..."

use of *Christianissimus*, "most Christian", for both Reccared and Marcian. The intended effect is obviously to draw a comparison between Reccared, who called the Third Council of Toledo, and the emperors Constantine I and Marcian, who called the councils of Nicaea and Chalcedon respectively, that reflects favourably upon Reccared.

K.B. Wolf's translation of the relevant passages is not very accurate: he translates *princeps* as king when it is applied to Reccared, as emperor and ruler when the subject is Constantine the Great, and as emperor when Maurice is mentioned.¹⁸⁰ In this way an artificial distinction is created between Reccared and Constantine. This practice on the part of Wolf conceals the importance of John's terminology, especially since his use of *princeps* is so selective. In no other passage is Reccared accorded this title. Reccared is accorded an imperial title only in the entry *a.590,1*, and the obvious explanation is that he is acting in a manner befitting an emperor when he calls the Third Council of Toledo. As H.J. Magoulias reminds us, the first seven ecumenical councils "were convoked neither by the pope nor by the eastern patriarchs, but by the Byzantine emperors. The emperor or his representative, in fact, presided over the proceedings, a usage inaugurated by Constantine himself."¹⁸¹ Because, in this instance, Reccared is performing a function defined as an imperial prerogative by calling a council of the Catholic church, he is accorded an imperial title by John. Elsewhere, John does not apply such titulature to Reccared, so it is clear that John regarded Reccared's behaviour in this matter as both important and imperial.

The other two instances of *princeps* in John's text are both found in the Epilogue, and are chronological references to the current year of the reign of Maurice. Isidore also uses *princeps* in the second-last entry of his *Chronicle* (ch.417), but he had a different reason for this. Unlike John, Isidore did not use *princeps* as a technical term for any Roman emperor: indeed, Isidore identified the emperors by their names only. Instead, the emperors were distinguished by Isidore's use of their

¹⁸⁰John ch.92, tr. by Wolf, pp.78-79.

¹⁸¹H.J. Magoulias, *Byzantine Christianity: Emperor, Church, and the West* (Chicago, 1970), p.16.

reigns to mark the passing of time, thus integrating the rulers of the Roman world from Julius Caesar onwards into a series of rulers going back to Adam, the first man. Each time *princeps* appears, on the other hand, it identified a Catholic Gothic king of Spain.¹⁸² There is an obvious connection between the conversion to Catholicism and the application of *princeps*. Leovigild is described (ch.403, 407) as *rex*, as is Theoderic II (ch.382); but Leovigild's son, Reccared, returns the Goths to Catholicism as their *princeps*, "leader,"¹⁸³ although we do not learn from Isidore when the Goths had previously been Catholics. In Isidore's chronicle, *princeps* has a more specific meaning than in the other chronicles: it is a technical term that identifies Gothic kings who are Catholic, rather than Arian.

Unlike John, Isidore did not use *princeps* to draw a similarity between legitimate, Catholic, kings and the Catholic emperors. *Princeps* is still a term with imperial connotations, but the Gothic kings are not elevated to the same level as the emperors. Reccared, Sisebut and Suinthila have received a Roman title which indicates that they now hold a Roman form of authority, but they are not the emperor's equals. Effectively, Roman technical terms for imperial authority are now scaled, with *imperator* carrying more weight than *princeps*.

There are points of similarity between all three chronicles in their use of *princeps*: all use it as a term that indicates or implies Roman authority rather than barbarian authority; all use it more infrequently for this purpose than terms such as *imperator*; all seem to use *princeps* for specific reasons. The differences between the sources reflect their different approaches to the conditions of their times. Hydatius would have considered it inappropriate as a title for a barbarian king, whereas the later writers conceived no impropriety in its use for Catholic kings of the Goths. John applied the term to Reccared in order to elevate him to a position comparable with an emperor, whereas Isidore used *princeps* to place the Gothic monarchs above other barbarian kings but firmly below the emperors. In short, the importance of *princeps*

¹⁸²Isidore ch.408 (Reccared), 415 (Sisebut), 416b (Suinthila), 417/417a/417b (Sisebut or Suinthila, depending on the reigning monarch).

¹⁸³Isidore ch.408: "Gothi Reccaredo principe innitente ad fidem catholicam revertuntur."

lies in its use as a technical term for Roman authority that is used in a different way by each chronicler.

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE HERETICAL AND THE

MIRACULOUS

In the previous two chapters, we discussed the ways in which our sources dealt with political developments within Spain during the transitional centuries between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Now we turn our attention to the treatment of religious themes in these chronicles. With the exception of the Chronicle of Zaragoza, all of our sources were written by bishops, and espouse a Christian view of the world and its history. The writers, like many other medieval chroniclers, regarded history as having religious overtones, "as the working out of the history of salvation."¹⁸⁴ Thus, God, His church and His servants play a prominent role in the chronicles of Hydatius, John, and Isidore; references to Christian leaders, thinkers, controversies and events abound. It is this material that forms the subject matter of this chapter.

Two themes are brought forth from the sources and discussed below: firstly, the treatment of heretics by our chroniclers and their comments on the struggle between heresy and orthodoxy, especially within Spain but also elsewhere in the Christian world; and secondly, the treatment of miraculous and supernatural events, and paranormal explanations of normal events in our sources. Both of these subjects interested the fifth and sixth century contemporaries of our chroniclers; indeed, the episcopal letters mentioned in Hydatius' Chronicle are concerned only with these themes.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴M.R.P. McGuire, "Annals and Chronicles," in New Catholic Encyclopedia v.1 (New York, 1967), p.556.

¹⁸⁵Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.209.

I: ORTHODOXY AND HERESY

The history of orthodox Christianity within the Iberian Peninsula during the centuries covered in these chronicles is one of decline and resurgence. Before the barbarian invasions, Spain had been a part of the Roman Empire, which enforced Christianity as the official state religion. During the reign of the emperor Theodosius I, whose accession in 379 was chosen by Hydatius as the starting point for his Chronicle, orthodox (Catholic) Christianity finally triumphed over Arian Christianity at the Second Ecumenical Council, the First Council of Constantinople, in 381.¹⁸⁶ Under this Catholic emperor, all pagan practices were proscribed in 391 and 392, which earned him the sobriquet "the Great" from the (Christian) writers of history.¹⁸⁷ In this manner, unity of belief was enforced by the state on its subjects: the career and death of Priscillian, recorded in Hydatius, is a good example of how the church relied on the state to stamp down on heresy (ch.13, 16).¹⁸⁸ This unity enforced from above, only available to orthodox Christianity late in the fourth century, was lost in Spain because of the tumult and chaos of the barbarian invasions from 409 onwards.

In the disunity brought about through the destruction of the centralised Roman government by the barbarians, the restrictions on heretical views could no longer be enforced. The political instability of all of the fifth and the first half of the sixth centuries made it difficult for the Catholic church to enforce orthodoxy, especially when the barbarians themselves adopted Arianism (the belief that the Son is inferior to the Father¹⁸⁹) as their creed. It seems that contemporaries understood that this was

¹⁸⁶See Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 *passim*, especially pp.165-166, and Bury, History, v.1 p.349.

¹⁸⁷The conflict between Christianity and paganism is dealt with at length in Bury, History, v.1 pp.365-377, with Theodosius' bans being discussed pp.368-370; Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 pp.167-169.

¹⁸⁸H. Chadwick, Priscillian of Avila (Oxford, 1976) is the best modern work devoted to both Priscillian himself and the heresy named after him, Priscillianism. His trial and execution by Magnus Maximus in the mid-380s is referred to by many more general works on the late Roman Empire, such as Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 p.164, or in more specific works such as A.R. Birley, "Magnus Maximus and the Persecution of Heresy," Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library, 66 (1983), pp.13-43.

¹⁸⁹Although this is a very simplistic definition of the many various permutations of Christian thought that were grouped under the title of Arianism, as this thesis is not primarily concerned with doctrine, the various heresies are defined in general terms only. For more detailed definitions of the various

the case. In Muhlberger's opinion, the exchange of letters between bishop Turribius and pope Leo in the 440s reveals the belief that heresy grows when there is secular instability and turmoil.¹⁹⁰ Catholic Christianity would not regain the support of the governing institution until the conversion of Reccared in 587.¹⁹¹

Until the end of the sixth century, when Spain was once again united under the sole authority of the Visigothic king, the conditions were not right for orthodoxy to triumph over the various heresies in Spain, especially Arianism. Once Leovigild had integrated the various regions of Spain into the Visigothic kingdom, however, the reintegration of Catholic church and the state seems to have been unavoidable. As the Gothic monarchy had been modelled on the Roman example,¹⁹² it is not surprising that, in the quest for unity, religious diversity was foregone. Furthermore, since Arianism did not possess the wide base of community support that Catholicism had, it is also not surprising that Arianism was left behind and Catholicism adopted by the previously heretical ruling elite. "Religious uniformity became the prerequisite of the ideological unity necessary to support a strong and centralised kingdom."¹⁹³ The fifth century had been a time of troubles, which included a revival of heresy; the sixth century saw a return to stability, unity, and orthodoxy.

Our sources present us with attitudes to heresy from different points of view, influenced both by their location along this chronological progression, and by their personal interests and intended audience. All three of our clerical chroniclers were orthodox Catholics, which led them to be hostile to the various heresies that afflicted their world. The Chronicle of Zaragoza, on the other hand, is of little use to us as a source for church history, since it is no more than a catalogue of secular events. One would not learn that the Goths were Arian while the Spanish provincials were Catholic from the Chronicle of Zaragoza; matters of faith were unimportant to its

heresies, see C.D. Moss, The Christian Faith: An Introduction to Dogmatic Theology (New York, 1943).

¹⁹⁰ Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, pp.241-242.

¹⁹¹ John *a.*587,5.

¹⁹² Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," pp.264-267 *passim*.

¹⁹³ Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p.50.

writer(s). While the other three chroniclers were likewise interested in secular events, they also found religious subjects of interest, and wrote about them as well. It is to the chronicles of Hydatius, John, and Isidore that we now turn to learn about their attitudes to heresy.

Hydatius, the only fifth century chronicler in our sample of three, was interested in supporting orthodoxy and in opposing heresy. His interest can be inferred from various aspects of his Chronicle, such as the emphasis placed on Christians who clarified or defended Catholic doctrine. "The orthodox personalities mentioned in the chronicle are for the most part either bishops, famous writers, or both; Hydatius had little interest in, for instance, famous ascetics."¹⁹⁴ For him, Augustine and Jerome were both distinguished for their efforts against heretics: Augustine for disproving the arguments of the Donatists (ch.53), and Jerome for his refutation of the beliefs of Pelagius (ch.59). It seems reasonable to assume that Hydatius was proud that he had participated in Turribius' campaign against the Manichaeans (that is, Priscillianists)¹⁹⁵ in Gallaecia during the 440s, to which four entries in the Chronicle are devoted (ch.130, 133, 135, 138). After all, it was his personal contribution to the struggle for orthodoxy.¹⁹⁶

Unlike Hydatius, both John and Isidore wrote looking back on this time of strife and chaos, knowing full well that unity, stability, and order would return under Leovigild and Reccared. Indeed, their chronicles were written, at least in part, to be propaganda for the new, Catholic realm.¹⁹⁷ John emphasised the transition under Reccared by making the conversion of the Visigoths the climax of his Chronicle, and minimised the Arianism of the Gothic kings before Reccared by ignoring their religious beliefs.¹⁹⁸ Isidore did not contradict this image of the Visigoths in his

¹⁹⁴Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, pp.234-235.

¹⁹⁵It is generally agreed that Priscillianists were labelled Manichaeans by their orthodox opponents, and that Turribius sought to stamp out Priscillianism, not a Manichaean sect. See Chadwick, Priscillian of Avila, p.119.

¹⁹⁶See above pp.6-7.

¹⁹⁷Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," p.273.

¹⁹⁸The only reference to the Arianism of a previous Gothic king is *a.*580,2, which discusses the Arian Council of Toledo in 580, called by Leovigild. Even here, John did not denigrate Leovigild as a heretical king, but passed over his role in the Council with no comment.

Chronicle: the only indication that the Goths were heterodox in their beliefs is a reference to the change of their religious affiliation back to Catholicism under the influence of Reccared. Isidore wrote that "the Goths were returned to the Catholic faith summoned by their *princeps* Reccared."¹⁹⁹ Also, both chroniclers ignore the religious aspects of the revolt of Hermenegild, which is instead described in purely secular terms,²⁰⁰ perhaps because they saw the revolt only as the attempt of a tyrant to seize power.²⁰¹

The triumph of orthodoxy at the Third Council of Toledo was based upon the rejection of Arianism by king Reccared on behalf of his people, the Visigoths. While each chronicle referred to a number of heresies, Arianism is the only heresy mentioned in all three of our sources, since John's Chronicle discussed only the state of the Christian church within Spain and ignored Priscillianism, which was not very significant outside Gallaecia. Isidore and Hydatius both refer to the crises facing the rest of the church, especially the disputes concerning Christ's natures encompassed in the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies, but John writes nothing on these matters. However, one should not assume from this statement that Hydatius and Isidore approached these heresies in the same way: whereas Hydatius deals with these complicated issues as a side-issue to the conflict for orthodoxy happening in Spain at the same time, and does not always understand what was happening;²⁰² Isidore focusses on the struggles of the Eastern churches to the point of almost excluding Spanish issues, which receive an honourable mention and little else until the last twenty to thirty years of the Chronicle,²⁰³ when the events in Spain are more

¹⁹⁹Isidore ch.408: "Gothi Reccaredo principe innitente ad fidem catholicam revertuntur."

²⁰⁰Hillgarth, "Coins and Chronicles," p.491.

²⁰¹Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp.48-49.

²⁰²Hydatius seems to have simplified what little he knew of the complicated discussions that were occurring in the east during his lifetime. In ch.109, for example, he called Nestorius a Hebionite (i.e. Monophysite), probably because he knew (ch.106) that a council had recently been called by Theodosius II against that heresy. Hydatius does not seem to have known that Nestorius held a distinctly different heretical approach to the Monophysites.

²⁰³As in Hydatius, Priscillian receives two entries, one for his career and one for his death, and neither as detailed as in the earlier source (ch.354, 359); apart from these two references, nothing of religious significance happens in Spain until ch.408, when Reccared returns the Goths to Catholicism. During the fifty chapters separating these events, the religious focus of the Chronicle lies in the East and in Africa.

prominent than Eastern events because of Isidore's personal knowledge of conditions in Spain. Owing to these variations, each of the chroniclers approaches the history of Arianism, the greatest of the heresies in Spain, in a different way.

Hydatius was concerned in his Chronicle with the influence of heresy in general, and it seems that, until the conversion of the Sueves to Arianism by Ajax in 465 (ch.232), Arianism was not the major concern for orthodox bishops in fifth century Gallaecia. Rather, Priscillianism, under the label Manichaeism, was of greater importance to Hydatius than Arianism.²⁰⁴ Arianism was stronger in places other than Spain during the time covered by Hydatius' Chronicle, such as Vandal Africa.

There are a number of references to Arianism concerned with those bugbears of the fifth and sixth centuries, the Vandals, who had entered Spain at the same time as the Sueves but had travelled on to Africa rather than settling in Spain. The Arianism of Gaiseric, the greatest of the Vandal kings (427-477), was discussed (ch.89); the expulsion of the Catholic clergy from Carthage in 439 ordered by Gaiseric received a mention (ch.118); as did the oppression of Catholics by Arians in Sicily while there was a Vandal army on the island in 440 (ch.120). This hostile treatment of the Arian Vandals is, to a certain extent, to be expected of Catholic sources, and Isidore's Chronicle shows that the Vandals continued to receive such treatment long after their kingdom had been destroyed.²⁰⁵

Hydatius attributed the motive of one of the parties involved to their Arian beliefs in one other conflict (ch.37): that between Eudoxia, wife of the emperor Arcadius (383-408), and John Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople (398-404). The conflict is simplified into a clash between the Arian Eudoxia and the Catholic John, when it was actually a complicated political struggle between two Catholic personages.²⁰⁶ In this case, Hydatius seems to have added a motive to an event which

²⁰⁴Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.236.

²⁰⁵Isidore refers to the Vandals in Africa seven times, in ch.377, 390, 392, 393, 395, 396, and 399. Only in ch.395 and 396 are they seen in a favourable light, as king Childeric acts in favour of the Catholics of Africa.

²⁰⁶Bury, History, v.1 pp.138-158 *passim*; much more briefly, Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.1 p.213.

he knew had happened, but neither knew nor understood why it had taken place. Here, Arianism was a convenient label to designate the person Hydatius felt to be in the wrong.

In John's Chronicle, Arianism is a defeated force in Spanish affairs. Its integrity was compromised by Leovigild at the Arian Council of Toledo in 580 (*a.*580,2), when he amended Arianism so that rebaptism was no longer required of orthodox Catholics; it was overthrown and finally defeated at the Third (Catholic) Council of Toledo in 590 (*a.*590,1):

"In the present holy synod of Toledo, at the command of the ruler, king Reccared, the perfidy [*sic.*: misbelief] of Arius--after so much killing of Catholics and slaughter of innocents--has been severed at its very roots so that it will not sprout up again, a Catholic peace having been bestowed upon churches everywhere."²⁰⁷

Arianism, by now the traditional creed of the Visigoths, was not given up without resistance on the part of many,²⁰⁸ but it seems to have been treasured not as a religion but as part of the cultural package that distinguished Goths from Roman provincials.²⁰⁹ John's account implies that he believed he was recording the death throes of Arianism, and that he lived in the times when God was "rendering the poison of this foul, old, heresy completely harmless."²¹⁰

Isidore's perspective on the importance of various heresies is different from both Hydatius and John, who focus on Spanish events to a much greater extent than he did. Because of his emphasis on events in the remainder of the Roman (Byzantine) Empire, Arianism is not really an important heresy in the section of Isidore's Chronicle examined in this thesis. Arianism was most influential in the Roman

²⁰⁷John *a.*590,1: "in praesenti vero sancta Toletana synodo Arrii perfidia post longas catholicorum necis atque innocentium strages ita radicans amputata insistente principe memorato Reccaredo rege, ut ulterius non pullulet catholica ubique pace data ecclesiis."

²⁰⁸See above pp.70-71.

²⁰⁹E. Thompson, The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila (Oxford, 1966), p.110: Arianism preserved the distinction between Goths and Romans that adopting the Catholic Christianity of the majority would not have done, making Arianism better for "... a people who wished to preserve their social identity inside the Roman Empire."

²¹⁰John *a.*590,2.

Empire during the fourth century, but the Roman heresy of the fifth and sixth centuries was Monophysitism,²¹¹ the belief that the Son's human nature had been overwhelmed by his divine nature, leaving the Son with only one nature; and it is on this heterodox belief that Isidore concentrated.

From their appearance in Isidore's Chronicle (ch.385) during the reign of Leo I (457-474), the Acephalites, a subdivision within Monophysitism,²¹² are the religious focus of attention in the East. From the emperor Zeno, Leo's successor, to the emperor Justin II, who succeeded Justinian in 565, each emperor is identified as either a supporter of the Acephalites or a defender of the orthodoxy defined at the Council of Chalcedon. The most interesting aspect of this procedure is that Isidore misled his readers on the Justinian's religious position, labelling him a supporter of the Acephalites. Isidore's motives for this misinformation are uncertain, but could derive from a personal dislike of the emperor who sent soldiers to occupy parts of Spain in the 550s, who was not a supporter of orthodoxy as Isidore understood it, and who persecuted the African bishops from whom Isidore derived much of his material. J. Herrin wrote:

As the emperor responsible for forcing through the Fifth Oecumenical Council's condemnation of the Three Chapters, never accepted in Spain, Justinian was judged a tyrant who persecuted the orthodox bishops and churches of Illyricum and Africa. In addition, Isidore knew that he was the author of heretical books on the Incarnation (a reference to Justinian's belief in apthartodocetism [an extreme form of Monophysitism]) and that he was associated with the *Akephaloi* ('headless ones').²¹³

Certainly Isidore was pleased that Justin II "demolished that which had been proclaimed against the synod of Chalcedon,"²¹⁴ and in about the same part of his

²¹¹Bury, *History*, v.1 p.349-50.

²¹²The Acephalites were so named because they were out of communion with all five patriarchates, and were thus without a leader, something that Isidore commented on (ch.385). They were an extreme group of Monophysites, who did not accept the compromise formula put forth by the emperor Zeno in the *Henokiton* of 481: Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, p.164, Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, v.2 p.937.

²¹³J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Oxford, 1987), pp.240-241.

²¹⁴Isidore ch.401a: "Hic ea quae adversus Calchedonensem synodum fuerant edita destruit ..."

Chronicle Isidore's attention begins to fall more closely upon Spain, since the remainder of the work overlaps the Chronicle of John.

Among these three sources, Isidore was the only one to mention Jews or detail the relationship between Christians and Jews. There are two references to Jews in the latter part of his Chronicle. The second of these entries (ch.416) acknowledged Sisebut's decree ordering the conversion of all Jews within his kingdom,²¹⁵ the first instance of official persecution of the Jews in the Visigothic kingdom, a practice that became increasingly common during the last century of that kingdom's existence.²¹⁶ Although this is an interesting glimpse of the beginnings of a trend in Spanish history, the other entry is even more fascinating, since it deals with a Jewish Messianic movement on the island of Crete during the first half of the fifth century:

Also at this time the devil, manifesting himself to the Jews in Crete in the likeness of Moses, promised to lead them through the sea to the land of the covenant [Palestine] while their feet remained dry. Most were killed and the remainder, those who were spared, without delay were converted to the grace of Christ.²¹⁷

This is the first known instance of a Messianic movement in Judaism since the time of the emperor Hadrian (117-138),²¹⁸ and suggests that the Jewish community was coming under pressure from the Christian State. Messianic movements only occur during periods of increasing oppression or cultural dislocation, and the forced conversion of those Jews who survived shows that such pressures existed. Both of these entries in Isidore's Chronicle demonstrate that the relationship between the State and the Jews was worsening during these centuries.

As we can see, the treatment of heretical movements in our chronicles varies according to the writer's interests, the most pressing threats to orthodoxy, and the

²¹⁵Isidore ch.416: "et Iudaeos sui regni subditos ad Christi fidem convertit."

²¹⁶Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp.165-169, discusses Sisebut's decree and its effects, and the actions of later kings are discussed in pp.170-251 *passim*. On the other hand, Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp.129-142 deals with the treatment of Jews in Spain in a thematic manner.

²¹⁷Isidore ch.379: "Hoc etiam tempore diabolus in specie Moysi Iudaeis in Creta apparens dum eos per mare pede sicco ad terram repromissionis promittit perducere, plurimis necatis reliqui, qui salvati sunt, confestim ad Christi gratiam convertuntur."

²¹⁸W. La Barre, The Ghost Dance (London, 1970), p.614.

perspective of the chroniclers on history and what should be recorded. Overall, the danger of heresies was more extensive in Hydatius' time, since the chaos of his century made state repression of variations in belief next to impossible, whereas both John and Isidore lived in a time when the state was willing and able to enforce orthodoxy: a triumph for their version of Christianity, but unfortunate for those who interpreted their faith in different ways.

II: THE MIRACULOUS AND THE SUPERNATURAL

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of the medieval mentality for us to comprehend is the extent to which the supernatural entered into, and was accepted in, the medieval world view. It was expected that God would involve himself in human affairs, and that God's will could be seen in the outcome of history. Miraculous or otherwise paranormal events, or explanations of events, were signs proving that God participated in mortal affairs. The quantity of Christian miracles had increased dramatically in the middle of the fourth century, linked to a similar increase in the respect given to the Christian cult of martyrs.²¹⁹ Our three chroniclers lived in a period when miracles were often reported, and were also widely believed in. Their works reflect these conditions, though with interesting variations caused by their different circumstances, personalities, and beliefs.

Many different kinds of paranormal events are recorded in our chronicles: a brief survey produced a total of forty-four different entries in which something supernatural or miraculous was mentioned. These references have been divided into nine different categories: famous Christians, relics, portents in the sky, other unusual signs, biblical prophecies, prophesy, explanations of events;, miracles, and the plague in Constantinople during 573. Each of these categories deserves further explanation.

Famous Christians are the subgroup of distinguished Christians who are mentioned, not for their learning or piety, but for performing miracles. Each

²¹⁹Jones, Later Roman Empire, v.2 p.962.

chronicle contains at least one example: Ambrose and Martin of Tours in Hydatius (ch.8), Abbot Donatus of Servitanum in John (*a.*571,4), and Martin of Tours and St. Benedict of Monte Casino in Isidore (ch.355, 399c).

Relics includes all references to holy objects, which in the chronicles refers, with one exception, to the body or head of a holy man. There are five references to relics, all originating in the East, and all but one in Isidore's Chronicle (ch.360, 367, 388, 400); Hydatius noted the discovery of the body of St. Stephen the Protomartyr in 414 (ch.58).

Portents in the sky is the single largest category, containing eleven references, and all drawn from Hydatius' Chronicle (ch.34, 64, 126, 139, 149, 151, 159, 191, 214, 225, 242). He recorded solar eclipses, comets, the moon changing colour, and strange lights in the sky. In some cases, the sign preceded a calamitous event, for example, an eclipse of the sun (ch.64) was followed by a great earthquake in Jerusalem (ch.66); likewise, when the sky turned red for several hours (ch.149), it was a sign warning of the invasion of the Huns (ch.150).

Other unusual signs are also found in Hydatius' account, and range from brief statements to the effect that something strange was seen (ch.73, 214a) to descriptions of frightening and bizarre events (ch.217a, 243, 244, 252, 253), such as the issue of blood from the ground in Toulouse (ch.244),²²⁰ or the confusing account of strange happenings in 463 (ch.217a).

Biblical prophecies appear three times in Hydatius' Chronicle. They are, in order of appearance, Daniel 11.5-6 (ch.57), Daniel 11.31 (ch.118), and the Sack of Jerusalem predicted in Daniel 9.27 and Matthew 24.15 (ch.174).²²¹ The application of these prophecies to post-Biblical events is not unusual, since it was accepted that

²²⁰A later person added an explanation of what this sign predicted to Hydatius' Chronicle: they added the phrase, "indicating that the domination of the Goths would be removed by the coming of the kingdom of the Franks." ("signeficans [*sic.*] Gothorum dominatione sublata Francorum adveniente regno.")

²²¹These Biblical quotations are listed in Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.260.

the Old Testament could shed light on both the New Testament and the post-Biblical world.²²²

Prophecy occurs only once in all of the sources; Isidore stated that John the Eremite (ch.363) predicted that the emperor Theodosius I would defeat the usurper Eugenius in 394 (ch.364).

Explanations of events are the second most common category, and can be found in the chronicles of Hydatius (ch.89, 90, 154, 186, 215, 234) and John (*a.573,3, a.589,2*). This category includes all references to historical events which are explained away by supernatural intervention, such as the heaven-sent diseases which afflicted the Huns and weakened their military power in Hydatius (ch.154), and the Visigothic victory over the Franks attributed by John to God's favour resting with the Goths once they converted to Catholicism (*a.589,2*).

Miracles, in the conventional sense of the word, are comparatively rare in these chronicles, perhaps because they are rarely linked to historical events, which the chroniclers set out to record. Instead, miracles "were more the witness of the ever-present power of God than points of decision in the flow of events."²²³ Only Isidore wrote of miracles performed either by God or by a holy man (ch.366, 392, 393): these three miracles were the slaying of a huge serpent when bishop Donatus of Epirus spat into its mouth; the fiery death of Olympus the Arian in Carthage, slain by an angel hurling fire; and the disappearance of the baptismal water in the font of the Arian bishop Barbas, also in Vandal Africa.

The plague in Constantinople during 573 recorded by John (*a.573,4, a.574,4*) warrants a category all of its own. To sum up this event, the plague appears (*a.573,4*) when the emperor Justin II goes mad (*a.573,3*), and subsides once Tiberius II is appointed *caesar* (*a.574,4*). God plays no part in this sequence of events, and there is obviously some sort of supernatural link between this plague and the imperial power,

²²²Breisach, *Historiography*, p.93.

²²³Breisach, *Historiography*, p.93.

as it appeared when effective leadership disappeared, and declined once effective authority was restored, on the very day that Tiberius became *caesar*.²²⁴

Two patterns emerge from this brief survey. Firstly, most of these paranormal events happened outside Spain rather than within Spain. No relics are found in Spain, nor do miracles take place, and most of the famous Christians lived in other parts of the Roman world. With the exception of a number of categories taken solely from Hydatius' account, such as portents and biblical prophecies, the supernatural exists at a reasonable distance in both time and space from the chroniclers. Secondly, of the three chroniclers, Hydatius recorded nearly twice as many paranormal references as John and Isidore did combined (Hydatius twenty-nine, John five, Isidore ten). While the balance does tip the other way, if the whole rather than merely the last part of Isidore's Chronicle is included, with its references to Biblical events and pagan myths, there is certainly an imbalance in references to the supernatural that cannot be explained away simply by Hydatius' Chronicle being longer than the other two. It seems that the fifth century was a more miraculous century than the sixth, at least as far as Spanish bishops were concerned. Certainly one could not say that Isidore's contemporaries, Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great, lived in a time when miracles did not occur, since by comparison with their works, Isidore's account was very restrained.²²⁵ The answer seems to lie in the conditions of these two centuries, and in the strife of Hydatius' times.

Hydatius' Chronicle contains a number of features not found in the accounts of either John or Isidore, such as the large number of portents of future disasters in his Chronicle, the more intimidating of which are found towards the end, rather than the beginning, of the chronicle. Unlike Isidore's Chronicle, in Hydatius' Chronicle supernatural elements grow more common as time passes. We would expect that the world-view of a chronicler would grow more mundane as time and events became more recent, but in Hydatius' case this was not so. The world Hydatius lived in seems

²²⁴John *a.*574,4: "Huius Tiberii Caesaris die prima in regia urbe inguinalis plaga sedata est."

²²⁵Bassett, "The Use of History," pp.288-289.

to have become increasingly influenced by the supernatural as time passed, and more warnings of future tragedies were seen.

Given this tendency, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Hydatius believed that the end of the world would soon come. In Muhlberger's opinion, "Hydatius saw the chaos of his times as prefiguring or perhaps announcing the last days and the reign of Antichrist."²²⁶ The disappearance in Spain of the authority of the Roman Empire, the "fourth world empire" of the Book of Daniel, naturally lent itself to apocalyptic appraisals of the future. It should be noted that all three of the Biblical prophecies Hydatius refers to are from the apocalyptic Book of Daniel, and that the disasters that afflict Spain in the wake of the barbarian invasion of ch.48 are reminiscent of the power given to Death in the Book of Revelation 6.7-8:

And when the Lamb opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth living being say, "Come and see." And behold! there was a pale horse, and he who was sitting on it was named Death, and the underworld was following him. He was given power over a fourth part of the earth to kill by the sword and by hunger and by the corpse²²⁷ and by the wild beasts of the earth.

The similarity between this passage and ch.48 of Hydatius' Chronicle is obvious:

And thus everywhere in the whole world was filled with the four raging misfortunes of the sword, hunger, disease, and wild beasts, predicted by the Lord through the announcements of His prophets.²²⁸

To Hydatius, it must have seemed that the world was about to end.

The final two entries in Hydatius' Chronicle (ch.252, 253) were concerned with miraculous signs of things to come. Concerning these entries, Muhlberger writes:

²²⁶Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.194.

²²⁷This seems to be a reference to the part dead bodies play in spreading diseases.

²²⁸Hydatius ch.48: "et ita quattuor plagis ferri famis pestilentiae bestiarum ubique in toto orbe saevientibus praedicatae a domino per prophetas suos adnuntiationes implentur."

The prodigies are evocative of lost order, of the harvest of bitter fruit, and in the portent of the fish, of the ending of a cycle of time. What time, and when it would end, is obscure. But, as 'pious Christians' knew they lived in the last age of the world, it is easily taken as a prediction of the Last Days and the Second Coming.²²⁹

However, Muhlberger goes on to argue that Hydatius gave mixed messages about the end of the world.²³⁰ Hydatius did not clearly state that the Roman Empire had been destroyed, nor did he imply that it would soon end in the East, but he would have known that the Messiah would not return until the last of the four world empires of the Book of Daniel had been destroyed. In the Chronicle's preface, Hydatius wrote that he expects other people to continue the Universal Chronicle, and cause the new temporal limits he has placed on it to fall.²³¹ Because of evidence such as this, Muhlberger suggests that Hydatius should be seen as too conservative to commit himself to predicting the imminent end of the world, especially since Augustine denied that one could predict the Second Coming (City of God 18.53).²³²

In reply to Muhlberger, his first point is an argument from silence, and his second point does not prove that Hydatius did not expect the world to end. Perhaps he believed the world would end in a hundred years time, and expected that someone would continue the history of God's creation to the end of time. Whether or not we accept Muhlberger's clarification, Hydatius certainly had a different world-view to John and Isidore, both of whom lived in more peaceful and settled times. Hydatius' life was replete with instances of God's involvement in human affairs, whereas the later chroniclers noted the participation of God either at a greater distance, as did Isidore, or more subtly, which is the impression given by John.

²²⁹Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.262.

²³⁰Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, pp.262-263.

²³¹Hydatius preface.7.

²³²Muhlberger, Fifth-Century Chroniclers, p.263. The Biblical evidence that supports Augustine's argument was presented by Isidore in his concluding chapter (ch.418).

CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis, we have seen how the events of each chronicler's lifetime influenced how they regarded both the recent and the distant past. One aspect of these times that is striking is that conditions seem to be better at the end of this period under the Visigoths than at the very beginning when the Roman Empire still controlled Spain. Spain in the early seventh century seems to be a more vibrant and interesting place than it was in the late fourth century. Does this mean that the invasions of the barbarians, the bloodshed, the famines, and the plagues that Hydatius bewailed were actually good for Spain? Or is this too strong a claim to make?

In reply, the key difference between these times is the distance of the central government from Spain, because political power is linked to religious control, as we saw in chapter five. Under the Roman Empire, Spain was one region among several: that there are no writers on a par with Isidore is perhaps because such gifted people did not remain in Spain, but travelled instead to the parts of the Empire nearer the central government or the seats of learning, both of which were outside Spain. The closeness of the Visigothic kings, their concentration on matters in Spain, since that was the effective limits of their control, their close ties with the Catholic church in the seventh century, the stability of their kingdom - all these things seem to have made Spain a more desirable place to be.

Perhaps conditions were better in Isidore's Spain: but our source, Isidore, was in an superior position to most people, more able to enjoy the benefits of the Visigothic kingdom in Spain. Once again, as historians we are forced to admit that our understanding of the past is based, not on historical events, but on the interpretation of these events by people long dead. This thesis, which has examined the latter in some detail, is such an admission. Ultimately, we cannot be certain that

our chronicles accurately reflect conditions as they actually were in Spain during the fifth, sixth, and early seventh centuries, but we can be sure that our sources reflect the opinions of their writers. This is a distinction that should never be forgotten by historians.

APPENDIX:

PLACES MENTIONED IN THE

CHRONICLES

The following tables contain the data upon which the maps in Chapter Two were based. Some places, regions, or peoples mentioned in the chronicles were left out, e.g. the Paramus Field in the Chronicle of Zaragoza *ad.a.457*, and the Aragensian Mountains in John's Chronicle *a.575,2*.

These symbols convey a certain significance:

- [] mentioned to identify a Christian figure
- () mentioned to identify a church council
- ? the location of this place or region is no longer known

CHRONICLE OF ZARAGOZA

Places

<u>Name</u>	<u>Times Mentioned</u>	<u>References</u> (<i>ad a.</i>)
Arles	1	473
Barcelona	3	510, 511, 531
Cordoba	1	568
Gerona	1	529
Marseilles	1	473
Narbonne	1	531
Pamplona	1	541
Seville	1	568
Toulouse	2	497, 507
Tortosa	1	506
Vouille	1	507
Zaragoza	4	460, 504, 506, 541

Regions and Selected Ethnic Groups

Africa	2	510, 513
Aquitaine	1	513
Baetica	1	568
Catalaunian Fields	1	450
Franks	1	541
Italy	2	490, 513
Pannonia	1	490
River Orbigo	1	457
Spain	6	494, 496, 497, 510, 541,
	542	
Tarraconensis	1	541
Thrace	1	490

JOHN OF BICLARO

Places

<u>Name</u>	<u>Times Mentioned</u>	<u>References</u>
Alcala de Henares	[1]	<i>a.579,4</i>
Alexandria	1	<i>a.568,2</i>
	[1]	<i>a.589,2</i>
Amaya	1	<i>a.574,2</i>
Beja	1	<i>a.585,4</i>
Caesarea	[1]	prologue
Carcassonne	1	<i>a.589,2</i>
Chalcedon	(2)	2, <i>a.590,1</i>
Constantinople	9	<i>a.568,1, a.570,3, a.572,1,</i>
		<i>a.573,4,.6, a.574,4, a.575,1, 3, a.577,1</i>
	(1)	2
Cordoba	2	<i>a.572,2, a.584,3</i>
Dara	2	<i>a.574,1, a.575,1</i>
Elne	[1]	<i>a.572,4</i>
Italica	1	<i>a.584,1</i>
Malaga	1	<i>a.570,2</i>
Medina-Sidonia	1	<i>a.571,3</i>
Merida	[2]	<i>a.573,8, a.578,5</i>
Nisibis	1	<i>a.575,1</i>
Nicaea	(1)	<i>a.590,1</i>
Recopolis ?	1	<i>a.578,4</i>
Rome	[2]	<i>a.573,7, a.587,2</i>
Seville	4	<i>a.579,3, a.583, a.584,1, 3</i>

	[2]	<i>a.585,7, a.590,1</i>
Servitanum ?	[3]	<i>a.571,4, a.584,5, a.590,1</i>
Tarragona	1	<i>a.585,3</i>
Toledo	3	<i>a.580,2, a.590,1, 3</i>
Tunnuna ?	[1]	prologue
Ugernum	1	<i>a.584,4</i>
Valencia	1	<i>a.584,3</i>
Vitoria (?)	1	<i>a.581,3</i>

Regions and Selected Ethnic Groups

Africa	4	<i>a.569,2, a.570,1, a.571,2,</i>
	<i>a.578,1</i>	
	[1]	prologue
Armenia/Armenians	2	<i>3, a.571,1</i>
Avars	4	<i>a.570,3, a.576,5, a.577,1,</i>
	<i>a.579,1</i>	
Bastetania	1	<i>a.570,2</i>
Cantabria	1	<i>a.574,2</i>
Celtiberia	1	<i>a.578,4</i>
Franks	6	<i>a.579,2, a.584,4, a.585,4,</i>
	<i>a.588,3, 6, a.589,2</i>	
Gallaecia	8	<i>a.570,4, a.576,3, a.583,</i>
	<i>a.584,2, a.585,2, 6, a.588,1,</i>	<i>a.590,1</i>
Gallia Narbonensis	4	<i>a.573,2, a.585,4, a.589,2,</i>
	<i>a.590,1</i>	
Garamantes	1	<i>a.569,1</i>
Gepids	1	<i>a.572,1</i>
Greece	1	<i>a.579,1</i>
Hispania Citerior	1	<i>a.569,4</i>
Iberians/Iberia		
Caucasii	2	<i>3, a.571,1</i>
Illyricum	1	<i>a.581,2</i>
Italy	5	<i>a.576,1, a.578,3, a.581,1,</i>
	<i>a.586,1, a.587,3</i>	
Lombards	8	<i>a.572,1, a.573,1, a.576,1,</i>
	<i>a.578,3, a.581,1, a.584,4,</i>	<i>a.586,1, a.587,3</i>
Lusitania	1	<i>a.589,2</i>
Maccuritae	2	<i>a.569,3, a.573,6</i>
Moors	4	<i>a.569,2, a.570,1, a.571,2,</i>
	<i>a.578,1</i>	
Orespeda	1	<i>a.577,2</i>
Pannonia	1	<i>a.579,1</i>
Persians	8	<i>3, a.571,1, a.574,1, a.575,1,</i>
	<i>a.578,2, a.580,1, a.585,1,</i>	<i>a.590,2</i>
River Guadalquivir	1	<i>a.583</i>
Rucones ?	1	<i>a.572,3</i>
Sabaria/Sappi ?	1	<i>a.573,5</i>

Saracens	1	<i>a.575,3</i>
Sclaveni	2	<i>a.576,4, a.581,2</i>
Spain	5	<i>a.568,3, a.573,2, a.578,4,</i>
	<i>a.579,2, a.590,1</i>	
Suani	1	<i>a.576,2</i>
Thrace	6	<i>a.570,4, a.576,4, 5, a.577,1,</i>
	<i>a.579,1, a.581,2</i>	
Vasconia	1	<i>a.581,3</i>

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE

Places

<u>Name</u>	<u>Times Mentioned</u>	<u>References (ch.)</u>
Alexandria	3	384, 397b, 400
	[3]	370, 375, 381
Bethlehem	[1]	358
Carthage	2	374, 392
Chalcedon	1	381
	(6)	385, 386a, 389a, 394a,
	397a, 401a	
Constantinople	2	357, 360
	[2]	370, 378
Dumio	[1]	401d
Ephesus	1	378
Milan	[1]	353
Monte Casino	[1]	399c
Rome	1	372
	[1]	408b
Toledo	1	416a
Tours	[1]	355

Regions and Selected Ethnic Groups

Africa	2	377, 399
Armenians &		
Iberians	1	401b
Avars	2	409, 409a
Crete	1	379
The East	3	385, 412, 414
Egypt	3	384, 412, 414
Epirus	[1]	366
Gallaecia	1	401d
Gaul	3	359, 368, 373

Gepids	1	401c
Greece	1	414
The Holy Land	1	379
Italy	4	368, 399b, 402, 404a
Lombards	3	401c, 402, 404a
Mascuritaneans	1	401b
Pannonia	1	402
Persians	3	398, 413, 414
Sardinia	1	390
Sclavi (=Sclaveni)	1	414
Spain	8	354, 373, 377, 382, 399a,
	403, 415, 416b	
	[1]	408a
Syria	1	414
Thrace	1	409a

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