

HYDATIUS:
A LATE ROMAN CHRONICLER IN POST-ROMAN SPAIN
AN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY
AND NEW CRITICAL EDITION OF THE CHRONICLE
BY
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(D. PHIL. MICHAELMAS TERM, 1988)

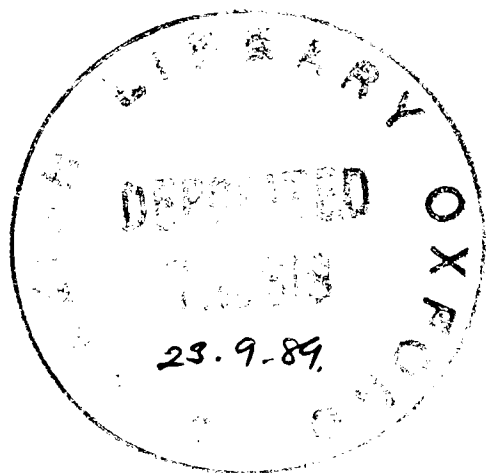
Late Roman chronicles are little studied and greatly misunderstood. The purpose of this dissertation is to treat a Late Roman chronicler, Hydatius, as a living, breathing person and to use the chronicle as a means of revealing this individual: his beliefs, his interests, his fears, his attitudes, his view of the Empire, and his abilities as an historian. Hydatius was a bishop in Gallaecia, writing in 468-9 amidst the Suevic depredations of Spain. As a result he is a unique source in that he is the earliest extant historian who wrote in a post-Roman (i.e. Mediaeval) world. His chronicle is the only detailed source for Spanish history in the fifth century and the only detailed source written about the fifth-century barbarian invasions and settlements. Though extremely isolated he had remarkable contacts with the outside world and his chronicle is a unique source for much non-Spanish information. It is also one of the most personal of all the Late Antique chronicles and therefore an excellent gateway for an examination of the Late Roman world as seen through the eyes of a contemporary. For these reasons, Hydatius' vivid and often emotive account of the sufferings of Gallaecia at the hands of the Sueves and Goths, framed by the parallel military, religious and imperial history of the Eastern and Western empires and set within the eschatological context of the imminent Apocalypse, deserves detailed study. The production of a new critical edition, based on only the third, complete, first-hand examination of the sole major manuscript (B) since 1615 and the first produced from all known manuscript evidence, complete with apparatuses on the manuscripts, chronology and orthography, was necessitated by the perverse *Sources chrétiennes* edition of 1974 and the discovery of new evidence from a careful study of manuscript B.

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VOLUME ONE



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PREFACE

The genesis of this study arose from two quite separate areas while I was engaged in other research. The first concerned the chronology of the chronicle of Hydatius; the second concerned the general approach to chronicles as a whole. In January 1985 I began a general study of the military and political history of the Western empire between 455 and 496, based on a complete re-examination of all primary sources, especially the coinage. In the course of analyzing Hydatius' chronicle for this project, I was eventually led to an article in *Byzantion* by Christian Courtois which "fell upon wide tracts of his Chronicle, tore them ruthlessly from the main body, and pitchforked them into a limbo of *spuria vel dubia*."¹ Convinced, however, that Courtois' approach was fundamentally flawed I set out to try to prove it in a paper delivered in November of 1985 which formed the basis of this thesis.

The second aspect which spurred me on was a strong belief in the personal, narrative style of history, now so despised by the growing ranks of "quantitative" and structuralist historians of the *Annales* school. I have always felt that history should be primarily and ultimately concerned with people, as individuals and groups, not with structures. One consequence of this was that I had, from my first introduction to them, always treated the numerous chronicles of Mommsen's *Chronica minora* volumes as the works of living, breathing individuals, not as a homogeneous compendium of historical "facts" for the modern historian to pillage. I can do no better here than quote Brian Croke's D.Phil. thesis on Marcellinus *comes*, for it was the discovery of this work that led me for the first time to contemplate a study such as this:

Too often chronicles are regarded as some sort of passive and uniform repository of facts from which one can ransack and extract as desired. Moreover, this is perpetuated by the collective titles they appear under (for example: *Chronica Minora*, *Chronica Italica*, *Chronica Gallica*, etc.) and reflected in the way they are cited (for example: *Chron. Min.* ii. p.91). This serves to obscure and negate the fact that each of these chronicles is a distinct and separate work written by a particular individual from a particular point of view, the product of a specific cultural and intellectual context. The late antique chronicles are all different and independent and

¹ Thompson (1982), 137.

that is how they must be analysed, not as a monolith.²

Hydatius and his chronicle are worthy of study on a number of counts: it is one of the earliest surviving Western chronicles, predated only by those of Jerome, Prosper and the Gallic Chronicler of 452; it is, along with the works of St. Patrick and the life of St. Severinus, one of the few documents we possess from Late Antiquity which was written on the periphery of the empire; it is our only detailed source for Spanish history from 409 to 468, and when the chronicle ends, the history of Roman Spain ends with it; it reports a great many non-Spanish events, from both East and West, which are otherwise unknown; it can be considered the first work of mediaeval historiography; Hydatius is the only surviving fifth-century historian to have written under barbarian occupation and his chronicle is the only source to give any detail of the invasion and settlement of a fifth-century barbarian tribe; he was an excellent chronicler and has a high reputation among those who have used him seriously as a source; the author's unique views make the chronicle probably the most interesting and idiosyncratic of all the Late Antique chronicles; and because of the strong sense of place and personality in the chronicle it is an excellent source for examining Hydatius as an individual and as an historian. Consequently, this study was undertaken in the spring of 1986 in an attempt to evaluate Hydatius not only as an historian, that is as an observer and recorder of his times, but also as an inhabitant of immediately post-Roman Spain.

A serious problem now raised its head. The new, now-standard text of the chronicle by Alain Tranoy, published in 1974, had followed Christian Courtois' article to the letter and gone even further; I could obviously not use it as the basis of my study of Hydatius since I fundamentally disagreed with its underlying philosophy and execution. If I rejected it, I would have to explain why. A fundamental flaw in Courtois' argument was that he had relied solely on Mommsen's 1894 edition of the chronicle; I would have to avoid that mistake. This necessitated an examination of the manuscripts, especially the major manuscript, Phillipps 1829, in East Berlin, which soon showed that all previous editors had been fooled by early "correctors" who had obscured the true chronology of the text. It now became apparent that if I wanted to be able to evaluate both Hydatius and

² *The Chronicle of Marcellinus in its Contemporary and Historiographical Context*, unpublished D.Phil. dissertation (Oxford, 1978), i-ii.

his chronicle accurately I would have to produce a new edition. This I have done with a full set of critical apparatuses; it is only the third edition to have been based on a complete, first-hand examination of the major manuscript since 1615 and the first ever to be based on all of the available manuscript evidence.

This study is divided into two volumes. Volume One contains the study itself while Volume Two contains all the material relevant to the establishment of the text of the chronicle. In the end, though admitting to be an explorer and not a guide, I would hope that I have brought to light not only some of Hydatius' knowledge, skill and individuality as an historian but also some of his character and individuality as a person, living in times when it must have been a challenge simply to survive, let alone be able to record those times for posterity in such a simple yet moving manner.

*

I should like to thank E. A. Thompson for some early encouragement to produce this edition of the chronicle, and Brian Croke and Cathy King for help and encouragement. Steven Muhlberger was singularly unstinting with his time both in person and by correspondence; as well as letting me see the chapters on Hydatius from his forthcoming book in advance of publication, he went over a number of my chapters with a fine-toothed comb. Thanks also go to St. John's College and the Craven Committee for providing me with the funds to travel to East Berlin to examine Phillipps 1829. Needless to say a large debt of gratitude is owed to my supervisor, John Matthews, who allowed me to undertake this project when it seemed a rather unpromising concept and for guiding me through to the final revisions. As is often the case in prefaces I last thank my wife for being patient, for helping with innumerable perverse Latin passages and for offering many good ideas adopted liberally throughout the pages of this thesis and the text.

R.W.B.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Barlow- Claude W. Barlow (ed.), *Martini episcopi Bracarensis opera omnia* (New Haven, 1950).

Blockley- R. C. Blockley (ed.), *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, Volume 2 (Liverpool, 1983).

CCL- *Corpus Christianorum, series Latina* (Turnholt).

CEG- *Cuadernos de estudios Gallegos* (Santiago de Compostella).

Chron. min.- *Chronica minora* I-III = *MGH:AA* IX (1892, Berlin; repr. 1981, Munich), XI (1894, Berlin; repr. 1981, Munich), and XIII (1898, Berlin; repr. 1981, Munich).

CLRE- *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Roger S. Bagnall, et al. (Atlanta, 1987).

Codoñer Merino- Carmen Codoñer Merino (ed.), *El "De uiris illustribus" de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio y edición crítica*. Theses et studia philologica Salmanticensia XII (Salamanca, 1964).

CSEL- *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna).

DCB- *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace (London, 1877-87).

DHEE- *Diccionario de historia eclesiastica de España*, ed. Quintin Aldea Vaquero, Tomas Marin Martinez y Jose Vives Gatell (Madrid, 1972-5).

Du Cange- Domino Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Niort, 1883-7).

Fotheringham- John Knight Fotheringham (ed.), *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones, latine uertit, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus* (London, 1923).

GCS- *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte* (Berlin, DDR).

Helm- Rudolf Helm (ed.), *Die Chronik des Hieronymus* (GCS; *Eusebius Werke, Band 7*), Third edition (1984) [all references to the *Chron. can.* are to this edition].

MGH:AA- *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi* (Berlin and

Munich).

MGH:SRM- Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
(Hannover).

*OCD*²- *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Second edition, ed. N. G. L. Hammond and
H. H. Scullard (Oxford, 1970).

*ODCC*²- *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Second edition, ed. F. L.
Cross and E. A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1983).

PG- Patrologia Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris).

PL- Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris).

PLRE I and II- The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I, edd. A. H. M.
Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris (Cambridge, 1971) and II, ed. J. R.
Martindale (Cambridge, 1980).

RABM- Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos (Madrid).

RE- Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll,
Stuttgart).

Richardson- E. C. Richardson (ed.), "Hieronymus. Liber de uiris inlustribus.
Gennadius. Liber de uiris inlustribus". *Texte und Untersuchungen zur*
Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 14 (1896).

TAPS- Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia).

TLL- Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Leipzig).

Vives- José Vives (ed.), *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos* (Barcelona-Madrid,
1963).

Vollmann- Benedikt Vollmann (ed.), *Studien zum Priszillianismus* (St. Ottilien, 1965)
[for references to Leo *Ep.* 15].

All Biblical quotations are taken from the third edition of the Stuttgart Vulgate (*Biblia*
sacra iuxta uulgatam uersionem, 1985).

All quotations from Hydatius are from my new edition. On the orthography, see the Text
Volume, pp. 57-71.

CHAPTER 1: THE LIFE OF HYDATIUS¹

In the far western reaches of the Roman empire, facing not the Mediterranean but the Atlantic Ocean, lay the Spanish province of Gallaecia, almost universally recognized by inhabitants and outsiders alike as the edge of the world.² Strabo described it as mountainous, cold, inhospitable, isolated, and remote, populated by brutish, intractable, wild, and warlike peoples; in short, ὑπερβάλλει τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ τῆς οἰκίσεως, that is, “an exceedingly wretched place to live”.³ It was here, in c.400, that Hydatius was born in a city he calls *Lemica ciuitas*. It is generally accepted today that this is the city referred to in two inscriptions from the second quarter of the second century (*CIL* II: 2516-7) as *ciuitas Limicorum* and by Ptolemy as the Φόρος Λιμικῶν (2.6.44), both indicating the abode of the people called the “Limici”. This city is today generally identified with a site about 12 km east of Xinzo de Limia, just outside the northern border of Portugal, near to where the inscriptions were found, though it has often been thought that it was the *mansio* of Limia, now Ponte de Limia, also along the Limia River, but about 40 miles closer to the sea. It should be noted that *Lemica* is an adjective, not a noun, and therefore *Lemica ciuitas* = *ciuitas Limicorum*, not “the city of Lemica”. The

¹ There are a great number of minor biographies of Hydatius extant, most of no value and usually deriving from the same sources. I have not bothered to cite them here, though many can be found in Torres Rodriguez, (1956a), 758-9 and 763, and Molé (1974), 280, n. 2. The most important and interesting are the just-cited article of Torres Rodriguez; Seeck (1914); Kappelmacher (1914); Carreras Ares (1957), 178-84; Ward (1882), 206-7; and Tranoy (1974), I: 9-17.

² The bishop of Edessa states that Egeria came “de extremis porro terris” (*Itineraria Egeriae* 19.5; that Egeria was from Gallaecia, see García (1910), 386-93; Chadwick (1976), 166-7, and Hunt (1982), 164); “extremus plage”, “extrema uniuersi orbis Gallecia”, “Gallicia...sita in extremitate Oceani maris occidua” (Hydatius, pref. 1, pref. 7, 49); Augustine describes Orosius, a native of Bracara, as coming “ab ultima Hispania, id est ab Oceani litore” (*Ep.* 169.13 [*CSEL* 44: 621]); Gallaecians live “extremis mundi partibus” and in “fines orbis terrae” (Pope Vigilius to Profuturus of Braga in 538 [Barlow, 290]); Bracara is described as “in ipsa extremitate mundi” (First Council of Braga of 561, §2 [Barlow, 106]); “nos longe positos et occidentis tenebrosa plaga depressos” (Fructuosus of Braga in the second quarter of the seventh century, *Ep.* 43 [*PL* 80: 691]); “huius occiduae plagae exigua...extremitas” (Valerius of Vierzo, *Vita S. Fructuosi*, Prol. [*PL* 87: 459]); and “huius occiduae plagae...extremitas” and “[Egeria] Quae extremo occidui maris Oceani litore exorta” (ibid., *Epistula de beata Egeria*, 1, 4 [García (1910), 393, 398]).

³ Strabo III.1.2; 3.2, 5, 7 and 8.

Limici were a rather large group of people, it would seem, to judge from the frequent appearance of the name in inscriptions from all over Spain (*CIL* II: 434, 827, 2049, 2477, 2496, 3034, 3182, 4215, 4963, 5353), and this, combined with the facts that they gained mention by Ptolemy and the elder Pliny,⁴ and that a number of inscriptions survive from the area, suggests that this was a fairly large and important centre in the early empire. We have no idea, however, of its size or importance in Hydatius' time.⁵

The name Hydatius (derived from the Greek ὕδωρ, -ατος) was not a very common one in the empire and only a few other instances of its appearance are known: the famous anti-Priscillianist bishop of Emerita at the end of the fourth century, a Gallic bishop mentioned in letters of Popes Leo (*Ep.* 99) of 451 and Hilarus (*Ep.* 10) of 464, the fictitious Macedonian foster-father of the Ostrogoth Theodemir (the father of Theoderic),⁶ and an inscription from Africa (*CIL* VIII: 61). Although the correct written form of the name is "Hydatius" (and it is spelled thus in the inscription, sometimes in certain manuscripts and consistently in the Priscillianist *Tractate* II⁷), the aspirate was probably never pronounced and so not written (i.e. "Ydatius"). This is how it appears in the major manuscript of the chronicle, the unique manuscript of Sulpicius Severus' *Chronica* (II.46ff), and a number of manuscripts of Leo *Ep.* 15 and Hilarus *Ep.* 10. As the pronunciation of the initial vowel weakened this form was eventually written "Idatius", or "Idacius" since palatalization made the "-tius" and "-cius" indistinguishable, as he used to be called before Mommsen (though even Sirmond recognized the true spelling in his introduction).⁸

⁴ 3.3.28 (though the reading is not completely secure).

⁵ On the *ciuitas* of the Limici, see Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 760-1, 795; Molé (1974), 284, n. 7; Thompson (1982), 139; Emil Hübner, *CIL* 2: 350; Adolf Schulten, *RE* 13: 671-2; Antonio (1788), 256; Ward (1882), 206-7; Garzón, preface to edition, 681-2; Tranoy (1974), I: 11; Flórez (1756), 301-2; and Roldán Hervás (1975), 246-7.

⁶ Idacius (or Ydacius) patricius: Fredegarius, *Chronica* II.57; *Vita Theoderici (Fuldensis)* 1 and *Vita Theoderici (ex Aimoino)* 2 (*MGH: SRM* II: 78, 79, 202, 210, 211).

⁷ *CSEL* 18: 34-5, 39-42.

⁸ For h, y > i, and -tius/ -cius, see Grandgent (1907), §§187, 249-51, and 276-8, pp. 80-1, 106-7, and 116-8; and Allen (1978), 44-5, 53. On the name, see Sirmond's introduction to his edition of 1619; Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 759-760; Antonio (1788), 256; Flórez (1756), 290-8; and Mommsen (1894), 3, n. 1.

It can be no coincidence that our Hydatius was so named so close to the lifetime of the great anti-Priscillianist bishop, Hydatius of Emerita. Mommsen thought that the two were related, perhaps even father and son (p. 4), but this is highly unlikely for a number of reasons. First of all, Canon 146 of the Council of Elvira forbade “bishops, presbyters, deacons and all clerics in the ministry” from having sexual relations with their wives or having children.⁹ Second, our Hydatius never mentions the other in his chronicle, a highly unusual fact in itself but doubly so if they were in any way related. Third, the name itself would appear to be a given name and not a family name. And finally, our Hydatius was born in the *ciuitas Limicorum* and lived his life in Gallaecia, rather a long way from Emerita in Lusitania, though it must be admitted that Hydatius of Emerita voluntarily resigned his seat around 388 and could have gone anywhere, though he did try to regain his seat at some later date.¹⁰ More likely our Hydatius was named after the famous bishop by admiring, orthodox parents just as Hydatius of Gaul, a close contemporary, may have been as well.

The only life of Hydatius we possess appears in the “Appendix” to Isidorus’ *De uiris illustribus*,¹¹ but the author knew no more about him than we do and derived all his information from the chronicle, a fact which renders the life useless as source of information. Apart from references in connection with excerpts from his chronicle (some of which will be mentioned below) Hydatius is mentioned only one other time before the sixteenth century, in a letter of Braulio of Zaragoza (631-51) to Fructuosus of Braga,

⁹ On this matter in general, see Jones (1964), 927-8. On the fight for clerical celibacy in the late-fourth and early-fifth centuries, see Chadwick (1976), 30, 147, 173-4, 187.

¹⁰ “Sapienter id [his abdication] et uerecunde, nisi postea amissum locum repetere temptasset” (Sulp. Severus, *Chron.* II.51.6; misinterpreted by Chadwick (1976), 157). On this relationship, see also Tranoy (1974), I: 10 (denies); Claude (1978), 660 (nr. 35) (“not proven”); Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 765-6 (denies, but accepts that they could be related); Molé (1974), 289 (related but not father and son); Seeck (1914), 40 (grandson); and Muhlberger (forthcoming), 315 (related). The identification of homonyms is a well-known weakness among ancient historians and one which should be avoided in all but the most secure cases.

¹¹ Chapter 9 (*PL* 83: 1088-9). This paragraph (reproduced in Appendix 1) was not written by Isidorus but by an anonymous seventh-century interpolator who added a preface and thirteen chapters to the beginning of Isidorus’ text of 33 chapters; see Codoñer Merino (1964), 20-41. I shall refer to this unknown author as Pseudo-Isidorus.

who, in his previous letter, had been lamenting the isolation of Gallaecia (see n. 2 above):

Prouincia namque quam incolitis et Graecam sibi originem defendit, quae magistra est litterarum et ingenii, et ex ea ortos fuisse recordamini elegantissimos et doctissimos uiros (ut aliquos dicam), Orosium presbyterum, Turibium episcopum, Idatium, et Carterium laudatae senectutis et sanctae eruditionis pontificem...¹²

Hydatius has never received higher praise.

Hydatius states that he had visited Alexandria, Caesarea, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem. He specifically dates this *peregrinatio* to 407 (§40) and states that at the time he was *infantulus et pupillus* (cf. pref. 3: *adhuc infantulus*). Most commentators have to all intents and purposes dismissed these comments, taking them only in the vaguest way as meaning that Hydatius was a youth, and have made him as old as possible in 407, usually just under fourteen. This would seem to be because most assume that he travelled to the East on his own. Indeed at times even Hydatius' date of 407 has been rejected, a view which arises out of a misunderstanding of §§38 and 40 where it is mistakenly assumed that Hydatius claims he saw Epiphanius of Salamis while in the East: since Epiphanius died in 403, Hydatius' *peregrinatio* must therefore be dated before 403.¹³ Mommsen, Tranoy and Thompson provide the general consensus opinion that he was born in 394 or 395, and was thus 12 or 13 years old when he travelled to the East in 406-7.¹⁴

However, Hydatius' description of himself, *infantulus*, can hardly be applied to a boy of 12 or 13 and usually means a baby. According to *TLL*¹⁵ it indicates extreme

¹² *Ep.* 44 (*PL* 80: 698-9). Carterius is unfortunately unknown though he is generally thought to be the Carterius of the council of Zaragoza in 380 (Vives, 16).

¹³ For a general discussion and other dates not mentioned here, see Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 761-4. See also Flórez (1756), 298-301 (not yet 14 in 400 when he travelled to the East; born c. 388); Garzón, preface to edition, 682-3, 709 (trip in 406-7; born c. 393); Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 763-5 (born 393-395; trip in 406-7; thus 9-14 years old); *DHEE* II: 1092 (born c. 390; trip 406); Galland, preface to edition, XIV (born c. 388; trip in 407); Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 348 (don't know age; can't date trip any closer than 405-408); Ward (1882), 206-7 (born c. 388; trip c. 400-402); Collins (1983), 14 (born 390-400; trip in c. 410); Seeck (1914), 40 (born c. 393; trip in 407); Muhlberger (forthcoming), 314 (born 395-400, trip in 407).

¹⁴ Mommsen (1894), 4; Tranoy (1974), I: 11-3; Thompson (1982), 139.

¹⁵ s.v., VII.2, 1352-3.

youth, the oldest age being seven (though one text says ten), the youngest, birth. Jerome places this stage at the very beginning of one's life—"infantulus...puer...adulescentulus...iuuenis...uir...senex"—as do many other texts.¹⁶ *Pupillus*, the other word Hydatius uses to describe himself at the time of his *peregrinatio*, is ambiguous. Technically, it is a legal term for a minor, that is in this case, a male fourteen or under, who is a ward, that is, otherwise *sui iuris* and not under *patria potestas*, under the care (*tutela*) of a *tutor* who is chiefly responsible for managing his legal affairs and his patrimony.¹⁷ In a common, less restrictive sense it means "orphan".¹⁸ But can Hydatius mean this literally? No dictionary offers any other meanings, as far as I can discover, and given its frequent appearance in the Bible with this meaning it may well be that Hydatius does mean that he was an orphan. The context, however, argues against this interpretation and one source, Isidorus, does state that *pupillus* was used in a general sense to mean just a small boy, which does fit Hydatius' context.¹⁹ *Pupillus* cannot, then, help us pinpoint Hydatius' age any more exactly and we must therefore conclude that he was born, at the absolute earliest, in 397 and at the latest perhaps around 400-402, and was thus between five and ten years old when he travelled to the East. This would explain the rather curious phrase he uses in pref. 3 concerning Jerome: "quem...uidisse me certus sum". Such a comment would accord well with the memory of a, say, six or seven year old, but not with a baby, a toddler or a teenager.

More recently the date of 407 has again been attacked by Concetta Molé who accepts that Hydatius cannot have been older than ten when he travelled to the East but

¹⁶ *Tract. in Psalm* I. 280.13. See also Hamblenne (1969), 1088, 1090-1, and 1115, for the use of *infantulus* in Jerome.

¹⁷ For this, see Daremberg and Saglio (1912), 554-7, s.v. "Tutela"; Smith, Wayte and Marindin (1891), 909-912, s.v. "Tutor", and, for the brave (and German), Sachers (1943).

¹⁸ See especially Isidorus, *Etym.* XI.2.12 and the Vulgate where it appears a total of 48 times (38 coupled with widows) and only means "orphan" ("orfanus" appears only five times, not counting the three examples in the Septuagint Psalms which mirror *pupillus* in the corresponding Hebrew Psalms; cf. also 2Mcc 8: 28, 30 and 4Esr 2: 20).

¹⁹ *Etym.* XI.1.37, "Nam paruuli pupilli dicuntur", and XI.2.12, "et pupillos non pro condicione (that is, being an orphan), sed pro aetate puerili uocamus". For Isidorus "puerilis" would indicate an age up to fourteen (XI.2.3).

rejects both a late date for his birth and the date of 407 for his *peregrinatio*, based on rules set down concerning the minimum ages of clerics and bishops established at two councils of Hippo in 383 and 419—25 years for clerics—and in a letter of Pope Siricius sent to Spain in 385—30 years for clerics and 45 for bishops.²⁰ Following the evidence of entry 62b, which she interprets as indicating the date at which Hydatius became a cleric and which I reject as an interpolation (see below), she dates his birth to 390-1 and claims that the *peregrinatio* is undatable because Hydatius simply mentions it incidentally while discussing the Eastern bishops. Aside from the facts that her evidence itself is contradictory and that Hydatius would be nowhere near 45 in 427-8 if born in 390-1, episcopal elections were based on “cleri et plebis electio” and matters of age had no validity, especially in Spain.²¹ A list of five bishops in two years (406-7, §§38-40) is unparalleled elsewhere in the chronicle and there are no historical reasons for dating any, let alone all, of them to 406-7. This is obviously a list of the bishops whom he saw and heard about on his *peregrinatio*, and he uses the latter as a fixed point for the dating the floruits of the bishops.

There is also the question of Hydatius’ class and his family background. Molé is the only one who has examined this question to any great extent, though Tranoy, Torres Rodriguez and Muhlberger do give it some consideration. Molé is excessively adventurous in her interpretation, and in a completely unsupportable argument she binds up Hydatius’ political, cultural, social, and ideological attitudes with the great senatorial landowners, the *possessores*, of Spain and Gaul, and claims that he is a spokesman for these great aristocrats who, in direct opposition to imperial policy, were attempting to gain lasting alliances and eventual fusion with the barbarian peoples, first the Goths and then the Franks.²² She claims that because of Hydatius’ urban upbringing (noting the supposed pride he takes in naming the city of his birth) he had no sympathy for the rural

²⁰ (1974) 286-9.

²¹ See Jones (1964), 912-4 (quoting Pope Zosimus on the failure of such restrictions in Spain) and 915-20, and Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 378, for episcopal elections in general. Siricius’ dates only apply to those vowed to the church “a sua infantia” (IX) anyway; others required only seven years after baptism (X [*PL* 13: 1142-3 and 56: 560]).

²² (1974), 303-6, 310-3, 313-33 *passim*, 333-41.

inhabitants of Spain, did not understand their economic and social problems, opposed their culture and their political and religious positions, and aligned himself instead with the aristocratic conservatism of Jerome whom he took as his social model and spiritual guide.²³ Needless to say, there is no evidence for any of this in the chronicle and Hydatius' stress on the nobility, and land, property and cities in the context of war is simply a feature of virtually all historiography up until the last century (and beyond) and has nothing to do with Hydatius' sympathy with the political attitudes of the aristocracy. The barbarians *did* chiefly attack land and cities, and the *honestiores* simply took a larger and more visible rôle in exactly the kind of events which ancient historians deemed worthy of record. Hydatius' stress on the place of his birth has nothing to do with the fact that it was a city; he is concerned with identifying himself as a *Limicus*, a fact of which he was just as proud as the numerous other *Limici* who similarly recorded the fact on the inscriptions cited above.

Tranoy is much more circumspect and believes that Hydatius' *peregrinatio* and education suggest a family of high rank and wealth (he suggests that his father was a civil servant). The *peregrinatio* also shows that his family was already Christian at that point.²⁴ To the first can be added the fact that he became a bishop, a position rarely open to the lowest ranks of society. On the other hand, at this date it was also infrequently assumed by the highest classes; most bishops were professionals, officials or *curiales*, and we can probably assume that Hydatius and his father were from one of these groups.²⁵ However, Tranoy's comments on education cannot be correct. A study of the language of the chronicle shows that Hydatius' education was not of a high calibre. The Latin he writes, more like that of the pilgrim Egeria than of Jerome, Augustine or

²³ (1974), 290-4, 347-51. I should point out here that because of her views on Hydatius' class and politics, which form the basis of all her interpretations, I reject Molé's massive articles almost entirely, and in the following chapters I usually do no more than note page references where relevant.

²⁴ (1974), I: 10; Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 766, suggests that his father was either a civil or military official. Muhlberger (forthcoming), 314-5, also connects his family with the civil administration under the Theodosians, which is indeed a possibility. For Molé (1974), 291, the proof of his high social rank is not the *peregrinatio* itself, but the fact that he personally met the bishops he named. But Hydatius only says that he saw them, which anyone could have done.

²⁵ See Jones (1964), 920-9.

even Orosius, is artificial, strained and confused; when he attempts to be elevated or rhetorical he usually lapses into obscurity.²⁶ Tranoy makes much of Hydatius' comment about Merobaudes' poetry as indicative of his literary education: "eloquentiae merito uel maxime in poematis studio ueteribus comparandus" (128).²⁷ However, this is just a cliché and can also be found in *CTh* 1.7 (dated 438), "iure omnibus ueteribus comparandi", and Jerome, *De uiris inlustribus* 122 ("Latronianus"), "in metrico opere ueteribus comparandus".²⁸ Hydatius' secular education would thus seem to have been rather limited. His general misunderstanding of and lack of knowledge concerning heresy betrays his lack of serious religious training as well.²⁹ The barbarians invaded and settled in Gallaecia before Hydatius had reached the age of twelve, a point when most wealthy parents would have sent their sons away for secondary education,³⁰ and there is no evidence that Hydatius left the province for such a purpose, so any education he obtained, religious or secular, must have been in the backward province of Gallaecia itself amidst the first barbarian settlements.³¹ That Hydatius was able to travel to the East in 407 yet not obtain an advanced education would suggest that the basis of his family's wealth was lost during the invasions and he had to make do with what was left.

We must now turn again to Hydatius' *peregrinatio* to the East.³² Hydatius obviously did not travel by himself. Did he travel with his parents? Torres Rodriguez, partly based, it would seem, on the legal definition of *pupillus* discussed above, assumes that he travelled alone with a sort of *paedagogus*.³³ This is quite possible but he may well have travelled with one or both of his parents or even a relative, there is

²⁶ Hydatius' style will be discussed below, 240-3.

²⁷ (1974), I: 56-7.

²⁸ (Richardson, 53).

²⁹ On the lack of any serious, non-Priscillianist theological and religious training in Gallaecia at this time, see below, 200-1.

³⁰ See Jones (1964), 997-8, and Marrou (1965), 390.

³¹ Cf. the examples, to be discussed below, 199-200, of Orosius, Avitus, Thoribius, and Bacharius who all left the province.

³² On the *peregrinatio*, see Tranoy (1974), I: 13, and Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 761-3, 764-8, 789-90.

³³ (1956a), 766 and 767; he states that the tutor was a civil, military or ecclesiastical official somehow related to the court of Theodosius, either holding an Eastern office or fulfilling a special mission.

really no way to tell. He seems not to have remained in the East for long, probably only two or three years (406-7, at least), since he says nothing else about the East at this point. Such trips were not uncommon at this time and Spain's distance did not keep travellers like Egeria, Avitus and Orosius away from the Holy Land.³⁴ Hydatius was probably only one of many Spanish travellers who visited the East in the late-fourth and early-fifth century in the wake of the accession of the Spaniard Theodosius in 379. The impression of this trip upon him was immense, in spite of his youth. It instilled in him the first seeds of admiration for the life and work of Jerome, it probably intensified his religious awareness and it created a great interest for him in the Eastern church, an interest which is strongly revealed in the first half of the chronicle.³⁵ Whether the influence of this trip arose at the time of the journey or upon later reflection, it is impossible to say.

His own faith, and in all likelihood his parents, led him eventually to devote himself to the church, though we know nothing of his early religious training, if any. He says in his introduction to the chronicle that he was “perexiguum informatus studio seculari, multo minus docilis sanctae lectionis uolumine salutari sanctorum et eruditissimorum patrum” and as will be seen in Chapter 8, the text of the chronicle bears this out. In the Spanish epitome of the chronicle,³⁶ between entries mentioning the marriage of Constantius and Placidia (416) and the initial Gothic attacks on the Spanish barbarians (417), there appear the words “Idatii ad deum conuersio peccatoris” (62b); all editors and commentators since Flórez's 1756 edition of the epitome have accepted them as authentic. I, however, for reasons which I set out in the Text Volume (p. 40), reject them as an interpolation and therefore do not accept the entry as evidence for Hydatius' life.

In 428 he was elected bishop. This event is usually dated to 427, but in the preface (§6-7) he quite distinctly counts the years “Theod. I” to “Val. III” (379-427) as covering the period *before* he became a bishop;³⁷ therefore he must have become bishop in 428,

³⁴ See Hunt (1982), 210-1; Wilkinson (1971), 10-26; and Torres Rodriguez (1955).

³⁵ See below, 105, 211-8, 224-6, and Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 767.

³⁶ On this epitome, written in the early 570's, see the Text Volume, 8-11.

³⁷ Sotomayor y Muro ([1979], 349), Antonio ([1788], 258), Galland (preface to edition, XIV), and Torres Rodriguez ([1956a], 774) admit of 427-8.

though of what see he never specifically tells us. Some have followed Sigebert of Gembloux who described him in his *Chronographia* (A.D. 1105) as “Idatius Lemicae Hispaniarum urbis episcopus”,³⁸ but this is simply a misreading of pref. 1. Vasaeus (s.a. 420), basing his argument on Sigebert’s statement, since he had only the Alcobaciensis manuscript of the Spanish epitome which simply calls him “Galleciae episcopus”, believed that Sigebert wrote “Lemica” in error for “Lameca” (modern Lamego), which is a well-attested bishopric. Unfortunately Lameca was in Lusitania in Hydatius’ time; it was not taken into the Suevic kingdom of Gallaecia until the sixth century and could not therefore have been Hydatius’ see. In spite of this fact these mistaken views have persisted.³⁹ In more recent times the argument has centred on a see based in Aquae Flaviae (modern Chaves, in northern Portugal) or on an unknown one.⁴⁰ The former identification was first made by Philippe Labbe and was supported strongly by Flórez based on the evidence of the chronicle itself.⁴¹ It also has mediaeval support from Theodorus in his *Chronicon* (A.D. 1182) who twice calls him “Idacius Flauiensis episcopus”.⁴² These statements are based on §§201 and 207 where Hydatius states that he was at the church of Aquae Flaviae when he was abducted and that he returned thence when released. He gives no hint that he was just visiting or passing through and it thus seems reasonable to assume that this was his see.

However, E. A. Thompson has pointed out that Aquae Flaviae is not known ever to have been a bishopric, either before or after the Gothic invasion.⁴³ This is true, but then there are only three bishoprics known from the whole of Gallaecia before Hydatius’ time: Asturica-Legio, Bracara and Aquae Celenae. The joint see of Asturica-Legio is known from the bishop Basilides (c. 254-8); Legio is known from Decentius (the council of

³⁸ For this, see his excerpts from Hydatius in the Text Volume, p. 165.

³⁹ Vasaeus (1552), s.a. 420; J.-B. Perez in a note on chapter 9 of Isidorus’ *de uiris illustribus* (PL 83: 1088); Fabricius (1858), 319-20; Closa (1973), 65; cf. Antonio (1788), 256-7; Flórez (1756), 302-8; Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 775; and Molé (1974), 289-90.

⁴⁰ Collins ([1983], 14) states that he was bishop of Iria Flavia but this must just be an error based on a confusion of the two “Flavia” ’s.

⁴¹ Labbe (1657), contents page, item 1, and Flórez (1756), 308-15.

⁴² For this, see his excerpts from Hydatius in the Text Volume, p. 166.

⁴³ (1982), 139-40, and accepted by *PLRE* II: 574.

Elvira, c.300-5), and Asturica from Domitianus (the council of Serdica, 340).⁴⁴ By the end of the fourth century only three are known: Asturica, known from the three Priscillianists Symphosius, Dictinius and Isonius (400); Bracara, known from Paternus and Balconius (400 and 416), and Aquae Celenae, known from Ortigius and Exuperantius (400).⁴⁵ It is only with the chronicle of Hydatius that our information becomes fuller. Hydatius reveals that Thoribius was the bishop of Asturica from c.444/5 to probably 457. But a bishop from Legio does not appear again until 792 and one from Asturica not until 561.⁴⁶ Hydatius is the first source to mention a bishop of Lucus, Agrestius, in 433⁴⁷ and other well-known Gallaecian bishoprics are not attested until the sixth century: Tude, Britonia (founded late in the fifth century), Iria Flavia (later transferred to Santiago de Compostella and perhaps originally transferred from Celenae which is never heard of again), Orense, and Dumium.⁴⁸ A similar example is Avila, of which Priscillian was made bishop when it fell vacant in 381, but which is otherwise unknown before this time and does not appear again until 610.⁴⁹ The traditions governing the establishment of bishoprics in Gallaecia until the sixth century were unlike those anywhere else in the Empire in that they were very fluid and extremely ad hoc; it would seem that only in the sixth century with the conversion of the Sueves to orthodoxy are they established on firmer ground.⁵⁰ The state of the evidence before the Second Council of Braga in 572 is so poor that we cannot state that Aquae Flaviae was not a

⁴⁴ See *DHEE* I: 149-50 and II: 1284; Díaz y Díaz (1978), 245; Demetrio Mansilla (1968), 22-35; and Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 90-2.

⁴⁵ For Balconius, see Avitus, *Ep. ad Balconium* (PL 41: 805-18). For the others, see the Acts of the first council of Toledo, held in 400, in Vives, 19-33, and Chadwick (1976), 234-9. It is Hydatius who states that Ortigius was bishop of Celenae (31).

⁴⁶ *DHEE*, locc. cit. (n. 44). Hydatius states that there were two bishops in Asturica when it was sacked by the Goths in early 457 (186).

⁴⁷ Agrestius also attended the Council of Orange in November, 441 (*CCL* 148: 87.9). Hydatius also mentions two other bishops in the *conventus* of Lucus, Pastor and Siagrius, but not their sees (102).

⁴⁸ *DHEE* I: 285; II: 1207 and 1357; III: 572; IV: 2601. There are eight bishoprics in the early Suevic state of Gallaecia and eight bishops appear at the first council of Braga in 561 though their sees are unidentified. For sixth-century bishoprics, see Flórez (1756), 130-41, 253-70, and the *Perochiale Sueuum*, dated 572-82 (*CCL* 175: 414-20).

⁴⁹ *DHEE* I: 160.

⁵⁰ See Díaz y Díaz (1978), 252-3 and 257.

bishopric in Hydatius' time; in fact, his comments in entries 201 and 207 are very good evidence (relatively speaking) that it was.⁵¹ The later lack of evidence could be the result of suppression or removal (as in the cases of Celenae and Iria Flavia).

That Hydatius was the bishop of Aquae Flaviae is still not without some doubt however. An analysis of the cities and towns Hydatius mentions in Gallaecia should help to pin-point where he was located on the assumption that he would naturally tend to include more local material. As Map 1 shows, this reveals two definite concentrations to the north-west and north-east of Aquae Flaviae, but nothing around Flaviae itself. Most of the events described to the north-east concern the Gothic invasion of 456-7 but the other concentration is harder to explain. Furthermore, both sets of attacks by the Heruli may have taken place along the western shores of Gallaecia near this concentration (§§171 and 194) and the attacks of Rechimund on the "loca...Lucensis conuentus maritima" certainly did (§202). The passage of Aegidius' envoys by sea to Africa also suggests contacts with the coast (§224). Indeed many of the envoys Hydatius mentions could have arrived by sea and not by land;⁵² this suggests definite contacts with a western port city near Tude. It should also be noticed that Hydatius mentions Lucus and its *conventus* quite often (Lucus: §§102, 199, 201, 219; *conventus*: 102, 171 (*litore*), 194, 202). This attention to Lucus and its *conventus* is extremely unusual for a bishop of Aquae Flaviae who would be situated in the *conventus* of Bracara. On the other hand Aquae Flaviae is mentioned only in connection with Hydatius' capture and return (201, 207), Bracara is mentioned only twice (74, 174) and its *conventus* three times (179, 201 [not by name] and 214a).

It is difficult to reconcile what appear to be completely contradictory pieces of evidence. It is possible that Hydatius was the bishop of Aquae Flaviae but had a correspondent who lived in a coastal city in the *conventus* of Lucus and who was his source for much of his material covering this area, but this does not explain the complete lack of such material from the region around Flaviae. As a result, one must admit that

⁵¹ On Aquae Flaviae, see Flórez (1756), 308-15; Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 774-5; and Molé (1974), 290.

⁵² On this, see below, 70.

Aquae Flaviae is not an “air tight” choice in spite of Hydatius’ apparently obvious comments but is probably correct.

In 431, barely three years after his ordination, Hydatius held sufficient stature in the province to be chosen to head a delegation to go to Arles to seek the assistance of Aëtius against the inroads of the Suevi in Gallaecia (96). He returned to Gallaecia in 432 with an imperial legate (98) and may still have been involved in the negotiations in 433 (100).⁵³

In 445 Hydatius and Thoribius, bishop of Asturica, sent letters to Antoninus of Emerita concerning the rooting out and judging of a group of Manichees discovered hiding in Asturica (130). At some point before this Thoribius had written to Hydatius and a fellow bishop by the name of Caeponius (seat unknown) in an attempt to enlist their help in curbing the proliferation of Priscillianists in Gallaecia to which he had just returned from abroad.⁵⁴ What we should like to know are the reasons why Thoribius chose to write to Hydatius and Caeponius. Was Hydatius a well-known anti-Priscillianist bishop? Were he and Caeponius the only orthodox bishops left in Gallaecia? Or were they simply the two most senior bishops in the province? There is no denying the deferential tone of Thoribius’ letter and there is no doubt that he was a very minor figure appealing to two more senior figures. In the event, however, Caeponius did not join the other two in their anti-heretical campaign.

In 447, in response to a packet of documents sent by Thoribius c.444/5, Pope Leo asked Hydatius, Thoribius and Caeponius to establish a general synod in Spain, or if that proved to be too difficult, at least in Gallaecia, to repress Priscillianism and re-establish orthodoxy.⁵⁵ Although Hydatius reports the reception of the letter in the year in which it was written (447), it could not possibly have arrived in Gallaecia until the next year at least. Neither synod was ever held and Leo’s letter was merely circulated in Gallaecia for subscription (135).⁵⁶

⁵³ See Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 776-9, and Thompson (1982), 140.

⁵⁴ *Ep. ad Hyd. et Cep.* (PL 54: 693-5).

⁵⁵ Leo, *Ep.* 15 (Vollmann, 122-138).

⁵⁶ On the events of these years, see Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 790-2. As the latter shows, all modern Spanish authors accept that this council which Leo called for was actually held. This view is

Entries 201 and 207 describe Hydatius' abduction and release in 460. Prompted by three apparently Roman *delatores*, Dictynius, Spinio and Ascanius, Frumarius, a Suevic leader with his eyes on the kingship, captured Hydatius on 26 July and proceeded to ravage the territory surrounding Flaviae with impunity. In November, after more than three months in captivity, Hydatius was released, probably as a result of the "pacis quaedam umbra" struck between the Gallaecians and the Sueves. Hydatius states that it was the *delatores*, not the Sueves, Frumarius or Rechimund, who wanted him out of the way, but he does not say why and though a number of possibilities can be suggested there is no way of knowing for certain.⁵⁷

Hydatius does not mention himself again and his final act in history appears to have been the writing of his chronicle which was probably finished in 469. We have no idea when he died; it is usually assumed that it was while finishing the chronicle or shortly afterwards. Given that he made no continuation of the chronicle, this is probably a likely conclusion. Pseudo-Isidorus states that he died in the reign of Leo (i.e. pre-474) but the author probably had no accurate knowledge beyond the fact that the chronicle ended before the death of Leo. Hydatius was probably in his late sixties when he finished the chronicle ("extremus...uitae", pref. 1), quite a considerable age given the circumstances of his life.

untenable; cf. Tranoy (1974), II: 85.

⁵⁷ Torres Rodriguez (1956a) and Tranoy (1974) plausibly suggest that the *delatores* were in fact Arians or Priscillianists who wanted the orthodox Hydatius out of the way (783-4, 792-3; I: 16, II: 114); cf. Claude (1978), 655 (nr. 11), 664 (nr. 57). Molé (1974) believes it was because Hydatius and the Gallaecian senatorial nobility were suspected of a pro-Gothic stand (328-9).

CHAPTER 2: THE CHRONICLE

When Hydatius came to write his chronicle, or rather, as I shall explain below, his continuation of Eusebius and Jerome's *Chronici canones*, he was still living within the first ninety years of the existence of the genre in the Latin West; thus, in a way, he was one of the pioneers of what was probably the most successful and popular form of historiography in the Middle Ages. The origin and development of the genre is, however, a Greek phenomenon, and as such lies outside the scope of this work,¹ but an examination of the Latin and Christian backgrounds to this type of historical writing is both pertinent and important for understanding the chronicle and for putting it into some sort of historical and historiographical context and perspective.

Although the sole impetus for the appearance of Latin chronicles in the fifth century is Jerome's translation and continuation of Eusebius' *Chronici canones*, there is much in both earlier and contemporary Roman historiography and in Christianity itself which made the Latin West extremely receptive to the structure of and concepts behind these works. The origin of indigenous Roman historiography itself, that is, annalistic history, derives from a type of compilation essentially the same as the later chronicles which was kept by the *pontifices* and intended for the year-by-year recording of all events for which the pontifical college took ceremonial action, such as festivals, propitiations, natural phenomena, famines, wars, triumphs, and so on. From these early pontifical records sprang the "Annales Maximi", the major source for most of the history of early Rome.²

The fact that the Romans used consuls as the basis for their annual dating necessitated lists of consuls, publicly or privately compiled and maintained, to keep track of past years. Also important for Roman civic life was the calendar which listed festivals and business and non-business days. The structure of these works eventually prompted

¹ On the origins and development of Greek chronicles and chronography, see Mosshammer (1979), 84-168; Croke (1983a), 116-31; Fornara (1983), 28-9; van den Brinken (1957), 43-60; Johnson (1962), 124-35; and Landes (1988), 141-9.

² See "Annals, Annalists", *OCD*², 65; "Fasti", *ibid.*, 429-30; "Tabula pontificum", *ibid.*, 1032; Crake (1940); Balsdon (1953), 162-3; Fraccaro (1957); and Badian (1966), 1-2.

what are essentially late-republican and early-imperial chronicles, for when compilers drew up these documents (on parchment or stone) they often included important events under the suitable year (*fasti*) or day (*calendars*), generally military affairs in the case of the *fasti* and civic matters in the case of the *calendars*, but also increasingly events relating directly to the emperors and their families.³ Although we have no evidence for the use of *calendars* beyond the first century or inscribed *fasti* beyond the third,⁴ the impulse to turn strictly chronographic aids into historical documents was not lost.

From the first to the fourth century great changes in Roman historiography took place. Certainly the writing of narrative works in the classical style did not altogether cease—though few survive today⁵—but the general, popular trend moved towards biographies, such as that of the immensely popular Marius Maximus, *Ignotus*⁶ and the *Historia Augusta*, and epitomes of history, such as the *Breuiaria* of Eutropius, Festus, and Aurelius Victor; the *Epitome de Caesaribus*; the *Origo*; and the *De uiris illustribus*. In these forms, history combined with biography to become *uiri et res gestae memorabiles*: little more than chronologically organized potted biographies, consisting of references to a few interesting events in the individual's lifetime, usually battles. Because of the political structure of the empire, the focus of attention was the emperor and contemporary history became the history of the emperors.⁷

The final, logical step of combining the chronological format of the *fasti* with the new briefer styles of historical writing would not seem to have been taken until the 360's, perhaps as parallel development of the *breuiaria*, in Constantinople. There would not appear to have been a continuous tradition of historically interpolated *fasti* from the first to the fourth centuries since the detailed historical material of the three main groups of

³ See *CIL* I.1² (1893), *passim*.

⁴ The latest known *fasti* inscription ends in c. 289; see *CLRE*, 47. Written *fasti*, however, continued to be maintained.

⁵ There is, of course, the surviving work of Ammianus Marcellinus, but other lost fourth- and fifth-century historians of contemporary or antiquarian material include the author of the *Kaisergeschichte*, Nicomachus Flavianus, Protadius, Julius Naucellius, Sulpicius Alexander, and Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus.

⁶ On *Ignotus*, see Barnes (1978), 99-107.

⁷ On biography and epitomes, see Fornara (1983), 186-90, 191-3.

fasti documents which survive today only really begins in the fourth century.⁸ The earliest surviving example of these new late antique fasti is the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, a Latin consular list originally extending from 509 B.C. to A.D. 388 with entries concerning contemporary imperial, military, urban, and religious events recorded annually from the 360's on a much more extensive scale than the early imperial fasti. Earlier material was added for each year from about 291 and a number of important events for Roman history and literature as well as Christianity are scattered infrequently throughout the earlier sections of the work from the early fourth century B.C onwards.⁹ It would be important to know whether this document was in any way influenced by Eusebius and the Greek chronographic tradition or was a completely independent Latin or Greek development. However, there must have been a Constantinopolitan predecessor of some sort which both its author and Jerome utilized as a source between 326 and the 360's.¹⁰

There is a great amount of evidence for the maintenance of similar fasti documents in Italy, though not beginning until the late fourth century (perhaps a result of the importation of the *Consularia Constantinopolitana* into the West in 389; see Chapter 3, 39, 45-7, 49), all in the form of fragments of a great variety of texts, edited by Mommsen under the title of *Consularia Italica*.¹¹ Since the publication of these texts another text has been found, the so-called *Ravenna Annals*.¹² These documents are essentially the same in structure as the *Consularia Constantinopolitana* though the appearance of

⁸ I refer to the *Consularia Italica* (*Chron. min.* I: 274-339), the *Consularia Constantinopolitana* (*Chron. min.* I: 205-47) and the Alexandrian chronicles (see *CLRE*, 52-4). That the consular lists of the Roman "Chronograph of 354" (*Chron. min.* I: 50-61) originally had no such historical entries is not indicative of general trends since it was a dedicated document of lists and interlinear historical entries would have been out of place; cf. *CLRE*, 48.

⁹ On this document, see Chapter 3, 35-50.

¹⁰ Between 326 and 370, of the 54 entries in the *Consularia*, only eight do not have a corresponding entry in Jerome and all but two are from the 360's (s.a. 351, 358, 361, 365, 366 (two), 369). This correlation completely breaks down after 370. These correlations include a surprising number of non-imperial entries: 330, 341.2, 356, 357.1, 358.2, 360.1, 365.1, 367.1, 368, 369.2, and 370.1-2. This source may have been a prototype fasti document, but I do not believe that it was a "city chronicle" (cf. Croke (1983b), 87-8, and *CLRE*, 49).

¹¹ See n. 8.

¹² Published in Bischoff and Koehler (1939).

portents has a greater rôle and urban events, since these documents do not appear to have been strongly associated with any one particular centre, a lesser one. Though much briefer than chronicles and retaining a preoccupation with specific dates which echoes the first-century calendars, these *fasti* exhibit the same urge to produce brief, annalistic historical compendia as the chronicles, and they continued to be a popular form of historiography, even after the last consul (541), by which time they were overtaken by Easter tables, where complicated lists of the annual date of Easter supplanted the names of consuls. These went on to become even more useful and popular than the *fasti* had ever been.¹³

The most important event for mediaeval Western historiography occurred when Jerome, the Latin-speaking presbyter of Bethlehem, though originally from Stridon in Dalmatia, undertook to translate into Latin and continue Eusebius' *Chronici canones*. This was in fact only the second half of Eusebius' great work on pagan and Christian chronology; Jerome omitted the *Chronographia* in which Eusebius actually discussed his sources and examined all of his historical material people by people and source by source. The *canones* are the collation, correction and synthesis in tabular form of the literary analyses of the first part of work.¹⁴ In the preface Jerome reveals his methods of "translation". In the first section of the *canones*, from the birth of Abraham to the sack of Troy, Jerome simply copied Eusebius ("pura...translatio"). From there until the end of the *canones* in 325 he added a variety of entries concerning the military, political, literary, and Christian history of Rome and the West which Eusebius had ignored. The section from 325 to 378 was entirely his own composition.¹⁵ Jerome worked on his translation and continuation in 380-1 while in Constantinople and presented the finished copy at the synod of Rome in 382.¹⁶

At some point between 382 and the early fifth century a copy of this text made its

¹³ On Easter tables, see Poole (1926), esp. 5-6, 7-10, 19-29, who to all intents and purposes ignores the influence of chronicles and *fasti* of the fourth to sixth centuries.

¹⁴ For Eusebius' work, see Mosshammer (1979), 29-37, 65-83, 128-68; Barnes (1981), 111-20; and Finegan (1964), 147-87.

¹⁵ (Helm, 6-7).

¹⁶ On these events, see Mosshammer (1979), 29, 37-8, 67-73; and Kelly (1975), 71-5.

way to Spain and a Spanish copy of that was eventually discovered by Hydatius, probably in Gallaecia.¹⁷ For a number of reasons, including a belief in the imminent end of the world and a driving impulse to continue the historical record,¹⁸ he decided to continue Jerome's chronicle from 379 down to his own time ("ad nostri temporis cursum", pref. 5). The *Chronici canones* was thus Hydatius' inspiration and model.¹⁹ Although in the past later historians had continued the work of earlier historians, as Xenophon, Theopompus and the "Oxyrhynchus historian" continued Thucydides, Polybius continued Timaeus, Posidonius Polybius, and Ammianus Tacitus, no classical historian would have appended his work to the end of the history he was continuing, so as to form a single unified work. But this is exactly what Hydatius did. The six introductory lines of the text as I present it, actually appear within the body of the *Chronici canones* itself, between the last entry and the final *computatio*, that is, Jerome's final chronological reckoning of the total number of years since Adam, divided into nine sections.²⁰ The preface proper begins immediately, without a space, after the *computatio*. As a result Hydatius did not envisage his chronicle as a separate document with its own title, any more than Jerome considered his continuation of Eusebius from 325 as a separate work. All three formed in sequence a single, unified history of mankind from the birth of Abraham.²¹

In continuing the *Chronici canones* Hydatius not only copied the structure, layout and chronology of the text,²² he even copied its wording, not only in the common recurring entries which announced the accession of an emperor, the ordination of a pope

¹⁷ That Hydatius found his copy in Spain is proven by his own statement that it was "in aliquantis Hispaniarum prouinciis...retinetur" (intro) and by the Spanish aeras in the text of B, descended from his own copy (see Chapter 2 of the Text Volume, pp. 23-4).

¹⁸ See Chapters 7 and 9, 157, 227-9, 239.

¹⁹ Hydatius states this explicitly in his preface (1): "in praecedenti opere suo [i.e. the *Chronici canones*] pro capacitate proprii sensus aut uerbi ostentum ab his [i.e. Eusebius and Jerome] secutus exemplar". On this, see Closa (1973).

²⁰ (Helm, 250).

²¹ Although Eusebius regarded Abraham as the first Christian (see *H.E.* I.4 (*GCS Eusebius Werke*, 2.1 (Leipzig, 1903), 38-44) with Barnes (1981), 126-7; cf. also Gregory of Tours, *Lib. hist.* X I.7), he had a more important anti-millennarian purpose in beginning with Abraham; see Landes (1988), 149-51.

²² These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4 and Chapter 2 of the Text Volume.

or a solar eclipse, but even in those which were simply similar in concept, such as wool or flesh mixed with rain, or oil or blood welling up from the ground (see Table 1²³). In this way Hydatius tried to give his own work an overall gloss of similarity with that of Jerome, the better to enhance their appearance as a single unified work of history. As will be seen below, Prosper, the two Gallic chroniclers and Marcellinus *comes*, who also continued Jerome, did not feel similarly constrained and wrote as they saw fit.

Hydatius also tried to maintain the range of subject matter covered by Jerome. Eusebius had laid the foundations for the content of the chronicle in his preface (as translated by Jerome):

ut facilis praebeatur inuentio, cuius Graeci aetate uel barbari prophetae et reges et sacerdotes fuerint Hebraeorum, item qui diuersarum gentium falso crediti dii, qui heroes, quae quando urbs condita, qui de inlustribus uiris philosophi poetae principes scriptoresque uariorum operum extiterint, et si qua alia digna memoria putauit antiquitas.²⁴

By the fourth century this list had been rather whittled down and events narrated by Jerome can be divided into four distinct groups: religious, i.e. famous individuals and their deeds with stress on the battle against heresy; imperial, i.e. the rise and fall of emperors and usurpers, and their deeds; natural phenomena; and military, i.e. wars. Entries dealing with famous religious individuals often became tiny biographies of those concerned, not unlike the entries in another work of Jerome's, *De uiris inlustribus*. Hydatius altered this list by massively expanding his treatment of the barbarians, reducing the number of personal biographical entries and treating natural phenomena as religious portents.²⁵ As all later chroniclers wrote about contemporary affairs, "antiquitas" could not be the arbitrator in the selection of this material; this was solely a matter of decision for the chronicler himself and Jerome was the first to abuse this position.²⁶

²³ In this list I usually give only one example of each passage or phrase, though many could be multiplied many times. Only the references to eclipses are complete (for Chapter 3).

²⁴ (Helm, 18-9).

²⁵ See Chapter 6, and Chapters 5 and 7, 98, 174-9.

²⁶ Jerome was given to the listing of minor professors and friends who were of no importance at all,

In all of these matters the chief concerns were chronology and brevity. This was succinctly stated by Eusebius in his introduction (as translated by Jerome): “Quae uniuersa in suis locis cum summa breuitate ponemus.”²⁷ The very word *chronicon* comes from the Greek χρόνος, that is, “time”, revealing immediately the preoccupation of these works. Hydatius himself states that he is writing *chronica* (37a) which concern *gesta et tempora* (pref. 6) and describes the genre, with specific reference to the work of Eusebius and Jerome, as *historia* (intro, pref. 3 and 5), *chronographiae historia* (pref. 2), *annorum uolumen* (pref. 4), *successio temporum* (pref. 4), and *disscriptio annorum* (pref. 5). These words show that Hydatius was aware of the importance of time in writing this kind of history. The development of millennial beliefs in Judaism and early Christianity created a great need for accurate accounts of the age of the world in order to discover how much longer it was going to last. Since it was believed that the world would last 6,000 years it was vitally important to know when the earth was created, when it would end and how Christ fit into the picture chronologically.²⁸ For this accurate chronology was required. This wide scope also offered the opportunity to show how Biblical prophesy had in time been fulfilled. Another major reason for the adoption of chronography by the Christians, apart from the existence of the genre of *fasti*, was the influence of the Bible, which was chiefly, among other things, an account of the history of the Hebrew peoples from the creation of the world steeped in the Jewish love of genealogical continuity, and of the life, death and resurrection of Christ set within a recent and immediately historical context: “Anno autem quintodecimo imperii Tiberii Caesaris, procurante Pontio Pilato Iudaeam, tetrarcha autem Galilaeae Herode, Philippo autem fratre eius tetrarcha Itureae et Trachonitidis regionis et Lysania Abilinae tetrarcha, sub principibus sacerdotum Anna et Caiapha...”²⁹ Another more precise chronological necessity for the Christians was the calculation of the dates of the birth and crucifixion of Christ, the latter especially since upon that calculation hung the date of the celebration of

see Kelly (1975), 75.

²⁷ (Helm, 19).

²⁸ On these beliefs, see Chapter 7; for their importance to chronography, see Landes (1988), 137-49.

²⁹ Not from a chronicle but Lk. 3:1-2.

the Easter, the most important Christian festival. The history in the Old Testament was completely alien to the new Christians of the Roman Empire and it had few references to standard Greco-Roman history to fix it within any easily understood context. The chronology of standard pagan history had long before been worked out to the satisfaction of most, and everyone knew the relationship among, for example, the Trojan War, the first Olympic games, the foundation of Rome, and the reign of Augustus, but Biblical history did not easily admit of such careful dating and this created serious problems for those who tried to give the new Christian history an easily understood context by drawing up synchronizations between the two groups of histories.³⁰ These interests in chronology had important apologetic ramifications as well, for Christianity had been charged by the pagans with being a recent invention; through the use of detailed synchronized chronography Christian history was able to hold its own against and even better pagan history in terms of its antiquity. Later continuators of Eusebius, since most of these early problems had by then been sorted out, saw that it was important to continue Eusebius' work down to their own times by maintaining the year by year record and to know exactly how many years had passed (and thus how many years remained); the number itself was of great importance and the chronicle format was an effective way of calculating and displaying it.

For Christians history was first of all teleological and directional, that is, it had a specific beginning (Creation) and was heading for a specific end (the Parousia [i.e. Christ's Second Coming] and Last Judgement), and therefore had meaning.³¹ In this view Christ becomes the *telos* and centre of history. This is quite different from the "substantialist" and cyclical views held by pagan writers and thinkers.³² Chronicles

³⁰ An example of the use of the *Chronici canones* for just this purpose is found in Jerome, *Ep.* 18A (CSEL 54: 75) where Jerome refers to the work as *Temporum liber*.

³¹ A proper discussion of early Christian approaches to history would require a chapter in itself, so I here refer the reader to the following works which I take as understood background: Collingwood (1948), 46-52; Patterson (1967); Milburn (1954), 1-95; Rust (1947), esp. 126-299; Breisach (1983), 77-97; Hay (1977), 12-37; Momigliano (1963); Preiss (1950), 158-63; and Daniélou (1950).

³² On "substantialism", see Collingwood (1948), 42-5 and 47. Momigliano (1966) tried to deny that pagans held any kind of cyclical view of history, but the evidence is against him; see, for example, the references in Patrides (1972), 1-9, 13-4, 18; Cushman (1953); and Bird (1984), 86-7.

were thus linear documents containing an ultimate beginning (as opposed to pagan histories which had only relative beginnings), leading inexorably to an ultimate end, possessing direction and thus meaning. For reasons that will be seen in Chapter 7, these teleological and directional aspects of history were more immediate and relevant for Hydatius than for any other historian of Late Antiquity. For all of the above reasons, chronography, that is the calculation and reckoning of time, became an integral part of Christianity and the Church's most important science.³³

Second, history was regarded as a manifestation or unfolding of the divine purpose for Mankind worked out through nature and the life and actions of men. Thus any historical work would be not merely an account of the individuals and events of the past, but rather the record of the unfolding of God's will. Chroniclers were therefore more interested in the existence of facts than their sense, since cause and effect were in the hands of God and of no importance for the compiler. A corollary of this is that individuals of themselves are unimportant; they form part of a vast Providentialist system which goes beyond them all. The chronicler's task was chiefly the collection of the important and relevant facts as he saw them and the establishment of the temporal sequence, not the determination of individual causes or relationships.³⁴

Third, there is the universalizing aspect of the Christian view of history. God gave his son, Christ, to the world for the redemption of all; there is no longer a single chosen people. God, Christ and history are but a single unity. This is why Eusebius attempted to describe all of known world history. God's purpose involved all men and so to glorify that purpose and learn from it the actions of all peoples must be recorded. Thus in a single work of history (*historia rerum gestarum*) one could in theory record all relevant history (*res gestae*). As a result the individual facts had to be brief and to the point.

However, even in Eusebius, once the record reached the time of the Empire the overall view of history became hopelessly parochial and any sense of a truly "universal" history was completely lost as Italy and the emperors became the centre around which the narrative revolved. The "unity" of universal history was expressed through the unity of

³³ See Landes (1988), 138, n. 3; 146, and 149.

³⁴ See Johnson (1962), 125-6.

the Roman Empire. This narrowing of the scope of the chronicle and the shift of interest towards the emperor and military affairs in the imperial period is undoubtedly a result of the influence of contemporary pagan historical thought, though a comparison of Jerome's account of the fourth century is still in many ways more impressive than that of the nearly contemporary *epitomae* and *breuiaria*. This loss of true universalism did not stop later chroniclers from writing however. They still tried to make their works more than just accounts of the emperors' campaigns by noting important Christian writers and leaders from around the empire. Hydatius tried to record as much as he could from the outside world but with the downfall of Rome as the centre of that world, especially from 410, regional interests became more important, in spite of the perceived unity of the Christian world, and he turned to recording local events, which were no less part of God's will and purpose. This was to be the pattern throughout the Middle Ages as large compendia of world history would begin with Adam and include accounts or notices of all early races and kings (usually from Jerome), yet end with the records of one country or even a single monastery, all implicitly connected through the single, unified purpose of God and the promise of universal salvation.

In spite of having been written in the mould of a universal chronicle, Hydatius' chronicle is an extremely personal document. In his lengthy preface Hydatius introduces himself, providing details of his life, and explains why he has written his continuation. He finishes with a lament on the downfall of religion and freedom in Gallaecia. Since he is following Jerome he at first maintains the outward appearance of a universal chronicle and throughout the work he continues to report as much as he can discover about the world outside Gallaecia. However, the work as a whole was chiefly written as an account of the history of Gallaecia from the invasion of 409 and as such it becomes the first regional history ever produced in Europe.³⁵ Along with this regional aspect comes the personal involvement of Hydatius himself in the history he was reporting, a result of his high status in the province. In this sense the chronicle harks back to the Classical secular historiography of men like Thucydides, Polybius and Ammianus who wrote from

³⁵ This will be discussed in Chapter 9, 238-40.

first-hand knowledge about events in which they had participated themselves. As a result there is a very strong sense of place, personality and individuality in the chronicle, a sense which is not present in any other early chronicle, save perhaps for the strong sense of association with Constantinople in the chronicle of Marcellinus.

The fact that history was teleological, providentialist and universal, meant that extended narrative, causation, analysis, character study, even the explicit connection of related events, were all abandoned in favour of “*summa breuitas*”, that is, the simple setting forth of the unfolding events which reveal God’s purpose for Mankind. Indeed brevity was not an end in itself but merely a manifestation of the quest for simplicity. Events were recorded with the fewest words and the least amount of detail suitable to the action or person described. Hydatius, and to a certain extent another contemporary chronicler, Prosper, expanded the boundaries of this convention, however, by including extremely large sections of narrative and description. Stylistic factors were of little concern as Christians abandoned the Classical pagan views of history as a platform for skillful writing and rhetoric, where originality of form took precedence over originality of content.³⁶ In their efforts to reach the widest possible audience in an age of declining educational standards, Christian writers rarely strove to produce anything more than “*sermo humilis*”.³⁷ Hydatius, on the other hand, as will be explained in Chapter 9, uniquely sought to raise the stylistic level of his rather uncomplicated written language.

The chronographic approach to history has unfortunately rarely been appreciated on its own terms, and as a result it has few supporters today.³⁸ The major problem with chronicles to modern eyes, apart from their excessive brevity, is that events are not well integrated or properly proportioned to one another, and there is little emphasis or balance. Events of immense importance are related as laconically as events of virtually no importance at all, one right after the other. And there is, in the literary sense, no internal structure or organization: events of all sorts are simply related one after the other until the

³⁶ See Millar (1964), 28.

³⁷ On “*sermo humilis*”, see Auerbach (1965), 25-66, and MacMullen (1966).

³⁸ For a sample of some modern attitudes, see Croke (1983a), 127, n. 1. To this can be added Thompson (1982), 161, and Laistner (1940), 247, 258. For a unique ancient attack on chronography, see Eunapius’ introduction to his history, frag. 1 (Blockley, 6-10).

text comes to an end. These criticisms are unjustified because they assume that chronicles were written to supply us with the information we want to know, in a form which we are used to. It goes without saying that everything a chronicler wrote down was important to him, otherwise he simply would not have recorded it. And events that we regard as of the highest importance (usually political or military) may not have been equally so for the author or his purpose. This method does not in any way imply an intellectual bankruptcy or lack of skill on the part of the chronicler, however. The writing of history had moved out of the hands of the secular pagans of the highest and most powerful classes who had monopolized it to their own ends for so long³⁹ and was now in the hands of Christian clerics of a much less homogeneous social status who looked to history to answer questions and reveal truths which were completely different from those asked and sought by the earlier historians. It simply happens to be a fact that our idea of history is closer to the secular ideal than the Christian one. In short, a chronicle cannot be properly appreciated unless it is understood on its own terms, not ours or those of its pagan contemporaries.

The result of these new questions and new searches for truth and purpose in history were two new genres of historical writing, the chronicle (which was not completely new) and the ecclesiastical history, one perfected and the other invented by Eusebius. The former was translated and continued by Jerome, as has been discussed above, and the latter was translated, condensed and continued to 395 by Jerome's one-time friend, Rufinus, though the genre never seems to have made much of an impact in the West.⁴⁰ The chronicle was a more accessible document for readers in the West and its popularity was only to increase as time went on. Older chronicles were copied out and newer ones written to bring the earlier ones up to date with the result that individual codices could contain vast and varied compendia of history taken from a multiplicity of sources, with only slight concern for the Classical aspects of secular historiography.

³⁹ On "senatorial" history, see Millar (1964), 5-7, and Alföldi (1952), 66-7.

⁴⁰ The only other ecclesiastical history in the West was the early-sixth-century *Historia tripartita*, simply a collation of Epiphanius' Latin translations of the early-fifth-century Greek histories by Sozomen, Socrates and Theodoret (*CSEL* 71). The lack of serious and wide-spread religious conflict in the West was probably a deciding factor in this dearth.

Jerome was the inspiration not only for Hydatius but for the authors of the first four other surviving chronicles as well, Prosper of Aquitaine, 433-455; the anonymous compilers of the Gallic Chronicles of 452 and 511; and Marcellinus *comes*, 518-534. None of these comes close to Hydatius' in size, for his chronicle is in fact longer than any other surviving chronicle of the fifth or sixth centuries over a comparable space of time.⁴¹ Nor in any of these cases did the compiler feel the same urge to uniformity as did Hydatius. The Gallic chronicler of 452 came the closest, writing his chronicle as a continuation of Jerome's complete text and maintaining his chronology of regnal years, years of Abraham and Olympiads, but making no attempt to copy Jerome's wording or sentence structure. Marcellinus also followed a complete text of Jerome but completely broke with his chronological systems and substituted fifteen-year indiction cycles and, influenced no doubt by *fasti* and *consularia*, the annual consuls. Prosper and the Gallic chronicler of 511, however, reduced the size of the *Chronici canones* by epitomizing it and attaching their continuations to the epitome, rather than to the unabridged text. Prosper abandoned any systematic chronology before the crucifixion, but afterwards employed two systems, one of consuls, like Marcellinus probably influenced by the *fasti*, and the other of *anni a passione domini nostri Iesu Christi*. The Gallic chronicler of 511 began his chronology only from 379 but as his work only survives as an epitome in a single manuscript it is impossible to tell what chronological systems he used other than regnal years.

And so in many ways Hydatius' chronicle is very much a product of its times and of Hydatius' conscious attempts to conform to what he saw in the *Chronici canones*. On the other hand there are great many idiosyncratic aspects about it which show the individualism of Hydatius and the way his own world views caused the final product to deviate from its exemplars in its own unique way.

⁴¹ This observation is based on the final ninety years of all chronicles in Mommsen's *Chronica minora* editions.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOURCES OF THE CHRONICLE

The question of the sources which Hydatius used when compiling his chronicle is one of immense importance and interest but one which has never been treated properly or seriously. Alain Tranoy is the only one who has attempted to deal with the subject in any detail, but he had no understanding of *Quellenforschung* and was helpless when Hydatius failed to name his sources explicitly. As a result he offers only generalities.¹ While one, of course, cannot ever fully know the immense diversity of individual sources which Hydatius used, a close and careful study can do much to reveal the general foundations of the chronicle.

1. INTRODUCTION

To begin with, it must be said that Hydatius was in a very difficult situation for one wishing to write a chronicle in the mould of Eusebius and Jerome, for he was significantly separated from the things he ought to have been writing about: wars and battles; great secular and religious men of both East and West and the latter's struggles to maintain orthodoxy; natural disasters and phenomena; and the lives of the emperors and their actions in supporting or attacking orthodoxy and in defending the empire against barbarians and usurpers. Hydatius, as we have seen, was perched on the edge of the world, isolated by warring bands of Sueves and Goths, and as a result information from the outside world was difficult to come by. Hydatius himself perhaps realized this difficulty for, uniquely among Late Roman chroniclers, he discusses in the preface to the chronicle his methods of gathering information.

He first states that he wrote his history "partim ex studio scriptorum, partim ex certo aliquantorum relatu, partim ex cognitione" (pref. 5). In the next section he clarifies himself by stating that for the period from the first year of Theodosius (379) to the third year of Valentinian (427) he wrote "ex supradicto...studio: uel ex scriptorum stilo uel ex relationibus indicantum", thus clearly omitting personal knowledge ("cognitio"), which

¹ (1974), I: 50-55. He even omits the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, in spite of Mommsen's indications in the text (see below, n. 13).

implies that this became important only after he became bishop in 428 (pref. 6-7). These are of course the three categories of evidence which any historian of contemporary or near-contemporary events would use, but these are nevertheless important and valuable comments for Hydatius to have made for they reveal a serious and insightful concern for the practice of history unexpected in one so isolated.² Following from this it should also be noted that throughout the chronicle Hydatius is remarkably willing to divulge his sources, though often with only tantalizing brevity. No other chronicler is as willing to do so.³

As regards his ability to seek out most of his written, oral and personal information, his status as bishop was crucial; it put him in a position from which he could learn of events first hand; it gave him the prestige and opportunities to be able to meet and converse with the people of Gallaecia, the Sueves, envoys, and foreign travellers; and it connected him with potentially the largest information exchange which existed in the Late Empire: the epistolary communications network of the Christian bishops. As a bishop he was able better than any other in Gallaecia to gather the material he needed for a history. His mission to Aëtius in Gaul in 431-2 shows how important a figure he was in Gallaecia. When he returned he was accompanied by Censurius, a legate of whom we hear a great deal in the chronicle;⁴ the frequent mention of his name and the interest Hydatius has in his fate suggest that he had struck up some kind of friendship with this man, as he may have done with other legates who came to his part of the world, usually as ambassadors to the Suevic court.

The difficulties of obtaining information from the East, and even from Gaul and Rome, for one such as Hydatius who was confined to one end of the empire and usually unable to travel, is aptly described in reverse by Eunapius of Sardis:

During the time of Eutropius the eunuch it was impossible to include in a history an accurate account of events in the West. For the length and duration of the sea-voyage made the reports late and useless because they

² These introductory comments of his are actually based on Rufinus' preface to his continuation of his translation of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*; see below, 231-2.

³ For a list of all Hydatius' stated sources, written and oral, see Table 2.

⁴ §§ 98, 100, 111, 121, and 139 (432-448).

were out of date, as if they had fallen into some chronic and long-drawn-out illness. If any officials or soldiers had access to information on political activity, they related it as they wished, biased by friendship or hostility or a desire to please someone. And if you brought together three or four of them with conflicting versions as witnesses, there would be a great argument which would proceed from passionate and heated interjections to a pitched battle. They would say, "Where did you get this from?" "Where did Stilicho see you?" "Would you have seen the eunuch?" so that it was quite a task to sort out the tangle. From the merchants there was no reasonable information, since they either told many lies or said what they wished to profit from.⁵

As we shall see, Hydatius appears to have been able to cope with these types of problems fairly well, though there are a number of examples where he has been led astray by unreliable or biased sources.

Hydatius faced his greatest problem in gathering sources for the earliest years of his chronicle, as is attested by the brevity and general meagreness of the entries, even discounting the lacunae. In many ways he was a pioneer in his field and he possessed neither of the two surviving contemporary chronicles, Prosper and the Gallic Chronicle of 452, nor any of the other surviving Latin historical sources for the period, such as the *Epitome de Caesaribus* or Orosius.⁶ He did, however, possess at least four written sources which covered the period 379 to 440.

2. HYDATIUS AND THE *CONSULARIA CONSTANTINOPOLITANA*

It has long been believed that Hydatius used as a major source for the early sections of his chronicle the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, following the inappropriate title of Mommsen's *Chronica minora* text,⁷ and that he recopied, then continued this document to 468 and appended it to his chronicle, where it is still to be found in

⁵ Eunapius, frag. 66.2 (Blockley, 102), trans. Blockley (103).

⁶ I do not take account of the *Chronica* of Sulpicius Severus, which he does seem to have read, since it is really quite a different type of document. He had also read a copy of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* in the Latin version of Rufinus, but it had no chronological indicators and so was of no use to him.

⁷ *Chron. min.* I: 197-247. I say inappropriate for the title only refers to the 40- to 60-year Constantinopolitan section and ignores the Western body of the text from 509 B.C. to ?A.D. 329 and 388 to 468, a total of over 900 years. The title in the MS is "Descriptio consulum ex quo primum ordinati sunt".

manuscript B, the only complete text we possess.⁸ The links between Hydatius and the *Consularia* appear so strong that the latter is usually called the *Fasti Hydatiani*.⁹ But what these links are and just how strong they are is the subject of a large part of the following analysis.

The *Consularia* is a complex document of differing dates and hands, based on a consular list from 509 B.C. to A.D. 468.¹⁰ The first section is a bare consular list from 509 to the first century B.C. with non-consular or unusual consular years marked. In the second section, covering the first century B.C., a number of notable events in Roman political, military and literary history are noted. From the birth of Christ to 261 there are only a few Christian entries, usually martyrdoms or persecutions. A fourth section begins in 261 with sporadic entries on portents and military and imperial history and with greater regularity from about 294. It is only in the 340's-350's that the frequency and quantity of the entries really begin to increase. Up to this point the consular list is definitely Western and must have been drawn up in the West and taken to Constantinople sometime in the mid-fourth century. How much, if any, of the pre-261 historical material is Western as well is difficult to say, but the Constantinopolitan chronicler probably only added the material from 261 onwards. The Constantinopolitan entries, the fifth section, dealing with a variety of important imperial, military, religious, and city events, cover the early 350's to the death of the *praefectus Orientis*, Cynegius in 388. There then follow three entries dealing with Western events but still in the same full style as the earlier material. A seventh section, from 392 to 455, is a bit of a hodge-podge with only a few entries relating a variety of events from Gaul, Africa, Spain, and Italy

⁸ There are three other manuscripts but they break off at A.D. 50. In MS B the chronicle of Hydatius ends on f. 172v and the *Consularia* begins after a blank page on f. 173v. The first modern connection between Hydatius and the *Consularia* was made by their first editor, Jacques Sirmond, in the preface to his 1619 edition of both and it has been maintained by all commentators ever since with only two exceptions, noted below (n. 16).

⁹ This title only creates confusion, e.g. Kent (1981), 53, who cites the chronicle but quotes the *fasti*, and Nixon (1987), 101, n. 145, who does just the opposite.

¹⁰ The only major studies of this work were undertaken by the Germans last century: Kaufmann (1876) and (1884); Holder-Egger (1876) and (1877); Seeck (1889) and (1899); Mommsen, *Chron. min.* I: 199-202; and Frick (1892).

within a fairly complete but obviously Western consular list. This is followed by the eighth and final section, a much scrappier and certainly privately-compiled Western list of consuls to 468 with a few imperial notices towards the very end. Seeck believed that the document came to Spain from Constantinople with the body of Cynegius in 389 (*Cons. Const.* s.a. 388.1) and this seems likely because of the length and excessively personal nature of entry 388.1 in comparison with the other shorter and strictly imperial entries.¹¹

Aside from the fact that the two documents were contained in the same manuscript before c.613,¹² a close association between Hydatius and the *Consularia* is demonstrated by the obvious and extensive parallels between the two documents: §§ 2-4, 6, 7, 9-12, 14, 17-19, 22, 24, 25, 34, 42, 50, 51, 54, 56, 58, 66, 80, 210, 211, 231, 235, and 236.¹³ In many cases there are word-for-word correspondences and in §17 all other sources state that Maximus' death occurred in August ("V/VI Kal. Sept.") while only the *Consularia* and Hydatius place the event in July ("V Kal. Aug.").¹⁴ There is also the fact that the text of the *Consularia* was brought to Spain in 389. It was obviously here that someone marked each decade from "Octauiano X et Flacco" (a.u.c. 730) with Spanish aeras, a method of reckoning known to have been used by Hydatius.¹⁵ Finally, the last thirteen or so years of the *Consularia* were obviously written by a Westerner who was extremely isolated, as is shown by the unique fasti reference to Avitus' revoked consulship, the general lack of reference to Eastern consuls and the confusion of many of the consuls and consular years. The clinching proof would seem to be that the *Consularia* appears to stop in the same year as Hydatius' chronicle: 468. In spite of this evidence, however, two scholars, Oswald Holder-Egger and Henrique Flórez, refused to believe that Hydatius was the author.¹⁶

¹¹ (1899), 2458-9. It is unlikely that the entry was written later in Spain because of its definite Constantinopolitan point of view. Cf. *CLRE*, 55.

¹² That is, in 8; on this, see the Text Volume, 5-6.

¹³ These were printed in italics by Mommsen in his edition of Hydatius (cf. *Chron. min.* II: 2).

¹⁴ Cf. Seeck (1913), 525-6.

¹⁵ See Appendix 2 below and the defective list in *Chron. min.* I: 202. On Spanish aeras, see the Text Volume, 23-6.

¹⁶ Holder-Egger (1877), 68-72, and Flórez (1756), 455-60. In the preface to his edition (12-20), Julio Campos also rejects Hydatian authorship, but he is simply following Flórez.

There are several immediate problems, however, which most commentators have not considered. First of all, it is especially strange that Hydatius makes no mention of the *Consularia* in his very full introduction to the chronicle and equally strange that he should have composed not one document, but two whose coverage overlapped so considerably. If the *Consularia* were by Hydatius and always followed the chronicle, it is very strange that Pseudo-Isidorus does not mention it.¹⁷ Where did Hydatius obtain the accurate list of consuls to 455, especially the Roman consul Tertullus in 410, and why did his information break down so completely and suddenly after that point? Why did he include so much information in the *Consularia* which he did not include in the chronicle?¹⁸ In fact, every entry but two¹⁹ between 386 and 423 includes information lacking in the chronicle. And why did he leave so many years blank in the *Consularia* when he knew so much about events in these years? The lack of Spanish material, too, is most peculiar, especially in 409 and 456-7. And how is it that two entries are correctly dated in the *Consularia* but misdated in the chronicle?²⁰ There is also the question of style: the style of the *Consularia* from 395 to 468 is quite obviously not that of Hydatius, especially in syntax and vocabulary. These arguments, while not constituting conclusive proof, do lead one to a strong conviction that Hydatius could not have been responsible for compiling the *Consularia*. The conclusive proof is provided by a comparison of the texts themselves and other related texts.

The *Consularia* was originally a Latin composition but in the mid-380's was translated into Greek. There are a number of Greek sources which show knowledge of this translation up to 384, especially the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Socrates for whom it was the only source for secular events between 379 to 383.²¹ The *Chronicon Paschale*, Sozomen and Philostorgius also show some familiarity with the text,²²

¹⁷ See Appendix 1. Garzón attempted to get around the first of these arguments with the bizarre claim that the *Consularia* was a private document only added to a posthumous "second edition" of the chronicle by Hydatius' friends (edition of the chronicle, 699-700).

¹⁸ S.aa. 398, 399, 404, 405, 411, 413b, 415, and 419.

¹⁹ S.aa. 402 and 409, the two shortest entries.

²⁰ S.aa. 415 and 419, dated to 414 and 417 in the chronicle.

²¹ Socrates, Book V: 2.2-3 = *Cons. Const.* 379.1; 2.3 = 379.2; 6.2 = 380.1; 6.6 = 380.2; 10.4 = 381.1-2, 382.2; 10.5 = 383.1; 12.2 = 384.1; and 12.3 = 384.2.

²² *Chron. Pasch.*: 378.3 = *Cons. Const.* 379.1 and 380.2; 383.1-2; 384.1-2. Sozomen, Book VII:

though it is also possible that *Chron. Pasch.* derives not from this translation but from a common source, existing in Latin and Greek, used by both compilers.²³ There are three surviving early fifth-century Alexandrian chronicles which may also be related to this translation.²⁴ These texts show that the *Consularia* would appear to have been a well-known document in the East and that there must have been a number of copies of both the Greek and Latin versions in circulation, just as we shall see there were in the West.

For my purposes here, however, it is not the Greek versions of the *Consularia* which are of greatest importance, but the Latin versions which circulated in both East and West, and which were utilized by at least five surviving historians and chroniclers: the author of the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, Orosius, Prosper, Hydatius, and Marcellinus *comes* (whose material often derives from Orosius). Below I present all the parallel passages from these authors using the following short-forms: **H**, Hydatius; **CC**, *Consularia*; **P**, Prosper; **EC**, *Epitome de Caesaribus*; **O**, Orosius (Book VII); and **M**, Marcellinus.

A

H2: Theodosius natione Spanus de prouincia Gallicia ciuitate Cauca a Gratiano Augustus appellatur.

CC379.1: leuatus est Theodosius Aug. ab Augusto Gratiano die XIII kal. Feb. in ciuitate Syrmium.

P1170: Gratianus post mortem patris Theodosium Theodosii filium in consortium adsumit imperii eique regnum tradit Orientis.

EC48.1: Theodosius, genitus patre Honorio, matre Thermantia, genere Hispanus, originem a Traiano principe trahens, a Gratiano Augusto apud Sirmium imperator effectus regnavit annos decem et septem.

O34.2: [Gratianus]...legit et ipse Theodosium aequae Hispanum uirum et restituendae reipublicae necessitate apud Sirmium purpura induit...

M379.1: Theodosius Hispanus Italicae diui Traiani ciuitatis a Gratiano Augusto apud Sirmium...post Valentis interitum imperator creatus est XIII kalendas Februarias.

Here the *Consularia* makes no reference to Theodosius' nationality or place of

2.1 = 379.1; 4.2 = 379.2; 5.1 = 380.2; 12.2 = 383.1; 14.1 = 384.2. Philostorgius: IX.17, 19 = 379.1; IX.19 = 379.2-3; IX.19 = 380.2. The material from the latter two does not appear to derive from Eunapius (see Zosimus IV.24-47), since it seems more like the annalistic entries of the *Consularia* than a condensation of the latter's narrative.

²³ Cf. above, 22 n. 10, for a common source for Jerome and the *Consularia*.

²⁴ See the references and discussion in *CLRE*, 52-4.

birth, yet Socrates, Sozomen, Philostorgius, the *Epitome*, Orosius, Hydatius, and Marcellinus all refer to him as having been Spanish. Marcellinus follows the same tack but gives the “official” version of his city of birth, that he was from Italica, the city of Trajan,²⁵ mirrored by the *Epitome* which has confused its source and claimed that Theodosius was actually descended from Trajan. In this instance the *Consularia* is the odd one out. Strangely enough, Eunapius gives exactly the same information about Theodosius’ province and city of birth as Hydatius, the only source to do so.²⁶ Note that Hydatius and Prosper are the only texts (including four related Greek ones not quoted) not to mention Sirmium.

B

H3: Inter Romanos et Gothos multa certamina conseruntur.

CC379.2 & 3: Ipso anno multa bella Romani cum Gothis commiserunt/deinde uictoriae nuntiatae sunt aduersus Gothos, Alanos atque Hunos die XV k. Dec.

EC48.5: Nam Hunnos et Gothos...diuersis proeliis uicit.

O34.5: ...maximas illas Scythicas gentes...hoc est Alanos Hunos et Gothos, incunctanter adgressus magnis multisque proeliis [Theodosius] uicit.

M379.2: Halanos, Hunnos, Gothos, gentes Scythicas magnis multisque proeliis [Theodosius] uicit.

C

H4: Theodosius Constantinopolim ingreditur in primo consulatu suo, quem cum Gratiano agebat Augusto.

CC380.2: Gratiano Aug. V et Theodosio Aug....ingressus est Theodosius Aug. Constantinopolim die XVIII kal. Dec.

O34.6: Urbem Constantinopolim uictor intrauit...

There is no doubt about the closeness of Hydatius to the *Consularia* in these two sections. In B Hydatius misses Theodosius’ victories and triumphs (CC379.3 and 380.1), events of the type we would otherwise have expected him to include, but these could well have originally appeared in the seven-line lacuna between §§3 and 4.

²⁵ Cf. Lippold (1968), 11.

²⁶ Zosimus IV.24.4. As will be seen again below, there is an obvious connection between Hydatius and Eunapius with regard to Theodosius but what it could be is unknown. The interesting point here is that Hydatius would appear to be blindly following his source: Cauca was not in Gallaccia but Carthaginiensis (see Tranoy’s discussion (1974), II: 11 and 130).

D

H6: Aithanaricus rex Gothorum apud Constantinopolim XV die ex quo a Theodosio fuerat susceptus, interiit.

CC381.1 & 2: ingressus est Aithanaricus rex Gothorum Constantinopolim die III id. Ian./ eodem mense diem functus idem Aithanaricus VIII kal. Feb.

P1177: Aithanaricus rex Gothorum apud Constantinopolim quinto decimo die quam fuerat susceptus occiditur.

O34.6-7: et ne paruam ipsam Romani exercitus manum adsidue bellando detereret, foedus cum Athanarico Gothorum rege percussit. Athanaricus autem continuo ut Constantinopolim uenit, diem obiit.

M381.2: Athanaricus rex Gothorum, cum quo Theodosius imperator foedus pepigerat, Constantinopolim mense Ianuario uenit eodemque mense morbo periit.

Section D shows the digression of all texts from the *Consularia* and, most important, the almost word-for-word correspondence between Hydatius and Prosper. It is here we meet the first conclusive proof that the *Consularia* (that is the text in MS B) could not have been Hydatius' source and that Hydatius and Prosper must be related (cf. also A), because they could not have independently arrived at virtually identical wording based on our text of the *Consularia*.

E

H7: Gothi infida Romanis pace se tradunt.

CC382.2: uniuersa gens Gothorum cum rege suo in Romaniam se tradiderunt die V non Oct.

O34.7: Vniuersae Gothorum gentes rege defuncto...Romano sese imperio dediderunt.

M382.2: uniuersa gens Gothorum Athanarico rege suo defuncto Romano sese imperio dedit mense Octobrio.

F

H9: Theodosius Arcadium filium suum Augustum appellans regni facit sibi esse consortem.

CC383.1: leuatus est Arcadius Aug. Constantinopolim in miliario VII in tribunali a Theodosio Aug. patre suo die XVII kal. Feb.

P1179: Arcadius Theodosi imperatoris filius Augustus appellatur.

O34.9: et Arcadium filium suum consortem fecisset imperii...

M383.2: Arcadius patri suo Theodosio Augusto consors imperii septimo ab urbe miliario coronatus est.

In section F, Hydatius shows similarities to Prosper, Orosius and Marcellinus against the *Consularia*.

G

H10: Honorius nascitur filius Theodosii.

CC384.2: natus est Honorius nob. in purpuris die V id. Sep.

P1181: Honorius Theodosi filius nascitur.

M384.2: Honorius alter Theodosio natus est filius mense Septembrio.

H

H11: Legati Persarum ad Theodosium Constantinopolim ueniunt.

CC384.1: introierunt Constantinopolim legati Persarum.

EC48.5: Cum Persis quoque petitus pacem pepigit.

O34.8: Persae...ultro Constantinopolim ad Theodosium misere legatos pacemque supplices poposcerunt.

M384.1: Legati Persarum Constantinopolim aduenerunt pacem Theodosii principis postulantes.

I

H12: Creothingorum gens a Theodosio superatur.

CC386.1 & 2: uicti et expugnati et in Romania captiui adducti gens Greothyngiorum a nostris Theodosio et Arcadio/ deinde cum uictoria et triumpho ingressi sunt Constantinopolim die III id Oct.

O34.9: cum Theodosius in Oriente subactis barbarorum gentibus Thracias tandem ab hoste liberas reddidisset...

M386.1: Inuasam princeps Theodosius ab hostibus Thraciam uindicauit uictorque cum Arcadio filio suo urbem ingressus est.

J

H14: Arcadii quinquennalia caelebrantur (386).

CC387.1: quinquennalia Arcadius Aug. propria cum Theodosio Aug. patre suo editionibus ludisque celebrauit die XVII kal. Feb.

M387.1: Arcadius Caesar cum patre suo Theodosio sua quinquennalia celebrauit.

K

H17: Maximus tyrannus occiditur per Theodosium tertio lapide ab Aquileia V kl. Aucustas et eodem tempore uel ipso anno in Gallis per Aruagastem commitem filius Maximi nomine Victor extinctus est.

CC388.2-3: occiditur hostis publicus Maximus tyrannus a Theodosio Aug. in miliario III ab Aquileia die V kal. Aug./ Sed et filius eius Victor occiditur post paucos dies in Gallis a comite Theodosii Aug.

P1191: Maximus tyrannus Valentiniano et Theodosio impp. in tertio ab Aquileia lapide spoliatus indumentis regiis sistitur et capite damnatur.

Cuius filius Victor eodem anno ab Arbogaste comite est interfectus in Gallia.

EC48.6: Maximum autem tyrannum...apud Aquileiam extinxit Victoremque eius filium...necauit.

M388.1: Valentinianus Gratiani frater et Theodosius imperatores Maximum tyrannum et Victorem filium eius apud Aquileiam rebellantem uicerunt.

In G and K there are again word-for-word correspondences and strong verbal similarities between Prosper and Hydatius; note too that Hydatius and Prosper mention Arbogast, while the *Consularia* does not. In H Hydatius and Orosius mention Theodosius in the same way while the *Consularia* does not mention him at all.

L

H18: Cynegius Theodosii prefectus habetur inlustris; qui factis insignibus peditus et usque ad Aegyptum penetrans gentium simulacra subuertit.

CC388.1: defunctus est Cynegius praefectus Orientis in consulatu suo Constantinopolim. Hic uniuersas prouincias longi temporis labe deceptas in statum pristinum reuocauit et usque ad Egyptum penetrauit et simulacra gentium euertit. Vnde cum magno fletu totius populi ciuitatis deductum est corpus eius ad apostolos die XIII kal. Apr. et post annum transtulit cum matrona eius Achantia ad Hispanias pedestre.

The additional material of the *Consularia* was obviously written in Constantinople²⁷ but it seems hard to believe that Hydatius would have omitted the reference to Spain if he had had the text we possess. He also believes that the entry marks Cynegius' floruit, not the year of his death. Nor could this material have been lost in a lacuna: there are only two blank lines in the text at this point. The condensation and consequent error must have been made not by Hydatius himself, but by a non-Spanish intermediary who thought the material prolix.

M

H19: Theodosius cum Honorio filio suo Romam ingresus est.

CC389.1: introiuit Theodosius Aug. in urbem Romam cum Honorio filio suo die iduum Iuniarum et dedit congiarium Romanis.

M389.1: Theodosius imperator cum Honorio filio suo Romam mense Iunio introiuit, congiarium Romano populo tribuit urbeque egressus est kal. Septembris.

²⁷ See above, n. 11.

N

H22: Valentinianus iunior apud Viennam scelere comitis Aruagasti occiditur et Eugenius tyrannus efficitur (392).

CC392.1: Valentinianus iunior apud Viennam est interfectus et leuauit se Eugenius tyrannus.

P1197: Valentinianus ad uitae fastidium nimia Arbogastis magistri militum austeritate perductus laqueo apud Viennam periit. Arbogastes magister exercitus mortuo Valentiniano, cuius exitu grauabatur, Eugenium in Gallia imperatorem facit (392).

EC48.7: Hic etenim Eugenius, confisus uiribus Arbogastis, postquam apud Viennam Valentinianum exstinxerat, regnum inuasit.

O35.10-11: Valentinianus iunior...apud Viennam dolo Arbogastis comitis sui, ut ferunt, strangulatus atque...laqueo suspensus est. Mortuo Valentiniano Augusto Arbogastes Eugenium tyrannum mox creare ausus est.

M391.2 & 3: Valentinianus imperator apud Viennam dolo Arbogasti strangulatus interiit idibus Martiis./ Eugenius Arbogasti fauore confisus imperium sibimet usurpauit.

Chron. Gall. 29: Valentinianus Viennae ab Arbogaste comite suo extinguitur, in cuius locum tyrannidem Eugenius inuadit.²⁸

O

H24: Eugenius a Theodosio Augusto superatus occiditur (394).

CC392.2: Postmodum Theodosius Aug. occidit Eugenium (392).

P1203: Theodosius Eugenium tyrannum uincit et perimit (395).

O35.19: Eugenius captus atque interfectus est.

M394.2: Bello commisso Eugenius uictus atque captus interfectus est.

EC48.7: Eugenium quoque tyrannum atque Arbogasten superauit...sed mox simul cum uita imperium perdidit.

Again in N all sources mention Arbogast except the *Consularia*. Note also the use of “scelere comitis A.” by Hydatius, “nimia A. mag. mil. austeritate” in Prosper and “dolo A. comitis” in Orosius which would seem to point to a similar phrase used in a common source. The *Consularia* places the death of Eugenius in the same year as the death of Valentinian (392; cf. N and O) yet both Prosper and Hydatius separate the events, Hydatius correctly (394), Prosper missing by one year (395). If Hydatius were simply copying the *Consularia* he could not have reported the date correctly, for the

²⁸ This and all further references to *Chron. Gall.* in this chapter denote the Gallic Chronicle of 452, not that of 511.

Consularia gives no indication at all of the correct date, merely stating “postmodum”. It is also interesting to note that Orosius, Prosper and Marcellinus all indicate two or three stages in Eugenius’ defeat, probably based on a common source. Hydatius also lists two stages— “Eugenius superatus occiditur”—while the *Consularia* states only that “Theodosius Aug. occidit Eugenium”.

*

This lengthy analysis, I believe, proves that Hydatius could not have used our version of the *Consularia* as a source (further proof will be adduced below). He therefore could not have appended it to his chronicle and he cannot have been the author of any part of the continuation. It is obvious from a study of the *Consularia* and the Greek and Latin histories and chronicles which used it, that this document existed in many different recensions in both East and West. Our text would seem to have originally been made up for Achantia after the death of Cynegius in March, 388. When Achantia returned to Spain in early 389 she took this codex with her. Copies must have been made in Spain for a block of four or five obviously African entries in 398-405 shows that by around 398 a copy of the text had made its way to Carthage or North Africa.²⁹ The lack of further reference to Africa, especially the *Collatio* of 411, the civil war and the Vandal invasion (427-35), makes it difficult to believe that this text remained in Africa long. The reference to the Roman consul Tertullus; the description of the arrival of Constantine’s head in 411 with no mention of place, when it was surely Ravenna;³⁰ and the full and accurate consular list (esp. in 410 and 413) make a strong case for an Italian continuator to 455 (except for 409, 415, 419, and 423, which will be discussed below).

Entries 388.2-3, 389 and 392.1-2 are rather more difficult. None of the texts discussed above shows any knowledge of the African or Italian continuations, but they do know of entries 388.1-392.1; did Achantia’s copy go down to 392 or is there another

²⁹ s.aa. 398, 399, 402, and 405. The eclipse of 402, though visible elsewhere, was total in Carthage. Because of its position within this group, the otherwise unknown civil war of 404 must therefore be African as well. There is no other African material either before or after this block, apart from s.aa. a.u.c. 642 (war against Jugurtha), 258 (death of Cyprian), and 413^b.2 (death of Heraclian) (*Chron. min.* I: 214, 228, 246).

³⁰ Cf. Olympiodorus frag. 20.1 (Blockley, 182-4) and Blockley’s note 50, p. 216.

continuator of the text between her copy and the African recension? Although news could have reached Constantinople concerning Theodosius' victories over Maximus before Achantia left, thereby allowing for their inclusion in the text, it seems likely that an expensive presentation codex for a wealthy patroness upon the death of her husband would end with the lengthy (for a chronicle) eulogy of the widow's deceased husband, which included an account of the final departure of his body from the imperial city. It seems less likely that either the widow or the copyist would have been driven by such a passion for a complete historical record that the inclusion the emperor's latest victory would have been allowed to displace and hide this final eulogy. Arguments of a similarity of style between 388.2-3 and the earlier material are of no value here since the entry on Theodosius and Honorius' sojourn in Rome of June to August 389 could not possibly have been included in Achantia's text and yet it too is in a similar style. This entry was taken from a contemporary source related to the one used by Marcellinus (s.a. 389), *Fast. Vind. priores* (512) and Theophanes (A.M. 5881 [de Boor, 70]), who give roughly similar accounts. "Style" in this case is simply the typical annalistic style adopted by many compilers of such works.

As a result there must have been another continuator who added the material between 388.2 and 392.1 from an annalistic source. We cannot tell where these entries were added so I shall simply call this version the second recension. As was seen above in O, however, 392.2 is different in content and date from our other texts, which show some similarities amongst themselves. Thus it would seem that a copy of our text of the *Consularia* left the hands of the first continuator between 392 and 394 and eventually ended up in Africa. Entry 392.2 was added either there or in Italy. Another copy eventually made its way to Gaul or Rome where it was used by Prosper in 432-3.

The immediate fate of the Italian recension of the *Consularia* is unknown, but at some point during the sixth century a copy ended up in Spain again, where an unknown Spanish compiler who already had Eusebius-Jerome-Hydatius noticed the marked similarities between the first few pages of Hydatius and the *Consularia*. He attached the text to his copy of Eusebius-Jerome-Hydatius, and, following the practice he saw

throughout the *Chronici canones* and Hydatius, added Spanish aeras every ten years, having copied the introductory note from the former.³¹ He also added four entries to the latter part of the text, 409, 415, 419, and 423, prompted partly by Hydatius and partly by his own access to other material.³² Entry 409 and the associated Spanish aera (447) are obviously based on Hydatius §42 though Hydatius' detail and emotion have been condensed out. Entry 415 copies two phrases almost verbatim from Hydatius §58 ("sanctus Stefanus primus martyr reuelatur" and "in Hierosolimis sancto Iohanne episcopo presidente") but the rest of it and its date are derived, probably directly, from Avitus' letter to Balconius of 416 and his translation of Lucianus' description of the discovery of the relics ("extant ex his gestis epistolae supradicti presbyteri [i.e. Luciani] et sancti Auiti presbyteri Bracarensis").³³ In his chronicle Hydatius gives no hint of having read or even heard of these letters.

The relationship between 419 and §66 in Hydatius is difficult to establish. The use of "episcopus qui supra" points to influence from Hydatius' entry ("episcopo quo supra") and Mommsen and Tranoy believed both entries to be referring to the earthquake in Palestine in 419.³⁴ Hydatius states that this earthquake and other things ("et cetera") were mentioned in the "scripta" of "the above-mentioned bishop". One assumes that he means John of Jerusalem, last mentioned in 58, though the entry immediately before this one (65) refers to the bishop of Rome, Eulalius (is it possible that Hydatius is actually referring to a letter of Eulalius?). The entry in the *Consularia* refers specifically to John, but specifies a letter, sent to the churches all over the world, which described portents and terrors sent from heaven.³⁵ It nowhere mentions the earthquake, even though it is dated to the year of the earthquake (Hydatius errs by two years). Unfortunately John died on 10 January 417, so no letters of his could possibly have mentioned it.³⁶ This

³¹ A.u.c. 721.1 and 2 (*Chron. min.* I: 217) copied from "Aug. V" in Jerome (see the Text Volume, 23). For a graphic illustration of the above description of the recensions of the *Consularia*, see Table 3.

³² He made earlier additions (e.g. s.a. 167) but these are of no importance here.

³³ *PL* 41: 805-18.

³⁴ See Table 4.

³⁵ Holder-Egger ([1877], 72, n. 3) thinks "terroribusque" ought to be emended to "terraemotibusque"; rather unlikely, I think.

³⁶ *DCB* III: 381.

error points to the compiler's use of Hydatius, though the details are completely altered and we cannot tell why or from what source. Interestingly enough, Philostorgius also mentions a great number of portents and signs in 418 and 419 besides the earthquake, so the compiler may actually have had a written source for his statement.³⁷

The reference to Honorius' death in 423 may derive from another source because of the different wording and the correct date (Hydatius' is a year out; see below, pp. 83-4). However, the correct date may be a fluke since it is placed thirty years from 395, just as it appears in Hydatius; that it comes out correctly is because of the extra consular year in 413.

The Spanish compiler then completed the *Consularia* from 455, using some form of local or private records (such as they were) for the consuls. Overall, this last consular section from 455 is a real puzzle but no one has ever given it any serious attention.³⁸ The strange point here is that there are almost no Eastern consuls listed. The years 457 and 465-7 are completely blank and in each of these years both consuls were Eastern; the Eastern consuls of 458, 459, 463, and 464 are also missing. Apollonius (460), Leo (462), "Gadaifus" (463; actually Dagalaifus from 461) and Olybrius (464) are the only Eastern consuls listed. Why this should be is unknown since the Eastern consuls of 457, 458, and 464-7 were all promulgated and disseminated in the West and should therefore have been just as accessible as the Western names.³⁹ We can therefore only assume that this list represents the dissemination in Spain either of the official promulgations of Western consuls alone on 1 January before the arrival of Eastern names but not the later promulgations which added the latter, or of the unofficial promulgation of Western names, probably after designation before the Eastern name was known. There is also a fictitious name in the list, Ariovindus, in 458. This list does not suggest a compilation as early as 468-9 (i.e. by Hydatius). Dagalaifus and Leo (461-2) were not even proclaimed in the West and therefore could not have been known in Spain for some considerable time afterwards (how they were known at all when promulgated names do not appear is a

³⁷ *H.E.* XII.8-10 (*GCS*, 145-6).

³⁸ Everyone devotes attention almost exclusively to the pre-388 sections of the text.

³⁹ See *CLRE*, s.aa., pp. 448, 450, 462-8.

mystery). The appearance of Olybrius without his colleague would seem to be a result of his later fame as emperor (472), rather than access to contemporary consular records which would have had two consuls who were both Eastern (“Rusticio et Olibrio”).

Because he had no consular names after Olybrius the compiler was forced to use Spanish aeras and entries taken from the chronicle to indicate each of the remaining years, as placekeepers for consular names. As can be seen in Appendix 2 each entry from “Seuero & leone augis” is marked with an aera which corresponds to that in the chronicle.⁴⁰ The reason why the *Consularia* stops where it does is because the compiler wanted both it and the volume of chronicles to come down to the same point, that is, the year of the expedition against the Vandals; surprisingly, he did not follow the usual practice of adding his own chronicle at the end to bring the text down to his own day. The last, isolated consular reference (468) appears to be a later addition since it is just tacked on to the end of the list as a separate year when it ought to appear instead of “Aduersum...” which the compiler intended to represent the year 468, that is, “Anth. II”. If the compiler had had a consular name he would not have included this entry. Further, it is stylistically different from the other entries (the “Aug” comes first) and, for what it is worth, the orthography is different as well (“Antimio” here and “Antemius” in 405, 455, 464.2). At some point the aera “dui” was erroneously added (the chronicle only goes down to 505).⁴¹

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The similarities among the *Epitome*, Orosius, Prosper, Hydatius, the *Consularia*, and Marcellinus show that a common source, a version or versions of our text of the *Consularia*, underlies the common accounts in all of these texts from 379 to 387-94.⁴² For Hydatius it was the only historical source he possessed for these events and so his entries are bare and short, like those of the *Consularia*, in marked contrast to those of most of the other authors who were better writers and likely had other sources of

⁴⁰ This appendix is based on a first-hand examination of the manuscript. All previous editors have missed the marginal aeras because of their proximity to the binding.

⁴¹ For the further history of MS B, see the Text Volume, 5-6, 17-8.

⁴² Marcellinus, however, like *Chron. Pasch.*, may have been using similar sources to those of the *Consularia*, since he too was in Constantinople.

information. As a result he probably reproduces his source very closely in most cases. And what was this source? The word-for-word similarity between Hydatius and Prosper in DGK and the lesser similarities and shared characteristics between the two in AFNO show a strong link between these two works from 379 to 394 and two likely options arise from this. One is that for the period to 394 a common source was used by Hydatius and Prosper, the other is that Hydatius is drawing from Prosper either directly or indirectly. The latter can be discounted by the fact that Hydatius remains very close to the *Consularia* while Prosper omits various entries which Hydatius includes and often makes alterations to the common entries which do not appear in Hydatius.⁴³ Further, if Prosper were the ultimate source there is no reason why the correspondence should break off in 394; Hydatius' text would be expected to follow Prosper's just as closely into the early fifth century, which it does not.⁴⁴ A common source, the second recension of the *Consularia* (see Table 3), must therefore be posited.

3. HYDATIUS AND PROSPER

The link between Hydatius and Prosper ends in 394 but strangely enough picks up again in two further sections; there are also other links in the first section, 379-94, which are not related to the *Consularia*. It is to these that we now must turn. In the following tables only the texts which are verbally close are quoted in full; other common texts are simply cited with a short description.

A1

H8: Fame of Ambrose of Milan and Martin of Tours (382).

P1173: Ambrose (380). **1175:** Martin (381).

The proximity of the entries in date and the choice of the same two individuals (and no others in this period) make it possible that both are based on a common source, two separate entries which Hydatius (or his source) has combined.

B1

H13, 16 and P1171, 1187: The rise and fall of Priscillian.

⁴³ Entries in Hydatius and the *Consularia* not in Prosper: 3, 4, 7, 11, 12, 14, 18, and 19. Expansion in Prosper: 1173, 1175, 1187, 1191, and 1197. Note too that Hydatius correctly dates the fall of Eugenius while Prosper does not.

⁴⁴ However, see below on further similarities.

Although these texts are substantially different there would appear to be a substratum of correspondence which will be discussed below. No other historical source outside of Sulpicius Severus' *Chronica* offers such detail for Priscillian's life.

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This completes the similarities between Hydatius and Prosper between 379 and 394; what I shall call Group I. The following section, Group II, from 416 to 425, is much more impressive. The asterisk here and in Group III below indicates that Hydatius and Prosper (and, in one case, the Gallic Chronicle) are the only historians, often the only sources at all, to provide the details or events listed.

C1

H62 and **P1259**: Marriage of Constantius and Placidia of 417 incorrectly dated to 416 (the year of her return from Gaul).

D1*

H69 and **P1271**: Settlement of Goths in Aquitania by Constantius (note great detail; cf. *Chron. Gall.* 73 "Aquitania Gothis tradita" and Jordanes *Getica* 173, "Vallia...Tolosam reuertitur").

E1

H72: Valentinianus Constantii et Placidiae filius nascitur.

P1267: Valentinianus Constantii et Placidiae filius nascitur VI non Iulias. (cf., e.g., **M419.1**: Valentinianus iunior apud Rauennam patre Constantio et Placidia matre V nonas Iulias natus est.)

F1

H75: Honorius apud Rauennam Constantium consortem sibi facit in regno (420).

P1273: Constantius ab Honorio in consortium regni adsumitur (420).

H76: Constantius imperator Rauenna moritur in suo tertio consulato (421).

P1276: Constantius imperator moritur (421).

G1*

H77 and **P1278**: Castinus' expedition in Spain.

H78 and **P1278**: Boniface flees to Africa (cf. Pseudo-Boniface *Ep.* 10-11 [*PL* 33:1097-8]).

H1

H84: Theodosius Valentinianum amitae suae Placidiae filium

Constantinopoli Caesarem facit et contra Iohannem mittit...

P1286: Theodosius Valentinianum amitae suae filium Caesarem facit et cum Augusta matre ad recipiendum Occidentale emittit imperium.

I1*

H84 (425) and **P1300** (429): Felix made patrician

In sections E1-I1, the word-for-word correspondence between Hydatius and Prosper again increases significantly. In C1 both Hydatius and Prosper date the marriage of Constantius and Placidia to 416 while Olympiodorus (frag. 33.1 [Blockley, 196]), a much more reliable source, states correctly that the marriage took place on 1 January 417. Prosper's date however may well be simply a result of the compression of a number of events into one dated entry. In F1 the peculiar (and incorrect) dating of Constantius' reign is mirrored by both texts as is much of the wording.⁴⁵ In H1 after the verbal correspondence of the first clause both express the same concept of sending Valentinian against Iohannes differently.

The final section of common entries, Group III, runs from 435 to 440. Here there are no word-for-word correspondences; the reason for singling out these entries is because most of them are known only from Hydatius and Prosper, though some are also mentioned by the Gallic Chronicle and Sidonius Apollinaris in *Carm.* VII, his Panegyric on Avitus.⁴⁶ The proof that this was a written source and that both authors were not simply relating exactly the same list of recent memorable events is that in both Hydatius and Prosper no other Gallic events are mentioned within the period and neither chronicler shows a comparable interest in Gaul either before or afterwards. Only Hydatius comes close with his short list in 430-2 (see below) and Prosper includes two earlier Gallic entries in 425 and 428 (1290, 1298); these probably appeared in the first edition.

J1*

H107, 110¹ (436-7) and **P1324** (436): Narbo besieged and freed (cf.

⁴⁵ Constantius was emperor for eight months in 421 only, from 8 February to 2 September (Theophanes A.M. 5913). Cf. also *Chron. Gall.* 88 and Olympiodorus frag. 33.1, as well as Socrates VII.24, Sozomen IX.16 and Procopius *BV* I.3.4.

⁴⁶ *Carm.* VII also mentions Aëtius' battles against the Iuthungi and Nori (233-4), otherwise only known from Hydatius (93, 95) and the Gallic Chronicle (106), and a battle against the Vindelici at the same point. Was Sidonius using a related written source for this material?

Sid. Ap. 246-8, 475-80).

K1*

H108, 110² (436-7), **P1322** (435), and **Chron. Gall. 118** (436): Burgundians defeated, then slaughtered (cf. **Sid. Ap. 234-5**).

L1*

H112 (438) and **P1326, 1333** (437-8): Goths slaughtered (cf. John of Antioch 201.3?).

M1*

H115: Carthagine magna fraude decepta die XIII kl. Nouembris...

P1339: Gisiricus...XIII kal. Nou. Carthaginem dolo pacis inuadit...

(cf. **M439.3:** Ginsiricus...Africae ciuitates Carthaginemque metropolim cum suis satellitibus occupauit X kalendas Nouembris.)

N1*

H116 and **P1335:** Defeat, capture and death of Litorius (cf. **Sid. Ap. 300-1** and Salvian, *De Gubernatione dei* VII.41-3).

O1*

H117 and **P1338:** Peace between Romans and Goths (cf. **Sid. Ap. 308-9**).

P1*

H118 and **P1339:** Gaiseric's attacks on the church and clergy in 439.

Q1

H120 and **P1342:** Gaiseric attacks Sicily in 440 (*Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 439 is the only other reference).

It might also be argued that Hydatius' sudden wealth of detail concerning the activities of Aëtius in Gaul in the years 430-2 (92, 93, 95, 98) was also derived from a written Gallic source. However, Hydatius almost certainly gathered this information himself while he was in Gaul waiting for Aëtius in 431-2 (96, 98); there is no such interest in Aëtius or Gallic campaigns against the barbarians either before or after until Group III.⁴⁷

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⁴⁷ Note that Prosper does not record this information; he was in Rome at this time which may explain it, but could not someone have told him?

We must now attempt to explain these three groups of correspondences between Hydatius and Prosper (A-O, A1-I1 and J1-Q1). First of all, these do appear to be three completely separate groups of material. Between Groups I and II (395 to 415) the similarities cease completely and only eight entries are shared by both chronicles, most of which were of general interest at the time and are well attested in other sources, so there is nothing to suggest a common source.⁴⁸ The correspondences again break off between Groups II and III (426-434) and there are only four shared entries.⁴⁹ Again there are no hints of any verbal similarities in these well-known episodes and therefore nothing to suggest a common source.

To summarize: in the Group I (379-394, A-O, A1-B1) there are common entries, verbal similarities and word-for-word correspondences which show that there was a common source used by both chroniclers. This source was identified as the second recension of the *Consularia*, and the material in A1-B1 would seem to have been part of it. In Group II (416-425, C1-I1) there are unique common entries, similar chronological errors and an even greater number of word-for-word correspondences than in Group I.⁵⁰ Group III (435-440, J1-Q1) is a block of common Gallic material which appears only in Hydatius, Prosper and Sidonius Apollinaris, combined with a few common entries on the Vandals, and which has no verbal similarities at all. It offers no other common entries than the ones listed. As discussed above, Hydatius did not have access to Prosper; each has entries and details the other does not; and the gaps between Groups I and II, and II and III would be very hard to explain even if Hydatius had only skimmed Prosper. We must therefore posit a common source or sources. The three gaps make a continuous source most unlikely. Therefore, for three major and separate sections of their chronicles Hydatius and Prosper would seem to have shared the same three sources

⁴⁸ Hyd. 25, 42, 43, 50, 51, 54, 56, 57, 60 = Prosp. 1206, 1237, 1240, 1243, 1249, 1251, 1259, 1257. One similarity between Prosper and Hydatius here is the fact that neither mentions the usurper Sallustius in 412-3, cf. *Cons. Const.* s.a. 413, *Add. Prosp. Hav.* s.a. 413, *Chron. Gall.* 70, and *Rav. Ann.* s.a. 412.

⁴⁹ Hyd. 90, 94, 99, 99a = Prosp. 1295, 1303, 1310, 1304.

⁵⁰ There are also a few other common entries in this group not listed above because they were such well-known events and almost devoid of detail: Hyd. 80, 83-4 = Prosp. 1282, 1288. These may also derive from the same source as the rest of Group II but there is no way to tell.

or versions of the same sources.

4. OTHER ANNALISTIC SOURCES

We must now turn to a brief examination of further possible annalistic material in Hydatius. In the following list (A2) of all non-Spanish material not already discussed above⁵¹ it will be noted first that the entries are for the most part brief and lacking in detail, in strong contrast to the prolix Spanish and personal material around them; they are generally dated correctly; most are well-attested in other annalistic sources; and they cease completely in 435. The obvious conclusion is that this material, appearing early on in the chronicle, derives from written annalistic sources.

A2:

25: Death of Theodosius (cf., for example, *Cons. Const.* s.a. 395.1, *Ep. de Caes.* 48.19, Orosius VII.35.23, Marcellinus s.a. 395.1, *Chron. Gall.* 31, *Fasti Vind. priores* 525).⁵²

34: Solar eclipse (cf. *Cons. Const.* s.a. 402.1; *Chron. Gall.* 46).⁵³

36: Birth of Theodosius II (cf. Marcellinus s.a. 401.3; *Fasti Vind. priores* 531).

37a: Death of Saint Martin (?) (cf. *Chron. Gall.* 43 and 48).

43-45: Gothic sack of Rome; capture of Placidia; death of Alaric; succession of Athaulf (many other sources).

50: Death of Constantine (cf. *Cons. Const.* s.a. 411; *Chron. Gall.* 66).⁵⁴

51: Usurpations of Jovinus, Sebastianus and Heraclianus (cf. 54 and 56 below).

53: Augustine (?).

54: Deaths of Jovinus and Sebastianus (cf. *Ravenna Annals* s.a. 412; *Cons. Const.* s.a. 413a; *Chron. Gall.* 68, 70; Marcellinus s.a. 412.1).

55: Goths enter Narbo (unique reference).

⁵¹ The sources of §§ 5, 15, 31, 35, 37-40, 61, 65-6, 87, 92-3, 95, 98, 104-5, 109, 127, 129, 132, 133, 135, and 143-5 can be otherwise identified and will be discussed below.

⁵² Hydatius' bald statement here could derive from anywhere but the cause of Theodosius' death is elsewhere found only in Eunapius (Frag. 61 [Blockley, 90], from Philostorgius) as was the case with Theodosius' origin in A above. No other Western source gives the cause of Theodosius' death and other Eastern sources only ascribe it vaguely to disease. What possible link there could be between Eunapius and Hydatius in these two cases is unknown but there is no questioning its existence.

⁵³ The two entries in Hydatius and the *Consularia* are identical but neither has copied the other, however, for the expression "solis facta defectio" is extremely common and appears in many chronicles (e.g. see 64 below), especially the *Chronici canones*, whence all three texts certainly imitated it (see references in Table 1, sub §34). Needless to say, the eclipse, which was total at Carthage, was visible elsewhere: it was 89% in Gallaecia and also easily visible in Gaul.

⁵⁴ The "triennium" may be a comment of Hydatius' own, since it cannot refer to the period 407-11, but may refer to Constantine's rule over Spain, 408/9-11.

- ?56: Heraclianus (cf. *Rav. Annals* s.a. 413; *Cons. Const.* s.a. 413a; *Chron. Gall.* 75; Marcellinus s.a. 413; Jordanes *Rom.* 325).⁵⁵
- 57: Marriage of Athaulf and Placidia (cf. Olymp. frag. 24, Orosius VII 40.2, 43.2, *Chron. Gall.* 77, Marcellinus s.a. 410, Jordanes *Get.* 159; *Rom.* 323).
- 58: Discovery of the relics of Saint Stephen (?) (cf. Marcellinus s.a. 415.2).
- 59: Jerome (?).
- 60: Constantius drives Goths into Spain; death of Athaulf (cf. Orosius VII 43.1).
- 64: Solar eclipse (cf. Marcellinus s.a. 418.2, *Chron. Gall.* 82, *Excerpta Sangallensia* 543 [*Chron. min.* I: 300; cf. note loc. cit.]).⁵⁶
- 70: Death of Vallia; succession of Theoderic (cf. Olymp. frag. 35, Jordanes *Get.* 173).
- 80: Honorius' tricennalia (cf. Marcellinus s.a. 422.2; *Chron. Gall.* 89; *Rav. Annals* s.a. 422; Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Rom.* XIII.v).⁵⁷
- 80: Death of Honorius (cf. *Chron. Gall.* 91, Marcellinus s.a. 423.5, Olymp. frag. 39).
- 81: Paulinus of Nola (?).
- 83-84: Usurpation and death of Iohannes (cf. *Rav. Annals* s.a. 423; *Chron. Gall.* 92-5, 101; Marcellinus s.a. 424, 425, etc.).
- 94: Death of Felix (cf. Prosper 1303; Agnellus 31; Marcellinus s.a. 430.2; John of Antioch, frag. 201.3).
- 99: Boniface and Aëtius (cf. *Chron. Gall.* 109, 111; Marcellinus s.a. 432.2-3).
- 99a: Death of Augustine (?).
- 103: Aëtius made Patricius (cf. *Rav. Annals* s.a. 435).⁵⁸

5. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS: WRITTEN HISTORICAL SOURCES

We must now make some attempt to try to explain this complicated pattern of sources. Unfortunately there is no way to determine accurately what exactly Hydatius had. It could have been a single annalistic compendium containing all of the above four groups of material from 379 to 440 (i.e. the three common sources with Prosper and the annalistic material); it could have been a single text from 412? to 440 (A2 and Group III) with separate sources for Groups I and II, or some other combination of texts; or it could have been four (or more) completely separate sources. None of these possibilities, however, can adequately account for the most peculiar pattern of coincidence of the

⁵⁵ The detail of this entry seems to go beyond the typical content of an annalistic source and probably derives from some other written source (e.g. a letter).

⁵⁶ A common annalistic source could be involved here, but the eclipse was total in Gallaecia and Hydatius' entry may derive from local records.

⁵⁷ On this entry, see below, 245.

⁵⁸ The date of *Rav. Ann.* is usually accepted over Hydatius' (433); see *PLRE* II: 24.

material in Hydatius and Prosper. In his preface Hydatius states that “ad nostri temporis cursum...disscriptio defluxit annorum” and though open to a number of differing interpretations, it would seem to imply, at any rate, that Hydatius had no large single chronicle which followed on from the *Chronici canones*; this would rule out a single unified source from 379 to 440, which leaves some combination of the above four groups. Gallaecia, as has been noted above, was extremely isolated and backward; it would therefore seem unlikely indeed that there was a great variety of short annalistic texts in general circulation at the time for Hydatius just to pick up and use. I think we are forced to assume that he obtained these works, probably individually, on request from Gallic correspondents and visitors to Gaul. Groups I and II could even have been obtained by Hydatius himself when he was in Gaul. This material probably ran out in 440 since after that date there is a gap of ten years before similar non-Spanish material begins again and by that point Hydatius was probably relying on oral sources.⁵⁹

My general conclusion is that Hydatius’ written historical sources can be identified as follows: a recension of the *Consularia*; a minimum of two other annalistic sources which were imperial in nature (Group II and A2); and an annalistic Gallic source (Group III). These latter three texts I shall refer to as the “fasti miscelli”, simply as a short form with no implication of any structure, unity or cohesion among the texts.

We now must face an interesting problem: what about the material, especially early on in the chronicle, that Hydatius does not relate? For instance, why does he omit the rise of Maximus; the death of Gratian; the revolt of Gildo; the invasion of Radagaisus; the accession of Constantine III; the rise and fall of Stilicho; the death of Arcadius; the Gothic invasions of Italy and their sieges of Rome; the invasion of Gaul by the Vandals, Alans and Sueves; or even the councils of Second Ephesus (449) and Chalcedon (451)? It may be that some of the events which occurred before 404 have been lost in the lacunae at the beginning of the chronicle.⁶⁰ However, entry 82 shows that Hydatius did not know when Arcadius died and his reference to Maximus in 13 (386) suggests that this is the

⁵⁹ On possible oral sources, see below.

⁶⁰ On these lacunae, see the Text Volume, 35-8.

first time he had mentioned him, yet Maximus had seized power in 383. Are we to blame Hydatius or his sources for these gaps? It would seem his sources, for there is no obvious reason why Hydatius should have left these events out. For instance, the *Consularia*, his only source for imperial history to 394, is similarly ignorant of the rise of Maximus and the death of Gratian. It might be argued that Hydatius was simply not very interested in the transitory and ephemeral events of this early period and so related it in a rather summary fashion; after all, he was not obliged to record everything.⁶¹ As was seen in Chapter 2, the chief virtue of any chronicle is its brevity, and it is also probably correct to assume that Hydatius ignored anything he may have considered uninteresting, unsuitable or unedifying. Most of this is true enough, but even within these parameters there are many examples of omission of the type of material Hydatius was obviously interested in, that which concerned the barbarians, emperors, usurpers, and generals, as well as religion. He records a great amount of “ephemeral” material early on in the chronicle (e.g. 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 19) where we know he had a source for it and yet there is an amazing dearth of any similar material between 395 and 410 (his 409), the period immediately after this source ended. In fact the dearth is such that there are at least 24 blank lines and six empty years here, and his own memories with regard to his *peregrinatio* are expanded to fill two whole regnal years (406-7). With the exception of the birth of Theodosius (36), all the other material between 395-409 is religious. Entry 106, concerning his interview with Germanus and the Greeks, provides what was probably a typical example of his frustrating attempts to obtain information concerning episodes and individuals which interested him. As must have often been the case, there was much he wanted to know but few sources whence he could obtain it. As a result, it went unreported. I am therefore inclined to believe that Hydatius recorded everything of interest that he could find out and date with some accuracy, and that if something does not appear in the chronicle which would otherwise seem to be of the sort of material in which he was interested, it is because he did not know about or could not securely date it.⁶² And while Prosper was able to obtain other sources for many of the events in the

⁶¹ This is suggested by Steven Muhlberger (personal correspondence).

⁶² I have found only one example of willful *praetermissio* and that will be discussed below, 244-6.

early fifth century, Hydatius was not.

6. OTHER WRITTEN SOURCES

This completes the account of Hydatius' major written historical sources: the *Consularia* and the "fasti miscelli". We can now turn to individual written sources for specific entries.

Entry 5 concerns Theophilus of Alexandria and his *laterculus paschalis*. Hydatius has made the error of assuming that since Theophilus, who did not become bishop until 385, began the *laterculus* from 380, he was bishop in 380. It is hard to say whether Hydatius knew of the *laterculus* at first hand or from a reference to it elsewhere.

Theophilus' number, XXI, has been supplied from Jerome who gave number XX to Peter (373-380; 247^c) but Hydatius knew nothing of Peter's successor Timothy (381-385) who ought to have been XXI. Theodosius, Gratian and Valentinian II are also assigned the number XXXVIII in §1 and Siricius number XXXVI in §15 on the basis of Jerome who reckoned Valentinian and Valens as XXXVIII (244^a) and Damasus as XXXV (244^e).⁶³ It is hard to know why in 407 of all years he states that he does not know who the Arian bishops before John (388-417) were (§40). The "supra scriptos sane Arrianos" probably refers back to *Chronici canones* 237^a. This seems rather excessive (24 manuscript pages) but as was just noted, Hydatius tried as best he could to maintain continuity with Jerome. In this case, because of the repeated episcopates of Cyril, Jerome had not given any numbers to the bishops of Jerusalem from 348 and simply listed them all from 348 to his own time in a single entry. As a result Hydatius must refer back to this entry for his continuity.

The source of §§13 and 16 is unknown but it would seem have been in his recension of the *Consularia*. Sulpicius Severus' *Chronica* is usually stated to be Hydatius' source for these entries but there is only one verbal similarity ("ad conspectum" (Hydatius) and "in conspectum" (Severus II.48.4) in the same context) and

The importance of having *dated* sources for a chronicle cannot be underestimated. For example, Hydatius had carefully read the Prologue to Rufinus' *Historia ecclesiastica* (see below, 231-2) which describes Alaric's invasions of Italy. But because the reference was not dated Hydatius could not include it.

⁶³ Hydatius' presentation of the popes and his sources for their entries will be discussed below, 89-91.

Hydatius' account is completely jumbled in comparison to Severus': Hydatius places Priscillian's ordination before the council of Caesaraugusta (cf. Severus II.47.1-4), states that Priscillian returned to Gaul from Italy rather than to Spain (cf. 48.6), has Priscillian condemned by the council of Burdigala before he appeals to Maximus (49.9), confuses the rôle of Martin of Tours claiming that he was present at Burdigala (cf. 50.4-6), and states that Priscillian was deposed from his bishopric after his appeal, whereas it was in fact Instantius who was deposed at Burdigala (cf. 49.8). His extreme précis of the affair also seriously distorts the facts of the case. As was noted above, Prosper also discusses the rise of Priscillian in two separate entries and there are certain similarities in the two accounts which suggest a common base text, which was itself probably based on the account of Severus (thus accounting for the appearance of "ad conspectum" in Hydatius). All three texts begin by stressing Priscillian's gnosticism (13, 1171 and II.46.1-3) but do not mention his Manichaeism, elsewhere an almost universal denunciation.⁶⁴ Severus, in describing the synod of Burdigala, says, "Priscillianus uero, ne ab episcopis audiretur, ad principem prouocauit" (49.9). This is clearly the source for Prosper's "Priscillianus in synodo Burdigalensi damnandum se intelligens ad imperatorem Maximum prouocauit" (1187), whereas Hydatius states, "a sancto Martino episcopo et ab aliis episcopis hereticus iudicatus appellat ad Caesarem" (13). This is exactly the opposite of Severus, which is hardly open to misinterpretation, and would therefore seem to be based on a misunderstanding of a less straight-forward text, like Prosper's, to which this entry is structurally identical. There are also the similarities of Hydatius' "cum ipso Latronianus laicus aliquantique sectatores sui apud Treuerim sub tyranno Maximo ceduntur" (16) and Prosper's "Treueris... Maximi gladio addictus est cum...Latroniano aliisque erroris consortibus" (1187) which have no echoes in Severus. Whatever the source, Hydatius' account is hopelessly garbled, perhaps a fault of his source but perhaps even of Hydatius himself.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Cf. Chadwick (1976), 21-4, 34-5, 46-51, 143-4, 194-8. This oversight seems most peculiar in Hydatius' case.

⁶⁵ Steven Muhlberger (personal correspondence) sees these variations as a result of Hydatius' tendentious approach to the controversy and his desire to present it as an open and shut case. I cannot, however, see how Hydatius' errors contribute to the orthodox cause or condemn Priscillian any more than

Entry 31 can be attributed entirely to the *Acta* of the Council of Toledo dated to the consulship of Stilicho (400): “quod gestis continetur”.⁶⁶ The only problem would appear to be the attribution of the see of Celenis to Ortigius, for in the text of the Council as we have it it is Exuperantius who is “de Gallecia, Lucensis conuentus, municipium Celenis” not Ortigius, whose see is not mentioned. Hydatius would appear either to have read (or remembered) the *Acta* incorrectly or known more than we do about the circumstances.

The reference to the death of St Martin (§37a = 405) is misdated by eight years (397) but seems to have been prompted by Severus’ *Vita s. Martini* (datable to 396). Hydatius uses the entry to digress on Severus’ other work, the *Chronica* (datable to c.403), which he regards with some importance. This suggests that he had read the latter, perhaps both. The reason for Hydatius’ dating is unknown; it may simply be a guess.

Entry 53 shows a knowledge of Augustine’s defeat of the Donatists at the *Collatio Carthaginiensis* in 411 (hence the slightly incorrect position of the notice in 412). The “acta” he refers to are probably those of the *Collatio*.⁶⁷

While the ultimate source for §58 is the letter of Avitus to Balconius of Braga and his translation of Lucianus’ letter concerning the discovery of the relics of St. Stephen,⁶⁸ Hydatius may have taken this entry from another source (the “fasti miscelli”?) or may be relying on distant memories; judging from his practice elsewhere, if he had seen the letters, he surely would have mentioned them. Unfortunately he places the entry one year too early (following his source?). In this case it is useful to compare Hydatius’ entry with that the Spanish compiler of the *Consularia* who did have these letters.

In §59 he makes it quite clear that Jerome’s anti-Pelagian and anti-heretical works

the truth would have. Indeed, if anything, Hydatius’ omissions serve Priscillian’s cause well by omitting orthodox action in Spain almost completely and by confirming the charges of Gallic and Italian opponents of the execution that Priscillian was executed for heresy.

⁶⁶ Vives, 19-33, and Chadwick (1976), 234-9.

⁶⁷ CCL 149a.

⁶⁸ PL 41: 805-818.

survived in Gallaecia and implies that he had read them. However, Jerome wrote only one anti-Pelagian tract, the *Dialogus contra Pelagianos* of 415, and no other anti-heretical works at all, though his virulence in attacking those who did not share his views may have led Hydatius into believing that he was indeed attacking heretics.⁶⁹ The image of Jerome chiefly as a fighter of heresy is not one he himself promoted nor is it to be found elsewhere. However, the reference to him as “in lege domini quod scriptum est diurna nocturaque meditatione continuus” most patently reveals a knowledge of Jerome’s descriptions of himself, e.g. *Ep.* 5.2.⁷⁰ However, as in the case of Augustine and the Donatists, it can be no coincidence that Hydatius stresses the Pelagians in an entry concerning Jerome inserted in 415, the year of the Synod of Diospolis.⁷¹ It seems unlikely that Hydatius himself knew of the Synod or its results since he never mentions them, but the ultimate chronological source for this entry must have.

In §73 he refers specifically to a letter of Paulinus of Biterris⁷² of 419, though it is hard to know whether he saw the letter at the time or found it and read it many years later. The latter seems the most plausible.

The “gesta de Manicheis” of a Roman bishop (§133) are in fact the acts of a synod held by Leo in late 443 and sent to Thoribius in 447.⁷³ It is not known why Hydatius dates these *gesta* to 445, does not know who the pope in question is or why he claims that it was this unknown bishop who sent the *gesta* “per prouintias”. The date of 445 may arise from the fact that Leo secured an imperial constitution against the Manichees on 19 June 445, but Valentinian actually mentions Leo by name in the law so it seems

⁶⁹ I refer to the *Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi* (early 380’s), *Aduersus Heluidium* (383), *Aduersus Iouianum* (393), *Apologia aduersus libros Rufini* (401), and *Contra Vigilantium* (406). This does not say much about Hydatius’ understanding of heresy; cf. below, 200-1, 205-6, 207-8, 214-7.

⁷⁰ The quotation (from Psalm 1.1) had originally been used by Origen and was later adopted and extensively used to describe Jerome, both by himself and others; cf. Vessey (1988), 7 n. 29, 36-8, 65-71.

⁷¹ Kelly (1975), 317-23; Kidd (1922), Vol. III, 92-6; Duchesne (1924), 152-5; and Fliche and Martin (1937), 98-101.

⁷² Béziers (dépt. Hérault) just north of Narbonne; see Duchesne (1894), 298; this entry is the sole known reference to this bishop.

⁷³ *Leo Ep.* 15.16 (Vollmann, 135). For the anti-Manichaean actions taken by Leo, see Lieu (1985), 165-6.

unlikely that Hydatius had seen this.⁷⁴ Perhaps he recalled having seen the material in 447 but was no longer able to lay his hands on it to refresh his memory. The date would then be simply a guess.

The “scripta” of Leo in §135 refers to the just-mentioned “gesta” and the “disputatio plena”, namely, Leo’s letter of 21 July 447 addressed to Thoribius concerning Priscillianism, sent in response to a letter of Thoribius to Leo c.444/5.⁷⁵

On 5 May 450 Pope Leo sent a package of letters to Ravennius, bishop of Arles “ut sollicitudine uigilantiae tuae epistola nostra, quam ad Orientem pro fidei defensione direximus, uel sanctae memoriae Cyrilli, quae nostris sensibus tota concordat, uniuersis fratribus innotescat.”⁷⁶ Leo’s letter is *Ep.* 28 of 13 June 449 addressed to Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, better known as the *Tome*; that of Cyril is his second letter to Nestorius (there were three) of February 430.⁷⁷ Leo was circulating both letters around the empire as the basis for a new ecumenical council in response to II Ephesus of 449, in which the orthodox had lost out to the monophysites led by Eutyches, the archimandrite of Constantinople, and Dioscorus of Alexandria.⁷⁸ In §145 Hydatius states that letters from Flavian concerning Eutyches, Leo’s responses to them and Cyril’s letter to Nestorius passed from Gaul into Gallaecia. There seems little doubt that Hydatius had received a copy of the package of letters Leo had sent to Ravennius in 450 for distribution “uniuersis fratribus”. This package therefore not only contained the important letters concerning the Pope’s Christological position (Cyril *Ep.* 4 and the *Tome*) but also Latin translations of Flavian’s first two letters to Leo and Leo’s two responses. Two Latin translations of each of Flavian’s letters still exist; one, the original circulated version, the other, a more correct translation made for the Council of Chalcedon.⁷⁹ During its passage through Gaul and Spain it picked up numerous

⁷⁴ *NVal.* 18 = Leo *Ep.* 8 (*PL* 54: 622-4).

⁷⁵ Leo *Ep.* 15 (Vollmann, 122-38).

⁷⁶ Leo *Ep.* 67 (*PL* 54: 886-7).

⁷⁷ Leo *Ep.* 28 (*PL* 54: 755-82) and Cyril *Ep.* 4 (*PG* 77: 43-50).

⁷⁸ Leo also sent copies of these letters to Pulcheria and Theodosius on 16 July 450 (*Epp.* 69 and 70; *PL* 54: 890-1, 893-4).

⁷⁹ Flavian to Leo (Greek text and both translations): Leo *Epp.* 22 and 26 (*PL* 54: 723-32, 743-51); Leo to Flavian: *Epp.* 23 and 27 (*PL* 54: 731-6, 751-2). There are later letters of Leo to Flavian (*Epp.*

subscriptions, letters and professions by other bishops: “cum aliorum episcoporum et gestis et scriptis per ecclesias diriguntur” (145). Since Leo sent this package of letters to Ravennius in May of 450, Hydatius is unlikely to have received it before 451, though he correctly dates the entry to the year in which the letters of Leo and Flavian were written, 449, likely because of the consular dates of the letters (§143).⁸⁰ Entry 109 also mentions an “epistola” of Cyril to Nestorius which arrived “cum aliis”. This is certainly Cyril *Ep.* 4, the second letter to Nestorius of 430 referred to in §145. However, Hydatius did not know exactly where to locate this letter and ended up misdating it by six years (436).⁸¹

In §151 Hydatius mentions a letter of Euphronius of Augustodunum to the *comes* Agrippinus concerning certain signs seen around Easter of 452.⁸² This is the last identifiable use of a written source Hydatius makes in the chronicle but it is not known how the letter came into his possession.⁸³

7. SPANISH SOURCES, PRE-428

Let us now move on to another difficult problem, that of establishing the sources for Hydatius’ early Spanish material (§§42, 46-9, 60, 63, 67-68, 69?, 71, 74, 77, and 86). The entries dealing with the barbarian invasion of Spain (42, 46-49) must derive from some sort of written account combined with oral traditions gathered later. The confusion in §42 over the date can only arise with a written source and stems from the common confusion in semi-uncials and cursive of the standard abbreviations used for *kalendae* and *idus* (“kl” and “Id”). Certainly Hydatius’ text originally had “III kl.” and “III idus Octubris” which are both “*tertia feria*” (Tuesday). If the latter had been “III idus Octubris” (as it is in B), it would probably have been very easy for Hydatius to have

36, 38, 39, and 49) of June to October 449, but it seems unlikely that all of these were sent.

⁸⁰ On the separation of 449 into two regnal years, see below, 85-6.

⁸¹ Entry 109 has two interesting verbal echoes of Leo’s letter to Theodosius (*Ep.* 69: 890-1): “Nestorianam haeresim destruxit” and “fidem Nicaenae definitionis exponens”. These were probably picked up from comments in the package of letters written by someone who had seen the letter rather than from the letter itself; a letter of Leo to the emperor would surely have provoked some comment from Hydatius.

⁸² See Duchesne (1899), 177-8; this is the earliest known reference to Euphronius.

⁸³ Knowledge of letters of Hilarus may account for §221; see below, 90 and n. 33.

rejected it since it fell on “quarta feria” (Wednesday).⁸⁴ Besides, MS H preserves the last date in full, not the number of the first (“III”) and the day of the latter (“idus”). Whether Hydatius had the two differing references or his source did, we cannot tell. The use of the consulships is also consistent with a written source. It may be that this written source continued down to the barbarian settlement in 411 (§49) though such general material could easily be the result of oral tradition. From this point there is a gap until 416-7 (§§60, 63) before Hydatius relates any Spanish material again. The material from this date until he became bishop must have come from written and/or oral sources (cf. pref. 6). Although we cannot tell for certain when he started to write his chronicle the fact that his account of Aëtius’ activity in Gaul corresponds to the period he was in Arles himself suggests that at least some of his research and recording was undertaken at a very early date when he could have consulted eyewitnesses for pre-428 events more easily than in the 460’s. The overall detail and apparent accuracy of the first half of the chronicle⁸⁵ leads me to conclude that Hydatius began recording Spanish material first-hand from a very early date. However, this does not mean he could not have had written sources as well. Entry 86 at least suggests a written source consulted at a much later date, for he has not realized that the reference to Mauritania here (425) is a doublet of his narrative in 90 (429). Thus, though there are certainly a few written sources available for the pre-428 period, most of his information was probably obtained in the same way as his later Spanish material, through researching, interviewing and note-taking.

8. MISCELLANEOUS IDENTIFIABLE ORAL SOURCES AND LEGATES

In §89 he adds to what appears to be a local account the comment that Gaiseric had originally been catholic but had become an Arian, “ut aliquorum relatio habuit”. This would appear to derive from oral sources, probably local rumours current many years later, rather than at the time, since the purpose of the comment is to highlight Gaiseric’s later Arian wickedness.

We now come to what I call the “Sebastian source”. This source is, I believe,

⁸⁴ Judging from the error in §64 it would seem that Hydatius could make such simple calculations, probably from a table (see below, 92).

⁸⁵ Cf. below, 93.

responsible for all the references to Sebastian, the son-in-law of Boniface. Sebastian was not an unknown figure in the West—he is mentioned by Prosper, Victor Vitensis and Sidonius Apollinaris⁸⁶—or in the East, where he is mentioned by an unknown author excerpted in the Suda and by Marcellinus,⁸⁷ but he is extremely shadowy and Hydatius provides not only more information concerning his career than all the other sources combined, but a different chronology as well. Hydatius can report on Sebastian's flight all over the Mediterranean, listing all its various stages, including his death in Africa, over a period of eighteen years (99, 104, 129, 132, 144). The chronology, however, is probably incorrect. The final entry (144), dated to 449/50, is but a summary of 129 (444) and 132 (445) with the added note that Gaiseric had Sebastian killed “paruo post tempore quam uenerat”; five years is hardly “a short time later”. More important, Prosper notes Sebastian's arrival in Africa in 440 and his death sometime afterwards. This entry would seem to have appeared in the 445 edition of the chronicle so Sebastian must have been dead by then. As a result, Hydatius' entries probably represent the skeleton of a single oral (or perhaps epistolary) account of Sebastian's freebooting adventures which circulated in Gallaecia, perhaps as a moralistic tale, in the years after Sebastian's death. Hydatius has simply strung the adventures out in what was for him a plausible chronology.

One of the most interesting accounts of the entire chronicle is §106, the visit to Gallaecia by Germanus,⁸⁸ a presbyter of Arabia, and some Greeks. They tell Hydatius about Juvenal of Jerusalem and that he was called by Theodosius with the other bishops of the East to a council at Constantinople to settle the “Hebionite” heresy. They could not tell him, however, when John, Jerome, Eulogius, Theophilus, or Epiphanius died and they did not know the name of John's successor, only that he was an old man who did not live long. What we today would like to know is who this Germanus was, why he left Arabia and why he was visiting Gallaecia at the opposite end of the world with

⁸⁶ Prosper 1342; Vict. Vit., *Hist. Pers.* I.19-21; and Sidonius, *Carm* IX.279-80.

⁸⁷ Suda Θ 145 and Marcellinus, s.a. 435.

⁸⁸ Germanus is neither a very Arabic nor a very Greek sounding name. Perhaps this is a clue to his Western visit. On this episode, see Torres Rodriguez (1957a).

“Greeks” (merchants?). Hydatius obviously interviewed them himself, though there must have been an interpreter since it is unlikely that Hydatius knew any Greek (did Germanus know Latin?). He appears to have been very proud, in spite of his disappointment, of actually having spoken to these religious men from so far away and this pride is shown by the full references to their identities and even to his questions which received no answers. Unfortunately the information he did get from them was an almost worthless mish-mash, as I shall explain in Chapter 8 (pp. 213-4).

The next reference to a source is the “memorantur” in §150, perhaps a sign of his uneasiness with the figure of “nearly three hundred thousand” Goths, Romans and Huns killed at the battle of the Catalaunian plains or perhaps simply giving notice of a common oral tradition. Elsewhere Hydatius mentions the reporting of portents at Legio (“memoratur”; 214a), the reputation of Aegidius (“famma commendatum”; 218) and conflicting versions of the manner of his murder (“alii dicunt...alii”; 228). Finally there are the “Christiani et religiosi” whose report of miraculous fish had reached his ears (253). The text suggests that he may even have interviewed the informants himself (“sicut retulere qui ceperant”).

Entry 167 contains the much-discussed phrase “ut malum fama dispergit”. Hydatius’ account certainly gives the appearance of having derived directly from Rome at the time and he is the earliest source to record this story, which all later historians took as fact, that after the assassination of Valentinian, his widow, Licinia Eudoxia, summoned Gaiseric to Rome to rescue her from the clutches of the usurper Petronius Maximus. From 450 Hydatius has excellent sources for a great number of events involving the emperors, their families and usurpers: §§148, 160, 162, 163, 166, 167, 169, 209, 210, 211, 234, 235, and 247. This material is extremely detailed (for instance, Hydatius is the only source to reveal the existence, Caesarship and marriage of Petronius’ son), and could only have come directly from Rome itself. Other similar material, such as the expulsion and death of Avitus, the accessions of Majorian and Leo, and the deaths of Marcian and Severus (§§177, 183-5, and 231), does not show such detail and must have been obtained through less direct channels. A direct route from Rome is required at least for 247 where Hydatius specifically states that his information came from envoys

returning from Rome. These envoys were also the likely bearers of the detailed information concerning Anthemius' despatch to Italy and accession, and concerning Simplicius (234-5, 248).

The material on the death of Valentinian, Petronius, Avitus and the sack of Rome probably derives from the legate Fronto (§170) who was making his second trip to Gallaecia (cf. 155). This would explain why Hydatius knows so much about Avitus up to 170, including what appears to be an authentic detail concerning Avitus' quest for and failure to obtain recognition from Marcian (166, 169),⁸⁹ but virtually nothing afterwards. He may also be the source of 160 concerning the death of Aëtius: this entry is too hostile towards Valentinian to be the report of Iustinianus who had been sent to the Sueves by Valentinian himself (161); it is closer to the "official" version of this episode under Avitus.⁹⁰ It was therefore probably from Fronto that Hydatius obtained the statement that Eudoxia's invitation was merely a libel spread by rumour and not the truth.⁹¹ As a result, the story must have begun in Rome shortly after Eudoxia's capture, since Prosper's contemporary account does not mention it.⁹² The entry concerning the death of Placidia (148) probably also derives from envoys or other oral sources; she was a well-known and important figure and news of her death would have spread widely. The conflicting versions of §§176-177 were obviously brought by envoys: an unknown legate, Hesychius and then Eastern merchants, of whom Hydatius appears to have been in contact with the latter two. Entry 154 also appears in part to derive from Eastern merchants.⁹³ Envoys from the Goths in Baetica brought news of the Roman victory over the Goths in Gaul and the consequent treaty (197). The death of Majorian and the accession of Severus have no obvious source, but it was most likely oral, perhaps from

⁸⁹ This information could only have come directly from a source close to the emperor; cf. Molé (1974), 325-6, and see below, 121.

⁹⁰ Cf. Sidonius Apollinaris in his panegyric to Avitus (*Carm.* VII.359): "Aëtium Placidus mactauit semiuir amens".

⁹¹ Note that in spite of his sources Hydatius does not seem to know Eudoxia's name; cf. §§162², 167 and 216.

⁹² 1375 (*Chron. min.* I: 484).

⁹³ On these two entries and 154, see my papers, (1987) and (forthcoming a).

envoys. The latter must have originated in Rome since Severus was proclaimed at Ravenna, yet Hydatius reports only his acceptance by the Senate of Rome.⁹⁴ The notice of Severus' death is explicitly stated to have been brought by envoys from Gaul (231).

It seems quite obvious from the foregoing that legates must have played a large rôle in providing Hydatius with information of the outside world even though he does not always specifically attribute his information to them. Even a cursory examination of the appearance of legates in the chronicle illuminates fascinating but otherwise undocumented aspects of diplomacy, communications and interrelationships between and among the barbarian states and the imperial government in the western half of the Empire in the fifth century. As a result, this would be a suitable place to digress briefly on the appearance of embassies in the chronicle. The entries which refer to legates are 11, 96, 98, 100, 101, 111, 121, 155, 161, 166, 170^{bis}, 172, 176, 177, 186 ("aduensis sibi nuntiis"), 192^{2bis}, 197, 205, 208, 209, 219^{ter}, 220, 224, 226^{bis}, 230^{bis}, 231, 233, 237, 238^{quinquies}, 239, 240, 242, 245, 247, and 251. This represents 41 legations,⁹⁵ 40 from contemporary oral or personal knowledge, and half of those (20), appear between 463 and 468 inclusive, the last six years of the chronicle. Interestingly, he knows the names of all six legates (and the ranks of four) sent by the emperor on seven occasions both to the Sueves and to the Goths in Spain: Censurius, *comes* (three times; 98, 100, 111, 121); Fretimundus (111); Mansuetus, *comes Hispaniarum* (155); Fronto, *comes* (twice; 155, 170); Iustinianus (161); and Hesychius, *tribunus* (177). He also knows the names of five Gallaecians—himself (96, 98); Symphosius, *episcopus* (101); Palogorius, *uir nobilis Galleciae* (219); Opilio (239); and Lusidius, *ex-rector* of Ulixippona (251)—and three Goths: Cyrila, *ex-dux* (219); Remismundus (220); and Salla (237). However, in spite of the fact that he records ten Suevic embassies, he knows the name of no Suevic envoy, though the Sueves did use Gallaecians on two occasions, both times to the emperor (101, 251). The following table sets out the embassies mentioned in the chronicle:

⁹⁴ Ravenna: Cassiodorus, *Chron.* 1274; Marius Aventicensis, *Chron.* s.a. 461; and Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Rom.* XV.i.

⁹⁵ This is a minimum figure since it would appear that in two cases the same embassy is referred to twice. The maximum figure is therefore 43.

Persians to Theodosius I- 11
 Gallaecians to Romans- 96
 Gallaecians to Goths- 219, 239
 Romans to Sueves- (98/ 100), 111, 121, 155, 161, 170
 Romans to Goths- 177
 Avitus to Marcian- 166
 Sueves to Goths- 208, 219, 226, 230, (230/ 231), (238/ 242), 245
 Sueves to Romans- 101, (238/ 247), 251
 Sueves to Vandals- 238
 Goths to Sueves- 170, 172, 192², 205, 220, 226, 233, 237, 238
 Goths? to Theoderic in Spain- 176, 186
 Goths to Gallaecians- 197, 219
 Goths to Romans- 238
 Goths to Vandals- 240
 Vandals to Sueves- 192²
 Vandals to Romans- 209
 Aegidius to Vandals- 224

Any of these legates could have brought back information from Gaul or Italy, and it is likely that they provided most of Hydatius' information concerning these areas (and perhaps Africa and the East as well) from 450 onwards at least. Most legates, even those from Rome, probably came down the western seaboard by ship from Gaul, a well-worn trade route, rather than attempt to make the long and hazardous overland journey via the Pyrenees.⁹⁶

9. EASTERN INFORMATION

Hydatius' Eastern information is, on the whole, harder to pin down, though access to such material was less difficult than one might at first suspect (see below, pp. 104-7, 211-7). This may well be due to Spain's strong connections with the East throughout this period, though in such cases Hydatius' information would probably be second hand from other Spaniards.⁹⁷ However, as noted above, it is not impossible that his

⁹⁶ Cf. also § 224. On these routes, see Thompson (1982), 143, 148-9, 172, and Lewis (1958), 64-6, 88-9, 123-4. On Hydatius' access to such information, cf. above, 17.

⁹⁷ On the commercial connections between Spain and the East, see Lewis (1958), 130-1; and García Moreno (1972). Apart from Hydatius' own explicit evidence in 106 and 177, there is considerable literary testimony to continued links between Spain and the East between the fourth and sixth centuries, the most famous being Palladius' reference in c.420 to the profession of ἐμπόρος Σπανοδρόμος (*Historia Lausica* 14.1).

information came via Gaul or Italy. All the material up to and including §18, at least, is derived from the *Consularia* (1-4, 6-7, 9-12, 14, 18) and §§36, 82 and 84, on the birth of Theodosius II and Valentinian's accession, are from the "fasti miscelli", as may be 37, 58 and 59 (first half) on Chrysostom, St. Stephen and Jerome. Other likely or stated sources include personal recollection (38-40), letters (66, 109, 127, 145), personal interview (106), merchants (154), and Western envoys (184?, 185?, 234, 247). The source for the death of Theophilus is unknown (61) and the entry is four years late (416 instead of 412).⁹⁸ There are four especially intriguing entries concerning the East in the chronicle: 147, 157, 215, and 216. All are in some way unique. The first entry, Marcian's accession, provides more detail than any other Western source and obviously derives almost directly from Constantinople. The same is true of 157 which notes the death of Pulcheria: Hydatius is the only source, Eastern or Western, which gives the month of her death and is the only Western source which even mentions her death at all.⁹⁹ The source of these entries is unknown, but it is possible that both arrived together and one is again tempted to suggest merchants or perhaps visitors returning from the East. The same is almost certainly true of the source of §§215-6, the earthquake in Antioch and the return of the imperial women, both dated to 462 and both unrecorded by any other Western source. This material most probably arrived together in Gallaecia directly from the East; Hydatius would appear to have had correct indications for the dating only of the latter, but not knowing where to put the former he just left it coupled to §216, though in fact it occurred four years earlier.¹⁰⁰

In this chapter I have endeavoured to reveal some of the richness and surprising multiplicity of the material available to Hydatius when he was compiling his chronicle. It is futile to try to pin down all of his sources exactly and much of what I have had to say is hypothetical, but the exercise is still a useful one for Hydatius' chronicle is only as good as his sources and without a solid understanding of what those sources could have

⁹⁸ Theophilus died on 15 October, 412 (Socrates, *H.E.* VII.7).

⁹⁹ Excepting Anastasius' Latin translation of Theophanes (ed. Bonn, 70).

¹⁰⁰ On the dating of this earthquake, see Downey (1940-41) and Honigsmann (1944-45), who do not mention Hydatius' account.

been it is impossible to judge the validity of the information he presents. It has also revealed a range of material one would at first consideration would not have believed available to Late Roman bishop living in Gallaecia.

CHAPTER 4: CHRONOLOGY

In my first two chapters I briefly discussed Hydatius' position in Gallaecia, the great difficulties he faced living at the "edge of the world" and the inspiration he derived from the chronicle of Jerome. These points are important because they are the most fundamental determining factors in understanding the chronology of the chronicle. Hydatius' isolation created great problems in terms of the availability of sources and of other works of history from which he could learn and draw inspiration. He says himself in the preface that he was "perexigium informatus studio seculari" and the chronicle bears this out. As was seen in the last chapter he had no written historical source beyond 440; after that he was strictly on his own in terms of obtaining source material and drawing up his chronology. He was a minor bishop in a small out-of-the-way town in the mountains of Gallaecia, educated locally, possessing only a limited knowledge of the outside world and perhaps even less of history and history writing beyond Jerome, Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus, and the now-lost "fasti miscelli".¹ It is no wonder, then, that the chronology (to say nothing else of other matters in the chronicle) can be incorrect, inconsistent and idiosyncratic. We could hardly expect more. In fact we can only marvel at how good an historical document the chronicle really is.

1: CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

To further complicate matters, Hydatius was following in the footsteps, "etsi in omnibus inpari gressu", of Jerome, a man of vast erudition, distant connections and diverse experiences. In trying to live up to the form and standard of Eusebius and Jerome's *Chronici canones* Hydatius was doomed to failure, and the excessively humble tone of the preface, although partially the product of literary convention, is to a certain extent also the result of his realization of this fact. On top of the problem of sources Hydatius unfortunately inherited an extremely difficult chronological system from Jerome: imperial regnal years. These were used in the *Chronici canones* as its major

¹ He may have read earlier imperial pagan historians, like Livy or Sallust, but there is no evidence. It is doubtful how much a knowledge of these would have helped him to write a chronicle anyway.

chronological framework and Hydatius was forced to follow the convention of marking each year of each emperor in the margin. This system is extremely complicated to use and understand, since a regnal year rarely coincides with a calendar year, and it thus requires exact knowledge of the length of each emperor's reign to be accurate. This knowledge Hydatius did not have. Accuracy becomes even more difficult if the regnal years are the only guide and the source material is dated not by regnal years but by association, by consuls, or by an independent dating system like Spanish aeras or indictions. Chroniclers like those who composed the two Gallic chronicles used regnal years and became greatly confused; that Hydatius did too should come as no surprise.

Hydatius inherited two other subsidiary chronological systems from Eusebius via Jerome: Olympiads and years since the birth of Abraham ("anni Abrahæ"). The Olympiads were a peculiarly anachronistic hold-over from Classical and Hellenistic Greek (i.e. pagan) chronology;² even the games themselves had long since ceased to exist. The years of Abraham were a system devised by Eusebius to replace the "anno mundi" system and they start at the beginning of the *canones*. In the chronicle the Olympiads and years of Abraham were simply noted in the margin every fourth and tenth year after the major chronology had been established by the regnal years.

Hydatius also found Spanish aeras in his manuscript of the *Chronici canones* (they had been added when it was copied in Spain) and he continued them through his own chronicle, but only as a subsidiary chronological system, each decade marked in the margin. That he should have done so was completely natural, for the aera was standard means of dating in his part of Spain.³ The appearance and use of the Spanish aera is of great importance for Hydatius' understanding of chronology for it gave him what no other chronicler had: an absolute numerical dating system to go along with the regnal years. Most Spanish events Hydatius recorded were probably dated using aeras, the aeras in the *Chronici canones* offered a correct starting point, the invasion of 409 was a fixed date, and he knew what Spanish aera he was living in, all of which should have given him a secure basis for his chronology. Indeed, until 455 he lists the same number

² See Mosshammer (1979), 86-8, 129-31, and Croke (1983a), 118, 119-20, 122.

³ On the Spanish aeras, see the Text Volume, 23-6.

of regnal years as aeras, and changes made to the regnal years in this section would seem to have been to ensure this correlation. However, because of problems with the regnal years he was unable to overcome, as will be discussed below, he was forced to abandon the one-to-one correlation of calendar and regnal years after 455 and he lists twelve regnal years between aeras 490 (148) and 500 (214), and only five regnal years (“Sev. II-III” and “Anth. I-II”) over the next six calendar years from 463-8 (aeras 501-6), with the result that he has 91 regnal years over 90 calendar years. Another dating system, jubilees, which are marked every fifty years, will be discussed more fully in Chapter 7.

2: INTERPRETATION OF REGNAL YEARS

2a: Representation

There are four fundamental problems in the interpretation of the regnal years: scribal corruption or tampering, representation (i.e. what does he mean by a regnal year), transitional years, and interregna. The former is discussed fully in Chapter 2 of the Text volume. The question of representation is fairly easy to answer. There is no evidence that Hydatius knew any of the accession dates of any of the emperors beyond the “mense Augusto” for Anthemius in 235; if he had known them he likely would have reported them, as he does in 235. Thus the chances that “Val. II” equals 23 October 425 to 22 October 426 are remote indeed. A particularly detailed year, “Maj. III”, presents the best evidence for Hydatius’ conception of a year. In this regnal year he reports the dates February, Easter, May, July, and November, in that order, referring to the year 460 (198-201, 207). Hydatius believed that Leo and Majorian became emperor at the same time, as did certain other contemporary sources.⁴ On this estimation the accession date of Majorian is 1 April 457, so this definitely discounts Hydatius’ regnal years as true regnal years. Hydatius cannot be calculating from Majorian’s official *dies imperii*, 28 Dec. 457,⁵ since “Maj. I-V” are the years 457-61 in the chronicle. The dates in 460 also discount indictional dating. Thus it is clear that Hydatius treats a regnal year as a consular or modern calendar year. Two other entries which support this view are 126, concerning a comet which appeared in December 442, placed in “Val. XVIII” (the true

⁴ For the sources, see my paper (1987), 342, n. 23.

⁵ For the sources, see *ibid.*, 341, nn. 19-20.

regnal year ended on 22 October 442), and 143, a notice of Asturius' becoming consul, is placed at the beginning of the regnal year "Val. XXVI". Within this system Hydatius always reports events in chronological order: February and July of "Val. XXV" (140, 142), January and February-June in "Val. XXVI" (143, 145), April and September of "Val. XXVIII" (149, 151), Easter and June-August of "Val. XXIX" (151), March and June of "Sev. I" (214, 217a), and May and July of "Sev. III" (224, 225).⁶

2b: Transitional Years

A transitional year is a calendar year in which one emperor dies and another succeeds him, and which in Hydatius becomes two regnal years, the last of one emperor and the first of the next. "Val. XXVII" and "XXVIII" ("Marc. I"), "Avitus III" ("Marc. VII") and "Maj. I" ("Leo I"), and "Maj. V" and "Sev. I" are the three major sets of transitional years.⁷ If, as maintained above, each regnal year is equivalent to a calendar year how does one explain the fact that each transitional year is split up between two regnal years? The question is a difficult one to explain but simple to prove. First of all, the *Chronici canones* treated each regnal year as a full calendar year; for instance, it presents, for instance, 167 regnal years over the 167 calendar years from A.D. 211 to 378. Hydatius, having learned the art of chronicle-writing from Jerome, simply copied his methods. There are numerous cases where Hydatius makes reference to specific collective periods of time across these transitional years and in each case each regnal year is counted as a full calendar year. For example, in the fourth year of Marcian (= "Val. XXXI") Valentinian is assassinated and Avitus becomes Augustus (162¹, 163); Avitus dies in his third year (183) about the same time as Marcian who dies in his seventh year (184): four and three are seven. Entry 192a states that Sabinus returned to Hispalis after twenty years in exile; the date is 458 and he was exiled in 441 (124). His exile therefore

⁶ Though he does not record the dates of Leo's letter to Thoribius (21 July 447) or of the correspondence of Leo and Flavian (February to June, 449), he certainly knew them since he had copies of the letters (see above, 63). The example of §136 cannot be included here since the regnal year is missing from the manuscript (see the Text volume, 29).

⁷ Christian Courtois ([1951], 38) omitted the first set and included "Val. XXXI" and "Avitus I" but as will be seen below, Hydatius did not regard the latter as transitional years. For Courtois' attack upon the regnal years, see the Text Volume, 19-21.

lasted seventeen calendar years; but it was twenty regnal years according to Hydatius' method of reckoning (fifteen years under Valentinian, three under Avitus and two under Majorian). The Olympiads always appear every four regnal years and do not double up transitional years. If they did, for example, the eighteen regnal years from Olympiad 307.4 to the end would be reduced to fourteen calendar years and as a result Olympiad 312 would not even appear in the chronicle! In fact, I know of no chronicler, Eastern or Western, who reckons by regnal years and doubles up transitional years. There is no way to avoid the conclusion that each regnal year is treated as a full calendar or consular year.

There are no transitional years in "Theod. XVII" and "Hon. I" because Hydatius has been forced to treat them correctly as a single year and therefore "Hon. I" does not appear (see below); "Hon. II" directly follows "Theod. XVII". This is unique in the chronicle. There were interregna after the deaths of Honorius and Severus, and Hydatius perceived an interregnum after the death of Petronius whose short reign is encompassed within "Val. XXXI" without a separate regnal year. In these three interregna the first regnal year of the new emperor (Valentinian, Anthemius and Avitus) is in reality a new calendar year (425, 466, 456).

Probably the most important aspect of the transitional years is that they are not equally divided: while the second part, i.e. the first year of the new emperor, is completely regular, the first part, i.e. the last year of the previous emperor, contains only two entries: the death of that emperor and the accession of the next. In all cases the first entry of an emperor's last year is the notice of his death (25, 80, 146, 162¹, 183, 210, 232) and in ordinary circumstances the first regnal year of the new emperor begins immediately after his accession (147-8, 185-6, 211-2, 235-6).⁸ In these cases the other events of the final year are pushed into surrounding years; for example, the death of Placidia on 27 November 450 (= "Val. XXVII"; 148), the same year as Marcian's accession, was placed in the following regnal year ("Val. XXVIII"). Likewise most of the material before Severus' death from "Sev. IIII" (=465) was displaced into the

⁸ This is even the case for Anthemius whom Hydatius knew became *Augustus* in August (235).

previous regnal year. The break between 464 and 465 in “Sev. III” probably occurs around 227 or 228.⁹

2c: Interregna

Hydatius had a problem with interregna: he did not know how to represent them in the chronology. When one emperor succeeded another he had no problem with continuity, but after the deaths of Honorius, Petronius and Severus he was not certain what to do. In the event he indicated the gap between reigns with a few extra entries (as seen above, normal transitional years move immediately from death to accession) but still closely correlated last and first regnal years. The interregnum after Petronius’ death is rather different from the other two because Hydatius does not recognize Avitus as a legitimate emperor in the chronology until his acceptance by Marcian (that is, he continues Valentinian’s last year six entries past where Avitus’ reign ought to start [164]). In the cases of the interregna in 423-5 and 465-7, the previous emperor dies and there are three entries before the accession of the next emperor.¹⁰ In the first case there was in reality an interregnum of 15 months, in the second 21 months. As we shall see, however, this time was not omitted, it was absorbed into the surrounding regnal years.

3: CALCULATION OF REGNAL YEARS

The question now arises of the lengths of the reigns of the various emperors and how Hydatius arrived at this information. I stated above that Hydatius probably had no idea of the accession dates of any of the emperors; he thus had to rely on length of reign figures derived from written sources or his own calculations. The evidence shows that he likely had little firm knowledge of the lengths of reigns or details involving imperial deaths either. Only for Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Valentinian III, Petronius, and Majorian did he have any information about an emperor’s death; the rest are simply bald statements which betray his lack of knowledge: “Honorius...obiit”, 80; “Theodosius moritur”, 146; “Avitus...caret et uita”, 183; “moritur Marcianus”, 184; “obisse...Seuerum”, 231. He obviously knew neither the years when Gratian and Arcadius died

⁹ This division is accepted by Garzón (edition) and Muhlberger ([forthcoming], 368).

¹⁰ Note that there are also three entries between Marcian’s *monarchia* (which is announced in red uncials) and “Avitus I” (166-168).

nor the lengths of their reigns, for he does not mention them (cf. §82).

Hydatius states that Theodosius I ruled for seventeen years (1, 25). Theodosius ruled from 19 January 379 to 17 January 395, almost exactly sixteen years.¹¹ The figure seventeen, however, appears in other sources as well (e.g., Rufinus, *Chron. Gall. ad a. 452*, Malalas, Cedrenus, Zonaras, and Michael Glycas) and Hydatius probably obtained it from a written source, most likely Rufinus (*H.E.* XI.34) but perhaps the “fasti miscelli”. This is demonstrated by his tenacity in clinging to the figure even at the risk of a five-year Olympiad (26; on which, see below); if it were his own calculation he would simply have cut it down by one year. He gives no length of reign at the death of Valentinian II (§22), probably because he did not know it (though he should have been able to calculate it).

Honorius was sole Augustus from 17 January 395 to 15 August 423, a total of 28 and a half years. It is hard to know what exact information Hydatius had concerning the length of Honorius’ reign since he had to tamper with the chronology at this point, as will be explained below. He knew that Arcadius had been made Augustus in 383 (§9) but not that Honorius became Augustus in 393 and so dates his reign from the death of Theodosius I. Even if he had known of the events of 393 he could not have used Honorius’ regnal years until the death of Theodosius because Jerome’s practice did not allow for double regnal years when more than one emperor was a member of the college.¹²

For Theodosius II, he did not know when he became emperor, but he did know when he was born, and so upon his becoming sole emperor in 424 and upon his death in 450 he can give his age at least, counting correctly by regnal years from the notice of his birth (36, 82, 146). Since, however, the notice of the birth is in the wrong year, 403 instead of 401, Theodosius’ ages in 424 and 450 are incorrect. The position of Theodosius’ death is correct in context, probably based on the date of Marcian’s accession, but the dating is one year late because of the doubled year 449 (see below).

¹¹ For these and the following dates, see *PLRE* I and II, s.vv.

¹² It is possible that he mentioned Honorius’ accession in what is now a five-line lacuna under “Theod. XV” but there is no reference to it in the *Consularia* and as will be seen below Hydatius dates his *tricennalia* from 395 not 393.

For Valentinian III Hydatius knew the years both of his birth and of his accession, so upon his death he can correctly quote both the length of his reign and his age (162). He records the correct reign of thirty-one years, which dates from his becoming Caesar on 23 October 424 to 16 March 455, and this is how it is presented in §84 (though at this point he would actually seem to be marking the regnal years of Theodosius; see below). Hydatius' attempt to retain this chronology in spite of his own chronological errors strongly suggests that he had his figures from a written source.

Marcian was proclaimed emperor on 25 August 450 and died on 27 January 457. He therefore reigned for six years and five months. Only three sources give this correctly.¹³ Most give him six or six and half years, but eight give him seven years just as Hydatius does.¹⁴ His use of this figure to establish the length of the reign of Avitus suggests that he had it from a source. The detail concerning his accession suggests he may have known the date of that as well.

Hydatius appears to have known little about the downfall of Avitus. In spite of earlier detail concerning Avitus, all Hydatius can say about his death is that he returned to Arles, lost his *imperium* because he was deprived of his promised Gothic support and lost his life (177, 183). He knew that Leo and Majorian became Augusti at about the same time (185)¹⁵ and so it seemed logical that Avitus and Marcian died at about the same time (183-4). But since Avitus became emperor in the fourth year of Marcian (162¹) and Marcian ruled for seven years (184), Avitus had to have three regnal years even though in reality he had reigned only for 15 months from 9 July 455 to 17 October 456.¹⁶

For the reigns of Majorian and Leo Hydatius corrected himself, making a complete break with what had gone before. Based on his sources he believed that Majorian was

¹³ Malalas XIV.73; Leo Grammaticus, p. 111 (= Theodosius Melitenus, p. 78); and Sanctus Benedictus Casinensis, *Chronica* §24 (MGH:SRLang, 485).

¹⁴ *Expositio Temporum Hilariana*; Cassiodorus, *Chron.* 1251; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 450; *Adnotationes Antiquiores ad Cyclos Dionysianos* s.a. 449; Paulus Diaconus, *H.R.* XIV.xix; Theophanes, *Chron.* A. M. 5949 (accession in 5943); Evagrius, *H.E.* II.8; and Cedrenus, p. 607.

¹⁵ See above, n. 4.

¹⁶ On this, see my article, (1987), 340-5.

proclaimed on 1 April 457 and although Majorian was assassinated half-way through 461, his fifth year, Libius Severus was not proclaimed emperor until near the end of the year, 19 November. Thus Hydatius uses “Maj. I” to “Maj. V” accurately to mark the years 457 to 461. The chronology of Majorian’s reign has been discussed above. In this instance he had some detailed knowledge of Majorian’s downfall including when it occurred (i.e. the year after he left Spain, 210), so he calculated the number of regnal years himself. Chronologically, these five years and the next two of Severus are the most accurate of the second half of the chronicle.

Severus became emperor on 19 November 461 and died on 15 August 465, a total of three years and nine months.¹⁷ After his death there was an interregnum of almost two years until 12 April 467 when Anthemius was proclaimed Augustus near Rome. Hydatius appears not to have known how long the interregnum was between the death of Severus and the accession of Anthemius. He does not even seem to have believed it was a long one for he does not state that Leo held a *monarchia* in the period, as Theodosius and Marcian did in interregna in 423-25 (§82) and 455 (§165). In 231 he states that Severus died in his fourth year and it would seem that he obtained the regnal year information from the legates. All Western sources but one¹⁸ also give Severus four years.

Hydatius gives Anthemius two years and this information was probably correctly obtained from the legates who returned from Rome in entry 247.¹⁹

¹⁷ For a number of reasons I do not accept the modern date of 14 November (XVIII kal. Dec.; why not “kal. Ian.”?) for the death of Severus which “corrects” the date of 15 August (XVIII kal. Septembris) of *Fast. Vind. pr.* 595, based on the date of *NSev.* 2, 25 September (VII Kal. Oct.). These are chiefly that the dates of such laws are notoriously inaccurate and open to corruption (not only from later scribal emendation and confusion, but also from contemporary confusion among *data*, *accepta* and *proposita* dates) and that there is no precedent for this type of error in *Fast. Vind. pr.* We do not know the process by which laws would have been issued in the West during interregna (especially within a month or two of the death of a very shadowy emperor) so the law as it stands might even be posthumous. Hydatius implies that the legates arrived in late 465. For this to have been the case Severus must have died in August.

¹⁸ Benedictus Casiniensis (*MGH:SRLang*, 485, §24) who gives him five.

¹⁹ The legates returned in late 468 and Anthemius had been proclaimed emperor on 12 April, 467 (*Fast. Vind. pr.* 598). For an official *dies imperii* in August, see below.

4 CORRELATION OF EASTERN AND WESTERN REGNAL YEARS

From entry 27 the marginal regnal years count the years of the reigns of both Arcadius and Honorius. Because Arcadius is the senior Augustus they technically belong to him. However, because Hydatius did not know when Arcadius died the indicators in fact mark the regnal years of Honorius and continue up to his death. From entry 84 the regnal years really belong to Theodosius II, since he is the senior Augustus and is given a number (41) and the uncial rubric in 82; Valentinian is given neither as Caesar or Augustus. However, the gap between the rubric and the regnal year (§83) and the continuation of the regnal years past Theodosius' death to the first year of Avitus show that Hydatius intended for the numbers to refer to Valentinian as well. However, in order, it would seem, to maintain the correlation between the differing Eastern and Western regnal years after the death of Theodosius, Hydatius marks years two, three and four of Marcian's reign with red uncials followed by the phrase "regni anno principi Marciani". Marcian's fifth and sixth years are marked in the margin at 170 and 172 in the form "V/ VI annus Marciani". His first year is not mentioned at all (there is no need) and his fourth and seventh regnal years are also referred to in the text (165, 184). It is not known why Hydatius felt he had to add the regnal years of Marcian so prominently at this point. A likely partial explanation is that he has used the relatively steady Eastern regnal years to anchor the changing Western years, especially in the case of Marcian and Avitus where the former's reign is used to determine the length of the latter's. It is almost as if he were trying to prove his calculations to a doubtful reader (or to himself). However, these prominent correlations cease after the death of Marcian and he only refers to the years of Leo's reign in two places within the text, his fifth and ninth years at the accessions of Severus and Anthemius (211, 235).²⁰

5 CHRONOLOGICAL TAMPERING

The following section illustrates a number of examples of what I call "chronological conscientiousness" on Hydatius' part; that is, a desire to maintain a correct total of regnal years for each reign and for the chronicle as a whole at the expense of certain

²⁰ The correlation of all these years can be seen in Table 5.

inconsistencies in the dating of individual years. In these cases Hydatius either expands or compresses the chronology of events or alters the regnal years in order to retain an “accurate” account of the regnal years based on such information as he was able to obtain.

There ought to have been no reason why, if his sources gave Theodosius 17 years, Honorius 32 years and Valentinian 31 years, Hydatius should not just have listed these years in full, as the Gallic Chronicler of 452 did, for example. The fact that he tampers with the reign of Honorius at both the beginning and the end shows that he was trying to fit the 80 regnal years of Theodosius I, Honorius and Valentinian into an absolute dating system, probably the Spanish *aeras*, which indicated only 77 calendar years from 379 to 455. As noted above, his rigorous clinging to the correct number of years for Theodosius I and Valentinian suggests that he had these figures as independent facts; it is the same for the regnal years of Marcian, Majorian, Severus and Anthemius. That he felt able to tamper with the years of Honorius probably indicates that he had no actual stated figure for his reign in his source.

Honorius became Augustus on 23 January 393 and as a result celebrated his *tricennalia* on 23 January 422. He died on 15 August 423 and after his death there was an interregnum in which the *primicerius notariorum* Iohannes usurped power for about eighteen months (20 November 423—May/June 425) before he was defeated by an Eastern army sent by Theodosius II. Valentinian III was proclaimed Caesar at Thessalonica on 23 October 424 and Augustus at Rome on 23 October 425.²¹ As was seen above, Hydatius had accurate information concerning the chronology of the reign of Valentinian. He also had a source for Honorius’ *tricennalia*. His chronological problems at this point derive from the fact that he dated Honorius’ reign, and consequently his *tricennalia*, from 395 (i.e. the death of Theodosius I; §§25-6) and not 393; as a result, the *tricennalia*, which naturally appears in “Hon. XXX” (80), is dated to 424, two years after the actual *tricennalia* (422) and one year after Honorius’ death

²¹ Date of *tricennalia*: *Ravenna Annals* s.a. 422, Marcellinus *Chron.* s.a. 422. For the other details, see “Honorius 3”, *PLRE* I: 442; “Iohannes 6”, *PLRE* II: 595; and “Valentinian 4”, *PLRE* II: 1139.

(423). To make matters worse, the chronology required two more regnal years: Honorius lived a year after his *tricennalia* and Valentinian did not become Caesar until a year after that. *Chron. Gall. ad a. 452* also dates the *tricennalia* to Honorius' thirtieth year from 395 but then simply gives him two more years, for a total of thirty-two years from 395, three years too many.²²

Hydatius had assigned 17 years to Theodosius and 31 to Valentinian. Working forwards from 379 and backwards from 455 (more recent and therefore more easily and securely ascertainable) he would have found only 29 years in which to insert the 32 years of Honorius. At this point he took steps to eliminate the overlapping years. First, the final year of Honorius, "Hon. XXXI", was cut and his death was shifted back to a point just after the *tricennalia* in "Hon. XXX". He then counted the year of Iohannes' usurpation across the last half of "Hon. XXX" (as is the case with Petronius' reign and the beginning of Avitus' in "Val. XXXI") and the first half of "Val. I". Iohannes can thus be executed "primo anno inuase tyrannidis" (84) but not take up extra regnal years. He finished by compressing the events of 424 and 425 into a single year, "Val. I", which started, uniquely, with the entry of Valentinian's accession—elsewhere all regnal years begin the year *after* the accession entry. As a result "Val. I" and "II" correctly identify 425 and 426, and the rest of Valentinian's regnal years (to 449) are correctly correlated to events in spite of the miscalculation of Honorius' thirty years.

XXIX	XXX	XXXI	(i)	I	II	actual
421	422	423	424	425	426	
XXVII	XXVIII	XXIX	XXX (i)	I	II	Hydatius

Hydatius had made all of the compressions possible at the end of Honorius' reign—the *tricennalia* had to fall in Honorius' thirtieth year and Valentinian had to have 31 years ending in 455—but they only took into account two years; the third extra year had to be absorbed at the beginning of the reign. Instead of simply cutting Theodosius'

²² The reasons for Honorius' extra years are not explained by Muhlberger (1983), 29-30. Honorius has only three extra years, not four as Muhlberger states, because *Chron. Gall.* gives Theodosius seventeen years instead of sixteen (see above) and Muhlberger accepts this, assigning 395 to Theodosius and not Honorius (chart, p. 29). Muhlberger is thus counting thirty-two years from 396 not 395.

seventeenth year, which he believed to be correct, he was forced to the extreme measure of representing a single calendar year with two full regnal years, something which he never did elsewhere in the chronicle. To make sure that no later redactor took it into his head to correct this apparent error, since there were now obviously five regnal years in Olympiad 293 (“Theod. XV, XVI, XVII” and “Hon. I” and “II”) and a missing regnal year marker for “Hon. I”, he added a lengthy but confusing explanation: “And this year, which is the seventeenth of Theodosius, is the first of Arcadius and Honorius at the beginning of their reign. I have noted this so that you do not disturb the five-year Olympiad; the extra year has been added only in this place because of the commencement of their reign” (26). Nowhere else in the chronicle does he explain his methods or double-up regnal years (except for the two-month reign of Petronius). The result of these compressions to the reign of Honorius is that from 379 to 425 he records 46 regnal years over 46 calendar years. Hydatius’ “chronological conscientiousness” here can be contrasted favourably with the sloppiness of, for instance, the Gallic Chronicler of 452 who gives Theodosius I seventeen years and Honorius thirty-two with no overlap.

The reign of Valentinian III runs correctly (apart from the slight compression at the beginning) from “Val. I” in 425, until “Val. XXVI” when events begin to lag one year behind the proper regnal year. But then, in the year immediately before Valentinian’s death, order is again restored, at least for the Western chronology. In “Val. XXVI” two of the three entries are datable to 449; however, “Val. XXVI” should be 450. The following years are also one year out: the death of Theodosius II and the accession of Marcian in 450 is placed in “Val. XXVII” (451); the Huns’ invasion of Gaul in 451 is placed in “Val. XXVIII” (452); the Huns’ invasion of Italy in 452 is in “Val. XXVIII” (453); and the death of Pulcheria in 453 is in “Val. XXX” (454). However, the death of Aëtius (21 September 454) is also placed in “Val. XXX” (160). Thus in the sequence of regnal years for Valentinian, there are two regnal years which correspond to 449, “Val. XXV” and “XXVI”, and one regnal year which corresponds to 453 and 454, “Val. XXX” (see Table 6).

Hydatius’ problems arose in “Val. XXV” and “XXVI” when he mistakenly divided

up the Spanish and non-Spanish events of 449 into two years. The events of “Val. XXV” cannot be independently dated and we must take Hydatius’ word that they did in fact occur in 449. The last independently datable event in the chronicle before this is §136, the solar eclipse of 23 December 447, the last event in “Val. XXIII” (447). In “Val. XXVI”, the “second” 449, Hydatius reports Asturius’ consulship of 449 and describes a number of letters of Leo and Flavianus which were written between February and June of 449 (143, 145).²³ The remaining entry, the death of Sebastian, cannot be dated independently since Hydatius’ date is patently incorrect and the two other dated sources we possess are contradictory.²⁴ It seems unlikely that Hydatius could have received the letters from Leo just a year after they were written (they were not sent to Gaul until May of 450²⁵), so he must be dating the letters themselves, not the year in which he received them.

It is very telling that the doubled-up year 453-4 appears just before Valentinian’s final year. It would seem that Hydatius realized at the end of Valentinian’s life that if he continued to number the entries as he had been, Valentinian would have to have died in his thirty-second year, instead of his thirty-first, since Hydatius had mistakenly added an extra regnal year in 449. He obviously could not discover where he had made his error of the extra year and he could not give Valentinian thirty-two years since he appears to have known that he died in his thirty-first year. Such an expansion would also give 78 regnal years over the 77 calendar years from the beginning of the chronicle. In the end he simply doubled up the two years before Valentinian’s death to make sure that he finished correctly. This compression however threw out the correlated regnal years of Marcian by one year. These regnal years are roughly correct (in spite of the error of Valentinian’s regnal years) up to the regnal year 453/4: “Marc. I” associated with the invasion of Gaul (451), “Marc. II” with the invasion of Italy (452) and “Marc. III” with the death of Pulcheria (453). However, the death of Aëtius (454) should have been “Marc. IIII” (454) and the death of Valentinian (455) “Marc. V” (455). The compression of 453 and

²³ See above, 63-4, and below, 224-5, for the identification of these letters.

²⁴ Marcellinus s. a. 435, Prosper s. a. 440; see above, 66.

²⁵ Sent to Ravennius of Arles; see above, 63.

454 into “Val. XXX” (=“Marc. III”) produced an extra year of Marcian since Valentinian’s death in 455 now appeared under “Marc. IIII” (454) instead of “Marc. V” (455) (for this, see Table 6). As discussed above, Hydatius calculated the length of Avitus’ reign from Marcian’s and as a result Avitus’ reign now began in “Marc. V” instead of “Marc. VI”.

We have seen above that on at least three occasions between 379 and 455 Hydatius tampered with regnal years in an apparent attempt to make them correspond overall with the number of calendar years. From 456 (“Avitus I”) this ceases to be the case and he ends his chronicle with one more regnal year than calendar year. But Hydatius should have known in what Spanish aera any event after 455 occurred better than he did before 455. If he could fudge the dating before 455 why could he not do the same after 455? This is unknown, but the source of his error is two-fold. First, he had the following evidence for regnal years: Avitus, 3 years (based on own his calculation from Marcian’s regnal years); Majorian, 5 years (from an unknown but correct source; personal calculation?); Severus, 4 years (from envoys); Anthemius, 2 years (probably from envoys in 247). For Hydatius, this evidence, like that for Theodosius I and Valentinian III, was unimpeachable and could not be altered. Second, he appears to have believed that there was not a long interregnum between Severus’ death and Anthemius’ accession (there is no *monarchia* of Leo and no other indication of a full year’s interregnum); therefore Anthemius must have become emperor very soon after Severus’ death. The result is 14 regnal years over 13 calendar years (456-468, aeras 494-506). He must have known that he was expanding his chronology under Avitus and compressing under Anthemius. He must have seen that he had twelve regnal years between aeras 490 (“Val. XXVIII”; 148) and 500 (“Sev. I”; 214). He probably also knew that between aera 500 and the time of writing there were seven calendar years but only six regnal years. Yet he did not, for some reason, resort to the expedient of doubling up transitional years as he did in “Theod. XVII” and “Hon. I” or shortening reigns as he did at the end of Honorius’ reign. The correspondence between calendar and regnal years was confused and Hydatius must have known it, but he left it as it was, perhaps because he did not know

where to correct it.

The confusion begins immediately in the reign of Avitus. As noted above, because of the extra year in 449 Valentinian died in the fourth year of Marcian instead of the fifth. As a result Marcian and Avitus now had an extra calendar year. The seventh and final year of Marcian must correspond to 457 since “Marc. I” is 451, “Marc. II” is 452 and so on. But Hydatius describes the events of 457 under “Maj./Leo I” (=457) and this gives another calendar year to the reigns of Marcian and Avitus. As a result, §§182 and 186, which describe Theoderic’s activities at Emerita in March-April of 457, appear in “Avitus II” (=“Marc. VI”) and “Maj. I”, supposedly two years apart.²⁶ Valentinian was assassinated on 16 March 455 and Leo and Majorian’s accessions were taken as 7 February and 1 April 457. Thus “Maj./Leo I” is 457 and since “Val. XXXI” (=“Marc. III”) is 455 this leaves only one calendar year, 456, for “Avitus I-III” (=“Marc. V-VII”). “Avitus II” records events of 5 and 28 October 456 while “Avitus III” dates the deaths of Avitus and Marcian which took place shortly after 17 October 456 and on 27 January 457. Hydatius obviously knew nothing about the interregnum between the accession of Majorian and the death of Avitus. If he had, there would have been some attempt to represent it as he did the interregna after the deaths of Honorius and Severus (81-83 and 232-34).

The final example of chronological tampering comes in “Anth. I” where Hydatius has compressed most of the events of 466 and 467 into one regnal year. This arose because he knew when the envoys had reported Severus’ death (late in aera 503), and that at the time of writing (aera 506) Anthemius was in his second year, but not that there had been a very long interregnum between them. Because of his inability to depict interregna, he was forced to compress most of the the events of aera 504, the interregnum of 466, into the first year of Anthemius in order to maintain a correct regnal year account. More than likely one or both of the entries recorded under “Sev. IIII” (232, 233) belong to 466 as well and were co-opted back to provide the extra entries which indicated the interregnum (see above in section 2c).

²⁶ Theoderic sacked Bracara on 28 October 456 (174) and did not move into Lusitania until December of that year (178). He departed Emerita shortly after 31 March 457 (186).

6 THE DATE OF "ANTH. II"

As mentioned above, Hydatius did not realize how long the interregnum between Severus and Anthemius was (21 months); he knew there was an interregnum and indicated it by extending "Sev. IIII" past Severus' death (232-5) just as he did with "Hon. XXX" and "Val. XXXI". He then placed Anthemius' accession at the point where his chronology indicated it should be (that is, shortly after Severus' death), not where it actually occurred, which effectively hides the interregnum of 466 under "Anth. I" along with 467, while still maintaining a correct two years for Anthemius. The events of 236-8 can be dated by other means to 466 and the break between 466 and 467 probably occurs before 240.²⁷ "Anth. II" is thus 468, as is suggested by the two datable events in that year, the expedition against the Vandals and the ordination of Pope Simplicius. It used to be thought, chiefly by Garzón, Courtois, Tranoy, and others, that the last year of the chronicle was 469. This was however based on the correlation of Olympiad 312 (= 469) and "Anth. III" (= 469), but since "Anth. III" is a concoction of a later scribe, not the work of Hydatius, this argument is no longer valid.

It has also been thought that the legates in §247 announcing news of 468 could not have returned until the next year (469) and that Hydatius is dating their return, not the news they carried. But Simplicius became Pope on 3 March 468 and the defeat of the expedition against the Vandals, of which the legates of 247 knew absolutely nothing, appears to have occurred in August²⁸ so the legates must have departed from Rome between these two dates, which leaves plenty of time for their arrival in Gallaecia in 468, and they were probably in Gaul or Spain before the defeat, to have so completely missed news of it.

In the end, Hydatius has assigned ninety-one regnal years to ninety calendar years (379-468), an excellent conclusion given the confusion which dominates between 449 and 457.

7 POPES

Hydatius had no direct knowledge of the deaths or ordinations of eight of the nine

²⁷ See Appendix 3 and below.

²⁸ *Fast. Vind. pr.* 601.

popes he mentions—Siricius (15), Innocent (35), Eulalius (65), Boniface (52), Caelestinus (87), Xystus (105), Leo (135), and Hilarus (221)—; the ninth was Simplicius (248), for whom he knew the year of ordination and that his predecessor, Hilarus, had been pope for more than six years.²⁹ In this case his information came directly from Rome through envoys (247). For the remaining popes his information probably derived from the occasional papal letter, or oral or written reference to a pope which came to his attention. This is quite obviously the reason for his reference to Leo (135). In 133 he knows about papal *gesta* but he has no idea who the pope was at the time in spite of the fact that they were sent by Leo.³⁰ For the papal notices towards the end of his chronicle Jerome generally used the form “Romanae ecclesiae (number) ordinatur episcopus (name)” in the actual year of ordination.³¹ Hydatius tried to copy this but his very random sources of information forced him to use “praesidet” and “habetur” in all the papal entries except that of Simplicius, for whom alone he uses “ordinatur”: it is his way of saying, “In this year it came to my attention that X was bishop of the Roman church”, rather than “X was ordained bishop of the Roman church in this year” as Jerome does. The one instance where he does use “ordinatur”, for Simplicius, he knew the date of accession. However, since he knew it occurred during the seventh year of Hilarus it is not apparent why he did not place Hilarus’ accession in “Maj. V” or “Sev. I” and use “ordinatur” for him as well.³² His reference to Hilarus at the end of 463 thus may derive from some other source. Interestingly enough Hilarus was involved with Tarraconensis from 463 to 465.³³ Perhaps Hydatius had heard

²⁹ Siricius, 384-399 (Hydatius: 387); Anastasius, 399-401 (missed); Innocent, 401-417 (402); Zosimus, 417-418 (missed); Eulalius, 418-419 (417); Boniface, 418-422 (412); Celestine, 422-432 (426); Xystus, 432-440 (434); Leo, 440-461 (447); Hilarus, 461-468 (463); and Simplicius, 468-483 (468). Dates from Kelly (1986), 35-45.

³⁰ On this, see above, 62-3.

³¹ e.g. 215^b, 229^g, 237^b, 244^e; cf. also 215^h, 221^b, 226^f, 229ⁱ, and 230^h.

³² Hilarus actually became pope in Rome on the same day Severus became emperor in Ravenna, 19 November, 461, and died on 29 February, 468, in his seventh year. Hydatius actually says “sex sacerdocii sui annis expletis” but this means “having completed six years”, not “in his sixth year”, as is demonstrated by §§201 and 207 where Hydatius is captured on 26 July and released “tribus mensibus captiuitatis inpletis” in November.

³³ See Thompson (1982), 197-9.

something of these events. These random sources also explain why he missed the short-lived Anastasius and Zosimus, though not the extremely short-lived Eulalius.³⁴

Of the nine notices, seven are correct. Eulalius is placed two years too early, 417 instead of 418-9, and Boniface is noted in 412 when he was bishop 419-422. Eulalius' entry falls in a year where there are an uncharacteristically large number of chronological errors for the early years of the chronicle. Entries 63 to 66 fall under "Hon. XXIII", that is, 417. Entry 63 is correctly dated, but 64 belongs in 418, and 65 (Eulalius) and 66 both belong in 419.

Hydatius probably knew of a correct reference to Boniface's being pope in 422, either from a letter dated in the consulships of Honorius and Theodosius (XIII and X) or a source with the regnal date "Hon. XXVIII". By mistake he placed it exactly ten years earlier, when Honorius and Theodosius were also consuls (IX and V).

The error of "post Theofilum", which appears in a papal notice in B and Mommsen's text (65) and in fact refers to the Patriarch of Alexandria, is a scribal error mistakenly copied from a reference four entries above (61) to Theophilus' unknown successor in Alexandria: it is not Hydatius' style to list a predecessor in such a manner and besides, he was not stupid.

8 VERIFIABLE DATES

There are a number of specific externally verifiable dates given in the chronicle which can be used to check and correct the chronological systems discussed above. These are eclipses, comets, an aurora borealis, a date of Easter, the barbarian invasion of Spain, the battle of the Urbicus, and the sack of Bracara. The latter four are datable because Hydatius records the date, month and day of the week. It is then a simple matter to calculate from a table to what year the date refers.³⁵

The invasion of Spain he dates to "Hon. XV", aera 447 and "Honorio VIII et Theodosio...III consulibus", all three of which are 409 (§42). The dates for the Battle of the Urbicus and the sack of Bracara, 5 and 28 October, fell on a Friday and a Sunday

³⁴ Anastasius: 27 Nov. 399-19 Dec. 401; Zosimus: 18 March 417-26 Dec. 418; Eulalius (now considered an "anti-pope"): 27 Dec. 418-3 April 419. Could §66 refer to a papal letter from Eulalius?

³⁵ E.g. Grumel (1958), 316.

respectively (173-4), and they could only have done so in 456. He gives a date for Easter which can only be that of 457 (186).³⁶ An aurora borealis is reported in 149 immediately before the invasion of the Huns in the spring of 451. The date Hydatius gives is Tuesday 4 April which fell not in 451 but 450. In 451 4 April was a Wednesday. This regnal year as a whole is otherwise very strangely confused in its chronology. It starts with the death of Placidia (148), bumped forward from the previous regnal year (see above). The aurora seems to date to 450 and the invasion of the Huns (150) occurred in 451. The marginal Spanish aera, 490, is 452. In §151 the lunar eclipse is correctly dated to 451, but Halley's comet (of 451, see below) appears to be dated to 452: in order he reports the eclipse of September 451; "quedam" seen "in diebus insequentis paschae", that is, around 23 March 452; and then the comet (June-August). He probably saw the aurora, the eclipse and the comet himself and made records of them, so it seems peculiar that they are dated in this manner. The marginal Spanish aera obviously played no part in helping to date any of these events and simply follows the regnal years, like the Olympiads and years of Abraham. It is one year out because of the doubled 449 (see above). As far as the aurora is concerned, there is at least a possibility that the text is corrupt.³⁷

The dates for the solar and lunar eclipses can be verified by computation and the results of computer analyses appear in Table 4. Only two dates are incorrect out of seven reported. The first is the solar eclipse of Friday 19 July 418 which Hydatius records as Thursday 19 July 417. This eclipse was a very well known occurrence and appears in a number of other sources, though with no day (see Table 4). Hydatius mistakenly placed the entry in the wrong year (417) and calculated the missing day of the week based on that year.³⁸ This explains an accurate day of the week for a mistaken year, a fact which otherwise would be an amazing coincidence. MS B records the date of the lunar eclipse of 26 September 451 as 27 September 451. This error is likely just the result of textual

³⁶ See the Text Volume, 129.

³⁷ See the Text Volume, 127-8.

³⁸ I say Hydatius here rather than his source because of the unparalleled interest Hydatius shows in reporting the day of the week elsewhere in the chronicle.

corruption (the “I” of “VI” has been lost) and the figure has been corrected in my edition.

Hydatius reports a comet in 442 as appearing in December and being visible for several months. Chinese astronomers date its first appearance to 1 November 442, but since they were actively looking for such things as comets it is likely that they saw this one long before anyone in Gallaecia noticed it.

The appearance of Halley’s comet is described with exceptional accuracy (151) and is supported by computer analysis and Chinese observations. As has been noted above, it would appear that for some reason Hydatius has dated it to 452 instead of the correct 451.

9 ESTABLISHING THE CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of the chronicle as a whole is very good, though there are, as has been noted above, a number of black spots, especially “Hon. XXIII”, “Val. XXVI” to “Avitus III”, and “Sev. III” to “Anth. I”, where there are serious discrepancies between regnal years and calendar years. In the period before 449, most imperial events can be dated from the regnal years, but some are misdated by a year or two and must still be verified from other sources. These are all minor errors arising from the variety of his sources, incorrect information or mistaken judgement on Hydatius’ part; there is no need to go through the chronicle shifting such entries to make them chronologically accurate, as Courtois and Tranoy attempted.³⁹ The few verifiable dates we have for Spanish events in this period (the invasion of 409, the campaign of Castinus, the crossing of the Vandals, the comet of 442, the letter to Thoribius, and the eclipse of 447) all verify the accuracy of Hydatius’ regnal year chronology for Spanish events, so we can probably trust his Spanish chronology elsewhere.⁴⁰

From 449 onwards as Hydatius’ sources become more accurate and he begins to concentrate more on Spanish events the entries tend to be more accurately dated with

³⁹ See n. 7, above.

⁴⁰ Invasion of 409: date with day of the week, aera 447 and “Hon. VIII et Theod. III conss” = 409; Castinus: Prosper 1278 (422); crossing of Vandals: *Les inscriptions d’Altava*, ed. Jean Marcillet-Jaubert (Aix-en-Provence, 1968), n. 147, dated 14-31 August “anno pro(uincia) CCCXC” = 429; letter of Leo (15) to Thoribius is dated 21 July, 447; comet of 442 and eclipse of 447: see Table 4 (the eclipses of §§34 and 64, although seen in Gallaecia, are not first-hand records).

relation to one another. The regnal years, however, are less trustworthy than before 449, except for the period “Maj. I” to “Sev. II” where the regnal years are very accurate, though there is probably some shifting of events from “Maj. V” into the surrounding regnal years. The problem is not so much one of dating individual entries to different years, as one of determining where calendar years begin and end since they do not always, as they did before 449, correspond to regnal year breaks. The only possible way, therefore, of determining calendar years is to plot all the events with the verifiable dates from the chronicle itself and dates known from other independent sources and try to use those events and internal textual indications to date by association events undated in Hydatius, ignoring, to a certain extent, the regnal years. I have in the interests of brevity supplied two tables which will serve as the basis for establishing the dates of the individual events. The first (Table 7) offers a list of verifiable dates and independently dated events recorded by Hydatius and the second (Table 8) offers the entries which I believe ought to be assigned to each year. The latter is often arbitrary but it establishes a firmer basis for a study of the history of the period than earlier attempts.

10 OTHER CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

The separation of the Vandal sack of Rome (2-16 June 455; 167) from the death of Petronius (31 March 455; 162²) and its placement after the accession of Avitus (9 July 455; 163) and his arrival in Rome (probably late October, early November; 163, 166) is most peculiar.⁴¹ Obviously in this case his source failed to make the connection between the two events explicit enough. Hydatius knew that Gaiseric had supposedly been summoned before Avitus’ accession (“sollicitatus...priusquam Auitus Augustus fieret”) but not that he had arrived before it as well.

The reign of Anthemius presents two interesting points. The first is Hydatius’ date of August for Anthemius’ accession, which is contradicted by our only other source with a date which gives 12 April.⁴² Leo sent Anthemius to Rome in early 467 with

⁴¹ Death of Petronius: *Fast. Vind. pr. and post.* 573 (*Chron. min.* I: 303) and Prosper 1375 MS V (*ibid.*: 484); Vandal sack: *Fast. Vind. pr.* 574; *Add. ad Prosp. Hav.* 455.4; Prosper 1375; Victor Tonn., *Chron.* 455.1 (*Chron. min.* II: 186); Accession of Avitus: *Fast. Vind. pr.* 575, *Auct. Prosp. Hav.* 455.6; arrival in Rome: *Auct. Prosp. Hav.* 455.7 (*Chron. min.* I: 304).

⁴² *Fast. Vind. pr.* 598 (*Chron. min.* I: 305).

instructions that he be made emperor. After his arrival he was duly proclaimed, probably by the army. However, this proclamation had to be officially ratified by Leo. Legates were therefore sent to Constantinople to request recognition of the proclamation; this, not surprisingly, Leo granted.⁴³ Only when these legates had returned to Rome with the codicils and icons could Anthemius have legitimately regarded himself as Augustus. The space between 12 April, the date of the military acclamation, and August is a sufficient and suitable length of time for this embassy. Thus Hydatius' date of August may in fact preserve the date of Anthemius' official proclamation as Augustus. This is made more likely by the fact that our source for the date of 12 April, the *Fasti Vindobonenses priores*, also gives a date for the accession of Majorian, 1 April 457, which, as other evidence shows, is in fact only the date of his military acclamation, not his official accession which took place on 28 December 457.⁴⁴

Entry 236 states: "Expediatio ad Affricam aduersum Vandalos ordinata metabularum commutatione et nauigationis inopportunitate reuocatur". While one might take this as a reference to the expedition of 468 (as everyone has) it seems highly unlikely for a number of reasons. First, it is distinctly placed before the accession of Euric, that is 466. Second, while Hydatius knows of the failure of this expedition⁴⁵ there is no hint in §247 that he knew of the failure of the expedition of 468, which was the reason for its lasting infamy, or of the death of Marcellinus, which was the only indication of the expedition for some chroniclers.⁴⁶ Hydatius' descriptions of the two expeditions bear no resemblance to one another and the material of 247 is much more detailed than that of 236. Third, why did he report the same expedition twice, separated by a year, stating the

⁴³ For this amazing piece of Late Roman bureaucracy, see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De caeremoniis* 87-88 (Vol. I, *CSHB* [Bonn, 1829]).

⁴⁴ For this date, see nn. 4-5 above.

⁴⁵ The manuscript reading unfortunately is obscure so we cannot know the exact reasons for its failure; not even *TLL* can explain "metabularum", offering only Isidorus' definition—which itself appears to be a guess based on the context of this very entry—of "prospera nauigatio" (*Liber Glossarum* 1044 [*PL* 83: 1360]). I am more than slightly suspicious of these words: the Latin "commutatio" is a translation of the Greek μεταβολή; cf. e.g. Vulgate and LXX Sap. 7:18.

⁴⁶ Cassiodorus, *Chron.* 1285 (*Chron. min.* II: 158); *Fast. Vind. pr.* 601 (*Chron. min.* I: 601); and *Paschale Campanum* s.a. 468 (*Chron. min.* I: 745), probably all from the same source.

reasons for its failure the first time but giving no hint of any trouble in the second and fuller report? Further, the reasons for the failure of the expedition of 236 have nothing to do with the failure of the 468 expedition and 236 implies that this expedition did not even get to Africa. Thus it seems very likely that this is a hitherto unsuspected independent Western attempt to defeat the Vandals, launched in the spring of 466, perhaps modelled on Ricimer's successful 456 expedition.⁴⁷ That this notice also appears immediately after Anthemius' accession is of no consequence since, as noted above, Anthemius' accession was brought back a year to encompass 466 and 467 because Hydatius did not know how long the interregnum was.

There is a problem here though. Entry 240 claims that Gothic legates in Africa were frightened off "supradictae expeditionis rumore". Yet the failure of the expedition is described in 236 and the envoys of 240 were not even sent until 238!⁴⁸ Further, 236 is the first entry of 466, and 240 would be best placed in 467. It would seem unlikely that the rumour of this failed expedition of early- to mid-466 would have caused any stir in Africa in 467. But in 467 the Goths could easily have been frightened away by rumours of the upcoming joint East-West expedition. News would have spread quickly about the purpose of the new Western emperor and the intentions of Leo with regard to Africa. Anthemius' accession, Leo's envoys to the Vandals threatening war and Gaiseric's own preparations for war,⁴⁹ along with rumours of the massive fleets and armies being assembled at that point by both halves of the empire, are more likely to have caused the Goths to flee than an earlier failed attempt by Ricimer alone.⁵⁰ Thus Hydatius would seem to be incorrect in associating the expedition of §236 with the one rumoured in §240 since the latter is in fact that of 468 (§247) and the former that of 466.

⁴⁷ On the dating of this expedition, see Appendix 3.

⁴⁸ Hydatius never actually states before this entry that Goths had been sent to the Vandals, only Sueves (§238). *PLRE* II (p. 427) tries to get around this apparent problem by making Euric the agent of "dirigitur" in 238 instead of Remismund. This twists Hydatius' Latin unnaturally and necessitates the bizarre interpretation of "ad Gothos" as "ad Ostrogothos", since Euric cannot very well be sending himself legates.

⁴⁹ Priscus, frag. 52 (Blockley, 360).

⁵⁰ Sidonius Apollinaris refers to the extensive preparations already underway in Rome on 1 January 468, *Carm.* II: 540-1.

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Overall it must be admitted that by modern standards much of Hydatius' chronology is a mess. In the early years where he had long reigns and chronological sources to rely on his errors are relatively minor—a variety of entries misdated by a year or two—but when left on his own with short reigns and no supporting chronological source he could get completely lost (especially between 449 and 456). Even here, however, his chronology can be excellent (i.e. “Maj. I” to “Sev. II”). Nevertheless, by contemporary standards the chronology is excellent and within the confusion there is method, carefully thought out and for the most part consistent. Hydatius cared about chronology, it was not a minor aspect of writing his chronicle, and he endeavoured to maintain its accuracy to the best of his ability. While the regnal chronology may at times be incorrect, the actual order of events described is much more accurate in the later sections than in the earlier; this is of course mostly because he is dealing with more local and more recent events. Because of this the chronicle is an invaluable chronological source; the approximate dates of most events are still preserved and can be determined with a high degree of accuracy from Tables 7 and 8. As stated above, in spite of the errors we can only wonder at the overall correctness of the chronology when we consider Hydatius' situation. With few resources and no outside assistance, there was little he could do to correct his chronology short of fudging things here and there, an expedient to which, as we have seen, he resorted on a number of occasions. Again we only have to turn to the Gallic Chronicles and observe their errors to realize the skill and care Hydatius has brought to his task. There can be little doubt that he passed the boundary between thoughtless compiler and a true chronicler.

CHAPTER 5: THE EMPIRE, EMPERORS, USURPERS, AND THE MILITARY

In this and the following three chapters I shall be discussing the four major areas covered by the chronicle and what Hydatius' treatment of them reveals about him as an historian and as an inhabitant of the world of the later Roman Empire. In selecting what to include in his chronicle Hydatius was led by three major considerations: what he saw in the *Chronici canones* and the other short sources he possessed (his recension of the *Consularia* and the "fasti miscelli"), what interested him and what he considered suitable for a chronicle. In the *Chronici canones* Jerome's topics cover only four major subjects: imperial, that is, the emperor, his family and usurpers; the military; religion; and natural phenomena. Hydatius however wrote ninety years later on the other side of the Mediterranean, and though he took these categories as the basis of his work he altered his subject matter to suit his own situation and interests. As a result the military aspect, which had increasingly in the latter pages of Jerome's text dealt with clashes between imperial and barbarian troops, grew so that it almost exclusively concerned the barbarians, either their attacks against the Romans or the Romans' attacks against them. Military material not involving the barbarians is very rare indeed (accounting for less than 8% of the total events), just as it was in real life. And while the reporting of natural (and unnatural phenomena) was dramatically increased by Hydatius, it was almost completely subsumed under religion. As a result, all but two entries in the chronicle¹ fall under or are related to one of the following four headings: imperial, the military, barbarians, or religion. The first two of these aspects will be discussed in this chapter, the latter two in the three chapters following (6-8).

In spite of his isolation, Hydatius could hardly but have been conscious of the Empire. Spain had still been a part of it when he was very young and he was raised by and lived with older individuals who had lived their lives as Roman citizens and who had enjoyed the privileges and the patriotic pride of having had a series of Spanish emperors starting with Theodosius I in 379. However, from the time Hydatius was about eleven

¹ Entries 47, on a plague in Spain, and 143, on the consulship of Asturius.

Gallaecia had been cut off from the rest of the Empire and become part of a loosely structured barbarian kingdom instituted by the Sueves and run locally from Bracara and Emerita. As a result, Hydatius had spent most of his life living outside of the Empire cut off from whatever benefits, disadvantages and influences being a part of it might have brought. A close examination of the chronicle reveals, though perhaps only in a small way, what Hydatius knew about the Empire, what he thought about it and those who represented it, and what it meant to him. As far as the modern historian is concerned, Gallaecia ceased to be a part of the Roman Empire in 411. To my knowledge no one has ever asked what the Empire still might have meant for the Gallaecians of this immediately post-Roman world. Hydatius is our only link to the thoughts of these people.

1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT OF KNOWLEDGE

In 1971 one of the great modern scholars of Late Antiquity wrote, “In western Europe, the fifth century was a time of narrowing horizons...Communications suffered...in the fifth century, a bishop writing in Asturia hardly knew what happened outside his own province.”² This last comment is patently false and the first part of this chapter will be devoted to showing just how much Hydatius did know about events outside his own province. Horizons narrowed and communications suffered in the fifth century, of that there is little doubt—there is evidence for it in the chronicle itself—, but the breakdown in communications must have been far from the degree implied by Brown and many other scholars who have made similar pronouncements if Hydatius, in the farthest western corner of the Empire, living under barbarian rule, could have obtained the information he did concerning the rest of the Empire. Perhaps the perceived problem is not one of dissemination but of lack of interest on the part of authors.

Map 2 shows the cities, the provinces and areas Hydatius names outside of Spain³ and Tables 9-13 show in tabular and graphic form the number of events Hydatius reports in each area of the Empire and the percentage of the total material of the chronicle he devotes to the four subject categories. The three charts and the five graphs

² Brown (1971), 126 (echoed by Thompson (1982), 149). Why he is using such an outdated name as “Asturia” is unknown, but he is obviously referring to Hydatius.

³ The limits of Hydatius’ knowledge of Spain will be discussed in Chapter 6.

in Tables 9-13 have been created to assist with the visualization of the detail Hydatius records about events which take place in each area of the Empire: Africa, the East, Gaul, Italy and Spain. They are not (and cannot be) definitive, completely consistent or unambiguous. An “event”, for the purposes of these tables, is a single action or occurrence which represents a unit of information within the context of each entry; what some might in other circumstances call a “fact”. In entries where detailed aspects of a larger single action are recorded the details are not counted separately. Thus in §§48, 174 and 186 each small action described is not counted as a separate event, though in 186 the three separate sieges are. The crossing of individuals from one area to another usually counts as two events, one for each area. The movement of legates between Spain and Gaul causes a bit of a problem since to record each embassy as an event under Spain and Gaul would multiply the references enormously, yet in such cases Hydatius’ knowledge of the despatch of a legate from Gaul based on his appearance in Gallaecia is not the same as his knowledge of, for instance, the death of Nepotianus in Gaul. Consequently I have taken each despatch and return of legates as a single event recorded under the area for which Hydatius gives the most information of their actions or from which point of view he narrates the entry. The percentages in Tables 9 and 10 are obviously not meant to be mathematically exact, in spite of their appearance. They are again intended to present the material in an easily and quickly understandable form. And from Table 9 we can see immediately that, in contrast to the quotation above, less than half of the chronicle concerns Spain, let alone Gallaecia.

The map and tables show that Hydatius knew more about Spain than any other province; this is to be expected, though the outright domination of Spanish events over all those in other areas (more than 50% of all events in the last three decades concern Spain: 61.8%, 53%, 58.2%) is rather surprising. His information on Spanish events begins to outstrip that for other individual areas in the decade 429-438, when the Sueves begin to take hostile actions in Gallaecia. The barbarians are his chief interest in Spain; as can be seen in Table 10, just over three-quarters of his entire account concerns them, while religion accounts for almost a fifth of the remainder.⁴

⁴ It should be pointed out here that the totals in this table are not 100% because many events have

1a. ITALY, EMPERORS AND POPES

Of the four remaining areas, Hydatius has more information concerning events in Italy than for any other individual area; about one-fifth of the chronicle. This is chiefly because of the detailed accounts concerning Valentinian III, Petronius Maximus and Avitus (under 419-28 and 449-58). Italy, Milan, Ravenna, Aquileia, Utriculum, Rome, Nola, Campania, Sicily, Panormus, and Corsica are all mentioned by name though a great number of events are not given any specific location (e.g. the deaths of Majorian and Severus). There is much that is missing from this account of Italy, especially concerning religion and the barbarians in the period before the death of Honorius, but this is probably simply a lack of early Italian source material since there seems little reason for him to have omitted it on purpose given his predilection for recording similar material elsewhere.⁵

As one would expect, most Italian events described in the chronicle concern the bishops of Rome, the emperors and the imperial family (68%). References to bishops of Rome appear in entries 13, 15, 35, 52, 65, 87, 105, 133, 135, 145, 221, and 248. Strangely, the only other Italian religious figures mentioned are Ambrose (8, 13) and Paulinus of Nola and Therasia (81). Indeed, Hydatius shows more interest in the popes than in the holders of any other episcopal seat in the Empire. Italian events involving emperors, empresses and usurpers are well-spread throughout the chronicle from entry 17 to 247. Most of these involve only the accessions and deaths of the various individuals.

But why did Hydatius, in his little corner of barbarian Gallaecia, devote so much space to the emperor, usurpers and the bishop of Rome? With regard to the former, it can have had little to do with any direct connection between Gallaecia and the emperor since there was none. Majorian came to eastern Spain in 460 (200) but that was with the intention of freeing Africa from the Vandals not Gallaecia from the Sueves or Goths. It is true that Hydatius knew that Theodosius was Spanish but apart from the activities of

been counted at least twice. For instance, §12 counts under imperial, military and barbarian. Each figure is related solely to the total number of events from each area (final column, Table 9A).

⁵ On this, see above, 57-9.

Theodosius himself which he copied from the *Consularia* he does not give any greater space to the Theodosians than he does to any other emperor (see below). All of the emperors and the events surrounding them are usually remote, hazy and briefly described, though the accessions of Marcian and Avitus and the deaths of Valentinian and Majorian are exceptions. Even usurpers are mentioned, and two, Heraclian and Petronius, are described with a surprising amount of detail. Given these facts then, Hydatius must have had strong personal reasons for paying such close attention to the emperors. The first point is obviously simply one of following his exemplar. The emperors were one of the focuses of the *Chronici canones* and their regnal years gave this work its structure so their accessions and deaths at least could not be ignored.⁶ However, Hydatius also shows a great interest in usurpers and the female members of the imperial family, like Eudoxia, Placidia, Pulcheria and Valentinian's two daughters. These were not aspects of the *Chronici canones* nor necessary for chronology. The fact that one-fifth of all material in the chronicle, and over a third of the non-Spanish material, is devoted to the emperors and the imperial family in East and West, and the threats against their authority by usurpers, shows that Hydatius, in spite of his isolation and relatively meagre information, was still devoted to them as an institution and still believed that they were one of the most important and noteworthy aspects of the history of his period. Gallaecia had been Roman for four hundred years and such ties could not be abandoned quickly, especially amongst the Christian clergy. Hydatius at least, and perhaps many other Spaniards of his generation, must have still felt some affection for, attachment and loyalty to the Empire and, hence, the imperial families. It is impossible to say whether Hydatius still regarded the emperor as being ruler over Gallaecia and himself but he still did appear to see him as the head of the civilized secular world.

The situation with respect to the bishops of Rome is in certain ways different from that for the emperors, since Hydatius can offer at least one instance where the pope does

⁶ There may well have been influence from earlier historians and biographers in this regard but we do not know what other histories Hydatius may have read. Prosper found a way to reduce the importance of the emperors by switching his chronology to consuls, something which for someone in Gallaecia was even more difficult than regnal years.

take a direct interest in Gallaecian affairs (Leo's letter to Thoribius in 447; §135) and Jerome did not give these bishops any more prominence than any other bishops as a whole. However, Hydatius was writing almost ninety years after Jerome and the position of the bishop of Rome had increased in importance an enormous amount in the intervening years.⁷ Thus by Hydatius' time the bishop of Rome was generally regarded as the head of the Western if not the entire church (at least in the West). And while Gallaecia's position with regard to the emperor may have been problematical, there was no doubt about the extent of the power and influence of the the bishop of Rome, especially in the mind of an anti-heretical Western bishop. The emphasis given to the popes in the chronicle is therefore a result of their perceived positions as head of the spiritual world.

1b. GAUL

Gaul follows next in the amount of material reported (18.2%). Hydatius mentions Armorica, Aquitania, Trier, Mettis, the Catalaunian plains, Augustodunum, Tolosa, Biterris, Vienna, Tours, Narbo, and Arles, a greater total than for Italy. Only Biterris, Tours, Trier, and Augustodunum are mentioned for religious reasons. The quantity of Gallic material in the chronicle is a result of the facts that Hydatius had Gallic sources before 440 and that many later events in Spain had their roots in actions taken in Gaul. There is no sense of remoteness or distance evident here, as is the case with Italy, but of strong connections, fostered not only by Hydatius' own journey to Gaul in 431-2, but also by the fact that for the last half of the chronicle the Goths, who were based in Gaul, maintained an active interest in the peninsula, making Gaul even more of a focus of Hydatius' attentions than it might otherwise have been. Surprisingly, there is very little religious material from Gaul presented (8, 13, 16, 37a, 73, 151). Most of the information in the first half of the chronicle concerns usurpers and the military attempts by Roman generals to subdue the various barbarian invaders and settlers. Towards the end of the first half of the chronicle more stress is placed upon the Goths who soon come to dominate the second half (from c.§143), which has only Aegidius' defence of northern

⁷ See Barraclough (1969), 24-8.

Gaul against Fredericus (218) to match Aëtius and Litorius' anti-barbarian actions in the first half (430-9). As a result in Hydatius' eyes Gaul is transformed from a Roman province defended by Roman troops against the barbarians to the "Gallicana Gothorum habitatio" (232).⁸

1c. AFRICA

Africa receives scant mention in the chronicle; only Mauritania, Hippo and Carthage are named, the latter two for religious reasons. All of his material falls into several related areas: religious (3), imperial (4), military (3), Sebastian (2), and the Vandals (8). This never accounts for more than 9% of the total material in any given decade and amounts to a total of only 4% of the entire chronicle. The most interesting deficiency is the lack of religious material, given the presence in Africa of Augustine and the Arian Vandals, whose last years in Spain are described in such detail (89-90). He knows almost nothing of Augustine's activities in Africa or of Gaiseric's persecutions of orthodox Christians beyond a general expulsion of clergy and the bishop from Carthage at the time of its capture. Though Hydatius would likely have had sympathy for the Africans because they had to suffer barbarian occupation as Spain did, he knows nothing about the invasion or the sufferings of the people beyond the short account in §118. He reports on the comings and goings of individuals and groups, but with a few exceptions it is obvious that he really knew little about what actually happened in Africa itself.⁹ In spite of any researches that Hydatius may have undertaken, Africa remained on the fringes of his world, a distant and obscure land, linked to him by only the slimmest and most meagre of accounts. The information which his contacts brought him from Gaul, Italy and the East did not, for some reason, extend to Africa.

1d. THE EAST

As would be expected, Hydatius' knowledge of the East is rather weak, though it is far more extensive than his knowledge of Africa. He often just uses the term *Oriens* to

⁸ See Tables 10-11. For more extensive detail on the transformation of Gaul in the chronicle, see my paper, (forthcoming b).

⁹ For instance, he knows nothing of Boniface's activities there (78, 99). It is for this reason that a number of references to Africa in the chronicle do not count as "events", chiefly the two African expeditions in 236 and 247.

locate events in the East and is rarely specific. The cities and areas he mentions are Constantinople, Antioch, Isauria, Cyprus, Palestine, Caesarea, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Arabia, Egypt, and Alexandria, a list which betrays his dominant political and religious interests in this part of the Empire. Indeed most of his account of the East concerns these two aspects. A few of these places he had visited himself, so he may have had some idea of where they were. He had met and conversed with Germanus the presbyter from the *Arabica regio* but it is doubtful whether he really knew where that was, and he certainly did not know where Antioch was (215).

Because of Hydatius' heavy reliance upon his copy of the *Consularia* in the early years of the chronicle,¹⁰ over half of all his material to 388 concerns political and military affairs in the East. For the next sixty years, however, he can report only an average of just over three Eastern incidents per decade. In the last two decades, however, his sources improve and his material doubles. As a proportion of the total chronicle, though, his Eastern material shows a definite downward trend to 6%. In the end, 12.8% of the chronicle concerns the East, a remarkable total for one in Hydatius' position.

From 388 to 450 most of Hydatius' Eastern material is religious, a surprising contrast with his account of the West. In fact, leaving aside events relating directly to the emperor, there is almost nothing in the chronicle after §18 concerning secular events in the East at all. This probably arises from a simple lack of access to news from the East. It must have been difficult enough to get information on Western events let alone news about what was happening in the East. As it was, when he did get detailed information, from East or West, it was often confused, corrupted (e.g. 106, 154, 177, and 247) or not fully understood (e.g. 106, 109, and 145). If news of Eastern events was generally known in Gaul and Italy, he should have been able to have obtained such information through the same channels as he obtained his Western information. However, Prosper and the Gallic Chronicle of 452 present hardly more information on Eastern political and military events than Hydatius does (in fact it is usually less), so the problem, be it lack of interest, lack of sources or both, is not confined to Hydatius alone. On the other hand he

¹⁰ See above, 35-50.

knows of the earthquake in Antioch and the return of the imperial women, extremely arcane knowledge since neither is reported by any other Western source, and for that reason surprising when it appears in a chronicle like Hydatius'. One would assume that most of his information on the Eastern emperors would have come via the West, but no other Western source matches Hydatius' detail concerning the sending of Valentinian to the West in 424, the elevation of Marcian or the death of Pulcheria. In fact he is the only source, Eastern or Western, to give the month of the latter. He must have had access to sources to which other surviving Western historians and chronicles did not, as well as a greater interest in reporting such Eastern information, in detail when he could.

In fact Hydatius' own interests played a large part in shaping his account of the East. This is the reason he concentrates so much on Eastern religious affairs even though he does not understand them. Because of his introduction to Eastern holy men and religious ideas during his *peregrinatio* he tried as best as he could to keep up with the later developments in the Eastern church, probably looking to the East as well as to Rome for guidance in the support of orthodoxy. This would explain why so many of the Eastern individuals and documents he mentions are concerned with heresy. And being a bishop he was relatively better able to keep up with religious events in the East than he was with military and secular events.¹¹

The secular events he describes divide into two, those of 388 and before which derive from his recension of the *Consularia* and those after 388 which derive from various personally gathered, random sources. Although his notices on secular events are relatively sparse, one could well wonder why, given the fact that the most important aspects of the chronicle involve Spain, Hydatius should have bothered to include the East at all.¹² The events which took place there had no impact on Spain and the Eastern emperors were but names who had no control over or involvement in the West, let alone Gallaecia. Part of the answer to this stems from the fact that most of the material of the chronicle in and before 388 derived from his copy of the *Consularia* and he was

¹¹ On the religious events described in the chronicle, see below, 224-6.

¹² Marcellinus *comes*, for instance, who concentrates on the East and Constantinople, made hardly any attempt at all to obtain information concerning the West.

compelled to copy it and its Eastern outlook, simply because he had virtually no other information for those years. Another reason is the fact that Hydatius had been to the East and this had created an interest in the religious leaders who lived there and the religious events which happened there. As a result the East had become a part of his world view and his horizons in a way that was not possible for many other inhabitants of Gallaecia. Another factor is, again, that he is following the *Chronici canones*, which covered the historical development of the entire civilized world from the time of Abraham. In the latter part of the chronicle Jerome followed events in both halves of the Empire and the exploits of the emperors of both East and West. This document too could not help but expand Hydatius' world view and lead him to see the Empire as an integrated whole, a unit separated only by its vast size. Hydatius' never-flagging interest in both halves of the Empire and in both emperors shows him to be a man still clinging to many of the traditions and beliefs of the fourth century and before, a man whose outlook and interests still go far beyond the confines of his city, his province and his diocese. In Chapter 9 this will be contrasted with his other more medieval approaches to history.

By way of summary, then, it can be said that, as would be expected, much of the geography and less recent history of the Empire was unknown to Hydatius. Religion and the imperial families account for most of the references to Italy and the East, the Vandals to Africa and the Goths to Gaul. For Italy too almost half of the 20 non-papal and imperial references concern the Vandals and the Goths, while over a third of the 23 non-Gothic events in Gaul concern other barbarian groups. In all cases there is a proportional drop in unrelated information in the second half of the chronicle (from c. §143). For example, with respect to Gaul there are 27 non-Gothic related events of 64 in total for the chronicle. Of those 27 only seven appear in the second half the chronicle. Most (19) appear in and before 437. In Italy of 20 non-papal or imperial events out of 72 in total, eight occur in the second half, of which three concern the Huns and four the Vandals (153, 154, 167, 176-7, 227, 236). Discounting Gaiseric's attack on Sicily in 440 all other events occur in and before 433. In Africa there are five events after 445 and all involve the Vandals. In the East there are too few non-religious and imperial events to be

considered (seven). Hydatius' frontiers are thus in a sense shrinking as less and less diverse material reaches him (or is it that he is subconsciously allowing certain preoccupations to dominate his account?). With the exception of the earthquake at Antioch (215) and two papal notices (211, 248), the only information reported in the last 15 or so years of the chronicle concerns the emperors, the Vandals and the Goths. Epistolary contacts cease in 452 and nothing is known about the successors of Constantius, Felix and Aëtius until Ricimer is made Patrician in "Anth. II" (Marcellinus is never even given a title). Much of the later material, especially for Gaul and Africa, tends to relate to the comings and goings of individuals like legates and generals, rather than self-contained events within the boundaries of those two areas. So the fifth century was a time a narrowing horizons and difficult communications, but the effects were by no means complete, and old loyalties and interests remained.

2. THE EMPIRE, ROME AND THE ROMANS

We must now turn to what Hydatius said and thought about the Empire and those who governed and protected it. The question of what exactly the "Roman Empire" was for Hydatius is not a simple one since he does not do us the favour of defining it. His uses of the phrase show that the territorial sense, as in "conclusi in angustias imperii Romani metas" (pref. 7) and "Maorianum...Romano imperio...res necessarias ordinantem" (210), is outweighed by the political sense, as seen in "principatus imperii... Romani" (169), "quia fidus Romano esset imperio", "tam secum quam cum Romano imperio...iurati foederis promissa seruarent", "prouincia quae Romano imperio deseruiebat" (all three 170) and "aduersum Romanum imperium...Vandalis consulentes" (247); "the State", as we would say today. Such is also the meaning of the term *nomen* in the three entries where it appears (63, 210, 228). From the context of all of these non-territorial references but one (169), the sense of "state" appears to be a political, cultural, religious, and linguistic concept springing from the opposition to the barbarian *regna*.

Hydatius' only comment on the Empire occurs in the preface and was partially quoted above, "conclusi in angustias imperii Romani metas...ruituras". Hydatius is here only stating what he knew to be true because he had himself seen it happening in Spain,

and knew about it in Gaul and Africa. The barbarian invasions are certainly the “angustias”, though usurpation and heresy were probably also included. He had seen Spain physically cut off from the rest of the Empire and knew of the havoc wrought by the barbarians in Gaul and of the Vandal conquest of Africa. The frontiers were so badly damaged that he could see no chance of their being repaired. As will be seen in Chapter 7 he had other reasons for believing that the Empire’s days were numbered by God’s preordained decree and that the barbarians were the unstoppable instruments of its destruction. He believed that it would happen soon and he had the proof. We shall also see in Chapter 7 that Hydatius believed that God protected and assisted the Empire and its inhabitants against the barbarians.

The most interesting aspect of Hydatius’ view of his own relationship to the Empire comes in the preface where he is quoting from Jerome’s preface to the *Chronici canones*. Jerome says that he stopped writing in 378 “quoniam dibacchantibus adhuc in terra nostra barbaris incerta sunt omnia” (Helm 7). Hydatius makes two changes to this, the most important for our purposes here is that he says “in Romano solo” instead of “in terra nostra”. For Hydatius and his prospective readers the provinces of Illyricum, Gaul, Pannonia, and Thrace, where Jerome had described repeated barbarian incursions and warfare (246^{f, h}; 247^{a, g}; 248^f; 249^{a, c}), no longer constituted “terra nostra”, which would have implied Gallaecia, but “Romanum solum”, which was now something external and distinct from Gallaecia.

And what did Hydatius feel about Rome? Very little. It is unnecessary to go into details about Roman reaction to the sack of Rome in 410;¹³ the effect was devastating and widespread. The centre and capital of the world, the eternal city, the head of the church, and the object of over a thousand years of veneration and awe had been violated and destroyed, humbled before cruel and uncivilized barbarian invaders. In a few days of pillaging, Rome had lost most of its ancient pride and prestige in the eyes of the world. So much so, that, though both East and West had reverberated at the sack of 410, the sack of 455 caused virtually no stir at all. So it was for Hydatius. Rome was but a large

¹³ See Paschoud (1967) and Kaegi (1968).

and famous city; it figured often in reports because the emperor had begun to reside there once again. The bishop of Rome was regarded as the leader of the church, but it was he, not the city, who was important. Apart from this Rome was nothing. Hydatius' attitude to Rome is vividly demonstrated by the only two entries which concern the city itself. The sack of Rome in 410, which, for instance, drew from Augustine the *De ciuitate dei*, prompts two short sentences from Hydatius (43), less space than he gives to dozens of other much less important events, and vastly less than he gives to the sacks of two local cities, Bracara and Asturica in 456-7. The language he uses is uninteresting, colourless and understated. "Alaricus rex Gothorum Romam ingressus" betrays no hint of what happened to the city and is identical to §19, "Theodosius cum Honorio filio suo Romam ingresus est", a very different action indeed.¹⁴ The only description of violence is placed within a subordinate clause "cum intra et extra urbem caedes agerentur", in order to introduce the real point of the entry, not the sack of the city, but the fact that the Goths respected the churches as sanctuaries: "omnibus indultum est qui ad sanctorum limina confugerunt".

Entry 167, describing Gaiseric's sack of Rome in 455, is very similar. Again he uses the neutral word "ingreditur" and gives no details of what happened during the sack besides stating that Gaiseric took "direptae opes Romanorum" as well as Valentinian's widow (Eudoxia), her two children (Placidia and Eudocia) and Aëtius' son Gaudentius. The same lack of emotion is emphasized by the fact that the entire entry is almost an aside, inserted four entries later than it should have been. He seems to reveal more feeling with regard to the accusation against Eudoxia than to the actual sack. In fact, it would seem that he is more interested in the abduction of the imperial women than the actual penetration of the walls of "Roma Aeterna" for a second time.

There are numerous other references to Rome (13, 19, 85, 128, 138, 148, 162^{ter}, 163, 210, 211, 216, and 235) but all merely indicate the place of an event or action; none actually concerns the city itself, and many are mentioned simply because of a reference to the emperor who happened to be in Rome at the time. None of these references suggests

¹⁴ On Hydatius' use of "ingreditur/ingressus", see below, 147.

in any way that Hydatius felt anything more towards Rome than he did towards any other non-Spanish city. Two minor points, however, may still betray the inertia of pre-410 usages with regard to the capital. In the chronicle Rome is the only city for which Hydatius uses the correct locative form, “*Romae*”, rather than the ablative or accusative he uses for other cities. He also refers to it as an “*urbs*” more than any other city; his usual word is “*ciuitas*”.¹⁵

Who are “Romans” for Hydatius and how does he use the term? First of all we must disregard all references to Romans in the notices of new emperors and bishops of Rome (respectively *Romanorum*, 1, 27, 82, 165, 185, 211, 235, and *Romanae*, 15, 35, 52, 65, 87, 105, 133, 135, 221, 248) since these are simply formulae copied from Jerome. The former refers to the subjects of the Roman Empire and the latter refers to the city of Rome itself. The major use of the term is in direct contrast to the barbarians, a political designation used to differentiate the two sides of the Roman and barbarian conflict, as would be expected. As such, it carries with it some of the political sense of “Empire”. This appears in pref. 4, 3, 7, 108, 116, 117, 154, 158, 168, and 186. A second usage is as an adjective to describe the people of Rome, though this appears only in §§166 and 167 and for the popes.

The final usage occurs in entries involving Spain where the inhabitants are referred to as *Romani*. This appears in §§174, 188, 199, and 246. Here again its effect is one of contrast, though Hydatius uses the term sparingly and in other parts of the chronicle local inhabitants are not explicitly referred to as *Romani*, even though directly contrasted with the barbarians: “plebs” (91), “Callaeci” (96, 100, 135, 188, 196, 197, 204, 220), “plebs Calleciae” (113), “Auregienses” (202), “Aunonensis plebs” (233, 239), and “Aunonenses” (249). It would seem that Hydatius uses “*Romani*” in the four above-mentioned entries, and nowhere else, because he has already described the location of the action (Bracara, Lusitania, Lucus, and Lusitania) and a simple adjective (“*Lusitani*”¹⁶) or a periphrasis (“*habitantes Bracara*” or “*Luco*”) would be repetitious and tautological.

¹⁵ “*Urbs*”: Rome, 43, 44, 128, 138, 162, 216; other cities, 48, 106, 130, 142, 173, 219. “*Ciuitas*”: pref. 1, 2, 31, 49, 73, 89, 150, 154*bis*, 174, 186, 188, 206, 215, 241, 244.

¹⁶ This adjective never actually appears in the chronicle.

“Spani” (2, 49) and “Hispanienses” (135) are not used because they are general provincial terms in the chronicle and therefore not suitable for local use. It is difficult to know how significant it is that Hydatius does not use this term until the second half of the chronicle; it may simply be fortuitous. The contrast is always present, of course, in all the words Hydatius uses for local inhabitants—a Sueve or Goth could never be a “plebs Callaeciae” or an “Aunonensis”—but these few indications, made it would seem for stylistic reasons, show us that right up to the end of the period covered by the chronicle Hydatius and his fellow Gallaecians and Lusitanians still regarded themselves as Romans in spite of close to sixty years of Suevic dominance and close co-existence (as §199 proves).¹⁷ Even though to our way of thinking Gallaecia and Lusitania has been long since been lost to the Roman Empire, the inhabitants still thought of themselves as Roman, because of their language, culture, civilization, and (probably) loyalty to the emperor. Their opposition to and confrontations with the Suevic inhabitants and Gothic invaders strengthened this contrast. For contemporaries, then, being Roman was more than the simple presence of a military or civil administration, or being a part of the Roman Empire.

So what sense can we make out of this mass of material on Hydatius and the Roman Empire presented above? The first point is that Hydatius saw the Empire as a single unified whole with two emperors. The division which really existed was not completely apparent to Hydatius, nor might it have been to most of the inhabitants of the Empire who were unaffected by the petty bickerings of the emperors and their courts. There was an East and a West, but there was only one *imperium*. The East was far off, but so was Africa, and these were more familiar to him than the northernmost areas of the West. The first indication of Hydatius’ view is the general detail which he presents in the entries which concern the Eastern emperors. Unlike the bishops of Rome who, with the exception of Leo, form but a list of names, the Eastern emperors are traced in the fullest detail Hydatius could manage; in this case he was not content with mere names. This

¹⁷ Cf. similar uses of “Romani” in Eugippius’ *Vita s. Seuerini* 2.1; 8.1, 4; 19.3; 27.1-2; 31.6bis; 40.4; 44.5 (*MGH:AA* 1.2: 8, 11, 12, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29). Wilhelm Reinhart ([1952], 49, n. 34) claims that the “Romans” are distinct from the Gallaecians and are probably members of the bureaucratic class in service to the Roman Empire.

betrays a strong and fundamental interest in these men, perhaps not as men but at least as holders of their most important office. He does not see the Eastern emperors as more or less important than their Western colleagues. He uses the same terms to describe them and in §§27 and 185 indicates their equality.¹⁸ When referring to the East he uses the expression “in partibus Orientis” (82, 147, 184). The *partes* being *partes* of the whole Empire, not a separate Empire unto itself.¹⁹ In this it is interesting to compare the usage of Prosper in Rome in 455—“regnum Orientis” and “Occidentale imperium”—, the Gallic Chronicle of 452—“Orientale imperium” and “Orientis imperium”—and Marcellinus *comes*—“Orientale/Occidentale imperium/res publica”.²⁰ The best evidence appears in §§82 and 165 where Hydatius states that when there was no Western emperor the Eastern emperor became emperor of a single Empire, holding a *monarchia imperii*. This is an interesting technical usage which one would not ordinarily expect from an isolated provincial author. It shows quite clearly however that it was generally regarded (for certainly if Hydatius knew about it many others must have as well; he was in no position to be constitutionally better informed than anyone else of his class) that when there was no Western emperor the Eastern emperor ruled the whole Empire. This idea of collegiality is what we might otherwise have described as a constitutional nicety which existed in theory but not in practice. However these two passages show that it was a practice known and accepted even in the farthest reaches of fifth-century Gallaecia. It is also mirrored in the contemporary coinage of the West, for when coinage was needed during an interregnum it was struck in the name of the Eastern emperor. The imitation gold struck in Gaul, either by Germanic tribes or local Roman enclaves, carried the name of the reigning Western emperors until 476 and then simply switched to the names of the Eastern emperors; these minters did not strike in their own names as if they were now

¹⁸ Note that Hydatius does not say that one ruled the Eastern empire and the other the Western; they are presented as equal joint rulers.

¹⁹ Cf., e.g., *CTh* V.6.3 where an Eastern law prohibits the settlement of the Scyrae and Huns “a partibus Thraciae uel Illyrici”.

²⁰ Prosper: 1170, 1286 (he also uses the expressions “Orientalium partium consul/sacerdotes” (1241, 1350) which are similar to Hydatius’); *Chron. Gall.*: 11, 53 (the compiler also uses “in partibus Orientis” in 5); Marcellinus: pref., 379.1, 392.1, 424.4 (“regnum Occidentale”), 434, 454.2, 465.2 (“Occidentis principatum”), and 476.2 (“Hesperium imperium”).

independent kingdoms; they still regarded themselves as part of the Roman Empire which was now ruled from Constantinople. For Hydatius the East was an integral part of the Empire and not even distance and poor source material could diminish its importance or that of its emperors.

Thus it is quite probable that if Hydatius had lived into the 470's he would not have been aware of the "Fall of the Roman Empire" when Romulus was deposed by Odoacar. Just as Theodosius II and Marcian obtained the *monarchia imperii* when the *principatus* in the West lapsed (and Hydatius hardly even noticed when it lapsed for 21 months in 465-7), so Zeno would have been seen as filling the same rôle in 476. The loss of Rome or Italy to the barbarians would have prompted some notice, but his general lack of a sense of awe with regard to Rome and Italy would have precluded any laments on the end of the Empire or on Romulus as the last emperor.

Hydatius never once gives any hint that he perceived himself as any less of a Roman for two generations of Suevic settlement and pillaging. It is only the later generations, those who lived long after 476, who first start to notice that the Empire is gone when they look back. The first such notices in the West come in the *Vita s. Seuerini* of 509-511 and the early sixth century *Auctuarium Havniense*.²¹ And yet there is abundant evidence from the laws of the Ostrogoths, Burgundians, Franks, and Visigoths that the original non-Germanic inhabitants of Gaul and Italy continued to be called "Romans", even though there was no Western emperor. The same is true for Noricum ripense (see n. 17 above). There is also evidence which shows that in Gaul the Eastern emperor was still perceived as the titular ruler of the Empire and that Constantinople was still the capital of the world.²² For these reasons the barbarians in Gaul and Spain continued to strike coins in imitation of Eastern issues until the late-sixth and early-seventh centuries. Many of the ways in which these "post-imperial" Romans of the sixth and seventh centuries perceived themselves and their position within the

²¹ *Vita* 20.1 (MGH:AA 1.2: 18) and *Auct. Hav. ord. post. margo* 476.1 and *ord. prior.* 476.4 (*Chron. min.* I: 309, 311). The *Vita* was written in Noricum ripense where, as in Spain, serious Roman influence had ended long before 476.

²² Fischer (1924-5).

Empire can be seen reflected in Hydatius' chronicle in the mid-fifth century.

3. INDIVIDUALS

I now turn to an examination of Hydatius' knowledge of, familiarity with and attitudes towards a number of individuals and groups who represented or were a part of the Roman Empire, beginning with the source of all imperial power, the emperors, who play such a large part in the chronicle.

3a. EMPERORS

In spite of the space Hydatius devotes to the emperors as a whole his attitudes towards them individually can often be extremely enigmatic because he never says anything explicit which would betray those attitudes. One is therefore forced to look for implicit clues based on how each emperor is described and the tone of the descriptions in relation to Hydatius' known interests and preferences. Some interesting insights can be gained from an investigation of the terms he uses to describe them. The standard words are *Augustus* and *imperator*. Both words equally mean "emperor", but only *imperator* is used on its own, meaning "the emperor" (pref. 3, 238*bis*, 247, 251), and is more usually used in apposition with the name (44, 76, 146, 148, 160, 162, 173, 200, 209, 247*ter*). *Augustus* appears to be rather more formal; he always uses it in apposition to the emperor's name in the preface (intro, pref. 2, pref. 3, pref. 6*bis*) and when first describing an emperor's accession in the "official" phrase he copied from Jerome, *Augustus appellatur* (2, 9, 85, 162, 163, 185, 211, 235). There are two notable exceptions to this, Constantius and Marcian, and they will be discussed below.²³ In the other places where it appears (4, 5, 24, 106, 170, 197, 234) there would again appear to be some stress on the more formal or ceremonial aspects of the emperor's position.²⁴

Constantius was not made *Augustus* upon his accession, but only a *consors regni*. Theodosius I was taken *in consortium regni* and Arcadius was made a *consors*

²³ The accessions of Honorius and Theodosius II are not recorded.

²⁴ I.e., 4 and 5 stress the consulship; 24 contrasts Theodosius' legitimacy with the usurper Eugenius; 106 stresses Theodosius' leadership of the council; 170 would seem to be stressing Avitus' position as emperor in relation to the Gothic king and the Sueves' disregard of both; 197 likewise stresses Majorian's position vis-a-vis the Gothic king; and 234 emphasizes Leo's position and hence his legal right to appoint a new emperor.

regni as well, but both were also proclaimed *Augusti* (1, 2, 9). There would appear to be a reason for this slight to Constantius and it will be discussed below.

For Marcian he uses the unique expression “*efficitur imperator*” (147). The closest he comes to this is in §22, “*Eugenius tyrannus efficitur*”. Further, Marcian is made emperor “*a militibus et ab exercitu*” (a strange tautology) “*instante etiam sorore Theodosii Pulcheria regina*”. The only parallel for a military proclamation is Avitus and as will be seen below it is partially because of this proclamation that Hydatius regards Avitus’ legitimacy as very dubious. Even more interesting is the fact that Marcian is the only emperor to be called *princeps* (154*bis*, 157, 162) and he is given no other title. I must admit that I cannot define exactly what the difference was between *Augustus/imperator* and *princeps* for Hydatius, or why he appears to have deliberately avoided the use of the words *Augustus* and *imperator* in the case of Marcian, especially since he used the former in the case of Petronius and Avitus, both emperors of dubious legitimacy, as will be seen below. The refusal to use *Augustus* even in the accession entry may suggest that Hydatius suspected Marcian’s legitimacy and *princeps* may therefore be a way of acknowledging Marcian as a “prince” without actually calling him “emperor”. However, I cannot explain why he uses *princeps* only for Marcian when his doubts over legitimacy are expressed for two other emperors. The best suggestion I can offer for this entire question is that Hydatius had somehow heard of the outrage Marcian’s accession had caused in the West in late 450 to early 452 and as a result did not portray him as a completely legitimate emperor, not realizing that Valentinian eventually accepted him fully.²⁵

The other terms of imperial position Hydatius employs are the peculiar *regina*, instead of *Augusta*, used to refer to Placidia (pref. 6) and Pulcheria (147, 157), and *Caesar*, used correctly twice to refer to Valentinian and Palladius (84, 85, 162) and once incorrectly for effect (13, see below). The terms he employs for Placidia are most

²⁵ See *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), II.1; *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, trans. R. H. Charles (London, 1916), 87.36; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, Vol. 2, ed. et trans. J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1901), VIII.x, xiv. On Valentinian’s initial reaction and eventual acceptance of Marcian nineteen months after his accession, see *CLRE*, 436.

illuminating. Although he does call her *regina* in the preface, where he was bound to be more formal, in the body of the text he only ever qualifies her name with family relationships: she is *filia*, *soror*, *uxor*, *amita*, and *mater* (44, 57, 62, 84, 148). Eudoxia is only ever *Arcadii uxor* (37) and Pulcheria is also called a *soror* (147), while Valentinian's widow and daughters (Licinia Eudoxia, Placidia and Eudocia) are never even named and called only *Valentiniani relictæ* and *filiae* (162², 167, 216).

For most of the first half of the chronicle the term Hydatius uses to denote imperial power or the word "reign" is *regnum*, e.g. "Theodosius Arcadium...regni facit sibi esse consortem" and "anno regni sui XVII" (1, 9, 25, 26, 75, 154, 157, 162^{quater}, and 165). Strangely enough he uses exactly the same word to describe the barbarian royal power (45, 60, 68, 70, 89, 114, 137, 140, 152, 156, 175, 187, 238). The former however begins to change early in the second half of the chronicle. First of all, he experiments with the term *principatus* which is a rather more technical term, meaning "emperorship" or "principate" (164, 169). He then stops using *regnum* altogether and replaces it with *imperium*. Earlier he had used *imperium* in three places: the usurper Maximus had obtained the *potestas imperii*, though not, it seems, the *imperium* itself (13); Theodosius' *monarchia* is described as a *monarchia imperii* (82), that is, "sole rule over the Empire"; and Maximus, when he saw that all was lost, wished to desert his *imperium*, that is, abdicate (162). In §165 Hydatius makes the last reference to the *regnum* of an emperor and in §§166, 183, 184, 211, 231, and 235 he uses the term *imperium* instead, e.g. "pro unianimitate imperii" (166) and "septimo anno imperii sui" (184). I can see no obvious reason for this change of usage unless he somewhat belatedly noticed that he was using the same terminology for both the Romans and the barbarians and decided to alter it.

We can now move on to a more personal view of the individual emperors themselves. Nothing can be said of Hydatius' attitudes to Gratian, Valentinian II, or Severus beyond his acceptance of their full legitimacy, for he says nothing about them and describes no activity on their part.

Some commentators have claimed that the Theodosian dynasty holds a special place

in the chronicle and that Hydatius was a great admirer and supporter of the Theodosian emperors: Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius II, and Valentinian III. The standard view is presented by Alain Tranoy.²⁶ More extreme examples are held by Harold Livermore who states that it was the murder of Valentinian “that Hydatius considered to put an end to the Roman West” and that from that point he “considered that the Empire had ceased to exist”,²⁷ and Concetta Molé who goes so far as to describe Hydatius’ “devozione ed attaccamento” to the dynasty as “di tipo ‘clientelare’ ” and “di natura più ‘personale’ che ‘pubblica’ ”:

La simpatia di Idazio per Teodosio e la sua famiglia va considerata insomma nel contesto dell’opera di ‘patronato’ esercitato dalla corte imperiale. Questa manteneva contatti e legami ‘clientelari’ con i provinciali della terra d’origine e della vicina Gallia sud-occidentale, tra i quali reclutava in buona parte gli uomini del suo governo. Idazio sembra appunto reintrare nel numero di tali ‘sostenitori’ dei Teodosidi e condividerne la natura dell’atteggiamento politico.²⁸

This would be extremely important and illuminating if true, but there is absolutely no evidence for it in the chronicle. Molé’s slender arguments, some of which she herself admits are invalid, prove nothing.²⁹ There is no doubt that Hydatius records more “intimate details” about the Theodosian dynasty than he does about later emperors; but this is simply because he had better sources for the earlier part of his chronicle (esp. for Theodosius I).³⁰ The attention to Placidia, Licinia Eudoxia (Valentinian’s widow) and Eudocia and Placidia (his two daughters) is simply because of their amazing adventures;

²⁶ I: 19-21.

²⁷ Livermore (1971), 100 and 101.

²⁸ Molé (1974), 310 and 309.

²⁹ See (1974), 306-13, esp. 306-7 and 308-9. Many of her proofs are borrowed from Torres Rodriguez who came to rather different conclusions. He believed that Hydatius accepted the “legitimista incondicional” of the Theodosians simply as the representatives of the power of Rome, but placed his trust in Constantius and Aëtius because of the “incapacidad” of Honorius and Valentinian; see Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 766-7, and (1956b), 797-8.

³⁰ Note that the marriage of Valentinian on 29 October 437 to Licinia Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius II, an event of inestimable importance for any true “pro-Theodosian”, is not reported by Hydatius since it falls at a point after his imperial sources for that period ran out (435); see above, 35-59, for Hydatius’ sources up to 440.

the kidnap of an empress or the marriage of an imperial princess to a barbarian prince are events too worthy of record to miss, if you have the sources, no matter what the dynasty. The notice of the end of the dynasty in §162 is a simple record of a remarkable fact; there is no emotion or attachment shown in Hydatius' words. Indeed its true purpose is to contrast the 77-year stability of the Theodosians with the following thirteen years of short-lived, unrelated emperors. The Theodosians' Spanish origins do not seem to count for much since Hydatius briefly mentions them in §2 and says no more about them, even in 162. None of the Theodosians are ever called "nostri", or anything of that sort. If they truly mattered to him he probably would have made more of them.

Of the Theodosians Arcadius and Honorius are virtual non-entities who do little more than come to the throne and then die.³¹ Theodosius II at least is seen assisting the West against the usurpation of Iohannes, an action which Hydatius probably regarded with favour, though he betrays nothing except through the unusual detail he lavishes on the entry (84); otherwise Theodosius II is an unknown.³² Theodosius I fares much better since he was so much more active than his sons and grandsons, especially in the field against usurpers and barbarians, and Hydatius had so much more source material to draw upon (from his recension of the *Consularia*), but he still says nothing about him which would betray any feelings he may have had towards him.³³ The simple copying of material found in a source does not constitute serious evidence of devotion or attachment, especially when this source is the only one available. In the case of Theodosius I we can say at least that Hydatius was greatly interested in his activities. For Valentinian III we can see vague hints of a negative attitude.³⁴ In the first case, after lavishly praising on Merobaudes he states that Valentinian recalled him "nonnullorum invidia perurgente" (128). This may be meant to reflect weakness on Valentinian's part. In §160 Aëtius "fraudulenter singularis accitus intra palatium manu ipsius Valentiniani imperatoris occiditur". The build up of words, the stress on "fraudulenter" and the "ipsius" leave us in no doubt about Hydatius' attitude towards Valentinian at this

³¹ Arcadius: 9, 14, 26-7, 36, 37, 82; Honorius: 10, 19, 26-7, 44, 50, 54, 56bis, 75, 80, 82.

³² Theodosius II: 36, 82, 84, 106 (actually Theodosius I, see below, 213-4), 146, 147.

³³ Theodosius I: 1-2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25-7, 44, 164.

³⁴ Valentinian: 72, 84, 85, 128, 148, 160, 161, 162quater, 164, 167bis, 216.

particular point. However, the description of Valentinian's murder by two barbarian retainers of Aëtius (162¹) lacks all emotion and comment (one might expect something on just retribution), and in 162² he actually states that Petronius Maximus was the one behind the murder of Aëtius ("in occisorum per Valentinianum... interitum... ambitu regni consilia scelestia patrata contulerat"). Again Valentinian appears as something of a dupe in the control of others, though nothing is made explicit. His lack of a number in §85 (cf. 82) has been explained in above (p. 82), and probably means nothing in this context.

Avitus is a curious problem. Muhlberger claims that Hydatius regarded him as the best of all contemporary emperors because he used barbarian power to serve Roman ends.³⁵ In support it can be claimed that Hydatius calls him *imperator* (166, 173, 183) and *Augustus* (163, 167, 170) and uses his regnal years for the chronology. On the other hand he also calls Petronius Maximus, an undoubted usurper as will be seen below, both an *Augustus* and an *imperator* and in the case of Avitus the use of these terms is ridiculously excessive, far more than for any other emperor and so much so that there would seem to be some motive behind their use (see below, under Petronius).³⁶ As well, he does not give Avitus a number, though Petronius had one, assigning it instead, *after* his accession, to Marcian alone (for the second time!) and he does not begin his regnal years until he is accepted by Marcian, stating that for the first part of Avitus' reign Marcian held a *monarchia* (163). And where is the evidence that Hydatius supported the use of the barbarians for Roman ends? Hydatius twice stresses that Avitus' method of accession was highly irregular, taking place as it did in Gaul and at the instigation of the Goths, having the sanction neither of another emperor nor the presence of an imperial capital ("in Galliis... ab exercitu Gallicano et ab honoratis primum Tolosa, dehinc apud

³⁵ (forthcoming), 414, 424, 425-6; Molé believes that Hydatius followed the Gallic aristocracy in supporting Avitus: (1974), 324-6, 329. Thompson ([1982], 141) thinks he disapproves of the Goths for not sending Avitus assistance before his downfall.

³⁶ Over his fifteen-month reign Avitus is named nine times and called *Augustus* or *imperator* six times (see above with 169, 176, 177). Cf. this with the references to the Theodosians (nn. 31-34, above) and the following: Theodosius I: *Augustus*, 2, 5, 24, 106; Arcadius: *Augustus*, 9; Honorius: *imperator*, 44; Theodosius II: (*Augustus*, 106), *imperator*, 146; Valentinian III: *Caesar*, 84, 85, *Augustus*, 85, *imperator*, 148, 160, 162¹.

Arelatum", 163; and "a Gallis et a Gothis", 183). It was only after his proclamation that he was summoned to Rome (166, "euocatus") and there accepted "a Romanis" (163, 166; both use "suscipitur"). This use of the term *Romanis*, like a similar usage in the next entry, would seem to refer simply to the citizens of Rome; the context does not really permit any other interpretation (see above, section 2). Further, Hydatius reports that Avitus was obliged to send envoys to the East looking for official recognition from Marcian "pro unianimitate imperii", thus implying that a rift had opened up between East and West with Avitus' accession. Such steps are not reported for any other emperor. Instead of saying, as he did for others, that Marcian made Avitus a "consors sibi regni" or that Avitus "per Marcianum appellatur Augustus", he uses the strange expression "concordes principatu Romani utuntur imperii". The suggestion appears to be that Avitus did not actually receive official recognition from Marcian, but Marcian did not try to stop him.³⁷ The major stumbling block to Avitus' acceptance would appear to have been his links with the Goths. Hydatius twice stresses that he was made emperor by the Goths (in 163 the reference to Tolosa is clear in its meaning as is probably the reference to the Gallic army); in §§170 and 173 he goes out of his way to stress the closeness of the alliance between the Goths and Avitus, in essence blaming the devastating Gothic invasion on Avitus since it was undertaken with his "uoluntas et ordinatio"; and in §183 he makes it plain that Avitus' position depended solely on Gothic support: when he lost it, he lost his *imperium* as well. Far from supporting Avitus because of his links with the Goths, whom Hydatius had no reason to love, it is precisely for this reason that he rejects him. Gallaecia had enjoyed relative peace since 433 (see below, pp. 137-8); the Gothic invasion had destroyed not only the Suevic kingdom but Gallaecia as well, and had unleashed not only the Sueves but also the Goths upon Gallaecia to raid and pillage almost unceasingly for over twelve years. For this Hydatius could not have been grateful to Avitus.³⁸ Finally, Hydatius believed that Avitus had abandoned Italy and returned to Gaul just before his death; for all Hydatius knew he actually died in Arles. This apparent

³⁷ Marcian's non-acceptance of Avitus is amply proven by legal, numismatic and consular evidence (*contra* Mathisen (1981), a completely muddled paper). As was noted above, p. 68, these reports would seem to derive from the legate Fronto and therefore be authentic.

³⁸ On Hydatius' view of the Gothic invasion of 456-7, see below, 236-8.

desertion of Italy in the face of the loss of his Gothic support is not likely to have been regarded favourably by Hydatius.

The only real way to account for all these facts is to assume that Hydatius himself felt Avitus to be illegitimate, perhaps hardly more than a *tyrannus*, and bowed to the contemporary “Roman” and Gallic view that he was a legitimate emperor. However, upon his death even the Romans came to regard him as something of a usurper and he suffered a kind of *damnatio memoriae*.³⁹ It may well be that Hydatius had eventually heard of this fate.

Majorian is favourably presented; perhaps even with a bit of sympathy.⁴⁰ Like Avitus he made a treaty with the Goths, but unlike Avitus he made it from a position of strength: “Gothis in quodam certamine superatis”. Having defeated the Goths he then moved into Spain with the intention of attacking the Vandals in Africa. In this he was unsuccessful because his fleet was captured by the Vandals while still in port. Hydatius’ comment “ita a sua ordinatione frustratus ad Italiam reuertitur” displays some sympathy for this emperor who was defeated by the barbarians. And although he knew little about his assassination, he paints in full detail the evil reasons for it: “Maorianum....Rechimer liuore percitus et inuidiorum consilio fultus fraude interfecit circumuentum” (210). Leo too is depicted as an energetic campaigner, not only by sending Anthemius with a well-led army to Italy but also by raising an expedition against the Vandals the next year. Indeed in the former case he sees God himself assisting Leo in his actions (“a Leone Augusto Antimius...ad Italiam deo ordinante directus”, 234). Anthemius himself, though otherwise a non-entity, shares in some of Leo’s glory by assisting with the expedition (“pariter cum manu magna eidem per imperatorem Antimum sociata”, 247).

Of the thirteen emperors he mentions, Hydatius makes no explicit value judgements about any of them, though his presentation shows that he disapproved of three (Constantius, Marcian and Avitus) and felt generally favourable towards the actions of

³⁹ His *damnatio memoriae* is suggested by the almost immediate excision of his name from all contemporary and later consular records (cf. *CLRE* s.aa. 456 and 457), the lack of *dominus noster* in the *Fast. Vind. pr.* 575 (the use of which in this list denotes Western acceptance) and the almost complete lack of reference to him in the works of Sidonius (cf. Mathisen [1979]).

⁴⁰ See Muhlberger (forthcoming), 424, 425-6; Molé (1974), 328, 332.

four (Theodosius I, Theodosius II, Majorian, and Leo) chiefly because of their active defence of the Empire against the barbarians and usurpation.

3b. USURPERS

Hydatius had no sympathy for usurpers whatsoever and he expresses himself quite clearly on the matter. Magnus Maximus and Eugenius are described as *tyranni* while Constantine, Iovinus, Sebastianus, Heraclianus, and Iohannes possess a *tyrannis*. Iovinus, Sebastianus and Heraclianus in fact are “*pari tyrannidis inflantur insania*”. Nothing could be clearer. The reason for the abrupt change from *tyrannus* to *tyrannis* probably lies in Hydatius’ sources: mere stylistic variation would not account for so complete and abrupt a change right at the end of his recension of the *Consularia*. Of these only Maximus is called anything else (13) and this unusual use of the word *Caesar* is merely a Biblical flourish from *Acts* 25:11-12 where Paul appeals to Caesar. Here Priscillian the heretic is appealing to his Caesar, the usurper Maximus. The odd one out in the chronicle is Petronius Maximus, almost universally regarded as a particularly wicked usurper in other sources.⁴¹ For some unknown reason Hydatius neither calls him a *tyrannus* nor his rule a *tyrannis*, but gives him a veneer of legitimacy by calling him *Augustus* and *imperator*, and by giving him a number (162), though he gives the same number to Marcian immediately after his death. Yet in spite of this veneer Hydatius makes it quite clear that he was a usurper by describing his obviously tyrannical actions and stating that he was “*distortus...quia in occisorum per Valentinianum et in ipsius interitum Valentiniani ambitu regni consilia scelestia patrata contulerat*”. After a brief reign, he died ignobly, as do all other usurpers Hydatius describes. It would seem that Petronius and Avitus are meant to represent the chaos and decline of the office of emperor in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of the Theodosian dynasty: they were indeed *Augusti* in name, but *tyranni* in deed.

⁴¹ Cf. Marcellinus, 455.1-2; Victor Tonnennensis 455.1; *Fast. Vind. pr.* 573 (no *dominus noster*); Prosper 1375; Priscus, frag. 30.1 (Blockley, 330); John of Antioch, frag. 200.2; Malalas 14.62, 70; Zonaras 13.25.22, 24; Jordanes, *Getica* 235, *Romana* 334; Paul the Deacon *Hist. Rom.* XIV.xvi; Theophanes A.M. 5947; Procopius, *Hist. bell.* III.iv.36.

3c. CIVIL AND MILITARY OFFICIALS

Hydatius mentions numerous imperial officials, most of them military commanders, usually the *patricius* and/or *magister militum*. The non-military officials he names are Cynegius the *Praefectus Orientis* (18), Maurocellus a *uicarius Hispaniae* (74), the *comites* Censurius and Fronto (98, 100, 111, 121, 139, 155, 170), and Hesychius the *tribunus et notarius* (177). Censurius and Fronto could be equally civil or military officials, but the fact that they are each twice used as legates suggests civil posts. Hydatius also makes a general reference to a *tyrannicus exactor* (48), the only reference in the chronicle to taxes or tax collecting, at a point after which such collecting would have been impossible. Debate has in the past centred around the *rector* of §199 who was murdered at Lucus at Easter.⁴² The date is 460, and I find it difficult to believe that this is a Roman-appointed “governor” of the province (*rector prouinciae*) or any sort of garrison commander.⁴³ Hydatius makes it quite clear that he was not *the* “rector”, that is, of Gallaecia, but *their* “rector” (“cum rectore suo”), that is, of the *Romani* in Lucus. He was therefore most likely some sort of “rector ciuitatis”, a post-Roman extension of the *defensor ciuitatis*, a local chosen to arbitrate between the Romans and the “Sueui Luco habitantes”.⁴⁴ He probably held the same position as Lusidius, a citizen of Ulixippona who “illic preerat” (246).

By far and away the largest group of imperial officials mentioned are the military leaders and lesser commanders, men who gained massive importance and power in late-Roman society. Their predominance in the chronicle shows how important they had become in Hydatius’ world. They were the “court of first appeal” when problems arose with the barbarians, as Hydatius showed in 431-2 when he travelled to Arles to obtain Aëtius’ assistance against the Suevic pillaging because local military commanders no longer existed. Indeed they were men second only in authority and power to the emperors themselves. So much did the names of these men pervade the time that

⁴² Tranoy (1974), I: 46, II: 112; Torres Rodriguez (1957b) and (1956c), 42-4; Thompson (1982), 169, 176; Reinhart (1952), 49, n. 34.

⁴³ In Vives (1969), “rector” is used only to describe a bishop, an abbot and the Eastern emperor (277₁₂, 281₁₁, 362₈ [pp. 83, 86, 126]). It obviously just meant “leader” (cf. Du Cange, 7: 61).

⁴⁴ On the rôle of the *defensor* in imperial times, see Jones (1964), 144-5, 479-80.

Hydatius, in spite of his isolation, can identify the positions these men held with a surprising degree of accuracy.

Hydatius often uses the term *comes* alone to refer to military commanders. This usage is correct in all cases (17, 22, 92, 151, 176, 217*bis*, 218). A special group of select *comites* are said to have accompanied Marcellinus and an army when Anthemius was sent to the West by Leo in 467 (234). A slightly different example is the two Roman *comites* working for the Goths, Nepotianus and Suniericus (197, 201). There are also two references to *comites Hispaniarum*, §§74 and 155, in the years 420 and 452/3.

Hydatius is also correct in his use of the terms *patricius* and *magister militum/utriusque militiae*. Although Maximinus is described as the “Arrianorum dux” in Sicily (120), where *dux* obviously just means “leader”, Hydatius otherwise uses the term as a substitute for *MVM* and in the sense of “general” or “commander”: both Constantius and Aëtius are described as *duces* at times when they were *magistri* (50, 96, 108, 110, 112, 150, 154, 160), the Gothic *comes* Suniericus (197, 201) is earlier described as a *dux* (193), Litorius is styled *Romanus dux* (116), Cyrila is a Gothic *dux* (192), and there are a number of nameless *duces* involved in various exploits (54, 84, 186, 247). *Dux* is also used as a substitute for *magister* with *utriusque militiae* to produce the idiosyncratic form *dux utriusque militiae* (95, 103, 125) and in one entry Aëtius is described as *dux et magister militum* (110). Although Aëtius’ appointment to the patriciate is mentioned in §103, he is not called *patricius* until his assassination in §160. Castinus and Felix are the first to be labelled as *magistri*, being called *magistri militum* (77, 84), but all later commanders (but one) are *duces/ comites/ magistri utriusque militiae*. This obvious change of terminology is probably a result of changing source material. Nepotianus, however, is called a *magister militiae* in 197 and *comes* in 201. The unique appellation of *magister militiae*, in contrast to *magister militum* or *utriusque militiae* which Hydatius uses for all other Roman commanders, shows, if the context did not, that this commander, like Suniericus, bore a Gothic title given to him by Theoderic, not Majorian.⁴⁵ Hydatius’ use of these terms betrays a slight confusion on his part, but

⁴⁵ Despite the orthodox view, there is absolutely no evidence to link Nepotianus with either

on the whole, given his isolation and lack of contact with the imperial army, apart from his brief visit to Aëtius' camp in 431-2, such attempts at accuracy are quite remarkable, especially when we would expect the appearance of a colourless term such as *dux* all of the time. It would be interesting to know if Hydatius' terminology reflected a popular usage.

This brings up the point of Hydatius' familiarity with imperial officials in general. Hardly any imperial officials are mentioned in Spain: a generic *exactor* and *milites* (48); Astirius, the *comes Hispaniarum*, and Maurocellus, the *uicarius Hispaniae* (74); Castinus, a *magister militum*, (77); the *comites* Censurius and Fronto (98, 100, 111, 121, 139, 155, 170) who were each twice sent as legates; the *magistri utriusque militiae* Asturius (125), Merobaudes (128), and Vitus (134); Mansuetus, the *comes Hispaniarum*, who was merely a civil official dressed up in a military title to cut a more imposing figure with the Sueves, since he undertook no military actions in Spain which Hydatius mentions (155); and Hesychius, a *tribunus* sent as a legate (177).⁴⁶ None of these military men seem to have been part of a permanent force; all but one were specially appointed to their positions and sent to Spain for a specific task.⁴⁷ And with the exception of Astirius all military commanders were active in the heavily Romanized territories of Tarraconensis, Carthaginiensis and Baetica, the areas farthest away from the general influence of the Sueves.

According to the *Notitia dignitatum* the *Legio Septima Gemina* was stationed at Legio and there were four cohorts stationed around Gallaecia, yet Hydatius mentions none of them, nor any of the *comitatus* which comprised eleven *auxilia palatina* and five *legiones comitatenses*.⁴⁸ That Hydatius, a civilian, was forced to go to Aëtius and not to a local commander, and that Aëtius sent a negotiator, not a commander to regroup and

Majorian or Nepos (cf., e.g., *PLRE* II: 778; and Thompson (1982), 175).

⁴⁶ On Roman military activity in Spain, see Thompson (1982), 172-8. However, Andevotus (§114) was not a Roman commander (173, 217-8); I accept Seeck's admittedly vague description "reicher Bandenführer in Baetica" (quoted 299, n. 71).

⁴⁷ The exception is Astirius who seems to have been a local commander near Tarraco in 420; see Augustine, *Ep.* 11*.7-12 (*CSEL* 88: 56-60).

⁴⁸ Seeck (1876), 138, 216.

lead the *Legio Septima* with the local *cohortes*, shows that there was no military presence in Gallaecia at all. Any troops still in Gallaecia in the early fifth century were likely withdrawn in the aftermath of the usurpations of 409-11. There also ought to have been a civil administration in Gallaecia and the rest of Spain. A *Vicarius Hispaniarum* is attested in the legal sources as late as 401; after that Hydatius' mention of Maurocellus in 420 is the last record of that office. There are no records of any governors of continental Spain in the fifth century. Gallaecia, Baetica and Lusitania had had high ranking *consulares* for governors, while Tarraconensis, Carthaginiensis, Tingitaniae, and the Insulae Balearicae only *praesides*, yet we hear nothing of any of them.⁴⁹

What is even stranger is that we hear nothing of their non-existence either. We hear nothing about the *consularis*' being recalled and no one replacing him, nothing about the lack of tax collection, nothing about the lack of adequate troops to defend Gallaecia against the Sueves (this is especially surprising in §48 where the soldiers are included amongst the problems facing the Spanish on the eve of the barbarian invasions), nothing about what amounts to the entire disappearance of Roman civil and military authority in the province.⁵⁰ One can only assume that the failure of the central government to install new governors and vicars must have been a patchwork affair and very gradual, starting even before the barbarian invasions, with local bishops, *iuridici*, *defensores ciuitatis*, and decurions filling up the civil and legal gaps as they appeared. But whatever happened Hydatius says absolutely nothing about it, either in the text or in the preface.

Hydatius was only eight or nine when the invasion of Spain took place and not yet a teenager when the Sueves and Vandals took over Gallaecia; his memories of a barbarian-free Spain were probably dim and certainly a few of those last years were spent in the East. In Gallaecia the Roman administrative system had probably already collapsed or was in the process of collapsing by the time Hydatius would have become aware of it. His entire life had been spent in a Romano-Germanic society. That was all he knew. As a result for him there can be no nostalgia for the "good old days" or any sense of a

⁴⁹ Ibid., 167-8.

⁵⁰ Cf. Eugippius' description of the disbandment of the *limitanei* of Noricum ripense when they did not receive their pay, *Vita s. Seuerini* 20.1 (MGH:AA 1.2: 18).

change from purely Roman to a Romano-Germanic society. Certainly he must have heard from his parents and elders about the days before the barbarians invaded, but this was not a part of the chronicle: he says absolutely nothing concerning the secular history of Gallaecia before 409 and for him local history starts with the invasion. As we shall see, third person comments are extremely rare in the chronicle so we could hardly expect much from the body of the chronicle itself, but if he had thought it important, he could easily have said something in the preface. He does not. Such things as the appearance or non-appearance of “Roman” civil officials and troops may not have been of any importance to him or his contemporaries. As the orders failed to come in from Gaul and Italy the locals must have taken it upon themselves to look after their own cities and *conuentus*, appointing men like Lusidius, Palogorius and the unknown *rector* of Lucus to carry on where the Roman appointees had left off. In this way then, they may not even have realized to any great extent that much had changed. When compared with the invasion of the barbarians, the loss of orders from Arles, Rome or Ravenna was hardly noticed; necessity took over. The change was gradual enough for there to have been no record of any great upheavals.

This is a reasonable explanation with respect to civil administration, but it is of great interest that Hydatius never explicitly blames the emperors or the generals for allowing the barbarians to run wild throughout the Spanish peninsula.⁵¹ There are no attacks on Aëtius for failing to assist more fully and no laments on being abandoned by the emperor, which is in effect what had happened. In §48 Hydatius actually blames the tax collector and the resident soldiers for stripping away the wealth of the cities in the years up to and including 410, an interesting note, for this was probably the last time that such officials were ever a bother to the province. In his eyes, or more likely the eyes of the source from which this passage was derived, the imperial establishment was part of the problem, not the solution; the author of the source, and others, may have been happy to see them go. In this passage Hydatius certainly gives no hint that the barbarians were in any way hindered or impeded as they moved through Spain. In §49 he says that the barbarians

⁵¹ As will be seen just below, however, it would seem that he does implicitly blame Constantius for abandoning Gallaecia to the barbarians in 416-8.

were “ad pacem ineundam...conuersi” but he does not say how. The appearance of “domino miserante” suggests very strongly that it was not external Roman pressure. The final sentence of 49 makes it very clear that there was no imperial control or resistance anywhere, for the inhabitants were reduced to slavery by the barbarians where ever they settled. Nowhere in the lament of §§46-9 or in the preface is any blame laid at the doorstep of the emperor or his generals for abandoning Spain and allowing such a catastrophe to occur. The only reason I can suggest for this is that it would appear that Hydatius did not think that they were responsible or able to prevent it or reverse it. When Hydatius went to Aëtius in 431 he did not want the general to defeat or drive out the Sueves, he only wanted peace to prevent their *depraedationes*. Modern historians have often pointed to Aëtius’ response of sending a legate, Censurius, as showing his lack of commitment to areas of the Empire outside of Gaul, but Hydatius shows no displeasure or frustration; he would seem to have achieved what he asked for, peace in Gallaecia.⁵² Perhaps he realized that by this stage of settlement the typically Roman solution of sending in an army of federates was no longer suitable or desirable.

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Let us now move on to examine Hydatius’ attitudes towards the many military commanders he mentions. He says very little about Constantius and does not make explicit any attitudes towards him. He appears briefly in references elsewhere (50, 62, 72, 75, 76) but Hydatius concentrates specifically on his rôle in the Gothic invasion of Spain in 416-8 (60, 63, 67-9; mentioned explicitly 60*bis*, 69; implicitly, 63). It has been noted above that Hydatius did not regard him as a full *Augustus* and the stress on his rôle in the Gothic invasion would not seem to tell in his favour either. The reason would seem to be that he believed that Constantius had made a bargain with Vallia to eradicate the threat the barbarian invaders posed only to Lusitania and Baetica, but not Gallaecia (60, “Alanis et Vandalis Silingis in Lusitania et Betica sedentibus aduersatur”). As a result, the six- year harmony in Gallaecia since the invasion, which had existed because of the balance of power amongst the barbarians (68), was destroyed when Vallia slaughtered the Alans and Siling Vandals, driving the remnants of the Alans north to

⁵² Cf. Thompson (1982), 140, 142; 290, n. 8; 291, n. 29.

augment the numbers of the Asdings, and Gallaecia and all of Spain were laid open to the plundering of two opposing groups, now freed of their overlords. In the year immediately following the settlement of the Goths in Aquitania by Constantius, 419, Hydatius reports the first major clash between the Vandals and Sueves in Gallaecia (71). For Hydatius Constantius had freed the barbarians of all restraints and then abandoned Gallaecia to them.

Hydatius makes clear his feelings about the death of Valentinian II which was accomplished “*scelere comitis Aruagasti*” (22). Astirius, the *comes Hispaniarum* who drove the Vandals out of Gallaecia into Baetica is presented in neutral way; it is not easy to see whether his actions are a good or bad thing in Hydatius’ eyes. Ricimer and Felix are presented in a puzzling manner. Though Ricimer was responsible for an important victory over the Vandals and later became *patricius* and son-in-law of Anthemius, he was also responsible for the treacherous assassination of Majorian (177, 210, 247). Felix would appear to have been recognized as a legitimate *patricius* in §84 but in 94 Hydatius says “Felix, qui dicebatur patricius...”, which can be taken to suggest that there was some question about the legitimacy of his position, though it may only be that it means “who was called the Patrician”. The lack of detail and explicit comment makes judgement virtually impossible in these cases. Marcellinus not only defeated Vandals in Sicily on his own but also was chosen by Leo and sent to West where he later acted as commander of Leo’s forces in his expedition against the Vandals (227, 234, 247), but Hydatius does not reveal his opinions. One cannot deny Hydatius’ obvious interest in reporting any action which results in barbarian defeat. Nevertheless he still gives great space to Castinus and Litorius who are accused of making foolish errors which lead to serious Roman defeats. In both cases, however, the ultimate cause is attributed to barbarian auxiliaries (77, 116). Vitus does not fare as well in Hydatius’ eyes since he used Gothic auxiliaries to plunder the inhabitants of Carthaginiensis and Baetica (134). Hydatius does let his emotions show through when he states that even the Goths were defeated by the Sueves and Vitus himself fled “*territus miserabili timore*”.⁵³

⁵³ On Felix, Litorius, Avitus, and Ricimer, cf. Molé (1974), 319, 320, 323, 331-2.

Hydatius obviously had a great interest in and surely some admiration for Aëtius the *magister utriusque militiae* because of his successful campaigns against the Burgundians, Iuthungi, Nori, Franks, Goths, and Huns.⁵⁴ Only Theodosius I and Theoderic II are named more often (17 times). Hydatius reported everything he could learn about Aëtius' campaigns in Gaul in 430-2 (92-3, 95, 98) and set it up as a contrast to the pillaging of the Sueves in Spain (91, 96, 100). He would seem to have actually met Aëtius in 432 but he tells us nothing about the visit or the man.⁵⁵ Aëtius sent a legate, Censurius, to Gallaecia in response to Hydatius' request for help (98, 100). Censurius' return in 437, this time with another legate, Fretimundus, and again probably sent by Aëtius (111, 113), is also framed by Aëtius' victories in Gaul (108, 110², 112). Almost immediately after two massive victories over the Huns in 451 and 452, the latter in concert with Marcian,⁵⁶ Aëtius is assassinated "fraudulenter singularis accitus" by Valentinian (160). The vocabulary of this entry makes it obvious that Hydatius did not agree with the emperor's decision to have such a great opponent of the barbarians removed from his command in so abrupt a manner. Another entry which suggests that Hydatius was sympathetic to Aëtius is 99 where Aëtius is in each action seen as the victim while Boniface is the aggressor ("in emulationem Aetii", "depulso Aetio in locum eius succedens", "inito aduersum Aetium conflictu"). This is heightened by the fact that Boniface had already been portrayed as a renegade and near-usurper (78: "palatium deserens Africam inuadit"). Apart from all this detail he also reports Aëtius' patriciate (103). He is never, however, drawn to praise him explicitly.

Only two individuals are praised explicitly in the chronicle and both are military commanders. Merobaudes was sent to Tarraconensis to succeed his father-in-law Asturius as *magister utriusque militiae* in the campaign against the Bacaudae (128). Of him Hydatius says "natu nobilis et eloquentiae merito uel maxime in poematis studio

⁵⁴ Thompson (see n. 52) does not believe that Hydatius had any reason to admire Aëtius because he did not assist Gallaecia. But he did assist in 432 (though not in a way Thompson thinks appropriate) and probably again in 437 (111), and he was *the* premier "barbarian-basher" of the time. Molé, as usual, goes too far in the opposite direction, (1974), 313-24.

⁵⁵ Cf. Thompson (1982), 140, and my comments on character description below.

⁵⁶ On this episode, which is completely fictitious, see my paper, (forthcoming a).

ueteribus comparandus. Testimonio etiam prouehitur statuarum". And though he crushed the Bacaudae "breui tempore potestatis suae", he is recalled to Rome "nonnullorum inuidia perurgente".⁵⁷ It is no coincidence, I believe, that Merobaudes was the panegyricist of Aëtius. The praise for Merobaudes, though strangely for his literary talent and not his military accomplishments, probably also reflects on Aëtius, for such praise can only have come from having read, heard or heard of at least some of Merobaudes' panegyrics ("eloquentia") and poems ("poematis studium").⁵⁸ It is hard to understand why, though, since he is so grudging of praise elsewhere, he here goes beyond his normal reserve to extol Merobaudes for something he never even mentions elsewhere in the chronicle: secular literature. It seems unlikely indeed that he had actually met Merobaudes in 443 so he must have had a source who had; it was he told Hydatius of Merobaudes' noble birth, his panegyrics, his poetry, and the statues in Rome awarded to him in 435. This source was obviously a "fan" and his enthusiasm strangely seems to have infected even the usually dour Hydatius. However, is it possible that when he was in Arles in January of 432 (96, 98) Hydatius himself had met Merobaudes and heard one of his first panegyrics, delivered on the occasion of Aëtius' first consulship?⁵⁹

The only other recipient of praise is Aegidius the *magister utriusque militiae* in Gaul (217-8).⁶⁰ Hydatius describes him as a "uir insignis"⁶¹ and "uir et famma commendatus et deo bonis operibus conplacens". Such praise is unlikely to have been based on a statement from a source since his sources in Gaul at this period were either Suevic or Gothic legates and they would hardly have described Aegidius in such a manner. Rather the judgement is Hydatius' own based on the report ("famma") he has

⁵⁷ Cf. Molé (1974), 320-4; Thompson (1982), 141-2; Muhlberger (forthcoming), 422-3. On Merobaudes in general, see Clover (1971).

⁵⁸ Thompson ([1982], 141) is correct in dismissing Merobaudes' Spanish birth as being of any importance in this.

⁵⁹ For 432, see Clover (1971), 39 and *PLRE* II: 757. In 449 Asturius became consul at Arles (cf. Sidonius' comments on the ceremony and the panegyric, *Ep.* 8.6.4-6); Aëtius may have done so as well.

⁶⁰ See Thompson (1982), 141; Muhlberger (forthcoming), 423-4, 426-7. On Molé's bizarre theories concerning Aegidius, see (1974), 329-31, 332-3.

⁶¹ These two words in apposition are quite different from Hydatius' usual floruit statement "X habetur insignis".

received concerning Aegidius' victory over the Goths ("bonis operibus"). The reason for such praise can only have been occasioned by the fact that his is the only action against the barbarians in Gaul undertaken by an imperial commander of which Hydatius knows since Majorian's rather shadowy victory ("in quodam certamine") over the Goths in 459 four years earlier (197). The last before that had been Aëtius' victory over the Huns in 451. He was in fact the only commander since Aëtius to have seriously attempted to hold back the barbarians in Gaul. And when he was murdered (note the use of the emotive "deceptus"), the Goths advanced into the Roman territory he had been defending (228).

Nepotianus receives several mentions in the chronicle as well as an obituary after his return to Gaul (197, 201, 213, 222). Hydatius was obviously interested in him but his activities as a Roman commanding Goths in Spain for the Gothic king can hardly have pleased him. We cannot tell from the final entry whether Hydatius received the news of his death with joy or sadness.

Although Hydatius shows a keen interest in the fate of Sebastian after his expulsion by Aëtius in 432 (99, 104, 129, 132, 144), the portrait he presents shows him to be an altogether disreputable character: he makes no attempt to cover up his status as *exul* (from Ravenna, Constantinople and Barcelona) and *hostis publicus* or his associations with the Goths and Vandals and his attempts on Barcelona.

In conclusion there remains only a final comment. It was noted above that even though Hydatius had met Aëtius he makes no comment about him at all. Indeed as well as being very reluctant to make explicit comments about individual Romans (as we shall see in the next chapter the same is true for barbarians, though he has no qualms about saying what he feels about whole tribes) he never makes any reference to character, appearance, habits or any other "subjective" qualities of those he mentions. Such intimate biographical details, like value judgements or other "authorial interruptions", were obviously thought not to belong to the chronicler's realm. Hydatius' chronicle is a document of deeds, and he rarely departs from this maxim, even when mentioning or describing individuals, such as generals, emperors, popes, and patriarchs.⁶²

⁶² The entries which show the greatest departure are 59 and 81, concerning Jerome, Paulinus of Nola and Therasia.

CHAPTER 6: THE BARBARIANS AND SPAIN

Unlike most chronicles the chronicle of Hydatius readily and simply admits of an answer to the question, “What is it about?” Our only ancient description of the chronicle, written by an anonymous Spaniard in the seventh century, Pseudo-Isidorus, states that it is an “historia, in qua magis barbararum gentium bella crudelia narrat quae premebant Hispaniam.”¹ This is completely accurate. Of 352 events in the chronicle, over half, 184, concern or mention barbarians. Over the last 13 years (“Avitus I” to “Anth. II”) this rises to 97 out of 134, or 72%, and 95 of the 97 concern only three tribes: the Sueves, the Goths and the Vandals.² The former two are the major focus of the chronicle and as we shall see below and in Chapter 9, it is around their activities in Spain that the entire chronicle is in fact constructed. Indeed one might almost go so far as to say that Hydatius was obsessed with the “bella crudelia” in Spain to the exclusion of almost all else, for although he begins by writing in the mould of a universal history, he finishes by concentrating almost exclusively on the hostile actions of the Sueves and Goths in Spain.

This barbaro-centric nature of the chronicle has, however, been denied by E. A. Thompson. He states, “What interests [Hydatius] is the fate of the Roman provincials upon whom [the Sueves] preyed in *Gallaecia infelix*, as he sadly calls it (§219). His book is not about barbarians: it is about Romans.”³ On the contrary, Hydatius is no more interested in the Roman provincials than he is in the Sueves or Goths and says nothing about their fate. Thompson notes Hydatius’ lack of detail concerning the barbarians: “not a picture of a barbarian community...nothing of the effects which the settlement in a Roman environment brought about on the institutions and customs and ideas of the settlers...nothing of the barbarians’ attitudes towards those among whom they settled...he knew nothing of their language...can say nothing of the barbarians’ beliefs and motives and attitudes, what they laughed at, or how they prayed...of their

¹ *De uiris illustribus* 9 (PL 83: 1088-9); see Appendix 1.

² The other two entries, 171 and 194, concern the Heruli. For the breakdown of subject matter in the chronicle, see below, 107-8, and Table 10.

³ (1982), 210.

paganism he is wholly ignorant...of the Sueves' motives and reactions [to Ajax and Arianism] he says not a word." But having read the chronicle, we know no more about these aspects with regard to the Hispano-Romans than we do with regard to the Sueves. The victims are as anonymous as the attackers, and just as the barbarians are often seen simply as acting upon the provincials, so the provincials are seen merely as acted upon. Thompson contrasts what Hydatius tells us about the Sueves with what Sidonius Apollinaris tells us about the Goths and Burgundians. But the comparison is unfair, for Sidonius was writing lengthy epistles, not a chronicle. He also assumes that if Hydatius did not record something he either did not care about it or it did not occur.⁴ This is to misunderstand the way he wrote. Hydatius was not a sociologist or an anthropologist; he was not even a Tacitus writing his *Germania*. He was a chronicler, and for secular events this meant a recorder of deeds and actions who added as little explicit third-person editorial comment as possible. It was the hostile interface between barbarian and Roman, not the ethnographical detail or attitudes of either side, which Hydatius found so compelling and it is this to which he devotes so much of his chronicle. As a result, though his heart lies in Roman Gallaecia, it is the Suevic depredations throughout the peninsula which he narrates, and when Gallaecia suffers no "barbararum gentium bella crudelia", before and after 409, he tells us nothing about it.

1. THE BARBARIANS IN THE CHRONICLE

As was noted in Chapter 5 (p. 100) and as can be seen from Tables 9, 11, 12, and 13, the events of Spain dominate the chronicle. Almost half of the events described occur in Spain and towards the end of the chronicle (from c. §143) this rises to almost 60%. However, the scope of the Spanish material throughout the chronicle is very narrow. Most of Tarraconensis and Carthaginiensis was in practice just as distant from Hydatius as was Gaul or Italy, and for religious affairs perhaps even more so since he mentions only two religious individuals from these provinces—Priscillian of Avila in 386 (13) and Leo of Tyriasso in 449 (141)—and only one other event—the first council of Toledo in 400 (31). And as can be seen from Maps 3 and 4 in the second half of the chronicle even

⁴ See p. 210 and the use of negative evidence he makes on p. 165.

this shrinks to a narrow western corridor extending from Hispalis and Emerita in the south to Asturica and Legio in the north.⁵

Table 10 shows that of the Spanish events narrated just over three quarters in some way concern or involve the barbarians. Most of the other events which do not involve the barbarians concern religion (13, 16, 31, 102, 106, 124, 130, 135, 138, 141, 192a), portents (126, 136, 149, 151, 159, 191, 214, 217a/214a, 225, 252, 253) and military actions or individuals (125, 128, 129, 132, 134, 141). We can thus see that the last half of the chronicle (from c.§143) is almost completely devoid of any military or religious information; the former is understandable since there was none apart from whatever may have been involved with Majorian's ill-fated expedition of 460 (200) but just as there was religious activity before the Gothic invasion so there must have been afterwards as well. Yet apart from the return of Sabinus (192a), whose exile is mentioned earlier (124), and Ajax (232), an Arian heretic involved with both the Goths and the Sueves, Hydatius mentions no Spanish religious individual after the burst of references in §§130, 135, 138, and 141 (445-9): Thoribius, bishop of Asturica; Pervincus, his deacon; Antoninus, bishop of Emerita; and Leo, bishop of Tyriasso. Instead Hydatius turns his attention to the barbarians, who either take the place of or displace the missing personal religious dimension.

As will be seen below (pp. 229-40), Hydatius undertook to write his chronicle because of the barbarian activities in Spain and structured his entire history around them, narrating every scrap of information that he could find, especially concerning their assaults on "infelix Gallaecia" (219) and the Suevic relations with the Goths. Because of his attention to their activities we can establish in great detail the Suevic conquest of Spain between 411 and 468 as well as the progress of their relations with the Goths, actions and events which we would otherwise only dimly suspect.⁶ Indeed, we have no similar record for the fifth century of the activities of barbarians in the territories in and around which they settled or of the diplomatic and personal relations between and among

⁵ See Thompson (1982), 150.

⁶ The only other source which mentions the interest the Goths took in the Sueves and Spain at this time is Jordanes, *Getica* 229-34 (*MGH: AA* 5.1: 116-8).

any other barbarian tribes. Here Hydatius' attention to the minutiae of the Suevic presence in Spain has revealed aspects of fifth-century barbarian life only hinted at by our other sources from much better documented areas of the Empire.

2. THE SUEVES AND GOTHs IN SPAIN

Although a detailed discussion of barbarian activity in Spain is far beyond the scope of this chapter, over the next few pages I hope to clarify certain aspects of Hydatius' narrative and the history he describes with regard to the Sueves and the Goths.⁷ This will provide a general overview of events and a context for understanding Hydatius' attitudes and reactions.

In general Suevic activity in the peninsula can be divided up by reign, beginning with an introductory period of which we know virtually nothing. From 409 to 411 the Alans, Vandals and Sueves seem to have ranged freely throughout the provinces but Hydatius' descriptions provide only general outlines and no details (42, 46-9). He does tell us however that when the barbarians did finally settle in 411 the Sueves obtained the sea coast of Gallaecia ("Gallaecia...sita in extremitate Oceani maris occidua", 49). It is assumed that the Sueves remained at peace until 419, cowed by the Alans and then the Vandals (68). Once the threat of the Alans was removed in 418 the Vandals took the offensive, perhaps led by the usurper Maximus and his general Jovinianus,⁸ and launched themselves against the Sueves, besieging them in the unknown montes Nerbasi (71). Freed by the Roman *comes Hispaniarum* the Sueves remained at peace in Gallaecia under their king Hermeric until Gaiseric was about to lead the Vandals into Africa in 429. At that point a Suevic commander, Heremigarius, took advantage of the Vandals' preoccupations and began to raid the area around Emerita. Gaiseric, not wanting his rear threatened while crossing, engaged him and defeated his men (90).

Once the Vandals had departed Hermeric began to ravage central Gallaecia but was defeated by the locals and peace was made (91). The next year, 431, the Sueves broke the treaty and began three years of constant ravaging (96, 100). In 433 another peace

⁷ The most detailed narratives of Spanish history derived from Hydatius are to be found in Torres Rodriguez (1977), 45-195; Thompson (1982), 152-199; and Collins (1983), 16-24.

⁸ See below, 245.

was concluded with the Gallaecians (100) which, with only minor infractions in 437-8 (111, 113), lasted until 456. From 433 to October of 456 the peace of the Gallaecians was disturbed by barbarians only three other times: by a Vandal attack on Turonium in 445 (131), an attack by the Heruli on the coast near Lucus in 456 (171) and the return of Rechiarius to Gallaecia also in 456 (172).

By 438 Hermeric had become too weak to rule because of illness (114). His son Rechila became king in his stead and moved his plundering into Baetica where he captured Emerita, which he set up as his headquarters (capital seems too grand a word), and Hispalis (114, 119, 123, 134). He also besieged Myrtilis in Lusitania (121) and extended his ravaging into Carthaginiensis (123). Hermeric died in 441 (122) and Rechila died at Emerita in 448 (137).

Rechila's son Rechiarius became king and immediately extended his plundering beyond Emerita (137). In 449 he concluded a marriage pact with Theoderic I, the king of the Goths, and used his new-found position to invade the still firmly Roman province of Tarraconensis (140, 142). Nothing is heard of his activities throughout 450-454, though he did make a treaty with Valentinian III in 453/4 by which it would seem he agreed to refrain from attacking Carthaginiensis and Tarraconensis (155, 168, 170). However, with the deaths of Aëtius, Valentinian and Petronius in 454-5 he launched himself into Carthaginiensis again (168). In spite of Roman and Gothic embassies seeking peace in 455 and 456 he invaded Tarraconensis twice, the second time with great ferocity, and returned to Gallaecia (Bracara?) where a Suevic king had not been since 438 (170, 172). These reckless actions prompted the Gothic invasion of 456-7 which resulted in Rechiarius' execution and the near-complete destruction of the Suevic kingdom.⁹ While the Goths were campaigning against the Sueves brigands took advantage of the situation by plundering the *conventus* of Bracara and a Gothic deserter named Aioulfus made a failed attempt to set himself up as king over the surviving Suevic population (179, 180, 187).

The remaining Sueves, who had fled to the "extrema pars Galleciae" (173, 181), at first chose Maldras as their king, but they soon split into two groups, apparently over

⁹ For more detail on this invasion, see below, 236-8.

whether to live in peace with the Gallaecians. Those who desired peace chose Framtane as their king; the others under Maldras left Gallaecia for Lusitania where they ravaged the countryside and captured Ulixippona (181, 188). Framtane died the next year, 458, and Maldras took advantage of his death by ravaging Gallaecian territory along the Durius river (189, 190). Gallaecia remained at peace for another year until a new military commander, Remismund (called Rechimund by Hydatius¹⁰), began ravaging (193). In 459 as well the Heruli returned to attack the coasts of the *conventus* of Lucus (194). The Sueves continued to ravage both Gallaecia and Lusitania (195, 196, 199, 202). After the murder of Maldras in February 460 Frumarius appears to have taken up the leadership of his group of raiders (198, 201). It was Frumarius who kidnapped Hydatius in Aquae Flaviae in July of 460 (201). With the clash between Remismund and Frumarius for sole power, a peace was made with the Gallaecians in the autumn of 460 which lasted until 463 when the Sueves again began their plundering (203, 204, 219, 220). In 464 Frumarius died and Remismund, now sole leader and king of the Sueves, renewed the treaty which lasted until 465/6 when the Sueves began to harass the people of Aunona, a *pagus* in Gallaecia (223, 233). They had in the meantime invaded Lusitania again and sacked Conimbrica (229). In 467 Remismund moved into Lusitania and probably led another assault on Conimbrica which this time was razed to the ground (240, 241). In 468 while Lusitania was being ravaged by both Goths and Sueves, the Sueves finally made peace with the Aunonenses after more than two years of hostility (239, 245, 246, 249, 250). The chronicle ends however, with both Goths and Sueves plundering the *conventus* of Asturica (249, 250). Such is the world Hydatius lived in as he himself described it.

The final aspect I wish to cover in this section concerns Hydatius' account of Gothic activity in the peninsula. The orthodox view today is that the Gothic occupation

¹⁰ Most deny the identification of Rechimund and Remismund (Cf. Claude (1978), 667-8 [nrr. 68-9]). While it is hard to explain why the name changes (though perhaps no harder to explain than the change of Theoderic (I) to Theodor /-us earlier in the chronicle; see App. Crit. Orth., p. 69 of the Text Volume), the careers of the two names and Hydatius' practice of announcing deaths show that these two are the same individual and the Gothic legate of §220 is someone else.

and domination of the south of Spain, that is, Baetica and Lusitania, was continuous from 457 or 458 to 711.¹¹ The problem here is that Hydatius does not say anything which could possibly support such claims. The year after Theoderic's return to Gaul in 457 he sent an army (*exercitus*) to Baetica under the command of a *dux* named Cyrila (192). The next year, 459, Theoderic himself, if Hydatius is to be believed, led an "aliquanta manus" of his army to Baetica along with a new *dux*, Suniericus. Cyrila was sent back to Gaul. (193). At some point later in the year Theoderic sent a *magister militiae*, Nepotianus, to assist Suniericus. At no point during the years 458-9 does Hydatius report any hostile activity on the part of the Goths; in fact he says nothing about Gothic activities at all beyond the sending of legates to the Gallaecians to announce a new treaty between the Goths and Majorian (197).¹² In 460 however Nepotianus and Suniericus sent part of the army to plunder the Sueves of Lucus and Suniericus himself supervised the capture of Scallabis, a city in Lusitania (201, 206). In this they would seem to have exceeded their orders for the next year both were recalled and Arborius was sent as the new *magister militiae* (212, 213). Nothing is heard of the Goths in Spain again (apart from legates, of course) until 465 when Arborius was recalled (230). He was not replaced and the army presumably went with him. It is impossible to know what the Goths were up to in Baetica during the period from 457 to 465 but it is almost certain that any hostile activity would have been reported by Hydatius.

In 468 an "aliquanta manus" followed a group of returning Suevic legates and began to plunder (245). Although they had originally headed for Emerita, it would seem that Suevic successes against Ulixippona diverted them deeper into Lusitania where they plundered Sueve and Roman alike (246, 250). Later that year they moved into Gallaecia (250). This band of Goths is not a "royal" army sent by Theoderic, but a group of Gothic brigands who plundered for their own gain. Hydatius does not say that Theoderic sent them, as he had before. He does not give the name of any *dux* or *magister militiae*.

¹¹ See Thompson (1982), 165; 189; 190-1; 302, n. 19. Roger Collins goes even further and says that from 456 the Goths "administered and garrisoned most of the peninsula" ([1983], 24).

¹² Lack of contact between Gallaecia and Baetica cannot be used to explain Hydatius' lack of comment on Gothic activities in the south; this embassy and Hydatius' detailed knowledge of the names, ranks and succession of the Gothic commanders prove that there were such contacts.

He calls them a “manus”, which signifies a smaller and less important group than “exercitus”, his regular word for “army” or “the army”.¹³ An “exercitus” is usually associated with usurpers, emperors and kings, while a “manus” is always led by subordinate commanders.¹⁴ The best examples of the size of a “manus” are §186 where it is used to describe “pars ex ea...multitudine” (i.e. Theoderic’s “ingens exercitus”, 173) and §193 where Theoderic brings only “exercitus sui aliquanta...manus”. There is also the contrast between the “Gothicus exercitus” in 192¹ and 201, and the “aliquanta Gothorum manus” in 245.

It also seems unlikely that this is *the* Gothic army because after the invasion of 456-7 the Goths appear to have taken up the cause of the Gallaecians against the Sueves. In §193, with his use of “nihilominus” Hydatius implies that the presence of the Gothic army in Baetica was somehow intended to prevent Suevic raiding in Lusitania and Gallaecia. In §197 legates from the Gothic army in Spain are sent to the Gallaecians to inform them of the new treaty between Theoderic and Majorian. It would appear that the Goths were willing to extend it to cover the Gallaecians as well. A few years later the Gallaecians and Goths are sending legates to one other in an attempt, it would seem, to forestall the collapse of the Gallaecian peace (219). In 465/6 the Goths actively take up the Gallaecian cause and when the Sueves attack Aunona, the Goths send legates in an attempt to stop the Suevic action (233). When this fails the Aunonenses send legates of their own to the Goths in 466/7 (239). This would seem to have been effective for the Sueves made peace with them in 468 and plundered other territory instead (249). Why the Goths should have undertaken such a policy and made such attempts is unknown, but perhaps this may give us a hint to what they were doing in Baetica.

3. HYDATIUS AND THE BARBARIANS

In his *de gubernatione dei*, written at some point in the 440’s, Salvian of Marseilles describes the situation of the Romans of Spain and Gaul who lived under

¹³ exercitus: 56, 147, 154, 162¹, 163, 173, 174, 192¹, 193, 201, 234, 247; manus: 77, 92, 114, 116, 134, 186, 193.

¹⁴ The only exception is 193 where Theoderic leads a “manus”, but it is specifically stated to have been a part of his “exercitus”.

barbarian occupation. Most fled to the barbarians, he says, to escape Roman oppression and inhumanity; only among the barbarians could they be free. Orosius, writing in Africa in 417, also states that the barbarians in Spain treated the inhabitants as allies and friends, and many Romans preferred poor freedom among the barbarians to heavily-taxed anxiety among the Romans. Finally, Salvian claimed,

et hinc est, quod etiam hi, qui ad barbaros non confugiunt, barbari tamen esse coguntur, scilicet ut est pars magna Hispanorum et non minima Gallorum, omnes denique, quos per uniuersum Romanum orbem fecit Romana iniquitas iam non esse Romanos.¹⁵

We have seen in Chapter 5 that Hydatius exhibits no negative feelings towards Romans or the Empire in general; any hostility is expressed towards specific individuals, and even then it is usually only implicit. He never discusses or mentions such things as Roman “iniquitas” or oppression, though in one place he does mention a rapacious tax man (48). So far then as attitudes towards the Empire are concerned Salvian and Orosius are not accurate witnesses to the situation in Spain. The question now to be raised is how far these external descriptions of Spain correspond to the testimony of an internal eye-witness with regard to the barbarians. Did Hydatius flee to the barbarians from Roman oppression of any sort? Was he forced to become a barbarian? These questions must be asked for even though the works of Orosius and Salvian are highly tendentious apologetics, they have become famous as sources for describing Roman and barbarian relations and are often cited with little regard to their original purposes. Hydatius, an eye-witness, but only a chronicler, is never similarly cited.¹⁶

It does not take long for the barbarians to make their first appearance in the chronicle. In §4 of the preface Hydatius repeats Jerome’s statement from the end of his preface in which he explains that he could not continue his chronicle “quoniam dibacchantibus adhuc in terra nostra barbaris incerta sunt omnia” (Helm 7). However Hydatius changes this in two interesting ways: “constat debacchantibus iam in Romano

¹⁵ Salvian: 5.21-23, cf. also 36-7 (*CSEL* 8: 108-9, 113-4). Orosius, *Septem libri historiarum contra paganos* VII.41.7 (*CSEL* 5: 554).

¹⁶ Compare, for example, the number of references and the types of comments concerning Hydatius and Salvian in Jones (1964).

solo barbaris omnia haberi permixta atque confusa". He does not retain Jerome's use of "nostra" (as was noted above, p. 109) and he expands Jerome's relatively neutral "incerta" to the more vivid and emotive "permixta atque confusa". The last five pages of the *Chronici canones* contain nine references to barbarian assaults, including those by Goths, Saxons, Burgundians, Sarmatians, Alamanni, and Huns,¹⁷ compared with only three references over the previous ten pages.¹⁸ The *canones* end with two defeats for the Roman army and the death of the emperor Valens all at the hands of the Goths in Thrace. It was here that Hydatius could plainly see the origins of the ills which had overwhelmed his own times, acknowledged by Jerome in his preface. It was his knowledge of life under barbarian rule and of the last pages of the *Chronici canones* that led Hydatius to alter Jerome's "incertus".

Hydatius uses the word "permixta" again in §7 of preface when describing the effects of the barbarian invasions of Gallaecia:

subdidimus...intra extremam uniuersi orbis Galleciam deformem
ecclesiastici ordinis statum creationibus indiscretis, honestae libertatis
interitum et uniuerse propemodum in diuina disciplina religionis occasum
ex furentium dominatione permixta iniquarum perturbatione nationum.
Haec iam quidem inserta...

Here Hydatius states that he is going to be giving an account of the downfall of Gallaecian religion and freedom at the hands of the combating barbarian tribes. In the text of the chronicle he describes the barbarians' activities and actions but never their effects on freedom or religion. It is almost as if he has given the effects in the preface and having done so is then free to go on and describe barbarian savagery in great detail in the chronicle itself. The barbarians would also seem to be partially identified with the "angustiae" afflicting the Roman empire (pref. 7), along with usurpation and heresy. That the boundaries of the empire are doomed to collapse ("ruituras") is probably seen as a result of barbarian action: the Sueves held Spain, the Goths held Gaul south of the Loire and were now moving north (228), and the Vandals held Africa.

¹⁷ 245ⁱ, 246^f, h, 247^a, g, 248^f, h, 249^a, c.

¹⁸ Franks and Alamanni, 235^b, e and 240^g.

The barbarians first appear in the chronicle proper in §3, where Hydatius mentions Theodosius' campaigns against the Goths in 379, and they appear for the last time before the invasion of Spain (42) in §12, dated 385. These early references are derived from his recension of the *Consularia*, his sole written historical source for the first decade and half of his work. Without this source he probably would have known nothing about the barbarians before the early fifth century. In the *Consularia*, one entry (s.a. 382.2) read, "uniuersa gens Gothorum cum rege suo in Romaniam se tradiderunt die V non. Oct." or something similar. Hydatius wrote a précis, making an important addition: "Gothi *infida* Romanis pace se tradunt." He knew what the author of the *Consularia* could not know: the Goths would not honour the treaty for long. This notice, deliberately added by Hydatius at the first opportunity, establishes immediately a major theme of his treatment of the barbarians: their perfidy and treachery. Elsewhere he uses the noun "perfidia" and the adjective "perfidus" (which mean the same thing as "infidus") seven times, four with regard to the Sueves (188, 190, 208, 219), once with regard to the combined force of barbarians brought to Spain by Theoderic (186) and once each to Arianism and the Roman *delatores* Dictinius, Spinio and Ascanius (89, 201). In three cases it is connected with another phrase "solita arte" or "solito more" (186, 188, 219). Other similar examples abound: the Goths send a certain Vetto to Gallaecia "dolose" (97); Carthage is captured by Gaiseric having been "fraude decepta" (115); Castinus, "fraude deceptus" by his own Gothic auxiliaries, is forced to flee to Tarraco (77); the Huns invade Gaul "pace rupta" (150); and Avitus loses his rule and his life because "Gothorum promisso destitutus auxilio" (183). It is the Sueves, though, who receive the most sustained attack. They ravage Lusitania "solito more perfidiae" and enter Ulixippona "sub specie pacis" (188); they plunder Gallaecian territory along the Durius, having first "in solitam perfidiae uersi" (190). In 208 they are identified simply as "gens perfida" and in 219 as soon as Cyrila leaves Gallaecia the Sueves ravage it "promissionum suarum ut semper fallaces et perfidi". In 142 they enter Ilerda "per dolum" and in 229 they enter Conimbrica "dolose". Conimbrica is plundered again later, having been "in pace decepta" (241). And the Sueves constantly break peace treaties: "pax quam ruperant"

(91), “Rursum Sueui initam cum Callicis pacem libata sibi occasione conturbant” (96), “Sueui Carthaginenses regiones quas Romanis rediderant, depredantur” (168, cf. 155), “omni iurationi uiolata” (170), and “pax elabsa” (223). In his description of the sacks of Asturica and Palentina (186) Hydatius makes his most intense attack against barbarian perfidy. Some barbarian *praedones* had already gained entry into Asturica “sub specie Romanae ordinationis” and now a group of barbarians, Goths along with other Gallic tribes, “dolis et periuriis instructi” and “mentientes”, gain entry again “pace fucata solita arte perfidiae”. Without a pause they begin to sack the city.

This was not a new phenomenon. As long as Romans had had dealings with the barbarians they had complained about their treachery and perfidy. Ammianus calls the Goths “saepe fallaces et perfidi” (cf. Hydatius, 219); Sidonius calls them a “foedifraga gens”. He also describes the Huns as “pacis fallentes nomen inane”. Orosius said the Vandals were a “perfida et dolosa gens” and that Constantine III was “a barbaris incertis foederibus inlusus.”¹⁹ The same was true of the Franks.²⁰ Such constant accusations backed up by example must be the result of more than just stereotypical presentation. Trickery and deception were in fact Germanic ideals of behaviour and when we get to the point where the Germans themselves are writing history, such traits are accepted and even praised.²¹ In the chronicle we can see that Hydatius has more than enough proof to back up his accusations.

Apart from these accusations of perfidy and treachery Hydatius makes few explicit value judgements about the barbarians. Most of his views are brought out by what sort of actions he chose to record and by the words he used to describe these actions. For example, many tribes are mentioned only because thousands of them were slaughtered or because they were utterly defeated in battle by the Romans: the Greothingi, Nori, Burgundiones, Franci, Iuthungi, Huni, Vandali Silingi, and Alani.²² Indeed virtually

¹⁹ Ammianus XXII.7.8; Sidonius *Ep.* VI.6.1; *Carm.* VII.244-50; Orosius VII.38.1, 40.4 (*CSEL* 5: 542-3, 550).

²⁰ See Dill (1926), 42.

²¹ I have in mind here the *Liber historiae Francorum*; see Gerberding (1987), 163-5.

²² 12, 67, 68, 92, 93, 95, 98, 108, 110², 112, 150, 154.

all references to the barbarians in the chronicle can be divided into one of six categories: Barbarians vs Romans, Romans vs Barbarians, Barbarians vs Barbarians, the sending or receiving of legates, accession and death notices, and the making of a treaty. The barbarians are associated only with random violence, destruction and death. Beyond what appears to be a spontaneous appeal for peace in 457 by a group of Sueves who survived the invasion (188), most barbarians accomplish nothing and make no positive actions at any point in the chronicle. The exception here is the Goths who work with the Roman government for good ends (63, 77, 150, 158, 170) and assist the Gallaecians at the end of the chronicle (as discussed above in section 2), but the alliances are ephemeral and there is always the threat of perfidy (77, 174, 183, 186, 218, 228, 245) or conspiracy (134, 217). Any positive actions by the Goths are completely wiped out for Hydatius, who at any rate could not have been pleased at the thought of a second tribe taking an undue interest in the peninsula, by their behaviour during the invasion of 456-7. Even the laudable action of sparing those Romans who took refuge in churches during the sack of Rome by the Goths in 410 (43) is undone by the Goths themselves in 456 in Bracara (174).

Hydatius' use of words is very important and strongly highlights the very selective picture he paints of barbarians in the Roman world. In entry 3 he says "Inter Romanos et Gothos multa certamina conseruntur." He uses "certamen" only when describing wars which involve the barbarians (3, 69, 71, 77, 98, 150, 153, 173, 175, 186, 197). The same is true of "bellum" (77, 116, 150). When Romans fight Romans, however, he uses "conflictus" (56, 99). The verbs he uses to describe their activities speak eloquently of Hydatius' vision of barbarian defeat, destruction and death:

superari (passive)- 12, 98, 134, 150, 173, 197, 218.²³

depraedari (deponent)- 46, 86, 86 (passive), 90, 120, 134, 140, 142, 150, 168, 171, 182, 188, 190, 193, 201, 219, 246, 250.

depraedare- 91.

praedari (deponent)-100, 154.

praedare- 20, 249.

²³ Used only four times for non-barbarians: 24 (Eugenius), 53 (Dontists), 56 (Heraclian), and 99 (Sebastian). These are obviously seen, however, as being in the same league as the barbarians.

inuadare- 86, 115, 137, 170, 172, 194, 195, 228, 246, 249.²⁴
 caesus- 68, 90, 110², 112, 116, 150, 173, 177*bis*, 227.²⁵
 debaccantes- 48.
 iugulatur- 60, 156, 198.
 occisus- 74, 152, 171, 176, 178.²⁶
 debellantur- 93, 108.
 edomat (object)- 95.
 rebello- 95, 108.
 obsideo- 71, 74, 107, 110¹, 120, 121.²⁷
 populatur- 202.
 spoliant-229.
 seviunt- 233.
 deseviunt- 250.
 diripitur- 241.
 uastantur- 186.
 desolatur- 241.

The only puzzle in Hydatius' use of verbs is "ingreditur/ingressus" which seems to be a completely colourless word, and as such is used for the entrance of emperors into Constantinople, Rome and Spain (4, 19, 200). However, it is more often used for the violent entry of barbarians into cities and provinces (42, 43, 46, 55, 119, 167, 173, 186, 229).²⁸

Nouns, adjectives and adverbs like "caedes" (43, 46, 63, 91, 186), "captiuitas/captus/captiuus" (91, 142, 172, 174, 186*bis*, 207; 44, 89, 92, 173, 201, 241; 174, 175, 229), "perturbatio" (pref. 7, 162², 220), "depraedatio" (96, 134, 172, 179), "direptio" (174), "hostilitas/hostilis" (46, 156, 196, 239, 250), "praeda" (137, 188, 240), and "crudelissime" (171, 194), all used with reference to the barbarians, again reveal Hydatius' feelings and impress upon the reader the violent relationship between the

²⁴ Used only once of non-barbarians: 78 (Boniface).

²⁵ Used only once for non-barbarians: 56 ("armati" in civil war), though Hydatius may have thought them barbarian troops.

²⁶ "Occisus" is only applied to Romans twice (48, 247) yet "occiditur" is mainly reserved for non-barbarians: 17, 22, 24, 50, 56, 84, 94, 116, 144, 160, 162¹, 162², 199. It is applied to barbarians only in 141 and 218.

²⁷ In 77 the Vandals themselves are besieged.

²⁸ Entry 129 describes the entry of the "hostis publicus" Sebastian into "conquesitam sibi, qua potuit, Barcilonam" which may or may not be violent and the example in 16 is a dubious emendation.

barbarians and the Roman provincials, chiefly in Spain but also in the rest of the Empire. Words like “depraedatur”, “inuadunt”, “caesus”, and “captiuitas (et al.)” are among the most often used words in the chronicle and their constant repetition along with the repeated descriptions of similar activities by the barbarians creates a dark and pessimistic mood which envelops the chronicle.²⁹

In his accounts of barbarian activity in Spain Hydatius generally concentrates on the ravaging of territory and there are few areas of Gallaecia, Lusitania and Baetica which would seem to have escaped Vandalic, Suevic or Gothic depredations at one time or another. But it was not merely the land which suffered under the barbarians; Hydatius shows that they were also very interested in taking cities, if not to possess or settle in them, then at least to sack them.³⁰ It has often been said that the barbarians lacked effective siege equipment and were therefore unable to take Roman walled cities. This is fallacious because it assumes that the only way to capture a city is to besiege it with siege engines as the Romans did. But Hydatius shows that the barbarians had a number of different ways of taking cities, including by siege, but usually by surprise, deception, brute force, and collusion and treachery (115, 121, 142, 186, 188, 195, 217, 229, 241, 246). Often he just uses vague words such as “ingreditur/ ingressus”, “euersa” or “capta” (e.g. 43, 44, 55, 86, 89, 119, 123, 167, 206). Throughout the entire chronicle this is almost the only relationship Hydatius describes between the barbarians and the cities of Spain. Only twice³¹ does he refer to Sueves actually living in a city; both times it is the same city, Lucus, and both times it is only part of a description of violence, either murder or pillage (199, 201). The list of the other Spanish cities which suffered at the hands of the barbarians is long and sad indeed: Carthago Spartaria (86), Hispalis (86, 89, 123), Emerita (119), Myrtilis (121), Ilerda (142), Bracara (174), Asturica and Palentina (186), Ulixippona (188, 246), Portum Cale (195), Aquae Flaviae (201), Scallabis (206), and Conimbrica (229, 241). The worst hit were Asturica, Palentina and Conimbrica

²⁹ Also very common and contributory to the pessimism of the chronicle is “occiditur” (see n. 26). The themes of pessimism will be discussed in Chapter 7.

³⁰ On cities, see Thompson (1982), 171-2.

³¹ Perhaps three times if we include the “Sueui qui remanserant” in Asturica in 186.

where the inhabitants were captured, the houses burned to the ground and the surrounding territory ravaged. In the case of the latter even some of the city wall was torn down.

One assumes that in all of the anonymous depredations and invasions of territory in Gallaecia and Lusitania local land owners suffered severe losses, year after year. We are left to assume it because most of the time Hydatius does not fill in the details. However, there are many occasions when we can see the direct and individual interaction between Roman and Sueve or Goth. Hydatius sets the tone with the first invasion and settlement in 410-11 (46-9). In the description of the four plagues of plague, famine, sword, and beasts, he sums up the effects of the first two years of barbarian presence in Spain in starkly personal terms. And once the barbarians have settled, “Spani per ciuitates et castella residui a plagis barbarorum per prouincias dominantium se subiciunt seruituti” (49).³² In 468 Romans are again the slaves of the Sueves in Lusitania: “Sueuos...et Romanos ipsis in Lusitaniae regionibus seruientes” (246). Romans are captured, murdered, ravaged, pillaged, plundered, and harassed (46-49, 90, 91, 96, 100, 113, 131, 134, 140, 142, 171, 172, 174, 179, 186, 188, 190, 193, 194, 196, 199, 201, 202, 204, 219, 220, 229, 233, 239, 241, 246, 249, 250). Easter offers them no protection (199), and even their own assist the Sueves (e.g. 101, 201, 246, 251). Diplomacy offers the Aunonenses some satisfaction, though they must go to the Goths to achieve it (233, 239, 249). However the Sueves just move on and terrorize others (249). Hydatius offers us no other account of the relationships or interactions between Roman and barbarian in Spain. During times of peace (and there are a number, especially in Gallaecia between 438 and 456) he says nothing at all.

Hydatius also stresses the hostility and cruelty of the barbarians with his use of selective detail and emotive descriptions when describing attacks on Romans. Entry 48 detailing the first invasion of 409-411 is the perfect example where amidst the general descriptions of famine and cannibalism he makes specific reference to “matres” who were

³² Note the emotive use of the word “residui” and the phrase “subiciunt seruituti” which mirrors the words of God’s prophecy to Abram concerning the enslavement of the Hebrews in Egypt (Gen. 15:13 and Acts 7:6). Note that St. Severinus also compares Roman life under the “iniusta barbarorum dominatio” to the Hebrew slavery in Egypt (*Vita s. Seuerini* 40.4 [MGH:AA 1.2: 26]).

forced to feed upon the bodies of their own (“suorum”) children whom they had had to kill and cook with their own hands (“per se”).³³ Elsewhere he uses such emotive and personal words as “familia”, “paruuli”, “mater”, and “filii” (91, 131, 186, 229). In one case he actually gives the name of a kidnapped family, the Cantabri (229). Twice he mentions the noble birth of certain otherwise anonymous victims (196, 199) and often mentions the “plebs” of a particular area who are attacked (91, 113, 202, 233, 239, 249). During the Gothic attacks on Bracara and Asturica he stresses the affronts to Romans as a whole with such descriptions as “satis maestā et lacrimabilis... direptio”, “magna...captivitas captiuorum”, “horror”, and “miseranda captivitas”, but he also mentions individuals (clergy, women, virgins, bishops, etc.) and goes into great detail with regard to the Gothic attacks on the churches (174, 186). Barbarians are never given this type of personalization when they suffer at the hands of the Romans; Hydatius usually just gives a tribal name and states that they were defeated or slaughtered. This type of highly emotional writing not only depersonalizes the barbarians but, even more important, makes their random and generally small-scale acts of violence (actually bloodless in the case of Bracara) seem worse than the defeat or slaughter of an entire tribe (12, 63, 67, 68, 93, 95, 98, 108, 110², 112), especially in the case of the Gothic invasion where the Goths obviously slaughtered thousands of Sueves and destroyed their kingdom, yet Hydatius lends the detail and emotion only to the attacks upon the Romans (compare 173-5, 178, 186 with 174, 186).

Hydatius has little to say with regard to the barbarians and religion.³⁴ The Vandals were Arian heretics and Hydatius says a few things about their attacks on the orthodox in Spain and in Africa (89, 118, 120), but not as much as might be expected, given his strongly orthodox stance in the chronicle. Of the Goths and Sueves he says even less, noting only that Rechila was a pagan and his son Rechiarius an orthodox Christian (137) and that the Arian Ajax had come from Gothic Gaul and was supported by the Suevic king (232). The religion of the barbarians in Spain obviously affected

³³ Note the use of the more emotive “nati” rather than “liberi”.

³⁴ See Molé (1975), 73-5, and Thompson (1980), 77, and (1982), 196, 211.

Hydatius and the daily lives of the Hispano-Romans in no serious way and so Hydatius says virtually nothing about it. Had the Sueves or Goths proven even slightly anti-Christian or anti-orthodox Hydatius would certainly have not have ignored it, for it would have fit perfectly into his existing treatment of the barbarians.

Though he speaks his mind about tribes as a whole, Hydatius rarely makes explicit comments about individual barbarians. This follows the same pattern noted above in Chapter 5 with regard to the Romans, though the difference here is that he does not explicitly praise individuals, he attacks them: Gunderic was “*impie elatus*” (89); Gaiseric was an “*apostata*” (89) and “*elatus inpie*” (118); Maldras is a “*hostis*” (195) and dies “*merito interito*” (198); and Euric succeeds to the kingship “*pari scelere quo frater*” and is “*honore prouectus et crimine*” (238).

Finally, Hydatius makes it plain that God himself hated the barbarians and favoured the Romans: in 411 he stopped the barbarian depredations and settled them in Spain (49), sent a demon to kill the heretic Vandal king Gunderic (89), drowned the Suevic commander Heremigarius (90), assisted Aëtius and Theoderic to defeat the Huns in Gaul (150), assisted Aëtius and Marcian to defeat the Huns in Italy and the Huns’ own abodes (154), helped the citizens of Coviacum resist the remnants of the Gothic army (186), and was very pleased by Aegidius’ defensive actions against the Goths in Gaul and the death of Fredericus, the brother of the Gothic king, Theoderic II (218). Perhaps even Anthemius and Marcellinus’ rôles in the expedition against the Vandals (247) were part of God’s plan in sending them to Italy with a vast army and other picked commanders the previous year (234).

Ordinarily one would need no summary after evidence of this sort, but many modern scholars have come to rather odd conclusions with regard to the chronicle based on their interpretations of Hydatius’ barbarian material.³⁵ There can be no doubt that

³⁵ The most perverse of these views is that of Molé (1974), 295-304, 311-13, 320, 327-9, 330, 332-3, 341, and (1975), 73-5. She believes that Hydatius accepted the barbarian presence, desired fusion and reconciliation with them, not their destruction, and looked to the Goths especially as the basis of a new Germano-Roman order. After the invasion of 456-7, however, he turned from the Goths to the Franks under Aegidius for support and alliance. This new anti-Gothic attitude was not pro-Roman in nature but pro-Frankish. Since Molé binds Hydatius so closely to one or other Gallic aristocratic “party”, and the Gauls knew nothing of the Sueves, Molé has little to say about the Sueves.

Hydatius never accepted the Sueves as overlords and hated all barbarians. He would never have approved of any reconciliation with them, did not trust them and he certainly did not see in them any alternative to the Empire. He never says anything good about any of them, even individuals; they appear simply as agents of destruction, both of the physical world and the moral world, and when they are not destroying, they are being destroyed. Hydatius had lived right in the midst of barbarian depredations for sixty years and had even been a captive of the Sueves for over three months in 460. He wrote from first-hand experience and close observation.³⁶ He was too close to the events he was narrating to be a cool and completely objective observer, however, and above we have seen how his deeply felt hatred for the barbarians and his anguish at the destruction of his *patria* and the murder of his compatriots surfaced in the chronicle, in spite of his generally serious attempts at objectivity.

In contrast, a popular view has recently held that Hydatius' rhetorical exaggerations, emotional descriptions and apparent contradictions with the accounts of Orosius invalidate his descriptions of the barbarian invasion of 409-411 particularly and throw doubt on the veracity of the remainder of his account of barbarian activities.³⁷ The cause of this doubt on the part of historians is Hydatius' negative accounts and obvious hostility contrasted with the positive attitudes and favourable accounts of Orosius. But to accept Orosius' accounts at face value is to ignore the fact that he was charged by Augustine (who was writing his monumental *de ciuitate dei*) to answer the charge of the pagans after the sack of Rome in 410 that the Roman Empire was suffering worse disasters under the Christians than it had under the pagans. The result was *Septem libri historiarum contra paganos*, an apologetic monstrosity whose first six books contain nothing but a retelling of every disaster, defeat, evil portent, and negative

³⁶ Giunta (1964), a generally sensible paper, states that Hydatius' attitudes towards the barbarians originally derived from Jerome, as if they were some sort of literary conceit (491-2).

³⁷ The most pro-Germanic of the lot was Wilhelm Reinhart ([1952], 31-2, 41, 47, 52, 65, and 84), a German who was convinced that the Sueves were hard working, just, highly religious, and otherwise virtuous emigrants. He was foreshadowed in this view by Manuel Torres in Menéndez Pidal (1940), 21, 145-6. Even Courtois ([1955], 53) was taken in and Arce ([1984], 162, 164) leaned in this direction as well. Torres Rodriguez (1956b), 783-7, well defends Hydatius' accounts.

story Orosius could squeeze out of early historians such as Livy, and whose seventh book recounted imperial history from the birth of Christ with every similar negative aspect suppressed or explained away as the result of persecution, heresy or the Devil.³⁸ Even the sack of Rome is dismissed as little more than the product of rumour.³⁹ The end of the seventh book paints a rosy picture of Spain (the scene of the most serious barbarian threats at the time, since all the major tribes were there) as a new order of barbarians beat their swords into ploughshares, converted to orthodoxy, offered sanctuary from the tax-man to oppressed Romans, served Rome, and slaughtered each other.⁴⁰ Orosius made an incredible number of excuses for the barbarian presence, but revealed the complete bankruptcy of his point of view at the end: “Quid enim damni est Christiani ad uitam aeternam inhianti, huic saeculo quolibet tempore et quoquo pacto abstrahi?”⁴¹ What Hydatius would have thought of his fellow countryman is not hard to imagine and even if he had had access to Orosius’ *historiae*, it is not surprising that he did not use it as a source.

Interestingly enough, however, if one cuts through the apologetic, Orosius’ account of the invasion and settlement is surprisingly similar to Hydatius’. He too mentions the “residui Romani”, “caedes uastationesque”, “actis aliquamdiu magnis cruentisque discursibus”, “graues rerum atque hominum uastationes” and says that the two years when “hostilis gladius saeuuit” were no worse than what had been suffered under the Romans for two hundred years.⁴² His description of the latter is little different from Hydatius §48.⁴³ And if one looks below the surface of Orosius’ supposed acceptance

³⁸ Cf. the estimations by Jones (1964), 1025-6 and 1060, Torres Rodriguez (1956b), 784-6, and Collins (1983), 14.

³⁹ Augustine (*de ciuitate dei* I.7) described it as *uastatio*, *trucidatio*, *depraedatio*, *concrematio*, *adflictio*, and *clades*. Orosius (VII.40.1 [CSEL 5: 548-9]) said “nihil factum, sicut etiam ipsi [Romani] fatentur, arbitrabitur”.

⁴⁰ VII.41.7 and 43.15 (CSEL 5: 554, 563). Surprisingly Thompson (1982) takes the comments of Orosius and Salvian (see n. 15) at face value and applies them across the social scale (181; though cf. 182). Salvian’s ultra-positive portrayal of the barbarians is even more unrealistic than Orosius’ (cf. Jones (1964), 1026, 1060, 1061) but then he lived safely in Marseilles not in the “front line” as did Hydatius.

⁴¹ VII.41.9 (CSEL 5: 554). See VII.41.2-9 and cf. 43.1-15 (CSEL 5: 552-4, 559-63).

⁴² VII.40.10 and 41.2 (CSEL 5: 552-3).

⁴³ V.1.6 (CSEL 5: 277).

of the barbarians, one discovers that he hated them as much as Hydatius did and was glad to see them annihilated.⁴⁴ Apart from the normal Roman hatred of barbarians, this attitude probably stems from the facts that they seem to have made life difficult for him during the few years he lived under barbarian occupation in Gallaecia, 411-c.413/4, otherwise a period of relative tranquillity to judge from Hydatius' silence during these years, and that they prevented his return thence in 416.⁴⁵

In final conclusion it will come as no surprise that Hydatius in some way believed that the barbarians had been sent to punish mankind, or at least the Gallaecians and Lusitanians. He makes two references to the wrath of God with regard to barbarian savagery and these appear at the two key points in the chronicle, the barbarian invasion of 409-11—the four plagues of Ezekiel and Revelation—and the Gothic invasion of Bracara in 456—the wrath of God against Jerusalem.⁴⁶ These are more than simply references to divine punishment (though Hydatius never mentions or implies the reason for the punishment) they are part of a web of apocalyptic prophecy and dark pessimism which envelops the chronicle and is always related to the barbarians. So pessimistic is Hydatius' view that the barbarian presence is seen as part of the prelude to the end of the world: in §§57 and 118, two barbarian kings, Athaulf and Gaiseric, are said to be fulfilling Biblical prophecy and, as will be discussed in the following chapter, such fulfillment portends the imminence of the appearance of the Antichrist and the Second Coming of Christ.

⁴⁴ Orosius' hatred of the barbarians is shown in III.20.6, 11-13; VII.35.19-20; 37.12, 14, 17; 42.2; 43.13, 15 (*CSEL* 5: 183, 184-5, 531, 540, 541, 542, 555, 562, 563).

⁴⁵ III.20.5-10 and V.2.1-2 (*CSEL* 5: 183-4, 280), and Severus of Minorca, *Ep. ad omnem ecclesiam* 3 (*PL* 41: 823) = *Ep. de Iudaeis* (*PL* 20: 733).

⁴⁶ §48: Ez. 5:17, 14:21, 33:27-29; Rev. 6:8; and §174: e.g. IV Kings 24, I Chron. 21:7-15, II Chron. 34:24-25.

CHAPTER 7: THEMES OF PESSIMISM AND THE *CONSUMMATIO MUNDI*

Most modern commentators have noted the distinctly pessimistic, even apocalyptic, aspects of Hydatius' chronicle and it is usually assumed that this was simply a result of the barbarian depredations and an awareness of the weakness of the Roman Empire, sometimes taken to have been identified by Hydatius with the end of the Theodosian dynasty.¹ But no one has seriously probed this aspect of the chronicle or investigated the effect such pessimism might have had on Hydatius' general historiographical outlook with regard to both *res gestae* and *historia rerum gestarum*. In fact Hydatius' pessimism is merely a single manifestation of a larger historiographical and theological view which Hydatius held and which influenced the composition of the chronicle in fundamental ways, that is, a conviction that the world was near its end, a knowledge of when that was and an acceptance that the historical events he was describing were the prophesied prelude to that end. The purpose of this chapter therefore is to explain what Hydatius believed, how he was led to his beliefs and in what ways his beliefs are manifested in the chronicle.

1. PESSIMISM, PROPHECY AND THE *CONSUMMATIO*

To begin with one cannot help but notice that the chronicle is an amazingly negative document. It is overloaded with themes of disorder, conflict, instability, violence, destruction, failure, and helplessness. These themes and views pervade the entire fabric of the chronicle and we must therefore assume that they formed a large and important part of Hydatius' world view as well. No other document of the fifth century, and perhaps no single work of all antiquity, is as unrelievedly negative in both content and attitude as is Hydatius' chronicle, with the exception perhaps of Victor of Vita's *Historia persecutionis Africanae prouinciae*. Certainly, the overall atmosphere of the chronicle is

¹ E.g. Menéndez Pidal (1940), VII-VIII; Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 755-6, 794, and (1956b), 779-793; Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 354; Livermore (1971), 21; Molé (1974), 301-3, 306-13; Tranoy (1974), I: 19-21, 58-62; Giunta (1964), 492; and Muhlberger (forthcoming), 466-71. Hydatius' feelings for the Theodosians have been discussed above, 117-20.

one very different from that of any other chronicle, though two sections of the *Chronica Gallica ad a. 452* come close with their unrelieved lists of barbarian attacks and usurpations.² Hydatius' frame of mind was determined not only by the chaos created in all facets of life by the barbarian invasions of and settlements in Spain and the Empire (as was seen in the last chapter), civil war and usurpation, a conviction that the Empire was doomed to collapse, the seemingly overabundant appearance of ominous *signa* and *prodigia*, and the spread of heresy, but also by his belief in the prophecy of an apocryphal apocalypse which foretold the exact time of Christ's Second Coming (Parousia) and thus of the *consummatio mundi*, the end of the world. This focused the rest and gave them coherent meaning. He did not merely believe that the end of the world was nigh, he *knew* it. Hydatius would thus appear to have been the first historian we know of who was writing within the teleological Christian historiographic tradition and had to face up to what this concept actually implied for those living at the "end of history".³ That the knowledge of the imminent Parousia should be a cause for pessimism instead of hope and joy is a result of the realization that mankind must first pass through disaster and tribulations hitherto unexperienced at the hands of the Antichrist. As a result it is what must precede the Parousia which causes fear and dread, not the event itself.

The most serious objection that can be raised against Hydatius' belief in the imminent *consummatio* is that he never actually explicitly mentions it, or the appearance of the Antichrist or the Parousia, for that matter, in the chronicle. This may seem an overwhelming argument if offered in the light of contemporary exegetic or apologetic works whose purposes were to lead the listeners to repentance. But Hydatius was not writing with such a didactic, rhetorical or apologetic purpose, so we should not expect such exposition. Besides, the *consummatio* was an event of the future and the chronicle dealt with the past; its purpose in continuation of Eusebius and Jerome was the presentation of the unfolding of God's will as revealed through *gestae* and *tempora*; in

² §§61-75 and 126-141. On these sections, see Muhlberger (1983), 30-2, and Wood (1987), 255-6.

³ This is not counting Sulpicius Severus whose *Chronica* cannot strictly be considered a "history" though it is historical (see below). On Christian historiography, see above, 26-8, 30, 31.

such a work there was no place for the detailed exegesis of apocalyptic prophecies or calls for repentance, as if Hydatius were a fifth-century John the Baptist. Such calls for a return to the fold could be made in his sermons and treatises, if he felt so inclined. The perfect parallel in this case is Sulpicius Severus whose strong beliefs in the imminent end of the world are made explicit in other works, but are only implicit in his *Chronica*.⁴ As a result, all of the evidence in the chronicle, except for a single reference in the preface, is implicit, though no one who knew the Bible could have missed the few allusions which he does make. Besides, he had left a short but fully explanatory note of his beliefs earlier in the codex, as I shall explain.

There is also the question of why Hydatius bothered to write the chronicle at all if he thought the world was going to end; for us, this is not a natural reaction to such knowledge. This will be discussed in detail below (pp. 227-9, 239) but here it is sufficient to say that authors such as Sulpicius Severus, Gregory the Great and Beatus of Liébana believed in the imminent *consummatio* but that did not keep them from writing; in fact it may even have spurred them on.⁵ The same can probably be said for Hydatius.

The first time that the reader is introduced to Hydatius' pessimism is in the preface. Section 7 describes his overall view of the state of the world—"all the calamities of this wretched age" and "the Roman Empire, confined in desperate straits, its boundaries about to collapse"—and of Gallaecia—"the state of ecclesiastical offices perverted by indiscriminate appointments, the destruction of honourable freedom and the downfall of virtually all religion based on divine order, as a result of the domination of a mad race thrown into chaos by the disruptions of a hostile one." Then follows the most interesting point of all: he is leaving the account of these misfortunes to the next generation "to be brought to completion" ("consummanda"). He does not say "to be continued"

⁴ Stancliffe (1983), 38, 41-2, 79, and van Andel (1976), 117-42.

⁵ For Sulpicius and Gregory the Great, see below n. 52; for Beatus, who was writing in 786 (aera 824) and thought the world was going to end in 800 (aera 838), see *In Apocalipsin Libri XII* IV.5.16-18 (ed. H. A. Sanders, *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome* VII (1930), 367-8). There is a new two-volume Italian edition of Beatus but it is useless since none of the books are subdivided and passages are impossible to find and cite.

(“subdenda”) as he says he is doing with Jerome’s work and as Jerome did with Eusebius’. The clear reference to the end of the Empire and the belief that history will soon be completed foreshadow the eschatological atmosphere of the chronicle itself. Even the choice of the word “consummanda” foreshadows the end since the phrase often used for the end of the world in the Bible and patristic literature is “consummatio saeculi/mundi”.⁶

Hydatius explicitly refers to Old Testament prophecy three times; all have some connection with the *consummatio*: the four plagues of §48, the marriage of Athaulf and Placidia as the king of the North and the daughter of the king of the South in §57, and the handing over of the churches to the Arians in 118.⁷ The first of these prophecies derives from two apocalyptic narratives, Ezekiel’s prophecies of the wrath of God against Jerusalem and the plagues loosed from the first four seals in Revelation. Hydatius is referring to both texts for he uses the plural “prophetae” and the four plagues appear only in Ezekiel and Revelation. He based his reading on Ezekiel rather than Revelation because he has the “pestilentia” of the former, not the “mors” of the latter,⁸ though his comment that the four plagues were “in toto orbe seuiantes” derives from Revelation where the four horsemen are given power “super quattuor partes terrae”; Ezekiel refers only to Jerusalem.⁹

The other two prophecies refer to chapters 11 and 12 of Daniel, an account of the events leading up to the end of the world and the final resurrection. Concetta Molé is convinced that the prophecy of §57 is one of optimism and of hope for a fusion and lasting peace between Goths and Romans. It only becomes a lament when Hydatius

⁶ E.g. Isaiah 10:22-3, 28:22; Daniel 9:27; Mt 13:39, 40, 49; 24:3, 14, 28:20; Mk 13:4 (“omnia incipient consummari”); Heb 9:26; Filastrius, *Diuersarum hereseon liber* 106 and 107 (CSEL 38: 65-8); Lactantius, *Diuinae institutiones* VII.14.6 (CSEL 19: 629); Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.* prol. and III 9:24 (CCL 75A: 772, 878).

⁷ The plagues: Ezekiel 5:17, 14:21, 33:27-9 with Rev 6:8; the marriage: Daniel 11:6; the churches: Daniel 9:27, 11:31, 12:11.

⁸ The Vetus Latina has “mors” in Ezekiel as well; this is translated from the Septuagint which the author of Revelation had read. Jerome’s Latin translation of the Hebrew, however, reads “pestilentia” (cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Hiez.* IV.xiv.12, 23, §§640 and 669). This proves that Hydatius was using Jerome’s translation and not the Vetus Latina.

⁹ 14:21: “gladium et famem et bestias malas et pestilentiam misero in Hierusalem”.

notes the lack of any offspring which would have served as a rallying point for a unified Romano-Gothic nation.¹⁰ In support she adds (quite correctly) that neither Daniel nor Jerome in his commentary on Daniel—which she believes Hydatius to have read¹¹—recounts this episode in a negative way.¹² In this interpretation Molé has not seen the context of the episode in Daniel. This marriage is not an event unto itself but the beginning of a sequence which starts in 11:2 and ends in 12:3. The clashes between the kingdoms of North and South start with this marriage and continue until the coming of the Antichrist, the appearance of “Michahel princeps magnus” (i.e. Christ) who initiates a “tempus quale non fuit ab eo quo gentes esse coeperunt usque ad tempus illud”, the final resurrection, and the Last Judgement. By identifying the marriage of Athaulf and Placidia with the marriage of the king of the North and the daughter of the king of the South Hydatius is announcing that the sequence of events which are to lead directly to the *consummatio* has been set in motion.¹³

This is further supported by another reference to Daniel in §118. This is very vague but would seem to be referring to 9:27 and 11:31: “et in templo erit abominatio desolationis et usque ad consummationem et finem perseuerabit desolatio” and “et brachia ex eo stabunt et polluent sanctuarium fortitudinis et auferent iuge sacrificium et dabunt abominationem in desolationem.” It seems unlikely that by this Hydatius meant to identify Gaiseric with the Antichrist, the one responsible for the “desolatio”, but it is a possibility and Gaiseric’s career of persecution and his sack of Rome made him a likely candidate.¹⁴

In Preface 7, as quoted above, Hydatius states that he is going to include in his chronicle “conclusi in angustias imperii Romani metas...ruituras”. The “metae” are the physical limits or boundaries of the Empire, which, though already breached, are soon

¹⁰ Molé (1974), 311-3. Cf. above, 151 n. 35.

¹¹ If Hydatius had read it (which I seriously doubt) he obviously paid no attention to it since Jerome’s exegesis quite correctly explains that the prophecy had already been fulfilled in 252 B.C.

¹² Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.* III 9.6 (CCL 75A: 902-4).

¹³ One cannot help but wonder if Hydatius also had in mind Dan. 2:43 which refers to the same event; on this prophecy of the composite statue, see just below.

¹⁴ See *Liber genealogus* 617 (*Chron. min.* I: 195) for this very identification.

doomed to collapse.¹⁵ One can only conclude that by this he means the end of the Roman Empire and according to a contemporary interpretation of Daniel 2:31-45 which Hydatius must have known, this meant the end of the world, for the composite statue which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream prophesied the four great world empires and its feet of mixed iron and clay which were smashed by the stone of the Kingdom of God represented the barbarian presence in a divided Roman Empire.¹⁶

2. THE *REVELATIO THOMAE* AND EARLY CHRISTIAN APOCALYPTIC CHRONOGRAPHY

As was explained in Chapter 2, Hydatius' chronicle was an integral part of Jerome's *Chronici Canones*, not an individual compilation which circulated by itself, and it is in the *canones* that we find the explicit proof of Hydatius' convictions in a note he wrote in the margin, opposite the eighteenth year of Tiberius, the year of the crucifixion:

In libro quodam Thome apostoli scriptum est dominum Iesum ad eum dixisse ab ascensu suo ad celum usque in secundum aduentum eius nouem ioboleos contineri quos ab hoc loco qui legis distinctos per annos inuenies quinquagenos. Quinquaginta enim anni unius summa est iobolei.¹⁷

The ninth jubilee from the Ascension would end on 27 May 482 and it was then that Hydatius expected the Parousia.¹⁸ Five of eight possible jubilees are correctly marked in the texts of Jerome and Hydatius every fifty years in a sort of count-down; only I, VI and VIII are missing, a result of damage or scribal error.¹⁹ The jubilee markers read as follows:

¹⁵ Cf. Ez 6:11: "...domus Israhel qui gladio fame peste ruituri sunt".

¹⁶ This interpretation is well known and I note only van Andel (1976), 128-9, concerning Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica* II.2-3 (CSEL I: 57-9), which Hydatius would appear to have read. Tranoy ([1974], I: 61) thinks the four fish of §253 represent the Four Empires.

¹⁷ This interpolation appears in Fotheringham's apparatus, 256. I have corrected it slightly from the manuscript.

¹⁸ Grumel (1958), 244, for date of Easter in the West in 482, and 312-3 for the date of Ascension that year.

¹⁹ On the missing marginal notations of MS B, see above, 23-4, 26-7, 29, 30-1, 31, and the Text Volume, 37-8. I have re-established the eighth jubilee in my edition.

II Ioboleus ex eo quo supra
 III Iobeleus a domini ascensu
 IIII Iobeleus ex quo sui ruina
 V Iobeleus ab ascensu domini
 VII Ioboleus ex quo dominus ascendit²⁰

The marginal note and the jubilee markers are unique to MS B which was, as was seen in Chapter 2, Hydatius' copy of Jerome. The manuscript includes the words "apocrifo qui dicitur" after "quodam" but these obviously could not have been written by Hydatius since the work was not deemed apocryphal until 495-6; they must have been added by the Spanish compiler or a later copyist who realized that the work referred to had previously been condemned by Pope Gelasius.²¹

There is little doubt that these notes and markers were written by Hydatius. First of all, there is the date. No one after the ninth jubilee would have bothered to include such a chronology, much less one from what would have been by then a condemned apocryphal book. The ninth jubilee ended in 482 and this narrows the gap to exactly 100 years after the presentation of the *editio Romana* of the *Chronici canones*, the basis of B, in 382.²² Unlike the notice which initiates the Spanish aeras in the *canones* and points explicitly to the end of Jerome's text,²³ the jubilee notice seems to imply that all the markers are present and therefore must be including Hydatius' text. This restricts the period almost entirely to the few years between 468-9 and 482. The remaining arguments in favour of Hydatian authorship are two-fold. First of all there is the obviously pessimistic nature of the chronicle itself and the implicit suggestion of a number of entries noted above that Hydatius believed that the end of the world was approaching. Second, the note and jubilee markers are stylistically Hydatian. Individually none points uniquely to Hydatius but together they form a strong basis for attribution. The first jubilee marker (for the second jubilee) uses the phrase "qui supra" exactly as Hydatius does, as an adjective in

²⁰ See Fotheringham's apparatus, 282, 290, 297, 306, and Hydatius §7. I have corrected Fotheringham's readings from the manuscript. Each note appears directly under the Spanish aera starting with 170 and going down to 420.

²¹ See below at n. 30.

²² Mosshammer (1979), 49 and 51; Fotheringham (1923), XIV; Helm (1984), XIV-XV.

²³ See the Text Volume, 23.

the same case as the preceding noun or pronoun. This is a rare construction which is extremely common in the chronicle.²⁴ The main notice comprises two sentences and both end with the verb in the penultimate position, a characteristic Hydatian turn.²⁵ The most telling point however is the highly unusual double use of the second person singular in exactly the same form as found in the preface to the chronicle: “Quorum continentiam gestorum et temporum qui legis ita discernes” (pref 6) and “iobeleos...quos ab hoc loco qui legis distinctos per annos inuenies quinquagenos.” In both cases the “(tu) qui legis” is separated from the main verb. I know of no other example of this usage.²⁶

Thus, in spite of his orthodox pretensions Hydatius had studied and accepted an uncanonical text, soon to be condemned as apocryphal, and which was in fact, as we shall see in Chapter 8, heretical. Unfortunately, this work is no longer extant in its original form, though large, highly corrupt fragments of two recensions do exist. The *Reuelatio Thomae* is allegedly a letter written to Thomas by Christ describing the final years leading up to the *consummatio*.²⁷ The short recension (MSS BN) is the older of

²⁴ *Qui supra* (sing.): 38, 59, 207; *qui supra* (plur.): 231; *quo supra*: 58, 66; *quod supra*: 177; *quibus supra*: 201. I have also found *qua supra* in the First Council of Toledo (Chadwick, 236, ll. 44 and 67). *Qui supra* appears in the *Chronici canones* once (87a^a), in *Cons. Const.*, s.a. 419 (*Chron. min.* I: 246; copied from Hydatius 58), and in *Chron. Gall. ad a. 511, 525* (*Chron. min.* I: 649; perhaps also influenced by Hydatius).

²⁵ On this, see below, 241.

²⁶ The structure may be based on a line from Mt 24:15 and Mk 13:14 where it is in the more usual third person: “qui legit intelligat”.

²⁷ The connection between Hydatius’ comment on the nine jubilees and the *Reuelatio* (mentioned only by the Gelasian decree; see n. 30) was first made by Frick (1908), 172-3. Texts of most of the MSS can be found in Wilhelm (1907), 40*-42* (M; Munich Clm. 4585; 9th century); Bick (1908), 97-8 (B; Vienna Pal. Lat. 16; 5th cent.); Hauler (1908), 327 (revision of Bick along with important study of text as a whole, 308-40); James (1909-10a), 289 (V; Verona Capit. I; 8th century); and Bihlmeyer (1911), 272-4 (N; Munich Clm. 4563; 11th-12th cent.). P (Vat. Pal. 220; date?) has never been published beyond a few edited sections in Hauler (esp. 330-1) and Bihlmeyer. M. E. von Dobschütz had been promising since 1907 that he would produce a complete edition of the *Reuelatio* for *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (cf. James [1909-10b]) and in 1912 he stated, “Die Ausgabe... fast fertig ist” (*Texte und Untersuchungen* 38.4, p. 302, n. 3) but it was never published. Individual editions of all the texts got as far as the proof stage; see Förster (1955), 10, n.1. A fair English translation (not using P) and short discussion can be found in James (1924), 555-62. A translation of the short recension (Bihlmeyer) can be found in Hennecke and Schneemelcher (1965), 798-803. The short recension went on to become one of the most influential apocalyptic texts of the Middle

the two and consists of a few general portents followed by detailed descriptions of the final signs which will appear on each of the last eight days before the end of the world.²⁸ The long recension (MSS MVP) is an expansion of the shorter with regard to the general portents in the years preceding the end but it condenses the signs of the final seven days.²⁹ It divides roughly into four sections. The first recounts the general signs before the end, those in nature, those among men and those in religion. Then follows a list of nine kings with associated acts and signs which is concluded with another shorter list of signs which portend the arrival of the Antichrist. This is followed by a list of anathemas (“Vae illis...”). After a lacuna there are recounted the portents of the last seven days.

The long recension of the *Reuelatio* can be dated with certainty to the early fifth century for a number of reasons. The first record of this work appears in the *Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*,³⁰ dated 495-6, and the first three of the surviving list of nine kings (no doubt originally ten) are identified as Theodosius I, Arcadius and Honorius.³¹ Another very fifth-century turn of the work is the complaint about the collapse of the treasury to pay the army and the consequent lack of coinage to buy corn, wine and oil which were in abundance and the necessity of using “materia” of gold and silver to purchase grain. An earlier section seems to discuss the return of old imperial lands to the control of the emperor and the consequent demands for taxes: as the emperors filled their treasuries the “piores urbium” (curiales?) were thrown into the rock quarries. However, the shorter recension is probably earlier than the fifth century.³²

Agas and there are many later vernacular translations of it; see Förster (1955), 12-6, and Heist (1952).

²⁸ See the copy of Bihlmeyer’s text, Appendix 4.

²⁹ Since this recension has never been published, I have included a provisional text based on the available evidence in Appendix 5.

³⁰ 5.2: “Reuelatio quae appellatur Thomae: apocrypha” (ed. Ernst von Dobschütz, *Texte und Untersuchungen* 38.4, (Leipzig, 1912), 12 and 53).

³¹ “Subito exsurget rex prope supremum tempus, amatur legis; obtinebit imperium non multum tempus. Duos filios relinquet: primus per primam litteram [A] nuncupatur, saecundus per octauam [H]. Primus ante secundum morietur.” In spite of this Hauler (1908), 332-8, tries to identify the rest of the kings as starting from a variety of Gothic (!) kings around 376 through Eugenius (or Gildo), Theodosius II, Iohannes and Attila or Gaiseric.

³² See James (1924), 562. As we shall see below (pp. 207-8) the heretical aspects of this text

Although the prophecy of the nine jubilees does not occur in any of our fragments there seems little doubt that this apocalypse was the ultimate source. All of the texts are certainly reworkings of earlier originals which could have easily omitted an obviously failed prophecy.

*

The *Revelatio Thomae* and Hydatius' belief in it are not simply isolated examples of uneducated or semi-educated apocalyptic beliefs. Such beliefs have been common throughout the history of the church even to this day. Jesus prophesied that the *consummatio saeculi* would occur within that generation and most of the books of the New Testament, especially the letters of Paul, were written in the expectation of the imminent return of Christ.³³ When it became obvious that these early beliefs were mistaken new, more distant formulations began to appear.³⁴ As early as the *Epistle of Barnabas* (i.e. c.120),³⁵ Christians awaiting the Parousia extrapolated from the six days of Creation and II Peter 3:8—"quia unus dies apud Dominum sicut mille anni et mille anni sicut dies unus" (based on Psalm 89 (90):4, "Quia mille anni in oculis tuis sicut dies hesterna")—that the world would last six thousand years. This, the most popular of a variety of eschatological views, appears also in Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus.³⁶ It is in Hippolytus (c.204) that we first find the birth of Christ placed in the year 5500, mid-way through the "sixth day", thus leaving 500 years between the Incarnation and the Second Coming.³⁷ This clarification of the six thousand year view

suggest a fourth century origin though some have implausibly dated it to the second or third, see Förster (1955), 12.

³³ E.g. Mt 16:28, 24:34; 1 Thess 4.13-5.11; 2 Thess 2; 1 Cor 7:26, 29; Rev 1:1.

³⁴ By the time of II Peter it was becoming obvious that the promise was not being fulfilled (3:1-10).

³⁵ *Barnabae Epistula*, XV.4 (ed. Theodorus Klauser, *Florilegium Patristicum*, n.s. 1 (1940), 60-1). On the period from the earliest eschatological beliefs to Barnabas, see Landes (1988), 141-4.

³⁶ Irenaeus: *Contra haereses* V.28.3 (PG 7: 1200); Clement: Malalas, *Chronographia* (ed. Dindorf, *CShB*, (Bonn, 1831), 228; see also Grumel (1958), 5-6); Hippolytus: *In Daniele* IV.24 (GCS I (Leipzig, 1897), 246-9) and Photius *Bibl. cod.* 202 (ed. René Henry, *Bibliothèque*, Vol. III (Paris, 1962), 102). On all of these early views, see Luneau (1964), 35-45, 81-5, 93-5, 209-13, 219-21, 235-9, and esp. Landes (1988), 145-9.

³⁷ Though this owes much to the earlier, though incomplete, views of Theophilus of Antioch (c.180) and Clement of Alexandria (c.180-90); cf. Landes (1988), 144-5, and nn. 26-7.

was taken up by Julius Africanus, Lactantius, Q. Julius Hilarianus, the author of the *Fasti Vindobonenses posteriores*, Malalas, Jordanes, and Syncellus, to name only a few,³⁸ for “all the early Christian and Byzantine systems, except that of Eusebius, attempt to come as closely as possible to this figure.”³⁹ And these calculations were taken seriously. The *Paschale Campanum* records under the year 493, “His consulibus ignari praesumptores ferunt Antechristum nasciturum” and under 496, “Alii delirantes hoc consule dicunt Antecristum nasciturum.”⁴⁰ Five hundred years from the birth of Christ is 498, give or take a year or two.⁴¹ The reign of Anastasius thus became “a time of intense eschatological speculation.”⁴² Augustine too was aware of the 6,000 years but he rejected all such calculations as fruitless since Jesus himself had said that such things cannot be known.⁴³

None of the above texts, however, provides us with an exact parallel for the nine jubilees (450 years); indeed this figure is unusual in that it is calculated from the Ascension rather than the Incarnation.⁴⁴ There are however two texts which provide us with an answer. In his *Commentary on Daniel*, Jerome discusses the meaning of the seven weeks and sixty-two weeks and one week prophesied by Daniel (9:24-7), offering a number of differing opinions.⁴⁵ Daniel states “ab exitu sermonis ut iterum aedificetur

³⁸ Africanus: Syncellus, *Chronographia*, (ed. Dindorf, *CSHB*, [Bonn, 1829]), 616; Lactantius: *Diu. Inst.* VII.14.6-17, 25.3 (*CSEL* 19: 628-30, 664); Hilarian: *Chronologia siue libellus de duratione mundi* 16-18 (*PL* 13: 1104-6); *Fast. Vind. post.* 650 (*Chron. min.* I: 330); Malalas, *Chron.*, pp. 228-9; Jordanes, *Romana* 85 (*MGH:AA* 5: 10); Syncellus: *Chron.*, p. 598.

³⁹ Mango (1980), 192. Beatus of Liébana, *In Apoc.* IV.5.16-18, also accepts the six thousand years but places the end of the world in 800 since he follows Eusebius' chronology. On the two differing “anno mundi” chronologies of this period, see Landes (1988), 137-40, 149-54, 161-5.

⁴⁰ *Chron. min.* I: 746-7. *Fast. Vind. post.* date it to 495.

⁴¹ The birth of Christ is usually put in 2 B.C., the forty-second year of Augustus when Augustus (XIII) and Silanus were consuls, though there were other views: see Finegan (1964), 215-248, esp. 222-30.

⁴² Mango (1980), 203. See also Vasiliev (1942-3), 469-70.

⁴³ *De ciuitate dei* XII.11, XX.7, XVIII.53; cf. Mt 24:36, Mk 13:32-37, Acts 1:6-8. Note how Beatus of Liébana counters this objection, loc. cit. (n. 39). See also Landes (1988), 155-60.

⁴⁴ Frick (1908), 173, believes that the author is following the six thousand year calculation but that he adhered to an old belief that Jesus was 50 years old (Jn 8:57), thus accounting for the discrepancy between the 450 and the 500 years.

⁴⁵ *Comm. in Dan.* III 9: 24-27 (*CCL* 75A: 865-889).

Hierusalem usque ad Christum ducem ebdomades septem et ebdomades sexaginta duae erunt” (9:25). The seven weeks and sixty-two weeks are usually interpreted as weeks of years and sixty-nine weeks of years is 483 years. Among the opinions which Jerome notes is that of his old teacher Apollinarius of Laodicea, who believed that the prophecy of Daniel referred not to the first coming of Christ, but to the second, that is, after the Incarnation, since one week (i.e. seven years) after the sixty-nine weeks will be the “consummatio et fines”.⁴⁶ Filastrius discusses a heresy which believed that the prophecy of Daniel referred to the periods both before and after the Incarnation.⁴⁷ Filastrius actually discusses the use of jubilees in this calculation but the text is hopelessly corrupt.⁴⁸ This may be the Apollinarian interpretation or Apollinarius may have derived his views from this group; they are both roughly contemporary. In both cases the Parousia follows the sixty-nine weeks. This belief was bolstered not only by the standard view of five hundred years between the Incarnation and the *consummatio* but also by the 470 years between the promise of Israel to Abraham and the accession of Jesus Nave as leader of the Hebrew people in Israel after the death of Moses, a parallel mentioned by Hilarian, which was taken to refer to the period between the Ascension (the promise) and the *consummatio* (rule of Jesus on earth).⁴⁹ If we subtract the 33 years of Christ’s life from the total of the sixty-nine weeks (483 years) since it is calculated from the Incarnation, we get 450 years from the Ascension. In the case of the *Reuelatio Thomae* it would thus seem that the author was an adherent of this Apollinarian belief, noted the even figure of 450 years from the Ascension and decided to clothe it in a more contemporary (for the *Reuelatio*) and Jewish guise, using jubilees.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 878-80.

⁴⁷ *Diu. haer. lib.* 107, esp. 3 and 8.

⁴⁸ 107.9-10.

⁴⁹ Hilarian, *Chron.* 6-7; cf. Ex 7:7, Num 33:38-9 and Deut 34:7. This was seen as the regular 500 years minus a round figure of thirty years for Jesus’ life. See also Landes (1988), 155, nn. 69-70, and 159, for similar variations.

⁵⁰ For the use of jubilees, see, for instance, the Old Testament apocryphal book *Jubilees* and the Babylonian Talmud which decrees 85 jubilees for the duration of the world (Luneau (1964), 40). It is not generally noted that Eusebius and Jerome indicate jubilees from the creation of the world every 500 years, 22a^a (41), 46a^b (51), 73a^b (61), 109ⁿ (71), and 174^a (81, =A.D. 29). Note that the end of the ninth jubilee would coincide almost exactly with the end of the ninetieth jubilee of the world (479).

*

As might be guessed from some of the works quoted above, belief in the imminent end of the world was not the preserve of a few fundamentalists. Often the fears of the approaching end of the world are put in the mouths of the common people who cry “Totus mundus perit!”,⁵¹ but those with deep-seated beliefs in the imminent *consummatio* include Paulinus of Nola, Martin of Tours, Sulpicius Severus, Quodvultdeus, and Pope Gregory the Great.⁵² Those who voice such beliefs but whose convictions cannot be proven include Ambrose, Vincent of Lérins, and Jerome.⁵³ To find an historian who saw in his times the beginning of the end we must look to the end of the sixth century to Gregory of Tours, whose views, which would seem to derive as much from St. Martin as from his own troubled times and pessimism, rarely intrude into his history.⁵⁴ Even pagans were plagued with eschatological fears in the mid-fifth century. The belief in the prophecy of the twelve vultures seen by Romulus as signifying 1,200 years for Rome created great worries as the year 448 approached.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Pelagian epistle 7 (“Honorificentiae”), 1, *PL Suppl.* 1: 1690. Cf. also *Pasch. Camp.* above, n. 40, and Hilary of Poitiers, *Contra Auxentium* 5 (*PL* 10: 611-2).

⁵² Paulinus, *Ep.* 38.7 (*CSEL* 29: 330-1); St Martin and Severus, *Dialogus* I(II) 14.1-4, *Vita Martini* 24.3 (*CSEL* 1: 197, 133); Quodvultdeus, *Liber promissionum* and *Dimidium temporis in signis Antichristi* (*CCL* 60: 1-215); John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii Magni* IV.65 (*PL* 75: 214-5); Gregory, *Hom. in Euang.* I (*PL* 76: 1077-81) and Bede *H.E.* 1.32 (= *MGH:Ep* 2: 309-10). For Paulinus, see Lienhard (1977), 139-40. For Severus and St Martin, see Vaesen (1988); Stancliffe (1983), 19, 38, 42, 79, 248; and van Andel (1976), 117-42. For more on these attitudes in general, see McGinn (1979), 2-27, 39-41, 43, 51, 62, and Landes (1988), 151-5, 158-65.

⁵³ Ambrose: *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucan* X.10-14 (*CSEL* 32: 458-61); Vincent: *Commonitorium* 1 (ed. R. S. Moxon (Cambridge 1915), 3); Jerome: *Ep.* 123.15-6 (*CSEL* 56: 91-4). Neil McLynn (personal communication) considers that Ambrose did not believe in the imminent *consummatio* but simply used these beliefs as “threats” for effect; I am inclined to accept his interpretation. This may be the case with Jerome as well (however, see Palanque (1952), 195-7). Both still believed in an eventual *consummatio*.

⁵⁴ *Lib. hist.* X pref. prima, pref. to Book 1, pref. to Book 5, 9.6, and 10.25 (*MGH: SRM* 1²: 1, 4-5, 193, 417, 420, 517), with quotations from and echoes of Mt 24:7, 8, 24 and Mk 13:22 (on which, see below). The most intriguing aspect of this material is the inclusion of beliefs on the *consummatio* in his orthodox creed in the preface to Book 1; to my knowledge this kind of addition to a creed is unique. On St Martin’s belief in the imminent end of the world, see Stancliffe (1983), 19, 154, 248 (note the stress on false prophets by both Martin and Gregory), and on Gregory’s pessimism, see Dill (1926), 270, 338.

⁵⁵ See Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* VII. 55-6, 357-8; Claudian, *Bellum geticum* 265-6, and

3. PORTENTS

One of the most unusual aspects of the chronicle is the appearance of a great number of natural phenomena which Hydatius calls *signa*, *portenta*, *ostenta*, and *prodigia*; these include 5 solar eclipses; 2 lunar eclipses; 4 earthquakes; 2 comets; 2 plagues; a famine; an aurora borealis; 2 parhelia; cocks crowing at sunset; villas set on fire by lightning; flocks of sheep burned; mangled flesh falling with rain; the birth of siamese twins; the birth of quadruplets; spear heads changing colour; blood flowing from the ground; harsh weather; four fish inscribed with Hebrew, Greek and Latin; green lentils falling from the sky; and other unidentified celestial signs.⁵⁶ From 402 to 468 (67 years) Hydatius lists at least 31 portents, thus giving an average of a portent about every 2 years. A few of these seem to be linked with specific events which they foretell (portent) or mirror (pathetic fallacy). Thus the eclipse of 136 may portend the death of Rechila in 137; the portents of 149 and 151 foretell and mirror in nature the Hunnic invasions of Gaul and Italy—in fact the phenomena of 149 are specifically stated to have foretold the vast slaughter of the Catalaunian Fields—;⁵⁷ and the earthquake and parhelion of 159 refer to the struggles between Aëtius and Valentinian which led to their assassinations.⁵⁸ None of the other portents can realistically be linked with any specific event in the chronicle; they are simply recorded for their own collective importance. However, before discussing the portents specifically we must first try to explain what led Hydatius to record such natural phenomena in the first place and what purpose he thought they were serving within his chronicle.

3a. HISTORIOGRAPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

There are two separate threads which must be followed in order to understand the

Censorinus, *De die natali* XVII.36.

⁵⁶ 34, 64, 66, 73, 126, 136, 149, 151, 159, 191, 214, 215, 217a, 225, 242, 243, 244, 252, and 253. See Table 4 for a detailed description of each occurrence. On the appearance of portents in the chronicle, see Torres Rodriguez (1956a), 786-9, and (1956b), 767-81; and Molé (1975), 100-14.

⁵⁷ “signi...ostentio quae mox ingenti exitu perdocetur.” This is the only explicit reference in the chronicle.

⁵⁸ This latter portent was no doubt inspired by the three parhelia which appeared in Rome after the death of Caesar and portended the triumvirate (*Chron. can.* 157^f).

background to Hydatius' inclusion of natural phenomena in a work such as the chronicle, one historiographical and in origin pagan, and the other religious and apocalyptic. There is no need here to go into the origins of the appearance of portents in the early annalistic historians; natural pagan acceptance of prodigies, augury and divination combined with the civic origin of early historical records ensured a place for signs and portents in Roman history.⁵⁹ In general Christians continued to accept the pagan view that such phenomena were a reflection in nature of some confusion or evil in the human world, either present or future, however, having also absorbed certain aspects of Hebrew thought from the Old Testament, they also saw in them proof of God's involvement in human affairs (i.e. history), his continuing concern with the world and his promise to raise the dead in spite of "the laws of nature".⁶⁰ For some people such proofs were regarded as extremely important. For others however they were tainted by their long associations with paganism and were, as a result, useless and even dangerous.⁶¹ We must now examine how these attitudes were manifested in the writing of chronicles in the fifth and sixth centuries. The questions here are, Is Hydatius following a Christian or annalistic historiographical tradition in the inclusion of prodigies? If so, what did other chroniclers include and why did they include them? If not, what prompted this unique reaction in Hydatius?

The pagan annalistic traditions are still firmly in control in the variety of fasti documents which Mommsen edited under the heading of "Fasti Italici"⁶² and a variety of unusual phenomena appear, though completely unconnected with the surrounding material. Here we encounter records of comets, auroras, earthquakes, eclipses, fires,

⁵⁹ Cf. Laistner (1947), 69-71; Balsdon (1953), 162; Crake (1940), 378-9, 380-1, 386; McDonald (1957), 155-6; *OCD*², s.vv. "Annals" and "Tabula pontificum", 65, 1032; and Bloch (1963), 77-157. It should be noted that natural phenomena such comets, eclipses and earthquakes also appear in early Greek chronographic works such as the Parian marble of the third century B.C.; see Croke (1983a), 119.

⁶⁰ E.g. Augustine, *De ciuitate dei* XXI.8: "nulla praescribente lege naturae"; see also Grant (1952), 153, 166-7, 265.

⁶¹ E.g. Polemius Silvius, *Laterculus* (*Chron. min.* I: 518): "vana veterum profanorum arte conficta sunt"; Second Council of Braga (A.D. 572), Canon 72 (Barlow, 141): "inanem signorum fallaciam".

⁶² I include here the *Ravenna Annals* which were unknown to Mommsen (see Bischoff and Koehler [1939]).

eruptions of Vesuvius, and a tidal wave. Most noticeable by their absence are famines and pestilences, though the death of cattle is twice mentioned. There are also a number of more unusual *signa*, such as the appearance of the Phoenix, a column which hangs in the sky for 30 days, a *signum* like men in battle, the rumbling of the earth in the Forum of Peace in Rome for seven days, and various other unidentified celestial signs.⁶³ Interestingly, the *Auctarium Prosperi Havniense*, alone of all these documents, eschews such reporting in all but one case where, after noting the rumbling in the Forum of Peace, it adds, “significans captiuitatis exitium quem post biennium experta persoluit”, thus being the only document to make any explicit connection between any of these phenomena and future events (though it may well be that the annalists had some connection in mind when recording them). The original sources for these documents were also used by the authors of other chronicles, such as the *Chronicle Gallica ad a. 452*,⁶⁴ Marcellinus *comes*,⁶⁵ and the so-called *Adnotationes ad cyclos Dionysianos*.⁶⁶ The *Consularia Constantinopolitana* includes 10 portents, though only from A.D. 291, six of which were copied from the same source used by Jerome.⁶⁷ Six of the ten are eclipses and earthquakes. Thus, in Christian annalistic documents natural phenomena are still noted with some frequency and most are related simply for their “annalistic” value as unusual occurrences worthy of note.

⁶³ Phoenix, s.a. 48 (*FVPr* 135); tidal wave, s.a. 363 (misplaced by *Barb. Scal.* 271), 365 (*FVPrPost* 478); *signum* like a column in the sky, s.a. 390 (*FVPr* 514); *signum* in sky, s.a. 419 (*Excerpt. Sang.* 545); many *signa*, s.a. 561 (Agnellus, p. 335); *signum* like men in battle, s.a. 561 (Agnellus, p. 335); red *signa*, s.a. 565 (Agnellus, p. 335); comets, s.aa. 418, 428, 451, 561, 565 (*Excerpt. Sang.* 543, 547, 706; *FVPost* 567; Agnellus, pp. 301, 335); solar eclipses, s.aa. 393, 418, 512, 540 (*FVPr* 520, *Excerpt. Sang.* 543, 698; *Pasch. Camp.* 512.1); earthquakes s.aa. 429, 443, 455, 492, 501, 502 (*Excerpt. Sang.* 550, *Rav. Ann.* 429, 443; *FVPost* 557, 657, 658; *FVPr* 577, 642; Agnellus, p. 319); fires, s.aa. 455, 488, 565 (Agnellus, pp. 303, 313 [s.a. 489], 335bis; *FVPr* 637); Aurora borealis, s.aa. 514, 549 (Agnellus, pp. 331, 335); death of cattle, s.aa. 467, 571 (*FVPr* 599; Agnellus, p. 336); eruption of Vesuvius, s.aa. 505, 512 (*Pasch. Camp.* 505, 512.2); rumbling earth in Rome, s.a. 408 (*Excerpt. Sang.* 537, *Add. Prosp. Hav.* 408).

⁶⁴ §§26, 46, 56, 82, 84.

⁶⁵ *Chron.* 390.1, 393, 408.2, 418.2 and 3. The latter two could easily be based on independent observations.

⁶⁶ *Chron. min.* I: 753, 755.

⁶⁷ Portents in common with Jerome, s.aa. 341, 358, 365, 367.1, 368, 370.1; others s.aa. 291, 318, 351, 402.1. For the common source of Jerome and the *Consularia*, see above, 22 n. 10.

Let us now turn to world chronicles and the model for all later chroniclers, the *Chronici canones*. In the period before the accession of Augustus Eusebius mentions 14 portents: pestilences in Ethiopia and Athens, two solar eclipses, four earthquakes, a stone which fell from the sky, the eruption of Mt. Aetna, the burning of the temple of Vesta, the appearance of the island of Hiera, and, after the death of Caesar, 3 parhelia in Rome and, amidst “*cetera portenta quae toto orbe facta sunt*”, a talking cow which foretold the triumvirate and the civil wars.⁶⁸ Of these, the latter two were added by Jerome. For the period 44 B.C. to A.D. 325 Eusebius records 15 earthquakes, 4 famines, 4 pestilences, 8 fires, 3 solar eclipses, and 4 strikes of lightning. There are also notes of oil flowing up from the ground in a “*taberna meritoria*”, the A.D. 79 eruption of Vesuvius, “*multa signa atque portenta*” which appeared in Rome and throughout the world, and a fire which traversed the sky from west to east.⁶⁹ Of these three to five were added by Jerome.⁷⁰ However, after the reign of Commodus these notices almost cease completely, and while there are 36 notices for the period 45 B.C. to A.D. 191 (portent every 6.6 years), there are only 4 from 192 to 325 (portent every 33.25 years). It would seem that Eusebius’ sources for this material dried up with the end of the reign of Commodus. Many of these, like the annalistic signs, have no close link with any recorded historical event, but three do: it is explicitly stated that the flowing oil foretold of Christ’s grace, a solar eclipse is linked most closely with the death of Augustus, and the solar eclipse and earthquake in the eighteenth year of Tiberius are linked with the crucifixion of Christ.⁷¹

⁶⁸ 42bP, 115^a, 100b^f, 111^c, 115^f, 119^c, 134^a, 147^d, 110^f, 115^e, 132^d, 146^e, 157^f, g. These cover dates from 586 to 44 B.C. with the Ethiopian pestilence in 1523 B.C.

⁶⁹ 164^d, 166^c, 168^d, 172^a, 174^d, 182^e, 183^h, 188^g, 194^d, 195^d, 196^c, 198^e, 200^a, 208^c, 228^a; 170^d, 179^f, 181^a, 181^b; 188^h, 205^f, 206^h, 219^a; 186ⁱ, 189^f, 194^c, 195^e, 208^g, 209^a, 209^f, 218^f; 171^d, 174^d, 182^e; 183^a, 195^e, 209^a, 224^g; 158^h, 189^b, 192^f, 204^c. In 195^e and 209^a lightning starts the fires.

⁷⁰ The flow of oil (158^h), an eclipse (? 171^d), Carus’ death by lightning (? 224^g), and two pestilences (206^h and 219^a).

⁷¹ 158^h, 171^d, and 174^d. Orosius offers a lengthy interpretation of the portent of the flowing oil, 6.20.6-7 (*CSEL* 5: 419-20). There is likely an implicit connection between the following events: earthquake and the exile of Julia (168^d, e); earthquake, solar eclipse and Nero’s murder of mother and aunt (182^e, f); plague and death of Vespasian (188^h, i); fire and death of Titus (189^f, g); *signa* and *portenta* throughout the world and death of Domitian (192^f, g); earthquakes and death of Antinous (200^a, b);

In the 53 years he added to Eusebius' text Jerome included 11 portents (portent every 4.8 years) which, along with the additions he made within Eusebius text, shows a strong interest on Jerome's part for recording such information. He lists 5 earthquakes, 2 famines, a pestilence, a solar eclipse, a tidal wave, a hailstorm, and a peculiar incident where wool fell mixed with rain.⁷² In none of these cases does Jerome link the signs with specific events or explain their appearance; they are strictly "annalistic".

Eusebius and Jerome's signs are usually of a purely annalistic cast, being recorded for their own intrinsic interest, but as noted above a variety of Eusebius' earlier signs appear as portents of immediately following events. The chroniclers who followed Jerome also recorded signs and portents, but for some reason such phenomena were for the most part avoided or ignored. Prosper, for instance, copied only 7 of Eusebius and Jerome's 52 portents in his epitome⁷³ and added none of his own in the period 379-455. Cassiodorus copied only two and added one of his own to the epitome of Eusebius, but added none to his epitome of Prosper or to his own compilation.⁷⁴ The *Chronica Gallica ad a. 511*, making a much shorter epitome than either of the two former authors, records only two strictly Christian portents, adds an appearance by the Phoenix in Rome and in the material after 378 includes only two signs, both copied from the *Chronica Gallica ad a. 452*, which itself contained eight portents, five of which, as was seen above, were copied from an annalistic source.⁷⁵ The later chroniclers Victor Tonnennensis, John Biclarensis and Marius Aventicensis record very few.⁷⁶

Marcellinus *comes*, though living in Constantinople a Latin writer from Illyricum, is the only one to break this sceptical trend and he takes his annalistic interests to an

earthquake and death of Marcus Aurelius (208^c, d); fires and death of Commodus (209^f, 210^a); earthquakes and beginning of Great Persecution (228^a, b).

⁷² 235^c, 236^f, 241^a, 244^c, 245^f; 233^e, 245^m; 233^e; 236^k; 244^c; 245^c; 245^d.

⁷³ *Chron.* 372, 455, 560, 570, 571, 598, 932 (*Chron. min.* I: 408-45).

⁷⁴ *Chron.* 604, 1083, 1111 (*Chron. min.* II: 136, 151, 152).

⁷⁵ 511: 269, 308, 312, 528, 544; 452: 26, 33, 46, 56, 72, 82, 84, 140 (*Chron. min.* I: 638-62).

⁷⁶ Victor Tonnennensis: s.aa. 467.1, 502, 553.2 (*Chron. min.* I: 187, 193, 203); John Biclarensis: s.aa. 573.4 and 574.4 (*Chron. min.* I: 213-4); Marius Aventicensis: s.aa. 560.1; 566.1, 3; 569; 570; 571 (*Chron. min.* I: 237-8). The events of 502 in Victor are likely in response to Anastasius' anti-Chalcedonian actions of 501 (s.a.).

extreme for chroniclers matched only by Hydatius. From the year 389—he has nothing from 379 to 388—to 526—the chronicle ends in 534—he reports 50 signs, a rate of one every 2.76 years, or, for the entire chronicle, a rate of 3.12. He is interested in the full gamut of phenomena including 16 earthquakes, 5 eclipses, 9 fires, 4 comets, 3 plagues, 4 examples of freak weather, 3 famines, a plague of locusts, the eruption of Vesuvius, burning skies (auroras?), three large stones which fell from the sky in Thrace, a *signum* in the sky like a column, and the rumbling in the Forum of Peace.⁷⁷ Only two of these are explicitly connected with other events, and both involve Honorius: an eclipse occurs the day he is made emperor and a comet is linked with his death.⁷⁸ Marcellinus is also the only chronicler to mention an appearance of Christ himself (s.a. 419.3). On the other hand, his continuator included only one prodigy (a plague) between 535 and 548 (543.2).

Let us now take a short glimpse at the narrative histories of the fifth and sixth centuries. I say short for there are only two surviving: Orosius and Gregory of Tours. Orosius believed that the appearance of signs and prodigies mirrored troubled times and foretold evils, but he accepted only those of the pagan past, filling the first six books of his history with prodigies culled from the pages of Livy in a belief that evils and tribulations had passed away under Christian government and would only be restored “semotis illis diebus nouissimis sub fine saeculi et sub apparitione Antichristi”.⁷⁹ He therefore offers no prodigies in the period after Christ’s birth.

Gregory of Tours, even more than Hydatius, believed in portents. In Books 4-10 he describes or refers to over 110 signs, portents and prodigies, including earthquakes; parhelia; comets; auroras; harsh weather; storms; lightning; thunder; giant hailstones; locusts; eclipses; plagues and epidemics; famines; various types of astronomical phenomena involving stars, the moon, and the sky; floods; fires; bizarre and unnatural

⁷⁷ s.a. 389.2, 3; 390.1; 393; 394; 396.3(two); 399.1; 401.2; 402.3; 404.1; 408.2; 417.1, 2; 418.2, 3; 419.2; 423.3(two), 5; 433; 442.1; 443.1; 444.3; 446.1, 2; 447.1(two); 448.2; 452.2; 456.1; 459; 460; 465.1; 467.3; 472.1, 3; 480.1; 491.2; 494.2; 497.1; 499.2; 507.2; 509.1; 510.1; 512.1, 10; 518.1; 526 (*Chron. min.* II: 62-102).

⁷⁸ s.aa. 393 and 423.5.

⁷⁹ pref. 10-16 (*CSEL* 5: 3-5). Orosius has been discussed above, 152-3.

events like fishponds turning into blood and blood flowing from loaves of bread; two crops in a single year; and so on.⁸⁰ The period covered by these books is 555 to 591, 37 years, which gives him a rate of one portent every 0.32 years or just over three portents a year. Many of these were seen as indications of the deaths of important people, of future evil, or as pathetic fallacies relating to specific actions.⁸¹ There is, however, a more important reason for the appearance of these prodigies and it will be discussed below.

It would thus seem that there was a fair amount of source material on portents available for the fifth and sixth century historians, annalists and chroniclers who wished to use it and all did, though most chroniclers only sparingly. Only Marcellinus, Hydatius and Gregory show any exceptional interest in portents and signs, though there are sections of the *Chronici canones* which betray similar though limited interest on the part of Eusebius and Jerome. Overall, earthquakes and a variety of celestial signs such as solar eclipses (interestingly, there is only one lunar eclipse⁸²), comets and other often unidentified portents are the most popular types of prodigies. Many of these appear as portents of immediate future events or pathetic fallacies, but most are recorded simply because it was part of the historiographical tradition to record them and because they were *per se* interesting.

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There can be no doubt then that Hydatius' inclusion of portents falls within a recognized historiographical tradition; however, his zeal for recording such phenomena

⁸⁰ *Lib. hist.* X 4.5, 9, 20, 31, 51; 5.17, 18, 23, 33, 34, 41; 6.14, 21, 25, 33, 34, 44; 7.11, 45; 8.8, 17, 23, 24, 25, 42; 9.5, 17, 21-2, 44; 10.23, 25, 30. There are also seven portents dating from the late fifth century to 544 (2.3, 19, 34; 3.13, 37) but none in Book 1.

⁸¹ *Lib. hist.* X 2.3 (three eclipses in Africa because of persecutions of Huneric); 3.13 (pours rain after capture of Vollore); 4.9 (portents foretell the death of Theudebald); 4.31 (portents foretell the great plague of the Auvergne); 4.51 (lightning "like that before Lothar's death" appears before the death of Sigibert); 5.18 (rays of light in sky foretell Merovech's death); 5.23 (he does not know what these portend); 5.33-4 (epidemic follows prodigies); 5.41 (nature reacts to Chilperic's treatment of Suevic ambassadors); 6.25 and 34 (ball of fire presages Theuderic's death); 7.11 (portents foretell death of Gundovald); 8.17 (portents foretell "some disaster about to be sent from heaven"); 9.5 (the type of signs which usually announce a king's death or destruction of a whole region). Note that most of these appear in Books 4 and 5.

⁸² Marius Aventicensis s.a. 560.1.

has another important dimension, that is, apocalyptic, and it is this dimension which is paramount for understanding not only the appearance of portents, but also the chronicle. The apocalyptic dimension arises out of the beliefs just discussed above, that signs reflect or portend a particular confusion or evil in the world. This view could be expanded, as was seen in the case of Orosius, in such a way that prodigies were understood to mirror troubled times and more general evils. The greater the number of signs over a given period and the more unnatural they became, the more general and ominous their significance. In such cases it is the overall accumulation of signs which is important, not the one to one link between sign and event or the simple fascination with unusual phenomena.

To have filled his chronicle with so many signs and portents, Hydatius must have already been predisposed to a belief in their power, influenced by the religion, the society and the culture in which he lived. The chronicle was certainly written for other Gallaecians and the appearance of the many signs without explicit explanation suggests that their purpose was understood and their appearance accepted. This presupposes that others were interested in such signs as well: someone else had to have been interested in, for instance, the strikes of lightning, the four fish and the lentils for news of them to have reached Hydatius. However, since there is no evidence for the nature of Christianity in Gallaecia at this time beyond the chronicle itself further investigation of this aspect is quite fruitless. However, I reject any notion of direct influence from paganism of the type supported by Molé.⁸³ If paganism played any rôle at all in the acceptance of such phenomena, it was more likely the constant pagan influence on the development of Christianity over a period of centuries or the retention of particular pagan traditions rather than actual personal contact with pagans in Hydatius' lifetime, in spite of the generally low-key approach Spanish Christians took towards pagans before the mid-sixth century.⁸⁴ Besides, the types of pagan practices condemned by Martin of Braga a

⁸³ Molé (1975), 103-6, not only perceives a strong pagan influence (through Priscillianism) on Hydatius in his belief in prodigies but also claims they have "una funzione politica" and become "uno strumento della lotta sociale" especially in reconciling the pagan lower classes with the Christian upper classes.

⁸⁴ The first serious attempts to deal with paganism come under Martin of Braga from 572, e.g.

century later (our only evidence) are nothing like what we see in Hydatius.⁸⁵ As has been noted above and will be noted below, other great Christian writers believed in signs and portents, and we need not posit direct pagan influence on them to explain their views. Hydatius had also learned of the importance of signs from the religious writings of non-Spanish contemporaries: from letters of Praylius of Jerusalem (? or Eulalius?) the earthquake of 419, from letters of Paulinus of Biterris the “signa terrifica” which appeared there the same year, and from Euphronius of Augustodunum other *signa* in northern Gaul in 452 (66, 73, 151).

Hydatius’ interpretation of contemporary signs and portents was however chiefly founded upon the Bible and the *Reuelatio Thomae*, though there may have been other eschatological writings of which we know nothing. In both the Old and New Testaments it is stated that the coming of the Kingdom of God is to be foretold by signs and prodigies. The major Biblical texts, outside of those from Ezekiel and Daniel already discussed above, are what are known as the Synoptic Apocalypses in Matthew (24:3-36), Mark (13:4-37) and Luke (21:7-36). These provide, from the mouth of Christ himself, very clear outlines of the sequence of events which will precede the Parousia and give lists of signs which will herald its appearance. The Synoptic Apocalypses are prompted by Christ’s prophecy of the destruction of the Temple. While he is sitting on the Mount of Olives his disciples come to him and ask, “Dic nobis quando haec erunt et quod signum aduentus tui et consummationis saeculi.” In what follows Jesus tells them the signs by which they will know that the world is approaching its end and that God’s kingdom is about to be established. Many types of portents are described, but I wish to concentrate first on those which I have been discussing so far in relation to the writing of history, those in nature. He begins, “erunt pestilentiae et fames et terrae motus per loca: haec autem omnia initia sunt dolorum.” Luke records, “Et terrae motus magni erunt per loca et pestilentiae et fames: terroresque de caelo et signa magna erunt.”⁸⁶ Jesus goes on

Canon 72 of the Second Council of Braga (Barlow, 141) and Martin, *De corectione rusticorum* (ibid., 183-203).

⁸⁵ Ibid. and McKenna (1938), 88-105. See also the pagan reaction to eclipses mentioned in a poem of King Sisebut of Spain at the beginning of the seventh century (*Poetae latini minores*, V: 358, ed. A. Baehrens [Leipzig, 1883]).

⁸⁶ Mt 24:6-8, Mk 13:7-8, Lk 21:9-11. Here as below I shall quote Matthew as the main text and

to add “tribulatio magna qualis non fuit ab initio mundi usque modo neque fiet..Statim autem post tribulationem dierum illorum sol obscurabitur et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellae cadent de caelo, et uirtutes caelorum commouebuntur. Et tunc parebit signum Filii hominis in caelo.” Luke has, “Et erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis et in terris pressura gentium prae confusione sonitus maris et fluctuum.” Christ closes with a parable: “Ab arbore autem fici discite parabolam: cum iam ramus eius tener fuerit et folia nata, scitis quia prope est aestas: ita et uos, cum uideritis haec omnia, scitote quia prope est in ianuis.” Luke has “quoniam prope est regnum Dei”, and adds earlier, “Quia dies ultionis hi sunt ut impleantur omnia quae scripta sunt”, and “His autem fieri incipientibus respicite et leuate capita uestra: quoniam adpropinquat redemptio uestra.”⁸⁷

Acts and Revelation provided further proof. Peter rebukes those of Jerusalem who mock the power of the Holy Spirit by recalling the words of God to the prophet Joel, “...in nouissimis diebus...dabo prodigia in caelo sursum et signa in terra deorsum: sanguinem et ignem et uaporem fumi; sol conuertetur in tenebras et luna in sanguinem; ante quam ueniat dies Domini magnus et manifestus.”⁸⁸ It would seem that Hydatius saw the fulfillment of this prophecy in a contemporary eclipse for in describing it he quotes Peter almost word for word: “luna in sanguinem plena conuertitur” (214). Joel himself also states, “A a a diei, quia prope est dies Domini et quasi uastitas a potente ueniet” and “A facie eius contremuit terra, moti sunt caeli, sol et luna obtenebrati sunt et stellae retraxerunt splendorem suum.”⁸⁹ In Revelation (6:12-3) the sixth seal is opened “et terraemotus factus est magnus, et sol factus est niger tamquam saccus cilicinus, et luna tota factus est sicut sanguis, et stellae caeli ceciderunt super terram.”⁹⁰

Both recensions of the *Reuelatio Thomae* describe the final portents of the last days before the *consummatio*. Only the long recension deals at any length with the more

supply variants from the other two where they differ radically or add something different.

⁸⁷ Mt 24:32-3, Mk 13:28-9, Lk 22, 28, 29-31.

⁸⁸ Acts 2:14-21 = Joel 2:28-31.

⁸⁹ Joel 1:15, 2:10. Cf. also 3:14-16. The pessimistic and apocalyptic tone of Joel is brought out in 1:1-20 and 2:1-17.

⁹⁰ It was noted above in section 1 that Hydatius equated the invasion of 409-11 with the opening of the first four seals. Continuing martyrdoms at the hands of heretics (e.g. §120) probably constituted the opening of the fifth seal (Rev 6:9-11).

general portents which will appear in the years before the Parousia. It is impossible to list them all here since they comprise the entire document; they can be found in Appendix 5. Through all of these writings Hydatius became convinced that the portents and signs he saw were those which foretold the imminence of the *consummatio*.

Once again it should be noted that Hydatius was not alone in his beliefs. Lactantius, Ambrose, Paulinus of Nola, and especially Gregory the Great all describe the appearance of contemporary phenomena as portents of the imminent *consummatio saeculi*.⁹¹ Lactantius and Gregory even explain the importance of such portents: “[propheti] praedixerunt...signa quibus consummatio temporum et expectanda sit nobis in dies singulos et timenda” and “quia idcirco haec signa de fine saeculi praemittuntur, ut de animabus nostris debeamus esse solliciti, de mortis hora suspecti et uenturo Iudici in bonis actibus inueniamur esse praeparati.”⁹² As was seen above, however, there is no chronicler or annalist who saw signs and portents as indications of anything other than, on occasion, certain specific and immediately contemporary events. No one saw in them any indication of the approaching Parousia. Marcellinus’ extreme interest in such phenomena is unlikely to have been the result of a belief in troubled times; rather it resulted from purely annalistic concerns and access to good source material. Gregory of Tours, however, closely parallels Hydatius not only in his pessimism with regard to contemporary times and his belief in the imminent Parousia, but also in his acceptance of prodigies and portents as mirroring of the troubled times which preceded the *consummatio*.⁹³ Although this is not the place for such comparisons Gregory and Hydatius share to a great extent a similar pessimistic and apocalyptic view of the world and much of what is said concerning Hydatius in this chapter could apply equally well to Gregory. The major difference of course was that Gregory did not know the date of the *consummatio*.

To summarize, Hydatius included signs and portents because (i) they were accepted as part of the Roman historiographic tradition and were probably encountered in any

⁹¹ Lactantius: *Diu. inst.* VII.15.6, 16.5-11, 25.4-6 (*CSEL* 19: 631, 635-7, 664); Ambrose: loc. cit. (n. 53); Paulinus: loc. cit. (n. 52); Gregory, locc. citt. (n. 52).

⁹² *Diu. inst.* VII.25.4 and Bede *H.E.* 1.32 (= *MGH:Ep* 2: 309-10).

⁹³ See above nn. 54, 80 and 81.

annalistic or chronographic sources he had, such as the *Chronici canones*, the *Consularia* and the “fasti miscell”; (ii) he was probably naturally predisposed to accept the appearance of portents as a barometer of the confusion and evil in the world; (iii) the Bible and the *Reuelatio Thomae* made it clear that signs and portents would proliferate in the time before the Parousia; and (iv) his acceptance of the *Reuelatio Thomae* and his pessimistic reaction to the situation in Gallaecia convinced him that the Parousia was imminent.

3b. ANALYSIS

We can at last now turn to an investigation of the portents which Hydatius himself describes. In the early part of the chronicle, from 379-441 (63 out of a total of 90 years), there are only four portents, recorded in 402, 418 and 419 (two); frequency begins to increase only from 442 and portents are recorded in 442, 447, 450/1, 451, 452, 454, 458, 462 (one is misdated), 463, 464, 467, and 468/9, the last 27 years of the chronicle. To a certain extent, this pile-up is a result of the availability of good source material, i.e. probably personal observation, but that would not have occurred to Hydatius who would only have seen the pattern as it was and thus for him there could have been no doubt that as time progressed portents become more numerous and more unnatural, building up to the late 460's: over half of the portents recorded in the chronicle appear within the last decade, and at the end he states that there were so many “ostenta” it would be prolix to record them all (253).

The unnatural prodigies, those “contra naturam” as opposed to those simply “contra consuetudinem”, only begin to appear at the very end of the chronicle, from the point when the moon is turned to blood in 462. For some reason cocks began crowing at sunset and presumably continued to do so throughout the eclipse which lasted from 11:40 pm to 3:00 am.⁹⁴ In June of 462 a great variety of strange events are reported. Lightning struck and several villas and a number of flocks of sheep were burned. Mangled flesh fell mixed with rain (we have no way of telling whether or not this was

⁹⁴ §214. For the times, see Table 4. Gregory of Tours also has a record of this type of occurrence, *Lib. hist. X* 5.41.

linked to the burning sheep). A pair of siamese twins was born in the *conuentus* of Bracara and in Legio quadruplets (siamese?) were born. In 467 legates reported that in Gaul the heads of Gothic spears had changed colours and blood had welled up from the ground in Tolosa and flowed all day. The strangest events close the chronicle. In the Minius, four fish were caught which had Greek and Hebrew letters and Latin numbers indicating the aeras, presumably Spanish aeras, which contained the cycle of the 365th year; Hydatius, with great understatement, describes these fish as “noui uizu et specie”. How these Gallaecian fishermen knew Hebrew and Greek, let alone that these were numbers and not letters, is unknown. The final event took place a few months later when bright green lentil-like seeds fell from the sky nearby. Someone had the courage to eat one and found it “full of bitterness”. In the pagan past such unnatural prodigies as these were regarded by the Romans as intrinsically more ominous and frightening than simple signs like eclipses.⁹⁵ It would seem that this continued to be the case for Hydatius who has recorded a portent and prodigy “climax” starting from 442 and rising to the end of the chronicle.⁹⁶ Again, Gregory of Tours is the only historian to match Hydatius in the reporting of such bizarre prodigies.⁹⁷

One of the most compelling aspects of Hydatius’ reporting of the “natural” phenomena is his incredible detail, especially in the later accounts. No other source from this period offers as accurate detail for this sort of material as does Hydatius, who gives not only the year and the date but also the day for the seven eclipses (including two lunar eclipses⁹⁸) and the aurora. He also gives detailed dating for the two comets. For the solar eclipses of 458 and 464 he also gives the magnitude, time and the duration, though the time is incorrect in 464. Hydatius elsewhere only gives such detailed dates for the invasion of Spain, the Battle of the Campus Paramus and the sack of Bracara, events central to his vision of contemporary history (see below, pp. 229-40); he obviously

⁹⁵ See Saint-Denis (1942).

⁹⁶ See Table 14.

⁹⁷ *Lib. hist.* X 4.9, 31; 5.23, 33, 41; 6.14, 21, 44; 7.11; 8.8, 17, 25, 42; 9.5, 30, 44.

⁹⁸ The appearance of lunar eclipses in Hydatius is probably a result of their prominent appearance in the Bible, especially the key prophesy from Joel quoted by Peter. In all the works analysed above, there is but one lunar eclipse (see n. 82).

regarded these phenomena too of paramount importance. It will be noted that eclipses are also central to much Biblical apocalyptic prophecy but Hydatius' notices bear more similarity to Livy's accounts than those of any other historian.⁹⁹ The chronicle ends, however, not with identifiable Biblical portents, but with pagan-seeming, almost magical events: the four fish and the rain of lentils, phenomena which would seem to be more at home in Livy than in a Christian chronicle.¹⁰⁰

The story of the lentils fits a standard pattern of strange objects falling from the sky and may have been seen as a perverted counterpart of the manna in Exodus.¹⁰¹ The story of the fish, however, is most peculiar. Hydatius claims that the men who caught the four fish were "Christiani et religiosi", so (it is implied) they were trustworthy. Unfortunately I can find nothing in either orthodox or heretical belief which would give these fish meaning. Hydatius himself is overly vague—what are the "numbers of the aeras"? What does he mean by "containing the cycle of the 365th year"?—and this does not help matters.¹⁰²

The number 365 had great magical and astrological significance in late antiquity and it often appeared in mystical references, especially in chronology where it signified the "Great Year", that is, a year of years.¹⁰³ Perhaps more relevant to this entry are two references, one in Filastrius, the other in Augustine.¹⁰⁴ Filastrius describes a heresy which believed that the world would end 365 years after the Incarnation. This would put the end of the world c.363; Filastrius, writing c.384,¹⁰⁵ ridicules the belief. Augustine

⁹⁹ Apart from the examples quoted above from the Gospels and Acts, one could also point to, for example, Is 13:10, 24:23; Ez 32:7-8; Joel 3:15; Amos 5:20, 8:9; Zeph 1:15; and Rev 6:12. For Livy, see 38.36.4 and 44.37.6 as well as Julius Obsequens 2, 43, 51 (ed. Otto Rossbach (Leipzig, 1910), 151, 165, 169).

¹⁰⁰ Indeed a number of Hydatius' "signa contra naturam" have parallels in Livy.

¹⁰¹ E.g. Hydatius earlier had bits of flesh, 217a; Jerome recounts a rainfall of wool, *Chron. can.* 245^d; Orosius describes rains of stones and tile, and milk, IV.5.1 and V.18.5 (*CSEL* 5: 214-5, 322) both from Livy; and Severus of Minorca mentions a rainfall of *albigistinum* or *abgistinum* which, when tasted, was sweeter than honey (*Ep. ad omnem ecclesiam* 15 [*PL* 41: 830] = *Ep. de Iudaeis* [*PL* 20: 742-3]); manna: Exodus 16:31 (cf. Severus' comments on the *albigistinum*).

¹⁰² I have not found anyone who can offer a plausible explanation; see Tranoy (1974), I: 61, II: 127-8, and Torres Rodriguez (1956b), 800.

¹⁰³ On the significance of 365, see Landes (1988), 155 and n. 69; Hubaux (1958), 60-65.

¹⁰⁴ *Diu. her. lib.* 106 (*CSEL* 38: 65) and *De ciuitate dei* XVIII.53-54.

¹⁰⁵ *CSEL* 38: XIII.

states that some, based upon an oracle supposedly obtained by Peter, believed that Christianity would cease 365 years after the crucifixion. It is debated whether this prophecy became relevant in 394 or 398.¹⁰⁶

It would appear that Hydatius knew something of the general mystical significance of 365 and that the end of a period of 365 years was something momentous; he obviously had no real idea what it was about or what it was measured from: a date in the late fifth century for the culmination of 365 years would give a range of completely meaningless dates from 103 to 135. Sigebert, for some unknown reason, believed that the aera of the year A.D. 490 (viz. 528) could be seen in the fishes' scales.¹⁰⁷ Unless other parallels can be found, the exact meaning and significance of these fish will never be known. The general significance is obvious, though, and whatever the numbers said, they could not help but reinforce the idea of the approaching *consummatio*.

Perhaps, however, the most pessimistic portent Hydatius narrates appears in 467, in the report of legates returning from Gaul: "medio Tolose ciuitatis hisdem diebus e terra sanguinem erupisse totoque diei fluxisse curriculo" (244). This event is ominous enough in itself but Hydatius has carefully framed it in the words of another portent reported in the *Chronici canones*, forty-one years before the Incarnation: "E taberna meritoria trans Tiberim oleum terra erupit fluxitque toto die sine intermissione significans Xpi gratiam ex gentibus" (158^h).¹⁰⁸ Hydatius offers us no interpretation, but the oil of Christ's grace erupting in what was to be the centre of its future source for the world (i.e. the Vatican), has now become blood of the Antichrist flowing from the centre of the Visigothic capital. This portends not the end of the Goths and the rise of the Franks, as later Franks were to think,¹⁰⁹ but the end of the world at the hands of the barbarians.

¹⁰⁶ For 394, see Matthews (1975), 246; and for 398, see Landes (1988), 155-6 and n. 70a; Hubaux (1948), 343-54, and (1958), 36-59. The date depends on the accepted date of the crucifixion (usually the two Gemini consuls [29] or eighteenth year of Tiberius [32]); on this, see Finegan (1964), 285-98, 299-301.

¹⁰⁷ See his excerpts in the Text Volume, p. 165.

¹⁰⁸ The text is corrupt and was corrupt as early as 433 (cf. Prosper 333). For "ex" perhaps read "et". See also Orosius, loc. cit. (n. 71).

¹⁰⁹ See the Text Volume, 41-2, which shows the impact this portent was to have on later generations.

For the Synoptic Apocalypses do not speak only of natural disasters like earthquakes and eclipses as signs of the *consummatio*, they also mention tribulations and evils committed by man against man. Jesus told his disciples, “Audituri enim estis proelia et opiniones proeliorum. Videte ne turbemini: oportet enim haec fieri sed nondum est finis. Consurget enim gens in gentem et regnum in regnum...Tunc tradent uos in tribulationem et occident uos et eritis odio omnibus gentibus propter nomen muem. Et tunc scandalizabunter multi et inuicem tradent et odio habebunt inuicem.” Mark adds and changes after “regnum”: “Tradunt enim uos conciliis et in synagogis uapulabitis et ante praesides et reges stabitis propter me in testimonium illis. ...Tradet autem frater fratrem in mortem et pater filium et consurgent filii in parentes et morte adficient eos.” Luke adds, “Erit enim pressura magna super terram et ira populo huic. Et cadunt in ore gladii et captiui ducentur in omnes gentes et Hierusalem calcabitur a gentibus donec impleantur tempora nationum.”¹¹⁰ The *Reuelatio Thomae* also includes such prophecies as “plurimae dissensiones in populis erunt”, “Erit enim turbatio magna in omni populo et interitus” and “Et exsurget gens super gentem ut confinibus suis excludantur.” It would not need much reflection to combine these passages with the overtly military narrative supplied by Daniel 11-12 and the details of, for instance, the first four seals of Revelation (6:1-8), to be able to see the fulfillment of these prophecies in the barbarian invasions of Spain and the West. This is one of the major reasons why the barbarians figure so prominently in the chronicle.

4. THEMES OF PESSIMISM

The theme of betrayal also arises directly from the sections of the Synoptic Apocalypses quoted above and there are a great number of incidents of betrayal given prominence in the chronicle, the worst being the emperor Avitus, who colluded with the Goths to destroy Spain but who himself lost the Empire when they deserted him (173, 183). There is also Valentinian’s murder of Aëtius, Petronius Maximus’ involvement in the murder of both, Ricimer’s murder of Majorian, and the fratricides Theoderic II, Fredericus, Maldras, and Euric.¹¹¹ Other traitors include Dictinius, Spinio, Ascanius,

¹¹⁰ Mt 24:6-7, 9-10; Mk 13:7-8, 9, 12-3; Lk 21:9-10, 12-3, 16-7, 23-4.

¹¹¹ 160, 162, 162, 210, 156, 195, 238.

and Lusidius, all of whom threw in their lot with the barbarians, the first three, informers who turned over disloyal or troublesome Romans to the Sueves, and the latter, a probable *rector* of Ulixippona who turned over the city to the Sueves. There are also certain unnamed “*proditores*” who helped the Vandals destroy the ships gathered for Majorian’s Vandal expedition.¹¹² Another aspect which should be included here is the constant reference to the “*perfidia*” of the barbarians, especially the Sueves. This has been discussed above, pp. 144-5.

Contributing to the overall pessimistic and apocalyptic tone of the chronicle there is a very strong theme of failure. Roman troops are defeated in Spain and Gaul, envoys come and go establishing “*shadows of peace*” which soon vanish,¹¹³ and nothing seems to stop the tide of barbarian occupation in Spain, Gaul or Africa. Merobaudes is recalled from Spain by jealous rivals (128); Aëtius, the anti-barbarian general, is assassinated by the emperor (161); Majorian’s expedition of 460 fails and then he is assassinated (200, 210); Aegidius is murdered and the Goths raid the territory he was protecting (228); and the Vandal expedition of 466 fails (236). On the religious side, there seems nothing which can overcome heresy, especially Arianism. The conversion of Rechiarius to orthodox Christianity achieved nothing (137). To be sure, there were great successes as well. The Goths and Vandals suffer defeats; the Greothingi, the Nori, the Iuthungi, the Franks and the Burgundians are crushed; the Huns are twice decisively defeated; and there are some early advances in the struggle against heresy, especially Priscillianism, Pelagianism, Donatism, and “*Ebionism*” (as he calls both Nestorianism and Monophysitism).¹¹⁴ But ranged against these for the most part minor victories over small tribes are the Gothic occupation of Gaul, the Suevic occupation of Spain and the Vandal occupation of Africa. While Rechiarius had become an orthodox Christian with no perceptible change in his policies or attitudes towards Spain, Remismund went so far as to support the Arian Ajax (232). The successes are relatively minor and appear early

¹¹² 197, 201, 213, 239, 207, 246, 200.

¹¹³ Defeats in Spain and Gaul: 77, 134, and 116; “*pacis quaedam umbra*”: 204.

¹¹⁴ Defeat of barbarians: 12, 60, 75, 92, 93, 95, 98, 108, 110¹, 110², 112, 150, 153, 154 Heresies: 16, 31, 53, 59, 109, 130, 135, 138, 145.

on in the chronicle (except the defeat of the Huns), and as a result they are completely overwhelmed by the later negative aspects, including the prodigies and signs.

Against all of this the average Hispano-Roman was helpless and at the mercy of the barbarian raiders (“tradunt uos in tribulationem et occident uos”). Before the invasions they had been at the mercy of tax collectors and soldiers, but during the invasion and its aftermath they suffered famine, disease, wild beasts, and murder (48). When the barbarians finally settled in 411, the Romans were reduced to slavery (49) and were constantly raided, plundered and attacked, if not in Gallaecia or Lusitania, then in Baetica, Carthaginiensis or Tarraconensis. When they first began to fight back there was great hope. The Sueves were defeated and forced to a temporary peace in 430, and in 432-3 Hydatius was able to enlist the help of Aëtius in establishing a peace between the Gallaecians and Hermeric (91, 96, 98, 100) which remained in force until 456. Throughout the last section of the chronicle (456-468), Hydatius stresses the helplessness of the Romans in the face of Suevic, Gothic and Herul attack. Only those manning the fort of Coviacum manage to score a victory, or more accurately, to stave off utter defeat and ruin (186). Those who should have helped—Constantius, Astirius, Castinus, Vitus, and Avitus—do not and the locals remain slaves, unable to help themselves (60, 69, 74, 77, 134, 173). They are almost always described as being acted upon, rarely as actors. However, in the few isolated instances when they do act, as against the Sueves in 430, the Heruli in 456 or the combined forces at Coviacum in 457, it is a defensive action which achieves momentary success, but nothing lasting comes of it (91, 171, 186). They remain slaves, can be murdered during Easter and cannot even trust their own leaders.¹¹⁵ All of the victories won against the barbarians, either by the Roman army or the Spaniards themselves, are successes in their own right but they are in general relatively minor, do nothing to stop the overall tide of barbarian success and do little more than raise false hopes, thus ensuring greater disappointment when they are overturned.

The theme of orthodoxy versus heresy initially provides some optimism; this will be discussed in Chapter 8 so there is no need to go into great detail here. This theme is

¹¹⁵ 190, 193-6, 199, 201-2, 206, 219-20, 229, 233, 240-1, 245-6, 249, 250.

very strong up to the year 449 but then it virtually ceases. Before this point Hydatius emphasizes the great religious men of his time such as Theophilus, Martin, Damasus, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Cyril, Flavian, and Leo, and their struggles against Priscillianism, Pelagianism, Arianism, Donatism, Manichaeism, and “Ebionism”.¹¹⁶ These men are the true beacons of hope in the chronicle and Hydatius often expands greatly on their achievements. Even he and another local bishop Thoribius became involved in hunting for heretics and helped flush out some local Manichees; these actions too would appear to have been successful. Hydatius’ interest in heresy is easily understood. He was living in the seedbed of Priscillianism and the Arian worship spread by the Goths was making itself felt, however weakly, amongst the Sueves. Oddly he does not have anything to say with regard to paganism apart from the activities of Cynegius (18; copied from the *Consularia*). It was almost as if it did not really matter; it probably did not.¹¹⁷ It certainly was of no importance as far as the Chronicle was concerned.

Amidst this generally optimistic religious atmosphere struck three crises: the loss of outside religious information after c.452, the disasters brought upon the Spanish by the orthodox Rechiarius and the appearance of the Arian Ajax amongst the Sueves assisted by the Suevic king, Remismund.¹¹⁸ These events, coming after his optimistic information on the war against heresy had ended, did nothing to deflect Hydatius’ negative outlook or his belief in the imminent approach of the end of the world especially since Christ himself had warned that in the last days even the elect would be seduced away from true faith by false prophets and false Christs.¹¹⁹ Revelation (13:1-18) too makes it quite clear that in the final days the orthodox would be seduced and heresy (as it was seen in a Christian world) would rule. As was noted above, Hydatius already saw

¹¹⁶ Heresies: 13, 16, 31, 37, 37a, 53, 59, 89, 106, 109, 118, 120, 130, 133, 135, 138, 145; Stress on orthodoxy: intro, pref. 1, 37, 53, 59, 89, 109, 118, 120, 135, 137; Great men (not including popes): 5, 8, 13, 16, 31, 37, 37a, 38, 39, 40, 53, 58, 59, 61, 66, 81, 99a, 106, 109, 127, 135, 145.

¹¹⁷ See Meslin (1969) and McKenna (1938), 147, 151.

¹¹⁸ These are central to understanding important aspects of the chronicle and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

¹¹⁹ Mt 24:4-5, 11-13, 15, 24; Mk 13: 5-6, 14, 22. Luke has nothing to say about this.

the Vandal attacks on the churches of Africa as somehow a fulfillment of the “abominatio desolationis” of Daniel and he probably expected the Sueves if converted to Arianism to follow their lead. He no doubt saw the Arian Ajax as an agent of the Antichrist, the “hostis catholicae fidei et diuinae trinitatis”. He did not see this threat as coming from Priscillianism however. The last mention of this heresy is §135, a reference to Leo’s letter to Thoribius in 447. The religious aspect, so important in the first half of the chronicle, was overshadowed by other considerations in the second.¹²⁰

5. PROVIDENTIALISM

In spite of the coming of the *consummatio* Hydatius was certain that God had not abandoned his creation in the midst of its greatest tribulations. As was noted in Chapter 2, the entire conception of Christian history was teleological and revolved around the idea that God was actively involved in human history and that mankind’s progress was part of the divine will and divine plan, from creation to fulfillment.¹²¹ Thus by plotting the history of mankind one could see the unfolding of God’s purpose. For the most part God operated in a general and usually undetectable manner, but on occasion he took a more active rôle in which his presence could be detected. There are a surprising number of these incidents in the chronicle, far more than in any other, and it is through these events that Hydatius can show that the love of God for his creation has not ceased. God is reported by Hydatius to have acted in the settlement of the barbarians after their invasion of Spain in 411; to have assisted Augustine in his defeat of the Donatists; sent a demon to destroy Gunderic when he attempted to turn the church of Hispalis to Arianism; drowned Heremigarius who had been ravaging Lusitania and had scorned Emerita and hence its martyr-patron Eulalia; assisted Aëtius and Theoderic in their victory over the Huns in Gaul; assisted Aëtius, Marcian’s auxiliaries and Marcian’s army in defeating the Huns in Italy and in their “sedes”; assisted the inhabitants of Coviacum in holding out against the barbarian besiegers; secured Hydatius’ release from captivity; and arranged the despatch of Anthemius to Italy from Constantinople.¹²² Here we can see God

¹²⁰ For a bizarre contemporary view which linked the Christianization of Spain (especially by an apostle) with the end of the world, see Chocheyras (1988).

¹²¹ pp. 26, 27-8.

¹²² 49 (domino miserante), 53 (dei adiutorio), 89 (dei iudicio), 90 (diuino brachio), 150 (diuino

offering succour to his people in their battles against the barbarians and in so doing showing his pity and compassion (49, 150, 154, 186, 207); meting out divine judgement against the barbarian heretic or unbeliever (89, 90); helping in the battle against heresy (53); and assisting in the governance of the Roman Empire by choosing an emperor and sending him to the West (234). All but one (53) of these episodes can be seen as interventions by God to assist and defend Romans and the Roman Empire against the barbarians. This Hydatius makes explicit in §218 when he states that Aegidius' victories in protecting the *Romanum nomen* (228) against the Goths were very pleasing to God.¹²³

In these examples we can see some of the few small rays of lasting optimism which are allowed to shine in the chronicle. These episodes prove to Hydatius that God has not abandoned mankind in spite of the disasters which he can see all around him and that God intervenes directly in human affairs to help lighten the burden which his divine will has placed upon mankind. Hydatius wishes to stress that Man is not alone, that God is still caring for him as he prepares for the final days. It was the same worry among Salvian's flock and associates, that God had abandoned mankind, which prompted him to produce his work *De gubernatione dei*. There he set out to prove that God was indeed actively working throughout history and that the evils suffered by mankind were not the result of God's abandonment of mankind but of his punishment for their sins.¹²⁴ So too Paulinus of Pella saw in his misfortunes the hand of God steering him along the righteous path, removing all of his worldly goods through the barbarians to force him to realize the transitory nature of the material world and to turn away from it. In fact Paulinus saw the hand of God operating throughout his life, urging him in one direction, preventing him from moving in others, keeping him safe when he was losing all around him.¹²⁵ Orosius did not doubt that God guided and ordered the world, and he saw all the

auxilio), 154 (diuinitus, plagis caelestibus, caelestibus plagis), 186 (auxilio dei), 207 (miserantis dei gratia), and 234 (deo ordinante). Note the variety of expression.

¹²³ In spite of such divine interference, note that Hydatius never refers to miracles; this can be contrasted sharply with Gregory of Tour's near obsession.

¹²⁴ *De gubernatione dei* I.1-3 (CSEL 8: 3-4).

¹²⁵ *Eucharisticos* 431-467, 547-81.

disasters of pre-Christian history as the judgement of God upon idol worshippers.¹²⁶

However, the actions of God in history were not all optimistic and full of hope; like Orosius and Salvian Hydatius was all too aware of divine wrath against the world and includes three explicit examples in his chronicle. The four plagues which afflicted Spain as the barbarians ravaged the provinces in the years 409-411 are the four plagues of Ezekiel which were prompted by the wrath of God,¹²⁷ the “*caelestis ira*” against Jerusalem is partially renewed against Bracara through Theoderic when he sacked the city in 456 and Antioch failed to heed the warnings of correction and was destroyed by an earthquake which killed all but a few who were obedient to the fear of God (48, 174, 215). Interestingly enough Hydatius never explains what the sins were which merited such wrath. Salvian, for instance, is all too eager to attribute the invasion of Spain to the sins of the Spanish, but Hydatius says not a word.¹²⁸ In fact he never mentions sin or uses the word in any part of his chronicle. He may not even have understood the reason for God’s wrath. In both Spanish cases however, God abandons or tempers his wrath. In the first case, after allowing the barbarians to ravage Spain for two years, he takes pity on the provinces, turns the barbarians to peace and allows them to settle (48, 49). Theoderic’s attack on Bracara only partially (“*ex parte*”) renews the wrath of God against Jerusalem and though the sack was “*maesta*”, it was also “*incruenta*” (174).

Hydatius even saw the hand of God operating in his own life. As mentioned above he believed that his release from the captivity of the Sueves was a result of the “*grace of God who pitied me*” (207). In the preface (§1) he states that his becoming a bishop was “*more the result of a divine gift than my own merit.*” If there is anything to this beyond the rhetoric of modesty, Hydatius may well have seen himself as especially chosen for his office for some special divine purpose.

6. COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

From the preface to the final entry Hydatius makes it clear that he was no optimist

¹²⁶ II.1.2 and 18.4-5. Compare these with his excuses for disasters after the birth of Christ, e.g. VII. 27, 29, 33, 38.1-39.1 (*CSEL* 5: 81, 128, 495-500, 505-9, 515-21, 542-5).

¹²⁷ Ez 5:7-17, 14:12-23 and 33:23-9.

¹²⁸ *De gub. dei* VII.26-28 (*CSEL* 8: 163-4).

and that he had no hope for an improvement in the situation in Gallaecia. As the chronicle progresses, the situation deteriorates: Gothic involvement looses the Sueves on Gallaecia and Lusitania again; in 468 Goths raid as freely and widely as the Sueves; Arianism is amongst the Sueves; there is no help from the imperial government; and portents and prodigies continue to increase rapidly, showing that the end of the world is approaching. In fact the chronicle divides roughly in half with the optimistic and hopeful aspects confined to the first half and the pessimistic and apocalyptic material dominating the second half. This division reflects the fundamental basis of Hydatius' historical view of his times which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

A comparison is usually made between the pessimism of Hydatius and the "optimism" of his older contemporary Orosius since both came from Gallaecia.¹²⁹ Orosius escaped the barbarians in Spain and was able to travel to Africa and the East, thus avoiding all of the barbarian problems and living a rather sheltered existence from the harsh realities of northern Europe and Spain. More important, however, the *Septem libri historiarum contra paganos* was undertaken at the request of St. Augustine to refute the pagans who claimed that things were worse under the Christians than they had been under the pagans. As a result, Orosius' "optimism" was an affected attitude for the purpose of refuting the pagans. In an apologetic work like this, where the author is trying to move from a defensive to an offensive position (in this case, Orosius is trying to show that everything was worse under the pagans), one would not expect his true feelings to show through completely. Orosius' own inability to return to Spain gives the lie to his statement that the barbarians had turned their swords to ploughshares, were living in harmony with the locals and were working as federates with the government of Honorius. We happen to know from Hydatius that this was not in fact the case, and he was there; Orosius never got any closer than the Balearics.¹³⁰

In all of this there is a far more interesting parallel to be drawn with Hydatius: that of Joshua the Stylite who wrote a short Syriac history in Edessa in the early sixth

¹²⁹ E.g. Menéndez Pidal (1940), VII-VIII; Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 354; Giunta (1964), 491; and Torres Rodriguez (1956b), 781-2.

¹³⁰ On Orosius, see above, 152-4.

century. Joshua was caught in the midst of wars between the Romans and the Persians, tumults, captivity and deportations, razings and burnings of churches, as well as earthquakes, famine, pestilence, eclipses, and locusts. Most people, basing their belief on the Bible, became convinced it was the end of the world (just as Hydatius had done in similar circumstances), but in an amazing example of rational thought they decided that these disasters did not portend the end of the world because they did not extend over the entire world, the Antichrist had not appeared and Paul had advised not to be deceived by any prediction, rumour or letter (2 Thess 2:2-3). Consequently they believed that their sufferings were a chastisement from God because of their excessive sin and as a result Joshua wrote his chronicle as a work of “admonition and teaching” so that there might be “contrition and repentance”.¹³¹ The crucial difference here would seem to be better communications and a more balanced and complete view of the world than was possible for Hydatius.

In Hydatius we are dealing with a writer who has no overriding apologetic, didactic or rhetorical purposes in writing. As a result his own feelings show through, unlike Orosius whose “optimism” is part of the purpose of the work. Rutilius Namatianus’ poem *De reditu suo* is probably the closest we have to a work where the author’s genuine optimistic feelings come through, though they are in places severely tempered.¹³² Hydatius offers us the reaction of a contemporary towards the capture and occupation of a Roman province in the fifth century. In this his work is most closely paralleled by Paulinus of Pella; the difference is that Paulinus to some extent managed to enjoy some security later in his life and to have time for lengthy reflections on the meaning of his life which gives the work a retroactive (and thus somewhat artificial) partially-optimistic shine. Hydatius enjoyed no such security and his pessimism and negative outlook reflect what he felt as he wrote. On the other hand it is not an obsessive or psychotic depression, as Torres Rodriguez would have us believe.¹³³ He suffered but

¹³¹ *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, ed. and trans. by W. Wright (Cambridge, 1882); see especially I-VI (pp. 1-6) and XLIX (p. 38).

¹³² Cf. I.43-164 with I.19-30, 39-40, 493-6 and II.41-60.

¹³³ Hydatius suffered a “psicosis obsesiva y deprimente”, (1956b), 786, and cf. “Pero, a medida que avanzan sus años, sus espaldas se van encorvando con el peso de los desengaños; hasta que al fin

he survived and he never seems to have given in to the negative world he saw around him. His resilience shows through: he rarely shrugs off the mantle of the impassioned recorder and he never gives vent to what we would consider the natural emotions of one in his position. He has learned to accept the situation, but he nevertheless still lives in fear and apprehension.

Hydatius describes a world filled with black and white dichotomies which he sees in conflict with each other—Romans and barbarians; emperors and usurpers; orthodox and heretic; indeed, almost good and evil—all described within a framework which looks forward to the Parousia and *consummatio mundi*. The pessimism, apprehension and fear which form Hydatius' world view stem from his knowledge of the imminent *consummatio saeculi*, for he realizes that the chaos which he sees is but a part of God's plan, part of the prophesied *tribulatio* which marks the beginning of the End,¹³⁴ and from having to pass through the suffering which precedes the Parousia and wondering whether mankind will be ready or not.

In final conclusion, we can see that the central theme of the chronicle and the central vision of the work is Hydatius' awareness of the approaching *consummatio saeculi*; everything else is structured around this or tempered by it. The themes of barbarian plundering, perfidy, and war, of disorder, conflict, betrayal, helplessness, and false hope, of portents and prodigies are all part of God's personal involvement in history and all are his warnings to mankind of the nearness of the Second Coming and the Final Judgement. Fear, uncertainty and pessimism create a claustrophobically negative atmosphere throughout the work which is seldom relieved. No other historical work of this age is as unrelievedly pessimistic and apocalyptic in its tone and its outlook; but then no other author was in Hydatius' position, hemmed in at the edge of the world, bishop of a small town with the simple religious and secular education gained in a province which had always been backward, cut off from his peers, prey to the arbitrary harm inflicted on property, body and faith by two clashing groups of barbarians. That pessimism should

sucumben sus ilusiones, antes de finalizar sus días," *ibid.*, 793, a rather over romanticized view.

¹³⁴ E.g. Is 13:6-22, Mt 24:3-36, Mk 13:4-37, Lk 21:7-36, Rev 6-20.

be the result is not hard to understand, especially when the present fulfillment of Biblical prophecy and an apocalypse are added, an apocalypse which sets forth the exact day of the Second Coming, a date which he might even live to see, and which therefore confirms that the situation can only get worse before it gets better.

CHAPTER 8: RELIGION

Hydatius was brought up a Christian; when very young he travelled to the East to see and hear some of the greatest churchmen of the age; he became a bishop early in life and remained so until his death; and in writing his chronicle he was continuing the *Chronici canones* which was in content and purpose very much a work of religious faith. For these reasons Hydatius devoted about a fifth of his chronicle to Christian events, leaders, writers, and beliefs. Consequently we can in a number of instances gain an insight, though often only very dim, into Hydatius' own beliefs and values with regard to his faith. In this chapter I shall examine what we can discover from the chronicle about Hydatius' own beliefs and about his attitudes towards and knowledge of the heresies and religious figures of his time, in both the East and the West: what and whom did he mention, why did he mention them, and how much did he understand about them. I shall begin, however, by examining Hydatius' religious upbringing and education, and his life as a bishop in Gallaecia.

1. UPBRINGING

We can of course never know for certain of what persuasion Hydatius' parents were. But it is a fairly safe assumption that no self-respecting Priscillianist parents would have named their son after the great anti-Priscillianist fighter, Hydatius of Emerita. Whatever the influences of his youth—his parents, his *peregrinatio* to the East, the struggle against Priscillianism—he grew up to be a staunchly orthodox bishop, or so he would have us believe. It is quite possible that his strong orthodoxy was chiefly responsible for gaining him his bishopric at a very young age and for his mission to Aëtius in 431. It was certainly his orthodoxy which recommended him to Pope Leo (through Thoribius) in the mid-440's as a suitable anti-Priscillianist leader. This orthodoxy is a vital facet of Hydatius' character, and therefore of his chronicle, because much of Christian Gallaecia, perhaps most, was Priscillianist at this time. The most important and critical aspect of the Gallaecian church at the end of the fourth, all of the fifth and almost all of the sixth centuries was the rise and popularity of Priscillianism. A

vast array of books and articles has been written on the subject and so there is no need for me to go into details here, but it is important to give a short summary of the origins of this distinctively Gallaecian problem.¹

In the 370's a charismatic teacher by the name of Priscillian began making a reputation for himself in the south of Spain and even managed to make converts of two probably Lusitanian bishops, Instantius and Salvian, who bound themselves to him by oath. He was denounced by Hyginus, bishop of Córdoba, to Hydatius, the bishop of Emerita, who called a council at Caesaraugusta for 4 October 380. However, by 378 or 379 Hyginus himself had been denounced as a supporter of Priscillian. Twelve bishops met at the council but little effective action was taken against the new sect since it seems that it was viewed with some sympathy by clergy and laity alike. This was not enough for Hydatius and Ithacius, bishop of Ossonuba, who became somewhat of a zealot in the affair. Despite the restraining action taken by the council Priscillian was elected bishop in 381 when the see of Avila fell vacant. Hydatius and Ithacius sought papal intervention to have the three Priscillianist bishops removed. This was obtained. Priscillian, Instantius and Salvian then undertook a trip through Gaul, gaining further converts, and travelled to Rome and Milan where they were rebuffed by Damasus and Ambrose. These events took place at some time before Gratian's death on 25 August 383. Through a corrupt *magister officiorum* at the court in Milan, however, they were returned to their sees and Ithacius was condemned. Salvian had, however, died en route. Upon their return to Spain Ithacius fled to Gaul where, after the usurpation of Magnus Maximus, he resolved to take his case to the new emperor at Trier who was eager for any chance to demonstrate his piety and orthodoxy to those outside his Gallic empire. A council was summoned at Burdigala in c. 384, the Priscillianists were judged heretics and Instantius was deposed, but before Priscillian could be judged, following in the footsteps of Paul and Athanasius,

¹ The major works are Chadwick (1976), Vollmann (1965) and (1974), d'Alès (1936), and Babut (1909). There is also material in such works as Van Dam (1985), 88-114; Stancliffe (1983), 278-89; *DCB* IV: 470-8; Kidd (1922), II: 299-310, III: 372-4; Duchesne (1924), 418-35; Fliche and Martin (1936) 385-92, 466-71, 483-4, (1937), 372-4; *ODCC*², 1126-7; and Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 235-72. What comes below is based mainly on Chadwick. Priscillianism seems to have found roots in Gaul as well; see below for 380's and Augustine, *Ep.* 11* (*CSEL* 88: 51-70) for c.420.

he appealed to the emperor. A civil trial was arranged at Maximus' capital Trier and despite the vociferous protests of numerous orthodox bishops, most notably Martin of Tours, in 385 Priscillian and a number of his followers were executed on the civil charge of *maleficium*; others were exiled.² At some point during the Trier appeal Hydatius bowed out of the struggle because of the popular discontent the civil persecution of Priscillian was stirring up. The executions, as might be expected, did not put an end to the spread of the heresy, and Priscillian's body was eventually removed to Gallaecia, perhaps, some believe, to what is now the site of the shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostella,³ where he was revered as a martyr. Because of his part in the prosecution neither Ambrose nor Siricius would admit Hydatius to communion and around 388 he voluntarily resigned his seat. Ithacius was deposed and died in exile seven years later.

Priscillianism began in the south of Spain, especially in Baetica and Lusitania, and most of its original impact would seem to have been there since it first came to the attention of the bishops of Córdoba, Emerita and Ossonuba. There is no evidence to link it or its known followers in any way with Gallaecia before 385. However, immediately after Priscillian's death the heresy entered Gallaecia and began to spread quickly, though it cannot be explained why it now found this province such fruitful territory or why its appeal was almost entirely restricted to this province from this point on. Once rooted however the heresy grew quickly and clung fast. Only fifteen years later, around the time of Hydatius' birth, it was said at the first council of Toledo "...cum illis [Priscillianistis] propemodum totius Gallaeciae sentiret plebium multitudo".⁴ By 402-3 the problem had created schisms all over Spain as the bishops of Baetica and Carthaginiensis refused to admit to communion those who admitted ex-Priscillianists. Pope Innocent's letter of the

² With regard to the date, the best discussion is Chadwick (1976), 132-3. However, in his analysis of Gregory of Tours, *Dial.* III.13.6 he accepts Vollmann's emendation of "XIV" for Gregory's "XVI". In Classical, Late Antique and Mediaeval times four was not written "IV", but "IIII". Gregory's "XVI" is a scribal error for "XIII" which gives the date of 385. See also Stancliffe (1983), 119-20 and n. 32.

³ Chadwick (1976), 233.

⁴ Chadwick (1976), 237, ll. 95-6. For the council of Toledo, see Vives, 19-33.

time reveals the peninsula to have been in utter chaos.⁵

In spite of the actions of the council and Innocent's intervention, Priscillianism remained a dominant force in Gallaecian ecclesiastical affairs. Within twenty years of the council of Toledo Priscillianism had become so strong in Gallaecia and so closely associated with that province that simply to come from Gallaecia was enough to brand a native as a heretic in the eyes of those outside the province.⁶ In the mid-440's Thoribius returned to Gallaecia from abroad and was shocked at the extent and general acceptance of the "hydra" of Priscillianism, even amongst the bishops.⁷ When he tried to combat it he gained the assistance of only one bishop. In 447 Pope Leo lamented to Thoribius, "Quae uero illic aut quanta pars plebium pestis huius aliena est, ubi, sicut dilectio tua indicat, letali morbo etiam quorundam sacerdotum corda corrupta sunt et per quos opprimenda falsitas et defendenda ueritas credebatur, per ipsos doctrinae Priscilliani euangelium subditur Christi" and "tam profanis erroribus etiam quorundam sacerdotum corda consentiunt uel, ut mitius dixerim, non resistunt".⁸ Even with papal support and urging nothing of any importance was done. It was still a serious problem in 538⁹ and at the time of the first council of Bracara (561) when concerted action was again taken against it,¹⁰ though it was not even mentioned at any of the other contemporary councils from other parts of Spain besides second Toledo in 527.¹¹ With the second council of Bracara in 572, it seems to have been finally crushed for good.¹² Not only were there certain bishops who openly sympathized with the heretics but a number of Priscillianist bishops were actually elected, even after 400.¹³ The main problem seems to have been

⁵ *Ep.* 3 (*PL* 20: 485-94). For his description of conditions, see n. 56 below.

⁶ Bacharius, *De fide* 1-2 (*PL* 20: 1019). On Bacharius, a Gallaecian who made his defence in Rome to the Pope, see Chadwick (1976), 167-9, and Gennadius, *De uiris inlustribus* 24 (Richardson, 71).

⁷ *Ep. ad Hyd. et Cep.* 2 (*PL* 54: 693).

⁸ Leo *Ep.* 15, pref. 11 and 16.11. See also 17.6 (Vollmann, 124-5, 135, 137).

⁹ Vigilius, *Ep. ad Profuturum* (Barlow, 290-3).

¹⁰ Barlow, 105-15.

¹¹ i.e. Tarragona in 516, Gerona in 517, Barcelona in 540, Lérida in 546 and Valencia in 549 (Vives, 50, 34-41, 53-64).

¹² Barlow, 116-23.

¹³ See Chadwick (1976), 209.

that there were no separate Priscillianist churches; heretic and orthodox alike shared the same rituals and eucharist.¹⁴ Orthodox bishops who were anti-Priscillianist as well appear to have rare indeed. So rare in fact that to our knowledge Thoribius is unique as an instigator between 400 and 561.

But Priscillianism was far from being the only religious force that Hydatius' youthful orthodoxy had to face. In what was probably the year after his return from the East the Vandals, Suevi and Alans invaded the Iberian peninsula and by the end of 411 the Arian Vandals and the pagan Suevi had settled in Gallaecia.¹⁵ If their later actions are anything to go by, the Vandals were probably intent on spreading Arian worship in the areas of Gallaecia in which they had settled.¹⁶ Thus during Hydatius' formative years, from 411 to 420, when the Vandals finally moved south into Baetica, there was a strong Arian presence in Gallaecia; consequently he probably learned of the errors of Arianism along with those of Priscillianism. Interestingly, the only heresy of which Hydatius betrays any hint of knowledge is Arianism (see below).

The presence of Suevic paganism in Gallaecia seems not to have caused major problems; at least Hydatius has no cause to mention it as such in the chronicle. In his duties as bishop he obviously had less concern for local orthodox Christians' becoming pagan than for their becoming Arians or Priscillianists. Native and Roman paganism was also very strong in Gallaecia at this time, especially in rural areas, yet Hydatius never refers to it either.¹⁷ It was obviously not a problem which concerned him and therefore it merited no mention in the chronicle. It has been claimed that some of Hydatius' more superstitious views regarding portents are a direct result of pagan influences but as has been discussed in Chapter 7 these views are not in essence particularly pagan and

¹⁴ Díaz y Díaz (1978), 254 n. 30, and Chadwick (1976), 153, 181, 209.

¹⁵ Wilhelm Reinhart ([1952], 44, 72-3) has tried to argue that the Sueves were not pagans but his arguments are weak. The evidence against him is contained in Hydatius' chronicle and perhaps Eutropius, *De similitudine carnis peccati* (PL suppl. 1: 555), if he is Spanish as some aver (cf. 528).

¹⁶ Cf. Hydatius §89 and Gregory of Tours, *Lib. hist. X* II.2 (MGH:SRM I²: 39), "Trasamundus (scr. Gaisericus)...totam Hispaniam, ut perfidiam Arrianae sectae consentiret, tormentes ac diuersis mortibus inellebat."

¹⁷ On the strength of paganism in Gallaecia, see McKenna (1938), 42-3, 88-105, 147, 151; Molé (1975), 94-6; and Meslin (1969).

Hydatius' tendency towards a greater acceptance of these phenomena was probably a general feature of Gallaecian Christianity, not a unique example of pagan influence on one particular individual.¹⁸

A strictly orthodox upbringing must therefore have been relatively hard to come by in Gallaecia and his parents would have to have been particularly careful to make sure that any religious instructors were completely free of the taint of Priscillianism especially; not an easy task. We do not know where Hydatius obtained his religious education; or if indeed he did at all. There was nothing to prevent one from becoming bishop without a full religious education; Ambrose, of course, is a famous example. But given the fact that we already have evidence for a non-formal religious education during his *peregrinatio*, the chances are he probably would have become a catechumen at a fairly early age. He may have gone to a large centre like Bracara but it is perhaps more likely that he went to the local bishop at Aquae Flaviae, "just down the road" from the *ciuitas Limicorum* and the nearest large centre. His early rise to the episcopate could then be well-explained if he had been a faithful student of the orthodox bishop of Aquae Flaviae, had received orders from him and was a promising young cleric there at the time of the bishop's death. But wherever he gained his religious education there is no evidence that he was sent out of the province to obtain it. Others were more lucky or, more probably, had better means.

We know of a number of individuals from Gallaecia who left the province for various reasons, mostly learning. The most famous of these is Orosius who left Bracara for Carthage and then the East looking for instruction in heresy-bashing.¹⁹ His companions, the two Aviti, were also from Gallaecia, one of them, at least, from Bracara.²⁰ The latter sent Balconius of Bracara a translation of Lucianus' letter

¹⁸ See above, 175-6.

¹⁹ Cf. the comments of Augustine, *Ep.* 166.2, "flagrans studio", "desiderans ad refellendas falsas perniciosasque doctrinas"; and 169.13: "solo sanctorum scripturarum ardore flammatus", "studiosissimi iuuenis". Orosius' reasons for leaving may also have had something to do with the fact that he was not particularly popular with the local barbarian population (*Septem libri historiarum contra paganos* III.20.5-10 and V.2.1-2 [CSEL 5: 183-4, 280]).

²⁰ In his *Commonitorium* (CSEL 18: 155) Orosius described them as "duo ciues mei". See also Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 365-6, and Chadwick (1976), 191.

concerning the discovery of the relics of the proto-martyr St. Stephen in early 416.²¹ “It seems clear from Orosius’ account [in the *Commonitorium*] that the only serious theology available in Galicia was under Priscillianist influence, so that those who wanted an alternative had to go elsewhere to find it.”²² Bacharius, whoever he was, had left Spain for Italy and simply because he was from Gallaecia was considered a Priscillianist. He proved his faith to the Pope by drafting a creed of his beliefs in a work called *De fide*.²³ Thoribius, bishop of Asturica from c.444 to 457 (?), in flight from Priscillianism and probably seeking a solidly orthodox theological education, had been away from Spain for a considerable length of time before his consecration.²⁴ “[I]n these persons we can see only a very incipient Christianization. This is so precisely of Braga, or somewhat more so in the north... The economic development of Braga wholly justifies the appearance and actions of these persons whom we would not be warranted to regard as a product of a stable and solidly established Christian community.”²⁵ Hydatius did not leave and his education was obtained in Gallaecia: poor, sparsely populated, backward, and under the theological control of the Priscillianists.

To understand just how poor the religious background in Gallaecia was, we must compare it to the education available in the rest of Spain and the West. Two quotations will suffice:

Fourth-century Spain did not provide a rich soil for serious theology. Its bishops no doubt included good men but, as at all times, they could not but reflect the style of their laity. The reports suggest that the Spanish clergy were not only recruited from merchants, landowners, and government administrators, but also continued to pursue these secular avocations in plurality with their priestly duties. They had little time to produce a strong coherent theology to underpin their preaching and teaching.²⁶

²¹ *PL* 41: 805-18.

²² Chadwick (1976), 191.

²³ On Bacharius, see n. 6 above.

²⁴ On Thoribius, see *Ep. ad Hyd. et Cep.* 1 (*PL* 54: 693) and Chadwick (1976), 209. Thoribius’ actions did however manage to gain for him posthumous sainthood and he is now the patron of the diocese of Astorga; see *DHEE* IV: 2575; Flórez (1762), 89-108, 362-5; and Alonso Luengo (1939) (which I have not seen). On his name, see below, n. 91.

²⁵ Díaz y Díaz (1978), 246, 247.

²⁶ Chadwick (1976), 11. See also pp. 5 and 175.

A good example of this is the Spanish bishop Consentius of the Balearic Islands whose letter to Augustine reveals a number of “idiosyncratic and highly autodidactic notions about the doctrine of the Trinity”. Augustine responded in a manner which showed that he believed Consentius needed a considerable degree of correction.²⁷ Hydatius was hardly less remote and isolated than Consentius.

All the while however Western Christians were abandoning the classical aristocratic (and, in origin, pagan) education and this could but only impair any deeper understanding of the complexities of their faith:

In [the monophysite] controversy the representatives of the western church appeared as innocents abroad. Their leaders tended to seize on some formula such as “Apollinaris believed that Christ had no human soul”, without enquiring further whether this was true, and even if so, how or why he had reached such a conclusion. When confronted by detailed theological argument they were at a hopeless disadvantage. Even Leo admitted naively that for a long time he had little idea why Eutyches should be regarded as a heretic, and he exaggerated Nestorius’ teaching almost out of recognition.²⁸

Given these circumstances elsewhere we cannot expect Hydatius’ understanding of heresy or ecclesiastical conflict to have been very profound. As we shall see below, the chronicle bears this out completely.²⁹

2. EPISCOPATE

Hydatius’ early life was therefore probably spent in Gallaecia receiving a rudimentary but hard-to-come-by orthodox education. It would be interesting to know when and why he decided to devote his life to the church and what sort of hierarchy he progressed through on his way to the bishopric. Ordinarily a bishop would have advanced through the regular offices of lector, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter, but the early age at which Hydatius became a bishop (only 27-30) suggests

²⁷ Chadwick (1983), 434; see also 437-8. The letters are Augustine, *Epp.* 119 and 120 (*CSEL* 34: 698-704, 704-22).

²⁸ Frend (1972), 130-1. On the abandonment of classical education, see pp. 77-9.

²⁹ For some general comments on the basic tenets of fifth-century Western belief, see *ibid.*, 131-2.

that he may have jumped some of these.³⁰

As bishop Hydatius would have undertaken the general duties of every bishop; locally these would include Sunday sermons, holy services such as the eucharist, teaching converts and catechumens, preparing them for baptism, and undertaking baptisms. The latter were usually held at Easter in the West but in Spain it would seem that they they were held at Christmas, Epiphany, Pentecost and on the holidays of many apostles and martyrs. Contrary to practice elsewhere, the eucharist was celebrated daily in Spain. These and other “deviant” practices were frowned upon by Rome.³¹ The bishop would also have been responsible for the religious life of others in the diocese outside of his own city. This would be a demanding task, for churches could be set up not only in *ciuitates*, but in *castelli*, *uici* and *uillae* as well.³² These kinds of duties most likely filled up most of Hydatius’ time. But not all of it.

When Thoribius returned from his travels outside Spain he was shocked to discover the strength of Priscillianism in Gallaecia. He was, c.444/5, consecrated bishop of Asturica, but even before that he had written a letter to two orthodox bishops, humbly requesting that action be taken against the Priscillianists.³³ It is unknown why he chose to enlist the aid of Hydatius and Caeponius. It seems unlikely that they were the only orthodox bishops in Gallaecia (neither Leo’s comments in his letter nor Thoribius’ request at the end of his give the impression that most bishops were actually Priscillianist, only that some were and many were sympathetic), though they may well have been the only orthodox, anti-Priscillianist bishops known to him. It may also have been their seniority which prompted his request.³⁴ The content of the letter however makes it clear that it was written before the events narrated in §130 of the chronicle took place; it must therefore have been written 444 or 445. And since Leo also refers to Caeponius in his

³⁰ On this, see above, 9-10, 10-11.

³¹ For a general summary of what is known about religious life in Spain at this time, see Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 275-310.

³² See the first council of Toledo, Canon 5 (Vives, 21).

³³ Thoribius is not called a bishop in his letter to Hydatius and Caeponius and the tone and vocabulary of the letter strongly suggest that he was not.

³⁴ In Spain seniority was determined only by duration of episcopate, cf. Chadwick (1976), 4 n. 1; Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 308-10; and Fliche and Martin (1936), 461-2.

letter to Thoribius³⁵ and the chronicle shows that Caeponius did not respond to the Thoribius' request, Thoribius must have written to Leo at about the same time.

In §130 Hydatius relates that he and Thoribius conducted episcopal inquiries, discovered a number of "Manichees" who were hiding in Asturica and sent the results to Antoninus of Emerita. Hydatius does not tell us however what action Antoninus took or what happened to the Manichees.³⁶ This seems to have been very brave action on the part of Hydatius, to leave his own see and help in the episcopal business of Asturica. It certainly is a unique activity in the entire period covered by the chronicle. Both Leo and Thoribius mention in their letters that it was impossible for the bishops of Gallaecia to gather for councils or synods or to enforce the law of previous councils because of the barbarian presence; this allowed the unchecked spread of Priscillianism.³⁷ Caeponius however is not mentioned by Hydatius and this may be because he was not as zealously orthodox as Hydatius and therefore not willing to stir up the ill-will of the Priscillianists or perhaps because he was afraid of Priscillianist or even Suevic retaliation. Also of interest is the fact that neither Hydatius nor Thoribius seem to have taken any action themselves against the Manichees whom they found. They simply sent the results of their investigation to a higher authority, surprisingly not a bishop of Gallaecia but of Emerita, the ex-provincial capital and now headquarters of the Suevic king (see below).

It would also be interesting to know if Hydatius admitted Priscillianists to communion and what, if any, actions he took against Priscillianists in his own see. It must be accepted that many, if not a majority, of his flock were Priscillianists. Given the extent of belief and the open sympathy felt for the Priscillianists in Gallaecia, he could not have launched an open pogrom against them. He certainly makes no mention of any anti-Priscillianist activities by anyone until they were initiated by the zealous Thoribius in 445. These actions were, however, undertaken in Asturica, not in Hydatius' own see, and

³⁵ Leo *Ep.* 15.17.11-13 (Vollmann, 137-8).

³⁶ Unless the Pascentius of §138 is one of them.

³⁷ Leo *Ep.* 15, pref. 10—*executionem legum tempestates interclusere bellorum...inter sacerdotes dei difficiles commeatus et rari coeperunt esse conuentus*—(Vollmann, 124), and Thoribius *Ep.* §2—*synodorum conuentibus decretisque cessantibus*—(*PL* 54: 693). Leo's comments almost certainly derive from information supplied to him by Thoribius.

they were undertaken against “Manichees” (on this, see below). One might be justified in assuming that Hydatius took no open action on his own against the Priscillianists in his own see, but it is unlikely that he would have considered such minor episodes as suitable material for the chronicle unless accompanied by great success.

However in §§201 and 207 (460) where Hydatius describes his capture by the Sueves, he makes it quite clear that it was not the idea of the Suevic leader Frumarius to take him prisoner but of the three “delatores”, Dictinius, Spinio and Ascanius: “hisdem delatoribus...Frumarius...impulsus capto Ydatio episcopo...eundem conuentum...euertit” (201) and “Ydatius...contra uotum et ordinationem supradictorum delatorum redit ad Flauias” (207). This word “delator”, meaning an accuser or informer, combined with the Roman names of at least two of the three, strongly implies that these were local disaffected Romans who had joined the ranks of the Sueves for personal profit. Thus Hydatius would not seem to have been captured for anything he had done to the Sueves or because the Sueves had taken offence at anything he had done or said, but because he had crossed the interests of local Romans. The most obvious context for such a transgression would be if Dictinius, Spinio and Ascanius were Priscillianists and if Hydatius had pursued some sort of anti-Priscillianist policy in his own see and perhaps encouraged others to do the same. We cannot of course be certain.³⁸

In Late Antique society in general and in the beleaguered territories occupied by the barbarians in particular, bishops gradually assumed political rôles as the focus of local authority, patronage and protection.³⁹ The situation was probably no different for Hydatius, though the only political actions of which he informs us occurred in the early years of his office. In 431 he was chosen to lead a delegation to Arles to request assistance from the *magister militum* Aëtius against the constant Suevic depredations in Gallaecia (96). He returned the next year with a legate who was able to initiate a peace which was concluded after his departure “sub interuentu episcopali” (98, 100). No doubt Hydatius was involved in these negotiations as well.

³⁸ See above, 19 n. 57.

³⁹ See, e.g., Díaz y Díaz (1978), 257; Brown (1971), 129-30; and Van Dam (1985), 45-6, 55, 147-9.

3. BELIEFS

Of all Hydatius' beliefs which can be gleaned from the chronicle his staunch orthodoxy and strong anti-heretical inclinations are the most obvious and the most important. Most of the religious entries in some way concern the fight against heresy. He mentions gnosticism (13), Priscillianism (16, 31, 37a, 135), Arianism (37, 40, 89, 118, 120, 232), Donatism (53), Pelagius (whom he calls "Pelagianus", 59), "Ebionism" (106, 109, 145), and Manichaeism (130, 133, 138). He also stresses orthodoxy, calling it either "fides catholica" (pref. 1, 37, 89, 118, 120, 135, 137, 232) or "ueritas" (intro., pref. 1, 59). However, the references to heresy are all simply references by name only, there is no attempt to explain or analyse any of them or explain what his own orthodoxy in fact is, as Gregory of Tours did at the beginning of his *Historiae*. There is no evidence that he actually understood any of the heresies he condemned or why they were heretical. And there is evidence to show that he most certainly did not understand at least some of them. The only hint he gives anywhere of understanding a heresy is Arianism. In describing Ajax (see below) he calls him a "hostis...diuinae Trinitatis" (232) and though this is a fair description of an orthodox view of Arianism it really does not explain anything at all about their beliefs.⁴⁰

One would assume that Hydatius knew what was heretical about Priscillianism, but again he merely condemns it and offers no explanations. He claims that it was Gnostic but this was simply copied from his source (derived from Sulpicius Severus' *Chronica*).⁴¹ The standard accusation against the Priscillianists was that they were Manichees,⁴² and Hydatius does indeed refer to Manichees three times, but twice he is obviously referring to true Manichees (133, 138). In the remaining reference it is usually assumed that he is referring to Priscillianists (130), but he gives no hint anywhere that he identifies the two heresies, certainly not in §130, and we are forced to assume that he did not regard the Manichees of 130 as Priscillianists, but as true Manichees like Pascentius

⁴⁰ For some concise definitions of Arianism, see *DCB* I: 155-9; and *ODCC*², 60, 83, 662, 1258.

⁴¹ See above, 59-61. Many others also called Priscillianists Gnostics; see Chadwick (1976), 194-208.

⁴² On this, see above, 60 n. 64, though it would seem that Priscillian was not a Manichee at all, see Chadwick (1976), 94-99, and Van Dam (1985), 84-5.

in 138. One interesting sidelight to this question of Priscillianism is Hydatius' apparent lack of understanding regarding the history and development of the heresy. As was noted just above (n. 41) his two lengthy entries on Priscillian (13, 16) were copied from a source which was ultimately dependent on Sulpicius Severus' *Chronica* and yet in spite of this Hydatius' version is seriously confused, lacunose and incorrect. It is quite obvious that he knew little about the origins of Priscillianism.

Given the strength of Priscillianism in Gallaecia, one can only be surprised to discover that Priscillianism does not appear as much of a problem in the chronicle. Indeed it hardly appears at all. It is mentioned with respect to Priscillian himself in 386 and 387 (13, 16), at the Council of Toledo in 400 which was undertaken to eradicate it (31), with regard to the ending of Severus' *Chronica* where it is more a chronological reference than anything else (37a), and with regard to Leo's letter to Thoribius in 447. It is not mentioned at all after 447 yet there is nothing to suggest that it was any less of a threat. It does not in any way appear to be the vast problem we know it to have been from other sources. Hydatius does not even seem to treat it more harshly than he does other heresies, describing it as "heresis blasphemissima" (31) and "secta perniciosissima" (37a) and mentioning its "blasphemia" (135). Arianism is mentioned more often and comes in for more varied and imaginative attacks, "Arriana perfidia" (89), "impietas Arriana" (120) and "hoc pestiferum inimici hominis [i.e. Ajax] uirus" (232), while other heresies suffer harsh attacks as well: the "heresis gnosticorum" is a "prauitas" (13) and Ebionism is revived "prauo stultissime secte...ingenio" (106). It is really quite peculiar that Hydatius chose to pass over the problem the way he has done. Indeed the religious coverage as a whole which Hydatius gives to Spain is extremely weak compared to the space given over to the barbarians or to religion in the East (see below). It seems quite inexplicable. We must conclude, strange as it may seem, that the orthodox fight in Spain and Gallaecia against Priscillianism, Arianism and paganism was not considered by Hydatius to be an important or relevant topic for his chronicle.

Hydatius was orthodox and as such would have known well some form of orthodox creed. This creed would probably have been little different from the standard

Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, but there are three surviving Spanish creeds from about this time which allow us to be more specific. The first is that of Bachiarius in his short apologia entitled *De fide*. Bachiarius, who has already been mentioned above, wrote to the pope (probably Innocent) in defence of his orthodox views, setting forth in very plain and forceful language his beliefs and anathematizing a number of obviously Priscillianist practices.⁴³ His views probably represent the kind of beliefs Hydatius was brought up with.

The other two creeds are of a highly controversial nature, and since part of the argument centres on a passage of Hydatius it is important that the question be here addressed. The first of the two creeds is a short text from the early fourth century. It is difficult to say whether it was written in Spain or not (it probably was not), but as we shall see below, it was certainly circulating in Spain in the mid-fifth century. It is directed mainly against Trinitarian heresies and has nothing to do with Priscillianism. It is known from a number of manuscripts which attribute it to either Jerome or Augustine. It probably would have been available to Hydatius. The second creed is an expanded, anti-Priscillianist version of the first and was written, I believe, around 448-9 by a non-Gallaecian bishop, subscribed by the bishops of Tarraconensis, Carthaginiensis, Baetica, and Lusitania, and then sent to Gallaecia. It would seem to have been written by a bishop named Pastor, but he was not the Gallaecian Pastor mentioned by Hydatius (102; see below). Hydatius is likely to have seen this creed and subscribed it. Thereafter it probably became the standard creed he used for himself and his churches.⁴⁴

In the previous chapter I discussed the *Reuelatio Thomae* and Hydatius' belief in and use of this work.⁴⁵ However, as I stated there, this work was condemned in the Gelasian Decree at the end of the fifth century as apocryphal. Modern analysis of what

⁴³ On Bachiarius, see n. 6 above. For the text of the *De fide*, see *PL* 20: 1019-36 and *Revista Español de teología* 1 (1941), 457-88.

⁴⁴ For the text, see Appendix 6. There is no scholarly agreement on the origin of this creed, but see the following works and their bibliographies: Chadwick (1976), 172-9, 216-21; Vessey (1988), 372-6; Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 248-54; *DHEE* 1: 567; de Aldama (1934); Barbero de Aguilera (1963); and Vollmann (1965), 168-174.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 7 as well for Hydatius' pessimism and his views on the *consummatio*, Biblical prophesy, Providentialism, and the rôle of portents.

remains of this document has shown that it is also heretical. Henry Chadwick states that it was definitely Montanist and could well have been favoured amongst Priscillianists for there are definite Priscillianist aspects about it. However he adds that it “cannot be made the basis of confident assertions about the literature read by Gallaecians”.⁴⁶ A. de Santos Otero maintains that it was definitely used and read by Priscillianists: “We must associate [the heretical revisions to the text] above all with Manichaean and Priscillianist currents of thought.”⁴⁷ Thus in spite of his orthodox pretensions Hydatius not only accepted an apocryphal work but one which was more than just slightly tinged by heresy, probably even Priscillianism. It is hard to understand Hydatius’ acceptance of this work unless we assume that he was already by nature predisposed to a belief in the imminence of the Parousia and that he trusted the *Reuelatio Thomae* because it confirmed and reinforced this belief. Given the state of affairs in Gallaecia and Hydatius’ stress on portents I think this is a valid assumption. His motivations then fall into a recognizable pattern: “a constantly recurring process amongst the Chiliasts...is an obliterating of the distinctions between canonical and non-canonical prophesy.”⁴⁸ The prescribed orthodox attitude towards the *consummatio* was not a part of the creeds⁴⁹ and given the isolation of Gallaecia, beliefs such as Hydatius’ may not have been regarded as non-orthodox. But given that, in Thoribius’ eyes at least, one of the greatest Priscillianist errors was their use of apocryphal texts, it certainly implies that Hydatius did not have a very deep understanding of the evils of Priscillianism when he not only used apocryphal texts but even advertised the fact in his chronicle; after all, most of Thoribius’ condemnation of Priscillianists in his letter to Hydatius and Caepionius concerned the use of apocryphal texts, and the letter of Leo and the creed of 448-9 also condemned their use.⁵⁰ Perhaps this stress was a result of the widespread acceptance of apocryphal books even by self-professed orthodox and anti-Priscillianist clerics. Whatever the

⁴⁶ (1976), 110.

⁴⁷ In Hennecke and Schneemelcher (1965), 799.

⁴⁸ Bietenhard (1953), 26.

⁴⁹ As was seen above, 167 n. 54, the statements made by Gregory of Tours in his creed at the beginning of his *Historiae* would seem to be unique.

⁵⁰ Thoribius *Ep.* §§4-6 (*PL* 54: 694-5); Leo *Ep.* 15.15 (Vollmann, 133-4); creed: anathema 12.

reasons, Hydatius has shown his orthodoxy to have been seriously compromised by this Priscillianist influence.

One of many interesting aspects of Hydatius' beliefs of which we get a glimpse in the chronicle is his view of demons. For the rest of the Christian world existence on earth was seen as the struggle of Good and Evil. Demons were the worldly crystallization of that Evil, spirits which were responsible for every disease, sin and misfortune in the world, operating at the behest of Satan.⁵¹ Hydatius had a very different view. In §89 he says, "Gundericus rex Vandalorum capta Ispali cum impie elatus manus in ecclesiam ciuitatis ipsius extendisset, mox dei iudicio demone correptus interiit." One would expect Gunderic to have attacked the church because he was possessed by a demon, but instead, in an act of divine judgement, God (not Satan) sends the demon to kill Gunderic as punishment for the Arian's attack on the orthodox church. This is an unusual view indeed which sees demons acting on behalf of God as bearers of his divine judgement in punishment for evil, rather than as the creators of that evil.

In his second epistle Pope Siricius mentions that there were innumerable festivals of apostles and martyrs in Spain. Evidence from the fourth century and later shows that martyrs were an important part of Spanish Christian life. The veneration accorded to Priscillian noted above is one aspect of these beliefs as is the *Peristephanon* of Prudentius.⁵² Hydatius demonstrates an interest in two martyrs, Stephen, the discovery of whose relics is briefly noted in §58,⁵³ and especially Eulalia, "a rather unpleasant young virago who had sought and easily obtained martyrdom at the age of thirteen"⁵⁴ in the Diocletianic persecutions and who was famous throughout the West as the patron saint of Emerita.⁵⁵ She is twice mentioned in contexts which reveal that Hydatius

⁵¹ Brown (1971), 53-56.

⁵² On martyrs in Spain, see Siricius, *Ep. 2* (PL 56: 555-6) and Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 280-1.

⁵³ See PL 41: 805-18.

⁵⁴ Collins (1980), 196.

⁵⁵ On Eulalia, see Prudentius, *Peristephanon* III; Flórez (1756a), 266-99, 398-406; Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 78-9; *DHEE* 2: 883; García Villada (1929), 282-91. For a partial bibliography, see Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 38. She was well known to Augustine, Gregory of Tours and the designer of the mosaics of the sixth-century basilica St. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. For her later importance, see Collins (1983), 51-2, 89, 94, 96-7, 98-100.

believed her to have had great powers to protect her city. The first episode occurs in §90 when Heremigarius, a Suevic military commander, and his men in the course of ravaging Lusitania cause some injury or offence to Eulalia (“...Emerita quam cum sanctae martyris Eulaliae iniuria spreuerat...”). As a result his men are cursed (“maledicti”) and slaughtered when Gaiseric returns inland to free his rear-guard of threat while the Vandals cross to Africa. Heremigarius is flung headlong into the river Ana by the hand of God (“diuino brachio”) and drowned. Hydatius leaves us in no doubt that God is acting to avenge the injury done to Eulalia. In the next episode, however, Eulalia is able to protect herself and Emerita. As the Gothic king Theoderic was planning to sack Emerita (“moliens depraedari”) in early 457 Eulalia produced portents (“ostenta”) which terrified him. These portents, combined with some sort of bad news (“aduersis sibi nuntiis”), frightened Theoderic into abandoning the city and heading back to Gaul, no mean feat given his obvious intentions. For our purposes here it little matters what actually happened to cause Theoderic to abandon his sack; the point is that Hydatius believed that the great power of the famous martyr was somehow responsible for saving Emerita.

Hydatius’ Providentialist views (see above, pp. 187-9) and two unrelated remarks on good works—Aegidius was “deo bonis operibus conplacens” (218; note the intensive “con-”)—and grace—he was released from captivity “miserantis dei gratia” (207)—are unfortunately too general or vague for us make any concrete statements on possible Augustinian or Pelagian influences.

One would naturally assume that Hydatius wrote the introduction last and it is there that we find a great lament on the downfall of religion in Gallaecia: the ecclesiastical order perverted through indiscreet elections, the destruction of honourable freedom and the downfall of almost all worship based on divine order (pref. 7).⁵⁶ In spite of the

⁵⁶ “...deformem ecclesiastici ordinis statum creationibus indiscretis, honestae libertatis interitum et uniuerse propemodum in diuina disciplina religionis occasum”. Compare this with Innocent’s comments on the state of Spain in his letter to the first council of Toledo, c.402-3, “in ipso sinu fidei uiolatam intra prouinciam pacem, disciplinae rationem esse confusam, et multa contra canones patrum, contempto ordine, regulisque neglectis, in usurpatione ecclesiarum fuisse commissa, nec concordiam, in qua fidei nostrae stabilitas tota consistit, posse retineri, cum dolore et gemitu prosecuti sunt...” (*Ep.* 3.1 [*PL* 20:

strength of Priscillianism and the renascence of Arianism under Ajax, these heresies are not explicitly blamed for this state of affairs;⁵⁷ it is all a direct result of the barbarians: “ex furentium dominatione permixta iniquarum perturbatione nationum.” This is further emphasized in the chronicle itself by the stress Hydatius places on the destruction of churches and attacks on the clergy during the Gothic invasion. When the Goths sack Bracara (174) Hydatius devotes most of the entry to a description of their assaults on church and clergy. When the remnants of Theoderic’s army sack Asturica the description is similar, though some mention is given here to other devastation (186). It can hardly have been that the Goths, though Arians, would have directed their anger chiefly against the churches; Hydatius must be leaving a considerable amount out in order to draw attention to these religious assaults, even though both sacks are presented as Barbarian vs. Roman, not Arian vs. Orthodox. In this respect the description of sack of Asturica is probably more accurate because it does mention at least some non-religious violence.

4. INDIVIDUALS

Table 15 shows the number of religious individuals Hydatius mentions with the exception of the Popes, who are listed on Table 16. It is interesting to note the importance of the the Eastern bishops and patriarchs. He mentions almost as many Easterners as he does Spaniards, a point of interest not only for the large number of Eastern names represented, but also for the relatively small number of Spanish names (see below). Table 16, a list of Popes, bishops and patriarchs, shows how many important names he missed, that is, whom he did not know of or could not locate in a definite chronology. Because of his *peregrinatio* to the Holy Land as a boy, the East was of great importance for Hydatius and it was probably chiefly because of this trip that when he came to write his chronicle he tried to discover as much as he could about the Eastern religious figures of his day, even more than he did concerning military or political affairs.

4a. THE EAST

The first Eastern figure he mentions is Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria from

486)).

⁵⁷ Cf. Tranoy (1974), I: 42-5, who attributes it to Priscillianism and Arianism.

385-412.⁵⁸ He mentions him as being bishop in 380 and 406-7 and as dying in 416 (5, 38, 40, 61). He saw him when he was in Alexandria on his *peregrinatio* (40). He also mentions his paschal laterculus as beginning in 380 and covering one hundred years, which are correct,⁵⁹ and it is from the date of the beginning of the laterculus that he errs in making Theophilus bishop as early as 380. His error in the date of his death probably arises from inaccurate information.⁶⁰

The next churchman he mentions is John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople from 398 to 404. The ins and outs of his career are far too complicated to be discussed here but it is enough to say that he was eventually exiled in 404 after several nasty clashes with the empress Eudoxia.⁶¹ Hydatius' entry is dated to 404 and he does mention the clash with Eudoxia, but he claims that Eudoxia was Arian and that she persecuted John because of his orthodoxy. This is not true. What appears to have happened here is that Hydatius has confused this episode with the clash between Ambrose and the empress Justina in Milan in 385/6, the latter of whom was indeed "infestissima Arriana".⁶²

Three of the four next named were all seen by Hydatius when he was in the East, 406-7: John of Jerusalem, Eulogius of Caesarea, Epiphanius of Salamis, and Jerome of Bethlehem (38, 40). He did not see Epiphanius but mentions him as having been famous at the time, though he had in fact died in 403.⁶³ Epiphanius may have been known to him because of his great anti-heretical work, the *Panarion*, but he does not mention it. He later mentions that John was still bishop when the relics of St. Stephen were found in 415 (58, dated to 414) and when an earthquake occurred in Jerusalem in 419 (66, dated

⁵⁸ On Theophilus, best known for his actions against Chrysostom and Origenism, see *DCB* IV: 999-1008; *ODCC*², 1364; and Duchesne (1924), 35-41, 51-75, 208-9.

⁵⁹ On this, see *DCB* IV: 999-1000; the Latin translation of Theophilus' introduction (*PG* 65: 52); and *Leo Ep.* 121 (*PL* 54: 1056). Theophilus' 100-year *laterculus* is not to be confused with his 418-year *cyclus paschalis*.

⁶⁰ He became bishop in 385 and died in 412; see above, 59, 71 n. 98.

⁶¹ On these events, see *ODCC*², 285-6; *DCB* I: 518-35; Kidd (1922), II: 417-54; Duchesne (1924), 49-75; Fliche and Martin (1937), 129-48; and Holum (1982), 56-8, 70-8.

⁶² On the clash between Ambrose and Justina, see Holmes Dudden (1935), 270-93, as well as Kidd (1922), II: 335-42; Duchesne (1912), 436-8 and Fliche and Martin (1936), 507.

⁶³ On Epiphanius, see *DCB* II: 149-56, and *ODCC*², 464-5.

to 417), and mentions Jerome's fame in 415 (59).⁶⁴ In 106 he tries to find out when these holy men died, but can only discover that John was succeeded by an old man who did not live long. In this same entry he mentions Juvenal as bishop of Jerusalem; Germanus, a presbyter from Arabia; and Atticus, bishop of Constantinople. This entry will be discussed below.

The last group of individuals he mentions are all interrelated: Cyril of Alexandria, Nestorius of Constantinople, Flavian of Constantinople, and Eutyches, a Constantinopolitan archimandrite who is not identified by Hydatius (109, 127, 145). He reports Cyril's second letter to Nestorius but misdates it by six years (109).⁶⁵ He reports Nestorius' deposition and Flavian's episcopate in 442 (127), though Nestorius was deposed in 431 and Flavian was ordained in 447, after the episcopates of Maximian (431-4) and Proclus (434-49). In 449 he correctly mentions Flavian's letters to Leo concerning Eutyches and Leo's responses as well as the receipt of Cyril's letter to Nestorius. In all thirteen Eastern churchmen are mentioned, though most of the information concerning them is rather garbled and misdated.

The most detailed entry concerning the East is 106 where he relates information supplied to him by Germanus, a presbyter from the "Arabica regio" and by "some Greeks", who would appear to have been with Germanus. So proud is Hydatius of his meeting with these individuals that he not only tells us what he found out from them but also what he did not. Ordinarily we should feel, as Hydatius did, that such sources of information would be accurate and detailed, coming as they did from the East. However, it is not so. There was much they did not know, including when Jerome, John, Epiphanius, Theophilus, and Eulogius died, and who their successors were. They did tell him however that Theodosius had presided over a council in Constantinople which was attended by Juvenal and all the bishops of Palestine and the East in order to destroy the Ebionite heresy which had been revived by Atticus, the bishop of Constantinople. All commentators have assumed that this council is the first council of Ephesus of 431, since Hydatius received his information in 435 and Juvenal of Jerusalem did attend that

⁶⁴ On John's death in 417 and the dating and significance of §59, see above, 47-8.

⁶⁵ See above, 64.

council.⁶⁶ There is more to it than this, however, for Hydatius states that it was strictly an Eastern council, not ecumenical as Ephesus was; that it was presided over by Theodosius, which Ephesus was not; that it was held in Constantinople, which Ephesus obviously was not. These details refer to the Eastern council of Constantinople presided over by Theodosius I in 381 and called to combat Arianism.⁶⁷ Somehow this has been conflated, by either Germanus, his source or by Hydatius himself, with Juvenal's attendance at the first council of Ephesus. The other peculiar point about this entry is that Hydatius mentions Atticus who was bishop of Constantinople from 406 to 425, nowhere near the councils of Constantinople or Ephesus. Further, Atticus was famous for his orthodoxy and had nothing whatsoever to do with Ebionism as Hydatius claims (see below).⁶⁸ The error of associating Ebionism with this council is Hydatius', though we cannot tell who associated the orthodox Atticus with it or who branded him a heresiarch.

With the exception of those bishops whom Hydatius saw in the East on his *peregrinatio* and the reference to Theophilus and his *laterculus*, all Eastern bishops are noted because of their actions against heresy. We have seen above that Hydatius was interested in heresy in Spain, though not overwhelmingly or obsessively so. These Eastern references show that he also had an interest in the suppression of heresy and the triumph of orthodoxy in the East, though it seems hard to explain why it should have been greater than a similar interest in Spain. However, as with Spain, he gives no indication that he understands any of the heresies he discusses. In fact he confuses two of them so badly that it is quite obvious that he does not understand anything at all about

⁶⁶ For first Ephesus in §106, see Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 349; Tranoy (1974), II: 70; Garzón (note in edition), 720; and Thompson (1982), 147. On Juvenal, see *DCB* III: 595-6, and *ODCC*², 771. On this entry in general, see Torres Rodriguez (1957a). On the first council of Ephesus and the events leading up to it, see Frend (1972), 25-45; Holum (1982), 196-205; *ODCC*², 462; Kidd (1922), III: 278-310; Duchesne (1924), 275-94; Fliche and Martin (1937), 211-26.

⁶⁷ On the council of Constantinople, see Frend (1972), 15; Holum (1982), 17-19; Jones (1964), 165; *ODCC*², 339; Kidd (1922), II: 280-8; Duchesne (1912), 341-50; and Fliche and Martin (1936), 285-92.

⁶⁸ For Atticus, see *DCB* I: 207-9; *ODCC*², 105-6; Kidd (1922), III: 219; and Gennadius, *De uiris inlustribus* 53 (Richardson, 79). Although brought up as a pneumatomachus (*ODCC*², 1104), Atticus soon became a well-known orthodox fighter of heresy.

them.

There are a variety of Eastern heresies which Hydatius mentions or discusses but the one referred to most often is Ebionism. As was noted just above, in §106 it is claimed that Atticus, the bishop of Constantinople, was reviving the heresy of Ebionism, whereas in reality Atticus was strictly orthodox. To make matters worse, Hydatius attributes the same heresy to Nestorius (109) and Eutyches (145). Now Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople from 428-431, believed in a dual nature, single person Christology which stressed Christ's humanity.⁶⁹ Eutyches, an archimandrite in Constantinople who came to prominence in the years 448-451, was a monophysite and believed in a single nature Christology which stressed Christ's divinity.⁷⁰ The heresy which Hydatius attributed to all three was Ebionism which stated that Christ was merely an exceptional human being permanently inspired by the divine spirit from the time of his baptism.⁷¹ These views span the entire spectrum of Christological belief yet Hydatius claims that they were all the same. This seems an intractable problem, but there is a possible solution. It would seem most likely that the heresy of §106 is in reality Nestorianism (that is, it is a reference to Ephesus, not Constantinople) and that Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, has somehow replaced Nestorius, likewise bishop of Constantinople. Now, it was falsely believed in the West that Nestorius espoused a form of Adoptionism or rather Dynamic Monarchianism. Prosper says, for example, "Nestorius...praedicans Christum ex Maria hominem tantum, non etiam deum natum eique diuinitatem conlatum esse pro merito" (1297). The Spaniards Vitalis and

⁶⁹ For Nestorius' beliefs and career, see Frend (1972), 16-24, 108-9; Holum (1982), 147-174; *DCB* IV: 28-34; *ODCC*², 65-6 ("Antiochene Theology"), 462 ("I Ephesus"), 961-3 ("Nestorianism"), 1365 ("Theotokos"); Kidd (1922), III: 192-253; Duchesne (1924), 219-70; Fliche and Martin (1937), 163-96. Nestorius' Christological views, far from being heretical, were long the established orthodoxy in the West; see Frend (1972), 132-4.

⁷⁰ For Eutyches' beliefs and career, and those of his "partner", Dioscorus the bishop of Alexandria, see Frend (1972), 25-45, 104-126; Holum (1982), 196-205; *DCB* I: 854-62 ("Dioscorus") and II: 404-12 ("Eutyches"); *ODCC*², 35-6 ("Alexandrian theology"), 369-70 ("Cyril"), 407-8 ("Dioscorus"), 484 ("Eutyches"), 517 ("Flavian"), 931-2 ("Monophysitism"), 803 ("Latrocinium"); Kidd (1922), III: 278-310; Duchesne (1924), 275-94; Fliche and Martin (1937), 211-26.

⁷¹ For short discussions of Ebionism, see *DCB* II: 24-8 and *ODCC*², 438-9. For the basis of their Christology, see "The Gospel of the Ebionites" in James (1924), 8-10.

Constantius wrote to Capreolus of Carthage, “Quia sunt hic quidam qui dicunt non debere dici deum natum. Nam et haec est eorum hominem purum natum fuisse de Maria uirgine et post haec deum habitasse in eo”. Capreolus identifies these heretics as Nestorians.⁷² These views closely parallel those of Ebionism, which also accepted Dynamic Monarchianism. Having searched a great variety of texts, however, I have found only one work which explicitly attributes Ebionism to Nestorius, and that is John Cassian in his *De incarnatione domini contra Nestorium*, e.g., “cum recenti capite ex antiqua Hebionitarum stripe”.⁷³ Hydatius may have read this work or known of this attribution from someone who had read it. On the other hand, we know that he had read Eusebius’ *Historia Ecclesiastica* in Rufinus’ Latin translation.⁷⁴ In two places in this work, Ebionites are described in exactly the same Monarchian terms as contemporary Westerners were using to describe Nestorius.⁷⁵ It may well be that Hydatius had heard of or read contemporary descriptions of Nestorius’ beliefs and simply equated them with Ebionism in an attempt to give a “formal” name to Nestorius’ heresy in §106. Ebionism was a long-dead heresy of the early church and as a result had no impact on orthodox life in the fifth century, so there is no way Hydatius, with his meagre provincial education, could have known much more about it than what he read in Rufinus.⁷⁶ The link between Ebionism and Eutyches probably derives from one of Flavian’s letters to Leo of 449 which Hydatius had received and read (145). In this letter, because of an inaccurate translation, Eutyches is said to be a follower and supporter of Nestorius, though the Greek actually says the opposite: “Eutyches...Nestorii autem impietatem confirmabat, et succingebatur pro Nestorio militare in pugna quae contra Nestorium parabatur” and “τῶ

⁷² For Adoptionism and Dynamic Monarchianism, see *ODCC*², 19 and 929. For Vitalis, Constantius and Capreolus, *PL* 53: 847-9 and 849-58. Pope Leo was the worst for spreading false Monarchian accusations against Nestorius in the West: cf. *Serm.* 28.5 and 91.2; *Epp.* 30.1, 31.1, 35.1, 102.3, 119.1, 123.2, 124.2 (*PL* 54: 224, 451, 787, 791, 805, 986, 1041, 1061, 1063), and the last sentence in the quotation above at n. 28.

⁷³ I.2.4-5 (*CSEL* 17: 238-9).

⁷⁴ For this, see below, 231-2.

⁷⁵ *H.E.* III.27.1 and VI.17.1 (*GCS, Eusebius Werke* 2, 255-7, 555). In my research, Eusebius’ descriptions are unique in laying such great stress on the Christological beliefs of the Ebionites.

⁷⁶ The only evidence for the existence of Ebionites in the fifth century is Epiphanius’ *Panarion* 30, which shows that some were living on Cyprus.

μὲν Νεστορίου δυσσεβεία ἀνθεστηκῶς καὶ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμον ὑποκορίζομενος....”⁷⁷

Pelagianism is merely referred to in an entry concerning Jerome as a particularly successful example of Jerome’s anti-heretical attacks. It would seem that Hydatius perceived it to be an Eastern heresy, rather than a Western one, and I count it as such in Table 15 (59). He shows no understanding of it at all, calling it “Pelagiani secta”, thus even getting Pelagius’ name incorrect.⁷⁸

4b. THE WEST

In the West, not counting references to Spain or those made in papal entries, Hydatius names five individuals from Italy—Ambrose, Damasus, Paulinus of Nola, Maximinus, and Leo (8, 13, 81, 120, 135, 145)—, four from Gaul—Martin of Tours, Sulpicius Severus, Paulinus of Biterris, and Eufronius of Augustodunum (8, 13, 37a, 73, 151)—and one from Africa—Augustine (53, 99a)—; a total of 10, a rather a poor showing compared to the 14 from the East, especially since only six of the Western names are as eminent as the Easterners: Ambrose, Damasus, Paulinus of Nola, Leo, Martin, and Augustine. Whereas he appears to have made deliberate attempts to discover Eastern names, he seems to mention only the Western names which reached his ears in ordinary circumstances. He partially makes up for this by listing the floruits of nine of eleven popes,⁷⁹ one of whom (Leo) he also names among the five from Italy (15, 35, 65, 52, 87, 105, 135, 221, 248). While John of Jerusalem is mentioned or referred to five times, Theophilus and Jerome four times each, Nestorius three times, Cyril and Flavian twice, Martin of Tours leads the West with only three references, followed by Leo with two. The rest are only single references. Whereas Hydatius has nothing to say about only two Easterners (Eulogius and Epiphanius) he says nothing about three Westerners (Ambrose, Paulinus of Biterris and Eufhronius) and eight of the Popes other than a floruit or that they wrote letters which Hydatius had read. Hydatius knows

⁷⁷ Leo *Ep.* 22.3 (*PL* 54: 730, 724).

⁷⁸ On Pelagius and Pelagianism, see Brown (1967), 340-75; *DCB* IV: 282-95; *ODCC*², 1058-9; Kidd (1922), III: 54-133; Duchesne (1924), 140-58; Fliche and Martin (1937), 79-120.

⁷⁹ This does not count Damasus who had already been noted in the *Chronici canones* (244^e).

virtually nothing about any of the Western leaders with the exception, for some strange reason, of Paulinus of Nola, whose biography is unequalled for detail anywhere in the chronicle, even for such men as Jerome and Martin. Once again, though, involvement with heresy is an important factor: Martin and Damasus against Priscillianism, 13; Augustine against Donatism, 53; Maximinus, the Arian leader in Sicily, 120; the unknown pope against Manichaeism, 133; and Leo against Priscillianism and “Ebionism”, 135, 145. While John had been noted for his letter concerning portents in Jerusalem (66), two Westerners, Paulinus and Euphronius, are noted for similar letters (73, 151); the importance of these portents has been seen in Chapter 7. Other Western leaders, Ambrose, Severus, and Paulinus of Nola, are noted for their fame and their virtuous excellence; these, like all of the Westerners mentioned with the exception of Maximinus, are included because they are individuals of outstanding orthodoxy and therefore examples to be emulated by Hydatius’ readers. They also stand as proof that the forces of orthodoxy can hold their own against the rising tide of barbarian heresy.

4c. SPAIN AND GALLAECIA

Given that Hydatius was a Spanish bishop it is surprising how little can be derived from the chronicle concerning the ecclesiastical situation of Spain at the time. Only five non-Gallaecian Spanish bishops are mentioned in the chronicle. The first is Priscillian (13, 16); all information here is ultimately derived from Sulpicius’ *Chronica*.⁸⁰ The two entries which mention Sabinus, bishop of Hispalis, are quite interesting. In 441 he lost his seat to a certain Epifanius “fraude, non iure”, at the hands of an unnamed “factio”, immediately after the Sueves took Hispalis for the first time (123, 124). He fled to Gaul and spent seventeen years attempting to return. When he finally did return in 458 it is hard on the heels of the new Gothic presence in Baetica under Cyrila (192¹, 192a). Perhaps there is a connection, albeit indirect, between the Suevic advance and Sabinus’ exile, and the Gothic advance and Sabinus’ return.⁸¹ If so, this would be one of only two possible examples of Suevic involvement or interference in Spanish ecclesiastical affairs (for the other, see below).

⁸⁰ See above, 59-61.

⁸¹ See Tranoy (1974), II: 78-9, Thompson (1982), 303 n. 42, and Sotomayor y Muro (1979), 390.

A Leo was bishop of Tyriasso in 449 when he was murdered in his church (141). Antoninus was bishop of Emerita from 445-448 at least (130, 138). The rôle of Antoninus is interesting and has provoked some comment.⁸² Given the climate in Gallaecia, Lusitania and Baetica in the mid-440's it is remarkable that Hydatius could travel to Asturica, openly engage in ecclesiastical trials and then involve the bishop of Emerita. The rôle of Emerita suggests the approval of the Sueves, for whom Emerita was at this time royal residence and chief military camp. Could this be another example of Suevic interference, this time in ecclesiastical seniority and metropolitans? We cannot tell, but it is a possibility, since by this point the metropolitan see of Gallaecia was probably Bracara yet Hydatius never mentions its bishop. It would seem that the grip in which the Sueves held the local Roman population was loosening at this point, at least with relation to the clergy and their ability to travel.⁸³

In Gallaecia Hydatius was himself was probably bishop of Aquae Flaviae (cf. Chapter 1) from 428 to c.469. He mentions Symphosius, Dictinius, and Ortigius, Gallaecian clergy known from the acts of the First council of Toledo and he ultimately derived his information from this same source (31). The bishop Symphosius of 433 (101) cannot be the same as the ex-Priscillianist Symphosius at the Council of Toledo in 400 (31), since the latter is described as a "senex" in the acts of the Council and so could hardly embark on an embassy to the *comitatus* thirty-three years later.⁸⁴ The former must therefore be an otherwise unknown bishop who was willing to represent Suevic interests to Aëtius.

In §102 in the year 433 Hydatius mentions Agrestius, bishop of Lucas, and two newly ordained bishops, Pastor and Syagrius, whose seats are not mentioned, other than that they were in the *conuentus* of Lucas.⁸⁵ It is normally assumed that Agrestius must be a Priscillianist because the other two are identified with two orthodox bishops of the

⁸² Cf. Thompson (1982), 195-6.

⁸³ On Suevic restrictions, see above n. 37.

⁸⁴ See Claude (1978), 669 (nr. 77) and Chadwick (1976), 238, l. 137 for "senex". Cf. Van Dam (1985), 94 and 109 n. 100, who thinks identification "intrinsically wiser" than differentiation.

⁸⁵ On this peculiar use of "conuentus", which is not an ecclesiastical term, see Díaz y Díaz (1978), 253-4.

same names mentioned by Gennadius.⁸⁶ However, the identification of these homonyms must be rejected because there is absolutely nothing in Gennadius which would suggest links with the Pastor and Syagrius in Hydatius.⁸⁷ Agrestius is known from the Concilium Arausicanum I (Orange, 8 Nov. 441)⁸⁸ and as Chadwick says, he “can hardly have been generally understood to be a Priscillianist zealot, or his presence would not have been acceptable to his colleagues at the synod.”⁸⁹ This interpretation is supported by the way Hydatius phrases his entry. If Agrestius were a heretic Hydatius would not have set him up as the authority-acted-against in the entry, “contra uoluntatem Agrestii Lucensis episcopi”. Thus we can probably be sure that Agrestius was orthodox, but there is nothing we can say about the other two. Since in his preface Hydatius laments “creationes indiscreti” (7), we can, however, certainly regard these as two of the examples he had in mind. There are only two others mentioned in the chronicle: Ortigius, bishop of Aquae Celenae, was driven from his see by Priscillianist “factiones” (31) and Sabinus of Hispalis, was expelled from his seat and replaced by Epifanius, “fraude non iure” (124). There are no problems with Priscillianism reported in Hispalis and Hydatius does not say that Epifanius was a heretic, as he surely would have if he were (cf. §31), so there is no need to suspect problems with heretics (cf. above). Ecclesiastical disputes did not need heresy to set them off and the lack of reference to Priscillianism in this case probably argues against its involvement, just as it may in the case of Agrestius, Pastor and Syagrius.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ §§66, 77 (Richardson, 84, 87). This was first detailed by Morin (1893), 385-94, though originally suggested (for Pastor only) by Garzón (note in edition), 720. This view is surprisingly still accepted; cf. Claude (1978), 654 (nr. 4), 665 (nr. 61), 669 (nr. 76).

⁸⁷ I must emphasize again the complete lack of validity in identifying homonyms with no supporting evidence; the burden of proof rests with those who claim identification. In this case, cf. the contrary arguments of Chadwick (1976), 218-21, who is generous in the extreme.

⁸⁸ “Ex provincia Gallecia ciuit. Lecentium (scr. “Lucentium”), Agrestius episcopus, Deudatus diaconus” (*Concilium Galliae A. 314- A. 506* [CCL 148: 87]).

⁸⁹ (1976), 221-2. Recall the difficulties of Bacharius who was orthodox!

⁹⁰ Though Hydatius disapproves of Epifanius, it is not because he was a Priscillianist, as Thompson (1982), 195, suggests, it is his method of obtaining the see. In spite of the lack of any evidence, scholars have tried to turn both episcopal disputes described by Hydatius (102, 124) into orthodox vs

Hydatius mentions only one other Gallaecian bishop: Thoribius, who was, as has been mentioned above, bishop from c.444/5 until at least 447 (135).⁹¹ There were two bishops in Asturica when it was sacked by the Goths in 457 (186). Oddly Hydatius does not tell us who they were or what happened to them; we can only assume that they were taken to Gaul as captives and never seen again. We can also only speculate as to whether one of them was Thoribius; it seems a possibility at least. Hydatius also mentions Thoribius' deacon, Pervincus, (135) who is also referred to by Leo.⁹²

The final problem to be discussed in this section is the appearance of Ajax in Gallaecia. For most modern commentators, there is no problem: "The Arian Visigothic king, Theoderic II, sent Ajax among the Sueves of Galicia in Spain, and he converted these barbarians from paganism to Arianism."⁹³ What does Hydatius say? "Ajax natione Galata effectus apostata et senior Arrianus inter Sueuos regis sui auxilio hostis catholicae fidei et diuinae trinitatis emergit. De Gallicana Gothorum habitatione hoc pestiferum inimici hominis uirus aduectum" (232)—"Ajax, a Greek,⁹⁴ who had apostatized and was now an Arian leader,⁹⁵ appears amidst the Sueves with the help of

Priscillianist conflicts; cf. Claude (1978), locc. citt. (n. 86), and 658 (nr. 23), 669 (nr. 73).

⁹¹ The correct form of Thoribius' name is "Thoribius", not "Turribius". This is how it is spelled in MS B of Hydatius and MSS NRJ (cf. PCa) of Leo *Ep.* 15 which are part of a tradition going back directly to 500 and before (Vollmann, 93-7, 120, 122). In the normal course of copying, it is extremely simple for "Thoribius" to become "Turribius", but almost impossible the other way.

⁹² *Ep.* 15, pref. 1 (Vollmann, 122). For Thoribius in 457, cf. Claude (1978), 671-2 (nrr. 89-90).

⁹³ Thompson (1982), 240. See also *ibid.* (1980), 80-1, as well as (1982), 215; Tranoy (1974), II: 122; Chadwick (1976), 223; and Claude (1978), 655 (nr. 5), who all call Ajax a "missionary". See also Dom Justo Pérez de Urbel in Menéndez Pidal (1940), 37; Manuel Torres in *ibid.*, 630 n. 34; and Reinhart (1952), 52, 75.

⁹⁴ It is possible that this means a Gaul (cf. Ammianus XV.9.3: "Galatas...—ita enim Gallos sermo Graecus appellat"), but why would Hydatius use a Greek expression when he always refers to Gauls as "Galli"? See Thompson (1982), 215, and (1980), 80 (a "high falutin'" way of calling him a Gaul). Ajax is not a very Western sounding name and there is the example of Ricimer who, as a term of reproach, called Anthemius, who was a Greek, a "Galata" (Ennodius, *Vita B. Epiphani* [CSEL 6: 344]). More than likely Hydatius is doing the same here with Ajax. Claude (1978), 655, says "aus Galatien in Kleinasien"!

⁹⁵ Thompson, perhaps correctly, prefers "bishop" or "priest" ([1982], 218 and [1980], 80-1) in place of Tranoy's obviously incorrect "plus vieux" (based on Macías' "antiguo"). Garzón (note in edition) suggests "presbyter" (745). I have followed K. Schäferdiek's "Anführer" (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 86 (1975), 399).

their king as an enemy of the orthodox faith and the divine Trinity. This destructive poison of the evil man was conveyed from the Gallic home of the Goths.” Hydatius says nothing about converting anyone, barbarian or Gallaecian, to Arianism; in fact he says absolutely nothing about what Ajax did, stating only that he was taken in by Remismund and was an enemy of the orthodox (which the Sueves probably were not). So where does the idea come from that he converted the Sueves to Arianism? Ajax is mentioned in only one other source and that is Isidorus, who writes in his *Historia Sueuorum*, copying Hydatius (in italics):

Huius tempore *Alax natione Galata effectus apostata et Arrianus inter Sueuos regis sui auxilio hostis catholicae fidei et diuinae trinitatis emergit de Gallicana Gothorum regione hoc pestiferum uirus adferens et totam gentem Sueuorum letali tabe inficiens. Multis deinde Sueuorum regibus in Arriana haeresi permanentibus tandem regni potestatem Theodimirus suscepit* (91).

It is rather obvious that Isidorus has himself added the last phrase concerning the conversion of the Sueves. He had no information on the Sueves after Hydatius until the time Theodemir was king in the 560's and by then the Sueves were Arian. He seems to have believed that the Sueves of Hydatius' time were orthodox Christians—he did not believe that they had ever been pagans⁹⁶—and they obviously had to have been converted at some point before the 560's. Ajax was the obvious answer to the problem so he removed the entry from its proper position (465/6) and placed it last of all his excerpts from Hydatius, after the betrayal of Ulixippona in 468 (246). This provided the link across a century's gap in his sources from Hydatius' excerpts to his material on the Arian Theodemir.⁹⁷

5. RELIGIOUS LIFE

The barbarian interference suggested in the cases of Antoninus and Sabinus above leads to another question concerning religious life in Gallaecia and that is Suevic attitudes towards organized Christianity. There is virtually no evidence so the discussion will be

⁹⁶ Cf. 86 where he adds the comment “ut ferunt” to the statement that Rechila was a pagan (copied from Hydatius, 137).

⁹⁷ This addition is not mentioned by Thompson (1982), 217-221.

by necessity brief. As mentioned just above, in spite of Thoribius' complaints to Hydatius, Caepionius and Leo in c.444 concerning Suevic repression of the free movement of clergy and the active campaigning against heresy, there appears to have been some freedom of action for the clergy in Suevic territories in 445 and perhaps 448 (130, 138). However, after this burst of activity against the Manichees, nothing more is heard, but we do not know whether to attribute this to the Sueves, the Gallaecian bishops or Hydatius. As was seen in the case of Sabinus, the Sueves may have interfered with episcopal elections at least once, but this is not explicit. There certainly appears to have been no persecutions of Christians by the pagan Sueves, nor any attempt to convert Spaniards to paganism.⁹⁸ Indeed, the Christians had the good fortune of converting the Suevic king Rechiarius to orthodox Christianity (137), and while it may have saved his soul, it appears to have made little difference for the suffering inhabitants of the provinces he sacked.

Perhaps it is just coincidence but the only Christian festivals Hydatius mentions are Easter and Pentecost (5, 151, 186, 189, 199). It would seem that these holy days held special importance for him and that as a result he used them to date events in the chronicle. Certainly though one cannot deny that more was happening in the spring and summer which required narrating than in the winter; but, for instance, in neither 126 nor 136, entries which describe events very near to Christmas, does he mention this holy day.⁹⁹

During his description of the sack of Bracara Hydatius lets slip a very interesting comment but fails to enlarge upon it: "*uirgines dei exim quidem abductae, sed integritate seruata*" (174). It seems quite amazing that in mid-fifth century Bracara there was a community of what we might be tempted to call nuns. "Virgins consecrated to God" and a "*pactum virginitatis*" are mentioned in Canon 13 of the Council of Elvira, but canon 14 refers to "secular virgins" and 27 refers to the sisters and daughters of bishops and clerics as a special group of consecrated virgins, the only ones who could live with bishops and

⁹⁸ On this, see Thompson (1982), 196, 211, and (1980), 77.

⁹⁹ Sotomayor y Muro ([1979], 279) suggests that Christmas may in fact have been celebrated on 6 January, based on Canon 4 of the council of Caesaraugusta.

clerics.¹⁰⁰ Hydatius' "virgines" could therefore have been lay women who took an oath of virginity or the female relatives of the clerics who are mentioned in the next phrase, rather than members of a female monastic community. There is also the serious possibility that they were Priscillianists.¹⁰¹

6. RELIGIOUS VS SECULAR IN THE CHRONICLE

The final point to be discussed in this chapter is a most peculiar one; one that has been noted by only one commentator to my knowledge.¹⁰² This is the serious decline in the religious dimension in the last half of the chronicle. As can be seen in Tables 9-13, details and information reported in the chronicle increase dramatically for most areas of the empire, especially Spain, in the last half of the chronicle (from c. §143). On the other hand, it can be seen from Tables 17-8 that the religious material actually drops. Indeed, as can be seen in Table 10, only just over twenty percent of the chronicle as a whole even concerns religion to start with. More serious, and unnoticed until now, is that although, as we have seen, in the first half of the chronicle Hydatius can quote a great number of religious individuals, personal religious contacts, letters, and literary works, this stops almost completely in 452 with the reference to the letter of Euphronius of Augustodunum. From that point to the end of the chronicle, a little less than half of the bulk of the text and a space of sixteen years out of 90, he makes no reference to personal contact with other religious figures, to letters or to literary works (see Table 15), and only mentions religious individuals four times: Sabinus and Ajax (who are Spanish; 192a, 232) and Hilarus and Simplicius (who are popes; 221, 248).

On 5 May 450 Pope Leo sent a package of letters to Ravennius of Arles which included letters of Flavian to Leo, Leo to Flavian (including the Tome) and Cyril's

¹⁰⁰ Elvira, Canon 13 (Vives, 4): "De uirginibus deo sacratis..." and "Virgines quae se deo dicauerunt..."; Canon 14 (4): "De uirginibus saecularibus..." and "Virgines quae uirginitatem suam non custodierint..."; Canon 27 (7), "Episcopus uel quilibet alius clericus aut sororem aut filiam uirginem dicatam <deo> tantum secum habeat". See also Caesaraugusta, Canon 8 (18), "sanctimoniales uirgines" and "uirgines quae se deo uouerint"; Toledo, Canon 6 (21), "religiosa puella" and "puella dei"; Canon 16 (23-4), "deuota".

¹⁰¹ Cf. the Priscillianist excesses concerning celibacy, Chadwick (1976), 70-3, 105-6.

¹⁰² Thompson (1982), 194.

second letter to Nestorius.¹⁰³ On 27 January 452 he asked the Gallic bishops to send the news of the victory at Chalcedon “ad fratres nostros Hispaniae episcopos” and the next month he sent the actual *gesta* of the council.¹⁰⁴ He also wrote a letter “ad episcopos Galliarum et Hispaniarum” on 28 July 454 concerning the date of Easter in 455.¹⁰⁵ Although Hydatius received the first package of letters of 449 (145), he did not receive the latter three or any news of their contents: he knows nothing of the councils of Second Ephesus in 449 or Chalcedon in 451. The letters of Flavian and Leo are the last religious information Hydatius has concerning the East outside of the account of the earthquake in Antioch which is given a religious framework. Since much of his information appears to have come from Rome via Gaul it would seem that somehow communications broke down either in Gaul or in his part of Spain. The Visigothic invasion of 456-7 would seem the most likely cause of isolation but it would appear to be too late, since communications would appear to have been cut by 452 or 453, giving time for travel and delay, since letters Leo sent to Gaul in May of 450 made it through to Spain but those sent in January of 452 did not. It would seem that whatever his sources of information were after 453, they were not religious and were not interested in religious affairs since Hydatius is able to record so little religious information from outside of Gallaecia after this point.

But in the second half of the chronicle Hydatius has almost nothing to say about the religious affairs of Gallaecia either. Indeed, as was noted above, pp. 105-6 (cf. 101, 103, 104), he actually makes relatively few references to religious figures or events outside of the East at all; he almost mentions more Easterners than Spaniards. Given that Hydatius was a bishop, the chronicle as a whole suffers from an amazing dearth of Spanish ecclesiastical material, especially when one considers the preface which explicitly states that the corruption and downfall of religion was to be a major theme of the work. In the end it must be concluded that just as the extended local battles against heresy were not fit for inclusion in the chronicle, so too must have been the case for general

¹⁰³ *Ep.* 67 (*PL* 54: 886-7); see also above, 63.

¹⁰⁴ *Epp.* 102.5 (*PL* 54: 988) and 103 (988-92).

¹⁰⁵ *Ep.* 138 (*PL* 54: 1101-2).

ecclesiastical affairs. Important and famous individuals deserved mention, as did certain local controversies and victories over heresy, but only in the first half of the chronicle where information was generally scarce. When more important aspects needed to be narrated, such as the barbarian hostilities after 456, and information was abundant, such matters took a back seat. Thus in spite of his own position as a bishop and the obvious ecclesiastical nature of his model, the *Chronici canones*, Hydatius obviously believed that secular affairs were the most suitable subject matter for a chronicle. However, in spite of this, as we saw in Chapters 2 and 7, secular material could still form the building blocks of an almost exclusively Christian work of history and world view.

CHAPTER 9: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL EVALUATION

The purpose of this final chapter is quite simple. It is an analysis of Hydatius as an historian and chronicler organized under four major headings: purpose, structure, style, and final evaluation. At the end I offer an interpretation of the personal aspects of the chronicle in an attempt to glimpse the world as Hydatius saw it.

1. PURPOSE

We have already seen in Chapter 7 that Hydatius expected the world to end within fourteen years of the last events described in the work and it now remains to be explained why he would still have undertaken the enormous task of writing the chronicle for the edification of a few Gallaecians for so few years. As one would expect, it is in the preface that he himself gives an explicit and obvious reason for writing. His work is an attempt to record “*omnes miserabilis temporis erumnae*” (pref. 7), a subject which he divides into two categories, those concerning the Roman Empire, which he does not elaborate, and those concerning Gallaecia, which he does. He says that with regard to Gallaecia he will discuss “the state of ecclesiastical offices perverted by indiscriminate appointments, the destruction of honourable freedom and the downfall of virtually all religion based on divine order as a result of the domination of a wild nation thrown into chaos by the disruptions of a hostile one.” We have seen above in Chapters 5 to 8 how closely, with the exception of any explicit concentration on the downfall of religion, he has adhered to this programme which he here sets himself and how his is indeed a chronicle of “*omnes miserabilis temporis erumnae*”.

Hydatius’ second concern would no doubt have been spiritual. Simply the act of copying out Jerome and making an account of the times between the end of his chronicle and the present day was reward enough for the toil of researching and writing since such a task was done for the greater glory of God and was an act of reverence, worship and respect for God’s creation and the unfolding of his will. It is for these same reasons, for instance, that mediaeval monks copied out documents in their scriptoria: like Hydatius they received no pay and obtained no earthly benefit for their labour. But it was hoped

that such efforts would create favour in eyes of God and better their chances of being among the elect at the Last Judgement.¹ Hydatius undertook the work then as a task or duty for the greater glory of God and for his own soul.

Hydatius also believed that it was important to have a complete account of the history of Christianity from the very beginning (Abraham, the starting point of the *Chronici canones*, was, according to Eusebius, the first Christian²) to the end. Hydatius' worries in the preface (5) over the fact that no one had written a *disscriptio annorum* since Jerome is not expressed out of a fear of not being original or not being the first to do it, but out of a genuine concern that he sees the end of the world approaching and no one has brought Jerome up to date in preparation. In his eyes it is a task which *must* be done and it is almost a compulsion which drives him, though an amateur, to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors ("cum membrana huius historiae curam contigisset expertis, mentem monuit inperiti ut de cognitis, etsi in omnibus inpari gressu, uel uestigiis se substerneret praecessorum"). What he lacks in skill he makes up for in faith ("Quae fideli suscipiens cordis intuitu"), a point of vital importance for understanding his approach to history, for faith is the overwhelming guide for everything he does in composing this work. He saw the composition of the chronicle as a work of faith and a proof of his orthodoxy, not merely as a secular record of events, made out of antiquarian interest, like the contemporary *fasti* and *consularia*. His task was to ensure that there would be contained in one document the entire expanse of Christian history. And by adding his own continuation he also ensured that further copies of Jerome's chronicle would be copied and distributed.

There can be no doubt that Hydatius also considered his reading public as well. After all, he does address the completed chronicle to "uniuersi fideles in domino nostro Iesu Christo et seruientes ei in ueritate" (pref. 1). While someone like Paulinus of Pella for example saw his work as addressed primarily to God and only incidentally to other readers (or so he asserts in his preface), Hydatius did intend for his work to be read and

¹ Cf. the beliefs of Pionius, Sulpicius and Paulinus in Stancliffe (1983), 76.

² See *H.E.* I.4 (*GCS Eusebius Werke*, 2.1 (Leipzig, 1903), 38-44) with Barnes (1981), 126-7. Cf. also Gregory of Tours, *Lib. hist.* X I.7.

be a source of inspiration and edification for others. As Prosper stated, “Trahunt [ad deum] rerum gestarum relationes; animum audientis inflammant narrantes laudes Domini et uirtutes eius, et mirabilia eius quae fecit.”³ Though time was short, Hydatius knew that it would have been worth the effort if even one soul were saved. It is odd that he stresses so much at the outset that he wishes only the orthodox to read it; it may be that he felt if it fell into the hands of heretics they would try to pervert its message or make additions to it. It was important that the faithful could read and discover the course of history and learn from it the working of God’s will on earth on behalf of Romans and the Empire against the barbarians and the heretics, as an act of faith, for spiritual betterment, for the glory of God, and for consolation, not simply for idle knowledge. But did he expect his readers to understand the apocalyptic aspects of his work? Probably, but his lack of explicit comment in the preface and the body of the text show that such didactic and prophetic matters were not his major concern in writing.

As a result, the chronicle is not directed towards any specific point (as is for example Cassiodorus’ chronicle) nor does it stop with an important or crucial event (as the Gallic Chronicle of 452 stops with the Hunnic invasion of Gaul and Italy); it goes only as far as Hydatius was able to take it, either by design or the will of God. Most chronicles are like this, taken only to the point of writing or to the point when no further detailed information was available. Prosper, for instance, stopped at three completely arbitrary points and was twice able to return to the work and bring it up to date. Hydatius, however, was writing in old age at the end of his life and knew that he would never be able to return to the work and add a continuation, or rather, the conclusion (pref. 7). As a result the work does in fact have an ending, though not a conclusion (see below, under section 2). Hydatius therefore had a number of purposes when composing the chronicle: historiographical, in both the secular and religious, universal and local senses; spiritual, and pastoral.

2. STRUCTURE

It was noted in Chapter 2 that one perceived criticism of chronicles is that they have

³ *Contra Collatorem* 7.2 (PL 51: 231).

no structure; they usually start at one arbitrary point, end at another arbitrary point, and recount everything of importance for the chronicler that happened in between, one after the other. This is however not completely the case with Hydatius' chronicle, for it has a deliberate structure in four parts: a central violent focus of reversal and calamity, an introductory section, a section which leads up to the calamity, and a section which relates the aftermath. For us, and for anyone in the ancient world familiar with Aristotle's *Poetics*, this is obviously a dramatic structure and in the following section I shall in fact use literary terminology to refer to the four sections of the chronicle: introduction, rising action or complication, climax, and falling action or dénouement.⁴ There is no conclusion of course, for as was seen in Chapter 7, the conclusion is the Parousia, but Hydatius provides the chronicle with an ending with that End firmly in mind. The recognition of this almost "literary" structure is of vital importance for it reveals Hydatius' methods of composition and a great sophistication in his historiographical thinking and outlook: in spite of the seeming chaos of his narrative he had an overview of the history he was recording and saw in it a pattern which could be exploited to make the chronicle more than just a simple retelling of "uniuersa in suis locis cum summa breuitate".⁵ Although some of the differences between the first and second halves of the chronicle can be attributed to access to source material, much of it is in fact a result of a definite change of emphasis and Hydatius' own attempts at structuring as he reveals the growing importance of the local effects of the Suevic occupation. As a result, an understanding of the structure shows that Hydatius was interested not primarily in writing a universal history in the mould of Jerome, in spite of his claims to be following his "exemplar" in the preface (1), but rather in a local history of the Suevic and Gothic assaults on Gallaecia and Lusitania in particular and on Spain in general.

The chronicle begins with a lengthy preface (though Hydatius calls it a "breue antelatae praefationis indicium") which is like Jerome's in so far as there actually is

⁴ Aristotle, *Poetics* 18.1-2. For Aristotle, the complication is τὸ δέσις; the climax, ἡ μεταβάσις, and the dénouement, τὸ λύσις. In the case of the chronicle the climax is of two kinds, ἡ περιπέτεια (reversal) and τὸ πάθος (calamity). Hydatius almost certainly had never heard of the *Poetics* and perhaps not even of dramatic structure.

⁵ Eusebius in Jerome's translation of his preface, *Chron. can.* (Helm, 19).

one—early chroniclers, with the exception of Marcellinus *comes*, never wrote lengthy prefaces—but unlike it in that Jerome’s is, typically, concerned mainly with the problems of translation. Hydatius’ is more like Eusebius’ preface which concerns matters of history and historiography, but Hydatius’ is far more personal and wide-ranging. It is divided into three major sections: the first is a conventional example of self-deprecation, juxtaposed with comments on the spiritual excellence of other greater writers (1). The second section concerns his two predecessors and his worries over the question of whether Jerome ever made a continuation of the *canones* beyond 378 (2-5). The final section concerns his own plunge into the writing of history, his methods of gathering source material and the contents of his continuation (5-7). Written exactly like a pastoral letter, the preface could almost exist separately from the chronicle itself. There is no doubt, though, that Hydatius drew his inspiration for this format from Jerome’s own introduction to the *Chronici canones*, which is written in the form of a letter to Vincentius and Gallienus, and a number of personal epistolary prefaces to his translations of the books of the Old Testament and Gospels,⁶ though in his case Hydatius made the letter a general one, addressed to all the orthodox rather than to any individual.

Stuck into a small space between the end of Jerome’s historical entries and his final *computatio* (that is, a chart of the number of years since and between various epochal events in history, such as Creation, the Flood, the building of the Temple, the birth of Christ, and so on), there appears another preface, which I call the “introduction”.⁷ These two short sentences are more in keeping with the prefaces in other chronicles. Here Hydatius expresses the same anxiety over possible continuations of the *canones* and his intention to continue from the first year of Theodosius. This may represent an early version of the preface, of which the second and larger version is a later expansion.

It is in the introduction and preface that Hydatius reveals his only source of

⁶ We saw above, 158 n. 8, that Hydatius possessed Jerome’s translation of the Bible. Of Jerome’s prefaces to the books or groups of books of the Old Testament and Gospels, four begin with epistolary addresses and eight address individuals in the body of the text.

⁷ Because of its shortness and peculiar position, the introduction was missed by all editors before Mommsen. In F it follows the first few lines of the preface.

inspiration not discussed so far, Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a work which he explicitly mentions in his preface (2). Hydatius imitated two passages from the prologue and preface to Book Ten for his own preface, including the account of his sources:

decimum uero uel undecimum librum nos conscripsimus partim ex maiorum traditionibus, partim ex his quae nostra iam memoria comprehenderat et eos uelut duos pisciculos supra scriptis panibus addidimus...Continet autem omne opus res in ecclesia gestas a saluatoris ascensione et deinceps; nostri duo libelli a temporibus Constantini post persecutionem usque ad obitum Theodosii Augusti.

Hucusque nobis Eusebius rerum in ecclesia gestarum memoriam tradidit. Cetera uero, quae usque ad praesens tempus per ordinem subsecuta sunt, quae uel in maiorum litteris repperimus uel nostra memoria attigit, patris religiosi praeceptis et in hoc parentes quam potuimus breuiter addidimus.⁸

The similarities between these passages and Hydatius' introduction and preface §§1, 5-6 are obvious.⁹

The first section of the chronicle proper (the "introduction"), covers the years from 379 to 409. Here the characters, settings and themes of the chronicle are all introduced. He begins in the mould of a universal chronicle, stressing the imperial family in Constantinople and the famous religious figures of the period. As a counterpoint he adds the two major deviations of those themes, usurpation and heresy. He mentions Rome and Constantinople, the East, Italy, Gaul, and Spain. Africa, the least important geographic area in the chronicle, is not mentioned until 412-3 (after the introduction of the Vandals, who are to give Africa most of its importance in the chronicle): Honorius defeats the usurper Heraclianus at Carthage and Augustine defeats the Donatists at Hippo (51, 53, 56). These are but minor victories before the final Vandal occupation. The major theme of the barbarians is presented almost immediately in entry 2: "Inter Romanos et Gothos multa certamina conseruntur." This theme appears three more times as the war

⁸ *H.E.* (cit. n. 2), 952, 957.

⁹ Hydatius probably also derived "Eusebius Caesariensis" (pref. 2) from Rufinus' prologue (p. 951) for he is never called this in the *Chronici canones*.

against the Goths is brought to a conclusion and Theodosius defeats the Greothingi (6, 7, 12).¹⁰ Hydatius however leaves a marker at entry 7: the Goths make a “infida pax” with the Romans. The word “infida” did not appear in his source but it begins another theme which will come to dominate the chronicle.¹¹ The introduction ends with the sudden entrance in the same year of the two main subjects of the chronicle, the Sueves and the Goths.

Hydatius appears to have had no source which provided him with dated information concerning the movement of the Goths between the treaty of 382 and the sack of Rome in 410, since there is no mention of them in the chronicle. In 409 however three new Germanic tribes burst into the chronicle, the Alans, the Vandals and the Sueves. Surprisingly Hydatius knows nothing about where these three tribes came from or what they were doing up to the point they invaded the peninsula (he does not even say that they came from Gaul, a necessary and logical observation even without an explicit statement in a source), but dramatically it works in his favour. He narrates the invasion of 409 with all the solemnity and compounding of dates befitting a major day of infamy. He then juxtaposes the sack of 410, shifted back one year to 409; thus both Alans-Vandals-Sueves and Goths appear from nowhere, “diaboli ex machina” as it were, in corresponding attacks, one on Spain, the other on Rome, and both the Sueves and the Goths, the major protagonists of the second half of the chronicle, are introduced together. Note that even the constructions of the two entries are perfectly paralleled: “Alani et Vandali et Sueui Hispanias ingressi” and “Alaricus rex Gothorum Romam ingressus”. Once he has described the slaughter caused in Rome by the Goths (43), he goes on to describe the slaughter caused in Spain by the Alans, Vandals and Sueves (48-9). From this point on, Hydatius follows the movements and actions of both tribes, Goths and Sueves, one in Spain and the other in Italy, Gaul and Spain. They are almost brought together in 416-418 (60, 63, 67-8) and the Goths appear again in Spain as federates in 422 (77). The first time the Sueves and Goths meet is in battle, when as federates of the

¹⁰ I suspect that Hydatius probably also originally referred to Theodosius’ victories over the Goths, Alans and Huns recorded in the *Consularia* (s.a. 379.2) and that it has been lost in a lacuna.

¹¹ See above, 144-5.

magister utriusque militiae, Vitus, the Goths are roundly defeated by a Suevic army in 446 (134). Three years later the new king, Recharius, gains a marriage alliance with the Gothic king, Theoderic I (140, 142). This alliance proves to be the Sueves' undoing for under a new king, Theoderic II, the Goths make treaties with Rome and invade Spain in 456-7, maintaining an official presence in Baetica until 465. In 468 a group of Gothic brigands return to Spain to raid and plunder in concert with the Sueves. For Hydatius, writing his chronicle in 468/9, the Sueves and the Goths were the two nations that had been threatening and pillaging Gallaecia and Lusitania for over twelve years, destroying once and for all the relative peace which Gallaecia had enjoyed since 433; in the chronicle he introduces them together dramatically in 409 and then charts their separate courses to 456 and their intertwined courses on to his own day.

This introduction of the Sueves and the Goths in 409, however, creates a number of problems. Could Hydatius really have known nothing about the invasion of Gaul in 406-409 by the Vandals, Sueves and Alans? Surely one of his sources, written or oral, for this period must have mentioned it. And surely in order to have invaded Spain these barbarians must have come from Gaul, so by simple logic he must have known that they they had invaded Gaul at some point. Hydatius had no major source for secular events in Gaul until c.411-2,¹² and if he could not date the invasion of Gaul he could not mention it, except in entry 42 itself where he probably avoided any mention of Gaul to heighten the dramatic impact of the barbarians' sudden entry into Spain. Second, why has he placed the sack of Rome a year early? Some editors have solved this problem by shifting the regnal year but there is no evidence that it has been moved.¹³ I am inclined to believe that Hydatius has, simply as a result of inexact and insufficient evidence, been led to place these two events together and he has exploited this conjunction for rhetorical purposes; I do not think he consciously altered the date of the sack of Rome: the juxtaposition exists whether the regnal year appears at §48 or 43 since Hydatius has nothing else to narrate in 409. The result is that the Sueves and the Goths together,

¹² He notes only the execution of Victor and the assassination of Valentinian (17, 22), both derived from his recension of the *Consularia*; see above, 35-50.

¹³ See Chapter 2 of the Text Volume for valid reasons for shifting regnal years.

suddenly and without warning, make a dramatic entrance into history. The importance of this dual arrival, however, does not become obvious until the second half of the chronicle.

The “complication” begins with the ravaging and settlement of Spain in the years 410-11 (48-9) and the first capture of a Gallic city by the Goths in 413 (55), and continues through to the Suevic treaty in 453 (155) and the death of Petronius Maximus (162²). In this period the universal nature of the chronicle, which still includes such things as the Roman campaigns in Gaul, the Vandal invasion of Africa, and the imperial and religious affairs of both East and West, begins to give way to the growing importance of events in Spain: first the Gothic invasion, then the Vandal incursions and finally the growth of Suevic domination are recounted, with the most emphasis and detail granted to the Suevic expansion from Gallaecia to Lusitania, then Baetica and Carthaginiensis and finally Tarraconensis. After the great activity in 448-9, there is a lull in Spanish material in the years 450-4 as the events in Italy and Gaul become more prominent, probably because of renewed access to good imperial source material and a lack of interesting or important events in Spain.¹⁴ This lull before the Gothic invasion of 456 is mirrored by a similar lull between 411 and 417 before the Gothic invasion of 417-8. The latter is of great importance historically and dramatically for it foreshadows the great Gothic invasion of 456-7. Both the invasions of 417-8 and 456-7 are made by the Goths, at the instigation of the imperial government, in the former case Constantius (60, 63, 69), and in the latter, Avitus (173); both destroy what appears to have been a period of relative peace; and both result in the unopposed ravaging of Gallaecia by one or more barbarian tribes. After the first invasion, Hydatius describes continued Gothic involvement in the peninsula, often still “ex auctoritate Romana”, (77, 97, 134, 140, 158) and continued Roman military activity, coming to a climax with the plundering of

¹⁴ The Spanish events mentioned between §§143 and 168 are 149, 151, 159 (portents in Gallaecia), 155 (Suevic peace settlement with Rome), 158 (Fredericus attacks Baccadae in Tarraconensis), and 161 (embassy sent to Sueves by Valentinian). The sending of envoys in 452/3 may have been prompted by Suevic attacks on Roman territory, but it is interesting to note that the first Suevic treaty was made in 433 (100) and renewed five years later in 438 (111, 113). Perhaps the treaty of 452/3 was a twenty-year renewal of the original treaty.

the south by Vitus (74, 77, 125, 128, 134).

Things begin to turn for the worst with the accession of Rechiarius, the first orthodox Christian barbarian king. Whatever hopes the people and clergy of Gallaecia, Lusitania and Baetica may have had upon Rechiarius' accession, they were dashed when he took a more cosmopolitan view of his rôle as a king and expanded his horizons by immediately extending his ravaging to the "ulteriores regiones" of Spain, probably Carthaginiensis and Tarraconensis, and making a marriage alliance with the Gothic king Theoderic I. These actions of 448 and 449 (and on to 452/3?) brought him to the attention of imperial authorities who had not dealt with the Sueves since 440.¹⁵ A peace was made in 452/3 but the reckless and ambitious Rechiarius stayed quiet for only a few years and during the summer of 455, with the assassinations of Aëtius, Valentinian and Petronius, and the sack of Rome as spurs, he again invaded Carthaginiensis, which he had given back to Romans in 453 (168).

The invasion of Carthaginiensis immediately brought Rechiarius to the attention of the new emperor, Avitus. He and his Gothic allies sent embassies in early 456 to renew the peace Rechiarius had broken. In response, Rechiarius invaded Tarraconensis (170). The Goths sent further embassies. Rechiarius responded by initiating a huge invasion of Tarraconensis and then retreating into Gallaecia (172). The imperial and Gothic reaction was swift and crushing. Theoderic II led a vast federated barbarian army into Spain and in a single battle on 5 October 456 he annihilated the Suevic army (173). Rechiarius fled to Portum Cale (Oporto) (175). Theoderic moved against the Suevic headquarters of Bracara on 27 October (174). All prisoners of war were put to death (175). By December Theoderic had captured Rechiarius and put him to death as well (178). He continued mopping-up exercises through Lusitania and was about to take the second Suevic headquarters at Emerita at the beginning of April 457 when he suddenly retreated and returned to Gaul,¹⁶ leaving a section of his army to eradicate the remaining Sueves who had fled for safety to Asturica, Palentina and Coviacum (186). The remnants of this

¹⁵ Note that the capture and murder of the Roman legate Censurius in 440-9 (121, 139) prompted no recorded action on the part of Roman officials whatsoever.

¹⁶ Hydatius attributes this sudden action to Theoderic's fear caused by "Eulaliae martyris...ostenta" and "aduersi sibi (i.e. Theoderic) nuntii" (182, 186).

army eventually returned to Gaul. The Suevic kingdom had been utterly destroyed.¹⁷

I have presented such a detailed description of the Gothic invasion of 456-7 because it is the climax and focus of the entire chronicle; it gives it its balance, its structure and its coherence. This is the centre around which the rest of the chronicle revolves and by which the first and second halves of the chronicle are judged. It is, in Hydatius' eyes, the "*dominatio permixta perturbazione*" (pref. 7), the most important event in the whole period he narrated.¹⁸ The two thematic strands of the Sueves and the Goths, carefully followed in the complication, are violently brought together here for the second time and they remain intertwined for most of the rest of the chronicle as the Goths maintain an interest in the peninsula.

The importance of the invasion is demonstrated by the great space and detail devoted to it and its antecedents and causes, and the narrative quality. The Gothic invasion of 417-8, for instance, is described in 63 words; that of 456-7 requires 346. Introductory and concomitant events bring the former up to 76 words, the latter to 462. No other event or series of events is given as much space or detail in the chronicle. Not even the Hunnic invasions of Gaul and Italy with all their associated portents, though obviously marked in the text as important events and as in some ways a parallel and precursor to the Gothic invasion, amount to no more than 250 words. In fact there is no better piece of Latin historical narrative in the fifth century in terms of detail, structure and explanation of cause and effect: from Rechiarius' accession Hydatius provides all the background to explain the causes of the invasion and the remainder of the chronicle details the results. He also explains both sides of the origins of the dispute: the violation of oaths and invasion of Roman territory (155, 168, 170, 172) prompted the Roman and Gothic involvement, and Rechiarius' innate perfidy, love of pillage, desire for expansion, and his alliance with the Goths (137, 140, 142, 170, 172) caused his bold forays into Roman territory and rejection of the treaty.¹⁹ Hydatius' implicit explanations for

¹⁷ Dramatically, these events are what Aristotle would call the "reversal" and the "calamity".

¹⁸ Again, an important point recognized only by Thompson ([1982], 142).

¹⁹ Rechiarius misjudged the pro-Roman stance of the new Gothic king Theoderic II whom he expected to support, or at least ignore, his forays into Roman territory as his father Theoderic I had done

Rechiarius' violation of the treaty of 453 are supported by the explicit account in Jordanes, which is no doubt derived from Cassiodorus.²⁰

The invasion changed everything in Gallaecia and these changes are reflected in the chronicle. In 433 a general peace had been made between the Sueves and the Gallaecians, and this, strengthened in 438 and 453, was still in effect in 455 when Rechiarius invaded Carthaginiensis. From 457 to 468, however, Gallaecia and Lusitania knew virtually no peace at all as the Sueves and Goths ravaged the land and murdered the inhabitants. After the invasion the scope of the chronicle narrows and never returns to its previous "universal" character. About two-thirds of the dénouement, the falling action, from 457 to 468 concerns Gallaecia and Lusitania, and the Suevic and Gothic ravaging of these provinces. Here the emphases are reversed from the earlier part of the chronicle: Spain is now paramount, the rest of the Empire is subordinate. Other aspects of the chronicle change after the Gothic invasion as well. As was noted in Chapter 8 (pp. 224-6; cf. p. 64) the appearance of religious individuals reported both from Spain and the rest of the Empire ceases almost completely. It is almost as if his stress on the destruction of churches and attacks upon clergy in the invasion implied a destruction of religion too (cf. pref. 7).

There is of course no formal conclusion to the work, but Hydatius ends on a pessimistic note with blood flowing from the centre of Toledo, the appeal of the Suevic king to the emperor against the Goths and a list of prodigies and portents too numerous to mention which obviously foretell of greater evils to come (244, 251, 253). His reluctance to enumerate these last portents betrays a resigned exhaustion on the part of the almost septuagenarian writer. He has set his sights upon the Final ending of all history, not just of his chronicle, and upon his own death (cf. pref. 1: "extremus et uitae").

The overall structure of the chronicle, beginning with the collocation of Spain and Rome in 409, suggests that Hydatius regarded Gallaecia and Lusitania as a microcosm of

(140, 142). Theoderic II, however, saw that his future lay with the Romans, not the Sueves, and so supported the Roman position.

²⁰ *Getica* 229-31 (*MGH:AA* 5.1: 116-7). Note that Theoderic's relationship with Avitus and the Empire is not mentioned.

the rest of the Empire, especially Gaul and Africa under, respectively, Gothic and Vandalic rule. From what Hydatius knew from these areas, Christians were no better off there than they were in Spain. Only Italy and the East were free of the barbarian invaders and he did not know how long that was to last since “*imperii Romani metae...ruiturae*”.

From 409 one of the chief underlying themes and purposes of the chronicle is a history of the Sueves in Spain, especially in Gallaecia, and the framework of the chronicle as a whole is based upon the hostile relationship between the Sueves and the Gallaecians. Just as Cassiodorus (through Jordanes) is the historian of the Goths, Gregory of Tours of the Franks and Paul the Deacon of the Lombards, Hydatius is the historian of the Sueves and it is to record their activities that he took up his pen.²¹ This is not to say that the rest of the chronicle is mere padding. He was deeply interested in all the material he related and it gave his microcosmic history of the Sueves a macrocosmic context in which to be understood, for all of God's creation was interconnected and linked, and when catastrophe occurred in one place it could not help but have repercussions in another.²²

This historiographical conception is, however, quite distinctly mediaeval. The three authors noted just above are all mediaeval authors. From the late third and early fourth centuries Rome had ceased to be the imperial capital. Starting almost from 330 Constantinople had rapidly begun to usurp much of Rome's old power and prestige in both East and West.²³ The importance of Rome was finally destroyed in 410 and any remaining lustre was removed in 455 with the Vandal sack. With the decline of the importance of Rome for the provinces of the West and the retreat of the Roman administration and military presence in the fifth century, horizons narrowed and regional interests soon began to outweigh “imperial” interests as individuals and especially the aristocracy began to feel that their secular and religious duties lay with their own cities and provinces and that they no longer needed to go to Rome or the court to fulfill their ambitions. Although Hydatius had been born in a Spain which was still securely Roman,

²¹ Cf. Torres Rodriguez (1956b), 795.

²² For example, note the Gallaecian portents which reflect the Hun invasion of Gaul and the murder of Aëtius in Rome (149, 151, 159). Could the eclipse of 214 be linked with the fate of Antioch in 215?

²³ And it was resented in the West; see Bird (1984), 63-5.

he had spent most of his life outside of the Empire, among barbarians, and his chronicle is a product of this post-Roman *zeitgeist*.

Before the invasion of 409 and the appearance of the Sueves Hydatius makes his best attempt at a universal chronicle in the mould of Jerome, maintaining his chronological systems and his general style and method. This is the section of the chronicle which immediately follows the end of the *Chronici canones* and it was here that Hydatius felt the greatest influence of his exemplar. As well, his major source for this early period was the *Consularia*, a product of similar sources, background and date to Jerome's work. But as the Suevic occupation of Spain advanced, Hydatius' regional interests came to the fore. After the Gothic invasion of 456-7 non-Spanish material, which had made up more than 90% of the first three decades of the chronicle is reduced to 40%, and almost 19% of that was Gothic material, narrated because of the Gothic involvement in Spain. Just as Hydatius' life covered the period of transition from the Roman Empire to the Middle Ages in Spain, so too does the historiographical conception of his chronicle. His chronicle is the earliest surviving post-Roman history and Latin regional history, and is therefore the first work of mediaeval historiography we possess. And like the more conscientious and better-skilled mediaeval chroniclers Hydatius tried to include at least some extra-regional material, not only because he found it interesting, useful or important, but also and mainly because it provided a general context for his local history, for under the administration of God all of the world was still a unity created by God's purpose for Mankind and his promise of universal salvation.

3. STYLE

A badly neglected aspect of the chronicle, and one which unfortunately cannot be discussed in any great detail here, is its style.²⁴ Garzón described it aptly, stating, "In scribendo plerumque utitur stylo breuiori, eoque barbaro ac difficili" (676).²⁵ Its brevity in the first half of the chronicle especially is to a great extent copied from the

²⁴ Tranoy has said the most about style ([1974], I: 57-8); it is not much, but at least it is accurate.

²⁵ Bernardino Llorca (*Historia de la Iglesia Católica* I (Madrid, 1950), 615, quoted by Torres Rodríguez (1956b), 789) also refers to "la imperfección de su estilo", but Closa ([1973], 68) believes that "Hidacio escribe su obra en un lenguaje culto y cuidado"!

Consularia and the “fasti miscelli”, and thus is no reflection on Hydatius. But much of the rest of the chronicle seems brief only when compared to narrative histories. Overall, however, Hydatius made no real attempt to imitate the terse style of Jerome or his exemplars, exhibiting instead a desire for detail and employing a style very much of his own making which for the most part is positively verbose compared with Jerome. Three noticeable tendencies, for instance, are the piling up of subordinate clauses, phrases and participles in an attempt to pack as much information into as small a space as possible, the consequent overuse of “qui” as a relative connective (= “et is”) and the positioning of the verb. For comparison purposes with regard to the latter I examined the sentence structure of three other chronicles, the *Chronici canones*, the chronicle of Prosper and the *Chronica Gallica ad a. 452*. This revealed that these authors strove for a periodic structure most of the time: Jerome, 74.2%; Prosper, 77.5%; *Chron. Gall.*, 82.5%.²⁶ Hydatius however shows a marked tendency to place his verbs in the penultimate position in the sentence (33.3%),²⁷ leaving only 45.1% in the final position. The figures for penultimate position in the other authors are: Jerome, 5.3%; Prosper, 7.5%; *Chron. Gall.*, 10.2%; other positions: Hydatius, 21.6%; Jerome, 20.5%; Prosper, 15.0%; *Chron. Gall.*, 7.3%. In short passages the result is stiff and artificial. When Hydatius tries to convey complex ideas or images his language and structure often cannot rise to the occasion and the result is obscurity and confusion, as is most clearly shown by the preface. He was trying to bend a rather simple language to higher purposes than were possible given his lack of skill as a stylist. Whereas most Christian authors strove for “sermo humilis”, Hydatius, whose language would naturally have been “humilis” anyway, strove to write in an elevated and learned style.²⁸ In some entries, such as 174 and 186, he manages to throw off some of his stylistic trappings and his emotion bursts forth in a vivid syntax, but this is rare. There is one truly complex syntactical tour-de-

²⁶ For these and the following figures I have examined all sentences ending in periods or semi-colons: Hydatius, 385 samples (total); Jerome, 350 samples; Prosper, 173 samples (total); *Chron. Gall.*, 137 samples (total).

²⁷ Verbs in the “penultimate position” can be followed by more than one word if these words form a single unit, such as “ad Coninbricam”, “in regno”, “annis XVII” or “mense Iunio”.

²⁸ For the use of “sermo humilis” in Christian writing, see Auerbach (1965), 27-66, and MacMullen (1966).

force in the chronicle and that is entry 162². It is a massive but rather twisted and confusing conglomeration of subjunctive clauses and adverbial phrases, and, though it is cleverly done and carefully worked out, I cannot believe that anyone would regard it as an example of good writing. A short example of what we might charitably call his “flexibility of syntax” appears in §228: “Egidius moritur, alii dicunt insidiis, alii ueneno deceptus.” Hydatius was further handicapped by a rather small vocabulary and a narrow range of available constructions, though the repetitious nature of his subject matter did not help. His Latin in general is an interesting example of Late Latin modified by an awareness of a number of Classical forms and constructions (e.g. the accusative and infinitive instead of the expected “quod”, “quia” or “quoniam” plus the indicative).²⁹

Also a factor in the peculiarity of Hydatius’ language is his use of the strictly accentual *cursus* in final clausulae, a practice which had begun to emerge at the end of the fourth century.³⁰ Of all final clausulae 81.0% are one of the three standard forms, *velox* (25.7%, usually in the form *óoo/ooóo*, where “ó” is a stressed syllable, “o” an unstressed syllable and “/” a word division), *tardus* (23.6%, usually in the form *óo/oóoo*) and *planus* (31.7%, usually in the form *óo/oóo*). The other 19% is made up of *trispondaicus* (*óo/ooóo* or *óoo/oóo*, 7.5%) and *miscellanei*: *dispondeus dactylicus* (*óoo/oóoo*, 4.2%), *medius* (*óo/óoo*, 3.4%), *ditrochaicus* (*óo/óo*, 2.6%), and an unknown form (*óoo/ooóoo*, 1.3%).³¹ The mere random occurrence in non-accentual prose of the three standard forms renders results of only 53-63%, with few examples of the *tardus* (around 10-15%) and many of the *trispondaicus* and *miscellanei* (c.20% each),³² so there is no question that Hydatius was consciously trying to produce these

²⁹ Examples of Late Latin characteristics in the chronicle include “de” for “ab” and “ex” meaning “out of, from”; “per” + accus. for personal agent; perfect participles without “esse”; use of “ipse” for “is”, “hic” and as a definite article; “apud” for “in”; ablative for locative; “super” + accus. = “de” (“about, concerning”); and the frequent use of “illic” (8 times). Most peculiar however is the complete absence of “ille” and almost complete absence of “iste” (once, in the introduction), both extremely common in Late and Vulgar Latin.

³⁰ On this, see Oberhelman and Hall (1984) and Oberhelman (1988).

³¹ Thirteen of the sixteen dactylic forms appear as given; three however are irregular: *óo/ooóoo* and *óo/o/óoo*.

³² See Oberhelman and Hall (1984), 117-120, and Oberhelman (1988), 140-1.

rhythms. The *Chronici canones* and the Gallic Chronicle of 452, however, are non-accentual, with the three main types of *cursus* making up only 51.7% and 63.3%, respectively, of the clausulae.³³ Prosper, however, may have used the *cursus* (major types: 69.0%), but the evidence is contradictory.³⁴ Hydatius is thus the only fifth-century chronicler to have used the *cursus* in a serious fashion.

4. CONCLUSION: AN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL AND PERSONAL EVALUATION

The questions now arise, what were Hydatius' weaknesses and strengths, and was he a good historian? The general consensus on the latter would appear to be yes.³⁵ To this I would concur and indeed add that given the confines imposed by the genre, his chronicle is the finest surviving Latin history of the fifth century, and with the chronicle of Marcellinus *comes* probably the finest of all the surviving early Latin chronicles. Indeed given the facts that Hydatius did not have access to a first-class education and was an extremely isolated provincial one might almost be tempted to call the author, in his own way, something of an historical genius. This is high praise, and to justify it I think it is necessary in this section to examine both the chronicle's weaknesses and its strengths.

With regard to the actual content of the chronicle there are of course a variety of errors of fact, of omission, of confusion, and of emphasis. And since the chronicle is such a personal document there are certain idiosyncrasies, such as his regionalism and chronology, which must also be taken into account. Many of these kinds of faults are to be expected in any work of history. An understanding of such errors and their contexts however can be of great importance for the interpretation of the history Hydatius is

³³ The three main types make up 56.8% of clausulae in Jerome's continuation (183 samples) whereas in the 167 immediately preceding clausulae of his dictated translation they account for only 46.1%.

³⁴ Prosper does not completely conform to Oberhelman's rules for determining an accentual text (see n. 32): although the *tardus* figures are high (28.2%) and the *trispondaicus* figures low (8.6%), which indicates an accentual text, the *velox* figures are extremely low (10.3%) and the *miscellanei* forms high (22.4%), which indicates a non-accentual text.

³⁵ E.g. Thompson (1982), 141, and Torres Rodriguez (1956b), 789-90, who cites a number of positive estimations; but cf. Piganiol (1972), 470, who calls it "une médiocre Chronique".

narrating. For example, in §13 Hydatius would seem to imply what no other historian mentions, the presence of Martin of Tours at the synod of Burdigala. This is accepted by Stancliffe,³⁶ but as was seen in Chapter 3 (pp. 59-61) entries 13 and 16 are little more than a muddle ultimately based on Sulpicius Severus. As a result Hydatius' testimony is of no independent value and cannot be used to show that Martin was at the synod.³⁷

There are many errors of fact in the chronicle as has been seen throughout the previous chapters, some minor, like misdating the discovery of St. Stephens' relics, others gross, like calling Nestorius, Atticus and Eutyches Ebionites, but only two entries as a whole are outrageously incorrect (106, 154); a testament to Hydatius' ability to collect and judge his source material.³⁸ Overall, there are probably more simple errors of fact in Hydatius, apart from dating, than in most other chronicles, but this is chiefly because he records more than any other chronicler and, since he lived in Gallaecia, good sources were harder to obtain and validate. Almost all can be attributed to imprecise, confused or misunderstood sources. It might be argued that some of these "errors" are in reality deliberate misrepresentations of the facts. However, I can see no serious instance in the chronicle where this is the case. One would assume that such misrepresentations would have some purpose behind them, and as such only the dating of the aurora borealis in 148 (if the text is not corrupt) could be considered an example.

There is much too that is missing from the chronicle, and though some of it may have been lost in lacunae, most of it can probably be put down to a lack of source material. One omission, however, is not so charitably explained, and that is Hydatius' conscious suppression of any reference to the two Spanish usurpers of the early fifth century. It does seem at first surprising for a Spanish chronicler, otherwise interested in usurpers, to have made no reference at all to the Spanish usurpers Maximus (409-11, 419-21) and Jovinianus (419-21).³⁹ In the first case he may be forgiven since it would

³⁶ (1983), 347.

³⁷ Another such error is described in my article, (forthcoming a).

³⁸ The evidence of §177 is quite incorrect as well but he obviously does not accept it against the two other reports of 176 and 177.

³⁹ *PLRE* II: 622, 744-5. The latter's name is usually given as "Jovinus" based on Marcellinus *comes* (s.a. 422.2) and Jordanes (*Rom.* 326), but Jordanes is only copying Marcellinus so he has no

appear that he had little concrete evidence regarding the invasion of 409 and simply may not have known about the events involving Gerontius and Maximus (though he was about ten years old himself and he must have heard something about them). In the second he stands condemned for he mentions the *tricennalia* of Honorius. This is also mentioned by four other texts, all deriving from the same ultimate source—Marcellinus *comes* (s.a. 422.2), *Chron. Gall. ad a. 452* (89), *Ravenna Annals* (s.a. 422), and Paul the Deacon (*H.R.* XIII.v)—yet in all cases the *tricennalia* is mentioned only incidentally to the fact that Maximus and Jovinianus were displayed and executed as part of Honorius' celebrations. Hydatius, therefore, could not have had a reference to Honorius' *tricennalia* without a reference to these usurpers. At the time of the usurpation itself Hydatius was in his late 'teens or early twenties and must have known about the usurper who had at some point been living amongst either the Sueves or the Vandals in Gallaecia and been proclaimed by a Spanish *dux* or *magister militum*.⁴⁰ In fact it may even be that the troubles between the Sueves and Vandals narrated by Hydatius in 419 and 420 were a result of Maximus' usurpation. And somehow Maximus and Jovinianus were captured in Spain and sent to Rome in 421; this must have involved an army loyal to Honorius. Could Astirius' "tantum bellum" and "proelium" mentioned in Consentius' letter to Augustine, his actions narrated by Hydatius in 420 and the capture of the usurpers all be part of the same expedition? This would explain why Astirius was granted a patriciate in 421.⁴¹ Could Hydatius really have been ignorant of

independent value. The *Ravenna Annals* and Paul the Deacon, which are completely independent, give "Jovinianus" (though two of the seven best manuscripts of Paul have "Jovianus"). The dates are provided by *Chron. Gall. ad a. 452* 85, which places Maximus' usurpation in the third regnal year before his execution (89), a year after the eclipse of 418 (82), and in the year of certain portents of July 419 (84; see Table 4), and by the *terminus ad quem* of Honorius' *tricennalia*, 23 January 422.

⁴⁰ Maximus had fled to "the barbarians" in 411 (Orosius VII.42.5 and Olympiodorus frag. 17.1 [Blockley, 178]). Paul the Deacon provides the evidence that Maximus was raised to the purple "factione Ioviniani qui tunc in re militari clarus habebatur".

⁴¹ For Consentius' descriptions of Astirius' expedition, see Augustine *Ep.* 11*.7.3 and 12.2 (CSEL 88: 56, 60). Neither Consentius, writing in 420, nor Hydatius (74, dated 420) calls Astirius a "patrician" (the former, *uir illustris comes*; the latter, *comes Hispaniarum*) so Astirius' elevation to the patriciate must come after 420, that is, on the assumption that Gregory of Tours' Astirius (*Hist.* II.9 [MGH:SRM I: 57]) is this Astirius. In 422 Castinus was sent to Spain as *magister militum* (Hydatius 77; Prosper 1278; 1282) yet Gregory states that at the same time as Astirius was made Patrician Castinus

this usurpation and its suppression? All in all it is a rather important episode in Spanish, if not Gallaecian, history yet one which does not appear in the chronicle. This must be because Hydatius deliberately omitted it, probably out of regional pride.

In spite of the lack of religious individuals and contacts in the last half of the chronicle as described at the end of Chapter 8, there is a religious bias to the chronicle which skews it in a number of places. For instance, Hydatius' reporting of portents before and after the Hunnic invasion of Gaul almost dwarfs the actual account of the invasion; his descriptions of the sacks of Bracara and Asturica dwell excessively on attacks on the churches and clergy, and his account of the invasion of 409-411 is deliberately structured to match Biblical prophecy (see below). Because of Hydatius' beliefs in the coming *consummatio* he had all the motivation needed to distort the entire chronicle into a tendentious set-piece on the Antichrist's destruction of the Roman Empire. This he did not do. Though there are individual entries where his religious zeal gets the better of him, he generally eschews third-person editorializing concerning these beliefs and he never lets them seriously affect the overall secular sobriety of his account.

As was seen in Chapter 6 (p. 152 and n. 37), Hydatius has come under criticism for his portrayal of the barbarians. A number of scholars have been more willing to give credit to Orosius' pacifist and optimistic views than Hydatius' hostile and negative views. This prejudice was assisted by Hydatius' highly rhetorical description of the invasion in §48, where he shapes the few details he has of the situation at the time of the invasion to conform to prophecies from Ezekiel and Revelation. Because of similar evidence which can be gleaned from Orosius and Olympiodorus, however, there seems little doubt that Hydatius had authentic sources for his account of the invasion; he was not making it up. Hydatius, because of his apocalyptic beliefs, simply inserted a variety of material—hearsay and the distorted recollections of oral sources, they may have been—within a structure of prophetic fulfillment, more than likely because the combination of elements recalled the prophecies to him. Obviously we cannot take everything he says in §48 at

was sent to Gaul as *comes domesticorum*. It would therefore seem, allowing for the narrative thread of the original source and Gregory's epitome of it, that Astirius' patriciate and Castinus' Frankish expedition should be dated to 421.

face value. Likewise we cannot dismiss his entire account of barbarian activities because of the conceptual framework of this single entry. And it is only a single entry which he has treated in this way; it is important to note that this sort of tendentious apocalypticism does not affect the rest of the chronicle. As was seen in Chapter 7, the events of only a few other entries are paralleled with Biblical prophecies and in none of these cases is the material itself altered to better suit the prophecy.

There are, to modern eyes, other problems with the chronicle as well, but most of these are simply characteristics of the genre within which Hydatius was writing. One often-cited problem concerns emphasis, both with regard to individual entries and the entire structure.⁴² For example, the minor usurpation of Heraclian is described in great detail whereas the vastly more important usurper Constantine III is given only a meagre obituary. Sometimes events of seemingly greatly differing importance are related with the same laconic brevity; sometimes important events do not appear at all. But Hydatius emphasized the things that he thought were important and worth emphasizing at the time. There is also probably much which is not recorded because he did not feel it was suitable for his chronicle. Any supposed errors that we can perceive may not have been apparent for or been accepted as such by an author living so close to the events. It would also seem that when Hydatius had detailed information he used it; on the other hand, if he had scant information concerning an important event there was little he could do. There is much he was interested in and considered important about which he says very little, especially Eastern bishops and patriarchs, because he had no access to detailed sources (cf. 106). As a result, the length of a single entry or the non-appearance of a particular event is no guide to whether Hydatius thought it important or not. The chronicle is simply a record of what available and datable material Hydatius found interesting and important, as well as suitable for his chronicle, and its contents and structure should be judged on these personal criteria, not modern notions of historical importance.

Hydatius leaves much unstated, unexplained and unknown. He is often brief and vague (too brief and vague, we would say), and often does not explain who people are or

⁴² E.g. Thompson (1982), 161.

why they did what they did. Sometimes, as is the case with Aspar, for instance, he probably did not know any more himself than he records, but usually he just did not feel further explanation or detail was necessary; such embellishment was not present in the *Chronici canones* or the fasti documents which he possessed. This is a problem one faces with all chronicles and it arises out of their “event orientation”. Because of the way chronicles are structured they allow for the reporting of little more than datable actions. They are “synchronic”, rather than “diachronic”; simply lists of events in chronological order with little or no context. There is little or no room for the actors’ thoughts or words, or for the narrator’s comments, reflections, evaluations, or analyses. If driven to make some sort of comment, he generally used particular verbs, adverbs, adjectives, or adjective phrases within the context of the event or action itself.

Hydatius also shows far more influence from narrative than do the early chronicles of Jerome, the *Consularia* and the “fasti miscelli”, often producing marvellous narrative material unique among the early chronicles. This is where he excels beyond all other late Roman chroniclers. His general approach to history is far more sophisticated and structured than that of any contemporary surviving fifth-century Latin historian. The most fully developed aspect of the chronicle is, as has been mentioned above, his account of the Sueves, an account far more detailed than that of any other barbarian group of the fourth or fifth centuries, but other developments, such as the Gothic rise to power in Gaul, the Vandal takeover in Africa, the Roman military defence in Gaul, the political struggle against usurpation, are given as much detail as is possible. There is a genuine sense in Hydatius that instead of simply reporting any old thing which came to his notice he was seriously trying to follow a number of different threads as best he could throughout the period covered by his chronicle. Hydatius genuinely seems to have been able to see the period he wrote about in some sort of perspective. It was this perspective which led him to structure the chronicle as he did.

The chronology of the chronicle has been discussed in detail in Chapter 4 and Chapter 2 of the Text Volume so there is no need to cover the same ground here. In general Hydatius handles the chronology with skill, care and insight, within the

parameters of his own idiosyncratic methodology which was not itself completely accurate, and there is the strange contrast between the first half of the chronicle where he tampered with the regnal years of Honorius and Valentinian to maintain a correlation between calendar years and regnal years, and the complete lack of such tampering in the second half, which is quite the opposite of what one would expect.

The most amazing aspect of the chronicle is probably Hydatius' access to source material right through the entire period he covers. In spite of living at the edge of the world he was very much up-to-date with regard to many of the things which were happening in the West, and often even in the East. In a great number of cases he can even tell us about things outside of Gallaecia and Spain about which no other historian can tell us. Peter Brown's comment quoted at the beginning of Chapter 5, that Hydatius knew almost nothing of what was happening outside of his own province, is what we might expect, but it is not what we find. And for the most part his sources were accurate; the chronicle is not filled with fanciful stories and unfounded rumour as are so many later chronicles and histories. Gossip and rumour must have existed concerning any number of events Hydatius was interested in, but it is a testament to his good judgement of sources that this sort of material almost never appears, even though oral sources, and especially envoys, would seem to have played a major rôle in providing him with information. As with any historian Hydatius can be no more reliable than his sources and since his sources are so varied, there can be no judgement made on the general reliability of the chronicle as a whole which will cover each individual entry. Each entry must be evaluated on its own, and the sources, Hydatius' means of obtaining them and the relationship of a particular entry with other similar or related entries must be taken into account. Thus, simply because Hydatius had an excellent source for events in Rome for the period 17 March to 31 May 455, does not mean that we can accept his account of the Hunnic invasion of Italy in 452. Even his information in the first case is not completely accurate for he divorces the Vandal sack of Rome from its historical context and places it far too late.⁴³

The chronicle at all turns is marked by skill, good judgement and intelligence.

⁴³ See above, 94.

Hydatius may have been convinced that natural and unnatural events portended the coming of the end of the world, but he was not given to the reporting of miracles, as was Gregory of Tours. His reports of eclipses have a very scientific ring to them and the exacting detail goes beyond the accounts of any other contemporary or near-contemporary source. The chronicle is not apologist, tendentious, or propagandist; Hydatius is not a moralist, a rhetorician, a prophet of doom, or a lecturer. In this he managed to avoid the gross apologist excesses of writers like Orosius and Salvian, both of whom tried to portray the barbarians in a positive light, the former by playing down everything negative they did, the latter by exaggerating the evils of the Romans whom they were sent to punish. Neither of course actually lived amongst the barbarians while writing.

Overall Hydatius shows very little open bias and no third person editorializing; indeed he almost approaches a kind of “neutrality” in much of what he says. The only exception, of course, is his undisguised hostility towards the barbarians and heretics. Even though it seems obvious from the contexts that he was not favourably disposed towards certain imperial or military figures, he generally refrains from explicitly giving his opinions. He is less clear about his praise for such individuals and apart from his comments on Merobaudes and Aegidius there is no indication of praise or support, only an implied positive attitude in the case of, for instance, Theodosius I, Aëtius and Leo, because of their anti-barbarian activities.

We for some reason automatically assume that because Hydatius was just a bishop in a remote provincial city he could not be as skillful or as intelligent as his better educated and more cosmopolitan contemporaries. His lack of a sophisticated education seems to have been no barrier to the development of his historical skills, and we can only sit back in wonder at these skills, especially when he is compared with his older contemporary, the better educated, highly cosmopolitan, and widely travelled compatriot Orosius, whose apologetic work, *Septem libri historiarm contra paganos*, probably did more in the Middle Ages to retard the development of historical writing than any other single work. Though Hydatius’ work suffers from many of the same failings (to our

eyes) as contemporary chronicles and a number of other problems have been created mainly by his isolation and the barbarian presence, his work stands up extremely well against histories written by other more cosmopolitan and learned men, and indeed it surpasses them in such things as judgement, skill, detail, coverage, structure, and narrative technique.

*

From a personal point of view we have been able to look, however dimly, into the mind of a post-Roman provincial who had been raised in the Roman Empire and to see how he perceived the world around him. He was, as a bishop, deeply religious, but slightly deviant from the mainstream orthodox views of the West at the time, no doubt because of the enduring isolation of his province. He would seem to have lived in a kind of optimistic fear; a fear of the approaching end of the world, a fear of barbarian devastation and misrule, a fear of spreading heresy, and a fear of threats to the leadership and structure of the Empire. Optimistic because he knew that God was still governing the world and still personally cared for and assisted the Empire and individual Romans. He believed in the helpful powers of famous martyrs. And though the end of the world would usher in the whole purpose of Creation, there were horrors and tribulations to be faced before that time. He lived with hatred and mistrust of those around him, chiefly barbarians and heretics. It would seem that his world was dark and almost joyless, filled with the portents of future evil and the fulfillment of the worst Biblical prophecies. Neither the forces of orthodoxy nor the Empire seem to gain the upper-hand over the long term; though there are minor victories, throughout the chronicle both are in retreat. The world he describes is full of treachery, failure, disorder, conflict, helplessness, and false hope. Though still regarding himself and his fellow Gallaecians as Roman, he owed his allegiance to his city and his province first, and the distant Empire and the emperors who had little to do with Spain and were little more than famous names, second. In spite of the universal and imperial framework surrounding the Suevic material there is an abiding sense of isolation and sorrow for “infelix Gallecia” (219).⁴⁴ There is a dichotomy

⁴⁴ For a discussion of what Gallaecia meant for Hydatius, see Lopez Pereira (1981), a good paper but

expressed between the two aspects of the chronicle, local and imperial, and they almost never meet, let alone interrelate. Censurius and a number of imperial legates pass through and a number of campaigns are undertaken in the east of the peninsula including a failed campaign by Majorian, but only one imperial commander, Astirius, enters Gallaecia (and then for only a season). The Empire was too far away to be of any assistance and the locals had to fend for themselves against the barbarian depredations. Archaeology supports Hydatius' pessimistic account and provides concrete evidence for the devastating effects of the Suevic occupation of Roman Gallaecia and Lusitania.⁴⁵ This was the world of Hydatius and probably of many of those who had to suffer under barbarian rule.

Much of this view of life under the barbarians is supported by other works written by and about individuals who shared Hydatius' situation. We possess the contemporary works of three other men who lived under barbarian rule in the fifth century: Paulinus of Pella's *Eucharisticos*, a work which describes Paulinus' decline in the years c.415 to 459 from the cream of Aquitania's aristocracy to living on loans from friends, bereft of wife and sons, land and fortune; the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris from c.471 to the late 470's, which describe the Gothic sieges of Clermont, the emperor's abandonment of the area to the Goths and his own exile and imprisonment;⁴⁶ and the *Historia persecutionis Africanae prouinciae* of Victor of Vita, a near apocalyptic description of the Vandal persecutions of the 480's. All three works describe similar sufferings at the hands of barbarians and all are awash with many of the same negative and pessimistic feelings as Hydatius' chronicle. There is also the *Vita s. Seuerini* by Eugippius who lived c.509-11, an account of the life of a holy man who lived in Noricum ripense c.454 to 482 which describes a post-Roman situation very similar to that in Hydatius' Gallaecia. All of these works graphically describe, usually in emotional terms, the massive upheavals which must have accompanied the barbarian invasions and rocked the social fabric of the fifth-century Western Empire. There is no question here of accepting the tendentious

one which reads too much modern Spanish nationalism into the pages of the chronicle.

⁴⁵ For a brief but excellent summary of the archaeological evidence, see Ferreira de Almeida (1976).

⁴⁶ See Stevens (1933), 138-67, 178-9.

words of Orosius who states that the barbarians beat their swords into ploughshares, or Salvian who claimed that Romans welcomed the barbarian invader. Neither were living amidst the barbarians, though both had fled before their advances, or had been, like Hydatius, Sidonius and thousands of others, a captive of the barbarians, so for their apologetic purposes they could say almost anything they liked.

APPENDIX 1:

PSEUDO-ISIDORUS'
NOTE ON HYDATIUS:
DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS 9
(*PL* 83: 1088-9)

Itacius prouinciae Gallaeciae episcopus secutus chronicam Eusebii Caesariensis episcopi siue Hieronymi presbyteri, quae usque hodie in Valentis Augusti imperium edita declaratur, dehinc ab anno primo Theodosii Augusti usque in annum imperii Leonis octauum subiunctam sequitur historiam, in qua magis barbararum gentium bella crudelia narrat quae premebant Hispaniam. Decessit sub Leone principe ultima iam pene senectute, sicut etiam praefationis suae demonstratur indicio.

APPENDIX 2:

DIPLOMATIC TEXT OF THE SPANISH COMPILER'S
ADDITIONS TO THE *CONSULARIA CONSTANTINOPOLITANA*

f. 184^r^a

Auito aug cons

Rechimero & qui de oriente dcccc
maloriano aug & ariouindo cccclxlvi
magno & apollonio cccclxlvi
Seueriano & qui de oriente
his conss Malorianus occiditur et se
uerus efficitur Imperator

d	Seuero & leone augis
di	Basilio & gadaifo dii olibrio
diii	Seuerus aug obiit
diiii	Antemius romae Impr factus est
du	Aduersum uuandalos grandis exer citus cum marcellino duce dirigitur
dui	Aug Antimio II cons

APPENDIX 3:

THE DATE OF §§236-8

As noted in Section 6 of Chapter 4 (p. 89), it could be argued that entries 236-8, the Roman expedition against the Vandals and the accession of Euric, along with the rest of “Anth. I”, date to 467, since it seems obvious that “Sev. III” contains events for the years 464 and 465 and “Sev. IIII” could thus contain all the events for 466. As well “Anth I” begins with Anthemius’ accession which we know to have taken place in 467. On historical grounds, the expedition of §236, if it did in fact occur (for there is no other evidence for it), *must* have occurred before Anthemius’ arrival in April 467 and before the final Western embassy to the East in late 466. The historical events are complicated but run briefly as follows. From the death of Majorian Gaiseric had maintained pressure on the West to have Olybrius made emperor as natural heir to Valentinian.¹ We can see from §227 in Hydatius and Priscus, fragg. 38-9, 53.1,² that he harassed Sicily and Italy. In 464 or 465 an embassy had been sent from the Western court to the East asking for help, but no military assistance was given.³ After Severus’ death the Vandals probably stepped up their pressure.⁴ This is the context in which the expedition of 236 took place: the West attempted to make one last lone stand against the Vandal attacks since the East refused them any aid. Such a failure by Ricimer is unlikely to have been mentioned by Sidonius in his panegyric of 1 January 468 (*Carm.* II). However in 466 Gaiseric threatened Alexandria and as a result Leo undertook to deal with him once and for all.⁵ At the same time, in late 466, another embassy was sent to Leo again requesting help against the Vandals.⁶ The cause of this embassy, the first recorded for a year at least, was, I believe, the complete failure of the expedition of 236 and the final realization of the hopelessness of the position of the West against the Vandals without

¹ Priscus, fragg. 38.1-2, 53.3 (Blockley, 340-2, 362).

² Blockley, 340-2, 360.

³ Priscus, fragg. 41.1, 2 (Blockley, 344-6).

⁴ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* II.348-57.

⁵ “The Life of S. Daniel the Stylite”, in Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes (trans.), *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948), 56.

⁶ Sidonius, *Carm.* II.387-521; Evagrius, *H.E.* 2.16 (followed by Nicephorus Callistus, *H.E.* 15.11) = Priscus frag. 50 (Blockley, 358); and Theophanes A.M. 5957.

Eastern assistance. Since Leo's interests were now threatened as well, he accepted the offer and began planning a massive expedition for the summer of 468. He then arranged to have Anthemius proclaimed emperor with the specific and sole intent of having him assist him in the expedition since he was a first rate military and naval commander.⁷ Leo thus intended to use the united forces of both East and West to finally crush the Vandal menace.

Thus it seems very unlikely indeed that the West would have undertaken any unilateral action against the Vandals after the acceptance of the embassy in late 466 and certainly not after the arrival of Anthemius in the West, since they would then be preparing for the 468 expedition in concert with the East and would not have forgotten the ineffectiveness of their own measures.

*

Some have also tried to date the accession of Euric to 467⁸ but the accepted date of 466 cannot seriously be questioned. Besides the direct evidence of Isidorus (*Historia* 31, 34 [*Chron. min.* II: 279 and 281]: aera 504 = 466; Hydatius assigns it to 503), the *Chron. Caesaraug.* (*Chron. min.* II: 222, s.a. 466) and *Chron. Gall. ad a. 511*, 643 (s.a. "Leo X" = 466), there is also indirect evidence. We know from Prosper (s.a. 453), *Chron. Gall ad a. 511* (621, the same year as Attila dies = 453), Jordanes *Getica* 228 and the *Laterculus reg. uisigoth.* 12 that Thorismodus died in 453 in his third year (dated from the death of Theoderic I in the summer of 451). He must therefore have died in the second half of 453. Jordanes states that Theoderic died in his thirteenth year (*Get.* 234; Isidorus and the *Laterculus reg. uisigoth.* do too but the former could be based on Hydatius and the latter probably derives from Isidorus), which from 453 gives us 466. This gives us four independent witnesses to 466; only Marius Aventicensis (*Chron. min.* II: 233), who wrote after 581, supports 467 and this is his only reference to fifth-century Visigothic history and therefore of little value compared to the other Gothic evidence.

⁷ Priscus, fragg. 52, 53.3 (Blockley, 360, 362); and cf. Sidonius' stress on the Vandal threat, *Carm.* II, *passim*. I personally think Leo also wanted rid of him since he was married to Marcian's daughter and was thus a legitimate rival for the Eastern throne, but that is another story.

⁸ See, for example, Courtois (1951), 38, 54, and Tranoy (1974), I: 90, 95, 172. They are followed by Muhlberger (forthcoming).

APPENDIX 4:

THE SHORT (EARLY) RECENSION OF THE *REVELATIO THOMAE*

(Bihlmeyer (1911), 272-4)

(f. 40^r) AUDI THOMAS QUIA EGO sum filius dei patris, et ego sum pater omnium spirituum. Audi a me signa quae futura sunt in fine huius saeculi, quando implebitur finis saeculi, et antequam exeant electi de saeculo. Dicam tibi quae in palam nunc
5 fiunt hominibus, et cum ista futura fuerint, principes, angeli non sciunt, quoniam absconsa sunt nunc ante illos. Tunc erunt participationes in saeculo inter regem et regem, et erit in uniuersa terra famis magna, pestilentiae magne, et necessitates multae, et filii hominum captiui buntur per uniuersas gentes, et cadent in
10 mutrones et erit tumultus magnus in saeculo. Tunc postea hora finis adpropinquante, erunt per VII dies signa magna in celo, et uirtutes caelorum mouebuntur. Tunc erit prima die initium horae tertiae diei, uox magna, et fortis in firmamento celi, et nubes sanguinea ascendit de aquilone, et tonitrua magna, et
15 fulgura fortia adsecuntur illam, et operiet illa totum caelum, et erit pluuias sanguinis super terram totam. Ista sunt signa primae diei.

Secunda autem die, erit uox magna in firmamento celi, et mouebitur terra de loco suo, et portae celi aperientur in firmamento celi ab oriente, et fumus ignis magni eruptus erit per portas
20 celi, et cooperiet totum celum usque in sero. (col. b) In illa die erunt timores, et pauores magni in saeculo. Ista sunt signa secundae diei.

Tercia uero die, circa horam tertiā erit uox magna in celo, et abyssi terrae de IV^{or} mundi angulis mugebunt, pinne firmamenti caeli aperientur, et totus aer implebitur columnarum fumi, pudor sulphuris male pudens erit usque in horam decimam, et dicent homines, putamus finis adpropinquabit ut pereamus, haec
25 sunt signa tertiae diei.

Quarto autem die hora prima, a terra orientis liquabitur abys-
sus et mugebit, tunc commouebitur uniuersa terra a uirtute terrae moti. In illa die cadebunt adornamenta gentium, et omnia aedificia terrae a uirtute terrae moti. Ista sunt signa IV^{ae} diei.

Quinto uero die hora VI^a subito erunt tonitrua magna in celo, et uirtutes de lumine, et rota solis aperietur, et erunt tenebrae
35 magnae in saeculo usque in sero, et erit aer tristis sine sole et luna, et stellae cessabunt a ministerio suo, in illa die omnes gentes ita uidebunt, uelut in saeculo, et contempnent uitam saeculi huius. Ista sunt signa V^{ae} diei.

Sexto autem die hora IV^a erit uox magna in celo, et scindetur firmamentum celi ab oriente usque ad occidentem, et erunt angeli celorum prospicientes in terram per aperturas celorum, et omnes homines qui sunt in terra uidebunt exercitum angelorum
45 prospicientes de celo. Tunc omnes homines fugebunt in monumentis, (f. 40^v) et abscondent se a conspectu iustorum angelorum, et dicent, utinam terra aperiret se et deglutiret nos. Fiunt enim talia qualia nunquam facta sunt ex quo saeculum istud creatum est. Tunc me uidebunt desuper uenientem in lumine patris mei cum uirtute et honore sanctorum angelorum. Tunc in aduentum
50 meum soluetur clausura ignis paradysi, quoniam ex igne paradysus cinctus est. Haec est autem ignis perpetuus, qui consumit orbem terrarum, et uniuersa mundi elementa. Tunc spiritus et animae sanctorum exeunt de paradyso, et uenient in omnem terram et unusquisque ad suum corpus uadit ubi depositum est,
55 et dicet unusquisque illorum, hic positum est corpus meum. Et

cum audita fuerit uox illorum spirituum magna, tunc erit terrae motus super uniuersum orbem terrarum, et uirtute terrae motus illius super montes, et petre scindentur ab imo. Tunc reuertentur spiritus unusquisque ad suum uas, et resurgent corpora sanctorum qui dormierunt. Tunc mutabuntur corpora illorum in imaginem et similitudinem, et honorem sanctorum angelorum, et in uirtutem imaginis sancti patris mei, tunc induentur uestae uitae aeternae de nube luminis quae in hoc saeculo numquam uisa est, etenim nubes descendit de superiore celorum regno a uirtute patris mei, et circumdabit illa (col. b) nubes decore suo omnes spiritus qui in me crediderunt. Tunc uestientur et portabuntur per manus sanctorum angelorum, sicut antea praedixi uobis. Tunc et in aera, tollentur in nube luminis, et ibunt mecum gaudentes in celis, et tunc permanebunt in lumine et honore patris mei. Tunc erit illis magnum gaudium coram patre meo, et coram angelis sanctis. Hec sunt signa VI^e diei.

Septimo autem die, hora octaua, erunt uoces in IV^a angulis celi, et mouetur totus aer et implebitur angelis sanctis, et faciunt inter se bellum tota die, et in illa die inquirentur electi ab angelis sanctis de perditione saeculi. Tunc uidebunt omnes homines, quia hora perditionis illorum adpropinquabit. Ista sunt signa VII^{ae} diei.

Transactis autem septem diebus. Octaua die, hora sexta, erat uox tenera et suauis in caelo ab oriente. Tunc propalabitur angelus ille qui habet potestatem super angelos sanctos, et exhibunt cum illo omnes angeli sedentes super curius de nubibus sancti patris mei, gaudentes, et currentes, super aera sub celo ut liberent electos qui in me crediderunt, et gaudent perditionem saeculi uenisse. FINIUNT UERBA SALUATORIS AD THOMAM, DE FINE ISTIVS MVNDI.

APPENDIX 5:

THE LONG (FIFTH-CENTURY) RECENSION OF THE *REVELATIO THOMAE* (provisional text)

(M) Incipit epistula domini nostri Iesu Christi ad Thomam discipulum suum.

(MVP) Audi, Thomas, quae oportet fieri in nouissimis temporibus. (P) Erunt fames et bella, et terrae motu per uaria loca; nix, glacies et siccitas magna erit; plurimae dissensiones in populis erunt; blasphemia, iniquitas, zelus, nequitia, odium, superbia, intemperantia ita ut unusquisque, quod illi placet, loquatur et (P) sacerdotes mei inter se pacem non habebunt et ficto animo mihi sacrificabunt. (P) Propterea non aspiciam super eos. Tunc uidebunt sacerdotes populum de domo domini recedentem, †quos iam ad seculum conuersi sunt terminos in domo dei. Sic erunt† et uindicabunt sibi (P) plurima perdita loca et erunt subiecta Caesaris, sicut ante fuerunt, dantes capitularia ciuitates aurum et argentum. Condemnabuntur priores urbium (V) in latomis; thesauri regum implebuntur. (P)

Erit enim turbatio magna in omni populo et interitus; (P) domus domini erit in desertis et altaria eius abominabuntur, (P) ut aranae intexantur in eis. Locus sanctitatis corrumpetur. Sacerdotium adulterabitur. Agonea ad crescet. Virtus dominabitur. Laetitia peribit et gaudium recedet. In illis diebus malum habundabit. Personas acceptores non erunt. (P) Hymni de domo domini cessabunt. (P) Veritas non erit. Auaritia habundabit. Sacerdotium integrum minime inuenietur.

(P) Subito exsurget rex prope supremum tempus, amatur legis; obtinebit imperium non multum tempus. Duos filios relinquet: primus per primam litteram nuncupatur, secundus per octauam. Primus ante secundum morietur.

Postea exsurgent duo principes ad premendas gentes, sub quorum manibus fames nimiae erunt in dextera parte Orientis. Et exsurget gens super gentem ut confinibus suis excludantur.

Iterum exsurget alius rex uersutus et iubebit imaginem auream Caesaris in domo dei adorare. Tunc abundabunt martyria. Tunc reuertetur fides in seruis domini (P) et

sanctitas habundabitur et agonia increscet. Martyres consolabuntur et †distillabunt dulcedinem ignis a facie,† ut compleatur numerum sanctorum.

(P) Post paucum tempus exsurget rex ab Oriente, amatur legis, qui omnibus bonis et necessariis domum domini habundare faciet. Viduis et egenis faciet misericordiam. Sacerdotibus [lacuna] domumque regalem dare praecipiet. Tempore eius omnia habundabunt.

Et postea iterum exsurget rex a meridiano orbis terrarum; obtinebit imperium paucum tempus. Sub cuius diebus thesaurus deficiet ob stipendiis Romanis militibus ita ut omnis adquisitio maiorum natu iubeatur cum eodem rege diuidi. Postea erit habundantia frumenti et uini et olei; caritas autem pecuniarum ita ut materia auri et argenti pro frumento detur. Caritas nimia erit. Illo tempore nauium adcessio erit in pelago ut nemo nemini nouum referat. Reges terrae et principes et tribuni et omnes locupletes commouebuntur. Nemo audaciter loquetur. In pueris cani uidebuntur; †munus† maiori etati locum non dabit.

Postea exsurget alius rex uersutus qui obtinebit imperium paucum tempus. Sub cuius diebus omnia mala erunt: interitus generis humani ab oriente usque in Babyloniam. Postea autem interitus, famis et gladius in terra Chanaan usque ad Romam. Tunc omnes fontes aquarum et putei in puluerem et in sanguinem conuertentur. Caelum commouebitur. Stellae cadent in terram. (P) Sol mediabitur sicut luna et luna non dabit lumen suum. Signa magna et prodigia erunt.

In diebus illis, adpropinquante iam Antechristo, haec sunt signa. Vae illis qui habitant in terra, quia in diebus illis magnae parturitiones super eos uenient. Vae illis qui aedificant, quia non habitabunt. Vae illis qui nouellant, quia sine causa laborant. Vae illis qui nuptias faciunt, quia ad famem et necessitatem filios generant. Vae illis qui iungunt domum ad domum uel agrum ad agrum, quoniam omnia igne conflabuntur. Vae illis qui non sibi praeuident cum tempus permittit, quoniam posterum in perpetuum damnabuntur. Vae illis qui auertere ad pauperem rogantem...[lacuna] (M)

(P) Et scitote (M) quia ego sum pater altissimi potentis, quia ego sum pater omnium spirituum...(from here follows a version of the short recension; see above, Appendix 4)

APPENDIX 6:

THE ANTI-PRISCILLIANIST CREED OF PASTOR, c.448-9 (Barlow, 288-90)

Regula fidei catholicae contra omnes haereses et quam maxime contra Priscillianos, quas episcopi Tarraconenses, Carthaginenses, Lusitani, et Bactici fecerunt, et cum praecepto papae Urbis Leonis ad Balconium episcopum Galleciae transmiserunt. Ipsi etiam et
5 supra scripta viginti canonum capitula statuerunt in concilio Toletano.

Credimus in unum verum Deum Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, visibillum et invisibillum factorem, per quem creata sunt omnia in caelo et in terra: hunc unum Deum et hanc unam esse divinae substantiae Trinitatem: Patrem autem non esse ipsum
5 Filium, sed habere Filium qui Pater non sit: Filium non esse Patrem, sed Filium Dei de Patris esse natura: Spiritum quoque Paraclitum esse, qui nec Pater sit ipse, nec Filius, sed a Patre Filioque procedens. Est ergo ingenitus Pater, genitus Filius, non genitus Paraclitus, sed a Patre Filioque procedens. Pater est cuius vox haec est audita de
10 caelis: *Hic est Filius meus in quo mihi bene complacui; ipsum audite.* Filius est qui ait: *Ego a Patre exivi et a Deo veni in hunc mundum.* Paraclitus Spiritus est de quo Filius ait: *Nisi abiero ego ad Patrem, Paraclitus non veniet ad vos.* Hanc Trinitatem personis distinctam, substantiam unitam virtute et potestate et maiestate indivisibilem,
15 indifferentem: praeter hanc nullam credimus divinam esse naturam, vel angeli vel spiritus, vel virtutis alicuius quae Deus esse credatur. Hunc igitur Filium Dei Deum natum a Patre ante omne omnino principium sanctificasse uterum Mariae virginis, atque ex ea verum hominem sine virili generatum semine suscepisse, duabus dumtaxat
20 naturis, id est deitatis et carnis, in unam convenientibus omnino personarum, id est Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum: nec imaginarium corpus aut phantasmatis alicuius in eo fuisse, sed solidum atque verum: hunc et esurisse, et sitisse, et doluisse, et flevisse, et omnes corporis iniurias pertulisse: postremo a Iudaeis crucifixum et
25 sepultum, et tertia die resurrexisse: conversatum postmodum cum discipulis suis, quadragesima post resurrectionem die ad caelum ascendisse: hunc Filium hominis etiam Dei Filium dici: filium autem Dei Deum hominis filium appellari. Resurrectionem vero futuram humanae credimus carni: animam autem hominis non
30 divinam esse substantiam aut Dei partem, sed creaturam dicimus divina voluntate creatam.

I. Si quis autem dixerit aut crediderit a Deo omnipotente mundum hunc factum non fuisse, atque eius omnia instrumenta, anathema sit.

II. Si quis dixerit atque crediderit Deum Patrem eundem esse Filium vel Paraclitum, anathema sit.

III. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit Dei Filium eundem esse Patrem vel Paraclitum, anathema sit.

IV. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit Paraclitum vel Patrem esse vel Filium, anathema sit.

V. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit carnem tantum sine anima a Filio Dei fuisse susceptam, anathema sit.

VI. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit Christum innascibilem esse, anathema sit.

VII. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit deitatem Christi convertibilem fuisse, vel passibilem, anathema sit.

VIII. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit alterum Deum esse priscae legis, alterum Evangeliorum, anathema sit.

IX. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit ab altero Deo mundum factum fuisse, et non ab eo de quo scriptum est: *In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram*, anathema sit.

X. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit corpora humana non resurgere post mortem, anathema sit.

XI. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit animam humanam Dei portionem vel Dei esse substantiam, anathema sit.

XII. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit alias scripturas, praeter quas Ecclesia catholica recipit, in auctoritate habendas vel esse venerandas, anathema sit.

XIII. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit deitatis et carnis unam esse in Christo naturam, anathema sit.

XIV. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit esse aliquid quod se extra divinam Trinitatem possit extendere, anathema sit.

XV. Si quis astrologiae vel mathesi existimat esse credendum, anathema sit.

XVI. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit conjugia hominum, quae secundum legem divinam licita habentur, execrabilia esse, anathema sit.

XVII. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit carnes avium seu pecudum, quae ad escam datae sunt, non tantum pro castigatione corporum abstinendas, sed execrandas esse, anathema sit.

XVIII. Si quis in his erroribus Priscilliani sectam sequitur vel profitetur, ut aliud in salutari baptismo contra sedem sancti Petri faciat, anathema sit.

TABLE 1:

EXAMPLES OF PARALLEL PASSAGES AND PHRASES IN
HYDATTUS AND JEROME

Hieronimus presbiter, idem Eusebius cognomento... (H pref. 3)

Pompeianus dux cognomento Francus... (J 222^e)

Theodosius per Gratianum in consortium regni adsumptus...(H 1)

Diocletianus in consortium regni Herculium Maximianum adsumit...(J 225^d)

Theodosius natione Spanus...(H 2)

Iuuencus presbyter natione Hispanus...(J 232^d)

Theodosius Arcadium filium suum...regni facit sibi esse consortem. (H 9)

Antoninus Commodum filium suum consortem regni facit. (J 207^d)

Romanae ecclesiae XXXVI habetur episcopus Siricius. (H 15, etc)/

...XLIII Romanae ecclesiae Simplicius episcopus ordinatur. (H 248)

Romanae ecclesiae XXXV ordinatur episcopus Damasus... (J 244^e)

Theodosius...Romam ingresus est (H 19)/

Alaricus rex Gothorum Romam ingressus. (H 43)

Sarapis ingressus est Alexandriam. (J 129^a)

..anno regni sui XVII. (H 25)

..nono anno regni sui... (J 171^c)

Solis facta defectio... (H 34, 64, 136)

Solis facta defectio. (J 100b^f, 111^c, 171^d, 174^d, 182^e, 236^k)

...post triennium inuase tyrannidis..occiditur. (H 50)

...tertio mense inuasae tyrannidis extinctus. (J 219^g)

Augustinus Hipporegiensis episcopus habetur insignis...(H 53)

Eusebius Laodicens episcopus insignis habetur. (J 222^f)

caesis...L milibus armatorum...(H 56)

LX milia armatorum...caesa. (J 134^c)

extant eius probatissima monimenta. (H 59) /

Extant ipsius egregii studia praedicanda. (H 81)

Extant ad utrumque Cypriani epistulae. (J 219^d, 218ⁱ; cf. 195^c, 205ⁱ)

Valentinianus...Romae Augustus appellatur. (H 85)

Maxentius...Romae Augustus appellatur. (J 229^a)

Gundericus rex Vandalorum...interiit. Cui Gaisericus frater succedit in regno (H 89)

Simon Iudeorum pontifex interficitur, cui succedit filius suus Iohannes (J 145^e)

...in flumine Ana...praecipitatus... (H 90)

...praecipitatus in flumen... (J 229^e)

Felix...Ravenna tumultu occiditur militari. (H 94)

Antoninus Romae occiditur tumultu militari. (J 214ⁱ; cf. 216^c, 224^e)

Gothorum caesa VIII milia sub Aetio duce. (H 112)

CCC ferme milia hominum...cecidisse... (H 150)

XL ferme milia Gallorum a Romanis caesa. (J 133^d)

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

Alexander XXXII aetatis suae anno moritur in Babylone. (J 124^h)

regnum destructum et finitum est Sueuorum. (H 175)

Persarum regnum destructum est. (J 124^a)

Carnes concisae pluviae de caelo mixtae cadunt. (H 217a)/

forma granorum...defluxit e caelo (H 253)

...lana caelo pluviae mixta defluxit. (J 245^d)

Sueuis in suam ditionem...reuocatis...(H 223)

in ditionem suam redactis plurimis Iudeorum... (J 98a^a)

..anno Leonis imperii VIII...(H 235) / tertio imperii sui anno (H 231)

...XV anno imperii Tiberii Caesaris...(J 228^g) / VII mense imperii sui (J 186^c)

...e terra sanguinem erupisse totoque diei fluxisse curriculo. (H 244)

...oleum terra erupit fluxitque toto die sine intermissione... (J 158^h)

TABLE 2:

STATED SOURCES

- (5. laterculum...de paschae obseruatione [of Theophilus])?
31. *Acta* of the Council of Toledo
- 37a. *Chronica* and *Vita s. Martini* of Sulpicius Severus
42. alii...alii...memorant
53. inter Augustini studia magnifica...
59. studia operis sui [Jerome] reliquit innumera...extant eius probatissima
monimenta
66. episcopi scripta declarant
73. Paulini episcopi [Biteris]...epistola enarrat ubique directa.
81. extant ipsius [Paulinus of Nola] egregii studia praedicanda
89. aliquorum relatio habuit
106. Germani presbyteri Arabicae regionis...et aliorum Graecorum relatione
comperimus...referentum sermo non edidit.
109. Cyrilli...ad [Nestorium] epistola...ostendit. Haec cum aliis habetur allata.
133. Per episcopum Romae...gesta de Manichaeis per prouincias diriguntur.
135. huius [Leo] scripta per episcopi Thoribi...deferuntur...disputatio plena
dirigitur.
145. De Gallis epistolae deferuntur Flaviani...ad Leonem missae cum scriptis
Cyrilli...ad Nestorium...et Leonis...responsa: quae cum aliorum episco-
porum et gestis et scriptis per ecclesias diriguntur.
150. memorantur
151. epistola...Eufroni Augustodunensis episcopi...ostendit.
167. ut malum fama dispergit
176. magna multitudo...nuntiatur occisa
177. Hesychius tribunus legatus...nuntians...; orientalium naues...nuntiant.
197. Legati...nuntiantes

- 214a. memoratur
- 218. fama commendatum
- 228. alii dicunt...alii
- 231. Reuersi legati...nuntiant
- 242-244. Legati...reuersi referunt
- 247. Legati...redeunt nuntiantes
- 253. sicut retulere...Christiani et religiosi

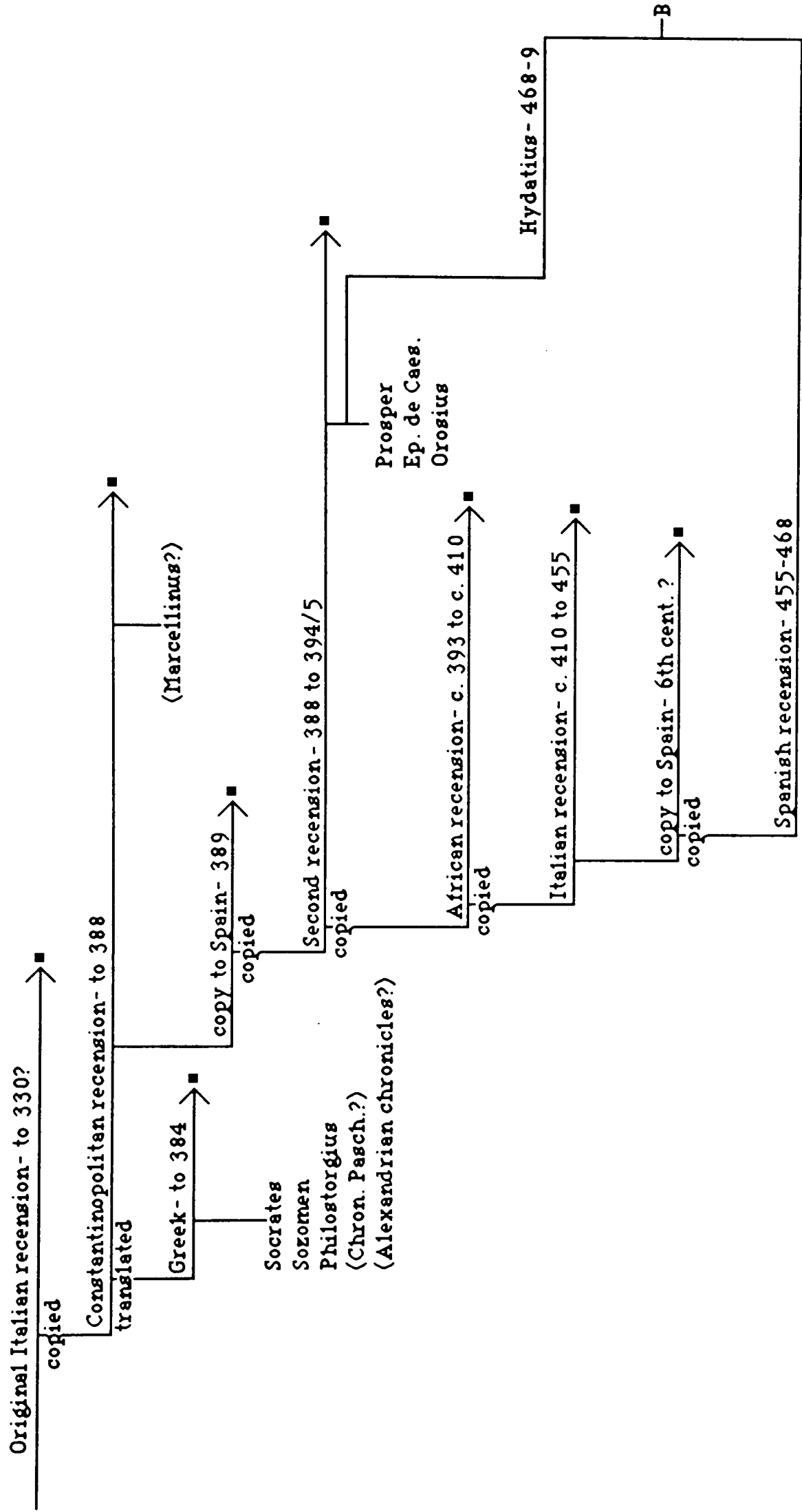


TABLE 3 - RECENSIONS OF THE CONSULARIA

TABLE 4:

SIGNA, PRODIGIA, PORTENTA ET OSTENTA

Entry	No.	Description
34		Solar eclipse: Tuesday 11 November 402 (c). 11 November 402 (Hyd). (Magnitude: 89% at 7:40 a.m. Altitude: 5° (c)). Other refs: <i>Cons. Const.</i> s.a. 402; <i>Chron. Gall. ad a. 452</i> : 46; <i>Chron. Gall. ad a. 511</i> : 544.
64		Solar eclipse: Friday 19 July 418 (c). Thursday 19 July 417 (Hyd). (Magnitude: 100% at 9:30 a.m. Altitude: 53° (c)). Other refs: Marcellinus s.a. 418; <i>Excerpt. Sang.</i> 543 [19 July 418]; <i>Chron. Gall. ad a. 452</i> : 82; <i>Adn. Ant. ad Cycl. Dion.</i> s.a. 418 [third hour, 19 July]; Philostorgius <i>H.E.</i> XII.8 (GCS [Berlin, 1981], p. 145) [eighth hour, 19 July 418].
66		Earthquake in Jerusalem (419). Other refs: Marcellinus s.a. 419; Philostorgius <i>HE</i> XII.8 (GCS, p. 146) [419].
73		“Multa signa efecta terrifica” in Biterris in Gaul (419). Other refs: <i>Chron. Gall. ad a. 452</i> : 84; <i>Excerpt. Sang.</i> 545 [419].
126		Comet seen in December 442; remains visible for several months (“ostentum”); brings plague to entire world. Reported in Chinese annals to have first appeared 1 November 442 and to have disappeared “in the winter” (w147). Other refs: Marcellinus s.a. 442.
136		Solar eclipse: Tuesday 23 December 447 (c). Tuesday 23 December 447 (Hyd). (Magnitude: 100% at 1:00 p.m. Altitude: 23° (c)).
149		Earthquakes in Gallaecia. “Signa in caelo plurima”. An appearance of the aurora borealis dated 4 April 450 but placed in 451 (“signi...ostensio quae mox ingenti exitu perdocetur”).
151		“Multa signa”:

Lunar eclipse: Wednesday 26 September 451 (c).

27 September 451 (MS; corr)

(Magnitude: rise at 66%; 82% at 8:00 p.m. Altitude: 23° in the east (c)).

Halley's comet: appears in the eastern sky on 18 June 452 (date should be 451). From 29 June visible in east at dawn and in west after sunset (this perihelion confirmed by (c)). From 1 August appears only in the western sky. Other refs: *Cons. Ital.* s.a. 451 (lasts 30 days); Chinese records: visible from 10 June to 15 August 451 (HC).

“Signa” in the sky in northern Gaul after Easter (452). Other refs: *Chron. Gall. ad a. 452*: 140.

159 Earthquake and parhelion (“in sole signum”) in Gallaecia (454).

191 Solar eclipse: Wednesday 28 May 458 (c).

Wednesday 28 May 458 (Hyd).

Magnitude: “like a moon on the fifth or sixth day” (80% at 10:40 a.m. (c)) Duration: “from the fourth to the sixth hours” (9:20 a.m. to 12 noon. Altitude: 64° (c)).

214 “Prodigiorum signa diuersa”:

Lunar eclipse: Friday 2 March 462 (c).

Friday 2 March 462 (Hyd).

Magnitude: “the full moon was turned to blood” (100%. Duration: 11:40 p.m. 1 March to 3:00 a.m. 2 March (c)). “while the cocks crowed from sunset”.

215 Massive earthquake in Antioch (458, dated to 462; see above, p. 71 n. 100 for references).

217a Villas set on fire by lightning, flocks of sheep burned and mangled flesh falls with rain. Birth of Siamese twins in the conventus of Bracara and birth of quadruplets in Legio (462).

225 Solar eclipse: Monday 20 July 464 (c).

Monday 20 July 464 (Hyd).

	Magnitude: “like a moon on the fifth day” (82% at 7:00 a.m. (c)).
	Duration: “from the third hour to the sixth” (5:50 to 8:20 a.m. Altitude: 24° (c)).
242-244	“Portenta...aliquanta” seen in Gaul: Parhelion. Colour of Gothic spear heads changes. Blood erupts from the ground in Tolosa and flows all day (467).
252	Harsh year causes changes in weather and crops (468 [–469?]).
253	“Signa aliquanta et prodigia”: Capture of four fish with Hebrew and Greek letters and numbers of the aeras in Latin, containing the circle of the 365th year. Bitter green lentils fall from the sky. “Multa alia ostenta” too numerous to mention. (468/9?)

(c) = computations provided by Dr. F. Richard Stephenson of the Department of Physics, the University of Durham.

(Hyd) = Hydatius

(MS; corr) = Manuscript reading which is probably corrupted from true date; as a result text has been corrected to accord with true date.

(w147) = John Williams, *Observations of Comets from B.C. 611 to A.D. 1640 Extracted from the Chinese Annals*, (London, 1871), 32.

(HC) = Hermann Hunger, et al., *Halley’s Comet in History*, ed. F. R. Stephenson and C. B. F. Walker (London, 1985), 54.

TABLE 5:
CORRELATION OF EASTERN AND WESTERN REGNAL YEARS,
§§148-245
(correct dates for Hydatius are in brackets)

(452)	VALENTINIAN XXVIII = MARCIAN I	(451)
(453)	VALENTINIAN XXVIII = MARCIAN II	(452)
(454)	VALENTINIAN XXX = MARCIAN III	(453)
(455)	VALENTINIAN XXXI = MARCIAN III	(454)
(456)	AVITUS I = MARCIAN V	(455)
(--)	AVITUS II = MARCIAN VI	(456)
(--)	AVITUS III = MARCIAN VII	(457)
(457)	MAJORIAN I = LEO I	(457)
(458)	MAJORIAN II = LEO II	(458)
(459)	MAJORIAN III = LEO III	(459)
(460)	MAJORIAN III = LEO III	(460)
(461)	MAJORIAN V = LEO V	(461)
(462)	SEVERUS I = LEO VI	(462)
(463)	SEVERUS II = LEO VII	(463)
(464)	SEVERUS III = LEO VIII	(464)
(465)	SEVERUS III = LEO VIII	(465)
(467)	ANTHEMIUS I = LEO X	(466)
(468)	ANTHEMIUS II = LEO XI	(467)

TABLE 6:
REGNAL YEARS AND CALENDAR YEARS, 448-457

CORRECT:		
Val. XXIII	448	
Val. XXV	449	
Val. XXVI	450	
Val. XXVII	451	Marcian I
Val. XXVIII	452	Marcian II
Val. XXVIII	453	Marcian III
Val. XXX	454	Marcian IIII
Val. XXXI	455	Marcian V
Avitus I	456	Marcian VI
(interregnum)	457	Marcian VII/Leo I
Majorian I	458	Leo II
HYDATIUS:		
Val. XXIII	448	
Val. XXV	449	
Val. XXVI	449	
Val. XXVII	450	
Val. XXVIII	451	Marcian I
Val. XXVIII	452	Marcian II
Val. XXX	453/454	Marcian III
Val. XXXI	455	Marcian IIII
Avitus I	456	Marcian V
Avitus II	457	Marcian VI
Avitus III	456/457	Marcian VII
Majorian I	457	Leo I

TABLE 7:
 DATABLE EVENTS IN THE CHRONICLE
 §§135-248

(* = date supplied by Hydatius)

-VAL XXIII (447)--	/ 135 Letter of Leo to Thoribius, 21 July 447/ 135 Comet, 23 Dec 447*/ 136
-VAL XXIII (448)--	/ 137 August*/ 137
-VAL XXV (449)--	/ 140 February*/ 140 July*/ 142
-VAL XXVI (450)--	/ 143 Asturius consul, 1 Jan 449/ 143 Letters of Leo, Feb-June 449/ 145
-VAL XXVII (451)--	/ 146 Death of Theodosius, 28 July 450/ 146 Accession of Marcian, 25 Aug 450/ 147
-VAL XXVIII (452)--	/ 148 Death of Placidia, 27 Nov 450/ 148 4 April 450*/ 149 Aera 490* (= 452)/ 150 Catalaunian Plains, June 451/ 150 26 Sept 451*/ 151 Easter 452*/ 151 Halley's comet, 451: 18 and 29 June, 1 August 452*/ 151 Accession of Thorismodus, 451/ 152
-VAL XXVIII (453)--	/ 154 Huns in Italy, 452/ 154 Death of Attila, 453/ 154 Accession of Theoderic, 453/ 156
-VAL XXX (454)--	/ 157

	Death of Pulcheria, July* 453/ 157
	Death of Aetius, 21 Sept 454/ 160
-VAL XXXI (455)--	/ 162
	Death of Valentinian, 16 March 455/ 162
	Maximus, 17 March- 31 May 455/ 162
	Accession of Avitus, 9 July 455/ 163
	Vandal sack, 2-16 June 455/ 167
-AVITUS I (456)--	/ 169
	--
-AVITUS II (--)--	/ 172
	5 and 28 Oct 456*/ 173-4
	Rechiarius' death, Dec* 456/ 178
-AVITUS III (--)--	/ 183
	Death of Avitus, c.17 Oct 456/ 183
	Death of Marcian, 27 Jan 457/ 184
	Accession of Leo, 7 Feb 457/ 185
	Accession of Majorian, 1 April 457/ 185
-MAJ I (457)--	/ 186
	Easter, 31 March 457*/ 186
	June*/ 187
-MAJ II (458)--	/ 189
	Easter-Pentecost* / 189
	28 May 458*/ 191
	July*/ 192
-MAJ III (459)--	/ 193
	--
-MAJ IIII (460)--	/ 198
	February*/ 198
	Easter*/ 199
	Majorian's expedition, May* 460/ 200
	26 July*/ 201
	November*/ 207
-MAJ V (461)--	/ 210
	Death of Majorian, 2 Aug 461/ 210
	Accession of Severus, 19 Nov 461/ 211

-SEV I (462)--	/ 212
	2 March Aera 500* (=462)/ 214
	Earthquake at Antioch, 13-14 Sept 458/ 215
	June*/ 217a
-SEV II (463)	/218
	Battle of Orléans, 463/ 218
	Hilary pope, 19 Nov, 461/ 221
-SEV III (464)--	/ 222
	May-September* 464/ 224
	20 July 464*/ 225
-SEV IIII (465)--	/ 231
	Death of Severus, 15 Aug 465/ 231
	Accession of Anthemius, Aug* 467/ 235
-ANTH I (467)--	/ 236
	Accession of Euric, 466/ 237-8
-ANTH II (468)--	/ 245
	Vandal expedition, summer 468, and
	Ricimer's marriage, 467, and
	fall of Aspar, 467?/ 247
	Death of Pope Hilary, 29 Feb 468/ 248
	Simplicius Pope, 3 Mar 468/ 248

TABLE 8:
SUGGESTED DATES BASED ON
TEXTUAL ASSOCIATION

447:	135-136
448:	137-138
449:	139-145 (144: pre-445)
450:	146-148
451:	149-153
452:	151, 154
453:	155-159*
454:	160-161
455:	162-168*
456:	169-(179-181)*, 183
457:	182, 184-188
458:	189-192a
459:	193-197
460:	198-(208-9)*
461:	210-213, 221
462:	214-217a
463:	218-220
464:	222-(227-8)*
465:	229-(232-3)*
466:	236-239*
467:	234-235, 240-244
468:	245-253*

* indicates that entry could belong to the following year

TABLE 9:
A:
EVENTS BY AREA AND DECADE

	379- 388	389- 398	399- 408	409- 418	419- 428	429- 438	439- 448	449- 458	459- 468	totals
AFRICA	0	0	0	3	1	3	3	1	3	14
THE EAST	12	1	5	4	3	4	3	7	6	45
GAUL	5	2	3	10	1	10	3	11	19	64
ITALY	4	4	1	8	12	6	4	20	13	72
SPAIN	2	0	2	10	6	15	21	44	57	157
TOTALS	23	7	11	35	23	38	34	83	98	352

B:
EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES
(all totals 100.0%)

	379- 388	389- 398	399- 408	409- 418	419- 428	429- 438	439- 448	449- 458	459- 468	total
AFRICA	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.6	4.35	7.9	8.8	1.2	3.1	4.0
THE EAST	52.2	14.3	45.4	11.4	13.0	10.5	8.8	8.4	6.1	12.8
GAUL	21.7	28.6	27.3	28.6	4.35	26.3	8.8	13.3	19.4	18.2
ITALY	17.4	57.1	9.1	22.8	52.2	15.8	11.8	24.1	13.2	20.4
SPAIN	8.7	0.0	18.2	28.6	26.1	39.5	61.8	53.0	58.2	44.6

TABLE 10:

PERCENTAGES OF MATERIAL DEVOTED TO THE FOUR
AREAS OF SUBJECT MATTER
(totals are not 100%)

	Imperial	Military	Barbarians	Religion
AFRICA	28.6	35.7	57.1	21.4
THE EAST	53.3	17.8	8.9	37.8
GAUL	17.2	31.3	62.5	17.2
ITALY	51.4	26.4	16.7	20.8
Totals	39.0	26.7	32.8	23.6
SPAIN	0.6	5.1	76.4	19.1
Totals	21.9	17.0	52.3	21.6

EVENTS IN ITALY

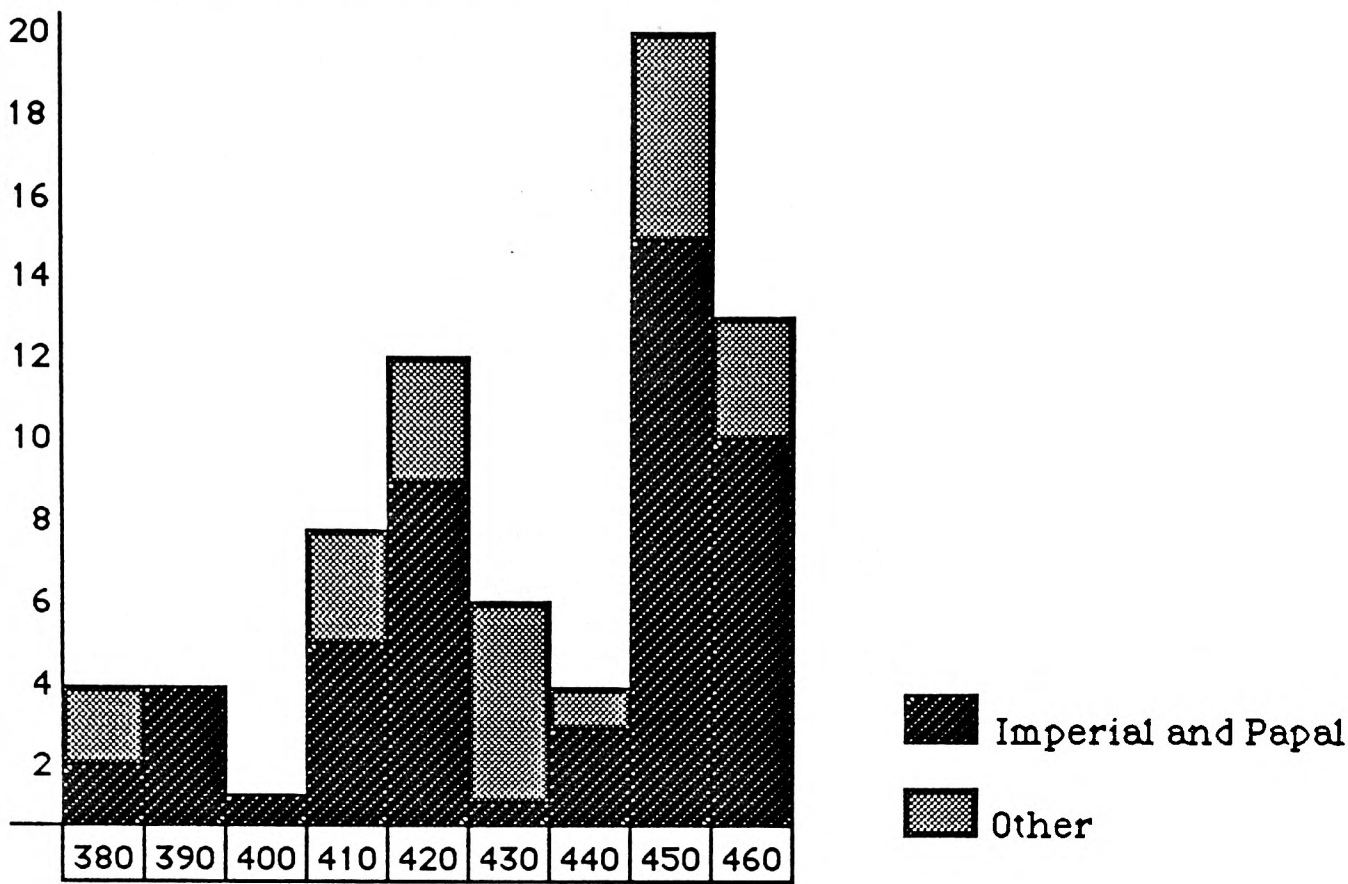
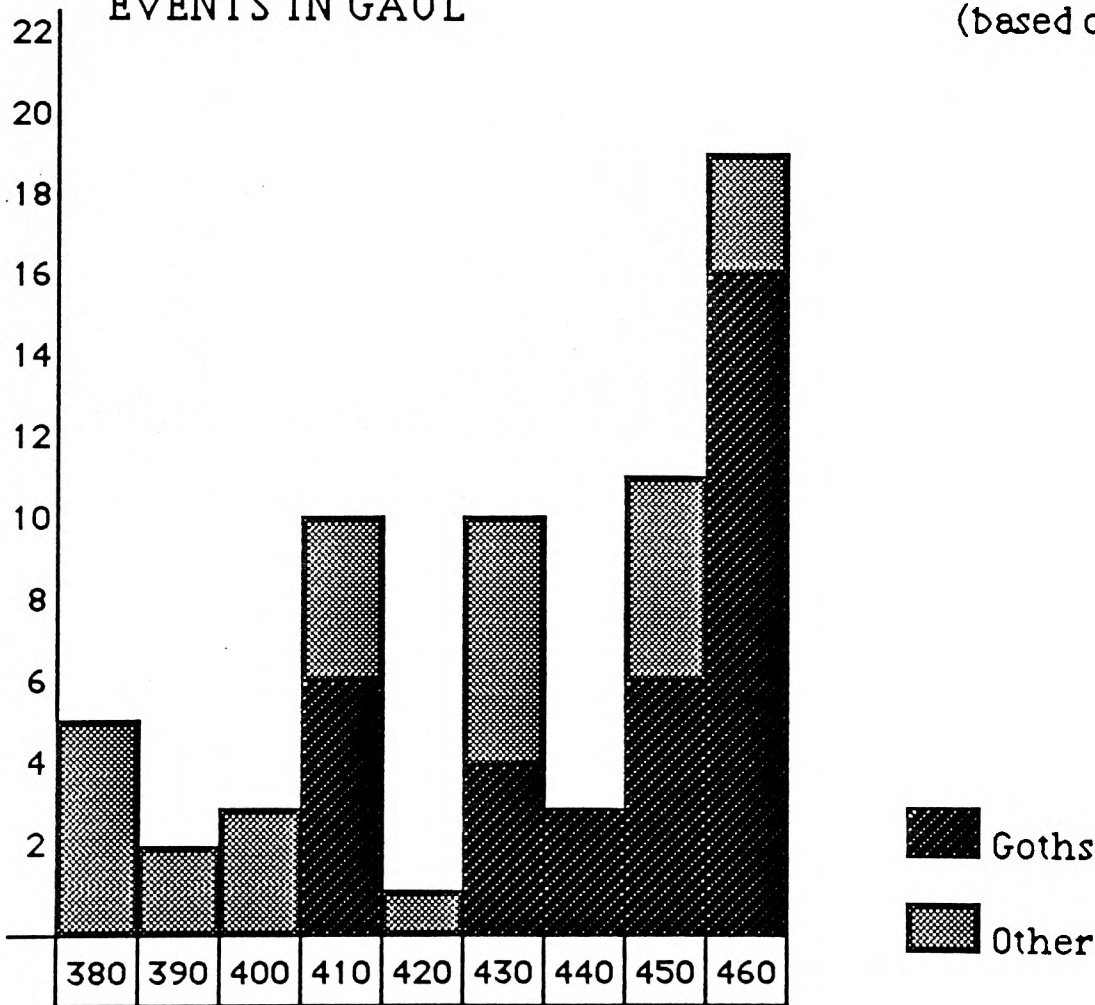
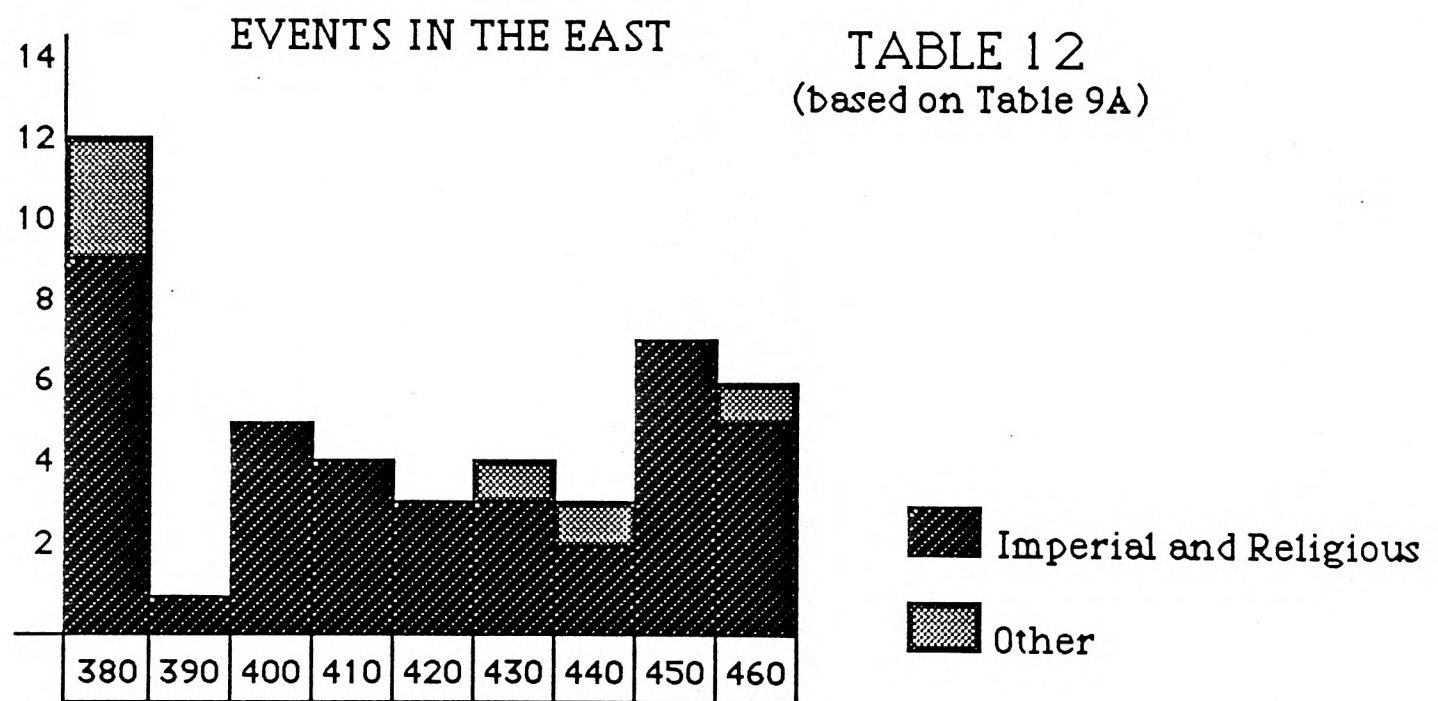
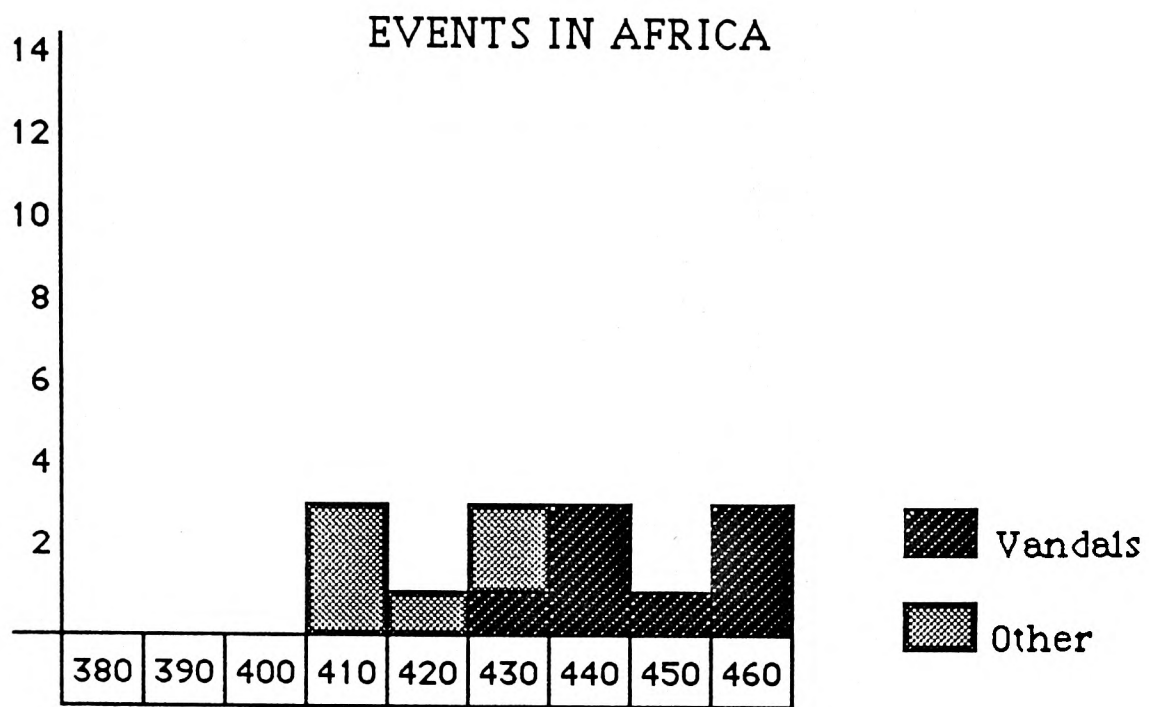


TABLE 11
(based on Table 9A)

EVENTS IN GAUL





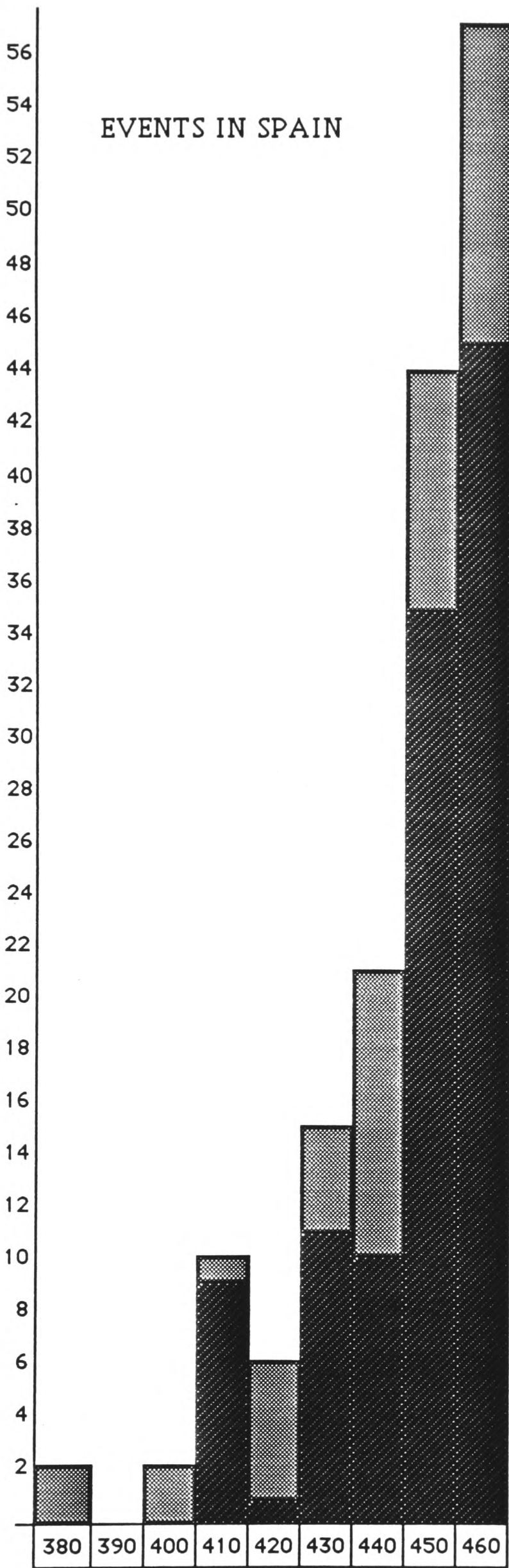


TABLE 13
(based on Table 9A)

 Sueves and Goths
 Other

TABLE 14:

SIGNA, PRODIGIA, OSTENTA AND PORTENTA

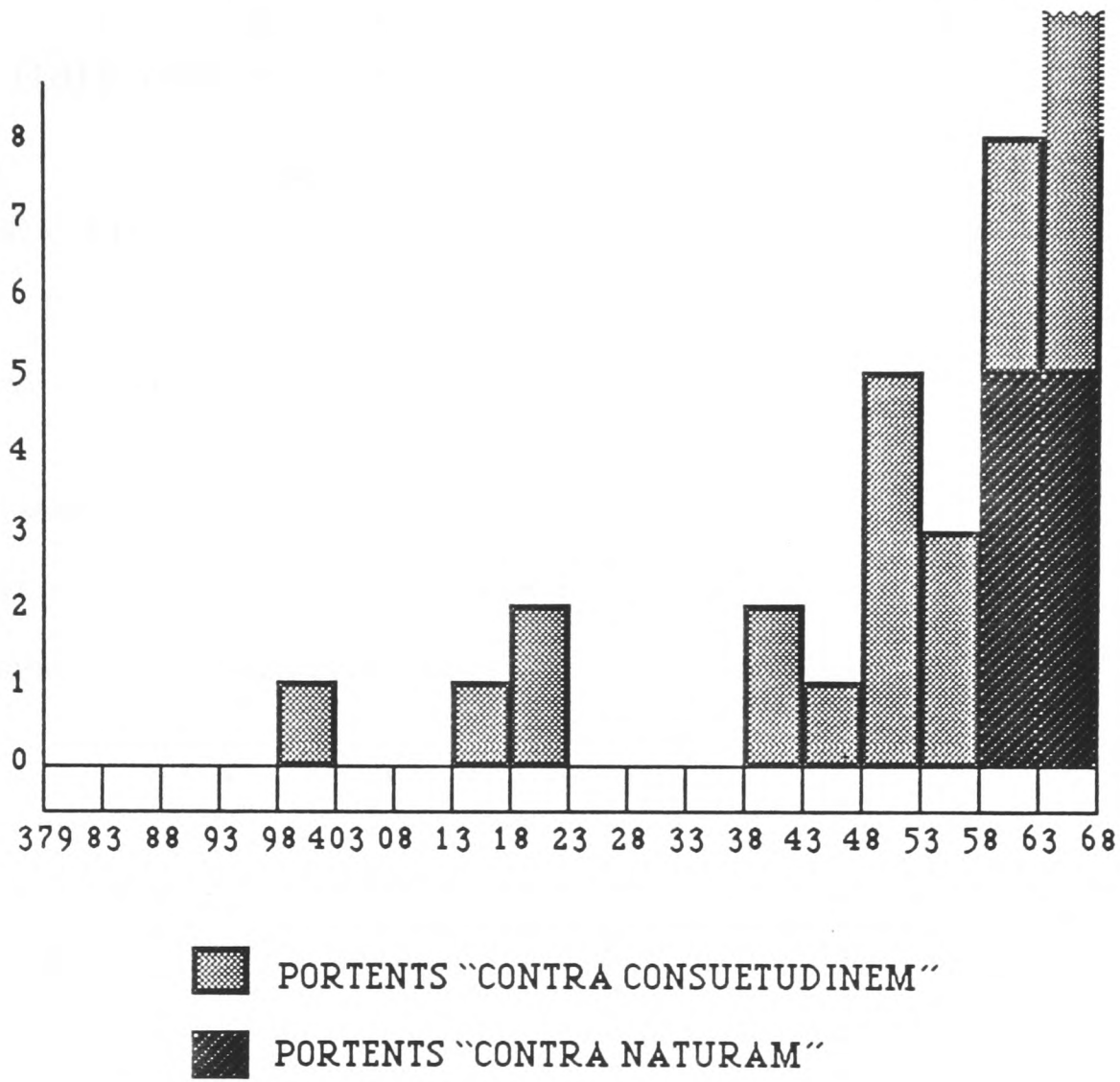


TABLE 15:
RELIGIOUS REFERENCES

*		R				R		*		*
5	[8]	[<13>]	15	[<16>]	(18)	(<31>)	35	[<37>]	[<37a>]	[38] [39] <40>
		+	R	(*)	+	*		R	*	* * * R
(43)	48	52	[<53>]	57	(58)	[<59>]	(61)	65	(66)	73 [81] 87 (<89>)
					R	*	*	+		
(90)	(99a)	(101)	(102)	105	(<106>)	<109>	(118)	(<120>)	(124)	
		*	*	R*				*	*	+
(127)	(<130>)	<133>	<135>	137	<138>		(141)	<145>	151	(174)
					R			R	+	
182	186	189	(192a)	199	(215)	221	<232>	234	248	(253)

KEY: R- notice of pope []- descriptive entry about religious leader

*- statement of communication (personal, letters or works)

< >- heresy mentioned ()- religious acts or events +- prophecies

* * * * *

List of Individuals Named Solely for Religious Reasons
(excluding entries announcing bishops of Rome and Hydatius)

Theophilus of Alexandria- 5, 38, 40, 61

Ambrose of Milan- 8, 13

Martin of Tours- 8, 13, 37a

Priscillian- 13, 16, 31

Damasus of Rome- 13

Symphosius- 31

Dictinius- 31

Ortigius of Celenis- 31

John (Chrysostom) of Constantinople- 37

Sulpicius Severus- 37a

John of Jerusalem- 38, 40, 58, 66, 106

Eulogius of Caesarea- 38, 40

Epifanius of Salamis- 38

Jerome of Bethlehem- 39, 40, 59, 106

Augustine of Hippo- 53, 99a

Pelagius (“Pelagianus”) 59

Paulinus of Biterris- 73

Paulinus of Nola- 81

Therasia- 81

Symphosius- 101

Agrestius of Lugo- 102

Pastor- 102

Syagrius- 102

Iuvenal of Jerusalem- 106

Germanus of Arabia- 106

Atticus of Constantinople- 106

Cyril of Alexandria- 109, 145

Nestorius of Constantinople- 109, 127, 145

Maximinus of Sicily- 120

Sabinus of Hispalis- 124, 192a

Epifanius of Hispalis- 124

Flavianus of Constantinople- 127, 145

Thoribius of Asturica- 130, 135

Antoninus of Emerita- 130, 138

Leo of Rome- (133), 135, 145

Pervincus the deacon- 135

Pascentius the Manichee- 138

Leo of Tyriasso- 141

Eutyches- 145

Eufronius of Augustodunum- 151

Aiax- 232

TOTALS:

- Spain- 16
- East- 14
- Italy- 6 (+ 8 popes; see Table 16)
- Gaul- 4
- Africa- 1

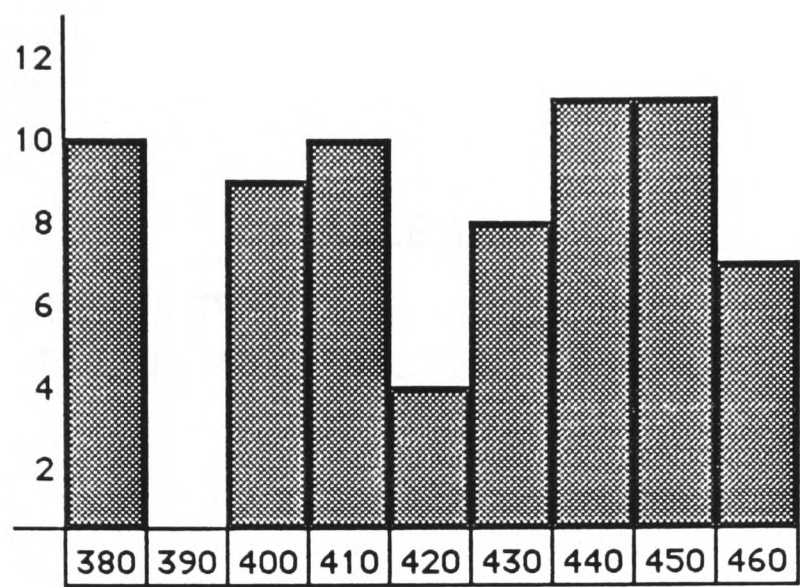
TABLE 16:

POPE AND PATRIARCHS

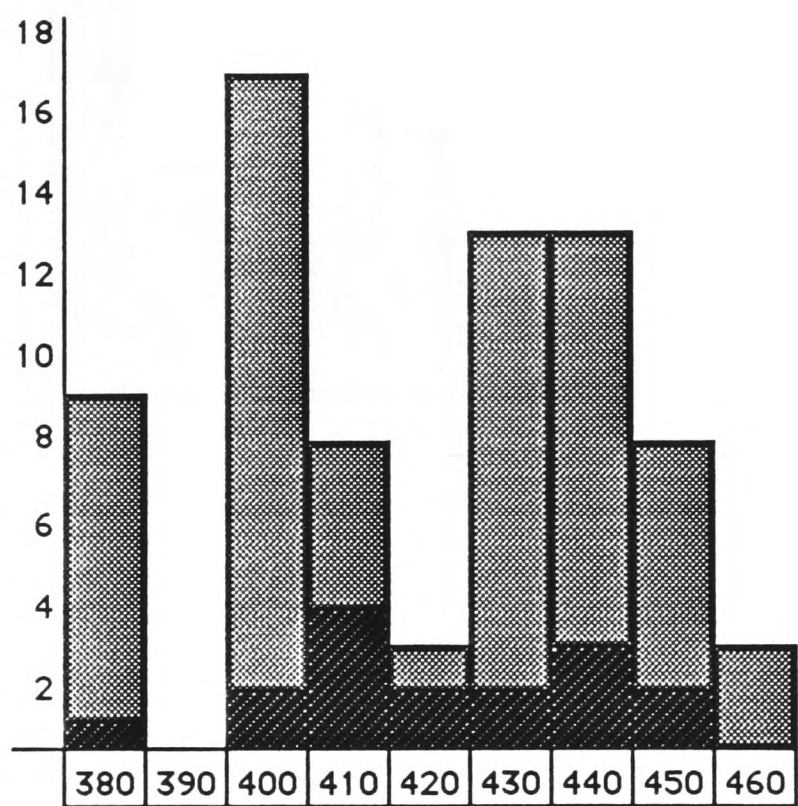
ROME	C'POLIS	ALEXANDRIA	ANTIOCH	JERUSALEM
DAMASUS* 366-384	DEMOPHILUS 370-380	PETER 373-381	FLAVIAN 381-404	IOHANNES* 388-417
SIRICIUS* 384-399	GREGORY NAZIANUS 381	TIMOTHY 381-385	PORPHYRY 404-413	PRAYLIUS 417-421
ANASTASIUS 399-401	NECTARIUS 381-397	THEOPHILUS* 385-412	ALEXANDER 413-421	JUVENAL* 421-458
INNOCENT* 401-417	IOHANNES* CHRYSTOSTOM 398-404	CYRIL* 412-444	THEODOTUS 421-429	
ZOSIMUS 417-418	ARSACIUS 404-405	DIOSCORUS 444-451	IOHANNES 429-442	
EULALIUS* 418-419	ATTICUS* 406-425		DOMNUS 442-449	
BONIFACE* 418-422	SISINNIUS 426-427		MAXIMUS 449-455	
CELESTINE* 422-432	NESTORIUS* 428-431			
XYSTUS* 432-440	MAXIMIAN 431-434			
LEO* 440-461	PROCLUS 434-447			
HILARY* 461-468	FLAVIAN* 447-449			
SIMPLICIUS* 468-483	ANATOLIUS 449-458			

*- MENTIONED BY HYDATIUS

TABLE 17:

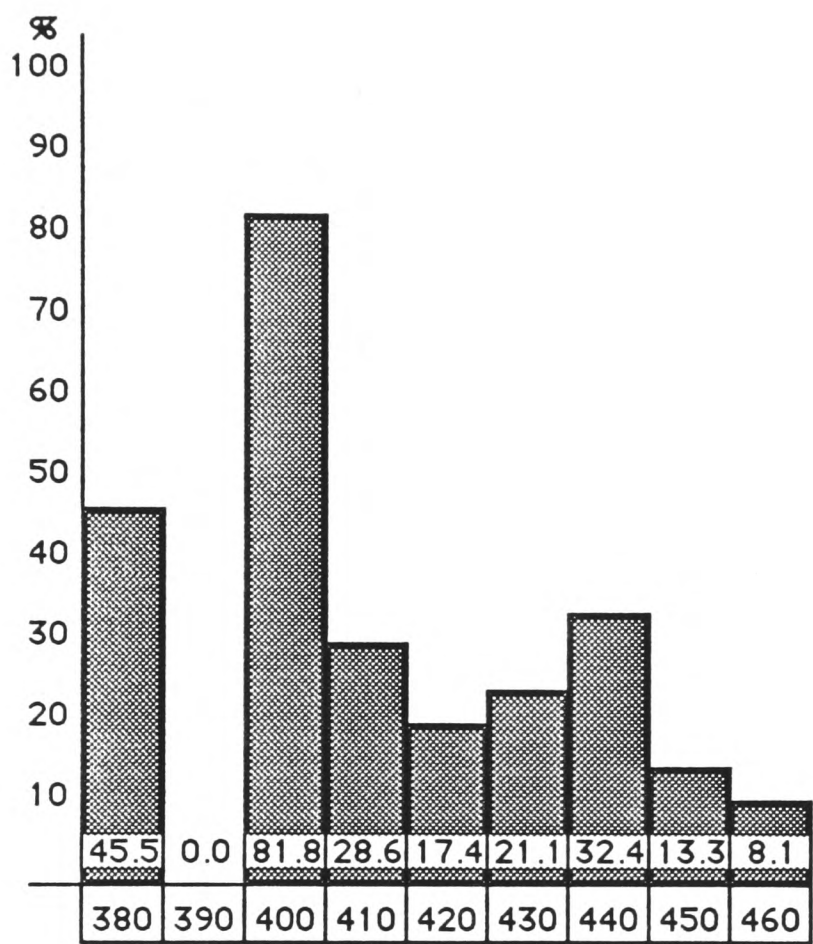


RELIGIOUS REFERENCES
(based on Table 9A)

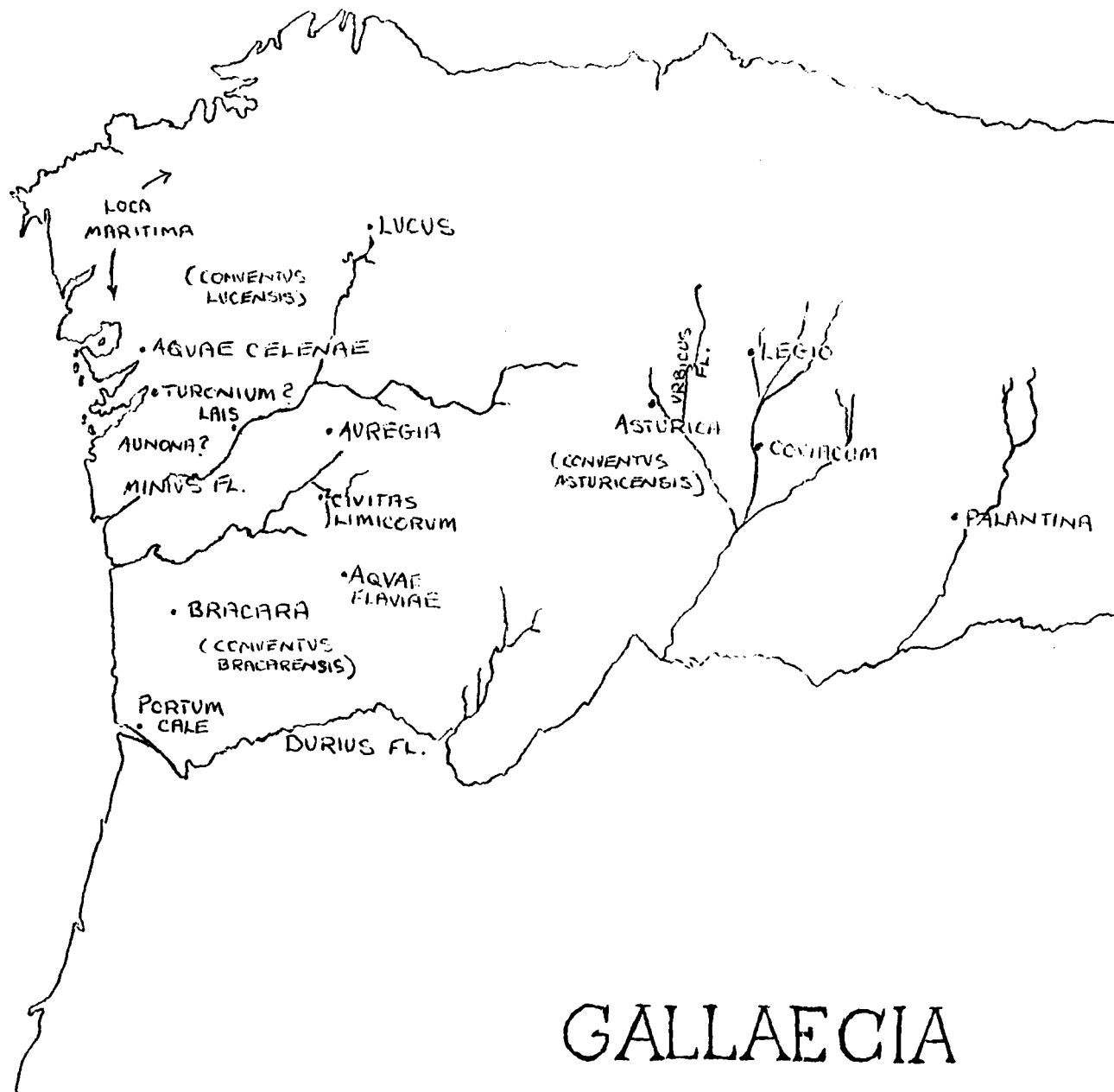


REFERENCES TO RELIGIOUS INDIVIDUALS
(not including Hydatius)
(■ Communications)

TABLE 18:
RELIGIOUS EVENTS AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL NUMBER OF EVENTS REPORTED



ENTRIES PER REGNAL YEAR								
379: 2	389: 1	399: 0	409: 6	419: 3	429: 1	439: 5	449: 4	3: 5
380: 2	390: 0	400: 1	410: 1	420: 2	430: 4	440: 2	26: 3	4: 12
381: 1	391: 0	401: 0	411: 2	421: 1	431: 3	441: 4	27: 2	5: 2
382: 2	392: 1	402: 2	412: 3	422: 2	432: 3	442: 2	28: 6	1: 7
383: 1	393: 0	403: 1	413: 3	423: 0	433: 4	443: 1	29: 3	2: 4
384: 2	394: 1	404: 1	414: 2	424: 4	434: 2	444: 1	30: 5	3: 9
385: 1	395: 3	405: 1	415: 1	425: 3	435: 1	445: 4	31: 8	4: 5
386: 1	396: 0	406: 2	416: 3	426: 1	436: 3	446: 1	1: 3	----
387: 3	397: 0	407: 1	417: 4	427: 0	437: 3	447: 2	2: 11	1: 7
388: 2	398: 0	408: 0	418: 4	428: 1	438: 3	448: 2	3: 3	2: 9
							1: 3	
							2: 6	
							Val.	Maj.
							Avitus	Sev.
							Maj.	Anth.
TOTALS:								
17	6	9	29	17	28	24	57	60
							=	247



MAP 1

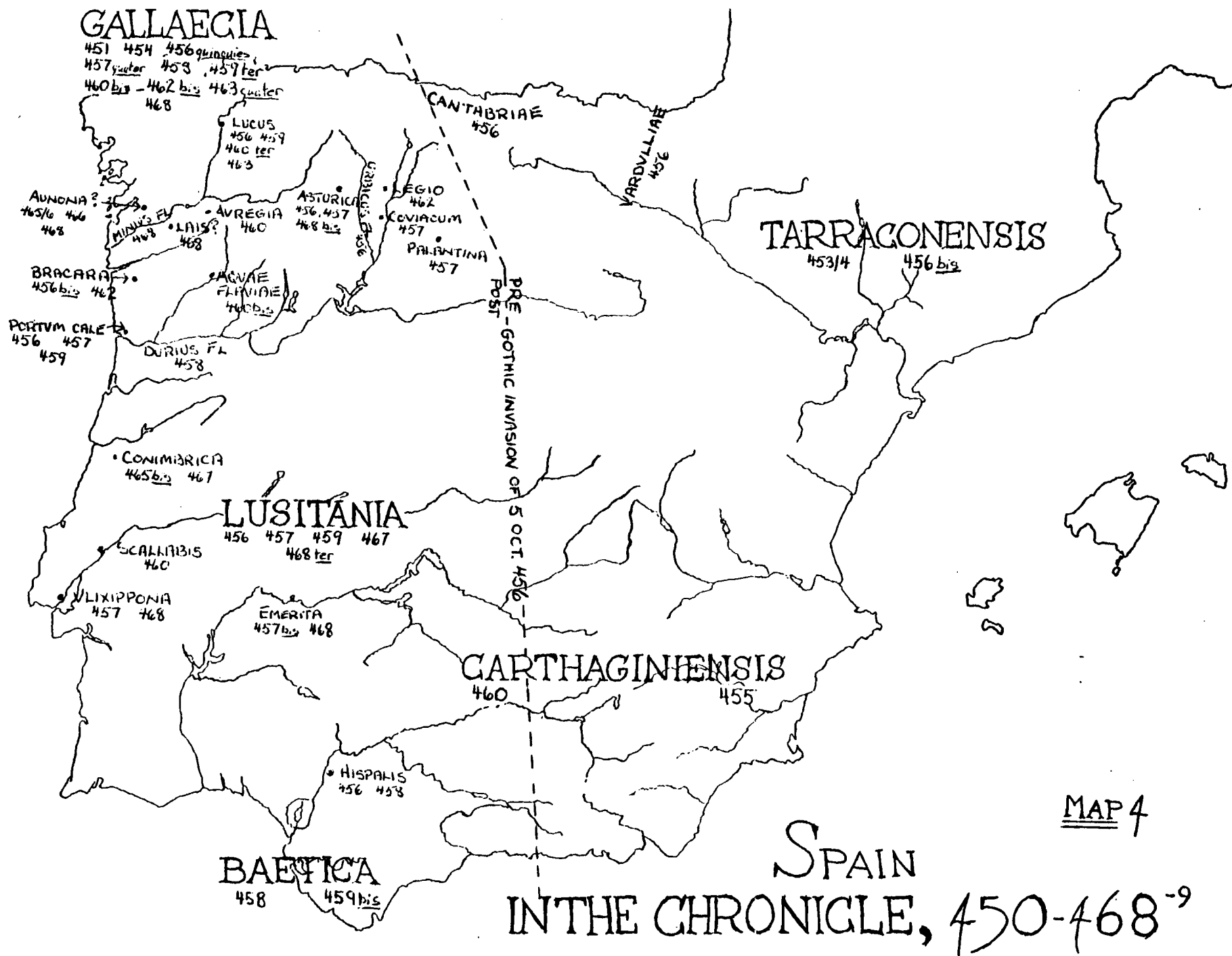
GALLAECIA



THE EMPIRE IN THE CHRONICLE

MAP 2





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TABLE 18:
RELIGIOUS EVENTS AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL NUMBER OF EVENTS REPORTED

